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*As for the wise, their  
body alone perishes in  
this world – Rashi*

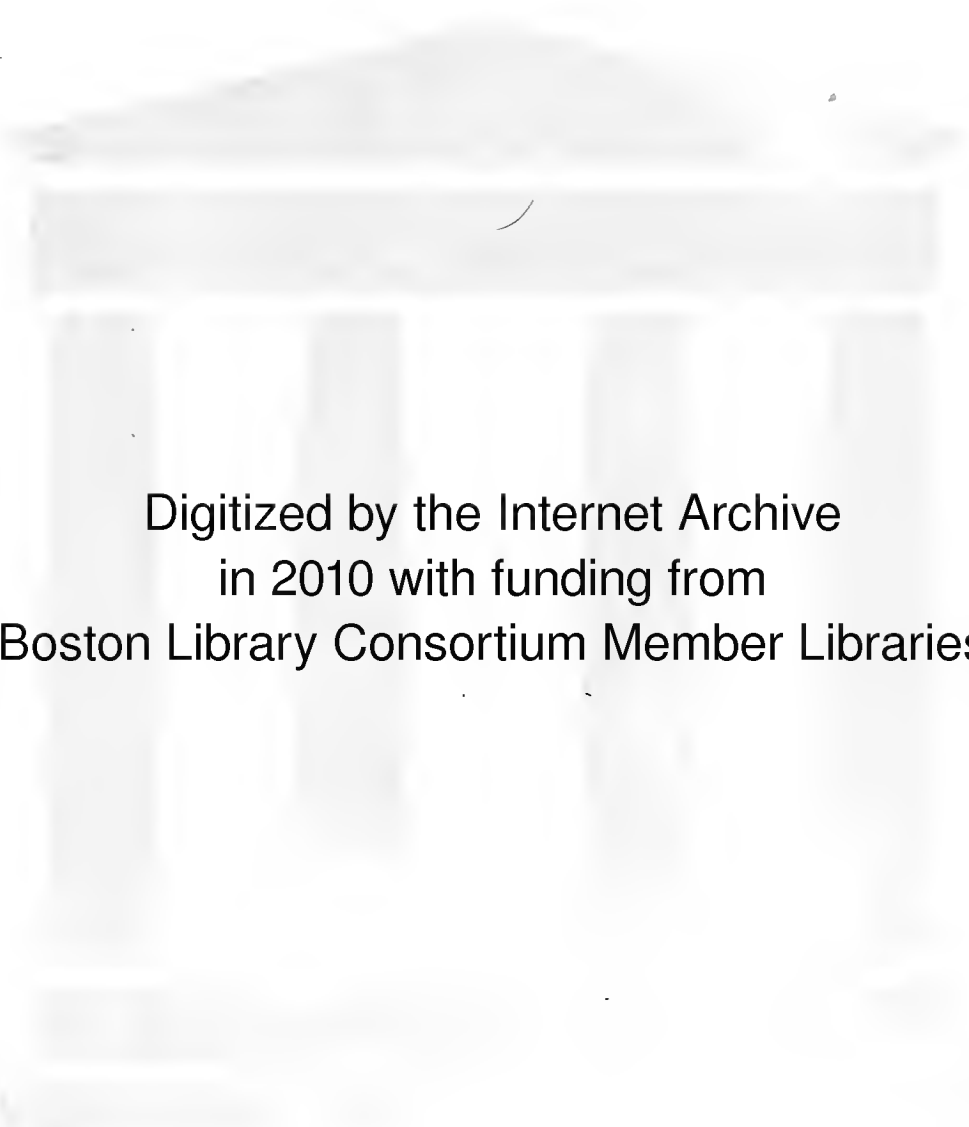
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(Jortin, John)  
The life of Erasmus.



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*Holbein pinxit*

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

Jerem, Jon

THE  
L I F E  
O F  
E R A S M U S.

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

ERASMUS.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for J. WHISTON and B. WHITE; in *Fleet-Street*.

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# P R E F A C E.

**L**E 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 Bibliothèque 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*

*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*

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 persons, 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

## P R E F A C E.

*am with you, and my name, when I am gone hence ;  
and intreating 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.

C O N T E N T S.

BOOK I.

*The Life of ERASMUS.*

BOOK II.

*Remarks upon the Works of ERASMUS.*

BOOK III.

*Appendix, containing Extracts from ERASMUS, and  
from other Writers.*

THE HISTORY OF

THE

REIGN OF

BOOK II.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE FIRST TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

BOOK III.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE SECOND TO THE DEATH OF JAMES THE SECOND.

T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
E R A S M U S.

A. D. MCCCCLXVII.

<sup>a</sup> **E**RASMUS was born at Rotterdam, October 28, <sup>b</sup> 1467. He took his denomination from this city, and always called himself <sup>c</sup> *Roterodamus*; 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 <sup>d</sup> Gerard, of the town of Tergou, made love to Margaret daughter of Peter, a physician of Sevenbergen; by whom, after solemn promises to marry her, he had Erasmus.

<sup>e</sup> Gerard was a man of gayety and wit; and his son took after him, and had the same lively disposition.

B

The

<sup>a</sup> 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.

<sup>b</sup> See Bayle ERASME, Not. A.

<sup>c</sup> Should it not have been *Roterodamus*, or *Roterodamensis*?

<sup>d</sup> Bayle Not. B.

<sup>e</sup> Bayle *ibid.*

A. D. 1467. 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 ancient 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 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 <sup>f</sup> Hegius 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.

<sup>g</sup> The affectionate mother 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.

“<sup>h</sup> The

<sup>f</sup> Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 133.

<sup>g</sup> Compend. Vit. Erasmi. He wrote this Compendium himself.



“<sup>h</sup> The mother of Erasmus might have said, with Dido in A. D. 1476.  
“ 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 Co-  
“ messor, 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 <sup>i</sup> three guardians, who proved base and dishonest men, and agreed together to devote the poor boy to a *Religious* life, that they might the 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 <sup>k</sup> stuck 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 <sup>l</sup> third, where at last he was conquered, and went through his year of probation, though with an unwilling mind.

B 2

In

<sup>h</sup> Bayle ERASME, Not. B.

Gaudæ, &c. *Compend.*

<sup>i</sup> Horum præcipuus erat Petrus Winckel, tum ludi literarii magister

<sup>k</sup> See *Ecclesiast.* T. V. c. 909, 910.

<sup>l</sup> Stein, near Tergou.

A. D. 1480.

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 *Erasmius*; and he gave this name to his godson, Joannes Erasmius Frobenius.

“ The father of Erasmus, says <sup>m</sup> Du Pin, 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 Cantel, 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, tho’ 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 ordained 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 <sup>n</sup> Epistle of Erasmus to Grunnius, in which he is generally supposed to have described himself under the feigned name of Florentius °.

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

A. D.

<sup>m</sup> Bibl. Eccles. Tom. xiv. p. 12.  
See also Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 229.

<sup>n</sup> Ep. 442. c. 1821.

<sup>o</sup> Appendix.

<sup>p</sup> Fratris germani mortem moderatissime tuli; Frobenii desiderium ferre non possum. c. 1053. E.

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. 1490.

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<sup>a</sup> Baillet, was a student in the College of Montaigu. He returned to Cambray; thence he went to 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

<sup>a</sup> T. VI. p. 9. edit. 4to;

A. D. 1496. Amongst his disciples at Paris, there was none whose friendship he found more constant than <sup>r</sup> William Lord Montjoy, who afterwards gave him an annual pension of an 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 <sup>s</sup> Knight 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 Bishopricks. 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

<sup>r</sup> Knight, p. 15, &c.

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

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

<sup>s</sup> P. 19.

of Vere, who was liberal to him, and whom he hath celebrated more than once. Ep. 6, 7, 8, 9, 92. A. D. 1497

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

“ <sup>w</sup> Grocyn 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.

“ <sup>x</sup> Linacer was so <sup>y</sup> accurate and superstitiously exact in his compositions, and found it so difficult to satisfy himself, that he  
“ had

<sup>t</sup> Appendix. Knight's Life of Colet. Burnet. Hist. of the Ref. III. 27.

<sup>u</sup> 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.

<sup>w</sup> Knight's Life of Erasim. p. 22. Maittaire I. p. 254.

<sup>x</sup> Knight, p. 24.

<sup>y</sup> Paulus Æmilius Veronensis sibi nunquam satisfaciebat. — Nec multum

abfuit ab hoc vitio Thomas Linacrus Anglus, vir undequaque doctissimus. Tom. IV. *Apophth.* xxxv. c. 315.

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 remunerationem literariam beneficia, adeamus Thomam Linacrum,

A. D. 1497. “ had like to have published nothing : which made Erasmus prefs  
 “ 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 Eras-  
 “ mus often consulted him, on account of his frequent indispo-  
 “ sitions, which came early upon him; and when he was sick at  
 “ Paris, he complains that he had no <sup>z</sup> Linacer there, to assist  
 “ him, and prescribe for him.

“ Another time, <sup>a</sup> he writes to him from St. Omers, desiring  
 “ he would send him a prescription; and speaks in a way which  
 “ shews 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 <sup>b</sup> Siborch,  
 “ who, with his brother Nicolas, were friends to Erasmus at  
 “ Cambridge: *Veteres sodales*, Ep. 782.

“ Linacer was ill used by one <sup>c</sup> Bernard Andreas, 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.”

Thus indeed Erasmus himself hath related the story, and  
 Knight follows him: but Erasmus was mistaken in some of the  
 circumstances.

Linacrum, quo nemo majorem orationis  
 nitorem, castitatem, et decorem ad  
 interpretationes contulit: quarum virtu-  
 tum integritatem dum diligentius tueri  
 studet, fidelem verborum affectationem,

raro quidem, at aliquando tamen omisit.  
*Huetius De Clar. Interpr.* p. 234.

<sup>z</sup> Ep. 105.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. 157.

<sup>b</sup> Erasmus calls him *Siburgus*.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. 1091. c. 1263.

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. A. D. 1497.

“<sup>d</sup> However, Linacer was in great favour with Henry VIII, who had an 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 <sup>e</sup> 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 severi judicii.*

“ It seems, he had done something to <sup>f</sup> offend 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 <sup>g</sup> bantered Linacer, but without naming him, for giving himself up too much to Grammatical studies.

C

Linacer,

<sup>d</sup> Knight.

<sup>e</sup> Ep. 431. c. 1814.

<sup>f</sup> Ep. 699.

<sup>g</sup> Novi quendam πολυτεχνύτατον, Græcum, Latinum, Mathematicum, Philosophum, Medicum, και ταῦτα βασιλικῶν, jam sexagenarium, qui cæteris rebus omiſſis, annis plus viginti se

torquet ac discruciat in Grammatica; profus felicem se fore ratus, si tamdiu liceat vivere, donec certo statuatur quomodo distinguendæ sint octo partes orationis, quod hæctenus nemo Græcorum aut Latinorum ad plenum præstare valuit. *Moriae Encom.* c. 458.

See Knight's Life of Colet, p. 139.

A. D. 1497. Linacer, in his youth, went to Italy, and contracted an acquaintance with several illustrious and learned men, and particularly with <sup>h</sup> Hermolaus Barbarus.

“ Erasmus <sup>i</sup> 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 <sup>k</sup> virgin 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

<sup>h</sup> Ingresso Vaticanam Bibliothecam, et Græcos codices evolventi, supervenit Hermolaus, ad pluteumque humaniter accedens, Non tu, hercle, inquit, studiosè 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.*

<sup>i</sup> Knight, p. 29.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. 363.



“ house was probably built by him, which is of the size of a little College, and in the same fashion.” A. D. 1497.

“ At <sup>1</sup> Oxford Erasmus was acquainted with More, with Thomas Wolfey, burfar of Magdalen College, with John Claymond, afterwards President of Magdalen College, and 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 <sup>m</sup> studied 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 <sup>n</sup> Joannes Sixtinus, 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.

“ <sup>o</sup> Sixtine, 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 Jobannis Sixtini, &c.* As to his estate in Phrygia,

C 2

“ he

<sup>1</sup> Knight, p. 28.

<sup>m</sup> Knight, p. 20.

<sup>n</sup> Knight, *ibid.*

<sup>o</sup> Knight’s *Life of Colet*, p. 218.

A. D. 1497. “ 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 prede-  
 “ cessor West, Bishop of Ely, and twenty pounds to be distri-  
 “ buted 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 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 <sup>p</sup>, 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 hap-  
 “ pily conversant in every other part of learning.”

In the 14th 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 <sup>a</sup> 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  
 “ Wolfey) the King’s Almoner, and great favourite, in the year  
 “ 1510.

“ Of

<sup>p</sup> Epist. 671.

<sup>a</sup> Knight, p. 36.

“ Of Wolfey Erasmus had at first conceived too good an A. D. 1497.  
 “ 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 Wolfey  
 “ had incurred by his pride and insolence.”

Erasmus went from England to Paris, whence he wrote a letter to one <sup>r</sup> William, 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.

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 <sup>s</sup> 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 <sup>t</sup> perpetual.

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

<sup>r</sup> Gulielmum Hermannum Gaudensem, literis deditissimum juvenem, aliquot annis studiorum sodalem habuit, cujus exstat Odarum Sylva. *B. Rhenan.* Vit. Erasmi.

<sup>s</sup> Knight, p. 18.

<sup>t</sup> 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, satietatem.*

A. D. 1497. letter to Colet (without any date of time) is written, *Oxonio, è Collegio Canoniorum 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 Marchionefs of Vere invited him, by <sup>u</sup> James Battus, a particular friend of his, and tutor to her ſon, to come and ſee her. But he wanted money and an <sup>x</sup> horſe for the journey, 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

<sup>u</sup> See the character of Battus in Eraſmus. T. V. c. 69.

<sup>x</sup> Non peto magnificentum Bucephalum, ſed cui non pudeat virum inſidere.

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. A. D. 1499.

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 raskally 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 *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 linnen, 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 agreed with 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,

† Knight, p. 49.

‡ In Hollandia, cœlo quidem juvor, sed Epicureis illis comessationibus offendor. Adde hominum genus sordidum,

incultum, studiorum omnium contemptum præstrenuum, nullum eruditionis fructum, invidiam summam.

A. D. 1499. age, no country hath furnished so many succours to Europe for the advancement of literature. Ep. 59.

He wrote a jesting letter to Faustus <sup>a</sup> Andrelinus, 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 <sup>b</sup> British Ladies, &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 <sup>c</sup> affront, 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. <sup>d</sup> Bayle treats it as a fable; and Henry did not reign till the year 1509.

Towards the end of the year he was at Orleans, and thence returned to <sup>e</sup> Paris. He had much ado to subsist there, and was  
ill

<sup>a</sup> Baillet IV. 329. Bayle ANDRELINUS.

<sup>b</sup> Sunt hic Nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, et quas tu tuis Camcenis facile anteponas. Est præterea mos nunquam satis laudatus. Sive quo venias, omnium osculis exciperis; sive discedas aliquo, osculis dimitteris; redis, reduntur suavia; venit ad te, propinatur suavia; discedit abs te, dividuntur basia; occurritur alibi, basiatu affatim; denique quocumque te moveas, suavorum plena sunt omnia, &c. Ep. 65.

<sup>c</sup> Vulnus illud in Anglia acceptum --- hoc magis dolet, quod cum indig-

nissima sit conjunctum contumelia, nulla tamen a me talio referri potest. Quid enim ego aut cum Anglia 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.

<sup>d</sup> ERASME, Not. B. B.

See *Catal. Lucubr.*

<sup>e</sup> Cupiam exstare Orationes aliquot concionatorias, quas olim habui Lutetiæ, quum agerem in Collegio Montis Acuti. *Catal. Lucubr.*

ill used by one Augustin, who had obligations to him, and who A. D. 1499. 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 learned from Jerom, than from the Schoolmen, from Scotus and Albertus, and the rest of the crew.

Ep. 86 is to Robertus<sup>f</sup> Gaguinus, 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.

<sup>g</sup> Gaguinus 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 Marchionefs 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<sup>h</sup>, &c. He

D also

<sup>f</sup> Bayle EMILE, Not. F. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 67. Pope Blount, p. 361.

<sup>g</sup> Maittaire I. 207.

<sup>h</sup> *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 mendacialis aliquot abuti. Ep. 94.

A. D. 1500. also desires him to 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 Berfala, with telling her that there were three <sup>i</sup> *Annes*, famous in ancient 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; <sup>k</sup> but 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, <sup>l</sup> had 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 an 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 an 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 an handsome Epistle from Antonius à Bergis to the Cardinal De-

<sup>i</sup> Bayle ANNE, where some additions are made to his list.

<sup>k</sup> — quando nunc, non dicam vulgo, sed etiam iis qui doctrinæ principatum tenent, nemo doctus videri potest, nisi *Magister noster* appellatur; etiam vetante

Christo, Theologorum principe.

<sup>l</sup> A studio Theologiæ abhorrebat, quod sentiret animum non propensum, ne omnia illorum fundamenta subverteret, deinde futurum ut hæretici nomen inureretur.



De Medicis. Erasmus composed it for him, and was then in A. D. 1501, 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 of Cambray. Ep. 100. <sup>m</sup> He 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 <sup>n</sup> Gulielmus Goudanus, 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 <sup>o</sup> Mantuanus, are surely far beyond that man's poetical merits. Ep. 395. c. 1781.

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

D 2

A. D.

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

<sup>n</sup> Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 351.

<sup>o</sup> 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 poëtis locus erat. — Mantuæ decessit, non plane felix, quum in extremo vitæ actu, defensionem contra Criticos scribere cogeretur, qui ejus poëmata obeliscis non inanibus misere confodissent.* Elog. p. 117.

<sup>p</sup> Dominam Veriensem matrimonium plusquam servile eripuit. Ep. 446. c. 1837.

<sup>q</sup> Dict. BERSALA.

A. D. MDIII.

Ætat. xxxvi.

A. D. 1503. He published divers of his works at Louvain, a tract *De reformatione Christi*, a *Pæan*, an *Obsecratio*, and particularly the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. Then he went to Paris, whence he wrote to <sup>s</sup> Petrus Ægidius 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 <sup>s</sup> Alexander VI.

A. D. MDIV.

Ætat. xxxvii.

This, and the three following years, if the dates of the letters are 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 <sup>v</sup> Adagies, because the first was imperfectly executed by him, and faultily printed. Ep. 102.

He

<sup>s</sup> Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. p. 202.

<sup>v</sup> Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 647.

<sup>v</sup> See Gordon's Life of Alexander.

Alexander omnium, qui unquam fuerunt, perfidia, libidine, sævitia, sce-

leratissimus, cujus filius, Cæsar Borgia, perfectum præbuit Machiavello callidifed nefarii Principis exemplar. *Perizonius* Hist. Sec. XVI. p. 7.

<sup>v</sup> Maittaire An. Typ. II. p. 195, 251.

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. A. D. 1504.

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, 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 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 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 intitle his book, *The Christian Soldier's Dagger, or Manual*.

A. D.

\* 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 corporaliū; ea quæ ad pietatem

pertinent mire negligentium.

† Theologos omnes fortiter contemnebat, uno me excepto. *Ep. ad Botz.*

\* *But it is dated,* Apud Divum Audo-marum, Anno a Christo nato supra millesimum quingentesimo primo.

A. D. 1504.

“ 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 defense 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 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 favourable, something with more *Unction*, and less morality and common sense.

A. D. MDV.

Ætat. xxxviii.

He drew up a good apology for <sup>a</sup> Laurentius Valla, whose <sup>b</sup> annotations on the <sup>c</sup> New Testament he had discovered in some Library.

<sup>a</sup> Bayle VALLA. Boissard Icon. p. 113. P. Jovius Elog. p. 25. Baillet II. 219, and the Notes of La Monnoye, III. 19, 220, 221. Pope Blount, p. 325.

<sup>b</sup> 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.

<sup>c</sup> Valla primus scripsit notas in Novum Testamentum ; secundus Erasmus ; postea Camerarius. *Scaligeran.* p. 400.

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.

<sup>d</sup> He 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 *Tyrannicida* of Lucian to Richard Whitford, and a ° declamation of his own in answer to it. More had also made a declamation on the same subject.

“<sup>f</sup> Whitford, 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,

<sup>d</sup> T. I. c. 230.

<sup>e</sup> Latine declamare cœpi, idque impulfore Thoma Moro, cujus, uti fcis, tanta est facundia, ut nihil non possit persuadere vel hosti: tanta autem hominem caritate complector, ut etiam si saltare me, restimque ducere 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

morem 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 gemellos magis inter se similes reperiri posse. — Vale meum delictum, Richarde festivissime. Tom. I. c. 266.

<sup>f</sup> Knight, p. 64. Rooper's Life of More, p. 30.

A. D. 1506. “ 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 shew 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<sup>s</sup>, who was secretary to Henry VII, had a great  
 “ esteem for Erasmus, and was kind to him in the next reign,  
 “ 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<sup>b</sup> 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

<sup>s</sup> Knight, p. 80.

<sup>b</sup> Knight, p. 85.

“ particulars related by him cannot be depended upon. He says, A. D. 1506,  
 “ 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 unwor-  
 “ thy to succeed so great a man.

“ Other particulars are not to be depended upon. We can-  
 “ not 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 *Tra& 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 to this time, but to the improvements  
 “ that were afterwards made, &c.

“ The<sup>i</sup> greatest Master 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.

E

“ R. Crook,

<sup>i</sup> Mr. Baker, I suppose.

A. D. 1506. “ R. Crook, successor to Erasmus in the Greek professorship, was <sup>k</sup> 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 there 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 <sup>l</sup> George Hermonymus, 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.”

“ <sup>m</sup> Budæus, though he owed his erudition almost entirely to his own industry, yet learned something of Faber Stapulensis, Joannes Lascaris, and *Hermonymus*. As soon as 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 was <sup>n</sup> very poorly.”

“ <sup>o</sup> Erasmus

<sup>k</sup> Camerarius bestows great commendations on Crook, under whom he had studied at Leipzig. Præcept. Vitæ Puer. Epist. Nuncup. p. 17. Crenius De Erudit. Comp.

<sup>l</sup> Lutetiæ tantum unus Georgius Hermonymus Græcæ balbutiebat; sed talis, ut neque potuisset docere, si vo-

luisse; neque voluisset, si potuisset, &c. *Cat. Lucubr.*

Erasmus hath made mention of this man T. I. c. 933.

<sup>m</sup> Bayle BUDÉ.

<sup>n</sup> Quem Budæus nactus magna mercede conductum ad se accersivit, et antequam dimitteret, amplius quingentis nummis



“ ° Erasmus was at London in January 1506, and sent a translation of <sup>p</sup> Lucian’s *Toxaris*, as a new-year’s gift to Dr. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester.”

His dedication of some Dialogues of Lucian to Hier. Buflidianus 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 <sup>a</sup> poem, on horseback, concerning the inconveniences and infirmities of old age, addressed to William Cope, a physician; and complains that he already <sup>r</sup> felt them, though he was not then quite forty years of age. From this time forwards he repre-

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sents

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 confedit, 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.

° Knight, p. 93.

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

<sup>a</sup> Tom. IV. c. 756.

<sup>r</sup> Quam nuper hunc Erasmus  
Vidisti media viridem florere juventa?  
Nunc is repente versus  
Incipit urgentis senii sentiscere damna,  
Et alius esse tendit,  
Dissimilisque sui; nec adhuc Phœbeius orbis  
Quadrages revexit  
Natalem lucem, quæ bruma ineunte Calendas  
Quinta anteit Novembres.  
Nunc mihi jam raris sparguntur tempora canis, &c.

A. D. 1507. fents himself as an old man, being in this respect quite the reverse of Henr. Valeſius, who at ſeventy imagined himſelf young, as his brother <sup>s</sup> 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 ſhew that ſtudious occupations are not <sup>t</sup> unwholſome, if they be accompanied with ſobriety and moderate exerciſe.

A. D. MDVIII.

Ætat. xli.

He went to Italy, and took his <sup>u</sup> 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 <sup>w</sup> Marcus Muſurus, and <sup>x</sup> Scipio Carteromachus, 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 <sup>y</sup> Aleander, who was afterwards

<sup>s</sup> Natus annis ſeptuaginta, neq̄ ſibi ipſe videbatur ſenex, nec aliis videri volebat, qui mala et incommoda ſeneſcutis nulla ſentiret. In literis, quas ad eum miſerat Gronovius Gronovii filius, longam & felicem ſeneſcutem 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 ſumæ valetudinis et virium habita ratione, dictum Gronovii probaviſſe. Adjiciebat inſuper, ante accep-

tas haſce a Gronovio literas, ſe de ſeneſcutate ſua nunquam cogitaviſſe. *Vit. Valeſ.*

<sup>t</sup> See Huetiana, p. 5.

<sup>u</sup> At Turin. *Bayle.*

<sup>w</sup> Hodius De Græc. Illuſtr. p. 219, 294, 303, 304. Eraſm. Epist. 671. B. Rhenani Vit. Eraſmi. Bayle MURUSURUS, which is a good Article. Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 288, 293.

<sup>x</sup> Bayle CARTEROMACHUS. Eraſm. Ep. 671.

<sup>y</sup> Bayle ALEANDRE. P. Jovius Elog. p. 181. Remarques ſur Bayle. Relat. Gotting. Vol. III. Fac. I. p. 87. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 99, 240.

afterwards Archbishop of Brindisi, and Nuncio, and then Cardinal. A. D. 1508. He lodged with him, at the house of <sup>z</sup> Aldus Manutius; 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 <sup>a</sup>, 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. I 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

<sup>z</sup> Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 229, 292. 141. c. 1608. 253. c. 1666. II. 37, &c. Erasmi. Epist. 671. c. 1228. <sup>a</sup> Knight, p. 101.

A. D. 1509. 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 shewed 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 shewed me his library well stored with authors of different languages. Had I known him sooner, I should never have quitted Rome, where  
I found

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. A. D. 1509.

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.

“<sup>b</sup> At Rome he was received with great applause, and the Pope<sup>c</sup> offered him a place amongst his Penitentiaries, which was reckoned both profitable and honourable, and a step to the highest preferment at that court.”

“<sup>d</sup> He 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<sup>e</sup> dissuade from undertaking a war against the Venetians; and then to<sup>f</sup> exhort 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.”

<sup>g</sup> Montjoy had written him a letter, which is the tenth, and dated 1497: but it should be 1509. In it Montjoy promises him  
great

<sup>b</sup> Knight, p. 102.

<sup>c</sup> B. Rhenani Vit. Erasmi.

<sup>d</sup> Knight, p. 105. See also *Catal. Lucubr.*

<sup>e</sup> He hath touched upon this subject in his *Ecclesiastes*, T. V. c. 898.

<sup>f</sup> Rursum suasi bellum in Venetos.

Posterior oratio vicit, tametsi ego priorem majore studio magisque ex animo tractaveram. Periiit perfidia cujusdam archetypum. *Catal. Lucubr.*

<sup>g</sup> Concerning Montjoy, see Knight, p. 14.

A. D. 1509. 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 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 <sup>h</sup> commendations, which in all probability he justly deserved.

<sup>i</sup> Four Dominicans were burned this year at Bern, for pretended revelations, and apparitions of their own contriving.

A. D.

<sup>h</sup> Unice studiorum meorum Mæcenæ. 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.

<sup>i</sup> Ex Helveticarum rerum scriptoribus petendum est, quid patnaverint Dominicani Bernæ, cum hominem semifatuam ementitis apparitionibus, dein fraudis conscium, in æmulationem Fran-

ciscanorum 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 Dominicani 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.

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 ſhew. 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 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 conſide in his letter to <sup>k</sup> Servatius. 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.

F

The

<sup>k</sup> Appendix.

A. D. 1510. 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 shew you the sincerity of his friendship, he hath given me a living worth about an hundred nobles, which at my request he hath since changed for a pension of an hundred crowns, upon my resignation. Within these few years, he hath given me more than four hundred nobles without my asking: one day he gave me an hundred and fifty. From the liberality of other Bishops, I have received more than an hundred. Lord Montjoy, who was formerly my disciple, gives me a yearly pension of an hundred crowns. The King, and the <sup>1</sup> Bishop of Lincoln, 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 Hammensî* (read *Hammensî*) *justa Caletium*. Ep. 8. c. 1527. It is also prefixed to the first Volume of his works. There is much difference between these two.

<sup>1</sup> Wolfey.



two copies of the same letter; and some things, which are in Greek in the one, are translated into Latin in the other. A. D. 1510.

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 <sup>m</sup> book, called *The praise of Folly*, in which he shews 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 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 <sup>p</sup> Ammonius of Lucca, who was seeking for some employment at the English court, and was at last made Secretary to the King, and died, aged forty years, of the sweating <sup>q</sup> sickness. 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.

## F 2

## Ammonius

<sup>m</sup> Bayle ERASME, Not. R.

<sup>n</sup> 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.

° Knight, p. 107.

<sup>p</sup> Bayle AMMONIUS. Knight, p. 132, 133. Knight's Life of Colet, p. 212—214.

<sup>q</sup> Nuper novum pestilentiae genus im-

misit [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. 199. Ed. Genev.

A. D. 1510.

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.

“<sup>r</sup> 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.”

“<sup>s</sup> 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 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.”

“<sup>t</sup> When Erasmus 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 his 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

<sup>r</sup> Freind's Hist. of Phys. Rooper's  
Life of More, p. 46.

<sup>t</sup> Knight, p. 117. Erasmi Conviv.  
Relig.

<sup>s</sup> Knight, p. 116.

“ In another place he seems to <sup>u</sup> ascribe the great power and A. D. 1510.  
 “ 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 Acrensis*, and Erasmus calls him so in Tom. V. c. 362. Erasmus, as it appears from some passages in his writings, had a better opinion of Becket than he deserved.

“ <sup>v</sup> As Erasmus 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, tho’  
 “ they were more honourable than profitable, yet were of great  
 “ service to the University.”

“ <sup>z</sup> How long 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

<sup>u</sup> Ep. 378. c. 1771.

the city of London. *Knight*, p. 245.

\* Because that Prelate was born in  
 the Parish of St. Thomas de Acres, in

<sup>v</sup> *Knight*, p. 124.

<sup>z</sup> *Knight*, p. 133.

A. D. 1510. “ in that chair. See an account of <sup>a</sup> Croke, 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.”

“ <sup>b</sup> Erasmus, 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 <sup>c</sup> Bishop of Loughlin in Ireland in 1513,  
 and translated to the Bishoprick 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 shews that this worthy man must have been  
 in great straits, since he 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 <sup>d</sup> as poor as himself.

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

<sup>a</sup> See also *Index Epist. Erasmi.*

<sup>b</sup> Knight, p. 139.

<sup>c</sup> Knight, p. 213.

<sup>d</sup> Video vestigia Christianæ pauper-  
 ratis. Quæstum usque adeo non spero,

ut intelligam hic demum effundendum  
 mihi, quicquid a Mæcenatibus queam  
 avellere. — De quæstu nihil video, quid  
 enim auferam a nudis, homo nec impro-  
 bus, et Mercurio irato natus? Ep. 117.

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. A. D. 1511.

Ammonius complains of the <sup>e</sup> plague, 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 fagots to burn heretics. But, says he, they increase upon us; and every <sup>f</sup> illiterate 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 <sup>g</sup> Chrysoloras, and intended to read lectures upon that of <sup>h</sup> Gaza. Ep. 119, 123.

“ <sup>i</sup> He

<sup>e</sup> Pestis modum sævitix ferre 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.

<sup>f</sup> *Angli plerique sunt fanatici; tales multos novi.* Scaligeran. p. 21. This surely was too severe upon our forefathers.

<sup>g</sup> P. Jovius Elog. p. 41. Hodius de Græc. Illustr. p. 12, &c.

<sup>h</sup> Boissard Icon. Baillet II. 223, 603. III. 20, 21, 22. Pope Blount, p. 333. Erasmus, T. V. c. 115.

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.

A. D. 1511.

“<sup>i</sup> He 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 <sup>k</sup> maintain himself there, but must seek some other place to live in, or to die in.

In Ep. 135, he gives a noble character to <sup>l</sup> Fisher, and to <sup>m</sup> Warham. Fisher had a great zeal to promote literature in others, and

<sup>i</sup> Knight, p. 131.

<sup>k</sup> — Sumtus 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.

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

<sup>m</sup> Insigni benignitate me prosequuntur cum alii permulti, tum præcipue Mæcenas 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 Primas est, non solum dignitate, verum et in omni genere laudis. Ep. 135.

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

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 Doëtor, Legationibus aliquot feliciter obeundis incla-ruit, 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 gratiâ, quoties in publicum procedit, Regia corona sceptro Regio imposito gestatur. Nam hic est velut oculus, os, ac dextra Regis, supremusque totius Regni Britannici Judex. 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 sepe quotidie, ad audiendum præterea duo aut tria sacra, ad cognoscendas causas, ad excipiendas legationes, ad consulendum Regi si quid in aula gravius existisset, ad visendas Ecclesias, sicubi natum esset

aliquid, quod moderatorem postularet, ad excipiendos convivas sæpe ducentos; denique lectioni suam dabatur otium. Ad tam varias curas uni sufficiebat 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 perparee. Porro, quum quam minimum ciborum sumeret, tamen comitate vultus ac sermonum festivitate omnè convivium exhilarabat. Vidisses eandem pransi et impransi sobrietatem. A cœnis in totum abstinebat; aut si contigissent familiares amici, quorum de numero nos eramus, accumbere 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 ipse leporibus scatebat mire gratis, sed citra morsum atque ineptiam, ita liberioribus jocis amicorum delectabatur: a scurrilitate

A. D. 1511. Erasmus complains bitterly of some person in England, 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.

“ Warham

tate et obtreccatione 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 an 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 mean-

ness, 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 accumullem donis, et fungar amico  
Munere! Non totus, raptus licet, optime Præsul,  
Eriperis: redit os placidum, moreque benigni,  
Et venit ante oculos, et pectore vivit Imago.*



A. D. 1511.

“<sup>n</sup> Warham was a great Canonist, an able Statesman, a dextrous Courtier, and a favourer of learned men. He always hated Cardinal Wolfey, 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.”

“<sup>o</sup> He 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.”

“<sup>p</sup> Fisher 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,

G 2

“ the

<sup>n</sup> Burnet’s Hist. of the Ref. I. 127.

<sup>o</sup> Burnet III. 80.

<sup>p</sup> Burnet I. 354. See Boissard Icon. p. 115. P: Jovius Elog. p. 168.

A. D. 1511. “ 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 Bishoprick 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.”

<sup>a</sup> Erasmus 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.

<sup>r</sup> He 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.

“ <sup>s</sup> We 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 the most learned men of his time, especially in the Greek and Latin  
“ tongues,

<sup>a</sup> Tom. V. c. 78.

<sup>e</sup> Knight, p. 146.

<sup>r</sup> Lingua, T. IV. c. 732.

“ tongues, as also a public Reader upon Aristotle in the Schools; A. D. 1511,  
 “ and tho’ 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 exhorted the “ physicians 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 profession to secure a man from poverty. He had several good friends

† Knight, p. 109. “ Epist. 295.

\* 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 *Pœticon*, et, ut nunc sunt tempora, *Rhetoricon*. T. V. c. 661.

Of the *Ars Theologica* he saith nothing; and we also will say nothing.

A. D. 1512. 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<sup>y</sup>, which, it seems, no one could or would do for him at Cambridge. Ep. 139.

In<sup>z</sup> a letter 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 at London, at his own expence.

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, intitled *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

<sup>y</sup> Et hic (O Academiam!) nullus inveniri potest, qui ullo pretio vel mediocriter scribat.

<sup>z</sup> 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 Ulyssæ patriæ fumum subsilientem conspicere. Ep. 143.

Erasmus thought it hardly lawful for a Christian to go to war, A. D. 1513. and in this respect was <sup>a</sup> almost a Quaker.

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 an 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 Urfewick, in hopes that he would give him an horse, as he says: but Urfewick was not to be met with at that time. Ammonius <sup>b</sup> very generously and genteelly made him a present of one. Ep. 145, 146.

Urfewick,

<sup>a</sup> Cujus immanitatis conspectu multi homines minime mali eo venerunt, ut Christiano, cujus disciplina in hominibus diligendis præcipue consistit, omnia arma interdicerent: ad quos accedere interdum videntur et Joannes Ferus, et Erasmus nostras, viri pacis et ecclesiasticæ et civilis amantissimi. *Grotius*, Bayle FERUS, Not. E.

<sup>b</sup> — 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 circumspectius 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. Dispercam, Ammoni, ni istum tuum animum tam excelsum, tamque 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, Urfewicum: verum illi sapiunt; quanquam Urfewicus pollicetur insignem equum, nec addubito quin sit præstiturus, idque ad Calendas, non Græcas, sed Octobres.

A. D. 1513. Urfewick, who, it seems, had promised him an horse, was as good ° as his word: and Erasmus bestows no small praises on the beast.

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

“ Christopher Urfewick 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.

“ 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 the  
“ Bishopricks

° 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.

° Knight, p. 75.

° — Titulo res digna sepulcri!

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

Christopherus Urfewicus, Regis Hen. VII. Eleemosynarius, vir sua ætate clarus, ad exteros reges undecies pro patria legatus. Dec. Ebor. Archd. Richmond. Decanatum Windefor. habitos vivens reliquit. Episc. Norwicensis oblatum

recusavit: magnos honores tota vita sprevit: 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 Bishopricks, and to reject it, is no common thing. But that our Urfewick 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 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

“ Bishoprick of Norwich, after so many merits, he 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 an 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, 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 <sup>e</sup> was, it seems, one College at Cambridge, which would not suffer this book to enter within its walls, as he observes to his friend Bullock. Erasmus defends himself very well against these wretches; and, amongst other things, observes, <sup>h</sup> how much the University of Cambridge was improved in literature.

H

He

I never fought after great things. The only favour I have to beg, is, that you would give me out of your Vatican Library a Greek and an Hebrew Bible. You shall have them, said Sixtus: but what a simple man are you! Why do you not ask a Bishoprick? Wessel replied, Because I do not want one. *Vit. Profess. Groning.* p. 18. *Spizelius*, Vol. I. p. 824. Bayle WESSELÛS.

*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 Bishoprick.

‡ It was not published till the year 1516.

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.

<sup>g</sup> Quanquam narrarunt mihi quidam, πένυ ἀξιόπιστοι, unum apud vos esse collegium θεολογικώτατον, quod meros habet Areopagitas: qui gravi senatusconsulto caverint, ne quis id volumen, equis, aut navibus, aut plaustris, aut bajulis, intra ejus Collegii pomeria inveheret. *Ep.* 148.

<sup>h</sup> Ante annos ferme triginta nihil tradebatur in Schola Cantabrigiensi, præter Alexandrum, Parva Logicalia, ut vocant,

et

A. D. 1513. He tells Colet, Ep. 149, 150, that he had begun to translate 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 <sup>k</sup> 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. <sup>l</sup> Socrates, 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, shewed their liberality too late. <sup>m</sup> Another 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

et vetera illa Aristotelis dictata, Scoticasque quaestiones. Progressu temporis accesserunt bonae literae: accessit mathematicos cognitio: accessit novus, aut certe novatus Aristoteles: accessit Graecarum literarum peritia: accesserunt auctores tam multi, quorum olim ne nomina quidem tenebantur. — Quæso, quid hinc ex rebus accidit Academiae vestrae? Nempe sic effloruit, ut cum primis hujus seculi scholis certare possit; et tales habet viros, ad quos veteres illi

collati Umbrae Theologorum videantur, non Theologi.

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

<sup>l</sup> Knight, p. 124.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. 4. c. 1523.

<sup>l</sup> Seneca De Benef. VII. 24.

<sup>m</sup> Arcefilas. In Diog. Laert. IV. 37. Seneca De Benef. II. 1.



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 scandalous 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 pressingly 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

A. D. 1513. 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<sup>n</sup> confesses 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 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 teized 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

<sup>n</sup> Linguæ inter amicos liberioris, sæpe falsus, non poterat tamen amicis nonnunquam plus quam sat esse; et diffidere.

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 harrassed 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 an 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.

° Wolfey gave him a <sup>p</sup> Prebend 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 <sup>a</sup> received any thing from Wolfey, 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

° Burnet Hist. of the Ref. I. 8, 11, 19, 21, 80. III. 24, 171. Thuanus I. p. 22. Fiddes's Life of Wolfey. It should have been called, An apology for Wolfey, and a libel on the Reformation.

<sup>p</sup> Eboracensis donavit me, Præbenda Tornacensi, sed ἀδελφῶν ἀδελφῶν, si quid noventur res. Hujus Commissarius, schedis publicitus affixis, fuit excom-

municatus in Flandria: tanta illic Eboracensis reverentia!—Accepimus tamen: nihil enim facilius quam amittere. Ep. 3. c. 1523.

<sup>a</sup> Cardinali Eboracensi, cui dedicavi-  
mus libellum Plutarchi, puto me nihil non debere, ob singularem favorem, quo me jam olim profecquitur; et tamen hactenus ex illius munificentia non sum pilo factus ditior. *Catal. Lucubr.*

A. D. 1513. “ great restorer of it, and to Polydore Virgil; though neither of  
 “ these made their court dextrously 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 have made <sup>s</sup> Remarks upon the History of Cardinal  
 “ Wolfey, in which I have exposed the horrible lies of Sanders.  
 “ Burnet is a madman of another kind, of whom the Reader  
 “ should be aware. Henry Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, hath  
 “ shewed much accuracy, and love of truth.”

“ ‘ Maffey, 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. Maffey knew  
 “ him well.”

The learned Abbé Longuerue, 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 Wolfey’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 Wolfey 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 next Volume, and which contains many remarks worthy of notice.

One of the most favourable things, that can be alledged for Wolfey, is contained in an article of his impeachment, namely, that he was <sup>u</sup> remiss in hunting and punishing heretics, and  
 rather

<sup>r</sup> Longueruana II. p. 23.

<sup>t</sup> Ib. p. 67. See also p. 136.

<sup>s</sup> They are in the eighth Tome of the  
*Mémoires de Littérature & d’Histoire.*

<sup>u</sup> Fiddes *Collect.* p. 235.

rather disposed to screen them, by means of which connivance A. D. 1513. Lutheranism had got ground.

“ \* Wolfey 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 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 disliked: 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 shewed 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 smoke him with as much incense, as would satisfy y three, or thrice three Goddeffes.

“ † Erasmus

\* More’s Life of Sir T. More, p. 56.

† — — — — — fedesque revisit

Læta suas, ubi templum illi, centunque Sabæo

Ture calent aræ, fertisque recentibus halant,

A. D. 1513.

“<sup>z</sup> Erasmus being in straits, the Archbishop had<sup>a</sup> given 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

<sup>z</sup> Knight, p. 154.

<sup>a</sup> 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 opera, tum *ἰστορίαι*, crebra migratio, atque etiam hic animus, ne quid aliud dicam, abhorrens a fordibus, nec ferens appellentem creditorem, aut non pensatum officium, aut neglectam amicum 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 Præfules 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 præsentis pecuniæ, sed æris alieni non nihil, tametsi non deerat unde id dissolvi posset. Hæc nequam loquor ad gratiam: a navi vivum,

nec minus amo mortuum: quod enim in illo amabam, non perit. Si suppetem, 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, imò non dedit, sed obrufit constanter recusanti, quod esset ejus generis, ut græx 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.

“ so much difapproved the practice, that he determined never to  
 “ grant the favour to any other besides Erasmus, whom he  
 “ excepted for his singular merits.” A. D. 1513.

“ <sup>b</sup> It may be thought worth observing, that Elizabeth Barton,  
 “ otherwife 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  
 “ fucceffor to Erasmus, and paid him his pension, was one  
 “ of the managers of this pious fraud; for which he, amongst  
 “ others, fuffered death, about a year or two before Erasmus  
 “ died at Bafil. Perhaps there never was fo notorious a cheat  
 “ carried on with fo much art and fuccefs: for not only the  
 “ Simple, but, as Holinfhed fays, the Wife and the Learned  
 “ were deceived by her; infomuch that Warham, and Fisher,  
 “ and More, the greateft and beft friends of Erasmus, gave too  
 “ much credit to it.”

This year Erasmus dedicated to John Young a tranflation of  
 Plutarch *De tuenda valetudine*.

“ <sup>c</sup> Young was Dean of York, and Master of the Rolls. He  
 “ had been employed as a public minifter in feveral embaffies to  
 “ foreign courts with good fuccefs; though, it feems, he was no  
 “ favourite of Cardinal Wolfey, 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  
 “ generofity to Erasmus, in the cafe 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 verfes in praife of him, which you may fee in Knight, p. 175.

I

He

<sup>b</sup> Knight, p. 159.

<sup>c</sup> Knight, p. 174. Knight's Life  
 of Colet, 216—218.

A. D. 1513. 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 <sup>d</sup> 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.

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,

<sup>d</sup> Refert Drefferus respondisse illum; mei Jesu Christi unice mihi profunt,  
Nolo vestra merita et opera, quæ nullius *Seckendorf. L. I. p. 114.*  
sunt valoris: opera Domini et Salvatoris.



life, and also a letter to Father Servatius, which is prefixed to the first Tome of his works, and printed over again Ep. 8. c. 1527. A. D. 1514.

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 shew, for every one to stare at. I left the place when I was a youth; I should return an aged and grey-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 advantage 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.

I 2

This

A. D. 1514. 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 shewed 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 <sup>f</sup> defiled with them : and as to drunkenness, I ever abhorred it.

The ingenuity 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 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

<sup>f</sup> Bayle was not a man to overlook Not. E. E.  
or suppress this confession. See ERASME,

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 favours 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 an hat instead of an 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

A. D. 1514.

A. D. 1514. 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,

“ who, fearing to be discovered, made haste to get down from  
 “ the tree, and returned back, limping all the way. The Super-  
 “ rior 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  
 “ Frier, 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 an heavy penance upon him,  
 “ notwithstanding his protestations.

A. D. 1514.

“ 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. *Tantum*  
 “ *vim habet lepos, et jucunditas sermonis, sicut etiam in nos.*  
 “ *apte tortis diſterius delectemur.*” Bibl. Univ. VII. 139.

Erasmus, in his *Ecclesiastes*, hath represented in strong terms  
 the insolence of these petty <sup>5</sup> Monarchs.

Afterwards he went to Basil, where he carried his New Testa-  
 ment, his Epistles of St. Jerom with his notes, and some other  
 works, to print them in that city. He had applied himself to  
 this

‡ Nunc quidam ita prædicant huma-  
 nam obedientiam, ut summam illam,  
 quam omnes Deo debemus, obſcurent.  
 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 clo-  
 quentium, aut aliud his etiam ineptius,  
 quod intelligi malim quam exprimere.  
 Si Monachus Baccho servit, si ventri in-  
 dulget, si scortatur, si odio et invidia  
 madet, si nihil attigit sacrarum literarum,  
 nec perjurus est, nec inobediens. Si  
 negligit imperata non sobrii ac supercili-  
 oſi Præpositi, horrendum facinus admis-  
 sum est, violata sancta obedientia, sce-  
 lus carceribus et capite plectendum.  
 T. V, c. 1023.

A. D. 1514. 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<sup>h</sup> Amerbachius, a man of wealth, and<sup>i</sup> Joannes Frobenius, 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 a critic. Amerbachius had three sons, <sup>k</sup> Bruno, Basil, and<sup>l</sup> Bonifacius, 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 an horse, whom he could have sold instantly for fifty franks, that is, more than an hundred and fifty franks of our present money. Ep. 153, 364.

Here he received a most obliging letter from<sup>m</sup> Ulricus Zasius, Professor of Law at Friburg, who proved afterwards one of his best

<sup>h</sup> Baillet Jug. des Sc. I. 380. Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 140. Index Epist. Erasmi.

<sup>i</sup> Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 221. *Ultima centuriæ decimæ quartæ decade ineunte, laudem meruit Frobenius, &c.*

He should have said *decimæ quintæ*.

Ann. Typ. I. 257. II. 2, &c. 10, &c. &c.

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

<sup>k</sup> Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 124.

<sup>l</sup> Boissard Icon. 169.

<sup>m</sup> Boissard Icon. p. 217. Pope Blount, p. 419.

Zasius Professor primarius Jurisprudentiæ in Academia Friburgensi fuit, vir celeberrimus,

best friends. Zasius was advanced in years, when he began his friendship with Erasmus, and complains of the infirmities of age. A. D. 1514.  
Ep. 25. c. 1540.

At this time Erasmus contracted also an acquaintance with <sup>a</sup> Beatus Rhenanus, Nicolas Gerbelius, and <sup>o</sup> Joannes Oecolampadius, learned and ingenious <sup>p</sup> men.

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 <sup>a</sup> Prince had nominated Erasmus to a vacant Bishoprick in Sicily, thinking it a part of his own patronage;

K

and

celeberrimus, quem Erasmus Germanorum doctissimum, sanctissimum, candidissimum vocat, et vix ullum alium majoribus prosequitur laudibus. Favebat is Luthero, ut ex epistola inter Schwelbianas 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 communit, ut omnes ejus libri, doctissimi licet et excellentissimi, Romæ in Indicem librorum prohibitorum relati fuerint, donec corrigantur. Seckendorf. L. I. p. 88.

<sup>a</sup> Boissard Icon. p. 249. Beza Icon. Baillet II. 290. Du Pin B. E. XIV. 176. Gallæi Imagines. Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 291. II. 12.

A. 1547, Beatus Rhenanus Selesta-diensis, 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 consenuerit, summus Def. Erasmi observator, qui eandem viam in his turbis inffitit. *Thuanus* L. III. p. 99.

<sup>o</sup> Verheiden Theol. Effig. p. 56. Beza Icon. Pope Blount, p. 383. Du Pin B. E. XIII. 102. Melch. Adam. Vit. Oecol. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 3. Bayle OECOLAMPADE. It is a meagre Article.

<sup>p</sup> P. Jovius, in his *Elogia*, hath made mention, with much respect, of Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Bilibaldus, Copus, Beatus Rhenanus, Camerarius, Zasius, and Goclenius, p. 221.

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

<sup>a</sup> 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.

A. D. 1514. 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 Bishoprick. 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, or Capnio, as he was called, gave † Erasmus an account, how he was persecuted by the Divines and Monks of Cogn. 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. 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 had the courage to write his † Apotheosis, and to make him *Saint Reuchlin*. He was born 1450, and died 1522. \* Bullinger was one

† 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 and III. Seckendorf. L. I. p. 103, &c. Perizonius, p. 97. P. Jovius Elog. p. 217. Burckhard Comment. de Vit. Hutten. p. 149. Hodius De

Græc. Illustr. p. 200.

† Ep. 5. c. 1524.

† Ejus ἀποθέωσις Erasmus postea, magnopere propterea Sophistis invisus, elegantissime descripsit. Beza.

† Appendix.

\* Bayle BULLINGER, Not. A.



one of those, who signalized themselves in the defence of Reuchlin: A. D. 1514. 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 <sup>γ</sup> apologizes 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, <sup>z</sup> 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 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 <sup>a</sup> fatigue 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.

<sup>b</sup> He had some hand in an edition of Seneca the Tragedian.

K 2

A. D.

<sup>γ</sup> Reverende Pater, sensi, sensi, sed fero 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 puerit facti. Ep. 16. c. 1534.

<sup>z</sup> Utinam magnus ille Jupiter univ-  
sum hoc hominum genus recudat ac re-

tingat, qui cum nihil adferant, quo vel meliores reddamur, vel eruditiores, tamen omnibus faceffunt negotium. Ep. 160.

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

<sup>b</sup> Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 260.

A. D. MDXV.

Ætat. XLVIII.

A. D. 1515. 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 splendor 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 ancient 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 followed most of the directions, which he gave, in banter, to his friend Ammonius, 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

him to make his fortune at Rome : and afterwards, when Adrian VI, A. D. 1515. 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 Adages, 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<sup>c</sup> 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 shews how proper it was to prefix his name to 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

<sup>c</sup> Julius II, sacrorum nundinatione, et nefandis moribus infamis, bella ex bellis ferebat. *Perizonius*, p. 40. See Bayle JULES 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 abhorrere. *De Rerum Cop.* T. I. c. 86.

A. D. 1515. 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.

“<sup>d</sup> And yet, after all, Erasmus hath<sup>e</sup> declared, 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, Arch-  
 “ bishop of Spalato, long since his time, was.”

Erasmus had made an 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, ὕστερον 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<sup>f</sup> exact, *errors excepted*; which however are of small moment.

I never

<sup>d</sup> Knight, p. 183.

<sup>e</sup> That is to say, after the year 1519.

<sup>f</sup> 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.

I never could admire that quality in Bayle, which Le Clerc A. D. 1515. calls, well enough, *un exactitude etonnante sur des choses de neant*. 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 Apoſtolic 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.

A. D. 1515. 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 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 quitted 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

A. D. 1515.

This year Erasmus was at Basil; and this year<sup>s</sup> Martin Dorpius, 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 examined. 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<sup>h</sup>; but he lived with him upon good terms, and outlived him, and greatly lamented his death.

L

Whatsoever

<sup>s</sup> Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 592.  
Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 25.

<sup>h</sup> Erasmus says of him, in the year  
1517, Dorpius (nobis) ex animo favet,  
ſed

A. D. 1515. 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 shews 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.

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

Erasmus<sup>1</sup> 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.

“<sup>k</sup> Watson was fellow of Peter-house College, and afterwards  
 “ Rector of Elfeworth 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

fed 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; contemtius habiti, frangantur, et fiant abjectissimi. Ep. 221. c. 1649.

<sup>1</sup> Tanta est apud Britannos laboris fuga, tantus amor otii, ut ne tum quidem excitentur, quum spes dolosi affulserit nummi. Ep. 172.

<sup>k</sup> Knight, p. 145.



“ Erasmus had a most favourable opinion of his judgment and A. D. 1515.  
“ learning.”

Wolsey, who had given Erasmus the above-mentioned Prebend, thought proper, like a true courtier, to revoke his promise, and to confer it upon another. <sup>m</sup> Joannes de Molendino, 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.

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 <sup>n</sup> wished that he had been a disciple to Erasmus, or to Rodolphus Agricola. He promises to <sup>o</sup> assist 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

L 2.

sufferings

<sup>l</sup> P. 53.

<sup>m</sup> 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 Montjouis, tametsi ejusmodi pollicitationibus *dives quilibet esse potest*. Non potest dici quam

mihī, aliisque compluribus etiam Canonicis gratum fuisset, si te huc tandem post varios et improbos labores Bona Dea retulisset; sed non vidi justum derelictum.

Ep. 37. c. 1545.

<sup>n</sup> Utinam aliquot menses licuisset habuisse te præceptorem. Ep. 428. c. 1812.

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

<sup>o</sup> Ep. 430. c. 1813.

A. D. 1515. 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 <sup>p</sup> 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.

<sup>q</sup> Another letter of his to the same friend is very singular. Erasmus 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 sluttishness within doors. The floors, says he, are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient 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 wanting to make London more airy, clean, and healthful; especially with relation to the Prisons.

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

“<sup>r</sup> Gonel, who was of Cambridge, was domestic tutor to Sir T. More’s children, recommended probably by Erasmus, and then by More to Cardinal Wolfey. 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

<sup>p</sup> Gruter did the same. Bayle GRUTERUS, Not. I.

<sup>q</sup> Ep. 432. c. 1815;

<sup>r</sup> Appendix.

<sup>s</sup> Knight, p. 177.

Ammonius mentions one † Petrus Carmilianus, who was a maker of Latin verses. Both Ammonius and Erasmus speak of him with the utmost contempt. Ep. 186. A. D. 1515.

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

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

<sup>z</sup> Erasmus 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 <sup>a</sup> Bishop of Winchester also informed him of this favour. Neither Erasmus, nor they who write to him, have spoken clearly about it. Ep. 191, 193, 194.

<sup>b</sup> Gulielmus Budæus, 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

† Bayle CARMILIANUS;

<sup>u</sup> Ep. 22. c. 1538.

<sup>x</sup> 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. Univerf. XXIII. 491.

<sup>y</sup> Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. p. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. p. 265.

<sup>a</sup> Silvester Giglis, an Italian, who then resided at Rome, as Embassador from Henry VIII. Knight, p. 228.

<sup>b</sup> 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.

A. D. 1516. 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. 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.

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, tho' 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 *Ματαιόλογοι*, 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 Adages. 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 with his Latin, to shew his skill

<sup>c</sup> They call them *Francicos* and *Florenos*.

<sup>d</sup> *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 lingue facultatem exercentibus veniam mereatur:

In that language, The letters of these two great men, though full of compliments and civilities, are also full of little bickerings and contests, which shew, 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. Ep. 200. A. D. 1516.

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 mens 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 mereatur: in viris, mea sententia, parum decora fuerit hæc ostentatio, &c. *Hucius* De Clar. Interpr. p. 209.

Andreas Budæus Joannes censured Defuit quidem tanto viro perspicuus Il. Casaubon for the same sort of pedantry. *Crenius* De Singul. Scriptor. p. 74.

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

— Vir ad seculi sui gloriam natus, laudibus literariis abundans, magnaque cum propter singularem rerum omnium scientiam hominum admiratione affectus, tum ob id potissimum, quod Græcas literas sua ætate intermortuas exfulcitarit: at cum pari felicitate Latinas arripuisset, si quando Græca Latine exposuit, quid in utrisque posset voluit ostendere, et res illustrare splendore ver-

borum; cumque disertis interpretis quæreret laudem, evasit paraphrastes.

— 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 Assè] sibi falso vendicarent: admove[n]te calumniæ fauces Erasmo, qui cum occulte Budæo principem in literis locum invideret, hominis existimationem, quam non audebat aperte invadere, cuniculis oppugnare non desinebat. *Sammarthanus.*

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

A. D. 1516 He speaks with much affection of Gulielmus Copus, and also of Jacobus Faber Stapulienſis, (Jacques Le Fevre D' Etaples) with whom after wards he had a ſmall conteſt, which did not continue long.

“<sup>g</sup> Budæus in his writings ſeemed to be no friend to the Reformers. It is ſaid of him, that he would not have his picture<sup>h</sup> drawn; and it gave occaſion to theſe verſes:

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

“ Budæus<sup>i</sup> ſometimes criticifed Eraſmus, without naming him; and never would mention him in any of his works; which was very perverſe and crofs, 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<sup>k</sup> celebrated Budæus 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<sup>l</sup> nothing.”

Baillet

<sup>g</sup> Bayle.

<sup>h</sup> I have obſerved, that the prints, which we have of Budæus, do not reſemble one another.

<sup>i</sup> Id parum amicæ voluntatis argumentum crediderunt, quod a Budæo in tot numero libris mentio nuſquam facta fit Eraſmi, quamquam ut fieret multis precibus ab Eraſmo ambiretur. Præterea putant id quoque ad iſta quæ dixi accedere, quod Budæus diſſimulanter Eraſmum in ſuis libris nonnunquam perſtringere videtur, velut in Commen-

tariis, 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 ſerant. *Regius.*

<sup>k</sup> Menagian. II. 343. See alſo *Anti-Baillet* II. 49.

<sup>l</sup> Ἀγαπὸς εἰς πεινὴν ἐς τὴν ἐτοιμοτάτην.

Yet I could name ſome Friends, who, though ſkilful in the Greek tongue, have not found their learning an impediment

Baillet hath given a large and accurate account of Budæus, A. D. 1516. of his erudition, style, and works.

In an Epistle to Budæus, Erasmus pays him the compliment of setting him even above <sup>n</sup> Hermolaus Barbarus and <sup>o</sup> Angelus Politianus, whom he accounted the two greatest <sup>p</sup> Geniuses of Italy.

to their promotion, and cannot be numbered with those, of whom Menage speaks so disconsolately.

<sup>n</sup> 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, Turhebi, optima. Scaligeran. p. 289.

<sup>o</sup> Anti-Baillet I. 52. Amœnitates Literariæ Tom. I. p. 52. Colomescius 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. Huetiana, p. 18. Aldus Manutius ap. Maittaire I. 249.

<sup>p</sup> Hermolaus Barbarus, Politianus, Picus Mirandula, Leonicens, Gaza, lumina et flores Italiæ succrunt. Scaligeran. p. 190.

Inter eos omnes, qui bonas literas fuscitarunt in Italia, invideo tantum tribus his: Theodoro Gazæ, magno certe viro et docto — Angelo Politiano, excellenti poetæ, ut in omnibus aliis præterquam in Epistolis, quarum stylum 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.

*Politien.* Plusculæ observationes. Negat sibi fuisse copiam vitæ Politiani a Menckenio scriptæ, in qua speraret se inventurum apologiam viri de crimine atheismi. Non fallitur. Verfatur 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 prosa 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 vèlificatur. 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 postulanus. Multa ad hæc viro magno humanitus excidisse si dixerò, id focer meus (*H. Stephanus, nam Casan-*  
M *bonus*

A. D. 1516. Italy. Erasmus was a warm admirer of Politian, hath often extolled him, 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, used to say, when he spake of Politian, *Malleim esse Politianus quam Angelus.* Ep. 200.

In another Epistle to Budæus, he gives a great character of Rodolphus Agricola, whom he hath often commended.

## Stephanus

*bonus 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 Corafius, 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, *Sepe quadragesimali tempore publice pulpulo 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.

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

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

“Baillet II. 226. — Bayle AGRICOLA. P. Jovius Elog. p. 61. Scaligeran. p. 11, 15. Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 704. Miræ 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.

“Rodolphus Agricola, unicum Germaniæ nostræ lumen et ornamentum, annum egressus quadragesimum, Hebræas literas discere nec erubuit, vir in re literaria tantus, nec desperavit homo natus tam grandis; nam Græcas adolescens imbiberat. Ipse jam quinquagesimum tertium ingressus annum, ad Hebræicas literas olim utcumque degustatas, cum licet, recurro. *Rat. Veræ Theol.* T. V. c. 79.



A. D. 1516.

Stephanus Poncherius, (Etienne de Ponchery) Bishop of Paris, Embassador of Francis I at Brussels, propos'd to Erasmus the offers which the King had made him. Erasmus excus'd himself; alledging, that the Catholic King detain'd 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 promis'd.

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, \* Greek 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 † Beraldus, (Berauld) who wrote to him from Paris. Ep. 201, &c.

Erasmus return'd answers to them, and to Budæus and Copus; and says, that he could accept of nothing in France, till he had consult'd 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, 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 gain'd ground in all places. After having derided the ignorance of those Divines, who oppos'd the progress of literature, and who had only the lowest

M. 2

\* Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 276, 311, † chalcographorum typis excusum fit. 327. More Ep. ad Dorp.

\* — Cùm Novum Testamentum, in † Bayle BERAULD. in quod (Erasm.) desudat labor, nun- † Beza Icon. Seckendorf. Supplem. quam hæcenus, quod sciam, Græce † XVI, † Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 15.

A. D. 1516. 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 <sup>a</sup> works 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, though 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 of the little care, which past ages had bestowed, in preserving the works of the ancient Christians. After which he says, I despise not the simple and well-meaning piety of the Vulgar, but I am really surpris'd 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

<sup>a</sup> The works of Jerom were published by Erasmus, and printed in six volumes, at Basil, from A. 1516 to A. 1526; afterwards at Basil, A. 1553; and then by the Episcopi, A. 1565.

A. D. 1516.

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 subtilties, 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 ancient authors disregarded, or, which is very probable, they gave an 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 <sup>b</sup> exaggerations, 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 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.

<sup>c</sup> Germanus Brixius, a wealthy and a learned Frenchman, wrote a polite letter to Erasmus, telling him how much Steph. Poncherius.

<sup>b</sup> See Le Clerc's *Quæstiones Hieronymianæ*. Chrysoftom; and Erasmus commends both him and his translation, T. VIII.

<sup>c</sup> Brixius translated some treatises of c. 3.

A. D. 1516. 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 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 it ought to be acknowledged of Francis, that he deserved 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

<sup>d</sup> Rex Galliae toties ad honestissimas condiciones invitat, literis etiam propria manu descriptis; id quod negant eum ter a corona suscepta fecisse.

<sup>e</sup> Francisci regis interitus valde incommode accidit viris literatis atque studiosis: nam artes omnes liberales nemo vehementius amavit, aut liberalius est profecutus. Multa jam consuetudine variam sibi cognitionem comparaverat; nam prandens atque cenans 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 subijt Petrus Castellanus. Ab iis, quicquid est in poetarum, historicorum, cosmographorum libris hauferat: 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 differere possent, ad majorem diligentiam exacuit. In sua lingua semper habitus est imprimis eloquens atque gravis. Per Italiam atque Græciam habebat, qui veterum auctorum scripta conquirent atque describerent: et bibliothecam instituit amplissimam, quæ libros aliquot insignes postea dedit, cujus erat custos Castellanus. *Sleidan. L. XIX. 529.*

Veritas

A. D. 1516.

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, (Canosse) 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 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.

Veritas quoque non patitur, ut reticentiam egregiam voluntatem atque operam inferioribus temporibus in hac repositam a Francisco primo, Gallorum rege, qui ut erat omnibus in rebus magno animo ac verè regio præditus, proclivisque in humanum genus juvandum, rectaque studia summa ope augenda, curavit, ut quicquid antiquorum ingenii monumentorum 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 videantur 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 fovet, qui digna literis gerunt, Lutetiæ instauraturus Academiam, magnis illuc præmiis advocaverat ex Italia Germanique præcellenti doctrina viros. Commodum id Luthero visum, missique propterea ex asseclis Bucerus, aliique nonnulli audacioris ingenii, qui, per occasionem differendi in eo sapientium cœtu, novi Evangelii periculum facerent. Nec desuere, qui novitate caperentur. *Strada*, Bell. Belg. See *Crenius De Philol. Literar.* p. 14.

A. D. 1516. Erasmus hath given <sup>f</sup> 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 Ingoldstadt, 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, <sup>g</sup> 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 <sup>h</sup>, and complained that learning had <sup>i</sup> few patrons and encouragers amongst the Great. He had not been well, and these melancholy reflections had increased his malady.

<sup>k</sup> Bullock

<sup>f</sup> Appendix.

<sup>g</sup> 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 propendat. Ep. 52. c. 1553.

<sup>h</sup> 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 sci-

rent 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. xxxviii. c. 4. p. 773.*

<sup>i</sup> Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?

Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit

Nos nequiores, mox daturos

Progeniem vitiosorem.

A. D. 1516.

“ \* Bullock 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 Wolfey, 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, Watfon,  
 “ and Ridley: they were allowed out of the University Chest  
 “ 53 s. 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 Wolfey 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 Eras-  
 “ mus (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  
 Embassador; it doth not suit a married man thus to leave his  
 family: it is much fitter for you Ecclesiastics<sup>1</sup>, who have no  
 wives and children at home, or who find them wheresoever  
 you go.

N

Erasmus

\* Knight, p. 142. aut domi non habetis, aut ubique repe-  
<sup>1</sup> — qui primum uxores ac liberos ritis; &c. Ep. 227.

A. D. 1516. Erasmus observes, that literature began to make a great and happy progress. <sup>m</sup> But, 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 Virtuofos 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 Adages, c. 389.

In the same letter he says, that he was entered into his <sup>n</sup> fifty-first year.

This year <sup>o</sup> Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus 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.

<sup>p</sup> More informs Erasmus, that the <sup>q</sup> *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* met with a general approbation, even from the Blockheads who were

<sup>m</sup> — 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 insensius inveniri potest doctrinæ Christi. — Nuper exierunt in vulgus aliquot libelli merum Judaismum respicientes. Ep. 207.

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

See Bayle ERASME, Not. A.

<sup>o</sup> Baillet III. 38. Burckhard Comment. de Vit. Hutteni, p. 145, 189. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 225.

<sup>p</sup> *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.

<sup>q</sup> They were condemned to the flames by the order of Pope Leo:

Obscurorum



were derided in them, and who had not the sense to feel it. A. D. 1516. Erasmus hath made the same <sup>r</sup> observation. This book was fathered upon Reuchlin, Erasmus, and others; but it was <sup>s</sup> probably the work of Hutten, in part at least. One <sup>t</sup> Pepericornus, or Pfeffercorn, a pretended profelyte 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.

<sup>u</sup> Erasmus allows it to be a witty performance, but condemns it, and along with it all anonymous and defamatory libels, the  
 N 2 exploits

Obscurorum Virorum Epistolæ, ad exagitantam Monachorum stribliginem concinnatæ, Leonis X decreto, quod magno auri pondere ab ipso Colonienfes Theologistæ impetraverunt, Vulcano olim sacratæ fuerunt. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, Tom. IX. p. 660.

<sup>r</sup> Ubi primum existent *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, miro Monachorum applausu exceptæ sunt apud Britannos a Franciscanis ac Dominicanis, qui sibi persuadebant, eas in Reuchlini contumeliam, et Monachorum favorem, ferio 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, coëmit acervum eorum libellorum, ut dono mitteret Ordinis Proceribus, nihil dubitans quin in Ordinis

honorem fuissent scriptæ. Quis fungus possit esse stupidior? Ep. 979.

<sup>s</sup> See Bayle HOCHSTRAT, and Burckhard Comment. de Vit. Hutten. p. 165, &c.

<sup>t</sup> Burckhard Comment. de Vit. Hutten. p. 175.

<sup>u</sup> 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 corrumpissent. Ne id quidem satis visum, en alter libellus priori adsimilis, in quibus crebra mentio fit eorum, quibus scio lusus hujusmodi nequaquam probari. Quam male consulunt isti, non solum in seipfos, verum etiam in omnes, quibus bonæ literæ charæ sunt! Jam illud est omnium molestissimum mihi, si modo verum

A. D. 1516. 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* 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 <sup>7</sup> libels, which appeared at that time; and therefore

verum est, quod mihi istinc reversus famulus meus Jacobus narravit, apud complures haberi Coloniae libellum nescio quem, in Julium Pontificem, quomodo mortuus exclusus sit caelo 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. Caeterum admiror esse qui suspicentur tam insignem ineptiam a me profectam, 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 laedendi famam alienam: quod ea res cuius sit in promptu, &c. Non probo, neque quicquam vir vere pius probat, istas tam virulentas insectationes, quae a spiritu

mundi, non Christi, profiscuntur. Ep. 168. c. 1626.

Pessime consuluit rebus humanis, qui titulum indidit *Obscurorum Virorum*: quod ni titulus prodidisset lusum, et hodie passim legerentur illae Epistolae, tanquam in gratiam Praedicatorum scriptae. Adest hic Lovanii Magister noster, pridem Prior apud Bruxellas, qui viginti libellos coemerat, gratificaturus amicis, paulo antequam Bulla ea prodiret, quae 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.

\* T. X. c. 1640.

<sup>7</sup> *Julus II.* Memoratur *Dialogus viri cujusdam eruditissimi festivus—quo Julius — caeli fores, &c.* et cum is etiam in

Tomis

fore he declares, that he never wrote any <sup>z</sup> books, to which he did not put his name. But, after all, 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.

“<sup>a</sup> Simler, 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.”

<sup>b</sup> Ortuinus Gratius, who had been taught by Hegius, the Schoolmaster of Erasmus, at Davenport, 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.

<sup>c</sup> Luther wrote a letter this year to Spalatinus, in which he shews himself a zealous Augustinian and Anti-pelagian in the points of original sin, grace, justification by faith, and not by moral

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 N<sup>o</sup> 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.

<sup>a</sup> Nullum adhuc opus conscripsi, neque conscripturus sum, cui non præsigam nomen meum. Ep. 317.

<sup>a</sup> Bayle ERASME, Not. Z.

<sup>b</sup> Val. Andreæ Eibl. Belg. p. 638.

<sup>c</sup> Seckendorf L. I. p. 22.

A. D. 1516. 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 <sup>d</sup> Paulus Æmilius, and of his History of France. Ep. 203.

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

<sup>f</sup> The translation of some pieces of Plutarch was published by Froben, and other smaller treatises of Erasmus.

<sup>g</sup> This year also were printed, at Louvain, Epistles of Erasmus and his correspondents, and his translation of Gaza's Greek Grammar.

A. D. MDXVII.

Ætat. L.

This year <sup>h</sup> Warham wrote a polite letter to Erasmus, and thanked him in the most obliging manner for having conferred immortality

<sup>d</sup> Bayle EMILE.

<sup>e</sup> Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 127. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 109.

<sup>f</sup> Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 284, 292.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. p. 291, 294, 307, 318.

<sup>h</sup> Quum non illaudati nominis æternitatem per te sim consecutus, qua 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 ingratiſſimum, nisi tui sit habiturus rationem fidelissimam et constantissimam, licet meritis inæqualem et inferioriorem. Quod autem sexaginta nobiles non sunt hæctenus ad te per commutationem perlati, mensarius in culpa est, &c. Editionem tuam in Novum Testamentum aliquot fratribus meis Episcopis et Theologiæ Doctõribus communicavi, qui maxime operæ pretium in ea re te fecisse uno ore profitentur; quorum iudicio adhærens, et omnia summa judicans, quæ

immortality upon him. The Monks had a very different opinion from Warham, about the labours which Erasmus bestowed upon Jerom. A. D. 1517.

The Bishop of Liege, to whom Erasmus had sent his Exposition of the first Psalm, printed in 1515, invited him to 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 <sup>k</sup> closes his letter very prettily.

He received a letter from Oecolampadius 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

quæ a tuo divino ingenio multiplicique doctrina profiscuntur, 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 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 quam-

primum te videamus. Ep. 261, & 65. c. 1559.

<sup>i</sup> Non ita pridem in Bibliotheca publica Ulmenfi vidi editionem Hieronymi Frobenianam, ita male a Monachis habitam, ut haud exigua pars annotationum Erasmi a crudelibus eorum manibus puncta et prorsus oblitterata sit. *Amœnit. Literariæ*, T. II. p. 432.

<sup>k</sup> 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 corrumpit humanitas, quæ hanc docuit impudentiam: quam aut totam ignoscas oportet, aut bonam certe partem tibi ipsi imputes. Ep. 235.

A. D. 1517. at this time, for he was collating the Vulgate with the Hebrew, and of his connections with Melanchthon.

About this time <sup>1</sup> Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, 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 <sup>m</sup> 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 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 Erasmus 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

<sup>1</sup> Verheiden Præf. 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.

<sup>m</sup> Tom. IX. c. 17.

continued to speak of each other with great respect and esteem: A. D. 1517. 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.

<sup>n</sup> Faber, though he lived in communion with the Church of Rome, was ever suspected of Protestantism, and assuredly was very little of a Papist.

“<sup>o</sup> Faber was expelled from the Faculty of Theology at Paris. He printed a Pfalter 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.”

## O

“<sup>p</sup> It

<sup>n</sup> *Le Fevre*. Pluscula hic nova. Probatum 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 unætrices Domini*, &c. Multum operæ collocatur in evertenda narratione Tho. Huberti de morte Fabri, in cujus limine detestatus esse, præsentè Regina Navarræ, dicitur dissimulationem, qua in communiõne Ecclesiæ Romanæ manserit, cujus deferendæ auctor ipse fuisset pluribus; martyrii coronam ea de causa adeptis. Omnes partes illius narrationis (etiam quod Fabrum centenário ma-

jorem 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. *Amaenitates Literariæ*, Tom. II. p. 360.

<sup>o</sup> Longueruana I. 145.

A. D. 1517. “<sup>p</sup> It 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 Africa.”

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

<sup>r</sup> Edward Lee began about this time to attack Erasmus, 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 an 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, <sup>s</sup> that 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, unless his elevation was owing to the caprice of the King, or of Dame Fortune, who loves to <sup>t</sup> 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

<sup>p</sup> Menagiana III. 274.

<sup>q</sup> Liberrimæ enim linguæ (hæreticæ dicere non ausim, neque puto) et plane Erasmicæ, in Monachorum et Ecclesiasticorum vitia fuit Aventinus. *Bayle* AVENTIN, Not. H.

<sup>r</sup> Knight, p. 286, &c. Du Pin B. E.

T. XIV. 75. Burnet I. 214. III. 99, 106.

<sup>s</sup> Quo uno nihil unquam adhuc terra produxit, nec arrogantius, nec virulentius, nec stultius. Ep. 248.

<sup>t</sup> —quoties voluit Fortuna joculari.



A. D. 1517.

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, 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 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 (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 displeas'd at his quarrelling with Erasmus. He wrote three 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 judg'd that this exploit would draw infamy and

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contempt

‡ Burnet III. 99.

‡ More's Life of Sir Thomas More,

\* Burnet III. 108.

p. 69.

A. D. 1517. 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 reformations. 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 chuse rather to be the leader of a paltry sect, than lost amongst scholars of the second or third class. In the opinion of Dr. <sup>z</sup> Knight, Lee acted also with a view to preferment, and thought it a probable way of rising in the Church at that time.

Erasmus <sup>a</sup> tells Botzem, that Pace had succeeded Colet in the Deanery of St. Paul's: but this happened in the year 1519; which shews, 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 *Luk.* 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 shewed 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 composed, by way of amusement and recreation, in the midst of more considerable occupations.

Erasmus

<sup>z</sup> P. 289.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. 248.

Erasmus in his answer returns him thanks; but frankly declares, A. D. 1517. 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 shewed. 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

A. D. 1517. 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.

Hieronimus 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 <sup>b</sup> vexed, 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, hætemus*

<sup>b</sup> Instituitur hic Collegium Trilingue, lunt; jam vetuli psittaci, quibus mutandæ legato Buslidii. Sed obstrepunt non- dæ linguæ spes non fit. Ep. 358. See also Ep. 387 to Budæus.

*hactenus Erasmi amicus, ultimam salutem dicit Erasmo,* and which A. D. 1517. 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, altho' 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 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 shews a supreme contempt of the<sup>d</sup> Sorbonne, and

<sup>c</sup> Bayle BUDÉ, Not. O.

<sup>d</sup> 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 Senatorem detulit, atque sic introducta in Scholam illam fuit ea Professio, quæ tot seculis jacuerat. Maluerunt quippe Sor-

bonici isti Doctores Melchioris Cani elogio superbire, quod *annis trecentis integris linguæ Græcæ et Hebraicæ nullam habuerint peritiam.* — Hinc tragœdia 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 Erasmus ejusque studia, *ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης*, Monachalis, ut vocabant, simplicitatis hyperaspistæ non conjecerint. *Moria* præsertim sua, qua studia et mores Theologorum sui seculi false perstrinxit, crabrones sic irritavit,

A. D. 1517. and calls the members of it prating Sophists, and ° Divines of the *Sorbonian Lake*.

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

“ ° Erasmus highly valued Cuthbert Tonstall, 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 Bruffels 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 Bishoprick, 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

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.

° — nunc agentem *Sorbonæ*, μάλλον δὲ ἐν Σορβωνίδι λίμνῃ διατρέχοντα.

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

† Burnet Hist. of the Ref. I. 32, 159. II. 195, 387, 396. III. 53, 107, 126, 129, 133. Fiddes's Life of Wolfey, p. 130.

‡ Knight, 190.

“ He was of Cambridge, and a Benefactor to the Public Library, A. D. 1517.  
 “ &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.”

“ <sup>h</sup> Tonsfall being a man both of good learning and an unble-  
 “ mished 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.”

“ <sup>i</sup> The Bishops made great complaints of Tindal’s translation  
 “ of the <sup>k</sup> New Testament. But Tonsfall, 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

P

“ not

<sup>h</sup> Burnet.

<sup>i</sup> Burnet.

<sup>k</sup> 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 na-

tum putes. Anglos enim, quamvis reluctante et invito Rege, tamen sic suspirare ad Evangelium, ut affirmant sese emturos Novum Testamentum, etiam si centenis millibus æris sit redimendum. Adhæc Wormatiæ etiam Novum Testamentum Gallice excusum esse. *Spalatinus*, in the *Amæn. Literar.* T. IV. p. 431.

A. D. 1517. “ 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 Eng-  
 “ land, 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.”

“ <sup>1</sup> In the reign of Edward VI, Tonstall 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 in-  
 “ junctions 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 Cor-  
 “ poral 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 attaint-  
 “ ing him passed in the House of Lords, Cranmer spake freely  
 “ against it.”

“ <sup>m</sup> When the Bill for Queen Elizabeth’s Supremacy was passed,  
 “ Tonstall 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

<sup>1</sup> Burnet.

<sup>m</sup> Burnet.



“ of Secretary Cecil’s to Parker, that gives him some hope that  
 “ Tonstall 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 Diocesefes upon the account of religion.”

“ <sup>n</sup> Heath 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 some-  
 “ times to visit him. Tonstall and Thirleby lived in Lambeth  
 “ with Parker, with great freedom and ease.”

“ <sup>o</sup> Tonstall, 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 the King’s head-  
 “ ship 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.”

“ <sup>p</sup> Tonstall 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.”

“ <sup>q</sup> Tonstall, 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.”

P 2

“ Upon

<sup>n</sup> Burnet.<sup>o</sup> Burnet.<sup>p</sup> Burnet.<sup>q</sup> Burnet.

A. D. 1517.

“ Upon 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 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 Bishoprick.”

“ Though, 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 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

<sup>1</sup> Burnet.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Stapleton, and More in the Life of Sir T. More, p. 66.

as those, into which the righteous Bonner, and other faints of the same class, used to thrust the poor heretics! Will men never be ashamed of these godly tricks and disingenuous prevarications? A. D. 1517.

Henry VIII sent Erasmus sixty angels, and offered him a living of an 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, 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 <sup>x</sup> surprised 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.

Erasmus received a courteous <sup>y</sup> letter from <sup>z</sup> Spalatinus, Secretary to Frederic of Saxony, and corresponded with him afterwards. This worthy man was a constant friend to Luther, and one of the

<sup>u</sup> 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.

<sup>x</sup> Audi rem ridiculam. Nuper quidam expeditus accurrit, annuncians, sacerdotium meum, quod haberem Trajecti, æstimatum quatuor Philippeis, si vellem numerare. Primum gaudebam, somnians novum aliquod collatum; deinde mirabar quid rei esset; postremo

fensi 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.

<sup>y</sup> Ep. 278.

<sup>z</sup> 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.

A. D. 1517. 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. <sup>a</sup> Bombasius 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* <sup>b</sup>.

This year Erasmus lost his beloved friend Ammonius, who was taken off in a few hours by <sup>c</sup> 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 <sup>d</sup> chief support was from his English revenues, which alone kept him from starving.

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

He <sup>g</sup> commends the University of Cambridge, as having thrown off scholastic nonsense.

He

<sup>a</sup> In Ep. 594, he calls Bombasius *patronorum fidelissimum, et amicorum integerrimum*.

<sup>b</sup> Bayle BOMBASIUS. Erasmus Ciceronian. Adag. c. 220. I. Index Epist. Erasmi. BOMBASIUS.

<sup>c</sup> Erasmus, in a Dedication to Schydlovietz, says, *Sudorem letiferum ante annos triginta non novit Anglia, nec ea lucus fere transiit ejus insulæ fines*. Tom. IV. This was written in 1525.

<sup>d</sup> *Extrema ancora est Britannia, quæ nisi me sublevasset, adhuc mendicaret*

Erasmus. Ep. 185. c. 1632.

<sup>e</sup> Ep. 205. c. 1632.

<sup>f</sup> *Accepi una cum literis nobilem Flandricum, ducatum Hispanicum duplicem, et Michaelem Anglicum, munus cum per se magnum, tum ipso auctore multo gratissimum*. Ep. 208. c. 1643.

<sup>g</sup> *Videmus eas ineptias magna ex parte explodî. Cantabrigia mutata: hæc Schola detestatur frigidam illam argutias, quæ magis ad rixam faciunt, quam ad pietatem*. Ep. 214. c. 1645.

He <sup>h</sup> 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. A. D. 1517.

He <sup>i</sup> 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 <sup>k</sup>, made him a valuable present of plate. Erasmus returns him thanks; and in the same letter makes mention of <sup>l</sup>Theodoricus, a printer.

In a letter to More, Erasmus makes <sup>m</sup> grateful mention of Tonstall's generosity; and declares himself uncertain where he should settle <sup>n</sup>, and not at all disposed for England. He judged rightly: Henry and Wolfey were not proper masters for him to live under.

Amongst his Epistles, there is <sup>o</sup> one, without date, to an anonymous friend, of the ludicrous kind, concerning the art of thriving

<sup>h</sup> 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.

<sup>i</sup> Subolet mihi et Pacæi mutatum ingenium, licet simulet pristinam amicitiam. Ep. 216. c. 1647.

<sup>k</sup> 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

fignum est, et libenter debere, &c. Ep. 227. c. 1652.

<sup>l</sup> 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.*

<sup>m</sup> — Cum apud me sollicitus essem, quibus verbis illi gratias agerem, ille ultro quinquaginta scutatos Gallicos addidit, nec ulla ratione licuit excusare. Disperream, si quid habet hæc ætas cum eo viro conferendum. Ep. 241. c. 1658.

<sup>n</sup> — et Angliæ motus timeo, et servitutem horreo.

<sup>o</sup> Ep. 510. c. 1887.

A. D. 1517. 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 <sup>p</sup> Greek Bible.

A. D. MDXVIII.

Ætat. LI.

We come now to turbulent and tempestuous times; to violent struggles between the Reformed and the Romanists; 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 Tiberim 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 <sup>q</sup> Indulgences, to raise money, under the pretence of making war upon the Turks, say some; of building St. Peter's Church, say others <sup>r</sup>: 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

<sup>p</sup> Ep. 172. c. 1627. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 133.

<sup>q</sup> 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.

<sup>r</sup> Du Pin B. E. T. XIII. p. 30.

A. D. 1518.

this occasion, † Luther, who was of the † order 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, in his History of Venice, speaking of the subsidy, which Pope Alexander VI granted to the Venetians, to enable

Q

them

• 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 mode-

ration. Fiddes's Life of Wolsley, 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.

† It seems not to have been any spleen against the Dominicans, that set Luther to work, but a dislike of such practices.

‡ Le Clerc Bibl. Choif. I. p. 336.

A. D. 1518. them to make war with the Turks, and which arose from the sale of Indulgences, says, that his Holiness had commanded by a Brief, that they should have all the \* sacred money, 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 shew 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 y gulled them or no.

“ z Luther's 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 heard of: and  
 “ it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous traffick  
 “ 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 barefaced 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

\* Cum ei pecuniam sacram, quam homines in imperio Veneto, ut criminibus et maleficiis obnoxii, ob commissâ, post mortem apud Inferos pœna liberarentur, ex Alexandri literis persolverent.

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.



“ most infamous circumstances imaginable. In Spain, by an A. D. 1518.  
 “ 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, 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.

Seckendorf, in his History of Lutheranism, hath confuted the  
 falsehoods and calumnies of Varillas, Maimbourg, Palavicini, Bos-  
 fuet, and others of the same stamp. He is willing to suppose,

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that

<sup>a</sup> Wharton *Anglia Sacra*. Bibl. Univ. XXII. 90.

A. D. 1518. 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 <sup>b</sup> disrespectful. His own friends blamed him for it; and he condescended to write the King an 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 <sup>c</sup> 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: “<sup>d</sup> I have seen, 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 Bishopricks, that he may get also *partem de tunica Christi.*”

It is to be supposed, that, in Luther’s opinion, a man concerned in the administration of public affairs, who did not take due

<sup>b</sup> 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

servitatem formati, statuitur. *Perizonius*, p. 107.

<sup>c</sup> Seckendorf L. I. p. 178.

<sup>d</sup> Luther’s Colloq. Mensal. p. 88.

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*. A. D. 1518.

He used also to say, that the Pope and his partizans were such incorrigible reprobates, that they ought to be treated in the severest manner, and that Erasmus spoiled all by shewing 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 Oecolampadius 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 Tetzal, a Dominican, and a retailer of Indulgences, had picked up a vast sum at Leipzig. A gentleman of that city, who had no veneration for such superstitions, went to Tetzal, 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. Tetzal 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 Tetzal was going from Leipzig 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.

\* Seckendorf I. 26.

A. D. 1518. angry; but, being informed of the whole story, he laughed heartily, and forgave the criminal.

<sup>f</sup> The Emperor Maximilian, being at Inspruck, was so offended at the wickedness and impudence of this Tetzal, 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 solicitations of Frederic Elector of Saxony, who happened to be there, very opportunely for Tetzal.

<sup>g</sup> When Luther had published his *Theses* against Indulgences, Tetzal, 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 Tetzal publicly burned the *Theses* of Luther at Frankfort, and Luther burned those of Tetzal at Wittenberg. This is not altogether right; for, first, Tetzal 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 Tetzal, but some of Luther's friends did it without his leave. See more concerning Tetzal in <sup>h</sup> Seckendorf.

In the *Amenitates Literariæ*, there is a Latin letter of Tetzal 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 <sup>i</sup> Arianism. Their accusation hath no better foundation than this, that Luther <sup>k</sup> declared his dislike of the word *Consubstantial*, and

<sup>f</sup> Luther. Mathesius. Seckendorf I. 16, 25. Huber Hist. Civ. Sleidan L. XIII. p. 347.

<sup>g</sup> Du Pin.

<sup>h</sup> L. I. p. 25, 62—64, 91.

<sup>i</sup> 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.

<sup>k</sup> Nec est quod mihi *Homousion* illud objectes adversus Arianos receptum. Non fuit receptum a multis, iisque præclarissimis,

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 <sup>1</sup> Arians, and that he also approved at other times even of the word *ὁμοεσιος*.

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 <sup>m</sup> disapproved it.

<sup>n</sup> When 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, <sup>o</sup> Rantzaw, 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*.

## Luther's

mis, 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 *Homouison*, 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, exege-

runt, 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.

<sup>1</sup> Seckendorf L. I. 165, 166. L. III. 246.

<sup>m</sup> Seckendorf L. III. 112. Colloq. Mensal. p. 447.

<sup>n</sup> Du Pin XIII. 61. Huber. Sleidan L. II.

<sup>o</sup> Longueruana II. 145.

A. D. 1518. Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians was his favourite work: he used to call this Epistle *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, 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 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

‡ 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 despondi; est mea Catharina de Bora. *Seckendorf* I. 139.

‡ Luther's *Colloquia Mensalia*, p. 72.

‡ *Seckendorf* I. 134, &c. III. 120.

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 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.

A. D. 1518:

He <sup>s</sup> abhorred the School-men, and called them Sophistical Locusts, Caterpillars, Frogs, and Lice.

“ Jerom (said he) should not be numbered among the teachers of the Church, for he was an 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 was violently prejudiced against Erasmus, after their controversy about free-will, and represented him to his friends as a profane scoffer, an Ariän, an Epicurean, and an enemy to all religion. In this we may safely credit the *Colloquia Mensalia*.

He <sup>x</sup> declared himself against persecution, compulsion, and violence, in matters of religion.

He <sup>y</sup> accounted madmen and ideots to be possessed by evil spirits, and physicians to be mistaken in ascribing those disorders to natural causes.

He <sup>z</sup> had no favourable opinion of astrology, and blamed Melanchthon for regarding it too much.

He <sup>a</sup> hated Aristotle, 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

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“ speak

<sup>s</sup> Seckendorf L. I. 165.

L. III. 80.

<sup>t</sup> Luther's Colloq. Mensal. p. 355.

<sup>y</sup> Id. L. II. 125.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. p. 431, 432.

<sup>z</sup> Colloq. Mensal. p. 503.

<sup>x</sup> Seckendorf L. II. 25, &c. 124.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 509.

A. D. 1518. “ 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 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 <sup>b</sup> high Germans are simple, and do more affect  
 “ the truth, than the French, Italians, Spaniards, English, &c.  
 “ which their languages do also shew.—The French write other-  
 “ wise 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 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 intreated the Elector not to send him any more gifts, since he was not in necessity and distress.

He <sup>d</sup> was 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.* <sup>e</sup> In another place 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

<sup>b</sup> Colloq. Mensal. p. 523.

<sup>d</sup> Id. L. III. p. 30.

<sup>c</sup> Seckendorf L. II. p. 137.

<sup>e</sup> Id. L. III. p. 190.



who justifies him, on this article, against the calumnies of that A. D. 1518.  
prating Thrafo, Cardinal Perron.

He <sup>f</sup> was of opinion, that the Jewish nation would never be converted, and that St. Paul's expressions concerning this subject were misunderstood. <sup>g</sup> Erasmus was of a contrary sentiment.

“ <sup>h</sup> When Luther began to preach, 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.”

“ <sup>i</sup> We 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 <sup>k</sup> *Turinge* was  
“ divided into Realists and Nominalists, who not only disputed,  
“ but came to blows.”

“ <sup>l</sup> Luther in translating the Bible was assisted by the disciples  
“ of Reuchlin, and hath hit off many places very <sup>m</sup> happily.

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“ There

<sup>f</sup> Seckendorf L. III. p. 426.

But *Thurmius* says, *Meditatur conversionem Judæorum Ezardus, cujus spem ex multis Scripturæ locis concepit, ostenditque hac de re locum egregium in Possilla Lutheri ad Evangelium die S. Stephani A. 1543 impressa, quem plane in alium sensum detortum esse oculariter demonstravit, in Editione Wittebergenfi 1598, post Lutheri mortem excusa,—*

*Amœnit. Literar.* T. XI. p. 281.

<sup>g</sup> *Ecclesiast.* T. V. c. 1049.

<sup>h</sup> *Limborch Hist. Inq. Sleid. L. XIV.* p. 378.

<sup>i</sup> *Longueruana I.* 76.

<sup>k</sup> *Tubingen*, I suppose.

<sup>l</sup> *Longueruana II.* 78.

<sup>m</sup> St. Aldegonde finds great fault with Luther's Bible. Bayle *DRUSIUS*, Not. G.

A. D. 1518. “ 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  
 “ <sup>n</sup> Cup to the Laity, and Marriage to the Clergy, Lutheranism  
 “ would have come to nothing.”

“ <sup>o</sup> Luther 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 in-  
 “ decent parody, the first verse of the first Psalm, <sup>p</sup> *Blessed is the*  
 “ *man, who hath not walked in the counsel of the Zuinglians, &c.*”

“ <sup>q</sup> Isaac Vossius having told me, that he remembered to have  
 “ seen in the Tragic Histories of Bandel an elogy given to  
 “ Luther by Leo X, I consulted that writer, and found it there :  
 “ Nel principio, &c. <sup>r</sup>

“ These words Sleidan would certainly have prefixed to his  
 “ history, if he had known of them.”

The

<sup>n</sup> In the *Amaenit. 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.

<sup>o</sup> G. J. Vossii Epist. p. 48.

<sup>p</sup> Beatus vir, qui non abiit in consilio Sacramentariorum, et in via Zuinglianorum non stetit, et in cathedra Fugurinatorum non sedit.

<sup>q</sup> Colomesius, *Recueil*, &c. p. 321.

<sup>r</sup> Nel principio che la Setta Luthe-

rana cominciò a germogliare, essendo di brigata molti Gentilhuomini, ne l’hora del meriggio, in casa del nostro virtuoso Signor L. Scipione Attellano, e di varie cose raggionandosi, furono alcuni che non paucò 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 Fratresche.

A. D. 1518.

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 shewed 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 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 contemneth every man.”

Luther often apologizes for his bluntness and roughness. I am accused, says he, of rudeness and immodesty, particularly by adversaries, who have not a grain of candor and 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.

<sup>u</sup> Seckendorf hath fully discussed the <sup>x</sup> bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse, and the share which Luther was supposed to have in permitting it.

<sup>y</sup> One 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.

<sup>z</sup> Luther left a widow, and three sons, and two daughters; and his family was not <sup>a</sup> extinct, when Seckendorf published his History, towards the latter end of the last century.

Whilst

<sup>i</sup> Luther's Colloq. Menfal. p. 309.

<sup>j</sup> Seckendorf L. I. 121. II. 87.

<sup>k</sup> L. III. 277, &c.

<sup>x</sup> See in Bayle the story of GLEI-

CHEN.

<sup>y</sup> Seckendorf L. III. 498, &c.

<sup>z</sup> Seckendorf L. III. 651.

<sup>a</sup> Ex tertio filio, Paulo Luthero, successisse etiamdum illius progenies fertur. Perizonius, p. 338.

Perizonius wrote this A. 1709.

A. D. 1518. Whilst <sup>b</sup> the troops 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.

<sup>c</sup> After 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*.

<sup>d</sup> Luther 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 <sup>e</sup> sacrificed 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

<sup>b</sup> Violari autem sepulcrum vetuit Carolus, Wittebergam armis minisque ingressus, contra quam urgebant Hispani omnes, eo usque infensi Luthero, ut et offibus ejus inviderent quietem, eaque perinde, ut Hullo factum fuerat vivo, mallent 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 mor-

tuis bellum esse sciatis, sed cum superstitibus in nos armatis. Cumque animadvertisset Hispanos Duci Albano et Episcopo Atrebatensi, suadentibus ejus indignitatem facti, consentire, severe tandem atque etiam vitæ capitique periculo sanxit, inviolatum Lutheri sepulcrum ut esset. *Junkerus*.

See Bayle LUTHER, Not. H. H.

<sup>c</sup> Perizonius, p. 233.

<sup>d</sup> Seckendorf L. I. 17, &c.

<sup>e</sup> Seckendorf L. III. 165.

A. D. 1518.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum  
 Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
 Non vultus instantis tyranni  
 Mente quatit solida, neque Ausfer  
 Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,  
 Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus :  
 Si fractus illabatur orbis,  
 Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

† Joannes Eckius, a Divine of Ingoldstad, who signalized 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 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 *Erasnici*, 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  
 him

† Du Pin XIV. 164. Luther gives a very vile character upon him. See an account of his death, and bestows Seckendorf L. III. p. 468.

A. D. 1518. 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 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 <sup>h</sup> Fathers 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 <sup>i</sup> *Grammarians* and *Critics* would have been more important persons than these Ecclesiastics.

Queen

§ Burnet II. 27.

<sup>h</sup> — 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.

<sup>i</sup> 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 *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 *Grammarion* by his facetious adversaries: and, if I remember right, 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 (*Sycophanticon*) *Calumny*, that we may still have the number *seven*.

Queen <sup>k</sup> Mary put out a proclamation against importing, printing, reading, felling, or keeping heretical books: and it is observable, that the works of Erasmus are reckoned amongst those pestilent books. A. D. 1518.

They, who were readers and admirers of the works of Erasmus, were not the more inclined to befriend the Monks; and <sup>l</sup> Herman, Count of New Eagle, (*Comes a Nova Aquila*) whose lands lay some miles from Cologne, and who was a warm friend of Erasmus, had a violent quarrel with the Dominicans of that city. <sup>m</sup> James Hochstrat, 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 forbid 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 oath, that he had always entertained the sincerest respect and esteem for the Count, though he had used to revile him in the most

S

scurrilous

<sup>k</sup> Collier Eccl. Hist.

<sup>l</sup> *Nucnarius* plerumque, item *Nætius*, *Novæ Aquilæ* s. in *Newenar Comes* appellatur. Canonicus primum, deinde Præpositus summi Colonienfis 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 Fran-*

*corum* docte ipse commentatus.

De reliquis excellentissimi hujus ingenii monumentis conferatur Gesneri Bibliotheca, p. m. 285. Quantum vindicatæ a barbarie literæ Nuenario Comiti debeant, et ego summatim exposui in meis de *Latinæ Linguae in Germania Fatis*, Comment. p. 331. *Burckhard* Comment. de Vit. Hutten. p. 148.

<sup>m</sup> Bayle HOCHSTRAT.

A. D. 1518. scurrilous manner. Erasmus tells the story Ep. 1031, and alludes to it Ep. 311.

Latimer, in an Epistle to Erasmus, calls <sup>n</sup> Chalcondyles *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 an 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 Wolfey. After some compliments, which he bestowed upon Wolfey, tho' 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, tho' they have no connection. As for me, I never esteemed the Cabala or the Talmud, and never conversed with <sup>o</sup> Reuchlin, except once at Frankfort.

<sup>n</sup> Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 211, 221.

<sup>o</sup> Uberrime de Reuchlini vita differt 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 par-

ticulam quandam Hebræi Codicis sacri, Psalms nempe poenitentiales, A. 1512, orbi dedit; cum antea foli Judæi in Italia Soncini, Pisauri, ac Venetiis, operam Bibliis Hebraicis typographiæ beneficio publicandis navarent, quorum tamen paucissima exempla in Christianorum manus pervenerunt. *Amœnit. Liter.* Tom. XIII. p. 208.



A. D. 1518.

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 invectives 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 is 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 an 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 an 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

A. D. 1518. 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 an 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 Wolfey 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

would have been good, if laid before men of honour and honesty; A. D. 1518. but to talk at this rate to such an Ecclesiastic as Wolfey, was little better than pleading Guilty. So Le Clerc observes: but may it not be said, that Erasmus, who knew Wolfey 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 <sup>p</sup> Suetonius, 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 <sup>q</sup> latter opposed him to the utmost of his power. In the dedication he shews them what use was to be made of such histories. Ep. 318.

He had published an edition of Suetonius the year before, with a <sup>r</sup> Preface 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 <sup>s</sup> letter, to shew 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 *Odiū Theologicū*, 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  
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<sup>p</sup> Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 316.

p. 277. L. III. p. 208—214.

<sup>q</sup> See an account of George of Saxony, and of Luther's contests and quarrels with this Prince, in Seckendorf, L. I.

<sup>r</sup> Appendix.

<sup>s</sup> Ep. 323.

A. D. 1518. 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 furioſly, I ſhould chuſe 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 Scholaſtic 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 riſqued 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.

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 Volzius, an Abbot. A. D. 1518.

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, says he, for a war against the Turks. "With what view soever this be undertaken, 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 we then 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 subtilties, concerning Instants, Formalities, Quidities, 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

' He hath treated this subject more amply in his *Consult. de Bello Turc.* T. V. c. 346.

" 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.

\* Erasmus was somewhat mistaken. The Christians of his time, if 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 gainfayers.

A. D. 1518. 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? <sup>y</sup> what 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? <sup>z</sup>

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 contrary 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

<sup>y</sup> Quid cogitabunt, si viderint rem usque adeo difficilem esse, ut nunquam fatis 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 Salvatore, qui a nobis præter puram simplicemque vitam nihil exigat.

<sup>z</sup> *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 professionem simplicem 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 absit contentio. *Adag.* c. 968. C.

begin to act thus. Let us shew 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.

A. D. 1518. In Ep. 325, he commends <sup>a</sup> Draco, as a youth of an excellent disposition, who was afterwards a Lutheran minister.

He gives a great character to <sup>b</sup> Leonicensus, an Italian physician; and mentions <sup>c</sup> Argyropyus 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 <sup>d</sup> Leo, 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

<sup>a</sup> Seckendorf L. I. 279.

LEONICENUS. Pope Blount, p. 342.

<sup>b</sup> Medicina loqui cœpit apud Italos, opera Nicolai Leonicensi, senis immortalitate digni. Ep. 333. Summæ eruditionis et innocentia senex Philosophus. P. *Jovius Vit. Alphonf.* p. 198. Bayle

<sup>c</sup> Hodius De Græc. Illustr. 187. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 211, 238.

<sup>d</sup> In Bayle's Dictionary there is a very full and good account of this Pope.



sent the letters to Ostia by a messenger, and soon after died. 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, 1257. A. D. 1518.

Albertus, Cardinal and Archbishop of Mentz, wrote a most obliging letter to Erasmus, ° much desiring to see him, and highly commending his New Testament; and † made him a present of a silver cup.

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

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remains

° — 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.

† Insignis ille Heros, Albertus Cardinalis Moguntinensis, cujus divinas dotes 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.

A.D. 1518. 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 respect from some, who paid no regard to real merit, and served to humble and repress those, who called him an 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 skilfully against their accusations, as we will shew 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 <sup>§</sup> 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,

<sup>§</sup> Simul atque isto ex grege unus quispiam grunnire cœperit, mox grunniunt universi, et apud populum quiritantes ad faxa 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.*

A. D. 1518.

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 villainous than to accuse him of heresy; and yet to this they have recourse upon the slightest provocation. As amongst the Swifs, if one of the multitude lifts up his finger, and gives the signal, all the rest, as they say, do the same, and run to pillage; 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, forgetting 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 Tragicomedy 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 Ideot.

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

A. D. 1518. 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 Ancients, 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, Melancthon, 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 Eckius, 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

him so frequently; and he declares, that he found more <sup>b</sup> Christian philosophy in one page of Origen, whom Jerom had much studied, than in ten of Augustin. A. D. 1518.

Beza afterwards <sup>i</sup> censured Erasmus for having entertained a mean opinion of the style of the New Testament.

In this Epistle Erasmus makes some mention of <sup>k</sup> Philelphus, as also in Ep. 411. c. 1798.

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.

<sup>l</sup> He was cut off in the flower of his youth, and Erasmus affectionately

<sup>b</sup> Plus me docet Christianæ philosophiæ unica Origenis pagina, quam decem Augustini.

<sup>i</sup> See Act. Erudit. XXVI. 520.

<sup>k</sup> Philelphi Epistolæ, *bonnes*. Scaligeran. p. 310. Memoires pour la vie de Philelphe. Memoires de L'Academie des Belles Lettres, T. XV. p. 531. Hodius 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.

<sup>l</sup> Periit Gulielmus Croius, et periit veluti flosculus tener in ipso exortu succifus, 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,

A. D. 1518. affectionately laments his death. He is said to have been <sup>m</sup> poisoned by the Spaniards.

<sup>n</sup> In a letter to Warham he proposes to end his days in England; and talks in the same way to Colet.

<sup>o</sup> He speaks like a man of letters concerning the discomfort of attending Courts, and of being employed by Princes.

<sup>p</sup> He gives Longolius a great character.

<sup>q</sup> He observes of Wolfey, 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 <sup>r</sup> Melanchthon; though at that time he was displeas'd

nostrum gratiofus, ut penes unum prope-  
modum videatur esse imperii summa:  
ætas virens, nondum enim egressus erat  
annum vigefimum tertium: corpus ve-  
getum ac firmum: tam multiplex dig-  
nitas, ut in illo vix eluceret majestas  
galeri Cardinalitii: morum mira facili-  
tas candorque: toto pectore favebat bo-  
nis studiis, nec oderat Erasmum. Certe  
Vives noster Mæcenatem amisit, qua-  
lem posthac haud facile nanciscetur.  
Ep. 565.

<sup>m</sup> Seckendorf L. I. p. 151.

<sup>n</sup> Ubi cumque terrarum ero, tuus ero  
clientulus.—Est animus in Angliam ve-  
lut secessum quendam abditum semo-  
tumque demigrare, et confido fore, ut  
tua benignitas fortunulas nostras augeat;  
quandoquidem in dies accedit senium, et  
quotidie magis ac magis intelligo postre-  
mum caput Libri *Ecclesiastæ*.—Num-  
quam mihi videbor infelix, te incolumi.  
Ep. 269. c. 1673. & Ep. 305. c. 1690.

<sup>o</sup> Morus adhuc est Caleti, magno, ut

apparet, cum tædio, tum sumtu, et in  
negotiis longe odiosissimis. Sic Reges  
beant amicos: hoc est a Cardinalibus  
adamari. Sic et Pacæum jam supra bi-  
ennium apud Elvetios relegatum deti-  
nent. Ep. 344.

<sup>p</sup> Juvenis, ut ex illius intelligo scrip-  
tis, cum ad omnes bonas disciplinas,  
tum ad eloquentiam factus. Hic, ni  
fallor, unus est eorum qui mox Erasmi  
nomen obscurabunt. Verum ea res mi-  
hi voluptati est, quando mei nominis  
jactura lucrum est Reipublicæ literariæ.  
Ep. 347.

<sup>q</sup> Cardinalis perbenigne pollicetur;  
verum hæc ætas non moratur lentas spes.  
—Complexus est me Cardinalis Eboracensis,  
non passim comis aut facilis.  
Ep. 352, 353.

<sup>r</sup> De Melanchthone et sentio præ-  
clare, et spero magnifice, tantum ut eum  
juvenem nobis Christus diu velit esse su-  
perstitem. Is prorsus obscurabit Eras-  
mum. Ep. 354.

displeafed with him for having fpoken <sup>s</sup> flightingly of his New A. D. 1518. Testament.

He was alfo a little difatisfied with his ancient patron Montjoy, and thought him rather <sup>t</sup> too cold and too ftiny. So he fays to Sixtinus and to More.

In a letter to Bombafius, he complains alfo grievoufly of his friend <sup>u</sup> Richard Pace, who had been guilty of no fmall indifcretion, and, in a filly book, had between jeft and earneft represented Erafmus as a beggar, and a beggar hated by the Clergy. I am, fays Erafmus, neither the one, nor the other. He makes the fame complaints to More, and advifes him to exhort Pace, fince he had fo little judgment, rather to confine himfelf to tranflating Greek writers, than to venture upon works of his own invention, and to publifh fuch mean and contemptible ftuff. Ep. 287. c. 1681.

## U

## But

<sup>\*</sup> Quin et Melanchthon vocem *se dignam* (*perhaps it should be indignam*) emit, fe multa reprehensurum in Novo Testamento, ni eſſem amicus Reuchlino. Ep. 289. c. 1682.

<sup>t</sup> Montjoius fui fimilis eſt; aut promittit, aut queritur. Ep. 261. c. 1669. Miror frigus Mæcenatis vetuſtiſſimi Montjoii; ſed uxor opinor et filius audent naturæ vitium. Ep. 311. c. 1694.

<sup>u</sup> Sciebam Richardum Pacæum hominem eſſe moribus plane niveis, integrum, liberum, ſic amicum amico, ut non alius æque, *πολύγλωσσον, πολυμαθῆν*, 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 ex-

pectaſſe. 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 Eraſmum toties traducere, nunc ut eſurientem, nunc ut Theologiſ inviſum? Certe cum primis Theologiſ mihi probe convenit: et famelicus ille quotannis ſupra trecentos ducatos poſſideo; præter ea quæ ex Mæcenatum 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 putat? — Ego certe illum nondum tantum quantus nunc eſt, aliquanto honorificentius tractavi in meiſ *Chiliadibus*. Ep. 275. c. 1676.

A. D. 1518. 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 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 *amanuens*. 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 shewed 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 resigned his two Deaneries of St. Paul’s and Exeter  
“ a little

\* Knight, p. 37.



A. D. 1518.

“ 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 candor  
 “ and sweetness of temper, so he was much afflicted at his mis-  
 “ fortunes, and could never forgive the man that caused them.  
 “ And it much rejoiced him to hear that he had recovered him-  
 “ self, 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 Mi-  
 “ nister. Colet had too much of the humble Christian, and of  
 “ the reputed heretic, to be favoured by Wolfey, and therefore  
 “ avoided being concerned with him. Having told Erasmus, in  
 “ a letter, that Wolfey had the supreme command, he adds,  
 “ that he himself was going to retire from the world.”

“ There is extant a remarkable letter 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 Wolfey to be a sincere friend to Erasmus,  
 because Erasmus was patronized by Warham, between whom and  
 Wolfey there was no good understanding ; and because the great  
 praises, which Erasmus frequently bestowed upon the Archbishop,  
 would be interpreted by Wolfey as so many slights and affronts

U 2

passed

† Exsili præ gaudio, Pacæ charissimæ, quum viderem illam mihi non ignotam manum, acciperemque te tantis calamitatibus ac malorum naufragiis incolumem enataste, ac pristinæ etiam dignitati restitutum. Hoc mihi gratius fuit, quam si quis angelatos misisset sex-

centos. 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.

‡ Knight’s Appendix, p. xxv.

A. D. 1518. 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 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 is 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 <sup>a</sup>, informs him what favours he had received from the old Bishop of Basil, and praises the inhabitants of that <sup>b</sup> city.

In

<sup>a</sup> Episcopus Basileensis, vir admodum natu grandis, integer et eruditus, dictu mirum qua me fit humanitate profecutus, 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 cœlum Basileense, quan-

topere genus hominum: nihil illis amicis, 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.

<sup>b</sup> 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 sufficienti. *Scaligeran.* p. 48.

In a letter to Tonstall he defends the words <sup>c</sup> *hiemo* and *exalto*, A. D. 1518. 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.

The 306th is a friendly letter to Erasmus from <sup>d</sup> Richard Sampson, who was employed by Wolfey.

“ <sup>e</sup> Erasmus 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 Clements Hostel, and then of Trinity Hall; and afterwards Dean of the Royal Chapel of St. Stephen, and Chaplain to the King. Being neglected by Wolfey, 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.”

“ <sup>f</sup> The Bishop of Chichester, 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 shewed a very entire compliance

<sup>c</sup> *Miror tibi displicuisse hiemare, quod toties habeatur apud Cæsarem. — Exaltare reperimus apud Columellam.* Ep. 282. c. 1679. See Gesner's Thesaurus.

<sup>d</sup> Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. I. 215. Fiddes's Life of Wolfey, p. 161.

<sup>e</sup> Knight, p. 43.

<sup>f</sup> Burnet III. 149.

A. D. 1518. “ pliance 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 run  
 “ out into a ſevere inveſtive againſt the Biſhops of Rome, and  
 “ the uſurpations and corruptions favoured by that See, and he  
 “ reflected ſeverely on Pole. Pole’s old friend Tonſtall did alſo,  
 “ in a Sermon at St. Paul’s, in his grave way, ſet forth his unna-  
 “ tural ingratitude.”

‡ Erasmus had a great ſhare of favour from moſt of the Cardinal’s domeſtics, from <sup>h</sup> Burbank, Lovel, Tones, Philips, Francis, Gonell, 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. <sup>i</sup> Robert Tones, 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 <sup>k</sup>, 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 Wolfey 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

‡ Knight, p. 43.

<sup>h</sup> Ep. 526.

<sup>i</sup> Ep. 701.

<sup>j</sup> Ep. 431. c. 1813. Ep. 432. c. 1815.

In an epistle to More, Erasmus<sup>1</sup> speaks very ludicrously 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 villainous 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 *Mæccenas optime*, &c. he desires him to intercede with the King for some small subsidy, of which he stood in need, and to give him an 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 <sup>m</sup> letter to Fisher he supplicates for an 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 fumere 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 fericis, auro, aut gemmis ullis, fucum nullum attingant, vinum ne bibant, jejurent diebus alternis; quo magis Deus faveat maritis in bello tam cruento versantibus. Quod si qui erunt, qui domi negotiis necessariis alligantur, nihilo minus uxores servent eadem, quæ

servanda fuerant maritis in bellum profectis. Dormiant in eodem eubiculo, sed lectis divisæ; nec osculum interim detur; donec bellum hoc terribile favente Christo feliciter confectum fuerit. Scio hæc molesta fore multis uxoribus, non satis perpendentibus negotii magnitudinem; quanquam uxorem tuam pro sua prudentia, proque pietate in rem religionis Christianæ, scio libenter etiam obtemperaturam. Ep. 265. c. 1671.

<sup>m</sup> — 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 cœcis capto Regem, tot.

A. D. 1518.

In Ep. 377 to Bombasius<sup>n</sup>, he mentions, amongst other learned Englishmen, John Stockellie.

“ ° Stockellie was Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College in  
 “ Oxford, and made Principal of Magdalen Hall ; afterwards  
 “ Vicar of Willoughby in Warwickshire, and Rector of Slinbridge  
 “ in Gloucestershire, both in the gift of his College ; then Pre-  
 “ bendary 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 Tostall to Durham, and Almoner to the King. He was  
 “ sent to the Emperor, and to the Pope, and to several Univer-  
 “ sities, 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 Archiepis-  
 “ copal Visitation, and refused to submit, till he had entered  
 “ three protestations for preserving the privileges of his See, by  
 “ which

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 venere Principum technæ, Romanæ Curie 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.

<sup>n</sup> Joannes Stoclerus (*so he calls him*) præter Scholasticam hanc Theologiam, in qua nemini cedit, trium etiam linguarum haud vulgariter peritus. —

° Knight, p. 192.

“ which means a Regal Inhibition ensued. He died in 1539, A. D. 1518.  
 “ and was buried in St. Paul’s Cathedral.”

“ <sup>p</sup> John Stockesly, Bishop of London, a man of great witte  
 “ and learning, but of lytle discretion and humanity.”

“ <sup>q</sup> Stockesly being by the Cardinal (Wolfey) 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.”

“ <sup>r</sup> All agree, that Erasmus was never here in England after  
 “ the year 1518. And indeed we are much at a losse 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 Wolfey founded his Lectures in the  
 “ University about this time; but it is not so evident, that *Eraf-*  
 “ *mus 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, whe-  
 “ ther he was ever more than once there. It may not how-  
 “ ever be improper to insert here a Memorandum of old Bryan  
 “ Twyne, relating to Erasimus, 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, Pre-*  
 “ *bend 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 West-*  
 “ *minster, after some conference with him about divers matters,—He*  
 “ *questioned with me about Erasimus, and namely where he abode,*  
 “ *whilst*

X

<sup>p</sup> Hall Chron.

<sup>r</sup> Knight, p. 187, 192.

<sup>q</sup> Rooper’s Life of More, p. 54.

A. D. 1518. “ *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, <sup>s</sup> *Quint. Curtius, cum annotationibus Erasmi, curante Beato Rhenano. Argent.* See Ep. 276. Also, *Erasmi Epigrammata. Basil.*

<sup>t</sup> *Livy* was published at Mentz, with a Preface of Erasmus. In this <sup>u</sup> Preface (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.

Budæus <sup>x</sup> informs Erasmus, that Francis I had called <sup>y</sup> Justiniani from Italy to France. This Bishop had paid a visit at Louvain to Erasmus, and is mentioned by him as a <sup>z</sup> courteous and candid man.

A. D.

<sup>s</sup> Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. p. 316, 321, 322.

<sup>t</sup> Liber XXXIII (sed prioribus 17 fere capitibus truncatus) et pars posterior libri XL, a capite 37, primum prodit 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. Car-

bachio 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.*

<sup>u</sup> Appendix.

<sup>x</sup> Ep. 310.

<sup>y</sup> Bayle JUSTINIANI.

<sup>z</sup> Ep. 285.



A. D. MDXIX.

Ætat. LII.

It had been reported to Erasmus, that <sup>a</sup> Melanchthon had censured his <sup>b</sup> Paraphrases: this <sup>c</sup> learned man therefore writes a very civil letter to Erasmus, to justify himself; and sends him compliments from Luther. Ep. 378. A. D. 1519.

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,

X 2

and

<sup>a</sup> 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.

<sup>b</sup> 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 farther, 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.

<sup>c</sup> 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 Caroloſtad, 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 exceeding well. *Luther's Colloq. Mensal.* p. 510.

A. D. 1519. 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<sup>d</sup> mild and moderate, and though he had a sincere affection for Luther, he could not refrain from<sup>e</sup> complaining 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, notwithstanding his passionate sallies, had a great<sup>f</sup> love 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!

<sup>g</sup> He foresaw and feared, that violent disputes would some day break out concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. The Scriptures,

<sup>d</sup> P. Jovius, after having abused Luther in a most scandalous manner, pays a small sort of compliment to Melanchthon; — *qui Latinæ facundiæ deditus, nova et ipse placita mitiore ingenii veneno publicarat.*

<sup>e</sup> Luther étoit violent, & soufflétoit Melanchthon. *Ab ipso colaphos acceperim.* Ep. 29 ad Theodorum. *Longue-ruana, V. I. p. 76.*

<sup>f</sup> Quod agentem (Melanchthonem) cum (boni) omnes, tum Lutherus ipse, non modo diligere, sed suspicere etiam ac colere; neque sine ejus consilio quicquam instituire, quod momenti aliquid haberet, et ad cuncta informanda, componenda, explicanda, opera ipsius uti. *Cammerarius, p. 158.*

<sup>g</sup> He says in one of his Epistles :

*De Serveto rogas quid sentiam. Ego vero video fatis acutum et vafrum esse in disputando, sed plane gravitatem ei non tribuo. Et habet, ut mihi videtur, confusas imaginationes, nec fatis explicatas earum rerum, quas agit, cogitationes. De Justificatione manifeste delirat. Περὶ τῆς Τριᾶδος, scis me semper veritum esse, fore ut hæc aliquando erumperent. Bone Deus! quales tragedias excitabit hæc quæstio ad posteros, 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 ἢ διαφορὰς ἀκριβῶς ζητεῖν ἢ πᾶν συμπέσει. L. IV. Ep. 140.*

tures, says he, direct us to invoke Jesus Christ, which is to ascribe A. D. 1519.  
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 <sup>b</sup> instance of Melanchthon's 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 Leipzig, wrote to Erasmus, and told him of a public dispute, which was to be held between Eckius and Carlostadius. He shews much <sup>i</sup> contempt of these two Divines: but, in a more serious Epistle to Pirckheimerus, he speaks favourably of Carlostadius, 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

<sup>b</sup> Scripsit Lutherus Electori, Melanchthonem ex conscientiae scrupulo recusare florenos ducentos pro salario Lectionis Theologicae nuper ab Electore constitutos, dicere enim, Se lectioni isti non satis diligenter, et, ut res postulet, 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 legerit, pro tempore nempe et viribus. Addit: *Et si 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 lectionem Scripturae promoveri, quia ejus intellectus jam ubique terrarum desideratur.*

Obscucus est Luthero Elector, taleque ad Melanchthonem literas dedit. L. II. 64.

<sup>i</sup> Joannes Eckius, ὁ τῶν ἀεροκαλίμων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα πνεύμων ἄλφα, cum Carlostadio Archidiacono pro sua vita, hoc est, corollariis, in disputationis arenam descendet. — Magnis apparatus pugnae utrinque adornatur. — Videas commissos nobile par Scotistarum. — Decem Democriti satis quod rideant, habebunt. Ep. 379.

A. D. 1519. learned Julius Pflug, who had been his disciple, wrote his epitaph. L. I. 71—93.

Seckendorf hath also given us an ample relation of Caroloftadius, who was of a turbulent and fanatical disposition. L. I. p. 198—200, 302. L. II. p. 26, 28.

<sup>k</sup> Jacobus Latomus, <sup>l</sup> once a friend of Erasmus, had published something, in which he had obliquely censured Mofellanus and Erasmus. The latter wrote a short <sup>m</sup> answer to it, as he informs Mofellanus, 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 <sup>n</sup> disturber 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

<sup>k</sup> Boiffard Icon. p. 187. Du Pin XIV. 169. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 425. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 27.

<sup>l</sup> There was a Bartholomæus Latomus, a friend and correspondent of Erasmus. Ep. 1283, 1286. Du Pin XVI. 41.

<sup>m</sup> See T. IX. c. 79—106.

<sup>n</sup> Thus Feuardentius, a seditious and persecuting Cordelier, represents him-

self 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.

takes fire at a single word, requires from us a more than Socratic A. D. 1519. 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.

The 382d letter is remarkable, and the prettiest of all the Epistles of ° Longolius.

° Christophorus Longolius, of Schoonhove in Holland, was a famous Ciceronian, whom Erasmus hath often commended, though Ciceronianism

• Longolius non suo sensu, sed Ciceronis loquutus est, dum non stylum Ciceronis, sed ipsissimas phrasas, 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 Bembo or Sadolet.

° Baillet VI. 56. Du Pin XIV. 181. P. Jovius Elog. 127. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 199. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 114. Sammarth. Elog. L. I. p. 4. Vita Longolii per Batefium, p. 240.

A. D. 1519. Ciceronianism had set them a little at variance. <sup>1</sup> In this letter to a friend, Longolius draws up a comparison between Erasmus and Budæus, and, upon the whole, gives the preference obliquely to the

<sup>1</sup> Christophorus Longolius Jacobo Lucæ, Decano Aurelianensi, S. D.

Nunquam nobis sane non deerit 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 prætulerit, 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 *alius* [*read* *latius*] exspatiatur, alter angustiore quidem alveo, verum altiore ingentem aquarum vim trahat: fluit ille plenior, hic fertur rapidior. In Budæo videor mihi agnoscere plus nervorum, sanguinis, spiritus: in Erasmo plus carnis, cutis, coloris. In illo plus diligentia, 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 tralationem expostulat, in metaphoris felix, sententiis gravis, figuris varius, summa orationis specie honestus, sublimis, severus, grandiloquus. Contra, Erasmus venustus, modestus, popularis, floridus, verborum suppellectile 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 fervire 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 infectatur. 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 urbanus, Lyricos suavius, Elegiam mollius inspirabit.

the latter, though, as he says, Francis I had given it to Erasmus. A. D. 1519. This comparison turns principally upon the style of each competitor; and in this point some of his remarks are not injudicious.

But

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 profus aberret quisquis hunc concioni, illum judiciis natum dixerit: alterum Palladis numine afflatum, 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 suum sibi locum honeste vindicet, turbidum interim fluere: illum potius nobis significare quid velit quam dicere; hunc immodica sermonis ubertate, veluti læto gramine fata strangularè: illum oratione nunc obliqua verticosum, nunc figurata elatum, sæpe intumescere; hunc recto nudoque ductu humiliorem, plerumque humi serpere; hunc lascivia molliorem, illum austeritate duriorum. 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 diferti, vel iudicio vel consilio. Nam cum præstare possint quicquid volunt, par est, inquiunt, ut optima quæque velint, nec sese ambitiosius nobis venditent: eo res nostras recidisse, ut mature potius iuvandi quam intempestive delectandi sumus: 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 populæ eloquentiæ iudicem 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 iudicare: 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 futor (ut aiunt)

Y

supra

A. D. 1519. But certain it is, that if Budæus surpassed Erasmus in Greek literature, and in the 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.

Erasmus, having seen this letter of Longolius, wrote him an answer of compliments and thanks; but at the same time gives him

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 ignoscant. Illud tantum miror, quod ab initio dicebam: Cur Princeps vester in tanta Budæi probitate, doctrina, eloquentia, Germanum Gallo, exterum civi, ignotum familiari prætulit. Nec hoc dico, quod Erasmi fortunæ invideam; studeo namque homini, si quis mortalium alius, tametsi de facie nunquam mihi visus, 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, inquis, votum: improbum sane, sed quod nec ipse plane improbet. Ego nec existimationi, nec commodis tanti viri invideo, cujus eloquentia apud me pluris est, quam totius Galliæ opes. Sed in hoc ista scribo, ut si quid habes,

actutum me certiore facias, cur semper neglectis Gallorum, nunc primum fastiditis Italorum ingeniis, Germanica tam ambitiose affectemini. Vale. Ex Urbe Roma, 29 Jan. Anno 1519.

† 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 profecutus. 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 parvus, in me prodigus laudator fuisse videaris. Abunde multum illi tribuit tuus candor, sed quoties hominis dotes prope divinas contemplor,



him some hints, that he was not over-pleas'd. Longolius had said, amongst other things, that Erasmus *favour'd his own defects*, that is, that he would not give himself the trouble to be more accurate,

templor, 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 poteris, 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 obfignatis inter nos jam pridem 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 desiderent 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 inficitia, vel potius pigritia. Sic sum, nec possum naturam vincere. Effundo ve-

rius 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 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 demiror, quæ 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 cui-

A. D. 1519. accurate, and to seek out words and expressions of the Augustan age. Erasmus replies, that he wrote so, not thro' 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 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 Philosophy, Morality, Politics, and other

quam suo loco cedendum erat, si me in Galliam contulisset. Tantum abest ut Budæo fuerim effecturus. 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 utcunque de nobis censebit ætas secutura, volupe est interim optimas literas passim feliciter efflorescere. Bene vale, Longoli doctissime, et in hæc studia ut cœpisti constanter ac feliciter incumbe. Lovanio, 1 April. Anno 1519.

other sciences, which the ancient 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 ancient notions, which might be discussed and described according to the manner of the Ancients; 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 spritely 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 Cicero-  
nian controversy.

In a letter to Ruzeus, a Frenchman, Erasmus compliments that nation, and is willing, 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

<sup>r</sup> 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.

A. D. 1519. at Louvain. As to himself, he had, as he says, declared to the Divines of that Univerfity, that he had not read thofe works, and therefore could neither approve nor difapprove them; but that it would be a better method for them to publifh answers confifting of grave and folid arguments, than to rail before the populace, efpecially as the moral character of the Author was irreprehenfible. Erasmus however owns, that he had perufed part of his Commentaries upon the Pfalms, that he liked them much, and hoped they might be very ferviceable. He tells him, that many perfons both in England and in the Low Countries commended his writings. He exhorts him alfo to moderation, and to content himfelf with attacking, not the perfons of Popes and Kings, but thofe evil Counfellors, who impofed upon them, and made a bad ufe of their authority.

There is, fays he, a Prior of a Monaftery at Antwerp, a true Chriftian, who loves you extremely, and was, as he relates, formerly a difciple of yours. He is almoft the only one who preacheth Jefus Chrift, whilft others preach human fables, and feek after lucre. The Lord Jefus grant you from day to day an increafe of his fpirit, for his glory and for the public good.

From thefe and from other paffages, it appears, that Erasmus entertained hopes, that the attempts of Luther, and the great notice which had been taken of them, might be ferviceable to true Chriftianity. Ep. 427.

He writes to the Bifhop of Rochefter concerning a book of Latomus. Erasmus, in a treatife of *true Theology*, had faid, that a great part of it confifted in a pious difpofition of heart. Latomus attacked this propofition with many arguments, and faid, that to be a good Divine, and to be a good man, was not the fame thing. By and by, fays Erasmus, I fancy they will come to fay, that to be a good Divine, and to have common fenfe, are very different things. Ep. 403.

The

° — Non idem effe, Theologum effe, et fapere.

The 392d is a pretty letter from 'Huttenus, to which Erasmus A. D. 1579. replied in a very friendly manner; and exhorted this " impetuous 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 upon occasion. In some place, where he had power, he v fined 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 ancient 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,

† 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. XLIV. 410. XLV. 134.

" Neque violentia Hutteni, quam calamo, et aliquando manu cum poterat exercebat, religioni profuit; nocuit potius. Improbavit eam etiam Lutherus,

literis ad Spalatirum, ubi ita scribit: *Quid Huttenus petat, vides. Nolle vi et cæde pro Evangelio certari: ita scripsi ad hominem.* Seckendorf L. I. p. 131.

\* Erasmus' Ep. 413.

v Huttenus Carthusianos, quia imagine sua pro *anitergiis* usi sunt, in duobus millibus aureorum nummum multavit. Epist. Gerbelii, p. 22. In Certur. Epist. ad Schwebelium.

A. D. 1519. 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.

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 <sup>z</sup> letter to Jodocus <sup>a</sup> Jonas, makes his <sup>b</sup> Elogium, 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 bare no small resemblance to Erasmus. Richard Pace succeeded Colet, as Dean of St. Paul's. Ep. 435.

“ <sup>c</sup> It 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 <sup>d</sup> coun-  
“ trymen,

<sup>z</sup> This letter, says Knight, should be dated 1520.

<sup>a</sup> Seckendorf L. III. p. 373.

<sup>b</sup> Appendix.

<sup>c</sup> Life of Colet, Intr. p. xi.

<sup>d</sup> 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?

“ trymen, rather than gone to France for the character of Vitri- A. D. 1519.  
 “ rius: 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 judgment, and a freedom of thinking and speaking, far beyond their contemporaries, very few excepted.

“ Bishop Latimer 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 preach-  
 “ ing 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.

Z

“ Erasmus

• Knight’s Life of Colet, p. 93, 258, 172.

A. D. 1519. “ Erasmus was of a contrary opinion, and more for the merciful and <sup>f</sup> gentle way of education; and therefore was almost  
 “ <sup>g</sup> angry with the Dean and his two Masters, and hath told a  
 “ 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. <sup>h</sup> When  
 “ they were joint spectators of some superstitious reliques of  
 “ Thomas à Becket, Colet was out of patience to see those silly  
 “ fopperies;

<sup>f</sup> He hath treated this subject very well in T. I. c. 361. *De Conscrib. Epist.*

<sup>g</sup> 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 immeritos, nimirum, ut assuescerent plagis. Ipse quondam adfuiti 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 foeminam, ab ea sibi puerum studiose commendatum: mox ut haberet occasionem cædendi, cœpit objicere nescio quid ferociæ, quum nihil minus præferret puer, et innuit illi cui Collegii præfecturam commiserat, huic ex re sa-

telles 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 furdus, peregit suam carnificinam pene usque ad pueri syncopem. Mox Theologus versus ad nos, *Nihil commerruit, inquit, sed erat humiliandus,* nam hoc verbo est usus. Quis unquam ad eum modum eruditur mancipium; imo quis asinum? *De Puer. Instit. c. 505.*

<sup>h</sup> 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 mucum narium, Abbatem et cæteros qui adstant aperto scriniolo venerabundos, procidere ad genua, ac manibus etiam sublatis adorationem gestu repræsentare. Ista Joanni Coleto, nam is mecum aderat, videbantur indigna: mihi ferenda videbantur, donec se daret opportunitas ea citra tumultum corrigendi. *Modo Orand.*



“ fopperies; whereas Erasmus was more easy, waiting till a proper time should come of reforming such abuses, &c.” A. D. 1519.

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 <sup>1</sup> notice 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.

Erasmus wrote to Cardinal Campegius, who was then at London, and sent him his second edition of the New Testament. 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;

Z 2

and

<sup>1</sup> Recte loquendi copiam non ferebat peti e præceptionibus Grammaticorum, natura et eruditione facundus, ac dicendi (read dicenti) mira suppeteret orationis ubertas, tamen scribens subinde labebatur in his, quæ solent notare Critici, &c. Ep. 335. c. 460.

ipse pœnas dedit. Cum enim esset et

A. D. 1519. 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.

<sup>k</sup> Campegius acted very prudently, as well as generously, 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.

“<sup>l</sup> Henry VIII had absolutely gained Campegio to do all he could for him, without losing the Pope’s favour. Campegio led at this time (in 1529) a very dissolute life in England, hunting and gaming all the day long, and following whores  
“ all

<sup>k</sup> 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 wanting, except a dozen handsome citations from Cyprian, Augustin, Jerom, &c. *Longueruana* 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. *Magniana* I. 208.

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 about his neck had 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.

<sup>l</sup> Burnet I. 69. Fiddes hath offered some remarks in vindication of the moral character of Campegius. *Collect.* p. 239.

“ all the night; and brought a bastard of his own over to Eng- A. D. 1519.  
 “ land with him, whom the King knighted: so that, if the King  
 “ fought his pleasure, it was no strange thing, since he had  
 “ such a copy set him by two <sup>m</sup> Legates; who representing his  
 “ Holiness so livelily in their manners, it was no unusual thing,  
 “ if a King had a slight sense of such disorders.”

“ <sup>n</sup> The Duke of Suffolk 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?”

“ <sup>o</sup> Campegio's son 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.”

“ <sup>p</sup> That miserable Historian, 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 pre-  
 “ tended 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 bounty  
 of Bishop Fox, who had founded the College of Corpus Christi  
 at Oxford.

“ <sup>q</sup> Wood gives a pretty full account of Dr. Claymond, which  
 “ shews 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 Anno-  
 tations of Erasmus upon the New Testament. Erasmus, hear-  
 ing;

<sup>m</sup> Campegius and Wolfey.

p. 412.

<sup>n</sup> Burnet I. 92.

<sup>p</sup> Longueriana II. p. 23.

<sup>o</sup> Fulman, Appendix to Burnet II.

<sup>q</sup> Knight, p. 205.

A. D. 1519. ing 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 to Hutten, Erasmus draws the portrait of his friend More, 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 raillery. 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.

*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 1480, 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.*

“ Cranmer 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

† Appendix.

§ Baillet II. 266. III. 39. IV. 353.  
 Boiffard Icon. p. 121. P. Jovius Elog.  
 p. 166. Pope Blount, p. 396.

† 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.

“ Editor's Preface to More, p. viii.

“ 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 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 Witbernania 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, that he who conducted Erasmus to England,  
 “ procured that Sir Thomas More and he should first meet toge-  
 “ ther 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, Erasmus still endeavouring to defend  
 “ the worse 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 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 Eras-*  
 “ *mus, aut Diabolus*; because at that time he was strangely dis-  
 “ guised, 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 Com-  
 “ mentaries upon the Fathers works, censuring them at his plea-  
 “ sure, for which cause he is termed *Errans mus*; because he  
 “ wandereth

\* Hoddesdon, Stapleton, More, p. 60. † Hoddesdon, Stapleton, More, p. 82, 314.

A. D. 1519. “ wandereth here and there in other mens harvests ; yea, in his  
 “ writings he is said to have hatched many of those eggs of  
 “ heresy, which the apostata Fryer Luther had before laid : not  
 “ that he is to be accounted an heretick, 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 retracta-  
 “ tions 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 erro-  
 “ neous, 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 <sup>2</sup> John  
 “ Fabius Bishop of Vienna, he saith, that he hated these seditious  
 “ opinions, with the which at this day the world is miserably  
 “ shaken ; neither 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

<sup>2</sup> He should have said, *John Faber.*

A. D. 1519.

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 Wifeacre, *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 <sup>a</sup> wife, who was homely and niggardly; and of one of his <sup>b</sup> ludicrous 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.

<sup>c</sup> Knight observes, that More <sup>d</sup> exhorted 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, shewing, as it appears, the same esteem for him, which he had always entertained. In one of these letters,

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he

<sup>a</sup> P. 95.<sup>b</sup> P. 86.<sup>c</sup> P. 337.<sup>d</sup> Ep. 87. c. 1574.

A. D. 1519. he <sup>e</sup> admonisheth Erasmus 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.

“ <sup>f</sup> Sir Thomas More, 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 declamer 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.”

“ <sup>g</sup> In the year 1532, 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 ancient 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

<sup>e</sup> Maſte igitur, mi Eraſme, virtutibus iſtis tuis, et tantum, ſi quid interdum boni cujuſquam viri anxiam ſollicitudinem, vel abſque fatiſ grandi cauſa, commoveat, ne te pigeat tamen ad pios eorum affectus quædam attemperare:

alioquin, neglectis malevolorum latriatibus, perge placidus juvandis ſtudiis et promovendis virtutibus nihil remoratus inſiſtere. Ep. 1223. c. 1441.

<sup>f</sup> Burnet I. 32.

<sup>g</sup> Burnet I. 124.



“ been such, that nothing could be found to blemish his A. D. 1519.  
 “ reputation.”

“ <sup>h</sup> In 1534, More and Fisher were attainted.—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 seve-  
 “ rities to others: for, as Fisher did grievously prosecute 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 shewed  
 “ 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 Ro-  
 “ chester wrote for Purgatory. So More answered this *Suppli-*  
 “ *cation* by another, in the name of the souls that were in Pur-  
 “ gatory; 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 ene-  
 “ mies. 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

A a 2

“ great

<sup>h</sup> Burnet I. 158.

A. D. 1519. “ great friend Erasmus, whose exposition of these places<sup>i</sup> differed  
 “ 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 con-  
 “ fined in jail, and cruelly used there, and lying under all possible  
 “ disadvantages, drew up a reply to More, by which it may ap-  
 “ pear 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 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 per-  
 “ suade him to discover such as he knew in the Temple, who  
 “ favoured the new opinions; but fair means not prevailing,  
 “ More made him be<sup>k</sup> whipt 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,<sup>l</sup> being asked, 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

<sup>i</sup> 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.

<sup>k</sup> 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 Rooper’s Life of More, p. 13.

<sup>l</sup> Luther’s Colloq. Mensal. p. 464.

“ 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 an Hangman, &c.”

“ <sup>m</sup> More received the sentence of condemnation with that  
 “ equal temper of mind, which he had shewed 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 shewed 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 he be-  
 “ came superstitiously devoted to the interests and passions of the  
 “ Popish Clergy; and as he served them when he was in autho-  
 “ rity, 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 contro-  
 “ versy, he quotes only what he found in these Collections. Nor  
 “ was he at all conversant in the Critical learning upon the Scrip-  
 “ tures; 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 con-  
 “ cealing 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:

<sup>m</sup> Burnet I. 355.

A. D. 1519. “ great store of pleasant tales, which he applied wittily to his  
 “ purpose. And in this consists the great strength of his writ-  
 “ tings, 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.”

“ <sup>n</sup> Queen Mary 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 canonized; 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*.”

“ <sup>o</sup> Those of the Church of Rome look upon More as one of  
 “ their glories, the champion of their cause, and their Martyr.  
 “ <sup>p</sup> The first Edition of his *Utopia*, 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

\* Burnet II. 316.

• Burnet III. 29.

• Anno, ut conjicio, 1516, prior Typ. II. 293.

prodiit Utopiæ editio, cui successit posterior Gourmontiana. *Maittaire Ann.*

“ of the Constitutions of the Church, and of the Clergy at that A. D. 1519,  
 “ 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 shews,  
 “ 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 restrain-  
 “ ed: 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<sup>a</sup> find it in the impression  
 “ which I translated, so I have copied it all from the first edition,  
 “ and have put in the Collection, N<sup>o</sup>. 10, that which the In-  
 “ quisitors 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, 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.

<sup>a</sup> It is in my Basil Edition of the year 1563, in p. 31.

A. D. 1719. “ 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 shews 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 *put-*  
 “ *ting 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  
 “ chuse 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 shews that in cases of  
 “ necessity he had a largeness of thought far from being engaged  
 “ blindfold

A. D. 1519.

“ 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 wor-  
 “ shipping 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 Di-  
 “ vines 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 ex-  
 “ cluding 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

A. D. 1519. “ 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 corrup-  
 “ tions of that Body, and only wanted fit opportunities of decla-  
 “ ring 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 perfe-  
 “ cutor 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 extra-  
 “ ordinary 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



A. D. 1519.

“ cannot indeed be accounted for, but by charging it on the in-  
 “ toxicating 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 con-  
 “ clude, 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.”

“ ‘ 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, 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 super-  
 “ stition seems indeed contemptible; but the constancy of his  
 “ mind was truly wonderful.”

“ ‘ It is remarked by Atterbury, 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, with-  
 “ out a grain of reason to support it, and gave the author no

B b 2

“ other

Burnet III. 100.

Burnet III. 172.

Rooper and More have represented

Sir Tho. More as always disapproving  
the Divorce.

“ Pref. to Rooper’s Life of More, p. 8.

A. D. 1519. “ 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, 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 Chaplain to that Bishop,  
 “ and shewed 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 Tho-  
 “ mas More returned to the Bishop no more; and had not the  
 “ King soon after died, he was determin'd to have gone over  
 “ sea, thinking that he could not live in England without great  
 “ danger.”

“ † King Henry VIII, 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 Wolfey. I thank our  
 “ Lord, son, quoth he, I find his Grace my very good Lord  
 “ indeed,

\* Rooper, p. 29.

† Rooper, p. 40.

“ indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any  
 “ subject within this realm. Howbeit, son Rooper, 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.”

“ <sup>z</sup> His jests 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.”

“ <sup>a</sup> The oath for maintaining the succession was, it seems,  
 “ required to be taken by all men and <sup>b</sup> women throughout the  
 “ realm. Mr. Justice Rastall observes, that Mrs. Margaret Rooper  
 “ 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. Rooper’s ser-  
 “ vants, 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 swear? Wherefore should he stick  
 “ to swear? I have sworn the oath myself.”

Erasmus hath <sup>c</sup> said of More, 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

<sup>z</sup> Lord Herbert. Rooper, p. 67. Not.

<sup>a</sup> More’s English Works. Rooper, p. 80. Not.

<sup>b</sup> 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.

<sup>c</sup> Sic additus pietati, ut si in alteru-  
 tram partem aliquantulum inclinet mo-  
 mentum, superstitioni quam impietati  
 vicinior esse videatur.

Veræ pietatis non indiligens cultor est,  
 etiamsi ab omni superstitione alienissi-  
 mus. Ep. 447.

A. D. 1519.

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, <sup>a</sup> *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.

<sup>c</sup> More entirely forfeited the favour of the Protestants abroad, by his severity towards their English brethren. He even makes his <sup>f</sup> boasts, in a kind of Epitaph, that he had been an enemy to Heretics, and <sup>g</sup> justifies it afterwards in an Epistle to Erasmus.

In his <sup>h</sup> Utopia 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 of years, and kindly used all that time, if they behaved themselves well. <sup>i</sup> Erasmus 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

<sup>a</sup> Lord Bacon. Knight, p. 344. Rooper, p. 179.

<sup>c</sup> Sleidan L. IX.

<sup>f</sup> —— furibus, homicidis, hæreticisque molestus. Ep. 1223.

<sup>g</sup> Quod in Epitaphio profiteor hæreticis me fuisse molestum, hoc ambitiose feci. Nam omnino sic illud hominum

genus odi, ut illis, nisi resipiscant, tam invisus esse velim, quam cui maxime, quippe quos indies magis ac magis superior tales, ut mundo ab illis vehementer metuam. Ep. 466. c. 1856.

<sup>h</sup> L. I. p. 13, &c. Ed. Bas.

<sup>i</sup> Tom. V. c. 167.

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. Bullidius, and a letter of Bullidius to More on the same occasion. A. D. 1519.

\* His Epigrams 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 *Hytblodæus*, 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 the ship; there are some to Hieron. Bullidius, who is also much commended 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

\* T. Mori Lucubrations, Basil. A. 1563. See a Catalogue of his writings in Rooper, p. 174.

<sup>1</sup> Dicta probant, rapiuntque virum, simul in mare torquent,  
Et lintrem levius quam prius ille ferunt.

A. D. 1519.

Huetius <sup>m</sup> 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 definis : ultima primis  
Cedunt : dissimiles hic vir, et ille puer.*

Epist. IX. 23.

“ More shewed his great <sup>n</sup> zeal for learning in a <sup>o</sup> letter 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 mad-  
“ men. To raise an emulation, he mentions, after he had passed  
“ a high compliment upon Oxford, the different treatment 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

<sup>m</sup> Pauca sane, sed ex quibus de singulari ipsius industria existimari possit, convertit Thomas Morus, plane optimis interpretibus æquiparandus: ad tenuem simata et nativa oratio, non inflata, non corrupta, quæcumque vult, facile complectens, Græcæ vero tam exacta æquilibrium respondens, ut,

Qui utramvis recte norit, ambas noverit.  
*De Clar. Interp.* p. 234.

<sup>n</sup> See Fiddes's *Life of Wolfey*, p. 215.

<sup>o</sup> A copy of this and of other letters of More hath been communicated to me by my friend Dr. Green, Dean of Lincoln, which will perhaps be inserted in the Appendix.

“ 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. A. D. 1519.

“ More’s Utopia was translated into French, or rather para-  
 “ phrased in a burlesque style, by one Gueudeville, A. 1717.  
 “ Sam. Sorbiere 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 im-  
 “ patient 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 whole-  
 “ some 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 farther. 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 com-  
 “ mendable.

A. D. 1519. “mendable. 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.

“<sup>p</sup> Clerk 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 <sup>q</sup> Tranquillus Parthenius Dalmata, 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 <sup>r</sup> James Hochstrat, in which, though he keeps within the bounds of civility, he censures this <sup>s</sup> Dominican freely enough for the outrageous and unchristian

<sup>p</sup> Knight, p. 220.

<sup>q</sup> Bayle ANDRONICUS (TRANQUILLUS.)

<sup>r</sup> Du Pin. XIV. II. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 424. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 60. Bayle HOCHSTRAT, and T. IV. p. 3106. *Rem. Crit.*

<sup>s</sup> Hochstratus, Halæ Saxonum, Hutteno obviam cum factus esset, equo defiliens 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 adfixisse quidem eum, sed gladio tantum obliquo aliquoties verberasse. Ex Casp. Barthio se audivisse ista Jac. Thomastus confirmavit. *Burckhârd* Comm. de Vit. Hutten. p. 177.



christian 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 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

C c 2

Erasmus

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 lingua-

rum studiosos maledicere, sed suam quisque professionem graviter tueatur citra contumeliam alienæ. Ita fiet ut graviore illæ, quas vocant, Facultates, Theologia, Jurisprudentia, Philosophia, Medicina, harum literarum accessione non mediocriter 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.

A. D. 1519. 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 to publish his "book against Averroës": but he had forgotten that Leo had already published that work, and had told him so. He says of himself, <sup>γ</sup> that he was fifty-two, or at the most fifty-three years old, and grown grey as a badger; and makes mention of his old friend <sup>z</sup> Aldus Manutius, who died A. 1515. He also speaks of <sup>a</sup> Petrus Alcyonius, as of a learned man, whom Leo had

<sup>u</sup> Atque utinam prodisset ingens illud opus adversus Averroem impium, <sup>ϛ</sup> τρις κατὰρατον.

<sup>x</sup> Bayle AVERROES, Not. H.

<sup>γ</sup> 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 tuare diligenter, quo et diu prosis optimis studiis, et multis annis senex sene frui pos-

sim. Nam ipse præcurrentem te sum affequutus, 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 viderelicet agens, respondebat: *Si vales, ego valeo*. Hæc jucunde quidem somniabat, — sed fidem non præstitit. Reliquit nos ante balbam illam ætatem: etiam si me multo grandior erat Aldus, annis, ni fallor, plus minus viginti: nam ipse nunc annum quinquagesimum secundum, aut ad summum tertium ago.

<sup>z</sup> Maittaire II. 37, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Bayle ALCYONIUS. P. Jovius Elog. p. 205. Maittaire I. 293.

had recommended to him for a friend; and he extols Linacer. A. D. 1519. 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 <sup>b</sup> *Pyghards*, as they were called, of whom Zisca had 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 an 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

<sup>b</sup> Others call them *Picards*, and LVIII. Sleidan L. III. p. 68. Bayle *Waldenses*. See Seckendorf Supplem. PICARDS.

A. D. 1519. 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 an 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, 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 recompence 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

multitude of words, afford matter for law-suits; so, in religion, a profusion of determinations, decrees, and decisions, begets endless contröversies. A. D. 1519.

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 enterprize. Then in the Western world there might perhaps have been only

A. D. 1519. 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 an 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

A. D. 1519.

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 an 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 dissingenuity, 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 surpris'd to hear, that you have men who deny the immortality of the soul and a future state. We have indeed

A. D. 1519. 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 dogmatizing Nicolaitans.

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 apologize 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 with a cup, for which he thanks this Prelate very ingeniously.

In

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 cæclatis poculis bibere. Quod si calix vitreus 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 mediocriter



In an epistle to Lupset, Erasmus shews at large, that he had A. D. 1719, 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 shewed 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<sup>d</sup> scourges the Monks,

D d 2

who

critier 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, Guilhelmo 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 compefcerent obtrectatrices linguas, quas excitaissent, 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 facta gratia sic diffiliit, ut post brevem tranquillitatem sævior etiam tempestas coorta videretur. Ep. 477.

<sup>d</sup> 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 admisorum confessionibus, in bibliopoliis, in tabernis pauperum, in aulis divitum, in palatiis regum, apud superstitiosos 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 mentientes,

A. D. 1519. 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 shews, that he could not constantly adhere to this resolution, which yet, for the most part, is the wisest procedure.

“<sup>e</sup> Lupset, 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 “<sup>f</sup> John Clement in the Rhetoric Lecture of Cardinal Wolfsey.” The Univerfity of Oxford wrote a “<sup>g</sup> letter of thanks and of flattery to the Cardinal, in 1521, for having given them Lupset. “ He

mentientes, 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 Evangelicum, Evangelicis viris potissimum sunt usi, quos mundus simul et Mendicos alit, et tolerat Tyrannos, &c. Ep. 481.

<sup>e</sup> Knight, p. 214, and Wood. Knight's Life of Colet, p. 389. Fiddes's Life of Wolfsey, p. 216.

<sup>f</sup> Fiddes's Life of Wolfsey, p. 216.

<sup>g</sup> ——— 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.

<sup>h</sup> See Fiddes, p. 178, &c. where you will find, that our Cantabrigians, in one of their fawning addresses, called the Cardinal, *Præfens Numen*; according to Horace's *Creed*:

*Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem  
Regnare: præfens Divus habebitur  
Augustus ———*

or *Wolfseius*, or any other Giver of good things. Never was Nero, or Domitian, more

“ He had been Secretary to Pace, whilst he was Ambaffador to A. D. 1519.  
 “ 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 affifted Linacer and More in over-  
 “ feeing and correcting their works at the prefs; and More  
 “ makes very honourable mention of him. He wrote feveral  
 “ pieces, and some letters in defence of his friend Erasmus againft  
 “ Lee. By the <sup>i</sup> advice of Erasmus he quitted betimes the ftudy  
 “ of the Scholaftic writers, and fold thofe Praters to buy Greek  
 “ Claffics. He only obtained a Prebend in the Church of Salif-  
 “ bury; and he died in 1532, aged thirty-fix.”

We have an <sup>k</sup> Epiftle from him to Erasmus in 1516, in which he moft fubmiffively begs his pardon for fome indifcretion; and he was very uneafy, 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,

more flattered by the corrupted Romans, than this vain man was by his hungry Parafites: and Fiddes, with no fmall complacency and glee, hath given us an account of thefe compliments; compliments, which would make a wife man call for a bafon: *Date pelvim.*

Amongft the praifes beftowed upon Wolfey, let us not forget thofe of a certain Zany, who feems to have played his part very well:

“ In England was a Cardinal, the  
 “ fon of a butcher, (he means Wolfey)  
 “ concerning whom a knavifh Fool  
 “ faid, God be praifed, that we have  
 “ got fuch a Cardinal: when he com-  
 “ eth to be Pope, we may freely eat  
 “ flefh in Lent, and on forbidden days;

“ for St. Peter was a fifher-man, and  
 “ he forbad eating of flefh, to the end  
 “ he might fell his fifh at a high rate;  
 “ but this butcher’s fon will hold over  
 “ flefh, to get money thereby.” *Luther’s Colloq. Menfal. p. 305.*

<sup>i</sup> Lupsetus exiftimat fe nofta renatum  
 opera, planeque ab inferis emerfiffe.  
 Magiftri moliuntur omnia, quo retra-  
 hant adolefcentem in fuum piftrinum.  
 Nam ftatim eodem die, Sophifticis libris  
 diftractis, Græcos emerat. Vide ut  
 cum incidit oportunitas, graviter agas  
 partes tuas. Nihil hujus ingenio gratius,  
 nihil amantius. Ep. 112. *This is a  
 letter to More.*

<sup>k</sup> Ep. 79. c. 1570.

A. D. 1519. nican, 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 affociate, in all their sermons to the people. Erasmus complained of this calumny to Rosmundus, Rector of the Academy of Louvain; but to no purpose. Ep. 491.

In the <sup>1</sup> *Amœnitates Literariæ* there is a lively letter, addressed to Zuinglius, from an anonymous writer, against the Divines of Louvain. The persons ridiculed in it are Joannes Atenfis, Joannes Winckel, Jacobus Latomus, Ruardus Encufanus, and particularly <sup>m</sup> Egmond 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 <sup>n</sup> Vives, 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

<sup>1</sup> Tom. I. p. 246, 248.

<sup>m</sup> — 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.

<sup>n</sup> Boiffard Icon. p. 183. Baillet II. 283. 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, Lackeys, Beggars, and Parasites.” *Vignoul-Maroille*, Vol. II. p. 209.

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 shewed 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, 3<sup>87</sup>, 433. A. D. 1519.

“ ° Vives, 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 Auditors 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 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

° Knight, p. 165, and Wood. Fiddes.    ° Du Pin. XIV. 99.  
Life of Wolsey, p. 211, 212, 216.

A. D. 1519. “ 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 Theo-  
 “ logical works of Erasmus, as they are more numerous, so  
 “ they are more useful and valuable, than those of Vives.”

<sup>1</sup> Frideric 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 he 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<sup>2</sup>. It is very favourable to Luther.

In

<sup>2</sup> See his character in Seckendorf, L. I. p. 122, &c. L. II. p. 33, &c. See also Spalatinus in the *Amœn. Liter.* T. IV. p. 420.

<sup>1</sup> Dux Saxonix 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 sua ditione opprimatur innocentia, eorum malitia qui sua quærunt, 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 quenquam alium videri tanti nominis oneri sustinendo parem, quam Carolum. Ob hunc insignem animum a nostris

oblata triginta florenorum millia constantissime rejecit. Quumque urgeretur ut saltem decem millia pateretur dari famulis: Accipiant, inquit, si velint; at tamen nemo manebit postridie apud me, qui vel aureum acceperit: ac postridie conscensis equis subduxit sese, ne pergerent esse molesti. Ep. 474.

<sup>2</sup> — 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

In an Epistle to Wolfey, Erasmus makes his usual complaints of his persecutors, the Monks, and desires the Cardinal's countenance A. D. 1519.

populum conciones, scholæ, conciliabula, convivia, nihil aliud crepabant, quam hærefes 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 præſidiis fideret, aut ex his fontibus hærefes naſcerentur. Hæc impudentia pluſquam ſycophantica, cum optimis quibuſque diſpliceret, tamen ut bellum inventum probabatur quibuſdam, qui ſe Theologiæ antefignanos, 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 hæcenus non legerim niſi raptim. Certe vitam hominis nemo, qui novit, non probat, quæ cum longiſſime abſit ab omni ſuſpicionē avaritiæ aut ambitionis, et morum innocentia, [*here is ſomething wrong*] vel apud Ethnicos favorem invenit. Quam non congruit manſuetudini Theologicæ, protinus, ac ne perlecto quidem libro,

tam immaniter debacchari in nomen ac famam probi viri, idque apud imperitam plebeculam, quæ proſus caret judicio? Præſertim cum ille diſputanda propoſuerit, cum omnium judicio ſeſe ſubmiſerit, quorum oportuit. Nemo monuit, nemo docuit, nemo revicit: tantum vociferantur hæreticum, ſeditioſis clamoribus ad lapides provocant. Dicās eos ſitire ſanguinem humanum, non ſalutem animarum. Quo inviſius eſt hæreſeos nomen auribus Chriſtianis, hoc minus committendum eſt, ut temere in quendam 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 quicumque adhuc repertus ſit, in cujus libris non fateantur ineſſe periculoſos errores; cur reliquos taciti placidique legimus, in unum aut alterum tam atrociter ſævimus? Si veritati patrocinamur, cur non ex æquo offendit, ubicumque reperitur, quod veritati repugnat? Sanctiſſima res eſt fidei religionisque ſinceritatem tueri; ſed ſcleratiſſima res eſt, prætextu defendendæ fidei, noſtris ſervire cupiditatibus. Si quicquid in Scholis receptum eſt, oraculum haberi volunt, cur inter ſe Scholæ

A. D. 1519. tenance and protection; and indeed Wolfey himself was no friend to the Monks at that time, and still less afterwards.

This letter contains a very handsome eulogium 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 Guildford, who had declared himself his friend. Ep. 417.

Longolius

dissentiunt? Cur Scholastici Doctores inter sese pugnant ac diglantur? Imo, cur in eadem Sorbona Theologus a Theologo dissentit? Imo perpaucos reperias, qui consentiant, nisi conspirarint. Adhæc, non raro deprehenduntur damnare in recentium libris, quod in Augustino aut Gerfone 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 alienos lapsus tam inclementer insectamur? cur malumus vincere quam mederi? cur opprimere

quam docere? At Ille, qui solus omnium caruit errore, non comminuit baculum contractum, 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 siccis ipse quotidie impetebatur. Nos, quorum proprium munus est docere, cogere malumus, quia facilius. Hæc, illustrissime Dux, eo scribo liberius, quominus 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 hic video libros illius ab optimis quibusque cupidissime legi. Quanquam mihi nondum vacavit evolvere. L. I. p. 96.

† Knight, p. 205.



Longolius is gently censured for the affectation of desiring to pass for a Frenchman, though he be my countryman, *nostras*, says Erasmus. Ep. 467. A. D. 1519.

He recommends to Wolfey 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 of Helius Eobanus Hessus, 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, or pretends to repent, that he had not settled in England.

Joannes

“ 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 exoriantur jam aliquot. Sed longe plures exorituros video, si Principes ac primates ingeniis honorem habere cœperint. — Unum hoc me male habet, quod Hessus noster tantum itineris exantlarit frustra. Quid enim fructus erat? aut quod operæ pretium vel totum Erasmus vidisse? Meliorem mei partem, si quid in me

boni est, jam in lucubrationibus meis conspexerat. Porro, quod superest, quæso, quid habet visendum? Ep. 473.

\* Camerarius wrote his Life.

Helius Eobanus, if my memory deceives 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.*

† Atque hic quoque sentio mihi Rhamnusiæ 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 canebatur fabula. Sciebam haud ullam usquam aulam ista esse incorruptiorem: at quis divinare poterat Principis domum Musarum domicilium futurum? Nunc id consilium sequar oportet, quod dant ætas ac valetudo.

A. D. 1519. Joannes Turzo, Bishop of Breslaw, <sup>z</sup> sent him a most obliging letter, and some presents; for which Erasmus <sup>a</sup> returned him thanks,

tudo. Vobis interim gratulabor istam felicitatem, quando meam infelicitatem deplorare, nihil attulerit fructus. Ep. 475.

<sup>z</sup> Igitur ut amoris et observantiæ meæ singularis in te studium tibi etiam atque etiam magis fiat cognitum, atque interi- rim ob oculos oberfetur Turzonis tui memoria, munus tibi mitto, non magni sane pretii: quatuor, inquam, horologia, vitreis vasculis, exigua, pulviscu- loque paulatim delabente, horas dime- tientia: quorum usus, opinor, clepsy- dram nostro seculo æquat. Hæc sane crebro oberfatu atque tractatu te nostri in horas poterunt admonere. Adjunxi præterea auri puri nativique quatuor particulas, sive ramenta, e subterraneis specubus, adeoque ex ipsis terræ visceri- bus, in ditione meæ dioceseos, qualia vides nuper eruta, nempe ut auri vivax vis te immortalitate dignissimum decla- ret: ad hæc tegmentum sacro tuo capiti ex murium Ponticorum exuviis, quas nostrates *Sabellinas* peltes, etiamnum usurpata voce, cognominant. — Verum, quicquid est hujus, quod mitto, ut lu- bens et grato animo accipias vehementer oro. Id quod futurum confido, si ani- mi mei benevolentia, atque profusissima in te propensione, non pretio munuscu- lum æstimaveris. Nam si pro tuis me- ritis ornandus sis, vix certe totius orbis opes et copiæ, nedum Dynastiæ cujus- piam facultates, tuæ dignitati satis sint facturæ. Ep. 479.

<sup>a</sup> 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, etiam si minimi pretii fuisset, vel hoc no- mine, quod a tali Præfule, sed multo ma- gis quod a tali animo proficisceretur. Nunc et pretii magnitudine, et ipsa no- vitate, et auctoris titulo commendaban- tur; sed in his tamen nihil mihi tam charum est visum, quod epistola tua non superaret. — Faxit Deus, ut istud pectus imitentur complures Episcopi Procres- que, et imaginibus suis tam eximium de- cus adjungant, et auctoritatem suam bo- nitatis ac sapientiæ cumulent accessione. Quam ardentem virtutis amorem spirant illæ tuæ literæ, quantam sitim eruditio- nis Christianæ? Ad hæc, quantum can- doris, quantum modestiæ præ se ferunt? Quis credat hæc a tanto Præfule, a tanto Principe scribi? — Jam ut in tuis munus- culis etiam nonnihil philosophæ, gratulor tuæ ditioni, e cujus venis aurum tam elegans ac purum eruitur; sed tu bea- tior, qui e divincorum Voluminum longe felicioribus venis tam avide scruteris au- rum Evangelicæ sapientiæ, quo locuple- tes gregem tuæ fidei concreditum, velut opulentus quispiam Paterfamilias, e divite thesauro proferens nova ac vetera, mul- tum dissidens ab Episcopis plerisque, qui pulcherrimam functionis suæ partem in sordidos quosdam relegant, nec probatos, nec exploratos. — Duobus horologiis in- scriptum erat, *Festina lente*, atque hanc quidem

thanks, and, as it appears afterwards, was very desirous of cultivating a friendship with this illustrious Prelate, who was a favourer <sup>b</sup> of Lutheranism, and highly esteemed by Luther and Melanchthon.

Erasmus published at this time the <sup>c</sup> Life of Jerom, and some other books.

His letters of this year are from Louvain, Mechlin, Antwerp, Bruffels, and Anderlac, <sup>d</sup> *ex rure Anderlaco*.

A. D.

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 fortunæ invidia, ut si quid extiterit in rebus humanis eximium, id quam ocyssime 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.

<sup>b</sup> — 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.

<sup>c</sup> Maittaire II. 330, 339.

<sup>d</sup> Ecclesia Anderlacensis, haud procul a mœnibus Civitatis Bruxellanæ. *Erasm.* T. V. c. 954.

A. D. MDXX.

Ætat. LIII.

A. D. 1520. Erasmus dedicated his <sup>c</sup> Paraphrase of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Ephesians, &c. to Cardinal Campegius, who 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 ancient 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 candor and mildness. If the difference were upon capital points, they

<sup>c</sup> Tom. VII. c. 968.

they were to select able and disinterested men, who should discuss those points in a decent manner, with great moderation, and without seditious clamours. A. D. 1520.

The advice was not bad, considered in itself; but Erasmus should also have informed the Cardinal, where he should 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 shewed. 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

A. D. 1520. of Aleander in Germany, which was calculated only to irritate, and to make bad worse. For my part, says he, <sup>f</sup> 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 all these general maxims, and of having given occasion to the <sup>g</sup> Lutherans 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, shewed his dissatisfaction by his countenance and his gestures; and being hard pushed to declare what he had to censure in Erasmus, he said,

<sup>f</sup> 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 quovis, neque quovis modo, neque totam

ubique promendam. Ep. 501.

<sup>g</sup> It was said by some of the more facetious and more learned enemies of Erasmus:

\*Η Δεθνηδός Ἐρασμίζει, ἢ Ἐρασμὸς Δεθνηίζει. Tom. IX. c. 519.

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.

I hear, says he, that <sup>h</sup> Oecolampadius is turned Monk; I wish he had thought better upon it.

Erasmus <sup>i</sup> approved this step of Oecolampadius as little as his friend Bilibaldus; and observes, that a man's discontented and restless

<sup>h</sup> Oecolampadius, 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 interdicti cœpta. Hoc gravissime in eo tulit Erasmus, et Wolfgangus etiam Fabricius Capito. *Scul-*

*teti Annales.* Published by Von der Hardt. *Hist. Liter. Reform.* P. V. p. 35.

<sup>i</sup> Quod scribis ab Oecolampadio 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 existimem plus licuisse impudentiæ, plus licuisse stoliditati, plus licuisse sceleris. Et nonnunquam libet aliquo pro-

F f fugere,

A. D. 1520. 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 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, <sup>1</sup> it was neither safe to speak, nor to keep 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 <sup>m</sup> 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

fugere, 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.

<sup>k</sup> Excudit Frobenius justum Epistolarum illustrium opus: *Farrago Epistolarum Erasmi*, titulus erit. Vix diciqueat, 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.

<sup>1</sup> Lutherana tragœdia in tantam exarsit contentionem, ut nec loqui tutum sit, nec tacere. Ep. 507.

<sup>m</sup> It is to be supposed, that he consented,

— ἐκείν, ἀέκοντι ὃ δὲ μὴ.



curs by publishing them in his life-time. 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. A. D. 1520.

He replied to a letter of Oecolampadius, 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 thought, 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 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 <sup>p</sup> justly observes.

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.

Warm passions and a lively imagination dispose men to panegyric and to satire: but, *Nimum nec laudare, nec ledere*, that is, Neither to *Deify*, nor to *Duncify*, seems to be no bad rule for those, who would act consistently, and live quietly.

F f 2

They

° Utinam tibi contingat, quod expectis, optime Oecolampadi. Id si scirem, haberes me comitem; sed vereor ne te sequatur hoc tedium. Sic est vita mortalium: ab animo petenda est tranquillitas. Ep. 509.

° Ep. 510, 512, 514, 517.

<sup>p</sup> 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 affectos. Ep. 507.

A. D. 1520. 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 <sup>a</sup> Standish, 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<sup>r</sup> 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.

“<sup>s</sup> Standish 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.”

“<sup>t</sup> Attempts were begun in England to restrain Ecclesiastical immunities, which were become a nuisance past all bearing, and

<sup>a</sup> Knight, p. 267, &c. See the More. Knight, p. 273.  
Apology of Erasmus, T. IX. c. 111,

434.

<sup>r</sup> I take them to have been Pace and

<sup>s</sup> Knight.

<sup>t</sup> Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. I. 12.

“ and to make the Clergy subject to the Common laws of the A. D. 1520.  
 “ 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 im-  
 “ munities. 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 account of the sweating sickness.

“ Ep. 551 is to \* Bedell, who was Secretary to Warham, and  
 “ afterwards an Archdeacon, and appointed one of the Com-  
 “ missioners 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 Tertullian, Erasmus passeth a learned, just, and candid judgment upon this Father. He proceeds to mention some ancient heresies, which soon were extinguished on account of their monstrous absurdity.

But.

“ — 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 extinctus 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 fors feret, serendum est. Ego animum mihi in omnem eventum composui. Ep. 522.

\* Knight, p. 231.

A. D. 1520. But <sup>v</sup> Arianism, which did not maintain 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 <sup>z</sup>. This shews, that he, who said that <sup>a</sup> *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. <sup>b</sup> But one heresy there is, which perhaps deserves not that name,  
(He

<sup>v</sup> 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.

<sup>z</sup> Nimirum aut ea philosophia multum habet sanctimonie, aut præclari sunt artifices, qui illa sic norunt uti.

<sup>a</sup> See Bayle ARISTOTE.

<sup>b</sup> Sed est hæresis quædam, quæ quanquam hæresis vocabulum non mereatur, tamen maximam perniciem ad-

fert 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 Litteræ detestantur, quæ ab Ethnicis etiam philosophis improbantur. Non ista loquuntur quidem; sed efficacius est ista vivere quam loqui.

(He means, that ° 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 endeavour, 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.

A. D. 1520.

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 lesser success; because his system passed, in the opinion of the Divines, for a most pestilent heresy, tending  
to

° 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. Sermon. 34.

A. D. 1520. to overfet the authority of the Pope and the Monks, and to deftroy the credit of certain opinions and doctines, 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 doctine was capable of producing would have been totally loft: and if he refifted and ftood his ground, that could not be done without fedition, as it was called, and a fepARATION from thofe who had excommunicated him. It was abfurd to imagine, that the Court of Rome would have yielded in the fmalleft point to a little Monk, whom fhe confidered as a rebel and an innovator; or would have facrificed her temporal interefts to the caufe of Truth and Peace. Had fhe acted fo, it would have been for the firft time. She chofe 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 progrefs of polite and ufeful learning. But in the religious divifions which enfued, focieties were formed, where letters flourifhed in an eminent manner; and, in fubfequent times, the Monks alfo in feveral places began to apply themfelves clofely to ftudy, through fhame and emulation, and for their own honour and intereft, and many excellent fcholars arofe amongft them. Yet Erasmüs was excufable for his fears, that literature would be deprefsed and expelled, as he could not poffibly forefee what Time would bring forth.

He was earneftly folicitous to have the caufe of literature, which the Monks oppofed fo violently, feparated from the caufe of Lutheraniſm; and therefore he often obſerves, that they had no kind of connection. But, if we may fay the truth, the ftudy 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,

A. D. 1520.

words, with prose and verse, with histories, opinions, and customs, if it doth 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 Bishoprick would be at my service, if I would but write,

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against

A. D. 1520. against Luther. <sup>a</sup> I 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 shewed 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 censured in his letter, wherein, after having exhorted Luther to moderation, he adds, <sup>e</sup> I 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:

<sup>a</sup> 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.  
<sup>e</sup> Hæc scribo, non ut te admoneam, quid facias, sed ut quod facis perpetuo facias.



A. D. 1520.

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 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 which the Pope might have been extolled for his clemency, and Luther for his obedience. But his advice, whatsoever it was, came to nothing, and his sojourning at Cologne was quite uselefs, 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,

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that

† Chytræus, apud S. Calvisium, ad hunc annum.

‡ Ut et Pontifex auferret laudem clementiæ, et Lutherus obedientiæ. Ep. 570.

A. D. 1720. 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 <sup>b</sup> reply 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. <sup>i</sup> I 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 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

<sup>b</sup> It is in Tom. IX. c. 123, without any date.

<sup>i</sup> Nec tacere mihi licet, nec digna Christo loqui.

and utter all that he judged to be conformable to the Gospel. A. D. 1520. 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 Rosmund, 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 is 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.

A. D. 1520. moderation and equity to be capital crimes, when extended to a man accounted 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 \* 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 shew 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 intreat them, that they would be so good and gracious as to condescend to alter their conduct. Ep. 541.

Oecolampadius

\* Lovanii quidam non semel publicitus dixit apud populum, Linguas ac poltiores literas esse fontem omnium hæreseôn, et ob id earum Professores sustibus ejiciendos ex Academia. T. IX. c. 531.

Oecolampadius 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 Oecolampadius had chosen a society less infected than some others. Ep. 544. A. D. 1520.

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  $\Delta\sigma\tau\omega\nu$ , 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 Messias of the Jews)

A. D. 1520. Jews) ὁ Ἐλευσόμενος, *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 barbarity.

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

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 inflamed 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 shew 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 shew, 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 shews what pains he had taken to induce the Divines

A. D. 1520. 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 Pontif, 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 Turenholt<sup>1</sup> had disputed publicly at Louvain against Luther's sentiments, avoiding all personal scurrilities; and 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 recompence 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 Pontif, 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

<sup>1</sup> His name was Driedo, under which p. 24. Erasmus mentions, with approbation, some work of his upon the Scriptures, T. V. c. 1054.



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. <sup>m</sup> Let 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 was reſolved to hold communion with it. By this conduct and 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,

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because

<sup>m</sup> Affectent alii martyrium; ego me non arbitror hoc honore dignum.

A. D. 1520. 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 filly women, to bigots, and to blockheads. 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 <sup>n</sup> ludicrous and burlesque description of a dispute, which he had with Nicolas Egmond, at the house of <sup>o</sup> Rosmundus, the Rector of Louvain. The issue 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

<sup>n</sup> Appendix.

<sup>o</sup> Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 330. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 26.

Afterwards he published a long letter addressed to *his most inveterate Detractor*. This man was, it seems, a Dominican, one Vincentius. A. D. 1520.

In it he defends himself extremely well against their little cavils, and banter 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 <sup>p</sup> poetry 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 <sup>a</sup> Brixius, one of his French friends, who had written an abusive thing against More, called <sup>r</sup> *Anti-Morus*, and who was a very child compared to

<sup>p</sup> Erasmus calls it *poëtriam*, to imitate the barbarous Latin of the Monks, who called it so.

<sup>a</sup> Baillet III. 42. Rooper's Life of More, p. 175, 176. P. Jovius Elog. p. 215. Sammarthan. Elog. L. I. p. 7.

<sup>r</sup> Brixius a Thoma Moro Britannorum doctissimo, in describenda unius navis Gallicæ cum duabus Anglicis pugna, versibus virulentis atrociter et improbe laceffit, 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 fatis accederet. Sammarthanus.

It is very true, that neither More nor Brixius were 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.

A. D. 1520. to More, as Erasmus civilly, though freely, insinuates to him, and launches out into the <sup>s</sup> praises of his English friend.

“ Baillet <sup>t</sup> 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

<sup>s</sup> 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 Brixii, plane friget cavillum illud tuum, quod subinde repetis, in *Morus*. Nullus est illi tam inimicus, quin prudentiæ laudem affatim tribuat. Nam quod ubique videri vis Morum 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 quodcumque doctrinæ genus, &c. Ep. 511.

<sup>t</sup> La Monnoye, Menagian. III. 115.

“ for a good while, declaring, that if he should consent to the A. D. 1520.  
 “ 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 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 Eras-  
 “ mus 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, as More manifestly shewed in a long and a smart  
 “ letter which he wrote to him.

“ The name of Brixius, in French, was neither *Briffé* 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, to  
 “ put it at the latest, in 1538, &c.”

See More's letter to Erasmus. Ep. 555.

Bilibaldus

† He was so; for he gave a false account of this sea fight, and insulted and calumniated the whole English nation.

“ 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 Ligerinam apud Carnutes expiravit. *Jovius*.

A. D. 1520. 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 George Duke of Saxony, who presented him with two medals; and wishes, according to custom, that Luther had shewed 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 was of Cambridge, and Secretary to Cardinal Wolfey, 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 *Andree<sup>y</sup> Cnophæ, Sacerdoti optimo.*

\* Knight, p. 46.

<sup>y</sup> Erasmus laudat in eo mentem piam et avidum Christianæ doctrinæ studium.— Subjungit acrem in Clerum censuram, his verbis: *Atque adeo demeror, &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

In  
ex illis posset de consilio ejus, quod tantopere Erasmus probavit. Certum tamen est, Cnophium, Anno 1521, cum Luthero 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.*

In a letter to More he earnestly recommends <sup>z</sup> Goclenius to his favour and friendship, as one of the most deserving persons in the world. Ep. 556. A. D. 1520.

“ 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 Cologne, and Erasmus  
 “ came there, and was consulted by Frederic upon this occasion.  
 “ He replied to the Elector in a ludicrous manner: <sup>a</sup> Luther,  
 “ 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 manner, that the doctrine  
 “ of Luther was unexceptionable. He censured the Pope’s Bull  
 “ as cruel and tyrannical, and accused <sup>b</sup> Aleander 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 Em-  
 “ peror 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 <sup>c</sup> Axioms  
 “ 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:

I i

“ That

<sup>z</sup> Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 203. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 123.

<sup>a</sup> Seckendorf Hist. Luth. Pallav. L. I. c. 23. Melancthon Vit. Luth. Litteræ Aleand. ad Card. Med.

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.

<sup>c</sup> Axiomata Erasmi inter Opera Luth.

<sup>b</sup> That Erasmus accused Aleander of

A. D. 1520.

“ That being a man void of ambition, he was the less to be  
“ suspected of herefy :

“ 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 Abbeys, or Bishopricks : but he answered them ; <sup>d</sup> Luther  
“ 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 Tho-  
“ mas 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.

“ 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 surprize to the Pope ; who thanked him for his in-  
“ formations, 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. Alean-  
“ der was hung up by the heels, and the Pope and his Cardinals  
“ were spectators of the shew.” *Critique de l’Apol. d’ Erasme.*

This

<sup>d</sup> Melch. Adam. Vit. Luth.



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 peny?

Seckendorf hath given us a more exact and circumstantial account of this remarkable transaction, from <sup>e</sup> Spalatinus, 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 burn-  
 “ ing 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 <sup>f</sup> Carnia, according to Palla-  
 “ vicini; but Erasmus calls him <sup>g</sup> *Mottanum*. They were both  
 “ afterwards made Cardinals, and are excessively praised by Palla-  
 “ vicini. 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:

I i 2

“ At

<sup>e</sup> Melchior Adam. See above, p. 109.

<sup>f</sup> *Carni* are a people of Italy, belonging to the Republic of Venice. *Bau-  
drand*.

<sup>g</sup> Nachtgallus, of Stratsburg, calls him, *clarissimum virum, Aleandrum Mot-*

*tensem, præceptorem meum.* Maittaire II.

118. Aldus Manutius also calls him *Motensem*. Ib. 163. Natus est Aleander Mottæ, in Carnia. *Melch. Adam.*

Vit. Sabini.

A. D. 1520.

“<sup>b</sup> At this time came Aleander, the greatest man upon earth, in his own opinion; not only for his skill in languages, (for the Hebrew is his native tongue, the Greek he acquired sometimes, 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 is 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 chuse 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.

“<sup>k</sup> Hutten also attacked Aleander with fierce invectives.

“ 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

<sup>b</sup> This may serve as a specimen of Luther’s polemic style.

<sup>i</sup> That reproach was often cast in his teeth by his enemies; but it seems not to have been true. See Bayle.

<sup>k</sup> 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.

“ joined for that purpose to Marinus Caracciolus; and at an A. D. 1520.  
 “ Assembly held in the Church of the Minorites at Cologne, in  
 “ November <sup>1</sup>, addressed himself to Frideric Elector of Saxony,  
 “ and exhibited the Pope’s Letters; and in a long speech, con-  
 “ firming the things which had been said by his Collegue, in-  
 “ sisted, 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 Coun-  
 “ sellors 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 Augs-  
 “ burg, 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 oppo-  
 “ sed 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 pre-  
 “ vious 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 Alean-  
 “ der particularly observed, that the Commission, given to the  
 “ Elector of Treves, expired as soon as the Pontif had taken the  
 “ affair

<sup>1</sup> Melchior Adam. Vit. Luth. p. 54.

A. D. 1520. “ affair into his own hands, who was now the sole judge and  
 “ decider; that it would be as unreasonable to desire 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 In-  
 “ structions, 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 con-  
 “ cerning 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 lan-  
 “ guage; but Erasmus chose rather to speak Latin: and the  
 “ Elector understood Latin, though he answered him by Spala-  
 “ tinus. 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 steddily  
 “ upon him, and stared him full in the face. At last Erasmus  
 “ brake

“ brake out into these words: <sup>m</sup> Luther hath been guilty of two A. D. 1520.  
 “ 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 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, intreating him earnestly to  
 “ return him the manuscript, lest Alexander 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  
 “ displeas’d at the cruelty of the Bull, so unworthy of the mild  
 “ and merciful Vicar of Jesus Christ; that two Universities had  
 “ indeed condemn’d 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 inflam’d with a vehement love and long-  
 “ ing for Evangelical Truth, and that such a general disposition  
 “ was not to be odiously checked and oppress’d; 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

<sup>m</sup> Lutherus peccavit in duobus; nempe ventres Monachorum.  
 pe, quod tetigit coronam Pontificis, et

A. D. 1520.

“ 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 infligated 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 Pontifs, 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 Cologn, 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

“ 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 shewed us the true doctrine of Jesus  
 “ Christ, I will not be an opposer of the truth, whatsoever mis-  
 “ chief 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 intreat and adjure you, that you  
 “ would freely and impartially communicate to me your senti-  
 “ ments 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 Wurtzburg, 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 Bishopricks, 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 Bishoprick, if he would have encountered Lu-  
 “ ther. 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 Colong, he kept them secret, or never  
 “ acknowledged them: and it appears from one of Luther’s

A. D. 1520. “ letters, that both Luther and Erasmus were displeas’d, when  
 “ these sentiments of the latter were made public at Leipfic;  
 “ 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; and 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 precipi-  
 “ tation. We have a letter of his to Conrad Peutinger, the Em-  
 “ peror’s Counsellor, written at this very time from Cologne, 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 ” declares in the above-mentioned  
 “ letter.

“ Ex levioribus initiis sæpe nata sunt horrenda mundi diffidia. Ac mea sententia, hic quoque verum est, quod scripsit Marcus Tullius, Pacem vel iniquam bello æquissimo potiozem esse. Ac jam nunc fabula 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 propehlunt febrem, non ante purgatis venis,



“ letter. He exclaims against those, who, in his opinion, at-  
 “ tacked 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 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

K k 2

“ all

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, quia 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 manu 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 proficitur, non potest humanis præsidii opprimi, quantumvis prematur: quicquid humanis consiliis tentatur, temporarium est, quantumvis ardentibus studiis agatur, quantumvis operoso molimine ad perpetuitatem communiatur. Mei similibus 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 hactenus 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.

A. D. 1520. “ all human devices, and all the efforts of its worldly-wise  
“ enemies.

“ Lastly, He gives an <sup>p</sup> account of the scheme for a pacifi-  
“ cation projected by Faber.

“ In the *Acta Lovaniensium*, there are many passages concern-  
“ ing Aleander, Erasmus, Leo’s Bull, and the Divines of Lou-  
“ vain, which agree in the main with the things contained in  
“ the Epistles of Erasimus.

“ At the time of the Diet of Worms was published a small  
“ Treatise, now very scarce, in which are the following parti-  
“ cularities :

“ 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 Acade-  
“ mics of Louvain complained to Margaret, the Emperor’s  
“ sister, Governess of the Netherlands, that Luther by his wri-  
“ tings 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 Em-  
“ peror’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

<sup>p</sup> Censet igitur Faber noster rei sum-  
mam arbitris doctis, integris, et ab om-  
ni suspicione alienis delegandam, non  
quod Romanus Pontifex sit cogendus in  
ordinem, et alieno subjiendus arbitrio,  
sed quod existimet illius pietatem hoc  
sponte volentemque facturum, si cog-

norit 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 omni-  
bus bonis approbetur. Ep. 542.

“ their books to be burned. And what books, think ye? Not A. D. 1520,  
 “ 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 School-men.

“ 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 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 Faber, the Dominican, who at this time agreed with Erasmus in the same pacific scheme, and in favouring Luther,

was  
 Confundendus hic Joannes Faber, Monachus Dominicanus, non est cum Joanne Fabro, Leutkirchenſi Canonico, et Suffraganeo Constantienſi, poſtea Epifcopo Viennenſi. Hic acerri- mus 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 reſert. 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 Au- “ guſtæ Collegium tradendis linguis et “ bonis literis. Oſtendit diploma Cæ- “ ſaris Maximiliani. De capitalibus “ quibuſdam Lutheri hoſtibus atque de “ ipſa Romana Curia pluſquam hoſtili- “ ter loquebatur. Arridebat morum “ commoditas, et in ſua Theologia vi- “ debatur non vulgariter eruditus. His “ rebus extorſit a me commendationes “ aliquot. Quin et Colonia, cum illic “ eſſet Cæſar, et colebat nos. De Lu- “ thero reliquit æquiſſimum judicium

“ ſua.

A.D. 1520. 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 carry him to jail. But Grynæus escaped their hands, being warned of his danger by a venerable old man. Melanchthon, 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 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 <sup>†</sup>Peutinger, Counsellor to the Emperor.

In Ep. 543 Erasmus sends his compliments to his friend <sup>‡</sup>Draco, with whom he corresponded. He is the same person, I think, who is called Joannes Draconites by Melch. Adam *Vit. Draconitæ.*

This year died <sup>\*</sup>Sebastian Brand, a man esteemed by Erasmus, who had written a copy of verses in praise of him.

Erasmus

“ 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.

<sup>†</sup> Solatium quoddam sumit a comrauni cum aliis viris doctissimis forte, quorum recentes libri præcipitanti con-

filio damnati, postmodum magni habitifuerint, inter quos laudat Occamum, Picum, Vallam, dein etiam Wesselum, Fabrum Stapulensem, ipsumque Erasmus. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 102.

<sup>‡</sup> Melchior Adam.

<sup>††</sup> See above, p. 138.

<sup>\*</sup> Melch. Adam *Vit. Brandi.*

Eraſmus was often at Louvain. <sup>†</sup> He and Vives once dwelt together there, and promoted literature as much as they could, though not without great oppoſition from ſome of the Divines. A. D. 1520.

The letters of this year are from Louvain, Antwerp, Bruges, Anderlac, Cologne, and Baſil.

A. D. MDXXI.

Ætat. LIV.

This year Eraſmus wrote an elegant letter to a Bohemian 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 Bohemian 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 cœqual Preſbyters one ſingle Biſhop, to guard againſt ſchiſms; ſo it is uſeful at preſent from the whole Body of Biſhops to chuſe one Pope, not only to prevent private diſſenſions, but to moderate the tyranny

<sup>†</sup> Celebrabantur ibi (Lovanii) duo velut principes ſtudiorum, Eraſmus, et Ludovicus Vives, Hiſpanus, qui Inquiſitionis rabiem fugiens, voluntario exilio ſolum verterat, 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 Liſianum, ubi rationes illæ vitæ, quoties in Belgico verſaretur, habebat pridem conſtitutas. *Meliſ. Adam. Vit. Mudæi.*

A. D. 1521. ranny 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,

cenfured, were often carried on without the Pope's knowledge, A. D. 1521. or in oppofition to his will; or that the Pope is more enlightened, and better difpofed, than the Doctors and the Courtiers, whom he confults, and out of whom he himfelf is chofen, and raifed to the Pontifical throne, where he certainly doth not increafe in virtue; in learning, and in religious knowledge. If St. Peter were to return to us again, and to go to Rome, he would foon retire thence, when he fhould find that he could change and mend nothing there; and that it would be expected from him, that he fhould divest himfelf of his Apoftolical character, and act the part of the Politician and the temporal Prince. Thefe things were fo extremely vifible, that one can hardly conceive how Erasmus could tell the Lutherans, that they ought to be contented with making moft humble remonftrances and fupplications.

He fays to this Bohemian Lord, who exhorted him to join with Luther, that he would with all his heart, if he faw that Luther was with the Catholic Church. Not that I mean, fays he, to pronounce him excluded from it; for it is no bufinefs 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 fides, I will fix myfelf upon the folid rock, until a calm fucceeds, and it be apparent which is the Church. Wherefoever Evangelical peace fhall be found, there fhall Erasmus be found likewife. The meaning of all this feems to be, that he intended to wait for the event, before he declared himfelf, and that he much feared that the event would not be favourable to Luther. This inclined him to pay his <sup>z</sup> court a little to the defenders of the See of Rome, as it appears from fome following letters. Ep. 563, 568, 569, 570.

L I

The

<sup>z</sup> Amlingus sæpe dixit, Idem de me nimium fecerim; verum conscientia mea mihi licet dicere, quod Erasmus de Monachis conquerentibus, quasi nimis rigide ageret, dixit, Accusant me, quod me accusat, quod minus fecerim, quodque lentior fuerim. *Melch. Adam Vit. Amlingi.*

A. D. 1521.

The celebrated <sup>a</sup> Diet of Worms was held this year, where Luther, who had as much courage as Alexander and Julius Cæsar put together, made his <sup>b</sup> appearance, 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 fortrefs of Wartburg, where he remained <sup>c</sup> concealed for <sup>d</sup> some time, being <sup>e</sup> proscribed by the Emperor, and excommunicated by the Pope. Hereupon Erasmus wrote a long letter to his friend Jodocus <sup>f</sup> Jonas, 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 opposite 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

<sup>a</sup> Sleidan L. III. Seckendorf L. I. p. 156—158. Melch. Adam Vit. Luth. p. 56, 57. Fiddes's *Life of Wolfey*; who censures Luther for not submitting himself and his cause to the Pope and his Deputies, p. 240.

<sup>b</sup> 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.

<sup>c</sup> 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.

<sup>d</sup> About ten months. *Sculteti Annal.*

<sup>e</sup> 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 Comitibus 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.

<sup>f</sup> Beza Icon. Melch. Adam.



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 shewed 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 <sup>e</sup> Charles V, he was a most ambitious and restless Prince, who made a conscience <sup>h</sup> of nothing, to accomplish any of his projects, as it appears from the bloody wars which he waged under religious pretences, and

L 1 2

indeed

<sup>e</sup> At this time he was little more than a boy, being born in 1500.

<sup>h</sup> He said so of himself; and we may take his word for it. See Bayle CRISTIANE, Not. D.

In Belgio Carolus Cæsar, A. 1521, dira edicta contra sectas, quas sic vocant, omnes et singulas edit, et quotan-

nis fere renovat, quorum vi, imperante Carolo, in solo Belgio capite truncata, submersa, suspensa, defossa, exusta, aliisque mortis generibus extincta ultra quinquaginta hominum millia scribuntur. *Meteranus*. See Von der Hardt. P. V.

P. 39.

A. D. 1521. indeed from his whole conduct. The Lutherans would have been fools and mad, to have trusted themselves and their cause to such a Pontif, 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. There is a 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

<sup>1</sup> Ita sancta quadam vafricie temporis saurus Evangelicæ Veritatis, unde conservandum, ne tamen prodatur The- rüpti mores publici possint restitui.

rance 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 favour 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.

“<sup>k</sup> Maurice of Saxony took Augsbourg with many other Imperial cities — and marched on to Inspruch, where the Emperor lay; and surpris'd 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 advantages 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

<sup>k</sup> Burnet II. 213, 330. See also QUINT. Continuat. Sleidani L. I. p. 52. Sleidan L. 23, 24; and Bayle CHARLES- Thuanus L. X. & L. XXI. p. 642.

A. D. 1521. “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 mis-  
 “fortunes redoubled upon him — and he began to reflect on the  
 “vanity of the world. —It was one of the notablest turns of for-  
 “tune that had been in many ages; and gave a great demon-  
 “stration 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.”

“<sup>1</sup> According 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 of business, the  
 “prepossession

<sup>1</sup> Burnet III. 253.

“ prepossession of education, and the views of interest, had pre- A. D. 1521.  
 “ judiced 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 in-  
 “ terest had no more power over him, there are great presump-  
 “ tions 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 bar-  
 “ barous<sup>m</sup> execution. <sup>n</sup> Constantine Pontius, 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 Egidius,  
 “ whom the Emperor had named to the Bishoprick 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 Caranza,  
 “ a Dominican, who had been Confessor to King Philip and to  
 “ Queen Mary, and had been by her recommended to the Arch-  
 “ bishoprick.

<sup>m</sup> Continuat. Sleidani L. I. p. 77.

<sup>n</sup> See Bayle PONCE.

A. D. 1521. “ bishoprick 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 Tordelaguna: 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 Vallidolid, 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 an heretic, he had for-  
 “ feited all his dominions, and by consequence he had no right  
 “ to resign them to his son.”

Bayle

o Creditur autem a quibusdam Carolus in extremis rectius de Protestantium doctrina sensit. Hoc certum, quod vix integro anno post, cum Philippus in Hispaniam tantum quod redisset, et multi hæreseos damnati, atque ignis supplicio afficiendi, 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 Sarpus affirmant, negat Pallavicinus, qui vivo Carolo jam in carcerem Hispani conjectum,

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 <sup>p</sup> rancour and malice, being penned by Aleander. However, whilst Luther attended there, and pleaded his cause, he was treated with much affability and <sup>q</sup> civility by that illustrious assembly.

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.

<sup>p</sup> Seckendorf L. I. p. 158.

<sup>q</sup> Quicquid autem malevoli de gestis WORMATIÆ, a Luthero et cum eo, muginentur, illustre in omne ævum exemplum,

M m plum,

A. D. 1521. bly. He shewed 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, Erasmus talks more coldly against Monastic vows than he had been accustomed:

plum, cui par nullum memorari potest, Imperator, Principes, Procereſque, et Lutherus utrinque ediderunt: illi quidem, quod privatum et Monachum, tum, quod maximum erat, damnatum jam ſolemniter a Pontifice, in conſeſſum ſuum ſplendidiffimum admiſſum benigne et patienter audiverint, ſecuritatem promiſſam, ſpretis multorum, qui tollendum homuncionem dicerent, ſuggeſtionibus fervaverint, amice et humaniter in colloquiis tractaverint.—Celeberimus 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 ardentiffimis 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 reſutandis adverſariis, quam negare tandem poſt tot extenuationes non plane auſus Palavicinus, lateribus, id eſt clamori et corporis robori Lutheri tribuit. Ipſe vero vir admirandus, ut mos eſt optimo cuique, ſibi

non ſatiſfecit, et hoc anno, quanquam deſperatis pene rebus ſuis, exul et ſemcaptivus, tum corpore peſſime valens, in literis ad Spalatinum datis conqueritur: *Ego timeo valde et vexor conſcientia, quod tuo et amicorum conſilio cedens, Wormatiæ remiſi ſpiritum meum, et Idolis non exhibuerim Eliam quendam: 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 concurriffe, &c. Fridericum Electorem Spalantino dixiſſe, *O quam bene Pater Martinus Germanice et Latine coram Cæſare et Ordinibus locutus eſt! ſatis, aut nimium animoſus fuit.*

Erasmus libertatem votorum, ſive juſ ex Monafteriis diſcedendi, et conjugia Clericorum, laudat, aut non improbat pluribus locis, ita ut in longa illa, qua ſuæ juventutis caſus ſub nomine Florentii deſcripſit, Epiftola, 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 Lutheranifmi (ut queritur in literis ad Jod. Jonam) ob hanc quoque ſententiam gravabatur, oppoſitionem fecit ſuæ et Lutheri ſententiæ. *Moneo, ait, juvenes non eſſe pelliciendos ad*



customed: but he was frightened at the then present situation of A. D. 1521. affairs.

° Oecolampadius now began to go over to the Reformers.

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 the men who sacrifice all things

to

*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 Saxonie 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 Ecclesie, non ad destructionem. Eo percellere pueros ac puellas inhumanum arbitror; et pium, eximere fraude captos. Imprimis optandum esset sacerdotes castitatem et cœlestem vitam amplecti. Nunc rebus adeo contaminatis, fortasse levius malum esset eligendum. Hæc opinio si non placet Ecclesie præfatis, pro somnio ducatur. Ita attemperare dicta sua ad genium eorum, quibus scribebat, noverat Erasmus. Seckendorf L. I. p. 173.*

See *Sculdet. Annal.* in Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 40.

° Oecolampadius quid in Cœnobio delitescens de Lutero senserit, iudicium ejus ad amicum loquitur: *Jam de Martino libere loquor, ut sæpe antebac; quod Evangelicæ veritati propius accedat, quam adversarii sui, &c. Pleraque ab eo dicta tam certa sunt apud me, ut si etiam 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.

° 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,

A. D. 1521. 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 expence of Christianity. Thus it hath happened in Italy, and Spain, and Portugal, and in all places where Monks and Inquifitors 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 to have any regard at all for the Learned! and much more, to preserve so constant an affection for a man of merit, especially 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

adum de vena cœlestis doctrinæ. Adeo turpiter isti adulantur Principibus et iis unde spes est commodi, cum summa injuria Christianæ veritatis.

"Magnates autem adeo non adjuvant sua benignitate rem literariam, ut existi-

ment nullam pecuniam perire perditius, quam quæ in tales usus consumitur; neque quicquam omnino placet illis, unde non *vestigial* aliquod tollitur. *Erasmus*

Adag. c. 405.

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. A. D. 1521.

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 *πρωχέλυδες*, *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 eighth 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 remarks 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.

\* Baillet II. 287. Erasmus T. IX. † Tom. IX. c. 283.  
c. 283. Maittaire II. 129.

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“ Stunica began to write against Erasmus, whilst Cardinal  
 “ Ximenes <sup>z</sup> (who died in 1517) was living. The Cardinal ad-  
 “ vised 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 <sup>a</sup> happening 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.* — — <sup>b</sup> Leo X forbad  
 “ 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 <sup>c</sup> of Stunica, and allows him to be a man of erudition,  
 but

<sup>z</sup> Gallæi Imagines. Cave Hist. Lit. Append. V. II. p. 243. Maittaire II. 128. Fiddes Life of Wolsey, p. 110. Pope Blount, p. 369. Flechier, and Marfollier's Histoire de Ximenes.

<sup>a</sup> Erasmus relates this story in his Apology against Stunica, T. IX. c. 284.

<sup>b</sup> See Erasmus, T. IX. c. 357, 384.

<sup>c</sup> Quæ de Jacobo Lopis Stunica scribis, accepi omnia. Ejus librum nondum vidi, sed suspicor Pseudo-Christianum esse: ejus enim familiæ plures Avenione Judæi erant, quorum aliqui sacro se lavacro abluerunt: et ex eis quidam

but suspects him to be a Jew, who wore the mask of a Christian. A. D. 1521.  
Erasmus throws out <sup>d</sup> suspicions of the same kind, in his answers to Stunica.

<sup>e</sup> As

dam medicus, mediocriter doctus, familiaris meus est. Ejus librum libenter legerem; si ad Andream fratrem tuum venalem miseris, forte comparabo; nam si melus 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 attingunt, meræ videntur minutiae, et quod dicitur λεπτολογήματα sunt. *Ibid.* p. 94.

<sup>d</sup> 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 Hæbræorum 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 Stunicæ, 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 incrementum per gradus oratio, nisi forte Stunica servat ordinem Hebræorum, qui scribunt præpostere. c. 372.

Possit in literis Hebraicis, quas a teneris unguiculis imbibit, non pœnitendam 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 adorianatur 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 profigabit, quam Lopus et Sanctius. c. 424.

Nec

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° As to Luther, 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 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 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, who ascribed to him some writings of Luther, of which he had not even heard. It was affirmed, that Erasmus 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

Nec me latet, qui subornent histriones hujus fabulæ. Pharisaicum genus est, et Ebionitarum reliquiæ. Satis sit Judæis, quod semel occiderint Christum.

—c. 427.

° Quid toties mihi Lutherium inculcas? quem ego bene vel male faciat, nihil æstimo: et quoniam id ad me non pertinet, fusque deque fero. Et forte publice interest esse aliquem, qui tantam licentiam coërceat, et qui etiam injusta defendat, ut saltem justa obtineantur.

† Arminii mentionem feci, ut Frobenii

nii temeritati obviam irem, qui in secunda Erasmi Editione in Testamentum Novum, liminarem pagellam pictura insignivit, qua Quintilium Varum Arminius superat, victoque insultat hoc dictione; *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.

‡ Val. Andræ Bibl. Belg. p. 458. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 38.

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 declared 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. <sup>h</sup> BUT *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 nearly to 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  
 N n freely

<sup>h</sup> 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 potuisssem opitulari Lutero, 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 vitiaffet. Quod si omnia pie scripisset, non tamen erat animus ob veritatem capite periclitari. Non omnes ad martyrium satis habent roboris: vereor autem, ne, si quid inciderit tumultus, Petrum sim imitaturus.

A. D. 1521. 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. <sup>1</sup> I follow, says he, the decisions of the Pope and the Emperor 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 luke-warmness, 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

<sup>1</sup> Pontificis ac Cæsaris bene decernentis sequor (decreta) quod pium est; male statuentis fero, quod tutum est. Id opinor etiam bonis viris licere, si nulla spes sit profectus.



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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 <sup>k</sup> quarrels, 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 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 Wolfey, &c. but even his Patron Warham, Montjoy, More, Tonstal, Fisher, Campenius, Bembus, Sadolet, and many others, whom he loved entirely, and to some of whom he was much obliged. These things might influence his <sup>l</sup> judgment, though he himself was 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

N n 2 superstition;

<sup>k</sup> 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.

<sup>l</sup> In cases like this,

*Beneficium accipere, est libertatem vendere.*

A. D. 1521. 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 dissingenuity 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 an 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*.

“<sup>m</sup> Calvin, 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

<sup>m</sup> Bayle CASTELLAN, Not. Q.

A. D. 1521.

“ 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 accu-  
 “ sing and condemning others, as acting against the dictates of  
 “ their own conscience.”

Erasmus shews 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 proceed-  
 ings; 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 was  
 seditionous. But Luther, who was of another humour, would  
 have replied; that such was his hatred for falshood 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.

\* Mihi adeo est invisa discordia, ut veritas etiam displiceat seditiosa.

A. D. 1521. 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 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 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 <sup>p</sup> hated the name

° Fiddes's Life of Wolfey, p. 246,  
250. Maittaire II. 609.

<sup>p</sup> Diximus nonnulla de Jesuitarum in  
cremandis hæreticorum, quos nuncupant,  
libris

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. A. D. 1527.

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 chafms, because some Prince was mentioned in it, whom it was not safe to offend. Capito inveighs against the violence and the satirical libels of the Lutherans which then flew about, though in his heart

libris industria: nunc quædam ejus e odia, ut ea non modo in illos, sed in eorum  
litteris illorum annuis documenta exhibebimus. Ita autem ad sui Ordinis Generale, A. 1584, Colonienſe Collegium, cum alia de ſuis profelytis prædicasset: *Multo major laus videri debet, eos, qui in tanta hærefum colluvione ſunt ter. T. IX. p. 760.*

A. D. 1521. 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 deplores the death of that Prelate's brother, the Bishop of Breslaw.

In his letter to Polydore <sup>a</sup> Virgil, 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 <sup>r</sup> print his Book 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.

“ <sup>s</sup> Erasmus 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 <sup>t</sup> money to purchase an horse. After he had lived forty  
 “ years in England, he was dismissed with a gift of three hun-  
 “ dred crowns from the King, and with liberty of enjoying the  
 “ Archdeaconry of Wells, and the Prebend of Nunnington in  
 “ the Church of Hereford. He presented the Church of Wells  
 “ with

<sup>a</sup> P. Jovius Elog. p. 213. Bayle  
 VIRGILE (POLYDORE) which is an  
 Article well drawn up. Pope Blount,  
 p. 451.

<sup>r</sup> Maittaire II. 619.

<sup>s</sup> Knight, p. 169.

<sup>t</sup> Dedisti quo paretur equus; utinam  
 dare possis quo reparetur eques.

“ with Hangings for the Quire, upon which were wrought a A. D. 1521.  
 “ Laurel-tree, and these words,

“ *Sunt Polydori 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*, with all their might and malice. He also justly censures the “Paganism of the Italian Poets and Philologers, and gives us a remarkable account, how learning stood at that time in various parts, and speaks favourably of Oxford, and of Cambridge still more favourably.

\* Rutgerus

‘ Bayle BUSLEIDEN. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 63.

“ —Neque enim folis 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 oblectata est initio; sed Cardinalis ac Regis auctoritate coerciti sunt, qui tantum bonum clarissimæ ac vetustissimæ scholæ invadebant. 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

O o est,

A. D. 1521. \* Rutgerus Rescius, 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, and banters him at the same time.

He returns his thanks to Livinus, an Abbot, whom he calls *Præfulem 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

est, quam a complectendo linguas, ac bonas literas. Cujus præcipuum ornamentum est egregius ille senex, planeque dignus qui multos vincat Nestoras, *Antonius Nebriffensis*. In Germania tot fere sunt Academiæ, quot oppida. Harum nulla pene est, quæ non magnis salariis accersat linguarum Professores. Coloniae, nescio quo fato, nunquam in pretio fuerunt mansuetiora studia, quod illic, ut audio, regnant examina Dominicanorum ac Franciscanorum. Certe semper liberum fuit cui liberet profiteri, vel mercede. Lovanii quibus tumultibus obstitere Proceres, ne quis quamlibet honestam disciplinam profiteretur, vel gratis? — &c. Lutetiæ licuit Faustulo profiteri quoslibet Poetas, usque ad ænias Priapeas, idque more, ne quid aliud dicam, Faustino. Lovanii non licuit Nefeno enarrare Geographiam Pomponii Melæ. Roma ipsa, Mediolanum, ut de cæteris taceam gymnasiis, ingentibus præmiis ambit et evocat eos qui linguas doceant. Nos trilingue Collegium — sic machinis omnibus oppugnâvimus, ut majore studio fieri non poterit. Et tamen haud scio an us-

quam 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 Nebriffensis*.

\* Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 63.

† 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 vocolæ quidem ullius injuriam ferant, postulant ut tu tam insignem contumeliam miffes, ac prope modum etiam ultro veniam postules, ne quid scilicet illorum decedat dignitati.— Fac ita litiges, quemadmodum hætenus 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.



To his friend Barbirius he accuses himself <sup>z</sup> of indiscretion, A. D. 1521. and speaks of his open, and jocosé, and unreserved temper.

He observes, that none exclaim louder against Luther's errors, than a set of <sup>a</sup> Epicurean Atheists. 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 <sup>b</sup> English, 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 <sup>c</sup> Alciat. Ep. 600.

O O 2

<sup>d</sup> Alciat

<sup>z</sup> Et ut ingenue, quod verum est, fatear, sum natura propensior ad jocos, quam fortasse deceat, et linguæ liberioris, quam nonnunquam expediat. Me-tior enim aliorum animos ex meo. Nec toties falsus, possum ab ingenio meo recedere.—

<sup>a</sup> 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 ple-

rique nostrum sunt. Quot enim sunt apud nos, qui nec resurrectionem corporum credunt, nec animam credunt corpori superstitem? Et interim per istos sævitur in hæreticos, qui dubitant an Romanus Pontifex habeat jus in animas igne purgatorio cruciatus. *Adag. c. 967.*

<sup>b</sup> 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 potuisssem.

<sup>c</sup> Boissard Icon. p. 135. Baillet IV. 388. VI. 69. Bayle ALCIAT. Scalligeran, p. 13. Pope Blount, p. 414.

A. D. 1521.

<sup>d</sup> Alciat had the same notions with Erasmus, concerning the Religious Orders in the Church; and of this he gave a <sup>e</sup> remarkable instance 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, 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 shew 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 <sup>f</sup> entertaining, 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 <sup>g</sup> opens his heart, and censures the Pope's proceedings against the

<sup>d</sup> Alciat a été le premier, qui a fait imprimer *Notitia Imperii*, & il y a fait une belle preface. *Scaligeran.*

Alciatus primus purioris literaturæ et antiquitatis cognitionem ad juris scientiam attulit. *Thuanus* L. VIII. p. 264.

<sup>e</sup> *Andræ Alciati contra vitam Monasticam ad Bernardum Mattium Epistolæ, &c.*

*See Act. Erudit. XVII. 290.*

<sup>f</sup> Appendix.

<sup>g</sup> *Quin et illud demiror, Pontificem tale negotium per tales homines agere,*

partim indoctos, certe impotentis arrogantia 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 Lutherani 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.

Hæc

the Lutherans, and gives Aleander a most detestable character, A. D. 1521. 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 Aleander. As to Cardinal Cajetan, Erasmus describes him as a furious, imperious, and insolent Ecclesiastic. See Seckendorf concerning this Cardinal, and concerning Miltitius, another of the Pope's agents: L. I. 45, &c. 60, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Pope Leo died, of poison, as it was commonly supposed. As he had remarkably favoured literature, and shewed some kindness to

Hac arte valet Aleander. Is me Colonia 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 implerunt 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 amiciorem Erasmo, quam esset ipse. Ep. 618.

Cum datum est venenum, aut intentata calumnia capitalis, allegatur zelus, et hostis Ecclesiæ proscibitur, quisquis parum favet his, qui nutantem Ecclesiam humeris suis fulciunt. Et habent (Monachi) arcana dogmata, quæ non communicant nisi mysteriis iisdem initi-

atis. In his est, ut aiunt, fas piunque esse veneno clam dato tollere, qui pestem moliatur Ecclesiæ: certissimam autem esse pestem Ecclesiæ, si quid decidatur ipsorum commodis vel auctoritati. *Lingua*, c. 720.

Quam non referunt (Apostolorum): exemplum quidam, qui non virgam tantum Apostolicam, sed carceres habent, catenas habent, confiscationes bonorum habent, et brachium seculare, denique bombardas habent, et armatum satellitium, imo et *venena* habent, aliisque mille terroribus armati sunt. — T. V. c. 226. F.

De hoc hominum genere scripsit Pfallmographus; *Venenum aspidum sub lingua eorum*: non dixit, in pixidibus eorum, quanquam nec eo carent quidam; sed sub lingua eorum, ubi tutissime occulitur, et facillime depromitur. Tom. IX. c. 442.

<sup>b</sup> Multa ad Leonis mores pertinentia Varillasius nuper in Arcana historia Florentina prodidit, ex quibus, et ex silentio Pallavicini, iudicium Pauli Veneti

A. D. 1521. to Erasmus, this learned man hath spoken favourably of him in some of his writings, and was 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.

<sup>i</sup> Wolfey 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, Bruffels, and Bruges.

A. D. MDXXII.

Ætat. LV.

A. D. 1522. This year Erasmus published the works of St. Hilary, and dedicated them to Joannes Carondeletus, Bishop of Palermo. This <sup>k</sup> Dedication is an excellent composition; and the Benedictins of Paris,

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 magnificentia, aliarumque, quæ nec Christianum, nedum Christi vicarium faciunt, dotium laude, qua illum Literati ejus ætatis vehementer extollunt, interque eos omnium copiosissime Erasmus, &c. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 190, 191.

Homò literarum amans, sed splendidus, sumptuosus, musicæ, scurris, et voluptatibus deditus supra modum. *Perizonius*, p. III.

Sic Leonem decimum, quum omnia persisterent 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 consumpsit quatuordecies centena millia aureorum, relicta ingenti vi æris alieni. *Spalatinus* in the *Amæn. Literar.* T. IV. p. 396.

Paul Jovius Vit. Leonis. Remarques de Joli sur le Diæt. de Bayle, *Art. LEO X.* *Cave Hist. Lit.* Vol. II. p. 247.

<sup>i</sup> Fiddes, p. 253.

<sup>k</sup> 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 shewed the way to all those who have followed him. B. E.

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 Préface 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 shewed 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,

I. Erasmus shews, that the Monks, who had formerly transcribed the works of Hilary, had curtailed and interpolated 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 Benedictins endeavour to excuse Hilary; and his style, which is very nearly allied to jargon, gives some room for such favourable constructions. But the ancient 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

A. D. 1522. 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 Ancients, 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 farther 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

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 'divine 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 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?

P p

These

<sup>1</sup> He seems to mean the doctrine of the infallibility and extravagant authority of the Pope, or of Councils; and he thus explains himself in Tom. IX. c. 920.

Loquor illic de iis, qui Romano Pontifici tribuunt plus fatis, quorum adulationem scio nec Theologis probari. Id fatis arguebat libellus, quo responderunt Cardinali Cajetano.

A. D. 1522. 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 farther than they, and that without any necessity compelling us. Formerly faith consisted more in a good life, than in the profession of <sup>m</sup> articles of religion. Necessity engaged Christians to draw up articles, but yet few in number, and with an Apostolical moderation and reserve. Then the perverseness and malice of heretics

<sup>m</sup> 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 articulare*. Atqui isthuc non est hæreses excludere, sed hæreticos facere. Sic cœpit Arianum incendium, &c. *Ep.* 746.



tics 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 mens 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 <sup>n</sup> remarks 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 Benedictines 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 assist-

A. D. 1522. ances, which they enjoyed, and of which this great man was destitute. Let it suffice here to observe, that the very best things said by Erasmus in this Dedication, were those which most ° of-fended 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 <sup>p</sup> monsters and prodigies, so that I know not what party to take: only.

° The Sorbonists also, in their Censures, attacked this poor Dedication with great fury.

<sup>p</sup> Est genus hominum in hoc natum,

ut nulli sint usui, tantum in publicam utilitatem aliquid molientibus facessant negotium, nec alia re celebres. T. IX.

c. 1047.

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 ancient 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 Evangelical 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-  
 A. D. 1522.  
 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.

A. D. 1522. if he hoped to do any good. Then came Aleander, who, before Luther was known, looked upon Erasmus as one <sup>a</sup> artificer 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 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 ancient 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 Pontif, says he, and the Emperor, might redress these disorders, without

any

<sup>a</sup> Alluding to Hesiod;

Καὶ κεραιμὸς κεραιμὴ κοίτη, καὶ τέκνονι τέκλων,  
Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φρονέει, καὶ δοιδὸς δοιδῶ.

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. A. D. 1522.

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 lifting 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 shewed soon afterwards.

He had lately published at Basil his celebrated <sup>s</sup> 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

<sup>x</sup> He says, two hundred thousand, in Ep. 644.

<sup>s</sup> See Bayle ERASME, Not. Q.

Quoniam autem Colloquiorum meministi, subit animo mirari, quam omnibus in rebus dominetur fortuna. Quid hoc argumento nugacius? Et ta-

men vix credas in quot exemplariorum millia propagatum, nondum expleat empturientium aviditatem. Hoc anno (1524) rursus prodit aliqua coronide dilatatum. Sic in amicorum gratiam ineptio. *Erasm. Ep. ad Viandalum*, T. V. c. 234.

A. D. 1522. 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 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 shewed 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 dis-  
 “ cernment.

“ 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

“ which seemed then to be gloomy and melancholy.” *Vigneul-Marville*. *Melanges*, Vol. II. p. 135. A. D. 1522.

“ 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 *Moricæ*, *Bilibaldicæ*, and *Blaurericæ*, 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 ancient authors; and John Costerius, in his notes on Vincentius Lirinensis, gives 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 Rittershufius, dedicated to his sister *Charity* a translation of a Treatise of Plutarch, and the works of Fulgentius; 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 scētatrix; 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

Q q

“ *Blaurericæ*,

“ 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 Chaldee version.

A. D. 1522. “ *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. *Scriptit modo ad me Dominus Marchio Granatensis, Colloquia Erasmi ignibus destinata esse: perichitari 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. Choise, p. 465, or 146.

“ The Faculty of Theology at Paris passed a general censure, in 1526, upon the Colloquies of Erasmus, as upon a work, in which the Fasts and abstinences of the Church are slighted, the Suffrages of the holy Virgin and of the Saints are derided, Virginitie is set below matrimony, Christians are discouraged from Monkery, and Grammatical is preferred to Theological erudition.

“ Du Pin XIII. 220. Erasmus, T. IX.



“ 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 it may be judged with what comfort Erasmus would have lived at Paris, if he had accepted the <sup>y</sup> invitation of Francis I, who either could not or would not have protected him from such persecutors.

“ z A Provincial Council also held at Cologne, 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 <sup>a</sup>, who justifies this witty and useful book against their pitiful censures.

Q q 2

And

\* 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.

<sup>y</sup> Quod amplissimis promissis invitatis in Galliam, scis qualia vulgo ferantur Gallorum promissa ; nec ignoras, quid

acciderit Æsopico Cani. *Erasmus*, Ep. 897.

<sup>z</sup> Du Pin XIII. 204.

<sup>a</sup> 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 lusit 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.

A. D. 1522. And yet they had a 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.*

“<sup>b</sup> The *Moricæ Encomium*, 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 knowledge. 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 *Abregé de l'histoire des Sçavans*; who says the same also of the *Encomium Moricæ*. 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 shewed 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 afterwards. 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 <sup>c</sup> commends Albert Durer <sup>d</sup>,

<sup>b</sup> Knight, p. 203.

<sup>c</sup> 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.

rer <sup>d</sup>, who at Bruffels began to draw his picture, and 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. A. D. 1522.

Pirckheimerus highly esteemed his friend Durer, both for his skill, and for his good qualities; and so did <sup>e</sup> Melanchthon. It should be observed, to his honour, that he never once prostituted his art, by employing it upon obscene subjects.

Erasmus, in the same letter <sup>f</sup>, complains of Hutten's libel, of which we shall say more hereafter.

## Sanctius

<sup>d</sup> Bayle DURER. Maittaire II. 417, 432. Melchior Adam. Burchard Com. de Vit. Hutten. p. 183.

Nullius inter pictores clarius nomen, quam Dureri nostri, qui, quod Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus in vita ejus commemorat, Italorum invidiam comescens, 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 five pictas five æri incisas imagines, quotquot nancisci poterat, cremasse, aut comminuisse in frustra. *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 sine and simply, so that they may well be un-

derstood of the common man. *Luther's Colloq. Mens.* p. 510.

<sup>e</sup> De Durero Melanchthon dicere solebat, Pictoriam, qua antecelluit citra controversiam omnibus suæ ætatis artificibus, fuisse in eo minimam. 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. Adfidebat 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*.

<sup>f</sup> Emoriar, mi 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

A. D. 1522.

Sanctius Caranza, a Spanish Divine, <sup>s</sup> wrote against Erasmus, in defence of part of Stunica's book: and Erasmus gave him a smart and spirited <sup>h</sup> reply. Afterwards they were <sup>i</sup> reconciled, and good friends.

Adrian VI having succeeded to Leo, Erasmus dedicated to him an edition of a Commentary of one <sup>k</sup> Arnobius 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 against his humble Servant, without first giving him an hearing.

In this Dedication he makes remarks upon the uncouth and barbarous style of his Author, whom by mistake he confounds with that more ancient 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

đinali 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 ferriæ: detuli ei officium, si quod a me præstari vellet. Nihil minus expectabam, quam hunc assultum ab Hutteno. Multis conjecturis adducor ut credam Henricum Eppendorpium hujus fabulæ artificem, &c. Ep. 631.

<sup>s</sup> Dolet quod Stunicam dignatus sim unquam responso. Et huic successit Caranza non edentulus. Ep. 628.

<sup>h</sup> Tom. IX. c. 402.

<sup>i</sup> 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, ἄπρον εἰς τὸ πείθειν. Sit igitur hæc epistola, manu mea descripta, pignus ac monumentum fœderis, auspicio Gratarum 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, blandèque monebis hominẽ, amet quam volet effuse, sed prædicet parcius, ob linguas fascinatrices. In hoc certamine non cedam. Ep. 812.

This was written A. 1526.

<sup>k</sup> Arnobius Junior. See Du Pin XIV. 51. Cave H. L. I. p. 449.

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<sup>1</sup> did 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<sup>m</sup> Heresbachius, 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. 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 Pontif; but that he had fallen sick at Constance,

<sup>1</sup> Duos Lutheri libellos ad me sane frustra misit tua Celsitudo, rudem ejus linguæ qua scripti sunt.

<sup>m</sup> Fuit vir dignitate præstans; omni literarum genere absolutus — et quam in Pontificatu vixerit — æquatam laudem apud Evangelicos Pontifi-

ciosque 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 satisfecit. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Heresbachii.*

A. D. 1522. stance, 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.

<sup>n</sup> Guindano, an Italian, composed an 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 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

<sup>n</sup> Bayle GUINDANO.

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 of his friend Reuchlin, who died this year. Ep. 642, 644.

Ulricus Huttenus, whom Erasmus had often celebrated before the Lutheran contests 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 set him word by Eppendorf, that if Hutten only intended a visit of civility, he begged to be excused, on account of bad consequences.

R r

quences.

° Reverfus Pellicanus Basileam, Erasmus narravit de obitu, et suo colloquio, occasionemque præbuit dialogo illi de apotheosi Reuchlini. Sicut et eidem, quod de Franciscano Conrado et Bernardino lufit, sua facundia illustrans historiam veram quidem, sed humiliorum, quam quæ legatur. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Pellic.*

A. D. 1522. quences. Hutten at first seemed satisfied with the excuse; but before he had quitted 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 falsehood, 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 chuseth to employ in defence of it, and are the majority and the stronger party.



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.

A. D. 1522.

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 Falshood 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 Bérardus, he speaks with <sup>p</sup> grief and detestation of the wars between France and the Empire; and wishes,

<sup>p</sup> Video, discruciorque animo, bellum hoc inter Germanos et Gallos Indies magis ac magis incrudescere. Quanta totius rei Christianæ calamitas, duos

potentissimos orbis Monarchas sic feracibus diffidiis inter se conflictari? Tolerabilius esset malum, si res eorum quoties interest, monomachiis iniretur. Sed quid.

wishes, that ambitious Princes could terminate their quarrels by duels, and not involve their innocent and unhappy subjects in such misery. A. D. 1522.

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 <sup>a</sup> Rector 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.

<sup>a</sup> Under this year we will place, at a venture, a comical mistake of Erasmus, who, having received a letter and a message from a learned

quid commeruere cives et agricolæ, qui spoliantur fortunis, exiguntur sedibus, trahuntur captivi, trucidantur ac laniantur? O ferreos Principum animos, si hæc perpendunt, ac ferunt! O crassos, si non intelligunt: supinos, si non expendunt! T. I. c. 343.

<sup>a</sup> Urgente jam senio, Basileam Rauracorum urbem se recepit, ad Rhenum sitam, loci amœnitate captus, et sodalitis multorum doctissimorum hominum, quibus ea civitas semper ornata est. Academix illius Rector factus, cum scholasticorum inordinatam licentiam et petulantiam refrænare tentaret, ab iis

male exceptum ferunt: his irritatum: contumeliis fama est discerpisse et cre-  
masse privilegiorum partem illius Aca-  
demix (quæ cum Magontina totius  
Germanix creditur antiquissima) ut his  
deperditis studiosæ juventutis protervia:  
retunderetur: quod aliquando me audi-  
visse recordor a piæ memoriæ præcep-  
tore meo Hugone Babelo, qui tunc tem-  
poris Basileæ Erasmo vivebat amicus et  
familiaris. *Boissard* Icon. p. 223.

<sup>a</sup> Cum Primus Comes, M. Antonii Majoragii consobrinus, in Germaniam ea de causa profectus fuisset, ut Erasmi consuetudine per aliquod tempus frueretur;

A. D. 1522. 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.

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, whilst he pretended to have a value and regard for him. Hutten 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 shews, 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

tur; 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 consobrino longe processit. Sed postquam homunculum unum, nullo comitatu, nullo fervorum grege stipatum, et bene quidem literatum, sed nullo elegantiori cultu vestitum reperit, errorem suum jucundissime ridere cepit, et

tamen eum sibi multo gratiorem advenisse, quam si magnus Princeps fuisset, multis audientibus, testatus est. Hæc Majoragius in quadam Oratione. Colomesius Κεμυλ. c. 37.

See Bayle MAJORAGIUS.

\* Seckendorf L. I. p. 143—145.

† Erasmum Huttenus taxavit, quod Glapionem laudibus ornasset, cujus 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*.

the <sup>u</sup> coldness and timidity of Erasmus, which was imitated, as A. D. 1522. he says, by too many.

Henry VIII had been informed, by some sycophant, that Erasmus had assisted Luther in writing a book which was lately published, probably, Luther's reply to the King: but Erasmus <sup>x</sup> cleared himself, as he tells Pirckheimerus, in a letter, which probably was written in 1523.

<sup>y</sup> Wolfgangus Rychardus, 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 Melancthon, and very unwilling to have any dispute with him. I wish, says he, that Melancthon 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 <sup>z</sup> third edition of his New Testament. He seems not to have seen at this time the <sup>a</sup> Complutensian Bible, which

<sup>u</sup> Erasmus in dies magis frigescere, et quantum ego judicare possum, retractare latenter, quæ videatur olim liberius vel dixisse, vel scripsisse, ægerime 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.

<sup>x</sup> Nescio an tibi scripserim de tragœdia exorta in Anglia. Injuncta 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 Pharisaico malint me siluisse. Ep. 471. c. 1860.

<sup>y</sup> Est apud nos Brassicanus, perendie Ingolstadtium petiturus, ubi Græcas profitebitur literas. Ostendit mihi hodie Epistolam Erasmi, in qua conqueritur de fama super Philippo, quod ille nescio quid dentatis libellis molitur: multum deprecatur Philippi odia. Velim, mi Joannes, si aliquando Philippum a bello Erasmico dehortari possis, ne differas: redibit olim cum scœnore Erasmus, et pristini amoris memor, totus in Lutheri, imo Christi partem palam manibus pedibusque ibit. *Amanitates Literariæ*, T. I. p. 306.

<sup>z</sup> See Maittaire II. 621.

<sup>a</sup> Il semble qu'il survint encore quelque autre empêchement qui en retarda la publication; car il est hors de doute, que

A. D. 1522. 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 prefs: 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 <sup>b</sup> Paracelsus, who was for some time a Professor in that city. Melchior Adam hath given us a <sup>c</sup> letter of advice from this Doctor to Erasmus, which contains a strange jargon; and a reply of Erasmus to it.

A. D. MDXXIII.

Ætat. LVI.

A. D. 1523. 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 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

que si Erasme avoit eu connoissance de cette edition en 1522, il s'en seroit servi dans la troisieme edition du Nouveau Testament Grec, qu'il publia cette année, comme il le fit dans la quatrieme, qui parut en 1527, ou il cite très-sou-

vent la Bible d'Alcala. *Long. Maittaire* II. 2, &c. 133, 816.

See above, p. 49.

<sup>b</sup> Melchior Adam.

<sup>c</sup> Appendix.

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 shewed 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 <sup>d</sup> sensible of it.

Erasmus, however, proposeth his counsel with <sup>e</sup> 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,

S f

wraps

<sup>d</sup> Legem, quæ coeret edendi improbitatem, vehementer approbo : verum illud interim cavendum, ne lex optima vertatur in exemplum pessimum ; id quod Lutetiæ fieri coeptum erat. Aliquot conjurati, calumniis ac mendaciis

licentissime debacchabantur in quoslibet.

Si quid respondisses, vetabatur excudi.

Ep. 859.

<sup>e</sup> Optarim, si fieri possit, etiam libellorum procudendorum licentiam cōhiberi.

A. D. 1523. wraps himself up in his obscurity, and puts on what Homer calls *Ἄϊδος κρυένυ*, 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 Erasmus escaped his indignation. Ep. 649, 703, and 321. c. 1700.

He wrote a very long <sup>f</sup> letter to Marc Laurin, Dean of St. Donatian, at Bruges, in which he speaks of the calumnies which  
had

<sup>f</sup> In this letter he mentions Hermanthy friend. See his life in Melch-nus Buschius, as his learned and wor-Adam.



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 shew 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 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.

A. D. 1523. But of this enough hath been said already. He blames <sup>s</sup> Luther, 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 an 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 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 shewing so much

<sup>s</sup> Erasmus sæpe dixit de Luthero: *morborem magnitudinem acrem medicum.*  
Deus dedit huic postremæ ætati propter Melch. Adam Vit. Luth. p. 78.

much regard to the Court of Rome. This highly provoked Erasmus, and he answered the Invective of Hutten in a Tract intitled <sup>b</sup> *Spongia*, &c. But Hutten died much about the same time at <sup>i</sup> Zurich.

The <sup>k</sup> moderate Lutherans greatly disapproved Hutten's furious libel. Gerbelius, who was of the more violent ones, abhorred Erasmus,

<sup>b</sup> Spongiam meam nunquam ita mihi prædicabis, quin osurus sim, indignans his, qui miserum huc perpulerunt. *Erasm. Ep. ad Viand. T. V. c. 234.*

<sup>i</sup> Subito ac præter omnem spem exortus Ulricus Huttenus, ex amico repente versus in hostem. — Hoc nemo scripsit in Erasmus 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 imbecillus est, mox efflabit animum, ubi legerit hæc tam atrociam. 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 deplorasse, quod deceptus quorundam versutia, lacessisset amicum. *Catal. Lucubr.*

<sup>k</sup> Spongiam Erasmi legisse te arbitror. — Hæssenus scripsit Scoto nostro (*This Scotus was Hutten's Bookseller*) expostulationem Hutteni supra modum displicere Lutheræ et Philippo (*namely, Melanchthoni*) esseque nonnullos qui me dicant ejus rei auctorem esse; sed testis mihi Scotus 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 Erasmus judicium. Ita vel verentur eloquentiam hominis, vel diffidunt probæ causæ! Si non satis damnavit *Spongia* doctrinam Christi prædicatam à Lutheræ, 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 Lutheræ. *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:

*Dolco Lutherum renovare certamen cum Erasmo: sed video hæc esse plane ἀνεγχεῖται, 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 . . .

A. D. 1523. Erasmus, and was vexed to find, that not only Melanchthon, but Luther himself, blamed Hutten's insolence and ferocity.

<sup>1</sup> Erasmus, in his *Spongia*, proposeth his scheme about pacifying

In his letter to Botzem, he shews how favourably he had treated Hutten in his reply, called *Spongia*, and had passed over in silence his scandalous 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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, iidem 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 averfentur 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 oblatam? Submoveantur utrinque private cupiditates, et communibus votis imploretur Spiritus ille pacificus, ne mutis disidiis Christiana res jam nunc

“ in arctum contracta, penitus concidat, ne ferarum ac piscium ritu mutis morfibz nos invicem lacerantes jucundum spectaculum præbeamus et Satanæ, et Christiani nominis hostibus. In omnibus articulis a præcis 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, latrociniis, jurgiis, odiis, obtreptionibus, fraudibus, dolis, luxu, libidinis 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 palinodia quidem illæ magnopere movent quenquam. Quis enim non sic interpretatur, Maluit pudefieri, quam exuri? Quam vero non plausibile, quum

“ Episcopus

ing the religious differences; and he had an intention to treat A. D. 1523. the same subject more largely in the form of Dialogue.

Petrus

“ Episcopus qui debebat docere Philo-  
 “ phiam Evangelicam, in his quæ sunt  
 “ hujus mundi, plusquam satrapes est;  
 “ in his quæ sunt fidei, nihil habet nisi  
 “ articulos, carceres, carnifices, et in-  
 “ cendium? Non pudeat Episcopos fer-  
 “ vire charitati Christianæ, quod facere  
 “ non puduit Apostolos; non pigeat  
 “ eruditos, Episcopis suum honorem  
 “ reddere. Hoc interim consilium de-  
 “ derim utrique parti, ut neutri ad-  
 “ dictus, ita utrique bene cupiens.”

Ne vero hæc solius Erasmi consilia  
 fuisse existimentur, testatur ipse, in  
 Epistola ad Jo. Bozemum scripta, se  
 Marini Caraccioli, Hieronymi Alean-  
 dri, (quem trilinguis eruditionis hoc  
 tempore principem vocat) et Joannis  
 Glapionis, imo et Georgii Saxonæ Du-  
 cis, et Montjoi ex Angliæ Proceribus  
 hortatu, Disputationem, sive collatio-  
 nem, tribus Dialogis, de negotio Lu-  
 theri, sed suppressis sive mutatis nomi-  
 nibus, scribere cœpisse.

“ In his (ait) Thrasymachus Lutheri  
 “ partes agit, Eubulus diversas. Primus  
 “ dialogus inquit, an expedierit hac  
 “ via rem tractari, etiamsi Lutherus  
 “ omnia vera scripisset. Secundus ex-  
 “ cutit aliquot ejus dogmata. Tertius  
 “ ostendit viam, qua tumultus hic ita  
 “ possit sopiri, ut in posterum non facile  
 “ repullulascat. Res peragitur inter  
 “ duos, absque convitiis, nulla conten-  
 “ tione, nullo fuco, tantum nude sim-  
 “ plex et rusticana veritas proponitur;

“ tanta æquitate, tantaque moderatione,  
 “ ut majus periculum videatur ne mihi  
 “ succenseat pars diversa, videlicet leni-  
 “ tatem meam interpretans collusionem,  
 “ quam Lutherus ipse, si modo micam  
 “ ullam habet ejus mentis, quam multi  
 “ de illo prædicant: et ego certe gra-  
 “ tulator, si habet: opto, si non habet.  
 “ Video quibusdam magis placere sævi-  
 “ tiam, ac per me quidem licebit ut  
 “ suum cuique judicium blandiatur.  
 “ Sævire facilius est, sed hoc mihi vi-  
 “ sum est conducibilis. Si corporis  
 “ affectio in uno quopiam membro ver-  
 “ setur, fortasse profuerit cauterium aut  
 “ sectio. Cæterum ubi malum per  
 “ omne corpus fusum est, ubi per inti-  
 “ mas venas ac fibras sparsum est, for-  
 “ tassis aliquo Mercurio sit opus; qui  
 “ quemadmodum lethalem soporem ex-  
 “ emit 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 con-  
 “ scius sum, quantum Herculem hæc  
 “ res postulet, et quantulus ego sim  
 “ Pygmæus. Ac prorsus nondum mihi  
 “ satis

A. D. 1523. 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 succeed in calming the religious contests, if he should appear disposed to shew clemency to Luther, and if the <sup>m</sup> Germans 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 <sup>n</sup> Luther's representations 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

“fatis decretum est, an velim quod in-  
 “stitutum est absolvere. Quicquid fiet,  
 “non fiet temere: nec exhibit 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 utranque sic esse accen-  
 “sam, ut tota velit vincere, aut tota  
 “perire. Porro altera devicta magnam  
 “Evangelicæ veritatis ac libertatis rui-  
 “nam secum trahet: altera non op-  
 “primetur, nisi perniciosissimo orbis  
 “tumultu, qui multos etiam innoxios  
 “involvet. Ego malim rem ita com-  
 “poni, ut utraque pars victoriam con-

“cederet 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 om-  
 nibus aliis ejus scriptis judicium ejus ha-  
 beremus. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 262.

<sup>m</sup> He seems to allude to the com-  
 plaints of grievances, which the Princes  
 of Germany had set forth.

<sup>n</sup> Nam quæ Lutherus scribit de ty-  
 rannide, avaritia, et turpitudine Roma-  
 næ curiæ, utinam, mi Barbiri, essent  
 falsa!

dition is such, that the public welfare must be their ruin. There are likewise some, who wish that the useles innovations, which are crept into the Church, might be corrected gradually, gently, and peaceably. When all is thrown into confusion, each will feize what suits him best, as when a city is on fire. A. D. 1523.

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 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 Tunstall 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

T t . . . . . Lutheran

A. D. 1523. 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 expence; 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 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

° Seckendorf L. I. 38—41. Bayle They all agree in giving him a mean character.  
PRIERIAS. Du Pin XIV. 115.



A. D. 1523.

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.

<sup>p</sup> This year the foreigners, who had Ecclesiastical preferments in England, being double-taxed, Erasmus, Polydore Virgil, and a very few others were excepted.

“ <sup>q</sup> Wolsey 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 to represent himself and his Church in the Council of Lateran, *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.”

T t 2

Polydore

<sup>p</sup> Burnet I. 21.<sup>r</sup> Begun in 1512, ended in 1517.<sup>q</sup> Burnet III. 25.

A. D. 1523. 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.

<sup>s</sup> Adrian VI dying this year, Clemens, who was of the house of Medicis, succeeded him, and sent to Erasmus an honourable Diploma, accompanied with two hundred florins.

“<sup>t</sup> Adrian being chosen Pope, 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 shewed 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, <sup>u</sup> Pallavicini treats him as a poor silly creature, not fit to be at the head of the Church.

Adrian (says Jovius) gave me a Bishoprick, 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 19374. Frideric of Saxony, before Luther had opened his eyes, had been at the pains to collect this elegant assemblage of Rarities.

<sup>s</sup> Sleidan L. IV. Du Pin XIII. 71, 87. Bayle HADRIEN, which is a very good article. Seckendorf I. 285. Burmanni Analec̄ta 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. <sup>t</sup> More's Life of More, p. 114. <sup>u</sup> Seckendorf L. I. p. 252.

ties. 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. A. D. 1523.

This year Aleander, assisted by Egmond and Hochstrat, caused two <sup>x</sup> Augustinian Monks 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.

<sup>v</sup> To give some check to the Reformation, 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 follows: 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 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

<sup>x</sup> Seckendorf L. I. p. 279, 281. Melch. Adam Vit. Luth. p. 60. *Spalatinus*, in the *Amœn. Literar.* T. IV. <sup>v</sup> Seckendorf L. I. p. 285, 286. p. 412. Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 60. Bayle BENNON.

A. D. 1523- 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.

A. D. 1524. 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 <sup>z</sup>, 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.

Who

<sup>z</sup> In utraque parte video quod mihi spiritus, in altera multum seditiosus. displiceat; in altera multum mundani

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 *Anti-lutheranissimus*.

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 beggers 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

A. D. 1524. 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 <sup>a</sup> epistle to Gaver 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 <sup>b</sup> Reuchlin, and Petrus <sup>c</sup> Marsus; and represents himself as preparing for his great change. He speaks respectfully of <sup>d</sup> Hieronymus Donatus, a Noble Venetian, whom he hath commended in his *Ciceronianus*; and of <sup>e</sup> Joannes Lascaris. Ep. 671.

In his treatise *de Ratione Studii*, he prefers <sup>f</sup> Constantinus Lascaris to all the Greek Grammarians, except Gaza.

Joannes Lascaris was one of those, who made <sup>g</sup> epigrams against Erasmus in favour of Budæus, for which he was much to blame.

In the same Epistle he calls <sup>h</sup> Zacharias [Calliergus] a very learned youth.

This

<sup>a</sup> Appendix.

<sup>b</sup> 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.

<sup>c</sup> Bayle MARSUS.

<sup>d</sup> Bayle DONATUS.

<sup>e</sup> Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 247. Erasmus. Ep. 212, 249, 335, 347, 361. Maittaire I. 286, &c. 293. Bayle LASCARIS (JEAN.)

<sup>f</sup> Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 240.

<sup>g</sup> Ep. 975, 1100.

<sup>h</sup> Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 317.

This year he wrote two pressing letters to the Magistrates of Stratburg, 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 Stratburg 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*.

A. D. 1524.

Erasmus imagined that Hedio and Capito, 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 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 shewed 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

<sup>i</sup> Sleidan L. XV. 399. Thuanus treatise of Erasmus *De præparatione ad mortem*.  
L. XI. p. 349. Melch. Adam.

Hedio translated into German the



The Bishop of Paris long ago, whilst he was 'embassador' at Bruffels 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. A. D. 1524.

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 expence, because of my bad health and my frequent illnesses, and I never was a good œconomist. 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

A. D. 1524. 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 shewed, and continues every day to shew 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, first they clap him in prison, 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

\* 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, favendum esse negotio fidei.

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. A. D. 1524.

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 <sup>1</sup> Nicolas Everard, 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 Leipfic, 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 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 again that Erasmus is an 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

<sup>1</sup> Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 621. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 74. Melch. Adam.

A. D. 1524.

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 candor. 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 candor was little less hated than Luther by the Romanists. Ep. 684, 713.

Erasmus<sup>m</sup> wrote to Richard Bere, desiring his friendship, and treating him with great respect. Bere was Abbot of Glaffenbury, 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* was in the press. We shall see hereafter how he excused himself to the ° Lutherans for having attacked their Patriarch. It

<sup>m</sup> Knight, p. 218.

<sup>a</sup> Du Pin XIII. 97.

• Of the causes which impelled Eras-

mus, contrary to his inclination, to write against Luther, see Seckendorf L. I. p. 308, &c.

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 cooperates 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 dextrously 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 extreme into which the theology of Thomas Aquinas had betrayed their Reformer. To attack Luther upon the single point of liberty and necessity was,

A. D. 1524. 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 <sup>p</sup> Seckendorf's accurate history, 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 <sup>q</sup> Occam, 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

<sup>p</sup> Vol. I. p. 31—36, 103, 118.

<sup>q</sup> 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. 122.

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 Frier, 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.

Luther \* and Erasmus were in the same condition and situation, in one respect. They had innumerable adversaries; and for the most part extremely contemptible.

Erasmus wrote at the same time to † Aleander, excusing himself for having spoken of him as of an enemy, and declaring himself

\* *Quanta in Lutherum veluti grando convitiorum ceciderit, ipse quidem non diffimulat; quanquam verum est, adversarios ei plerosque rudes et inficetos contigisse, quos ingenio longe superabat. Erasmus inter paucos excipio, qui stylo et politioni literatura potior, eaque elegantia et moderatione affectuum applausum captans, ita scripsit, ut neminem Lutheri causæ magis nocuisse existimem. De hoc ipse quidem Erasmus gloriatur, quanquam exigua ab Ecclesia, cui adhærebat, gratia. Nolo repetere, quæ supra notavi, opus fuisse immiti 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. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 199.

† 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.*

A. D. 1524. himself well disposed to a reconciliation, and yet shewing him, that he was too well informed of his unfriendly behaviour. He also defends himself against some Italians, who criticized his works. Ep. 693.

Erasmus, though he loved not Aleander, and had no reason to love him, yet hath done <sup>t</sup> justice to his learning and abilities more than once.

He sent his treatise against Luther to the King of England, to Wolfey, to Warham, and to many more. Writing to Giber-tus, 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 bishoprick, or any other dignity upon me, says he, would only throw a weight upon the shoulders of a poor man, who is <sup>u</sup> departing from this world. 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 an 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 Lu-ther,

Constanter fugit meum colloquium, sub-ornatis tamen, qui, quid de ipso, seu Lutheri negotio sentirem, 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!

<sup>t</sup> 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 Brundusinus propugnatores sunt nutantis Ecclesiæ, quorum hic omnibus linguis excellit, ille tres linguas ætate jam vergente non vulgari studio amplectitur? *Adag.* c. 1053.

<sup>u</sup> Et libertatis avidus, et brevi moriturus. Ep. 697.



ther, he tells his Patron that he had sent him the Epistles of Jerom \*, 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 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.

X x 2

He

\* 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 Basse. Il y a aussi restitué quelque passages. — Scaligeran, p. 101.

A. D. 1524. 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 <sup>y</sup> invective against Hutten, who had the itch upon him, as he says, or <sup>z</sup> something else, and whose visits he had declined, to free himself from an hungry, 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 shewed. But he says no more than the truth, when he tells Melanchthon that he had not written to Luther, because his letter would soon

<sup>y</sup> 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 multavit 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.

<sup>z</sup> 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 *ἄσπεδος* 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 Rupto*. But he was mistaken. Burckhard Comment. de Vit. 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.

soon have been printed by the party, and because the very <sup>a</sup> first letter that he sent to Luther was immediately published, and brought him into no small danger.

He commends the <sup>b</sup> *Loci Communes* of <sup>c</sup> Melanchthon, as very fit and able to encounter and demolish *Pharisaical 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, <sup>d</sup> Farellus, Capito, and Hedio, and inveighs violently

<sup>a</sup> Porro ne scriberem persuasit illa prima ad Lutherum epistola, magno meo periculo edita. Hæc enim dedit anam Aleandro, jam pridem 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 Alexander, fatis odioſe me attingentes. Quum itaque viderem apud istos nihil esse clam, judicavi rectius cohibere calamum.

<sup>b</sup> Perlegi locos omnes, in quibus suspexi 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 ingenue fatear, non assequor; quædam ejus generis, ut etiam si tutum esset, nollem profiteri propter conscientiam; quædam ejusmodi, ut sine fructu videar professurus.

<sup>c</sup> 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 monumento rursus gaudet orbis literatus: integrum enim illud inseruit, sicut et plura rariora Dorpii, Reuchlini, aliorumque hæcenus neglecta et prope deperdita opuscula, *Historiæ Literariæ Reformationis* Part. IV. fol. 30, &c. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, Tom. II. p. 418.

<sup>d</sup> Farellus, A. 1524, venit Basileam, ex Gallia profugus, et publice disputavit. Sed non multo post Vicarius Episcopi et *Academiæ Rector* vi et factione sua

A. D. 1524. violently against the morals both of the *Reformed*, who then began to make a party, and of the *Lutherans*. ° Shall we, 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, who had written against him, and ‡ Farellus, 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

sua Farellum Basilea exegerunt. *Scultet. Annal. ap. Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 68.*

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.*

° 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 vaftricies mihi semper oboluit; Hedio, qui scurram impurum (Scot, *the bookfeller*) ex occasione mearum literarum, per quas debebat dare penas, sub-

levavit, 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!

† Cum Huttenus e vita discessisset, suscepit ejus defensionem Otho Brunfelsius, medicus, ac convitia in Erasmus regessit. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Hutteni et Brunfelsii.*

This Brunsfeld translated a treatise of Ægineta. *Maittaire II. 436, 475, 693.*

‡ 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.*

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. A. D. 1524.

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 bigotted 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 Bruffels, the rest would be corrected by it. On the contrary, the sufferings of these men made many embrace Lutheranism. He concludes with desiring Melanchthon not to shew his letter to ill-disposed persons. Ep. 703.

Melanchthon 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

A. D. 1524. 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 shews a violent anger against Farellus, or *Pballicus*, as he calls him. The Lutherans themselves, says he, cannot bear that Fellow; and he hath been <sup>b</sup> reprimanded several times by Oecolampadius and Pellicanus, 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

<sup>b</sup> It was very true. See Scultet. in Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 70.

upon that party, which in his letter to Melanchthon he calls *the* A. D. 1524,  
*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. Shew 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 ancient 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<sup>1</sup> complained, 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<sup>2</sup> St. Paul; 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;

Y y

although

<sup>1</sup> See the Letter to Botzem, in the first Tome.

<sup>2</sup> Quamquam certissimis argumentis colligitur Spiritum esse Deum, nusquam tamen aperte vocatur Deus, nisi recipi-

mus locum, qui est apud Paulum I Cor. iii. *Qui violaverit templum Dei, disperdet eum Deus*. Præcessit enim mentio Spiritus. *Ecclesiast.* T. V. c. 1090.

A. D. 1524. 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 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 shews that he was quite chagrined, 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 Farel, 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

<sup>1</sup> Tumultuatur et Burgundia nobis tulit, homo rabula, effreni tum lingua, proxima, per Phallicum quendam Gal- tum calamo. Ep. 698.  
lum, qui e Gallia profugus huc se con-



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 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

A. D. 1524. weakness also about them, cannot bear, as they ought, your acrimony and your diffimulation, 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 diffimulation, 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 shew 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 imbecillity, 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. A. D. 1524.

This Epistle was written before the *Diatriba* of Erasmus against Luther was published. Ep. 726.

Erasmus wrote an answer to this letter of Luther, which is not in the Collection of his Epistles. Seckendorf hath given us an account of it, with some extracts from it.

If

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 venor 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.”

Hæere se dubium palam fatetur:

“Nolim profiteri, quod ipse mihi nondum persuasi, multo minus, quod

“nondum assequor: metuo ne pessimum eant bonæ literæ et disciplinæ.”

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 foedus 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 feribentes pro te, per quos non licet esse spectatorem istius tragediæ, quæ utinam non habeat tragicum exitum.”

Sic

A. D. 1524.

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 intreats 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<sup>n</sup> Stromerus, a physician, and one of his good friends.

The 713th letter is from the learned<sup>o</sup> Camerarius to Erasmus, desiring his friendship. Camerarius was born in the year 1500, and died in 1574.

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 *mala literæ*, as the Monks then called it. He declares, that his only view was to promote the good of both

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.*

<sup>n</sup> Melch. Adam.

<sup>o</sup> Beza Icon. Baillet III. 65. Pope Blount, p. 416. Crenius de Singular. Scriptorum, p. 64. Thuanus L. LIX.

p. 65. Melch. Adam.

Vir de politiori literatura præclare meritis, suæque adeo Germaniæ 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.

A. D. 1524.

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 ancient 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 Nefenus, who was drowned in the Elbe. Nefenus embraced the reformed religion, and settled in Saxony, and was very dear to Luther. Erasmus afterwards spake ill of Nefenus, 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 as wits: but I laid a hen-egg, and Luther hath hatched a very different bird. Ep. 719.

In

¶ Seckendorf L. I. p. 314. Maittaire Liter. Tom. IV. p. 415.  
II. 25. Spalatinus, in the Amœnitat.

A. D. 1524.

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 <sup>9</sup> Scottus, the printer, who had published Hutten's book against him, and had also published a tract of Otho Brunfeld, 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 expence, 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 of <sup>1</sup> Baal, they had drawn them like so many <sup>2</sup> priests of the Church of Rome. They have also added my picture appparelled 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 <sup>3</sup> the action of this printer

<sup>9</sup> Maittaire II. 118.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Scottus, inquis, habet uxorem et teneros liberos. Num ista excusatio videatur justa, si scriniis meis effractis sustulisset aurum? Non opinor. Et tamen

printer with that of a 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 to settle in England. Ep. 673.

Ep. 683 is a Preface to a \* Greek Dictionary, augmented by Ceratinus, in which he had some little share. He † 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.

## Z z

## In

tansen hoc quod facit longe sceleratius est. Nisi forte putas mihi famam esse viliozem pecunia. Si deest unde alat liberos, mendicet. Pudet, inquires. Et hujusmodi facinorum non pudet? Prostituat uxorem, et ad calices vigilantinaso stertat adultero. Nefarium, inquis. Magis nefarium est quod facit. Nulla lex punit capite qui uxorem prostituat, at capitalem poenam denunciant omnes iis qui libellos edunt famosos.

He repeats the same thing in his *Lingua*, c. 712; so much he had it at heart.

" In Anglia summos et certissimos habeo amicos; sed illic nescio quo pacto non libet vivere.

\* Maittaire II. 656.

† Scimus hoc laboris genus esse minime gloriosum, præsertim quum pauci reputent quot auctores sint excutiendi, ut voces aliquot ab aliis præteritas felicias. Verum, hoc plus debetur illis gratiæ, qui publicæ utilitatis gratia non detrectant ingloriam ac molestiæ plenam industriam.

A. D. 1524. In Ep. 689 he defends himself <sup>z</sup> extremely well against his Italian Cavillers.

His letter to his friend Pace shews, that <sup>a</sup> Linacer and Grocin had been by some methods alienated from him. Ep. 699.

<sup>b</sup> Sadolet, in a polite and friendly letter to Erasmus, intimates, that the <sup>c</sup> Court 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 intreats that Prince to command him to be silent; intimating, that he had a tongue, which nothing could restrain, except <sup>d</sup> bastinadoes. He also honestly dissuades Ferdinand, and other Princes, from hanging and burning the poor Lutherans. Ep. 710.

In

<sup>z</sup> Appendix.

<sup>a</sup> Plane confido, qui tui est ingenii candor, mi Pacæ, te perpetuum amicum futurum: nec ob id defices 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 metuam aliquid, vel quicquam ab illis expectem commodi, sed quod tales viros perpetuo velim amicos. Non egent illi meis præconiis; illud tamen ausim dicere, nec inter Anglos esse, qui de illis vel senserit magnificentius, 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 suspitione conjeci: quanquam jam olim idem offenderam. Sed homines sumus, ego semper ero mei similis, et huic injuriæ tot opponam illorum benefacta. Lina-

cri feci honorificam mentionem in Scholiis Hieronymianis. Nil magnum sit, si contemnam, contemptus; si oderim, odio habitus. Illud literis est dignius, officii certare, non odiis. Apud Cardinalem Eboracensem, quoties incidit commoditas, fac Pacæum agas.

<sup>b</sup> Menagian. I. 292. III. 347. IV. 231. Boiffard 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. Gallæ Imagines. Pope Blount, p. 404.

<sup>c</sup> Pontificis in te uberior 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.

<sup>d</sup> Tale ingenium solis sustibus corrigi poterit.



In a long letter to George Duke of Saxony, he shews 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. A. D. 1524.

About this time the rebellion of the Peasants or <sup>e</sup> Rustics began, and in the following year stretched itself over Germany, and not less than <sup>f</sup> fifty thousand of them were slain.

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.

<sup>g</sup> After this the Anabaptists took arms, and did infinite mischief in Germany, and in other regions. <sup>h</sup> Luther exerted himself against these fanatical villains, who, being also enemies to

Z z 2

Popery,

<sup>e</sup> Tumultus Rusticorum cladem intulit Tabulariis Alsatiaë, 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. 1. p. 245.

<sup>f</sup> Agricolaë, qui nuper tantos tumultus excitarunt in Germania, procurrebant in aciem, quasi vellent occidi. T. X. c. 1748.

<sup>g</sup> 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 Supplement. XL. Continuat. Sleidani L. I. p. 68. Scultet. Annal. ap. Von der

Hardt. Hist. Lit. Ref. P. V. p. 37, 77. Bayle ANABAPTISTES, BORRHAUS, HOFMAN, MAMILLAIRES.

<sup>h</sup> 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 jusjurandum dicere, non habere quid proprium, sed omnia debere omnibus esse communia. Et hæc quidem illi principio, sed multo deinde graviora proposuerunt. Sleidan L. X.

A. D. 1524. Popery, were a scandal to the <sup>i</sup> Reformation. 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.

<sup>k</sup> In 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

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.

<sup>i</sup> The Lutherans did not own them as brethren. See *Seckendorf* L. II. p. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Hoc anno prodiit secta eorum, qui dicuntur *Antinomi*—hi statuunt, quæcumque

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 wickedness, folly, stupidity, and religious frenzy. 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 forbid  
 “ infant-baptism, and rebaptized 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  
 “ shewed themselves first at *Suicavia* or *Cygnia* [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

cumque 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 secure, 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.

A. D. 1524. “ the above-mentioned city and year; and some of them were  
 “ flung into prison. Hence arose the Anabaptists, who after-  
 “ wards shewed 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 Switzer-  
 “ land; 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 Fa-  
 “ natics 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 im-  
 “ probable 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 Zuing-  
 “ lius, and affirms, that the Anabaptists at that time never suf-  
 “ fered 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 Ger-  
 “ many, along with Munzer, their chieftain, the remainder fled,  
 “ and were dispersed in divers regions: and Cnipperdolling,  
 “ with

“ with other fanatics like himself, departed from Holland, and A. D. 1524.  
 “ 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 Stratf-  
 “ burg, 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 execu-  
 “ ted 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 Ley-  
 “ den, 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 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

A. D. 1524. “ 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 con-  
 “ dition, 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 chuse 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 Cnip-  
 “ perdolling, 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 Tuis-  
 “ cofchurer, 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 pro-  
 “ tested, that God had revealed this to him also; and with a  
 “ general applause took possession of his kingdom, put down  
 “ the

“ the twelve Judges whom he had lately made, chose other Mi- A. D. 1524.  
 “ nisters of State and Counsellors, dressed himself in royal appa-  
 “ rel, 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 in-  
 “ formation 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 prin-  
 “ cipally 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-Yffel, 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

A. D. 1524. “ 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 apprized 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 cloaths, even their shirts and shifts, and fling-  
 “ ing 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 cloaths, 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



A. D. 1524.

“ 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 Wefel, 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 shewed 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 imme-  
 “ diately 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, apprized of it, called  
 “ the citizens to arms, and marched directly to the market-place,  
 “ but were repulsed by these Rebels; and Peter Colin, the Con-  
 “ sul, a worthy man, who headed the citizens, and fought with

A. D. 1524. “ great bravery, was killed in the engagement. The other Con-  
 “ ful 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 volun-  
 “ teers, 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 with-  
 “ out 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 star-  
 “ ved 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,

“ taken, the hands and feet of children were found in pickle. A. D. 1524.  
 “ 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 engage-  
 “ ment, particularly in the market-place, where the besieged  
 “ had fenced themselves with a circle of waggons. 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 shew, 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 execu-  
 “ tioners, 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 punish-  
 “ ment. Their carcasses were put into iron baskets, and hung  
 “ up on the highest tower in the city. They shewed a remark-  
 “ able 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 Cnip-  
 “ perdolling and Crechting suffer with less constancy. Hence we  
 “ may learn, that Religion, though a false one, hath a wonder-  
 “ ful effect upon a mind that entertains it with a full persua-  
 “ sion; as also, that there is nothing so absurd, nothing so im-  
 “ pure

A. D. 1524. “ pure 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 ancient-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 denomi-  
 “ nation 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 man<sup>1</sup>, 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

<sup>1</sup> See a large account of him in Thuanus L. XXII. 667.

“ hands upon Menno, the son of Simon, of a village near Bol- A. D. 1524.  
 “ sawert, who had been a priest, and sent him forth as a preacher.  
 “ From this Menno, who became very famous in both Friesland,  
 “ 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 upon the slightest occasions, and  
 “ carried to such rigour, that even the wife of an excommuni-  
 “ cated 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 Anabap-  
 “ tists. Under the pretence therefore of crushing these enthu-  
 “ siasts, cruel edicts were made, and a persecution carried on,  
 “ against all the opposers of the Church of Rome, but princi-  
 “ pally 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-

A. D. 1524. “ Over-Yffel, 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 <sup>m</sup> Job, and complains to a friend of the difficulty of the task; and observes, somewhat jocosely, that <sup>n</sup> Job chose to sit on his dunghill, and not to admit of Interpreters.

° About 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 an 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

<sup>m</sup> Luther was inclined to think that Solomon was the author of the book of Job. *Colloq. Mens. p. 359.*

<sup>n</sup> 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 federe in sterquilinio. Nisi forte id voluit auctor libri ejus, ne unquam transferatur. *See Seckendorf L. I. p. 204.*

° Seckendorf L. I. p. 302. See Bayle MORLIN; and MORUS, Not. A.

His *Querela Pacis* was about this time translated into Spanish. A. D. 1524.  
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 STOFLEK.

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 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

A. D. 1525. 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 ancient 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



Erasmus sent him <sup>p</sup> Jac. Ceratinus, who was then at Louvain, A. D. 1525. 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 <sup>a</sup> Martinus Hunnus, a physician.

He received some notes of Natalis <sup>r</sup> Bedda, 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 <sup>s</sup> acrimony, 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 commended his works. Amongst his Apologies, there is a treatise in answer to this man. Ep. 741.

In this year he probably wrote a <sup>t</sup> letter to <sup>u</sup> Goclenius, 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

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of

<sup>p</sup> Bayle Dict. CERATINUS. Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 419. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 130.

<sup>a</sup> Melch. Adam.

<sup>r</sup> Bayle BEDA. Du Pin XIV. 157. Remarques sur Bayle in the Relat. Gotting. Vol. III. Fasc. I. p. 97.

<sup>s</sup> Bedda accused Erasmus of having given to Henry VIII the title of *King of England, France, &c.* An accusa-

tion 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.

<sup>t</sup> Epistola Secretissima. Ἀναγίνωσκς μόνος, ἢ λάθρα.

<sup>u</sup> Melch. Adam.

A. D. 1525. 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 Cera-  
tinus 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 an 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 reposes 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 should give twenty-five florins of gold to Cera-  
tinus. 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.

A. D. 1525.

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, 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

\* Quum autem subinde periclitè de vita, superest, ut tibi amicorum sincerissimo commendem id, quod habeo charissimum, memoriàm meì, quam suspicor multis calumniis fore obnoxiam. Ita totius vitæ meæ compendium tibi mitto, hoc est, Ἰλιόδα κακῶν. Ni-

hil enim unquam me natum est infelicus. Sed fortasse futuri sunt qui multa affingent.

† Paul. Jovius Elog. p. 209, and Vit. Alphonf. p. 198, who commends him very sparingly.

A. D. 1525. 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 things as these to Italy, where every man passed for an 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 <sup>z</sup> Franciscus Craneveldius.

In a letter to Bilibaldus he sends his service to Paulus <sup>a</sup> Ritus, 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 Bezançon, 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 croud 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 <sup>b</sup> letter 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

<sup>z</sup> Melch. Adam.

Bayle RICIUS.

<sup>a</sup> Melch. Adam, who calls him *Ricius*.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. 322. c. 1706.

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. A. D. 1525.

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 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 Margaret 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 <sup>c</sup> Sutor, a <sup>d</sup> blockhead and a madman, as Erasmus represents him. Du Pin insinuates, that this Sutor was a poor Critic and Controversialist.

<sup>c</sup> Du Pin XIV. 158.

<sup>d</sup> Lutetiæ excusum est opus cujusdam Petri Sutoris, Theologi Sorbonici, et Monachi Carthusiani, quo nihil adhuc legi dementius. Ep. 747.

“ 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 pub-

lished 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.”

A. D. 1525. 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.

<sup>e</sup> Gervasius, in a letter to Erasmus from Paris, informs him of the villainous behaviour of Bedda, and of the Faculty. Erasmus<sup>f</sup> 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<sup>g</sup> Manardus, a learned physician. Ep. 750.

<sup>h</sup> Rhodiginus had borrowed some things from Erasmus, without making proper acknowledgments; and Beatus Rhenanus describes him as a<sup>i</sup> plagiarist.

These

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 *Cobler who went beyond his last*.

<sup>e</sup> — Quid Bedda in caput tuum moliatur, paucis accipe. Ex Paraphrasibus nescio quot myriades hæreseôn, ut loquuntur, Facultati exhibuit: 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 adfit animus, uti non deest calamus. Est tibi negotium cum ignorantissimis et impudentissimis traductoribus. Sunt in Facultate literati non pauci, sed in illos animadvertitur, ut in pejores Lutheranus. Ep. 439. c. 1820.

<sup>f</sup> 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.

<sup>g</sup> Bayle MANARD.

<sup>h</sup> Bayle ERASME, Not. C. C.

<sup>i</sup> Ep. 119. c. 1595.

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 Huffars, 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. *Busb*, 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 accident 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 expence, 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.

A. D. 1525. 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 naught, 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 an 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 Monkeny. Ep. 757.

He



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, 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.

If some of these boarders with Erasmus had taken it into 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. <sup>m</sup> Carlostad, says he, hath brought a most formidable

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tragedy

\* Beza Icon. Verheiden Theol. Effig. p. 88 Strype's Life of Parker, B. III. ch. 25. Melch. Adam.

<sup>1</sup> 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 reliquataceam, mensibus aliquot mihi sudandum erat, ut domum hanc tua magnifi-

centia 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.

<sup>m</sup> Novam Tragediam cæteris omnibus atrocioribus nobis hic peperit Carlostadius: persuasit in Eucharistia nihil esse

A. D. 1525. 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 <sup>n</sup> sentiment, for he was suspected

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, possim in Oecolampadii sententiam pedibus discedere; nunc in eo persisto, quod mihi tradidit Scripturarum interpretes Ecclesia. Alioquæ nullum reperio locum in Scripturis divinis, unde certo constet Apostolos consecrassse panem et vinum in carnem & sanguinem Domini. Ep. 1053.

<sup>n</sup> *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 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 porrigenz 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 reclament 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*

A. D. 1525.

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 Strasburg, 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 quarrels of

*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 habent Principum Tragœdiæ, non admodum lætam

A. D. 1525. 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 <sup>p</sup> speaks 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 <sup>q</sup>. 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 <sup>r</sup> Glareanus concerning Erasmus, that he was very inquisitive after news, and very credulous, and easily imposed upon.

He

*lætam populo, sed tamen bellis potio-  
rem. Malebat ille compilari quam ve-  
nire. Similem exitum habitura videtur  
Lutherana Tragedia. Duxit uxorem  
Monachus Monacham; et ut scias nup-  
tias prosperis avibus initas, diebus a de-  
cantato hymenæo ferme quatuordecim  
enixa est nova nupta. Lutherus nunc  
mitior esse incipit, nec perinde sævit  
calamo. Nihil est tam ferum quod non  
cicuret uxor. Ep. 781.*

<sup>p</sup> Lutherus duxit uxorem, puellam  
mire venustam, ex clara familia Bornæ,  
(Bornæ, vel, a Bore) sed, ut narrant, in-  
dotatam, quæ ante annos complures  
Vestalis esse deserat. Quin et ipse Lu-

therus pallium et barbam philosophi po-  
suit. Ep. 790.

See *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 272. L. II.  
p. 15, &c.

Bayle BORE. *Spalatinus*, in the *Amæn.*  
*Liter.* T. IV. p. 423.

<sup>q</sup> De conjugio Lutheri certum est;  
de partu maturo sponsæ vanus erat ru-  
mor, nunc tamen gravida esse dicitur.  
Si vera est fabula Antichristum nascitu-  
rum ex Monacho et Monacha, quem-  
admodum isti jactitant, quot Antichristo-  
rum millia jam olim habet mundus!  
Ep. 801.

<sup>r</sup> See T. V. c. 911.

He speaks of the <sup>s</sup> slaughter of the Peasants in Germany.

A. D. 1525.

He cannot <sup>t</sup> 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 <sup>u</sup> good character, and whose <sup>x</sup> epitaph he composed.

He published this year a Greek edition of Chrysoftom, and dedicated it to Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus. Ep. 740.

He

<sup>s</sup> Hic longe supra centum millia rusticorum interfecta sunt, et quotidie sacerdotēs capiuntur, torquentur, suspenduntur, decollantur, exuruntur. Non nego necessarium remedium, quamvis immite: sed Germani magis novimus malefacta punire quam excludere. Ep. 781.

<sup>t</sup> Hic passim diripiuntur et incenduntur Monasteria, dissipantur Monachi, sacrae virgines constuprantur, nullum discrimen est bonorum ac malorum. Civitates, quae 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.

<sup>u</sup> Perijt Martinus Dorpius, qui solus ingenue favebat rectoribus studiis, nec perinde atque cæteri, detestabatur quic-

quid ullo pacto Lutheri dogmatibus est affine. Ep. 747.

Dorpius studiis ereptum acerbissime ferrem, si nostro dolore possit huc revocari. — Mortuus est omnibus rebus florens. — Erat futurus magnus si vixisset; verum nunc feliciter magnus est apud Christum, uti spero. Solus propemodum erat æquus politioribus literis. — Ep. 748.

<sup>x</sup> Mitto epitaphium—si displicet, mittetur aliud elaboratius: nam Dorpii memoriam etiam habeo sacrosanctam. Deplorarem mortem illius præpropere, quæ tot egregias dotes, tot amplissimas spes incidit: sed nunc hujusmodi seculum est ut nulli bono bene esse possit.—Dorpii memoriam non patiar interciderē, si quid mea scripta valebunt. Ep. 779.

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.

\* Appendix.

A. D. 1525. He <sup>v</sup> 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 <sup>z</sup> death as approaching, which yet was not so near as he imagined.

Writing to Polydore Virgil, he represents the war of the Rustics as a terrible <sup>a</sup> calamity. Ep. 760.

Ep. 772 is a letter of compliments to <sup>b</sup> Pole, 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 <sup>c</sup> hypocrite by many persons.

“ Pole,

<sup>v</sup> 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.

<sup>z</sup> Corpusculum hoc in dies collabitur, exarefcit, ac deficit. Auguror haud procul abesse diem, quo syphar hoc abjiciam, et exiliam nova cicada, Christi laudes feliciter cantatura, posteaquam in aërem puriorem ac liberiorem evolarim.

<sup>a</sup> Hic agitur crudelis et cruenta fabula. Agricolaë ruunt in mortem. Quotidie fiunt conflictus atroces inter proceres et rusticos, &c.

<sup>b</sup> 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. Continuat. Sleidani L. I. p. 51. Thu-

anus L. VI. p. 179. L. XX. p. 623. Pope Blount, p. 443. 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 1699.

Dudithius, the Latin Translator, was Bishop of Knin (Tininium) in Croatia. See his life in Du Pin, B. E. XV. p. 193.

*Our anonymous Editor says of this book; Vita Poli a pertinacissimo conscripta est Pontificio, qui Reformationis nostræ duces plurimis calumniis proscidit, historiamque mendaciis obfuscavit.*

<sup>c</sup> Paulus III, monitu et commendatione Contareni, Cardinalem ipsum (Polium) 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

“<sup>d</sup> Pole, 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

3 D

“ received

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, longeque 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.—Huic defunctæ corpus 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 Fridesvi-dæ humata esset, et hæretici uxor fuisset. Etenim Cardinalis hic, qui aliquando præcipuus Martyris amicus fuerat, post ejus discessum ex Italia, non modo ab ipso 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 sæviit, &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?

<sup>d</sup> Burnet.

A. D. 1525. “ 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 writ 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 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 Nebuchadonofor, 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 indecencies 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 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



A. D. 1525.

“ 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 Fla-  
 “ minio, 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 was causes enough to raise suspicion in a less jealous  
 “ people than the Italians. Yet the vast zeal that he had shewn  
 “ for the exaltation of the Papacy made all those things be over-  
 “ looked. 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 Car-  
 “ dinal, he answered, as much as the Cardinals had seen in him

A. D. 1525. “ to make him Pope. But it was commonly said, that the secret  
 “ of his promotion was an unnatural affection to him.”

“ <sup>f</sup> In 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 refor-  
 “ mation 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 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

<sup>f</sup> Burnet.

“ wrought much on him, judged that the executing the laws<sup>†</sup> A. D. 1525.  
 “ 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 encour-  
 “ aged Pole to go on in the correcting the manners of the  
 “ Clergy; and likewise pressed Gardiner to proceed against the  
 “ Heretics.”

“ Pole shewed 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 <sup>‡</sup> Paul IV was, who thought of no  
 “ other way of bearing down heresy, but by setting up the In-  
 “ quisition every where.

“ One remarkable thing of Pole was, his not listening to the  
 “ proposition the Jesuits made him of bringing them into  
 “ England.”

“ <sup>‡</sup> The very day after Cranmer was burnt, Pole was confe-  
 “ crated 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 sensible of his excess that  
 “ way, he turned as much to the other extreme, and cutting off  
 “ all

<sup>†</sup> Caraffa. See Thuanus L. XV. <sup>‡</sup> Burnet,  
 466, who gives him a bad character.

A. D. 1525. “ all the ornaments of speech, he brought his style to a flatness  
 “ that had neither life nor beauty in it.”

“ <sup>i</sup> Pole died in the year 1558, aged <sup>k</sup> fifty-nine.—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 parti-  
 “ cular 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 byassed 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

<sup>i</sup> Burnet.

<sup>k</sup> Fifty-eight and six months, says the writer of his life.

“ of it, when it was made to him, shewed 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 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.”

A. D. 1525.

“ <sup>1</sup> Bonner 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 mild-  
 “ ness 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 repre-  
 “ sented him. Parker in his *British Antiquities* calls him *Ecclesiæ*  
 “ *Anglicanæ Carnifex et Flagellum*, the Scourge and the Execu-  
 “ tioner 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, (*levissi-*  
 “ *ma suspicio*) they were without any delay to eject them. He

“ writes

<sup>1</sup> Burnet,

A. D. 1525.

“ 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.”

“ <sup>m</sup> I think I can clear Pole from the suspicion of having procured Cranmer’s death, by his own manuscript letters to Cranmer.

“ <sup>p</sup> It is observed of Pole, 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 ancient Manuscripts at Cambridge, and particularly at Peter-House, and that Froben and he would be thankful and grateful to any that would procure them such collations as they wanted. Ep. 782.

“ Robert

<sup>m</sup> Appendix to Burnet by an anonymous Writer. (Deum testor) libentissime anteponerem.

<sup>n</sup> Vita Poli, p. 71. 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.

<sup>o</sup> Ea est mea salutis tuæ cura ac studium, ut si te ab horribili illa, quæ tibi, nisi respicias, impendet non solum corporis sed animæ etiam mortis sententia, ullo modo liberare possim, id profecto omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, quicuiquam in hac vita contingere possint, <sup>p</sup> Knight. <sup>q</sup> He sends his service to Nicolaus and Joannes Siburgus, printers and book-sellers. They wrote their name *Siberch.*

“ Robert † Aldrige, or Aldrifius, was another of Erasmus’s A. D. 1525.  
 “ 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 diffe-  
 “ rent 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 Bishoprick 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 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 Walsing-  
 “ ham, 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 † speaks of the ill health of his old friend Pace. Melancthon, says he, labours at present under the same distemper, of  
 3 E lying

† Knight, p. 143.

‡ Anno 1527. Magistro Aldryg, pro tribus literis missis ad Dominum Regem, 10s.

*From the Proctor’s Book, by the Reverend Mr. Baker.*

† Spero Pacæum nostrum jam convalescisse: male sit istis legationibus ac relegationibus:

A. D. 1525. lying<sup>a</sup> 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 uncommon 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<sup>x</sup> 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.

<sup>y</sup> Aldus Manutius 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:

relegationibus: illud Ingenium Musis erat natum; *vereor autem ne nonnullam mali partem addiderint τὰ ἀνεύθυνα*. Periclitatur et Philippus Melanchthon eodem insomniæ, ut ferunt, morbo, cui Fredericus Dux moriens legato reliquit mille florenos aureos.

<sup>▪</sup> *Insomniæ*, a distemper too well known to studious people.

<sup>x</sup> Quum erit commodum, salutabis mihi Joannem Bombardarum opificem, vicinum tuum, veterem amicum meum,

quicum olim arma commutavi, in amicitia symbolum, nec id multo congruentius, quam fecerunt Glaucus ac Diomedes. Dedi *Enchiridion*, nostri 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.

<sup>y</sup> Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 89, 90. Maittaire I. p. 230, 239, 241. II. 43, 163.



A. D. 1525.

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 <sup>z</sup> Sorbonists persecuted Faber Stapulensis to such a degree, that this learned man was obliged to fly from France.

<sup>a</sup> Luther, who had answered the book of Henry VIII in a rough way, now wrote him a <sup>b</sup> very humble letter, 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 demeaned 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 *Diatribes* of Erasmus, in a treatise intitled *De Servo Arbitrio*. He tells Erasmus that his *Diatribes*, as to the manner and the composition, is very elegant; and, as to the matter, is very <sup>c</sup> contemptible; 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.

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-He

<sup>z</sup> Sleidan L. V.

<sup>a</sup> Sleidan L. VI.

<sup>b</sup> *Demisse admodum*. Sleidan. Seckendorf L. II. 37.

<sup>c</sup> Incredibile est, quam fastidiam libellum (Erasmii) 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.

A. D. 1525. He also wrote an angry <sup>d</sup> letter to the Elector of Saxony, 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.

<sup>e</sup> Erasmus suspected that Luther, in his book *De Seruo Arbitrio*, was assisted by some learned friends, who had corrected and polished

<sup>d</sup> Exstat Erasmi autographon ad Johannem 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 commoneseri 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 inveniõ communicatæ hæ literæ Erasmi cum Luthero fuerint, necne; existant tamen eodem fasciculo Lutheri literæ, quæ quadrare ad epistolam illam videntur — Scribit autem: “Sibi et  
“ collegis consultum non videri, ut  
“ Elector in causam hanc se ingerat,  
“ quippe Ecclesiasticam, in qua ille  
“ iudex nec velit, nec possit esse; et  
“ Erasmus decuisse, ut Electorem hac  
“ in re non molestaret. Præterea et  
“ si causa esset politica, ab Erasmo ita  
“ tractandam esse, scriptis in univer-  
“ sum orbem publicatis, quæ majus  
“ iudicium quam Principis alicujus re-  
“ quireret. Denique non esse justum,  
“ ut aliquis puniatur ex accusatione per

“ epistolam; opus esse actione, excep-  
“ tione, et aliis ad processum pertinen-  
“ tibus.” *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 312.

<sup>e</sup> 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, fatis monstrabat, quid etiã in politiori valeret literatura. Hoc ejus ingenium viresque ignorans Erasmus, sinistre de labore ejus judicavit. Impulsores autem fuisse suspicatus est Justum Jonam et Guilielmum Nefenum, 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 Melancthon plane *Aspidem* vocavit) Thrasonem et Gnathonem, et indignum vocat, cuius gratia vel epistolam Lutherus scriberet. Modeste hoc ei postea exprobravit Melancthon, et Nefenum ad extremum usque spiritum Erasmi cultorem fuisse asserit. Philippum vero ipsum cum omnibus eruditis qui Wittenbergæ essent, adjutores

polished his style. Seckendorf, in the passage which we have A. D. 1525. cited, shews 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 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 <sup>f</sup> 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 <sup>g</sup> convinced of it.

It

adjutores 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 scripserit, Epist. ad Volseium 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 æstu, 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.

<sup>f</sup> Memorat Justum Jonam sibi auctorem fuisse, ut Erasmus mitibus verbis tractaret; dixisse enim, *Domine Doctor, tu non credis, quam bonus et venerabilis senex sit Erasmus.* Idem antea Nesium 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 excepit Erasmus; Nesium maxime, tam charum sibi olim.* *Seckendorf* L. II. p. 81.

<sup>g</sup> Erasmi aculeos patienter fati tulit Lutherus, gavisus, quod D. Justus Jonas, Erasmus alias semper laudans, ingenium ejus tandem melius cognovisset. Scribit enim:

“ Gratulor tibi, optime Jona, de tua  
 “ palinodia, qua nunc tandem Eras-  
 “ mum illum tuum suis pingis colori-  
 “ bus,

A. D. 1525.

It hath been said by many, that Luther departed from his rigid notions of the <sup>h</sup> *servum arbitrium*, and changed his mind; but others deny it.

Erasmus

“ bus, viperam illum lethalibus aculeis  
 “ refertam recte cognoscis, quem ante  
 “ multis nominibus prædicabas. Gau-  
 “ deo te ex unius *Hyperaspistæ* lectione  
 “ tantum profecisse, et tuum de illo  
 “ mutasse iudicium.” *Seckendorf* L. II.  
 p. 88.

<sup>h</sup> Lutherus ipse tanti fecit hunc librum, ut de eo tanquam invicto gloriatus sit, et ad Wolfgangum Fabricium Capitonem scripserit, Nullum se agnoscere iustum 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 Montpelgardienfi, 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, Lutheranismus Theologiæ Doctor Conradus Schlusseburgius publice contradixit, fortiterque confirmavit Lutherum nunquam librum, de quo agimus, revocasse. Mussitant quidem nonnulli, revocationem illam factam Commen-

tario 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 Diatribes*. De quo Melanchthon, Ep. 39 ad Camerarium, ait: *Ecquid unquam legisti scriptum acerbius, Joachime, quam Erasmicum ὑπερασπιστῶν? 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 Calvinus adversus Pighium libro diserte subscripisset, tamen *Genevenses Stoicum Fatum invementes* notare quibuidam videretur. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Calvinus*, p. 43. G. Brandt, Vol. I. p. 55.

Erasmus recommends <sup>i</sup> Petrus Toffanus to the favour of Budæus. A. D. 1525. Ep. 765.

<sup>k</sup> A Protestant miracle was wrought this year, as good an 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 <sup>l</sup> Chrysofom *de Sacerdotio*, in Greek only, with a prefatory <sup>m</sup> Epistle to Pirckheimerus, which is not in our Collection.

A. D. MDXXVI.

Ætat. LIX.

<sup>n</sup> Pellicanus having said that Erasmus was in the same sentiments with Oecolampadius concerning the Eucharist, Erasmus expoſtulated

<sup>i</sup> Melch. Adam Vit. Dan. Toffani.

<sup>n</sup> Beza Icon. Seckendorf L. I. p. 132.

<sup>k</sup> Ex inferiori Germania ſcribebatur nonnullis Principibus, Bernardum Carmelitam, ætate quinquagenarium, virum piſum et eruditum, et fortem Evangeliftam, in oppido Britz quinque aut ſex milliariſibus 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 conjeſtum: nam ignem ſemper extinctum; donec inventus ſit, qui malleo caput ejus percuffum interemerit. Poſtea cadavere denuo in ignem injeſto, ignem ut antea reſtinſtum, et cadaver ex oculis adſtantium diſparuiſſe, ſecuta conſtanti fama, virum Dei ad cœlum tranſlatum eſſe. *Spalatinus*, in the *Amœn. Liter.* T. IV. p. 417.

Melchior Adam. Maittaire I. 291. Thuanus L. XVI. p. 498.

Anno 1499, providentiâ Dei, bibliopola Tubigenſis attulit Biblia Hebraica integra, minima forma impreſſa Piſauri in Italia, quæ nemo curabat. Pellicanus id audiens, rogavit virum; ſineret opus aliquot diebus inſpicere: conceſſit librarius, dicens floreno cum dimidio poſſe emi. Audito tam parvo poſſe comparari, exultavit Pellicanus: adiit ſuum Gardianum Paulum; orans, pro ſe fidejuberet. Quod ubi feciſſet, Croſſidivitas 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, quæſivit nam Erasmum, quo Baſilæ familiariffime uſus

<sup>l</sup> Maittaire II. 661.

<sup>m</sup> Appendix.

A. D. 1525. 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 absolute 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

usus fuerat, de coena Domini esset sententia; respondit: Erasmus solum agnoscere Christi manducationem per fidem. Scultet. *Annal.* ap. Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 106.

which he flattered to the end of his days with too much fervility. A. D. 1526. 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, 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 begin-

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ning

° 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 acerbior 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 melaturum agitationem. Jam si quid adesset virium, hoc tempore non poteram occurrere Celsitudini tuæ, quum 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.

A. D. 1526. ning of his *Hyperaspistes*, or defence of himself against Luther. The Queen and Henckel were favourers of the Lutheran cause. <sup>p</sup> Seckendorf hath criticized 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 <sup>q</sup> Jacobus Faber was then at Strasburg, 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 Frankfort 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

<sup>p</sup> Erasmus Lutheranismum maligne depingit, (et) hæc habet: *Quin insuper addebat nonnihil læti ominis ipsum Lutheri cognomen, quod Germanorum lingua repurgatorem sonat. Id habet ex patris opificio, qui rudes æris masses officinâ sua repurgat.*—Fallitur tamen Erasmus, Germanicæ linguæ non admodum gnarus, in reddenda etymi 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.

<sup>q</sup> Faber Gallia profugus, Argentinæ exfulat, sed mutato nomine, *quemadmodum Comicus ille senex Athenis*, ut jocatur in re minime jocosa Erasmus. *Sculter. Annal. Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 114.*



to write and to print such a book in so short a space of time: A. D. 1526. 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 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 shewed 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 μάγοις.* Ep. 800.

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 other books, published an † Epitome of the Adages of Erasmus.

In a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, as in other † letters, he unsays, what he had observed, that Luther's marriage had softened him.

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In

† In Luthero demiror duas tam diversas personas: quædam ita scribit, ut spirare videatur Apostolicum pectus: rursus in dicitariis, in fannis, in conviciis, in salibus, quem non vincit scurræ? Magno animo contemnit Cæsares et Pontifices, et ad levissimorum ab-

jectissimorumque hominum susurros sic debacchatur in quemlibet, velut oblitus quam agat fabulam, et quam personam induerit.

† Melch. Adam. Vit. Barlandi.

† At ego sperabam fore ut Lutherum uxor redderet magis cicurem. Verum ille

A. D. 1526. 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 Lambertus 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.

“ “ Longland was Confessor to Henry VIII, who, though Cardinal Wolfey was the chief Favourite, yet next to him had  
 “ the best interest of any other Prelate whatsoever. Erasmus  
 “ then.

ille præter omnem expectationem emit librum in me, summa quidem cura elaboratum, sed adeo virulentum, ut hactenus in neminem scripserit hostilius. Ep. 801.  
 “ Knight, p. 188.

“ 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 displeas'd with Erasmus,  
 “ for taking such freedom in his Colloquies as he had done ; and  
 “ by Erasmus's vindication of himself, and promises of abstain-  
 “ ing 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 men-  
 “ tion 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 written by

\* 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 spiritali Christi et præsentia et manducatione omnia posuisse.

Erasmus quam ægre tulerit *Jesu Christi* 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

A. D. 1526. by  $\gamma$  Leo Judæ, 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.

“<sup>z</sup> We saw in the Library of the Abbey of St. Antony, in Dauphiné, an original letter of Erasmus, in which he declares in  
“ most

Idem Erasmus acerrime cum Pellicano exoptulat de responsō a Pellicano aliis dato de sententia Erasmi in causa Eucharistica, *Christum sibi parum propitium precat, si ista sententia unquam 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 quenuquam Patrum palam loqui, ibi non esse corpus et sanguinem Christi.*

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 (Erasmus notat). Probabat deinde, se nihil posuisse in illo suo

libello, quod non de verbo ad verbum in Erasmi libris inveniatur.

Pellicanus (etiam) ad exoptulationem 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 Zuinglianarum peti debent, et compendiose recensita reperiuntur a Sculteto. *Seckendorf L. II. p. 64.*

Epistola, Thermipolin 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 virulentiorum, qua ad pugnam gladiatoriam provocat: verum obticui. *Erasmus, Ep. 848.*

$\gamma$  Melchior Adam.

<sup>z</sup> Voyage Literaire de deux Religieux Benedictins. Paris 1717. Part I. p. 262.

“ most emphatical terms, that he would sooner be cut to pieces, A. D. 1526.  
 “ 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*, 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 <sup>a</sup> anonymous, but well known to me, wherein he discovers certain mysteries drawn from the adorable Talmud; pretious jewels not to be cast before swine. This man, after having explained the word *Rachá*, 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

<sup>a</sup> 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*.

A. D. 1526. 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 <sup>b</sup> book on the subject against <sup>c</sup> Oecolampadius.

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

<sup>b</sup> 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 *Fuelstinus*, p. 35.

<sup>c</sup> Liber tuus De Eucharistia vehementer aridet 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 translata 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 adfit 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. 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*.

But the consent of the Church ———

A. D. 1526.

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 is a thing so remote from the knowledge, the discernment, and the free-thinking of Erasmus, that it appeared 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.

A. D. 1526.

“ 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 extremely difficult to understand it, or to correct it where it is corrupted.” *Bibl. Choif.* 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 <sup>d</sup> Longolius, in a letter to Pole, who had been a singular

<sup>d</sup> Doleo Longolium immatura morte præreptum studiis, quanquam in me videtur iniquior, idque sine causa. Excepi eum Lovanii, qua per occupationes et valetudinem licuit, humanitate. Epistolam illius Gallix Regis Orator ad me miserat: eam honoris ipsius gratia, ita me bene amet Christus, curaram edendam, tantum abest ut me offenderit. In his quæ prodierunt, apparet anxia Ciceronianæ dictionis affectatio, sed interim frigentibus interdum sententiis, subolet juvenilis quidam amor

gloriæ. Malueram prodisse commentarios illius, licet minus exprimentes phrasim Ciceronis. Id si tu curaris, non mediocrem, 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 bractæ duntaxat orationis, ac verbulis aliquot selectis. Ep. 803.

—Eruditionem



a singular friend to Longolius, and in letters to other persons; and he complains of the Ciceronians to Budæus, to Nicolaus, to Tuffanus, &c. Budæus was as little liked by the Ciceronians, and liked them as little, as Erasmus.

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He

— Eruditionem his temporibus gratulari licet permultis, quum candorem animi non perinde probes in omnibus, quem certe in Longolio nonnunquam 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 fit 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 incitatore[m] 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 cruditorum soldalium jam pridem fremit in me, duabus, ut ferunt, Aleandro, et Alberto quondam Principe Carpenſi. Ep. 820.

Tertiam sectam nobis peperit Italia :

magnis contentionibus 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 ferviunt. 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 potestate, numeris expunxit decora mentium —. 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 Curia et subfelliis, et amicissimis suis movit, tamen veras laudes meritasque prædicabat. Hic longe impudentius suas et immeritissimas prædicavit. — Longolium olim nostrum luctuosius desiderassem, nisi ipse noster esse animi destinatione desisset. 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 lucubrationes paucissimi legunt; nostras nænias Batavas nemo non legit. Ep. 875.

A. D. 1526. He received a <sup>f</sup> present 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 <sup>g</sup> received from Schydlovietz, Chancellor of Poland, in return for his *Lingua*, a gold watch, and other presents. About the same time his friend Jacobus <sup>h</sup> Pifo gave him a gold and a silver medal. Ep. 837, 838.

Joannes Maldonatus, a Spaniard, informed him how <sup>i</sup> much 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 gun-powder, 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 <sup>k</sup> Cantiuncula, a Doctor of Law.

This

<sup>f</sup> Tua benignitas semper officia officiis accumulata, meque jam olim multis nominibus obæratum reddit obligatorem. Dediti quo paretur equus, utinam dare possis quo reparetur equus.

<sup>g</sup> Redditum est bona fide horologium aureum, cochleare aureum, et fuscina 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 in-

terim a multis aliis fuit excusa. Hoc non fuisset factum, nisi multis placuisset.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Indicem Epist. Erasmi.

<sup>i</sup> Multi eruditi viri laborant in vertendis in linguam nostram opusculis tuis, et jam Enchiridion 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.

<sup>k</sup> Melchior Adam.

This year Erasmus published some <sup>1</sup> tracts of Chrysoftom, with a dedicatory Epistle to John <sup>m</sup> Claymond, which is not amongst the Epistles of Erasmus. A. D. 1526.

The anonymous author, who with great virulence attacked Marfollier and Erasmus, accuses the latter of having confessed to Vives, that when he wrote against Luther, he wrote against his conscience.

“ <sup>n</sup> He says to Vives; *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 <sup>o</sup> letter to Erasmus, informs him, that some critics had censured his *Colloquies*, for treating points of Divinity and Controversy,

<sup>1</sup> Chrysoftomi Conciunculæ sex: de Fato et Providentia Dei, Græce: apud Joan. Froben. 8vo, Basil. 1526. Cum Erasmi Epistola ad Joan. Claymondum, &c. *Maittaire* II. 672.

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 173.

<sup>n</sup> Critique de l' Apologie d' Erasme, de Marfollier, p. 253.

<sup>o</sup> Ego ad te literas dedi ex Britannia bene longas multis de rebus, more meo. Dolerem si non crederem esse ad te perlatas: tuas jam pridem nullas accepimus; occupationibus id tuis ascribo: nam tibi iter tuum recta eunti de semitis κούες ὑλακίῃσι. Itaque cogere 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 τὸ Δεθόνε*

ἐκδέχεται. — Sunt qui ex me quæ-  
runt quo sine existimem introductam  
abs te disputationem illam Ἰχθυομαχίας,  
de Voto, et Vi præceptorum in opere  
tituli puerilis, et quod videtur pueris  
scriptum rem tantam neutiquam intel-  
lecturis: respondeo quædam, quæ ut  
illis satisfaciam nescio, mihi utique non  
et loco et personis illis dissertatio, ἵνα  
δοκῆν μὴ τὸ πρέπον τηρηθῆναι. Itaque  
non videtur fuisse faciendum; præsertim  
cum offensione multorum, συνίεις τινῶν.  
Sed nihil dubito, quin tibi facti tui pul-  
cherrime constet ratio, quam non gra-  
vaberis primis literis, quas ad me dabis,  
uno aut altero verbo subijcere, ad exi-  
mendum et meum et meorum amicorum  
scrupulum, &c. Ep. 829.

A. D. 1526. 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 <sup>p</sup> having gently blamed him for giving up the defence of the Colloquies, he censures a person whom he calls *ὁ χαλδῆς*, 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, <sup>q</sup> begs 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

<sup>p</sup> De silentio meo multas tu quidem causas recte conjectas; unam addere debueras, quod aliquoties data non reduntur. De Colloquiis demiror tanto patrono vel in pessima causa deesse rationes; nunc inter pueros talia disputantur, et *ὁ χαλδῆς* sua pueris scripsisse videtur, tam scripsit pueriliter; postremo grandescunt pueri. Itaque jam adultis magis seria conveniebant. *Verum ut ingenue dicam, perdidimus liberum arbitrium. Illic mihi aliud dictabat animus, aliud scribebat calamus. Tua mihi valde probantur, &c. Ep. 871.*

<sup>q</sup> 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 multæ aliorum et accuratæ rationes. Illudque a primo valere apud me debere existimavi, quod *Pompeio* scribit *M. Tullius*: *Nec si ego quid tu sis secutus non perspicio, idcirco minus existimo te nihil nisi summa ratione fecisse.* Ἄλλὰ τί μοι ἐξ ἀπαύμας; aut quorsum de illo? *Liberum arbitrium non perdidimus, quod tu asserueris.* Non facile credas, quantopere censeo adjuvari me admonitionibus tuis, &c. *Ep. 876.*

If we suppose that Erasmus spake with a view to his contro- A. D. 1526.  
 verfy with Luther, which I do not deny, 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  
 this

\* Seckendorf is of opinion, that Eras-  
 mus alludes to his book against Luther:  
*Ludovico Vivi candidè aperit se perdidisse,*  
*dum de libero arbitrio scriberet, liberum*  
*arbitrium, &c. Patet hinc fluctuans viri*  
*animus, &c. L. I. p. 310.*

† Ipse rem tractavi modestissime. Et  
 tamen quod scribo (adversus Lutherum)  
*non scribo adversus animi sententiam. —*  
 Ep. 703.

Risi falsissimam epistolam tuam, quan-  
 quam interim risum ridens Sardonium.  
 Refricuit 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 sum-  
 “mam inopiam?” Ita profecto nunc  
*habere desit liberum arbitrium*, postea-  
 quam emisi (librum adversus Lutherum)  
 in vulgus. Optabam esse spectator hu-  
 jus 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, ni-  
 hil aliud quam rem exasperarem, meo  
 pariter et causæ malo. Postremo, con-  
 siderans vitam Christianorum undique  
 corruptissimam, etiamsi pessime sensis-  
 sem de Lutherò, tamen propemodum  
 judicabam illum *ἀναγκάστον κἀνδὲν εἶναι*,  
 quod qui tolleret, tolleret id quod hoc

statu temporum esset optimum. Verum  
 illud erat in fatiis meis, ut hoc ætatis ex  
 musico fierem retiarius. Deplorat La-  
 berius Mimographus quod annos natus  
 sexaginta, Cæsaris auctoritate protractus  
 esset in scenam, ut qui domo egressus  
 erat Eques Romanus, rediret histrio.  
 Ego idem ferme ætatis ex cultore Mu-  
 sarum fio gladiator. Vejanus, qui sem-  
 per 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  
 protrudor; non aliter licuit. Clamita-  
 bant Sophistæ, Convenit inter Erasmus  
 et Lutherum; neuter alterum impetit.  
 Principum expectationem diutius fallere  
 non erat tutum. Odiose provocabant  
 quidam Lutheri amici, sed ipsi etiam  
 Lutherò infelicissimi, ut si me continu-  
 issem, visus fuisset istorum minis terri-  
 tus filuisse. Quin et epistola Lutheri,  
 quam per Joachimum ad me miserat,  
 jam habebatur Argentorati, nec dubium  
 quin brevi proditura. In ea pollicetur  
 se non stricturum in me calamum, sed  
 hac lege, si abstineam a dogmatis ipsius  
 ex professo labefactandis, quemadmodum  
 hæcenus feceram. Hic nondum satis  
 liquet, utrum mihi futurum fuerit tur-  
 pius metu, an ex pacto quietem agere.  
 Itaque jacta est alea, sed sic ut *ne ver-  
 bum*

A. D. 1526. this an hundred times over; and, 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 ancient 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?

A. D. MDXXVII.

Ætat. LX.

A. D. 1527. 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

*bum quidem præter animi sententiam scripserim. —*

Hic nobis hoc novum Evangelium gignit novum hominum genus, præfractos, 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 genere liberam,

eo demigrarem. *De libero arbitrio nihil scripsi præter animi sententiam*: in multis aliis a Lutero dissentiebam, sed verebar impugnare, ne fructus hujus tumultus mea periret opera. Et isti stolidi jactitant me sentire cum Lutero, cæterum metu dissimulare. Egregius vero futurus sim martyr, si in gratiam talium nebulonum mentiar in caput meum.  
Ep. 715.

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. Clements 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 Erasmus, as this Collection of Letters sufficiently shews: 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 Alphonfus 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 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, 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, to  
 “ render Erasmus contemptible, gave out with great confidence

3 H

“ that

‘ Knight, p. 265.

“ Clenardi Epist. p. 231.

A. D. 1527. “ that he was, as to learning a dunce, and as to religion an  
 “ heretic ; and that a poor hungry Scot, that had pretended to  
 “ teach in that Univerfity, had an 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 Ploſco. 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 the Carmelite died at Louvain of a † vomiting, and that the Dominican Vincentius was alſo departed: Hochſtrat likewise died at Cologn. 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 reputation, and had only expoſed themſelves. Whether this expoſtulation had any effect

\* Some Lutheran, I ſuppoſe, honoured Egmond with this Epitaph, in Monkish ſtyle ;

*Hic jacet Egmondus, telluris inutile pondus :  
 Dilexit rabiem, non habeat requiem.*

† Aliquot ex hoſtium numero perierunt: Lovanii Egmondanus Carmelita vomitu præfocatus, quum ipſe paulo ante publice vociferatus eſſet in Joan-

nem Nævium, quod paralyſi correptus, intra ſex horas efflaſſet animam. Perit et Vincentius Dominicanus, in quem eſt una mea epiſtola titulo *pertinaciſſimi obtreſtatoris*. — Coloniae perit Jacobus Hochſtratus, coryphæus hujus tragædiæ, qui tamen in morte dicitur nonnullis verbis prodidiſſe parum ſinceram conſcientiam. His omnibus precor Domini miſericordiam, &c. Ep. 862.



effect upon the man, we know not : but certain it is, that Erasmus never wanted Franciscans to teize 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,

————— *Exspectans 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. 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. 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.

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Erasmus

<sup>z</sup> Knight, p. 229.

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ πῶς δὲ πῶς ἔδοντες, καὶ ἀνιδίως ἀνιδίως.

A. D. 1527. Erasmus published the works of <sup>b</sup> St. Ambrose, and dedicated 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 *Babyllas* of Chrysofom to the President of the College of Busleiden at Louvain. In this dedication he hath given a <sup>c</sup> wrong account of the martyrdom of Babyllas, by following and adopting some mistakes of Chrysofom. 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 shew that it is not in the original: but

<sup>b</sup> Bullinger, having given his opinion that the books of Ambrose *De Sacramentis*, &c. were spurious, adds; “ Erasmus suo more dissimulat et occult 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.

<sup>c</sup> Bayle's Dict. BABYLLAS.

but it would be better to leave it out, for reasons which Erasmus hath assigned. Ep. 882. A. D. 1527.

Soon after, his second *Hyperaspistes* against Luther made 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 displeas'd 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

⁴ 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 calamum admove-rem. Prorsus illic sensimus ἀρμεθὺν 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 consilescat hæc inter vos contentio, ἢς ἔδει ἀγωνοθέτας εἶναι, ἔ τῶν διχομασιῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν καλίστων ἐπισηδωμάτων. Epist. Melanch. p. 90.

A. D. 1527. 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 alledged, 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 translated 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 Alcalá of Henarez. He complains also much of the Ciceronians, who hated him and reviled him at Rome, because he had bantered the fervile imitators of Cicero. What he says on this occasion \* deserves to be transcribed; whence it

\* 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 Ci-

cero 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 admendum 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.

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 not so lax and wordy. As to <sup>f</sup> Jovianus Pontanus, 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.

<sup>g</sup> He wrote a letter in answer to <sup>h</sup> Gardiner, whom he had known at Paris, and with whom he was willing to keep up an acquaintance.

Ciceronibus. Ego tantum abfui semper ut Ciceronianæ phraseos figuram exprimerem, ut etiamsi possim assequi, malim aliquod dicendi genus solidius, adstrictius, nervosius, minus comutum, 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 expriment Ciceronem, qui id sedulo quidem, sed parum feliciter affectant. Postremo, si fas est fateri verum, nec istorum qui nihil mirantur præter Ciceronem, quicquam 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.

<sup>f</sup> P. Jovius Elog. p. 94. Pope Blount, p. 352. Erasmus Ciceronian.

<sup>g</sup> 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.*

<sup>h</sup> Burnet I. 172. II. 36, 254, 267, 273.

A. D. 1527. 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.

“<sup>i</sup> Gardiner 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.”

“<sup>k</sup> In 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 a far different strain from what he writ when he grew older, and better acquainted with the world.”

“<sup>l</sup> By an act of Parliament Gardiner performed his promise to Queen Mary of getting her illegitimation taken off — but, in the drawing of it, he shewed 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.”

“<sup>m</sup> He

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. <sup>i</sup> Burnet. <sup>k</sup> Burnet. <sup>l</sup> Burnet.

“<sup>m</sup> He 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.”

A. D. 1527.

“<sup>n</sup> He 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.”

“<sup>o</sup> He examined and treated Dr. Taylor (an aged Divine,  
who was burnt at Hadley) with his ordinary civilities, of  
Traytor, Villain, Heretic, and Knave, &c.”

“<sup>p</sup> He 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 Legan-  
tine 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.”

“<sup>q</sup> Gardiner 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 coming post

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“ did

<sup>m</sup> Burnet.

<sup>n</sup> Burnet.

<sup>o</sup> Burnet.

<sup>p</sup> Burnet.

<sup>q</sup> Burnet.

A. D. 1527. “ 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 com-  
 “ monly known, — and of kin to Henry VIII. — He was well  
 “ skilled in the Canon and Civil Laws, and moderately in Divi-  
 “ nity. 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 arti-  
 “ ficial 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 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 buffard, wide nostrils like an horse, a sparrow*  
 “ *mouth, &c.* and truly by this description, it may be Gardiner’s.”

° When Smith and Cheke attempted to correct the pronun-  
 ciation of the Greek language at Cambridge, Gardiner, the Chan-  
 cellor of the University, who hated all Reformation, stuck to his  
*mumpsimus*, and set forth an absurd and an impudent<sup>1</sup> decree, for-  
 bidding all such innovations. Thus he obliged the Academics  
 to follow the corrupt and barbarous pronunciation introduced by  
 the modern Greeks.

Much

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to Burnet, p. 411.

° 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.

<sup>1</sup> *Quisquis nostram potestatem ag-*

*noscis, sonos literis sive Græcis sive La-*  
*tinis ab usu publico præsentis seculi*  
*alienos privato judicio affingere ne au-*  
*deto, &c.*

*Ne multa. In sonis omnino ne philo-*  
*sophator, sed utitor præsentibus.*



Much about the same time the Doctors of the Theological Faculty at Paris maintained, that <sup>u</sup> *Quis, Qualis, &c.* ought to be founded *Kis, Kalis, &c.* and persecuted the Professors, and others, who called it *Quis* and *Qualis*: they also contended 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

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made

<sup>u</sup> Bayle RAMUS, Not. G.

\* Strype's Life of Sir T. Smith, Ch. 6. p. 65.

A. D. 1527. 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 never said that his sentiment 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.

\* *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 furo 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 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.

A. D. 1527.

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:

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

A. D. 1527. 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 <sup>z</sup> Bucer, Erasmus sets forth his reasons why he could not join with the Reformed, and gives them a very bad character, though he declares his <sup>a</sup> esteem 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

<sup>z</sup> Verheiden Effig. Theol. p. 74. Melchior Adam. Beza Icon. Burnet II. 164. Knight, p. 348. Bayle BUCER. Vossii Epist. p. 403. Sec-kendorf L. I. p. 130, 132. Pope Blount, p. 405. Vitæ Batefii, p. 250. Thuanus L. VIII. p. 264. Strype's Life of Parker, B. I. ch. 7. Life of Cheke, p. 74, &c.

tum 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 utcunque ccepta perveniat ad exitum Evangelio dignum. Ad hoc habebitis me pro viribus adjutorem. Ep. 906.

<sup>a</sup> Audio te præclaris dotibus prædi-

L' Hospital <sup>b</sup> resembled them both, in this respect. Luther <sup>c</sup> could not endure Bucer; and Bossuet <sup>d</sup> hath thought fit to treat him as an insincere and disingenuous shuffler.

“ <sup>e</sup> Bucer 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 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* <sup>f</sup>.

The

<sup>b</sup> Bayle HOSPITAL.

<sup>c</sup> 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 nebulosus.* Scultet, Annal. A. 1529.

<sup>d</sup> Peras imposuit Jupiter nobis duas: Propriis repletam vitiis post tergum dedit; Alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem.

<sup>e</sup> Burnet.

<sup>f</sup> 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

A. D. 1527. 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 <sup>§</sup> for Erasmus, that the Faculty of Theology, of the University of Paris, passed a very rough censure upon a multitude of propositions extracted from

versipellis et mobilis animi suspicionem graviorem incurrerit. Adeo nempe verum est, quod supra — dixisse audivimus Lutherum, *Impossibile esse, verbo Dei, ut conscientia exigit, nihil detrabere, et simul favorem et applausum apud mundum consequi et retinere.* Seckendorf L. III. p. 559.

In Zuinglio agreste quoddam est et arrogantium; 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 Theologo-

rum Argentinensium, Capitonis inprimis et Buceri, ut Jacobus Faber Stapulensis et Gerardus Rufus clam e Gallia profecti, Capitonem et Bucero audirent, et de omnibus doctrinæ præcipuis locis cum his disserent, missi a Margareta Francisci Regis sorore, Navarræ Regina, &c. *Sculdet.* 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.

<sup>§</sup> 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.

from his works. <sup>h</sup> Du Pin hath given a large account of these A. D. 1527. censures or anathemas; and they well deserve to be perused, as they may serve to shew what sort of justice and charity is to be expected from such <sup>i</sup> Ecclesiastical Cabals.

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 then in making a sort of aukward 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 farther than he had done.

He hath given us a very pretty elogium of John <sup>k</sup> Froben, the famous Printer at Basil, and a man of great honour and probity, with

<sup>h</sup> H. E. XIV. 77.

<sup>i</sup> 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 sulta, *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 amentes merito derogare potuerint. *Melch. Adam Vit. Calvinii*, p. 39.

This was A. 1542, or thereabouts.

<sup>k</sup> Baillet I. 178. *Maittaire Ann. Typ. Cave Hist. Lit. Proleg.* p. xxvii. *Melch. Adam.*

Quum huc ætatis pervenerim, — ta-

men ipsa re comperi, me mihi nondum satis notum esse. Siquidem existimabam me tum philosophiæ præceptis, tum diutina peneque 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

A. D. 1527. with whom he had contracted an intimate and an agreeable friendship.

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 exproravi? Ubi nunc est, inquam, ille Rhetor, qui splendidis dictis solet aliorum mœrorem vel eximere, vel objurgare? Ubi Philosophus ille Stoicus, dormitor 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 mutuos animorum nexus. Fratris gremii 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 fatorum 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 is qui offenderat. Nec ullius omnino injuriæ poterat meminisse, contra nullius quamlibet vulgaris officii poterat oblivisci. Atque hic sane, mea sententia, melior erat interdum, quam expediebat vigilantibus 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 furdo canebar fabulam. Vicit omnia monita naturæ candor. Mihi vero quas non tendebat insidias, quas non venabatur occasiones, ut aliquid obtruderet muneris? Nec unquam vidi lætiores, quam quum vel dolo perfecisset, vel precibus impetrasset, ut aliquid acciperem. Hic adversus hominis captiones erat opus cautione maxima, nec usquam magis opus erat meâ Rhetorica, quam ad excogitandum colorem, quo



friendship. If Erasmus brought him no small advantage by giving  
A. D. 1527.

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 arbitror, omnis illius familia. Mihi quicquid laborum suscipiebatur, amore studiorum suscipiebatur. His cum ille cohonestandis, illustrandis, provehendisque natus videretur, nec ullum defugeret laborem, nullas vigiliis, fatis 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? Diceret illum jam tum totius operæ fructum cumulatissime percipisse, nec aliud expectare præmium. Non hic attollam Frobenii laudes aliorum vituperatione. Nimis notum est, quos Auctores quam mendose, quam fordide excusos nobis typographi, quidam etiam e Venetia Romaque miserint. Ex hujus autem domo paucis annis, quæ volumina, quanta cum dignitate, prodi-

erunt? Eoque suam officinam a contentiosis libellis, unde quæstum haud mediocre 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, deterrent, 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 erant medicorum officia, quæ nihil aliud quam exasperabant malum, dum de morbi genere dissentientes, alii aliud admovent remedium, nec deerant qui auctores essent pedem ressecandum esse. Tandem aliunde venit medicus, qui dolorem hactenus sedaret, ut et tolerabilis esset, et somni cibique sumendi permitteret salutatem.

A. D. 1527. giving him his copies and his labour, as he often assures us, Froben was grateful to him, and did him no less honour, by publishing

cultatem. 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 munitionior 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 imminentiæ præludium. Diffimulavit 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 atollēbat, nec ullum sensus indicium dedit, nec ullam omnino vitæ significationem, nisi quod manum sinistram movebat, nam dextrum latus omne dissimulata paralysis 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 transiit feliciorē, 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 tali-

bus 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 admittetur, 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 Grunni-um, sub nomine Florentii ita se describit Erasmus, ita suam pandit fortunam, talibus aversiorē 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 Amicitiaë Gulielmus Gaudanus, cum hac epigraphe; *Ad Petrum Gerardum Roterodamum, Erasmi germanum, virum tum perhumanum, tum eruditissimum.*

See above, p. 4 and 71.

publishing his works in the most elegant and correct manner A. D. 1527. for those times. Ep. 922.

“<sup>1</sup> Maittaire, 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 <sup>m</sup> Elogium 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 shewed 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. 923 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 <sup>n</sup> Carlevitzius. Ep. 919.

In a letter to a Monk, Erasmus hints that he expected no great good from a General Council. It was an amazing error in the Princes and Politicians of those times to imagine otherways.

He

<sup>1</sup> Le Clerc Bibl. A. & M. XVIII. 404.

<sup>m</sup> It is inserted in the *Ann. Typ.* V. II. p. 8.

<sup>n</sup> Melch. Adam.

<sup>o</sup> Nec est quod spectemus Concilium. Sero veniet, obstante Principum diffidio; et si fuerit institutum, sedecim annis agetur de rebus longe aliis quam de ceremoniis. Ep. 902.

A. D. 1527. He<sup>r</sup> recommends the study of ancient Historians and Moralists, as proper for Senators, Magistrates, Counsellors, and all who are employed in public stations. But these are antiquated directions: <sup>a</sup> *Cards* and *Dice* seem now to supply the place of the *Ciceros* and the *Plutarchs*.

He gives some<sup>r</sup> advice to a friend, who complained of being near-sighted.

He observes that his friend Henkel had refused a Bishoprick. He hath his reasons, I suppose, says Erasmus; but, as things go, it is rather better to be a<sup>s</sup> hog-driver than a hog.

Vives<sup>t</sup> loved the Monks as little as Erasmus, and expresseth his sentiments concerning them in pretty strong terms.

In

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 potissimum ea prudentia colligitur, quæ decet virum in Republica versantem. Ep. 853.

<sup>q</sup> — Patriciis hæc Exemplaria nostris Nocturna versata manu, versata diurna!

<sup>r</sup> 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 præcellerunt, quamquam alii levius, alii magis obnoxii sunt. Alexander, Jacobi Scotorum Régis filius, quem opinor nosse te

ex Adagiis, adeo laboravit hoc malo, ut ni naso contingeret librum, nihil cerne- ret. Proinde si naturæ vitium est, noli pugnare pharmacis, sed adhibe vitrea conspicilla in hoc attemperata, ut qui pene cæci sunt, cernant etiam procul diffusa. 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.

<sup>s</sup> Quod Episcopen recusat, non dubito quin illi constet sui consilii ratio; tamen ut nunc res sunt mortalium, præstat esse subulcum quam suam. Ep. 921.

<sup>t</sup> 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 coep- tum

In a letter to Gacchus, a Franciscan, Erasmus hath drawn up an excellent defence of himself against this Monk, who 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. A. D. 1527.

This year Rome was sacked in a most barbarous and brutish manner; and the poor inhabitants were

*Vel Priamo miseranda manus:*

For \* Protestant Historians 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

tum est fieri, videlicet excitatis eâ lectione multorum animis ad cognitionem magnarum et pulcherrimarum rerum, quæ tamdiu fuerant occultatæ, tum etiam quod cœpit permultos pigere indignissimæ servitutis, qua quidam hactenus præferunt miseram plebem, quæ servitus cum ubique, quacunq; Christianum nomen patet, gravissima est, tum vero in nostrâ natione ne servis quidem aut asinis tolerabilis. Ep. 340. c. 1720.

\* See Seckendorf L. II. p. 78.

\* Quanta fuerit militum Germanorum ac Hispanorum atrocitas et info-

lencia Romæ, verbis explicari vix potest. Nam præter horrendas lamienas, direptiones, libidines, devastationes, contumeliæ ac ludibrii genus nullum in Pontificem, Cardinales, reliquamque turbam prætermisum fuit. *Sleidan* L. VI. p. 145.

Milites omne genus sævitæ, libidinis, avaritiæ, in quosvis homines, et loca sacra æque ac profana exercuerunt. Hispani tamen longe magis quam Germani, licet hi maximam partem cum duce suo Fronbergio Lutheri doctrinæ inhærent. *Perizonius*, p. 153.

A. D. 1527.

A <sup>v</sup> prodigy 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.

A. D. 1528.

From the beginning of this year, Erasmus was afraid that he should be obliged to shift his quarters, on account of 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.

Sigismund, 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

▷ Prodigium nocte ante festum circumcissionis ibi accidisse constanter narratur. De quo hæc sunt Lutheri verba: "Scribit mihi Nicolaus Amford, Magdeburgæ, nocte circumcissionis, 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 abditi, ut impossibile sit vento, cui non patet isthuc accessus, extingui. Interpretantur quidam, portendi obitum Canoniorum. — Deus viderit." *Seckendorf* L. II. p. 83.

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. A. D. 1528.

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 School-men, 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

A. D. 1528. 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 Cologn, 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. Melancthon, 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.



A. D. 1528.

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 Melancthon, 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.

<sup>z</sup> This year 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 researches 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

3 L 2

living

<sup>z</sup> Maittaire II. 361, &c. who hath and his adversaries.  
<sup>a</sup> long dissertation concerning Erasmus

A. D. 1528. 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<sup>a</sup> Cortesius, an Italian, was of the sect; and Politian, who abhorred such bondage, in an<sup>b</sup> elegant letter to him declared his

<sup>a</sup> See Menckenius Vit. Polit. p. 197.

<sup>b</sup> 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 probem, quas rursus improbem, non explico. Nolo sibi quisquam vel placeat in his, auctore me, vel displiceat. Est in quo tamen a te diffentiam de stylo nonnihil. Non enim probare soles, ut accepi, 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

<sup>a</sup> Quintiliano, qui se germanos Ciceronis putabant esse, quod his verbis periodum clauderent, *esse videatur*. 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 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

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. A. D. 1528.

Cortefius 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 Cortefius infinitely beneath him.

Hermolaus Barbarus 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 <sup>d</sup> extract from it.

Jac.

quæso ne superstitione ista te alliges, ut nihil delectet, quod tuum plane sit, et ut oculos a Cicerone nunquam dejicias. 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, sollicitudinemque 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 tan-

quam de præscripto non audent egredi. Postremo scias infelicis esse ingenii, nihil a se promere, semper imitari. Vale. *Epist.* L. VIII. p. 113.

<sup>c</sup> P. Jovius Elog. Næufferii, p. 145.

<sup>d</sup> Diu et ipse in eo errore versatus sum, ut nisi qui aut Ciceronis ætate, aut paulo ante vixissent, aut certe illi ætati supparet fuissent, non satis dignos esse arbitraret, quorum exemplo qui Latine aut scribere aut loqui vellent, niterentur. Sed postea, re tota mecum accuratius considerata, visus ipsi 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 auisse, et suo quemque sæculo, disertissimos habitos esse constaret, temere pronuntiare aude-rem. Certe enim neque quisquam unquam

A. D. 1528.

Jac. Thomasius, in a Preface to the works of Muretus, hath taken notice of this chapter, and of the fantastical refinement of Scioppius,

quam 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 audeat? Ciceronis scriptorum vix decimam partem reliquam habemus, eamque multis partibus mancam 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, si quid in eis non reperiatur, id apud veteres in usu non fuisse? Quanto credibilis est, nova multa atque inusitata nobis videri, quæ si eorum libri existerent, 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 instructissimas, 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 reperiuntur. 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 refugijunt, 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 athletis 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 obruza 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 insufurrare, excuti sibi cerebrum, perire aures, cum talibus vocibus verberarentur.

Scioppius, who pretended that Muretus ever remained a true A. D. 1528.  
Ciceronian,

tur. Quin etiam cœtu dimisso, cum me, ut fit, officii causâ 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 condoluisse dicerent, ipsius Ciceronis essent. Quid quæris? cum id ita esse pervicissem, jam voces illæ omnem duritiam atque asperitatem deposuerant; jam lenes, suaves, jucundæ auditu factæ erant; et ut lupini aqua macerati, omnem amaritiam 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 alicubi dixisset. Itaque siquis Latine loquens, Cardinalem quempiam illustrissimum, ut fit, vocaverat, in eum ὁ γὰρ τῶν μυστικῶν, 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 a folia in silvis*: et illud;

— — *licuit, semperque licebit  
Signatum præsentem nota<sup>b</sup> producere nomen.*

Nonne Cicero et multa novavit ipse, et Cætonem, Varronem, Brutum, alioque 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 Quinctiliani 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 culina quidem illorum patienter audiri potuissent. Mentior, nisi tibi, cum voles, in scriptis quorundam, qui hujus sectæ coryphæi habentur, *speculationem, ingratitude, 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;

*Τῶν τῶν γενῶν τε καὶ ἀμῶν ἔυχουμαι.  
ἔνα.*

Fuit:

<sup>a</sup> Art. Poet. 60, where see Bentley.

<sup>b</sup> Read *procedere*.

A. D. 1528. Ciceronian, and on this occasion did not speak his real sentiment.

It is pleasant enough to observe, that the ° Ciceronians could not

Fuit hæc de principio laboriosa quædam, et exquisita diligentia: Nunc in ignavi-  
am vertit. Quid enim magis in promptu  
est, quam, cum quid scribere ingressus  
sis, de singulis vocibus Nizolium con-  
sultare? Quid tu igitur? inquires: ex  
omnibus antiquis Scriptoribus, nullo  
discrimine, verba quibus utare, deprom-  
es? Imo vero adhibebo iudicium, ha-  
bebo dilectum, et cum ex iis potissimum  
qui antiquitatis quoque ipsi principes  
visi sunt, Cicerone, Cæsare, Terentio,  
aliis, quamplurima sumpsero: cum ora-  
tionis meæ genus ad eorum exemplar  
quam maxime potuero, conformaro, ex  
aliis quoque bellissimum quodque car-  
pam: et quo quisque maxime excel-  
luisse videbitur, id imitari atque expri-  
mere conabor: neque in iis modo quos  
paulo ante nominavi, sed in Tertulliano,  
Arnobio, Hieronymo, Augustino, Am-  
brosio, et quod magis mireris, Apuleio,  
Cassiodoro, Martiano etiam et Sidonio  
Apollinari multa reperiam, quibus suo  
locò positis oratio uberior et ornatio-  
r fiat. Tibi quoque, Dari, auctor sum,  
ut idem facias, in primisque ut ne eorum  
stultitiam imiteris, qui usque eo antiqui-  
tatis studiosi sunt, ut voces quoque  
Christianæ religionis proprias refugiant,  
et in earum locum alias substituunt,  
quarum nonnullæ etiam impietatem  
olent: qui non *fidem*, sed *persuasionem*;  
non *sacramentum corporis Domini*, sed  
*sacrosanctum crustulum*; non *excommunicare*,  
sed *diris deovovere*; non *Angelos*,

sed *Genios*; non *baptizare*, sed *abluerè*  
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 solistimum*,  
cum *pateras* et *sympinia* legimus, notare  
ea tanquam dicta sapienter, quod ex au-  
guralibus et pontificalibus libris de-  
prompta sint; propria Christianæ fidei,  
et Christianorum rituum verba, ut non  
satis Latina contemnere? —

Muretus hath also censured the Cice-  
ronians in some of his Orations; L. I.  
*Orat.* 21. L. II. *Orat.* 4 and 15.

° In eo quidem certe admoneri te pa-  
tiere, ut cum aut totum quiddam, aut  
generatim omnia complecti voles, aut  
etiam mentis tuæ sensus aientibus verbis  
confirmare, duplicatis negationibus ali-  
quanto parcius utare: cujus quidem ge-  
neris sunt illa, nemo non, nullus non,  
nihil non: quæ ut orationi modicè as-  
persa jucunditatis afferunt plurimum, sic  
crebrius repetita satietatem pariunt atque  
fastidium. Nam quod totidem verbis  
ex M. T. Cicerone tibi tam multa im-  
pune sumere non liceat, ne tu quidem  
ipse, puto, negas. Sed non animadver-  
tis scilicet, qui assidua summi illius ora-  
toris librorum et accurata lectione hoc  
consecutus es, ut etiam imprudenti tibi  
et invito integræ ipsius non modo sen-  
tentix, sed multi simul interdum versus  
excidant atque effluent. Quod ipsum

mihî

not write so as to satisfy one another. Thus Longolius finds fault with  
A. D. 1528.

mihi ut summæ est admirationi, sic haud scio an illis probaturus sis, qui Æsopi graculum nobis objicere non desinunt, nec Publ. Vergilii autoritatem 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 multos 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.

Obscuro 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 verborum 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. Quæ 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 suspicit. Aurea videlicet cum assidue tractet, ærea non internoscit. Itaque, paucis post illum sermonem diebus interjectis, cum epistolam ad me misisset, in qua ita scripsit, nihil 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.

A. D. 1528. with <sup>f</sup> Naugerius, and <sup>g</sup> Manutius finds fault with Longolius.

Majoragius had attacked Cicero, as Nizolius pretended; and Nizolius wrote him a letter, in which he defends <sup>h</sup> Cicero, and takes occasion to blame Erasmus.

One thing is observable in all the professed Ciceronians, 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 *verbosè*. 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 <sup>i</sup> liberal and genteel kind of imitation, and

<sup>f</sup> P. Jovius Elog. p. 145. Bayle *Supplem.* NAVAGIERO.

<sup>g</sup> 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, cogereetur 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.

<sup>h</sup> 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 confusus fuit. *Gudii et aliorum Epist.* p. 137.

See Bayle MAJORAGIUS.

<sup>i</sup> Amongst the Epistles of Muretus, there is a pretty one of Julius Pogianus, a Ciceronian, who recommends this sort of imitation. L. II. Ep. 24.



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<sup>k</sup>, 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<sup>l</sup> Brutus, no scrupulous 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 solecisms 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:

3 M 2

A Genius

<sup>k</sup> Bibl. Choif. XXV. 345.

<sup>l</sup> Bayle BRUTUS.

A. D. 1528. A *Genius* is more at liberty, and may accoutre himself as he thinks fit; every drefs 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 ancient Romans, before the language was formed and polished, and of employing all the obscure and obsolete words and phrases that they could find. <sup>m</sup> Passeratius 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 fervility.

Mariangelus Accursius wrote a Dialogue against these pedants, about the year 1531. See more in Bayle RAYNAUD, Not. I. ACCURSE (M.) Not. F.

Erasmus also <sup>n</sup> censured this folly in his Dialogue *de Pronunciatione*.

Olivarius,

<sup>m</sup> Exorti sunt his annis viginti proximis, non dissimili laborantes insania, novi quidam Antonii, utinam minus multi, quorum causa, ne quid dissimulem, hanc præfatiunculam institui. Si quidem me facturum operæ pretium putavi, si istum animi morbum vel arte aliqua perfanarem, 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, Sifennæ Annales requirimus. Unde tam

delicatum fastidium? Cato et Varro vix ad stomachum faciunt: vix aviditatem nostram explent primi Consulium fasces, et factorum incunabula. Decemvirales tabulas, leges Regias, Saliare carmen, icta cum Sabinis fœdera, Feccialium jura formulæque transcendimus, ut penetremus in sermonem Aboriginum, tanquam simus cum Egeria Numæ, aut cum Evandri Carmenta loquuturi.

<sup>n</sup> 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.

Olivarius, in a letter without a date, informs Erasmus how the Italian ° Ciceronians railed at his barbarous style, and how he took his part against them.

° After Erasmus had written his *Ciceronianus*, and had been much abused on that account, he was engaged by Froben to revise a new

° Balthasarus Comes Castilioni, Orator Pontificis, vir utcunque eruditus, Navagerus Venetus, vir utriusque linguæ eruditissimus, et Andreas Neapolitanus in dies debacchantur in stylym tuum. Non potest ferre hæc natio, quod unus Germanus ostentationem Italarum deprefferit. 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. 1858.

° 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 fensi percepisse ex his libris relectis, non tantum ob styli rubiginem abstergendam (quanquam hoc quoque nonnihil est, meo quidem iudicio) 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 variâ lectio voluminum, quæ doctissimi Græci de recte beateque vivendo reliquerunt? quanta vis? quanta copia salubrium ac sanctissimorum præceptorum? quanta

cognitio, quantaque memoria prisicarum 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 desperabant 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 aulas Regum, et in Senatuum, 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 consabulationum atque convivorum, quum videamus homines Ethnicos tam sanctis commentationibus et otium, quod dabat Reipublicæ calamitas, transegisse: nec ab ineptis voluptatibus quæfivisse mentis avocamenta, sed a sanctissimis philosophiæ præceptis petivisse remedium?

A. D. 1528. a new edition of Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, and he prefixed

to

remedium? Quid aliis accidat, nescio; me legentem sic afficere solet M. Tullius, præsertim ubi de bene vivendo differit, ut dubitare non possim, quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Atque hoc meum iudicium mihi magis blanditur, quoties animo reputo, quam immensa sit, quamque inæstimabilis 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 aduersum habituri sint in ferendis calculis, qui sperant illum apud Superos quietam vitam agere. Nulli dubium esse potest, quin crediderit aliquid 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 Octavium 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 Ethnico, 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 re-

surrectionem corporum, nec tamen ideo de illorum salute desperatum est a maioribus. 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 conscripta 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 hæc de re liberum esto suum cuique iudicium. Ad illos crassos redeo, qui præter inanem verborum tintinum, nihil magni credunt esse in libris Ciceronis. Qui fieri potest, ut tot res eruditas, tam dilucide, tam copiose, tantum affectu explicet, nisi penitus intelligat quod scribit? Quis autem sumisit hujusmodi libros in manum, quin furrexerit animo sedatiore? Quis tam accessit mœrens, qui non abierit hilarior? Geri videtur quod legis, nec secus afflat animum tuum quidam orationis *εὐθεσι- ασυδς*, quam si ex vivo ipsius pectore, ac felicissimo illo ore manantem audires.

Quamobrem

\* *It is spurious.*

to it an elegant Preface, wherein, 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 Scaliger (of whose quarrels with Erasmus we shall speak hereafter)

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. Quid 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 sciat se profecisse, cui Cicero valde placere cæperit.* 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 edif-

cendis 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, nimium multis annis intermissam, renovare mentes aliquot. — Ep. 499. c. 1880.

¶ 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 repudiarit. — 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 adolescentens 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,

A. D. 1528. 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  
 “ ancient Rome. Read these words of Balzac: *The accuser 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,*  
 “ *(Jof. 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 raskal, 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 Epistles, and in Bayle's Dictionary. The case was thus;

Eppendorf

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 Rei-

publicæ calamitosam eloquentium pro-  
 scriptionem nova prudentia cum aut sus-  
 tulit, aut emendavit, attulit sane meo  
 nomini consolationem, &c.— An. 1536.  
 J. C. Scaliger. Orat. et Epist. p. 58.

Ep. 957, 958, and 346. c. 1730.

EPPENDORF.

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 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, wherein they quarrel together. Erasmus<sup>a</sup> declares,

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that

<sup>a</sup> Ep. 1087, 1088.<sup>b</sup> Ep. 957. See also Ep. 859.

A. D. 1528. 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 candor and open 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, in which he treats Eppendorf as a worthless raskal, for whom he would do nothing ; and Erasmus † tells us 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

\* Ep. 349. c. 1741.

† Ep. 1146.



Erasmus <sup>z</sup> 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. A. D. 1528.

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 *Literati* in France, because, speaking of eminent men in that nation, he had unluckily <sup>a</sup> joined together Budæus, and <sup>b</sup> Badius, a Librarian, 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

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famous

<sup>z</sup> See his Epistle to Goclenius, prefixed to the first Volume.

<sup>a</sup> Tom. I. c. 1011. See Maittaire II. 69.

<sup>b</sup> Bayle BADIUS. Baillet II. 261. Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 547. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 121. Le Clerc Bibl. A. & M. XVIII. 408. Maittaire II. 66.

A. D. 1528. 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 displeas'd the Prelate, who wanted Erasmus to make Retractions, after the manner of Augustin. I correct my works every day, says Erasmus; but St. Augustin, after all his retractions, left many things standing in his works, which if a man had advanced in our days, he must have pass'd for an heretic. Then he lashes the Monks, and relates some of their <sup>c</sup> pious frauds and ridiculous miracles to delude silly people. But

<sup>c</sup> Non pendet hodie religio Christianorum a miraculis, nec obscurum est quot opiniones invectæ sunt in orbem per homines ad suum quæstum callidos, confictorum miraculorum præsidio. Quæ sunt in sacris literis tanto firmiter 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 consentitur, et post hanc vitam opus esse presbytero iis quibus volentibus defuit consentendi facultas? Alibi parochus quidam sub diem Parasceves clam immisit in cæmeterium vivos cancos, affixis ad latus cereolis ardentibus; qui quum reperent inter sepulchra, visum est noctu terribile spectaculum, nec quisquam ausus est accedere propius. Hinc rumor atrox. Consterpnatis omnibus, parochus e sug-

gestu docet populum has esse defunctorum animas, quæ Missis et eleemofynis 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 accerferet exorcistam, aut ipsa loqueretur. Verum illa nimis masculino animo, clam rogavit cognatum quendam, ut unam noctem secum esset tectus in cubiculo. Ille vero fuisse armatus pro exorcismis, ac probe potus, quo minus expavesceret, occultatur in lecto. Adest spectrum solito more, nescio quid triste mugiens. Excitatur exorcista: profilit nondum sobrius, aggreditur; ibi spectrum voce gestuque deterrere parat. At ebrius ille, Si tu es, inquit, Diabolus, ego sum mater illius, et correptum impostorem fuisse dolat, occisurus,

But it is not probable that this could quite satisfy Fisher, and A. D. 1528. set Erasmus right in his opinion.

Writing to another friend about these pious tricks, he sneers the doctrine of <sup>d</sup> Purgatory 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 <sup>e</sup> Aretinus, 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.

He

occisurus, ni mutata voce clamasset, Parce, non sum anima, sed sum dominus Joannes. Ad vocem agnitam, mulier exiit e lecto, pugnamque dirimit. Hæc præludia. Equidem ut semper pium existimavi pro defunctis vel orare vel sacrificare, ita talibus terculamentis haud sane multum tribuerim, etiamsi fucus absit, qui vix unquam solet abesse. Certe Chrysofomus putat hæc omnia

dæmonum esse ludibria. Ep. 974.

<sup>d</sup> 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 not superpetit facultas. Mirum in modum amanti ignem purgatorium, quod utilissimum sit illorum culinis. Ep. 977.

<sup>e</sup> Bayle Dict. ARETIN.

A. D. 1528. 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 <sup>f</sup> informs him freely, though politely. But from another letter we find that it came <sup>g</sup> safe at last to his hands.

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 <sup>h</sup> mistaken. Ep. 967.

<sup>i</sup> Gattinarius, 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 displeas'd 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

<sup>f</sup> Ep. 964.

<sup>g</sup> Oneravit me tua benignitas tam gravi sarcina munificentiae, ut nec inveni-  
am 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.

<sup>h</sup> Mirum est Erasmus in ea opinione  
fuisse, ac si Lutherus palinodiam cane-

ret, cum tamen ne unicus quidem arti-  
culus in thesi sua sit mutatus. — Du-  
bitandum tamen est, an satis accurate  
legerit Erasmus, quae edita sunt, an te-  
mere potius pronunciaverit, dum ad  
Gattinaram scribit: *Indies mitescit febris  
Lutherana, adeo ut ipse Lutherus de sin-  
gulis propemodum scribat palinodiam, ac  
caeteris habeatur ob hoc ipsum haereticus et  
delirus.* Quos vero intelligat per *caete-  
ros*, divinare nequeo, nisi ad Zuinglium  
aut Anabaptistas respiciat. *Seckendorf*  
L. II. p. 108.

<sup>i</sup> Seckendorf L. II. p. 157.

He again represents <sup>k</sup> Aleander as one of his most inveterate enemies. A. D. 1528.

To his friend Vives he hints, that he did not <sup>l</sup> care to meddle with the affair of the King's divorce. He had received a present from a <sup>m</sup> Queen; 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 <sup>n</sup> allow the King two wives than take one from him.

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 <sup>o</sup> errors out of the Jerom of Erasmus, mistaking the Father for the Editor; so that all the blows which he aimed at  
Erasmus,

<sup>k</sup> Jam audio multis persuasum, ex meis scriptis extitisse totam hanc Ecclesiæ 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.

<sup>l</sup> Negotio Jovis et Junonis absit ut me admisceam, præsertim incognito. Citius tribuerim uni duas Junones, quam unam adimerem. Ep. 975.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> “ 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 mortuorum fratre sine liberis, jubetur frater fustes fuscitare posteritatem fratri defuncto. Et Herodes a Joanne reprehenditur, qui fratris uxorem duxerat vivo fratre.” T. V. c. 639.

<sup>o</sup> 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, cepit promiscue notare quicquid offenderet vel in Hieronymo,

A. D. 1528. 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 <sup>p</sup> remarks on Ciceronianism in two letters, which deserve to be perused.

He

nymo, vel in meis scholiis : ingentem errorum sylvam congefserat 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 Erasmus. 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.

<sup>p</sup> Morbus hic primum ex Italia duxit originem, nec ulli majores ibi tumultus concitarunt, quam qui minimum habebant Ciceronis. Neque paucos nostratum ea lues afflare cœperat, præsertim illos qui nobis ex Italia redierunt. Id quoniam perspiciebam vehementer inutile, vel eruditioni solidæ, vel Christianæ facundia, paucorum dierum opella mihi sumpta est, ut eam superstitionem ab animis juvenum depellerem, ab hoc ipso quod affectatur submoven-tem, dum et tot Auctores lectione dignos fastidiunt, nec eum, quem unum sibi proponunt, assequuntur, &c.

Suspicio istic esse ἀλλοφύλης, quos intra finem 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 repullulascant 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 ingenii: neque hic deterret a bonorum auctorum lectione, sed ad unius Ciceronis imitationem invitatur, atque adeo, quod est difficilius, æmulationem.

Simul 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 avidè dis-tractus est, ita apud aliquot non medicrem offensam incurrit, &c. Ep. 1008.

He gives us a<sup>9</sup> detail of his labours in publishing St. Augustin. A. D. 1528.

To the Bishop of Liege he sends an<sup>r</sup> account of a profane fellow, who was struck dead for playing the fool with the *boff*. 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<sup>r</sup> Luther was grown more mild and moderate, when, as he says, it was too late.

He

<sup>9</sup> Septem prælis suppeditem oportet quod excudant. Sed cum primis enecat Augustinus, quem totum emendo, quum in Hieronymo præter Epistolas nihil mihi sumferim. Hoc laboris mihi manibus pedibusque recusanti obtrufit felicitis memoriæ Joannes Frobenius, quem sic amabam, ut pernegare nihil possem, etiam si me in foro iussisset restim ducere. Is operi immortalis 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 quenquam 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 gra-

tulari, quam solemus diu desperatis amicis e longinqua periculosaque navigatione proram in patrium litus impingentibus. Ep. 981.

<sup>r</sup> In pago quodam, cui nomen *Vetus Vicus*, rusticus quidam in diversorio dum Eucharistiam irridet, subito exanimatus est. Rem sic actam fuisse testes docere. 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 syncopis. Mulier adfert acetum, admovent, sed frustra, erat plane mortuus. Hæc non est fabula. Feruntur et alii rumores, verum nolui parum compta scribere. Ep. 987.

<sup>s</sup> Nunc (Lutherus) stultorum exemplo, doctus experimentis, ita sua moderatur, ut propemodum canat palinodiam. Ep. 1004.

A. D. 1528. He congratulates 'Bembus', for having been happily absent from the sacking of Rome.

It is said of Bembus, that he spake contemptuously of the 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

Si Lutherani ab Eucharistia convellenda, Missa abroganda, Imaginibus tollendis, — sperari poterat lætior exitus. Nunc Lutherus tacet, Melanchthon mitigat; sed fero, ut ais, sapiunt Phryges. Ep. 1006.

Boiffard 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 Bembæ per Joann. Casam. Casa is a polite and elegant Writer. This Life is to be found in the *Vitæ Batefii*.

" Bembus et Sadoletus boni Poetæ. Bembæ scripta fuerunt affectatissima. Scaliger. Son histoire de Venise, est très-justement blâmée par Lipse d'être trop elegante. Tan. Faber. Scaliger. p. 53.



Vincentius \* Contarenus, 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, a noisy Divine, who was very active against the Lutherans. This man teized 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.

“ † Zuinglius and Oecolampadius are gone the wrong way.  
 “ — Cochläus is not such a Divine; he is a very ideot, 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 shews a most amiable and Christian disposition.

Ep. 991 is to † Livinus Ammonius, a Carthusian Monk, and a worthy man.

† Erasmus had, for his seal, the god *Terminus*, with the inscription *Concedo nulli*. Hence he was accused by some of his stupid and

\* Relat. Gotting. V. III. Fasc. III. p. 251.

† Bayle Dict. COCHLÉE. Seckendorf I. p. 283. Thuanus L. XI. p. 349.

‡ Luther's Colloq. Mensalia, p. 280.

§ Bayle AMMONIUS (LIVINUS.)

¶ Quod mihi pro tuo ingenio modestissime significas, idem ex aliorum literis dilucide cognovi, extitisse qui *Terminus* annuli mei sigillum in calumniam vocant, vociferantes intolerabilis arrogantiae esse, quod adjectum est symbolum, *Concedo nulli*. — Somniant ab

Erasmio dici *Concedo nulli*. Atqui si mea scripta legerent, viderent vix quenquam esse tam mediocrem, ut illi me praeferam, 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 Erasmi? Id si parum est,

A. D. 1528. and malicious enemies of insufferable vanity, of representing himself as superior to all mankind. The seal was not of his own contrivance, but an ancient seal, given him by his pupil the Archbishop of St. Andrews. 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.

A. D. 1529. 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

vident in ipso saxo expressum, *Terminus*; in quam dictionem si definas, 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. Andree, 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 *μνημόσυνον*. In his erat, qui in gemma sculptum habebat *Terminus*. 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. Ita-

que 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, "Ὁς τέλος μακρῆ βίης, id est, *Spēta finem longæ vitæ*: Latine, *Mors ultima linea rerum*. Poteras, inquit, 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 mutant morbum suum, &c. *Epist. ad Alphonsum Valdesum*, A. 1528. Tom. X. c. 1757.

forms his friend Joannes <sup>c</sup> Vlattenus, to whom he had dedicated this book. He also draws up an <sup>d</sup> elogium of his friend  
 A. D. 1529.  
 Jacobus

<sup>c</sup> Melch. Adam.

<sup>d</sup> Dum amicos recensemus, unum non postremi loci amissimus, 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, coque 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 tota pene Germania, non solum inclyta civitas Argentoratum. Nec invidia caruit hominis sancta libertas. Romanam excitus est homo et senio et hernia tardus, Monachorum Augustinensium opera, quod alicubi scripisset, 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 preesse auctoritas, idque bonorum omnium applausu. Præter alias adversitates, quibus hominis virtus exercita fuit, hoc fatale totius Ecclesiæ dissidium vehementer illum affixit, 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  
 2  
 eleganter

A. D. 1529. Jacobus ° Wimphelingus, of Sletstfad, 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 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

elegantior institutos. — Nondum tamen statui, utrum Wimphelingi mors gratulatione dignior sit, an deploratione. Annum attingit pene octogefimum, 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 cœlites. 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 School-masters. 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.*

° Melchior Adam. Maittaire II. 258, 269, 601.

In this Epistle he commends <sup>f</sup> Sigismundus Gelenius, the corrector of Froben's press, who was of an ancient 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 *Moricæ Encomium* of Erasmus into the German language. Ep. 1010. A. D. 1529.

“<sup>g</sup> There is a memorable fact, which is said to have hastened the death of Bishop Ruthal, which, as it shews the treachery of Cardinal Wolfey to him, I shall relate in the very words of his <sup>h</sup> Historian :

“ *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, after ward 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 seized 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,

<sup>f</sup> Huetius De Clar. Interp. p. 225. Maittaire I. 291. II. 4. Bayle GELENIUS. Pope Blount, p. 459. Thuanus L. XIII. p. 405.

<sup>g</sup> Knight, p. 152.

<sup>h</sup> Fiddes.

<sup>i</sup> 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.

A. D. 1529. “ after, in the same net he laid for others were his own 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 Ruthall 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 an  
 “ house and seven pounds *per annum* for the maintenance of a  
 “ Master. Though he was bred at Oxford, we find him incor-  
 “ porated D. D. at Cambridge, of which University he was Chan-  
 “ cellor 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 Chrysoftom 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 ancient 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

He <sup>k</sup> mentions, amongst his adversaries, <sup>l</sup> Titelman, whom he A. D. 1529. calls a vain and conceited young fellow. But Titelman was infinitely superior to Erasmus, being a Capuchin, a Saint, and a worker of miracles, as Val. Andreas informs us, which was more than Erasmus could pretend to do.

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 <sup>m</sup> Sleidan, 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 adds <sup>n</sup>, with more

3 P

*humour*<sup>k</sup> Ep. 1031.

kendorf L. II. p. 144. Scultet. Annales, A. 1529.

<sup>l</sup> Du Pin. XVI. 1. Val. Andreas Bibl. Belg. p. 290. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 62.<sup>n</sup> Tantis autem ludibriis usi sunt in simulacra Divorum, atque etiam Crucifixi, ut mirum sit, nullum illic editum miraculum,<sup>m</sup> L. VI. p. 156. Edit. Franc. Sec-

A. D. 1529. *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 miracles 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, and of a certain <sup>p</sup> Fanatic of that sect, who was burnt. He candidly observes,

miraculum, quum olim tam multa soleant edere vel leviter offensi Divi. Ep. 1048.

Cæterum in aras, statuas, et picturas ad interuersionem usque sævitum est, crudeliter quidem, sed citra sanguinis effusionem. Porro, quum legamus diuum 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.

° 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.

<sup>p</sup> Accidit hic quiddam, Democritine risu, an Heracliti lacrimis dignius, tu judicabis. Sacrificus quidam huc aduenit, is simulatque hospiti suo pecuniosam, quam debebat, numerasset, Vale, inquit, et age pœnitentiam: moxque progressus in publicum, exhibuit nobis alterum *πρόδρομος*, 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.



observes, that many of the Anabaptists had then the reputation of being very sober and inoffensive in their life and manners. <sup>p</sup> Several of these men, and also many Lutherans and Zuinglians, were put to death this year. A. D. 1529.

He had received a present from the Archbishop of Toledo; he returns him <sup>a</sup> thanks for it, and promises to distribute part of it to his fellow-labourers in the edition of St. Augustin.

3 P 2

About

Id ridebant plerique, negligebant alii. Tandem ingressus dicitur et Oecolampadianorum templa, et in hos multo tum liberius tum atrocius vociferatus est, identidem animarum interemtore 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 *πεδερμον* 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 accipimus, contulit se Luceriam, quæ civitas sic est insensa novis sectis, ut non alia magis. Illic aliquot diebus *πεδερμον* functus officio, in hoc quoque retulit nobis Joannem Baptistam, quod conjectus est in vincula, in illo dissimilis, quod ille decollatus, hic exustus est; nimirum quod Baptistam male repræsentaret 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 moliuntur, nec ulla vi se tuentur; et habere dicuntur multos moribus longè sincerioribus quam cæteri. Ep. 1044.

Gerard Brandt hath given an ample account of the Anabaptists in his History, Vol. I.

<sup>p</sup> Seckendorf L. II. p. 145.

<sup>a</sup> Munus, quod tua benignitas ultro voluit Augustino nascenti largiri, cum his partiar, qui conferendis exemplaribus, quo labore nihil molestius, nostram industriam nonnihil adjuverunt. Ep. 1033.

A. D. 1529. About the end of April he departed from Basil to go to Friburg, 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 an hand in the Revolution, made him quit the place where he had so long dwelt. At Friburg he had apartments allotted to him in a house belonging to the King, but not entirely fitted up. Ep. 1066, 1074.

Louis Berquin was now burnt at Paris for religion. Erasmus, in Ep. 1048, speaks with much reserve of this cruel and tragical affair; but afterwards, in another letter, he adventured to praise him,

\* He lived at Friburg seven years, *totò septennio*, says Beat. Rhenanus 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.

† Notatu vero digna sunt, quæ p. 120, seu in quodam epistolio, de Erasmo Rotodamensi magnifice a Friburgensibus excepto, narrat Franciscus a Burgundia Falesius. *Act. Erudit. XX.* 85. Crenii Animadv. Pars Quarta.

Friburgi religio quidem vigebat Pontificia; sed aliarum tamen artium, et linguarum studia, Erasmi imprimis opera, non infeliciter tunc erant instaurata. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Strigelii.*

‡ Du Pin XIII. 175. See also p. 212, 219. Beza Icon. Bayle BERQUIN. Amœnitates Literariæ T. IX. p. 651.

§ Ludovicus Berquinus vitam mortē

commutavit, exustus Lutetiæ in Gravia. De causa nihil certi hactenus potui cognoscere. Tantum audivi Judicibus 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. Judices 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

him, and also to condemn his infamous persecutors. They who shall read all the letters that he wrote about this time, will find him

A. D. 1529.

armati sexcenti, qui cohiberent si quid oriretur tumultus. Hæc qui retulit, præterea nihil certi potuit adferre, nisi quod aiebat Guilhelmum Budæum, unum, opinor, e Judicum numero, tri-duo priusquam damnaretur, privatim egisse cum Berquino, ut ab infanis, ut aiebat, erroribus respiceret.—Montius noster, cujus religiosam nostri 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. Dixisset illum in museo de studiis, aut in templo de rebus cœlestibus cogitare. Ne tum quidem cum carnifex truculenta voce crimen ac supplicium pronunciaret, 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 quisquam potuit aliquid percipere; tantus erat satellitum fremitus, quem data opera putant excitatum fuisse. Quum ad palum præfocaretur, nullus e turba acclamavit nomen Jesu, quod paricidis etiam et facitilegis acclamari solet. Sic omnium animos in illum excitarent, qui nusquam non adsunt, et nihil non possunt apud simplices et im- peritos. Eat nunc qui volet, et Phormiones istos laceffito. Aderat illi Franciscanus quidam, quem adiit Montius, rem expiscaturus num vel moriens agnovisset errorem. Is aiebat agnovisse, asseverans se nihil omnino dubitare quin anima illius transferret in quietem. At ego Franciscani dictis nihil habeo fidei, præsertim quum hoc sit istis solenne, post extinctum 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 exultis duobus Monachis Augustinensibus, tertio in carcerem reducto, et clam interfecto, quum mira constantia mortem oppetissent, quæ res Judicibus gravem movebat invidiam, sparserunt ridiculam fabulam, unum ex illis apparuisse cuidam Augustinensi, qui nunciaret animas illorum esse incolumes, quod in extremis respuissent, 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 pronun- ciem.

A. D. 1529. 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 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,

ciem. Si non commeruit supplicium, doleo; si commeruit, bis doleo: fatius 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 impuditiæ sit unquam in illum exortus; mire benignus in amicos et egenos, constitutionum ac rituum Ecclesiasticorum observantissimus, puta præscriptorum jejuniorum, dierum facrorum, ciborum, missarum, concionum, et siqua sunt alia, quæ cum pietatis fructu recepta sunt. Alienissimus ab omni furo, 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, decerptæ 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.

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 Pontif. 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 <sup>x</sup> obeyed 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.

<sup>y</sup> Antonius Fuggerus, whose family hath been illustrious by its liberalities to men of letters, made <sup>z</sup> great offers to Erasmus, and sent him a silver cup. Ep. 1064, 1043.

“<sup>a</sup> The Fuggeri, 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 Augsbuꝛg, 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.”

Beatus Rhenanus, in a letter to a friend, hath given a description of the magnificent houses, or rather palaces, of Antonius and Raimundus Fuggerus. *Centur. Epist. Goldasti*, 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

<sup>x</sup> Digni Principibus optimis, qui, qualescumque contigerunt, bona fide ferviunt.

<sup>y</sup> Bayle Dict. FUGGER. Burckhard Comm. de Vit. Hutt. p. 198.

<sup>z</sup> Antonius Fuggerus, priusquam Bafleam 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.

<sup>a</sup> Bayle Dict. CHARLES-QUINT, Not. F. F.

A. D. 1529.

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. <sup>b</sup> It 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. <sup>c</sup> Augustin, 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. Defferring 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, intituled, <sup>d</sup> *Epistola Def. Erasmi*

<sup>b</sup> Videtur hoc esse quodam modo fatale aulæ Cæsareæ, semper egere. Dicat esse Danaïdum Dolium. Ep. 1066.

<sup>c</sup> Augustinus est magnus disputator, sed non interpretatur bene Scripturam, est ineptus sæpe, &c. *Scaligeran.* p. 40. See Huetiana, p. 24.

<sup>d</sup> Erasmus Roterodamus, qui Basilea relicta, propter mutatam religionem, et vitandæ suspitionis 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 Argentinenfes Theologi, quoniam de illis potissimum 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

*Erasmi Rot. contra quosdam, qui se falso jactant Evangelicos.* He addresseth it to one whom he calls Vulturius Neocomus, and whose true name was Gerardus<sup>e</sup> Noviomagus, 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 an 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

3 Q with

Erasmus in gratiam Cæsaris ex Italia in Germaniam adventantis scripsit.— Scribit ibidem falsè *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 gravi-  
“ ores tumultus aliquando excitatura

“ fuerant, nisi Lutherus exortus esset,  
“ ac studia hominum alio traxisset.  
“ Tota illa tragœdia *περὶ δέπτης κρυϊανῆς*  
“ ab ipso nata videri potest. Quam non  
“ iniquus esse videri alicubi possit Ario  
“ et illius factioni, quam nos hic con-  
“ stantissime 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.*

<sup>e</sup> 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,

A. D. 1529. 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 Stratburg published a reply to it.

He drew up a laboured defence of himself against the impertinent censures of Stunica. Ep. 1055.

He had some desire<sup>f</sup>, 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<sup>g</sup> departure from Basil, and thanks him for his present of a cup, and of a ring. Ep. 1066.

Ep. 1071 is to Janus<sup>h</sup> Cornarius, a learned physician, who had spent a year at Basil.

He writes to<sup>i</sup> Margaret 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

<sup>f</sup> Ubi prodierit opus tuum, rem adprime gratam feceris, si codicem unum miseris, ut et ipse discam Etrusce loqui. Ep. 1050.

<sup>g</sup> Abiturus est et Erasmus; id facturus nimirum in gratiam Principum, quibus devinctus est: sed non perpetuo aberit, ut opinor. *Oecolampadius* Epist. p. 835.

<sup>h</sup> — venit in familiaritatem tunc non solum Erasmi, sed et qui ad Erasmus salutandi causa, ex Italia, Gallia,

aliisque regionibus, docti homines confluxebant. *Melch. Adam* Vit. Cornarii.

<sup>i</sup> 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.



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.* A. D. 1529.

Erasmus, in a letter to Botzem, <sup>k</sup> defends himself against the cavils of a young Franciscan, who had attacked his New Testament. What pity was it, that he should 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 <sup>l</sup> Alciat 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

<sup>k</sup> See Tom. IX. c. 967.

<sup>l</sup> 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 meminisset in scriptis meis. Respondi, ut solco 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 infumere, 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

A. D. 1529.

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 <sup>m</sup> *Protestants*, and the <sup>n</sup> sweating sickness raged in that country.

° Viglius Zuichemus, of Friesland, wrote a letter to Erasmus, extolling his abilities, and requesting his friendship.

“ Van Heuffe published the Epistles of Viglius Zuichemus, a  
 “ Lawyer, who at last became one of the principal Counsellors  
 “ of the Dutchess 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

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.

<sup>m</sup> Sleidan L. VI. 160.

<sup>n</sup> 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. Malum 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 Britannicæ 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. Fuchsi*, p. 78.

° Val. Andreæ *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.

“ These letters were taken from the Library of the College A. D. 1529.  
 “ which Viglius founded at Louvain, where there are several  
 “ volumes of them repositèd. The first of these letters, which  
 “ is to Erasmus, is printed also in the Leyden Edition, n<sup>o</sup> 1013.  
 “ From the correspondence between Viglius and Erasmus, con-  
 “ tained 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 concern-  
 “ ing 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 Eras-  
 “ mus, and much more that he would have professed his abomi-  
 “ nation for all the enemies of Erasmus, as Viglius in one of his  
 “ letters declares concerning himself. Yet this<sup>p</sup> Frieslander 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 poli-  
 “ ticians, 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

<sup>p</sup> — qui cum initio Belgii libertatem defendere visus esset, eoque nomine gratiam suorum promeritus, postea ad Hispanorum partes inclinare creditus in

Ordinum odium incurrit — vir alioquin omni laude et propter integritatem et summam prudentiam dignus, &c. *Thuanus*.

A. D. 1529. " who had ten times more craft and more dissimulation than he, and who by his conduct afterwards in public stations shewed, that he did not want to be <sup>9</sup> tutored by Erasmus.

" Van Heuffe 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 was really the author of the book against Luther, and inclines to the affirmative ;

<sup>9</sup> Illud; pro mea in te pietate, moneo rogoque, ut a Sectarum contagijs in totum abstineas, nec ullam illis ansam præbeas, ut per occasionem spargere valeant Zuichemum 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 fuggeffit, 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.

<sup>r</sup> 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 prodigij simile sit habitum, præsertim apud Germanos, Principem scire literas. Cæterum, ut non contenderim neminem scribenti fuisse auxilio, quum eruditissimi quique viri nonnunquam utantur amicorum subsidijs; 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 famissimi ingenii, planeque singulari quadam tum prudentia, tum pietate: puelus 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. Nullum est Musices genus, in quo non excefferit 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 accefferit: totam enim hanc epistolam suapte manu descripsit adolescentulus. Quum agerem Venetiæ,

affirmative; not denying however that he might have had the assistance of some learned men. A. D. 1529.

“ \* There 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 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 shewed him his book against Luther, in which he  
“ had

Venetix, 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 exstant manifesta signa commentantis, addentis, detrahentis, corri-

gentis, et immutantis. Agnovisses singularum primam manum ac veluti delinationem, 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 nosset 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 phrasæos, 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.

\* Burnet I. 356.

A. D. 1529. “ 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 shews 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 pro-  
 “ cured 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

A. D. 1529.

“ No doubt this book was wrote by the King, as other 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;  
 “ *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 elegancy 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 quisvis alius Prælatas aut Pontifex,*  
 “ *kabet 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 made a present of his picture to Sir Thomas  
 “ More, and sent it over by ‡ Holbein, who had drawn it. It

3 R

“ is

\* Appendix to Burnet by an anonymous writer, Vol. III. N<sup>o</sup> IV. p. 399,  
 404.

† See Roper, p. 77.

‡ Knight, p. 307.

§ See the Life of Holbein, by Patin, prefixed to the *Encomium Moricæ*. T. IV. c. 390.

A. D. 1529. " 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 <sup>a</sup> picture 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 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.

A. D. MDXXX.

Ætat. LXIII.

A. D. 1530. This year Erasmus was busied in translating divers treatises of  
 St. Chrysostom, and in exhorting his learned friends to do the  
 like, that a complete edition might afterwards be published of the  
 works of this Father in Greek and Latin. He also wrote long  
 letters to Tonsal and to Sadolet, wherein he defends himself,  
 and vigorously attacks his old enemies. When he writes to the  
 Romanists, he often seems to favour the Protestants; and when  
 he writes against these, he appears zealous for the doctrines of  
 the Roman Church. Yet it should seem probable, that his true  
 sentiments were those in defence of which he got no profit, and  
 by declaring which he incurred the dislike of the Romish party,  
 from which he was not willing to separate himself. Ep. 1091,  
 1092, 1093, 1094.

To the Bishop of Hildesheim he dedicated one <sup>b</sup> Algerus, a  
 Benedictin Monk of the twelfth century, who wrote on the Sacra-  
 ment of the body and blood of Jesus Christ against Berenger.  
 Erasmus says, that by the perusal of this book he had been con-  
 firmed in the opinion of a real presence. It would, I believe,  
 produce

<sup>a</sup> Knight hath given us a print of  
 it.

<sup>b</sup> Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 133.  
 Maittaire II. 732.



produce the quite contrary effect upon others; and it is not to be forgotten, that Erasmus could have easily embraced the sentiments of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius, if his Mother the Church would have given him leave. Accordingly he was suspected of not having quite so much implicit faith as he talked of, as it appears in other epistles. Ep. 1095. A. D. 1530.

In a letter to Tonsal he declares his opinion, that, in the primitive times, the Faithful used sometimes to consecrate bread and wine, and communicate together, without a Presbyter to perform the office. Rigaltius <sup>c</sup> and Grotius adopted this opinion, which gave occasion to a dispute. Ep. 1092.

To the remarks which we have made upon Tonsal, in p. 104, &c. let us add these;

“ Now were committed (A. 1559) unto Archbishop Parker’s  
 “ custody divers Popish Bishops, as Cuthbert Tonsal, Bishop of  
 “ Durham, having been deprived in July, who died in the Arch-  
 “ bishop’s house at Lambeth, in November following, being  
 “ eighty-five years of age. But before his death, by the Arch-  
 “ bishop’s means, he was brought off from Papistical fancies.  
 “ And he declared it his judgment, that the Pope’s too far  
 “ distended power ought to be restrained within his own diocese  
 “ of Rome. Letters to which purpose he had long before written  
 “ to Cardinal Pole. Unto which mind he now returned again,  
 “ after his compliance with the Pope under Queen Mary. And  
 “ not above fourteen days before his death, while he lived with  
 “ the Archbishop, he testified to him and to others those letters  
 “ to Pole to be his. — Tonsal also allowed of the marriage of  
 “ Priests, as permitted by the word of God. To all which I  
 “ may add his judgment in point of Justification, which was  
 “ according to the doctrine of the Reformed, &c.” *Strype’s Life*  
*of Parker*, B. I. ch. 10.

<sup>c</sup> See *Bibl. Univ.* I. 133, 134. IV. 94.

A. D. 1530. In a letter to the Bishop of Augsburg, Erasmus complains much of a boil on his navel, which grievously incommoded him. Speaking of his best patron Warham, who was then fourscore years old, he says to this Bishop; If he dies, you must supply his place. My two pensions from England produce about two hundred florins yearly: but this money comes to my hands greatly diminished by the merchants who remit it, and sometimes detain a fourth part. At other times other persons curtail it. If the Archbishop should die, I shall never see a penny more of it. There is a man (Petrus Barbirius) to whom I could have trusted all things, even my own life, who hath begun to intercept the pension which I have in Flanders from a Prebend which I resigned. During my absence the Emperor pays me nothing, and hardly would he give me any thing, though I were to go to Brabant, notwithstanding all the fine promises with which they feed me. Thus Erasmus will soon be reduced to a state of Evangelical poverty; though, by the blessing of God, he is not altogether in that condition as yet. *Epist.* 1112, 1117.

In a <sup>d</sup> letter to George of Saxony he inveighs bitterly against Luther for having very roughly attacked that Prince, with whom Luther had great altercations. *Ep.* 1113.

He mentions <sup>e</sup> Trapezuntius amongst learned men. He hath also commended <sup>f</sup> Bessarion in some other place. *Ep.* 1100.

He <sup>g</sup> lived at Friburg upon very good terms with the Franciscans, who dwelt so near him, that he could sing along with them in his chamber, without going to Church.

To

<sup>d</sup> See Seckendorf L. II. p. 149.

<sup>e</sup> Hodius De Græc. Illustr. 102, &c. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 238.

<sup>f</sup> Hodius, p. 136. Huetius, p. 237.

<sup>g</sup> Hic Franciscanos habeo tam vicinos, ut in cubiculo audiam canentes,

perinde ac si essem in templo. Summa est inter nos amicitia, quia nulla est inter eos malitia. Habent concionatorem probum ac modestum, qui Erasmus interdum etiam honorifice citat in concionibus. *Ep.* 1102.

A. D. 1530.

To Melanchthon he says; God alone, my dear Philip, can unravel the intricate plot of the Tragedy which is now acting. Ten Councils assembled together could not do it, much less can such an one as I. If a man says a reasonable thing, it is straight-way called Lutheranism, and this is all his recompence. He makes the same remarks elsewhere; and yet he flattered the party that acted in this outrageous manner, and fell foul upon the Evangelics, as in a reply to the Ministers of Stratsburg, in the last Tome of his works, which he addresseth to the Brethren of the Lower Germany and of East Friesland. It is the work of a man who was in a passion, because he had been censured for inconstancy and want of courage. Ep. 1117, 1119.

He dedicated his *Christian Widow* to <sup>h</sup> Mary Queen-Dowager of Hungary, who wrote him a letter of thanks with her own hand. Erasmus was not entirely <sup>i</sup> satisfied with his performance upon this subject. Ep. 1123.

Melanchthon sent him a letter from Augsburg, where the Diet was held, and where he presented the Confession of faith of the Lutherans, which afterwards took its denomination from that city. He prays Erasmus to continue the charitable office of exhorting the Emperor to moderation. Erasmus replied with some peevishness and resentment, saying, that he would not concern himself in behalf of the Evangelics. However, he was <sup>k</sup> better than his word, and did write to Cardinal Campegius, desiring him to dissuade the Emperor from making a religious war. Ep. 1125, 1126, 1129.

He

<sup>h</sup> Bayle HONGRIE (MARIE, REINE DE).

<sup>i</sup> Mitto simul *Viduam Christianam*, quam rogatus dicavi Mariæ Cæsaris germanæ, quondam Hungariæ Reginæ. In hoc argumento mihi non admodum

placeo, quod nec simplex videatur, nec admodum congruens puellæ, quæ, ni fallor, alitur conjugio. Verbis tamen explevi chartas. Ep. 1024.

<sup>k</sup> See Seckendorf L. II. p. 196, &c.

A. D. 1530.

He returns <sup>1</sup> thanks to Rinckius, who had sent him a cup. He received also a <sup>m</sup> handsome present from Conrad Bishop of Wirceburg. To this Bishop he warmly <sup>n</sup>-recommends a young friend, <sup>o</sup> Daniel Stibarus, to whom he gives an excellent character.

He published as many of the works of Chrysoftom as he could collect, and dedicated them to Stadius, the Bishop of Augsburg. He also gave a pretty accurate life of this <sup>p</sup> Father, taken from the *Historia Tripartita*, Palladius, and Theodorus Diaconus. In this

<sup>1</sup> Etiamfi tam vile fuisset munusculum, quam illud tua facit modestia, tamen animus iste tam aureus ac gemmeus, et epistola nihil spirans nisi meros amores, poterat illud ita commendare, ut pro quamvis magno acciperetur. Nunc quum tale sit, ut vel a Rege non indecore donari potuerit, tamen quæ tua modestia est, rogas ut boni consulam. Mihi potius rogandus eras, ut libellum extempore fufum, ac velut abortu ejectum, boni consuleres. Sed in hac parte video mihi rem esse cum *Hercule*, quem in tuo poculo conspicio: quam enim ille viribus et clava fuit invictus, tam Rinckius officiis aut beneficiis superari non potest. Nec male quadrat in te *aquilæ* symbolum, quod habet tuus clipeus. Nemo tam velox esse queat ad bene merendum, quem tu non prævoles. Solus animus mutuus mihi sufficiebat. Epistola tam amica magni muneris loco esse poterat. At his non contenta, tua benignitas addidit poculum et opere et pretio non vulgare. Do manus Herculi, nec contendam ultro, nisi hoc solum, ne videar amando inferior. Ep. 1124.

<sup>m</sup> — Nec sufficit animo isti tuo munus qualecunque, sed plane regium donare voluisti, magis reputans quid te deceret dare, quam quid Erasmus accipere. Auget doni pretium, quod nec promerito, nec ambienti, ac ne expectanti quidem ultro detulerit tua benignitas. — Scribit Homerus non esse rejicienda Deorum munera; ego vero talium Principum spontanea dona, ceu sacra quædam monumenta apud me libenter fervo, ac veluti pro testimoniis ostendo, quibus me non mediocriter ornatum arbitror. Iisdem interdum me ipsum consolor adversus quorundam inauspicatissimorum hominum pravitatem, qui nec de benemeritis bene loqui possunt, nec his benefacere a quibus beneficentia sunt provocati. Ep. 1127.

<sup>n</sup> Ep. 1107.

<sup>o</sup> Melchior Adam.

<sup>p</sup> Chrysoftome, le meilleur des Peres Grecs. — C'a été un orgueilleux villain. Falloit-il faire ce qu'il a fait? Il a été banni, & avec raison. Infinita pulchra habet et optima in Novum Testamentum. *Scaligeran.* p. 92.

this Life of Chrysoſtom, Eraſmus hath let us know that he had little <sup>a</sup> faith in the <sup>r</sup> miracles of the fifth century, and in thoſe aſcribed to Epiphanius. Ep. 1150. A. D. 1530.

He dedicated a tranſlation of Xenophon's *Hiero* to Antonius Fuggerus, who returned him thanks. Ep. 355. c. 1744; and Ep. 357. c. 1746.

Andreas Critius, who is called *Episcopus Plocensis*, ſent him a ring <sup>s</sup> with a ruby: and his friend Olahus made him a preſent of a ſpoon and a fork. Ep. 1142.

Ep. 1103 is <sup>t</sup> remarkable, as it gives an account of the great civilities and liberalities which he received from his illuſtrious Patrons;

<sup>a</sup> Jam ut miracula recipiamus, de eo qui ſe mortuum ſimulavit, pauloque poſt vere mortuus repertus eſt; quod ad Epiphanium attinet, nullum erat miraculum. — Et potuit eſſe *σύνταγμα*. — Sed ad illius monumentum pellebantur, ut fertur, Dæmones. Id magis arguit fidem vivorum, quam merita defunctorum, ut ne quid hic tribuamus impiorum ſpirituum præſtigiis, utque demus eſſe vera quæ memorantur: nam Monachorum genus, et ſimplex hominum vulgus hoc genus fabulis ſolet impenſius indulgere. c. 1337.

<sup>r</sup> Putaverunt Veteres ſe poſſe regnum Dei provehere mendaciis et falſis miraculis, in quo graviter errarunt. *Scaligeran.* p. 263.

<sup>s</sup> Porro quod Martinus anulum quoque reddidit Celſitudinis tuæ munus, vereor ne ille immodico quodam mei ſtudio dixerit aliquid, quod illi non mandaram. Mihi quidem ſymbolum fauſti cujuſdam ominis viſum eſt, et vel hoc nomine fuit gratiſſimum, quod

ad tui imitationem me provocat. Anulus aureus gemmam habebat figura cordis, colore rutilo. Quid amplius optare poſſis homini Chriſtiano, quam ut cor habeat ſapientia illuſtre, charitate igneum? Ep. 1132.

<sup>t</sup> Cæterum, ab ignotis ac ſemotis accipere literas adeo mihi novum non eſt, ut pene fit quotidianum: a doctis, a magnatibus, ab Episcopis, ab Abbatibus, quos ego natos non noveram, ſubinde veniunt literæ: a Regibus, a Principibus, ac Præſulibus ea dignitate, ut nulli poſſint eſſe ignoti, non tantum literæ veniunt, ſed etiam ſplendida munerera. A Cæſare Carolo multas habeo epistolæ tam honorifice, tam amanter ſcriptas, ut eas pluriſ faciam, quam illius in me benignitatem, cui tamen bonam fortunæ partem debeo. A Rege Ferdinando, nec minus crebras, nec minus amicas, non ſine munere honorario. A Rege Galliæ quoties quam amplis conditionibus invitatus ſum? Rex Angliæ et crebris literis ac muneribus ultro miſſis,

A. D. 1530. Patrons; amongst whom Francis I promised him preferment, if he

sis, declarat favorem ac benevolentiam in me singularem. Nec illi facile cedit fœminarum, quas hæc ætas habet, optima, Catharina illius Regina. Rex Poloniæ Sigismundus misit epistolam, cum ipso munere vere regio certantem. Dux Saxoniz Georgius crebris me literis appellat, *sz adzecz y ab rós.* Quid memorem Gulielmum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, quid Cuthbertum nuper Episcopum Londinensem, nunc Dunelmensem, quid Joannem Episcopum Lincolnensem, qui, præter epistolas omnibus gemmis pretiosiores, quotannis veluti tributum amicitiz mittunt nec petenti nec expectanti? Ab Alberto Cardinale Moguntino habeo præter literas egregium benevolentis animi monumentum, quemadmodum et a Philippo a Burgundia Episcopo Trajectino nuper vita defuncto, item a Joanne Card. Lotharingiz fratre Ducis. Bernardus Episcopus et Card. Tridentinus, præter honorarium munus; idque non exiguum, crebro misit literas tam amicas, adeoque solatii plenas, ut quamvis dejectum animum possint erigere, amplissimis insuper conditionibus invitans ad convictum, a quo et hodie literas accipi eadem pollicentes quæ olim detulit, ac fortassis, ut nunc res sunt, utar illius oblatis. Archiepiscopi Toletani ad me literas jam excusas arbitror te vidisse: quid his fingi, quid optari potest amantius aut honorificentius? Nec defuit illius vel fortuna vel animo digna benignitas. Nuper Gulielmus Princeps Dux junior Clivensis ac Juliacensis, ado-

lescens virtuti natus, scripsit literas amoris plenas, addito poculo magnifico. Antonius Fuggerus simul atque sensisset me Basileæ moliri abitum, misit viaticum centum floren. aureorum, pollicens in singulos annos tantundem et amplius, si vellem Augustam me recipere. Ubi respondi id mihi non esse commodum, misit poculum in primis elegans, pignus initæ inter nos amicitiz. Ante paucos dies Christophorus a Stadio Episcopus Augustensis, vir tum nobilis, tum apprime doctus, itinere septem dierum, nec eo satis tuto, huc se contulit non ob aliud, quemadmodum ipse prædicabat, nisi ut videret Erasum, videlicet hominis umbram. Candorem illius prædico, non mea merita: attulit secum duo pocula regia, cum ducentis flor. aureis, deferens insuper omnium facultatum suarum communionem. Dum hæc scribo, veniunt literæ a Jacobo Sadoletto Carpentoractensi, Deum immortalem, qua doctrina, qua morum integritate, qua auctoritate viro! Solitus est et ante subinde nos doctissimis epistolis appellare. Exciderat ille, nisi epistola forte tum reddita commonisset. Nec dubito quin plures nunc non veniant in mentem. Venit interim in mentem Petrus Episcopus Cracoviensis, vir summa doctrina parique auctoritate, ejus Regis Cancellarius, qui suam erga me pietatem et literis amantissime scriptis, et magnificis donariis declaravit. In eadem Polonia est Andreas Critius Episcopus Plocensis, qui me frequenter et humanissimis literis et eruditissimis carminibus recreat excitatque,

he would come to his Court; but did not make him any present, though he was a liberal Prince. A. D. 1536.

He says to Sadolet, to Campegius, to Alciat, and to others, that Albertus Pius, instigated by Aleander, was busy in writing against him; and he represents them as two men united together by their bad qualities. He adds, that Albertus was assisted, in point of style, by Sepulveda. He also defends himself largely, as to Budæus; in a letter to their common friend Brixius. Ep. 1094, 1132, 1135, 1137, 1148.

He bestows great and just commendations on "Gibertus Bishop of Verona, who had \* given the public, at his own expence, an

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edition

excitatque, ne hic quidem *ἄσπετος*. Habeo cubiculum epistolis differtum ab eruditibus, a magnatibus, a Principibus, a Regibus, a Cardinalibus, ab Episcopis: habeo scrinium plenum donariis poculorum, lagenarum, cochleariorum, horologiorum, quorum aliquot ex puro sunt auro; anulorum magnus est numerus, omnium autem major longe futurus, nisi pleraque donata redonarem aliis studia provehentibus. Et in his, qui hæc donant, sunt multi non doctrina modo, sed et vitæ sanctimonia præstantes, velut Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Episcopus Londinensis, Episcopus Augustensis; et in primis Joannes Episcopus Roffensis, qui fugerat, quemadmodum fugerat et Episcopus Uratislaviensis Joannes Turzo, qui miserat scrinium rebus elegantissimis refertum Antuerpiam, ubi tum agebam, quum ego nunquam audissem aut somniassem Uratislaviam aut Turzonem. In hujus locum successit frater, Episcopus Olmucensis.

Et indies accrescit talium numerus, quum ego nullius benignitatem invitarim, ingenue præ me ferens mihi satis esse facultatum ad hanc vitæ sobrietatem, cujus adeo me non pœnitet, ut citius sim aliquid detracturus quam additurus. Et tamen tanta est ultronea illorum liberalitas, ut si nulli sint reditus (sunt autem etiam præter Cæsaream pensionem aliquot) hæc sola meis studiis alendis sufficeret. Mediocrium dona semper rejeci, quoties licuit incolumi amicitia: aut sic accipi, civilitatis gratia, ut abunde pensarim. Ep. 1103.

\* Maittaire II. 391.

\* Præsuli isti Veronensi bene faxint omnes Superi, qui de privato suo curat utilitatem publicam, suisque impensis tam insigne beneficium parat studiose omnibus. *Utinam* hoc exemplum æmulentur Abbates et Episcopi nostri prædixites, &c. Ep. 1135.

It is a good *Utinam*, to which all the Learned will say *Amen*.

A. D. 1530. edition of Chrysoftom's Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles. Donatus wrote a Dedication of it to Clemens VII, A. 1529.

He observes of Franciscus <sup>y</sup> Aretinus, that he had translated some pieces of Chrysoftom very poorly.

He received a friendly letter from Alciat, who exhorted him to take no farther notice of his adversaries, and not to honour them and vex himself with replies. The advice was good, and Erasmus seemed to stand in some need of it. Ep. 1143.

Eckius, the Divine, wrote him a letter very sawcy and impertinent, and full of Theological pride, which Erasmus treats as it deserved, in one to Cholerus. Ep. 1141, 1146.

He <sup>z</sup> complains, that his bad health obliged him to a behaviour seemingly rude, to persons of the highest rank, who condescended to visit him.

He makes mention here of a Romish Saint, who was his name-fake; and he hath, if I am not mistaken, spoken of him elsewhere. The Saint is not so well known as the Scholar. <sup>a</sup> Tillemont hath very honestly informed us, that the old accounts concerning *Saint Erasmus* are superlatively bad, and highly improbable. Ribadeneira, as I remember, amongst other *Lives of Saints*, hath drawn up that of St. Erasmus, which is a short one, but contains as many foolish lies, as could handsomely be crowded into  
fo

<sup>y</sup> Bayle Dict. ARETIN.

<sup>z</sup> Verum hæc valetudo me cogit, ut in totum ab hoc officiorum genere temperem, adæo ut quum nuper huc venisset Christophorus a Stadio Episcopus Augustensis, vir non solum natalium imaginibus illustrissimus, verum etiam eruditione exacta, cæterisque Episcopo dignis virtutibus ornatissimus, non ob aliud, nisi ut videret Erasmus, adferens secum munus honorarium, quod non indecorum fuisset quamvis potenti Regi dare Magnati, multo frigidius hominem

acceperim quam Mallarium, quippe quem nec ad convivium, nec ad poculum invitarem, nec sæpius quam bis mei conveniendi copiam fecerim. Odi ego hanc non inhumanitatem, sed inhumanitatis speciem. Verum aut hoc ferendum incommodum est, aut negligenda vita. Interdum forniculus conor agere bellum hominem, sed mox præsto est Ate. Ep. 1147.

<sup>a</sup> See Tillemont H. E. T. V. p. 127, 636.



so small a compass. This Saint is supposed to have suffered about the beginning of the fourth century. A. D. 1530.

He <sup>b</sup> relates Cardinal Wolsey's fall, and gives him no good character.

From a letter of Zasius, it should seem that <sup>c</sup> Eppendorf threatened to prosecute Erasmus at Friburg; and Zasius, with the zeal of a friend, and the spirit of a lawyer, declares that he would plead the cause of Erasmus, and treat the raskal as he deserved, if he dared to proceed, and to open his mouth, or shew his face at Friburg.

Erasmus mentions <sup>d</sup> Hervagius, who married Froben's widow, and carried on the business of the press at Basil, and gives him a good character. Ep. 1149.

The <sup>e</sup> sweating sickness raged this year in Germany, amongst other calamities. And the affairs of the poor Protestants were so bad,

<sup>b</sup> Cardinalis Eboracensis sic offendit animum Regium, ut spoliatus bonis et omni dignitate, teneatur, non in carcere, sed in quodam ipsius prædio, adhibitis triginta duntaxat seu famulis seu custodibus. Proferuntur in illum querelæ innumeræ, ut vix existiment effugere posse capitis supplicium. Hic est Fortunæ ludus; ex ludimagistro subvectus est ad regnum; nam plane regnabat verius quam ipse Rex, metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur a paucis, ne dicam a nemine. Paucis ante diebus quam caperetur, curaverat Richardum Pacæum conjiciendum in carcerem, ac minitabatur etiam meo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Ante ruinam exaltantur spiritus, ait Solomon. Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis vocatus, imo revocatus est ad Cancellarii munus, quo non aliud in

Anglia majus: sed is excusavit ætatem, jam imparem tanto negotio. Itaque provincia delegata est Thomæ Moro, magno omnium applausu, nec minore bonorum omnium lætitia subvectus, quam dejectus Cardinalis. Ep. 1151.

<sup>c</sup> Vale; et qui tibi minitatur, se intenturum formulam injuriarum, ne time. Veniat, si saltem venire aufit, et Zasium experietur advocatum tuum in suam perniciem. Friburgi es, non Basileæ, sub Principe es justissimo; caveat adversarius tuus, ne hiscat quidem. Ep. 360. c. 1748.

<sup>d</sup> Baillet I. 382. Maittaire II. 359.

<sup>e</sup> Nusquam pax, nullum iter tutum est, rerum caritate, penuria, fame, pestilentia laboratur ubique, Sectis dissecta sunt omnia: ad tantam malorum Lernam accessit lethalis sudor, multos

A. D. 1530. bad, in all appearance, that <sup>f</sup> Melanchthon was quite dejected, and overwhelmed with sorrow. Luther, who had more courage, wrote him many excellent letters of consolation.

Erasmus wrote a letter to Joan. Alex. <sup>g</sup> Brassicanus, who had published a book of Adages, and had made some apology to him for undertaking that subject. Erasmus had no <sup>h</sup> great esteem for his performance. This man had once asked Erasmus, what he should do, to become a good scholar; and Erasmus, in answer, <sup>i</sup> gave him an advice, of which he seemed to stand in need. Ep. 1108.

One Ludovicus Carvajalus wrote a foolish thing against Erasmus, who replied to it; and Carvajalus <sup>k</sup> renewed the attack. Ep. 1104.

A. D.

intra horas octo tollens e medio, et crebro quos reliquit brevi intervallo repetens, nec id semel, sed bis, ter, quater, donec in hydropem aut epidemiam, aut aliud morbi genus versus, tandem extinguat miseris excarnificatum modis. Ep. 1149.

<sup>f</sup> Sleidan L. VII. 186.

<sup>g</sup> Brassicanus was of the Lutheran party. See *Amœnitates Literar.* Tom. I. p. 298, 306.

Erasmus did Brassicanus the honour to make him a speaker in that excellent Dialogue, wherein Reuchlin is canonized.

<sup>h</sup> Brassicanus aut concepit irritas iras, aut pudore obrutus est. Jactarat non deesse quod colligeretur post Erasmus, quum triginta fere proverbia

sumserit ex meis. Desiit ad me scribere, quod facile fero. Nihil enim illius epistolis stomachantius, et convitiis admiscebat tam blanda, ut aliquoties desiderarim in eo sobriam mentem. Ep. 372. c. 1757.

<sup>i</sup> Brassicanus rogavit Erasmus, quare ratione doctus posset fieri. Respondit ex tempore; Si doctis assidue conviveret; si doctos audiret non minus submisisse quam honorifice; si doctos strenue legeret; si doctos diligenter edisceret; denique, si se doctum numquam putaret. *Centur. Epist.* Goldasti. Ep. 44. p. 169.

<sup>k</sup> Dulcoratio amarulentiarum Erasmi responsionis ad apologiam Fratris Lodovici Carvajali ab eodem Lodovico edita. *Maittaire* II. 495.

A. D. MDXXXI.

Ætat. LXIV.

Some persons had been desirous that Erasmus should repair to A. D. 1533; the Diet of Augsburg: but he <sup>1</sup> excuseth himself.

I could not have gone (says he) without running the risque of my life; and therefore I chose rather to live. I knew very well that if I went there, I should bring mischief upon my own head, without being able to compose the dissentions and tumults. I also knew upon whose judgment the Emperor relied; upon Divines, in whose opinion whosoever shall dare to open his mouth in favour of piety is a Lutheran, and worse than a Lutheran. I am by nature void of dissimulation, and somewhat free of speech. If I had suited myself to the passions of certain people, I must have said many things against my own conscience. So I have some obligations to my bad state of health, which furnisheth me with a plea for absence. Ep. 1152.

To John More, son of Sir Thomas, he dedicated the works of Aristotle, printed in Greek by Froben's heirs; and to Charles, son to Lord William Montjoy, the history of <sup>m</sup> Livy, augmented with five books which had not been printed before. They were discovered by Simon Grynæus in a <sup>n</sup> manuscript belonging to the Monastery of Lorse. Ep. 1159, 1160.

In

<sup>1</sup> *He might have said with Sallust:*

Scio ego, quam difficile atque asperum factu sit consilium dare regi, aut imperatori, postremo cuiquam mortali, cujus opes in excelso sunt: quippe cum et illis consultorum copiarum adint; neque de futuro quisquam satis callidus, satique prudens sit. Quinetiam sæpe prava magis, quam bona consilia prospere eveniunt: quia pleraque res fortuna ex lubricine sua agitatur. *Sallustius Orat. II. ad Cæs.*

<sup>m</sup> See Fabricius *Bibl. Lat.* Tom. I. p. 196.

<sup>n</sup> Visum est tuo nomini dicere Titum Livium — quinque libris modo repertis auctum; quos bono quodam genio in bibliotheca Monasterii Laurisfensi, aut, ut vulgo, Lorfensis, reperit Simon Grynæus, vir ut in omni genere literarum citra supercilium eruditus, ita provehendis liberalibus studiis natus. Id autem Monasterium est e regione Wormaciæ, sive

A. D. 1531. In Ep. 1159, Erasmus bestows many commendations on Bebelius, the Printer. See Maittaire II. 342, &c.

He

sive Borbetomagi trans Rhenum, a Carolo Magno septingentis abhinc annis et eo amplius exstructum, ac librorum copiosissima supellectile instructum: nam hæc olim præcipua cura Principum fuit, et hic solet esse charissimus Cœnobiorum thesaurus. Archetypum erat admirandæ vetustatis, prisco more perpetua literarum serie ita depictum, ut difficillimum fuerit verbum a verbo dirimere, nisi docto, attento, et in hoc ipsum exercitato. Unde non parum negotii fuit in parando exemplari, quod typographicis operis traderetur utendum. Nec minore cura quam fide advigilatum est, ne usquam in describendo ab archetypo recederetur. Quod si pridem magna studiosorum gratulatione merito exceptum est qualecunque fragmentum, quod nobis dedit Moguntia; quanto plausu excipi par est tantam Livianæ historiæ accessionem? Atque utinam faxit Deus Opt. Max. ut hic Auctor totus et integer nobis restitatur. Ejus rei spem nonnullam præbent rumores per ora quorundam volitantes; dum hic apud Danos, ille apud Polonos, alius apud Germanos, haberi Liviana quædam nondum edita jactitat. Certe posteaquam hæc reliquias præter omnium spem objecit fortuna, non video cur desperemus et plura posse contingere. Atque hic mea quidem sententia Principes viri rem se dignam facerent, si præmiis propositis, eruditos ad peruesti-

gandum tantum thesaurum sollicitarent, aut etiam ad editionem perpelletent: si qui forte sunt, qui rem publicæ utilitati paratam gravi studiorum jactura premunt abduuntque. Vehementer enim absurdum videtur, homines ut parum auri argenteive inveniant, tantis impendiis tantisque periculis ad ipsos pene inferos terræ viscera perfodere; et hujusmodi thesauros tanto illis pretiosiores, quanto corpore præstantior est animus, prorsus negligere, nec ulla vestigatione dignos judicare. Midarum hic animus est, non principum. Ep. 1160.

L'edition de Tite Live de Froben est assez bonne; mais Sigonius y a bien corrigé. C'est grand cas qu' Erasme a trouvé cinq livres de Livius, & celui qui les a descrits, ne les a sceu lire. On a cherché toutes les bibliotheques de la Chrestienté, in n'y a plus rien. Scaligeran. p. 246.

De tempore quo versiones suas confecit Argyropylos mire fallitur Erasmus, quum in Præfatione (*i. e. Epist. 1159*) ait illum eas confecisse, postquam ab Aldo Opera Aristotelis fuissent edita: h. e. post an. MDXCV. (*read MCCCCXCV*) &c. *Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 208.*

Aldus, as Fabricius informs us, published a Greek Edition of Aristotle, A. 1498, which was become very scarce even in the days of Erasmus.

A. D. 1531.

He again gives an ° account of the sweating sickness.

He writes a letter of excuse to the poet Eobanus Hessus, who took it ill that he was not mentioned and complimented in the *Ciceronianus*. Eobanus had translated Theocritus, and was about Homer, on which undertakings Erasmus makes some <sup>p</sup> just observations. The translating of poets into other languages, and into verse, seems to be an occupation beneath a good poet, a work in which there is much labour, and little honour. The translator perhaps will reply, *I want to get money*. Why then, Go on, and good luck attend you.

Ep. 1158, and Ep. 368, c. 1752, are to <sup>q</sup> Petrus Castellanus, a young Frenchman. Castellanus in his younger days went to Basil to converse with Erasmus, who recommended him to Froben for an assister; and he was of great service in correcting not only errors of the press, but even some errors of <sup>r</sup> Erasmus himself.

° Nova lues, jam olim uni Britanniae peculiaris, subito se sparsit per universas nationes; atque initio quoniam malum erat subitum et horrendum, videlicet intra horas viginti quatuor, sæpe pauciores, exanimans quem invaserat, animos omnium terrore percussit, adeo ut multis metus et imaginatio morbum conciliarit: corripuit plurimos, pauciores tamen extinxit quam solet jam nimium orbi nota epidemia; mox nulli fere perire, nisi per imperitiam medicorum, aut neglectam ægroti curam. Ep. 1154.

<sup>p</sup> Quod Theocritum reddidisti Latino carmine, miror si Siculam illam Venerem affecutus es. Homerum opinor experiris tractabiliorem: in utroque tamen argumento vereor ut fama labori respondeat. Ep. 1164.

<sup>q</sup> Bayle CASTELLAN. Gallandius Vit. Castellani. Bayle AUGUSTIN, Not. G. Sammarthani Elog. L. I. p. 27. Maittaire I. 291. II. 454. Hist. Steph. 144, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Hic juvenis Erasmicæ gloriæ æmulatione, et ejus falsis in ingenia Gallica, quibus parum in literis tribuebat, cavillationibus incensus, noctes et dies in Græcarum literarum, Theologiæque atque omnis humanioris doctrinæ commentatione ita versabatur, ut Erasmus fati præcipitanter commentantem, et e Græco non probe intellecta in Latinum sermonem male vertentem, frequenter suorum errorum admoneret. Quæ ille, qui plurimum Castellani opera uteretur, cum agnoscere atque emendare ejus admonitu cogeretur, plurimum illi tribuebat atque deferebat. Memini Castellanium

A. D. 1531. self. After this he was a great favourite of Francis I, who made him a Bishop. He had as ' bad an opinion of the Court of Rome as Erasmus and Luther, and had contracted it, not from hear-says, but from his own observation. He was a sort of free-thinker, as to Popery, and this disposition he might perhaps have caught from conversing with his friend Erasmus: but he was for maintaining the Catholic Religion, and for keeping the Reformed undermost; for which they hated him, as an ambitious hypocrite, and represented his death as a divine judgment. So Beza, H. Stephanus, D'Aubigné, and other good Protestants thought about it. Erasmus had a singular love and esteem for Castellanus, and writes to him in a most affectionate manner, and wishes him either a good wife, or a good Bishoprick. The latter happened

Castellanum mihi frequenter dicere Erasmus in literis Græcis supra vulgus tum parum promovisse, in auctoribus qui ab usu communi remoti essent insigniter hæsitavisse. Itaque quæ ex illis vertebat aut commentabatur, majore ex parte adjuvantibus doctis, qui ei hanc operam navabant, præstitisse. *Gallandius Vit. Cast.*

<sup>s</sup> Memini eum aliquando, cum Pontificum Romanorum supinas libidines, avaritiam, et rapacitatem, religionis contemptum, superbiamque Cardinalium, luxum et ignaviam, nundinationesque, cauponationes, et flagitia reliqua aulicorum Romanensium describeret, et cetera quæ tunc vidisset commemoraret, ita animo concitari et indignatione commoveri consuevisses, ut ei non modo in facie color, sed et toto corpore gestus motusque immutarentur; ut etiam mihi frequenter diceret sibi esse

persuasissimum ne Pontifices quidem Romanos religionis et sacrorum antistites, tot suis suorumque flagitiis sceleribusque contaminatos, vere et ex animo Christum colere; quæ autem in religione facerent, retinendæ dominationis causa, veluti larva ad fallendum apposita, egregie simulare. *Gallandius.*

Ego (*says Luther*) Romæ non diu fui, ibi celebravi ipse, et vidi celebrari aliquot missas, sed ita, ut quoties recordor, execrer illas. Nam super mensam, inter alia, audivi Curtisanos quosdam ridendo gloriari, nonnullos in ara super panem et vinum hæc verba pronuntiare, *Panis es, panis manebis: vinum es, vinum manebis.* De hac profectio in colloquiis familiaribus sæpe est sibi gratulatus Lutherus; dixitque mille florenis se eam non commutaturum. *Melch. Adam Vit. Luth. p. 49.*

<sup>t</sup> Bayle Not. Q.

happened to be his lot. \* Castellanus was also of the same opinion with Erasmus, in preferring Jerom very much to Augustin, and in having no great esteem for the latter; and possibly his friend Erasmus had some share in leading him into this sentiment. A. D. 1531.

\* Castellanus, in a funeral sermon upon his good Patron, Francis I, declared his hope that the King was gone directly to Paradise. This gave great offence to the Sorbonne, which sent deputies to complain of it at court. But they were coldly received: and Mendoza, the King's steward, told them, that he knew his old master's temper better than they; that he never could endure to remain long in any place; and that if he went into Purgatory, he only stopped there just to take a gill of wine, or so, in his passage.

“ From the letters of Erasmus to Castellanus, we learn that they both wrote a very bad hand. As to Erasmus, his manu-

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“ script

• E Latinis (Patribus) divum Hieronymum plurimi faciebant, non modo quod cæteris eloquentior esset, verum etiam quod omnibus artium liberalium scientia facile anteciret. Nam ut divum Augustinum contra hæreticos de hominis Christiani justificatione disputando proxime ad divi Pauli sententiam accessisse fatebatur, ita linguarum ignorantia somniasse frequenter atque etiam delirasse sacra explicando asseverabat; cumque bonarum artium magis non ignorans quam peritus dici posset, non satis idoneum esse judicabat cui de artibus differenti legendo tempus ab eo transmitteretur qui minime otio abundaret. Eam quoque styli Augustiniani anfractuosam sinuositatem esse et sermonis omni elegantia vacui impuritatem addebat, ut ab homine liberaliter in literis educato citra fastidium legi

vix posset. *Gallandius*, p. 44.

\* See Thuanus L. III. p. 87.

• Here is the place in the Sermon, which Bayle hath not given us:

J'entens, que consideré la vie du feu Roy, pleine d'actes vertueux & louables, &c. j'entens donc que sa vie, telle que j'ay dict, & sa mort plus louable que je ne scauroye dire, & l'infinité pesée de la grandeur & multitude des miséricordes de nostre Seigneur, peult induire une inclination en nostre entendement pour penser qu'il est en Paradis, comme chose qui n'est point incroyable, ny inestimable, selon la signification commune de ces mots, encores que le jugement certain de la verité ne soit en homme mortel, quel qui soit, par aucune persuasion ou conjecture humaine. See *Gallandius*, p. 265.

A. D. 1531. “script of the *Lingua* was such a scraul, that he himself could hardly decypher it, when he attempted, by the help of his copy, to correct the faults which had slipped into the edition of 1525. This he tells us himself at the head of the *Errata*.” Bayle CASTELLAN, Not. D, and *Rem. Crit.* p. 3099.

Erasmus complains that mere worldly means were projected for removing the schism in the Church. Charles V, united with the Pope, required that the Protestants should reestablish every thing upon the old foot, and threatened them with war, if they refused to comply. The Pope was contriving to execute the same project, by the assistance of the Princes, and by multiplying the number of Cardinals: and this, in the opinion of Erasmus, was to provoke God more and more. He wished that the Rulers of the Church would begin a reformation at home, and correct their own scandalous misdemeanors, which, instead of diminishing, daily increased.

He observes how <sup>z</sup> strangely Oecolampadius was changed from a superstitious Monk to a free-thinking Reformer.

He wrote an excellent letter to <sup>a</sup> Augustinus Steuchus, criticizing this author's works, and defending himself against his censorious cavils. This man had said that Germany produced most impious blasphemers: Erasmus bids him <sup>b</sup> look at home, and remember that in profaneness the Italians far surpassed the Germans.

The

<sup>z</sup> Quis expectasset tantam in Oecolampadio mutationem? Ante cucullam plane Monachus erat, et superstitione nostro sodalitus submolestus: nunc quantum alius sit, obscurum non est. Ep. 1163.

<sup>a</sup> Non secus omnino, ac olim fecere maximi illi viri, Euclides dum noctu Megaris Athenas proficisceretur ad audiendum Socratem. — Adrianusque præterea ejus nominis Pontifex sextus, et

*Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus*, quos inter luctandum cum studiis et angustiis vitæ miseris, sæpe videre fuit ad ellychnios noctu in templis aut compitis collucentes legendi desiderio accessisse. *Naudæus Pent. Quæst. Iatroph.* p. 91.

<sup>b</sup> Fieri potest, ut in Germania sint, qui non temperent a blasphemis in Deum; sed in hos horrendis suppliciiis animadvertitur. At ego Romæ his auribus



A. D. 1531.

The following letters are no less remarkable, in which he complains of his adversaries, who had obliged him either to spend his time in drawing up apologies for himself, or to stand condemned as a vile heretic. He says that Albertus Pius, Prince of Carpi, died whilst his answer to Erasmus was in the press at Paris; and he adds merrily, that though Albertus had been deprived of his Principality, he had still retained a right to his title of *Princeps Carpensis*; a *carpendo*, because he was always carping and censuring what he did not understand. He was buried in a Monk's doublet. Ep. 1175, 1176, 1177.

3 T 2

" Baldus

ribus audiui quosdam abominandis blasphemis debacchantes in Christum, et in illius Apostolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, et quidem impune. Ibidem multos novi, qui commemorabant se dicta horrenda audisse a quibusdam Sacerdotibus aulæ Pontificiæ ministris, idque in ipsa Missa, tam clare, ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit. Ep. 1175.

° Hoc argumentum serio rursus tractavit Albertus Pius, cujus ingens volumen excudit Badius, quum opus, ut audio, non sit Alberti, sed per multas operas conductitias conflatum: nec minimum contulerunt Franciscani Parisienses; habent enim quendam insigniter ἀειρόμυθον, Petrum Cornuensem. Ipse Pius rem fecit oppido quam ingeniosam, infixit aculeum, ac sese proripuit: decessit enim multis (perhaps it should be non multis) ante diebus, quam Badius opus absolvisset. Dicebatur Carpensis, et quanquam ditione fuisset exsutus, cognomen idem manebat, licet ratio cognominis fuerit diversa: prius enim a

*Carpis* erat *Carpensis*, post a *carpendi* libidine. Atque ut intelligas illum non sine causa dictum *Pium*, triduo quam moreretur, induit amictum divi Francisci, in ea veste Franciscanorum humeris deportatus est solenni pompa per vias, facie, manibus et pedibus nudatis, et in monasterio sepultus. Non infector religiosum hominis affectum: vulgatum est hoc apud Italos; sed demiror Patres illos, quum non ignorent cujusmodi sit hoc seculum, ejusmodi ceremoniis, ne dicam superstitionibus, irritare in se orbis invidiam, plus satis jam flagrantem sua sponte. Sed Alberti manibus precor lucem et quietem. Ep. 1176.

Exiit ingens volumen Alberti Pii, quondam Carporum Principis, post exsulis apud Gallos, deinde sycophantæ, postremo Franciscani.—Nec puduit hominem Principem, senem, ac diutina valetudine moribundum, denique jam Seraphico sodalizio destinatum, manifestis mendaciis proximo capitalem struere calumniam. Ep. 1195.

A. D. 1531. “<sup>d</sup> Baldus in the year 1400, Christophorus Longolius in 1522, and Albertus Pius in 1530, were buried, at their request, in the habit of a Cordelier. Marot, in one of his poems, hath ridiculed Albertus, *who, says he, turned Monk after he was dead?*”

This calls to mind a story, which I have seen somewhere: A certain Prince, who had led a very wicked life, was carried to his grave in the humble disguise of a Monk. A woman, whose husband he had murdered, seeing the masquerade go by, cried to him, Ah you Dog! you think that you are finely concealed under that habit: but Jesus Christ will find you out.

P. Jovius hath given a great character to Albertus Pius, and also some account of his life and misfortunes. *Vit. Alphons.* p. 194—196, and *Elog.* p. 154.

Budæus was now much out of humour with Erasmus, and had kept two of his letters by him unopened for two years. Ep. 1166.

Erasmus still kept up his correspondence with his old patron Montjoy. Ep. 1174.

He tells Urfinus Velius, that he intended in his old days to turn ° Ciceronian himself, and to try if he could imitate the happy eloquence

<sup>d</sup> Menagian. IV. 9.

° Vacat audire novarum rerum aliquid? Accipe: Quanquam inter *adversaria* numerari scio senis mutare linguam, tamen ego meditor mutare stylum. Ac primum applicui memet ad exemplar structuræ Budaicæ: legi pleraque illius epistolas feliciter elaboratas, annis sum sedulo, sed conatus successu caruit. Nunc in effingendo Cicerone sum totus. Dices, Quid accidit? Huc extimulant me: trium hujus ætatis in dicendo felicissimorum epistolæ, Jacobi Sadoleti,

Petri Bembi, et Julii Pflug, quorum postremum nuper amicum habere cœpi, ex re mala magnum nactus bonum. Phrasis horum ita consentit, ut dicas a teneris unguiculis eodem in ludo doctos et educatos. Deum immortalem! qui candor orationis, quam felix facilitas, quanta sensuum fanitas, quam omnia cohærent, amnisque limpidissimi in morem inoffense labuntur, nulla salebra, nullo vortice lectorem remorante! Tales Ciceronianos toto pectore possum amare, utinam et assequi liceat. Sed arbitror  
consultius

eloquence of Sadolet, Bembus, and Julius Pflug, in his opinion, A. D. 1531. the three best writers of that age. A pure and elegant style was perhaps the smallest of Sadolet's accomplishments: he was a man of piety, probity, and moderation, affable, and good-natured.

<sup>f</sup> There was a rumour that Bembus, Sadolet, <sup>g</sup> Contarenus and Campegius died of poison, and were dispatched, because they had contracted a familiarity with some Protestants, and were suspected of being too favourably disposed towards that party. Sadolet was seventy years old when he died, and Bembus was much older. Surely it was not worth the while to poison either of them at that time of life.

Seckendorf hath collected some things, which shew the <sup>h</sup> Christian temper of Sadolet, and are much to his honour.

### Julius

consultius ut sexagenarius ab his comitiis abstineam, ne per juventutem tumultuantem fiam deponatus. Ep. 1170.

<sup>f</sup> Cum annum ætatis septuagesimum attingisset (Sadoletus) in febrem lapsus, diem postremum obiit Romæ, non sine dati veneni suspicione. Quatuor enim hi Cardinales, viri docti et boni, Bembus, Sadoletus, Caspar Contarenus, et Campegius properata morte feruntur occubuisse: causam ignorant multi, nisi quod forte cum iis qui a Romana religione discordant, aliquam familiaritatem habuisse credantur. *Boissard.*

<sup>g</sup> Mortuus est Contarenus anno 1542, non sine veneni suspicione. Qui familiariter illum noverunt, de Justificatione hominis recte sensisse dicunt. Fuit vir cum primis doctus, et exstat ejus de Magistratibus atque Republica Venetorum liber. *Sleidan L. XIV. 381.* See P. Jovius Elog. p. 184. Pope Blount, p. 427. Vita Contareni auctore J. Casa.

It is in the *Vitæ Batefii.* F. Paul B. I. §. 66. p. 159, and Dr. Courayer. Contarenus declared to Peter Martyr, that he had a great esteem for Melancthon and Bucer. *Melch. Adam Vit. Buceri.*

<sup>h</sup> Ex Raynaldo percipitur, Evangelicam doctrinam Avenione, &c. progressus quosdam habuisse anno 1539; Pontificem vero Jacobo Sadoletto mandasse ut hæreses illas extingueret, data ei potestate puniendi, qui culpabiles reperirentur. Subjungitur Sadoleti ad Cardinalem Farnesium epistola, in qua se die et noctu sollicitum esse scribit, ut caveat ne hæretici in ditionem Pontificiam sese conferant.—Ait tamen, se potestate in diplomate Pontificio concessa non facile usurum, cum validiora sint remedia veritas ipsa, et mansuetudo Christiana, qua errorum confessio corde magis quam ore prolata exprimat.—Sadoleti pium et mite ingenium in illa  
ipsa

A. D. 1531. ipsa causa Thuanus laudat L. VI. Produxit etiam Raynaldus Sadoleti ad Farnesium aliam epistolam, qua Pontificem reprehendit, quod cum Lutheranos persequatur, Judæis nova indies privilegia in ditione Avenionensi concedat, quibus ad injurias subditis inferendas veluti armentur, et inter hos ut lupi grassentur. *Quomodo, ait, hoc accipi putatis a nationibus trans Alpes?* Et post pauca: *In tantane defectione animorum omnium a nobis gentium (plane enim dico omnium, quod ego ita esse intelligo, vos haud ita sentitis, propterea quod auribus vestris vulgo homines blandiuntur) in tantane inquam defectione omnium, et prope execratione auctoritatis Ecclesiasticæ, magno reipublicæ præsidio futurum putatis, si sic alueritis, si sic extuleritis Judæos?*

Hanc viri inter Cardinales ob eruditionem, moderationem et pietatem laudatissimi confessionem, de universali odio orbis terrarum in regimen Pontificium, nescio an satis caute, produxit tamen Raynaldus; quæ opponi potest parasitis aulæ Romanæ veteribus et novis, qui solius Lutheri ferociæ tribuunt, quod tot gentes dominatum illum excusserint. *Seckendorf* L. III. p. 244.

Exstat Sadoleti epistola, a Cochlæo edita, ad Joannem Sturmium, in qua comiter scribit, multa se in Commentario ejus ad reformationem a Cardinalibus (inter quos Sadoletus fuerat) tentatam, homine libero et erudito digna reperisse, elegantiam inprimis Ciceronianam, quam optimi judicii signum esse, eoque nomine Sturmium a se mirifice diligi ait, etsi in sententiis quibusdam de sancta catholica fide ab eo dis-

sentiat; profitetur se majorum monumentis et seculorum legibus acquiescere, nova vero aspernari, quæ apud æquos et peritos judices sustinere sit perdifficile; favere se tamen dicit etiam Melancthonii et Bucero, hominibus doctissimis. Reprehendit deinde convicia, quæ a Sturmio intermixta esse dicit nitori orationis, et putasse se scribit, Luthero saltem id proprium esse. Laudes, quas Clementi VII dederat, defendit, et literis ita dicit instructum illum fuisse, ut, cum Pontifex factus esset, omnibus admirantibus Latine loqui didicerit, quod antea non fecerat; fatetur tamen culpa ministrorum illum a pristino more et bonitate naturæ non minimum discessisse. Finit, repetita benevolentiam in Sturmium et duos supra nominatos significatione. *Seckendorf* Suppl. LXIV.

Sadoletus, ut erat pio et miti ingenio, perbenigne supplices [Valdenses] accipit, et quæ ultra ea capita libro comprehensa de ipsis spargantur, ad invidiam conficta et meras nugas esse ingenue declarat: cæterum oblato libello videri multa inesse, quæ partim integra sententia in melius mutari, partim acerbius in Pontificem et Præsules dicta temperatione stylo mitigari possint: se nihilo minus eis bene velle; minimeque ex animi sui sententia futurum, si cum his hostiliter ageretur: — ad hæc verba propensæ nec fictæ erga eos voluntatis significationem addidit, legato Avenionensem, qui cum manu armata adventabat, represso, et ut retro cederet, admonito. *Thuanus* L. VI. p. 189.

Romæ obierunt (A. 1547) Petrus Bembus, Patricius Venetus, & Jacobus Sadoletus Mutinensis, Carpentoracti Episcopus,

Julius<sup>1</sup> Pflug was also a learned and candid man, who, like A. D. 1531. Erasmus and Melanchthon and Bucer, was very desirous to contribute towards pacifying the religious differences in the Christian world, and laboured at it during the whole course of his life. He was at this time Counsellor to George Duke of Saxony. He was one of the authors of the famous<sup>k</sup> *Interim*, or the Decree concerning an accommodation, or a truce, to be observed between Papists and Protestants, which gave great offence to both sides, because each thought that too much was conceded to the adversary. The tenor of it was in general very favourable to the Romish doctrines, somewhat softened, disguised, and palliated. The only concessions to the Protestants were the use of the Cup in the Eucharist, and of marriage to the Clergy; and even these were only conditional and temporary, and to continue till a general Council should decide about it. This passed in the year 1548.

Pflug<sup>1</sup> was made Bishop of Naumburg, and then ejected by the Elector of Saxony, and at last restored. He was a Prelate of

scopus, uterque versu et pedestri oratione politissimus scriptor: verum illius multa licentiosus, ut temporum nequitia et domini, cui serviebat, (Leonis) mores ferebant, scripta exstant; hujus contra seria fere omnia, et digna persona, quam sustinebat. Utriusque in dispari morum instituto fortuna tamen par fuit, &c. Bembus (decessit) ex vulnere in latere ad parietem accepto, dum equo veheretur, &c. *Thuanus* L. III. p. 99.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet II. 355. Camerarius Vit. Melanchth. p. 196. Du Pin XIII. 157, 172. Seckendorf L. III. p. 220, 387, 395. Perizonius, p. 288, 289, 390. Sleidan L. XIV. 366. XVI. 446.

<sup>k</sup> Sleidan L. XX. 572, 577.

Auctores Libri *Interim* a Cæsare Carolo V, et Ferdinando, ob navatam operam liberalia dona abstulerunt. Schlusfelburgius multo auro donatus domum rediit. Julius Pflugius Canonicatu et argento donatus est. Michael Sidonius Episcopatum Merseburgensem deinde est consecutus. —

Vide Crenium *De Singular. Scriptorum*, p. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Pflugius restitutus est, quietamque inde ad mortem usque possessionem habuit. Præfuit autem subditis insigni cum integritate et æquitate. Nihil duri adversus eos decrevit, qui contrarias partes fecuti

A. D. 1531. of great moderation, of a sweet temper, and benevolent disposition, and suspected by the Papists of Lutheranism, and by the Lutherans of timidity and dissimulation.

Ep. 1198 is to Georgius<sup>m</sup> Agricola, whom he hath also commended in Ep. 1014. This learned man was once much inclined to Protestantism.

“ Four things, in the opinion of Melchior Adam, hindered  
 “ the conversion of Agricola: 1. the indiscreet writings of some  
 “ Protestant Divines: 2. the scandalous lives of some of the  
 “ Reformed party: 3. the breaking of the Images, and the rebel-  
 “ lion of the Peasants: 4. the natural inclination which Agricola  
 “ had for pomp and ceremony in divine worship.

“ Of these four causes the three first entirely alienated Eras-  
 “ mus from Protestantism. Many other persons, who longed  
 “ for a Reformation, were caught, like him, in the same snare:  
 “ and hence it is that Beza, in his History of the Churches, meets  
 “ so many in his way, who had tasted of the good seed, and  
 “ then fell off. Reasonable men will tell you, on this occasion,  
 “ that, as things then stood, there was no possibility of carrying  
 “ on a Reformation by mere patience, and gentleness of speech  
 “ and manners, that therefore the divine Providence left the  
 “ combatants to their own temper, with a design, as it should  
 “ seem, that neither party should so completely prevail as utterly  
 “ to subvert and destroy the other. The observation is good:  
 “ there are certain means, which, by being very proper to accom-  
 “ plish

secuti erant; et raræ moderationis ex-  
 emplum est, quod quadraginta fere cives  
 Cizenses, qui patria emigrare, quam  
 illum Principem agnoscere, maluerunt,  
 levi multa Senatui soluta, in gratiam  
 receperit; singuli enim non nisi unum  
 florenum solverunt. — Ex his aliisque  
 viri dictis et factis judicari potest, Evan-  
 gelicæ veritatis satis gnarum non solum,

sed et ei non parum addictum fuisse:  
 cur vero eam publice profiteri noluerit,  
 Deus noverit, cui facti sui quisque ratio-  
 nem reddere cogitur, &c. Obiit anno  
 1564, ætatis 61. *Seckendorf* L. III.  
 p. 395.

<sup>m</sup> Melch. Adam. *Thuanus* L. XVI.  
 498.

“plish half of the work, are incapable of accomplishing the whole.” *Bayle* AGRICOLA (GEORGE.) A. D. 1531.

In a letter to Mallarius, Erasmus tells him the story of a Divine, who had stuck up the picture of Erasmus in his chamber, only to have the pleasure of spitting upon it.

° He hath made some fair and equitable remarks on Budæus and Longolius, and pointed out their defects without any malignity and asperity.

He published his useful and entertaining collection of Apophthegms, and dedicated them to the Duke of Cleve. This Prince sent him a cup, for which Erasmus returned him thanks. Ep. 1211.

Julius Pflug wrote to Erasmus, exhorting him to use all his interest with the Christian Princes, that by their authority the Romish Clergy might be induced to relax in favour of the Lutherans as much as could be spared of the Ecclesiastical Constitutions; hoping that on the other side some wise and moderate Lutherans, such as Melanchthon, might shew the same condescension.

## 3 U

But;

° Quod scribis esse quosdam, qui sibi bonam felicitatis partem deesse judicant, quod Erasmus non viderint, quum corporis effigiem ære fusam exosculentur, eaque conspecta ad studiorum amorem inflammentur, puto non omnino vanum esse: quanquam tu consolandi mei gratia rem, ni fallor, verbis amplificas. Sed ne possim istiusmodi favoribus insolescere, facit quorundam diversus affectus. Dicam enim quod rideas: Est quidam Doctor Constanstensis, qui mei effigiem in charta impressam habet in conclavi suo, non ob aliud nisi ut quum inambulat, quoties eam præterit conspuat: percunctantibus odii

causam, respondet se mihi acceptum ferre hoc calamitosum seculum. Ep. 1176.

° Si Longolius hoc operæ temporisque dedisset Græcis auctoribus, quo se excruciauit Romæ, ut tandem inter Ciceronianos ac cives Romanos scriberetur, rectius, ni fallor, tum sibi, tum publicis studiis consulisset. Sed illud ingenium invida fata terris tantum ostendere voluerunt. Budæus vir est minime malus, et si quid in quem stomachi concipit, magis id facit alieno impulsu quam suapte natura, et alioqui placibilis ingenii, nec unquam usque ad virulentiam excandescens. Ep. 1177.

A. D. 1531. But when open war is waged between two parties, of which the one wants absolute and arbitrary dominion, and the other is resolved not to be enslaved, there is no<sup>p</sup> such thing as composition and accommodation. This Luther knew very well, and therefore discountenanced and rejected all such palliating schemes, and, like the Pope, was determined never to yield an inch. Ep. 1186, 1170.

Luther, this year, paid some<sup>q</sup> compliments to Charles V, representing him as naturally courteous and merciful, and not inclined to hurt the Protestants, if his Ecclesiastical Counsellors did not irritate him.

Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus died this year, and Erasmus hath drawn up the character of his deceased friend, who was of an illustrious family, very wealthy, much esteemed by Maximilian and Charles V, in peace a most useful and skilful Counsellor and citizen, in war an excellent officer, a man of learning, honour, courage, probity and piety, generally beloved and esteemed, and very little exposed to censure. Ep. 1187.

He excuseth himself from undertaking the office which Pflug had recommended to him, and represents the faults of both parties, which rendered the attempt impracticable. Indeed he had already offered his advice to the public upon this subject to no manner of purpose: the Romish Court had been much offended at it, and the Emperor would not deign even to hear it.

<sup>p</sup> Ἐκτορ, μή μοι, ἄλασε, συνημοσύνας ἀγόμευε.

<sup>q</sup> Ὡς ἔκ' ἐστὶ λήυσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὄρνια πιάδ', &c.

Homer Il. X. 261.

<sup>q</sup> Cæsar's insignem modestiam et clementiam in Comitibus et Hispania offensam summopere laudat Lutherus, quia edicta nova postulantis morem non gesserit, et dixisse feratur: *vix sibi persuaderi, adeo malam et impiam esse doctrinam, cui tam multi celebres et præstantes viri adhæreant.* Refert etiam dictum Cæsar's: *Si sacerdotes officium fecissent, nihil opus fuisse Luthero magistro.* Seckendorf L. III. p. 6.



it. In this Epistle he gives a charming character to Melancthon. He not only excels, says Erasmus, in learning and eloquence, but by a certain fatality he is a general favourite. Honest and candid men are fond of him, and even his adversaries cannot hate him.

Happy is the person, whom this description suits! It is not safe to attack him: the Public will revenge his wrongs, and take his part against you. Others there are, who are doomed to be generally abhorred. But, in both in these cases, there is no occasion to have recourse to *fatality*. The causes are obvious and visible, and every one is *the artificer of his own fortune*.

Erasmus judges very prudently concerning the usefulness of a General Council.

3 U 2

In

\* Philippus Melancthon, præter insignem eruditionem et raram eloquentiam, habet gratiam quandam fatalem, quam genio suo debet potius quam ingenio, ut quum sit omnibus candidis gratissimus, ne apud hostes quidem habeat quenquam cui sit admodum exosus. Is Augustæ sedulo tentavit quod tu suades: ubi si per morbum licuisset adesse, lubens meum quaecunque studium cum illius opera conjunxissem. Sed quid ille profecerit, obscurum non est. Erant tum illic qui quosdam integerrimos nec extremæ dignitatis viros clamarent hæreticos, non ob aliud, nisi quod aliquoties cum Melancthone miscuissent colloquium: quid dicturi, si Erasmus crebro cum illo contulisset? id enim erat necesse. — Apud Coloniam Agrippinam, quum pestis hæc nondum hucusque intruduisset, prodiit consilium quoddam indicans moderatas aliquot rationes se-

dandæ tempestatis, incolumi etiam Pontificis ac Theologorum auctoritate. Adeo receptum non est, ut me propemodum opprefferit suspicio, haud alio nitens argumento, quam quod sermo esset paulo Latinior. Ep. 1195.

\* Parcendum est autem maxime caritati hominum, ne temere in eos dicas, qui diliguntur. Cicero de Orat. II. 58.

† — Vis abdita quædam.

Sidus, et occulti miranda potentia fati.

‡ Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam.

\* Sunt qui flagitant Synodum *ὀκνηροῦ*, sed arbitror nihil futurum: nec sane video quid bonæ rei ex eo Concilio sit oriturum si fiat, præsertim hoc rerum statu. Altera pars de regno nihil suffinet remittere, altera dogmatibus citius sit aliquid additura. Si quis de temperamento mutire incipiat, protinus audit novæ herefæ auctor. Ep. 1193.

A. D. 1531.

In a letter to Pole, he mentions the death of Lupset. Ep. 1197. And in the following letter he speaks of Cornelius <sup>γ</sup> Agrippa, with whom he was not yet acquainted.

He bought a house at Friburg, and was obliged in his old days to put it in repair: he often <sup>z</sup> talks of this rash undertaking, no less

<sup>γ</sup> De Cornelio Agrippa quidam amici docti ad me scripserunt e Brabantia, sed sic ut nec hominis violentiam probare, et plus illi in colligendo studii quam in deligendo iudicii tribuere videntur. Nonnullis illud non ingratum est, quod Theologis ac Monachis hactenus feliciter oppedit, idque Cæsaris umbra, cui se profitetur a conciliis, et Cardinalis Campegi præsidio. Sed vereor ne hominis fortitudo bonas literas magna gravet invidia, si modo vera sunt, quæ narrant amicorum literæ. Librum illius nondum videre contigit, nec ad me scripsit unquam. Ep. 1198.

<sup>z</sup> Ne nihil novæ rei putes esse, mercatus sum ædes honesti nominis sed iniqui pretii. Exhaustimus quicquid erat præsentis pecuniæ, et adhuc ædificamus. Tantum sensi tædiorum in licitando, contrahendo, stipulando, emigrando, immigrando, rixando cum fabricis et furibus, ut malim decennium in libris versari, quam unicum mensem hæc devorare catapotia. Ep. 1194.

Sed de nobis accipe quod rideas. Si quis tibi nunciaret Erasmum jam prope septuagenarium duxisse uxorem, nonne terque quaterque te signares crucis imagine? Faceres sat scio, et equidem non injuria. Atqui nunc, mi Rincki, rem feci nec minus operosam, nec minus molestam, nec minus ab ingenio studi-

isque meis alienam. Emi domum speciosi quidem nominis sed parum æquii pretii. Quis nunc desperet amnes, verso in diversum cursu, relapsuros ad fontes suos, posteaquam Erasmus, qui hactenus per omnem vitam omnia posthabuit: otio-literario, factus est licitator, emtor, stipulator, cautor, ædificator, ac pro Musis rem habet cum fabricis lignariis, ferrariis, lapidariis, vitrariis? Hæc curæ, mi Rincki, a quibus meus semper abhorruit genius, me tantum non exanimarunt tædio. Et adhuc peregrinor in propriis ædibus, quod, spatiosæ licet, nullum habeant nidum, cui tuto possim hoc corpusculum committere. Unicum conclave paravi exstructo fumario et contabulatis solo pariter ac lateribus, sed ob virus calcis nondum ausim me illi credere. Brevi tamen immigrem oportet, quod felix faustumque sit. Ep. 1200.

Vereor ne loci novitas et insolitæ curæ magnum aliquod malum accersant valetudini: jam enim, ut omittam alia, lævum pedem corripuit podagra, aut aliquid podagræ affine. Nimirum hi sunt τῶν Σαυατῶν παντοκρῆτος veredarii. Accessit hodie dysenteria. Ep. 1199.

“ A certain poet, says an ingenious  
“ writer, having purchased a house, the  
“ poetical Senate was summoned to  
“ deliberate upon this surprising no-  
“ velty; and the most eminent poets  
“ having

less disagreeable than expensive. But hence it appears, that the liberality of his friends had supplied the deficiencies of his pensions, which were ill paid, or not paid at all. At the same time he had a fit of the gout, warning him, as he says, of the approaches of death.

He had a sight of the <sup>a</sup> first Oration of Julius <sup>b</sup> Scaliger against his *Ciceronianus*. He suspected <sup>c</sup> Aleander to have been the author of this piece; but he was quite mistaken. Erasmus is <sup>d</sup> said to have collected and destroyed, by his friends and emissaries, all the copies of the first and second Oration of Scaliger, which were afterwards reprinted. But the second Oration was never

“ having declared that they had always  
 “ dwelt in hired lodgings, he was or-  
 “ dered to dispose of his house imme-  
 “ diately. Here is the Tale in Latin:  
 “ *Memini me olim legisse elegantem*  
 “ *ingenii lusum, superiori ætate excu-*  
 “ *sum, cum Inscriptione: Poëta domum*  
 “ *emit. Argumentum libelli est, nescio*  
 “ *quis poëta, qui cum propriam domum*  
 “ *emisset, res ea tanquam novi et pessimi*  
 “ *exempli, ad poëtarum Senatam delata,*  
 “ *acerbe judicata est. Præses Senatus*  
 “ *Eobanus Hessus constitutus, cui affe-*  
 “ *derunt Celtes, Huttenus, Bebelius,*  
 “ *Brassicanus, alii. Cum sententias di-*  
 “ *cerent, nemo ex omnibus fuit, qui vel*  
 “ *Mæcennatum gratia, vel ingenii felici-*  
 “ *tate tantum profecerit, ut ædes propri-*  
 “ *as vel hæreditate vel emtione possede-*  
 “ *rit; omnes rei familiaris incurii, in*  
 “ *conducto se vixisse et fassi sunt et glo-*  
 “ *riati. Fusus igitur est quamprimum*  
 “ *ædes revendere, pecuniam vero in sym-*  
 “ *posium conferre, quo immanem hanc*  
 “ *culpam elueret, et ubique habitare ac*

“ *sine curis vivere poëtice disceret.* Jo.  
 “ *Valentinus Andreas.*” Bayle TRIS-  
 TAN, Not. B.

<sup>a</sup> Scaliger published the first Oration  
 in 1531, and the second in 1537.

<sup>b</sup> Beza Icon. Menagian. III. 454.  
 IV. 271. Anti-baillet I. 336. Sam-  
 marthanus Elog. L. I. p. 28. Pope  
 Blount, p. 423. Huëtiana, p. 8. Thu-  
 anus L. XXI. p. 645.

<sup>c</sup> Ex phrasi, ex ore, et loquutione  
 convictus Aldini, aliisque compluribus,  
 mihi persuasi hoc opus, maxima saltem  
 ex parte, esse Hieronymi Aleandri: nam  
 mihi genius illius domestico convictu  
 adeo cognitus perspectusque est, ut ipse  
 sibi non possit esse notior. Continuo  
 per literas cum illo exposulavi: verum  
 is ex Ratisbona literis amanter scriptis  
 sancte dejerat se semper fuisse amicum  
 et futurum. In Apologiis adversus Pium  
 frequenter attactus est, licet suppressio  
 nomine. Hunc dolorem ulcisci voluit.  
 Ep. 370. c. 1755.

<sup>d</sup> Note to Ep. 1205.

A. D. 1531. never published, till after the death of Erasmus. ° Bayle hath given an account of the quarrel, and rectifies some mistakes of Joseph Scaliger upon that affair. Ep. 1205, 1218, &c.

† These two Orations of Scaliger, and some Epistles of his, relating to the same subject, were published at Thoulouse, A. 1621, with a recommendatory Preface or Dedication, by § Mauffac, (though he did not put his name to it) who was much to be blamed for reprinting and extolling such scandalous ribaldry. This Preface of Mauffac is not such as one would expect from a man of his erudition; it is not well written, and it contains nothing that is worthy of notice.

‡ There is something ridiculously diverting in the pompous exclamations and the tragical complaints of Scaliger. One would imagine at least that Erasmus had called Cicero fool and knave, and had made water upon his ashes: and yet all his crime was, to have besprinkled the fervile imitators of Cicero with a little harmless banter.

After the first *Philippic*, Scaliger composed a second, rather more scurrilous than the former. He was doubly enraged, for many good reasons: for,

1. Erasmus, in some letters to his friends, had taken the liberty to call him a liar, and a calumniator:

2. He

° ERASME, Not. I, K, L, M.

† Amongst the works of Melchior Adam, there are, *Notæ in Orationem Julii Cæsaris Scaligeri pro M. T. Cicerone contra Ciceronianum Erasmi*. Bayle ADAM (MELCHIOR.)

§ Colomesius *Bibl. Chois.* p. 450, or 116.

‡ ——— acerbius contra Erasmus, fortasse justam ob causam, sed quæ tamen tales viros inter se committere non decuit (*read* debuit) invectus est, non solum ea oratione, quæ per omnium

manus volitat, sed altera, quæ rarius reperitur, qua se prioris auctorem profitetur, non minore acerbitate scripta: sed virum a gente vere generosum postea præcipitis impetûs pœnituit, sibi que dolere scripto testatus est, quod non ante mortem cum eo reconciliatus esset, cujus summam doctrinam cum singulari pietate conjunctam, et exquisitum in literis et de literis judicium, atque adeo par numinibus ingenium, supra omnes admirabatur. *Thuanus*.

2. He declared that he had only cast his eyes upon the oration, and that he never would answer it, or even read it: A. D. 1531.

3. He had supposed that Scaliger was not capable even of writing it, bad as it was, and that he had lent his name to others, like a voluntary cuckold.

Therefore Scaliger in the second Oration defends his undoubted right to the first; and in both, though they be composed with learning and strength, yet there is a mixture of laboured stiffness and obscurity, and a style which can by no means pass for Ciceronian; and the whole is seasoned with arrogance, vanity, self-applause, spite and scurrility, the usual *ornaments*, not of a *meek and quiet spirit*, but of a *Ruffian* and a *Bruiser* in the Republic of Letters.

He said that Erasmus had been a Corrector of the press in Italy, which was not true; and, if it had been true, would have been no disgrace.

It

<sup>1</sup> Correctorium munus (ut antea notavi) non secus ac typographicum profiteri neutiquam erubescabant viri inter literatos ex omni ordine Theologorum, Medicorum, et Jurisconsultorum clarissimi. Erasmo quidem objecerunt Albertus Pius et Julius Scaliger ipsum Aldi heri sui officinæ ministrasse, et ibidem quæstum fecisse corrigendis exemplaribus. Is factum, quod objiciebatur, negabat et diluebat his verbis; *An ille minister, &c.* Erasmus igitur eo, ut mihi videtur responso, tantum abest, ut a se amoliatur Correctoris officium, ut potius hoc typographico anteponendum censeat. — Nolo interim dissimulare, quod multi in eruditorum classe non ignobiles, ut suam inopiam levarent, hujusmodi quæstum literarium, non pu-

dendum, non illiberalem et fordidum fecisse. Maittaire I. 295, who, instead of *quod multi*, should have said *multos*.

Exspatiatur (Albertus Pius) in laudes Aldi, quem, ut ait, nimis ingratis taxo et irrideo. — Sed ubi ingratitude? *Citracujus*, inquit, *contubernium certe nunquam tu tam bellus fuisses. Negare enim non potes, quin Venetiis apud ipsum, cum illius officinæ ministrares, in utraque lingua multum profeceris.* Ita Pius. Nescio an sentiat me Græce Latineque didicisse ab Aldo, quod nec Aldus ipse, si viveret, sine rifu sit auditurus. De doctrina Aldi nihil addam: amavi vivum, non lædam mortuum. Hoc unum possum vere dicere, me cum venire in Italiam melius scivisse Græce ac Latine quam nunc scio. Congeriem ac sylvam totius

A. D. 1531.

It appears from the above-mentioned Epistles of Scaliger, that some of his friends were much displeas'd at the scandalous manner in which he had treated Erasmus, and desired him to give over the contention. In a letter therefore to Jacobus Omphalius, a common

totius operis (Adagiorum) adduxeram mecum ex Anglia Venetiam, una cum sarcina librorum præcipue Græcorum, in quos notaram. Ambii, fateor, ut opus hoc exiret ex officina celebri. Id Aldus cupide recepit. Vixi in ædibus Afulani menses ferme octo, opus simul et scriptum est et excusum paucis mensibus. Ubi interim spatium discendi Græce et Latine? Tantum erat laborum, ut vix otium esset scalpendis auribus.

Aldus sæpenumero prædicabat se admirari, qui tantum scriberem ex tempore, idque inter tumultus circumstrepentium. Operis mei formas extremas castigavi, tantum in hoc si quid vellem mutare. Nam opus alioqui suum habebat castigatorem conductum, nomine Seraphinum.

Aldus post me legit, cum rogarem cur hoc laboris caperet, interim, inquit, studeo. In hoc mihi profuit Aldus, quod codices aliquot manu scriptos supeditavit, sed non ille solus, fecit idem Janus Lascaris, M. Musurus, Baptista Egnatius, Urbanus Regius. An ille minister est officinæ, qui proprio adest operi? Neque enim aliam operam Aldo addixeram, officina mihi potius erat sinistra. Sed usus sum illius mensa. Verum, quia secus non potui, studens opus quamprimum absolvere. Cæterum mensa et tota domus erat Andreae

Afulani. Aldus nihil erat nisi opera. Sed illa mensa peperit mihi calculum, ignotum antea malum. Et nisi me ardor absolvendi operis alligasset, sæpius humanissime ad suæ domus mensæque consortium invitabat Janus Lascaris, et mihi satis erat pecuniæ ad biennium vivendum Venetiæ, etiamsi nihil accessisset e patria. Cum periclitarer insueto victu, rogavi Aldum, num Afulanus æquo animo pateretur me mihi parare victum in cubiculo; ubi respondit passurum, nunquam usus sum mensa Aldina. Et hoc tempore dicit Aldum fuisse herum meum, cum ne hospes quidem fuerit. Romæ non sustinebam habere Cardinales heros, licet tam commodis moribus, ut sodales commodioribus optare non posses, et insciens Aldum habui herum? An ille me pro servo habuerit nescio, certe cessit locum in mensa, et fassus est se multa ex me didicisse, deditque operam, ut post opus absolutum per hyemem adhuc retineret, cupiens nonnihil exerceri in rhetoricis.—Ego nihil literarum mearum debeo Italiæ, utinam deberem plurimum. Erant illic a quibus potuissim discere, sed tales erant et in Anglia, et in Gallia, et in Germania. Verum in Italia non vacabat, cujus visendæ gratia tantum eo me contuleram. *Erasmus Resp. ad Albertum Pium, T. IX, c. 1137.*

a common friend to them both, he declared himself, though in A. D. 1531, a proud and aukward manner, willing to be reconciled.

To do him justice, it should be observed, that <sup>k</sup> he was sorry at last for his rudeness to Erasmus, and wrote a copy of verses in his praise, when he heard that he was dead. The verses are none of the best, and shew his repentance rather than his poetic skill.

In the *Amœnitates Literariæ*, Tom. VI. p. 508. VIII. p. 554, there is a collection of sixteen letters of Scaliger upon this Ciceronian quarrel, in which he rails at Erasmus and Doletus, and extols himself, according to custom. One of these letters is to the infamous Beda, the calumniator and persecutor of Erasmus; and it is full of compliments to the former, and of invectives against the latter. There are several faults in these letters, either of the transcriber or of the printer, and I wonder that the Editor should have passed them over. I could easily correct most of them; but should be loth to bestow any labour upon such performances, which, when they are set to rights, are good for nothing.

Scaliger had in him the love of paradox, and the spirit of contradiction. Because poor Cardan had said of the parrot, that he was an handsome bird, Scaliger would have it that he was very ugly; and because Homer was universally admired, he treated him as a despicable poet. His animosity against Homer puts me in mind of a strange remark of the Abbé Longuerue:

“ There are two books upon Homer which I esteem more  
 “ than Homer himself. The first is the *Antiquitates Homericæ*  
 “ of Feithius, wherein he hath extracted from Homer all that  
 “ relates to manners and customs. The second is *Homeri Gno-*  
 “ *mologia* by Duport. With these two books we have all that is  
 “ useful in Homer, without the fatigue of going through his  
 “ Canterbury Tales.” *Longueruan. II. 3.*

<sup>k</sup> Scaliger Ep. p. 59.

A. D. 1531. His contempt of Homer is ridiculous, and his judgment upon Feithius is not such as one would have expected from a learned man. The book of Feithius is the work of a boy, full of inaccuracies and mistakes.

Erasmus speaks in a very <sup>1</sup> unfriendly manner of the death of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius. The <sup>m</sup> impetuous Luther did the same: but Sadolet <sup>n</sup> shews more moderation and candor on this melancholy occasion. Luther should have loved Zuinglius, even for the sake of his undaunted spirit and heroic courage; in which they greatly resembled one another.

Erasmus

<sup>1</sup> Bene habet quod duo Coryphæi perierunt, Zuinglius in acie, Oecolampadius paulo post febris et apostemate. Quod si illis favisset *Ἐυδαίος*, actum erat de nobis. Ep. 1205.

<sup>m</sup> Luther accounted the death of Zuinglius, and the defeat of his countrymen, to be a judgment upon them, for having rejected the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist. See *Seckendorf* L. III. p. 38.

Cum Figurinis, more gentis, profectus est et Zuinglius, sed pene invitus, quia belli isthoc modo gerendi rationem minime probabat. — Morti (Zuinglii et Oecolampadii) nollem tam inclementer insultasset, credulasque adeo communium inimicorum fabulis et rumoribus temere tunc sparisis, quasi Oecolampadius necem sibi ultro conscivisset, aures præbuisset Lutherus, quum utique et ipse postea similibus plane mendaciis ab ejusdem generis hominibus sic satis fuerit proficissus. *Perizonius*, p. 177.

<sup>n</sup> Oecolampadium extinctum utinam possem dolere jure: sic enim literæ et

doctrina hominis postulabant, nisi existisset ille in alio genere perniciosus. Ep. 1220.

In cæforum numero fuit Zuinglius, Nam Tigrinorum ita fert consuetudo, cum in hostem exitur, ut Ecclesiæ Minister primarius una prodeat. Zuinglius etiam, vir fortis alioquin et animosus, cum secum reputaret, quod si domi resideret, ac prælium forte fieret adversum, fore ut magnam ipse sustineret invidiam, quasi concionibus quidem accenderet hominum animos, in ipso autem discrimine remolleceret, voluit omnino communem subire martem. In corpus autem exanime valde sævitum fuit, et vix etiam illius morte potuit odii acerbitas exsaturari. Natus erat annos quadraginta quatuor. —

Oecolampadius e vita discessit. Ex interitu Zuinglii maximum animo perciperat dolorem, eaque res morbum etiam auxisse putatur, erant enim conjunctissimi. Natus fuit annos quadraginta novem. Exstant ejus in Prophetas aliquot lucubrationes, quæ valde probantur



Erasmus addressed to the Divines of Louvain a defence of his Colloquies, against the charge of false doctrine and heresy. A. D. 1531. Ep. 1206.

° The Protestant Princes, at this time, writing to the Kings of France and England, remind them that the corrupted state of the Church had been lamented and censured by two excellent men, Gerson in France, and Colet in England.

This year there was a dreadful inundation in the Netherlands; and after it a terrible earthquake at Lisbon, described by <sup>p</sup> Paul Jovius. <sup>q</sup> Sleidan speaks of the same inundation, and refers us to Jovius, to Guicciardin, and to Barlandus. See also Perizonius, p. 192.

Erasmus, as we observed before, wrote a very free and elegant letter to Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus, and censured many things in his works. Steuchus replied, with much vehemence and bitterness, in a long letter. He seems to have been of the true persecuting spirit, and a thorough enemy to all reformation: for the rest, a man of good abilities and erudition. Ep. 1175. Ep. 516. c. 1919.

Erasmus sent Hervagius a <sup>r</sup> collection of his Epistles, which he might publish, if he thought fit.

3 X 2

A. D.

probantur doctis. *Sleidan* L. VIII. p. 204, 205.

Zuinglius, cum ut pastor, ex veteri more, copias civitatis ad pugnam egrefas comitaretur, nec ipse armorum exers effret, occubuit. Deceffit etiam Oecolampadius. Utriusque mors variis fermonibus causam dedit, et Lutherus de eorum fatiis haud benigne judicavit. *Seckendorf* L. III. 17.

Ipse Zuinglius in primis ordinibus fortiter pugnans occubuit, &c. *Thuanus* L. I. p. 28.

Zuinglius had the same love for music, and skill in it, which we have noted in Luther, p. 126. He received a most courteous letter from Pope Adrian VI, and might have had any favours, if he had declared himself a friend to the See of Rome. He always studied standing. See Melchior Adam.

° *Sleidan* VIII. 192.

<sup>p</sup> L. XXIX. 180. <sup>q</sup> L. VII. 182.

<sup>r</sup> Mitto *Epistolas* aliquot *florantulas*. Scio te mirari, quid hoc sit tituli. Sed nihil

A. D. MDXXXII.

Ætat. LXV.

A. D. 1532. Erasmus published St. Basil in Greek, (i. e. without a Latin version) and dedicated the work to his friend Sadolet, then Bishop of Carpentras. He highly extols the eloquence of this Father, and he observes that Froben's heirs had been the first who adventured to publish in Germany a Greek book, which had not been printed before, and that they began with Basil, intending to continue the same undertaking. Sadolet failed not to return thanks to Erasmus, and advised him to compose a book, wherein he should excuse or retract some of the bolder sentiments of his youth, and explain his notions in a sense so Catholic, that they might stand free from just censure; and afterwards to hold his peace, and disregard his adversaries. Ep. 1215, 1220.

In a letter to Bernard, Cardinal and Bishop of Trent, Erasmus makes grateful mention of his obligations to him, and to King.

nihil magnæ rei est, nequid fallas te ipsum. Vix hoc opellæ per turbulenta emigrandi occupationes licuit sumere, ut ex immenso Epistolarum acervo *fofculis* notarem, quas expediret excudi; quanquam vix ullas in hoc scribere soleo. Hoc quicquid est libelli, quale quale est, tibi certe bonum esse cupio: erit autem, si in distrahendo senseris tuum *τεκέφαλον* Ἐρμῆν tibi fuisse proprium, qui precor ut tibi viam commonest compendiarium *πρὸς τὴν Πλαζόπολιν*. — Ep. 362. c. 1749.

Hæ Epistolæ *florentulæ*, aut *florulentæ* (ut in Editione Wecheliana) excedebantur a Christiano Wechelo, anno 1531. Ille, cujus Erasmus mentionem facit, *τεκέφαλος* Ἐρμῆς, fuit Hervagii

Insigne Typographicum, Mercurii tripititis truncus columnæ impositus. *Maittaire* II. 360.

\* Jam semel atque iterum in literis admonet tua pietas, ut aliquid nominatim petam ab amicissimo Rege, te curaturum ut optatis potiar. Utinam istuc ad me perscripsisset summus ille Monarcha Christus: permulta forent quæ ab eo peterem, sed nihil prius quam mentem ipso dignam. A Rege Ferdinando vix video quid petam, præter ea quæ ultro præstat illius eximia bonitas. Exceptis studiis, quibus immori libet, ad omnem vitæ functionem sum inutilis. Dignitas nihil aliud jam esset mihi quam sarcina equo collabenti; opes congerere jam decurso vitæ spatio, nihilo minus absurdum.

King Ferdinand, and replies very ingeniously and pathetically to the Cardinal, who kindly promised to obtain for him from that Prince any favour that he should ask. I wish, says Erasmus, that my Lord and Saviour would make me such an offer. I would ask him many things; and above all, that he would create in me a heart not unworthy of his acceptance.—To procure Dignities and Preferments for me, would be like laying a new burden upon a poor animal sinking under that which he carries.—I am almost uselefs; or only fit to continue those studies, which I have hitherto pursued, and which, I hope, will accompany me to the grave. I should be glad to have a calm and quiet evening of life, if I cannot enjoy a healthy and a chearful one. To secure me from the infirmities of age, or to give me a stronger constitution, is not in the power of the Great. I wish they could stop the Mouths, which are opened against me. Even that is not in their power.

Erasmus sent his copist Polyphemus (so he used to call him, because the man had only one eye) to different places in Germany, to collect free-will-offerings. A Count of Eifenburg, a chearful man, who had heard much talk about the censurers and calumniators of Erasmus, presented a very handsome dagger to Polyphemus, and bade him tell his master, that this was the pen with which he used to combat saucy fellows. Erasmus returns thanks to the Count for his kind present, and tells him that all the arms of the Emperor would not be sufficient to defend him against the Legions of Monks, who had conspired to ruin his reputation. I am weak, says he, because I have not that dignity of

absurdum sit, quam si quis confecto itinere augeat viaticum. Parvo alitur frugalitas, quæ mihi semper grata fuit, nunc etiam est necessaria. Optarim tamen tranquillam senectutem, si negata est hilaris et florida, quam multis video contingere. Senium depellere, valetu-

dinem corrigere, nec summus Pontifex, nec Principum maximus Cæsar potest, quum habeam utrumque mihi benevolentem. Utinam saltem oblatrantium ora possent obturare. Ne id quidem illis in manu est. Ep. 1221.

A. D. 1532. of station, and that authority, which would put such enemies to flight, as the smoke drives away wasps. I am all alone, because I never attached myself to any party, and never will, whilst God preserves me my understanding.

He writes not so frankly to Cardinal Cajetan, who, like a true Cardinal, exhorted him to correct his works, and retract such errors as he might have formerly adopted, and shew more moderation. He contents himself with complaining of his inveterate calumniators, and with declaring, in general terms, that he had already done all this, and would continue to do so. Ep. 1224, 1227.

He soon afterwards found † Polyphemus to be as great a rogue as his namesake the *Cyclops*, and discharged him from his service.

Froben's

† Polyphemus, quum isthinc discederet, noluit quenquam scire quo iret. Ivit autem recta ad Lutherum ac Melanchthonem; ac literis commendatitiis onustus, venit ad Joannem Saxonie Ducem, fingens se esse famulum et intimum amicum Erasmi. Magnifice tractatus est aliquot menses. Tandem abeunti Dux dedit elegantem equum et aureos quadraginta. Inde Coloniam. Illic apud Tielmannum summum amicum meum potavit aliquot menses. Post huc venit futurus custos domus meae. Ego extrusi illum in legationem ad Ratisbonam: illic bibit sex hebdomadas, et extorsit multum pecuniarum. Ratisbona rediens obiter invisit ipsum Augustensem. Ab eo extorsit equum et coronatum. Decreverat cum suo claudo equo commorari in meis aedibus. Equum exclusi, ipsum exceptum decem ferme dies dimisi non admodum volentem. Voluit adire Angliam: dissuasi.

Deinde Poloniam. Ita rediit Coloniam, unde discessit cum pessima gratia Tielmanni hospitis, qui dicit multa foeda illic de eo spargi. Venit Francfordiam cum literis meis, petiturus Poloniam. At ego curaram ut literae committerentur negotiatori. Hoc ubi videt Polyphemus, rediit in Hessiam, et petit commendationem Cancellarii Ducis, qui sincerissime me amat. Res illi nebuloni rediit ad incitas; nec dubito quin brevi habiturus sit miserum exitum. Ep. 1233.

*The Colloquy called Cyclops is a Dialogue between this man and Cannius, another amanuensis of Erasmus; and Polyphemus is ridiculed in it. Tom. I. c. 831. He is introduced with the New Testament of Erasmus in his hand, and declaring that he had a great zeal for the Gospel. How so? says Cannius.*

Po. Dicam. Franciscanus quidam apud nos non desinebat e suggesto delaterare

Froben's heirs published also the works of Demosthenes, and Erasmus dedicated them to John George Paungartner, son of John Paungartner, a very rich Gentleman of Augsburg, with whom he had contracted a friendship since his removing to Fri-burg, as it appears from several letters, and who had presented to Erasmus some gold, as it came out of the mine. Thus Erasmus endeavoured to procure Froben's heirs a good sale for their books; and his officious kindness was so much the greater, because he would take no money of them for composing those dedications, and for assisting them in the editions; though it may be supposed that what the persons gave him, to whom he addressed those books, he might keep as his own profit. He observes that Cicero and Demosthenes are two authors, whom very young students in Latin and Greek can neither understand nor relish; and that they are only fit for those, who have made a progress in literature. The remark is just and true. Ep. 1228.

The Bishop of Olmuts, Stanislaus Turzo, to whom he had dedicated an Exposition of the thirty-eighth Psalm, sent him his compliments, and a Cup of silver gilt. Ep. 1229.

In Ep. 1230, he " derides the Franciscan Monks with much humour and vivacity. Hence it appears, that he was far from acting

blaterare in Novum Testamentum Erasmi: conveni hominem privatim, lævam injeci capillis, dextra pugilem egi; sugillavi illum magnifice, totamque faciem tuber reddidi. Quid ais? non est hoc favere Evangelio? Deinde absolvi illum a commissis, hoc ipso codice ter in verticem impacto, fecique tria tubera, In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. C. A. Satis quidem Evangelice. Istuc nimirum est Evangelium Evangelio defendere.

" Risi satis quod scribis de Seraphi-

cis histrionibus, qui me toties occisum lingua, denuo isthic sepelierunt, videlicet ictum fulmine, simulatque notum veritus in sacrosanctum Francisci Ordinem debacchari. Ego vero nec in aurigarum Ordinem unquam sum debacchatus, tantum abest ut Franciscanum Ordinem incessiverim. Quos ego noto, reor ipsi Francisco magis invisos esse, quam sint ulli mortalium.—Putant mihi Franciscum iratum, quod eos notarim, qui cœlum promittunt iis, quæ in veste Franciscana sepeliuntur. Atque nuper

A. D. 1532. acting that mean and despicable part to which he was ungenerously exhorted by his friends, the Prelates of the Roman Church, namely,

nuper in somnis mihi *post mediam noctem* apparuit beatus Franciscus, vultu sereno atque amico, egitque gratias quod ea traducerem corrigenda, quæ ipse semper fuisset detestatus, meque inter Ordinis amicos numeravit. Nec erat eo cultu, quo nunc illum depictum ostentant: vestem habebat non ex lana diverſi coloris permixtam, sed ex lana fusca, quemadmodum ab ovibus detondetur intincta, seu Græce mavis *ἀλάρω*, nec habebat rostratam cucullam, sed caperone tunicæ a tergo affixum; qui poterat in caput revocari, si forte pluvia vehementior fuisset oborta, quod hodie quoque videmus in cultu quorundam Hibernorum. Nec funis habebat nodos arte factos, sed enodis ac simpliciter rusticanus erat funis: nec tunica defluebat usque ad terram, sed palmo, aut eo amplius supra talos erat. Nec calceos habebat fenestratos, sed plane nudis erat pedibus. *Quinque vestigiorum*, quæ pingunt, nullum omnino vidi vestigium. Abiens dixit, dextra porrecta, Milita strenue, brevi meorum eris. Quamquam de cultu non arbitror laborandum, si modo Patriarcham suum iis virtutibus referant, in quibus ille sitam existimavit ejus Ordinis perfectionem. Illi *sæx alas Seraphicas* appellant. Primum est omnimoda Obedientia, secundum Paupertas Evangelica, tertium Castitas immaculata, quartum Humilitas profundissima, quintum Simplicitas pacifica, sextum Charitas Seraphica.

Hæc utinam omnes in pectore circumferant, quemadmodum circumferunt in sinu. Tum illos haud secus atque Angelos pacis, non mulierculæ tantum, sed cordatissimi quique complecterentur. Nunc quam rari sunt, qui pure doceant Evangelicam Philosophiam? quanta porro turba per aulas Principum, per divitum domos oberrantium, qui nec docent, et iis sunt moribus ut ædes, in quibus versantur, nihilo sint puriores? Intelligit hic prudens lector quid hic fileam, et quid silendo magis loquar. — In longinqua profectioe flagitant pecuniam, quam linteolo tamen excipiunt, non contingunt nuda cute. Quis hoc cordatus absque risu videre possit? Jam et illud a nonnullis repertum est, persuadent divitibus imperitis animam agentibus, non tantum ut sepeliantur in veste Franciscana, dataque mercede veniant in confortium omnium ab Ordine bene gestorum, verum etiam ut testamento jus faciant omnibus et singulis, qui de grege sunt Observantium, ad illorum ædes divertendi, vocatis et invocatis ut sit locus. Ac primum hic hæredi sua libertas, quam suæ cuique domi salvam esse par est, eripitur, præter naturæ jus ac civile. An non gravis est servitus, hominem, cui sunt liberi, adolescentes ac puellæ, uxor ætatis integræ, pedissequorum chorus, obstrictum esse, uti, velit nolit, subinde recipiat in ædes suas homines ignotos, Hispanos, Italos, Gallos, Anglos, Scotos, Hibernos, Germanos,

namely, to retract all censures of that kind, which he had so liberally bestowed upon such Ecclesiastics. However, he highly extols one Monk, named Theodoric. His jesting upon the *quinque stigmata*, the *five wounds* miraculously made in the body of St. Francis, must have given infinite offence to the Monks, and to most of the zealous Romanists. Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History, treats it as a true story, T. XVI. p. 574. *Some people*, says Montaigne, *attribute the wounds of St. Francis to the force of imagination*, B. I. ch. 20.

In a letter to Quirinus Talesius, who had been formerly his *Amanuensis*, and was then Pensionary of the city of Harlem, he informs him that he was revising his Adages for a new edition, and had augmented his Apophthegms with two books, and was correcting some other of his works. He complains, that whilst the number of his enemies was increasing, that of his friends was diminishing. Warham died this year, and Sir \* Thomas More, justly † abhorred by the Lutherans, had resigned his post of Chancellor. On the other hand, Lee was made Archbishop of York, and Aleander had got a second Bishoprick added to the first. Ep. 1237, 1248.

“ † Erasmus gives Warham an excellent character in his first book of his *Ecclesiastes*, which being written after the Archbishop’s death, cannot fall under the imputation of flattery. It

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“ seems

manos, et Indos, etiam si in eadem civitate habeant Seraphici fodalitii monasterium? &c. —

*What he says of St. Francis appearing to him after midnight, is an allusion to Horace:*

— — — Quirinus  
Post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera.

\* See the account which More gives to Erasmus of his resignation. Ep. 1223.

† Opinor Morum meum impetrasse

ab humanissimo Rege, ut gravissimo Cancellarii munere exoneraretur. Lutherani jactant illum vere depositum, et susceptum illi quendam Nobilem, qui statim quadraginta Evangelicos liberavit a carcere, quo Morus eos detruferat. Ep. 1233.

‡ Knight, p. 233. See above, p. 40, and the Prefaces of Erasmus to Jerom, in the Appendix.

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“ seems that, though he passed through the highest and most  
 “ wealthy places both in Church and State, yet he so little  
 “ minded his own advantage, that he left no more than was  
 “ sufficient to pay his debts and funeral charges <sup>a</sup>. It is said  
 “ that, when he was near his end, he called upon his steward to  
 “ know what money he had in his hands, who telling him that  
 “ he had but thirty pounds, he chearfully answered, *Satis viatici*  
 “ *ad cælum; that was enough to last him to heaven.* —

“ It may not be thought amiss to mention the several prefer-  
 “ ments and honours that Archbishop Warham passed through,  
 “ which cannot but raise the admiration of the Reader, when he  
 “ reflects upon the slenderness of his inventory, since he was  
 “ (what all Churchmen were then obliged to be) a single man.  
 “ The Primate was born of a genteel family (and so probably  
 “ had some paternal estate left him) at Okely in Hampshire;  
 “ sent to Wykeham or Winchester School, from thence removed  
 “ as Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1475. He went out  
 “ Doctor of Law soon after (which Mr. Wood doth not mention.)  
 “ He was Rector of Barley, Hert. Dioc. Lond. collated by  
 “ Bishop Alcock of Ely, in 1488, and soon after became an Ad-  
 “ vocate in the Court of Arches, and Moderator in the Civil  
 “ Law School in the University of Oxford. In 1493 he had  
 “ the Chantorship of Wells, and the same year he was consti-  
 “ tuted Master of the Rolls. The year following he went upon  
 “ an embassy to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, on the affair of  
 “ Perkin Warbeck: after his return he was Bishop of London,  
 “ and Keeper of the Great Seal; the same year he was made  
 “ Lord

<sup>a</sup> Waramus — mortuus supra quam  
 quisquam credat pauper, nisi quod non  
 defuit unde dissolverentur debita, neque  
 ita multum defuit, sed post impensa  
 justa funeri non admodum multum  
 superfuit. — Qui si visus est in fine  
 ad dandum segnior, ipsa res indicat

impares facultates, non imparem ani-  
 mum fuisse in causa. *Erasmii Ep. Moro.*

I long searched for this letter to no  
 purpose; but found at last that Knight  
 had made a mistake, and that it is not  
 a letter of Erasmus to More, but of  
 More to Erasmus. Ep. 466. c. 1856.



“ Lord Chancellor; and in 1504 translated to the See of Canterbury, where he sat twenty-eight years, dying very aged at St. Stephen’s near Canterbury, Aug. 22, 1532. He was buried on the north side of Thomas à Becket’s tomb, and had a decent monument set over him, which with others in the same place were demolished in the late times. He did, besides his many epistles, send over his picture to Erasmus at Basil; probably a copy of that at Lambeth, which was drawn by Holbein, and is said to be among other curiosities preserved in what they call Erasmus’s Closet at Basil to this day. Erasmus in return sent him one of his own. He left his Theological books to All Souls College Library, his Civil and Canon Law books to New College, and all his books of Church Music to Wykeham’s College near Winchester.”

<sup>b</sup> This year Erasmus wrote a letter to Charles Blunt, Son of Lord Montjoy, which is inserted in his *Adagia*, c. 1110, and in which he passionately deplores the death of Warham, and forebodes his own.

3 Y 2

Erasmus

<sup>b</sup> — Hæc scripsi gemens ac mœrens, totusque mihi displicens, quod certum audissem incomparabilem illum Heroa Guilhelum Waramum vitam commutasse morte, imo ut melius dicam, ex hac vitæ umbra in veram immortalēque vitam emigrasse. Meam deploro vicem, non illius. Is mihi erat vere sacra ancora. Inieramus inter nos fœdus *συναποθνησκόντων*, promiserat commune sepulcrum, nec dubitabam quin ille, licet annis quatuordecim major, mihi superstes esset futurus. Certe nec senectus nec morbus illum nobis ademit, sed casus infelix, non tam quidem illi, quam studiis, quam religioni, quam

regno, quam ecclesiæ. Tanta erat hominis pietas, tanta in consiliis prudentia, tanta in juvandis omnibus benignitas. Nunc illa cœlestis anima, pro bona femente, quam hic fecit, messē apud Christum optimam metit. Ego interim semianimis hic hæreo, promissæ fidei debitor, quam, nisi me fallit mentis præfagium, brevi sum exsoluturus. Pactio videri poterat comitatis, sed res clamat serium fuisse conventum. Adeo morte illius collapsus est animus, nec ullis avocamentis erigi potest: sed ipso etiam tempore, quod acerbissimis doloribus solet mederi, vulnus hoc magis ac magis inrudescit. Quid multis? Appellari

A. D. 1532. Erasmus dedicated Terence to Joannes and Stanislaus Bonerus, two young gentlemen of Poland. In this dedicatory epistle he prefers <sup>c</sup> Terence to Plautus, as greatly superior in art and judgment. Ep. 1238.

Quirinus Talesius having married a widow, Erasmus sends him a <sup>d</sup> ludicrous letter on the occasion.

<sup>e</sup> Morrhuis, a printer, who lived in the Sorbonne, <sup>f</sup> approves the wise resolution of Erasmus not to answer the foul-mouthed Scaliger.

Hen.

lari me sentio. Commori juvabit hic incomparabili et irrecuperabili patrono, modo per Christi misericordiam illic liceat ei convivere. Præclarum ille fidus fuit ecclesiæ, nunc præclarior accessit cælo: utinam mihi contingat veluti minutam stellulam adjungere soli meo. —

<sup>c</sup> — Nec enim sine causa Criticorum suffragia artem huic Auctori tribuere; plus enim exacti iudicii est in una Comœdia Terentiana, absit Nemesius dicto, quam in Plautinis omnibus.

<sup>d</sup> Quod bonis avibus uxorem nactus ex animi sententia, mi Quirine, mirandum in modum gaudeo: qui mihi hoc nomine videre felicior, quod, juxta Poetam Epigrammaticum, quod es, esse velis. Precor autem, ut quemadmodum hic Junonem habuisti propitiam, ita faveat et Ilithyia. Quod viduam duxisti, non est quod te pœniteat. Id malunt qui uxorem ad usum rei domesticæ ducunt potius, quam ad voluptatem. Et qui equos ad usum quærunt, malunt domitos, quam indomitos. Quod si illa genuit priori marito, tu magni mali metu liberatus es, ne sterilem duxeris.

Morus mihi sæpenumero narrare solet, se, si centum uxores esset ducturus, nullam ducturum esse virginem: nunc habet vetulam nimium vivacem; quæ si migrasset, potuisset ille opulentissimæ clarissimæque fœminæ maritus esse. Hoc incommodi est, quod Episcopus nunquam esse poteris, nisi prius fias Monachus.—Pro munusculo tuæ conjugis gratiam habeo maximam; libenter relaturus, si detur occasio. Scripsisti noctu, reclamante uxore. Hic risum non tenui. At Montjoius, omnibus pedissequis male precantibus, solet post medium noctis venire ad lectum. Saltem ibi gustasti servitutum, sed illa jus suum merito postulat. Quod adhuc spiras Galliam amore studiorum, ubi sic pupugeriς τὴν σύννοιόν σου, ut illi turgescant ilia, facile impetrabis a Magistratu, ut menses aliquot agas Aurelii.—Salutat te Gilbertus meus.—Recepta est Margareta furax, rapax, bibax, mendax, loquax. Ep. 1237.

<sup>e</sup> Gerardus Morrhuis Campensis. *Maittaire* II. 559, 739.

<sup>f</sup> Quod ad Scaligeri calumnias (quem Jacobus Colinus, Abbas D. Ambrosii

et

Hen. <sup>ε</sup> Corn. Agrippa wrote a letter to Erasmus, in answer to one which he had received from him. Ep. 365. c. 1751. A. D. 1532.

Colster had asked Erasmus his opinion concerning a certain author, and Erasmus gives it in a letter to him. Ep. 1248. This author, who is not named there, was Agrippa.

“ <sup>h</sup> The book of Agrippa *de Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum* hath been praised by some, and blamed by others; and Erasmus hath given his <sup>i</sup> judgment of it to Abel Colster. Amongst the Epistles of Agrippa and his correspondents, L. VII. 40, there is one which begins, <sup>k</sup> *Scripti pridem ad te paucis*, and which assuredly was written by Erasmus. No one will doubt of it, who shall compare it with a Letter of Erasmus to Charles Utenhovius, (which is 1060 in the Leyden Edition.) Concerning Agrippa see Naudæus, &c.”

Paul Jovius was either foolish enough to entertain, or disingenuous enough to pretend a belief, that Agrippa was a Necromancer, and that his black dog, whom he used to call *Monsieur*, was a Devil in masquerade, walking upon all four.

John

et Regius ἀναγωγῆς, facta literarum μεταθέσει *Sacrilegum* appellare solet) nihil omnino respondere constitueris, video optimos quosque summopere probare: nam quisquis is fuerit, nihil aliud quam scurra est, et ridiculus anilium deliramentorum exaggerator. Sunt hic, qui in auctore etiam communem sensum desiderant. Ep. 366. c. 1752.

<sup>ε</sup> Bayle AGRIPPA. Melch. Adam. Boissard Icon. 297. Pope Blount, p. 387. Colomesius. Burnet I. 95, and Bayle's Remarks on Burnet Not. O. P. Jovius Elog. p. 186. Remarques sur Bayle, in the *Relat. Götting*, Vol. III.

Fasc. I. p. 82. Amœnitates Literariæ, Tom. II. p. 513, 553.

<sup>h</sup> Colomesius *Bibl. Choisf.* p. 470 or 157.

<sup>i</sup> De viro, de quo quid sentiam rogas, magnificentius censeo quam ut de ejus ingenio censuram ferre possim. Ex ejus libri qualicunque gustu deprehendi hominem esse ardentis ingenii, variæ lectionis, et multæ memoriæ, alicubi tamen majore copia quam delectu, ac dictione tumultuosa verius quam composita. In omni genere rerum, vituperat mala, laudat bona.

<sup>k</sup> Appendix.

A. D. 1538.

John<sup>1</sup>, Elector of Saxony, died this year. He had been a good friend to Luther, who lamented his death, and preached his funeral sermon.

<sup>m</sup> Luther himself was very ill, and given up by his physicians: he was persuaded that his disease was caused by the Devil, and confident that he should recover, and disappoint the boasts of the Papists.

In a letter to Cholerus, Erasmus mentions (Oswaldus) Myconius. Melch. Adam, in the life of this Myconius, observes that he was intimately acquainted with Erasmus and Glareanus, and much esteemed by them both. But Erasmus speaks of him with great <sup>n</sup> contempt. In the same letter he gives an account of <sup>o</sup> Lambertus Campestris, who had adulterated his Dialogues. Ep. 1233.

Thomas Poly wrote a friendly <sup>p</sup> letter from London to Erasmus, and hoped that he should pay him a visit at Basil. He had seen the Defence of Erasmus against the Sorbonists, whom he calls *Nebulones Parisienses*. He is, I suppose, the person who is called *Polus*, in the Colloquy *Exorcismus*, and is there represented as a merry fellow, who acted the Ghost, to scare a silly and

<sup>1</sup> Seckendorf L. III. p. 30.

<sup>m</sup> Idem L. III. p. 38.

<sup>n</sup> Basileæ in locum Oecolampadii surrogatus est Myconius, homo ineptus, et quondam ludimagister frigidus.

<sup>o</sup> In civitate quadam, Zorst opinor dicitur, æqualis Argentorato, ditionis Ducis Juliacenſis, Lambertus Campeſter, qui olim Lutetiæ edidit Colloquia mea velut a me emendata, perſuaſo typographo rem eſſe vendibilem, et ſub nomine meo præſatus, et admixtis per totum opus miris emblematis, quibus meipſum accuſabam, omnia plena ſcurrilis cujuſdam ſtoliditatis; quo per-

acto fugit Ludgunum; et ſimulans ſe ſummum Eraſmi amicum, reperit patronum, cui mox ſuffuratus trecentos coronatos fugit, et in fuga deprehenſus eſt inter aliquot puellas, ſuffigendus in crucem, niſi ſacra cuculla Dominici ſervafſet eum: is, inquam, multis aliis ſagitiis ac ſcleribus deſignatis, tandem in ea civitate, excuſſa cuculla, docet Evangelium, hoc eſt, meras ſeditiones. Dux petiit, ut hominem ejicerent. Reſponderunt, ſe non poſſe carere ſuo Eccleſiaſta.

<sup>p</sup> Ep. 367. c. 1752.

and superstitious Priest. It is an excellent story, but probably a little embroidered. Tom. I. c. 749. A. D. 1532.

A. D. MDXXXIII.

Ætat. LXVI.

Eraſmus aſcribes the book of Scaliger to Aleander, and ſuppoſes that Bedda and Julius Camillus had ſome hand in it. Ep. 369, 370. c. 1754. A. D. 1533.

Alciat relates that Julius Camillus, a man of learning, had made an offer to Francis the firſt, to teach him in a month's time to compoſe in Greek and Latin, in proſe and in verſe, with as much elegance as Demoſthenes and Cicero, Homer and Virgil. He only required that the King would allow him one hour in a day, to give him his leſſons. But he deſired that he might be permitted to be alone with the King, ſince ſo noble a ſecret was fit only to be communicated to a crowned head, and that his Majeſty would diſcover it to no perſon. For his reward, he modeſtly propoſed as much preferment as would amount to two thouſand crowns a year. His great confidence induced Francis to think that he had ſomething to communicate that was worth the knowing. So he took two leſſons of him, and then diſmiſſed him, with a preſent of fix hundred crowns. Bayle FRANÇOIS I.

From this ſtory it may be collected that Camillus was a hungry and a bold fellow, and a true Charlatan.

Eraſmus had been well acquainted with him in Italy, and repreſents him as a learned man, in his Reply to Curſius. T. X. c. 1751.

Eraſmus dedicated to Theobaldus Fettichius the Geography of Ptolomy, and to Joannes Emſtedius a Commentary on the Pſalms by Haimon, an author of the ninth century. Theſe books were published by Froben's heirs.

A. D. 1533.

In his address to Emstediſius, who was a Carthuſian, he beſtows high commendations upon thoſe Monks, who lived ſuitably to their profeſſion, and were dead to the follies and vices of the world. As to honeſt<sup>a</sup> Haimon, he ſays that his piety fully compenſates for the homelineſs of his diction, and that he now reliſheth ſuch writers much better than he did in the days of his youth. Ep. 1242, 1243.

The ſon of John Paungartner wanted to make him ſome preſent. Eraſmus tells him that it was needleſs, that he had already received one from his father, a cup, a proper gift to be ſent to a Dutchman; but, ſays he, I am not able to drink *Batavice, a la Hollandoiſe*. Ep. 1249.

This year he publiſhed an Expoſition of the Apoſtles Creed, of the Decalogue, and of the Lord's Prayer, in form of a Catechiſm, and to be a kind of Confeſſion of Faith; and Sadolet, to whom he ſent it, honoured it with his approbation. T. V. c. 1134.

The States of Holland made him a preſent of two hundred franks, the firſt compliment which he received from his own country, which paid him more honour an hundred years after his deceaſe, than during his life. This friendly civility was highly agreeable, and the more acceptable to him, becauſe he had made no application or intereſt for it. He had alſo this year received a preſent from the Senate of Befançon, for which he returns thanks. Ep. 1244, 1251, 1269.

He informs us, that ſome ſtrolling knaves, having learned from his writings the names of his illuſtrious friends and correſpondents,

<sup>a</sup> Ad Haymonem redeo, qui Davi-  
dicam citharam pulſans, Angelicum  
cœtum veſtrum ad ſpirituales excitabit  
choreas, ut in hymnis et canticis Do-  
mino pſallatis in cordibus veſtris. Ne-  
mo faſtidiat dictionis ſimplicitatem, ſed  
amplectatur ſententiarum pietatem. Hoc

eo admoneo, quod ſuſpicer multos eſſe  
tales, quales ego fui olim, qui naueant  
ad omnia, quæ carent rhetorum condi-  
mentis et ornamentis. Sed quum eſſem  
parvulus in Chriſto, ſapiebam ut parvu-  
lus: atque utinam nunc quoque profuſ  
evacuaviſſem ea quæ ſunt parvuli. C. 1464.

A. D. 1533.

spondents, had gone about in Germany, Italy, and Poland, pretending to be his disciples, or his domestics, and had got many good presents by this stratagem. Of this he gives remarkable instances, which shew at the same time how much he was respected and beloved, and how ready men of rank and fortunes were to seize any opportunity of obliging him, and of shewing their love of literature. This is matter of fact, though at present it may look like a Milesian Fable and a Fairy Tale. Ep. 1247, 1252.

In one of these letters he hath taken occasion to speak very affectionately of the English.

To Francis I he dedicated his Paraphrase on St. Mark, which he had formerly inscribed to the Cardinal of Sion, in 1521. In it he speaks with freedom enough of the duty of Kings and of Ecclesiastics, and of the obligation incumbent upon them to imitate Jesus Christ, the supreme King and Pastor of the Church, an obligation to which few of them paid any regard.

He had received a very handsome present from Damianus à Goes, for which he thanks him; and declares to him that he never had meddled, and never would meddle in the affair of the Divorce, for several good reasons: and he hath said enough

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to

† Majorem in modum doleo Anglis negotium exhiberi a Scotis. Videor enim mihi plus illi regioni debere, quæ mihi tot eximios peperit amicos, quam ei quæ me genuit. Vehementer tamen angit me Hollandia, indignis tractata modis. — c. 1467.

‡ Quod ais Lovanii jactatum a nescio quibus, me ab his stetisse, qui probant ἀποστάσιον βασιλικόν, quærisque quid sit talibus respondendum: quid aliud respondeas, optime Damiane, quam illud e Psalmis, *Dentes eorum arma et*

*sagittæ, et lingua eorum gladius acutus?*

Quanquam satis scio tibi nequaquam istud a viro gravi fuisse auditum, sed a spermologo quopiam et acritomytho rabula, quo pestilentissimo hominum genere nunc undique scatet mundus. Nullus unquam mortalium ullam syllabam ex me audivit, approbantem aut improbantem hoc factum. Hoc apud omnes ingenue præ me tuli, mihi non vulgariter molestum esse, Principem alioqui felicissimum in eum labyrinthum incidisse, cui cupiebam cum Cæsare per omnia

A. D. 1533. to justify himself from the reproaches which some have since cast upon his memory, because he did not take part with the virtuous

omnia convenire, quod intelligerem id ad publicam orbis tranquillitatem summo opere conducere. Quæ fuisset autem mea non dicam temeritas, sed amentia, si nec postulatus, nec rogatus, de re tam ardua pronunciaissem, de qua tot eruditi apud eam gentem Episcopi, atque ipse adeo Legatus Apostolicus Laurentius Campegius, vir utriusque Juris callentissimus, ferre sententiam cunctabantur? Merito amo τὸν Μονάχον, ut cujus animum semper propitium ac faventem sum expertus. Quanquam ab eo tempore, quo cœpit hoc negotium agi, nihil ab eo beneficii accepi præter animi benevolentiam. Τὴν αὐτῶ σὺνοικον multis de causis diligebam ac diligo, idque, ni fallor, cum bonis omnibus, quam arbitrator nec ipsi Βασιλεῖ invisam esse. Cæsari Principi meo, cui juratus sum Conciliaris, præclare de me studiisque meis merito, nisi me agnoscam omnia debere, aut vehementer stolidus sim, aut insigniter ingratus. Unde igitur mihi mens tam læva, ut ultro me tam invidioso negotio involverem, ad quod si fuisset vel rogatus vel flagitatus, manibus pedibusque fuerim recusaturus? Nullus unquam Principum super hoc argumento meam requisivit sententiam. Tantum ante annos duos adierunt me duo ex Aula Cæsaris nobiles, uno atque altero colloquio urgentes me, ut quid de ea causa sentirem, exponerem. Respondi id quod erat res, me nunquam ad eam quæstionem intendisse animum, de qua videbam summos tum auctoritate, tum eru-

ditione viros tot annis ambigere. Facillimum esse pronuciare quid ego optarem, at pronuciare quid jus divinum atque humanum concederet, negaretve, non modo multorum dierum considerationem requirere, verum etiam circumstantiarum causæ cognitionem. Illi professi se nihil ex mandato Cæsaris agere, discesserunt. Præterea, nemo mortalium me super hoc interpellavit negotio. Ergo cum sit impudentissimum mendacium, quod nugator ille, quisquis fuit, ad te pertulit, suspicor unde arripuerit occasionem. —Ei, quem ὁ Βασιλεὺς dicitur focerum adsciscere, (*Sir Thomas Bulleyn, afterwards Lord Rochford, and then Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond*) dicam Psalmum vigesimum secundum, idque ante annos complures, ut id facerem, ab ipso rogatus. Est enim vir, ut uno ore prædicant omnes, unus prope inter nobiles eruditus, animoque plane philosophico. Hoc officium meum grato amplexus animo, petiit ut aliquid ederem in Symbolum quod dicitur Apostolorum. Feci quod voluit, eoque lubentius, quod res ad omnium utilitatem facere videretur. Hic nullum verbum est, quo (*read quod*) ad τὴν ἀποστασίαν causam attinet, cujus tamen vir ille, ut accipio, nec auctor, nec instigator fuit, utpote quietis quam opum aut honoris amator. Quum Cæsar et Franciscus Galliarum Rex bellis inter se conflictarentur, utrique dicavi meas lucubrationes, neque quisquam exstitit, qui clamitaret me ab hoste Cæsaris stare. Ep. 1253.

Pontifex



virtuous and unfortunate Queen Catharine, for whom he had the highest regard and esteem, as he often declared. A. D. 1533.

In the same epistle, he tells his friend a strange story of the Devil's burning the town of Schiltach, as it was reported by several persons.

3 Z 2

The

Pontifex jubet ut Rex Angliæ maneat cum Regina in maritali contubernio, donec Romæ pronuntiatum fuerit de causa. Quis non intelligit eam litem nunquam finiendam vivis conjugibus? Jam octo sunt anni quod agitur hoc negotium, et Rex non sine causa habet gravatam conscientiam, quum ducenti Doctores Scripturis et argumentis probarint matrimonium illud nec humano nec divino jure potuisse coire. Quod si Pontifex pronunciarit non esse matrimonium, primum offendet Cæsarem, deinde damnabit sedem Romanam, quæ dispensarit contra fas. Tales causæ quæ multum adferunt nummorum Romam, quæque Principes S. D. N. reddunt obnoxios, non solent finiri. Et fortassis aliud quiddam est, quod urit Regis animum, quod efferri non vult. Ep. 372. c. 1757.

! See Knight, p. 252.

" Oppidum, de quo tibi narratum est, Germanis dicitur Schiltach: abest a Friburgo octo millibus Germanicis bene magnis: de quo an omnia vera sint, quæ vulgo jaçantur, non ausim affirmare. Illud nimis verum est, totum subito conflagraffe, mulierem confessam supplicio affectam. Conflagratio accidit quarto Idus Aprilis, qui dies erat Jovis ante Pascha, anno 1533. Quidam ejus oppidi cives apud hujus urbis Magistratum rem ita gestam pro comperto narrarunt,

quemadmodum mihi retulit Henricus Glareanus, quantum meminisse possum: Dæmon sibi signum dedit, e quadam ædium parte: Caupo suspicans esse furem ascendit, neminem reperit. Sed idem signum rursus ex altiore cœnaculo redditum est. Et huc conscendit caupo furem persequens. Quum nec illic ququam apparet, sibilus auditus est e fastigio fumarum. Illico tetigit cauponis animum esse Dæmoniacum quiddam: jubet suos esse præsentis animo. Acciti sunt Sacerdotes duo, adhibitus exorcismus. Respondit se esse Dæmonem. Rogatus quid illic ageret, ait se velle exurere oppidum. Minitantibus Sacrificis, respondit se pro nihilo ducere minas illorum, quod alter esset scortator, uterque fur. Aliquanto post, mulierculam, quicum habuerat consuetudinem annis quatuordecim, quum interim illa quotannis et confiteretur, et acciperet Eucharistiam, sustulit in aërem, imposuitque fumarum fastigio. Tradidit ollam, jussit ut inverteret. Invertit, et intra horam totum oppidum exustum est. An Dæmon indignatus ob inductum rivalem cauponis filium, et oppidum perdidit, et mulierem prodiderit, certum non adivi: non est tamen veri dissimile. Hujus facti vicini tam constans est fama, ut fictum videri non queat. Feruntur et alia hujus generis, sed not libet aures tuas vulgi fabulis remorari. c. 1473.

A. D. 1533.

The \* Imperial Court seemed now to desire his company in good earnest; for he had an invitation from the Emperor to Brabant, and money remitted to him for his travelling charges.

† Aleander, says he, lives at present like an Epicurean, yet not without dignity.

“ ‡ Aleander owed the beginning of his rise to Alexander VI, who had a design to make him secretary to his son, the Duke of Valentinois, (Cæsar Borgia) which yet was not done. As he was skilled in the languages, Lewis XII called him to Paris to teach the *Belles Lettres*. Afterwards, going to Rome, he was employed by Leo X in many Nunciatures; then made an Archbishop; and, lastly, a Cardinal by Paul III. He was named for one of the three Presidents at the Council of Trent, but died, before the opening of it, in 1542. He had once been a friend of Erasmus, but afterwards they had great contests; and Erasmus hath bestowed no good character upon him. He was a man of extensive knowledge, but seems to have had far less judgment than erudition.”

Erasmus complains of swarms of † fleas in his house at Friburg, by whom he was bitten as much as by the Monks.

After

\* Revocatus sum in patriam a Regina Maria, Cæsare, summo Cancellario et Duce Arfcoti, misso etiam viatico trecentorum florenorum, et præstituto salario tanto in annos singulos, jamque paratis equis accinctus eram ad iter. Sed imbecillitas cogit expectare ver.  
Ep. 1256.

† Aleander nunc Venetiæ plane vivit Epicureum, non sine dignitate tamen.  
Ep. 1258.

‡ Dr. Courayer on F. Paul, Book I. §. 15. p. 26. See above p. 28, and 243.

‡ Audi rem mihi molestam, sed tibi tamen risui futuram. Præter alia incommoda, quibus æstas et autumnus me afflixit, fuit in ædibus meis tanta improbissimorum pulicum vis, ut per eos nec dormire liceret, nec legere, aut scribere. Quod malum nondum factum est mitius. Soleo per jocum amicis dicere, non esse pulices sed dæmones. Non erat ille jocus, sed divinatio. Si quidem ante dies aliquot exusta est mulier, quæ quum haberet maritum, octodecim annis furtivum commercium habuit cum rivale Dæmone. Ea inter alia

After lamenting the death of Warham, he speaks of <sup>b</sup> Cranmer's civility, who promised to be a second Warham to him; and he names some illustrious friends, whose favour made his losses fit the less heavy upon him.

He hath given a large account, and drawn a noble character of <sup>c</sup> Paungartner, which may serve as an instruction to men of high stations and great wealth (if they have ears to hear) how they should employ the gifts of fortune to the best advantage, both for

alia crimina et illud confessa est, quod per amatorem suum in hoc oppidum miserit aliquot magnos saccos pulicum. Nomen vici, ubi exusta est, dicitur Kylchove; abest hinc duabus leucis. Hæc stans scribo, et tamen undique pungunt, in caligis, in indusio circa collum, et pungunt more insolito, tam pusilli ut prendi non queant. Tantumne permillum esse maleficis? Ep. 1260.

This story of the *fleas*, and that of *Schiltach*, may serve as examples of his credulity.

<sup>b</sup> Burnet Hist. of Ref. Beza Icon. Melchior Adam, p. 1. Strype's Life of Cranmer.

Cranmer was a singular friend to the Learned, to Bucer, P. Martyr, Ochinus, Alexander Ales, Dryander, Justus Jonas junior, Melanchthon, Sleidan, &c.

“ He was a great Patron to all learned and pious men, especially those of the Reformation; cherishing those not only of his own country, but foreigners and strangers also. — Such as came to him, he gave honourable harbour and maintenance to, keeping them at his own cost, till he had made provisions for them

“ either in the Church, or Univerfity.—

“ P. Martyr and his companion

“ Ochinus had their annual allowances

“ from the King (Edward VI): and

“ so, I suppose, had all other learned

“ foreigners here. Melanchthon also,

“ who was now expected over, was in-

“ tended some more extraordinary gra-

“ tuity. Unto this noble Christian

“ hospitality and liberality Bishop Lati-

“ mer, the great Court-preacher, ex-

“ cited the King in one of his sermons

“ before him. The passage may de-

“ serve to be repeated: *I hear say,*

“ *Master Melanchthon, that great Clerk,*

“ *should come hither. I would wish him,*

“ *and such as he is, two hundred pounds*

“ *a year. The King should never want*

“ *it in his coffers at the year's end. There*

“ *is yet among us two great learned men,*

“ *Petrus Martyr and Bernard Ochin,*

“ *which have an hundred Mark a piece.*

“ *I would the King would bestow a thou-*

“ *sand pounds on that sort.”* Strype,

p. 400, 401.

Such were the sentiments of this most venerable Prelate and Martyr, the pious Latimer.

<sup>c</sup> Melchior Adam; who calls him *Baumgartnerus*.

A. D. 1533. for this life, and for the next. We will insert this Epistle in the<sup>d</sup> Appendix, together with a generous<sup>e</sup> letter of Paungartner to Erasmus. Ep. 1261. Ep. 383. c. 1773.

<sup>f</sup> He speaks of Alexander ab Alexandro, as of a person quite unknown to the learned world.

<sup>g</sup> He bitterly censures Simon<sup>h</sup> Grynæus, whom he had formerly as much commended. It is in a letter of secrecy to Viglius Zuichemus,

<sup>d</sup> Appendix.

<sup>e</sup> Appendix.

<sup>f</sup> Demiror quis sit ille Alexander ab Alexandro. Novit omnes celebres Italiae viros, Philelphum, Pomponium Lætium, Hermolaum, et quos non? Omnibus usus est familiariter, tamen nemo novit illum. Laurentium Vallam odit, subinde Grammaticum appellans. Ep. 372. c. 1758.

<sup>g</sup> Scio Thomam Morum, Tonstallum, ac reliquos eruditos esse pessime animatos in Grynæum. Extorsit a me commendationes iturus in Angliam: commendavi paucis, sed invitus. Admonui, ut si quid affectus erga Sectas in Anglia dissimularet. Hoc ille adeo non fecit ibi manens, ut ausus sit etiam multis epistolis eo missis tueri Zuingliana; nec veritus est de his ad Morum crebro scribere. Postremo decreverat Platonem ab ipso multis locis depravatum Moro dicare, et fecisset, ni dissuasissem. Quo nomine Morus mihi magnas agit gratias. Sed me inscio Euclidem inscripsit Tonstallo: at ego certum scio Morum et Tonstallum non odisse pejor anguem quam istos addictos Sectis. Nuper admonui Grynæum ne scriberet familiariter ad eos, qui prorsus abhorrent a dogmatibus quæ ipse tuetur.

Nunc hoc agit ut ab Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi impetret annuam pensionem. Et quod est suavius, cuidam epistolæ suæ adjecerat hæc verba, *Recte feceris, si tu jam plena hirudo mihi famelico cesseris pensionem Cantuariensem.* Quum me vocat hirudinem, ex suo me æstimat ingenio: et homo diversæ Religionis, nihil unquam de me meritum, petit ut ipsi cedam ducentos Florenos annuos, quod vix frater a fratre propitio auderet petere. Hinc collige quid ille frontis habeat, quum miram ore præ se ferat probitatem. Ep. 374. c. 1760.

<sup>h</sup> Beza Icon. Melch. Adam. Sleidan L. XIV. p. 362. Pope Blount, p. 402. Bayle GRYNÆUS. Maittaire II. 117. Wood Vol. I. c. 58. Gerdesius Hist. Evang. Renov. Tom. II. p. 378.

Simon Grynæus estoit un gentil personnage: il a fait de si belles prefaces sur Pollux & autres beaux auteurs. Il a bien travaillé sur le grand Plin. *Scaligeran.* p. 179.

Grynæus verbosissimus et paraphrastæ simillimus interpres. *Huetius De Clar. Interp.* p. 225.

Grynæus natus est 1493.—A. 1523, Heidelbergæ literas Græcas docuit.—A. 1529, Oecolampadio auctore Basi-  
leam

Zuichemus, which begins with *Ἀναγίνωσκε μένος*. Bayle knew A. D. 1533. nothing concerning this disgust of Erasmus, which probably went off afterwards: for Grynæus was with him at his death.

He recommends <sup>1</sup> Philippus Montanus to Bonvalot. Ep. 1264.

In Ep. 1265, he makes a kind of Apology for his sentiments, and refers those, who might still doubt of his orthodoxy, to his Explications opposed to the Censures of the Parisian Divines, and intitled *Declarationes*, which however he will by no means allow to be *Retractions*; and he hopes that no honest man will ever consider them as such. By these and other letters to his friends, we see that he had not changed his sentiments, though he had in some measure changed his language, to appease the Romanists, whom the Monks had irritated against him.

This year he gave a third edition of St. Jerom, whom he had twice dedicated to Warham. To this edition he added a new <sup>k</sup> Preface, in which he extols the <sup>1</sup> virtues of his illustrious Patron in a manner which will do honour to Warham as long as the works of Erasmus shall live.

Erasmus wished that the successor to Warham might be William Knight.

“ <sup>m</sup> Knight was born at London, and educated in Wickham’s  
“ School near Winchester, and chosen Fellow of New College.  
“ He

leam invitatur ad docendum.—A. 1534, Tubingam vocatur.—Biennio post Basileam reversus Erasmo morienti adfuit.—A. 1541, ex vita migravit. *Melch. Adam.*

<sup>1</sup> Val. Andrææ Bibl. Belg. p. 689.

<sup>k</sup> Appendix.

<sup>1</sup> Laudat Erasmus suum Waramum, quod triginta aureorum tantum summa (quamquam locuples illi tum fuerit scēe, ista) parvæ sane morienti superessent, ex tanta abundantia, copie. At idem non

commemorat quantas hæreditates atque possessiones consanguineis suis paraverat vivus: e quibus unum, ipsi Erasmo notum, ad equestrem ordinem evexerat. *The Life of Parker*, in Strype, *Append.* p. 164.

The Palace of Otford was built by Warham, and cost him thirty-three thousand pounds. *Strype’s Life of Crommer*, B. II. c. 29.

<sup>m</sup> Knight, p. 239.

A.D. 1533. “ He was made Secretary to Henry VII, and afterwards to  
 “ Henry VIII, who sent him on an embassy to Maximilian.  
 “ This Emperor liked him so well, that he made him many  
 “ presents, and gave him a coat of arms. He was Archdeacon  
 “ of Huntington, Prebend of St. Stephen’s, Westminster, Arch-  
 “ deacon of Richmond, Archdeacon of Chester, and, in the  
 “ year 1541, Bishop of Bath and Wells. He died in 1547.  
 “ He bequeathed forty pounds to New College, and twenty  
 “ pounds to Wickham’s College.”

Erasmus this year wrote a commentary on the eighty-fourth Psalm, in which with much piety and moderation he proposed his scheme to heal the differences amongst Christians, and to bring things to an accommodation; but he gave satisfaction to neither party, and Luther and Musculus censured his system. Seckendorf <sup>n</sup> hath given a large extract from this treatise, and remarks of his own and of other persons upon it.

Georgius Wicelius wrote a very civil letter to Erasmus, in which he censures Luther and <sup>o</sup> Jodocus Jonas.

<sup>p</sup> Wicelius had been a Lutheran for ten years, and then deserted the party. He was suspected of being an antitrinitarian, and of espousing the opinions of Michael Servetus. He went about, railing not only at the doctrine, but at the morals of Luther, for which he was extolled by Cochläus, and others of the same stamp. He was confuted by Luther and Balthasar Raida. William <sup>q</sup> Forbes hath commended him, as a prudent and moderate Divine. Ep. 371. c. 1756.

“ In the year 1533, there came forth a book in Latin, called  
 “ *the King’s Book*, intituled, *The difference between the Kingly and*  
 “ *Ecclesiastical*

<sup>n</sup> Appendix.

editio.

<sup>o</sup> Jonas, tibi olim laudatus, nunc hostis tuus, scripsit in me, cum aliud non suppeteret, mendacia et convitia. Ego respondi, sed nondum parata est

<sup>p</sup> Seckendorf L. III. p. 65.

<sup>q</sup> Si plures fuissent Cassandri et Wicelii, non opus fuisset Luthero aut Calvinio. See Bayle FORBES.

“ *Ecclesiastical Power*; reported to be made, as Bale writes, by Fox A. D. 1533.  
 “ the King’s Almoner: which was translated into English, and  
 “ put forth by Henry Lord Stafford in King Edward’s days. The  
 “ King (Henry VIII) affecting to be thought learned, affected  
 “ also to have books called by his name; not that he was always  
 “ the author of them, but that they came out by his authority,  
 “ and had undergone his corrections and emendations.” *Strype’s*  
*Life of Cranmer*, B. I. c. 13.

There was this year a Phænomenon in the air, which Luther accounted to be a prank of the Devil.

“ Erasmus, from Friburg, in the year 1533, dedicates his  
 “ exposition of the twenty-second Psalm to an English Noble-  
 “ man, then of great interest and power in the Court; to Tho-  
 “ mas Lord Viscount Rochford, father to the unfortunate Anne  
 “ Bulleyn. He was first no more than Sir Thomas Bulleyn,  
 “ then Viscount Rochford, but after his daughter became the  
 “ King’s Consort, he was created Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond,  
 “ as appears by another of Erasmus’s dedications to him. He  
 “ married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and  
 “ was related to several of the chief gentry in Norfolk. His own  
 “ family had intermarried with the house of Ormond, which is  
 “ the reason that title was also conferred upon him. By the  
 “ general account we have of him, as well as by what we have  
 “ from Erasmus, he appears to be a person of virtue and good-  
 “ ness; otherwise he would not probably have put Erasmus upon  
 “ this pious work of commenting upon this Psalm. He is there-

4 A

“ fore

Ex literis Jonæ (constat) Octobris hora decima nocturna ad duodecimam usque, multis adstantibus, in quatuor cæli partibus et regionibus volitare visa esse multa millia facularum ignearum, vere flammæ et ignei coloris, et Lutherum dixisse, se nihil in vita simile vidisse; alio die, eodem fere tempore,

strepitus in aëre concursantium quasi exercituum auditos fuisse. Ad hæc notat Jonas, Lutherum, contemtorém Diaboli, et tentationes expertum, omnia pro Diaboli præstigiis habuisse, falsis terroribus, cum veris non posset, homines exterrificantis. *Seckendorf* L. III. 66.

\* Knight, p. 245.

A. D. 1533. “ fore mentioned with great honour by him, that though so  
 “ great and powerful, so nobly descended, and who had the  
 “ world at will, yet, amidst all these amusements and dazzling  
 “ vanities, he could apply his mind to religion, and the more  
 “ durable riches. He tells him how he was affected with pious  
 “ thoughts whilst he was about this little work, and if he in  
 “ reading should receive the same impressions, he should not be  
 “ a little pleased that he had put him upon this task. He con-  
 “ fesseth that some of the Fathers had written upon the same  
 “ Psalm, but what they had done were rather short notes than an  
 “ exposition; and moreover adds, that he had made little or no  
 “ use of them in this work; and concludes with his desire of its  
 “ being serviceable to religion. This Epistle is dated Aug. 1537,  
 “ in the London Edition; which, as it was the year after the  
 “ death of Erasmus, we must bring it back to the year 1532,  
 “ or 1533: especially since we have another Epistle to this Lord,  
 “ dated 1533; wherein mention is made of the aforementioned  
 “ Exposition, and of the encouragement he received from his  
 “ kind acceptance of that work, to gratify him in that of  
 “ expounding the Creed, or any other work which he should  
 “ desire from him: and therefore, though St. Cyprian and other  
 “ ancient Fathers had done this before, yet he would not excuse  
 “ himself from obeying his commands, especially since his Lord-  
 “ ship’s design was for the general benefit of religion, not so  
 “ much for his own use, as for the instruction of those who were  
 “ novices in religion; that, for his part, he was very indifferent  
 “ as to the reputation he might get or lose by it, his aim being  
 “ the good of those who were not sufficiently instructed in  
 “ Christianity. — He concludes with earnest wishes, that God,  
 “ who had inspired his Lordship with that zeal and affection for  
 “ religion, would give good success to it. — Once more this great  
 “ man put Erasmus upon a third pious work, of *Preparation*  
 “ *for Death*. Erasmus readily complied, and told him that it  
 “ was



A. D. 1533.

“ was the very subject he was engaged in, for his own private  
 “ use, when he received his commands, which should be obeyed  
 “ now, in making it more publicly serviceable to the world; and  
 “ he hopes that God would prosper it to both their satisfaction.  
 “ This English Peer, as well as Erasmus, was in an advanced  
 “ age, and consequently the meditation on death was proper  
 “ for them both: and soon after this we find that this good Earl  
 “ had occasion enough for consolations of this kind, having his  
 “ beloved daughter beheaded, and his son George, Lord Roch-  
 “ ford, (created so upon his father being made Earl of Wiltshire)  
 “ imprisoned in the Tower first, and then taken off, as his sister was.

“ The aforementioned Nobleman was a great favourer of  
 “ learned men; amongst others (as Wood says) Robert Wake-  
 “ field, a great linguist, was patronized by him. Bishop Burnet  
 “ hath retracted his mistake, that this Lord was one of those  
 “ who sat in judgment upon his daughter, which would have  
 “ impeached him of great unnaturalness.

“ There is one Nobleman more, whom I may here also men-  
 “ tion, who was a great admirer of Erasmus, Henry Lord  
 “ Stafford, the only son of Edward Duke of Bucks (attainted  
 “ and executed for treason in 1521.) He was one of the  
 “ most accomplished persons of his time, and though not  
 “ the inheritor of his father’s honours, yet he was a man of  
 “ great virtue, piety and learning; his education was chiefly at  
 “ Cambridge, to which place his father was a benefactor, where,  
 “ under good instruction, he profited so much as to become a  
 “ finished scholar. The Oxford Antiquary, who lays claim to  
 “ part of his education, says, that he wrote several things both in  
 “ prose and verse, but mentions not what they were; only that  
 “ he translated a piece of Bishop Fox, entitled, *De vera diffe-*  
 “ *rentia Regiæ potestatis et Ecclesiasticæ*: as also two Epistles of  
 “ Erasmus, wherein is declared the brainsick headiness of the  
 “ Lutherans, &c. Lond. 1523. He died in 1558.

- A. D. 1533. " It was an ambition in all our countrymen of note, as well  
 " as in others abroad, to court Erasmus for his friendship, and  
 " to affect to have some mention made of them in his immortal  
 " works, &c."

A. D. MDXXXIV.

Ætat. LXVII.

- A. D. 1534. After all the protestations of Erasmus concerning his innocence, he stood just as he did before in the opinion of the Monks. He says to Cholerus; These animals are omnipotent at the Emperor's Court. Mary is a mere puppet, maintained by our nation; Montigny, a man of authority, is a tool of the Franciscans; the Cardinal of Liege is an ambiguous friend, and when he takes offence, a violent enemy; the Archbishop of Palermo is a giver of good words, and nothing else.

After this, it is needless to conjecture why Erasmus could not get his pension duly paid, and why he would not go to Brabant. He dictated and wrote this letter, which he sent to his friend Cholerus, *voce propria, manu aliena*. Ep. 1266.

The beginning of this year he was very ill of the gout, and lost almost the use of his limbs: so that we have few letters written or sent by him.

† Sepulveda, who is mentioned up and down in some epistles written about this time, and a little before it, was an enemy to Erasmus, and a man of tolerable erudition. This Wretch signalized himself in defending the cursed conquests and the Diabolical behaviour.

† Bibl. Univers. XXIII. 198. Du Pin T. XVI. 64, and 113, &c. Thuanus L. LIV, at the end. Baillet III. 61. Maittaire II. 400, 512. Bayle ALCYONIUS, Not. B. ARISTOTE, Not. R. Wetsten. Proleg. ad N. T. p. 33.

Sepulveda, cum castigatam, quam

commendamus, interpretationum fidelitatem repudiare se declarasset, aditum sibi ad hujus artis perfectionem obstruxit. *Huetius de Clar. Interpr.* p. 235.

P. Jovius compliments and extols him, *Elog.* p. 225.

behaviour of his countrymen the Spaniards in America; for which his memory ought to stink for ever. Du Pin, though he hath not treated him with the asperity which he deserved, yet hath sufficiently intimated his dislike of him. Thuanus hath done the same. Erasmus treats him with much " contempt. Sepulveda died A. 1573, aged 73. A. D. 1534.

From a letter of Sepulveda to Erasmus, it appears that Stunica, who was dead, had drawn up some new animadversions upon Erasmus, and had ordered the manuscript to be transmitted to him, giving him leave and power to make such use of them as he thought proper. Sepulveda exhorts Erasmus to select such as were to the purpose, and to make honourable mention of the Deceased. After professions of respect and esteem for Erasmus, he takes the liberty \* to tell him, that he had not sufficiently applied himself to the study of Geography.

Le

" Stunica periit, sed illi successurus videtur Sepulveda, Alberti Pii alumnus, et Stunicæ sodalis, Hispanorum omnium gloriosissimus, cujus libellum in me opinor te vidisse, insigniter stultum et contumeliosum. Itali quum insaniunt, insaniunt luculenter. Augustinus Euginus respondet epistolæ meæ, sed furiose et indocte. Ep. 1266.

Sepulveda rediit in suam Hispaniam in comitatu Inachi, Cardinalis et Episcopi Burgenfis, cujus fideli opera nactus sum Notationes Stunicæ in Hieronymum, et in Annotationes meas in Novum Testamentum, quas moriens reliquit, non edendas, sed ad me transmittendas. Quod tamen per Sepulvedam nunquam fuisset factum, ni Inachus id diligenter curasset. Mire placet sibi de suo Libello, quum nihil sit sto-

lidius. Nihil legit meorum; tantum quæ in fabulis audivit, exaggerat. In literis tamen ad me suis, fatetur quædam odiosius dicta, non ex suo stomacho, sed in gratiam Pio faventium. Annon bella purgatio? —

Valde laborat ut doceat Pium a nullo adjutum, quum ex iis, quos ad hoc negotium conduxerat, quidam ad me scripserint, quidam hic apud me confessi sint. Ep. 362. c. 1758.

\* Cæterum hic locus admonet, ut pro mea in te singulari benevolentia et observantia illud te horter, ne cum tibi est de oppidorum situ differendum, oscitanter agas, sed Strabonem, Melam, Plinium, aut Ptolemæum revisas: nam his paucis diebus dum Hieronymi Epistolæ evolverem, incidi in quædam scholia tua, ubi multo etiam magis diligenti-

tiam

A. D. 1534.

Le Clerc hath also observed that Erasmus had neglected to make himself master of that part of literature, and censures some of his Geographical errors, in the *Ars Critica*, P. I. C. I. §. 1, 3.

Baker, in his *Reflections upon Learning*, defended Erasmus; and attacked Le Clerc with a virulence, which one would not have expected from a man, who, as I remember, was accounted, and who desired to be accounted, a candid, genteel, and polite person. But party zeal guided his pen:

*Tantum religio potuit!*

Le Clerc gave him a short answer, in the *Index* to the fourth Edition of the *Ars Critica*, under the word *Erasmus*.

Baker hath one chapter upon *Metaphysics*, in which he hath made no mention of Locke; just as if a man should write the lives of the Greek and Latin poets, and only omit Homer and Virgil!

He

tiam tuam desideravi. Scribis enim in Epistola ad Evagrium, Rhegium esse oppidum in Græcia, Constantinopolim in Macedonia, cum hæc haud dubie, quæ prius Byzantium dicebatur, sit in parte Thraciæ, a Macedonia prorsus averfa, Rhegium in Brutia, qua parvo freto Italia disjungitur a Sicilia; quod si ad Magnæ Græciæ Ciceroni quoque vetus vocabulum spectasti, tamen meminisse debebas, qui Græciam simpliciter dicit, hunc non partem Italiæ videri, sed Atticam, et finitissima loca designare. Memini etiam, sed locus excidit, me legere in alio tuo scholio Urbem Nicopolim nuncupatam ex Augusti victoria, esse urbem in Thracia, quam esse constat in Epiro prope Actium, ad quod Antonius fuit prælio superatus navali. Sed tibi videlicet im-

posuit, quod altera est ταύτη \* ὀμόνυμος ἐν τῇ Θεσσίᾳ. In Libello Ciceronis de Senectute adscriptum a te notavi Capuam esse urbem in Apulia, quæ tamen caput est Campaniæ, et olim præter Romam Italiæ nobilissima. Nec est absimile hujus incuriæ, quod in Ciceroniano me, quem Cordubensem esse sciebas, Lusitanis annumerasti. — Ac de his quidem, quæ tamen levissima sunt, tum tibi, duntaxat non dormitanti, facillima, sed indicantia magnam negligentiam, te amicitia, ut dixi, officiique gratia admonendum putavi. — Tuum erit omnia in bonam partem accipere: quod si a te secus factum intellexero, non amplius tibi officiis ingratis ero molestus. Ep. 376. c. 1761.

\* It should be ὀμόνυμος.

He observed, c. 16, that there was little or nothing left for the sagacity and industry of modern critics; and thereby he shewed that he was no critic himself, and not at all acquainted with the true state of Classical books, and particularly of Greek authors.

<sup>y</sup> Egnatius, a learned Professor at Venice, wrote a civil <sup>z</sup> letter to Erasmus, recommending Sabinus to him: in it he declareth an high esteem for Erasmus, who also hath spoken as favourably of Egnatius. But Egnatius, in a former letter to a friend, in the year 1518, had undervalued Erasmus as much as he hath here extolled him. The cause of his discontent was this: <sup>a</sup> A dispute arose between Budæus and Portius concerning the coins and the measures of the Ancients. It happened that Egnatius, somewhere in his Commentary on Suetonius, followed the calculations of Portius; and Erasmus, publishing a <sup>b</sup> Preface to a new edition of Suetonius with this Commentary, observed expressly that Egnatius was not in the sentiments of Budæus. Egnatius was sadly afraid of provoking Budæus, and extremely angry that Erasmus had made such a remark, and *awakened a sleeping cat*. He therefore addressed himself to <sup>c</sup> Grolierus, a considerable man  
in

<sup>y</sup> Bayle EGNATIUS. Maittaire II. 29. III. 640. Thuanus L. XII. p. 377. Menckenius Vit. Polit. p. 82.

<sup>z</sup> Ep. 1272.

<sup>a</sup> Bayle BUDÉ, Not. X.

<sup>b</sup> Appendix.

<sup>c</sup> Cum nudius tertius in Tranquillum Cæsaresque meos Basileæ nuper excusos annotationes, et in his nescio quid ab Erasmo nostro de nummis scriptum legissem, ubi dissentire me a Budæo doctus alioqui vir et amicissimus asserbat, dum Portium sequor; animadverti aliquanto altius vulnus descendisse, quam

ego ab initio suspicatus essem, affecitque me vis minime expectata, uti solet, non admiratione solum, verum etiam molestia. Quæ enim mihi cum Budæo studiorum dissentio esse potest, ubi tanta sit animorum conjunctio? aut quæ testificatio mea honestior aut amplior esse potuit tum benevolentia erga Budæum meæ, tum judicii, quam ea, quæ a me in eis annotamentis adhibita est? Uti facile declararim me tantum in hoc studiorum genere Budæo tribuere, quantum mihi ipsi vix optarem: ut si aliter vel Budæus vel Erasmus sentit, næ ambo  
cum

A. D. 1534. in France, intreating and adjuring him by all that was good, to reconcile him to Budæus; and then he dischargeth his spleen upon Erasmus in uncourteous terms, and with much contempt.

Egnatius is described by <sup>d</sup> Erasmus, and by others, as a good man, not less eminent in virtue than in erudition.

cum summo animi mei mœrore id sentiant. Quare ego te, Grolerie, per eam animi propensionem, quam in doctos præ te fers, oro; per humanitatem et divinam istam tuam beneficentiam obtestor; per eam pietatem, quam tibi reliquæque genti debeo, adjuro, uti hunc Budæo scrupulum per literas etiam tuas eximas, meque illi ita concilies, ut intelligat vir doctissimus, esse in terris hodie neminem, cujus ego doctrinam magis admirer, de cujus ingenio libentius prædicem, quemque ego pluris faciam. — Quare non possum non vehementer admirari, quid tandem Erasmo in mentem venerit, ut etiam aliud agens, de studiorum dissentione nostrorum, præsertim falsa, publicandum sibi censuerit, cum Budæi vestigia me sequi profitear, cum doctrinam hominis tantopere laudem, et ejus præsertim libros quinque de Assè. Sed homo alioqui doctus cum numerorum rationem non probe calleat, et scriptione multâ sese oblectet, et sibi plus æquo placeat, dummodo aliquid edat, quid tandem dicat non satis pensi habuit. Ita fit ut dum verborum copiæ studet, minus res observet. Quod si maturare sibi pateretur diutius ea quæ parturit, parceret ille sæpe eos liberos, qui et vitales essent, nec vitiosi illi et morbosi sæpe in lucem prodirent. See Bayle BUDÉ, Not. X.

<sup>d</sup> Virum non minus probum et integrum quam eruditum et eloquentem nominasti, sed cui Tulliani cognominis honorem negant doctorum suffragia. Docte loqui maluit quam Ciceroniane; et quod voluit assequutus est. *Ciceronian.*

EGNATIUS, in the letter above-mentioned, (Ep. 1272) amongst other handsome compliments to Erasmus, says;

*Tu igitur, qui Germanis tuis princeps hanc literarum facem prætulisti —*

There is nothing particular in this use of the word *princeps* for *first*: but it reminds me to do justice to a passage in Cicero, which hath been misinterpreted.

Here is the passage, *De Legibus* II. 6.

*Sed ut vir doctissimus fecit Plato, atque idem gravissimus philosophorum omnium, qui princeps de republica conscripsit, idemque separatim de legibus ejus. —*

<sup>l</sup> Here is the misinterpretation:

*Plato, — who wrote best of a republic.*

It should have been translated: *who wrote first of a republic*: and it can admit no other sense.

When *princeps* means *best*, it cannot mean the adverb *best*, (*optime*,) but the adjective *best*, (*optimus*.) Come then, try it, and substitute *optimus* in the room of *princeps*.

*Plato,*

*Plato, — qui optimus de republica conscripsit. —*

This, I think, will not pass for a Ciceronian phrase. Let us throw it aside, and proceed.

*Plato* (says Cicero) wrote first of a republic: and he hath said the same in another place of this treatise, as his learned editor Davies observes. *Principem Platonem de republica disseruisse, testatur noster infra.*

It is in III. 6.

*Nam veteres verbo tenuis, acute illi quidem, sed non ad hunc usum popularem atque civilem, de republica disserbant. Ab hac familia magis ista manarunt, Platone principe. Post Aristoteles, &c.*

Plato then, according to Cicero, was the first, who treated the subject in an extensive, useful, and practical way. Cicero hath also hinted the same thing in another treatise:

*Atque his libris adnumerandi sunt sex de Republica, quos tunc scripsimus: — magnus locus philosophiæque proprius, a Platone, Aristotele, Theophrasto, totaque Peripateticorum familia tractatus uberime. De Divin. II. 1.*

*Princeps* is he, *qui primum capit*, and in its original signification it means the *first* in time or order; and then, by a very easy metaphor, it means the *chief*, *best*, and *most excellent*.

In *Princeps exiit, rediit, scripsit, invenit, sententiam dixit, verba fecit*, in these and such-like expressions, *princeps* means *first*, and not *best*. To many passages collected in Gesner, these may be added:

*Sicilia princeps se ad amicitiam populi Romani applicuit. Cic. de Cl. 171. b.*

*Is princeps ex Latinis hæc tractavit. De Orat. 154.*

*Gorgias princeps ex omnibus ausus est, A. D. 1534 &c. Acad. 44.*

These citations I take, as I find them in Nizolius.

Lucretius I. 94.

*Nec miseræ prodesse in tali tempore quibat, Quod patrio princeps donarat nomine regem.*

Horat. *Carm. III. 17.*

*Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur*

*Princeps, et innantem Mæricæ*

*Litoribus tenuisse Lirim. —*

Lambin knew that *princeps conscripsit* could only mean writing *first*; and therefore he proposed to alter the place, because, said he, Plato did not write first concerning a Republic. *Falsum est Platonem principem, id est, primum de republica scripsisse.* But this was not a sufficient cause for attempting an emendation, as Lambin might have seen, if he had considered the case a little better.

Horace says of himself, *Carm. III. 30.*

*Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos*

*Deduxisse modos.*

He meant that he was the *first*. And yet here it might be objected, that, strictly speaking, he was not the first; since Catullus, before him, had composed some Sapphic Odes. But either Horace did not recollect it, or he might think that Catullus had not done enough that way to earn the name of a Lyric poet.

The person, whose interpretation of Cicero is here examined, hath also informed us, *ex abundanti*, that as *princeps*, so likewise *primus* is used for *best* or *chief*: which he gravely proves from Virgil, *Æn. I. 27.*

— *veterisque memor Saturnia belli,*

*Prima quod ad Trojam pro charis gesserat Argis.*

A. D. 1534. Luther attacked Erasmus again, and Erasmus replied, as <sup>c</sup> Sleidan informs us.

This year <sup>f</sup> Clemens VII died, leaving behind him no good character. He is represented as a niggard and a poltroon.

Burnet hath published part of a paper written by Luther to Bucer, in which the former is willing to make some concessions to the Zuinglians: but Luther, as <sup>g</sup> Seckendorf observes, had no such inclination, and hath been misunderstood.

The

There is a passage in Terence, which would suit him better; *Eunuch.* II. 11, 17.

*Est genus hominum, qui esse primos se omnium rerum volunt,*

*Nec sunt.*

Where *primus* certainly and undeniably means *summus*, *præcipuus*.

<sup>e</sup> Quomodo scriptis adversariis egerint Lutherus et Erasmus, de libero arbitrio, dictum est libro quarto: sed hoc anno recruduit similtas, et Lutherus, per occasionem epistolæ cujusdam amici, graviter inculpavit Erasmum, quasi Religionem Christianam in dubium vocet, rideat et condemnet, adductis etiam aliquot ipsius lucubrationum locis, demonstrare illud conatur, et in scribendo flexiloquum esse docet, et eloquentia sua tyrannidem quandam exercere dicit: et quoniam in rebus divinis ad eum modum ludat verbis ambiguis, cum apertius loqui possit atque debeat, adversus ipsum interpretanda esse omnia contendit. Huic deinde scripto respondet Erasmus, et aspere quidem: nam omnium rerum maxime timebat, ne gratiam et auctoritatem amitterent sua scripta. L. IX. p. 221. See also Seckendorf L. III. p. 77; and Scultet, in Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 197.

<sup>f</sup> Du Pin XIII. 88, 149. Sleidan L. IX. 226. Seckendorf L. I. 287. L. III. 74, 519. Jovius Vit. Pomp. Columnæ, p. 157, &c. 164. Hist. L. XXXII. p. 234. Vit. Ferd. Davali, p. 384.

<sup>g</sup> Non possum hic bona fide reticere, quod scriptum Lutheri ad Bucerum a Burneto in laudatissimo opere Historiæ Reform. Part. II. Collect. L. I. num. xxxiv. p. 166, adductum, quod ex MS. Collegii Corporis Christi Cantuariæ (*he should have said*, Cantabrigiæ) nactus est, cujusque mentio fit in Actis Erud. Lips. an. 1687, p. 63, nihil aliud fit quam pars quædam Instructionis — quam paulo ante retulimus. Sed non saltem mutila, verum etiam interpolata est: cujus quidem facti culpa Burnetum facile absolvere possumus, qui aliorum de Manuscripto relationem videtur esse secutus. Sensus enim Lutheri, contra clara ejus verba, supra fideliter et integre allegata, ita refertur, ac si mediam sententiam probaret, et per eam litem sopire velit; cum plane ab illa compositione abhorreat. Error et æquivocatio est in voce *nihilominus*, qua in scripto a Burneto producto concedi aliquid videtur. Sed Lutherus scripsit *nihil minus*,  
et



The Franciscans at Orleans, being offended at a lady who died, and at her own request was buried privately, and hating her husband also, suborned a young fellow to personate the ghost of the woman, and to declare, by signs, that she was tormented in hell, &c. The Ghost and two Fathers were seized and convicted, and put into jail, and the Ghost honestly confessed the whole matter: but they were dismissed without any farther punishment. *Sleidan* L. IX. The same story is related in Luther's *Colloq. Mensal.* p. 315, where it is said that the boy, who acted the ghost, was banished from France.

About this time Calvin left France, after having published at Orleans a book against those, who taught that the souls of the dead sleep till the day of judgment. See Bayle CALVIN, Not. E. In the year 1536, Calvin settled at Geneva, as Preacher and Professor. *Ibid.* Not. A A.

Florimond de Remond tells us, that Bucer presented Calvin to Erasmus at Basil, who having conversed with Calvin, told Bucer that this young man would prove a pernicious creature to the Church. Others have adopted this idle story from Florimond. It is a romance, and its author is a writer of no credit, veracity, and consistency. Florimond, says somebody, was a man, *who judged without conscience, wrote without learning, and built houses without money.* Of these three accomplishments, the first and second are far more common than the third. One cannot help admiring the decent manner, in which the illustrious Thuanus hath <sup>h</sup> spoken of Calvin.

4 B 2

In

et Germanice *in seine wege*, inguens nullo modo fieri posse ut media sententia inæatur; tolerare tamen tunc voluisse videtur ad tempus utramque. Itaque pro Manuscripto Lutheri id non potest haberi, quod dicto loco assertari dicitur, cum nihil sit nisi fragmentum, et quidem sensu inverso, et omissis pro

præsentia corporis et sanguinis Christi in sacra Cœna argumentis, relatum, ex illa quam exhibui Instructione. *Seckendorf* L. III. p. 80.

<sup>h</sup> — Acri vir ac vehementi ingenio, et admirabili facundia præditus; tum inter Protestantas magni nominis Theologus. L. XXXVI. 287.

A. D. 1534.

In a letter to Melanchthon, Erasmus highly commends Georgius Sabinus<sup>1</sup>, who afterwards married Melanchthon's daughter. Ep. 1273.

Ep. 1267 is from Erasmus to his friend Grapheus, in which he represents himself as quite worn down with age, pain, and sickness.

“ Cornelius Grapheus, alias Schryver, of Aelst or Aloft, and  
 “ Secretary of the town of Antwerp, a man of uncommon learn-  
 “ ing, a good poet, and a dear friend of Erasmus, fell into great  
 “ troubles on account of religion. What befell him on account  
 “ of a preface writ some years before, and a relation he published  
 “ of the cruelty of his Judges, who turned him out of his employ-  
 “ ment, notwithstanding his modest behaviour and submission,  
 “ may be seen in a certain<sup>k</sup> Latin letter which he writ from  
 “ Bruffels, then his prison, to Carondiletus, the Archbishop of  
 “ Palermo, and Chancellor of the Court of Brabant. The said  
 “ letter, which fell into my hands accidentally, and which  
 “ describes the miserable state of those times in such eloquent  
 “ terms, and sets it before our eyes in so pathological and moving  
 “ a manner, will, I make no doubt, be read with as much  
 “ satisfaction by others, as it is here translated by me, &c.

“ What effect this letter produced, does not appear to me.  
 “ But among the Epistles of Erasmus we meet with one written  
 “ about twelve years after, in which he takes<sup>1</sup> notice, that the  
 “ affairs

<sup>i</sup> In reditu Erasmus Friburgi agentem salutavit Sabinus, cui ab Egnatio literis accurate scriptis erat commendatus: ac vidit summum istum virum et venerandum senem in extrema senectate: cum jam et corpus ejus et oculi, et ipsæ ingenii vires languescere, et quasi in declinatione esse viderentur. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Sabini.*

<sup>k</sup> The Letter is a very good one, but

too prolix to be here inserted. It sets forth the brutality of the Ecclesiastical persecutors, and confirms the character which Erasmus gives to Hulst, the Carmelite and the Inquisitor, that *he deserved to be hanged*. This letter of Grapheus is dated 1552: but it is a fault of the press, and should be, I suppose, 1522.

<sup>1</sup> Erasms. Ep. 1267.

“ affairs of Grapheus were in a better condition.” — *G. Brandt*, A. D. 1534. Vol. I. p. 42.

A. D. MDXXXV.

Ætat. LXVIII.

There is a remarkable Epistle, ascribed to Erasmus, and dated A. D. 1535; this year, which, as Le Clerc observes, is spurious in all probability. However, it sets forth that Cardinal Matthæus was returned to Germany; that Erasmus wrote to a friend, who was one of the Cardinal's domestics, to know whether any schemes of pacification were carried on at Rome; that the Cardinal, hearing this letter read, sent Erasmus a present of a gold cup elegantly wrought, which he happened to be shewing to some company at that time; and ordered his Domestic to inform Erasmus, that Paul III (who had succeeded Clemens VII in the year 1534) had promised to call a Council, with a view to appease the religious quarrels. This Erasmus writes to Petrus Cursius, Professor of Rhetoric at Rome, to shew him that the Cardinals and other great men were far from despising him.

This Cursius had railed at Rome against Erasmus, for having said, under the proverb *Myconius calvus*, that it was an ironical expression, just as if you should say, *Learned as a Scythian, Honest as a Carthaginian, Warlike as an Italian; Italum bellacem*. Hereupon Cursius made a Declamation, to extol the valour of the Italians, and to depress that of the Germans. Erasmus answers in this epistle, that it was a mere fault of the press; that he had written *Attalum bellacem*, and that it should be thus corrected in the next edition of his Proverbs. He adds, that <sup>m</sup> one of the work-men

<sup>m</sup> Nuper enim cum inter imprimendum excussores aliquot conquesti fuissent me sibi xenia nondum persolvisse, exortus est inter eos quidam cæteris violentior, qui profiteretur se pœnas a me

exacturum, ni darem: atque id profecto veterator tam egregie effecit, ut aureis nummis trecentis redimere eam ignominiam voluissem. Cum enim in *Vidua* mea, quam Serenissimæ Hungariæ Reginae

A. D. 1535. work-men at the press, vexed that Erasmus would not give him money, had revenged himself most maliciously, and, by a small alteration of a word in the text of his *Vidua Christiana*, had made him utter a gross<sup>n</sup> obscenity.

But by the Defence which Erasmus drew up against Curfius, at the end of the Tome of his Apologies, it appears that the letter, of which we are speaking, must be a forgery: for Erasmus there defends himself in a quite different manner. He doth not change *Italum* into *Attalum*, but he says that he took the word ° *bellax* in a bad sense, not for a man of valour, but for one who had the lust and the rage of fighting; and accordingly the word *Italum* was not altered. This is his defence; and, to say the truth, it is an excuse, which could hardly appear satisfactory to an Italian. The letter to Curfius was not in Froben's Edition, but was inserted in that of London: and perhaps this is the very letter which Erasmus disclaims, and denies to be his, in the above-mentioned<sup>p</sup> Apology.

Erasmus

ginæ dedicaveram, ad laudem cujusdam sanctissimæ scēminæ, inter alia liberalitatem illius in pauperes referrem, hæc verba subjunxi: *Atque mente illa usam eam semper fuisse, quæ talem scēminam deceret.* Unde scelestus ille animadvertens sibi vindictæ occasionem oblatam esse, ex *mente illa, mentula* fecit. Itaque volumina mille fuere impressa. Ep. 1276.

<sup>n</sup> Bayle makes mention of a typographical blunder, in citing a passage of Scripture, which makes a sense horribly profane. ECCELLENSIS, Not. F.

° *Thus he also says*, Ep. 1279:

Hoc interpretantur, quasi notarim Italos quod sint imbelles, quum his ver-

bis Italia laudata sit, non vituperata. *Edere, bibere, loqui*, verba sunt media: *edacem, bibacem, ac loquacem* esse, sonant in vitium. Ita *bellacem* esse, non est laudis, sed vituperii.

<sup>p</sup> Finxerunt prolixam epistolam velut a me scriptam ad Petrum Curfium, plenam scurrilibus ineptiis: eamque multis exemplaribus per urbem sparserunt, affingentes id ita me fieri jussisse: imitati sunt manum meam, atque etiam phrasim. In ea faciunt Erasmus hoc suppliciter agentem cum Curfio, ut premat suam apologiam, me proxima editione castigaturum ea quibus offenditur. Tom. X. c. 1756.

Erasmus seems to have seen this forged letter, or to have heard an account of it, and <sup>†</sup> complains of it as of a piece of scurrilous impudence in *Ep.* 1279. A. D. 1535.

The writer of this letter, says Le Clerc, hath imitated the style of Erasmus well enough. I am of a different opinion, and think that the style is laboured and affected, and by no means the style of Erasmus. Bayle takes it for granted that this letter is genuine, and that the ridiculous story contained in it is true. HONGRIE (MARIE REINE DE) Not. H. So doth Heumannus. *Parerg. Critic.* p. 56.

In the *Vidua Christiana* of Erasmus, there is no such passage to be found as, *Atque mente illa usam eam*, &c. or any thing that looks like it.

In *Ep.* 1277, he complains of some young men, who had published scurrilous libels against him in favour of Ciceronianism, and amongst others of Doletus and Julius Scaliger.

Petrus Tomicius, Bishop of Cracow, had sent him a present of thirty ducats, for which he thanks this Prelate. He laments his death soon afterwards in a letter to Critius, Archbishop of Gnesna. *Ep.* 1277, 1278, 1293.

Bembus congratulates him upon the high regard which the Pope had for him, and hopes that it would end in great preferment, meaning probably a Cardinal's Hat; for the words of Bembus are so expressive, that they can hardly denote any thing less. The enemies of Erasmus have affirmed, that the Court of Rome never designed him such a favour: Erasmus hath affirmed the contrary. So it comes to, *Utri creditis, Quirites?* *Ep.* 1282.

He

<sup>†</sup> Romæ sparserunt epistolam, quasi a me scriptam, plenam jocos scurrilibus.

<sup>‡</sup> De Erasmo in Collegium Cardinalium cooptando actum fuerat. *B. Rhenanus Vit. Erasmi.*

<sup>\*</sup> Itaque, modo recte valeas, neque te imbecillitas impediat tua, mihi spes est te ab eo omnia summa honoris et dignitatis insignia brevi consecuturum.

A. D. 1535. He wrote to Paul III, soon after his promotion to the Pontificate, and Paul returned him a very civil answer, thanking him for his prudent and moderate counsels, and exhorting him to defend the Catholic faith. Ep. 1280.

<sup>t</sup> Paul was accounted by some people to have been not inferior in wickedness and debauchery to Pope Alexander VI. His successor <sup>u</sup> Julius III was a Pontif of the same stamp. The infamous lives of these Popes contributed doubtless very much to the increase of Protestantism. Thuanus says that Paul was a man of prudence and of erudition.

Erasmus received a letter from Barth. Latomus, which could not fail to give him some pleasure, as it informed him that his old calumniator <sup>x</sup> Bedda had been obliged in France to do public penance for his saucy behaviour and his seditious discourses.

He claims Longolius as a <sup>y</sup> Dutchman, and an honour to that nation.

This

<sup>t</sup> See Sleidan L. XXI. p. 616. L. XIX. 547. Perizonius, p. 400, 401. Sec-kendorf L. III. p. 74. Thuanus L. IV. p. 130, 131. L. VI. p. 178, 181. L. XV. p. 458.

Vir fuit prudentiæ summæ ac moderationis, adhæc raræ, ut erant illa tempora, in quæ juventus illius incidit, eruditionis; sed, &c. Mortuo plurima etiam editis libris et per Italiam sparsis vitio criminose data. — Quæ sive vera, sive propter odium a plerisque credita, magnum mortuo ac familiæ dedecus in Italia, longe vero maximum sedi Romanæ apud Germanos et Anglos ad offensionem proniores infamiam peperere. Thuanus.

<sup>u</sup> Bayle JULES III.

<sup>x</sup> Bedda tuus fecit *amendam*, ut vocant, *honorabilem*, cum hac confessione,

quod contra veritatem et Regem locutus esset, quæ verba ante ædem Divæ Virginis magno populi concursu præeunte præcone palam pronunciavit; ne forte Lutheranum illum fuisse putes. Sed tamen detinetur adhuc in carcere, detruendus in Monasterium aliquod, ut ferunt, ubi et quando Regi visum fuerit. Ep. 1283.

<sup>y</sup> Longolium hinc Galliæ sibi vendicant, hinc Mechlinia sibi asserit, quum revera fuerit purus putus Hollandus, prognatus e patre Hollando, in oppido celebri Hollandiæ, cui hortorum pulchritudo nomen dedit, Schoonhovia. Hic ne quis mihi protinus obstrepat, quod dico patruus ipsius Petrus Longolius vir apprime doctus mihi narravit. Non arbitratus sum committendum ut hoc decoris Hollandiæ præriperetur: et ipsius Longolii

This year he printed his *Ecclesiastes*, or a Treatise on the manner of preaching, which is in the Vth Tome, and is dedicated to Christ. Stadius, the Bishop of Augsburg. As this book was in the press at Basil, Erasmus went thither to take care of the edition, and also to try whether he could recover his lost health; and he returned no more to Friburg. In his dedicatory letter to the Bishop,

4 C

Bishop,

Longōlli gloriam illustrat, quod in ea regione natus, tantus evaserit. Ep. 1284.

\* Friburgi Universitas est, ut vocant, cum primis celebris, et omni studiorum genere satis florens; nec illibenter vivebam in ditione Regis Ferdinandi, cujus haud vulgarem in me favorem multis argumentis sum expertus. Sed ejus loci cœlum mihi semper visum est meo corpusculo parum amicum, atque ipsa etiam domus, quamvis elegans, nonnihil suspecta fuit. Hic aliquanto minus male habeo: nam bene habendi spes omnis adempta est, in hac quidem vita. Siquidem a puero fui delicati corpusculi, rarissimæque, ut medici loquuntur, texturæ, eoque cœli injuria facilius offendebar: sed vigor ætatis partim negligebat, partim vincebat hæc incommoda. Nunc posteaquam non labores tantum, sed multo magis tot lethales calculorum nixus, et his succedentes articulorum diri cruciatus, absumto corpore præter cutem et ossa nihil reliquerunt, consentaneum est ut Indies corpusculo magis ac magis attenuato, facilius offendar auræ incommodis. Sic plane fio cœlestis, ut ad omnem cœli habitum pejus aut commodius habeam: sed levius feruntur mala, quæ non possunt esse diuturna. Ep. 1287.

Articularis morbus, quo Friburgi conflictatus ante fuerat, sic hominem lecto

sub autumnum rursus affixit, ut hunc raro sit egressus, cubiculum semel tantum. Et tamen in tantis membrorum cruciatibus, si quando vel minimum conquiescent, nunquam scribere destitit. Testis est Commentariolus De Puritate Ecclesiæ, et hæc Origenis recognitio. B. Rhenanus Præf. ad *Origenem*.

Erasmo Basileam reduci, et vitæ ibidem catastrophæ expectaturo, vinum honorarium officii causa offerebat Joannes Oporinus. In mutuam complexum postquam venissent, et dextras junxissent, Erasmi manum Oporinus durius compressit. Ille, ut erat chiragricus, graviter se lædi exclamat. Sive serio sive joco hoc ab Erasmo factum, Oporinum constat attonitum obmutuisse. Id animadvertens Erasmus, amice compellat, vinum infundi jubet, et ut animum recipiat hortatur. Consedit cum suo comitatu, qui ob Erasmi adventum frequens erat, Oporinus; et semel atque iterum in orbem redeunte poculo, ad se quoque reversus, docta et gravi oratione, atque Erasmo ipso digna, Erasmus excepit. Digressi sunt non absque mutui amoris fomite, quo veræ benevolentiae sanctæ cultæ igniculos semper aluerunt. *Melch. Adam Vit. Oporini*.

Thuanus gives a good character to Oporinus, L. XLIII. p. 528.

A. D. 1535. Bishop, he <sup>a</sup> deploras the death of his English friends, particularly of Fisher and More.

In many places Erasmus highly commends Sigismundus Gelenius, who was Corrector of Froben's press. His uncommon erudition, says he, and the probity and sincerity of his manners render him worthy of a much better fortune. And yet I dare not wish that he were rich. Why so? you will say. Lest it should make him indolent, and less active in advancing the cause of literature. Poverty is a great spur to industry.

This may be true: but when a learned and a modest man hath long drudged in occupations which are really beneath him, and hath shewed evident marks of his attachment to literature, of his zeal to serve the public, and of his capacity of doing greater things, if he were more at his ease, and at liberty to chuse such works as best suited his abilities, he is surely worthy of some recompense; and it is a scandalous thing when such favours are only bestowed upon people, who procure them by soliciting, by flattering, &c. Ep. 1284, 1292.

Erasmus at this time was very uneasy on account of the news, which had reached him concerning the imprisonment and death of Fisher, and of More, and other troubles in England. My surviving

<sup>a</sup> Quando Præsul Roffensis mihi infelici fato ademptus est, visum est hoc, quicquid est laboris, felicibus tui nominis auspiciis in manus hominum emittere. — Quid igitur hac tempestate crudelius, quæ me tot spectatissimis amicis spoliavit? Pridem Guilhelmo Waramo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, nuper Guilhelmo Montjoio, Episcopo Roffensi, et Thoma Moro, qui fuit ejus regni supremus Judex, cui pectus erat omni nive candidius, ingenium quale Anglia nec habuit unquam, nec habitura est, alioqui nequâquam infelicium ingeniorum

parens. In tanta calamitate duæ mihi res præcipue dolorem leniunt. Primum, dum cogito nos brevi felicibus apud Christum jungendos esse: deinde, dum reputo quam insignem amicorum chorum mihi dederit Augusta Vindelicorum, cuius Tu ut primus es, ita longe sincerissimus, nisi quod tecum paria facere tendit magnus ille Joannes Paungartnerus, cui proximus est Antonius Fuggerus, benignissimus studiorum altor. Hic est funiculus triplex, quem Solomon negat facile rumpi: sed is fit firmior accessione Joannis Choleri, &c.



surviving friends, says he, who used to write me letters and send me presents, now neither write nor send, because they are afraid. Ep. 1217, 1284, 1286.

He says also, that having, by the advice of Lud. Berus, written to Paul III, the Pope, before he had unsealed his letter, had spoken of him in a most honourable manner. He had resolved to add to the College of the Cardinals some learned men, of whom he might make use in the General Council which was to be called: and <sup>b</sup> I, says Erasmus, was proposed to be one. But to my promotion it was objected, that my bad state of health would make me unfit for that function, and that my income

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was

<sup>b</sup> The Byshop of Rome, to strengthen the See of Rome against the Lutherians, made divers learned men Cardinals about this time, as Contarenus, Reginald Poole, John Bellay, Frideric Frigose, and shortly after Sadolete, Alexander, Bembus, and once appointed upon Erasmus: some talk he preferred these learned men, because he was very ill talked of for his two young nephews which he made Cardinals in 1534. *Cooper's Chronicle. Knight, p. 324.*

Paulus III, initio sui Pontificatus, in Cardinalium numerum allegerat suos nepotes: cum autem hoc nomine minus bene audiret, alios quosdam nobilitate ac doctrina præstantes viros hoc etiam est honore dignatus, partim ut invidiam et offensionem leniret, partim ut idoneos haberet propugnatores, qui scriptis et eloquentia valerent. In his erat Caspar Contarenus, Reginaldus Polus, Johannes Bellaius, Fridericus Fregofus, quibus deinde per intervalla temporis adjunxit Sadoletum, Aleandrum, Bembum. Sed et de Erasmo cogitavit, ut

quidem in epistola quadam ad amicum Erasmus ipse refert. Exstant etiam Sadoleti quædam ad Erasmum literæ, ubi de Pontificis egregia voluntate multa locutus, fore dicit, et brevi quidem, ut ipsum ad summam dignitatem perducatur. Contarenus erat Patricius et Senator Venetus, magni nominis, propter doctrinam; et præter omnem expectationem dicitur, cum nihil ambivisset, ad hunc fuisse gradum evectus. *Sleidan L. XI, p. 298.*

Ferunt illi a Pontifice oblatam Cardinalitii status dignitatem, quam cum recusasset, cum miraculo a cæteris Patribus Ecclesiasticis exceptum fuisse hunc contemptum, vocatumque Erasmum *sapientem bestiam*, qui tantam dignitatem, tamque speciosos et fructuosos titulos imprudenter respueret, quos alii summis votis et laboribus ambirent, et quovis pretio sibi compararent. *Boissard Icon. p. 222.*

See also Bayle, who supposes that there was such a design, ERASME, Not. N.

A. D. 1535. was not sufficient: for it is said, that by a Decree of the sacred College none can be admitted, whose annual revenues are less than three thousand ducats. So at present they think of loading me with preferments, that I may be qualified for the red hat. This is, as the proverb says, ° *To dress a cat in a gown and petticoat*. He declares that his health would not permit him to accept such favours, and that he could scarcely stir out of his chamber with safety; and he refused every thing that was offered to him. Indeed he was on all accounts unfit to be a *Cardinal*; a creature which, according to the definition of Guy Patin, is *Animal rubrum, callidum, et rapax; capax et vorax omnium beneficiorum*. A good Commentary might be made upon this Text of Guy Patin, which (excepting the *rubrum*) is applicable to other people besides Cardinals. But in this case the fault, I think, is as much in the *Feeder*, as in the *Eater*.

The Pope had <sup>d</sup> appointed him, as he says, Provost of the College of Canons at <sup>e</sup> Deventer: but he declares that he would have nothing to do with preferments; and that, as he must soon die, he would not now take a burden that he had refused all his life long. Ep. 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1291.

The Cardinals above-mentioned, together with some eminent Prelates, of whom Aleander was one, were employed by Paul III, in 1537, to draw a plan for a <sup>f</sup> reformation of abuses in the Court and in the Church of Rome. The Lutherans treated with the utmost scorn this farce of a half-reformation, which at last came to nothing.

We

° Feli, aiunt, crocoton.

Quosdam novi, qui in extremo vitæ magnis impendiis redemerunt galerum cardinalicium, ut in sepulcro titulus adscriberetur. *Adag.* c. 1146, A.

<sup>d</sup> See B. Rhenanus, *Vit. Erasmi*.

<sup>e</sup> Præpositura — quæ sexcentorum

aureorum redditum tribuere dicebatur.

*Melch. Adam.*

<sup>f</sup> See Sleidan L. XII. p. 303. Sec-kendorf L. III. p. 163, &c. Relat. Gotting. V. III. Fasc. II. p. 372. Amœn. Literariæ, Tom. VII. p. 263, &c. F. Paul, B. I. §. 56, 57. p. 135.

We have spoken of it under the year 1522, and of the censures which these Reformers passed on the Colloquies of poor Erasmus: upon which Luther said; Hath Erasmus also fallen under your correction? I wish he were alive: he would give you such an answer as such infamous wretches deserve, and expose your pious grimaces to some purpose.

Erasmus, as he had falsely ascribed to Aleander, whom he could not endure, the book of J. C. Scaliger, was mistaken in ascribing to him also a <sup>s</sup> book of <sup>h</sup> Doletus in favour of Ciceronianism. Ep. 1288.

Doletus, a printer at Lions, was burnt at Paris, in <sup>i</sup> 1546, for Atheism or Lutheranism, aged about 39. He had applied himself closely to the study of the Latin tongue, but never acquired a very good style: of the Greek language he seems to have had little knowledge. A proper man, no doubt, to vindicate Cicero, and to censure the compositions of Erasmus! He hath been accused of plagiarism by some, and defended by others. His prose is tolerable; his verses, of which he voided a considerable quantity, are detestable; and one may apply to this Ciceronian those lines of Martial:

*Carmina quod scribis Musis et Apolline nullo,  
Laudari debes; hoc Ciceronis habes.*

Gruter inserted the Latin poems of Doletus amongst his *Deliciæ*, &c. But this learned man was himself a wretched versifier, and understood poetry as much as a Hottentot.

Julius

<sup>s</sup> Doleti Dialogus de imitatione Ciceroniana pro Christophoro Longolio contra Erasmus, apud Seb. Gryphium Lugduni, 4to, 1535 et 1536. *Maittaire* II. 568. III. 18.

<sup>h</sup> Bayle DOLET. Baillet I. p. 372. II. 651. III. 109. IV. 379, and the

notes of La Monnoye. Gallandius Vit. Castellani, p. 62, 63. Baluzius, p. 157. Scaligeran. p. 127. Gesner's Thesaurus. Differt. de Lexicis. Maittaire III. 9, &c.

<sup>i</sup> Others say A. 1545, aged 36.

A. D. 1535.

Julius Scaliger hath represented Doletus as the most contemptible and execrable of all writers, and as a most profligate Atheist. In Bayle's opinion, Scaliger fell into this fit of railing, because Doletus had presumed to write for Ciceronianism, and against Erasmus, after he himself had undertaken the cause and exhausted the subject. Scaliger also thought that Doletus had pillaged his divine Orations, and had stolen bright hints and pretty thoughts out of that treasure.

Gallandius, in his elegant Life of Castellanus, having remarked that his friend Castellanus was for observing a due medium between cruelty and lenity towards heretics, says, that he delivered poor Doletus from prison, by his interest with Francis I; and that a Cardinal (probably the Cardinal of Lorraine) censured him for it, and called him a patron not only of Lutherans, but of Atheists. To this accusation Castellanus, who was a man of spirit, made a warm reply<sup>k</sup>.

Baluzius,

<sup>k</sup> Doletum non atheismi, in quem relapsus sit, sed Lutheranismi crimine damnatum, suspensum, combustum esse, probare studet auctor. [Utrum partibus, quæ hic contendunt, sit honorificentius, non dixerim: multa Christiano certe homine indigna in (Doleti) Latinæ linguæ Commentariis, præsertim in digressionibus illis, quarum index est in fronte Tomi II, leguntur. Non bene sibi ominatum hominem, apparet ex precatione illa, [It is cited by *Maittaire* III. 101.] quam intexuit To. II. p. 1328, quamque ob summam libri raritatem huc repetere non piget:

“ Superi, rerum omnium præpotentes Superi, hanc mihi unam, hanc unam largimini felicitatem, ut mea nunquam exifimatio, mea nunquam

“ salus, mea nunquam vita (fortunæ bona, ut caduca et inania; curis vestris digna non censeo, neque vos pro iis prece ulla velim obtundere) ex judicium pendeat sententiis. Bonis omnibus abundasse, felicitate omni cumulatus, voluptate omni in vita colliquisse mihi fane quidem videbor, si hoc precibus a vobis assequor.”

An ita precatur homo sanus, et non male sibi conscius, et Christianus? [Remarques sur Bayle, in the *Relat. Gotting.* Vol. III. Fasc. I. p. 101.

The most charitable thing that can be said for the author of such a prayer is, that he was *mad*: and probably it was the truth of the case. Perpetual application to study, continual quarrels, violent passions, poverty, a series of calamities,

Baluzius, in his notes on Gallandius, affirms that Doletus was burnt, not for atheism, but for Lutheranism. Beza probably thought the same, else he would hardly have honoured him with a civil and pompous epitaph. He was first strangled, and then burnt.

His Commentaries on the Latin tongue were sold, at Bridges' auction, for nine guineas.

<sup>1</sup> Melanchthon warmly censures the book of Doletus against Erasmus.

“ Maittaire, in his *Annales Typographici*, hath collected many  
 “ things concerning the person and the works of Doletus, who  
 “ was skilled in the Latin language, but very conceited, and  
 “ very censorious. He was a Ciceronian, or one of those who  
 “ pretended that Cicero was to be closely imitated by writers  
 “ of Latin: yet Doletus was for joining Cæsar to Cicero, as a  
 “ model for style. Against these men Erasmus wrote his *Cice-*  
 “ *ronianus*, a work abounding with wit and good sense. Julius  
 “ Scaliger, one of the above-mentioned pedants, wrote against  
 “ Erasmus; and Doletus did the same, which drew upon him  
 “ the indignation of Scaliger, who treated his prose and his verse  
 “ with the utmost scorn. Doletus, who by nature was nothing  
 “ less than long-suffering, paid him in kind, and also railed  
 “ plentifully against him in conversation, as Maittaire shews.  
 “ Quarrelsome and scurrilous, he drew upon himself a multitude  
 “ of enemies, and offended the Parliament of Toulouse, which  
 “ put him in prison, whence however he was dismissed. Many  
 “ particularities relating to these transactions are collected by  
 “ this Author, who also gives us several fragments of his works.  
 “ At

calamities, and infinite pride and vanity, had sowered his temper, heated his blood, and shattered his brains. Pride alone hath turned many a man's head, without the other assistants.

<sup>1</sup> Vidistine Doleti petulantissimum scriptum contra Erasmus? Curavi ut respondeatur. A. 1535. Ep. XLII. p. 91.

A. D. 1535. " At length he was burnt at Paris; some say, for making pro-  
 " fession of atheism; others, for Lutheranism or Calvinism. But  
 " it is hard, as Maittaire hath shewed, to prove that he was an  
 " Atheist. He used to speak with great contempt of Erasmus,  
 " as of a writer, whose works could not possibly descend to  
 " posterity: and as for his own, they were, in his opinion, secure  
 " of immortality. He was quite mistaken both ways. The  
 " works of Doletus, never being printed a second time, are  
 " become so scarce, that few persons have ever seen them: the  
 " works of Erasmus are to be found in all places, and are still  
 " read, and read with pleasure.

" Yet his Commentaries on the Latin tongue might deserve  
 " the favour of being reprinted. They are a kind of Dictionary  
 " of that language, not disposed according to the letters of the  
 " alphabet, but ranged under diverse heads and common-places."  
*Le Clerc*, *Bibl. A. & M.* XXV. p. 74.

Calvin <sup>m</sup> hath represented Doletus as a man of no religion. Maittaire hath given us a copious account of him, and also large extracts from his prose, and abundance of his verses, which, if they entertain the Reader, it must be, not with their beauty, but with their deformity. And indeed poems may be so extravagantly and execrably bad, as to become diverting; like a Monkey, whose ugliness is his merit. Here are two, which for vanity, effrontery, hobbling and unmusical numbers, false quantities, false measure,

<sup>m</sup> Agrippam, Villanovanum, Dole-  
 tum, et similes vulgo notum est tan-  
 quam Cyclopa quospiam Evangelium  
 semper fastuose sprevisse. Tandem eo  
 prolapsi sunt amentiae et furoris, ut non  
 modo in Filium Dei execrabiles blas-  
 phemias evomerent, sed quantum ad  
 animae vitam attinet, nihil a canibus et  
 porcis putarent se differre. Alii, ut  
 Rabelæsus, Deperius, et Goveanus,

gustato Evangelio, eadem cæcitate sunt  
 percussi. Cur istud? nisi quia sacrum  
 illud vitæ æternæ pignus sacrilega lu-  
 dendi aut ridendi audacia ante profana-  
 rant. *Calvinus.*

Goveanus fuit doctus Lusitanus. Cal-  
 vinus vocat illum atheum, cum non  
 fuerit: debebat illum melius nosse. *Scaligeran.*

Bayle GOVEA, Not. H.

measure, and nonsense, are incomparable. The ° first he had the assurance to address to Hieronymus Vida: the ° other is to Salmonius Macrinus. A. D. 1535.

Maittaire hath also inserted some poems in praise of Doletus, written by Salmonius Macrinus, Nicolaus Borbonius, and others. But Maittaire did not suspect, what most readers will discern, that these Poets bantered Doletus, and that their extravagant praises were ironical. Buchanan did him justice, when he said;

*Carmina quod sensu careant, mirare, Doleti,  
Quando qui scripsit carmina, mente caret?*

Erasmus, soon after his return to Basil; sold the house which he had purchased at Friburg, where he had never enjoyed his health. Froben's heirs were so glad to have him again at Basil, that they had built a chamber on purpose to accommodate him. Ep. 1289.

4 D

There

ⁿ Collufimus, quæ si Criticus putat  
Jejuna, componat Criticus vera  
Exempta Criticis: mihi ipse  
Concino, non Criticis probanda.

Quod si Hesperæ oræ me minus audient,  
Nec me scient vatem Aufoniæ scholæ,  
Testabitur tamen poëtam  
Gallia chara suum Doletum.

° Nullum negaverunt mihi versus genus  
Musæ. Fundo Elegos tam facile,  
Quam quisquam alius: Heroico bombo, si libet,  
Distendo guttur feliciter:  
Sapphon sui cantus genere laceffere  
Possim, æquareque sperem: denique  
Nullum negaverunt mihi versus genus  
Musæ: sed Iambicum placet  
Plus cæteris versus generibus mihi,  
Quod sensa animi plurimo  
Splendore verborum efferat pulchre foras,  
Nec eloquium nostrum impediât.

A. D. 1535.

There is a letter this year, under the name of *Nucerinus*, giving an elegant and pathetic account of the <sup>p</sup> death of More, and of Fisher, which hath been commonly ascribed to Erasmus, Ep. 378. c. 1763.

He says of More; I wish he had never meddled with that dangerous affair, (of the Divorce, I suppose, and the Supremacy) and had left Theological points to those who are of the Theological order. In the same Epistle he observes how the <sup>q</sup> Anabaptists swarmed in Germany: and he speaks very coldly of his *Ecclesiastes*, and owns that he never was much <sup>r</sup> pleased with that performance.

In

<sup>p</sup> In Maittaire's *Annales* we find;

Erasmi Carmen in Martyrium Rosenfis Episcopi et Thomæ Mori, 4to, 1536. Bibliothec. Carlsonian. p. 158. *Ann. Typ.* II. p. 855.

There is no such poem to be found in the Editions of the works of Erasmus; and no such poem, I dare say, was ever composed by him. He was not in a versifying humour at this time.

<sup>q</sup> Tota inferior Germania mire infecta est a Retinctis; in superiore dissimulantur. Turmatim huc affluunt; quidam Italiam petunt. — Non arbitror Galliam ab hac colluvie esse liberam: sed mussant isthic formidine fustis. Ep. 1286.

Oppidum Westphaliæ *Monasterium*, quod occupant Retincti, vi expugnatum est, animadversum in omnes qui duodecimum excesserant annum. Ea lues nonnihil compressa est verius quam extincta. Ex Hollandia Anabaptistæ turmatim in has regiones affluunt, nec dissimulant suam professionem; feruntur, ac dissimulantur, si nihil mo-

veant tumultus. — Multorum sententia non minus operæ pretium fecisset (Cæsar) si Germaniam inferiorem ab istis pestibus defendisset, quam expugnando *Guletam*. Neque enim res jam intra *λογομαχίας* consistit, sed ferro et sanguine grassantur *Δίεραροι*, insidiis, dolis, ac vi civitates occupant, cæde ac violentia invitos ad suam sectam adigunt, creant novos reges ac reginas, condunt novas leges pro sua libidine. Ep. 1287.

See above, p. 355, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Prodit *Concionator* meus, utinam bonis avibus: nam mihi quidem hoc argumentum nunquam arrisit. Festivum est quod adfers de puellis, quæ joco nonnunquam recipiunt, quod cum dolore coguntur reddere; optasque ut sæpius ad eum jocer modum. Verum, illud quoque nonnunquam evenit puellis, ut quod per lusum, receperunt abortu cogantur rejicere, aut in ipso partu emori. Quorum posterius metuebam, prius illud evenit. Ep. 1286.

See also Ep. 1287.



In Ep. 1292, he tells us that he did not understand the Italian language. A. D. 1535.

° This year an edition of Livy was published at Basil, with a preface of Erasmus.

A. D. MDXXXVI.

Ætat. LXIX.

We are now come to the last year of the life of Erasmus, who A. D. 1536: this winter published his Commentary on the fourteenth Psalm, which he intitled, *Of the purity of the Christian Church*. It is in the fifth Tome of his works; and it consists of allegorical interpretations, and moral reflections upon the text. He also republished his Letters, adding several which he had received from Popes, from the Emperor, from Kings and Princes, and men of high stations, to let the world see that, though despised by some and insulted by others, he had enjoyed the approbation and the esteem of the Great:

*Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque  
Invidia.*

He says that for some time past he had neglected to preserve copies of his own letters, because they were so numerous that his *Amanuenses* were not able to transcribe them. Many were found after his death, and were retrieved whilst the Leyden Edition of his works was carried on. It were to be wished that he had taken the pains himself to range his Epistles in a proper order.

He complains that, whilst he was revising them, he had found that within the space of ten years many of his best friends and old correspondents were dead; which made him meditate on the shortness and uncertainty of human life. Ep. 1295.

4 D 2

He

° Basileensis editio eximia, cum Sigismundi Gelenii et Beati Rhenani notis, atque Erasmi præfatione, A. 1535; fol. apud Frobenium. *Fabricius* Bibl. Lat. Tom. I. p. 196.

A. D. 1536. He says that Petrus Tomicius, Bishop of Cracow, was dead in Poland, and Zafius at Friburg, and that all his English friends were either dead, or in a manner dead to him, through fear of corresponding with him in those dangerous times. Dangerous indeed: for in 1535 Fisher and More were executed, the Monasteries were suppressed, and many Papists and Protestants suffered together; and in 1536 Anne Bulleyn and her brother the Lord Rochford were put to death, the King's marriage with her was annulled, the English nation abounded with discontented people, and insurrections and rebellions ensued.

The later times of Henry VIII may be compared well enough with those of the Emperor Constantius, who, as Ammianus Marcellinus observes, was cruel towards all, who, truly or falsely, were charged with treason. Any accusation, (says this Historian) how slight soever, served to ruin a man; and his subjects were so far from daring to tell their dreams, lest they should have a treasonable interpretation put upon them, that they durst not own that they ever slept.

They, says Erasmus, who paid me pensions, now excuse themselves: but yet Thomas Cromwell, the King's Secretary, and the person who is most in his favour, hath sent me, I know not why, twenty angels, the Archbishop of Canterbury ('Cranmer) eighteen, and the Bishop of Lincoln fifteen; but none of them have sent me a letter. This he says to Gilbertus<sup>u</sup> Cognatus (Cousin) who had been his servant and Amanuensis, and who was then a Canon, in some place of Franche-Comté.

Erasmus boasts that, amongst other benefits which he had conferred upon Cognatus, he had taken care to preserve him from the infection of the Lutherans and the Reformed. I know not,  
says

<sup>t</sup> Boiffard Icon. p. 127. Burnet Hist. of the Ref. Strype's Life of Cranmer.

<sup>u</sup> Bayle Dict. Cousin. Act. Erudit. XLIII. 146. Maittaire II. 357.

says Bayle, what might be the sentiments of Cognatus during the life of his friend Erasmus; but I dare say that afterwards he was either a Protestant, or a favourer of Protestantism. Bayle gives us no reasons for his opinion: but I find in \* Baluzius, that the poor man fell under the Pope's indignation, and died in a jail, for heresy.

† The *Adages* of Cognatus give us great cause to suspect him of Protestantism. See, amongst the rest, the chapter intitled, *Magis phantasticus quam Papæ mula*.

This year Hermanus, Archbishop of Cologne, held a Council for reforming the Church in his dominions. Afterwards he became a Protestant. Erasmus † wrote a letter of compliments to him, and received from him a courteous answer, in the year 1528. Ep. 945, 959.

See an account of this illustrious Prelate in Bayle, WIDA (HERMAN DE.)

Seckendorf † hath given us an account of a woman, who was said to be possessed with a Devil, and of Luther's sentiments upon it, A. 1536.

Damianus

\* Notari quoque meretur — Pii V Breve adversus Gilbertum Cognatum, Erasmi quondam librarium, et ob hæresin in carcerem detrusum, in eoque mortuum. *Act. Erudit.*

† Bayle, Tom. IV. p. 3100. *Rem. Crit.*

‡ Above, p. 442.

‡ Ancilla quædam, Lebusii prope Francofurtum ad Viadrum nata, Gertrudis Fischeria, a Dæmone mire vexata fuit, ut, illo suggerente, numismatibus, quoties vellet, manum replere posset, dein illa manducaret et devoraret, idque toto mense faceret; postea enim acicu-

las deglutivit. Promiserat ei Satan, se tantam pecuniæ copiam illi daturum esse, ut, quod in proverbio dicitur, comedere illam posset. Sexcenties id se vidisse cum plurimis sive universis, ut scribit, aliis, testatur Jodocus Willichius, Professor Francofurtensis, in Commentariolo in prophetam Jonam anno 1549 scripto, quo tempore Gertrudin illam adhuc Francofurti vivere et famulari asseverat. Accitus est a superstitionis veteris tenacibus sacerdos Romanensis, ut exorcismis liberaret miseram, sed frustra fuit: post multas deinde deliberationes relatam est ad Lutherum negotium, qui sententiam

A. D. 1536. Damianus<sup>b</sup> à Goes tells Erasmus, that, if he outlived him, he should be glad to print his works at his own expense, and to write his life. Ep. 381. c. 1771.

The *Colloquies* had been prohibited at Dole, by the credit of two Franciscans, as Erasmus tells Franciscus Bonvalot, to whom he was obliged for a present of wine. Ep. 1297.

At

sententiam suam hac epistola Eberto aperuit :

“ Multis videntur incredibilia, quæ  
 “ tu scribis, mi Andrea, et, antequam  
 “ tu scriberes, cum hic narrarentur,  
 “ ipse quoque putabam me audire jō-  
 “ cum quendam aut fabulam. Sed si  
 “ ita res habet, uti tu scribis, arbitror  
 “ ostentum esse, quo Deus permittat  
 “ Satanam ostendere figuram et ima-  
 “ ginem quorundam Principum, qui  
 “ rapiant et vorent undecunque opes,  
 “ et tamen nihil proficiant. Cum ergo  
 “ jocularis sit iste Spiritus, et otio suo  
 “ securitatem nostram rideat, nobis pri-  
 “ mo serio pro puella est orandum,  
 “ quæ propter nos cogitur ista pati.  
 “ Deinde ipse Spiritus vicissim est con-  
 “ temnendus et ridendus, nec ullis ex-  
 “ orcismis aut feriis tentandus, quia  
 “ omnia ista ridet superbia Diabolica.  
 “ Sed perseveremus in oratione pro  
 “ puella, et contemptu in Diabolum, et  
 “ tandem, favente Christo, cessabit.  
 “ Etiam bonum esset, si vitia sua, quæ  
 “ hoc ostento indicantur, emendarent  
 “ Principes, in quibus ille nequam Spi-  
 “ ritus significat sese potenter et secure  
 “ dominari. Rogo te, quandoquidem  
 “ res ista digna est evulgari, omnia ve-  
 “ lis certissime explorare, ne subsit ali-

“ quid doli: et imprimis, an moneta  
 “ seu nummi isti sint veri nummi, et  
 “ usum fori sustineant. Nam ego tot  
 “ fucis, dolis, technis, mendaciis, ar-  
 “ tibus, hætenus sum exagitatus, ut  
 “ cogar difficilis esse ad credendum om-  
 “ nia et omnibus, nisi quæ ego scio me  
 “ facere et dicere. Tanta est Diaboli  
 “ vis, mundi malitia et hominum con-  
 “ fidentia hodie. Quare vide et pro-  
 “ spice tibi, ne quoque fallare, et ego  
 “ per te fallar. Experto crede Ruperto,  
 “ ut est proverbium.”

Ebertus, ad quem scribit,—Evangeli-  
 cam doctrinam Francofurti profitebatur,  
 et ancillam illam in cœtum suum adduci  
 fecerat. Numismata, quorum certitu-  
 dinem explorari volebat Lutherus, mi-  
 nutioris monetæ erant, *grossi* et *nummuli*,  
*groschen* und *pfennige*. Consilium autem  
 Lutheri successum habuit, licet aliquam-  
 diu reniteretur Satanus, et Ebertum, cum  
 Christi nomen invocaret, sædis proscin-  
 deret convitiis. L. III. 136.

<sup>b</sup> Gallæi Imagines.

<sup>c</sup> Demiror Dola tantum posse duos  
 Franciscanos. Colloquia et venduntur  
 et excuduntur Lutetiæ, et Dola exfu-  
 lant. Qui dicunt in illis aliquid esse  
 hæreticum, sive docti sunt, sive indocti,  
 mentiuntur.

At this time he was revising and printing the works of Origen, A. D. 1536. and adding a few short notes. But this work did not come forth till after his decease, with a Preface of Beatus Rhenanus, containing a small abridgment of his life.

Erasmus hath given an account of Origen, and of his works, in Ep. 457. c. 1846. Towards the end of this Epistle, he chuses to call Origen's *Hexapla* rather *Exapla* than *Hexapla*; upon which La Monnoye hath made the following remarks:

“ Every one knows the true origin of the word *Hexapla*:  
 “ Erasmus knew it, and yet in his Preface to his edition of  
 “ Origen, he chuseth rather to write it *Exapla*, because, says he,  
 “ although it should seem best to say 'Εξαπλᾶ, with relation to  
 “ the *six* columns, yet since the first letter is not found with an  
 “ aspirate in any manuscript, it may be better to write 'Εξαπλᾶ,  
 “ from ἔξαπλώω, to intimate that the word 'Εξαπλᾶ comes not  
 “ from the number of columns, but from this, that the volume,  
 “ being unfolded and laid open, presented the whole at one view  
 “ to the reader. To this it is obvious to answer, that ἔξαπλᾶ,  
 “ for ἔξαπλᾶ, in the manuscripts, is a fault; and that, if we  
 “ argue from the signification of ἔξαπλώω, *to unfold*, we may by  
 “ parity of reason give the name of ἔξαπλᾶ to the *Tetrapla*,  
 “ *Heptapla*, and *Octapla*, unfolded in the same manner before  
 “ the eyes of the reader. This notion of Erasmus hath found  
 “ no followers, and the learned Montfaucon hath not even men-  
 “ tioned it in his Preliminaries to the *Hexapla* of Origen.” *Men-*  
*nagian*. IV. p. 131.

Erasmus had been ill at Friburg, and he continued so at Basil. Rhenanus and Amerbachius say that he intended, from the preceding year, to depart from Basil to Brabant, as he had promised to Mary, Queen of Hungary, who had sent him long before a sum of money to defray the charges of the journey. But, from the letters of Erasmus, it may be questioned whether he entertained such a design.

In

A. D. 1536. In the summer he grew worse, and the last letter which we have of his writing is dated June 28. He subscribes it thus, <sup>d</sup> *Erasmus Rot. ægra manu*. It is a letter to his old friend Goclenius, who had advised him to write to a Lady of the house of Nassau. If you had known exactly, says he, the state of my affairs, you would have sent word to this Lady, that I had been obliged to depart from Friburg, on account of my bad health, with a design to go to Bezançon as soon as I had finished my *Ecclesiastes*, that I might still continue in the Emperor's territories. But my disease growing worse, I have been obliged to pass the winter at Basil: for although I am here with my best friends, and such as I could not have at Friburg, yet because of the difference of religious sentiments, I could have been glad to end my days elsewhere. I wish Brabant were nearer at hand. Ep. 1299.

<sup>e</sup> He was for almost a month ill of a dysentery, and he saw plainly that his disease would prove mortal. He had foreseen for several months, that he could not hold out long; and he foretold it again three days, and then two days before his death. Amerbachius, Froben, and Episcopus coming in to pay him a visit, he told them that in them he beheld Job's three friends, and asked them smiling, why they had not rent their clothes, and put ashes upon their heads. The rest of his time he constantly implored the mercy of almighty God, and of Jesus Christ, without speaking of those minute <sup>f</sup> devotions that he had so much derided and blamed in the Monks, and he preserved his reason  
to

<sup>d</sup> This subscription is omitted in the Leyden Edition; but it is in *Erasmi Vita et Epist.* by Scriverius, 1649, p. 390.

<sup>e</sup> See *Rhenani Dedic. Origenis*, which is in the First Volume of Erasmus.

Vidisset in fumis cruciatibus tolerantiam mirabilem, et mansuetudinem vix credendam.—*Libellum de Puritate*

*Tabernaculi* adfixus lecto scripsit, adhuc Origenem recognitum scholiis illustravit.—Sanctissime vixit, sanctissime mortuus est. *Ep. Amerbach.* in Tom. I.

<sup>f</sup> In many passages of his writings he declares himself no friend to auricular confession, though he speaks cautiously, after his accustomed manner.

to the end of his life. He <sup>s</sup> died calmly on the twelfth of July, A. D. 1536. and was buried with a great concourse in the Cathedral Church of Basil, where his tomb is to be seen, with a Latin inscription on the marble; of which a copy is inserted in the first Tome of his works. The Monks might justly have said, according to their accustomed jargon, which Erasmus hath derided more than once, that he died, *Sine crux, sine lux, sine Deus*: and they did not fail to say it.

“ A learned man was saying that Charles V, being arrived at  
 “ Basil, two or three days after the burial of Erasmus, ordered  
 “ his body to be taken up, and interred again with more solemnity,  
 “ and assisted himself at the obsequies. I shewed him  
 “ that Charles was at that time preparing to enter into France,  
 “ and had on this very month reviewed his army in the plain of  
 “ Cony.” *Longueruana* I. 215.

John à Lasco generously offered *centum aureos*, an hundred pieces of gold, to Froben and Episcopius, to assist them in publishing the works of Erasmus. Ep. 385. c. 1775.

Erasmus had made his <sup>h</sup> will in February, in which he left handsome legacies to several friends, and the residue he ordered to be distributed by his executors, to relieve the sick and the poor, to marry young women, and to assist young men of good character, and such as they should judge to be necessitous and deserving.

With his accustomed discernment and prudence, he chose for his executors <sup>i</sup> Amerbachius, Froben, and Episcopius, men of honour, probity, and generosity, who fulfilled his orders exactly,

4 E and

<sup>s</sup> Anus Morellus Grineus egerat bonam adolescentiæ partem apud Helvetios in Erasmi contubernio, cui ad Basileam clausit oculos, et honorifico carmine parentavit. *Sammarthanus* Elog. L. III, p. 78. This is not *Simon Grynæus*.

Erasmio ægrotanti ac morienti ad extremum usque halitum adfuit Simon Grynæus. *Melch. Adam Vit. Grynæi*.

<sup>h</sup> Appendix.

<sup>i</sup> Ep. Amerbach, ad Paungartnerum, in the first Vol.

A. D. 1536. and more than exactly, and to their own detriment, in distributing his charitable donations.

From his testament it appears, that he was not in low circumstances, nor so bad an Oeconomist as he sometimes seemed, between jest and earnest, to represent himself. We cannot too much extoll the liberality of the English Nobles and Prelates, and of other illustrious persons, who enabled him to live decently, and to serve the public by such studies and such works as suited his own genius and inclination best. His generosity to his old friends, and his charities to the poor, were infinitely more laudable than the pretended piety of those superstitious persons, who leave their effects to Monks, who are to pray to God for them after they are deceased; as if the Almighty could be supposed to shew any regard to prayers bought and sold, and sung or said after a man is in his grave!

Such was the last will of Erasmus, and thus he departed this life, aged <sup>k</sup> sixty-nine, in the arms of his dearest friends, who yet were then in the religious sentiments of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius. If it had been his lot to die in a Catholic country, he could not have escaped teizing sollicitations of officious Priests to make some sort of fordid retractation, or to perform some act of minute superstition, which would have tarnished his memory, and which he could not have easily shunned, if he would have received the Sacraments of the Church, and then have slept in holy ground.

He hath drawn his own character in his letters, from which we have principally collected this account of his life; and he hath performed it in so masterly a manner, that we could not have wished for better materials to work upon. He may be justly censured for one thing, for his weakness in flattering a party, whose sentiments and conduct he in many things disapproved, and in finding fault with those, whom upon the whole

he

<sup>k</sup> *Almsß.*



he resembled much more than he did their adversaries. But if he deserved some blame upon this account, they who compelled him to dissemble in this manner, who hated the very name of a reformation, and who treated as vile heretics all those who dared even to wish for some amendment, were beyond measure more blameable. There was the same difference between them and him, as between a tyrant and his poor subjects, who are obliged to humour him, that they may save their lives and effects, and to do what they would never have done, if violence had not constrained them. The overbearing master is the chief cause of all the wrong steps which they take, and hath the heavier account to give for it hereafter. If Erasmus was deficient in courage, they who took advantage of his infirmity were far more deficient in honesty and piety.

He died in a friendly and charitable disposition towards <sup>1</sup> Pellicanus

<sup>1</sup> Conradum Pellicanum, Tigurinum tunc Ecclesiasten, cum quo acriter disputaverat, comiter ab eo, dum decumberet, exceptum fuisse, rogante, ut offensas sibi condonaret, nec quicquam hostile posthac a se expectaret, Bullingeri etiam honorificam mentionem fecisse, Hospinianus annotavit. Hæc non sunt viri, qui dissentientes a Romana Ecclesia, et diversa publice docentes, pro damnatis haberet.

Pietatis haud exigua documenta ex testamento ejus, tum aliis gestis didicisse que circa finem vitæ colligi possunt. *Seckendorf* L. III. 137.

*John à Lasco, in a letter to Pellicanus, A. 1544, says:*

— De tuo in Erasmus animo non dubitavi unquam, neque ullam inter te et illum, cum una essemus, simultatem

deprehendere potui, nisi quod, cum doctrinam Oecolampadii de Cæna Domini sibi nondum satis probari posse diceret, non ferebat, si quis se cum Oecolampadio idem docere affirmasset; tametsi tu in doctrinam Oecolampadii tum propenderes, ille vero non tam damnaret illam, quam diceret potius, sibi illam nondum satis probari posse, non ideo tamen amicitiam vestram dissolutum iri putabam; præsertim cum Erasmus ipse pro sua apud me libertate, non obscure testaretur, se certam habere non posse etiam doctrinæ suæ rationem. Fatebatur enim esse quædam, quæ in sua ipsius doctrina offenderent; sed se non habere, rursus dicebat quidquam solidum, cui inniteretur, si doctrina sua sibi mutanda esset. Et proinde se in veteri sententia permanere malle affirmabat.

A. D. 1536. canus and <sup>m</sup> Bullinger, two Protestant Divines, with the first of whom he had been at variance, as we have observed.

<sup>n</sup> BEATUS RHENANUS hath given us a description of his person, temper, and behaviour: and tells us that he was low of stature, but not remarkably short; that he was well-shaped, of a fair complexion, with hair, in his youth, of a pale yellow, grey eyes, a chearful countenance, a low voice, an agreeable elocution; that

Atque ita ego tum Erasmus reliqui: atque in eadem secum, ut verum fatear, sententia quoque fui. Nihil tamen dubito, quin Erasmus haud dubie, si nunc viveret, æquior multo nobis futurus esset. Sed habet quisque donorum suorum modum, ut non omnes possimus ubique omnia. Nostrium est de iis nobis gratulari, quæ Deus, prout vult, juxta fidei nostræ mensuram, conferre in nos dignatur. Ita et de Erasmi donis, quæ sane et plurima et maxima fuisse negare nemo potest, gratulari nobis merito, Deumque in illis agnoscere debemus. Si quid autem amplius assequuti videmur, id quoque a Domino nobis datum esse cogitemus. Quod ad illius Epistolas ad me attinet, fateor illum libere nonnunquam multa ad me scripsisse, tu enim ipse testis es, ut me amarit, ac tui quoque non raro meminisse; sed putabat omnino te auctore id fieri, ut idem cum Oecolampadio sentire diceretur. Neque vero id tam grave erat, quam ille grave videri volebat; sed hoc ille rebus suis vehementer noxium esse putabat, et nolebat præterea nomen suum hac opinione gravari. Deinde habebat fortassis instigatores suos, quibus id potius quam Erasmo ipsi impu-

tandum esse censeo. *Vid.* Hottinger. H. E. P. II. p. 34, 36.

<sup>m</sup> Melchior Adam.

<sup>n</sup> Statura fuit infra proceritatem, supra tamen profus notabilem humilitatem. Corpusculo fatis compacto et eleganti, sed quod esset tenerrimæ complexionis, et minimarum rerum mutatione, puta vini, cibi, cælive, facile offenderetur, in senio crebris quoque calculi doloribus obnoxium: ut de pituita nihil dicam, alioqui perpetuo communique studiosorum omnium malo. Cute corporis et faciei candida, capillitio in juvenia sufflavo, oculis cæsiis, vultu festivo, voce exili, lingua pulcre explicita, cultu honesto et gravi. Fuit in retinenda amicitia constantissimus. Memoria felicissima. In egenos liberalis, quos, ut alibi, sic a sacro domum rediens per famulum nunquam non munerari solebat: maxime vero in bonæ spei et indolis adolescentes studiosos, si qui ad se viatico destituti venissent, largus, benignus, et munificus. In convictu comis et suavis citra omne supercilium. *Vit. Erasmi.*

Solitus (erat amicus quidam) me joco calvum dicere, quod essem raro capillitio. *Erasmus*, Tom. I. c. 441.

that he was neat and decent in his apparel; that he had a very tender and infirm constitution, and a vast memory; that he was an agreeable companion, a very constant friend, generous and charitable, &c. Erasmus hath declared of himself that he was not ° fond of money, and appeals to every one who knew him. A. D. 1536.

WE have observed in many places that Erasmus could not endure even the smell of fish, and had a most Lutheran stomach. Our learned Ascham resembled him in this, and obtained a Dispensation from Cranmer.

“ Roger Ascham, the Orator of the University of Cambridge, “ was a man of a weak constitution, and had contracted more “ frailty by reason of a long ague that then hung about him, “ and his complexion became melancholy by the relicts of that “ stubborn distemper. He had also in his nature a great averse- “ ness to the fish-diet. Upon these reasons he addressed his “ letters to the Archbishop with an humble <sup>p</sup> suit, very handsomely “ penned, that he might be dispensed with as to abstinence from “ flesh-meats, Lent and Fish-days being then strictly observed in “ the Colleges. And this Licence he desired might be, not “ only temporary, but perpetual,—which was somewhat extra- “ ordinary. But to incline the Archbishop to yield to his suit, “ he told him;” That it was not to pamper his flesh, nor out of an affectation of doing that which was unusual, or against common custom, but only for the preserving his health, and that he might the more freely pursue his studies. That the air of Cambridge was naturally cold and moist, and so the fish-diet the more unwholesome. He desired, therefore, that by his authority he might no longer be tied by that Tradition, which forbade the use of certain meats at certain times. *He said,* That those who granted this liberty to none but such as laboured under a desperate disease,

° Nemo fuit unquam tam iniquus lectum exprobrarent. Tom. IX. c. 100.  
 mei iudex, ut pecuniæ studium mihi im- <sup>p</sup> It is amongst the Latin Epistles of  
 pegerit. Fuerunt complures, qui neg- Ascham, L. II. p. 248.

A. D. 1536. disease, did like them who never repaired their houses, but when they were just ready to fall down by age. Thrifty housekeepers did otherwise: so did skilful Physicians, who did not use to prescribe their physic when it was too late, but always put a stop to beginnings. That they who never would impart the using of this liberty of eating flesh to any, but when all health was despaired of, knew not what good a prudent foresight did in all commonwealths, &c.—Then he subjoins a passage from Herodotus in his *Euterpe*, concerning the Egyptian Priests, from whom issued originally all kinds of learning and arts, and who were always conversant in learned studies. These, said that Author, religiously tied themselves from all eating of <sup>a</sup> *flesh*. No, doubt for this only cause, saith Ascham, *Ne ignea vis ingenii atque præstantia, ullo frigido succo, quem esus piscium ingeneraret, extingueretur*: That the wits of men, that have a noble fiery quality in them, might not be quenched by some cold juice, which the eating of fish might ingender. And that it was somewhat unjust, he adds, that when so many kinds of superstition flowed in such a plentiful measure from the Egyptians, as might easily be proved, and thence derived themselves, first to the Greeks, then to the Romans, and afterwards to our times, through that sink of Popery, that that single worthy counsel and remedy of those most learned men, enjoined for the enlarging and spreading of learning, should be debarred us to follow; and that by such as were either unlearned themselves, or superstitious men: whereby the best Wits received so great prejudice and damage. That none knew better than his Lordship whence this custom arose, by whom cherished, and by what kind of men brought down to us. And, lastly, how unwholesome and unfit all eating of <sup>a</sup> *flesh* was in the spring-time. And that, if he might obtain this favour, he would use it without giving offence, or making any common  
speech

<sup>a</sup> *Flesh*. It should be *fish*. Ἰχθύων gustare nefas est illis. Herodotus II.  
ὃ ἔσφι ἔξεται πᾶσιν. De piscibus p. 102.

speech of it, with quietness and silence, with abstinence and thanksgiving. A. D. 1536.

“ This letter he got his friend Poinet, the Archbishop’s Chaplain, (the same I suppose who after was Bishop of Winchester) to put into his Grace’s hand, and to further his request what he could. The issue whereof was to his heart’s desire: for though the Archbishop knew him not, nor was easily drawn to dispense with the Church’s ancient discipline and rites, yet he received his suit with all humanity; and such he found to be the modesty and ingenuity of the man, and what he requested to be grounded upon such reasonable and just causes, that he readily yielded to it. And whether he thought it out of his power to grant a Licence of that latitude, to discharge a person, for all time to come, from the obligation of keeping Lent, or to avert the censure he might incur, if he should have done it by his own authority, or reckoning it a matter of Law rather than Religion, he put himself to the trouble of procuring the King’s Licence under the Privy Seal for this man: and when he had done that, considering an Academic’s poverty, he releas’d him of the whole charges of taking it out, paying all the fees himself.

“ And indeed the Archbishop’s opinion concerning Lent made way for his more ready yielding to Ascham’s request; for he held the keeping of Lent, as founded in a positive Law, rather than as a religious duty, and thought it necessary that so the people should be taught and instructed.” *Strype’s Life of Cranmer*, B. II. c. 6.

Concerning Licences to eat flesh in Lent, in the year 1585, see *Strype’s Life of Whitgift*, B. III. c. 15. p. 246.

“ ALL THE learned men of Basil, says Moreri, carried Erasmus upon their shoulders to the Cathedral Church, where he  
“ was

Ascham returns him a letter of thanks for this favour, p. 260. Bayle ERASME, Not. A. A.

A. D. 1536. " was buried. If so, his coffin must at least have been as " big as the bed of Og, the king of Basan, mentioned in " Deuteronomy."

IN THE year 1557, Farellus and Beza attacked the memory and reputation of Erasmus, at Basil, with much malignity and effrontery; upon which the ' Heirs of Erasmus treated them as they deserved, and gave them the lie in a public manner.

" " ERASMUS was not less abused and insulted by the Catholics, both living and dead, as it may be seen in the book of " Caspar Chicotius, &c."

WE WILL conclude, says Le Clerc, with a symbolical representation which was exhibited before Charles V, and his brother Ferdinand, at Augsburg, in 1530, at the time when the Lutherans presented their Confession of faith to that assembly.

As the Princes were at table, a \* company of persons offered to act a small Comedy for the entertainment of the company.  
They

' Intelleximus haud ita dudum, Farelle et Beza, hic in publico Sylvestris Hominis diverforio, ante prandium vos multis audientibus in D. Erasmus Roterodamum debacchatos: et a te nominatim, Farelle, disertis verbis Erasmus omnium mortalium deterrimum, improbissimum, nequissimum, sceleratissimum ac impurissimum nebulonem: a te vero, Beza, eundem Arianum appellatum fuisse. Id si fecistis, sique sanctæ memoriæ defuncti existimationem tot pudendis atrocibusque conviciis consulto lacerastis, Nos subscripti factum vestrum improbum ac puram putam calumniam dicimus, ut qui confidamus, persuasissi-

numque habeamus, eum ipsum Erasmus, vere ac pro meritis, a quoquam probo, bono et integro viro ejusmodi calumniis conviciisque laceffiri aut profcindi nec posse nec debere. Hæc, pro integerrimi viri memoria existimationeque tuenda, ne dissimularem, legibus etiam civilibus admonemur. Dat. Basileæ,

Bonifacius Amberbachius, mea manu.

Hieronymus Frobenius, mea manu.

Nicolaus Episcopus.

Wetstein. Prolegom. ad N. T. p. 129.

" Bayle ERASME, Not. T, and SAWICKI.

\* J. L. Fabricius de Ludis Scenicis, p. 142.

They were ordered to begin; and first entered a man in the dress of a Doctor, who brought a large quantity of small wood, of straight and crooked billets, and laid it on the middle of the hearth, and retired. On his back was written the name of *Reuchlin*. When this actor went off, another entered, apparelled also like a Doctor, who attempted to make fagots of the wood, and to fit the crooked to the straight; but having laboured long to no purpose, he went away out of humour, and shaking his head. On his back appeared the name of *Erasmus*. A third, dressed like an Augustinian Monk, came in with a chafing-dish full of fire, gathered up the crooked wood, clapped it upon the fire, and blew till he made it burn, and went away, having upon his frock the name of *Luther*. A fourth entered, dressed like an Emperor, who, seeing the crooked wood all on fire, seemed much concerned, and to put it out drew his sword, and poked the fire with it, which only made it burn the brisker. On his back was written *Charles V*. Lastly, a fifth entered, in his Pontifical habit and triple crown, who seemed extremely surpris'd to see the crooked billets all on fire, and by his countenance and attitude betray'd excessive grief. Then looking about on every side, to see if he could find any water to extinguish the flame, he cast his eyes on two bottles in a corner of the room, one of which was full of oil, and the other of water, and in his hurry he unfortunately seized on the oil, and poured it upon the fire, which made it blaze so violently that he was forced to walk off. On his back was written *Leo X*.

This little Farce wanted no commentary: but if the merry Actors had taken it into their heads to represent the whole conduct of *Erasmus*, they should have introduced him a second time, and have represented him as constrained by the menaces of *Leo X* to take up the straight wood, and burn it along with the crooked.

A. D. 1536. I FIXED the birth of Erasmus to the year 1467, trusting almost implicitly, I confess, to Bayle, to Le Clerc, and to many others; but I find no reason to depart from this date, which is as probable as any other. Upon this computation, Erasmus lived sixty-eight years, eight months, and some days, i. e. he was in his sixty-ninth year, or almost sixty-nine complete.

The year of his birth is uncertain: Erasmus himself knew it not, and in his letters sets it sometimes higher and sometimes lower, from 1464 to 1467; and in one of his letters declares himself uncertain whether he was of such an age at that time, or a year older.

In his *Compendium* of his own Life, he names not the year of his birth, but only the month and the day.

In the Inscription of the Statue at Rotterdam, he is said to be born October 28, 1467; and to have died July 12, 1536. This I think will justify our choice; and it seems not improbable that his fellow-citizens, who erected this monument to his memory, might find the year of his birth or baptism in some record, public or private.

The Epitaph composed by his friends and executors says that he died in 1536, *jam septuagenarius*. This is a vague expression, and may suit a man who died almost seventy, or almost seventy-one years old. But it agrees not with the Inscription of the Statue; it places his birth A. 1466, or 1465.

Erasmus, in a <sup>v</sup> letter to Curfius, dated Jan. 9, 1535, says that he was seventy years old: but nothing can be collected from this, since there is great reason to suspect that the letter is spurious.

Du Pin is of opinion that we can only fix the time of his birth to 1465, or 1466, or 1467.

Dr. Knight (pag. 3) says that he was born in the year 1467, on the eve of St. Simon and Jude; and (pag. 349) that he died on the 12th of July 1536, having lived seventy years, eight months,

<sup>v</sup> Ep. 1276. See above, p. 557.



months, and fifteen days. Dr. Knight forgot himself; and these two accounts will not tally together. Other writers have made the very same mistake. A. D. 1536.

As the year of the birth of Erasmus, so the day of the month seems also to be uncertain. Erasmus, in the *Compendium* of his own life, says that he was born in *Vigilia Simonis et Judæ*, that is, October 27: but in his <sup>2</sup> poem to Copus, he says that he was born on the fifth of the Calends of November, that is, October 28. Perhaps he had been told that he was born October 27, at midnight, and so was in doubt on which day to fix it.

“ NOTHING hath made the city of Rotterdam more famous  
 “ than her having given birth to the great Erasmus: nor hath  
 “ she been insensible to this honour, or in the least degree defi-  
 “ cient in duty and respect to the memory of the illustrious  
 “ person, from whom she hath received such splendor.

“ If Homer had been as much esteemed during his life, as  
 “ after his decease, in vain would so many cities have claimed  
 “ him; for the true Parent would have made her title to him  
 “ clear and indisputable, before length of time could have fur-  
 “ nished rival cities with matter for contest and chicanery.  
 “ Therefore we find none of these litigations concerning the  
 “ birth-place of Erasmus. The great reputation which he  
 “ enjoyed in his life-time hath prevented them. Rotterdam was  
 “ soon attentive to her own interests, and so fully established her  
 “ rights, and the reputation annexed to them, that she is in  
 “ secure possession. Indeed there was no time to lose: length of  
 “ years would have involved in darkness a birth like his, since  
 “ his mother, a person of ordinary rank, had repaired to Roter-  
 “ dam, on purpose to conceal her lying-in. As to the place of  
 “ his conception, it must be surrendered to the town of Tergou,  
 “ which also accounts this no small advantage. How much  
 “ greater would this advantage have been, and more to be boasted

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 27.

A. D. 1536. “ of, if this conception had not been sullied with a double  
 “ original sin? or rather with actual added to original sin? There  
 “ was a Burgomaster of Tergou, who attempted to honour his  
 “ own city with the nativity of Erasmus, and to allow Rotterdam  
 “ only the credit of his education. This man was a physician,  
 “ called Reynerus Snoyus, who had several good posts, who  
 “ wrote several books, and who had been a friend of Erasmus.  
 “ Val. Andreas Doffelius, in his *Bibliotheca Belgica*, says that he  
 “ had perused this attestation of Snoyus amongst the papers  
 “ belonging to the Monastery of Stein, where Erasmus had  
 “ resided many years. But to little purpose hath Snoyus affirmed  
 “ this, and deposited his false testimony in the registers of the  
 “ Convent of Stein: all the world is firmly persuaded that Eras-  
 “ mus is not a native of Tergou, but of Rotterdam. Here is a  
 “ a full acknowledgment of it, made by the interested parties,  
 “ and contained in a Letter of the Burgomasters and Counsellors  
 “ of Tergou, inserted in a Description of the Low Countries,  
 “ translated from the Italian of Guicciardin.

“ In the Library of Tergou they shew a Head of Erasmus,  
 “ which may pass for a public monument of this City’s renun-  
 “ ciation to all pretences of being the birth-place of Erasmus;  
 “ for the legend which is round the head testifies that he was  
 “ conceived at Tergou, and born at Rotterdam.

“ Almeloveen hath lately <sup>b</sup> renewed the dispute of these two  
 “ cities, by a curious incident. He pretends that Erasmus is  
 “ rather a burges of Tergou than of Rotterdam, because, accord-  
 “ ing to the laws, the place where children are born accidentally  
 “ is not accounted their country. If a woman, upon a journey,  
 “ is brought to-bed in a town where she hath no design to  
 “ remain,

<sup>a</sup> Oriundus etiam hac urbe magnus mater se certa de causa contulerat, in ille Desiderius Erasmus, Goudæ enim lucem editus est.  
 conceptus et utero gestatus, Roterodami, quo cum ad pariendum vicina esset.

<sup>b</sup> In his *Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ*.

“ remain, and if she hath a fixed habitation elfewhere, her child  
 “ is not reckoned a citizen or burgefs of that town, but belongs  
 “ properly to the place where his parents have a fettlement.  
 “ Upon thefe principles, Erasmus fhould rather have been called  
 “ *Goudanus* than *Roterodamus*; for his parents dwelt at Tergou,  
 “ and if his mother was not delivered of him at Tergou, but at  
 “ Rotterdam, it was by accident. She abfented herfelf to hide  
 “ her fault, and was concealed for a few days in a neighbouring  
 “ city, till ſhe had depofited a burden, which to her difgrace ſhe  
 “ carried in her bofom <sup>c</sup>.

A. D. 1536.

“ I ſhall obferve by the way, that ſome French Authors,  
 “ founding their pretenſions on a moſt antiquated right, I mean,  
 “ on the old Geography, and the Diviſion of Gaul mentioned  
 “ in Cæſar’s Commentaries, have claimed Erasmus for a country-  
 “ man. Robert Cenalis, Biſhop of Avranches, in his *Hiſtoria*  
 “ *Galliæ*, hath ſaid expreſsly that France is the country of Eraſ-  
 “ mus. Erasmus hath thrown out ſomething to favour this  
 “ pretenſion, having ſaid ſometimes that he belonged to Gaul;  
 “ and ſpeaking of the honour which the learned Budæus did  
 “ to France, he <sup>d</sup> claims a ſhare in it, as being himſelf a French-  
 “ man. This excited the jealouſy of ſome Germans, who, as  
 “ <sup>e</sup> Erasmus informs us, humbly beſought him not to ſuffer  
 “ France to deprive them of their right to him. His anſwer,  
 “ expreſſing much affection for literature, and no leſs modeſty,  
 “ amounts to this, <sup>f</sup> that he was born in the confines of Gaul  
 “ and

<sup>c</sup> See a Letter of a Lawyer called Coſterus, written to Almeloveen upon this ſubject, and inſerted in his *Amænitates*.

<sup>d</sup> Et priſtinam illam laudem noſtræ aſſeras Galliæ. Nihil enim vetat eundem ditione Germanum eſſe, et veterum Coſmographorum deſcriptione Gallum,

<sup>e</sup> Ne patiar ut Gallia ſibi me aſſerat, ſed ingenue fatear Bataviam eſſe Germaniæ partem, videlicet ne tanta gloria fraudetur.

<sup>f</sup> An Batavus ſim non mihi fatiſ conſtat. Hollandum eſſe me negare non poſſum, ea in parte natum, ut ſi Coſmographorum picturis credimus, magis ver-  
 gat

A. D. 1536. “ and Germany, yet a little nearer to the former than to the  
 “ latter. Therefore in another letter he says, that he will neither  
 “ affirm <sup>5</sup> nor deny that he is a Frenchman, accounting it an  
 “ ambiguous point.

“ The city of Rotterdam hath testified her regard to Erasmus  
 “ in the following manner :

“ 1. The <sup>b</sup> house in which he was born is adorned with an  
 “ Inscription, to inform both natives and strangers of this  
 “ illustrious prerogative.

“ 2. The College, where Latin, Greek, and Rhetoric are  
 “ taught, bears the name of Erasmus, and is consecrated to him  
 “ by the Inscription on the frontispiece.

“ 3. A statue of wood was raised to him in the year 1549.

“ 4. In its stead a statue of stone was erected in the year  
 “ 1557. The Spaniards having <sup>i</sup> thrown it down in 1572, the  
 “ inhabitants set it up again as soon as they were delivered from  
 “ this tyranny.

“ 5. They <sup>k</sup> erected one of <sup>l</sup> copper in 1622, which is admired,  
 “ by the Skilful. It is in an open part of the city, by the side of  
 “ a canal, upon a pedestal adorned with inscriptions, and sur-  
 “ rounded with iron rails. If the materials of these different  
 “ statues advanced in intrinsic value, Erasmus had this in com-  
 “ mon.

gat ad Galliam quam ad Germaniam, quamquam extra controversiam est totam eam regionem in confinio Galliarum Germaniarum esse.

<sup>z</sup> Gallum esse me, nec assevero, nec inficio, sic natus ut Gallusne an Germanus sum anceps haberi possit.

<sup>b</sup> See Knight, p. 1, 2.

<sup>i</sup> Verheiden, in his *Elogia*, says that the Spanish soldiers, who were in gar-

rison at Rotterdam, did not proceed to this act of violence, till they were irritated by a Spanish Monk, who in his sermons inveighed against Erasmus; and that the Magistrate did not set up the same statue again, but caused a new one to be made.

<sup>k</sup> Quenstedt is mistaken in thinking that it was made of marble.

<sup>l</sup> Bronze.

“ mon with the Deities of ancient Rome; for not only the <sup>m</sup> offer- A. D. 1536  
 “ ings made by private persons, but those of cities and of nations  
 “ were at first of low price, and afterwards of a more expensive  
 “ kind.

“ There are few travellers, who, relating what they had seen  
 “ in the United Provinces, have not spoken of the statue of  
 “ Erasmus. Joli, a Canon of Paris, having mentioned this  
 “ statue, and the house where Erasmus was born, adds, that *the*  
 “ *great reputation of the man hath made these two things the most*  
 “ *memorable curiosities of the City, though small in themselves; and*  
 “ *yet in reality they cannot be called inconsiderable, since Sebastian*  
 “ *Munster relates in his Cosmography, that Philip, king of Spain,*  
 “ *son of the Emperor Charles V, going to Rotterdam in the month*  
 “ *of September, and the year 1545, [It is a mistake; and it should*  
 “ *be 1549] this statue was erected, to honour his joyful advent,*  
 “ *and that they put into the hand of Erasmus a poem in honour to*  
 “ *this prince, to be presented to him; and that afterwards the*  
 “ *King, and Mary Queen of Hungary, and all the Princes who*  
 “ *attended them, inflamed with a love for the memory of so illustrious*  
 “ *a person, paid a respectful visit to the house, and to the chamber*  
 “ *in which he was born.*

“ Monconis, in his Voyages, says not so much: he only men-  
 “ tions the posture of the statue, and gives the inscriptions on  
 “ the small house where Erasmus was born. — But Bullart con-  
 “ firms the relation of Joli; for he says that *when Philip II made*  
 “ *his solemn entry into the city of Rotterdam, as sovereign Prince of*  
 “ *the Low Countries, the Senate placed, as its greatest ornament, the*  
 “ *statue*

<sup>m</sup> Nunc te marmoreum pro tempore  
 fecimus: at tu

Si factura gregem suppleverit, aureus  
 esto.

Virgil.

Ficilibus crevere Diis hæc aurea templa.  
 Propertius.

<sup>n</sup> Fuit imago Erasmi ad vivum ex-  
 pressa, adveniēti (Philippo) opposita,  
 quæ exserto brachio gratulatorium car-  
 men Principi offerebat.

A. D. 1536. “ *statue of Erasmus, before the house in which he was born, dressed*  
 “ *in an Ecclesiastical habit, holding a pen in the right hand, and*  
 “ *with the left presenting to the Prince a roll, in which was*  
 “ *written :*

“ *Serenissimo Hispaniarum Principi D. Philippo a Burgundia*  
 “ *Desiderius Erasmus Rotterodamus.*

“ *Rotterodamus ego non inficiabor Erasmus,*

“ *Ne videar cives deseruisse meos.*

“ *Ipsorum instinctu, Princeps clarissime, salvum*

“ *Ingressum precor ad limina nostra tuum :*

“ *Atque hunc, quo possum studio, commendo popellum,*

“ *Maxime, præsiis, Cæsare nate, tuis.*

“ *Te Dominum agnoscunt omnes, te Principe gaudent,*

“ *Nec quicquam toto charius orbe tenent.*

“ Observe, that Joli might have cited a more authentic author  
 “ for this story, than Sebastian Munster, namely, a Spanish  
 “ Relation of the Voyage of Don Philip Prince of Spain, com-  
 “ posed by Juan Christoval Caluata de Estrella. Note also, that  
 “ in 1672, the populace having risen in most of the towns of the  
 “ Province of Holland, Roterdam was some days at the discre-  
 “ tion of these rioters; and during this anarchy, the statue of  
 “ Erasmus was taken down, as an object that resembled Popery,  
 “ and was carried into the town-house, and it was in deliberation  
 “ whether it should be melted down. The Magistrates of Basil,  
 “ as soon as they heard of it, ordered some merchants of their  
 “ city to desire a correspondent of theirs at Roterdam to buy the  
 “ statue at a certain price. He accordingly made his proposals,  
 “ and had almost agreed for it, and come up to their demands.  
 “ Having given an account of his negotiation, he received a  
 “ new commission to pay the Magistrates of Roterdam all their  
 “ demand. But, during this interval, they had thought better  
 “ of it, and resolved that they would neither melt nor sell the  
 “ statue,

“ statue, but put it in its place again; and this was done some A. D. 1536.  
 “ time after. The merchant, who was thus employed by the  
 “ Magistrates of Basil, told me the story two days ago.

“ I find few writers, who, having occasion to speak of the  
 “ life of Erasmus, do not mention the glory which he cast upon  
 “ his own country. Thus Verdier Vau-Privas and Bullart begin  
 “ their Eloges of this child of Rotterdam. The words of Rhe-  
 “ nanus on this subject, addressed to the Emperor Charles V,  
 “ are so elegant and expressive, that they well ° deserve to be  
 “ cited. I could produce abundance of Authors, who to exalt  
 “ the glory of Rotterdam join these two things together: the one,  
 “ that she is the country of the Great Erasmus; the other,  
 “ that she hath erected a statue to his memory.” *Bayle*,  
 ROTTERDAM.

“ THE CLERGY of Rotterdam had a party amongst the  
 “ Senators, as well as among the people, many of whom, some  
 “ say to the number of three hundred, entered into an association,  
 “ — not to return any more to the communion, till the *Idol*  
 “ was removed, for so they called the image of Erasmus, — at  
 “ which Leuwius had a fling in his sermon. An image of wood  
 “ had been erected by the Magistrates of that town, in the  
 “ year 1549, and placed on the arch of the Stone bridge, in  
 “ honour of that illustrious man, who was born there. After-  
 “ wards, in 1557, it was changed from wood to a fine blue  
 “ stone; but the Spaniards, animated by a certain Monk of their  
 “ nation, shot it down with their musquets, and threw it into

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“ the

° Natus est, abavi tui Friderici III. unius indigenæ Erasmi incunabula,  
 Aug. primis imperii annis ad quintum quam veterum incolarum memoria  
 Calend. Novembris, Roterodami in quamlibet bellico robore præstantium.  
 Hollandia tua inferioris Germaniæ Pro- Hoc alumno Roterodamum oppidum  
 vincia, quam olim Batavi possederunt, semper se jactabit, et doctis erit com-  
 nunc magis notam studiosis omnibus ob mendatam.

A. D. 1536. “ the water. However, the Spaniards being driven out of the  
 “ town, the said image was set up again by order of the Ma-  
 “ gistrates, where it stood till another was cast of copper or brass,  
 “ at the public charge, which was not quite finished and exposed  
 “ to view till the year 1622. It was a master-piece of wonderful  
 “ art, upon which the famous architect and statuary Henry de  
 “ Keiser had bestowed his utmost skill and pains. It was rather  
 “ bigger than the life, nobly habited in a gown, and was repre-  
 “ sented turning over the leaves of a book. The honour done  
 “ him by this statue was extremely disagreeable to those who  
 “ hated his memory, and especially his prudence and moderation  
 “ in religious matters, particularly to some bigotted Contraremon-  
 “ strants, who used all their interest with the Magistrates to  
 “ prevent the setting up of this image; and indeed they prevailed  
 “ so far, that it would have been taken down again, if those  
 “ who were for retaining it, had not carried their point in the  
 “ Senate by two votes only. Upon this the Clergy began to  
 “ inveigh publicly against the image. It was given out that  
 “ some of the simple people bowed the knee before it; that they  
 “ made a new Saint of Erasmus; that his image occasioned  
 “ scandal to weak minds, and might possibly give encouragement  
 “ to the Popish practice of image-worship.—After this the Zealots,  
 “ how much soever scandalized at it, were forced to bear with  
 “ the statue.

“ The famous poet Joost vanden Vondel wrote the following  
 “ verses upon this statue of Erasmus:

“ Whatever wisdom Greece and Rome conceal'd,  
 “ Erasmus to the Christian world reveal'd:  
 “ Thus to himself he gain'd immortal fame,  
 “ And grac'd his native city with his name.

“ Proud of the glory by his merit won,  
 “ The grateful city to her godlike son

“ A Statue



“ A Statue rais'd aloft of solid stone,  
 “ Whilst Envy strove to hurl him from the throne.  
 “ Fruitless attempt! No storms of envious breath  
 “ The Hero move, triumphant ev'n in death.  
 “ Immortal garlands do his temples grace,  
 “ And time adds beauty to his rev'rend face.

“ Tho' once but stone, in burnish'd brass his features shine:  
 “ If Envy storms at this, gold shall our Saint enshrine.

*Gerard Brandt, Hist. of the Ref. Vol. IV. p. 359.*

“ THE CONTRAREMONSTRANTS hated the memory of their  
 “ countryman Erasmus, as much as they did the persons of  
 “ Grotius and Episcopijs, and wanted to have his statue pulled  
 “ down. They could not bear the sight of this hero, even in  
 “ brass: it had the same effect upon them, as Statius supposes  
 “ the image of Hercules to have had upon the Argives;

“ *Haud illum impavidi, quamvis et in ære, suumque*  
 “ *Inachidæ videre decus.*”

Theb. VI. 272.

*Six Dissertations, p. 108.*

UPON the decease of Erasmus, some vile wretches (if we may believe Melchior Adam) who had interest in the Emperor's Court, represented him as one who died a Lutheran and an Heretic; and

4 G 2

faid

P Carolus V Cæsar, ejusque soror Maria, Belgii Gubernatrix, hunc (Mudæum) principem habuerunt ingenii et doctrinæ; hujus sæpe consilium quæsi-  
 verunt, plurimumque ejus prudentiæ tribuerunt. Itaque cum Stellionum quorundam calumniis, et dolo malo, nihil propius esset factum, quam ut Erasmi, tanquam hæretici et Luthera-

nismo immortui, bona, licet piis causis relicta, rescisso testamento honestissimo, publicarentur, et monumenta ab ipso edita, Ediçto Cæsaris proscrip-  
 ta, de manibus studiosorum excuterentur, Mudæi unius auctoritate et consiliis tam sæda Reip. literariæ clades est averfa.  
*Vit. Mudæi.*

A. D. 1536. said that his will ought to be set aside, his effects confiscated, and his works prohibited. They would have carried their point, if Mudæus, <sup>9</sup> once a disciple of Erasmus, an eminent Lawyer, and much in favour at Court, had not put a stop to their attempt.

“ Tapper and his associates, at Louvain, caused all the versions of the Scriptures to be condemned, the Vulgate excepted; and endeavoured to have all the works of Erasmus destroyed, but could not succeed in the attempt, being crossed by the President of Brabant, and the Bishop of Arras, &c.”

<sup>9</sup> ERASMUS, says Bayle, at first, did not care to sit for his picture; but he conquered that aversion, and was frequently drawn by Holbein. Beza made this Epigram, to be put under his picture, which Bayle hath justly censured, as a piece of false wit:

*Ingens ingentem quem personat orbis Erasmus,  
Hic tibi dimidium picta tabella refert.  
At cur non totum? mirari desine, lector,  
Integra nam totum terra nec ipsa capit.*

It is hardly good enough for a school-boy.

Charles

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 255, Not. y.

<sup>r</sup> Bayle TAPPER.

<sup>s</sup> Cum de se dicit in vita Erasmus: *Ac ne facie quidem propria delectabatur, vixque extortum est amicorum precibus, ut se pingi pateretur; hoc ita accepit Bælius (Rem. S.) displicuisse Erasmo deformitatem suam: at ille modo se negabat φίλων, aut Suffenum aliquem. Præcedunt proxime verba: Neque quidquam unquam scripsit, quod ipsi placeret: quod nemo ita accipit, illum offensum scriptorum suorum deformitate:*

Quod reliquum est, nihil minus quam deformem fuisse, Holbeniana imago ostendit. De religione Erasmi, qui post Bælium disputarint, memorantur. [Addi his potest B. Fabricii nostri exercitatio critica de religione Erasmi, in opusculorum illius sylloge recusa 1738; 4to.] *Remarques sur le Dict. de Bayle.* From the *Relations Gottingenses*, Vol. III. Fasc. I. p. 103.

<sup>t</sup> Il n'étoit guere content de son visage.

Charles Patin hath given us <sup>u</sup> an account of the pictures of A. D. 1536. Erasmus done by Holbein.

“ ERASMUS had dwelt longer at \* Basil than at any place.  
 “ He delighted in that city: sometimes he made an excursion,  
 “ but he failed not to return back ;

“ ——— *Hic illius arma,*

“ *Hic currus fuit.*

“ The

<sup>u</sup> Imago obliqua feu *κατάγερτος* Erasmi scribentis Paraphrasin in Evangelium D. Marci, manu variis annulis ornata. In Bibliotheca Acad. Basil.

Imago ejusdem minor circularis. In Bibliotheca Acad. Basil.

Imago Erasmi, in Museo Feschiano.

Effigies Erasmi a Le Blond emta Basileæ ducatis aureis centum, quam postea delatam in Belgium inde accuratissime juxta magnitudine in æs incidi curavit, Wischeri chalcographi opera. Tabulæ huic ferreis ligamentis juncta erat ad dextram effigies Jo. Frobenii. Has duas tabellas sine dubio Erasmus in gratiam et honorem Frobenii, quem impense amabat, fieri curavit, atque eidem dono obtulit; unde dextram illi cessit. Opinor hæc duas effigies Erasmi et Frobenii eas esse quas in cimeliarchio Regio Londini observasse memini, anno 1672.

Erasmum sæpius ab Holbenio pictum, et in Galliam, Angliam, aliaque loca delatum fuisse, ex illius epistolis liquet.

Effigies Erasmi in Thesauro Cæsareo. Windobonæ.

Imago Erasmi scribentis, forma minori. In pinacotheca R. Christianissimi. *Erasmi Op.* T. IV. c. 394.

\* Many of the (Protestant) Fugitives took up their residence at Basil (in 1554) upon two reasons: one was, because the people of that city were especially very kind and courteous unto such English as came thither for shelter: the other, because those that were of slenderer fortunes might have employment in the Printing-houses there, the Printers in Basil in this age having the reputation of exceeding all others of that art throughout Germany, for the exactness and elegancy of their printing. And they rather chose Englishmen for the overseers and correctors of their presses, being noted for the most careful and diligent of all others. Whereby poor Scholars made a shift to subsist in these hard times. *Strype's Life of Cranmer*, p. 356.

Multa hic commoda. — Cælum salubre, urbs amœna, — typographorum ad manum prompta facilitas, loci claritudo: nec dubito quin si laboris non pigeat, nobilium adolescentulorum catervam brevi collecturus sis, e quibus non parum tibi utilitatis. Habuit hoc perpetuo Basilea, ut doctis gratissima fuerit civitas. Quid putas Erasmm hic detinet? invenisset sane et alibi locorum typographos.

*Oecolampadius*

A. D. 1536. "The revolution in religion was the only cause that hindered  
 " him from fixing his tabernacle there for all his days. At Basil  
 " they shew his house in which he died; and the place where  
 " the Professors of Divinity read their winter-lectures is called  
 " the College of Erasmus. His cabinet is one of the most con-  
 " siderable rarities of the city: it contains his ring, his seal, his  
 " sword, his knife, his pencil, his will written with his own  
 " hand, his picture by Holbein, which is a master-piece. The  
 " Magistrates bought this cabinet in 1661, for nine thousand  
 " crowns, of the descendants of Bonif. Amerbachius the heir of  
 " Erasmus. If we may believe Patin, they made a present of it;  
 " but, as another traveller says, they sold it to the University for  
 " a thousand crowns." *Bayle* ERASME, Not. H.

THUANUS, in his travels, was courteously received by  
 Amerbachius, in whose hands was the library, and other things  
 once belonging to Erasmus.

BAYLE

*Oecolampadius* Epist. ad *Grynæum*. Vide  
*Gerdesum* Hist. Evang. Renoy. T. II.  
 Append. p. 144.

Basilius Amerbachius, vir huma-  
 nissimus, ad quem commendatitias a  
 Franc. Pithæo, ut et ad Theodorum  
 Zuingerum, literas habebat Thuanus,  
 a latere ejus nunquam discessit. Ante  
 omnia ei in propriis ædibus D. Erasmi  
 bibliothecam et adversaria manuscripta,  
 tum nummos antiquos, aliamque mo-  
 dicam suppellectilem Vito parenti ab ipso  
 legatam ostendit, in eaque globum terræ  
 argenteum, cælatura et miniatura egre-  
 gium, a Tigurino quodam aurifice factum,  
 quem dum curiosis oculis inspicit, me-  
 dio eo aperto vinum utrinque infusum  
 est, et more gentis Thuano propinatum.  
*Thuani Vita* L. II. p. 20.

Erasmus and Amerbach's Museum  
 belong to the University (of Basil) which  
 purchased them for nine thousand dollars  
 from the heirs of the latter. Amongst  
 other things are twenty admirable origi-  
 nals of Holbein, as Lucretia, Venus and  
 Cupid, Erasmus, Amerbach, Holbein  
 himself, the Institution of the Lord's  
 Supper, but more especially the dead  
 body of our Saviour, for which piece  
 alone a thousand ducats have been  
 offered. In the Library are a great  
 number both of Manuscripts, and old  
 coins and medals, of the latter no less  
 than twelve thousand, together with  
 many other curiosities of art and nature,  
 as paintings, —. *Keyser's Travels*,  
 Vol. I. p. 139.

Extract

BAYLE hath observed of Erasmus, that he had rather too much sensibility, when he was<sup>z</sup> attacked by malicious and inconsiderable adversaries, made too many complaints of them, and was too ready to answer them. It is true. He wanted some Friend to overrule him, and to say to him, *LET those men alone: they cannot live in their own writings; and why should they live in yours?* Yet thus much may be observed, by way of excuse, that he was fighting for his honour, and for his life, being often accused of nothing less than heterodoxy, impiety, and blasphemy, by men whose forehead was a rock, and whose tongue was a razor. To be misrepresented, as a Pedant and a Dunce, this is no great matter; for Time and Truth put Folly to flight: to be accused of heresy by Bigots, Hypocrites, Politicians, and Infidels, this

Extract from a letter written to the Reverend Mr. Wetstein from Basil, by Mr. Professor Burcard, 1758.

*Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Reliquiæ in Bibliotheca publica Basiliensi et Museo exstantes.*

Scholia in D. Hieronymi Epistolas, manu propria.

Epistolæ aliquot autographæ.

Expostulatio ad amicum quendam de Eucharistia.

Judicium de Libero Arbitrio et de Fide.

Ex Plutarcho quædam in linguam Latinam translata. Autographa.

Testamentum Erasmi autographum.

Epistolum ad Lud. Berum; Præpositum Basiliensem, cum librum suum de Libero Arbitrio ad eum mitteret.

Diploma Academix Taurinensis, quo S. Theologiæ Doctor renunciatus est, cum sigillo.

Breve Pontificis Rom. Leonis X ad Erasmus.

Erasmi annulus aureus cum gemma Terminum præferente.

Nummus aureus primæ magnitudinis cum imagine Sigismundi Regis Poloniæ. In aversa parte inscriptio: Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo Sigismundus Bonar.

Alius secundi moduli cum imagine et insignibus Sigismundi Bonar Castellani Ozarnoinensis.

Imago Erasmi in rotunda tabella ab Holbenio depicta.

Alia major ejusdem imago ab eodem picta.

Encomium Morix primæ editionis, cum figuris Holbenii manu appictis.

Sigillum plumbeum cum Termino et inscriptione; *Cedo nulli*: quo in signandis literis ordinario utebatur.

<sup>z</sup> Ut canes loca mundiora vestigant, ubi immingant; ita isti non temere in ullum genus hominum maledicam linguam solvunt, aut virulentum stylum stringunt, nisi in quibus aliquid invidiosum esse suspicantur. *Jes. Scaliger.*

A. D. 1536. this is a serious affair ; as they know too well, who have had the misfortune to feel the effects of it.

The celebrated Peter Ramus never replied to the invectives of his numerous adversaries ; and the writer of his Life <sup>a</sup> mentions it as an instance of his uncommon patience and prudence.

LE CLERC hath sometimes observed, that Erasmus was not recompens'd suitably to his deserts ; and that is true enough. But yet, if we consider how many <sup>b</sup> presents, and invitations, and favours

<sup>a</sup> Adversus contumelias doctorum quamlibet et eruditorum hominum perpetuum silentium juraverat. Nil Goveano, Gallandio, Peronio, Turnebo respondit : nil ingenii et doctrinæ per universam Germaniam principi Melanchthoni respondit. Cumque divulgatis per orbem terrarum Gallica et Latina lingua probris esset notatus, publicis ludis ignominiosissime traductus : constricta lingua, vincis manibus prohibitus quicquam de philosophia vel publice vel privatim dicere, scribere, cogitare etiam (si menti tantum potuisset imperari) prohibitus esset : adversus tantas tot acerbitatum plagas, unicum patientiæ remedium adhibuit, in animoque semper illud habuit ;

*Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, hora.*

Freigius *Vit. Rami.* Bayle RAMUS, Not. L.

<sup>b</sup> Nec solum a Principibus honoratus est Erasmus ; sed etiam a civitatibus Germaniæ. Nam si qua transfret, idque Magistratus rescisset, vino fuit donatus : qui honor Magnatibus et civitatum Legatis, more gentis, impenditur. *Melch. Adam Vit. Erasmi.*

Ingressus domum (Erasmi) putare potuisses te videre ædes aliquas superbiorum olim Corinthiorum, adeo ornate cælatis auratisque operibus instructum abacum vidisses. Ne vero etiam fordide parcum fuisse credas. Splendore ædificiorum est delectatus : Friburgi namque contulisse ad impensam domus a se constructæ plus mille aureos nummos fertur. In reliquis autem sumptibus faciendis, nonnulli nimium diligentes et accurati æstimatores rerum, volunt ipsum minimæ quam nimix liberalitati propiorem fuisse. Sed quam ii perverse judicent, facile advertet, cui Erasmi conditio fuerit aliquanto explorator. Erasmus paucis admodum redditibus vivebat ; plerumque sustentabatur liberalitate Principum et Bibliopolarum, quibus forte operam navabat. Deinde infirmum illud et valetudinarium corpusculum singulari quadam et exquisita curatione indigebat, quam nequeat adhibere, cui non abunde facultates suppetunt.—Nam qui intolerabili calculi et vesicæ dolore per omnem vitam laboraret, lauta et diligenti curatione opus habebat.—Renum vesicæque morbi malignitiam in eo gravabant tussis et podagra.

—Accedebat

favours he received; and how many he refused, and how little inclination he had for Ecclesiastical preferments, more of which he might have obtained, we cannot well place him amongst the *Infelices Literati*. A. D. 1536.

THE STYLE of Erasmus is that of a man, who had a strong memory, a natural eloquence, a lively fancy, and a ready invention, who composed with great facility and rapidity, and who did not care for the trouble of revising and correcting; who had spent all his days in reading, writing, and talking Latin; for he seems to have had no turn for modern languages, and perhaps he had almost forgotten his mother-tongue. His style therefore is always unaffected, easy, copious, fluent, and clear; but not always perfectly pure, and strictly classical. He hath been censured, as a dealer in barbarisms, by persons, who not only had not half of his abilities and erudition, but who did not even write Latin half so well as he.

His verses are plainly the compositions of one, who had much learning and good sense, and who understood prosody, or the technical part of poetry; but who had not an equal elegance of taste, and an ear for poetical numbers. So that upon the whole he is rather a versifier than a poet, and is not to be ranked amongst the Italian poets of those days, Sannazarius, Fracastorius, Vida, &c. many of whom wrote better than any of the ancients, except Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, and a few more.

## 4 H

## ERASMUS

—Accedebat senectus ipsa per se morbus habitus. Accedebant insuper quotidianæ vigiliæ et nocturnæ lucubrations. — Cæterum Erasmus, qui omnes notiones naturæ suæ exploratas meditationibusque haberet, certa quadam et artifi-

ciosa victus ratione mederi sibi didicerat. — *Guil. Insulanus Orat. Funebr. in obitum Erasmi, T. X. c. 1856.*

° Benferade would have said,  
*J'en connois de plus miserables.*

A. D. 1536. ERASMUS<sup>d</sup> used to dine late, that he might have a long morning to study in. After dinner he would converse cheerfully with his friends about all sorts of subjects, and deliver his opinions very freely upon men and things. So says Milichius, who was a student at Friburg, and there had the pleasure of being well acquainted with Erasmus.

ERASMUS, in the earlier part of his life, carefully studied the Greek and Latin grammar, read lectures upon them, and translated Greek books into Latin. This was laying a right<sup>e</sup> foundation for criticism and philology; and it is much to be wished, that our young students of promising abilities would, in some measure, follow his example. Be you ever so ingenious and industrious, yet if you neglect to cultivate and to preserve this humble part of knowledge, you will be perpetually stumbling, when you tread on Classic ground, when you attempt to explain, to translate, or to correct ancient authors, or to discuss any learned subject, or to compose a few pages of Latin in prose, or in verse. Then beware of blunders; and think not to make amends

<sup>d</sup> De Erasmi privata ac domestica consuetudine, ac sermonibus, multa narrare fuit solitus Jacobus Milichius cum magna voluptate: quomodo diurnas operas partiri, et ut matutino tempore rebus feriis vacare commodius posset, veterum more, tardius prandere: inde vel amicis sese dedere, vel obambulare, et inter obambulandum, vel colloquiis suavis se invitare ad hilaritatem atque oblectare, vel ea recitare solitus sit, quæ ex ore ejus excepta, postea *Familiarium Colloquiorum* titulo prodierunt. Cum censuras referret, quas Erasmus in efflorescentia sub id tempus ingenia Germaniæ suo more, et pro ea qua valuit autoritate liberius agere consueverat,

aiebat illum de Philippo Melanchthone adolescente affirmasse, Quod in quamcumque artem nervos ingenii intensus esset, in ea omnes summos artifices esset superaturus. Hac voce Erasmi aiebat, incensum fuisse cupiditate Philippi visendi. *Melch. Adam Vit. Milichii.*

<sup>e</sup> Quo minus sunt ferendi, qui hanc artem [Grammaticam] ut tenuem ac jejunam cavillantur: quæ nisi oratori futuro fundamenta fideliter jecerit, quicquid superstruxeris, corruet: necessaria pueris, jucunda senibus: dulcis secretorum comes: et quæ vel sola omni studiorum genere plus habet operis, quam ostentationis, &c. *Quintilianus* I. 4.



amends for them by insulting and ridiculing <sup>f</sup> Grammarians, A. D. 1536. Scholiasts, Commentators, Lexicographers, Verbal Critics, Word-Catchers, Syllable-Mongers, and Poachers in Stobæus and Suidas.

“ It

<sup>f</sup> Quand on vouloit mespriser Monsieur Cujas, on l'appelloit Grammairiën; mais il s'en rioit, & disoit que telles gens estoient marris de ne l'estre pas. *Scaligeran.*

Utinam essem bonus Grammaticus; sufficit enim ei, qui auctores omnes probe vult intelligere, esse bonum Grammaticum. Porro, quicumque doctos viros Grammaticos *pour tout potage* vocant, sunt ipsi indoctissimi; idque semper observabis. *Scaligeran.* p. 116, 176.

*Dorpius, writing against Erasmus, represented himself as a Divine, and Erasmus as a Grammarian. Sir T. More replies to him:*

Quanquam Grammatici nomen, quod tu frequentius quam facetius irrides, Erasmus, opinor, haud aspernabitur; imo, ut est modestus, quanquam meretur maxime fortassis, nec agnoscat tamen. — Quod si tu eos tantum Grammaticos esse vis, quos ais ferulas sceptorum vice gestantes in antro plagoso regnare, &c. ego, medius fidius, mi Dorpi, etiam eos, quanquam procul ab disciplinis esse concesserim, tamen aliquanto propius accessisse puto, quam Theologos illos, qui et structuram orationum et vuculas ipsas ignorant: ex quo genere; et ego aliquot, et tu, ut opinor, plures (quanquam uterque sedulo dissimulamus) agnoscimus. *Epist. ad Dorpium.*

Quid est quod tam procul a sacris ablegamus Grammaticos, de divinis Literis aliquanto melius meritos, quam sint frigidi quidam ac jejuni Dialectici, ne dicam Sophistæ? *Erasmus ad D. Marcum*, VIII. not. 23.

Rideat qui volet has Grammatistarum annotationes, modo fateatur terque quaterque Theologos in his labi. Tolerabile, si tantum laberentur, nisi lapsi jungerent impudentiam calumniandi. — Quanto melius ageretur cum re Theologica, si qui Theologiam absolutam profiterentur, a Linguacibus et Grammatistis comiter acciperent, quod illi pro sua qualicunque portione conferunt in medium; et illis vicissim illa sublimiora mysteria fraterne communicent, hoc majore modestia, quo penitus ingressi sunt in ejus philosophiæ penetralia, quæ dedocet fastum omnem et supercilium, summamque docet tolerantiam erga imbecilles? *Ad D. Lucan*, I. not. 53.

Qui tam indoctas nænias evulgant libris, miro supercilio objurgant, miro fastu insultant ac tantum non triumphant, rectius facturi, si discerent interim Græcæ Latinæque Grammatices rudimenta. *Ad 1 ad Corinth.* X. 16.

In his ne turpiter hallucinentur haemaxiæ Doctores, et Colosici Theologi, præstant illi monogrammati Grammatistæ, ac Pygmæi Theologi. *Advers. Sutorum*, T. IX. c. 765.

A. D. 1536.

“ It is no wonder that no bookseller could be found, who  
 “ would venture to print the Commentary of Meziriac upon  
 “ Apollodorus. The taste for this kind of erudition is entirely  
 “ extinct; and if Meziriac were to return to life in these days,  
 “ he might stay long enough at Bresse, before he would receive  
 “ an invitation to be a Member of the French Academy. The  
 “ same qualifications, which formerly procured him that honour,  
 “ would now suffice to exclude him. It was not the politeness  
 “ of his style, or the beauty of his verses, which made him  
 “ accounted worthy of being an Academician, for in this respect  
 “ he was inferior to most of the Fraternity; but it was his repu-  
 “ tation for learning, and the proofs which he had given of a  
 “ vast erudition. Times are altered: no regard is paid to an  
 “ Author, who perfectly understands Mythology, Greek Poets  
 “ and Scholiasts, and by this knowledge can clear up difficulties.  
 “ in

Et quoniam per saltum, ut aiunt, Doctor factus est Bedda, redeat ad necessariam Grammaticam et Latinam et Græcam, ex cujus incititia toties gravem calumniam intendit proximo, toties non intelligit Auctores qui Latine scripserunt, ut de Græcis taceam. Ne pudeat fero discere, quod scire necessarium est. *Advers. Beddam*, T. IX. c. 698.

Nec te grammaticas opus est ediscere nugas,  
 Et tetricis languere scholis, tantum elige  
 gnomas

Priscorum e libris—nec te vox barbara turbet,  
 Aut temere erumpens lingua titubante so-  
 læcus :

Tot sanctos oppone patres : mysteria sacra  
 Turpe est grammaticis submittere colla ca-  
 pistris.

*Buchanan*. Franciscan.

I remember to have met with a pas-  
 sage in a certain Writer, which is not

at all favourable to the Grammarians.  
 It runs thus :

Ἐμοὶ περὶ φιλοσόφους ἔστι φιλία· περὶ μὲν  
 τοὶ σοφιστὰς, ἢ γραμματιστὰς, ἢ τοιοῦτο γέ-  
 νος ἔτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαμόνων, ἔτε νῦν  
 ἔστι φιλία, μῆτε ὕσεσθαι ποτε γένοιτο.

*My friendship I bestow upon Philoso-  
 phers : as to Sophists, little Grammarians,  
 and such sort of Scoundrels and Cacodæ-  
 mons, I neither have, nor ever will have  
 any regard for them.*

The man abhors *Grammarians*, it  
 seems; and *Grammars* too, I suppose.  
 But who is the Author of this bit of  
 Greek? An extraordinary person, I  
 assure you; a Projector, a Visionnaire,  
 a Linguist by inspiration, a Crack, a  
 Conjuror — in short, APOLLONIUS  
 TYANENSIS. He is the man; and the  
*Grammarians* account it no disgrace to  
 be vilified by a *Mountebank*.

“ in Chronology, Geography, Grammar, &c. Not only com- A. D. 1536.  
 “ positions without the least tincture of literature are preferred to  
 “ the works of such an Author, but he is treated as a mere  
 “ Pedant: and this is the sure way to discourage all young men,  
 “ who have talents for the study of humanities. There is some-  
 “ thing odious and contemptible in the very name of Pedantry;  
 “ and who would take pains to acquire nothing besides scorn and  
 “ infamy by becoming very learned, and appearing to be well  
 “ versed in the works of the Ancients? Nothing hath more con-  
 “ tributed to bring literature into contempt, than the custom  
 “ which the Wits and the fine Geniuses, real or pretended, have  
 “ taken up to condemn, as school-learning and pedantry, citations  
 “ from Latin and Greek Authors, and Philological remarks.  
 “ They have been so unjust, as to deride even those Scholars,  
 “ who had, besides erudition, a politeness and a knowledge of  
 “ the world, Costar for example. Had they been contented to  
 “ ridicule those, who, to make a parade of their reading, cite a  
 “ Plato, a Varro, and an Aristotle, either to prove nothing at all,  
 “ or to confirm something which no man ever denied, and  
 “ which every man knows, they had not done amiss: but with  
 “ disdainful airs and insolent scoffs they have banished from the  
 “ polite world all those who dared to shew that they had made  
 “ collections from the Ancients; they have laughed at the  
 “ Costars, and even at those letters of Voiture which are sprinkled  
 “ with Latin. These censures have had the more effect, be-  
 “ cause there is something plausible in them; and it is certainly  
 “ true, that men should be more careful to polish their mind,  
 “ and to form their judgment, than to load their memory with  
 “ the remarks and the sayings of other people. The more  
 “ truth there is in this maxim, the more it charms and seduces  
 “ the Conceited, the Superficial, and the Lazy, and incites them  
 “ to turn to ridicule every thing that is called Erudition. Per-  
 “ haps at the bottom, the principal motive is to depreciate the  
 “ goods.

A. D. 1536. “ goods of their neighbours, with a view to enhance the value  
 “ of their own : for if one was to say to them, You condemn  
 “ such and such Authors for citing Latin and Greek. Lay your  
 “ hands upon your heart, and tell me whether you would not do  
 “ the same if you were able ; we should put their sincerity to a  
 “ hard trial. — Now things are come to such a pass (that is,  
 “ A. 1700) that, as we are informed, the Bookfeller at Paris,  
 “ who designs to print Madam Dacier’s Translation of Homer,  
 “ dares not join the original to it, lest the very sight of Greek  
 “ should discourage and disgust his customers. — Judge by this  
 “ of the reigning taste, and conclude that the Commentary upon  
 “ Apollodorus would be hissed off the stage at Paris. It con-  
 “ tains too much erudition.” *Bayle* MEZIRIAC, Not. C.

IN ERASMUS we behold a man, who in the days of his youth, lying under no small disadvantages of birth and education, depressed by poverty, friendless and unsupported, or very slenderly supported, made his way through all these obstacles, and, by the help of bright parts and constant application, became one of the most considerable scholars of the age, and acquired the favour and the protection of Princes, Nobles, and Prelates, of the greatest Names in Church and State.

Every man of letters must not indulge the vain hope, though he should be as learned, as ingenious, and as industrious as Erasmus, to be as much favoured and encouraged as he was. — But this is not a sufficient cause to deter any person from a studious life. Learning is in many respects its own reward ; learning applied to useful purposes, and adorned with good manners. Without these, though it may be of some service to the Public, it will be of small comfort to the Possessor.

“ After personal merit, (says *Bruyere*) it must be confessed  
 “ that high stations and pompous titles are the principal and the  
 “ most splendid marks of distinction : and he who cannot be  
 “ an *Erasmus*, must think of being a *Bishop*.” The

The <sup>s</sup> high stomach of the learned Joseph Scaliger, and his A. D. 1536. resentment against the age in which he lived, made him talk in a manner beneath himself, when he advised all parents to keep their children from literature, and to turn them entirely to occupations more lucrative, and more respected by the world. Such sentiments did not become either the Prince of the Republic of Letters, or the Prince of Verona.

As for the Writer of the Life of Erasmus, if he may be permitted here to speak of himself, and to throw away a few lines upon such a subject, he hath no cause to wish that he had followed other occupations. Not to his erudition, (for many things have concurred to hinder him from making any considerable progress in it) but to his constant love and pursuit of it he owes his late Patron; he owes several worthy Friends still living, ONE in particular; and a situation and station, better than he expected, and as good as he ought to desire.

OF ALL the Theological works of Erasmus, his <sup>h</sup> *Paraphrases* were best received, and met with the least opposition. Yet our good Bishop Gardiner inveighed vehemently against them.

“ As

<sup>s</sup> Monstrorum pater est hoc seculum. Nemo non vult haberi doctus: nemo tamen vel labro tenus bonas literas degustavit. — Pudit me magni cuiusdam viri, magnique in Theologicis nominis, qui ignorat, quæ puerum nescire nefas esset. Ego totum me literis dedidi, quum eæ vigerent, et maximi in illis florent viri, quorum exemplo quivis ad eas excitari possit. Nunc non mirum est juventutem has artes contemnere, ad quarum amorem nullius exemplo excitatur. Ego tamen, quem tam ingratum seculum a virtute deterrere

poterat, non committam ut hoc exiguum vitæ quod mihi superest, in iis studiis non transigam, in quibus primam pueritiam exegi. Nulli tamen auctor fuerim, ut liberis suis plus temporis in literis ediscendis indulgeat, quam quantum Latinæ linguæ percipiendæ fatis est; ut inde ad aliud institutum vitæ sese conferat, quod melius audiat, et fructuosius sit, quam literarum studium, quo hodie nihil despicius, nihil inutilius. *Epist. ad Gruterum*, p. 794.

<sup>h</sup> Above; p. 128, 424.

A. D. 1536.

“ As to Erasmus’s Paraphrase, Gardiner pretended that he  
 “ found divers things in it to condemn the work ; and that he  
 “ agreed with them that said, Erasmus laid the eggs, and Luther  
 “ hatched them ; and that of all the monstrous opinions that have  
 “ risen, evil men had a wondrous occasion ministred to them from  
 “ that book.—He said he might term it in one word *Abomination*,  
 “ both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of Eras-  
 “ mus’s pen ; and also for the arrogant ignorance of the Trans-  
 “ lator of it ; considering that book was authorized by the King,  
 “ and a charge laid upon the realm of twenty thousand pounds,  
 “ by enjoining every parish to buy one : whereof he had made  
 “ an estimate by the probable number of buyers, and the price  
 “ of the book. He charged the Translator with ignorance both  
 “ in Latin and English ; a man, he said, far unmeet to meddle  
 “ with such a matter, and not without malice on his part. —

“ In vindication of the Learned Author of the Paraphrase, so  
 “ bedashed by Gardiner, I will here use the words of him that  
 “ writ the Epistle Dedicatory before the translated Paraphrase  
 “ on the Acts :

I cannot but judge, that whoſo are prompt and haſty con-  
 demners of Erasmus, or eager adverſaries unto his doctrine, do,  
 under the name and colour of Erasmus, rather utter their ſtomach  
 and hatred againſt God’s Word and the Grace of the Goſpel,  
 which Erasmus for his part moſt diligently and moſt ſimply  
 laboureth to bring to light.

“ And to ſuch as ſaid that his doctrine was ſcarcely ſincere,  
 “ and that he did ſomewhat err, he answered ;”

That Erasmus, forasmuch as he was a man, and ſo eſteemed  
 himſelf, would that his works ſhould none otherwiſe be read or  
 accepted, than the writings of other mortal men. And that,  
 after his judgment, a little trip among ſo many notable good  
 works for the interpretation of Scripture, and for the help of the  
 Simple, ſhould rather be borne withal, than ſo many good  
 things

things to be either rejected, or kept away from the hungry Christian Reader. It is a cold charity that can bear with nothing; and an eager malice it is, that for a trifle, or a matter of nothing, would have the Ignorant to lack so much good edifying, as may be taken of <sup>i</sup> Erasmus. *Strype's Life of Cranmer*, B. II. c. 3; and *Appendix*, N°. xxxvi. p. 77, containing Gardiner's frivolous and malicious remarks against Erasmus.

I HAVE been asked whether I would decide the question, *What was the Religion of Erasmus?* In one respect, I account myself qualified for the undertaking; for I am unprejudiced, and have nothing to bias me. But I think it best to leave the Reader to judge for himself, and to make his inferences from the premisses. Therefore I shall only observe, that Erasmus, if he had had an absolute power to establish a form of religion in any country, would have been a moderate man, and a Latitudinarian, as to the *Credenda*. He would have proposed few Articles of faith, and those with a primitive simplicity. This System indeed would have been highly disagreeable to the men, who enjoy no comfort in believing, or in pretending to believe, what they think fit, unless they can vex, harass, and torment all those, who will not submit to their decisions.

Erasmus hath been accused of Arianism by many Ecclesiastics; he hath also been claimed as an Arian by <sup>k</sup> Sandius and others. Yet

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<sup>i</sup> Leo Judæ Erasmi in Novum Testamentum Paraphrasim eximiam prorsus, atque auro gemmisque pretiosiore, in linguam Germanicam transferre ferrea prorsus industria suscepit, occultato licet proprio nomine. *Gerdesus Hist. Evang. Renov. Tom. I. p. 109.*

<sup>k</sup> Erasmus non solum Ministri Sarmatiæ et Transsylvaniæ probarunt secum

sensisse; sed et Bellarminus, Possévinus, alique volunt eadem eum cum Arianis sensisse. Hoc sane constat infinita eum scripsisse in favorem Arianorum, et plurima loca Scripturæ, quæ contra Arianos allegantur, suis explicationibus penitus enervasse. Præfatione (ni fallor) in tertium tomum operum Hieronymi admodum scripsit in gratiam Arianorum; scilicet,

A. D. 1536. it is certain that he denied the charge, and that he expressed himself often upon this subject like those who were called Orthodox. I began to mark the passages which shew this, but was soon weary of the work. They are to be found quite through his fifth <sup>1</sup> Volume, and in many other places.

And yet Erasmus said <sup>m</sup> enough, and more than enough, to make himself suspected by violent and unreasonable men. He gave up some passages of Scripture, which had been, and are now frequently urged against the Arians, and which prove nothing besides the ignorance, disingenuity, or prejudices of those who make use of them: he said, that Arianism was rather a faction and a schism than an heresy; that the Arians surpassed their adversaries in learning and eloquence; that they were skilful in the knowledge of the Scriptures; that they might be good men, and in the favour of God, notwithstanding their error; that Arius and his followers were ill used by the Consubstantialists; that Creeds ought to be drawn up with simplicity; that the Christians in the fourth century did wrong to insert the word *ὁμοούσιος* in the Nicene Creed; that the Apostles Creed was sufficient; and that the Athanasian Creed, unless very favourably interpreted, was rather heterodox than orthodox.

He also defended the doctrine of Subordination; he thought that the Son, though of the same *nature* with the Father, yet, *personally* considered, was lesser than the Father, and inferior to him,

licet, ut memini, Arianos seculo quarto, numero, præstantia, moribus et eruditione potiores fuisse Homousianis, adeo ut Ecclesia fuerit dubia, in quas partes potius inclinaret. Dicitum quoque mihi est, eum alicubi scripsisse: *Cum Arianis sentirem, si Ecclesia id fecisset.* Sandius *Nucl. Hist. Eccl.* p. 423. See also his *Appendix ad Nucl.* p. 84.

<sup>1</sup> Tom. V. c. 472, 475, 480, 483, 494, 510, 511, 526, 532, 535, 601, 836, 903, 914, 939, 1011, 1037, 1057, 1073, 1139. Tom. IX. c. 171, 414, &c.

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 136. Ep. 329; above, p. 197. Ep. 478; above, p. 222. Ep. 525; above, p. 286, &c. Ep. 613; Tom. IX. c. 270, 273, 275.



him, as the Father was the fountain of Divinity, from whom the Son and the Spirit received their being and their perfections. A. D. 1536.

If he could have seen the <sup>n</sup> Confession of Faith, presented to Francis I by the poor persecuted remains of the Albigenses, or Valdenfes,

<sup>n</sup> A. 1544, Merindoliani et Capra-rienses in Venasclnensi comitatu, sub patrocinio olim Dominorum de Cabriera habitantes, existentesque reliquæ Albigensium, sequentem fidei suæ confessionem obtulerunt Francisco I, Regi Galliæ, quam a majoribus quasi per manus acceperant, abhinc anno post Christi incarnationem 1200, quemadmodum ex omni memoria ætatum atque temporum a veteribus intellexerant. Eadem legitur in Caroli Molinæi Monarchia Francorum, quæ in Latinum ex Gallico versa ita sonat :

CREDIMUS unum tantum esse Deum, qui spiritus est, rerum cunctarum conditor, Pater omnium, super et per omnia, in nobis omnibus, adorandus in spiritu et veritate, quem solum expectamus, datorem vitæ, alimentorum, indumentorum ; prosperæ item valetudinis, infirmitatis, commodorum et incommodorum : hunc diligimus tanquam omnis bonitatis auctorem, et ceu cordium inspectorem timemus.

Jesum Christum credimus esse Patris filium et imaginem, in quo omnis plenitudo deitatis habitat, per quem cognoscimus Patrem, qui noster et mediator et advocatus, nec ullum aliud sub cælo nomen hominibus datum est, per quod servari nos oportet. In hujus nomen solum invocamus Patrem : nec ulla preces effundimus coram Deo, præter

eas quæ in Scriptura sacra continentur, aut cum ejusdem sensu plane conveniunt.

Credimus nos habere consolatorem Spiritum sanctum, a Patre et Filio procedentem, cujus inspiratione precamur, et efficacia regeneramur. Is in nobis omnia bona opera efficit, atque per eum in omnem deducimur veritatem.

Credimus unam sanctam Ecclesiam omnium electorum Dei a constitutione ad finem mundi congregationem, cujus caput est dominus noster Jesus Christus. Hanc Verbum Dei gubernat, Spiritus Sanctus ducit. In ea sinceri Christiani omnes versari tenentur : pro omnibus enim indefinenter orat, grata Deo ad quem confugit, et extra quam nulla est salus.

Illud apud nos est constitutum, ministros Ecclesiæ, Episcopos nempe et Pastores, in moribus et doctrina irreprehensibiles esse debere : alioquin deponendos, aliosque substituendos, qui eorum locum et officium impleant. Nemo autem hunc sibi honorem assumat, nisi a Deo vocatus, ut Aaron, gregem Dei pascens, non turpe affectans lucrum, vel ut Clericis dominans, sed prompto animo exemplum piis præbens, in sermone, conversatione, charitate, fide et castitate.

Reges, principes, et magistratus confitemur a Deo institutos esse ministros, quibus parendum sit : nam gladium gestant, ut innocentes tueantur et malos  
4 I 2 puniant.

A. D. 1536. Valdenses, he would probably have approved it; and the Learned Reader will, I dare say, be pleased to find it here.

I HAVE produced many testimonies of Erasmus in favour of Warham; to which I will here ° add a very elegant Encomium, taken

puniant. Propterea honorem eis deferre, tributaque persolvere tenemur. Nullus autem ab hac obedientia sese eximere potest, si modo Christianus dici velit, Jesu Christi Domini et Salvatoris nostri exemplum sequens. Is enim tributum persolvit, nec jurisdictionem dominationemve temporalem usurpavit, in statu illo humiliationis gladium verbi cœlestis exferens.

Credimus aquam in baptisui sacramento esse signum visibile et externum, nobis repræsentans illud, quod virtus Dei intus in nobis operatur, nempe spiritus renovationem, et in Christo Jesu carnis nostræ mortificationem: per quem etiam Christum sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ membra efficimur, in qua fidei nostræ professionem et vitæ emendationem demonstramus.

Sanctæ mensæ vel cœnæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi sacramentum, credimus esse sacrum memoriale, et gratiarum actionem ob beneficia per Christi mortem nobis collata, in cœtu piorum, in fide, charitate, sui que ipsius probatione celebrandam: et ita panem et poculum sumendo Christi carni et sanguini communicare, sicuti in sacris Scripturis edocemur.

Conjugium esse bonum, honorabile, sanctum, et a Deo institutum profite-mur: nemini prohibendum, nisi verbum Dei intercedat.

Pios et Deum timentes credimus Deo se probaturos, ut bonis vacent operibus, quæ præparavit, ut in eis ambulent. Hæc autem opera sunt charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, probitas, modestia, temperantia, aliaque opera in Scripturis commendata.

Contra, fatemur cavendum nobis esse a pseudopphetis, quorum scopus est populum ab adoratione religiosa, uni Deo et Domino debita, revocare, creaturis adhærere et confidere; bona opera in Scripturis mandata relinquere, et hominum signenta sequi.

Regulam fidei nostræ Vetustæ et Novum Testamentum retinemus, Symbolumque sequimur Apostolicum. Quisquis autem dixerit, nos aliam profiteri doctrinam, longe eum falli et fallere demonstrabimus, si modo per Judices ordinarios nobis liceat. *Sandius Hist. Eccl. p. 425.*

° — Inter tot egregias dotes, quibus Principem ac præcipue Episcopum præditum esse oportet, non alia [est] qua vel ornatur decentius, vel commendetur efficacius, quam morum et ingenii lenitas ac mansuetudo, quæ fere non nisi eximiam probitatem et insignem sapientiam tum comitari solet, tum arguere. Vulgaris aut ficta probitas suum habet fastum, suum habet supercilium, et sibi plus æquo indulgens, ut alienarum virtutum

taken from his Notes on *1 Theff.* ii. 7, and well deserving to be A. D. 1536.  
attentively

tutum est maligna æstimatrix, ita vitiorum alienorum acerba insectatrix est. Quamquam autem hujus laudis prima secundum Christum gloria penes Paulum nostrum est, qui quum cæteros omnes omnibus et dotibus et officiis Apostolicis longe præcurreret, tamen unus Apostolum esse sese velut ignorabat, hoc sese gerens submissius, quo major esset: tamen his quidem temporibus neminem novi, qui propius ad hanc laudem accedat, quam ille meus, imo non meus, sed totius Insulæ Britannicæ Mæcenas Guilielmus Warhamus,—in quo cum nihil sit, quacumque contempleris hominem, quod non eximium ac maximum esse judices, tamen haud alia re major videri solet, quam quod modis omnibus maximus, solus ipse magnitudinem suam non agnoscat. Quo fit ut cum cæteris virtutibus superet etiam maximos, hoc uno nomine superat et seipsum, quod sibi magnus non est. Si quis expendat dignitatis fastidium, si negotiorum molem et amplitudinem, si judicium pene divinum, si vim ingenii incomparabilem, si eruditionem undiquaque absolutam, si vitæ puritatem, si fortunæ splendorem, quem pro temporum ac regionis consuetudine tolerat verius quam habet, ne inter summos quidem ullum invenies, quem cum hoc ausis conferre. Rursum sic obvius et expositus est omnibus, ut vix reperias vel in media plebe, inter infimæ fortis homines, quem hic non anteat comitate, facilitate, mansuetudine.

O mentem vere heroicam et Apostolico viro dignam, cum humanum prætergressus sis modum, teipsum in ordinem redigere, ac nec infimum quemquam hominem fastidire! Aliis paululum eruditionis cristas erigit. Aliis imaginum splendor animos effert. Sunt quibus vitæ castior supercilium adducat. Neque desunt, quos mediocris etiam auræ fortuna sustollat, neque sui sinat meminisse. Hic semper in omni doctrinæ genere summas tenuit, ut qui ingenio longe felicissimo, quod naturæ Deique munere contigerat, studium adjunxerit indefatigabile. Deinde in gravissimis simul ac splendidissimis regni Regisque negotiis toties ac tot annos versatus est, idque non sine summa laude, tum pietatis, tum prudentiæ. Nunc denique, ceu mirificus quidam Geryon, tergeminum herosa suæ præstat universæ Britannicæ, Archiepiscopum ac Primatem, Cancellarium, et Mæcenatem; Archiepiscopum religioni, Cancellarium justitiæ et reipublicæ, Mæcenatem studiis. Quis est tanto animi robore præditus; qui non sub horum uno quolibet sudet anheletque, quæ vir ille solus sustinet? præsertim qui prorsus intelligat quid quisque titulus efflagitet. Siquidem Archiepiscopi Primatisque titulus, quem vir ille sanctissimus Thomas suo martyrio reddidit augustiorem, illud exigit, ut quod Romanus Pontifex universo debet orbi, hoc ille universæ præstet Britannicæ. Jam Cancellarii munus summum et incorruptum totius regni judicem requirit, et ad quem omnibus sit

A. D. 1536. attentively perused by those, who ought to imitate the good qualities of this illustrious Prelate and Statesman.

THIS

aditus, Laicis pariter et Clericis, a quo tamen nulla jam sit appellatio. Quas hic negotiorum moles, quos causarum fluctus uno ab homine sustineri putas? Ut ne vocem interim ad hanc rationem neque pauca neque mediocria curarum pondera, quæ ex regiis accedunt negotiis; ut domesticas sollicitudines dissimulem, quas in tam numerosa familia non mediocres esse consentaneum est. Et tamen unum illud pectus tot rebus obeundis non solum sufficit, verum etiam superest. In tam immenso circumstrepentium negotiorum agmine suppetit quod tribuat religioni, quod privatis amicorum affectibus, quod evolvendis libris, quos adeo non fastidit, ut cum nullis amicis confabuletur libentius, quoties a publicis functionibus otii non nihil suffurari licet. Nimirum hoc illi tribuit admiranda quædam naturæ felicitas, et incredibilis ingenii dexteritas, hoc judicium non minus acre quam promptum et expeditum, hoc diutinus rerum usus, super omnia vero perpetua quædam vitæ sobrietas ac vigilantia. Ne minima quidem ætatis portio datur alexæ, nulla voluptatibus, nulla conviviis, nulla somno, imo naturæ quoque nonnihil detrahit, quod adjiciat juvandæ patriæ. Hac ratione fit, ut et tempus, et ætas jam alioqui grandior, et valetudo tot tantisque negotiis obeundis, sustinendis, exantlandisque sufficiat, quibus ne decem quidem alii pares esse possint. Jam fieri non potest, quin in tam varia

negotiorum turba quædam existant non ingentia solum, sed etiam molesta periculosaque. Quandoquidem non temere dictum est illud, *Ne Jovem quidem placere omnibus*. At hunc nemo vidit tristem, nemo commotum, nemo vultuosum: tanta est infatigati pectoris vis et constantia. Tum æquitas ac suavitas tanta, ut ab hoc victi discedant æquioribus animis, quam a nonnullis solent victores. Sibi perpetuo tranquillus est, aliis comis et alacris. Jam vero Mæcenatis personam, quam ultro suscepit, ita tuetur ac sustinet, ut Insula semper viris et opibus pollens, olim religione nobilis, nunc optimis item literis ac disciplinis, hujus potissimum opera sic effluerit, ut nulli regioni cedere debeat, seu Græcæ pariter ac Latinæ literaturæ peritiam requiras, seu spectes eloquentiæ vires, seu Mathematicorum acumina, seu reliquam Philosophiæ cognitionem, seu literarum arcanarum mysteria. Unus alit plurimos, evehit plerosque, favet, fovet, ornat, ac tuetur omnes, non solum eximios, sed et mediocres, nec suos tantum, sed externos etiam et quovis sub cælo natos. Quorum in numero me quoque, quantuluscumque sum, esse voluit illius benignitas. Cujus beneficentiæ, quanquam alias quoque profusæ et exundanti, illud etiam geminam addit gratiam, quod vix unquam admoneri sese patitur, rogari nunquam. Quin et gratias agentem mox interpellat, velut hoc ipsum nimium sit, eum, qui summo

THIS VOLUME was almost printed off, before I could procure *The Life of Erasmus by M. de Burigni*. As soon as it came into

fit affectus beneficio, verbis agnoscere quod accepit. Abunde sibi relatum gratiam putat, si studiis profuit, si bene cessit omnibus quod ille de suo privato contulit munus. Et quemadmodum non jactat, si feliciter provenit benignitas, ita negligit ac ceu non meminit, si quando secus evenit. Quandoquidem fieri non potest, quin et id accidat nonnunquam ei, qui propensus sit ad bene merendum de omnibus. Judicio adsciscit quos velit fovere, sed eo sane candido et amico magis quam severo. Cæterum quos semel complexus sit, constantissime fovet, nec ullis invidorum obtreccionibus potest alienari. Quas si quando cogitur audire, mire dissimulat, id quoque studens, ne vel ad eum perveniant quem petunt, ne quid illius contristetur animus. Cujusmodi Mæcenas si mihi primis illis contigisset annis, fortassis aliquid in bonis literis esse potuissem. Nunc natus seculo parum felici, cum passim impune regnaret barbaries, præsertim apud nostrates, apud quos tum crimen etiam erat quicquam bonarum literarum attigisse, tantum aberat ut honos aleret hominum studia, in ea regione, quæ Baccho Cæterique dicata tum esset verius quam Musis; quid, quæso, poteram ingenio vix mediocri præditus? Nam clarissimum virum Henricum Berganum Episcopum Cameracensem, primum studii mei Mæcenatem, mors invida præripuit. Huic proximum Guilielmum Montejovium, inclytum Angliæ Primatem, aulæ negotia

bellique tumultus interceperunt. Quamquam, ut vere dicam, huic ipse desui potius, quam ille mihi. Per hunc denique contigit summus ille Cantuariensis, sed provectiori jam et ad quadragesimum devertenti annum. Et tamen hujus excitationis benignitate, in literarum studiis veluti repubui reviguique; et quod nec natura dederat, nec patria, hoc hujus dedit benignitas. Habent hoc mortalium ingenia, habent hoc studia literarum, præsidem aliquem ac ducem desiderant, qui suppeditet otium, qui addat animum, qui tueatur adversus excetram invidiæ, quæ non aliter quam umbra corpus sequitur eruditionis gloriam: denique ad cujus judicium suas exigant vires, cui suas consecrent vigilias. Vidit hoc, opinor, prudens antiquitas, quæ Musis Virginibus suum præfecit Apollinem. Proinde sicuti vere dictum est Græcorum proverbio, *Annum fructificare, non aruum*, quod cæli clementia plus afferrat momenti ad segetis proventum, quam soli bonitas, ita Principum benignitas est, quæ facit ingeniosos. Nulla regio tam barbara, tam procul a solis equis, ut ait Maro, devertens, quæ non habeat dexterrima ingenia, quæ vel in media Græcia nata videri possint, si non desint Mæcenates. Sed dum harum rerum cogitatione teneor, haud scio quomodo pene operis instituti immemor, diutius quam par est, immoror digressioni. Proinde ad id quod agitur recurrendum.

A. D. 1536. into my hands, I gave it an attentive perusal, imagining that I should receive instruction upon some points relating to our subject; and in this expectation I have not been deceived. Yet I think I can add with truth, that few very considerable things are contained in his book, which are not taken notice of either in this Volume, or in the next, which I have for some time been preparing for the press. How indeed should it be otherwise, since we both draw from the same spring, and employ nearly the same materials?

As to religious matters, it is not to be expected that a Frenchman, who is a Member of the Church of Rome, and of the Royal Academy at Paris, and an English Protestant, should think, or should speak alike. Those passages in Erasmus, which the First calls *temeraires, hazardées*, rash, daring, imprudent, offensive to pious ears, and to pious stomachs, are, in the opinion of the Second, the most agreeable and useful remarks of our Illustrious Author, and do him the most honour. The zealous Romanists will perhaps think that even M. Burigni is half-spoiled by keeping bad company, and that here and there he smells a little of *Erasmianism*. And indeed virtue and wisdom, like vice and folly, are contagious; and a man may catch the spirit of moderation and freedom, as well as the spirit of persecution and bigotry, by conversation with men and with books.

I shall here give a small extract from M. Burigni, as a kind of supplement to the foregoing pages. If in the next Volume I should also select a few remarks from his Book, as perhaps I may, it shall not be without citing him, and making proper acknowledgments.

In his Preface he mentions those who have drawn up the Life of Erasmus, or given imperfect sketches of it, as *Erasmus* himself, *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Merula*, *Malincrot*, *Mercier*, *Bizardiere*, *Knight*, and *Joli*. He observes that what *Malincrot* and *Joli* had written upon Erasmus hath never appeared.

Bayle

*Bayle* and *Du Pin* might have been added to these persons; A. D. 1536. and *Le Clerc* still more, whose account of Erasmus, given in the *Bibliothèque Choïse*, and in *Prefaces* to several Tomes of Erasmus, surpasseth by far, in my opinion, all that hath been hitherto published upon that subject.

The short and cold mention which he hath made of *Knight*, and his referring in the margin to the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, give room to think that he never perused, and perhaps never saw this book; and that he contented himself with a meagre account from a Journalist. Dr. Knight's work is indeed confused and not over-elegant; but it contains many good materials.

Tom. I. pag. 6.

M. Burigni places the birth of Erasmus on the 27th or 28th of October, 1465; yet observing at the same time that the year is uncertain.

I. 47.

“ Henry à Bergis was <sup>p</sup> Bishop (not Archbishop) of Cambray.”

I. 102.

“ Erasmus composed a poem in honour to Henry VII, in Hexameters, and in Iambics, & a trois pieds.”

This <sup>q</sup> poem consists of an Hexameter and an Iambic verse alternately; and the Iambic verses are *Iambi trimetri*, that is, of three measures indeed, but of six feet; not of three feet, a trois pieds.

I. 115.

“ Erasmus took his voyage to Italy in 1506.”

He <sup>r</sup> is in the right, I believe.

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“ Erasmus;

<sup>p</sup> See Above, p. 5.

<sup>q</sup> Tom. I. c. 1215.

<sup>r</sup> Above, p. 28.

A. D. 1536.

I. 124, and 436.

“ Erasmus, whilst he was in Italy, had some young pupils;  
 “ but in a letter, which he wrote many years after his departure  
 “ thence, he complains that his evil Genius had almost engaged  
 “ him to perform that office at Bologna.

“ *Quod ad juvenes attinet, scito me a nullo instituto semper fuisse*  
 “ *alieniorem, quam exceptandis aut curandis adolescentibus: quan-*  
 “ *quam Bononiæ malus Genius meus propemodum involverat illi reti.*  
 “ Epistola manuscripta, de Basle, 1528. 8 Paschæ, Franciscus  
 “ Afulano.

“ This letter hath never been printed: it was communicated  
 “ to me most obligingly by Cardinal Passionei, &c.”

M. Burigni had done well, if he had given us this and all  
 such letters entire.

I. 133.

“ Erasmus, in a letter to Franciscus Afulanus, says; *Nec*  
 “ *oblitus sum nostræ pristinæ consuetudinis; nec, si velim oblivisci,*  
 “ *sinat calculus, quem istic primum collegi, meque subinde repetens,*  
 “ *Veneticiæ commonescit.* De Basle, 15<sup>o</sup> Cal. Aprilis, A. 1523.

“ This letter is not printed: Cardinal Passionei did me the  
 “ favour to communicate it.”

I. 143.

“ The library of Cardinal Grimani, next to that of the Pope,  
 “ was at that time the most considerable of Rome. (Ughellus,  
 “ *Italia Sacra.*) It contained eight thousand volumes. He was  
 “ himself a man of erudition, and translated into Italian a treatise  
 “ of St. Chrysofom.”

I. 145.

“ Erasmus at Rome composed his '*Querela Pacis.* Julius II,  
 “ being informed of this Declamation, and having sentiments  
 “ very

• Above, p. 30.

• Above, p. 31.



“ very different from those of Erasmus, sent for him. It was A. D. 1536.  
 “ not without fear that he presented himself before this imperious  
 “ and violent Pontif: but he came off with a gentle reprimand,  
 “ and an advice never to meddle with the affairs of Princes.”

## I. 324.

“ It is somewhat strange, says the last Editor of St. Cyprian,  
 “ that Erasmus should have inserted amongst the works of this  
 “ Father a book, which he had found, intitled *De duplici mar-*  
 “ *tyrio*, wherein mention is made of Diocletian, and of the  
 “ Turks. Gravius and Pamelius are inclined to think that Eras-  
 “ mus himself composed this book, to delude the public. But  
 “ the judicious Tillemont, though not at all prejudiced in favour  
 “ of Erasmus, justifies him, and says that Erasmus had too much  
 “ sense to make a work, which carried in itself its own con-  
 “ futation.”

Tillemont here follows Du Pin, whom see Tom. III. p. 173.  
 and Tillemont, Tom. IV. p. 196.

## I. 352.

“ There were four editions of the New Testament of Eras-  
 “ mus, during his life.”

There were \* five.

## I. 372.

“ Edward Lee was *un Ecossois*, a Scot, a Master of Arts in the  
 “ University of Louvain.”

Lee † was born of English parents, in Kent, and educated at  
 Oxford and at Cambridge. See Ant. Wood, Tom. I. c. 60, and  
 the Authors whom I have cited.

4 K 2

Erasmus,

† Above, p. 194.

\* Above, p. 312.

‡ Above, p. 98.

A. D. 1536. Erasmus, in his first Apology, in answer to Lee, (which is not published in the Collection of his Works) says, *Neque vero Deus gente Scotus est, etiamsi illic non de gente, sed de auctore loquor, unde Scotiſtæ dicuntur.*

It appears from Lee's *Apologia*, that he had dwelt at Louvain.

## I. 401.

“ Erasmus sent <sup>z</sup> Adrian his project to reestablish peace in the Church. This interesting work is not extant, unless it be the 649th letter; and that letter is not entire. But it may be conjectured that he advised the correcting of abuses and grievances, and the granting the Cup to the Laity, and Marriage to the Clergy, and every thing that could be yielded, without hurting the fundamentals of Christianity.”

M. Burigni's conjecture is ingenious and judicious.

## I. 419.

“ Otho Brunsfeld had prefixed to one of his libels a picture of Erasmus, under which was the name of *Baal*.”

I have not seen Brunsfeld's book; but I <sup>a</sup> believe that Erasmus was pictured there amongst the *Priests of Baal*.

## I. 450.

“ Erasmus <sup>b</sup>, before he would fix at Friburg, went to take a view of it, once in February, and once in March, of the year 1529. It is probable that in one of these voyages he had the favourable reception, described in a letter of Falaix, in *Crenii Animad.* The Magistrates, the Nobility, and the University went forth to meet him, paying him high compliments, and calling him the Supporter and the Protector of Literature.

“ The

<sup>z</sup> Above, p. 312, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Above, p. 352.

<sup>b</sup> Above, p. 476.

“ The Magistrates presented him with a cup elegantly wrought: A. D. 1536.  
 “ the College gave him a girdle embroidered with gold, and not  
 “ inferior to the cup; and when he departed, some Gentlemen  
 “ accompanied him back to the gates of Basil. All the expenses  
 “ of his journey were defrayed.”

## I. 454.

“ Boiffard <sup>c</sup> relates that Erasmus was made Rector of the Uni-  
 “ versity of Basil, &c. <sup>d</sup> These facts having appeared to me very  
 “ improbable, I consulted two learned men, who are well  
 “ acquainted with every thing relating to that University. They  
 “ have informed me, that no credit is to be given to the relation  
 “ given by Boiffard; that Erasmus never was Rector of that  
 “ University; and that its Privileges are safe and sound, and still  
 “ preserved in its Archives, &c.”

## I. 512.

“ The <sup>d</sup> Sorbonne, in 1526, censured the Colloquies of Eras-  
 “ mus; but Francis I was not well pleased with this behaviour of  
 “ the Faculty, as it appears from a letter which he wrote to the  
 “ Parliament, in which are the following words:

“ *And because we are duly certified that the said Faculty, they*  
 “ *and their Tools and Agents, attack whomsoever they think fit,*  
 “ *blackening and blasting their reputation, as they have done to*  
 “ *Erasmus, and will proceed to do to others also, we command you to*  
 “ *let the Members of the said Faculty know instantly, that they shall*  
 “ *not all or any of them write, compose, and print any thing, which*  
 “ *is not first seen and approved by You, or your Deputies, and deli-*  
 “ *berated upon in full Court.*”

## I. 524.

“ The Colloquies of Erasmus were <sup>e</sup> corrupted by Lambertus  
 “ Campestris, as Erasmus complains; so that we cannot doubt  
 “ of

<sup>a</sup> Above, p. 309.

<sup>d</sup> Above, p. 298.

<sup>e</sup> Above, p. 404.

A. D. 1536. “ of this Edition being sold publicly, since Erasmus saw it, and  
 “ names the Printer. Yet the Authors of the *Bibliothèque* of the  
 “ *Jacobins* have pretended to say, that Erasmus in all probability  
 “ gave credit to false rumours, and that Lambertus never pub-  
 “ lished the Colloquies, because they never could meet with  
 “ that edition, or with any person who had seen it.

“ Lambertus ended his days in a manner not very edifying.—  
 “ The Authors of the *Bibliothèque* of the *Jacobins* have thought,  
 “ that a zeal for their own Order would excuse them from  
 “ observing the rules of History. They have not said one word  
 “ of the apostasy of this Lambertus, when they give the abridg-  
 “ ment of his life.”

## I. 551.

“ The <sup>f</sup> edition of Ambrose by Erasmus hath not found much  
 “ approbation; and is represented as defective and faulty by the  
 “ Benedictines, and by Du Pin.”

## I. 578.

“ The <sup>e</sup> Apology, which Erasmus drew up for his *Terminus*,  
 “ occasioned two works, mentioned by Crenius: one of Petrus  
 “ Rubus, who wrote against the plea of Erasmus; the other of  
 “ Christianus Philereus, who refuted Rubus.”

## I. 580.

“ In the Dialogue of Erasmus de <sup>h</sup> *Pronunciatione*, the Inter-  
 “ locutors are a *Bear* and a *Lion*. *Les Interlocuteurs de ce Dia-*  
 “ *logue sont un Ours & un Lion.*”

The Interlocutors are creatures who walk upon two feet; the  
 name of the one is *Mr. Bear*, the name of the other is *Mr. Lion*;  
*Monsieur l'Ours, & Monsieur Lion.*

Tom.

<sup>f</sup> Above, p. 420.<sup>e</sup> Above, p. 467.<sup>h</sup> Above, p. 443.

Tom. II. p. 5, and 224.

A. D. 1536.

M. Burigni speaks freely enough of the scandalous traffic of Indulgences; more freely than our Fiddes in his *Life of Wolsey*. He also condemns the putting heretics to death, for which he deserves to be commended.

II. 93.

“ The <sup>k</sup> *Diatribes* of Erasmus *de Libero Arbitrio* was translated into German (as Seckendorf observes) by Emser, and had a great run, which made Luther reply very speedily to it.”

II. 96.

“ <sup>l</sup> Erasmus complained of Luther to Frideric, Elector of Saxony.”

It was not to Frideric, (I believe) but to John, his brother, and at that time his successor in the Electorate.

II. 246.

“ <sup>m</sup> The censure, which the Sorbonne passed upon the works of Erasmus, was ill received, insomuch that the Ministry for four years would not permit the printing of it: and it was not till the year 1531, that Jodocus Badius Ascensius printed it.”

II. 362.

“ Polydore Virgil’s <sup>n</sup> Collection of Adages was printed at Venice in 1498, that is, two years before the first edition of the Adages of Erasmus, though Erasmus had never seen it, or heard of it.”

II. 388.

“ The <sup>o</sup> Brief of Paul III, dated August 1, 1535, is very obliging and favourable to Erasmus. The Pope declares, that

<sup>i</sup> Above, p. 112.

<sup>k</sup> Above, p. 335.

<sup>l</sup> Above, p. 396.

<sup>m</sup> Above, p. 432.

<sup>n</sup> Above, p. 280.

<sup>o</sup> Above, p. 564.

A. D. 1536. “ that paying attention to the piety and probity of Erasmus, to  
 “ his superiority in various sciences, and to the good services  
 “ which he had done to the Apostolical See, by vigorously  
 “ attacking the deserters of the faith, he gives him the Provost-  
 “ ship of Deventer, in the Diocese of Utrecht, vacant by the  
 “ death of John Vinchel, reputed to be worth six hundred florins  
 “ a year; that he gives it with great pleasure, and as an earnest  
 “ of the recompenses which he intended to bestow upon his  
 “ virtue.”

## II. 404.

“ The <sup>p</sup> true name of Petrus Sutor was *Pierre Le Couturier*, as  
 “ it appears from the Privilege of one of his books, intituled, *De*  
 “ *potesstate Ecclesiæ in occultis*.”

## II. 416.

“ The <sup>a</sup> learned man, whom the Abbé Longuerue confuted,  
 “ and whom the Editor of the *Longueruana* hath not named, is  
 “ Huetius. I have often heard this related by the Abbé, who  
 “ would have thought the best part of his story suppressed, if he  
 “ had suppressed the name of Huetius, for whom he had very  
 “ little esteem, and by whom he was feared so much, that from  
 “ that time Huetius shunned him, and would not dine with the  
 “ Cardinal d’Estrées, without being first assured that Longuerue  
 “ would not be there.”

## II. 422.

“ The <sup>r</sup> last will of Erasmus shews that he was in good circum-  
 “ stances. It was reported, as Fellerus relates, that he left more  
 “ than *septem millia aureorum*, seven thousand ducats. In his  
 “ will, mention is made of his selling his library to John à Lasco.  
 “ The contract between them hath not, I think, appeared in  
 “ print, and hath been communicated to me by Cardinal Passionei.  
 “ Here it is:

“ *Erasmus*

<sup>p</sup> Above, p. 375,

<sup>a</sup> Above, p. 577.

<sup>r</sup> Above, p. 577.

“ *Erasmus Roterodamus bibliothecam meam universam vendidi clarissimo Poloniae Baroni Joanni à Lasco trecentis coronatis aureis, hac lege, ut quoad vixero, usus librorum ex amicitiae jure sit illi mecum communis, proprietates tota penes illum sit perpetua: quod jus transibit etiam in illius hæredes, si, quod Deus avertat, contingat illum prius ex humanis decedere. Interim indicem librorum, velut arrabonem traditionis, habet. Quicquid interim accreverit, et hoc illius erit, nisi si quos codices manuscriptos magno contigerit emere. In his, ex utriusque consensu, fiet moderatio novi contractus, duntaxat quod attinebit ad illam accessionem. In cujus rei fidem dictus Erasmus hoc chirographum mea manu descripsi, affixo peculiari annuli mei signo Termino, ann. 1525, duodecimo Cal. Julias. Dimidium pretii numeratum est Basileæ 1525, alterum pretii dimidium postridie D. Martini anno 1536 persolutum est. Bonifacius Amerbachius, nuncupatus incomparabilis D. Erasmi Roterodami hæres, mea manu attestor; et ego Joannes à Lasco prædicta manus meæ subscriptione fateor esse verum.*”

## II. 443.

“ Under the statue of Erasmus are these verses :

“ *Barbariæ, &c.*”

M. Burigni hath cited these verses carelessly and faultily. There are other mistakes of the same kind in his book; but I chuse to pass them over.

## II. 513.

“ Julius II granted to Erasmus the dispensation, which he had requested in his Epistle to Grunnius.”

The Pope, to whom Grunnius presented the Epistle of Erasmus, was (I believe) Leo X. Erasmus says in that Epistle, that

4 L

he

‘ Ep. 442. c. 1829.

‘ Above, p. 71.

A. D. 1536. he had before obtained of the Pope (that is, of Julius II) leave to accommodate his habit to the custom of the places where he should happen to sojourn.

## II. 517.

“ It is to be presumed, that, if Erasmus had lived long enough, he would have changed his opinion, and submitted himself to the decision of the Council of Trent, concerning Auricular Confession.”

Are you in earnest? It is to be presumed, that, if he had lived to see that Ecclesiastical Cabal, he would have had the same opinion of it as Father Paul had. Who knows not that two hundred Logs of wood, cut out into the shapes of Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, and Scholastic Divines, and properly apparelled, would have made as good a *Set of Fathers*, as those who were assembled at that venerable Council, each of whom (a few excepted) was,

— — — *nervis alienis mobile lignum?*

## II. 559.

“ The first book *de l' Eutopie*, of the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, was also ascribed to Erasmus. — And he likewise passed for being the Author of a Lamentation upon the tragical death of that excellent man—but it was the work of Joannes Secundus. *Nenia in mortem V. Clar. Thomæ Mori, auctore Joanne Secundo, falso antebac D. Erasmo Rot. adscripta, ac depravatissime edita. Lovanii, 1636.*”

The *Utopia* should be called in French *Utopie*, not *Eutopie*.

The Reader will find in M. Burigni's Book some accounts of *Hegius*, Tom. I. p. 16. *Rod. Agricola*, p. 17. *Anna Bersala*, p. 55. *Andrelinus*, p. 86. *Gaguinus*, p. 87. *Aldus Manutius*,



p. 134. *Marc. Musurus*, p. 136. *Scip. Carteromachus*, p. 146. A. D. 1536. *Warham*, p. 169. *Lambertus Campestris*, p. 523. *Etienne Poncher*, p. 240. *Alexander VI*, Tom. II. p. 15. *Silvester Prieras*, p. 51. *Stunica*, p. 163. *Albertus Pius*, p. 179. *Aleander*, p. 191. *Beda*, p. 204. *Herebachius*, p. 304. *Gerardus Noviomagus*, p. 305, 331. *Sutor*, p. 404. *Gallandius*, p. 438. Of these persons I also have given some account.

There is something singular in M. Burigni's way of spelling. Whether it be the present fashion to write so, I know not: but we find in his book;

Sometimes *Chrisostôme*, sometimes *Chrisostome*, and sometimes *Chrysofome*; sometimes *Ciprien*, and sometimes *Cyprien*; sometimes *Porphire*, and sometimes *Porphyre*.

We find, *Les Scitbes*, *Hermonime*, *Eutichius*, *Chrisolore*, *La Scithie*, *Tbucidide*, *Tbeophilaëte*, *Tbrasimague*, *Chitreus*, *Pirrhonien*, *l'Eutichianisme*, *Polidore-Virgile*, *Polimnestor*, *Pirrhonisme*, *Didimus*, &c.

And yet we find, *Cyrille*, *Syndic*, *Symbole*, *Apocalypse*, *Denys*, *Chryssippe*, *Synese*, *Sibylles*, *Style*, &c.

It is a bad custom to throw the letter *y* out of words of Greek extraction, which have the  $\Upsilon\psi\lambda\delta\upsilon$ , and to substitute in its place the letter *i*. I mean not to depreciate the industrious and useful Work of my Fellow-Labourer; but only to admonish those whom it may concern, that they would use a little more accuracy in these things, and not quite neglect the rules of orthography, as beneath their regard.

EXTRACT <sup>v</sup> from a <sup>x</sup> second letter of Professor Burcard to my Friend above-mentioned.

“ All the things which <sup>v</sup> Bayle mentions in the Article of  
4 L 2 “ *Erasmus*,

<sup>v</sup> Translated from the French.

<sup>v</sup> See above, p. 598.

<sup>x</sup> See above, p. 599.

A. D. 1536. “ *Erasmus*, Not. H, are still to be seen in our Library; to  
 “ which may be added the <sup>z</sup> hour-glass of Erasmus.

“ The writings belonging to Erasmus, in our Library, which  
 “ are not inserted in the Collections of his Works, may be found  
 “ in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis* of *Haseus*.

“ The silver globe, mentioned in the <sup>a</sup> *Life* of *Thuanus*, is also  
 “ in the Cabinet: but I doubt whether it belonged to Erasmus,  
 “ because it hath no inscription to shew that it was his, and  
 “ the Arms of the Family of Iselin are upon it, and nothing  
 “ relating to it is found in the Will of Erasmus, or in his <sup>b</sup> Letter  
 “ to Christopher Meſia. I believe that it belonged to Amerbach,  
 “ who had it from some other person. The Reverend Mr. Zwinger  
 “ is at present possessor of a silver cup gilt, of which mention  
 “ is made in the Will of Erasmus.”

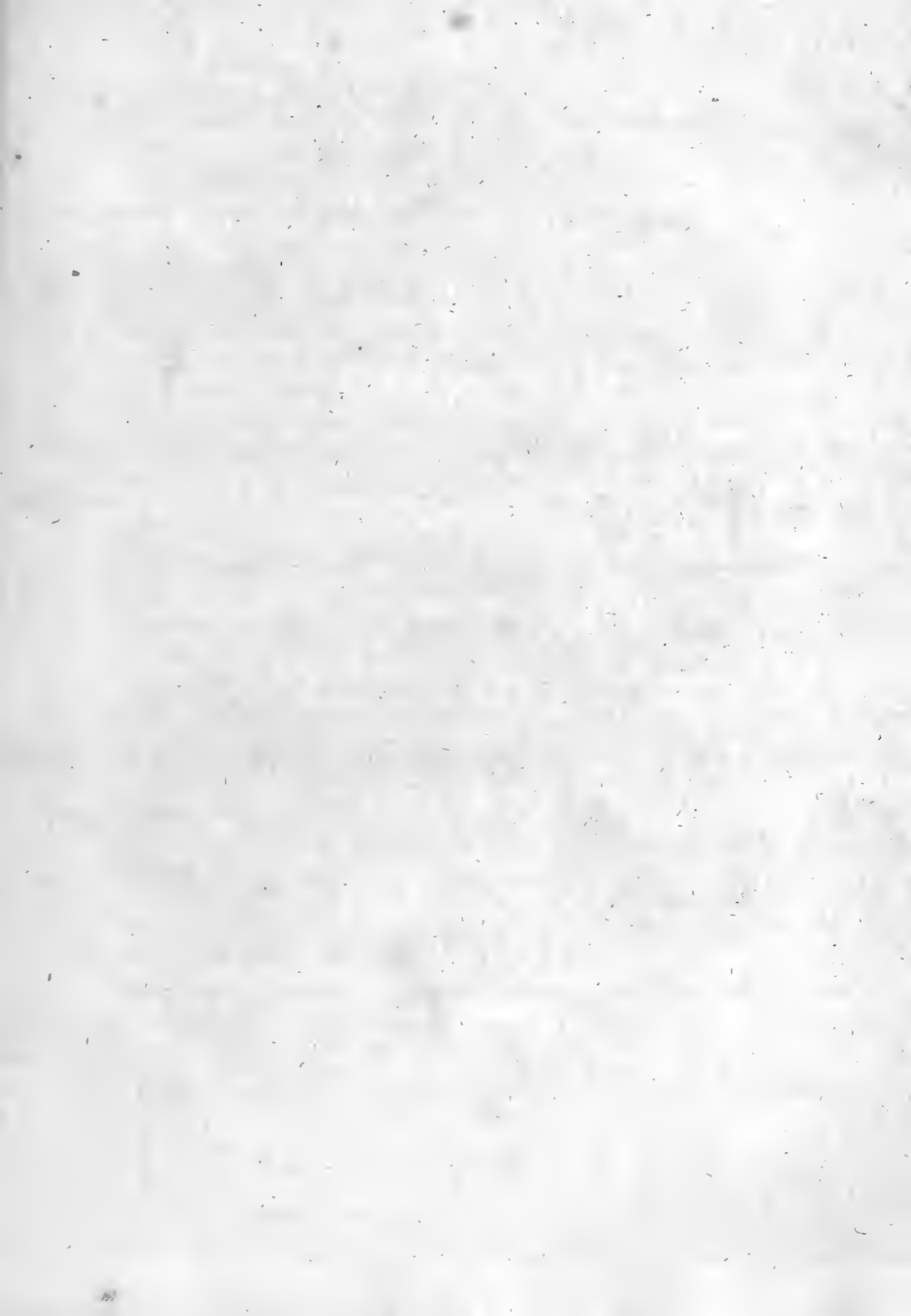
THE NUMEROUS testimonies of Authors for and against Erasmus; Remarks upon all his Works; a collection of passages from his writings, to which we have made references; some of his Tracts, and some Epistles of him and of his Correspondents, which have not been published; or which, though in print, are not in the Edition of Leyden, are reserved for another Volume.

I have also some additions to this Life of Erasmus, relating principally to the Notes and the Citations. As they will be a growing work, they also shall be reserved for the next Volume, and there inserted under the title of *Addenda*.

<sup>z</sup> Erasmus received an hour-glass from Joannes Turzo, and another from Schydlovietz. Above, p. 212, 412: <sup>b</sup> Ep. 1103, in which he mentions the presents, which he had received from his friends. See above, p. 495.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 598.

F I N I S.



Ad hoc habebitur me pro vobis admittorem  
 Vn̄ tametsi maxime oib̄us Imp̄tūl Monā-  
 Bist. Natoli d̄m Martini An 1527



Erasmus Rot̄msamā

Vale vir integerrime & me certo futura hebdomade expecta  
 Lambertae postridie Joannis bap̄<sup>1d</sup> Anno 1550 Jo. a lasco  
 manū pp̄ia

Q̄ & p̄cem in Christo. Respondi tandem M. Burore.  
 Helimothē Literis: quas Smalkallē reddidit, & gratias  
 moram miā. Ut qm̄ fr̄as mihi Cadamari p̄ter  
 morbos & p̄sentiam &c. 7<sup>to</sup> Dec̄ 1537  
 T Martini Luth̄er

S. D. Reuerende vir & cariss. fr̄atr. Si p̄ cogita-  
 ni sumy issi aliquando, hoc quod accidit, ut prin-  
 ceps &c. Bini & feliciter vale. In q̄ Augusti  
 philippus Molat̄er

Salutē in Christo. Mi fr̄ater Coronatos obsequatos, me ut  
 reddere fuerunt, consule vestro obtuli, et quid in causa  
 agendum consulerē; Porcō Zunghe. Item atq; Item scuppi &c.  
 Rotapadino

\* *Specimen of the hand-writing of ERASMUS, &c.*

## I.

Ad hoc habebitis me pro viribus adiutorem. Nunc tametsi machinis omnibus impetunt mona (chorum) — Basil. Natali Divi Martini, An. 1527.

Erasmus Rot. mea manu.

## II.

Plain enough.

## III.

Gratiam et pacem in Christo. Respondi tandem, M. Bucere, Helvetiorum literis: quas Smalcaldi reddidisti. Excusabis moram meam. Ut qui scias mihi cadaveri præter morbos et senectutem (impositas esse curas Ecclesiæ nostræ.) Ipso die S. Nicolai, 1537.

T. Martinus Luther.

## IV.

S. D. Reverende vir et cariss (ime) frater. Sape cogitavi futurum esse aliquando hoc quod accidit, ut principes (politica sapientia controversias ita tollerent.)

Bene et feliciter vale die 4 Augusti.

Philippus Melanthon.

## V.

Salve in Christo, mi frater. Coronatos obsignatos, mox ut redditi fuerunt, consuli nostro obtuli, et quid in causa agendum consului; Porro Zuinglio iterum atque iterum scripsi, &c.

Oecolampadius.

## VI. Gratiam

\* From the Library of Corpus-Christi College, Cambridge.

## VI.

Gratiam et pacem a Deo Patre per Dominum Jesum Christum. Scripseram quas hic vides prolixiores literas, priusquam tuas a Basilea accepissem. Cum enim exceptæ essent a te 2 Octobris, ad 14 demum ejusdem mensis reddebantur. Cernens autem illa in his quæ scripsisti de Benedicto Evandro, &c.

15 Octobris, 1537.

H. Bullingerus tuus.

## VII.

S. D. Profuit mihi illa ad te, eximie D. Doctor, deambulatio, tametsi te non licuerit convenire. Volebam, si otium fuisset tibi, de communi Professione nostra colloqui, et audire tuum consilium de rite moderandis meis.

M. Bucerus  
totus tuus.

## VIII.

Itaque post expleta principum vestrorum mandata, post absoluta in totum negotia vestra, si non gravabimini nos invisere, vester ad nos accessus admodum gratus erit.

Manus Cutberti Tunstalli.

## IX.

The king willeth you neither to spare his authoritie nor his good money or substance: ye may be assured whatsoever ye promise shal be performed. And our Lorde send you good spede.

Your lovinge frende,

T. Car<sup>lis</sup> Ebor. [Wolfey.]

Gratiam e patre à Deo p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m Jesum Ch[ri]st[um] Scripsisse  
quas hic nidas prolixiores <sup>p[ro]p[ter] h[oc]</sup> à Basilea accepissim. Cum  
in scripta essent à te 2 Octobris ad 14 de eisdem  
m[en]s redderant. Ceteris autem illa in his qua  
scripti de Benedicto F[ra]ncisco &c.

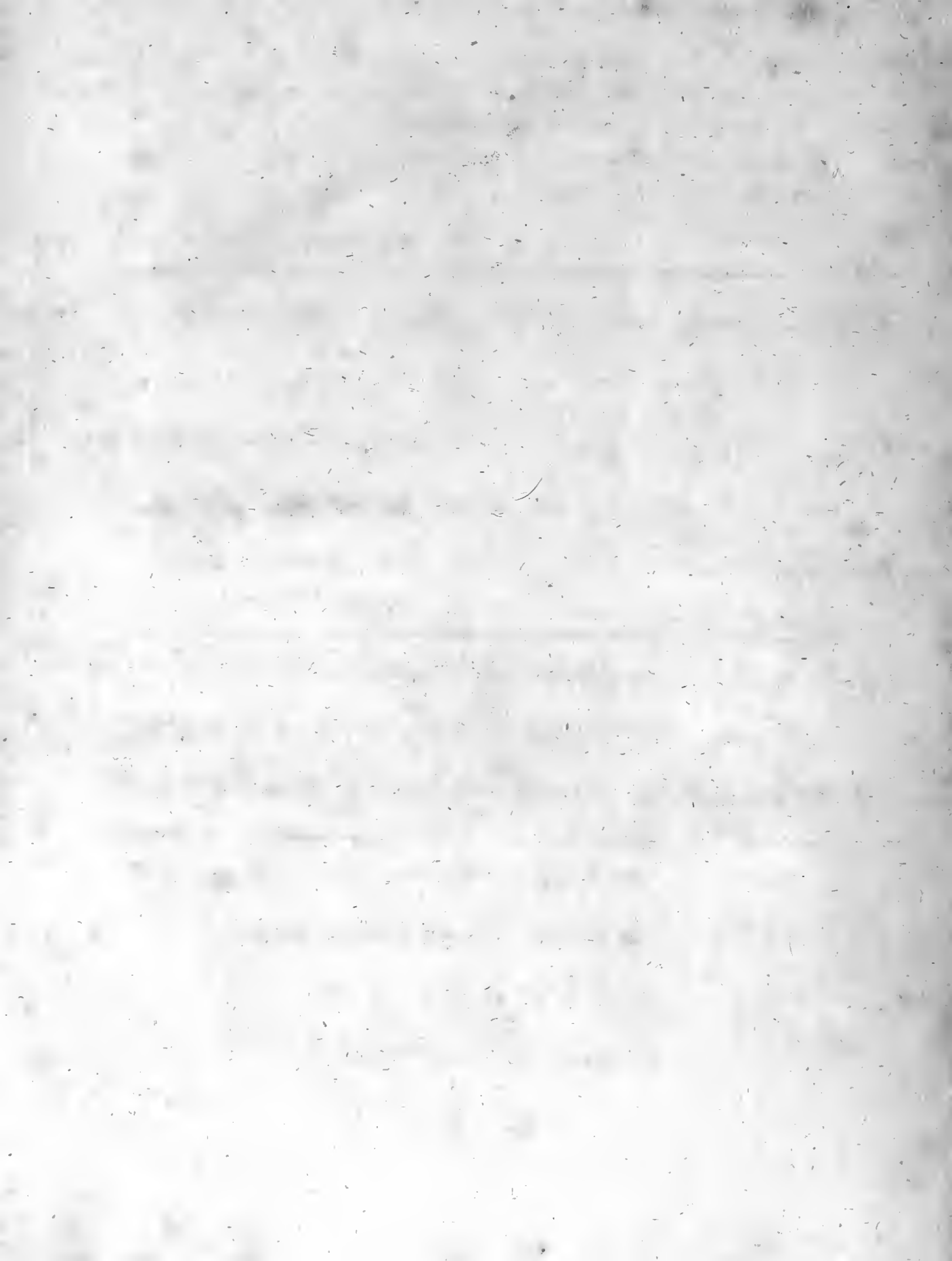
15 Octobris 1537. H. Bullingerus

S. D. p[ro]fuit mihi illa ab te, ex parte D. Doctor,  
Irambulatio, immo si te nō h[ab]uerit Com[un]is  
voluit si om[n]i fuisset tibi, de com[un]i p[ro]fessionis  
nostra colloqui. & audire h[ab]et consilium de re  
moderandis meis  
M. Bucerus  
Locus h[ab]et

Itaq[ue] post expleta principū vestroz mādata post abso-  
luta in totū negotia vestra si nō gravabimur nos  
invisere vestre ad nos accessus admodū gratus erit  
Mānus. Culberti Tinsalli

tho King willeth you nedis to spare ge unforthe nor ge good  
mony or substance ye may be assured w[ith]standing ye promise  
shalbe p[er]formed And o' fowde send you good p[er]ce

Q[ui]bus Lobmge p[ro]funde.  
C. Car<sup>l</sup>o Loboz





## CORRIGENDA

- Page 87. l. 11. (Canoffe) *dele.*  
Page 111. l. 11. Theodoricus, *add* Martinus.  
Page 202. l. 5. *add* Ep. 478.  
Page 223. l. 13. John, *dele.*  
Page 253. l. 11. written in, l. written *only* in.  
Page 434. not. col. <sup>a</sup> l. 19. gremani, l. germani.  
Page 473. l. 5. do, *dele.*  
Page 566. l. 7. Orations, l. Oration.  
Page 584. l. ult. company, l. assembly.

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