

brosii autoritate sapiat, vt non modo recte Apostolum intelligas,
 60 verumetiam maiorem sis habiturus Augustino honorem. Nequa-
 quam igitur amicus noster arbitratur iusticiam legis seu factorum
 tantum esse in cerimoniis, sed rectius in obseruatione totius decalogi.
 Quae si fiant extra fidem Christianam, etiam si faciant Fabritios,
 Regulos et in vniuersum integerrimos viros, apud homines non tamen
 65 plus sapere iusticiam quam sorba ficum: non enim, vt Aristoteli
 visum est, iusta agendo nos iustos effici, nisi ὑποκριτικῶς, sed iustos
 factos iusta operari. Necessarium ergo esse prius mutari personam,
 deinde opera; prius enim Deo Abelem quam eius munera placuisse.
 Quamuis igitur et speret et cupiat autoritatem tuam fore celebra-
 70 rimam, vereri tamen te autore exituros qui defensionem mortuae,
 id est literalis, intelligentiae arripiant, qua pleni sunt omnes pene
 ab Augustini temporibus.

Hoc est, vir eruditissime, quod amicus noster ad te tanquam ad
 Apollinem Pythium putauit referendum me interprete; vtinam
 75 quem, si non meo ipsius, certe reipublicae totius theologicae exaudias
 nomine! Quamobrem rem facies, vt nobis omnibus gratissimam,
 ita tua pietate dignissimam, si dignatus beneuolentia has literas,
 gratificatus fueris amico integerrimo et mihi responderis, quantum-
 libet breuiter, desque id beneficentiae, vt meo in te amoris, ita
 80 Principis mei illustrissimi erga te, Doctorem Reuchlin et doctis-
 simum quemque studio et reuerentiae. Ego enim in te diligendo
 obseruandoque nunquam inter postremos ero. Vale, vir eruditis-
 sime.

Raptim ex arce Lochana Ducis Friderici Saxoniae Tercio eiduum
 85 Decemb. 1516.

Erit etiam et mihi et reliquis omnibus in his regionibus nominis
 tui studiosis magnae voluptati, si respondens mihi scripseris etiam
 quid post Hieronymi opera sis editurus, et quid nunc sub incude
 tua habeas. Scio etiam mirum in modum Principi meo placiturum
 90 tam literarum cupido, tam discendi studio (so), vt feriatu a causis
 maioribus vel legat aliquid vel legentem inaudiat libentissime.

502. FROM THOMAS MORE.

Deventer MS. 91, f. 129.

LB. App. 221.

London.

15 December (1516).

[The year-date is given by Linaere's edition of Galen (l. 15 n.).

The composition mentioned in l. 10 is evidently the *Iulius Exclusus*, the third

71. arripiant MS.: accipiant LE (cf. l. 14 n.). 80. mei LB: me MS.
 87. respondens scripsi: responderis MS. 90. studioso LB.

84. Lochana] Lochau, now the Dukes of Saxony, c. 15 miles SE. of
 Annaburg, a hunting castle of the Wittenberg.

character in which is 'Iulii Genius'. From this direct statement of the existence of a copy written by Erasmus' own hand, there can be no doubt that he was the author of it; although by many equivocal utterances—none of which is a direct denial—he attempted to conceal the fact. Besides this draft another can be traced somewhat earlier at Basle, where it was copied by Bruno and Boniface Amerbach (Basle MS. A. IX. 64). Bruno's work is unfinished, but Boniface brought his to a successful end and added the colophon: 'Basileiae foeliciter in edib. tuis exeriptum Non. Augusti Anno m.d.xvi. θεσμὸν ἔργου οὐκ οἴδε βουμάχος. Bo. Amorbaech.' At the time Boniface was evidently at home for a holiday from his legal studies under Zasius. Six days later he completed his famous copy of Velleius Paterculus (p. 114), to which he appended an almost identical colophon; and other MSS. by him perhaps written at this period are Glareanus' *Helvetia* (Basle MS. O. II. 14), which is partly in his hand, and the copies of Epp. 338,9, the duplicates of which had, however, been already returned by Froben in June (Ep. 419). On the back of the Velleius, and written hastily by Boniface in his later years and by his son Basil, is a list in which the *Iulius* and the *Helvetia* are enumerated (see Robinson Ellis' Velleius Paterculus, Oxford, 1898, pp. xiii, xiv); a fact which suggests that these MSS. may have formed a group which was kept together for some years, and therefore had perhaps some unity in date of origin. The word *tuis*, which occurs in the colophons of both the *Iulius* and the Velleius (not *suis* as Orelli and Ellis), offers a clue to show in whose hands the *Iulius* then was; but I have not been able to follow it up. As author of the *Helvetia* Glareanus is possible; but the temporary possession of the Murbach MS. of Velleius and of Erasmus' Briefs from Rome points with more probability to Froben or Beatus Rhenanus. In any case it is quite clear that the *Iulius* must have been known to Erasmus' intimate friends at Basle as early as August 1516.

From another source, too, there is evidence of a copy in Erasmus' autograph—in the letter to Bucer dated 2 March 1532 (p. 407), where Erasmus, in defending himself against a charge of having published some of his works anonymously (cf. Jortin, i. 406 n.), says: 'Sed de Iulio potes et testibus docere vnde primum prodierit. Non statim is autor est qui sua manu descripsit, etsi tu testes producas istius suspicionis autores. Eadem opera inures perfidiae notam iis quos tu cupis habere fiddissimos. Si cum Nesenone nunquam habuisssem familiaritatem, multis molestiis caruisssem in quas ille me coniecit.' Bucer, it is clear, had adduced the testimony of Nesen (Ep. 329) that he had seen the *Iulius* in Erasmus' handwriting, probably at Basle; for though Nesen may have met Lupset in Paris in 1517, the draft in Lupset's possession presumably returned now to Erasmus.

Neither Erasmus' attempt to rebut Bucer's charge nor his deliverances on the subject in LB. App. 160 and 168; Lond. x. 19, LB. App. 17; Jortin ii. 397, LB. 583 amount to a denial. Even his elaborate repudiations to Campeggio (Lond. xii. 1, LB. 416) and Wolsey (Lond. xi. 1, LB. 317) do not exceed his powers of equivocation, and, as Jortin points out (ii. 596 n.), the only thing that he there specifically denies is the publication; as to which he is doubtless strictly correct, considering the custom of the time: cf. vol. i, pp. 121, 594, and also the publication of the *Utopia* (p. 339).

According to his calculation in LB. 416 the *Iulius* was composed c. 1513-14; perhaps at Cambridge, since it passed into Lupset's hands (Ep. 431; cf. Ep. 270. 60 n.). It was not widely known until its appearance in print, at the beginning of 1517 (cf. Epp. 532. 23 and 543. 9). Another issue, at Cologne, in the summer of 1518, is mentioned by Nesen, Gilles, and Dorp (Basle MS. G. II. 30. 83; Lond. vii. 28 and 1, LB. 436 and 323). The first editions were undated; the earliest with a date which occurs in Böcking's list (*Hutteni Opera*, iv, pp. 422 seq.) being by Martens at Louvain, Sept. 1518. The MS. copies by J. A. Brassicanus, 24 Aug. 1517 (Vienna MS. 9846 ff. 16-59), and by the writer in the Munich MS. (p. 35), 31 Dec. 1518, were both probably made from printed books.

The secret of the authorship must have been known to many of Erasmus' friends; and thus though Morillon's suggestion in Ep. 532 may have been a mere guess, Beatus Rhenanus' ignorance in 1519 (BRE. 426) must be feigned; and again LB. App. 265 and Lond. x. 19, LB. App. 17 (1519), though addressed to More, must have been meant to reach other ears. More also, when in 1520 he took up arms in Erasmus' behalf (Erv. p. 118), makes no real denial; and in

stating that immediately after Julius' death 'rem Parrisiis ludis actam publicis' (cf. LB. App. 160, 168), he probably means no more than that some lampoon on the subject had appeared on the stage, without any connexion with Erasmus' dialogue. His statement that Poncher, the Bishop of Paris (p. 454), attributed the book to Faustus Andrelinus does not necessarily imply that More's own opinion was the same. But the attribution, though clearly false, certainly had some vogue; for the first printed edition in Böcking's list is entitled 'F(austi) A(ndrelini) F(oro)litiensis, Poete Regii, libellus de obitu Iulii Pontificis Maximi. Anno domini m.d.xiii'.]

THO. MORVS D. ERASMO S. P. D.

Non dubito redditas tibi litteras meas, Erasme charissime, quas Palgraus noster perferendas accepit, vna cum epistolis amicorum Basiliensium. Gaudeo Dorpium respuisse, videlicet delinitum concuicis quem blandiciae reddiderant ferociorem. Profecto sic est
5 quorundam hominum ingenium vt, si paululum obsequaris, insolescant, contemptius habiti frangantur et fiant abiectissimi. Cupio misere, si commode fieri posset, que vltro citroque sunt inter vos perscripta, legere.

Lupsetus restituit mihi aliquot quaterniones tuas quas olim apud
10 se tenuerat. In his est Iulii Genius, et declamationes duae, altera de pueris statim a pueritia erudiendis, altera consolatoria; tua manu omnia, sed prima tantum scriptio, neque quicquam satis integrum. Extra haec sancte negat tui quicquam apud se esse quod tu desyderas. Haec si mitti ad te postules, illico fac intelligam.

15 Linacer protinus a Natali quae vertit e Galeno mittet Luteciam excudenda, comite Lupseto qui calcographis castigator aderit. Nescis quam sit gauisus ea mentione librorum suorum, quam in epistola tua fecisti quam nuper scripsisti ad me; crede mihi, is toto pectore tuus est. Wintoniensis Episcopus, vir vt seis prudentissimus, in celeberrimo cetu magnatum quum de te ac tuis lucubrationibus incidisset
20 sermo, testatus est omnibus approbantibus versionem tuam Noui Testamenti vice esse sibi commentariorum decem, tantum afferre

7. commode LB: commodo MS.

1. litteras] Ep. 499.

3. respuisse] Cf. Ep. 49r. 12. More's letter to Dorp on this occasion is printed by Stapleton, *Tres Thomae*, 1588, *Vita Mori*, p. 69; Jortin ii. 668.

8. perscripta] Cf. Ep. 477. 11 n.

9. quaterniones] Cf. Epp. 43r. 9, and 543. 33. The compositions of Erasmus' Italian period were perhaps some of those left by him at Ferrara; cf. Epp. 270. 60 n. and 30. 16 n.

10. altera] Composed at Rome in 1509, as part of the *De Copta* (Ep. 260); first published, as *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, by the Froben firm in Sept. 1529. See Erasmus' preface,

dated 1 July 1529 (LB. i. 487).

11. consolatoria] Composed at Siena in 1509; first published, as *De morte declamatio*, with the *Querela Pacis*, Basle, Froben, Dec. 1517. It also appears in the authorized edition of the *De conscrib. epistolis* (Aug. 1522; see Ep. 71 introd.) as 'aliud exemplum consolationis'.

15. e Galeno] *De sanitate tuenda*, Paris, G. Rubeus, 22 Aug. 1517; with a preface by Linacre to Henry VIII, dated London, 16 June 1517. At one time it was thought that Badius would undertake the printing; cf. Ep. 534. 58, 9.

17. epistola] Not extant.

18. tuus est] Cf. Ep. 388. 164 n.

lucis; eadem adeptis figuris Graecis Latine dici, etiam si nihil aliud in editione Vulgata fuisset mendae quod mutaretur. Vtopiam nostram, ex tuis litteris concepta spe quam auide deuoro, indies 25 nunc expecto haud alio animo quam mater peregre redeuntem filium. Vale, Erasme dulcissime.

Londini raptim 15^o Decembris.

Misi litteras tuas Lathimero, nec dubito facturum quod vis, sed etiam libenter facturum. Vxor mea millies tibi salutem iussit dici, 30 atque agi etiam gratias de tam accurata salutatione tua, qua longaeuitatem ei precatus es; cuius est, vt ait, ideo audior, quo mihi possit diutius esse molesta.

503₅₂₈ FROM PETER VITERIUS.

Deventer MS. 91, f. 159 v^o.

LB. App. 95.

(Paris.)

18 December 1516.

PETRVS VITERIVS DOMINO ERASMO RO. S.

SALVE multum, studiosissime praeceptor. Ego sane vehementissime doleo quod iam nihil nos respicis; qui tuo olim vnus praesidio seruatus viuo et valeo. Scilicet huc nos misisti, vt tuo gratissimo atque amenissimo aspectu careremus, vt tuo suauissimo colloquio frui non liceret. Nam quid tandem mihi animi esse credis, qui apud 5 omnes passim Erasmi discipulus beneficio tuo immortaliter vociter, nec possim vel epistolulam saltem vllam ad me missam ostendere? Nimis profecto oblitus es mei, nimis erga discipulum misere amantem durus seuerusque es. Sic me iuuent superi vt scribenti mihi lachrimarum tanta vis exoritur vt vultus a carta cogar diducere, tanto 10 desyderio accendor, tam perditae litteras tuas percipio. At dices fortasse ipsum me litterarum nihil dedisse tibi. At ego feci, per Iouem, idque sepius. Quamobrem vehementer admiror vel nullam ad te peruenisse epistolam vel, quod credere nequeo, te contempsisse aut nihili fecisse: quanquam non ignorem ita grauioribus te occu- 15 patum studiis vt vix fricare aures liceat. At respiciendus tamen nonnunquam amicus est, eiusmodi praesertim qui in te solum vnicam spem collocauit, qui tua ope adiutus, praesidio fultus, praeconio quoque illustratus non secus ac numen quoddam terrenum suspicit atque obseruat. 20

Hoc igitur tibi persuadeas velim, suauissime praeceptor, tam mihi nunc fore grauissimum si deseris nos, quam fuit honestissimum atque vtilissimum laudari abs te, viro non mortali sed diuino potius, saltem immortaliter ac diuina sapientia praedito. Quamobrem te per

502. 29. litteras] Cf. Ep. 520. 1.

503. 6. beneficio] Cf. Ep. 66.