

stilum partim oratione, partim epistolis cohibui; cohibiturus etiam, quantum erit in me. Sed audio quosdam his atrociora minari: quod genus si quid accideret (id quod Deus auertat), nec ego possem tuo  
 70 mederi malo, et, vt est nunc prona hominum suspicio, inuidia facti in meum quoque caput recideret. Ita ex tuo malo mihi duplex incommodum nasceretur, primum ipse dolerem mea causa laesum esse cui nihil tale velim accidere, deinde non deerunt qui suspicentur me  
 75 conuiuente factum. Iam, vt spero nihil huiusmodi futurum, ita contra metuo ne quid accidat. Si nihil est periculi, amice timui; sin est, amicus praemonui, quo possis, si videtur, aliquo consilio occurrere quod tuae prudentiae videbitur esse commodissimum. Bene vale.  
 Louanii. Id. Iulii. Anno M.D.XIX.

986999. TO ULRICH HUTTEN.

Farrago p. 329.

Antwerp.

F. p. 432: HN: Lond. x. 30: LB. 447.

23 July 1519.

[This letter, composed at Hutten's request, is the earliest biography of More. Two years later Erasmus wrote a sketch of More's family to Budaeus (Ep. 1233); and again in 1533 he wrote to John Faber, bishop of Vienna (Ep. 386), describing the household as he had heard of it at Chelsea (Lond. xxvii. 8, LB. App. 426). The greater part of this letter to Hutten (down to l. 297) is printed in J. Fichard's *Virorum illustrium Vitae*, Frankfurt, C. Egenolph, Sept. 1536, ff. 112-16, from the text of F. Appended to it, with a short connecting passage, is the portion of LB. App. 378 which deals with More. For all the details of More's life Sir Sidney Lee's article in DNB is an invaluable source. I am indebted for some notes and suggestions to a reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, 2 Jan. 1909.

It looks at first sight as though, Epp. 1000 and 1007 notwithstanding, Erasmus might have been at Antwerp from 23 July to 15 Aug. continuously: but in fact his movements at this time were rapid. As he probably met Pace not later than 25 July (Ep. 1001. 53n), it seems likely that he went to Antwerp for the purpose just at this time, and travelled back with Pace on the way to Mechlin, which would serve also for his own return to Louvain. The place-date of Ep. 1000 is confirmed by Ep. 1001. 3. Within a few days he was in Antwerp again, having visited Mechlin on his way (Ep. 1001. 7); and he was still there on 15 Aug. (Ep. 1009). The place-dates of Epp. 1007, 8 conflict; cf. the introductions to Epp. 962, 965. If Louvain is not a mere oversight in Ep. 1007, it may be conjectured that in writing on important matters to the Pope, Erasmus preferred to give his permanent address.

A letter of this character clearly was not composed during a hurried excursion to Antwerp. The biographical part had no doubt been thought out at leisure in Louvain; and was then taken to Antwerp on the chance of finding a messenger returning to Germany, possibly someone in Pace's escort, through whom, when thrown into epistolary form, it might be delivered to Hutten. Mr. Nichols proposes (iii. 386-7, 401-2) to date this letter in 1517, arguing solely from a calculation made from the figures of More's age (ll. 56-8)—a class of statements in which Erasmus' memory is not to be trusted (cf. I, p. 2. 26n). In face of the

73. accidere *add. F.*

76. videtur *E*: videretur *H.*

Cnapp, c. 3 June 1520 (cf. Epp. 1123. 19-20, 1128. 1n); *Recriminatio Ioan. Gertophii, adulescentis Germani, aduersus furiosissimum sycophantam Edoardum Leum Anglum, qui ausus est primus Erasmus candidissimum luto aspergere*, Basle, A. Cartander, June 1520; and the *Hochstratus euans* (Ep. 1083. 23n). Cf.

also Ep. 1077. 1n.

67. cohibui] See Ep. 993. 52n.

68. his atrociora] Lee (*Annotationes*, ff. CC v<sup>o</sup>, CC<sup>2</sup>) reports that in conversation he asked Erasmus the meaning of the 'acriora stilo' with which he is threatened in this letter, and received the reply 'verbera'.

numerous indications of 1519—the relation to Ep. 986, the mention of More's second embassy, and of Hutten's *Aula*—the change is quite inadmissible.]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS CLARISSIMO EQVITI VLRICHO HVTTENO S. D.

QVOD Thomae Mori ingenium sic deamas ac pene dixerim deperis, nimirum scriptis illius inflammatus, quibus, vt vere scribis, nihil esse potest neque doctius neque festiuus, istuc, crede mihi, clarissime Huttene, tibi cum multis commune est, cum Moro mutuam etiam : nam is vicissim adeo scriptorum tuorum genio delectatur vt ipse tibi propemodum inuideam. Haec videlicet est illa Platonis omnium maxime amabilis sapientia, quae longe flagrantiores amores excitat inter mortales quam vllae quamlibet admirabiles corporum formae. Non cernitur illa quidem oculis corporeis, sed et animo sui sunt oculi ; vt hic quoque verum comperiat illud Graecorum, ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν γίνεται ἀνθρώποις τ' ἐρᾶν. Per hos fit aliquoties vt ardentissima charitate conglutinentur inter quos nec colloquium nec mutuus conspectus intercessit. Et quemadmodum vulgo fit vt incertis de causis alia forma alios rapiat, ita videtur et ingeniorum esse tacita quaedam cognatio, quae facit vt certis ingeniis impense delectemur, caeteris non item.

Caeterum quod a me flagitas, vt tibi totum Morum velut in tabula depingam, vtinam tam absolute praestare queam quam tu vehementer cupis ! Nam mihi quoque non iniucundum fuerit interim in amici multo omnium suauissimi contemplatione versari. Sed primum ob πάντος ἀνδρός ἐστίν omnes Mori dotes perspexisse. Deinde haud scio an ille laturus sit a quolibet artifice depingi sese. Nec enim arbitror leuioris esse operae Morum effingere quam Alexandrum magnum aut Achillem, nec illi quam hic noster immortalitate digniores erant. Tale argumentum prorsus Apellis cuiuspiam manum desyderat ; at vereor ne ipse Fuluii Rutubaeque similior sim quam Apellis. Experiar tamen tibi totius hominis simulachrum deliniare verius quam exprimere, quantum ex diutina domesticaque consuetudine vel animaduertere licuit vel meminisse. Quod siquando fiet vt vos aliqua legatio committat, tum demum intelliges quam non probum artificem ad hoc negotii delegeris ; vereorque plane ne me aut inuidientiae

TIT. CLARISSIMO EQVITI om. H. 3. mihi crede F. II. γίνεται E Corrig. : γίνεται EF. τ' om. H. 15. caeteris non item add. F. 27. delineare N<sup>3</sup>.

a. scribis] The letter is not extant. But it must have been prior to Ep. 986 ; cf. l. 302.

4. mutuam] For this opening comparison cf. I, p. 27. 29–31.

10. Graecorum] A proverb quoted by Diogenianus : cf. *Adag.* 179.

20. suauissimi] Evidently the epithet for More, which gives the note for the whole sketch ; cf. II, III, 301.

21. ὀ πάντος] Cf. *Adag.* 301.

26. Fuluii Rutubaeque] The gladiators of Hor. S. 2. 7. 96, where their names occur in a comparison between the work of the artist Pausias and pictures of gladiatorial shows ; with a

suggested contrast between refined and vulgar enjoyment. The idea in Erasmus' mind was perhaps something of this. The *Athenaeum* reviewer suggests that Erasmus supposed them to be indifferent painters. But contemporary notes on Horace indicate them as gladiators ; and of this interpretation Erasmus can hardly have been ignorant. He often uses the same figure, e.g. in the first preface to vol. ii of Jerome, 1516, f. 3 v<sup>o</sup> (cf. Ep. 326 introd.) : ' cum bubulcus interim aliquis nec Fului aut Rutubae manu ab Appellis aut Xeusidis manu sit discreturus.' Cf. also *Adag.* 3401.

incuses aut caecutientiae, qui ex tam multis bonis tam pauca vel viderim lippus vel commemorare voluerim invidus.

Atque vt ab ea parte exordiar qua tibi Morus est ignotissimus, statura  
 35 modoque corporis est infra proceritatem, supra tamen notabilem  
 humilitatem; verum omnium membrorum tanta est symmetria vt  
 nihil hic omnino desyderes. Cute corporis candida, facies magis ad  
 candorem vergit quam ad pallorem, quanquam a rubore procul abest,  
 nisi quod tenuis admodum rubor vbique subluet. Capilli subnigro  
 40 flauore, siue mauis sufflao nigrore, barba rarior, oculi subcesii,  
 maculis quibusdam interspersi: quae species ingenium arguere solet  
 felicissimum, apud Britannos etiam amabilis habetur, cum nostri  
 nigrore magis capiantur. Negant vllum oculorum genus minus in-  
 festari vitis. Vultus ingenio respondet, gratam et amicam festiui-  
 45 tatem semper praeseferens, ac nonnihil ad ridentis habitum com-  
 positus; atque, vt ingenue dicam, appositior ad iucunditatem quam  
 ad grauitatem aut dignitatem, etiamsi longissime abest ab ineptia  
 scurrilitateque. Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior laeuo,  
 praesertim cum incedit: id quod illi non accidit natura sed assue-  
 50 tudine, qualia permulta nobis solent adhaerere. In reliquo corpore  
 nihil est quod offendat. Manus tantum subrusticae sunt; ita duntaxat,  
 si ad reliquam corporis speciem conferantur. Ipse omnium  
 quae ad corporis cultum attinent, semper a puero negligentissimus  
 fuit, adeo vt nec illa magnopere curare sit solitus quae sola viris esse  
 55 curanda docet Ouidius. Formae venustas quae fuerit adolescenti,  
 nunc etiam licet ἐκ τῆς καλάρμης conicere: quanquam ipse noui homi-  
 nem non maiorem annis viginti tribus, nam nunc vix excessit quadra-  
 gesimum.

Valetudo prospera magis quam robusta, sed tamen quae quantis-  
 60 libet laboribus sufficiat honesto ciue dignis, nullis aut certe paucissi-  
 mis morbis obnoxia: spes est viuacem fore, quando patrem habet

57. vix E: non multum F.

34. statura] Beatus Rhenanus (iv. 529-39, 545) expressly borrows some of the details of this description in portraying Erasmus himself: thus making the two friends comparable in height, complexion, colour of hair and eyes, expression of face, voice and clearness of speech; also for constancy in friendship (l. 100-1) and suavity in address (l. 111).

40. barba rarior] There is nothing that can be called a beard in either the drawing or the painting of More by Holbein in 1527: so it must be inferred that More had removed this since Erasmus had last seen him in April 1517. The bearded portrait in LB., from an engraving made by Vorsterman in 1631, is derived from a small panel in the Brussels Museum (No. 641); which it is now recognized is not by Holbein and cannot possibly be More. See A. B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the younger*, 1913, i, pp. 304,5.

55. Ouidius] A.A. i. 509 seq.

56. ἐκ τῆς καλάρμης] Cf. *Adag.* 3103, quoting Hom. *Od.* 14. 214 and Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 10.

57. non maiorem] This statement is approximately correct, if More's birth is placed in 1477 (cf. Ep. 114 introd.); for Erasmus met him first in the autumn of 1499 (i, p. 6 and Ep. 104 introd.).

vix] The correction in F was perhaps made in the desire to bring the estimate up to date. In July 1519 More was either 41½ or 42½.

61. patrem] John More (1453?-1530), butler of Lincoln's Inn, was called to the Bar, and in Nov. 1503 was a serjeant-at-law. By 1518, perhaps as a reward for his son's services, he had been made a Judge of Common Pleas, and by 28 Nov. 1523 was promoted to the King's Bench. In Ep. 1233 his age is estimated considerably higher than the figure given above from DNB. On

admodum natu grandem, sed mire virenti vegetaque senectute. Neminem adhuc vidi minus morosum in delectu ciborum. Ad iuuenilem vsque aetatem aquae potu delectatus est, id illi patrium fuit. Verum hac in re ne cui molestus esset, fallebat conuiuas e stanneo 65 poculo ceruisiam bibens, eamque aquae proximam, frequenter aquam meram. Vinum, quoniam illic mos est ad idem poculum vicissim inuitare sese, summo ore nonnunquam libabat, ne prorsus abhorrere videretur, simul vt ipse communibus rebus assuesceret. Carnibus bubulis, salsamentis, pane secundario ac vehementer fermentato li- 70 bentius vescebatur quam his cibis quos vulgus habet in deliciis: alioqui neutiquam abhorrens ab omnibus quae voluptatem innoxiam adferunt etiam corpori. Lactariorum et eorum foetuum qui nascuntur in arboribus, semper fuit appetentior: esum ouorum in deliciis habet. Vox neque grandis est nec admodum exilis, sed quae facile penetret 75 aures, nihil habens canorum ac molle, sed plane loquentis est; nam ad musicam vocalem a natura non videtur esse compositus, etiamsi delectatur omni musices genere. Lingua mire explanata articulatque, nihil habens nec praeceps nec haesitans.

Cultu simplici delectatur, nec sericis purpurae aut catenis aureis 80 vtitur, nisi cum integrum non est ponere. Dictu mirum quam negligens sit ceremoniarum quibus hominum vulgus aestimat morum ciuitatem. Has vt a nemine exigit, ita aliis non anxie praestat nec in congressibus nec in conuiujs; licet harum non sit ignarus, si lubeat vti. Sed muliebri putat viroque indignum eiusmodi ineptiis 85 bonam temporis partem absumere.

Ab aula principumque familiaritate olim fuit alienior, quod illi semper peculiariter inuisa fuerit tyrannis, quemadmodum aequalitas gratissima. Vix autem reperies vllam aulam tam modestam quae non multum habeat strepitus atque ambitionis, multum fuci, multum 90 luxus, quaeque prorsus absit ab omni specie tyrannidis. Quin nec in Henrici octavi aulam pertrahi potuit, nisi multo negocio; cum hoc Principe nec optari quicquam possit ciuilius ac modestius. Natura libertatis atque ocii est audior; sed quemadmodum ocio, cum datur, lubens vtitur, ita quoties poscit res, nemo vigilantior aut 95 patientior.

66. frequenter aquam meram *add. H.* 73. qui *F Corrig.*: quae *E.* 89. re-  
perias *N.*

24 April 1474 he married Agnes Graunger, who was the mother of his children; see W. A. Wright in *Notes and Queries*, 17 Oct. 1868, reprinted in Seebohm, pp. 520-8. Erasmus speaks definitely of three later wives (ll. 193-5), but the names of only two are known; Mrs. Bowes and Alice Clarke († 1544), née More of Loseley, who from the change introduced into the text in F, must have succeeded between 1519 and 1521. The other was perhaps Johanna Handcombe, whom Cresacre More gives, wrongly, as Thomas More's mother.

66. ceruisiam] Warham practised

similar moderation; cf. the sketches of him in the *Ecclesiastes* (LB. v. 811 B) and in the 1533 preface to Jerome (wrongly cited as *Adagia* in Ep. 188 introd.).

67. idem poculum] Cf. a passage near the end of the colloquy, 'Αγαμος γάμος, first published in March 1529: 'P. Tum feratur lex ne quis cum alio poculum habeat commune. G. Istam vix recipiat Anglia' (LB. i. 830 D). Cf. also *Adag.* 553.

70. secundario] Of inferior quality; made from the flour known as 'seconds'. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1. 123 and Suet. *Aug.* 76.

92. in . . . aulam] Cf. ll. 217-30 and *Epp.* 597. 51 n. 2, 832. 35-9.

Ad amicitiam natus factusque videtur, cuius et syncerissimus est cultor et longe tenacissimus est. Nec ille metuit πολυφιλίαν ab Hesiodo parum laudatam. Nulli non patet ad necessitudinis foedus.  
 100 Nequaquam morosus in deligendo, commodissimus in alendo, constantissimus in retinendo. Si fors incidit in quempiam cuius viciis mederi non possit, hunc per occasionem dimittit, dissuens amicitiam, non abrumpens. Quos synceros repperit et ad ingenium suum appositos, horum consuetudine fabulisque sic delectatur vt his in  
 105 rebus praecipuam vitae voluptatem ponere videatur. Nam a pila, alea, chartis caeterisque lusibus, quibus vulgus procerum temporis taedium solet fallere, prorsus abhorret. Porro vt propriarum rerum est negligentior, ita nemo diligentior in curandis amicorum negociis. Quid multis? Si quis absolutum verae amicitiae requirat exemplar,  
 110 a nemine rectius petierit quam a Moro.

In conuictu tam rara comitas ac morum suauitas, vt nemo tam tristi sit ingenio quem non exhilaret, nulla res tam atrox cuius taedium non discutiat. Iam inde a puero sic iocis est delectatus vt ad hos natus videri possit, sed in his nec ad scurrilitatem vsque pro-  
 115 gressus est, nec mordacitatem vnquam amauit. Adolescens comoediolas et scripsit et egit. Si quod dictum esset salsius, etiam in ipsum tortum, tamen amabat; vsque adeo gaudet salibus argutis et ingenium redolentibus. Vnde et epigrammatis lusit iuuenis, et Luciano cum primis est delectatus; quin et mihi vt Morias Encomium  
 120 scriberem, hoc est vt camelus saltarem, fuit autor.

Nihil autem in rebus humanis obuium est vnde ille non venetur voluptatem, etiam in rebus maxime seriis. Si cum eruditis et cordatis res est, delectatur ingenio; si cum indoctis ac stultis, fruitur illorum stulticia. Nec offenditur morionibus, mira dexteritate ad omnium  
 125 affectus sese accommodans. Cum mulieribus fere atque etiam cum vxore non nisi lusus iocosque tractat. Diceres alterum quendam esse Democritum, aut potius Pythagoricum illum philosophum, qui vacuus animo per mercatum obambulans contemplatur tumultus vendentium atque ementium. Nemo minus ducitur vulgi iudicio,  
 130 sed rursus nemo minus abest a sensu communi.

Praecipua illi voluptas est spectare formas, ingenia et affectus

100. *ELB*: diligendo *Lond.*

101. fors *EN*<sup>2</sup>: foris *HN*<sup>8</sup>.

103. reperit *F.*

104. in his *F.*

116. salsius *add. H.*

99. Hesiodo] *Op.* 713.

115. comoediolas] Roper (*Life of More*, ed. Hearne, 1716, p. 3) records that More, when a boy in the household of Cardinal Morton, would 'at Christmas tyd sodenly sometymes stepp in among the players, and never studinge for the matter, make a parte of his owne there presently amonge them, which made the lookers on more sport then all the players besid'.

118. epigrammatis] Cf. *Ep.* 635. 9-10.

119. Luciano] To the joint volume of 1506 (*Ep.* 187) More contributed translations of three dialogues and of the *Tyrannicida* with a declamation in reply (cf. ll. 253-5 and *Ep.* 191). These fill

17 ff., unnumbered, at the end, with a new colophon 13 Nov. 1506: Erasmus' portion bearing date 1 Nov. More's work is dedicated to Ruthall (*Ep.* 192) with an undated preface (*LB.* App. 475, quite wrongly ascribed to Erasmus) which offers for Ruthall's acceptance 'has in Graecis litteris studii mei primitias'. See also *Ep.* 550 introd. and 1, p. 18. 26-9.

120. fuit autor] The precise value to be attached to this statement must be determined by comparison with *Epp.* 222. 1-18, 337. 126-39.

127. Democritum] Cf. *Ep.* 222. 17, 8. Pythagoricum] Cf. *Diog. Laert.* 8. 1. 6.

diuersorum animantium. Proinde nullum fere genus est auium quod domi non alat, et siquod aliud animal vulgo rarum, veluti simia, vulpes, viuerra, mustela et his consimilia. Ad haec si quid exoticum aut alioqui spectandum occurrat, auidissime mercari solet; atque his 135 rebus vndique domum habet instructam, vt nusquam non sit obuium quod oculos ingredientium demoretur; ac toties sibi renouat voluptatem, quoties alios conspicit oblectari. Cum aetas ferret, non abhorruit a puellarum amoribus, sed citra infamiam, et sic vt oblati magis frueretur quam captatis, et animo mutuo caperetur potius quam coitu. 140

Bonas literas a primis statim annis hauserat. Iuuenis ad Graecas literas atque philosophiae studium sese applicuit, adeo non opitulante patre, viro alioqui prudenti proboque, vt ea conantem omni subsidio destitueret; ac pene pro abdicato haberetur, quod a patriis studiis desciscere videretur: nam is Britannicarum legum peritiam pro- 145 fitetur. Quae professio vt est a veris literis alienissima, ita apud Britannos cum primis habentur magni clarique, qui in hoc genere sibi pararunt autoritatem. Nec [temere] apud illos alia via ad rem ac gloriam parandam magis idonea; siquidem plerunque nobilitatem illius insulae peperit hoc studiorum genus. In eo negant quenquam 150 absolui posse nisi plurimos annos insudarit. Ab hoc igitur cum non iniuria abhorreret adolescentis ingenium melioribus rebus natum, tamen post degustatas scholasticas disciplinas sic in hoc versatus est vt neque consulerent quenquam libentius litigatores, neque quaestum vberiore faceret quisquam eorum qui nihil aliud agebant. Tanta 155 erat vis ac celeritas ingenii.

Quin et euoluendis orthodoxorum voluminibus non segnem operam impendit. Augustini libros De Ciuitate Dei publice professus est adhuc pene adolescens auditorio frequenti; nec puduit nec poenituit sacerdotes ac senes a iuene prophano sacra discere. Interim et ad 160 pietatis studium totum animum appulit, vigiliis, ieiuniis, precatio-

133. et om. F. 134. EN<sup>3</sup>LB: viuera N<sup>1</sup> Lond. 135. atque F: aque E. 137. ac F: at E. 142. atque E: ac F. 144. haberetur E: haberet F. 149. plerunque MS. ap. E Corrig., F: plerisque E.

133. domi] It is quite possible that at this time More's home was still in Bucklersbury. In her marriage-licence, 7 July 1521, Margaret More (l. 174) is described as of the parish of St. Stephen's, Walbrook; within which part of Bucklersbury lies. From June 1523 to Jan. 1524 More was the owner of Crosby Place in the City of London; but I cannot find any definite evidence to connect him with Chelsea before his purchases of land there in 1524. See P. Norman, *Crosby Place*, 1908, p. 21.

simia] A story of More's ape and weasel is told in the colloquy *Amicitia*, first printed in Sept. 1531. P. Falk also delighted in an ape; see Ep. 450. 57-61.

144. abdicato] The technical term for 'disowned', 'disinherited': cf. Quint. 7. 1. 14, 4. 11.

haberetur] The editors of F sought to remove some of the rough-

ness caused by the frequent changes of subject in this sentence.

148. Nec temere] A conflation with 'Nec temere habetur apud illos ea via . . . maxime idonea'.

149. plerunque] The editors of E found the reading of the ms. difficult and corrected it, recording it, however, in the corrigenda: the editors of F restored it. For other citations of ms. originals in E Corrig. cf. Epp. 123. 12n, 987. 32, 3nn.

nobilitatem] Cf. Ep. 1053. 130n.

153. scholasticas disciplinas] Presumably at Oxford: cf. Ep. 1002. 8-12.

158. Augustini] This course of lectures was perhaps undertaken at the request of Grocin; for Roper (p. 3, ed. Hearne) states that they were delivered 'in the Church of St. Laurence in the old Jurye': where Grocin was Rector.

161. pietatis studium] Gairdner points

nibus aliisque consimilibus progymnasmatibus sacerdotium meditans. Qua quidem in re non paulo plus ille sapiebat quam plerique isti qui temere ad tam arduam professionem ingerunt sese, nullo prius sui  
165 periculo facto. Neque quicquam obstabat quo minus sese huic vitae generi addiceret, nisi quod uxoris desyderium non posset excutere. Maluit igitur maritus esse castus quam sacerdos impurus.

Tamen virginem duxit admodum puellam, claro genere natam, rudem adhuc, vtpote ruri inter parentes ac sorores semper habitam,  
170 quo magis illi liceret illam ad suos mores fingere. Hanc et literis instituendam curavit et omni musices genere doctam reddidit; planeque talem pene finxerat quicum lubuisset vniuersam aetatem exigere, ni mors praematura puellam sustulisset e medio, sedenixam liberos aliquot: quorum adhuc supersunt puellae tres, Margareta,

171. instituendam *E*: instruendam *H*. 172. libuisset *N*. 174. tres *F*: quatuor *E*. Margareta, Aloysia, Cecilia *add. H*.

out (EHR. vii. 713,14) that it was probably during this period that More made the acquaintance of John Bonge, Bownge, or Bunge, a contemporary of John Fisher at Cambridge, where they had been 'scollers togethyr', also B.A. and M.A. 'bothe off on day': the latter degree in 1490, see *Cambridge Grace Books A. 214, B, i. 26*. Bonge became More's confessor, 'christened two of his children, buried his first wife and married him to his second'.

164. sui periculo] A point on which Erasmus always lays great stress: cf. II. 67-71, Epp. 296. 34-6, 447. 138, 194, 858. 495, 1158. 4-5, 1202. 220.

168. Tamen] This unexpected conjunction suggests that the three previous sentences (which are a characteristic Erasmian sally) were added later than the first composition.

puellam] Jane Colt (c. 1487-1511: cf. Ep. 221. 31n), eldest daughter of John Colt of Netherhall, near Roydon in Essex (see Ep. 829. 27n). Her marriage with More cannot be dated later than c. Jan. 1505. From the initial similarity of language she may be identified with the young wife from the country, married at 17, who at first found her husband's instruction irksome, but was brought by her father to happy compliance; as described in the colloquy *Vxor Memphisiamos*, first printed in Aug. 1523 (LB. i. 704 v-5 c). See *The Times*, Lit. Suppl., 26 Dec. 1918. A story of More's deceiving her with sham jewels is told in the *Moria* (LB. iv. 451 CD).

169. sorores] For these see Ph. Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, 1768, ii. 492.

174. tres] In writing *quatuor* in *E*, Erasmus was doubtless thinking of the adopted daughter, Margaret Giggs

(1508-6 July 1570), whom he mentions in this connexion in Ep. 1233. 57, and whom More regarded as one of his own. About 1530 she married with John Clement (Ep. 388. 173n).

174. Margareta] (c. Oct. 1505-1544), More's eldest and favourite daughter. By Sept. 1521 (Ep. 1233. 53-4; cf. l. 133n) she was married to William Roper (1496-1578), a member of a Kentish family living at Well Hall, near Eltham (cf. Ep. 104 introd.); but was still dwelling, with her husband, in her father's house. At Christmas 1523 Erasmus dedicated to her some hymns of Prudentius, with a preface which carries congratulations on the birth of their first child. He wrote to her again in 1529 (Lond. xxvi. 50, LB. 1075); and her autograph reply is still extant (Breslau MS. Rehd. 254. 129: LB. App. 352). Some of her father's letters to her are printed by Stapleton, *Tres Thomae*, 1588, in Latin, and are reproduced in English by Cresacre More. John Coster (see Ep. 750 introd.) in editing Vincentius Lirinensis' *Pro Catholicae fidei antiquitate*, Paris, M. Julianus, 1569, cites (f. 47: from information received from John Clement) an emendation by her in Cyprian's Ep. 30. 3, *neruos* for *nisi vos*: which is the reading of Erasmus' editions. Mr. A. W. Reed has shown (*Trans. of the Bibliographical Soc.*, n. s. ii) that she translated Erasmus' *Precatio Dominica* into English, in an edition printed by T. Berthelet before 12 March 1525. No copy is known: but it was no doubt the same translation which W. de Worde printed, London, (c. 1 Oct.) 1524. She is credited also by Stapleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 242-3, with a treatise *De quatuor nouissimis* and with some declamations in imitation of

†Aloysia, Cecilia, puer vnus Ioannes. Neque diu celebs viuere susti- 175  
 nuit, licet alio vocantibus amicorum consiliis. Paucis mensibus a  
 funere vxoris viduam duxit, magis curandae familiae quam voluptati,  
 quippe nec bellam admodum nec puellam, vt ipse iocari solet, sed  
 acrem ac vigilantem matrem familias; quicum tamen perinde  
 comiter suauiterque viuit ac si puella foret forma quantumlibet 180  
 amabili. Vix vllus maritus a sua tantum obsequii impetrat imperio  
 atque seueritudine quantum hic blanditiis iocisque. Quid enim non  
 impetret, posteaquam effecit vt mulier iam ad senium vergens, ad  
 hoc animi minime mollis, postremo ad rem attentissima, cithara,  
 testudine, monochordo, tibiisque canere disceret, et in hisce rebus 185  
 cotidie praescriptum operae pensum exigenti marito redderet?

Consimili comitate totam familiam moderatur, in qua nulla tra-  
 goedia, nulla rixa. Si quid extiterit, protinus aut medetur aut com-  
 ponit; neque quenquam vnquam dimisit vt inimicum aut vt inimicus.  
 Quin huius domus fatalis quaedam videtur felicitas, in qua nemo 190  
 vixit qui non prouectus sit ad meliorem fortunam, nullus vnquam  
 vllam famae labem contraxit. Quin vix vllos reperias quibus sic  
 conuenerit cum matre vt huic cum nouerca—nam pater iam alteram  
 induxerat; vtranque non minus adamauit ac matrem. Nuper  
 induxit tertiam: hac Morus sancte deierat se nihil vnquam vidisse 195  
 melius. Porro erga parentes ac liberos sororesque sic affectus est, vt  
 nec amet moleste nec vsquam desit officio pietatis.

175. Ioannes *add. H.*      185. tibiis *N.*      194. induxerat *F*: induxit *E.*  
 Nuper . . . 196. melius *add. F.*      197. vsquam *E*: vnquam *N.*

Quintilian; and by Cresacre More, *Life of Moore*, (1631), p. 189, with a translation of Eusebius. But none of these have survived.

175. Aloysia] The name of More's second daughter, who became the wife of Wm. Daunce, was Elizabeth; as Erasmus rightly has in his preface to the *Nux*. The inaccuracy here probably arose from confusion with her step-sister (cf. Ep. 1233. 58n); but as these names were not inserted until H, it was not corrected like those in ll. 174, 211. It appears also in Erasmus' preface to Aristotle, 27 Feb. 1531 (Lond. xxviii. 13, LB. 1159).

Cecilia] Afterwards the wife of Giles Heron.

Ioannes] (c. 1509–1547), More's youngest child; who in Sept. 1521 was about 13 (Ep. 1233. 61). At Christmas 1523 Erasmus dedicated to him the poem *Nux*, attributed to Ovid. Besides that it is striking that the young man received the dedications of the second editions of both Aristotle and Plato in the Greek—the former corrected by Grynaeus, with a preface by Erasmus (Lond. xxviii. 13, LB. 1159), Basle, J. Bebel, 13 April 1531; the latter (with Proclus' commentaries) corrected by

John Oporinus, with a preface by Grynaeus, Basle, J. Valder, March 1534, based in part on mss. brought by Grynaeus from England. Nevertheless, on quite inadequate evidence, it has been supposed that he was of weak intellect. About 1529 he married Anne Cresacre (1511–77), and Cresacre More (1572–1649) was his grandson. See DNB. xxxviii. 447.

176. Paucis mensibus] John Bonge, who was in a position to know (see l. 161n), says 'within a monythe after': in a letter written in 1535 (EHR. vii. 714). Cf. Ep. 221. 31n.

177. viduam] Alice, widow of John Middleton († c. 4 Oct. 1509), citizen and mercer of London, and merchant of the Staple of Calais—information which I owe to Mr. A. W. Reed. More married her in 1511 (cf. Ep. 236. 47n); and after his execution she received from the Crown an annuity for life.

178. nec bellam] Cf. Mart. i. 64. 4.

187. familiam] By 1521 this included also two of his daughters' husbands: cf. Ep. 1233. 72n.

193. nouerca] See l. 61n.

196. sorores] Johanna, born 11 March 147 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and married to Rich. Staffreton; Agatha, born 31 Jan. 147 $\frac{3}{8}$ ; Elizabeth,



Animus est a sordido lucro alienissimus. Liberis suis semouit e facultatibus quod illis satis esse putat; quod superest, largiter  
 200 effundit. Cum aduocationibus adhuc aleretur, nulli non dedit amicum  
 verumque consilium, magis illorum commodis prospiciens quam suis; plerisque solitus persuadere vti litem componerent: minus enim hic fore dispendii. Id si minus impetrabat, tum rationem indicabat qua  
 205 animus est, vt litibus etiam delectentur. In vrbe Londoniensi, in qua natus est, annos aliquot iudicem egit in causis ciuilibus. Id munus vt minimum habet oneris (nam non sedetur nisi die Iouis vsque ad prandium), ita cum primis honorificum habetur. Nemo plures causas absoluit, nemo se gessit integrius; remissa plerisque  
 210 pecunia quam ex praescripto debent qui litigant: siquidem ante litis contestationem actor deponit treis drachmas, totidem reus, nec amplius quicquam fas est exigere. His moribus effecit vt ciuitati suae longe charissimus esset.

Decreuerat autem hac fortuna esse contentus, quae et satis haberet  
 215 autoritatis, nec tamen esset grauibus obnoxia periculis. Semel atque iterum extrusus est in legationem; in qua cum se cordatissime gessisset, non conqueuit serenissimus Rex Henricus eius nominis octauus donec hominem in aulam suam pertraheret. Cur enim non dicam pertraheret? Nullus vnquam vehementius ambiit in aulam  
 220 admitti quam hic studuit effugere. Verum cum esset optimo Regi in animo familiam suam eruditiss, grauibus, cordatis et integris viris differtam reddere, cum alios permultos, tum Morum in primis acciuit; quem sic in intimis habet vt a se nunquam patiatur discedere. Siue seriis vtendum est, nihil illo consultius; siue visum est Regi fabulis  
 225 amoenioribus laxare animum, nullus comes festiuior. Saepe res arduae iudicem grauem et cordatum postulant; has sic Morus discutit vt vtraque pars habeat gratiam. Nec tamen ab eo quisquam impetrauit vt munus a quoquam acciperet. Felices republicas si Mori similes magistratus vbique praeficeret princeps! Nec interim vllum  
 230 accessit supercilium.

Inter tantas negociorum moles et veterum amiculorum meminit et ad literas adamatas subinde redit. Quicquid dignitate valet, quicquid

211. treis H: sex E.

born 22 Sept. 1482 and married to John Rastell († 1536), the printer. Their son William (c. 1508—27 Aug. 1565), adhering to the old religion, withdrew under Edward VI to Louvain with John Clement, whose daughter Winifred († 1553) he married. Under Mary he returned to England, and edited More's English Works, London, 1557. Three weeks before Mary's death he was made judge of the Queen's Bench; but shortly afterwards withdrew again to Louvain, where he was buried beside his wife in St. Peter's church. See Wright (l. 61n), reprinted by Seeböhm, p. 522; and DNB. xlvii. 303-5.

206. iudicem] Under-Sheriff; to which office he was elected, 3 Sept. 1510.

211. treis drachmas] The correction made here in H was perhaps pointed out by More. I have adopted it because it seems easier to suppose that Erasmus originally made a mistake, adding together the fees paid by each side, than that *treis* in H is a mere lapse from *sex* of the earlier editions. I cannot find any other evidence for the fees of litigants in the Under-Sheriff's court.

214. esse contentus] Cf. Ep. 388. 131, 2.

216. in legationem] Cf. Epp. 388. 94n, 623. 20 n. 2.

218. pertraheret] Cf. ll. 70n, 279.

221. familiam] Cf. Epp. 855. 28n (where for 837 read 832), 917. 11n, 966, 968-70, 976, 1004, 1005. 31-2, 1028. 1-2, 1031. 17-21, 1032. 17-23.

apud amplissimum Regem gratia pollet, id omne iuuandae reipublicae, iuuandis amicis impendit. Semper quidem adfuit animus de cunctis benemerendi cupidissimus mireque pronus ad misericordiam: eum <sup>235</sup> nunc magis exerit, quando plus potest prodesse. Alios pecunia subleuat, alios autoritate tuetur, alios commendatione prouehit. Quos alloqui iuuare non potest, his consilio succurrit. Nullum vnquam a se tristem dimisit. Diceres Morum esse publicum omnium inopum patronum. Ingens lucrum sibi putat accessisse si quem oppressum <sup>240</sup> subleuauit, si perplexum et impeditum explicuit, si alienatum redegit in gratiam. Nemo lubentius collocat beneficium, nemo minus exprobrat. Iam cum tot nominibus sit felicissimus, et felicitatis comes fore soleat esse iactantia, nullum adhuc mortalium mihi videre contigit qui longius abesset ab hoc vitio. <sup>245</sup>

Sed ad studiorum commemorationem redeo, quae me Moro mihiue Morum potissimum conciliarunt. Primam aetatem carmine potissimum exercuit, mox diu luctatus est vt prosam orationem redderet molliorem, per omne scripti genus stilum exercens. Qui cuiusmodi sit, quid attinet commemorare? tibi praesertim qui libros eius semper <sup>250</sup> habeas in manibus. Declamationibus praecipue delectatus est, et, in his, materiis adoxis, quod in his acrior sit ingeniorum exercitatio. Vnde adolescens etiamnum dialogum moliebatur, in quo Platonis communitatem ad vxores vsque defendit. Luciani Tyrannicidae respondit; quo in argumento me voluit antagonistam habere, quo <sup>255</sup> certius periculum faceret ecquid profecisset in hoc genere. Vtopiam hoc consilio aedidit, vt indicaret quibus rebus fiat vt minus commode habeant reipublicae; sed Britannicam potissimum effinxit, quam habet penitus perspectam cognitamque. Secundum librum prius scripserat per ocium, mox per occasionem primum adiecit ex tempore. <sup>260</sup> Atque hinc nonnulla dictionis inaequalitas.

Vix alium reperias qui feliciter dicat ex tempore: adeo felici ingenio felix lingua subseruit. Ingenium praesens et vbique praeuolans, memoria parata; quae cum omnia habeat velut in numerato, prompte et incontanter suggerit quicquid tempus aut res postulat. In disputa- <sup>265</sup> tionibus nihil fingi potest acutius, adeo vt summis etiam theologis saepe negocium facessat, in ipsorum harena versans. Ioannes Coletus, vir acris exactique iudicii, in familiaribus colloquiis subinde dicere solet Britanniae non nisi vnicum esse ingenium: cum haec insula tot egregiis ingeniis floreat. <sup>270</sup>

Veræ pietatis non indiligens cultor est, etiamsi ab omni superstitione alienissimus. Habet suas horas, quibus Deo litet precibus, non ex more, sed e pectore depromptis. Cum amicis sic fabulatur de vita futuri seculi vt agnoscas illum ex animo loqui, neque sine optima spe. Ac talis Morus est etiam in aula. Et postea sunt qui putent Christia- <sup>275</sup> nos non inueniri nisi in monasteriis.

236. potest plus *N.*      238. his *add. H.*      253. in *add. N.*      255. ant-  
agonistam *F.*: aut agonistam *E.*      272. Habet . . . 274. spe *add. F.*

252. adoxis] paradoxical. Erasmus notes the same characteristic in Colet; Ep. 1211. 388, 419-20, 512-13.

254. Tyrannicidae] Cf. l. 119n.

270. egregiis ingeniis] Cf. Epp. 185.

13-15, 195. 4-8.

272. precibus] Cf. the anonymous life (of 1599), printed by C. Wordsworth from a Lambeth MS. in *Ecclesiastical Biographies*, ii (1839), pp. 66 and 107, 8.

Tales viros cordatissimus Rex in familiam suam atque adeo in cubiculum non solum admittit verumetiam inuitat; nec inuitat modo verumetiam pertrahit. Hos habet arbitros ac testes perpetuos vitae  
 280 suae, hos habet in consiliis, hos habet itinerum comites. Ab his stipari gaudet potius quam luxu perditis iuuenibus aut mulierculis, aut etiam torquatis Midis, aut insynceris officiis; quorum alius ad voluptates ineptas auocet, alius ad tyrannidem inflammet, alius ad  
 285 expilandum populum nouas technas suggerat. In hac aula si vixisses, Huttene, sat scio rursum aliam Aulam describeres, et misaulos esse desineres: quanquam tu quoque cum eo Principe viuis vt integriorem nec optare possis. Neque desunt qui rebus optimis faueant, veluti Stromerus ac Coppus. Sed quid ista paucitas ad tantum examen insignium virorum, Montioii, Linaeri, Pacei, Coleti, Stocschleii, Lati-  
 290 meri, Mori, Tunstalli, Clerici atque aliorum his adsimilium? quorum quemcunque nominaris, mundum omnium virtutum ac disciplinarum semel dixeris. Mihi vero spes est haud quaquam vulgaris fore vt Albertus, vnicum his temporibus nostrae Germaniae ornamentum, et plures sui similes in suam allegat familiam, et caeteris principibus  
 295 graui sit exemplo, vt idem et ipsi suae quisque domi facere studeant.

Habes imaginem ad optimum exemplar a pessimo artifice non optime deliniatam. Ea tibi minus placebit, si continget Morum nosse propius. Sed illud tamen interim caui, ne mihi possis impingere quod tibi minus paruerim, neue semper opprobres nimium breues  
 300 epistolas. Etiam si haec nec mihi scribenti visa est longior, nec tibi legenti, sat scio, prolixa videbitur: id faciet Mori nostri suauitas.

Verum ne nihil ad postreman tuam epistolam respondeam, quam prius excusam legi quam scriptam, clarissimi Principis Alberti humanitatem ex ipsius etiam ad me literis intellexi. Sed qui, quae-  
 305 so, factum vt patera prius ad omnes peruenerit tuis literis quam ad me? Certe per neminem certius mittere poteris quam per Richardum Paceum, serenissimi Angliae Regis oratorem, siue me haberet Bra-

297. *F*: deliniatum *E*: delineatam *Lond.*

285. aliam Aulam] Cf. Ep. 863. 31n.

286. Principe] Albert of Brandenburg, archbishop of Mainz: see Ep. 661.

288. Coppus] See Ep. 986. 14n.

289. Stocschleii] See Ep. 855. 43n.

Latimeri] I do not know on what ground Erasmus connects Latimer (Ep. 207. 22n) with the Court, unless that he was for a time tutor to Reginald Pole.

290. Clerici] John Clerk († 3 Jan. 1541). He was B.A. at Cambridge 1499, M.A. 1502, and then began a career of incessant ecclesiastical preferment. At this time he was chaplain to Wolsey and dean of the Chapel Royal, and thus was in frequent attendance on the Court; except when he was sent on embassies, twice to France and twice to Rome (cf. Ep. 1227. 5n). For a year, 1522-3, he was

Master of the Rolls, and in 1523 he was created bishop of Bath and Wells. See DNB.

Knight, pp. 220-1, identifies with another John Clerk († 10 May 1552), who had known Pace (Ep. 211. 43n) intimately in Italy (*De Fructu*, pp. 24-5), became secretary to the Duke of Norfolk, and wrote an *Opusculum de mortuorum resurrectione*, 1545: see DNB. But in such company the bishop is perhaps more likely.

302. epistolam] Ep. 986. For a letter of Erasmus to Hutten c. 30 May (contemporary with Epp. 981, 985), which ought to have been delivered at Frankfurt by the bearers, Jonas and Schalbe, c. June med., see EHE. p. 289 (HE. 135) and cf. Ep. 963. 1n.

305. ad omnes] Through the printing of Ep. 986.

307. Paceum] See Ep. 986 introd.

lantia, siue Britannia. Tu, quantum video, et calamo et ense gnauiter  
belligeraris, nec minus tamen feliciter quam fortiter. Nam' apud  
reuerendissimum Cardinalem Caietanum audio te magnam etiam <sup>310</sup>  
iniuncto gratiam. Capioni bene esse gaudeo. Francisci Cinglii nomen  
non sinent emori literae, nisi velint ingratitude postulari.

De rebus nostris alias: nunc illud tantum. Res hic sordidissimis  
sycophantiis agitur; quibus artibus vt imparem me fatear necesse est.  
Si quis est isthic qui cupiat artem sycophanticam discere, indicabo <sup>315</sup>  
illi quendam huius disciplinae mirum artificem, quem huic rei plane  
natum dicas. Minus bonus orator Cicero quam hic sycophanta; et  
repperit dociles multos apud nos. Nondum tempus est, verum breui  
vobis hominem commendabo, vt, quo dignus est quodque misere  
ambit, omnium eruditorum literis celebretur, portentum verius quam <sup>320</sup>  
homo. Bene vale.

Antuuerpiae. Decimo Cal. Augusti. ANNO M.D.XIX.

### 1000. TO LORENZO PUCCI.

Opera Cypriani f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>2</sup>.

Louvain.

N. p. 1148: Lond. xxviii. 6: LB. 448.

31 July 1519.

[The preface to Erasmus' edition of Cyprian, Basle, Froben, Feb. 1520 (a). This was possibly projected early in 1519; for on 9 April Faber Stapulensis writes to Beatus Rhenanus, answering inquiries about the text of Cyprian and mentioning a ms. at St. Victor's in Paris (BRE. 105). The first definite indication of the work is in Epp. 975, 984; perhaps cf. also Ep. 997. On 3 Oct. 1519 Boniface Amerbach writes to Zasius that Erasmus is engaged with it (Am. E. 1; cf. BRE. 133, 140, and 420 (Nov. fin. 1519)); at Christmas that the printers are hard at work; and on 31 Jan. 1520 that it is nearly ready (Basle MSS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 330, 346 v<sup>o</sup>, 392; cf. BRE. 144). An index, of *Sententiae*, on two final sheets was contributed by Conrad Pellican; 'non sine magnis laboribus, qui nondum celebram artificium commodius indices colligendi' (CPR. p. 76). Zasius received his copy from Boniface between 8 and 22 Feb. (ZE. 19,20). Subsequent Froben editions of Cyprian's *Opera* with Erasmus' name appeared in Nov. 1521, 'ab innumeris mendis repurgata' (β), Feb. 1525, 'iam tertium a mendis repurgatiora' (γ), and Jan. 1530, 'iam quartum accuratiori vigilantia a mendis repurgata' (δ); the last containing a treatise hitherto unpublished, *Ad Fortunatum, de duplici martyrio*. Some criticisms on the first two editions are reflected in Epp. 1479, 1482.

A note appended to the introductory matter in γ (f<sup>o</sup>. b<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>) states that for his text Erasmus made use of three printed editions, 'Romanae . . . ; cuiusdam alterius, cuius titulus exoidit; et Badianae'. The first is clearly that of Swaynheym and Pannartz, Rome, 1471; the second is shown by Hartel (*Cypriani Opera*, 1868-71, pp. lxxiii-iv: in *Corpus script. eccl. Lat.*) to be Pafraet's, Deventer, (c. 1480) (Hain 5894: Proctor 8954); the third is the Paris edition printed by B. Rembolt and J. Waterloes, 13 Nov. 1512. The ground of this last identification is that in producing the treatise *De cardinalibus Christi operibus* Erasmus says (f<sup>o</sup>. b of a) that it was not in any of his manuscripts but that 'in aeditione

310. reuerendissimum E: R. F: om. H.  
Sichnii N. 318. reperit F.

311. Cinglii add. F: Sychnii H:

310. Caietanum] See Ep. 891. 25n. He had no doubt seen Hutten at Augsburg in 1518.

311. Cinglii] The name of Francis of Sickingen (Ep. 582. 27n) is often corrupted: Seken, Sekyn, Sekkym, Sicken, Sykkyng, Sequinghen, Zekinghe, are

some of the forms which occur in Brewer ii, iii. For the present form cf. Ep. 1166. 72.

313. hic] No doubt Louvain; see introd.

316. quendam] Clearly Lee.

320. eruditorum literis] Cf. p. 210.