

3035. TO LEONARD ECK.

Annales Boiorum f^o. v v^o.

Basle.

5 August 1535.

[The letter answers Eck's reply (not extant) to Ep. 3030. For the source see Ep. 3030 introd.]

NOBILISSIMO AC ERVDITISSIMO VIRO D. DOMINO LEONARDO AB ECKH
DOMINO ET PATRONO SVO IN PRAECIPVIS OBSERVANDO S.

SVBVEREBAR, vir clarissime, ne in amici gratiam caussam parum verecundam suscepissem: sed res bene cessit. Etenim vt nihil aliud accedat, pro magno lucro deputo, quod hac occasione nactus sum humanissimi viri amicitiam, quam ego perpetuam esse cupio.

Auentini index varia promittit, nec ea sane protrita. Apparet 5 hominem fuisse studio indefatigabili, ac reconditae lectionis. Dignus erat, cui vita diuturnior obtingeret.

Amo pietatem tuam, qui amici defuncti memoriae tam ex animo faueas. Vbi miseris quae colligi possunt, ego quoque pro mea virili adnitar, vt et illius eruditio, et tua erga hominem pietas posteris 10 commendetur. Cupiebam pluribus tecum agere, sed multorum dierum aduersa valetudine sic extenuatus sum, vt manus aegre calamum regat. Verum quod nunc diminutum est, alias pensabitur. Interea cupio te quam prosperrime valere. Ecclesiastes meus iam erat absolutus, nisi valetudo coegisset feriari praelum: at vel inabsolutus 15 prodibit ad Calendas Septembris.

Datum Basileae 5. die Augusti 1535.

Erasmus Rot. mea manu.

3036₃₀₇₃ TO CHRISTOPHER OF STADION.

Ecclesiastes, 1535, f^o. a².

Basle.

Op. Om. v, p. 641: Lond. xxix. 42: LB. v. 767.

6 August 1535.

[The preface to the *Ecclesiastae libri IV siue de ratione concionandi*, Basle, Froben, Aug. 1535. Erasmus had had the work in hand for twelve years and had now come to Basle to see it through the press. The book was printed in folio by Froben; 2,600 copies were struck off; and while these were still selling Froben was preparing an edition in 8vo, which appeared in 1536 'denuo ab auctore recognitum'. Pirated editions appeared in 1535 at Antwerp, from the

3035. 5. index] The *Indiculus Germaniae Illustratae*; a Table of the Contents of Aventinus' *Germania Illustrata*, a work in ten volumes, of which only the preliminary portion was finished (c. 1531). The *Indiculus* and the surviving fragment of the *Germania Illustrata* are printed in the Munich edition of the Works of Aventinus, vol. vi, ed. Georg Leidinger (1908). The *Indiculus* was printed in a piratical edition of 1529, at Munich. In 1545 it was reprinted by Gesner, from a text supplied to him by Gilbertus Cognatus. It seems likely that

the Cognatus text was either the Munich edition, with supplementary matter added in manuscript by Aventinus, or a printed revision of the Munich edition (see Leidinger, *op. cit.* p. 60). Cognatus could hardly have failed to show the book to Erasmus, who is honourably mentioned, p. 69 (in the unpublished *Germania Illustrata*, also, his name occurs twice, pp. 116, 135). A copy of the *Indiculus* was sent by Aventinus in 1531 to Beatus Rhenanus (Leidinger, pp. 60-2).

16. prodibit] See Ep. 3036 introd.

presses of Hillen and Mart. Caesar. Interest in the book was quickened by the Preface, or rather by those paragraphs of it in which Erasmus spoke of the deaths of More and Fisher. These paragraphs—and, indeed, the idea of dedicating the book to Christopher of Stadion—(see ll. 93-7) were, it seems likely, an afterthought. The preface is dated 6 Aug. But as late as 24 Aug. Erasmus was still ignorant that More and Fisher were dead (Ep. 3048). By 26 Aug. he had received the news (Ep. 3049), no doubt from Goclenius' letter of 10 Aug., Ep. 3037 (where see 92n). The book, accordingly, cannot have issued from the press till a date later than 24 Aug. But from Ep. 3049 it seems to have been ready by 31 Aug.; and this is consistent with Ep. 3035, in which Erasmus tells Eck that the book is to appear, finished or not, by 1 Sept. On 12 Sept. he writes to Ber that a few days previously the printers had dispatched copies to Milan. The rumour of the Preface reached England early in October. On 2 Oct. 1535 Simon Heyes reported to Cromwell that Erasmus had written a book 'wherein he does inveigh against the King's Highness for the death of Mr More'—the book was expected at the next Frankfort fair (Brewer ix. 521). Before hearing from Heyes, Cromwell had sent Erasmus a gift of 20 angels (Ep. 3058). The gift surprised Erasmus a good deal (Ep. 3120); but he rightly divined that the Preface had not reached England (Ep. 3104). For a man deriving two pensions from England, the Preface might well seem to say too much. Yet some of his friends felt that he had said too little—Damian tells him so plainly (Ep. 3085), and Christopher of Stadion hints as much (Ep. 3073).]

CLARISSIMO PRINCIPI ET AMPLISSIMO PRAESVLI, CHRISTOPHORO A
STADIO, EPISCOPO AVGVSTAE VINDELICORVM DES. ERASMVS
ROTTERODAMVS S.D.

REIPSA comperi, Christophore, praesulum huius aevi decus, nequaquam esse vanum, quod priscis oraculis proditum est, sponsionis comitem esse noxam. Ante complures annos pollicitus sum opus aliquod de ratione concionandi, fac serio, vt ingenue quod res est
5 fatear, nec satis ex animo. Dein quum non serio promissum serio flagitaretur, nec esset ocium ad praestanda de quibus appellabar, coepi obiter in chartis quaedam annotare velut vsui futura, si quando forte daretur voluntas et facultas opus aggrediendi. Verum id factum est nec diligenter nec ordine, sed sparsim, vt quicquam sese
10 cogitationi per occasionem offerebat. Postea quum magis etiam vrgeret flagitatio, coepi schedas recolligere, non disiectas modo, verum etiam laceras iam et situ corruptas. Quibus excussis, magis ac magis meus animus a negotio abhorrebat, quum antea semper arcano quodam sensu mentis abhorruissem. Videbam argumentum varium
15 pariter ac vastum, quod in immensum volumen esset euasurum, si iusta cura tractaretur, tum, vt nunc quidem est temporum status, non cariturum inuidia. Caeterum quum non esset appellandi finis, ne viderer omnino malae fidei sponsor, reluctantem genio calamum admoui chartis. Quum nihil succederet, reieci quod orsus eram.
20 Iterum atque iterum reiecta ex longis interuallis recepi in manus, si forte incalesceret animus: quem non aliter vinculis tenacibus strinxi quam apud Maronem Proteum stringit Aristaeus—sed illi successit conatus, mihi non successit. Sperabam interim in tanta mora aliquem exoriturum, qui sibi materiam hanc sumeret, praesertim in
25 tanto prouentu felicitum ingeniorum quae producit hoc seculum,

2-3. sponsionis . . . noxam] See
Adag. 597; cf. Epp. 1910. 21n.
13. abhorrebat] Cf. Epp. 2422. 100-

1, 2483. 53-4, 2961.

22. Maronem] Verg. G. 4. 438-52.

tantoque studio cudendi noua volumina. Quum nullus existeret qui vices meas susciperet, et indies acrius multorum tum vocibus, tum literis appellarer, nec iam sine conuitio, propemodum inuita Minerua syluam operis congeSSI, rudem quidem illam et indigestam, sed quae testari possit mihi voluntatem praestandi promissi non defuisse, si 30 par animo fuisset facultas.

Nec hoc ipsum tamen licuit perpetuo labore peragere: sed nunc aduersa valetudo, nunc alii labores transuersim incurrentes compulerunt orsa de manibus deponere, vixque datum est post longa interualla ad instituta redire. Hinc est quod eruditus lector fortasse 35 deprehendet quaedam hiulca, quaedam inchoata, quaedam repetita, quaedam loco alieniore dicta. Dicit hic aliquis, Quin igitur extrema manu quae displicebant emendasti? Ne dicam dolo, piguit vastum opus retexere, quando hoc ipsum quod praestiti aegre licuit per valetudinem indies afflictio-rem. Neque quisquam facile credat, quam 40 misere animus iamdudum affectet ab his laboribus in tranquillum ocium secedere, quodque superest vitae (superest autem vix brevis palmus siue pugillus), solum cum eo solo colloqui qui clamauit olim (nec hodie mutat vocem suam), Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos. Quandoquidem in tam turbu- 45 lento, ne dicam furente, seculo, in tot molestiis quas vel ipsa tempora publice inuehunt vel priuatim adfert aetas ac valetudo, nihil reperio in quo mens mea libentius conquiescat quam in hoc arcano colloquio. Has ob res magis etiam confido fore vt lector aequus hoc quaecumque est quod damus boni consulat. Qua de re tecum non ago, praesul 50 ornatissime, cuius scio tantum esse candorem vt ad Erasmi tui neos amanter conuiuere soleas, et sicubi conatum nostrum vires destitunt, promptam voluntatem pro officio interpretari.

Summam argumenti in quatuor libros digessimus. In primo demonstramus muneris dignitatem, et quibus virtutibus oporteat esse 55 praeditum Ecclesiasten. In secundo ac tertio quae sunt in praeceptionibus rhetorum, dialecticorum ac theologorum ad vsum concionandi accommodamus. Quartus, velut elenchus, commonstrat Ecclesiastae, quas sententias ex quibus scripturae locis petere debeat; quem tamen hactenus absoluimus vt studioso lectori viam 60 modo commonstrauerimus, alioqui res erat nec vnus nec exigui voluminis.

Hanc operis syluam (sic enim appellare malim quam opus) non quidem promiseram, sed tacita duntaxat cogitatione propemodum destinaram Ioanni Phiscero episcopo Roffensi, viro singulari pietate 65 atque eruditione, quicum mihi vetus et arcta intercessit amicitia. Is enim potissimum me literis suis ad hoc laboris impulit, significans se in celeberrima schola Cantabrigiensi, cui perpetuus erat tutor—illi Cancellarium vocant—tria instituere collegia, vnde prodirent Theologi, non tam ad *λογομαχίας* armati quam ad sobrie praedicandum 70 verbum dei instructi. Erat ipse singulari linguae gratia praeditus, atque hoc nomine olim egregie charus Regis Henrici, qui nunc

44. Venite] Matt. 11. 28.

69. tria . . . collegia] Fisher founded Christ's and St. John's Colleges: the third college of which Erasmus is

thinking is Queens' (where he himself resided). Fisher as President from 1505-8 did much to secure royal favour for the college.

Angliam moderatur, auiae paternae. Inspirarat deus ei mulieri cogitationem minime muliebrem. Quum enim aliae principes opimos
 75 census extruendis monasteriis legare soleant, idque (vt vereor) gloriae causa magis quam pietatis, haec omne studium suum ad rem omnium sanctissimam contulerat, viuens etiamnum ac valens, adeo nihil inde captans aurae popularis vt haec propemodum furtim ageret. Compluribus in locis non mediocribus salariis constituebat, si quos reperisset idoneos ad populo tradendam philosophiam Euangelicam, atque
 80 etiam in hunc vsum ingentem pecuniarum vim Ioanni episcopo tradidit; quam omnem vir integerrimus vel in prouehendos ecclesiastas vel in solatium egenorum impendit, adeo nihil inde sibi detruncans vt suas etiam facultates largiter adderet. Recte iudicarunt et heroina
 85 illa sancta et Episcopus verae pietatis vnicum exemplar, nihil esse quod ad emendandos populi mores plus habeat momenti quam si per idoneos concionatores spargatur semen Euangelicae doctrinae. Vnde enim in plurimorum pectoribus adeo friget Christus, ne dicam extinctus est? Vnde sub Christiano nomine tantum paganitatis, nisi
 90 ex inopia fidelium ecclesiastarum? Mihi visus est etiam Italiae populus (de principibus nihil dicam) docilis ad pietatem, nisi deessent doctores.

Sed haec alias tempestiuus. Nunc vt pergam quod coeperam, quando praesul Roffensis mihi infelici fato ademptus est, visum est
 95 hoc, quicquid est laboris, felicibus tui nominis auspiciis in manus hominum emittere, cuius insignis humanitas meum animum in tanta amicorum iactura praecipue consolatur. Deflentur merces naufragio amissae. At quae merx tam preciosa vt cum syncero amico conferri queat? Quid igitur hac tempestate crudelius, quae me tot spectatissimis amicis spoliauit? Pridem Guilhelmo Varramo, archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, nuper Guilhelmo Montioio, Episcopo Roffensi, et Thoma Moro, qui fuit eius regni supremus iudex, cui pectus erat omni niue candidius, ingenium quale Anglia nec habuit vnquam nec habitura est, alioqui nequaquam infelicium ingeniorum parens. In
 105 tanta calamitate duae mihi res praecipue dolorem leniunt. Primum dum cogito nos breui felicius apud Christum iungendos esse; deinde dum reputo quam insignem amicorum chorum mihi dederit Augusta Vindelicorum: cuius tu vt primus es, ita longe syncerissimus, nisi quod tecum paria facere tendit magnus ille Ioannes Paungartnerus:
 110 cui proximus est Antonius Fuggerus, benignissimus studiorum altor. Hic est funiculus triplex, quem Solomon negat facile rumpi: sed is fit firmior accessione Ioannis Choleri, qui, ceu quartus funiculus tribus illis circumuolutus, coniunctionem reddit prorsus indissolubilem. Vestra igitur beneuolentia mihi praestat, non quidem ne
 115 doleam, sed ne dolori succumbam. Orandus Deus est, vt tam preciosum thesaurum mihi seruet incolumem.

Porro, quod ad operis spem attinet, si minus contingat eruditorum calculis approbari, illud fortassis efficiet vt doctior aliquis hoc exemplo prouocatus, id praestet quod nos praestare volumus, proque
 120 sylua proferat opus numeris omnibus absolutum, ac tandem fiat,

73. auiae] Lady Margaret Tudor.

2. 19.

78. aurae popularis] Cf. Hor. C. 3.

111. Solomon] Eccl. 4. 12.

vt dominus plures ac synceros operarios mittat in messem suam. Etenim quemadmodum, iuxta veteris prouerbii iocum, multi sunt boum stimulatores, sed aratores pauci, ita facile pares qui loquatur apud populum: at qui ex animo, qui instanter, qui bona fide dispenset verbum dei, non perinde facile reperias. Dei munus est, vt sementis 125 per fideles ministros facta bene proueniat. Mundus videtur iamdudum parturire Christum, qui si vere formetur in animis nostris, multis indiciis sese proferet sincera radix cordis. Neque enim Euan-gelium verba sunt, vt lucus ligna, quemadmodum ait Flaccus: sed quoties semen efficacis verbi exceptum fuerit a terra bona, multiplices 130 aedit fructus, ac velut herbescens mentis occultam synceritatem variis argumentis foras profert. Populus fit magistratui obsequentior, legum tenacior, pacis amantior, a bellis alienior. Inter coniuges maior est concordia, fides integrior, maior adulterii detestatio. Maritus fit erga vxorem mitior, vxor erga maritum reuerentior. Liberi maiore 135 cum tremore parentibus obsequuntur, serui magis ex animo parent dominis suis, famuli inseruiunt alacrius. Opifices et qui debent operas, meliore fide eas praestant. Qui negociantur, nemini faciunt quod sibi fieri nolunt. Atque vt summatim dicam, omnes fiunt ad benemerendum proniores, ad vindictam ac laedendum tardiores, 140 minus auidi, magis sobrii. In quorum moribus haec non apparent, sed his diuersa potius, periculum est, ne nondum bonum semen haeserit in cordibus ipsorum.

Sed desino concionari, quo iam vacet tibi Concionatorem meum legere, si tamen tuis oculis auribusque dignus videbitur. Vale. 145

Basileae postridie Nonas Augusti, anno a Christo nato MDXXXV.

3037₃₀₅₂ FROM CONRAD GOELENIUS.

Basle MS., Goclenii Epistolae 9.

<Louvain.>

10 August 1535.

[An original letter, autograph throughout. The passage on the deaths of Fisher and More was printed by Cochlaeus at the end of his *Antiqua et insignis Epistola Nicolai Pape 1* (Leipzig, Melchior Lottherus, 1536), f^{os}. Ce iii v^o. Dd, under the title *Passio Episcopi Roffensis et Thome Mori per C. G. descripta*. Cochlaeus says nothing as to the source of his extract. But on 31 Aug. 1535 Erasmus sent to Tomiczki a 'fragment' of a letter describing the fate of Fisher and More (Ep. 3049. 162). This fragment can hardly be other than the paragraph from Goclenius' letter; and it seems likely that Erasmus about the same time forwarded the same extract to Cochlaeus. Both Cochlaeus and Tomiczki were recipients of his *Tragoedia Basiliensis* (Ep. 2698); and presumably also it was from Erasmus that Cochlaeus received the extracts from the letters of More to Erasmus printed in the *Epistola Nicolai Pape 1* (see Ep. 2831 introd.). From Ep. 3061 we learn that Goclenius' account was put together on information obtained from Thomas Theobald. It seems to have been the first news which Erasmus received of the deaths of Fisher and More. Later news (17 Aug.) came from Tielmann Gravius (Ep. 3041) and Schets (Ep. 3042). With Schets' letter came two letters from, or transmitted by, Chapuys (forwarded by Erasmus to Ber on 12 Sept. (Ep. 3056)). From Damian he had received an account translated into Italian, by Pole (Ep. 3076); and with a letter (Ep. 3078) of 22 Dec. Damian enclosed another account (Ep. 3079), in Latin. By 28 Sept. Goclenius had information supplementing that of Theobald. This was embodied in a letter to the court of Flanders. For the narrative of Gilbertus

3036. 122. prouerbii] See *Adag.* 609, of like meaning.
where there is a collection of proverbs 129. Flaccus] *Hor. Epp.* 1. 6. 32.