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INTRODUCTION

Self-Portrait in Pen and Ink

> What cannot Dürer express in monochromes, that is, by black lines only (even though other techniques of his deserve admiration also)?
>
> —Erasmus, *De pronuntiatione*[1]

In the Shadow of Erasmus

For anyone whose education has included the cultural history of the sixteenth century, the name of Desiderius Erasmus is virtually synonymous with that of the European intellectual Renaissance. For many people, indeed, whether scholars or amateurs, Erasmus's name conjures up a whole lost world of learning, belief, and, above all, integrity. His were the golden days, when men thirsted for knowledge, pursued it disinterestedly and without regard for financial reward, when individual achievement was first recognised, and when the humanely learned individual was *vir bonus*—a good man.

Like so many others, I have pursued my scholarly Renaissance studies in the shadow of Erasmus's reputation. At one of my earliest meetings with my doctoral advisor, the late Professor Robert Bolgar, he pulled down a volume of Erasmus's letters from his library shelf, and asked me to translate a passage. In so doing, he was, I now understand, simply continuing a tradition in the pedagogic use of Erasmus *epistolae*—exemplary pieces of writing, dense with difficult Latin syntax and rarely encountered eloquence, exercises in retrieving the moral sentiments and felicitous expression of an antique past. Even then, I knew this was a test any aspiring scholar of Renaissance thought had to pass—an initiation test, a rite of passage. And like so many other graduate students in Renaissance studies, I made a mental note not to stumble too closely on Erasmus territory in my own research undertakings in the period—to leave the study of Erasmus himself to scholars of lofty eminence (and advanced years).

As a project, therefore, the present book has proved an unexpected one, both in its conception and in the direction of its development. I never intended to work on Erasmus. I certainly never expected that researches which began as a kind of quest for the intellectual driving force behind what I had identified as a key development in Renaissance thought—

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humanist dialectic as the core of the arts educational curriculum—would lead me to Erasmus. And finally, when I uncovered a story of extraordinarily complex and sophisticated manipulations of writing and printing, designed to construct a worldwide reputation both for a movement (Low Countries humanism) and an individual, I was nonplussed that that individual should be that much-idealised figure, Erasmus.

For the trail I followed showed that establishing the stature of the man and making his reputation were an integral part of the strategy that Erasmus and those around him were developing, in the early decades of the sixteenth century. However 'great' the man was in reality, however awesome his talents and his achievements, it came as a shock to watch him, through the pages of his own and others' works, fashioning that greatness himself.

At the same time, there was something historically intriguing about this encounter. Here was a figure generally held up to us as without blemish of worldliness, and as intellectually eminent by virtue of his intrinsic gifts, his relentless dedication to study, his unswerving commitment to truth, and his eschewing of all worldly distractions and (most) rewards. And yet, here I uncovered him shaping his own persisting trace in intellectual history, adjusting his public image, editing the evidence to be left for his biographers, managing the production of 'influences' and contemporary movements to enhance his own posthumous renown. All this with a clear and steady confidence that the importance of the project on which he was embarked justified such activities, that the advancement of learning was so urgent and important a task that it entitled the practitioner to use every ingenious method at his disposal to ensure that the cause prospered.

This last point, I think, needs stressing, to avoid misunderstanding. When, in graphic and textual representations of himself, Erasmus chose to inhabit the familiar figure of Saint Jerome, with all the grandeur and intellectual *gravitas* that might thereby accrue to him, he claimed a role in the secular sphere equivalent to Jerome's in the spiritual. His figural presence was designed to give prominence to the northern humanist movement, to enable it to achieve international prestige and prominence; personal fame was merely a by-product. Jerome stood for the dissemination of true scripture throughout the Western world; Erasmus would stand for the dissemination of humane learning across Europe.

We twentieth-century advancers of learning have altogether lost any such confidence in grand designs. We are painfully aware of an apparently flagging eminence, a diminished stature, a waning of a world in which men of letters made the agenda, and worldly men then strove to pursue it. We have ceased, I suggest, to promote learning as such, because

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we have lost Erasmus's conviction that true learning is the originator of all good and virtuous action—that right thought produces right government. In fact, of course, we try not to use words like *true*, *good*, *virtuous*, and *right* at all, if we can help it. They embarrass us. We are too deeply mired in the relativity of all things to risk truth claims. And on the whole we believe that in all of this, our age is one of loss—that we have lost something which the age of Erasmus possessed.

And yet, apparently, there never was a golden age, when learning self-evidently commanded the attention and admiration of the secular world, or, if there was, it was lost by the time of Erasmus. I argue here that Erasmus's European prominence was something in which Erasmus himself made a considerable investment, in terms of effort and imagination. I shall show how masterfully he manipulated the new contemporary media—the supremely illusionistic painting and the printed book (in particular, the volume of published 'familiar letters')—exploiting their sophisticated use for communication in a thoroughly innovative way. In an age for which the idea of an intellectual reputation at a distance was a strange one, or at least one associated almost exclusively with ancient writers and their texts, his command of publishing and printing in particular worked to produce him compellingly outside his own Low Countries milieu. He invented the charisma of the absent professor—the figure who creates awe by his name on the title page, not by his presence in the classroom. The teacher, indeed, who was *never* present (after his earliest, impoverished years, Erasmus never actually taught), but whose presence was evoked in portrait, woodcut, or published collection of personal letters, set alongside the wildly successful, constantly reissued, revised, and re-edited textbooks, translations, and editions.

What made Erasmus's textual self-presentation so enduringly convincing was the virtuoso use he made of richly signifying, reassuringly current, readily available models. Around the figure of Saint Jerome in his study, I shall show, Erasmus built a multidimensional cultural persona, resonating with verbal echoes and visual allusions, a persona wholly compatible with that of the *auctor* on the model of the Church Father or the civic hero of Greece or Rome. This manufactured 'master' presides magisterially over the text, successfully transmitting its message with an illusion of immediacy which belies the fact that the printed book is in every sense a 'copy', not an 'original'. 'Original', indeed, is thereby made to mean 'infused with a transferrable aura of authority, transmitted from worthy model to worthy emulator'—Erasmus in Jerome's study inspires the reader's confidence. The merging of Erasmus with Jerome is achieved so brilliantly, with such consummate cultural skill, that it is little wonder that that image has endured so convincingly down to the present day.

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1. Title page of *D. Erasmi Roterodamus . . . lucubrationes* (Strasburg, 1515).

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The extraordinary and apparently commanding stature of Erasmus, captured aptly and permanently in the surviving portraits by Metsys and Holbein with which we are still today so familiar, was then, just as it is now, an illusion. Erasmus himself—the historical, as opposed to the figural Erasmus—was a maverick innovator who in his lifetime achieved limited academic recognition and no significant clerical preferment. He was an itinerant producer of textbooks and translations in multiple copies; he rarely kept a home of his own but lived in the houses of printers, and ran a bustling publishing 'workshop' (*officina*). His works were attacked as unorthodox, denigrated as nonaligned, and banned as politically and doctrinally subversive. The enduring image of Erasmus which seems to stand as some kind of reproach to our own contemporary, fragmented intellectual efforts is Erasmus's own evaluation of his achievement, his own statement of the importance and potential reach and influence of his learning. It is not, and was not, the evaluation of the Europe he inhabited.

Line Drawings of Erasmus

There have been many studies of Erasmus, and many studies of the Low Countries humanist milieu which produced him. Indeed, part of the justification I offer for the present study is that for intellectual historians, the very idea of the international man of letters has been developed, sharpened, polished, and eventually internalised as a set of professional aspirations, under the continuous influence of Erasmus studies. Erasmus is the type and figure of the humanistic man of letters, the model for the detached and disinterested pursuit of learning.

The existing scholarly literature centred on Erasmus may be divided into three fields, each with its own focus and interests. The first, and most extensive (certainly in the English language), is the pietistic history of Erasmus and Erasmian humanism, with particular reference to the dawning Reformation, and to the relationship between humane learning and 'new theology'.[2] Alongside this is the considerable body of secular studies of Erasmus, and Erasmian pedagogy, which in recent years has included some masterly detailed work on Erasmus as an original contributor to the trivium subjects of grammar and rhetoric.[3] Finally, the richest field of all, and the one which has most consistently managed to uncover fresh biographical and textual detail, is the strenuously nationalistic and biographical work by the great scholars of Low Countries humanism, led first by de Vocht, and then by Ijsewijn.[4] This last body of work is invaluable for any study of the lasting impact of a movement which was from first to last self-consciously Netherlandish. But its very terms of reference lead it to stop short of giving detailed consideration to the impact of Low Countries humanism on European culture at large.

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There have been fewer, but equally meticulous and scholarly, internal studies of that field in intellectual history designated as the 'history of humanist dialectic'. What first drew me into the exploration which the present book elaborates was the discovery that the story of the emergence of a systematic study of ratiocination shaped by the classical tradition recovered by the humanists (a story in which the name of Rudolph Agricola figured prominently) was not one which could be coherently told in isolation, but was crucially interwoven with the story of Erasmus and Erasmian pedagogy.[5] Indeed, the development of dialectic in the curriculum turned out to be interest-loaded in ways which I believe both make better sense of the history of dialectic and shed light on the brilliant way in which in his later years Erasmus self-consciously shaped the intellectual world we still inhabit. Unlike Erasmus studies, this field has attracted little attention outside the history of pedagogy. Whereas work in Erasmus studies is characteristically about innovation and origins, this field, which takes the backbone of the late medieval curriculum, the trivium, as its field of study, is crucially about continuity. It traces the technical developments, manual by manual, and author by author, from high Scholastic logic to 'rhetoricised' humanistic dialectic.[6] Although this work is virtually inaccessible to the nonspecialist, it mounts a vital argument about developing habits of organising thought, and the patterns of reasoning used by the trained mind, which is clearly intended to have repercussions for any informed study of the northern Renaissance. And recently, historians of logic have begun to recast their field to highlight the importance of this study in tracing the emergence of peculiarly modern patterns or habits of thought. In a deliberate effort to oppose the rigid ahistoricity of the 'history' of formal logic, such studies have laid special emphasis on, and devoted particular attention to, Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*.[7]

As a contribution to scholarship, the present book tries to move these fields closer together, to create an interdisciplinary space within which the rich possibilities for cross-fertilisation and mutual enrichment can be cultivated. Out of the mingling of materials from those three rich veins I seek to produce a narrative which is both inclusive and historically precise. My strong claim is that the work which follows opens a discourse that can give coherence and a fixed centre to those previously separated areas of study—areas which, in spite of significantly shared themes and preoccupations, have hitherto proved curiously unreceptive to each other's discoveries.

Thus far for the scholarly story, internal to intellectual history, or the history of ideas. But there is another story here, one with larger dimensions, if one is measuring one's undertaking on the scale of that 'world of learning' which includes both the historical past and our own present

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cultural awareness. What I offer here is an account of the formation of a peculiarly Western European intellectual self-awareness, which I trace back to that moment, in the early decades of the sixteenth century, when both printing and humanist pedagogy came to maturity, and did so within the charismatic, tirelessly productive person of Erasmus of Rotterdam. I judge the emergence of this highly specific cultural consciousness to be a key European moment—a moment at which it became possible to claim that there *was* something which could be designated 'European thought'. It may be, too, that it is easier to focus intellectually upon such a particular kind of Europeanness, at the moment when the very idea of Europe has become at once an official fact and an evident geographical and political fiction. We learn, in other words, how our own intellectual outlook has been shaped, at the moment when it passes itself into history.

The story I tell is one of Erasmus's consummate mastery of his chosen medium, print. The most vivid way I can find to convey the intellectual thrust of this study is to characterise it as uncovering a fully fashioned *portrait*, cunningly contrived, with all the skill of the accomplished artist, on the printed page—the typographical equivalent to the draughtsman's pen and ink. The sitter for this portrait is Erasmus, his portrait the prototype for a new kind of representation, which features the embodied 'man of letters' as a real (rather than a symbolic) figure.[8] It is Erasmus himself who commissions the work and provides its programme: like Holbein's Tudor court portraits of the same period, the final artifact stands somewhere between portrait and self-portrait, shaped by both the imperatives of the commissioner and the skills of the executer.

We recognise the deft conjunction of the real and the figurative, of the compellingly immediate and the contrivedly enduring, when Erasmus's portrait is produced by Metsys, or by Holbein, or by Dürer.[9] We are apparently more reluctant to do so when the lasting monument in pen and ink is produced as type on the printed page. Yet I shall argue that from the texts of the northern humanists of the first two decades of the sixteenth century, particularly from those 'redundant' prefaces, commentaries, editorial asides, and printed *epistolae* which surround the text proper, we can build the 'type'—the original, the archetype—so as to understand the emergence of northern humanism in a new sense. We need to read the print portrait, in other words, as knowingly, and with as much attention to the conventions of reading in the period, as we do the Dürer.

So I am singling out an individual—Erasmus—in an unfamiliar way. I single him out not as a Renaissance 'self' (however fashioned), but as the centre to which a large, specific part of the print-related activities of a much less well known group of authors, *commendatores*, *emendatores*, and *castigatores* was directed.[10] Here is an individual, therefore, whose trace in history is in a strong sense constructed out of those activities.

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2. Map of Erasmus's Europe.

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Putting the Low Countries on the Map

There is a further shift in intellectual attention which I shall ask of the reader: that is, to rescue the historical Erasmus from an intellectual 'no-place', and reposition him on the geographical map. So firmly is Erasmus established as the prototype of the international man of letters that it is difficult to lose the habit of extrapolating the lingua franca of his Latin (and Greek) into an equivalently nonlocalised place of work, without recognisable institutions, customs, loyalties, and preoccupations. This version of the ubiquitous scholar is supported by the graphic representations, in which, as in every other 'scholar' portrait of the period, Erasmus occupies a study full of the portable apparatus of reading and writing (books, pens, sand-shakers, letters, and papers), but without features which identify it as 'in Basle' or 'in Freiburg'.[11]

Indeed, once again I would argue that it is *because* of Erasmus that such a European intellectual community can be imagined at all—that we believe that a united Europe will effortlessly amalgamate its intellectual activites into a wholly integrated, homogeneous whole, without regard for such parochial details as internally structured degree courses, incompatible models for the disciplines, diverse funding organisations, and so forth. Erasmus himself did indeed put considerable effort into reinforcing this illusion of a cohesive world of learning—a world of like minds, not of separate, insular, local institutions. But that was because his model for the dissemination of knowledge was the diffusion of sacred and patristic texts, his role model for the man of letters the revered Father of the Church. As he pointed out in his *Vita Hieronymi*, each country in Europe claimed Jerome as its favoured son.[12]

The scholarly literature tends to vacillate between 'universal man' and 'local hero' versions of Erasmus, the tensions between which generally become apparent only when specialists of different nationalities converge at international conferences. As I acknowledged earlier, Erasmus studies are profoundly indebted to a specifically Low Countries scholarly tradition, which has provided, and continues to provide, vital resources for all students of Erasmus. We have all gathered our understanding from successive generations of scholarly Flemish/Netherlandish or French language volumes, emanating from the Netherlands and Belgium, containing meticulous study of the milieu, the individual practitioners, and the exchange of ideas of the pre-Reformation years.[13] At the same time, a very particularly British version of Erasmus scholarship has flourished since the beginning of this century.[14] The extraordinary riches tucked into footnotes, header notes and appendices, in Allen's twelve-volume *Opus epistolarum Erasmi*, in particular, have meant that English-speaking Erasmus scholars have had for more than fifty years a considerable head start

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on their European neighbours. Given Erasmus's early association with England, and the impact of Erasmus on the English Reformation, it is an easy matter for English Erasmus scholars implicitly to claim for him lifelong Englishness and, certainly, a lifelong affinity with intellectual life on an English model.

At the height of Erasmus's intellectual influence, however, his affiliations and preoccupations were in many ways strictly those of a native of the Low Countries, though his interests were in no sense parochial. What I have in mind is that in producing the vivid, contentious, attention-grabbing texts with which his printers were able to flood the markets of Europe, Erasmus relied largely on highly specific, local manifestations of the issues with which he was preoccupied, to colour his writing and make vivid his reader's understanding of the issues. It is, that is to say, a distinctive strategy of Erasmus's to give his first-person speaker, in whatever form of publication he is producing, a very local habitation.

In the present work, I try to respond to that specificity of location as part of our 'given' for unravelling the argument, but without retreating into meticulous, antiquarian reconstruction. Such explorations are seductive—there is a real thrill to be got from recovering a tiny fragment which alters a local story of events in the distant past.[15] But for the main purpose of my study, here I make an effort to understand what the telling of the tale (in complex ways, and in varieties of types of text) of all that local activity was conceived of as directed *towards*: how the early practitioners of northern humanism self-consciously represented themselves as contributing to some larger movement, some development less provincial than simply 'Low Countries'.[16] Outside the Netherlands themselves, I suggest, scholars have not taken sufficiently seriously the textual clues which direct the reader's attention to Louvain, and to a conscious 'making of intellectual history' that was going on there, under the auspices of Erasmus in particular. So I also incorporate in my story a key *moment* in that Netherlandish history—the first two decades of the sixteenth century—in a particular geographic location, Louvain, where Erasmus spent his longest continuous period of residence, from 1517 to 1521.[17]

In 1515, retaliating to his attack on Erasmus, Thomas More wrote to Martin Dorp:

> Erasmus' words gave you no pretext for saying (as you do say) that he charges the Louvain theologians with ignorance, much less all the other theologians of the world. He said he could dispense, not with all theologians, of course—he had already said in the same letter that many of them were outstandingly qualified—but only with those theologians (if some happen to fit the description, and some certainly do) who have never learned anything but sophistical trifles. Here you interject, 'I think "those theologians" refers to the ones in

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> Louvain.' Why so, Dorp? As if it were hard to find some theologians of this stamp, or rather this stripe, anywhere in the world? You certainly do have a pretty impression of those in Louvain if you think that they all, and they alone, fit this sort of description, whereas he neither says so nor thinks so.[18]

I suggest that More's response to Dorp here is deliberately (and characteristically) disingenuous: that Dorp was right in believing that the crux of the dispute lay in Louvain (we shall turn to the exact nature of the dispute later), that struggles between the old and the new learning in Louvain had taken on a representative quality whose implications extended beyond the local and parochial. It was not self-aggrandizement which led Dorp to relate a Europe-wide dispute to his own town and its university; rather, it was Erasmus's astute command of printing, and strategic use of the typeset book, which extended the impact of a local debate far beyond the boundaries of the town and its colleges. It was because he understood clearly the terms and nature of the debate that Juan Luis Vives—even though his attack on traditional logic teaching ostensibly focused on the Collège de Montaigu in Paris—began his own contribution, the *In pseudodialecticos*:

> I am forced to commit my thoughts to a letter, because I am not able (by virtue of my commitments here) to leave Louvain, and thus do not know when I shall be able to see you.[19]

Louvain at a certain crucial historical moment is vital for my story, but we shall need to remember that the scholarly resources I use are those which *circulated*—which reached a Europe-wide audience, for whom (as for us) Louvain was merely a name, a place on a map. And *as* a place on the map, I shall maintain that Louvain stood as centrally for the triumph of Erasmus and northern humanism as Wittenberg stood for Luther and the Reformation. When Shakespeare has Hamlet anxious to return to his studies at Wittenberg,[20] or Marlowe has the chorus introduce the intellectually curious Faustus as having studied there, their audiences knew what a weight of near-contemporary ideological freight that reference carried with it. A 'centre', in both cases, is as much a conceptual as a geographical location—a place looked to, a moment recalled as crucial. And its importance is measured not in terms of numbers of participants, nor of sums of money which supported their activities, nor of buildings and facilities, but of the persisting use of moment and location as a reference point for what comes after: in this case, the grounding of the myth of the northern Renaissance, on which the story of the Reformation was ultimately built.

Just as the portrait of Erasmus on which I focus attention is drawn (like the engraved portrait) in black and white, so, like a map, the journey to Louvain is a journey on the printed page.[21] Indeed, the story I have to tell

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here is almost entirely a story in print: it is the printed sources which have provided me with my portrait and my location, as they echo from classical text to pedagogic treatise, from prefatory letter to dedicatory epistle, from systematic learned gloss to occasional editorial annotation, shared preoccupations, mutual acquaintances, and a collaborative understanding of the shaping influence of the new learning.

Men of Letters

Fundamental to such explorations of the printed traces of Erasmus and Louvain are the printed exchanges of letters which began to emerge from a number of European presses, under Erasmus's own supervision (and later, to his annoyance, in unauthorised editions), from 1515 onwards.[22] Erasmus's correspondence was extensive and prolific; by 1521 the *Epistolae ad diuersos* volume was advertised on its title page as 'collected out of huge bundles of papers'. In P. S. Allen's definitive twelve-volume edition, these letters have provided the material on which all subsequent work on Erasmus has been built. De Vocht's *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia: Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century*,[23] still one of the key sources for biographical information for the Louvain circle, opens with a fulsome testimony as to the crucial underpinning of Low Countries humanistic scholarship provided by Allen and his edition of the Erasmus *epistolae*.[24]

One of the things I set out to do in the present work is to reconsider the role of the published letters in establishing Erasmus's portrait for posterity. For, put back into their respective volumes, into physical books which we can handle and weigh as history, Erasmus's letters seem to shed that 'documentary' quality in which Allen evidently believed. The very earliest letters Erasmus published served a nondocumentary purpose, and displayed a motive other than that of simply leaving a record. In August 1515 Erasmus published three carefully constructed letters praising Pope Leo X, and announcing his intention to dedicate his edition of Jerome to him (at least one of these is carefuly backdated to suggest that Erasmus's intention is of some duration).[25] The purpose of these letters is a conventional one: they are designed to bring him to the attention of Leo X, and gain his patronage.[26] I shall suggest that—less conventionally—Erasmus's subsequent published volumes of letters are already intrinsically an exercise in self-portraiture, self-consciously engraving the features of the sitter, Erasmus, with consummate skill:

> He even depicts what cannot be depicted [as Erasmus had written of Dürer's engraving] . . . all the characters and emotions; in fine, the whole mind of the man as it shines forth from the appearance of the body, and almost the very voice. These things he places before our eyes by most felicitous lines, black ones

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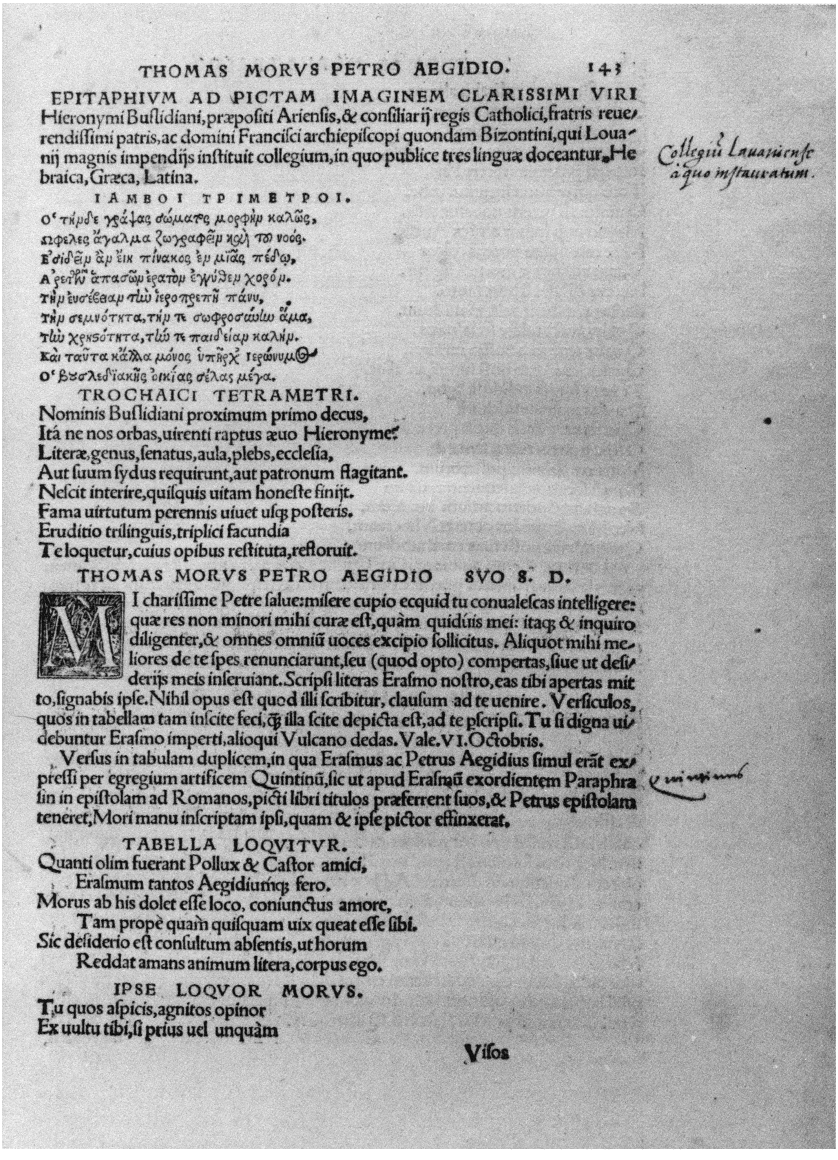

THOMAS MORVS PETRO AEGIDIO. 143

EPITAPHIVM AD PICTAM IMAGINEM CLARISSIMI VIRI Hieronymi Buſlidiani, præpoſiti Arienſis, & conſiliarij regis Catholici, fratris reuerendiſſimi patris, ac domini Franciſci archiepiſcopi quondam Bizontini, qui Louanij magnis impendijs inſtituit collegium, in quo publice tres linguæ doceantur, Hebraica, Græca, Latina.

Collegiũ Lauanienſe à quo inſtauratum.

IAMBOI TPIMETPOI.

Ο' τήμδε γράψας σώματος μορφὴν καλῶς,
Ωφελες ἄγαλμα ζωγραφεῖν καὶ τοῦ νοός.
Ἐσιδεῖν ἂν εἴκ πίνακος ἐν μιᾶς πέδῳ,
Ἀρετῶν ἁπασῶν ἐρατὸν ἐγνύθεν χορόν.
Τὴν ἐυσέβειαν τὴν ἱεροπρεπῆ πάνυ,
Τὴν σεμνότητα, τήν τε σωφροσύνην ἅμα,
Τὴν χρηστότητα, τήν τε παιδείαν καλήν.
Καὶ ταῦτα κἄλλα μόνος ὑπῆρχ' ἱερώνυμος
Ο' βουσλεδϊακῆς οἰκίας σέλας μέγα.

TROCHAICI TETRAMETRI.

Nominis Buſlidiani proximum primo decus,
Itá ne nos orbas, uirenti raptus æuo Hieronyme?
Literæ, genus, ſenatus, aula, plebs, eccleſia,
Aut ſuum ſydus requirunt, aut patronum flagitant.
Neſcit interire, quiſquis uitam honeſte finijt.
Fama uirtutum perennis uiuet uſq; poſteris.
Eruditio trilinguis, triplici facundia
Te loquetur, cuius opibus reſtituta, reſtoruit.

THOMAS MORVS PETRO AEGIDIO SVO S. D.

MI chariſſime Petre ſalue: miſere cupio ecquid tu conualeſcas intelligere: quæ res non minori mihi curæ eſt, quàm quidúis mei: itaq; & inquiro diligenter, & omnes omniũ uoces excipio ſollicitus. Aliquot mihi meliores de te ſpes renunciarunt, ſeu (quod opto) compertas, ſiue ut deſiderijs meis inſeruiant. Scripſi literas Eraſmo noſtro, eas tibi apertas mitto, ſignabis ipſe. Nihil opus eſt quod illi ſcribitur, clauſum ad te uenire. Verſiculos, quos in tabellam tam inſcite feci, q̃ illa ſcite depicta eſt, ad te pſcripſi. Tu ſi digna uidebuntur Eraſmo imperti, alioqui Vulcano dedas. Vale. VI. Octobris.

Verſus in tabulam duplicem, in qua Eraſmus ac Petrus Aegidius ſimul erãt expreſſi per egregium artificem Quintinũ, ſic ut apud Eraſmũ exordientem Paraphraſin in epiſtolam ad Romanos, picti libri titulos præferrent ſuos, & Petrus epiſtolam teneret, Mori manu inſcriptam ipſi, quam & ipſe pictor effinxerat.

TABELLA LOQVITVR.

Quanti olim fuerant Pollux & Caſtor amici,
Eraſmum tantos Aegidiumq; fero.
Morus ab his dolet eſſe loco, coniunctus amore,
Tam propè quàm quiſquam uix queat eſſe ſibi.
Sic deſiderio eſt conſultum abſentis, ut horum
Reddat amans animum litera, corpus ego.

IPSE LOQVOR MORVS.

Tu quos aſpicis, agnitos opinor
Ex uultu tibi, ſi prius uel unquàm

Viſos

3. Sixteenth-century marginal annotations in the copy of the *Epistolae D. Erasmi Roterodami ad diuersos* (Basle, 1521) in the Princeton University Library.

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> at that, in such a manner that, were you to spread on colours, you would injure the work.[27]

When we scrutinise such a self-portrait, we need to balance the artist's own sense of composition and impression to be conveyed against the 'evidence' to be found inscribed upon it.

The readiest way to show the impact of the approach I outline here is to offer, at this introductory stage, a worked example of the way in which such a strategic choice of focus recasts the narrative emphasis, and alters the tale told. For this purpose, I take a sequence of printing 'events' in the early career of the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives as it intersects with my present story.

Vives has traditionally been presented as a crucial figure in the history of Renaissance thought—and in particular in the history of dialectic—representing a 'Spanish' development of peculiarly humanistic thought, to set alongside Lorenzo Valla's Italian humanism and Petrus Ramus's French.[28] He received his early education in Spain, and then proceeded to an intensive logical training in Paris; in 1520 he published a virtuoso attack on high scholastic logic, the *In pseudodialecticos*, which won the admiration of humanistically inclined scholars across Europe.[29] This text has always been associated with the Erasmus/More circle.[30] But its precise relationship to that circle has puzzled scholars, and they have chosen, in recent years, to concentrate on key technical elements which suggest co-ordinated thinking about how to point up the absurdity for *eloquentia* of scholastic logic training. Indeed, there is a certain irony in the fact that such recent work has devoted much of its attention to explicating technicalities of formal scholastic logic, so as to make clear to the modern reader what it was that humanists so vigorously and insistently *rejected* in contemporary logic teaching.[31]

Vives was neither in Spain nor in Paris but in Louvain when this provocative early polemic of his was published. There he tutored the teenage William of Croy, nephew of the ambassador to Charles V, William of Chièvres, who engineered his appointment as archbishop of Toledo in December 1517.[32] Croy's education at Louvain was in the hands, at one time or another, of Barlandus and Latomus, as well as of Vives.[33] Erasmus's 1519 *Farrago noua epistolarum* (published by Froben at Basle) includes a studied exchange of letters between Erasmus and Croy—textbook examples of teacher/pupil and pupil/teacher letter-writing—in which Croy names Vives as part of his household ('Viues meus'), and in which he ostentatiously acknowledges tutorial help in composing his letter ('Since I thought you might not be able to read my handwriting, I have made use of an amanuensis').[34] Though a Spanish bishop, Croy never in fact set foot in Spain; he died in a riding accident in 1521. Thus Vives's 'Spanish' milieu at this date is actually quite notional—his loca-

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tion both physically and intellectually at this point in his career was Louvain.[35] The *In pseudodialecticos* was published by the Flemish printer Dirk (or Thierry) Martens in Louvain.

However, if we try to flesh out this link between Vives and an Erasmus circle at Louvain by combing the *Opus epistolarum Erasmi* for further evidence from which to piece together Vives's Low Countries 'life', we are quickly disappointed.[36] Instead, we uncover a publicity campaign, designed to bring Louvain and Vives (amongst others) together to the attention of a larger reading public. We begin, indeed, to see that a 'circle' in the world of Erasmus is precisely a collection of named individuals, linked and cross-linked by exchanges of letters and allusions within letters.

In May 1520, More wrote to Erasmus from England, advising him that he had arranged for tuition of Antony of Bergen, formerly a student of Vives's in Louvain, by 'the famous Louvain scholar', Adrianus Barlandus.[37] Barlandus was, apparently, extremely impressed with the boy's learning (already a tribute to his teacher, Vives). Subsequently, More says, Antony of Bergen showed him some of his former teacher's work:

> I have never seen anything more elegant or more learned [than Vives's works]. How often do you find anyone—indeed have you so far ever found even one—who, at such a young age (for you write that he is still young) has so completely mastered the whole orbit of the disciplines? Indeed, my dear Erasmus, it puts me to shame that my colleagues and I pride ourselves on some rather unpolished book or other, when I see Vives, still so young, producing so many works, based on such thorough investigation, in such fluent language, out of such profound reading. . . .
>
> And while there is nothing in all his work that does not afford me surprising delight, certainly what he wrote against the pseudodialecticians fills me with a peculiar pleasure. This is not only (although partly) because he mocks those silly subtleties with witty banter, opposes them with valid arguments and destroys and knocks them off their base with irrefutable reasoning, but also because I find there certain matters treated with almost the same arguments that I once put together by myself when I had not yet read Vives. These please me now in Vives's little book not only because my reasoning amused me before (for we commonly are pleased if we see others assert what had occured to us earlier), but because I am content with myself, being assured that what I suspected I had expressed rather unsuitably was not at all inept, since it also pleased Vives. Now it captivates and delights me especially because when I see that the same argument occupied both our minds and thought, and then was treated in the same way by both—though at greater length and with more elegance by him, still in many cases we not only asserted the same things but also in almost the same words—it is thus the more pleasantly flattering to me, as if our minds were united with each other in thought by some secret force and harmony of kindred stars.[38]

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This is a fine piece of formal letter-writing, designed to make the most of the intellectual credentials of Juan Luis Vives. More's letter employs the fiction that Vives is unknown to him, and that it has been necessary for Erasmus to explain in a previous letter how talented the young man was ('for you write that he is still young'). Vives (like Erasmus himself) had taken no formal university degree, and held no university post, so such an introduction is designed to promote Vives's reputation by accumulating printed testimonials from the best print authorities.[39] In other words, it is calculated so as to build a pedigree in print citations as a substitute for diplomas and degrees—in 1517 Vives required a special dispensation from the University of Louvain to teach publicly there, since he lacked a formal qualification.[40]

In fact, More had known Vives for a number of years—possibly well, since both were in Bruges in 1515.[41] In 1517 we find Erasmus writing to More (in a letter published in the *Farrago* volume, whose publication antedates the first publication of the May 1520 letter):

> Send a *Utopia* at the first opportunity.[42] . . . Dorp's letter to which you replied was copied by your people in such a way that the Sibyl herself could not read it; I wish you would send it me less badly written. . . . If Vives has been with you often, you will easily guess what I have suffered in Brussels, where I have had to cope every day with so many Spaniards come to pay their respects, as well as Italians and Germans.[43]

This letter conveniently establishes Vives's association with Erasmus and More at this date—his being part of the 'circle'—and, incidentally, that Vives was moving between the Brussels court and England, as well as teaching in Louvain; it also announces clearly (and publicly, when it appeared in print in 1519) that Dorp's letter attacking Erasmus together with More's unpublished reply were available in multiple copies in circles in which Vives was moving in 1517.[44]

It is not only More who is misleadingly represented in the May 1520 letter as not knowing the young Vives. The 'famous Louvain scholar' Adrianus Barlandus is also represented as somehow remote from Vives: 'The boy's learning pleases the master exceedingly, and when he heard the boy was recommended to me by you [Erasmus], he asked me to let him take the youth'. But Barlandus and Vives had been colleagues and close friends since Vives's arrival in Louvain in 1517. In Barlandus's *Versuum ex poetarum principe Vergilio proverbalium collectanea* (Paris, Aegidius Gourmont, 1517) he recalls:

> In Louvain at that time it seemed to me that our native studies had been somewhat restored, through the diligence of that friend of mine, most learned Latinist, Juan Luis Vives, of Spanish origin, who by his daily teaching awoke the Latin muses there.[45]

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At the end of the same volume Barlandus prints a cordial personal letter from Vives, also dating from 1517.[46]

The letter from More to Erasmus, and Erasmus's reply, appeared in print for the first time in late 1520, in a volume of Erasmus's letters collected and edited by Barlandus himself, *Epistolae aliquot selectae ex Erasmicis per Hadrianum Barlandum*. P. S. Allen argues persuasively that this volume was put together with Erasmus's cooperation and approval, as a schoolbook.[47] It appeared eight months or so before the *Epistolae D. Erasmi Roterodami ad diuersos . . . ex ingentibus fasciculis schedarum collectae*,[48] and contained two letters (both to Barlandus himself from Erasmus) never reprinted. Thus it was at once a 'Barlandus' volume (a testimony to Barlandus's own relationship with Erasmus) and a topical (and pedagogic) volume of Erasmus's own. In this context the careful association of Vives with Louvain, More, and Erasmus takes on something of the air of a propaganda exercise, particularly if it is taken together with Erasmus's reply:

> You speak of Luis Vives' gifts, and I am delighted to find my estimate confirmed by yours. He is one of that band of people who will put the name of Erasmus in the shade. But in none of the others do I take such an interest, and I love you all the more for your open-hearted concern for him. He has a wonderfully philosophic mind. The mistress to whom all do sacrifice, but very few with success, he roundly despises; and yet with gifts like his and such learning he cannot fail of Fortune. No one is better fitted to break the serried ranks of the sophists, in whose army he has served so long.[49]

Barlandus's volume of Erasmus's letters (ghosted, at a distance, by Erasmus himself, who supplies him with corrected copies of some of the letters) is among the most carefully contrived of the many such volumes published in Erasmus's lifetime. Ironically, Allen excludes it from his list of definitive editions, whilst including volumes openly put together by Peter Gilles and by Beatus Rhenanus, thus himself (Allen) conniving in the Erasmian fiction of the absent author. Barlandus's prefatory letter clearly indicates that the compilation of letters is his own, in response to a need for such a volume for teaching (this letter too, significant though it is for Erasmus, does not appear in Allen).[50] It extolls both the printer, Martens, and Erasmus himself for their contribution to *bonae litterae* in Louvain:

> Such is the moral purity and ease of Latinity in these letters, that if you were to remove the personages and the name of Erasmus, they could be taken to have been written by Cicero.[51]

The volume is compiled as an epistolary narrative centred on Louvain, and one which promotes key figures (including Vives) as belonging to a

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community of which Erasmus is the focus. Vives is 'claimed' as associated with this Louvain circle. Specialist texts produced within that circle, associated with debates (like that surrounding humanist dialectic) with intellectual (and particularly pedagogic) repercussions throughout the educated world, can then be claimed as belonging to a 'school' with a (vague and distant) geographical, rather than institutional, affiliation, and a reality only in print—the 'Erasmian school at Louvain'.[52] The *In pseudodialecticos* itself, far from being a spontaneous 'Spanish' response to the intricacies of logic teaching in Paris, begins to look like a work written to order, as part of a carefully orchestrated bid on the part of Erasmus and his associates to establish the seriousness of their claim to displace logical subtlety with *eloquentia*, as the road to truth.

Parochial Polemics Writ Large

Guerlac and others have drawn attention to similarities in tone, phrasing, and argument between the unpublished More letter to Dorp (written by an Englishman in 1515) and the published Vives letter to Fortis (the *In pseudodialecticos*, written by a Spaniard in 1520). More himself, of course, in the letter we have been looking at, has sanctioned (encouraged, even) such observations.[53] From the case we have just been constructing, we can put the matter more strongly: there is an announced affiliation between More's letter and Vives's text, in the form of a suggestion to the readership at large—that 'community', which in the absence of an institutional affiliation is the 'confraternity' of Erasmianism—that Vives has knowledge of More's text, that the two texts share a point of view and a purpose. The 'point' is not to attack Parisian logic; thus the historian of logic's careful scrutiny of the relationship between Vives's text and technical detail of the Paris school misdirects our attention—it identifies the ties but loses the very historical context which the texts are at pains to establish.[54] The point is to stake a claim (in Louvain) for the Erasmians' ability to provide 'grammatical' teaching which can compete with the technical logic of the Schools as a grounding for liberally inclined theology. The appropriate place to look for the 'actual' activities associated with this confrontation is between the faculties of theology and of arts at Louvain (and that, as we shall see, is indeed where we find Dorp's, More's, and Vives's published texts illuminating historical developments).

When the University of Louvain was founded in 1426 it was not permitted to establish a theology faculty, probably in order that it not compete with the University of Cologne. Within a week of the official opening of the university, the town authorities were petitioning the pope to allow its *studium generale* to include theology as a specialist disci-

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pline.[55] It was not, however, until 1432 that their application was successful, and a theology faculty on the model of the one at Cologne was established.[56] By the end of the fifteenth century Louvain was a successful and popular university, competing self-consciously and satisfactorily with its powerful intellectual neighbours, Cologne and Paris.[57] Nevertheless, throughout the fifteenth century, the two 'mother' universities of Louvain—Cologne and Paris—exerted considerable influence over both the structure of the university and its teaching; and part of such influence consisted in 'a long-standing antagonism between the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology and an uneasy co-existence inherited by Louvain from the University of Paris'.[58]

There is appealing evidence to suggest that the readership of the printed collections of letters from the Erasmus circle (on which print resources, remember, we have chosen to concentrate our attention) understood that Louvain and its internal disputes were significant beyond the local boundaries. A copy of the 1521 Frobenius *Epistolae D. Erasmi Roterodami ad diuersos*, with marginal annotations, survives in the Princeton University Library.[59] Prominent amongst these annotations are references to, and identifications of, Louvain as some sort of crux: a focus which the reader ought to register, and whose signficance he ought to take.[60]

On page 143 is the following heading to Greek and Latin epitaphs to Jerome Busleyden, founder of the Trilingual College at Louvain:

> Inscription for the painted picture of the most worthy Jerome Busleyden sometime Provost of Aire and Councillor to his Catholic Majesty and Brother to the most Reverend Father in God François late Archbishop of Besançon who founded in Louvain at great expense a College in which instruction was given publicly in the three tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.[61]

Against it is the annotation 'By whom the College at Louvain was founded' ('Collegiu[m] Louaniense à quo instauratum').[62] Thereafter a number of marginal annotations draw attention (in keeping with the prefatory letter's emphasis) to the centrality of Louvain to Erasmus's epistolary enterprise. On page 147, against a passage in a letter to Janus Lascaris, is the annotation 'he asks [Lascaris] to look for a native Greek professor for the Louvain Academy' ('Petit Louaniensi Academiae prospiciendu[m] de professore Graeco nato'), while on page 165, against another letter to Barbirius, written in 1517, on the death of Jerome Busleyden, is the annotation 'Concerning the success of the Gymnasium at Louvain' ('De successu Gymnasij Louaniensis'), and two pages later, 'Concerning the appointment of a native professor of Hebrew at the Louvain Academy' ('De professore Hebraeo nato constituendo Academia Louaniensi [i.e., a converted Jew]').[63] Louvain is a 'context', a location

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both for Erasmus's activities and for making sense of his text (we might recall that the collection of letters which was issued immediately before this one, and which derives its content from it and the 1519 *Farrago* volume, was envisaged by Barlandus and his printer as a volume for teaching purposes).[64]

In any case, as so often in humanistic compositions, there are clues liberally scattered in the text of the *In pseudodialecticos* itself, to alert the reader schooled in Latinity to a family resemblance between More's and Vives's *epistolae*. In that first passage I cited from More's letter to Dorp, in which he took issue with Dorp's localising of the dispute to parochial Louvain, More plays on the phrase 'homines eiusdem farinae' (men of the same grain, or ilk), extending it as 'homines eiusdem farina, seu eiusdem potius furfuris' (men of the same grain, or rather of the same bran).[65] Vives self-consciously 'quotes' the same play in his *In pseudodialecticos*:

> But these individuals, though claiming to speak Latin, not only are not understood by men versed in the Latin language, but often not even by men of the same grain, or should I say, bran [ne ab hominibus quidem eiusdem farinae, seu eiusdem potius furfuris].[66]

A kind of paternity is established for More, in the form of a Latin compliment (More as the authority for an unfamiliar Latin usage) from his intellectual offspring. A year later Erasmus commissioned Vives to produce a commented edition of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*.[67]

If we look in this fashion not simply at the printed texts (though always according those our full and serious attention) but also at the interlocutors in an exchange of letters, the date, provenance, and destination, the editor of the volume in which the works appeared, their *commendatores*, who appended verses or prefatory letters, how surviving marginal annotations suggest the text was read, the story alters. The bare text takes on depth and density. It relocates itself amongst other texts, readers, and readings, so as to offer us a fresh orientation on its meaning to us.[68] The young Vives blends into the Louvain moment—when gifted individual humanists, without formal institutional affiliations or qualifications, boldly claimed a stake in education, and particularly in theological training. And two key texts which intellectual history has kept resolutely apart turn out not just to belong together, but to have been produced with the possibility that readers might *detect* that relationship. And although Vives's *is* ultimately a story on a larger scale, this kind of reconstruction of its origins must surely lead us to tell that larger story differently.

This is the kind of story which I shall be tracing in the course of this book. Here, right at the outset, we find that a supposedly maverick piece of virtuosity, historically recontextualised, has become part of a coordinated programme orchestrated by an exemplary figure (already the

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'great' Erasmus), with a precise geographical location, at a particular historical moment. The unique individual intellects cherished by traditional History of Ideas remain individualised, but a network of influences in common, shared projects, mutually inhabited spaces, and collaborative understandings casts a different set of shadows. The questions which local circumstances prompt these groups to ask turn out not to correspond to our own questions; the solutions that satisfy them do not necessarily suit us.[69] But a fresh outlook on Erasmus is there for us to seize, if we allow the shadow of his own age, its issues and interests, freely to fall across, and influence, our own.

The Printing House as an Agent of Change

I end where I began, with the key significance for Erasmus studies of the growth of publishing and the printed book. Eisenstein's and Lowry's early studies on this subject are by now classic, and the History of the Book is a field all of its own. I do not propose to recapitulate that literature here, nor the burgeoning of that discipline. But having stressed Louvain and location—the importance of the map—I return us now to the crucially textual nature of Erasmus's shaped reputation, and the way its fortunes are inextricably intertwined with those of the publishing houses with which he associated. Specifically, the later chapters of the present work will unravel a series of publishing episodes in which the Froben publishing house at Basle plays a critical role. The shift from Martens's picturesquely Low Countries printshop in Louvain to Froben's smooth operation in Basle perfectly captures the transition, from his middle to later life, in Erasmus's print production. By the 1520s he had mastered the medium, and perfected any number of strategies (some of which we will trace) for maximising his impact on the world of learning. Erasmus's Basle period, I argue here, is a period of deliberate and, in our own terms, highly sophisticated manipulation of the medium of print, its circulation and marketing.

Here once again I find myself on ground largely untrodden by traditional Erasmus scholarship (certainly until comparatively recently). For in order to follow some of the most telling examples of the way in which Erasmus controlled the production and reproduction of his texts, and thereby (to some extent) the cultural production of their meaning, it is second and third editions of individual works we have to look at, second and third printings of individual letters, later emendations, additions to and deletions from key pedagogic works. Conventionally, editors and bibliographers are most concerned with first appearances, first editions, first printings of single items. Or, ironically, it is the *final* version produced in Erasmus's lifetime to which particular significance is given, as in

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the case of the *Adagia* or the *De copia*.[70] Indeed, as I scoured libraries in England and the United States for versions of Erasmus's works crucial for my story—particularly the monumental collected editions of secular and sacred classical works edited by Erasmus—I often found that it was smaller libraries which yielded me the second edition I needed, while the major rare books library owned only the (much more valuable) first edition. Similarly, Allen's great compilation of Erasmus's letters makes it extremely simple to identify the first appearance in print of a letter (including, for example, the folio or page reference for that first printing), more difficult to follow where that letter subsequently appeared, and together with what other letters, reprinted or new. But in the case of both Erasmus's *Lucubrationes* of Seneca, and his *Epistolae* of Jerome, it is the *second* edition which turns out to be of vital importance for understanding Erasmus in the sense in which I try to do so here.

There is, I think, a good reason for this. I do not think that Erasmus thought of any of his works as 'definitive' or fixed, in the sense that a modern author might piously hope to have said the (or at any rate, her or his) last word on any subject. Like all good editors, he set considerable store by the accuracy with which a printer produced the text as delivered to him, and the skill with which the printing house subeditors and correctors read the proofs and tidied up the presentation. But beyond that, no work retained for long that fixed and static form which print and a binding apparently, briefly gave it. In spite of the illusion of a detached magisterial figure, isolated in his authorship, Erasmus worked at the centre of an increasingly extensive group of junior editors, pupils, *famuli* and admirers. Each newly issued text became the basis for further, collaborative attention, repersonalising and revivifying the 'dead letter' of the printed page. Master and *famuli* work over and around the text, correcting, adding marginal notes, deleting irrelevances, debating among themselves. The individual volume becomes a personalised copy, a localised classroom; the outcome of reading is a further production (the printed text, its marginal annotations, and, sometimes, looseleaf insertions), from the master-reader Erasmus's *officina*, or workshop.[71]

There is an example of just this kind of 'dialoguing' with, or interrogating, his own text in a copy of the 1522 Froben edition of Erasmus's collected *Apologiae* (*Apologiae Erasmi Roterodami omnes, aduersus eos, qui ullum locis aliquot, in suis libris, non satis circunspecte sunt calumniati*), presently in the *Adversaria* collection in the Cambridge University Library.[72] Throughout the volume, Erasmus and his *famulus* have interacted with the printed text, correcting typographical errors and errors of punctuation, altering page headings and names to clarify the text and the debate it contains.[73] Erasmus expostulates afresh against his adversaries in marginal outbursts; he and his *famulus* add further evidence in support

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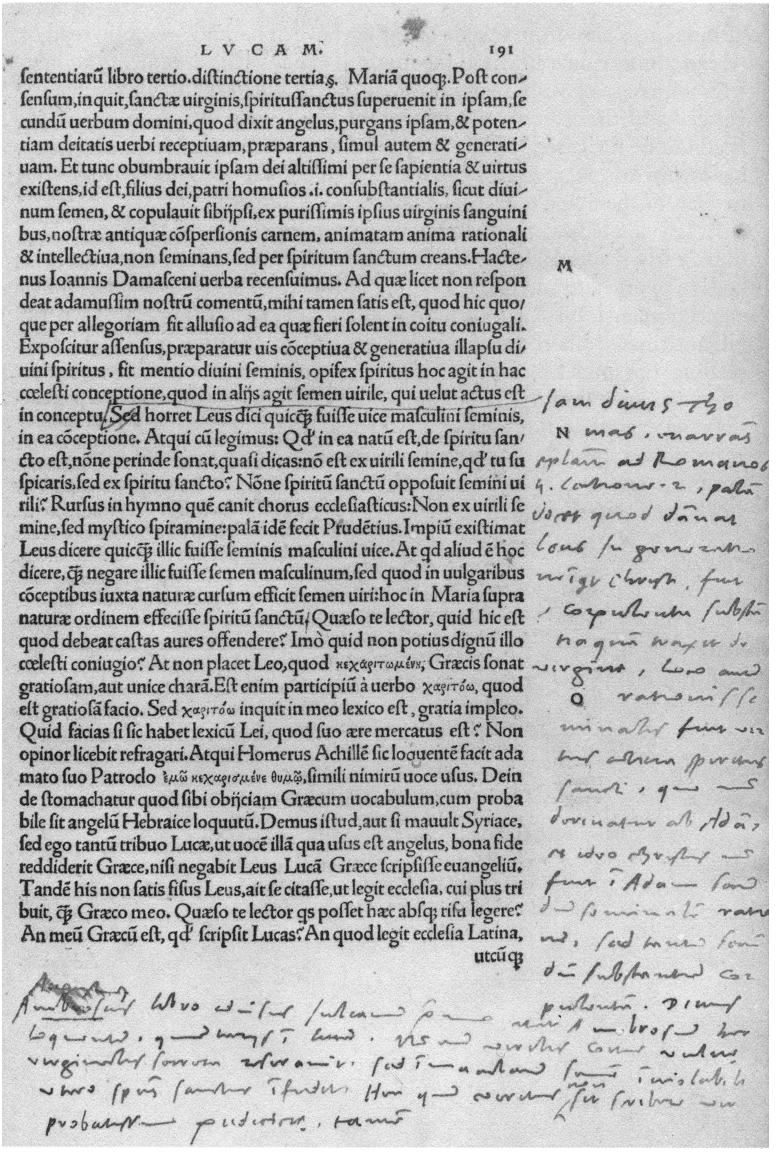

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ſententiarũ libro tertio. diſtinctione tertia. §. Mariã quoq;. Poſt conſenſum, inquit, ſanctæ uirginis, ſpirituſſanctus ſuperuenit in ipſam, ſecundũ uerbum domini, quod dixit angelus, purgans ipſam, & potentiam deitatis uerbi receptiuam, præparans, ſimul autem & generatiuam. Et tunc obumbrauit ipſam dei altiſſimi per ſe ſapientia & uirtus exiſtens, id eſt, filius dei, patri homuſios, i. conſubſtantialis, ſicut diuinum ſemen, & copulauit ſibiipſi, ex puriſſimis ipſius uirginis ſanguinibus, noſtræ antiquæ cõſperſionis carnem, animatam anima rationali & intellectiua, non ſeminans, ſed per ſpiritum ſanctum creans. Hactenus Ioannis Damaſceni uerba recenſuimus. Ad quæ licet non reſpondeat adamuſſim noſtrũ comentũ, mihi tamen ſatis eſt, quod hic quoque per allegoriam fit alluſio ad ea quæ fieri ſolent in coitu coniugali. Expoſcitur aſſenſus, præparatur uis cõceptiua & generatiua illapſu diuini ſpiritus, fit mentio diuini ſeminis, opifex ſpiritus hoc agit in hac cœleſti conceptione, quod in aliis agit ſemen uirile, qui uelut actus eſt in conceptu. Sed horret Leus dici quicq; fuiſſe uice maſculini ſeminis, in ea cõceptione. Atqui cũ legimus: Qd' in ea natũ eſt, de ſpiritu ſancto eſt, nõne perinde ſonat, quaſi dicas: nõ eſt ex uirili ſemine, qd' tu ſuſpicaris, ſed ex ſpiritu ſancto? Nõne ſpiritũ ſanctũ oppoſuit ſemini uirili? Rurſus in hymno quẽ canit chorus eccleſiaſticus: Non ex uirili ſemine, ſed myſtico ſpiramine: palã idẽ fecit Prudẽtius. Impiũ exiſtimat Leus dicere quicq; illic fuiſſe ſeminis maſculini uice. At qd aliud ẽ hoc dicere, cq; negare illic fuiſſe ſemen maſculinum, ſed quod in uulgaribus cõceptibus iuxta naturæ curſum efficit ſemen uiri: hoc in Maria ſupra naturæ ordinem effeciſſe ſpiritũ ſanctũ? Quæſo te lector, quid hic eſt quod debeat caſtas aures offendere? Imò quid non potius dignũ illo cœleſti coniugio? At non placet Leo, quod κεχαριτωμένη, Græcis ſonat gratioſam, aut unice charã. Eſt enim participiũ à uerbo χαριτόω, quod eſt gratioſã facio. Sed χαριτόω inquit in meo lexico eſt, gratia impleo. Quid facias ſi ſic habet lexicũ Lei, quod ſuo ære mercatus eſt? Non opinor licebit refragari. Atqui Homerus Achillẽ ſic loquentẽ facit adamato ſuo Patroclo ἐμῶ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ, ſimili nimirũ uoce uſus. Dein de ſtomachatur quod ſibi obijciam Græcum uocabulum, cum probabile ſit angelũ Hebraice loquutũ. Demus iſtud, aut ſi mauult Syriace, ſed ego tantũ tribuo Lucæ, ut uocẽ illã qua uſus eſt angelus, bona fide reddiderit Græce, niſi negabit Leus Lucã Græce ſcripſiſſe euangeliũ. Tandẽ his non ſatis ſiſus Leus, ait ſe citaſſe, ut legit eccleſia, cui plus tribuit, cq; Græco meo. Quæſo te lector qs poſſet hæc abſq; riſu legere? An meũ Græcũ eſt, qd' ſcripſit Lucas? An quod legit eccleſia Latina, utcũ cq;

4. A page from the copy of the *Apologiae Erasmi Roterodami* (Basle, 1522) in the *Adversaria* collection at Cambridge, with Erasmus's autograph additions.

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of Erasmus's case from texts which they have apparently recently read or reread, on Erasmus's behalf; the *famulus* expands his arguments and deletes imprecise or verbose points made previously.[74] Possibly Erasmus envisaged a further edition, but we should, in my view, understand that this need not be the case.[75] Here is Erasmus as reader and active responder to his own work, vigorously keeping his printed text open and alive, trying to prevent the living text from sliding into dead textbook.[76]

Erasmus, I have come to think, asked a great deal from at least the best of his early readers. He expected them discerningly to follow the trails he laid, to appreciate and take pleasure in the textual deceptions, diversions, entertainments, instructions with which he packed his published works. He anticipated his readers' taking time to read, putting effort into that reading, pursuing his ideas in successive recensions and editions of single texts. We owe him the same kind of expectation of difficulty, with the same determination to follow him through to the text's resolution (for it will resolve). If my reader derives even half as much pleasure from reading these exercises in detection as the pleasure I got from the detective work itself, I shall be well content.

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