EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM
VIRORUM
Of this Edition of the *EPISTOLÆ OBSCURORUM VIRORUM*
Five Hundred and Twenty-Five Copies have been Printed, of which only Five Hundred Copies are for Sale.

This is No. 160
EPISTOLÆ OBSCURORUM VIRORUM: THE LATIN TEXT WITH AN ENGLISH RENDERING, NOTES, AND AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION BY FRANCIS GRIFFIN STOKES

LONDON
CHATTO & WINDUS
MCMIX
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ULRICH VON HUTTEN . . . . Frontispiece
From a Print in the British Museum.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF
THE SECOND PART . . . . To face p. 131
From the Copy in the British Museum.
This volume presents for the first time to English readers an annotated edition—accompanied by a translation—of a work that ranks not only as one of the most famous of Satires, but as an historical document of no little moment.

Of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* it may be safely said that—at all events in England—no work less known is more often mentioned. Frequent allusions to the *Epistolae* are, indeed, inevitable. Their historical importance few can dispute. No writer on the general aspects of the later Renaissance, or on the German Reformation, can well disregard them.

The contemporary influence of the Satire itself in sapping the foundations of an already crumbling scholasticism, and laying bare ecclesiastical abuses, will be touched upon in the Introduction; but for the student of modern history to-day, its value lies in the fact that it teems with references to the protagonists in the great controversy which raged round Reuchlin during the early years of the sixteenth century, "dividing Western Europe in two hostile camps," and that it is pregnant with presage of the mighty change soon to sweep over Teutonic Christendom. The side-lights, moreover, that it throws upon the social life of the period—its manners and its morals—are of no small interest. The reader feels that the corner of a curtain has been lifted, and that he is permitted actually to peep at a phase of the life of four centuries ago which if we had had to rely solely upon prim and formal history might have been lost to us for ever, but that history must take into account if it is to render intelligible the remarkable phenomena that attended the dawn of the Renaissance north of the Alps.

It is, however, in their literary aspect that the *Epistolae* must claim their place among the immortals.
PREFACE

Few critics have disputed the substantial justice of the conclusion arrived at by Sir William Hamilton some seventy-eight years ago: "Never," he wrote, "were unconscious barbarism, self-glorious ignorance, intolerant stupidity, and sanctimonious immorality, so ludicrously delineated; never did delineation less betray the artifice of ridicule. The Epistolae Obscurorum Vivorum are at once the most cruel and the most natural of satires." It is true that dissentient voices may here and there be heard amidst the chorus of applause, but one thing is certain: the historian of European literature—whether he deems the Epistolae, regarded as a piece of literary art, worthy of a pedestal or not—cannot ignore them.

Nevertheless, the last edition of the Epistolae published in England was that issued by Henry Clements in 1742. This edition (which Ebert, for some unexplained reason, believed to have been really produced in Switzerland), was, moreover, a mere reprint of that issued by the same publisher in 1710. A very singular feature of this edition is the fact that both its editor and its chief reviewer were under a complete misconception as to the nature and object of the work!

The editor, Michael Maittaire, regards the Letters as the production of their ostensible authors, and plumes himself, in his preface, on having rescued from oblivion such antiquated specimens of literary folly; while Steele, to whom, under his pseudonym of Isaac Bickerstaff, the edition was dedicated, was, apparently, completely deceived. "It seems," he wrote in The Tatler (No. 197), "this is a collection of letters, which some profound blockheads, who lived before our times, have written in honour of each other, and for their mutual information in each other's absurdities. . . . It is, methinks, wonderful that fellows could be awake, and utter such incoherent conceptions, and converse with great gravity like learned men, without the least taste of knowledge or good sense." As the reading public in those days was quite prepared to take Steele's word in such a matter, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the Obscure Men were henceforth left almost unmolested in their obscurity. In fact, as Mr. Saintsbury
puts it, "they have dropped out of the reading of the average educated man"—adding, suggestively, "he cannot too soon return to them."

The notes in the present volume are mainly intended for readers who have made no special study of the period involved. They are largely devoted to some account of men and matters that will be sought for in vain in ordinary English books of reference. A list of works consulted in their preparation would be lengthy, but is unnecessary—for where the search was fruitful the note in most cases records the fact.

One acknowledgment of indebtedness must, however, explicitly be made. The supplementary volumes of Böcking's monumental edition of Ulrich von Hutten's works (Leipsic, 1863–9), form a vast quarry of suggestive information in which every labourer in this field perforce must delve. It is not too much to say that without such an aid the labour of which the present volume is the outcome would never have been undertaken. Certain inevitable contributions levied upon Böcking's stores have, however, been largely supplemented by references to more recent and accessible sources—to English and French, as well as German authorities—and to discoveries that have considerably modified opinions justifiably held forty years ago. Every quoted authority has, with scarcely an exception, been directly consulted, and researches by the present writer among the incunabula of the British Museum have constituted not the least agreeable portion of his task.

A few words on the English rendering seem desirable—an apology from the translator may even be expected—for it seems to be the almost invariable practice of modern writers, when mentioning the Epistolae, to add a remark to the effect that "they are quite untranslatable." The phrase is not free from ambiguity, but in a certain sense the observation is doubtless just.

It is probably impossible to devise a dog-English that would suggest the delightful dog-Latin of the original, without at the same time modernising and vulgarising the whole atmosphere of the Satire: and
here no attempt to do anything of the kind has been made. A standard of translation, however, which insists on a reflection not only of the thoughts of the writer but of the vehicle in which he conveys them, is, to say the least, an exacting one, and has seldom been attained. As Charles Lamb has observed, “Words involving notions, are hard enough to render: it is too much to expect us to translate a sound, and give an elegant version to a jingle.” From the further implication, however, that the humour and satiric force of the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum depend mainly on the droll vulgarity of their Latinity, the present writer must emphatically dissent. On the contrary, he is of opinion that the edge of the satire could not wholly be blunted even by the crudest translation. Yorick, we may be sure, did not doff his infinite jest and excellent fancy with his motley, and the comic ineptitudes of the “Obscure Men” are not solely involved in the verbal trappings of their Letters: their satiric foolishness is of their very essence—though we bray them in a mortar yet will it not depart from them.

There is, indeed, good reason to believe that the canine Latin in question is, after all, no very extravagant caricature of the “pseudo-vernacular” of the day, and that it appears far more ludicrous in our eyes than it did to contemporaries.

But the narrow bounds of a Preface are not suitable lists for a controversy. The translator will be content if his rendering is regarded as a mere device for relieving the notes of a good deal of exegetical matter: he has aimed at making it close rather than literal, for it is a curious fact—not, however, incapable of explanation—that a word-for-word translation would frequently have the effect of converting phrases of medieval naïveté into quite modern vulgarisms.

It is, however, not impossible that, with some, “untranslatable” may mean “ill-suited for translation in any form.” This is a point on which it is surely needless to dwell at any length. The authors, to use Bishop Creighton’s words, “Created their puppets and pulled their strings with all the heedlessness of rollicking and unchastened drollery;” and it was the drollery of the
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sixteenth century. No student of the lampoons of the Middle Ages expects to find them couched in terms of impeccable decorum. From Aristophanes to Swift, through that long line which includes the authors of the Narrenschiff, the Encomium Moriae, and Panta-gruel, satirists have claimed, and exercised, the right of waging war on folly, vice, ignorance, and hypocrisy, not only with barbed arrows but, upon occasion, with weapons more nearly allied to the malodorous missiles of Eastern pirates.

In exhibiting this freedom, here and there, the Epistolae do but resemble their congeners; but one thing is certain—coarseness is never introduced into them for its own sake, or as mere buffoonery to please the groundlings. Burke, in a well-known passage, speaks of an epoch in which "vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness"; perhaps our authors were moralists of sterner stuff, and did not believe in the desirability of completely defecating vice; so they preserved some of its grossness, the better to scoff at its stupidity.

After all, as for the Obscure Men themselves, it is impossible for us to be very angry with them: when we feel inclined to chastise one of the saucy simpletons, he puts on a look of such comic depreciation, and makes such frank confession, that we are disarmed: we can but turn aside, to hide a smile.

In the Introduction some account has been given of the singular sequence of events that led to the publication of the Satire; the vexed question of its authorship is touched upon, and an attempt has been made to sketch in outline portraits of some of the personages concerned, who, though far from insignificant, are to-day scarcely known even by name, except to historical specialists.

The Epistolae, lying as they do between two great epochs of history, are inextricably entangled in the web of each, and the difficulty of compressing almost indispensable elucidations within what are perforce narrow bounds has been acutely felt. The main stream of the narrative may seem to lie smoothly enough before us, but some tempting backwater pre-
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sents itself at every turn. Into such alluring pleasures the leisured reader will find his own way.

A text that contains intentional blunders, and in which the grammar is a law to itself, seems to call for exceptional treatment.

It is the Editor's opinion that emendations in such a case should be resorted to very sparingly, if at all.

The text of the First Edition of each of the successively issued portions of the Epistolae has, accordingly, been in all essentials closely adhered to. The precise reproduction of error, except by mechanical facsimile, involves, however, difficulties of its own, and in a few instances unwelcome "accuracies" may perhaps have passed unnoticed.

The numerous typographical ligatures have, as a rule, been resolved, except when ambiguous or distinctive of an edition; but mere abbreviations, such as Sal. for Salutem, or M. for Magister, have been retained.

Eccentricities in the use of capitals and in punctuation have been preserved, but, as a concession to the modern reader, quotation marks are introduced, and each period begins with a capital letter.

Where c, with or without a subscript, stands in the original text for ae, the latter is everywhere employed. The usage of the early editions in this respect seems determined merely by caprice of the printers, or imperfections of the type.

Variant readings in the early editions, that seem at all worthy of note, are given in Appendix I.

F. G. S.

The following brief description of the various editions of the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum will suffice for their identification and discrimination.

1. **The first edition of the First Part; cited in this work as [A].**
   Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum ad Venerabilem virum Magistrum Ortuinum Gratium Daventriensem Coloniae Agrippinae bonas litteras docentem: variis & locis & temporibus missae: ac demum in volumen coactae. **Colophon:** Et sic est finis epistolrarum obscurorum virorum Deo gratio ejusque sancte matris. In Venetia impressum in impressoria Aldi Minutii: Anno quo supra: etiam cavisatum est ut in aliis ne quis audeat post nos impressare per decennium per illustriissimum principem Venetianorum. 4to, 18 ff. (Contains Epp. 1-41 of Part I.) Title in Roman, the text in Gothic type.

2. **The second edition of the First Part; cited in this work as [B].**
   Title and colophon as in [A]. 4to, 22 ff. Title and text in Roman type.

3. **The third edition of the First Part; cited as [C].**

4. **The first edition of the Second Part; cited as [D].**
   Gothic type throughout. Engraved title (reproduced in facsimile, p. 130). **Colophon:** Impressum Romanae Curiae. 4to, 24 ff. Contains Epp. 1-62 of Part II.

5. **The second edition of the Second Part; cited as [E].**

6. **The fourth edition of the First Part.**
   Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, ad D. M. Ortuinum Gratium, Attico lepore refertae . . . salibus refertum. m.d.lvi. 8vo, 215 pp. (Roman type throughout, as in all succeeding edd.)

7. **Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum . . . prae caeteris editionibus locupletatae & auctae. . . . 1556.** Colophon: Romae stampato con privilegio del Papa, & confirmato in lugo, qui vulgo dicitur, Belvedere. Finis. 12mo. (Second Part only.)

8. **Duo volumina Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum . . . salibus refertum. m.d.lvi. 12mo. Colophon as in (7).**

9. **Duo Volumina Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum. m.d.lvii. 12mo.** [The Brit. Mus. copy has the autograph of Ben Jonson.]
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

10. Duo Volumina . . . m.d.lxx.
12. Epistolarum Obscurorum Virorum . . . Accesserunt hac editione multa magistralia interlocutoria, quae jam primum valde delectabiler prodeunt. Francoforti ad Moenum. m.d.xcix. 8vo.
13. 8vo. Francofurti ad Moenum. m.dc.xxiv.
15. 12mo. Obscurorum Virorum Epistolae . . . Utopiae, cum privilegio per decennium.
17. 12mo. Tertio Volumine Auctae. Londini, Apud Editorem (without date).
18. 12mo. Londini: Impensis Hen. Clements, ad insigne lunae falcatae, in Coemeterio Ædis Divi Pauli. m dcc x.
19. As (18). Mdccxl.
21. 8vo. Herausgeben und erläutert durch Dr. Ernst Münch. Leipzig, 1827.

TRANSLATIONS

i. Lettres des Hommes Obscurs, traduites du latin par Victor Develay. Paris, 1870. 24mo. [The First Series only.]


Another edition, Köstritz, 1904 [1903], 8vo. Another edition, Gera, s.a., 8vo.

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INTRODUCTION

I

It is a characteristic of great Satire that its savour can seldom be appreciated, and its true inwardness grasped without due study of the context—the context being the history of the period to which it belongs. The satirist may incidentally so lash the vices and follies of the natural man that readers in every age wince as though the whip cracked at their own ears, but many of the most famous examples of this branch of literature must be regarded—apart from their general application—as veritable historical documents, in view both of the causes that begat them, and the effects that they engendered.

The primary cause of the revival of Satire in Germany shortly before the epoch of the Reformation was, of course, the general intellectual ferment that heralded the great upheaval; but the secondary causes which led to the publication of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Vivorum* and gave them their peculiar form and hue are both numerous and complex. In order to weave an account of the genesis of the *Letters* into a coherent narrative, we must accordingly take up a thread here, and a thread there; we must convey some notion of the characters of the protagonists in the strange tragi-comedy to which they are related; and we must supply some sketch, however slight, of the spacious stage on which the drama was enacted.

When the sixteenth century dawned the forces of the Renaissance in Italy had begun to wane, and Italy herself—torn by raging factions, and the quarry of competing dynasties—had already entered upon the most disastrous period of her political history.

Art, it is true, still flourished in full vigour; the life-work of Michelangelo and Raphael was yet to be
accomplished, and Bramante was in his prime—but it was otherwise in the world of Letters. The Revival of Learning was from its very nature a transient phenomenon. The awakening glory of sunrise affects the imagination more forcibly than noontide's steadier glow, and scholars in Italy were already turning their attention from the revival of an old literature to the creation of a new. Moreover, the growing possibilities of the vernacular were beginning once more to be borne in upon writers of genius, and the Italian of Machiavelli and Ariosto was destined soon to eclipse the Latinity of Filelfo and Politian. The day, indeed, was at hand when "Italy, after receiving the lamp of learning from the dying hands of Hellas, in the days of her own freedom," was to give it in the time of her adversity and ruin to the nations of the north.1

Even through the night of the Dark Ages a "phantom of false morning" had gleamed from time to time, and Humanism—in fact, if not in name—had found its way across the Alps long before the close of the fifteenth century. Greek scholars and teachers, who had for many years found an appreciative and lucrative field for their energies in Italy, flocked thither in increasing numbers when the walls of Constantinople fell before the Moslems' cannon, and not a few of their pupils were to be met with scattered sporadically over western Europe. To instance Germany alone—Johann Wessel (1420–89), known as Latx Mundi and Magister Contradictionum, had studied in both Greece and Italy, and was acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—teaching these languages privately at Cologne, Heidelberg, and Basle: the mathematician Johann Müller, of Königsberg (1436–76), better known as Regiomontanus, spent seven or eight years in Italy studying Greek: Rudolph Agricola (1443–85) learnt Greek under Theodore Gaza at Ferrara, and afterwards lectured on the classics at Heidelberg.

But the voices of men such as these, crying in the wilderness of an arid scholasticism, fell for the most part on deaf ears. For the German universities had become the strongholds of bigotry and intolerance—

1 J. A. Symonds, Renaissance in Italy, 1897, p. 398.
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and in them the Faculty of Theology was ever the dominating keep.

Any striving after pure Latinity was suspect. "For (saie they) it is not for the dignitee of holie wripte, our profession, that we should be compelled to follow any grammar rules: which," remarks Erasmus, "is a great majestee of these Duns doctours, if to them only it be lawfull to speak false latine, notwithstanding that many coblers and clowters can doe that as well as thei." Was there not also on record that famous saying of Gregory the Great: "The place of prepositions and the cases of nouns I utterly despise, since I deem it unfit to confine the words of the celestial oracles within the rules of Donatus"? This, perhaps, mattered the less, since the celestial oracles seemed to many to have grown dumb.

Let us not be misunderstood. The sufficiently obvious extravagancies of scholasticism invite facile derision, but the system had a share, and no small share, in the evolution of humanity. Few who have acquired, at first hand, even a smattering of their writings, will be disposed to deny such men as Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, and Albert the Great a place among the acutest intellects of all time. It is indeed difficult to stifle the reflection that had such keen minds as theirs but worked upon Astronomy, Pure Mathematics, or Physics, the discoveries of Galileo, Newton, and Faraday might have been anticipated, and civilisation might have already reached a stage of development not destined to be attained for two or three centuries.

The human brain in the Middle Ages was, in fact, an engine to the full as powerful and as subtle as it is to-day: but—the pity of it!—its exquisite machinery was made to waste much of its available energy in vain endeavours to weave cats'-cradles out of moonshine, and in the fifteenth century it creaked at its task of reclouting an already botched and darned cloak alleged to have belonged to one Aristotle. "What will the Turks think of us," asks Erasmus, "when they hear of our perplexed subtleties about Instants, Formalities, Quiddities and Relations?" Such was the dreary wilder-

1 Erasmus, Encomium Moriae (Challoner's translation).
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ess of pedantry that then passed for knowledge. And "the scholastic philosophy was securely entrenched behind the scholastic theology." ¹

Beyond their narrow horizon, wrangling Thomists and Scotists caught no glimpse of

"... the glory that was Greece,
And the grandeur that was Rome."

Yet even in the universities certain stirrings of the blood, "blind motions of the Spring," were manifest. "Some, indeed, of the restorers of polite letters," writes Sir William Hamilton, "taught as salaried or extraordinary instructors in the universities of Germany; but the influence they exerted was personal, and the toleration they obtained precarious. Depending always on the capricious patronage of the Prince, they were viewed as intruders by those bodies who constituted and governed these institutions. From them they encountered, not only discouragement, but oppression; and the biography of the first scholars who attempted, by public instruction, to disseminate a taste for classical literature in the great schools of Germany, exhibits little else than a melancholy series of wanderings and persecutions — abandoning one university only, in general, to be ejected from another." ²

The fitful aid of princely patrons in spreading the new learning was indubitably of no small importance, but the vigorous growth they fostered sprang from a germ planted by quite other hands.

The remarkable semi-monastic body, variously known as Brethren of the Common Lot, *Fratres Hieronymici*, and Gregorians, instituted about 1375 by Geert Groete (Gerhardus Magnus) and Florentinus Radewins, was in fact a tangible protest against the growing corruption of monasticism.³ Its founders recognised that immorality was an inevitable concomitant of sloth and ignorance. Gerhard had listened to the famous priest and mystic Johann Ruysbroek as he inveighed in unmeasured terms against the

¹ Sir R. C. Jebb, *Erasmus*, p. 44.
² *Edinburgh Review*, March 1831, p. 182.
³ See Gieseler, *Church History*, New York, 1868, vol. iii.
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gluttony and voluptuousness of monks and nuns alike, against the avarice of the holders of pluralities—nay, greatly daring, against the pomps and vanities of the Roman Curia itself—and Ruysbroek's fervid oratory found its first practical result in the establishment of the fraterhuis at Deventer, near Zutphen—the forerunner of several similar fraternities. Here was gathered together a circle of young men—laymen for the most part—devoting their lives to the exercise of piety and charity, and especially to the work of education. The Brethren were not consciously humanists; their educational methods seem to have been characterised by no striking originality; but, whether consciously or not, they were initiating a revolution. Learning was perishing of anemia in the stagnant air of gloomy cloisters—Gerhard and his successors strove to drag it into the sunshine and beneficent breezes, amidst healthy human life.

The famous Latin school of Deventer had existed long before the fraterhuis was established, but although there was no ostensible connection between the two institutions, neither was there any spirit of jealous rivalry. On the contrary, the School and the Fraternity worked hand in hand; the brethren took the keenest interest in the welfare of the scholars; under their wise patronage the school prospered greatly—eminent teachers were attracted to it, new text-books were introduced, hitherto neglected classics were read, and before the end of the fifteenth century there issued, either from Deventer or the allied seminary near Zwolle, "nearly the whole band of those illustrious scholars, who, in defiance of every opposing circumstance, succeeded in rapidly elevating Germany to a higher European rank in letters than (rebarbarised by polemical theology and religious wars) she was again able to reach for almost three centuries thereafter."

Conspicuous among the names of these pioneers of the New Learning at the end of the fifteenth century are three: Rudolf von Langen—who revived the fame of the school at Münster, and heedless of the opposition of the friars of Cologne, revolutionised its teaching: Ludwig von Dringenberg—who at Schlett-
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stadt had for his pupils the all-accomplished Celtis; Wimpheling, theologian, scholar, and educationist; Beatus Rhenanus; Pirckheimer, whose rugged features are familiar to us from Durer’s famous portrait; and Bebelius: and, thirdly, Alexander Hegius—prince of pedagogues.

Hegius personally had but slender claims to scholarship—"small Latin and less Greek" would seem not unfairly to sum up his attainments—but it seems evident that he had, like Richard Hooker, "a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of his pupils," as well as that power, characteristic of all great schoolmasters, of arousing their enthusiasm, and communicating to them an intellectual impetus able to carry them far beyond the limitations of their teacher. After having for thirty-three years presided over the school at Deventer, Hegius died in 1498, leaving behind him not "only his books and his clothes," as tradition relates, but the enduring fame of having turned out such scholars as Buschius, Caesarius, Murmellius, Mutianus, and the great Erasmus himself.

Nor should we omit from the list of the alumni of Deventer the name of Ortuinus Gratius—Ortwin von Graes—in scholarship respectable, but damned to everlasting fame as the butt of the keenest arrows ever launched by relentless wit against arrogant bigotry.

It will be seen, therefore, that the intellectual condition of Germany at the dawn of the sixteenth century was strikingly anomalous. Signs of awakening from long sleep were everywhere manifest—except in those seats of learning where they might have been expected to be first observable. Free-lances were in all directions "pricking on the plain," but they met with scant hospitality within the portcullises of the grim castles where Bigotry and Ignorance held court, not without gross and sordid revelry. The barbarous Latinity of the Middle Ages still sufficed for aspirants for university degrees—the lectures and examinations of the various faculties implied no higher attainment than rote-knowledge of the dogmas.
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of an effete philosophy. The growing enthusiasm aroused by the teachings of the German humanists spread envy and even dismay among the patrons of scholasticism; the degrees conferred by German universities were despised—it became a point of honour among young and ambitious scholars not to graduate; this touched professorial purses, for the hostels, or boarding-houses, from which many dons of the day were wont to reap a rich harvest, began to be deserted. It was said that examiners were afraid to "plough" candidates, lest they should frighten freshmen away. Finding both their influence and emoluments slipping from them, what wonder that obtuse dominies over their cups would lament that the universities were "going to the dogs"—or, roused to passion, inveigh against the "preachers of perversion," and "winnowers of the devil's chaff"?

Leipsic expelled successively the humanists Celtis, Buschius, and Aesticampianus; but it was the great University of Cologne which "stood proudly eminent in its hostility to the new intelligence; for improvement was there opposed by the united influence of the monks and masters." 2

It has been already mentioned that when von Langen began to introduce educational reforms at Münster, it was from Cologne that opposition, fortunately futile, proceeded. Foiled in this attempt, the obscurants of that venerable seminary resisted only the more strenuously every effort at a reform in Cologne itself. Scholar after scholar they thwarted, bullied, and drove from their gates. Caesarius, Joannes and Serratius Aedicollius, Murmellius, and Hermannus Buschius were in turn branded as corrupters of youth, and expelled with contumely—the last named, however, returning thrice to the attack, and living to see the principles he had championed triumphant in the end.

All these skirmishes, however, were but preliminary, or accessory, to the great conflict. The issues of the

1 See E. O. V. ii. 46, and 58.
2 Sir W. Hamilton, Discussions in Philosophy, Literature, and Education, 1855.

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battle between light and darkness were to be joined in a manner none could have foreseen. It is with this central struggle that we are here concerned.

II

In the summer of 1509, while the Emperor Maximilian was preparing the fruitless siege of Padua, a strange visitor reached his camp and craved an audience.

Johann Pfefferkorn (originally Joseph), a Jew by birth, had embraced Christianity some three years before, and with all a convert’s zeal had immediately proceeded to prove his sincerity by attacking the fold that he had quitted. The man’s personal character seems to have been shady. It has been alleged that to the honest calling of a butcher he added the occasional avocation of burglary. Geiger has denied this, and deems him merely a fanatic, but a more recent discovery of documents at Amsterdam¹ shows that Count von Gutenstein imprisoned him, and revives the old suspicion that he took “refuge in Christianity from the punishment which his crimes had merited from the hands of his countrymen.” Erasmus, indeed, later on—under some provocation, it is true—expressed his opinion of Pfefferkorn by succinctly describing him as “Ex scelerato Judaeo sceleratisissimus Christianus.”²

Before a year had elapsed since his baptism there had appeared in Pfefferkorn’s name a pamphlet entitled Der Joedem Spiegel, “The Mirror of the Jews,” to be immediately followed by a Latin version of the same, Speculum adhortationis Judaicæ. Pfefferkorn himself was almost illiterate, and the appearance of the Speculum is the first indication of the patronage extended to the convert by the Dominicans of Cologne, and the collaboration of at least one of their allies in his writings. The “Mirror” contained little that was noteworthy or new. Its arguments are minatory, rather than persuasive. The stubbornness of the

¹ Graetz, Monatschrift für Geschichte . . . des Judentums, Breslau, 1875, p. 289.
² Ep. ec. (1706).
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Jews should be broken, the writer urges, by their being compelled to attend sermons and to relinquish usury, but especially by the destruction of their books —those founts of heresy and blasphemy. Let them keep their Bible, and nothing else.

Next year, 1508, there appeared “The Jews’ Confession,” 1 ostensibly by the same author, and of this no less than six editions, in Latin and High and Low German, were published in twelve months. The object of this tract was to ridicule various Jewish rites. On the Day of Atonement, we are told, the Jews whirl white cocks and hens round their heads, crying, “I am released from my sins! Thou goest to thy death, and I to eternal life!” Whereupon they kill and eat these substitutes for the scapegoat. At other times they purge their offences by shaking their garments over running water in which there are fishes—or, failing this, they wait for a high wind to blow away their sins like dust.

At the beginning of 1509 two other pamphlets, each in German and Latin garb, issued from the same prolific source. One deals with the Paschal Feast, and in the other, “The Jews’ Enemy,” 2 it is pointed out that Jews become physicians merely to facilitate the murder of Christians: the author is, however, liberal-minded enough to admit that their employment as scavengers might be unobjectionable.

It is worthy of note that the latter tract contained an anti-Semitic epigram by Ortuinus Gratius, who had become a prominent member of the Faculty of Arts at Cologne.

It was, therefore, soon after the publication of “The Jews’ Enemy” that Pfefferkorn sought an audience of the emperor. Maximilian, though good-natured and impulsive, had just then much to occupy his thoughts, and it is improbable that the uncouth visitor would have gained access to the imperial presence, had he not been influentially backed. But Pfefferkorn’s credentials were unimpeachable.

The emperor’s fair sister, the Princess Kunigunde,

1 Der joeden bicht; Libellus de Judaica Confessione.
2 Der Juden Veindt; Hostis Judaeorum.
who had caused her father much grief by her clandestine marriage with his foe, Duke Albert of Munich, lost her husband in 1508; and the disconsolate widow forthwith retired from a distasteful world—entering the Franciscan Convent of Santa Clara at Munich. Of this she became abbess, and mortified her flesh with fastings and scourgings. To this noble lady Pfefferkorn had secured an introduction.

No record exists of what must have been an interesting interview between the quondam butcher and the widowed princess: we can but form inferences from its results. The renegade was undoubtedly armed with commendatory letters from the Dominicans, and we may assume that his zeal, whether real or affected, soon fanned the glow of piety within the royal abbess’s breast into a flame of fanaticism. At any rate a letter to her brother was soon forthcoming from Kunigunde: its purport was quite simple—the Jews ought to be gagged and robbed, and Pfefferkorn was the man to do it.

On August 19, 1509, Maximilian—the natural liberality of his disposition overcome either by the arguments of Pfefferkorn or the fervid entreaties of his sister—issued a mandate. Its tenor was all that the Dominicans could have desired. Jews in every town in Germany were required to deliver up to Pfefferkorn, for destruction, in the presence of a parish priest and two municipal councillors, all Hebrew books that called in question Christian tenets, or upheld Judaism. The net was a wide one. An ancient literature, in short, was to be swept away at the will of the ignorant agent of pedantic bigots who could not read a line of it.

Pfefferkorn’s next move was a bold one, though, as the event proved, it was injudicious. He selected Frankfort-on-Main as the scene of his first operations. In that flourishing city there were then many students of Talmudic literature, and to gather thence a rich harvest for the flames would inspire everywhere a wholesome respect for the imperial mandate. It is possible that there was another motive that could not well be avouched. Many Jews of considerable wealth then dwelt in the Juden-gasse of Frankfort, where the
ancestral house of the Rothschilds still stands, a monument of "unhappy, far-off times." Hebrew manuscripts were often among the most treasured possessions of such well-to-do men. Pfefferkorn's baptism had, perchance, not obliterated the hereditary instinct, that, like an unerring divining-rod points to subterranean streams feeding "The Secret River of Gold": why should not Israelites of substance keep their cherished books, after all—for a consideration? Not only does one of the "Obscure Men" bluntly declare this to be at the root of the whole matter, but Melanchthon in a grave discourse delivered many years later, records, as an historical fact, that "the impostor knew very well that the Jews would forthwith seek to redeem their books for large sums." ¹

Pfefferkorn presented himself at Frankfort on the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles—Friday, Sept. 28—and in the presence of more than the necessary quorum of clergy and civil officers—but he himself being the sole judge—confiscated all the prayer-books in the synagogue. Elated by this success, he then seems to have lost his head, for he had the audacity to forbid the Jews to attend the synagogue on the coming solemn feast-day. The clergy, however, felt that this was going too far, and they determined to postpone further action in the matter until the following Monday. This gave the Jews a breathing-space of which they made good use. They communicated with the Kamergericht at Worms—they pointed out that liberty, within well-ascertained bounds, had been accorded to them in charters granted in times past by popes and emperors—they demanded a stay of further proceedings with a view to an appeal to Maximilian himself—and, best of all, they sent an urgent messenger to their lawful ecclesiastical authority, the Archbishop and Elector of Mainz.

Uriel von Gemmingen was a man of an independent spirit, and he could scarcely fail to be not a little piqued at Pfefferkorn's arrogant interference with the affairs of his diocese. He peremptorily ordered his clergy to take no further part in the matter; and the Senate of

¹ Bretschneider and Bindseil, Corpus Reform., xi. 1007.
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Frankfort, glad of an excuse for withdrawing from a quarrel in which they could have taken but little interest, thereupon followed suit, and let the business drop. Archbishop Uriel, moreover, wrote to the emperor, pointing out, in courtly terms, that Pfefferkorn was a blundering ass, and that if it was really desirable to overhaul Jewish literature, it would be well to depute the investigation to men who knew something about the subject. Pfefferkorn himself he treated with great tact, inviting him to Aschaffenburg, and telling him confidentially that there was a legal flaw in the mandate, which the Jews would have discovered sooner or later and turned to their advantage.

III

It is now necessary to interrupt the course of our narrative and introduce a new actor upon the scene.

"The origin of philology or sound scholarship," writes Dr. Donaldson, "is to be sought on this side of the Alps; its beginner was John Reuchlin." Be this as it may, Reuchlin was indisputably the most learned scholar in all Germany during the early years of the sixteenth century. By a singular combination of tastes and talents this remarkable man excelled at once as a humanist and a man of affairs, as a jurist and a mystic, and, above all, as a pioneer among orientalists, so that it has been said of him, enthusiastically but not unjustly, that he was the "first who opened the gates of the East, unsealed the word of God, and unveiled the sanctuary of Hebrew wisdom."

In 1455, when the Mazarin Bible was being printed by Gutenberg, Reuchlin, who sprang from a burgher stock, was born at Pforzheim, in the Black Forest, and throughout his life he took pleasure in recalling the place of his birth and earliest education by dubbing himself Phorcensis. At the age of fifteen he entered the rising University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, where he attained to such proficiency in Latin as its teachers could impart. In his eighteenth year, having entered the service of the Margrave of Baden-Durlach in the

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humble capacity of a singing-man, Reuchlin found himself by a sudden turn of fortune appointed bearleader to one of the Margrave's sons, and accompanied his charge to Paris, where, under the tuition of the eminent rector of the university, Johannes a Lapide (von Steyn), he commenced the study of Greek. This he continued at Basle, returning, however, to Paris in 1477, to sit at the feet of the famous George Hermonymus, who had recently arrived there. Jurisprudence next claimed Reuchlin's attention, and with his accustomed ardour he devoted himself to its study at Orleans and Poictiers.

Returning to Germany in 1481, Reuchlin soon attracted the attention of Eberhard, Count, and afterwards first Duke, of Württemberg, and not many months had elapsed before the young scholar found himself on the way to Rome, holding a position of some dignity in the train of his noble patron. Sixtus IV. then occupied the papal throne. With all his faults, the builder of the Sistine Chapel was a liberal patron of art and literature, and among the many men of learning attracted to the court of Rome was the renowned John Argyropoulos, who for fifteen years had held the chair of Greek at Florence. Among scholars even of this calibre Reuchlin held his own, and the story goes that Argyropoulos, sorely piqued at the young German's mastery of Thucydides, exclaimed testily, "Greece has flown over the Alps!"

On his return to Germany honours and emoluments fell thickly upon Reuchlin. Now Doctor of Civil Law, he was appointed Procurator of the Dominican Order, and Assessor of the Supreme Court. To Eberhard he was ever a trusted counsellor.

For ten years Reuchlin, now a married man, was busily employed in affairs of state and in the performance of various judicial duties, but in 1492 he paid another visit to Italy, which lasted for a year and had momentous consequences. Falling under the personal influence of the dazzling but chaotic genius of Pico della Mirandola—who contemplated humanism and scholasticism with impartial eyes, and yearned for the reconciliation of irreconcilable ideas—the German
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scholar was strangely attracted by Pico's belief that in the mysteries of the Jewish Cabbala lay the hidden clue by which Platonic philosophy and Christian doctrine might be shown to be but diverse aspects of one Truth. Pico's discourse concerning "Secrete misteryes of the hebrewes, caldyes and arabies,"\(^1\) as well as "ye olde obscure philosophye of Pythagoras, trimegistus, and orpheus" fired Reuchlin's imagination. But to grapple with the Cabbala without a competent knowledge of the Hebrew tongue was, of course, impossible. Reuchlin accordingly placed himself under the guidance of able Jewish teachers, and made astonishingly rapid progress in a language in which but few Gentiles had hitherto even dabbled. In ordinary circumstances it would be thought presumptuous in a student who had devoted himself to a difficult language for barely two years to publish a work upon the subject. But Reuchlin was not an ordinary man, and, unlike many scholars, he was eager to instil into the minds of others a desire to follow in his own footsteps, and explore the almost unknown fields where he had shown the way. Accordingly in 1494 there appeared from his pen, in the form of a treatise De Verbo Mirifico, a glowing panegyric on the Hebrew tongue. "In this divine language," he says, "God speaks with men, and men with angels, face to face, as one friend converses with another." For several years Reuchlin’s name had been Grecised, after the custom of the times, as Capnio, or Capnion\(^2\) (though Reuchlin himself was chary of using the "humanistic" form), and the framework of the book is a conversation between a rabbi—Baruchias, and a Christian—Capnio. It is shown that all the religious mysteries of pagan nations, even the details of their ritual, "are but travesties of Hebrew truths concealed in the words, and even in the shapes of the letters, of the Hebrew tongue."\(^3\)

In 1496, Duke Eberhard I. having died, Reuchlin, ill at ease in the dissolute court of his successor, migrated to Heidelberg, to be received with open arms

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\(^1\) Sir Thomas More, Lyfe of John Picus.

\(^2\) Gk., καπνός; Ger., Rauch.

\(^3\) Graetz, History of the Jews, 1892, iv. p. 463.
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by the learned, while the Elector Philip, at once recognising his worth, made him a member of his council, and sent him on a diplomatic mission to Rome. This gave Reuchlin an opportunity of making further progress in his favourite study under the guidance of Obadyah Sforno of Cesena. On his return from Italy Reuchlin betook himself once more to Stuttgart, where the third duke, Ulrich, was still a minor, and in 1502 he attained his highest judicial rank as a Judge of the Swabian League.

The year 1506 saw the publication of Reuchlin's *De Rudimentis Hebraicis*, an elementary Hebrew grammar—largely derived from a work by the rabbi, David Kimchi, quoted by Boswell—but displaying wide reading, and destined to have a powerful effect in attracting the attention of scholars to Semitic studies. The necessary limitations of this Introduction do not permit of reference to Reuchlin's many other literary labours in the field of pure scholarship. If we have succeeded in suggesting the outline of his interesting personality, it must suffice. Geiger's admirable "Life," unfortunately, still awaits a translator.¹

Somewhat close intercourse with learned Jews of the best type naturally aroused in Reuchlin's heart a kindly interest in the scattered and persecuted people whose sacred, philosophical, and mystic literature he had now grappled with for ten years, and towards the end of 1505 he was led to publish, at Pforzheim, a pamphlet of ten pages, entitled, *Doctor Iohannis Reuchlins tütisch missiue: varumb die Judê so lang im ellend sind*. The author inquires into the causes of the Jews' long and miserable exile, attributes it to their obstinate denial of Christ, and ends by inviting any Israelite in search of instruction in the tenets of the true faith to come to him, not merely as a catechumen but as a guest. It is whispered that even at the present day creature comforts, as aids to faith, are not wholly neglected, but if the learned and hospitable doctor


For an interesting and suggestive sketch of Reuchlin's career—to which the present writer is glad to acknowledge his indebtedness for several useful hints—the reader may consult Mr. W. S. Lilly's *Renaissance Types*, London, 1901.
made any converts, the fact has not been recorded. Perhaps Frau Reuchlin had a word to say upon the project, or the invitation met with no response. At any rate we hear no more of the matter, and Reuchlin's first Jewish visitor of whom we have any certain information was none other than that "most scelerate Christian," Johann Pfefferkorn himself—eager to flesh his new-girt weapon upon the hapless rabbis of Frankfort. Some historians, notably Graetz, have seen a subtle design in this visit—a device to entrap Reuchlin, and exhibit him in the ranks of the bigots. The suggestion seems unfounded. Reuchlin was known as a Hebraist; he was the legal representative of the Dominican body in Germany, and he had publicly signified his desire to make Christian proselytes. What more natural, in the circumstances, than that he should be confidently appealed to?

One thing is clear—Pfefferkorn gained little by his interview. Reuchlin's scholarly instincts rose in revolt against the suggestion that he should become an accessory in the murder of a venerable literature: moreover, he was not favourably impressed by the renegade himself, whose literary qualifications he evidently doubted.

Reuchlin, indeed, has recorded that in his library he quietly tested Pfefferkorn by directing his attention to a Talmudical work, whereupon his visitor shuffled, and explained that he had only studied the Bible. The learned jurist naturally found no difficulty in putting his finger upon the apparent informality in the imperial mandate, and politely sent his visitor empty away.

After the cold douche administered by Archbishop Uriel, the attack upon Hebrew literature for the moment slackened, and the Jews took the opportunity of formally laying their views before the emperor through their representatives Jonathan Levi Zion of Frankfort and Isaac Triest of Ratisbon. The Margrave of Baden, too, ventured to point out to the emperor that his Jewish subjects were protected by unimpeachable charters. Maximilian treated the emissaries with urbanity, and all seemed going well, until Pfefferkorn once more appeared upon the scene, not without a commendatory
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letter, for he had again visited the pious Kunigunde upon his way.

However low an opinion we may form of Pfefferkorn’s moral character and literary abilities, it is impossible to deny him credit for perseverance and skilful audacity. The career of Titus Oates reminds us that it is by no means impossible for a man, infamous, but courageous after a fashion, and entirely unscrupulous, to bring about results utterly incommensurate with his personal worth; and it must not be forgotten that in Pfefferkorn’s case the vast but unobtrusive influence of the Order of Preachers was at his back.

The upshot of the wrangle was that a second imperial mandate was issued, dated Roveredo, November 10, 1509. Nominees of the Universities of Cologne, Mainz, Heidelberg and Erfurt were to sit in solemn conclave and examine all Hebrew books dealing with religious subjects—a certain number of learned Jews being present. As, however, a conference thus constituted could have led to no results, save as an occasion of laughter to the assembled rabbis, certain assessors were also named, viz., Jakob van Hoogstraten—Inquisitor and Dominican, Victor von Karben—a converted rabbi, and Johann Reuchlin. Pfefferkorn was to exercise a general supervision over their deliberations. For some reason this conference never met.

Meanwhile unauthorised raids upon Hebrew literature were renewed. Many hundreds of manuscripts were impounded at Frankfort, Jewish booksellers were molested, and there was a rumour that the coming fair would be made the occasion of a wholesale confiscation. This contingency seriously alarmed the civic authorities. Among the merchants attracted from all parts of Western Europe to the great fairs were many vendors of books, and they, like their fellow-chapmen, were usually provided with some form of passport from their native princes. Confiscation of their wares would be likely to lead to political complications, and would certainly diminish the popularity of an institution so lucrative to the city as was the Frankfurter Messe. The zeal of the Dominicans was accordingly checked. Not so the energy of the indefatigable Pfefferkorn. Early
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in 1510 there appeared under his name, in German and Latin, a pamphlet,¹ in which "Praise and Honour" of the emperor served as an introduction to a brief account of what had already been done in the way of suppressing Hebrew literature. The fifth chapter, it is true, contained a list of the writings the Jews were still graciously permitted to possess, but as this consists merely of the names of the various books of the Bible, transcribed in very faulty Hebrew, the writer succeeded in displaying his ignorance rather than his tolerance.

Meanwhile it had been announced under an imperial rescript, that the Jews might, at least for the time being, keep their books, provided that they made no use of them for proselytising purposes, and the whole controversy seemed likely to be forgotten, when Maximilian was moved, either by secret influence or mere vacillation, to issue yet another mandate, dated Füssen (Bavaria), July 26, 1510. The purport of this was similar to that of the second rescript, with an important exception that throws some light upon the reason of the latter having proved abortive: the same universities and eminent men were to be consulted, but there was to be no conference, and the opinions were to be collected by Archbishop Uriel. Pfefferkorn was to act as the emperor’s "sollicitator," and to report progress from time to time. One of the advantages of a "Royal Commission" had evidently dawned upon the emperor.

With the reports of the universities we need not greatly concern ourselves. They were all more or less in accord upon the advisability of suppressing the Talmud,² and writings directly or indirectly subversive of Christianity. With regard to details there was a good deal of titubation, as was natural in view of the fact that the critics had to deal with books that were sealed to them. Reuchlin’s carefully reasoned Opinion, sent by command to the prelate, was, however, of quite a different character. He brought his cultured and judicial mind to bear on a subject with which it was peculiarly competent to deal. In Melanchthon’s pithy phrase, discernit libros—he drew

¹ Ze lob und eer dem . . . hern Maximilian.
² Cf. E. O. V. i. 22.

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distinctions. Certain Jewish writings that openly attacked Christianity might, he thought, with advantage be entirely suppressed, but this would leave the great bulk of Hebrew literature untouched. "Why," asks the scholar, in effect, "should we destroy books that enshrine the learning of the Ancients—that throw light on the philology of a venerable tongue, and supply an exegesis of writings held sacred by Jews and Christians alike? If the Talmud contains errors, let us render them innocuous by studying to sift the chaff from the grain." What was needed, he urged, was more light—not blindfolding. Translation of certain Cabbalistic writings had indeed formerly met with the approval of a pope. After hinting at the incompetence of men of Pfefferkorn's calibre usefully to meddle with such a difficult matter, the writer went on to urge the establishment of chairs of the Hebrew language and literature at the universities: by thus encouraging its study they would in due time be enabled to grapple fairly with the subject.

Little could Reuchlin have foreseen that this temperate, and, it should be added, confidential, document would be treated as a gage of combat, and that presently he would find himself in the thick of the fiercest melleay yet waged between the two great forces which had but recently become definitely aware of each other's existence. Yet the sealed missive was, in effect, the challenge of the New Learning to Ecclesiastical Obscurantism, in Germany—and beyond its borders.

IV

Reuchlin's Opinion was, as has just been observed, a confidential document. It was sent under seal to the archbishop, to be communicated to Maximilian. Pfefferkorn, however, speedily became acquainted with its contents. Perhaps as the emperor's agent he had a right to such knowledge. At any rate he made no attempt to conceal the fact, and the son of Zippor was not more incensed against Balaam than was Pfefferkorn against the calm and judicial Reuchlin. Had he not reason to cry, "I took thee to curse
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mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them altogether!" Worse still, Reuchlin had unmistakably expressed doubts as to Pfefferkorn's literary competence, and had gone far to "asperse his parts of speech!" It was easy for the fiery pervert to instil in his Dominican patrons the like noble rage. Should a mere jurist, forsooth, be permitted to show independence upon a question on which the Faculties of Theology were in no doubt? "Holy Mary!" cries Pastor Peter Meyer, "a child knows more theology than Doctor Reuchlin!" It had not yet dawned upon the ecclesiastical mind that other than doctrinal principles were at stake.

In due time a counterblast was forthcoming. In the spring of the following year, 1511, there appeared, under Pfefferkorn's name, a pamphlet, in German, entitled Handt Spiegel—the Hand-glass, or Mirror—in which Reuchlin was virulently attacked. He was branded as a charlatan in learning and an apostate in religion; he was accused of being the Jews' advocate, and as such disseminating their blasphemies; finally, his motive is declared to be a mere sordid love of gain—Judas-like, he had betrayed his Master for a bribe.

The Handt Spiegel had a wide circulation, and attracted much attention. Its issue may, indeed, be regarded as the first instance in which the power of the Press was utilised to make a public attack upon an individual. The great periodical fairs afforded what was otherwise lacking—means of obtaining widespread dissemination for the attacks of the pamphleteer.

Reuchlin was stung to the quick. He might perhaps have smiled unmoved at the allegation of apostacy, but the charges of plagiarism and incompetency rankled in the scholar's heart. An appeal to Maximilian elicited kindly assurances from the emperor, but nothing more. The autumn fair at Frankfort was drawing near, and unless Reuchlin took prompt measures, his adversaries would have the field to themselves. He knew perfectly well by this time with whom he had to deal. Writing in 1514 to

\[1 \text{ E. O. V. i. 5.} \]

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Erasmus, he says: “It was by the emperor’s own command that I presented my Opinion upon the proposed destruction of Hebrew writings. This Opinion was, however, assailed by certain Theologians at Cologne in language most unbecoming to Divines; they heaped upon me foul obloquy and vulgar abuse worthy of the vilest buffoons.”

"Accordingly," he adds, “I set forth, as I was bound to do, a defence of my character and my writings.”

This Defence, which appeared early in September 1511, was entitled Augenspiegel—referred to in Latin as Speculum Oculare, but the meaning of which was made quite clear by the representation of a massive pair of spectacles on the title-page.

In this vigorous counter-attack Reuchlin does not mince matters. Pfefferkorn acted as a thief in stealing the Opinion; the imputation of bribery is an abominable lie, as Reuchlin’s accusers are well aware; he sets forth, on the other hand, more than thirty deliberate falsehoods that he has detected in the Handt Spiegel—and he garnishes these solid arguments with flowers of vituperation quite as gaudy as those of his enemies. In those days, however, an omission to provide such verbal decorations would have been regarded as implying a doubt, on the part of the writer, as to the righteousness of his own cause. So far the Augenspiegel was not unworthy of its author; but it possesses other characteristics not so admirable. Beneath its outward bravery signs of timidity are not lacking. Reuchlin quotes the Opinion at full length, but takes the opportunity of explaining away, or modifying, some of its most liberal-minded passages. He allows that parts of the Talmud may be hurtful to Christianity, and while he reminds his readers that, as Christians, they are bound to love the Jews, who are their neighbours, he throws as a sop to his foes the comforting assurance that even if Jewish manuscripts are saved from the flames, their owners, at all events, are sure of hell-fire. The writer admits, however, that he cannot be reckoned among the Theologians, and must not trespass on their province.

1 Erasm., Ep. cclxxxv. (1706).
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This is not the voice of the true Reuchlin. We hear, rather, the accents of the student, getting on in years, and dreading lest he should be torn from his beloved studies, and hurled into a vortex of ecclesiastical strife. But the die was cast. Never again would he with placid mind ponder a scholar’s dreams while he fed his pet peacocks at Stuttgart. He had been caught in a stream from which there was no escape. He may be forgiven if he cursed the day that saw Pfefferkorn’s baptism!

The Jews bought the Augenspiegel eagerly. The Dominicans—who no longer sought to shelter behind their stalking-horse, Pfefferkorn—tried to suppress it, but heedlessly playing into their adversaries’ hands, inveighed against it from their pulpits. In short, they fitted on the cap without hesitation, and declared that it was none other than their august Order which this mere jurist had dared to accuse of unchristian conduct!

On September 7, 1511, Pfefferkorn was permitted, apparently out of sheer bravado, to preach a sermon outside the church at Frankfort, and to conclude his discourse with a solemn benediction.¹ This was a dangerous experiment, for unauthorised preachers had before then been condemned to the stake, and Pfefferkorn later on, in alluding to the matter, thought it prudent to assume a somewhat apologetic tone, and declared that he had not preached “pontificatem” concerning mysteries of the Church, but had merely addressed his Christian audience on—usury!² No one, surely, could object to a lecture on compound interest—a subject, he might have added, that the sensational arithmetical tables published in his Praise and Glory of Maximilian proved the lecturer to have made peculiarly his own.

The next few months were chiefly occupied in correspondence between Reuchlin and the Cologne theologians. The result was merely an exacerbation of the controversy. On March 22, 1512, Reuchlin issued another German pamphlet in his own defence.³

¹ E. O. V. ii. 14. ² Ioannis Pfeffercorni Defensio, O. iii. b.
³ Ain clare verstantum in tiitsch uff doctor J. R.

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This blow was countered on August 12, by Arnold von Tongern, Dean of the Faculty of Theology at Cologne, in a book entitled Articuli sive Propositiones de judaico favore nimis suspectae ex libello theutonico Joannis Reuchlin—i.e. the Augenspiegel. This volume contained a Carmen by Ortwin Gratius, and, strangely enough, an Elogium by Hermann Buschius—so soon to become an active foeman in the Reuchlinists' camp.

Of Arnold von Tongern we hear much in the ensuing pages. His friends regarded him as a man of high character and exceptionally pure life. His foes painted him as something less than a man. Indeed, Reuchlin himself, while still smarting under the Articuli, declared that on Christ's behalf he would gladly shed his blood so freely that "the timid, lily-livered, and effeminate Arnold would not so much as look upon it without turning pale as death and falling in a swoon!"¹

Before the end of the year another yet more scurrilous pamphlet, under Pfefferkorn's name, appeared; this was the Brantspiegell, or Burning-glass.

Reuchlin's reply to Arnold and his colleagues was published in the spring of 1513. This was entitled Defensio Joannis Reuchlin Phorcensis . . . contra Calumniatores suos Colonienses. In this the exasperated scholar turns to bay and slashes his assailants with every weapon of learning, sarcasm, and vituperation that he could lay his hands to.² Some of his friends thought him unwise. But Reuchlin realised by this time the importance of the fray in which he was involved, and the true nature of the foe with whom he had to grapple. The Rabies Theologorum had broken out in a most virulent form. The Dominicans were infuriated and in league against him. "No opposition," writes Sir W. Hamilton, "had hitherto prevailed against that powerful order, . . . while a contemporary pope emphatically declared that he would rather provoke the enmity of the most formidable sovereign than offend even a single friar of those mendicant fraternities, who, under the mantle of humility, reigned omnipotent over

¹ H. von der Hardt, Hist. Lit. Ref. (1717), ii. 93.
² Cf. E. O. V. i. 24.

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religious or philosophical views, we shall not be far wrong if we say that his sojourn in Italy had made him, in the literal sense of the word, a free-thinker—but a free-thinker who felt no impulse to impose his own faith, or want of faith, upon the world at large. We need not be greatly surprised, therefore, to learn that on returning to the Fatherland in 1503, Mutian accepted, without hesitation, a canonry at Gotha. Here, inscribing "Beata Tranquillitas" above his study door, he resolved to spend the rest of his days in learned leisure. Other preferments were proffered the recluse from time to time, but were invariably declined: his income sufficed to provide him with books, and he sought for nothing beyond them. Nevertheless, natural indolence, or a contempt for the opinion of the world, led Mutian to seek no literary renown. He has left no writings behind him, save his letters.¹ and, to judge from internal evidence, we may well doubt whether these were intended for publication.

Before long, however, the "blessed peace" of Gotha began to pall upon the gregarious Mutian. Society there was doubtless as dull as it was limited, and a scholar who does not write must converse. Fortunately his old university was scarce twenty miles away, and Mutian began to betake himself thither, often for considerable periods.

At Erfurt he speedily made himself the centre of a congenial circle. A band of young and ardent humanists had thither congregated: their aspirations were lofty but vague, and needed but the guidance of a leader of riper years and experience to burst the last bonds of scholastic tradition, and take their places in the forefront of the army of light. The epigrammatist Euricius Cordus, whom Lessing eulogised and imitated—Georg Burckhard, better known as Spalatinus, afterwards the friend and correspondent of Luther—the brilliant but bibulous Eobanus Hessus, then in his early youth—Justus Jonas, the brothers Eberbach, and Herebord von der Marthen, were all numbered among the young disciples who from time to time sat round Mutian's easy-chair, and hung with mingled joy and

¹ Ed. by C. Krause: Cassel, 1885.
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bewildement upon their master's words—drinking in his reckless heterodoxy, his neo-Platonic phantasies, learnt from Pico, Politian, and Marsilio Ficino—his eulogies of the Koran—his merry scoffs at the pedantry that passed for learning—and his biting sarcasms on the corruption of the Church and of cloistered life, where:

"Round many a convent's blazing fire,
Unhallowed threads of revelry are spun;
There Venus sits disguised like a nun;
While Bacchus, clothed in semblance of a friar,
Pours out his choicest beverage high and higher!"

According to one of the Obscure Men, indeed, Mutian was "the worst of all the Reuchlinists, and such a hater of Theologians that he will not suffer the Divines of Cologne to be even named in his presence." ¹

Not that the members of the Erfurt circle could themselves lay claim to a high standard of asceticism: the wine-cup would not long remain full on a board at which Eoban Hesse sat! But, for all that, the symposia of these "Poets dead and gone" were feasts of reason—high thinking there was, though the living was none too frugal. Our thoughts can scarcely fail to turn to a certain young monk then wearing away the best years of his life in the dreary convent of Fontenay-le-Comte. How gladly would François Rabelais have been welcomed within that joyous company! Yet it were hard to say whether Pantagruel, Panurge, and Friar John would in that case have gladdened the hearts of the elect.

Making due allowance for the change of times and manners, we are reminded, too, of that Convivium philosophicum described by Clarendon, which gathered a century later round Lord Falkland on the lawns and terraces of Great Tew. As at Erfurt, men of learning, wit, and above all of liberal mind there for-gathered to discuss theology and letters, and dreamed young men's dreams of a still brighter future. As at Erfurt, they recked not of the approaching catast-

¹ E. O. V. ii. 59.
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I warded off the stroke by a legal process, and made my appeal to the Apostolic See. His Holiness thereupon remitted the case to the Bishop of Speyer for consideration, and forbade any other person whatsoever to take any steps with reference to the Oculum Speculare, under pain of excommunication. Upon the duly appointed judge opening the proceedings, the Dominicans sent their proctor, but not in legal form—thus acting in contempt of the court—and strove by dilatory devices to prejudice my cause. Furthermore, while the suit was yet undetermined, and notwithstanding the Pope's inhibition, they took upon themselves to commit the said book to the flames, at Cologne. Nevertheless the Apostolic Judge hath, with the aid and counsel of Jurists and Theologians, formed and issued his judgment, the tenor whereof I now send you by reason of the kindly interest that you ever feel in all those who have the love of learning and letters at heart. If, a twelvemonth back, I—a poor dweller in the far-off Hercynian Forest—was maligned before my English friends, let me now by your support be reinstated, in despite of these evil-hearted book-burners. 

The decision of the youthful Bishop of Speyer—or rather of the assessors whom he appointed—was wholly in Reuchlin's favour. The Augenspiegel was held not to be a heretical book; Hoogstraten had therefore slandered Reuchlin, and must be mulcted in costs.

The fury of the Dominicans may be imagined. Hoogstraten, they decided, must promptly appeal to Rome, and at the Curia he should be backed by all the influence, and much of the wealth—of the Mendicants! If they could not win their suit, they had good reasons for believing that they could protract it till Reuchlin was ruined—or dead, and then, as “Lyra Buntschuhmacher” in his enthusiasm puts it, “they would effectually damn him!”

In the summer of 1514 the main action of the drama is, accordingly, transferred to Rome. Leo X. had for more than a year occupied St. Peter's chair. The most thorough-paced admirers of that eminent

1 E. O. V. i. 35.
pontiff will not claim for him a deep interest in matters of theological controversy, yet he was destined to be entangled in the fiercest struggles that had ever been forced upon the Church.

When Hoogstraten's appeal reached him, Leo, naturally enough, was disinclined to meddle personally with the matter; but he appointed a commission to investigate the case, presided over by Dominico Grimaldi—Cardinal of S. Marco, and Pietro Accolti—Cardinal of S. Eusebio. The former was a man of influence and enlightenment—Erasmus mentions his library as one of the most splendid in Rome—and, being a Franciscan, he was by no means prejudiced in favour of the great rival Order.

The first step taken by the commission was, of course, to secure the attendance of the interested parties or their representatives. Hoogstraten was summoned to appear in person; Reuchlin, "in consideration of his advanced years," was allowed to appear by proctor, though, as a matter of fact, he was not yet sixty, and of sound health. Nothing, however, could have suited the Dominicans better than this arrangement. The inquisitor arrived in Rome with a well-filled purse—or, to be more accurate, with liberal orders on the bankers—and was received with open arms by the upholders of the Dominican Order at the Curia. For some months all went smoothly. Hoogstraten was lavish with his gold. His feasts were crowded with "Curialists"—the satirist represents the hangers-on at court greedily sponging invitations to sup with "the great Doctor from Germany, who hath come hither to defend the Cause of the Faith."

It need not, of course, be supposed that Hoogstraten had resorted to any such crude procedure as actual bribery of the princes of the Church, but civilisation was in an advanced state at Rome, and there were a hundred ways of delaying or expediting the progress of a suit, known to the legal underlings at the Curia.

Reuchlin, on the other hand, found great difficulty in even obtaining a proctor to represent him before the

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1 Cf. E. O. V. ii. 6, ii. 26, n.
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commission. The learned Jews at Rome prudently kept in the background, rightly supposing that their overt action on Reuchlin's behalf would prejudice his case. That Reuchlin was in correspondence with them seems, however, certain, and a letter from him, in Hebrew, to Bonet de Lates, the pope's Hebrew body-physician, is extant. And so the case dragged slowly on. Little else could be expected. As a courtier remarked to one of the "Obscure Men," "If Reuchlin has any money, he had better send it: at the Curia money must be forthcoming or nothing can be done."

We must not here attempt to follow all the cross-currents of intrigue indicated by the somewhat voluminous correspondence of that day which yet survives, but we cannot omit mention of the fact that Maximilian himself appealed earnestly to the pope on Reuchlin's behalf. Dating his letter "Inspruck, Oct. 23, 1514," the emperor comments with considerable warmth on the unfairness, not to say the illegality, of "this parcel of Professors at Cologne" in daring to ignore the decision of the Bishop of Speyer, "his well-beloved cousin," and continuing to harass a truly honourable, learned, pious, and orthodox man. He urges the pope to quash the proceedings, and thus "to free a wholly innocent man from these vindictive accusations, and permit him to spend the rest of his days in peace, and at liberty to devote his talents to matters of real importance to the Christian Commonwealth." Maximilian, it is true, partly explains his sudden interest in the matter by adding that "these captious Theologians have even dared to cast a slur upon ourselves, and others, our liege Princes."

While Hoogstraten's money lasted he had, to all appearances, his own way; but the day came when the bankers would no longer honour his drafts, and forthwith the sky lowered; and so as time went on the Dominicans and their supporters in Germany became not a little alarmed at the threatened loss of their prestige. They probably never expected that the

1 Cf. E. O. V. ii. 53.  
2 E. O. V. ii. 32.  
3 Maius, Vit. Reuchlini, p. 462.  
xlii
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defendant would persevere in his defence. They were prepared for a little preliminary expenditure, by way of lubricating the legal machinery of the Curia—but to regard an accusation brought by their omnipotent Order as seriously arguable was in itself an insult. If an inquisitor said a book was heretical, it was heretical—and there was an end.

It is not an uncommon thing for fear to manifest itself in the form of bluster and threats, and so it happened in the case of the Predicants. To be flouted by a mere pope and emperor was more than they could endure! What did they care for the emperor? He had no authority over the Church. Even the pope was not supreme; a pope’s decision could be over-ridden by a council. Nay, some of the more hot-headed even threatened a schism, and there were dark hints of joining forces with the Bohemian Brethren.¹

All this was mere froth and fury—but the Order had still an important card to play, and they now played it for what it was worth.

Hitherto the Dominicans had sought for allies only among the universities of Germany. France—or, at all events, Paris—remained, and there they would not seek in vain. The College of the Sorbonne was at the height of its power, and it was practically identical with the theological faculty of the great university that then teemed with students. The Sorbonne, in fact, assumed, if it did not overtly claim, infallibility, and it has been truly spoken of as being, not many years later, “the refuge and fortress of the spirit of the past—the stronghold where Mediævalism fought its last fight against the mighty men of the Renaissance.” To Paris, accordingly, the anti-Reuchlinists appealed. All would be well if the Sorbonne did but condemn Reuchlin and his Augenspiegel. Powerful influence was at the same time exerted at the French court through the agency of Guillaume Haquinet Petit—confessor to Louis XII., as he also became to the successor of that monarch. The political rivalry existing between Louis and the emperor might reasonably be reckoned as a factor not to be disregarded. Upon

¹ Cf. E. O. V. ii. 57.
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the question being submitted to them, the doctors of the Sorbonne were quite in their element, and they lost no time in issuing their condemnation, which appeared on December 5, 1514, under the title of Acta Doctorum Parrhisiensium de sacratissima facultate theologica... contra Speculum oculare Ioannis Reuchlin (etc.).

This thunderbolt proved innocuous; the death of Louis XII. three weeks later doubtless prevented its being followed up as had been intended. It should be mentioned that there appeared, almost simultaneously, another dull but vituperative pamphlet, in Pfefferkorn's name, entitled Sturm Glock (The Tocsin). For publishing this book and the Acta, Quentell, the printer, had legal proceedings instituted against him on the ground that he had acted in defiance of the emperor's edict, and Pfefferkorn was coupled with him as defendant.¹

V

Meanwhile at Rome little progress was made with the great suit, the most notable fact in connection with it being the translation of the Augenspiegel into Latin by Martinus Gröning, by order of the court, and the consequent discovery of the fact that the translation hitherto relied upon, that, namely, provided by Hoogstraten, was grossly inaccurate. This put the whole case in a fresh light, and the arguments on both sides had to be begun anew. But while interest in the case itself slackened, the conflict it typified grew fiercer. By this time what had been at the outset a personal squabble had become a widespread campaign from which no scholar in Germany, however peace-loving, could altogether hold aloof. One after another joined the forces on either side.

And so, with ever-growing fury, the bitter fray went on. Neither party could claim the victory—peace with honour was impossible. It seemed as though every weapon of controversial hatred had been used in vain—from the ponderous artillery of pedantry to the poisoned dagger of slander.

¹ Cf. E. O. V. ii. 12. xlv
Nevertheless one weapon, and that the most potent, remained neglected—because in those days for the most part forgotten—the withering might of ridicule. But suddenly, at the close of 1515, "there was launched from an unknown hand, a pasquil against the persecutors of Reuchlin; it fell among them like a bomb, scattering dismay and ruin in its explosion."  

This, a thin quarto volume of less than forty pages, was entitled Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum ad venerabilem virum Magistrum Ortuinem Daventriensem Coloniae Agrippinae bonas litteras docentem: varijs & locis & temporibus missae: ac demum in volumen coactae. 

The point of the title was—or at least should have been—immediately obvious. In the spring of the preceding year Reuchlin had published a small collection of letters addressed to himself by sundry eminent scholars and distinguished men, naming the volume Clarorum Virorum Epistolae latinae, graecae & hebraicae variis temporibus missae ad Ioannem Reuchlin Phorcensem LL. doctorem; and Ortwin is supposed to publish the epistles of his "obscure" correspondents, just as Reuchlin had given to the world the select letters of his illustrious friends. It is, indeed, difficult to understand how, in the face of these patent facts, any doubt could have arisen as to the precise meaning of "Obscuri Viri": the writers are obviously not intended to be "Obscurantists," or "Great Unknowns"—but simply, and in the literal English sense, obscure men, as opposed to men of eminence. Why Ortwin should be represented as employing so humble an epithet, and whether he was not thereby made to cast some slur upon his correspondents, are questions discussed in the sequel, with abundant humour, by one of the Obscure Men themselves.  

The plan of the satire is of the most simple, yet brilliantly original kind. The foes of the New Learning are made to display themselves—always without a trace of self-consciousness—in all their doltishness, pedantry,
and, it must be added, immorality. They are allowed, to use Bishop Creighton's words, "to tell their own story, to wander round the narrow circle of antiquated prejudices which they mistook for ideas, display their grossness, their vulgarity, their absence of aim, their laborious indolence, their lives unrelieved by any touch of nobility." Pascal in the following century employed this device of self-revelation, with exquisite wit, in the Provincial Letters—but we must go back perhaps to Aristophanes to find a parallel in previous literature. It is, in fact, evident that this method of satire is essentially dramatic—and the dramatic art evinced is of a high order. The Obscure Men live before us upon the stage—they are made to unfold their characters as well as those of their correspondents through their own words. The fool exposes his folly in some artless request for information or guidance; the dull sensualist brags of a sordid amour—excusing himself because Magister Ortwin is similarly frank; the vain ignoramus exults in the acuteness with which he has overthrown an opponent on some childish grammatical point, while at the same time he is careful to tickle Ortwin's self-complacency by consulting him upon the subject.

The lover of true humour, in the sense in which we understand the word to-day—the humour of Falstaff, of Pecksniff, and even, in its daintiest form, of Elia—will find strange foretastes of this essentially modern literary gift in the rich and varied Comedy of the Obscure. When we compare the Epistolae with The Ship of Fools and the Praise of Folly we cannot help feeling that a gulf separates the first-named from the other two almost contemporary satires. The distinction, though irresistibly felt, may seem hard to define, until it flashes upon us that the works of Brandt and Erasmus, with all their enlightenment, are essentially medieval in treatment, while the Epistolae are modern through and through. We seem, in fact, to have found a region upon the chart of Literature where we can draw a line, and say, "Here the Middle Ages end."

1 History of the Papacy, vi. 54 (1897).  
xlvi
Reasons for the selection of Ortuin Gratius as the chief target for the satiric shafts of the Humanists are not very far to seek.

Ortuin, only son of Federic von Graes, was born at Holtwick, in Westphalia. The Obscure Men, however, hail him as Daventriensis, for it was at the famous school of Deventer that he was educated, at the cost, as it appears, of his uncle Johann von Graes. In 1501 Ortuin matriculated at Cologne, becoming Magister in 1506, and at Cologne he resided till the day of his death.

Now it was the Dominican party and the Faculty of Theology at Cologne that the Epistolae were primarily designed to attack: a sound literary instinct pointed out the advantage of ensuring a certain unity amid diversity by addressing all, or nearly all, the Letters to the same person—and if to a real one it would add zest. Some prominent Colognese don was thus clearly indicated as the feigned recipient. Arnolt von Tongern was no doubt thought of, but Ortuin was the better qualified, and, from the satirists’ point of view, the more deserving of the two.

In the first place he was, from the very outset, implicated in the Pfefferkorn pamphlets. In fact there were strong grounds for suspicion that, in a very real sense, Ortuin was Pfefferkorn. It seemed not unlikely that the scholar, who contributed Latin verses to the tracts, and translated four of them, was himself the instigator of the whole series. His publication, in 1514, of the book usually cited as the Praenotamenta classed him among the most militant and vindictive opponents of Reuchlin: for this offence alone he could have expected but little mercy. Furthermore, Ortuin was hated and despised by the rising generation of humanists in Germany, not only as an anti-Reuchlinist pamphleteer, but as a renegade. Like Mutianus Rufus and many another, he had enjoyed the privilege of being a pupil of Alexander Hegius; his scholarship was sound for the day, his Latinity was respectable—his Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum, published twenty years later, was of value as a contribution to ecclesiastical history—yet was his crime
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unforgivable. “Ortuinus, qui est poeta eorum”¹—“Ortwin, that Poet of theirs”—such is the succinct indictment in the words of “Ioannes Holcot.” It cannot be improved upon. The fact that Ortwin abased himself to become the kept humanist of the Cologne theologians suffices to explain all. The light of the new day had shone upon his face as upon the other “Poets,” and yet—perhaps “for a handful of silver”—he had prostituted his scholarship in the defence of the barbarians!

But there is a much more important bond of unity between the various Letters of the Obscure Men than the mere fact that they are addressed to a single person. With all their diversity of aim, they scarcely ever fail to contain some allusion to one absorbing topic. Rumblings of the Reuchlin controversy are heard, like the drone of a bagpipe, persistent amidst diverse airs. Letters from Rome contain casual remarks to the effect that things must be going ill for the Dominicans, since Hoogstraten’s clothes are—worse than shabby!² Others are jubilant with the news that Reuchlin is growing blind, or that he is reduced to beggary. Ortwin is asked—Ortwin, of all men!—why he does not write somewhat in defence of the Faith. In one way or another, too, we are never allowed to forget for long, through the mouths of their puppets, that the true authors of the Letters recognise the vast principles really at stake.

It is for such reasons that some slight acquaintance with the details we have endeavoured to explain—dry and complicated though they perhaps may be—is absolutely necessary for due appreciation of the satire as a work of literary art. Given this key, the reader will find no difficulty in gaining access to the treasures of its wit and humour, and to its gallery of inimitable portraits.

VI

The precise date of the publication of the Epistolae has not been determined. That it was late in 1515 or early in 1516 is practically certain; it is equally certain

¹ E. O. V. ii. 21. ² E. O. V. ii. 6.
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that copies of the Letters, or of some of them, had, like other productions of that day, been circulated privately for some time before their publication—as early, indeed, as 1514. In a letter to Erasmus, dated October 19 (1515), Wolfgang Angst, a learned reader in Anshelm's printing-office at Hagenau, refers to the "Obscure Men" and to certain writings of theirs which accompany his letter: he humorously declares that he cannot refuse the rascals' shameless request, for they have reminded him how Erasmus used to recite passages from their productions when he was at Strasburg not long before, and that, after all, it was his own Praise of Folly (1511), which set them an example. Angst declares that he was overcome by their malapert importunity, and therefore, "reliqui vela ventis; superest ut dieculae hospitium non deneges iis, quos tui tam cupidos fuisse cognosces."

The first and second editions of the Epistolae contained only forty-one letters, but after a few months a third appeared, with an Appendix of seven new letters, the last purporting to be sent from Rome by Hoogstraten. There were more to follow, but further mention of these may conveniently be deferred.

The book immediately gained a widespread popular success, but for diverse reasons. "It does one's heart good to see how delighted everybody is with the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum," wrote Sir Thomas More to Erasmus, in 1516, "The learned are tickled by their humour, while the unlearned deem their teachings of serious worth. When we laugh, they think we do but deride the style; this they do not defend, but they declare that all faults are compensated by the weight of the matter, and that the rough scabbard contains a brilliant blade! Would that the book had appeared under another title! I verily believe that in a hundred years the dolts would not perceive the nose turned up at them—though longer than the snout of a rhinoceros!"

That Erasmus's own appreciation of the work, when

1 Kampschulte, Universität Erfurt, i. 186, n.
2 Epp. Erasmi (Le Clerc), 1777 (389).
3 Erasm. Epp. (1706), No. mlxlvii.
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it first appeared, was no less keen may be safely inferred: there is a story, which may be traced back to Simler's *Life of Bullinger*, that when he first read a copy lent him by a friend, "he fell into such a fit of laughing that an abscess in his face burst, which else should have been laid open by order of his physician." "This ought to be reckoned for one of the benefits produced by reading," is Bayle's characteristic comment.

Assuming this tradition to have a foundation in fact, it seems likely that it was the first or second edition that fell into Erasmus's hands, for in the Appendix to the third edition he is himself introduced by name, and, though the allusion is respectful enough, there is good reason to think that the sensitive scholar demurred to being depicted *dans cette galère*. We need not suppose that Erasmus had grown prim and prudish: but he had become a very notable man in the eyes of the world. He knew that great events were imminent, and he felt some doubt as to the part he would be found playing in them. It seemed scarcely prudent to commit himself unreservedly to a party who expressed their opinions with such heedless exuberance.

We have touched lightly in the preface on the exaggerated accusation brought by a certain school of writers against the *Epistolae*, founded on the undeniable fact that they are not seldom indecorous in expression. We do not propose to magnify the importance of the charge by dilating upon it. The occasional grossness is perfectly innocuous, and the manners of the times would furnish ample excuse for its presence. After all, with respect to coarseness of situation and language, the authors of the *Epistolae*, as Professor Saintsbury has remarked, "do not come near the common indulgence of the fifteenth century in most countries, or the rerudescence of the same thing in the mouths of the Reformers." \(^1\) The question, of course, is merely one of taste and not of morality, but it may be observed that it is one thing to foist stupid indecencies into a great work in order to tickle the ears of the groundlings—as did Rabelais, probably, and the Elizabethan dramatists, certainly—and quite another thing,

\(^1\) G. Saintsbury, *The Earlier Renaissance*, 1901.
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with pungent wit to show monkish dissoluteness its own sordid image.

And even so, the authors of the Epistolae apply the caustic of their contempt with gentleness and moderation. To quote again the words of a late eminent historian: "The Obscure Men are not wicked or vicious: they have their frailties and they fall before their temptations; but they do not rejoice in wrongdoing, and they feel remorse for their sins. They tell with brutal frankness the tales of their commonplace amours; but they are not hypocrites, and do not conceal their weakness."¹

No, they were not hypocrites, as later generations learned to understand the word. We have but to compare the summer lightning that plays about the head of "Master Conrad of Zwickau" with the thunderbolt cast by Burns at "Holy Willie" to realise the vast and suggestive difference. Both are "fashed" with the same failing—but while Conrad prattles of his lawless amours, he seeks to palliate them by the example of better men than himself, Samson and Solomon, to wit; and it is left to Holy Willie to scale the sublime heights of more modern hypocrisy, and cry:

"Maybe thou lets this fleshly thorn
Beset thy servant e'en and morn,
Lest he owre high and proud should turn,
'Cause he's sae gifted;
If sae, thy han' maun e'en be borne
Until thou lift it."

The charge we have commented on can at all events be appreciated, even by those who do not sympathise with it, but another accusation seems inexplicable—except as an illustration of the liability of the edge of Satire's weapon to be turned when it is too keenly set: we mean the preposterous charge of blasphemy. "Preposterous" is surely not too strong a term to use when a writer who dared to show how the mysteries of a venerable religion were being smirched by ignoble and ridiculous associations, and who sought to rescue them from the mire, is branded as a blasphemer.

No better instance of this line of criticism could

¹ M. Creighton, History of the Papacy, vi. 54 (1897).
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perhaps be found than that contained in the following extract from Janssen's learned and elaborate History of the German People.

"The similes in the Epistolae," says this historian, "are of the most offensive description. Our Lord Jesus Christ is compared to Cadmus. . . . Because Christ had two nativities, one before all time and another in his human form, he is compared to the twice-born Bacchus: Semele who brought up Bacchus signifies the Virgin Mary."

In sheer amazement, the student of the subject can but gasp, with Dominie Sampson, "Prodigious!" Would not the animadversion just quoted lead us to suppose that the writer who had ventured to make the comparisons thus reprobated was the author, or one of the authors, of the Epistolae? The reader, it is true, might be disposed to regard Janssen's indignation as being a little warmer than the case called for; he might suggest that a simile may be in bad taste without being blasphemous—but he would not be prepared to hear that the comparisons in question are quoted from the work of an orthodox Franciscan monk, written in the fourteenth century, and printed six years before the Epistolae appeared. Still less would he be prepared to hear that the fictitious author of the Letter in which these similes occur is at pains to point out their orthodox origin! The ridicule poured out upon the absurd monkish practice of finding allegories of Holy Writ in classical fables would, in fact, have lost much of its pungency if imaginary instead of real instances of these "similes of the most offensive description" had been given. But this is not all: a singular literary coincidence remains to be pointed out: Johann Pfefferkorn, in his "Defence against the Libellous and Calumnious Letters of Obscure Men," published in 1516, makes a precisely similar accusation, quoting the instances of Cadmus, Bacchus, and Semele, amongst others, and reproving the "blasphemous" licence of a writer who dares to draw parallels between the sacred narrative and heathen fables!

So it turns out, after all, that the zealous convert,

1 Vol. iii. p. 70 (London, 1900).
2 See E. O. V. i. 28, n.
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the orthodox historian, and the courageous satirist were of one mind after all, but whereas the first two merely deplored the licence referred to, the last boldly attacked it with the darts of ridicule and scorn.

It has been, in every age, the fate of satire to be misunderstood. It is a risk that every satirist must be prepared to run. When Swift suggested the addition of stewed babies to the gourmet’s bill of fare, he probably foresaw that he would be stigmatised as a preacher of cannibalism, and when the authors of the *Epistolae* emptied the vials of their scorn on the ignorant, the greedy, and the impure, they well knew, as men of the world, that there would not be wanting those who would straightway accuse them of folly, gluttony, and profligacy.

On the other hand, to defend the authors of the *Epistolae* from the charge of cruel unfairness in their attacks upon individuals would be a hard, if not an impossible, task. “Their victims are treated like vermin; hunted without law, and exterminated without mercy.” In a spirit of remorseless mischief the writers snatch the cowl from Hoogstraten the inquisitor, and, grinning, show us a crafty, cruel face beneath: they dare to foully smirch the vestal raiment of Arnold von Tongern; they impishly clap a dunce’s cap on the learned pate of Ortwin Gratius, and stick him in his niche, an object of everlasting derision. As for Pfefferkorn, the renegade, boastful descendant of Naphtali “the hind let loose”—they affix to his brows, in lieu of phylactery, a pair of shameful antlers, and drive him with gibes and threats to join the wittol herd. To reach their victims they thrust a presumably chaste matron’s reputation in the mire. No excuse is possible. Palliation there may be, in the manners of the time: the days of chivalry were over. Nevertheless, for us, the forms of maligned wife and slandered ascetic loom dim and unreal through the mists of four hundred years:

“Their bones are dust,
Their souls are with the Saints, we trust.”

But the critic of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* liii
regarded merely as a work of literary art is in no way concerned with such moral blots. Even the most atrocious libel may possess eminent graces of literary form: how few readers who to-day take up the Letters of Junius to enjoy their vituperative eloquence care a straw about their truth and justice. And there is no lack of truth and justice here.

The Epistolae were not allowed to pass unanswered. In the summer of 1516 there appeared “Johann Pfefferkorn’s Defence against the Slanderous and Calumnious Letters of Obscure Men.” This production—interesting historically, but worthless from a literary point of view—professes to review the whole situation. Testimonials from universities alternate with plaintive excuses or passionate recriminations, and the winged words of the satire are ineffectually thrown back in the face of the satirist.

The issue of this forcible-feeble rejoinder—of course by Ortwin—was most ill-judged. Had the theologians taken their first correction mildly they might have escaped further chastisement: as it turned out, they did but prepare a fresh scourge for their own backs.

Early in 1517 a new series of Letters from the Obscure Men, sixty-two in number, made their appearance. In many of these “The Defence” is pounced upon as a foundation for fresh gibes: Ortwin’s Latin phrases are for ever turning up in some ridiculous context—his earnest protestations are ludicrously misunderstood—his excuses meet with their usual fate of being twisted into confessions. In brilliancy of humour and keenness of satire the new Letters as a whole were not a whit behind their predecessors.

We have no record of Leo the Tenth’s private opinion with regard to the Epistolae. His literary taste was cultivated and comprehensive. In his official capacity, however, he deemed it advisable to issue a bull, dated March 15, 1517, which is a very characteristic specimen of papal fulminations: “It hath come to our knowledge,” Leo is made to say, “to the grievous distress of our mind, that certain children of iniquity, in whose eyes there is no fear of
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God or man, impelled by wicked, damnable, and reckless loquacity, have published a certain scandalous libel entitled 'Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum (etc.),' and have dared to send it to the ends of the earth, the better to disseminate their wicked calumnies." The faithful are thereupon admonished to give up any copies they may possess, in order that they may be burned: the authors, whoever they may be, are declared excommunicate; and the clergy are ordered to denounce the scandalous and heretical work from their pulpits—even in the vulgar tongue, if necessary. In this the advisers of his Holiness did not show their usual perspicacity. In the absence of newspapers there was no better advertising medium than the pulpit. Accordingly a few months later a second edition of the New Series appeared, containing an Appendix of eight more letters, some of which are as malicious and brilliantly scurrilous as any that had gone before.

The Reuchlin trial, though prologue to a drama of entrancing interest, came to a lame and impotent conclusion. The court—with the sole exception of Sylvester Prierias, Master of the Sacred Palace, and a Dominican—decided in Reuchlin's favour, but Leo, in the interests of peace, would not promulgate the sentence. On the contrary, he issued the mandate known as "De Supersedendo," and this meant that the whole matter was to be laid indefinitely on the shelf. In 1520, however, events took an unexpected turn. The pope promulgated the sentence, and, ignoring the judgment of the majority of the court, he sided with the minority of one, declared the Augenspiegel a dangerous book, and saddled Reuchlin with the costs of the trial.

The scholar was bent but not broken by the blow. Impoverished by the tedious litigation, he bravely struggled on, earning sufficient for his small necessities by teaching and lecturing during the five years that were left to him of a blameless and honourable life.

By his friends, and they were neither few nor powerless, he was upheld to the last as a champion of the New Learning and a martyr in its cause—the real victor, too, in the fight.
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The issues of the *Epistolae* that appeared in 1517 were the last to be published for nearly forty years, but in 1556 both parts of the work appeared for the first time in a single volume.¹ In the eyes of the new generation which had arisen it belonged to an age already half forgotten. The Reformation in Germany had run its course. The dawn that the *Epistolae* welcomed seemed fair enough, but it had ushered in a long day of storm. The blind and bloody struggles that ensued had exhausted the nation. In the impressive words of a recent writer, “Intellectually, morally, and politically, Germany was a desert, and it was called Religious Peace.”²

VII

And now we are confronted by the thorny question—Who wrote the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*?

An adequate discussion of this would altogether exceed our limits, and demands a volume to itself. Fortunately for the student who wishes to probe the matter deeply, such a volume has very recently been provided by Herr Walther Brecht:³ in this work the methods of the “Higher Criticism” are applied to the problem with great patience and ability, and it is somewhat consoling to find that Brecht’s solution differs but slightly from that arrived at by a similar method, some eighty years ago, at the hands of Sir William Hamilton.

For three centuries the authorship of the *Epistolae* was involved in an obscurity greater than that which enwrapped the *Letters of Junius*. We can scarcely give a better idea of the chaotic welter of critical opinions upon the subject which formerly prevailed, than by briefly summarising the pre-Hamiltonian theories.

At least twenty-eight writers assigned the *Epistolae* to a single author, and made their choice from a list

¹ Of the so-called Third Volume of the *Epistolae*, which was first printed in 1689 (?), it must here suffice to say, in the words of Professor De Morgan, “It is a stupid catchpenny with which the authors of the first and second probably had nothing to do.”
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of eight persons, including Reuchlin himself, and Erasmus.

Eleven writers regarded them as the joint production of two or three pens—half-a-dozen possible combinations being suggested. Eleven other critics contended that the satire was the work of from six to sixteen authors acting in collaboration. They allow us to make our choice from ten different groups.

While giving a glimpse of this critical chaos we have, however, no intention of involving the reader in its perplexities. It may be said at once that we are to-day practically certain that the Epistolae were the actual work of two men, but that they reflect the feelings and ideas of a coterie, or—if that term be held to have too mean a connotation—let us say, a literary sodality.

In the early years of the sixteenth century the University of Erfurt, already established for more than a hundred years, was, in more than one sense, the most popular in Germany. It was remarkable as having been founded, not by a princely benefactor, but by the burghers of the town itself. The citizens took much pride in their creation, and made the academic graduation days civic festivals. The undergraduates were more than tolerated by the townsfolk. Such exceptional amenities could hardly fail to attract students from all parts of Germany, and among them, twenty years before the date reached in our narrative, there had arrived a very remarkable boy. This was Konrad Mutian, better known as Mutianus Rufus, born at Homburg in 1472. After receiving his early training, as already mentioned, under Hegius at Deventer, Mutian became a student at Erfurt at the age of fourteen, and some six years later journeyed to Italy, where he stayed for no less than seven years, studying at both Bologna and Rome, and living on terms of intimacy with some of the leading humanists of the day: it is a suggestive fact, too, that among the men of eminence with whom he was privileged to become acquainted, Pico della Mirandola, who had so fired Reuchlin’s imagination, is to be especially included. Without attempting here to classify Mutian’s
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religious or philosophical views, we shall not be far wrong if we say that his sojourn in Italy had made him, in the literal sense of the word, a free-thinker—but a free-thinker who felt no impulse to impose his own faith, or want of faith, upon the world at large. We need not be greatly surprised, therefore, to learn that on returning to the Fatherland in 1503, Mutian accepted, without hesitation, a canonry at Gotha. Here, inscribing "Beata Tranquillitas" above his study door, he resolved to spend the rest of his days in learned leisure. Other preferments were proffered the recluse from time to time, but were invariably declined: his income sufficed to provide him with books, and he sought for nothing beyond them. Nevertheless, natural indolence, or a contempt for the opinion of the world, led Mutian to seek no literary renown. He has left no writings behind him, save his letters.¹ and, to judge from internal evidence, we may well doubt whether these were intended for publication.

Before long, however, the "blessed peace" of Gotha began to pall upon the gregarious Mutian. Society there was doubtless as dull as it was limited, and a scholar who does not write must converse. Fortunately his old university was scarce twenty miles away, and Mutian began to betake himself thither, often for considerable periods.

At Erfurt he speedily made himself the centre of a congenial circle. A band of young and ardent humanists had thither congregated: their aspirations were lofty but vague, and needed but the guidance of a leader of riper years and experience to burst the last bonds of scholastic tradition, and take their places in the forefront of the army of light. The epigrammatist Euricius Cordus, whom Lessing eulogised and imitated—Georg Burekhard, better known as Spalatinus, afterwards the friend and correspondent of Luther—the brilliant but bibulous Eobanus Hessus, then in his early youth—Justus Jonas, the brothers Eberbach, and Herebold von der Marthen, were all numbered among the young disciples who from time to time sat round Mutian's easy-chair, and hung with mingled joy and

¹ Ed. by C. Krause: Cassel, 1885.
bewilderment upon their master’s words—drinking in his reckless heterodoxy, his neo-Platonic phantasies, learnt from Pico, Politian, and Marsilio Ficino—his eulogies of the Koran—his merry scoffs at the pedantry that passed for learning—and his biting sarcasms on the corruption of the Church and of cloistered life, where:

"Round many a convent’s blazing fire,
  Unhallowed threads of revelry are spun;
  There Venus sits disguised like a nun;
  While Bacchus, clothed in semblance of a friar,
  Pours out his choicest beverage high and higher!"

According to one of the Obscure Men, indeed, Mutian was “the worst of all the Reuchlinists, and such a hater of Theologians that he will not suffer the Divines of Cologne to be even named in his presence.”

Not that the members of the Erfurt circle could themselves lay claim to a high standard of asceticism: the wine-cup would not long remain full on a board at which Eoban Hesse sat! But, for all that, the symposia of these “Poets dead and gone” were feasts of reason—high thinking there was, though the living was none too frugal. Our thoughts can scarcely fail to turn to a certain young monk then wearing away the best years of his life in the dreary convent of Fontenay-le-Comte. How gladly would François Rabelais have been welcomed within that joyous company! Yet it were hard to say whether Pantagruel, Panurge, and Friar John would in that case have gladdened the hearts of the elect.

Making due allowance for the change of times and manners, we are reminded, too, of that Convivium philosophicum described by Clarendon, which gathered a century later round Lord Falkland on the lawns and terraces of Great Tew. As at Erfurt, men of learning, wit, and above all of liberal mind there gathered to discuss theology and letters, and dreamed young men’s dreams of a still brighter future. As at Erfurt, they recked not of the approaching cata-
trophe, soon to scatter them, and overwhelm not a few.

Among the members of Mutian’s Circle, as it began to be called, was one to whom we have as yet made no reference. This was Johann Jäger, afterwards known to the world of letters as Crotus Rubianus (or, Rubeanus). This remarkable man was born at Dornheim, in 1480. He was of humble origin, and as a boy tended his father’s goats in the rugged Thüringerwald. In his eighteenth year, however, he matriculated at Erfurt, and graduated bachelor in 1500. His Latinised name at first was, naturally, Joannes Venatoris, and “Crotus Rubianus” is decidedly enigmatical, until we remember that Dornheim is “thorn-home,” and we are further given as a clue the fact that “Crotos” appears in the *De Re Rustica*¹ of Columella as a synonym of Sagittarius. A far-fetched cognomen was in those days an indication of sound scholarship.

Crotus was at first wholly orthodox, and he was the warm friend of another orthodox young student—Martin Luther—all too soon to quit the university for an Augustinian convent. That Crotus, however, had early doubts of the advantages of a monastic life is evidenced by his helping young Ulrich von Hutten, then a boy of seventeen, to escape from the abbey of Fulda, where he was immured.

Crotus’s orthodoxy was, however, in those days, of by no means robust growth, and by 1509 he had become one of the leading lights among the Erfurt humanists, and conspicuous for his nimble wit and biting jests. “Omnia ridens,” it was said of him, “sed seriis pariter aptus.” His gaiety and common sense were alike conspicuous.

For a year or two Crotus had supported himself by the tuition of a few “sprigs of nobility,” on Mutian’s recommendation, but in 1509 one of those lovers’ quarrels leading to a renewal of love—it was not the first—took place between the University and the municipality of Erfurt. So sharp was this town and gown squabble that many of the latter sought peace in flight, among them being nearly all the members of the Mutianic

¹ *De R. R.*, v. 57.
circle, who thus became involuntary missionaries of humanism. In 1510 Crotus actually entered the convent at Erfurt, and perhaps took holy orders.

But such a man could ill brook the confinement of the cloister. He never ceased to correspond with his friends outside the walls, and in a letter to Mutian he complains that there is nothing to do save to kill time "by drinking, gaming, carnality or usury." To live away from his intellectual equals seemed to him "worse than to live as a beast in a herd." Accordingly, in 1512, when Mutian's little band—including Eoban Hesse and Hermann Buschius—had reassembled, Crotus was naturally from time to time once more found in their midst.

Among the diverse theories which, as we have mentioned, have at one time or another been mooted with reference to the authorship of the Epistolae, Crotus's share is seldom in doubt.

There exists, indeed, direct proof of this, apart from the overwhelming internal evidence afforded by the satire itself. Let us, for a moment, pass on to the year 1531. During the sixteen years that had elapsed since the first publication of the Epistolae, great events had happened, precursors of yet more significant ones which were shortly to follow. Most men of eminence had been compelled to declare themselves openly upon the side of Luther or of Rome. But there were a few who still faced both ways, and a few whose impetuous advocacy of the Reformation had not only been checked but followed by reaction. Among the latter was Crotus. He states his position quite candidly in a letter to Albrecht of Brandenburg (1531). After admitting that he had for several years been an ardent supporter of the reformers, the writer continues, "But when I perceived that they held not sacred even those things which had been handed down to us from Apostolic times, and that one sect did but engender another, it came to my mind that Satan might be using the Scriptures as a stalking-horse, and disseminating evil under the mask of goodness. I was therefore minded to abide in the Church in which I was baptized and nurtured. And notwithstanding that there be faults
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therein, they may be the sooner repaired than that new Church which hath already been rent asunder by schisms, though it hath stood but for a few years.” In the same year Crotus made formal acknowledgment of this his backsliding in An Apology privately addressed by J. Crotus Rubeanus to a Friend. This fell into Luther’s hands. Luther promptly sent it to Justus Menius, with instructions to attack the apostate without mercy. Justus Menius, an old associate of Mutian and his circle, and now an ardent reformer, was nothing loath. In the spring of 1532 there accordingly appeared, anonymously, A Reply to the Apology of Crotus Rubeanus. In this, Crotus is openly credited with the authorship of the Epistolae—and his present cowardice is contrasted with the spirit with which in “that immortal poem” he had attacked the very abuses against which the reformers were contending. The writer makes it quite clear that he speaks from personal recollection, when he reminds Crotus of walks and talks which they had had together while the Epistolae were in process of incubation; and finally he tries to arouse the pride of authorship in Crotus’s craven heart by declaring that it were better that the Iliad itself should perish than the work whose trenchant wit had done more mischief to the supremacy of Rome than all the grave treatises of the age!

To this flattering impeachment Crotus never replied. Judgment goes by default.

In addition to its more permanent members, there flitted ever and anon across the Erfurt circle—keenly sympathising with their aspirations, but too eager and restless to remain for long—one of the strangest and most interesting figures of the day.

Ulrich von Hutten came of a noble Franconian family who had for many generations held their heads high among their turbulent and lawless compeers. As bishops, abbots, councillors, statesmen, and—to put it bluntly—robbers, the Huttens had from time to time shown their ability and resolution. It was chiefly in the lists and in the field that they had won renown, but it must be remembered that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries “the field” often meant some neigh-
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bouring baron's estate, where rewards more substantial than honour's "mere scutcheon" were to be gained.

Ulrich was born in 1488, at his father's castle of Steckelberg in Hesse-Nassau, not far from Fulda with its famous Benedictine abbey. So puny and sickly did the child appear, that his father resolved to make a monk of him—although the first-born son—and sent him at the age of eleven to Fulda, to be educated under its stern abbot, and ultimately to take the monastic vows. Ulrich remained at Fulda for six years—a diligent student, it seems, who made good use of the means of learning there available—and then, in the summer of 1505, almost on the day when Luther voluntarily entered the convent at Erfurt—he ran away. Crotus Rubianus, as we have mentioned, is credited with having planned the lad's escape, and before the year was out the two friends made their appearance as fellow-undergraduates at Cologne. It must be added that Ulrich's father, an austere man—whom to-day we may venture to call pig-headed—seems to have cast off his erring son without further inquiry, and left the sensitive, delicate, and brilliant boy to the far from tender mercies of a turbulent world. In less than a year the two friends tired of the uncongenial surroundings of friar-ridden Cologne, and betook themselves to Erfurt. There they found Mutian and Eoban Hesse—a nucleus to which they were speedily attracted. But it was impossible for the adventurous Hutten to cast anchor for long, however pleasant the harbour; "my home is everywhere," he said—"in Germany" he should have added; for the key to much that is contradictory in Hutten's checkered career is his lofty patriotism, his burning desire to see Germany a nation, his determination, in particular, to cast off the temporal power of Rome, even if this should involve the severance of not a few spiritual bonds.

Frankfort-on-Oder and Leipsic were next honoured by the young enthusiast's presence, and in 1509, just as he had attained his majority, we find him—sick, destitute, but indomitable—seeking admission in forma pauperis to the University of Greifswald. At Greifs-
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waid some wealthy townsfolk, Lötz by name, seem in more senses than one to have taken the stranger in. Old Lötz was a shrewd man of business, and he evidently thought that Hutten père would repay with interest any advances made to his son. Perhaps the old knight disabused him somewhat brusquely of this idea—at any rate, in a season of bitter frost, Ulrich fled from Greifswald, was pursued by Lötz's servants, stripped not only of his wallet and his few books, but even of his clothes, and by a miracle reached Rostock, more dead than alive. Unpleasant though this adventure was, it might not have been worth recording had it not led to the publication of Hutten's first important work. This work, the Querelen, consists of twenty elaborate elegies, describing his scurvy treatment by the Lötzes, and calling down the vengeance of God and man upon his persecutors. Two of the elegies are dedicated to Crotus Rubianus and Eoban Hesse respectively, and it is noteworthy that the author seems to recognise the bonds of sympathy that were beginning to be established between the young adherents of the New Learning, by imploring the aid of all German humanists against an attack made upon one of their number. And now we pass over in a few lines several important years of Hutten's career. The Life of Ulrich von Hutten by Strauss is available to English readers—with some abridgment—in an excellent translation.

We catch an interesting glimpse of Hutten during this period in the Epistolae; for there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of "Master Johann Krabaciu's" account of his brief sojourn among some congenial spirits at Vienna in the summer of 1511, and of the cause of its abrupt termination.²

Having become to some extent reconciled to his father, through the instrumentality of Crotus, Ulrich, in the spring of the following year betook himself to Italy, ostensibly with the intention of studying law. In Italy he remained for about two years, contriving to be made prisoner by the French and Swiss alternately.

² E. O. V. 1. 14.

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and finally joining the forces of the emperor. He found time, however, to write, among other poems, a noteworthy book of political epigrams which he dedicated to Maximilian.

On his return to Germany, Hutten, now to be ranked as an accomplished scholar, was honourably received at the court of Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz, and here an important event in his life occurred, his meeting, namely, with the already famous Erasmus, to their mutual satisfaction.

The treacherous murder of Ulrich's cousin Hans, by the Duke of Württemberg, in 1515, almost led to a small war between the duke and the powerful clan of the Huttens; Ulrich, who was expected by the family “to do something,” contributed to the fray sundry Latin orations, with Cicero for his model, and in these he first displayed his powers of fiery and withering denunciation. In 1515 he returned to Italy, and a record of his journey thither assuredly exists in the guise of Wilhelm Lamp's narrative in the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum. It may be noted, as a suggestive literary fact, that during a residence at Bologna, for the ostensible purpose of studying law, Hutten found, to his delight, a Greek teacher who initiated him in Lucian and Aristophanes, and opened up to his pupil wider views of satire, and the dazzling possibilities of its rapier thrusts as opposed to the swashing blows of mere invective.

It was during this second sojourn of Hutten in Italy that the first volume of the Epistolae appeared. A copy was sent to him at Bologna, and in a letter written thence (August 22, 1516) to Richard Croke at Leipsie, he exclaims, "Accepi obscuros viros: dii boni, quam non illiberales jocos!" He goes on to say that he is suspected of being the author, and asks his friend to let him know more about the matter. Nevertheless in the "Appendex" to the third edition of the Epistolae contributions by his hand indisputably appear.

In common with other members of the Erfurt sodality, Hutten had taken the keenest interest in the Reuchlin controversy. As early as 1514 he had shown
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Erasmus a poem entitled "The Triumph of Reuchlin" — *Triumphus Capnionis*—and it appears that Erasmus had advised its being withheld for a time. A poem with the same title appeared in 1518, under the pseudonym of "Eleutherius Byzenus"; it may be briefly described as a savage onslaught upon all Reuchlin's foes, and of this it seems certain that Hutten was the author—or, at all events, an author. The list of verbal coincidences collected by Hamilton appears in itself sufficient to establish this. It is true that a difficulty is introduced by the fact that Mutian also saw in 1514 a "Triumph of Reuchlin" by "Accius Neobius," and this he attributes to Hermann von dem Busche. There can be little doubt that the two documents were drafts of one and the same poem (the change of pseudonym is clearly unimportant), and it is of course by no means improbable that Buschius as well as Hutten had a hand in it. In the twenty-fifth letter of the first series of the *Epistolae* it is plainly stated that "unus (poeta) jam composuit unum librum qui vocatur Triumphus Capnionis, et continet multa scandala de vobis." It is to be observed that the poem is here merely spoken of as "composed," not printed or published, and, as we have seen, it did not appear until three years later. The somewhat tangled chain of circumstances connected with the *Triumphus* at any rate tends to illustrate the fact that the German humanists of the day kept in touch with one another on the subject of the great controversy which so keenly interested them, and that their manuscripts were freely handed about, whether for criticism or mutual admiration.

The actual authors of the *Epistolae* accordingly stand before us to-day in the persons of Crotus Rubianus and Ulrich von Hutten. These are the names that Hamilton made more than probable in 1831, and that Brecht in 1904 made, as far as circumstances permit, a certainty.

The latter writer has spared no pains in dealing with the abundant materials at his disposal. He has critically dissected known writings of Crotus and Hutten and has laid them side by side with the *Epistolae*: in his enthusiasm he has never hesitated to
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vivisect a joke and illustrate its comparative anatomy—he has even laid hands on the Obscure Men themselves, classifying and labelling them like ghostly butterflies. Herr Brecht's work has, in fact, been admirably done, and it need never be done again. We take the case as proved.

To Crotus belongs the origination of the design—if indeed its germ was not rather a spark struck from the casual collision of many minds—and the first forty-one letters of the first series are probably from his pen alone. To Hutten belong the Appendix to the first series, and the whole of the second series—abounding as it does with Italian allusions. Once the clue is in the reader's hands, he will have little difficulty in recognising the respective styles of the two writers. Crotus, as a satirist, is the more humorous and the kindlier: if he impales his victims, he at the same time anticipates the gentle Angler's advice to "treat them as though he loved them." Hutten's contributions breathe on the whole a fiercer spirit. His bitter wit at times stabs like a poisoned dagger. He seems in deadly earnest when he is attacking abuses. More than once he ascends the pulpit, and speaks plain words of eloquent remonstrance;¹ his seriousness of purpose, in fact, peeps out, now and then, a little too obviously.

Nevertheless, we must not pass over in silence Erasmus's distinct assertion² that the authors of the Epistolae were three in number, and that he knew who they were. This plain statement, which was made "under circumstances in which it was no longer a point of delicacy to dissemble his knowledge," cannot be simply ignored. Still, while two distinct styles are plainly manifest in the Epistolae, not more than two seem recognisable. This circumstance does not, however, preclude the co-operation of a third person, or of several persons, in sketching ideas on which Letters might be based, or supplying jests and quips to be worked in by the actual authors. But if any confrère did more than this, and might therefore be regarded as completing Erasmus's trio, it was Hermann von dem

¹ For instance, in E. O. V. ii. 43, 50.
² Erasmus, Spongia adr. asp. Hutteni. Lxvii
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Busche. The general tenor of this scholar’s writings is satirical—often bitterly so—and Ortwin Gratius, his former schoolfellow, had become his pet aversion. Buschius was moreover a keen Reuchlinist when the Epistolae were published, and was an intimate friend of both Hutten and Crotus. It is on such grounds as these, together with certain verbal coincidences, that Hamilton would allow to Buschius a larger share in the work than now seems probable.

A final problem confronts us—What is the actual position of the Epistolae among the factors that produced the ecclesiastical cataclysm known as the Reformation? Were they a factor in any sense? Were they a cause or an effect? Even with reference to the Reuchlin controversy, are they to be compared to the brilliant cavalry charge that wins the battle, or to a mere paean of victory when all is over?

To these questions very diverse answers have been forthcoming—and will be forthcoming, until that distant day when the distorting prejudices, the antipathies, the hatreds, aroused by religious controversy become as fleeting as the healing antagonisms of war.

Herder has remarked, in an oft-quoted passage, that the satire “effected for Germany incomparably more than Hudibris for England, or Gargantua for France, or the Knight of La Mancha for Spain.” Before we give our assent to this proposition, or withhold it, it is necessary to inquire whether any of the works mentioned effected aught for the countries of their origin beyond conferring undying fame upon their literature. Hudibris was little else than a hearty kick bestowed upon a prostrate foe; as for the Knight of La Mancha, a recent critic has pointed out that not until a century and a half had passed after Cervantes’ death, “did Spain recognise the worth of Don Quixote as a book of anything more than passing entertainment.”¹ It is not easy to deal with the influence of Rabelais in a sentence,

¹ H. E. Watts, Life of Miguel de Cervantes, 1891, p. 167.
but we may agree with M. Millet that he was, for France, "le père de la grande comédie," and that but for him Molière would not have been, without attributing to him any great share in the spread of the Renaissance in his country. But Herder was referring to political rather than to literary influence, and it is therefore possible to agree with him without placing the Epistolae upon a particularly high pedestal.

An influence, however, of more definite extent and degree has been claimed for the satire by Hamilton. He roundly declares his opinion that it was European in its influence, and that "it gave the victory to Reuchlin over the Begging Friars, and to Luther over the Court of Rome."

Two quite different things, be it remarked. In the case of Reuchlin versus the Dominicans the issue had been trembling in the balance for some time; king and emperor were pulling in different directions, and the prestige of the pope did not at the time appear to be directly or indirectly at stake. A slight push would be sufficient to give victory—if a barren one—to Reuchlin. In our opinion the Epistolae gave the push, and the victory—though a barren one.

But the victory of Luther, if victory it was even in his case, was the issue of a bloodier fray. It was not till six months after the publication of the second series of the Epistolae that Luther cast down the gage at Wittenberg: it was three or four years before the battle was joined.

But did the authors of the satire prepare the ground, and thus make the victory easier? Luther himself on more than one occasion inferentially acknowledged that in his opinion this is what they had done. And if the fiery monk's strife had been with the Dominicans alone, and not with the whole might of Rome, he would have been right, without qualification. The satire had declared that the upholders of the musty methods of scholasticism—with which, be it always remembered, the Church in Germany had disastrously identified herself—were not the repositories of all learning that they perhaps honestly thought themselves to be—but a pack

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\[1\] R. Millet, Rabelais, Paris, 1903.

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of egregious dolts: it declared, too, that many of the monks and friars who professed to be not as other men, but able to set at defiance primitive instincts of a healthy animal, were not only very human in their frailties, but, if the truth be said, a trifle swinish! And the worst part of it was that people had come to believe that there was some truth in the indictment.

The temporal benefits that monasticism had conferred upon mankind were forgotten—or rather, to folk of those days were practically unknown. How monks and friars, heedless of discouragement and persecution, had kept alive the feeble sparks of literature and art when they seemed well-nigh perishing in the darkness of barbarism—how they had turned barren marshes into fertile tracts, and made devastated valleys once more laugh and sing with rustling corn—how they had fed the hungry and ministered to the sick—all these good works, and many more, of the pious men of old were forgotten. Can we wonder? The sordid lives of their debased successors in the sixteenth century veiled the vision of a glorious past. Successors, but—let us always bear in mind—not descendants. In that distinction lies the key to the failure of monasticism. The stupendous folly of celibacy had met with its inevitable doom. Year after year, generation after generation, century after century, the Church had lured thousands and tens of thousands of the keenest intellects, the most sympathetic—ay, and the bravest hearts into the cloister, and condemned them to sterile extinction. In ignorance, or defiance, of the laws of heredity, the devisers of monastic rules seem to have deliberately aimed at leaving to the unfittest of each generation obedience to the first recorded divine command to man: "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." But Nature's laws cannot be abrogated even by a saintly veto. Slowly, but irresistibly, degeneracy in the classes from which the monasteries were chiefly recruited showed itself reflected within their walls, till drunken dullards reeled in cloisters that large-hearted enthusiasts had once paced. The place of ascetics ever struggling to keep the old Adam in check by fasting, flagellation, and phlebotomy, was taken by monkish
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Jeshuruns who waxed fat in sloth, and kicked against these wise and salutary rules of their Orders—ever scheming to evade them. It was men such as these who were the objects of the satirists’ scorn. But while the writers saw before them an Augean stable which it would task the energies of a reforming Hercules to cleanse, it had not entered into the head of any one of them that it would be better to pull it down.

That Crotus, Hutten, or indeed any of the Erfurt circle, had a definite notion whither the tendencies they were fostering would ultimately lead is altogether improbable. Eoban Hesse lived and died a genial humanist; Mutian retired early from the fray, and, deprived of his revenues during the Peasants’ War, passed away orthodox, penniless, and weary of the world; Crotus, as we have seen, recoiled in something like dismay when he came to the parting of the ways.

Hutten’s case, it is true, was different. He threw in his lot with Luther and the reformers heartily enough, and did not draw back—yet it is always clear that political and patriotic, rather than doctrinal, motives actuated him. In his ironical Dedication to Leo X. of Lorenzo Valla’s tractate on the Donation of Constantine (1517) Hutten nowhere touches on matters of faith and dogma: his attack is solely directed against the scandalous sale of indulgences, the compositions for frauds, the intolerable taxes, and the hundred and one other ways in which Rome extorted from the merchants and peasants of the Fatherland the wealth she required for the aggrandisement of an extravagant court and an ambitious pontiff.

We may, in fact, conveniently classify the reforming tendencies of the age under four heads, overlapping doubtless, but yet distinct in the main. First, a purely intellectual revolt against the bondage of scholasticism, due chiefly to the revival of classical learning: secondly, a moral reaction—by no means the earliest—against monkish profligacy and hypocrisy: thirdly, a political and economic rebellion against the temporal authority of Rome, and her consequent exactions; lastly, the “Reformation” proper, which practically aimed at
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giving the emancipated intellect complete freedom—under the name of the right of private judgment—to deal even with the scriptures and the creeds, thus rendering a Church unnecessary.

That the Epistolae aided, directly and deliberately, the first three of these movements must be obvious to their readers: that they indirectly furthered the subversive aims of Luther, as well as those of his successors and rivals, is also indisputable—but that their authors took this line of malice aforethought is more than doubtful.

Such considerations show us why it is so hard to assign to the Epistolae, with confidence, their true place and function in the German Renaissance. It is because in Germany the triumph of the revival of learning in winning intellectual freedom was, all too soon, obscured, if not neutralised, by one of its own indirect results. Protestantism, as we now see, was merely a by-product of a vast fermentation; but the effects produced by the reformers in their chaotic endeavours, not only to modify the tenets and purify the abuses of an ancient Church, but to dispense with it altogether, no man foresaw. That Church had become—as is the fate of Churches—inextricably entangled in political affairs, and the effects of the shattering blows it received are felt in a thousand forms, whether for good or ill, to the present day.

We need not wonder that our Satire is lost to view during forty years of blind and bitter strife. Wit and humour are swept out of sight.

"Mid clouds enveloped of polemic dust,
Which showers of blood seem rather to incite
Than to allay. Anathemas are hurled
From both sides; veteran thunders (the brute test
Of truth) are met by fulminations new—
Tartarcan flags are caught at, and unfurled—
Friends strike at friends—the flying shall pursue—
And Victory sickens, ignorant where to rest!"

But let us not confuse with mere hoarse and incoherent battle-cries a work of literary art which belongs, after all, to the fair morn, and not to the day of gloom and agony that it ushered in. Rather let us be content
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to regard the Epistolae as the mirthful trumpet-blast heard within the ramparts of Medievalism, that announced, if it did not cause, their impending fall. As the throes of Gargantua’s birth were heralded by revelry and glee, so the joyous spirit of the Renaissance in Germany was embodied amidst peals of inextinguishable laughter.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM
AD VENERABILEM VIRUM
MAGISTRUM ORTUINUM GRATIUM
DAVENTRIENSEM
COLONIAE AGRIPIAENAE BONAS LITTERAS DOCENTEM:

Variis & locis & Temporibus missae:
ac demum in volumen coactae
[VOLUMEN PRIMUM]
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM
VIRORUM

I

THOMAS LANGSCHNEYDERIUS, baccalaurius theologiae formatus quamvis indignus Sal. d. superexcellentis neconon scientificissimo viro domino Ortvinio Gratio Daventriensi poetae, oratori, et philosopho, neconon thelogo, et plus si vellet

QUONIAM (ut dict Aristoteles) dubitare de singulis non est inutile, et quia legitur in Ecl's: "proposui in animo meo quaerere et investigare de omnibus quae sunt sub sole:" igitur ego proposui mihi movere unam quaestionem in qua dubium habeo ad dominationem vestram.

Sed prius protestor per deum sanctum, quod non volo tentare dominationem seu venerabilitatem vestram: sed

1 T. Langs.: Bocking has devoted much research and ingenuity to an attempt to identify the Obscure Men with real personages. Except in a few instances, however, his results are inconclusive, and it is far from certain that personal allusions are as a rule intended. See ii. 58.

2 formatus: one who had completed the prescribed course on the "Sentences" (of Peter Lombard), and was awaiting his licence. This degree still survives at the University of Coimbra. Rashdall, Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 1895, ii. 100. The statutes of the University of Erfurt ordained that a Bac. form. should remain in residence for two years, "in opponendo et respondendo," before obtaining his licence. J. C. H. Weissenborn, Acten der Erfurter Universität, Halle, 1881, Thl. ii. p. 57; and Thurot, De l'organisation de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris, au moyen âge, Paris, 1850, p. 149.

3 scient.: "Heliandus . . . vir solers, scientificus, et disertus." (Du Cange.) Cf. Forcellini, s.v.

5 et plus: a parallel may be found in the Timon of Lucian, c. 52, where Demeas declares Timon to be the greatest of orators, "καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πᾶντα ὑπόσχεται ἐν ἔθελον."

6 Arist.: "Fortasse autem difficile sit de ejusmodi rebus confidenter declarare: nisi saepe pertractata siuit: dubitare autem de singulis non erit inutile." A. M. S. Boetii, editio prima in Categorias Aristotelis, Venetiis, 1499, p. 50. (Categ. vii. ad fin.)

7 Ecl.: Eccles. i. 13; "fiunt." Vulg.

9 unam: merely "a"; very frequent in the E. O. V.

13 tentare: to examine; cf. "temptamien vel examen," Die Statutenbücher der Universität Leipzig, 1861, 331. "He seide this thing, tempting him." John vi. 6. (Wycl.)
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

ego cupio cordialiter et affectuose quod instruatis me super dubium illud. Quia scriptum est in evangelio: "Noli tentare dominum deum tuum," quia, ut dicit Salomon: "a deo est omnis sapientia;" sed vos deditis mihi omnem scientiam quam ego habeo, et omnis scientia bona est origo sapientiae: ergo vos estis mihi quodam-modo deus, quia deditis mihi initium sapientiae, loquendo poetice.


17 Salm. : "omnis sap. a Domino Deo est." Vulg.
23 prandium Arist.: an Inception banquet given by the newly made Masters to the other graduates. The Statutes of the University of Leipsic contain several references to this festivity. For a sumptuary ordinance issued in 1496, regulating the quality and quantity of the viands and wines, see Die Statutenbuecher der Univ. Leipzig, Leipsic, 1861, p. 25. The junior students seem to have been in the habit of intercepting "cibaria et potagia" while being conveyed to the table; and a warning to the undergraduates against interfering with the attendants was issued in 1534. Ibid. p. 147.
29 Kotzborgense, of Kotzschensbroda, a village near Dresden.
30 Embeccensem, of Eimbeck, or Eimbeck, in Hanover; still noted for its beer.
31 Thurgensem, of Torgau, in Prussian Saxony, on the Elbe.
32 Neuburgensem. Naumburg beer, however, seems to have had its defects. "Naumburg beer is very good," wrote Luther to his wife in 1546, "though I fancy the pitch fills my chest with phlegm. The devil has spoilt all the beer in the world with his pitch, and the wine with his brimstone." Life of Luther, by Julius Köstlin, London, 1895, p. 487.

In the De Generibus Ebriosorum (Francofurti ad Mecn., 1643, p. 454) we are warned that Naumburg beer injures the sight. A hint of the supposed cause may be gathered from Gerard's Herball, "Darnel hurteth the eies and maketh them dim, if it happen in corn either for bread or drink." Cf. Ovid, Fasti, i. 691.
I. 1] THOMAS LANGSCHNEYDERIUS

Tune magistri hilarificati inceperunt loqui artificialiter de magnis quaestionibus. Et unus quaesivit, utrum dicendum "magister nostrandus" vel "noster magistrandus," pro persona apta nata ad fiendum doctor in theologia, sicut pronune est in Colonia mellifluus pater frater Theodericus de Ganda, ordinis Carmelitarum venerandissimus legatus almei universitatis Coloniensis, providentissimus artista, philosophus, argumentator, et theologus supereminens. Et statim respondit magister Warmsemmel lansmannus mens, qui est Scotista subtilissimus, et Magister XVIII annorum, et fuit tempore suo pro gradu magisterii bis reiicitus, et ter impeditus, et tamen stetit ulterius quoad fuit promotus pro honore universitatis, et intelligit bene facta sua, et habet multos discipulos, parvos et magnos, senes cum junioribus, et cum magna maturitate dixit, et tenuit quod dicendum est "nostermagistrandus," quod sit una dictio: quia "magistrare" significat "magistrum facere," et "bacca-

hilarificati: the only instance.
artificialiter: "Scholastically," in accordance with the rules of art.
Cf. Recorde, Gr. Arts: "You have answered the question very arti-

ficially; and truly I commend you." (N. E. D. i. 474.)

39 Theod. de G.: Theodoric of

Gouda—not of Ghent (Gauze, Gau-
davum) as might be supposed—an

ignorant Carmelite monk, of whom

H. Cornelius Agrippa wrote: "Of

like clay they moulded another in-

strument; an untaught illiterate

fellow—crafty and adroit withal, and

therein the fitter for their machina-

tions—a certain Carmelite monk,

who, merely because he was useful in

spreading those calumnies of theirs

against Reuchlin that all Christendom

wots of, the Cologne Divines rewarded

with a Theologian's crown (Theo-

logica sua aureola remunerarunt)."
Epp. vii. 26. Not to be confused

with the physician Theod. Gerardus,

also of Gouda, and almost a contem-

porary.

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doctores in sacra theologia non dicuntur doctores, sed propter humilitatem et etiam sanctitatem, et propter differentiam nominantur seu appellantur magistri nostri, quia stant in fide catholicca in loco domini nostri Iesu Christi qui est fons vitae; sed Christus fuit nostrorum omnium magister; ergo ipsi appellantur magistri nostri, quia habent nos instruere in via veritatis, et deus est veritas, quapropter merito vocantur magistri nostri, quia omnes nos scilicet Christiani debemus et tenemur audire praedicationem eorum, et nullus debet dicere contra eos, ex quo sunt omnium nostrum magistri. Sed "nostro-tras-trare" non est in usu, et neque legitur in vocabulario Ex quo, neque in Catholicon, neque in Breviloquio, neque in Gemmagemmarum, qui tamen habet multos terminos: Ergo debemus dicere "noster magistrandus," et non "magister nostrandus."

55 mag. nost.: "They take themselves in a manner for God's peres, when they are saluted solemnly by the name of maister doctours, or Magister noster: . . . and therefore they affyrme it to be a muche great offence, if one doe write Magister Noster otherwise than with great letters, that and if ye tourne the words, saiyng noster Magister, in stead of Magister noster, than all at ones ye disorder the majestee of the Theological name." Erasmus, Enc. Moreae (Challoner's transl.).

56 Vocabulario, &c. The work usually cited as the Vocabularius Ex quo is a Latin-German vocabulary, compiled from the Catholicon (r. infra), and other works, and first printed in 1467.

57 Catholicon. A Latin Grammar and Dictionary, compiled by Joannes Balbus de Jannsa (Giovanni da Genova) in five parts. It was based on the Magicae Derivationes of Hugutio, or Ugucione, of Pisa.

Ugucione's book (which was never printed, though MSS. are numerous) was in its turn based on the Origins of Isidore of Seville, and the Elementarium Doctrinae Rudimentum of Papia (Papias) the Lombard. (P. J. Toynbee, Dante's Obligations to the Mug. Deriv. of Ugucione of Pisa, Romania, October 1897.)

The edition of the Cathol. pub. at Mentzin 1460 is one of the earliest of printed books. In an eloquent colophon the printer draws attention to the novelty of the process employed, in which neither "reed, stile, nor pen" was made use of.

66 Breviloquio: this lexicon, formerly attributed to Guarinus of Verona, was the work of Reuchlin. S. Berger (De Glossariis . . . quibusdam Med. Aevi . . . Dissertatio Critica, Paris, 1879, p. 30) remarks that it would have been scarcely credible that such a "preposterous lexicographer" could have been Reuchlin himself, had not Melanchthon vouched for the fact. We must bear in mind, however, that Reuchlin was only twenty years old when the Breviloquus was published, and although many of its etymologies are sufficiently absurd, it is not merely a Scriptural, but a classical vocabulary.

68 The Gemina Gemmaram was a popular Latin-German lexicon, numerous editions of which had been published before 1515. Andr. Delitzsch. Andreas Epistates, or Deliciaus, was rector of the University of Leipsic in 1513 and 1519. (See note, l. 87, inf.)
Thomas Langschneyderius


72 Ordinary lectures were delivered before noon; opposed to "extra-ordinary" and "cursory" lectures, which were less formal, and given at various hours.
73 allegorice, &c. See i. 28.
74 Quintilianum, &c. The De In-stitutione Oratoria Libri XII. of M. Fabius Quintilianus was several times printed before 1513, as well as the Declamationes, now regarded as spurious. Cains Vettius Aquilinus Juvenecus, "the Christian Virgil," wrote a Gospel History in 3233 hexameters, under the title of C. V. A. J. Hispani Presbyteri Evangeliae Historiae Lib. IV. (Migne, Patrol. Cursus, tom. xix.)
75 Horatium: "Et nova fetaque habebunt verba fidem, si nuper Graeco fonte cadent, parce detorta." De Arte Poet., 52.

This quotation is attributed to Delitsch with peculiar propriety. There is a copy in the Brit. Mus. of: Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini Institutiones Pastarum [sic] ad Pisonem (s. l. et al). This has, by way of preface, Dicolen Distrophon .M. Andreas Epistatis De-litiani ad Lectorem, and at the end some verses headed M. Andreas Epistates Delitianus in Antipoetas.

76 Admiraverunt: Act. for Dep. forms are common in the E. O. V., but not consistently.
77 birretum: biretta, "college-cap."
78 Slesitarum. The four "nations" at Leipsic University were usually known as the Bavarian, the Polish, the Saxou, and the Misonian. See Rashdall, Univ. of Eur. in the Mid. Ages, ii. 256.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VRORUM

Quapropter rogo excellentiam vestram quod velitis mihi exponere mentem vestram, quia vos estis multum profundus: et ego dixi protunc, "magister Ortvinus debit mihi bene scribere veritatem, quia fuit praeeptor meus in Daventria, quando fui tertiarius."

Etiam debetis mihi certificare quomodo stat in guerra inter vos et doctorem Ioannem Reuchlin. Quia intellexi quod iste ribaldus (quamvis sit doctor et iurista) nondum vult revocare verba sua. Et mittatis etiam semel mihi librum magistri nostri Arnoldi de Thungaris, quem articulatim composit, quia est multum subtilis, et tractat de multis profunditatibus in theologa. Valete, et non habeatis pro malo, quod scribo vobis ita socialiter, quia vos dixistis mihi olim quod amatis me sicut frater, et vultis me promovere in omnibus, etiam si debeatis mihi concedere magnam pecuniam.

Datum in Lyptzick.

II

MAGISTER IOANNES PELLIFEX S. D. M. Ortvino Gratio

SALUTEM amicabilem et servitutem incredbilem. Venerabilis domine magister.

Quia, ut dicit Aristot' in praedicamentis, de singulis dubitare non est inutile: quapropter est una res quac
facit mihi magnam conscientiam. Nuper fui in missa Franckfurtdensi. Tunc ivi cum uno baccalaurio per plateam ad forum, et obviaverunt nobis duo viri qui apparerunt satis honesti, quantum ad aspectum, et habuerunt nigras tunicas, et magna caputia cum liripiis. Et deus est testis meus quod putavi quod sint duo magistri nostri: et feci ipsis reverentiam, deponendo birretum: tunc ille baccalaurius stimulavit me, et dixit: "Amore dei quid facitis? isti sunt Iudaei, et vos deponitis birretum vestrum ante eos:" tunc ego ita fui perterritus, ut si visisset unum diabolum. Et dixi; "domine baccalaurie, parcat mihi dominus deus, quia feci ignoranter. Sed quid putatis, utrum sit magnum peccatum?"

Et primo dixit quod videtur sibi, quod est peccatum mortale, quia comprehenditur sub idolatria, et est contra primum praeceptum ex decem praeceptis, quod est "unum crede deum." Quia quando aliquid facit honorem Iudaeo, vel pagano quasi esset Christianus, tunc facit contra Christianitatem, et apparat esse met head. For an illustration, see W. Fairholt, Costume in England, 1840, p. 592.

11 liripiis: they were "liripipionated," like Master Janotus de Bragmardo (Rabelais, Garg., i. 18). The exact nature of the "liripipium" has been variously described by glossarists, and varied at different epochs. Ménage absurdly derived the word from cleri epippium (see N. E. D.). Du Cange defines it as eponis (i.e. épaulet, a shoulder-strap) —"unde Belgis Liire-Pipe, seu potius longa fascia, vel cauda caputil." It here means a long appendage of the hood, that hung down when the latter was thrown back, but was used to secure it when drawn over the

7 missa: Germ. Messe; fair, or market-day: originally used in the sense of "Mass," the word came to mean the festival of a saint on which a solemn mass was celebrated (e.g. Martinmas), and then a fair, frequently held on festival days—witness Bartholomew Fair, famous in England for seven hundred years. Cf. Du Cange, s.v.: "Sed et inde Germanis Missae nomen nudinis publicis quae ad aliuquis Sancti festum vel Ecclesiam celebrari solent: verbi gratia Franchfurtermisse."

21 peccatum mortale. It was not until the XIIth Cent. that a serious attempt was made to distinguish mortal from venial sins, but thenceforward the Schoolmen exercised a vast amount of ingenuity with reference to the matter. Thomas of Walden, in response to Wiclif's challenge upon the subject, said, "Nothing is clearer than the difference between them, nothing more obscure than the line of demarcation." While to those who held that "an infinity of venial sins did not amount to a single mortal sin," it was clearly of the utmost importance to distinguish them accurately, insuperable difficulties arose, not only from diversities of classification on the part of authorities, but also from the incalculable effects of extenuating, or aggravating, circumstances in removing a sin from one category to the other. For an exhaustive historical account of the whole question, see H. C. Lea, Hist. of Aurie. Conf. and Indulgences, vol. i.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Iudaeus, vel paganus, et tunc Iudaei et pagani dicunt: “Ecce nos sumus de via meliori, quia Christiani faciunt nobis reverentiam; et nisi essemus de via meliori, non facerent nobis reverentiam;” et sic fortificantur in sua fide, et despiciunt fidem Christianam, et non permittunt se baptizare.


35 Ignorantia excusat. The different degrees and aspects of “ignorance” are to be carefully distinguished: Ignoratio simplex, where no suspicion existed of the existence of a law or precept; Ignoratio probabilis, resulting from wrong information given to an honest inquirer; Ignoratio culpabilis, where due diligence in inquiry has not been used; Ignoratio affectata, where ignorance is deliberately chosen with a sinful object; and Ignoratio ut supina, alluded to below, l. 59. See Lea, op. cit., ii. 251.

50Casus episcopalis. “Reserved cases” were sins for which the parish priest had no right to grant absolution, and were ranked as “episcopal” or “papal” when reserved to the bishop or the Holy See respectively. (Lea, op. cit., i. 312.) St. Antonino, Confessionale (1450), gives a list of thirty-six papal reserved cases and fifty-seven episcopal, thus leaving very few for the priest.

IOANNES PELLIFEX

illud peccatum, quia deberetis respicere; et Iudaei habent semper unum gilvum circulum ante in pallio, quem deberetis vidisse, sicut et ego vidi: ergo est ignorantia crassat et non valet ad absolutionem peccati.”

Sic pro tunc dixit mihi ille baccalaurus.

Sed quia vos estis profundus theoligus, rogo vos devote necnon humiliter, quatenus dignemini mihi solvere praedictam quaestionem, et scribere an est peccatum mortale an veniale, simplex casus an episcopalis an papalis.

Et etiam scribatis mihi an videtur vobis quod cives in Francfordsia recte faciunt, quod habent illum consuetudinem, quod permittunt Iudaeos incedere in habitu magistrorum nostrorum: mihi videtur quod non est rectum et est magnum scandalum, quod non est differentia inter Iudaeos et magistros nostros; etiam est desis sacrosanctae Theologiae. Et serenissimus dominus imperator nullo modo deberet [pati], quod unus Iudaeus qui est sicut canis, et est inimicus Christi, debet incedere sicut doctor sacrae theologiae.

57 gilrum circulum: a circular yellow patch. The Jews had been obliged, throughout Western Europe, to wear a distinctive garb or badge since the XIIIth Cent. See Du Cange, s.v. Judaei. “Romae generale Concilium (Lateran), a Papa Innocentio celebratur . . . Judaeis indixit Signum circulare in pectoribus bajulare, ut inter ipsos et Christianos discretio seu divisio vestium haberetur.” Chron. Rothmagenae, 1215. Sometimes the badge had to appear on the back as well as the breast. In a Synod held in Paris in 1269 it was ordered that Jews, of both sexes, should wear “unam rotam de filtro [felt], seu panno croceo, in superlori veste consultum ante pectus et retro ad eorumund cognitionem.” Stat. Syn. Odontis Epb., Paris, 1269. In England the patches were rectangular. In Rymer’s Foederar, ii. 93, there is a letter from Edward I. (May 24, 1277) to Hugo de Digneneton ordering all Jews, from the age of seven, to bear upon their outer garments a badge “ad modum duarum tabularum de feltro croceo, longitudinis videlicet sex pollicum et latitudinis trium pollicum.”

59 crassa. Ignorance is “crassa et supina” when one “not deliberately, but through mere negligence, is ignorant of that which he can and ought to know.” Ant. Diana, Summa Diana, Antwerp, 1639, p. 353.

70 scandalum. The grievance that Jews were permitted to dress like Doctors of Divinity was an old one. In 1248 we are told that “the Jews of the diocese of Maguelonne [near Montpellier] and the surrounding districts affect large round capes after the fashion of the priests, so that it often happens that travellers and strangers pay them the respect due to clerics.” Reg. d’Inq. IV., ed. Berger, No. 4123. John Evelyn, Diary, May 6, 1643, relates a closely parallel mischance that befell a dignitary of the Church: “The Jews in Rome wore red hatts till the Cardinal of Lions, being short-sighted, lately saluted one of them, thinking him to be a cardinal, as he passed by his coach; on which an order was made that they should use only the yellow colour.”

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EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


Datum Lyptzick.

III

M. BERNHARDUS PLUMILEGUS
Magistro Orvino Gratia, S. D. P.

"MUS miser est antro qui solum clauditur uno."

Sic etiam possum dicere de me cum suppotatione, venerabilis vir, quia essem pauper si haberem tantum unum amicum, et quando ille unus superdaret me, tunc non haberem alium, qui me tractaret amicabiliter.

Sicut nunc quidam poeta hic qui vocatur Georius Sibutus, et est unus ex poetis saecularibus, et legit publice in poetria, et est alias bonus socius. Sed sicut vos scitis, isti poetae quando non sunt etiam theologi

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76 dictamen: i.e. the succeeding letter, i. 3, apparently.
4 cum supp.: "by your favour," a deprecatory phrase occurring several times in the E. O. V. (i. 46; ii. 34, &c.), but not found elsewhere in this sense. Cf. Du Cange, s.v.
9 Georius, for Georgius: "Joris."
10 G. Sibutus was a polemical humanist and poet of Vienna. See ii. 51, n. He was a pupil of Conratus Celtes. Sibutus styled himself Duripinus, which Böcking ingeniously interprets as meaning "of Tamroda" (a village near Weimar), Tamroda meaning "pine-clearing," and Duripinus being compounded of δέπωρ and πίνος. This hybrid is paralleled by Albiorum, i.e. album + ὤρος, for Wittenberg, in Georgii Sibuti Duripini Poeta et Oratoris laureati: Silvula in Albiorum illustratam, of which there is a copy in the British Museum. (By error, Duripini for Duripini in the Catal.) The best known work of Sibutus is, perhaps, his Ars Memorativa.
11 bonus socius: "a boon-companion." Cf. "As they call good fellows now a days, which are those that can drink best." Meet. of Gallants at Ordl., 1604 (N. E. D.).

12
BERNHARDUS PLUMILEGUS

sicut vos, semper volunt reprehendere alios, et parvipendunt Theologos.

Et semel in una zeccha in domo sua, quando bibimus cerevisiam Turgensem, et sedimus usque ad tertiam horam. Et ego fui modicum ebrius, quia illa cerevisia ascendit mihi in caput, tunc fuit ibi unus qui alias non stetit bene mecum, et ego apportavi ei unum medium cantarum, et ipse accepit. Sed postea non voluit mihi simile facere.

Et ter cavisavi eum, et non voluit mihi respondere, et sedit cum silentio et nihil dixit: "Ecce iste alias spernit te, et est superbus, et semper voluit te confundere."

Et fui commotus in ira mea, et accepi cantarum et percussi ei ad caput. Tunc illae poetae fuit iratus super me, et dixit quod fecissim rumorem in domo sua, et dixit quod deberem exire de domo sua in nomine diaboli.

Tunc ego respondi: "Quid tunc est, si estis inimicus meus. Ego bene habui ita malos inimicos sicut vos estis, et tamen mansi praee eis. Quid tunc est etiam si estis poeta. Ego habeo etiam poetas qui sunt amici mei et sunt bene ita boni sicut vos; ego bene merdarem in vestram poetiam. Quid creditis? Putatis quod ego sum stultus, vel quod sum natus super arborem sicut poma?"

Tunc vocavit me asinum, et dixit quod ego nunquam vidi unum poetam. Et ego dixi: "tu met es asinus in cute tua; ego vidi bene plures poetas quam tu;" et dixi de vobis et de magistro nostro Sotphi in bursa Kneck,

15 zeccha: "a drinking-bout";
"Nullum membrum universitatis in loco suspecto zechas tenet;"

Turgensem. See i. 1, n.
22 cavisavi: "challenged" him, and thus drew his attention to the breach of good manners. (Peculiar to the E. O. V.)
26 canta:
"Anone begynmeth brawlynge and debate

Blasfemynghe and othes the pot about the pate."
—Barchly, The Ship of Fools, ii. 71 (1874).
37 Natus, &c. Cf. ii. 19.
42 Sotphi: Gerard of Zutphen, Rector of the University of Cologne, 1505. See i. 19.
42 Kneck: or, rather, "Kuijk"; one of the hostels at Cologne (in formal documents, Bursa Cunea), named in honour of a former rector, Johann Cuick. A "Bursa" was a house inhabited by students, under the supervision of a graduate; a hostel.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM
qui compositur glosam notabilem, et de domino Rutgero
licentiatu Theologiae in bursa Montis; et sic exivi
domum suam, et adhuc sumus inimici. Quapropter
rogo vos valide cordialiter quatenus velletis mihi semel
scribere unum dictamen, tunc ego volo huic poetae et
aliis ostendere, et volo gloriari quod estis amicus meus,
et estis bene melior poeta quam ille.
Et praecipue scribite mihi quid faciat dominus
Ioannes Pfefferkorn, an adhuc habet inimicitiam cum
doctori Reuchlin, et an vos adhuc defenditis eum
sicut fecistis, et mittite mihi unam novitatem. Valete
in Christo.

IV

M. IOANNES CANTRIFUSORIS
M. Ortvino Gratio

SALUTEM cordiallem. Venerabilis domine magister,
quoniamquidem saepe tractavimus tales levitates
ad invicem. Et quia non est cura vobis si aliquis
dixerit vobis unam fantasiam sicut ego nunc intendo,
propterea non timui quod toUatis in malam partem
quod scribam vobis nunc unam cavillationem, quia
vos etiam facitis taliter. Et vos ridebitis, ego scio,
quia est mirabile factum.

Fuit hic nuper quidam de ordine praedicatorum, et

43 glosam notabilem: viz. upon the
first and second parts of the Doctrinale
of Alexander Grammaticus. (See i. s,
*) This dreary treatise on Latin
grammar comprises 2645 lines of
doggerel verse (Pt. I., 1-1073; Pt.
II., 1074-1549; Pt. III., 1550-2281;
Pt. IV., 2282-2645). Its popularity
was extraordinary. Karl Kehrbach,
Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica,
Bd. XII. (1898), describes 295 printed
editions of the whole or part of the
Doctrinale, or of commentaries thereon.
The first edition is that of Venice (?),
c. 1470—the last that of Brescia, 1583
(until reprinted by Kehrbach).

44 bursa Montis, or Montana (otherwise
"Burs unter XVI. Häusern"),
named from Lambert de Monte.

47 dictamen: here, simply "a com-
position." The art of Dictamen
comprehended the whole art of
composition in prose and verse;
and an important branch of it
was concerned with rules for letter-
writing, private and official. As
Rashdall (i. 111) points out, Dictamen
formed a link between grammar and
law.

48 cantrifusoris: quasi "canthari-
fusoris," pewterer. The name occurs
in the "Album" of the Univ. of
Wittenberg in 1502, and as that of
the author of two poems at the end
of a pamphlet entitled Orationes
Doctoris Christophori Scheurli . . .
Habita in gymnasio Wittenbergensi . . .
1507 (s. l. et a.).
IOANNES CANTRIFUSORIS


Et fui iratus super cun, et cogitavi quomodo posse me vindicare. Et non potui imaginare quomodo facerem. Et semel dixit mihi unus, quomodo de nocte iret ille praedicator ad unam mulierem, et supponeret eam, et dormiret cum ea. Et ego audiens talia, semel accepi aliquos socios qui stant in collegio, et circa horam decimam ivimus ad illam domum, et per vim intravimus; tune ille monachus volens fugere, non habuit tempus ut tolleret vestimenta sua, et saltavit nudus ex fenestra, et ego risi ita quod statim perminxissem me, et clamavi: "Domine praedicator, tollatis pontificalia vestra," et

15 speculativus: fond of mooting and discussing knotty points. In ii. 6 Hochstratus is said to be "speculativus et argumentifex singularis." In i. 42, "in spec. scient.," the word bears its more usual meaning of "theoretical."

16 Hallis. The Univ. of Wittenberg was incorporated with that of Halle in 1815—the latter having been founded in 1694 by Frederick I. of Prussia.

17 principem: i.e. Luther's friend, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony.

18 collatione: here, as in many other places in the E. O. V., in the sense of the common evening meal or potation. In i. 30, however, we find collatio in the noteworthy sense of a sermon or discourse—"in secunda parte sue collationis induxit duas conclusiones," &c. The history of the word is not free from obscurity.

An excellent discussion of the whole matter, with copious illustrative quotations, will be found in the "New Engl. Dict.," s.v. "collation." It is there pointed out that the work from the public reading of which the term probably originated was the Collationes Patrum in Sextica Eremo Commorantium, of John Cassian, A.D. 410-20; "collatio" first signifying the work itself—then the reading thereof—and then, the repast that followed. Other authorities, however, quoted by Du Cange, consider that "collatio" originally meant a conference, or discussion, held by the monks upon the passage read.

20 imaginare: peculiar to the E. O. V.

21 de nocte, &c. Boccaccio relates a similar tale.

25 pontificalia: literally, the insignia of a bishop; here, derisively.
socii exterius proiecerunt eum in merdam et in aquam. Sed ego compescui eos, et dixi quod haberent discretionem; verūtāmē adivi eos quod omnes supposuimus illam mulierem: et ita vindicavi me de illo monacho, et postea id non amplius praeedicavit de me. Sed non debetis alii dicere, propterea quod fratres praeedicatores nunc sunt pro vobis contra doctorem Reuchlin, et defendunt ecclesiam et fidem catholicam contra illos poetas saeculares: ego vellem quod iste monachus fuisse de alio ordine, quia ille ordo est valde mirificus inter omnes.

Vos etiam debetis mihi aliquid risibile significare, et non irascimini mihi. Valete.

Ex Wittenberg.

V

IOANNES STRAUSSFEDERIUS
Ortvino Gratia

IOANNES STRAUSSFEDERIUS

domini et nobilistae, et non habuit unam guttam vere-
cundiae, sed fuit ita praetensus quod ego miror.

Ipsi dixit: "Ecce doctor Ioannes Reuchlin est
doctor quam vos," et dedit ei unum knipp. Tunc
magister noster Petrus dixit: "Ego mitterem solvere
collum meum an hoc est verum. Sancta Maria, doctor
Reuchlin est in theologia sicut unus puer, et unus puer
plus scit in theologica quam doctor Reuchlin. Sancta
Maria, credatis mihi, quia ego habeo experientiam.
Tamen ipse nihil scit in libris Sententiarum. Sancta
Maria, ista materia est subtilis, et homines non possunt
ita capere sicut grammaticam et poetriam. Ego vellem
etiam bene poeta esse, et scirem etiam componere
metra, quia audivi in Lyptick Sulpitium de quanti-
tatibus syllabarum. Sed quid est? Ipsi debere mihi
proponere unam quaestionem in theologia, et debere mi
arguere pro et contra."

Et ipse probavit per multas rationes, quod nemo
scit perfecte theologiam, nisi per spiritum sanctum.

Qua nunc vanissime rumpes
Materia jeer hoc? quoque exercebis
amaram
Ex odio linguam? quo nunc ser-
mone placebis
Huic populo? quem dente petes?
quemve ore maligno?
Praeterea nemo est ex vulgo in-
doctor isto;
Audax nemo magis . . .

15 guttam: used in the sense of
"a morsel" by Lucretius (iv. 1056)
and Plautus (Ps. I. iv. 4), but
here probably intended to be gro-
tesque.
19 praetensum: here, "presump-
tuous." Du Cange gives only the
meaning "suppositus, Gall. pré-
tenda."

21 knipp: (Ger.) a derisive snap of
the fingers.

in lib. Sent.: Peter the Lombard,
one of the greatest of the Schoolmen,
was born at Lamelogno, near Novara,
in Lombardy, about 1100 A.D.
The fame of his Sententiarum Libri IV. led
to his being usually styled the Master
of the Sentences. This "Book of
Sentences" is a classified collection
of opinions of the Fathers on vari-
ous doctrinal points, with objections
and replies from other authors also.
Innumerable commentaries on this
work appeared (more than 150 in
England alone) from the XIIth Cent.
down to the Reformation. Among
the commentators appear such great
names as Albertus Magnus, Alexander
of Hales, Duns Scotus, William of
Occam, and Thomas Aquinas. Peter
the Lombard became Bishop of Paris
A.D. 1150, and died in the following
year.

25 Sulpit.: "If I am not mistaken,
he was a native of Verulhum (Veroli)
in the Campania di Roma . . . He
flourished towards the end of the
XVth Cent. His commentary upon
Lucan's Pharsalia was pretty good
for the time. La Croix du Maine . . .
calls him John Sulpitius of S. Alban."

Maizeaux, 1738, p. 289. One edition
of the work referred to is Sulpitii
Verulani de veritatis sequiense De
syllabarum quantitate (&c.). Antonius
Zarotus parnensis impressit Mediolani.
MCCCCXXXVII. die ii. Novembris.
(B. M.) S. attempts to formulate
rules for the quantity of every pos-
sible syllable formed by a vowel and
a consonant. The number of excep-
tions may be imagined.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Et spiritussanctus infundit illam artem. Et poetria est cibus diaboli, sicut dicit Hieronymus in suo epistolari.


Et fui valde gavisus, quod ita realiter expedivit illum trufatorem.

Vos debetis procedere in factis vestris, et debetis defendere theologam, sicut fecistis antea, et non debetis aliquem respicere, sive sit nobilis sive rusticus, quia vos estis sufficiens. Si scirem ita facere carmina sicut vos, ego non curarem unum principem, etiam si vellet me intercere. Sed alias sum inimicus juristarum, quia vadunt in rubes caligis, et in mardaris schubis, et non faciunt debitam reverentiam magistris, et magistris nostri.


34 sufficiens. Reuchlin, in a letter addressed to Arnold von Tongern, Oct. 28, 1511, and quoted at length in the Pepericorni Defensio, writes: "Pateor quin, in scholis theologiam non didici, sed civiles leges."

35 unum libr.: possibly the De Verbo Mirifico; the Augenspiegel itself can scarcely be meant.

36 casarius: i.e. a mendicant monk to whom the country-folk were wont to give cheeses as alms. Cf. ii. 27.

42 diabolum: John viii. 48; but "Daemonium" in the Vulg.

45 realiter: "to some purpose"; a favourite adverb in the E. O. V. Cf. "Promittit auxilium sumum realiter cum effectu" (i. 11).

48 trufatorem: the glossarists are not agreed upon the precise meaning of this word. Cf. Du Cange, Diefenbach, and Diez, s.v. "Boaster" or "wind-bag" seems most suitable here. "Trüffler" is etymologically allied, as is "truffle."

53 rub. cal.: the clergy were prohibited from wearing red shoes. Cf. Du Cange, s.v. caliga.

55 mard. schub.: (Ger.) Schaube, "a cloak"; Marder, "a marten." Cf. "Budge doctors of the stolc fur." This passage is quoted by Du Cange, "Mardara scula: Toga pellibus mus tellarum instructa."


Datum Moguntiae.

VI

NICOLAUS CAPRIMULGIUS

M. Ortvino Gra.

Sal. plurimam cum magna reverentia erga vestram dignitatem, sicut debo scribens ad vestram magistratatem. Venerabilis domine magister, sciatis quod

56 affectualiter. Not elsewhere found.
57 Sotphi. Cf. i. 3, n.
58 Alexander Gallus, de Villa Dei, or Grammaticus, was born at Villedieu, in France, at the end of the XIIth or beginning of the XIIIth Cent. For his treatise on Latin grammar, see i. 3, n.
59 Remig.: R. de Malmundario, Rector of the Univ. of Cologne in 1498. Cf. Bianco, Die alte Universität Köln, i. p. 829. (For the textbook known as Remigius, see i. 7, n.)
60 singul.: the student’s especial tutor, or the head of the hostel in which he lodged.
62 Remig.: for Caprimulgus, “goatsucker.”
63 magistr.: the only instance. Bacon (Advancement of Learning, ii.) uses the form: “Those who seek truths, and not magistrality.”

19
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM Vlorum

est una notabilis quæstio quam peto seu rogo determinari a vestra magistralitate. Est hic unus Graecus qui resumit grammaticam Urbani, et quando scribit Graecum, tune semper ponit titellos superius. Quaupropter ego dixi nuper: "tamen magister Ortuinus Daventriae etiam practicavit grammaticam graecam, et etiam est sufficiens ita bene sicut ille, et nuncquam scripsit ita titellos; et ego credo quod ita bene intelligit facta sua sicut ille, et adhuc posset corrigere istum graecum"; sed alii non voluerunt credere, et socii mei ac constantes petiverunt quod vellem scribere ad dominationem vestram, quod notificaretis mihi quomodo est, an debemus ponere titellos, an non. Si non debemus ponere, tunc per deum realiter volumus vexare illum graecum, et volumus facere quod debet paucos auditores habere. Ego bene vidi de vobis Coloniae in domo Henrici Quadrst, quando suistis corrector et debuistis corrigere graecum, tune absistentis omnibus titellos qui fuerunt supra Ibris, et dixistis "Quid debent illae stultitiae."

Et ita iam consideravi quod vos habetis aliquam rationem: alias non fecissetis. Vos estis mirabilis homo, et deus dedit vobis magnam gratiam quod scitis aliquid in omni scibili. Quaupropter debetis etiam laudare dominum deum in vestris metris, et beatam virginem, et omnes sanctos dei. Sed non habueritis mihi pro molestia quod impedio vestram dominationem

7 Graecus: probably Richard Croke. See i. 35, n.
8 Urbani: Urbanus Bellumensis (Urbanus Bolzanius), a Franciscan. His treatise on Greek grammar was first published by Aldus at Venice in 1497. A funeral oration by Albertus Castrifrancanus, one of his pupils, gives us some account of his life (Venice, 1524); there is a copy in the Brit. Mus.). Urbanus travelled through Greece to Byzantium, and brought back with him to Venice a store of Greek MSS., including an ancient copy of the Iliad. He died at the age of nearly 90.
9 ineq. scrip. Cf. Man Jupiter forum collectus ex libris R.P. Jacobo de Hochstraten... p. C. 4a: "Grillus... literas Graecas extirpare apud Coloniam nitiitur, sicut et Ortuinus discipulus nuper conabatur damnare accentus, quos per ignorantiam vocatabat titellos graecos."
10 titellos: i.e. the accents.
11 H. Quentel: Heinrich Quentell, or Quentell, a native of Strasburg, set up a printing-press at Cologne about 1479, and upon his death in 1503 the business was carried on by his heirs, where the Hotel du Dome now stands. Ortwin Gratias acted as editor and corrector of the press to the firm for several years.
12 non habueritis, &c. We are reminded of Rosa Dartle's "Now you must really hear with me, because I ask for information." David Copperfield, ch. xxix.
PETRUS HAFENMUSIUS
cum istis quaestionibus, quia facio talia causa informationis. Valete.

Ex Lyptzick.

VII

M. PETRUS HAFENMUSIUS
M. Ortvin Gratio

SALUTEM innumerabilem. Venerabilis domine magister, si haberem pecunias et substantiam magnum, tunc vellem dare vobis unam notabilem propinam, credatis mihi firmiter, quod solvatis mihi istam quaestionem quam propono.

Sed quia pronunc non habeo oves et boves, universa insuper et pecora campi, sed sum pauper, properea non possum vobis appreciare pro vestra doctrina; sed promitto vobis, quod postquam sum beneficiatus, sicut iam insteti pro una Vicaria, tunc volo semel unum honorem specialem facere vobis.

Et scribatis mihi an est necessarium ad aeternam salutem, quod scholares discunt grammaticam ex poetis saecularibus, sicut est Virgilius, Tullius, Plinius, et alii? Videtur mihi quod non est bonus modus studendi. Quia, ut scribit Aristoteles primo methaphysicae: "Multa mentiuntur Poetae;" sed qui mentiuntur, peccant, et quin fundant studium suum super mendaciis, fundant illud super peccatis. Et quicquid fundatum est super peccatis, non est bonum; sed est contra deum, quia deus est inimicus peccatis.

Sed in poetria sunt mendacia; et ergo qui incipiunt suam doctrinam in poetria, non possunt proficere in bonitate; quia mala radix habet super se malam herbam, et mala arbor profert malum fructum, secundum evangelium, ubi dicit salvator: "Non est arbor bona quae facit fructum malum." Etiam bene adhuc

\[1\] Hafenmusius: perhaps Hafen, a pot, and mausen, to filch: "one who takes furtive sips." (Böcking.)

\[2\] substantiam: as in the phrase "a man of substance."

\[3\] notabilem propinam. Cf. Scott, The Abbot, xxvii., "There was never sic a braw propine as this sent to a yerl."

\[4\] non habeo, &c. Cf. Psal. viii. 8: "Oves et boves universas, insuper et pecora campi." Vulg.

\[5\] Aristoteles: Metaph. i. 2. "Παλά ψειδοντα δαμος" (quoting an adage).

memoro illam doctrinam, quam dedit mihi semel magister noster Valentinus de Geltersheim in bursa Montis, quando fui suus discipulus, et volui audire Salustium. Et dixit, "quare vis audire Salustium, tu dischole?"

Tunc ego respondi, quod magister Ioannes de Vratislavia dixit, quod discimus bona dictamina facere ex talibus poetis. Tunc ipse dixit: "est fantasia, sed tu debes bene advertere in partibus Alexandri, et epistolis Caroli, quae practicantur in aula grammaticorum; ego nunquam audivi Salustium, et tamen scio dictamina facere metrice et prosaice." Et sic magister noster Valentinus fecit quod ego nunquam studui in poëtria. Et isti humanistae nunc vexant me cum suo novo latino, et annihilant illos veteres libros, Alexandrum, Remigium, Ioannem de Garlandia,

31 Valentinus: Valentinus von Engelhard, of Geldersheim (a village in Franconia, Bavaria, on the Weru, near Wurtzburg), Canon of Cologne and Rector of the Univ. in 1508. (See Ep. ii. 29.) He was nicknamed the "fox-hunter," or "student-trapper," in consequence of the assiduity with which he sought students for his hostel. He died in 1526. Bianco, Die Alte Universit"at, 1535, p. 236. (Cited by B"ocking.) The tribulations of one of von Geltersheim's touts are amusingly described in ii. 29.

32 audire: to hear lectures upon. Cf. ii. 46, "Volunt audire Virgilium et Plinimum et alios novos autores."


34 Ioannes. B"ocking suggests that this is Joannes Borsceus, of Breslau, mentioned in a letter from Petrus Ravennas (see ii. 20, 50) to Ortwin Gratianus, 1508.

35 Alix.: i.e. Alexander Grammaticus.

36 Caroli: i.e. Karl Mennicken (Carolus Virulus). He was author of a very popular, if inept, treatise on letter-writing, "Epistolae Karoli" (bitterly criticised by Bebelius). Mennicken was Rector of the Paedagogium Lilii, at Louvain, for fifty-six years, and died in 1493, at the age of eighty.

37 practicantur. Cf. i. 6.

44 novo Latino: i.e. Classical, as opposed to the Medieval Latin of the "veteres libri."

45 Remigium: Remigius the Grammarian wrote a commentary on the Ars Parva of Donatus. The best known work of Remigius is, however, usually cited as Dominus que Pars. The earliest known edition has for its title: "Dominus que pars. (In prescript libello continetur haec. Primo Remigius seu dominus que pars. Secundo ordo constructibilium. Tercio regimina. Quarto regulae congruitatim. Quinto metra constructionum. Sexto comparationes.) Impressus in caesarea civitate Lubiensi, 1489." The Fundamentum scolarium of Remigius is merely an enlarged edition of the same work.

46 Ioannem: John Garland, an Englishman. B"ocking, following writers who were not acquainted with Garland's poem, De Triumphis Ecclesiis, places him in the 17th Cent., but it is now established that he flourished
PETRUS HAFENMUSIUS

Cornutum, Composita verborum, Epistolare magistri Pauli Niavis, et dicunt ita magna mendacia quod ego facio crucem pro me quando audio. Sicut nuper unus dixit, quod est in quadam provincia una aqua, quae habet arenam auream et vocatur Tagus; et ego fistulavi occulte, quia non est possibile.

Ego scio bene quod etiam estis poeta, sed non scio unde habetis illam artem. Ipsi dicunt quod quando vultis, tunc facitis plura metra in una hora; sed credo quod intellectus vester est ita illuminatus per gratiam Spiritussaneti desuper quod scitis illa et alia, quia semper fuistis bonus Theologus, et reprehenditis illos gentiles.

Libenter vellem vobis scribere unam novitatem si scirem: sed non audivi aliquid quam quod fratres ac dominii de ordine praedicatorem habent hic magnas indulgentias, et absolvent a pena et a culpa, quando two hundred years later, and was a teacher of Roger Bacon at Paris. Garland was a voluminous writer of works on grammar, alchemy, mathematics, and music, as well as of poetry. (D.N. B.)

Cornutum: one of Garland's works, also known as Distigium, or Scholarium, consisting of a series of distichs embodying advice to young scholars. In the introduction to the Cornutus Magistri Joannis de Garlandia (H. Gran, Hagenau, 1480) we are informed that it is called "Cornutus," because "just as animals defend themselves with a pair of horns, so does the author express his meaning in couplets." The first four lines of this curious work will give an idea of its strange Graeco-Latin jargon:—

"Caespitat in phaleris hyppus blactaquae supinus
Glossa velit themeto labat hemus
Infatutato.
Qui kalus impraxi simul et est
Pisticus hemus
Illus oda placet hic recte theo-
Logistat."

Composita Verbl: this may possibly be the Libellus de Verborum Composi-
sitis by the same author, or, more probably, the Composita Verborum by Joannes Sinthen, a grammarian of Deventer, and teacher of Erasmus. (See ii. 46.) Cf. Camb. Mod. Hist., i. 436.

Epistolare: Paulus Niavis—Latinised from Schneevogel. "Qui fuit Magister Lypsensis." (Cf. ii. 31.) Amongst other works attributed to P. N. are Dialogus Mag. P. N. par-
vellus scholaribus ad latinum idiom inflantium (Basle, 1489); Epis-
tolae breves (longiores, mediocres), Mag. P. N. (1494); and Latina Vidimata Mag. P. N. (1494).


With regard to Ortuin as a versifier, if:—

"te uno carmine vincat
Buschius, aut aliquis Musarum nactus
Alumnus.
Isque tuis similes, si quid certaveris, uno
Mille die versus faciet."

—Triumphus Capitoniensis.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

aliquis est confessus et contritus, et habent super hoc litteras papa. Etiam scribite mihi aliquid, quia ego sum vester tanquam famulus.

65 Valete ex Nurexberga.

VIII

C FRANCISCUS GENSELINUS
M. Ortvino Gratia

SALUTEM quam mille talenta non possunt aequivalere in sua gravitate. Venerabilis domine magister, scitote quod hic est magnus sermo de vobis, et theologi valde laudant vos quod non respexitis aliquem, et scripsistis pro defensione fidei contra doctorem Reuchlin. Sed aliqui socii qui non habent intelligetiam, et etiam jurisprae qui non sunt illuminati in fide christiana, spernunt vos, et loquuntur multa contra vos, sed non possunt praevaleure, quia facultas theologica tenet vobiscum. Et nuper quando venerunt hic isti libri, qui vocantur Acta Parrhisiensium, tunc fere omnes magistri emerunt et gaviis sunt maxime: ego protunc etiam emi, et misi ad Heidelbergam ut ibi viderent. Et credo quod ubi viderunt, tunc paenituit Heidelbergenses quod non etiam conculerunt cum alma universitate Colonensi contra doctorem Reuchlin. Et

62 conf. et contr. In Tetel's instructions to his subordinates the necessity of "confession and repentance" is alluded to, but the infallible efficacy of the indulgence is asserted absolutely. (See ii. 43 for a keen controversy between Frater Jacobus and Doctor Reiss on this subject.)

63 lit. papal. The papal Letters were personal indulgences granted to individuals. They became recognised articles of traffic by the Curia, with a fixed tariff of fees." H. C. Lea, Hist. of Aniit. Conf. and Indulgences, iii. 191 (1896).

1 Thomas Murner had been by an opponent nicknamed "den Gansprediger"; the epistle, however, is not in keeping with what we know of Murner. (See ii. 3, n.)

7 scrip. In 1514 had been published Praecepta Ordinis Gratii liberalium disciplinarum professoris uitrum omnem malovolentiam cumis Christifidelibus dedicata — directed against Reuchlin's Augenspiegel.

9 juris. The University of Freiburg (in Breisgau), founded in 1455, had become famous for its school of jurisprudence under the influence of the celebrated Jurist, Ulrich Zasius. See ii. 9.

13 Acta Parrh. The "Acta Doctorum Parrhisiensium de sacratisima facultate theologica . . . contra Speculum Oeulare Joannis Reuchlin Phorcensis . . . " was printed by Quentell at Cologne, and published in 1514.
FRANCISCUS GENSELINUS

proterea audio quod universitas Coloniensis fecit unum statutum quod nunquam in aeternum volunt movovere unum qui complevit pro gradu baccalaureatus vel magisterii in Heidelbergga: et est bene factum, quia sic debent discere quid est universitas Coloniensis, et alia vice debent tenere cum ea. Ego vellem quod sic facerent alii, sed credo quod aliae universitates non sciverunt. Et igitur parcitis eis propter ignorantiam. Etiam quidam socius dedit mihi pulchra carmina quae debent intimesse in universitate Coloniensi, et alia vice debent tenere cum ea. Ego vellem quod sic facerent aliis, sed credo quod aliae universitates non sciverunt. Et igitur parcitis eis propter ignorantiam.

Qui vult legere haereticas pravitates
Et cum hoc discere bonas latinitates,
Ille debet emere Parrhisium acta
Et scripta de Parrhisia nuper facta,
Quomodo Reuchlin in fide erravit,
Sicut magister noster Tungarus doctrinaliter probavit.
Illa vult magister Ortvinus legere
Gratis, in hac alma universitate,
Et cum hoc textum ubique glosare
Neonon quaedam notabilia in margine notare,
Et vult arguere pro et contra,
Sicut fecerunt Theologi in Parrhisia,
Quando speculam oculare examinaverunt
Et Reuchlin magistrataliter damnaverunt,
Ut sciant fratres Carmelitae
Et alii qui vocantur Iacobitae.

Ego miror quomodo potestis ita speculari talia: vos estis valide artificialis in compositionibus vestris, et habetis magnum dulcedinum, ita quod semper ego rideo praeterea latitiae, quando lego aliquid quod vos componistis, et opto semper quod velitis diu vivere quod

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19 audio, &c. This glossip of the worthy Genselinus must not be regarded as founded on fact.
20 Tangarum. Arnold von Tongern's attack upon Reuchlin (briefly cited as the "Articuli"), with introductory elegiacs by Ortvio Gratius, had been published in 1512.
21 leg. grat.: to deliver public lectures upon.
22 Carmelitae: the existing mendicant Order of Carmelites was founded in 1209. Theodoric of Gouda (see i. 1) was a member.
laus vestra crescat sicut fecit usque huc, quia vestra 55
scripta sunt valde utilia. Deus vos conservet et vivificet
vos, et non tradat vos in manus inimicorum vestrorum.
Et sicut dicit Psalmista: “Tribuat vobis dominus secun-
dum cor vestrum, et omne consilium vestrum confirmet.”
Et vos etiam scribatis mihi de factis vestris, quia libenter
audio, et video quid facitis seu agitis: et sic Valete.
Ex Friburga.

IX

C M. CONRADUS DE ZUICCAVIA
S. D. M. Ortvino Gra.

QUIA legitur Ecces. XI. “Laetare juvenis in adole-
scencia tua.” Quapropter ego nunc sum laetae 5
mentis, et debetis scire quod bene sucedit mihi in
amore, et habeo multum supponere. Quia dicit
Ezechiel: “Nunc fornicabitur in fornicatione sua.”
Et quare non deberem aliquando purgare renes? tamen
non sum angelus, sed homo, et omnis homo errat. Vos
etiam aliquando supponitis, quamvis estis Theologus,
quia non potestis semper solus dormire, secundum illud
Ecclesiastae IIII.: “Si dormierint duo simul, fovebuntur
mutuo: unus autem quomodo calefiet?” Quando
scribitis mihi quid facit vestra amasia? Nuper dixit
mihi unus quod quando ipse fuit Coloniae, tunc fuistis
in rixa cum ipsa et percussistis eam, quia fortassis non
fecit secundum opinionem vestram. Et ego miror
quarre potestis ita pulchram mulierem percutere: ego
flerem si viderem: potius debetis dicere quod non faciat
amplius, tunc ipsa emendaret se, et de nocte esset vobis
amicabilior. Tamen quando legisistis nobis Ovidiaum,
dixistis nobis quod nullo modo debemus percutere

55 Deus, &c.: Psalm xli. 2.
57 Psalm.: xx. 4.
1 Zuiccavia: Zwickau, a city of
Saxony, about 80 miles SW. of
Dresden. In 1520 Thomas Münzer
was appointed pastor there, and put
himself at the head of a band of
frenzied fanatics known as the pro-
phets of Zwickau. Hence originated
the worst follies and abominations of
Anabaptism, culminating in the estab-
lishment of the New Zion at Müntzer,
and the ruthless suppression of the
mania by armed force in 1535.
7 Ezek.: Ezek. xxiii. 43.
12 Eccles.: Ecc. iv. 11.
CONRADUS DE ZUICCAVIA


Nuper volui ire ad eam, tunc vidi exire quendam iuvenem mercatorem qui habuit apertas caligas, et sudavit in fronte, et credidissem quod supposuisset eam, et fui quodammodo iratus; sed ipsa iuravit quod non tetigisset eam ille mercator, sed voluisset ei vendere lineum ad faciendas camisas; tunc ego dixi "est bonum, sed quando etiam datis mihi unam camisiam?" Tunc rogavit me quod deberem ei concedere duos florenos quod posset solvere illum linum, tunc etiam vellet mihi dare unam camisiam. Et protunc non habui pecuniam, sed petii unum socium qui concessit mihi et dedit eis. Ego laudo quod aliquis semper est laetus. Et medici dieunt etiam quod sanum est quando aliquis est laetus. Quidam magister noster hic semper irascitur et nunquam est laetus, et propter semper est insirmus. Ipse semper reprehendit me et dicit, quod non debo amare mulieres, quia sunt diaboli, et perditionem homines, et sunt immundae, et nulla mulier est pura; et quando aliquis est cum muliere, tunc est sicut cum diabolo, quia permittunt nulli requiem. Tunc ego dixi "parcatis mihi, domine magister noster, vestra mater etiam fuit mulier," et abivi.

Ipse etiam nuper praedicavit, quod sacerdotes nullo modo deberent habere concubinas secum, et dicit quod episcopi peccant mortaliter quando accipiant decimam

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52 dec. laitis: vulg. Milchzehnt. Under the name of cullagium there is abundant evidence to show that throughout the Middle Ages a tax was exacted from priests in return for permission to keep what was euphemistically termed a focaria, or fireside companion. Unavailing protests against this practice were made from time to time. In the Vth Article of the Synod of Lillebonne, 1080, it is decreed that "Propert eorum feminas nulla pecuniae emendatio exigatur." Gerard Groot, taking for his text Is. Iii. 11, preached a notable sermon De focariis (Aurora, Dresden, 1859, v. 42).

In a complaint laid before the Pope by the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg in 1522, it is stated that "In many parts of the country the Bishops and their emissaries not only condone the concubinage of priests, provided the tax demanded is paid, but they com-
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

lactis et permittunt ancillas esse cum presbyteris, quia deberent eas totaliter expellere. Sed sit a vel b, nos debemus esse aliquando laeti, et etiam possumus dormire cum mulieribus, quando nemo videt: postea tamen facimus confessionem: et deus est misericors, et debemus sperare veniam.

Ego mitto vobis hie quaedam scripta pro defensione Alexandri Galli grammatici antiqui et sufficientis, quamvis poetae moderni volunt eum reprehendere; sed non sciant quid loquuntur, quia Alexander est optimus, ut olim dixistis mihi quando stetimus Daventriae. Quidam magister hic dedit mihi, sed nescio ubi accepit. Ego vellem quod faceretis imprimere, tunc maxime faceretis iratos illos poetas, quia ille auctor realiter vexat eos; sed est ita poetaliter compositum quod ego non intelligo, quia ille qui composuit est etiam bonus poeta; sed cum hoc est Theologus, et non tenet cum saecularibus poetis sicut est doctor Reuchlin, Buschius et alii. Statim

pel those priests who live continently to pay the same tax, declaring that the Bishop must have his money, and that when the fine was paid they could please themselves whether they lived a life of celibacy or not." Goldast, Gravamina Ord. Imp. Cap. Ixx. (i. 464). Cf. also Bp. Creighton, Hist. of the Papacy, v. 29.

Buschius: Hermannus Buschius — Hermann von dem Busche — (1468-1534) was born at Sassenberg in Westphalia, and is described in the Register of Cologne Univ. as "eques tris ordinis." As a boy, he was a pupil of Hegius at Deventer, where he was a fellow-student of Ortwin Gratius. In 1486 B. proceeded to Italy, where he remained for five years, and enjoyed the friendship of the eminent scholar and antiquary, Pomponius Laetus. In some verses inscribed to the younger Filippo Beroaldo, he says:

"Olim Romanas juvenis digressus
darces
Perdomiti clarum quae caput orbis
erant.
Pomponi Laeti primum cee fonte
perenni
Plurima de sacro sedulus ore bibi.

Post Iustrum patriae capior revo cantis amore
Et proprium Latia vertor ab urbe
domum."

In the Register of Wittenberg Univ., for 1502 Buschius is first entitled "Pasiphilus" — quasi πασίφαλος — a name ever after associated with him. The young scholar soon became known as one of the most ardent champions of the New Learning. Attacking with the utmost vivacity the errors and futilities of the scholastic text-books, ever at loggerheads with the defenders of medievalism, Buschius flitted restlessly from city to city throughout Germany and the Netherlands. He did not, however, at first throw in his lot with the Reuchlinists, and wrote an Elogium for von Tongern's "Articuli." But in 1514 Mutianus writes gleefully, "Buschius has sung his palinode!" and henceforward the latter is to be found in the foremost ranks of Reuchlin's defenders. In Oct. 1514 he writes to Reuchlin:

"O! si videres mune ora et vultus
Theologistarum; tali est furientis
invidiae species; tali est insaniae
delirantis viva effligen. Inflatis buccis

28
IOANNES ARNOLDI

quando fuit mihi data illa materia, tunc dixi, quod vellem vobis mittere quod legeretis. Si habetis aliquid novum, tunc etiam mittatis mihi. Valete in charitate non ficta.

Ex Liptzick.

X

IOANNES ARNOLDI S. D. P.
M. Ortvino Gratio


In 1516 Buschius paid a visit to England, and gained the friendship of Bp. Fisher and Sir Thomas More, while to Dean Colet, then engaged in establishing St. Paul's School, he seems to have rendered aid as one of its first lecturers. In 1526 B., after further wanderings, settled down at Marburg, and there, at the age of nearly three-score, took to himself a wife, Adelheida by name, and begat a son, Hieronymus. But he was not destined to end his life in domestic peace. In the autumn of 1533 the weary scholar journeyed to Münster and attended a disputation against the rising madness of Anabaptism. There the rapier of the brilliant controversialist found itself for the first time pitted against—not the rusty armour of scholasticism—but the bludgeons of a blind fanaticism. The contest was unequal—and Buschius, exhausted by the brutal strife, died at Dülmen in the spring of 1534.

J. Niesert, Historisch-geographische-
hie multos fautores, etiam nobiles, et vadunt armati sicut bufones, cum longis gladiis in plateis. Sed tamen ego dixi quod non est rectum, quia debetis notare quod iste poetæ saeculares adhuc facient multas guerras, cum suis metris, si magistri nostri non habebunt adversamentiam, et non citabunt eos per magistrum nostrum Iacobum de Hochstraten ad curiam romanam. Et ego timeo quod erit unum magnum disturbium in fide catholica.

Rogo igitur vos quod velitis componere unum librum contra istum scandalizatorem, et realiter vexare eum. Tunc postea non erit ita audax quod velit stimulare magistros nostros, quia ipse est simplex socius, et neque est promotus neque non habebunt adversamentium, et non citabunt eos per magistrum nostrum lacobum de Hochstraten ad curiam romanam. Et ego timeo quod erit unum magnum disturbium in fide catholica.

Ipse nuper sedit in mensa et dixit quod magistri nostri in Colonia et Parrhisia faciunt iniuriam doctori Reuchlin, et ego tenui ei oppositum: tune vexavit me multis malis verbis et scandalosis, quod fui ita iratus quod surrexi de mensa, et protestavi coram omnes de iniuriis, et non potui comedere unam buccellam.

Vos debetis mihi dare consilium in supradicta causa, quia etiam pro parte estis jurista.


Qui est bonus catholicus, debet sentire cum Parrhisiensibus, Quia illud gymnasium, est mater omnium universitatum. Deinde Colonia sancta, quae est in fide Christiana tanta, Quod nullus debet contradicere, vel merito penam luere, Sicut Reuchlin doctor, qui est speculi ocularis auctor, Quem magister noster Tungarns, probavit quod est haereticus, Necnon magister de Alta platea, qui fecit comburere eius dictamina.
Si haberem unum argumentum, ego vellem componere unum librum contra istum trufatorem, et probare quod de facto est excommunicatus. Non habeo plus tempus ad scribendum, quia oportet me ire ad lectionem, quia unus magister legit replicationes super veterem artem valde subtiliter compositas, et ego audio eas pro completione. Valete super omnes socios et amicos meos qui sunt hic et ubique, et in omnibus locis et honestis.

Valete super onmes socios et amicos meos qui sunt hic et ubique, et in omnibus locis et honestis.

XI

CORNELIUS FENESTRIFICIS S. D. P.
M. Ortvino Gratio

SALUTES tot quot habet caelum stellas et mare arenas. Venerande domine magister, ego habeo hic multas rixas et guerras a malis viris qui praesumunt esse docti, et tamen non didicerunt logicam, quae est scientia scientiarum. Ego legi nuper unam missam ad praedicatorum de Spiritusancto quod deus velit mihi dare suam gratiam, et bonam memoriam in syllogismis ad disputandum cum illis qui scient tantum latinisare, et dictamina componere. Etiam composui unam collectam in illa missa pro magistro nostro Iacobo de Hochstrat, et magistro nostro Arnoldo de Tungaris, summo regente in bursa Laurentii, quod possunt in disputacione Theologica ad metam redargutionis ducere quendam doctorem in jure qui vocatur Ioannes Reuchlin, etiam est poeta saecularis et prae tumuosus, et tenet oppositum contra quattuor universitates, pro Iudaeis, et facit propositiones scandalosas et offensivaspiarum aurium, ut probavit Ioannes Pfeffer-
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

corn, et magister noster Tungarus; sed non est fundatus in Theologia speculativa, nec qualificatus in Aristotele, aut Petro Hispano. Ideo magistri nostri in Parrhisia damnaverunt eum ad ignem vel reclamationem.

Ego vidi litteram et sigillum domini Decani sacrosanctae facultatis Theologicæ Parrhisiensis. Unus magistrorum nostrorum valde profundus in sacra Theologia, et illuminatus in fide, qui est membrum quattuor universitatum, et qui habet plus quam centum scribentes super libros sententiarum, in quibus se fundat, dixit manifeste quod praedictus doctor Ioannes Reuchlin non potest evadere. Et quod etiam Papa non audet dare sententiam contra talem solennissimam universitatem, quia ipse non est Theologus, et beatum Thomam contra gentiles non intelligit, quamvis dicunt quod est doctus videlicet in poesi. Ostendit mihi magister noster qui est plebanus ad sanctum Martinum epistolam, in qua illa universitas sororij suae universitati Coloniensi valde amicabiliter promittit auxilium suum realiter cum effectu. Et tamen isti latinisatores praesumunt tenere oppositum.

Ego sedi nuper Maguntiae in corona hospicio, ubi tribulaverunt me valde indiscrete duo trufatores, et vocaverunt magistros nostros in Parrhisia et Colonia fantasticos et stultos. Et dixerunt quod ipsorum libri

23 Petr. Hisp.: Petrus Hispanus, of Lisbon, a Dominican. With the title of John XXI. he occupied the Papal throne for the last seven months of his life (1276–7). Among his works are reckoned "Summulae logicae," "Parva logicia," and "Thesaurus pauperum." See i. 17, n.
24 Libr. Sent. See i. 5, n.
25 non est Theol. "Leo X.," says Fra Paolo, "displayed a singular proficiency in polite literature. . . . He would, indeed, have been a perfect pontiff, if to these accomplishments he had united some knowledge in matters of religion, and a greater inclination to piety." Erasmus, it is true, lauds Leo's attention to theology, amongst his other studies. But Erasmus was not free from obligations to the pontiff. See T. Roscoe, The Life of Leo X., chap. xxiv.
26 contra gentes. The Summa Contra Gentiles is divided into four books. "Its principal practical aim, at the time it was written, was the enlightenment of the Moors, the Saracens, and the Jews of Spain; and also to bring into prominence those arguments from reason for the establishment of Christianity which were beginning to be undermined by the rationalistic spirit of the age." The Life and Labours of Saint Thomas of Aquin, by Archbishop Vaughan, London, 1875, p. 473.
27 plebanus: parish priest: "Sacerdos qui plebi praest;" Du Cange; plebes, meaning "parish." Probably the Bartholomew (Zehender) of ii. 55.
28 S. Martinum: the cathedral at Mainz.
29 trufatores. See i. 5, n.
super sententias essent fantasiae; similiter processus, copulata, reparationes omnium bursarum dixerunt quod essent vanitates. Tunc fui ita iratus quod non scivi respondere. Cum hoc etiam vexaverunt me, quod feci passagium ad Treverim ad videndum tunicam domini, quia dixerunt quod fortassis non esset tunicam domini. Et probaverunt sic per Cornutum syllogismum: "Quic-quiet est laceratum, non debet ostendi pro tunica domini: sed illa est talis: ergo etc."

Tunc ego concessi maiorem, sed negavi minorem. Tunc probaverunt sic: "Beatus Hieronymus dicit: 'Vetusto oriens collisus errore tunicam domini inconsutilem desuper contextam per totam minutatim discerpsit per frusta.'" Et ego respondi, quod sanctus Hieronymus non est de stilo evangelii, nec immodicite ex apostolis; et sic surrexi de mensa et reliqui illos trufatores.

47 processus: methodological treatises compiled for the use of students at the various hostels, according to the views they severally affected. 48 copulata: compilations from the writings of various authors upon a single subject. Novices, who had to study these, were hence called "copulatistae." See ii. 35. 49 reparationes: the same as "Summae." Panzer, i. p. 306 (226). 50 Treverim. The venerable relic known as the Holy Coat of Treves is preserved in the Cathedral. According to tradition it was deposited there by St. Helena (claimed by the Germans as a native of a village—Eurem—near Treves), about A.D. 327. Trithemius, writing in 1512 (the date of the first recorded 'exposition' of the relic), states that he had heard as a boy that the coat was deposited for safety under the High Altar by Pope John in 1196. But the relic has had many wanderings. In 1640 it was removed for safety to Cologne, in 1667 to Ehrenbreitstein, and in 1759 back to Treves. We next hear of it successively at Ehrenbreitstein once more, Wurzburg, Bamberg, and Augsburg. In 1810, however, it was restored to Treves by Napoleon's orders. It was exhibited in 1844, and again in 1891, on which last occasion nearly 2,000,000 pilgrims availed themselves of the opportunity of seeing it. 51 Hieron. St. Jerome's metaphor, humorously treated as literal by the "duo trufatores," is to be found in the Epp. ad Damasum, xv.: "Quoniam vetusto Oriens intemer et populum furore collisus, indiscessam domini tunicam, et desuper textam, minutatim per frusta discerpsit." 52 inconsutilum. This adjective is never used except in this connection. Trithemius relates that within the chest containing the relic was found the inscription: "Haec est inconsutilis sacra Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi (tunica)." And in the Breviary of Treves there is a hymn beginning:—

"O vestis inconsutilis, Pro dulci nato Virginis—"

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Et compilavi nuper in via eundo unum dictamen metricum contra istos hoc modo:—

Sunt Maguntiae in publica Corona,  
In qua nuper dormivi in propria persona,  
Duo indiscerni bufones  
In magistros irreverentiales nebulones,  
Qui audent reprehendere magistros in Theologia,  
Quamvis ipsi non sunt promoti in Philosophia;  
Nec scirent in scholis formaliter disputare,  
Et ex una conclusione multa corollaria formare;  
Ut ducet fundamentaliter doctor subtiliss:  
Qui contemnit eum est multum vilis:

75 Corvinii: Laurentius Corvinius, 1465–1527, born at Neumarkt (Silesia), and hence styled Norforescis. His “De Latino Ydmi- mate,” to judge by the numerous editions, was very popular as an elementary text-book. This little book contains dialogues between various interlocutors—Cirillus, Pamphilus, &c. A brief extract will give an idea of the value of the work for the student who would fain make “metra et dictamina”:—

Cir. “Quo proceras, Pamphiile?”  
Pam. “Ad forum pergam.”  
Cir. “Quid in foro acturus es?”  
Pam. “Socer meus hesterno ves- peri duas mihi dono dedit obulos. Unum pro pane albo; alterum pro butyro ut durem...”

Cir. “Vacans mihi venter velut- menter crepitat. Uno non ero con- tentus pane.”

76 Brassinianus: Joannes Brassinianus, the Latinised form of Johann Kohlburger, of Canstadt. (Not to be con- founded with his more eminent son, Johannes Alexander.) His Institutiones Grammaticae was pub. at Strasburg in 1608, and often reprinted. He lectured on grammar and philo- sophy at Tübingen, and died c. 1620. Among some verses introductory to the “Gram. Inst.” (ed. 1512) this com- plet occurs:—

In Osorens.

“Brassicia si quibus ingrata est, Nas- turcia radiant,  
Et grati his santo Cardinum atque filix.”

76 Val. Mar. The “Factorumque Dictorumque Memorabilium Libri IX.” of Valerius Maximus—a series of miscellaneous historical anecdotes—seems to have been very popular in the German universities. Editions were very numerous.

76 poetas: here, “Classics.”

Ut concludunt quotlibeta doctoris irrefragabilis, Qui est in scientiis non expugnabilis:
Et non sciant quid est doctor Seraphicus, Sine quo nullus fiat bonus physicus:
Et qui veraciter scribit, doctor sanctus, In Aristotele et Porphyrio tantus,
Quod solus recte exponit quinque universalia,
Quae dicuntur etiam quinque praedicabilia:
O quam breve continuat libros praedicamentales
Et summat Aristotelis sententias morales.
Quae omnia non intelligunt poetae:
Ideo loquantur ita indiscrete,
Ut isti duo praesumptuosi trufatores,
Qui vocant magistros nostros osores;
Sed magister noster de Hochstrat debeat eos citare,
Tunc non amplius audebunt illuminatos vexare.


99 doct. irrefrag.: Alexander of Hales, a native of Gloucestershire, who became Professor of Philosophy and Theology in Paris, ultimately joining the Franciscan Order. He died A.D. 1245. His chief work is the "Summa Universae Theologiae." He was an uncompromising supporter of Papal supremacy, and consistently intolerant of all heretics.

91 doct. Seraph.: Giovanni di Fidenza, better known as St. Bonaventura—the glory of the Franciscan Order, whose general he became in 1256. The fervid writings of St. Bonaventura are mainly concerned with mystical theology, appealing not at all to the "Bonus physicus."

92 doct. sanct.: Thomas Aquinas.

94 Porph.: Porphyry, originally Malechus, was one of the most eminent of the neo-Platoonists. He was the pupil of Longinus and Plotinus, and teacher of Iamblichus. His chief work, now lost, was directed against Christianity, but among the schoolmen his fame rested chiefly on his "Ethics."

97 continuat: "makes a running commentary on." The "Continuum" of Thomas Aquinas was, however, on the Gospels.

98 summam: "epitomises." Aquinas wrote a commentary on Aristotle's "Ethics."

99 poetae: here, "humanists."

101 osores. See note, I. 74, supra.

102 Val. de Gelt. See i. 7, n.

103 Ganda: i.e. Gouda. Jacobus Gaudensis, a Dominican, was a man of sound learning, mentioned eulogistically on one occasion by Ulrich von Hutten (Querelar., ii. 10, 181-4). Among his writings are: Erarium Aureum, Stichologia Gaudensis, and Correctorium Bibliæ.
AMICISSIME domine Ortvine, non possum iam scribere eleganter epistolam secundum praecepta quae scribuntur in modo epistolandi, quia hoc tempus non permittit, sed oportet breviter et statim manifestare paucis verbis quid est, quia habeo expedire casum unum vobisecum, qui est mirabilis, et est talis res. Vos debetis intelligere quod hic est terribilis fama, et omnes dicunt quod in curia romana causa magistrorum nostrorum male stat, quia dicunt quod Papa vult autentizare sententiam quae ante annum lata est in Spira pro doctore Reuchlin. Quando audivi tunc ita timui quod non potui ahquod verbum dicere, et fui sicut mutus, et per duas noctes non dormivi. Quia amici Reuchlin gaudent et vadunt ubique seminantes istam famam: et ego non crederem nisi viderim unam hutteram unius magistri nostri de ordine praedicatorum, in qua scripsit cum magna tristitia iham novitatem. Et cum hoc scripsit quod Papa permisit quod Speculum oculare debet in curia romana imprimi, et mercatores debent vendere, et omnis homo debet legere. Et magister noster Hochstratus voluit exire curiam romanam et voluit iurare paupertatem, tunc iudices non voluerunt eum dimittere. Sed dixerunt quod debet expectare finem, et quod non potest iurare paupertatem, quia intravit Urbem Romam cum tribus equis, ct in curia romana

6 in modo epist.: one of the Formularies, or "scientific" treatises on the art of composing formal letters—a most elaborate process. The parts of a letter were five: (1) Salutatio, (2) exordium, (3) narratio, (4) petio, (5) conclusio. See Palacky, Ueber Formelbücher, in Abh. d. Böhm. Ges. der Wissensch., v. 2, 5; and Rockinger, Ueber Briefsteller und Formelbücher . . . des Mittelalters, 1861.

12 sententiam: i.e. the decision of the Bp. of Spires, March 29, 1514, that the Augenpiegel was not heretical, and that Hoogstraten should pay the costs of the appeal. Cf. i. 10.

23 eire, &c. Huttten writes to Gerbellus from Bologna, July 31, 1516, "Be of good cheer concerning Reuchlin; his deliverance is at hand; Hoogstraten, drained of all the funds with which he had hoped to win the day, has achieved nothing—and, hungry wolf that he is—is on the point of slinking off in dejection and poverty." Hutt. Opp. (ed. Böcking), i. 106.
Hiltbrandus Mammaceus

habuit commensales, et exposuit magnas pecunias, et propinavit Cardinalibus, et Episcopis, et auditoribus consistorii multa munera, et propter eam non debet iurare paupertatem. O sancta Maria, quid volumus nunc facere, si Theologia ita spernitur, quod unus iurista debet praevaleare omnes Theologos? Ego credo quod Papa non est bonus christianus, qui si esset bonus christianus, tunc esset impossibile quod non teneret cum Theologis. Sed etiam si Papa dat sententiam contra Theologos, tunc videtur mihi quod debet fieri appellatio ad concilium, quia concilium est supra Papam, et in concilio Theologi habent praevaleantiam super alias facultates: tunc spero quod dominus dabit benignitatem et respiciet famulos suos Theologos, et nonmittit quod inimicus noster supergaudeat nos, et dabit nobis gratiam spiritussancti quod possimus superare falli-

moniam istorum haereticorum. Quidam iurista nuper dixit hic quod est fatatum, quod ordo praedicatorum debet perire, et quod ex illo ordine debent venire maxima scandala in fidem Christi, sicut non audit

a sunt prius: et dixit ubi legit illam prophetiam. Sed abscit quod hoc sit verum. Quia ille ordo est utilis, et si ille ordo non esset, tunc nescio quomodo staret theologia, quia semper praedicatorum sunt profundiores in theologis, quam minores vel Augustinenses, et tenet viam doctoris sancti, qui tamen nunquam erravit. Et etiam ipsi habuerunt multos sanctos in suo ordine, et sunt audaces in disputacione contra haereticos. Ego miror quare magister noster Iacobus de Hochstraten non potest iurare paupertatem; tamen est de ordine mendicantium qui manifeste sunt pauperes. Si non timerem excommunicationem, ego vellem dicere quod papa erraret ibi. Et non credo quod hoc est verum, quod ipse exposuit sic pecunias, et dedit propinas, qui


33 gratiam, &c.: Acts x. 45.

34 falli-moniam. Not elsewhere found.

35 minores: i.e. the Franciscans, who as Scotists were opposed to the Dominicans, who were Thomists.

36 August. Several religious orders were at different times called Augustinians. The Order here intended is that of the Austin Friars (Begging Hermits, or Hermits of St. Augustine), one of the four Mendicant Orders established under a definite Rule in the XIIIth Cent.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

est vir valde zelosus; et credo quod isti iuristae et allii fingunt talia, et doctor Reuchlin seut ipsis ita blandiri, quia etiam audivi quod multae civitates, et multi

Datum in Tubinga.

XIII

M. CONRADUS DE ZUICCAVIA
S. D. M. Ortvino


64 audiri quod, &c. Reuchlin himself, in a letter to Leo X., June 13, 1515, mentions among his active supporters the Emperor Maximilian, the Bishops of Strasburg and Constance, the Elector Frederick of Saxony, Ulrich, Duke of Wurttemburg (Master of the Teutonic Order), fifteen mitred abbots (infidem gestantes), and fifty-three burgs (civitates) in Swabia.

15 Ovidio. In i. 9 Conrad also twits Ortwin with being an authority on Ovid.

16 virgo. In some verses appended to the “Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum” Joannes Murmellius (1479–1517) says of Arnold von Tongern:—

“Externas cujas longe pervenit in urbes
Nomen, et insignis fama pudicicae.”

Murmellius had been a pupil of A. von T., and in his “Scoparius,” written shortly before his death, he

38

Quapropter ego dico cum Salomone ad amicam meam: "Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, sponsa mea; vulnerasti cor meum in uno oculorum tuorum, et in uno crine colli tui. Quam pulchrae sunt mammæ

"Yet Sampson was so tempted; and he had an excellent strength: yet he had a very good wit."

Eccles. iii. 12, 22.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

tuae, soror mea, sponsa mea. Pulchriora sunt ubera tuae vino," et eetera. Per deum, valide iucundum est amare mulieres, secundum illud carmen Samuelis poetae:—

Disce, bone clerice, virgines amare,
Quia seuiunt dulceia oscula praestare,
Ioventutem floridam tuam conservare.

"Quia amor est charitas, et deus est charitas, ergo
amor non mala res:" solvatis mihi illud argumentum.
Etiam dicit Salomon: "Si dederit homo omnem sub-
stantiam domus suae pro dilectione, quasi nihil despiciet
eam." Sed permettamus ista, et veniamus ad alia.
Rogastis me quod deberein vobis nova significare:
ergo scitis quod iam in carnisprivio fuit hic magna
laetitia. Et fuit hastiludium, et princeps met equitavit
in foro, et habuit pulchrum equum, et pulchrum an-
dallum desuper, in quo fuit pieta una mulier cum magn
ornatu, et iuxta ipsam sedit quidam iuuenis in crispis
erinibus, qui organizavit ei secundum psalmistam:
"Iuvenes et virgines, senes cum iunioribus laudent
nomen domini." Et quando princeps venit in civi-
tatem, tunc universitas intronisavit cum eum magna
procesione, et eives braxaverunt multam ceresiam,
et popinauerut dulcei cibaria, et bene dapiverunt
principem et omnes curiales. Et postea chorizave-
runt, et ego steti in uno conspicello quod potui videre.
Non scio plura, quam quod opto vobis omnia bona: et
Valcete in nomine domini.

Ex Liptzick.

52 Samuelis. These verses are to be found in the De Fide Concupiscentiarum of Paulus Olearius, with the addition
of a fourth, viz.—

"Pulchram et amabilem prolem pro-
creare."

53 Samuel the Poet appears to be
identical with Samuel de Monte
Rutilo (i.e. of Liechtenberg, in Fran-
conia), thus referred to by Bebelius:
"Vagatur etiam hiicindei per Ger-
maniam quidam Samuel ineptiarum
plenus multos barbarismos seminae,
nihil docens, praeuer incultus rhyth-
mos (quos dicimus) facere, et re-
liquas Latinae linguae calaminates, a
quisbus precor caveas, tanquam ab
aspidum venenis." There is a copy
in the Brit. Mus. of "Monte Rutilo,
Samuel de, Simonoma partium inde-
clinabilium. (? 1490)."

54 Salomon: Cantic. viii. 7.

55 jam: apparently in 1515.

56 andallum: for antennum, housing
of a horse. "Est antella quod est in
pectore quadrupedantis." Ebr. Beth.,
Gracis, e. 10.

57 organizavit: "Organo cantare, orgelen:" ibid.

58 braxaverunt: "Braxator, ein
lyer braver; Braxium, wurrz, new
lyer." Gemma Germanarum, Argent.,
1505.

59 dapiverunt. Not elsewhere found.
EXCELLENS vir, secundum quod fui ante duos annos vobiscum in Colonia, et vos dixistis mihi quod semper deberem vobis scribere ubiunque essem, sic iam notifico vobis quod audivi de morte unius excellentiissimi Theologi, qui vocatur magister noster Heckman de Franconia, qui fuit unus principalis vir, et tempore meo fuit ibi rector, et fuit profundus argumentator in via Scoti, et fuit inimicus omnium poetarum saecularein, et fuit vir zelosus et libenter celebravit missas; et quando tenuit rectoratum Viennae, tunc servavit supposita in magno rigore, et fuit laudabilis. Semel venit unus socius ex Moravia, quando ego fui Viennae, qui debet esse poeta et scripsit etiam metra, is et voluit legere artem metrificandi, et non fuit intitulatus. Tunc ipse magister noster Heckman prohibuit ei, et ipse fuit ita praetensus quod non voluit curare mandatum eius; tunc rector prohibuit suppositis quod non deberent visitare eius lectionem; tunc ille ribaldus accessit rectorem et dixit ei multa superba dicta, et tibisavit eum: tunc ipse misit pro famulis civitatis et

7 Heckman: Johann Heckmann was Rector of the Univ. of Vienna in 1507, 1510, and 1515. He is mentioned in ii. 9 as having saved “Philip Schlauraff” from incarceration.
9 ibi: at Vienna—as appears from the context.
10 Scoti. A theologian told Erasmus that “nine years of study would not enable me to understand the preface of Scotus to Peter Lombard.” Comm. on Timothy, i. 6.
13 supposita: almost equivalent to “undergraduates,” those under authority, scholars. In i. 44, “suppositi.”
14 socius: i.e. Ulrich von Hutten. In the summer of 1511 Hutten, in a state of destitution, journeyed by way of Bohemia and Moravia to Vienna. That city already held many supporters of the New Learning: Vadianus (Joachim von Watt), Peter Eberbach of Erfurt, and others lived there in a contubernium, or community (usually of poor scholars), and hospitably received the wanderer. The account given by Krabacius is probably founded on fact; be this as it may, Hutten suddenly vanished from Vienna in the autumn of 1511.
15 intitulatus: enrolled as a member of the University, matriculated.
22 tibisavit: Ger. duzen, Fr. tutor, “to thee and thou.” Cf. “If thou thoulst him some thrice, it shall not be amiss.” Twelfth Night, iii. 2.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

voluit eum incarcerare quia fuit magnum scandalum quod simplex socius deberet tibisare unum rectorem universitatis qui est magister noster; et eum hoc ego audio quod ille socius neque est baccalaurius neque magister, nec est aliquo modo qualificatus seu graduatus, et incessit sicut bellator, vel qui vult ambulare ad bellum, et habuit pileum et longum cultrum in latere. Sed per deem ipsa fuisset incarceratus si non habuisset notos in civitate. Ego doleo maxime si est verum quod ille vir est defunctus, quia fecit mihi multa bona quando fui Vienacae; et propterca feci ei epitaphium tale:—

Qui iacet in tumulis, fuit inimicus poesis,
Et voluit eos expellere, quando voluerunt hic practicare,
Sicut nuper unus socius, qui non fuit intitulatus,
Veniens ex Moravia, et docens facere metra.
Quem voluit incarcerare, propter suum tibisare:
Sed quia nunc est mortuus, in Vienna sepultus,
Dicatis bis vel ter, pro eo Pater noster.

Fuit hic nuncius qui portavit nova quae sunt mala si sunt vera, quod causa vestra non bene stat in curia romana; sed ego non credo, quia isti nuncii dicunt etiam multa mendacia. Poetae bene murmurant hic contra vos, et dicunt quod volunt defendere doctorem Reuchlin cum suis carminibus; sed quia vos etiam estis poeta quando vultis, credo quod bene manebitis praediscipulis. Tamen debetis mihi scribere quomodo stat ego collegium. Si tune possum adiuquare vos, tune habebitis me fidelem socium et adiutorem.

Valete ex Nurencberga.

26 baccalaurius. The Humanists disdained academical degrees because they despised the Universities that granted them. Johann Lindholz, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at Frankfort-on-Oder, declared that he conferred the degree of Bachelor on Hatten: this the latter denied. See Strauss, *Life of U. von H.*, trans. by Sturge, p. 28.

31 quae: i.e. Vadianus, Ahhauser, and others of the Contubernium.

32 ille vir: i.e. Heckmann.

33 qui, &c. The style of this epitaph seems imitated from that in *De Gen Ribis Elbororum* (ed. 1643, p. 429), beginning: "Hic iacet ille, qui fuit unus inter milles," and ending: "Diecutes humiliter tria lignea Pater noster." 35 practicare: to lecture upon.

47 manebitis praediscipulis: Ger. bestehen vor, to excel, or overcome.
XV

GUILHELMUS SCHERSCLEIFFERIUS
S. D. M. Ortvino

VALDE miror, venerabilis vir, quare mihi non scribitis, et tamen scribitis aliis qui non scribunt vobis ita saepe sicut ego scribo vobis. Si estis inimici meus quod non vultis mihi amplius scribere, tunc scribatis mihi tamen quare non vultis mihi amplius scribere, ut sciam quare mihi non scribitis, cum ego semper scribo vobis, sicut etiam nunc scribo vobis, quamvis seio quod non eritis mihi rescribere. Verumtamen oro vos praecordialiter quod velitis mihi tamen scribere, ut sciam quare mihi non scribitis, cum ego semper scribo vobis, sicut etiam nunc scribo vobis, quamvis seio quod non eritis mihi rescribere.

19 eritis... scribere. This mode of forming a future tense may be paralleled by "ero invenire," ii. 70, and "erit acquirere," ii. 67.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

sciant, et neque studuerunt in via Thomae, neque in via
Alberti neque Scoti; et etiam non sunt illuminati in
fide per gratiam spiritussancti. Quia unusquisque debet
manere in facultate sua, et non debet mittere falcem in
messem alterius. Quia sutor est sutor et sartor est
sartor, et faber est faber. Et non staret bene si unus
sartor vellet facere calceos vel stamulta. Vos debetis
audacter defendere vos et sacram Theologiam, et etiam
ego orabo deum pro vobis, quod velit vobis tribuere
gratiam suam, et illuminare vestrum intellectum, sicut
fecit antiquis patribus, ne diabolus praevaleat cum suis
servitoris contra iustitiam. Sed scribitis mihi tamen
propter deum quomodo statis: vos facitis mihi magnam
angustiam et non indigetis. Sed pro nunc commendo
vos domino deo. Valete in Christo.

Datum Franckfurdae.

XVI

<<MATTHAEUS MELLILAMBIUS
S. D. M. Ortvino Gra.

QUONIAMQUIDEM semper fui amicus vestrae do-
minationis et procuravi vestrum bonum: ergo etiam
nunc volo vos in vestris adversitatibus eavisare, et volo
in vestra fortuna esse lactus, et in infortunio tristis:
quia vos estis amicus meus, et cum amieis debemus esse
laeti quando lactantur, et contristari quando tristantur,
ut scribit Tullius, quamvis est gentilis et poeta. Igitur
manifesto vobis quod hic habetis unum inimicum valde
malitiosum, qui dicit multa vituperia contra domina-
tionem vestram; et praesupponit multa extollens se in
superbia sua, et dicit coram omnibus quod estis spurius,
et mater vestra est meretrix, et pater vester presbyter.

36 in via Thomae, &c. The school
of the Albertists (followers of Albertus Magnus) was an offshoot of the
Thomists, from whose doctrines their
own differed but little. The Albert-
ists and Thomists were in theology
identified with the Dominicans, and
the Scotists with the Franciscans.
See ii. 45.

39 non debet, &c. It is noteworthy
that this proverb, of uncertain origin,
occurs in a letter of Crolius Rubiannus,
dated Jan. 26, 1514 (? 1515).

1 Mellilambius: "licker of honey";
perhaps "Bear," but the allusion is
obscure.

9 Tullius: rather, Rom. xii. 15.
MATTHAEUS MELLILAMBIUS

I. 16

Tunc ego steti pro vobis, et dixi: "domine baccalaurie, vel qualifier estis qualificatus, vos estis adhuc juvenis et non deberetis vituperare magistros. Quia, ut scriptum habetur in evangelio: 'Non est discipulus super magistrum.'

S5 vos estis adhuc discipulus, et dominus Ortvinus est magister octo vel decem annorum; et ergo non estis sufficiens ad vituperandum unum magistrum vel virum in tali dignitate constitutum; alias etiam invenietis aliquem qui vituperabit vos, etiam si essetis adhuc ita superbus. Vos debetis habere verecundiam, et non facere talia." Tunc ipse dixit: "Ego loquor veritatem, et scio probare dicta mea et non volo vos respicere, quia Ortvinus est spurius, et quidam lansmannus suus dixit mihi pro vero, quia novit ejus parentes, et etiam ego volo scribere hoc doctori Reuchlin, quia adhuc non scit. Sed quo quod non estis quantum ad vituperandum unum magistrum vel virum in tali dignitate constitutum; alias etiam invenietis aliquem qui vituperabit vos, etiam si essetis adhuc superbus.

Vos debetis habere verecundiam, et non facere taha." Tunc ipse dixit:

"Ecce, domini socii, iste praetendit se esse sanctum, quia dicit quod non potest vituperari et quod nihil mali fecit, sicut ille pharisaeus qui dixit quod ieiunaret bis in sabbato." Tunc ipse fuit iratus et dixit: "Ego non dico quod non peccavi, quia hoc esset contra psalmistam qui dicit 'Omnis homo mendax,' et exponit glosa 'id est peccator.' Sed dixi quod non debetis seu potestis me vituperare quantum ad generationem de patre et matre. Sed Ortvinus est spurius et non est legitimus: ergo est vituperabilis, et ego volo eum vituperare in aeternum." Tunc ego dixi: "non faciatis, quia dominus Ortvinus est excellens vir et potest se defendere." Ipse vero dixit adhuc plura scandala de matre vestra, quod sacerdotes et monachi et equestres et rustici in campo et in stabulo, et alibi supposuerunt eam. Et ego habui ita magnam verecundiam quod non creditis. Sed non possum vos defendere, quia non vidi patrem vestrum et matrem: quamvis credo firmiter quod sunt honesti et probi. Sed scribatis mihi quomodo est: tunc ego volo seminare vestram laudem hic. Etiam dixi sibi: "vos non debetis talia dicere, quia ponamus casum quod magister Ortvinus sit spurius, tamen fortassis est legitimatus; et si legitimatus, tunc non est amplius spurius,


Datum Maguntiae.

55 legitimum: e.g. in 1513 Giulio de' Medici was declared legitimate by Leo X. in order that he might be created Cardinal. See Roscoe, Life of Leo X., chap. x.
56 scriptum est: Matt. vii. 2; Mark iv. 24; but in the Vulg. “in qua mensura mensi fueritis remetietur vobis.”
57 Nolite, &c. Matt. vii. 1; Luke vi. 37; Vulg., “nolite judicare, ut non judicemini (et non judicabimini).”
58 frasæriam: frasca, pl. frasche; in pl., nonsense, trifles; frascheria, wanton trick, jest (Baretti).
59 irregularem: “irregularitas” was a technical term for a canonical impediment hindering a person from taking orders. Cf. Du Cange, s.v.
Aesticampianus

This

But

This undated Epistle is to be regarded as sent from Leipsic. Hippe, Ger. Hippe, "sickle" or "bill." Böcking suggests that the writer is intended for Joannes Hoppe, Professor at Rostock. "Rev. pater Joannes Hoppe, theologie magister, heretice pravitatis inquisitor, ordinis predicatorii vicarius, leget et elucidaet diebus festis hora prima secundam secunde beati Thomae Aquinatis, summis festis dumtaxat exceptis." Otto Krabbe, Die Universität Rostock im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert, 1854, p. 321.

4 Psalm : Ps. xxxii. 2.

9 Aesticampianus: Joannes Rhagius Aesticampianus (1460-1520), the Latinised name of Johann Rack, of Sommerfeld. Visiting Italy in his youth, he entered the ranks of the Humanists, and on recrossing the Alps he proceeded to Paris. He is next heard of successively at Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Cologne, Cracow, and Frankfort-on-the-Oder—where he reckoned Ulrich von Hutten among his pupils. For three years, 1507-10, he lectured publicly at Leipsic on Pliny, Plautus, and other classical authors. The barbarians of Leipsic, however—as Fabricius puts it—could not brook the Humanities, and Rhagius was driven out, not without a parting bolt in the shape of a fiery oration: "You have overthrown Aesticampianus," he cried, "after assailing him with every kind of weapon. What Humanists will visit you in the future? Not one, by Hercules, not one! You will live out your sordid lives, uncivilised and contemned—damnati omnes immortalini!"

After teaching the Classics for three years at Freiburg (see ii. 9), A. was attracted to Wittenberg by the offer of a handsome stipend from Frederick, Duke of Saxony, and there resided until his death.

"Virum doctrina et moribus insignem," wrote H. Cornelius Agrippa of A. in 1533, and Luther addresses him as "virorum eruditissime et integerrime." Among A.'s literary labours are an edition of the Pinox of Cebes, a Modus epistolandi, Epigrams, and prefaces to, or commentaries on, sundry works of Pliny, Plautus, and Cicero (see J. A. Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. Med. et Inf. Alt., vi. 198).
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

poetas, et dixit quod magistri artium non sunt magistri in septem artibus liberalibus, sed potius in septem peccatis mortalibus, et non habent bonum fundamentum, quia non didicerunt poetriam, sed tantum sciunt Petrum Hispanum, et parva loicalia; et habuit multis auditores et domicillos. Et dixit, quod nihil est cum Schotistis et Thomistis, et emisit blasphemias contra doctorem sanctum. Tunc magistri expectaverunt suum tempus ut vindicarent se cum adiutorio dei. Et deus voluit quod ipse semel fecit unam orationem, et scandalizavit magistros, doctores, et licentiatos, et baccalaurios, et laudavit suam facultatem, et vituperavit sacram Theologiam. Et fuit magna verecundia inter dominos

16 septem artibus, “The Seven Liberal Arts” consisted of the Tri-
rium, viz. Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic, and the quadrivium, viz. Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. “Grammar” included what we should term classical studies, and “Rhetoric” included poetry. During the Dark Ages the quadrivium was almost lost sight of. See H. Parker, Eng. Hist. Review, 1890, pp. 417, and Rashdall, Univ. of Eur. in the Mid. Ages, i. 34.

17 septem pecatus:
“Sunt tumor, accidia, gula, luxuria, simul ira,
Lívor, avaricia, septem mortalia dira.”—Plautus.

i.e. Pride, Sloth, Gluttony, Lust, Anger, Envy, and Avarice. See Spencer, The Faerie Queene, BK. I. canto IV.

18 poetría: here, “the humanities.”

19 Petr. Hisp. Sec i. II, n., and ii.

46 n.

19 pera bai. There were several medieval treatises known by this name. One due to Marsilius of Inghen, founder of the University of Heidelberg, was in use at Leipsic. Parts of the Summulae of Petrus Hispanus were, however, also known by this title, witness: “Copulata omnium tractatuum pavorum logicali-
calum Petri hispani tribus adjectis modernorum tractatibus in suis com-
mentariis textui pulmonary annotatis. In argumentis et repré-
secuo diligentissime correcta juxta inviolatum processum magistrorum
Colonie barsam Montis regentum, ae invictissimam doctrinam sancti
Thomae uberrime propagantium” (H. Quentell, Cologne, 1496). The
ature of the work is illustrated by the introduction: “It may be asked how many of the tractates of Peter of Spain on Parva Logica have been
danded down to us. The answer is that they are eight (sic) in number—
those namely, “Suppositionum,” “Relativorum,” “Ampliationum,”
“Restrictionum,” “Distributionum,” “Exponibilium,” and “Synec-
theticorum”: the authenticity of the penultimate tractate is, however,
denied by many. There are, moreover, three other tractates besides
those just enumerated, viz. “Obli-
gatorium,” “Insolubilium,” and “Consequentiarum,” of which the
first two are rather curious than necessary: and the last contains
errors which have crept in out of
“the moderns.” But it is to be
observed that in the University of
Cologne it hath been formally decreed
by the Faculty of Arts that only six
tractates are to be read. . . . “There-
fore, when candidates for a degree in
the Faculty of Arts in the aforesaid
University present themselves in the
Red Chamber (in rubra camera) let
them be careful, when asked the
number of the tractates, to reply
‘there are six.’” It is explained
that the “Parva Logica” are so
called because “parva in quantitate,
se magna in virtute.”
I. 17] IOANNES HIPP

de faculitate. Et collegerunt magistri et doctores concilium et dixerunt: "Quid facimus? quia hic homo multa mira facit: si dimittimus eum sic, omnes credent quod est doctior nobis. Ne forte veniant moderni et dicant quod sunt de meliori via quam antiqui, et vilificabitur nostra universitas, et fiet in scandalum." Et dixit magister Andreas Delitzsch, qui est etiam alias bonus poeta, quod videtur sibi, quod Aesticampianus est in universitate tanquam quinta rota in curru, quia impedit alias facultates, quod supposita non possunt bene in eis qualificari. Et alii magistri iuraverunt quod est ita. Et summa summarum ipsi concluserunt quod vehent relegare vel excludere istum poetam, etiam si deberen in perpetuum habere inimicitiam. Et citaverunt eum ad rectorem et monuerunt eum in valvis ecclesiae; et ipse comparuit et habuit unum iuristam secum, et praetendit se defendere, et habuit etiam alios socios qui steterunt cum eo. Et magistri dixerunt quod deberen abire, quia alius essent periuri, quia starent contra universitatem. Et magistri fuerunt fortes in bello, et permanserunt constantes, et iuraverunt quod vellent nemini parere propter iustitiam, et aliqui iuristae et curiales rogaverunt pro eo. Et domini magistri dixerunt quod non est possibile, quia habent statuta, et secundum statuta debet relegari. Et quod est mirabile, etiam princeps petivit pro eo, et nihil iuvit, quia dixerunt ad ducem quod oportet servare statuta universitatis. Quia statuta in universitate sunt sicut ligatura in libro. Quia si ligatura non esset, tunc folia cadere hincinde. Et si statuta non essent, tunc non esset ordo in universitate, et supposita starent in discordia, et fieret confusum chaos: ergo debet procurare bonum universitatis, sicut fecisset pater suus. Tunc princeps permisit sibi persuadere, et dixit quod non potest facere contra universitatem. Et quod expedit plus quod unus relegatur quam

34 Delitzsch. See i. 1, n.
39 summa summarum. Cf. Plautus, Truc. I. i. 4:—
48 bello. Cf. Hebr. xi. 34.
53 princeps: i.e. George, Duke of Saxony. Erasmus, writing to the Duke in 1520, assures him that under his auspices and through his munificence, the university has risen to the highest rank, and has become a home "polioris literaturae." Ep. Erasmi, ed. Peter Vander Aa, 1706 (Ep. 517).
55 ligatura: "the binding."
60 pater: i.e. Duke Albrecht; ob. 1500.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

quod tota universitas patitur scandalum. Et domini magistri fuerunt optime contenti, et dixerunt: "Domine princeps, deo gratias de bona iustitia."

Et rector affixit unum mandatum in valvis ecclesiæ, quod Aesticampianus est relegatus ad decem annos. Et auditores sui fecerunt multa verba, et dixerunt quod domini de consilio fecerunt iniuriam Aesticampiano.

Sed ipsi domini dixerunt quod non vellent dare unum obulum pro eo. Et alii domicelli dixerunt quod Aesticampianus vellet istam iniuriam vindicare, et vellet citare universitatem ad Curiam Romanam. Tune magistri riserunt et dixerunt: "Ha quid vellet facere iste ribaldus?"


Et domini magistri dicunt quod sua metra sunt ita bona sicut metra Virgili, et non habent aliqua vitia, quia ipse perfecte scit artem metrificandi, et ante XX annos fuit bonus metrista. Quapropter domini de consilio permiserunt, quod ipse debet librum publice legere pro Terentio, quia est magis necessarius quam Terentius. Et habet bonam christianitatem in se, et non tractat de meretricibus et bufonibus, sicut Terentius. Vos debetis hæc nova manifestare in vestra universitate; tune fortassis etiam fiet sic Buschio, sicut factum est Aesticampiano. Quando mittitis mihi vestrum librum contra Reuchlin? Vos dicitis multa et nihil est. Et

71 obatum: "ein Heller," Gemma Gemmorum; half a farthing.
72 Rothburgensis: Joannes Matthias Tyberinus (Tubuerinus Erythropolis); i.e. Johann Matthias of Rothenburg on the Tauer, the author of Mathius de Caecilias et sacris historiis, in Musas noren digesta, &c., Lips., 1514. Panzer, vii. 183.
73 consilio: for concilio.
74 Buschius: as, indeed, was the case. "Herm. Buschium dico ae multum vexatum ejercitam," exclaimed Aesticampiums in his speech already referred to.
75 librum: i.e. Ortwin's Prænotamenta, published early in 1514.
PETRUS NEGELINUS

scripsistis mihi quod vultis mihi veraciter mittere, et non facitis. Deus parcat vobis, quod non diligitis me, sicut et ego diligis vos, quia estis mihi sicut cor meum. Sed adhuc mittatis mihi, quia desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum, id est istum librum legere. Et scribite mihi novitates. Et semel componite unum dictamen, vel aliqua metra de me si sum dignus. Et valete in Christo domino deo nostro, per omnia saecula Amen.

XVIII

M. PETRUS NEGELINUS
S. D. M. Ortvin Gr.


1 Negel.: the name of “Mag. Nege- lin” occurs in ii. 58, but he is there of Leipsic. The allusion is unknown.
6 dictaminum: an intentional blunder for “dictaminum.”
1 Hierem.: Jer. i. 6; Reuchlin’s Vocabularius Brevisloquus begins with this quotation.

5 10 poe- tria: an adj. coined by N.; poe- trius,—a, —um.
13 Regum: I Sam. xv. 22. Samuel’s rebuke to Saul.
21 Componista. Not elsewhere found. An instance of “componist” in the sense of composer (1609) is cited in the N. E. D.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


Carmen novum magistri Petri Negelini in laudem sancti Petri incipit.
Sancte Petre domine nobis miserere,
Quia tibi dominus dedit cum istis clavibus
Potestatem maximam, neenon specialen gratiam
Super omnes sanctos: quia tu es privilegiatus,
Quod solvis est solutum, in terris et per caelum,
Et quicquid hic ligaveris, ligatum est in caelis.
Ergo te oramus, neenon devote supplicamus,
Ut ores pro nostris peccatis, propter honorem universitatis.

Ipsi dicunt quod doctor Reuchlin, qui hebraice vocatur Ioannes Capnion, acquisivit unam sententiam pro se in Spira, sed magistri nostri de ordine praedicatorum dicunt, quod non nocet, quia ille episcopus non habet intelligentiam in sacra theologia. Et magister noster Hochstratus est in Curia Romana, et est bene visus apud dominum apostolicum. Et etiam habet sufficientiam in pecuniis et in aliis. Ego vellem dare quattuor grossos quod seirem veritatem: vos debetis mihi scire.
Sancte deus, quid est quod non mittitis mihi semel unam litteram? Tamen ego habeo libenter quando scribitis mihi. Valete, et dignemini mihi salutare magistrum nostrum Valentini de Geltersheim, et magistrum nostrum Arnoldum de Tungaris in bursa Laurentii, et magistrum nostrum Remigium, et dominum Rutgerum, in bursa montis licentiatum, et prope diem magistrum nostrandum, neenon dominum Ioannem Pfefferkorn virum zelosum, et alios qui sunt bene quali-

24 rigmizare. Not elsewhere found.
25 Aleph. His Doctrinale was in four parts and "rigmizatum" as well.
37 Hebr. In allusion both to Reuchlin's Hebrew studies, and the writer's ignorance of Greek.
38 sentent. See i. 12, n.
43 Episc. George, Count Palatine of the Rhine, was appointed bishop at the age of 28, in June 1513. F. X. Remling, Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer, Mainz, 1853, ii. 477.
42 Hochstr. Hochstraten immediately proceeded to Rome to plead his cause in person.
49 Val. See i. 7, n.
50 Arnold. See i. 1, n.
51 Remigium. See i. 3, n.
52 Rutgerum. Perhaps Rotger Sycamber (Sycamber).
1.19] STEPHANUS CALVASTRIUS

ficati in theologia, et in artibus. Et valet in nomine domini.

Datum in Treviris.

XIX

STEPHANUS CALVASTRIUS
Baccalaurius M. Ortvin Gr.

SALUTEM cum humilitate erga vestram majoritatem. Venerabilis domine magister: venit huc unus socius qui portavit certa carmina, et dixit quod vos composuistis illa, et intimastes in Colonia: tunc unus poeta hic qui habet magnam laudem, sed non est bene christianus, vidit illa et dixit quod non sunt bona, et quod habent multa vitia: et ego dixi: “si magister Ortvinus composit, tunc non habent vitia, hoc est certum”: et volui impignorare tunicam meam, quod si illa metra haberent vitia, tunc vos non composuistis: sed si vos composuissetis, tunc non haberent vitia: et mitto vobis ista carmina quod videatis an vos composessetis: sed si vos composessetis, tunc vos non composessetis, tunc non haberent vitia: et mitto vobis ista carmina quod videatis an vos finxistis illa, et scribatis mihi. Et est illud carmen scriptum in morte magistri nostri Sotphi in bursa Kneck, qui olim composit glosam notabilem, et nunc pro dolor est mortuus. Requiescat in pace. Et est sic initiatum:

Hic obiit unum solemnissimum suppositum,
Per spiritum sanctum universitati natum,
Quod rexit in bursa Kneck,
Do macht er die copulat vō stick zu stuck.

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1 This Ep. was reprinted in the second ed. of the Second Series of the E. O. V. (1517), with two slight alterations, mentioned below.
3 major: here quaintly used as a title of honour; technically, in the Canon Law, “majoritas” refers to the rank of a superior relatively to that of an inferior cleric.
5 certa: for “quaedam”: precisely equivalent to the English use of “certain” to qualify that which is known, but need not be further particularised.
7 poeta: probably Buschius himself—to whom Böcking attributes this Ep.
16 Sotphi. See i. 3, n. The Epitaphium really written by Ortwin in memory of Gerhard von Zutphen appears in the Lamentationes Obscurorum Vironum, published in 1518. The author complains that his elegy, “in epistolis Obscurorum Reuchlinistarum nequiter est immutatum.” The succeeding verses, however, cannot be termed a parody of Ortwin’s.
22 rexit: “was Regent of.”
23 copulat. See i. 11, n.
23 von stuck zu stuck: in the Second Series this becomes “von kot zu dreck”—“mud for mire”—to substitute one worthless thing for another.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

O si potuisset diutius vivere
Et plus in gloria notabili scribere:
Tunc adiuvasset hanc universitatem
Et docuisset scholares bonam latinitatem:
Sed nunc postquam decessit
Et Alexandrum nondum satis expressit,

Tunc adiuisset hanc universitatem
Et docuisset scholares bonam latinitatem;

Sed nunc postquam decessit
Et Alexandrum nondum satis expressit,

Universitas luget suum membrum
Tanquam unam lucernam vel candelabrum,
Quod longe lateque luxit
Per doctrinam quae ab eo fluxit:
Nemo tam bene scripsit constructiones
Et confundebat poetas illos bufones,
Qui non recte discunt grammaticam,
Per logicam scientiarum scientiam;
Et in fide non sunt illuminati,
Ideo a sancta ecclesia alienati;

Et si volat recte opinari,
Tunc debent per Hochstratum concremari,
Qui Ioannem Reuchlin iam citavit
Et in iudicio mirabiliter tractavit.
Sed tu audi, deus omnipotens,
Quod ego oro supplice ac flens:
Da mortuo membro favorem sempiternam
Et mittite poetas ad infernum.


XX

IOANNES LUCIBULARIUS
M. Ortvino Gra.

SALUTES quas nemo potest numerare. Venerabilis domine magister: secundum quod promisistis mihi prius, quod velletis mihi esse adjutorium quando-cunque haberem necessitatem, et velletis me promovere

25 plus: the Glosa Notabiliis dealt with only two out of the four parts of the Doctrinale.

47 In the Second Series the Ep. ends thus:—

1 Lucib.: the allusion is unknown.
IOANNES LUCIBULARIUS

praemnotibus alii. Et dixistis quod audacter deberem vos invocare, tunc velletis mihi suppetiare sicut fratri, et non velletis me derelinquere in angustiiis meis: sic nunc rogo vos pro amore dei, quia est valde necesse, quod velletis mihi subvenire, quia potestis bene. Rectore hic licentiavit unum collaboratorem, et vult habere unum alium: quapropter velitis pro me scribere litteras promotoriales quod velit seu dignetur me acceptare. Quia iam non habeo amplius de pecunia, quia exposui omnia, et etiam emi libros et calceos. Vos bene novistis me quod sum sufficiens de gratia dei. Quia quando vos fuistis Daventriae, tunc ego fui secundarius; et postea in Colonie steti per annum, ita quod complevi pro gradu baccalauriatus; et fuissem etiam promotus circa festum Michaelis, si habuissem pecuniam. Etiam scio scholaribus resumere Exercitium puerorum, vel Opus minus secundae partis; et scio artem scandendi ut vos docuistis me, et Petrum Hispanum in omnibus tractatibus, et Parvulum philosophiae naturalis. Etiam

8 suppetiari: for "suppetiari."
12 licent.: "dismissed"; this meaning is not wholly foreign to the English "licence" (v.). "Licence from thee that needless suspicion." Southwell, M. Magd. Funeral Leaves, p. 188 (1594). (N. E. D.)
12 collaboratorem: an assistant to the regular tutors.
15 de: of frequent use in the E. O. V. for the genitive case.
15 expostuli: "have spent"; probably intended as a blunder for "expendi"; "exponere" occurs, however, in the sense of "throw overboard" in the Digest (Marc. 39, 4, 16, § 8).
18 secundarius: Classical, but not elsewhere used in the E. O. V.; here in the second class "as a student.
19 complevi: fulfilled all the necessary conditions preliminary to taking his degree—(except payment of fees).
22 Exercitium. The Exercitium Puerorum was a very popular text-book compiled by an unknown hand. An example is:—
"Impressus Maguntiae per Johannen Schoffer Amino incarnationis Quingentesimo sexto. Idibus Aprilis tertio." (Without pagination. Sig. A-Z.)
"After the colophon, "Informatio pulchra ac fide digna de Rosario gloriouse virginis Marie." (A woodcut on the last page.)
23 opus minus: i.e. the "opus minus primae et secundae partis" of Alexander Grammaticus.
24 Petr. Hisp. See i. 11, n.
25 Parvulum: only once mentioned in the E. O. V.
The date suggested is, however, erroneous. The Brit. Mus. copy has for colophon, on the first unnumbered leaf: "Finitet est hoc opusculum in famigera Liptzensi academia Impressum per providum virum Iacobum Thanner concivem Anno a nativitate domini nostri salvatoris Millesimo-
sum cantor et scio Musicam choralem et figuralem, et
cum hoc habeo vocem bassam, et possum cantare unam
notam infra gammauti. Sed non scribo vobis talia
iactanter, et ideo parcatis mihi, et sic commendo vos
omnipotenti deo. Valete.

Ex Scollis

XXI

M. CONRADUS DE ZUICCAVIA
S. D. M. ORIVINO Gra.

SICUT enimvero scripsistis mihi nuper de vestra
amasia quomodo amatis eam intime, et etiam ipsa
amat vos, et mittit vobis certa, et faciletas, et zonas, et
talia, et non accipit pecuniam a vobis sicut meretrices.
Et quando vir eius est extra domum, tunc acceditis
eam, et ipsa bene est contenta; et nuper dixistis mihi
quod pro una vice ter supposuistis eam, et semel
stando retro ianuam in introitu, postquam cantastis:
"Attolite portas principes vestras." Et postea vir eius
venit, et vos fugistis posterius per hortum. Sic etiam
nunc volo vobis scribere quomodo sucedid mihi cum mea
amasia. Ipsa est valde excellens mulier, et est dives,
et venit mirabiliter quod ego acquisivi notitiam cum ea,
quia quidam domicellus qui fuit notus pontifici, promovit
me. Et ego statim incepi eam valde amare, ita quod
non scivi alicui facere in die, et de nocte non potui
dormire. Sed quando dormivi, tunc clamavi in lecto:
"Dorothea, Dorothea, Dorothea," ita quod socii qui

quingentesimo duodecimo penultima
die mensis Januarii, 1512."

The title is thus explained:—

"Ut crescant parvis sublimia robora
plantis,
Magna sit artis estis origo liber
Que dat Aristoteles prolongo codice
doctoris:
Hoc habet egalement sub brevitate tibi,
Quid ducet quares? Naturas eum
in tibi rerum
Observas monstrat; discis: peritus
eris." 25

Choral. et figurul. Du Cange interprets chorulis as "ad chorum
pertinens"; "figuralis" is not
given.

The plain-song, cantus choralis,
spang from the earlier Gregorian.
A priek-song was a discant or division.
Figuration is the embellishment of a
simple theme. See H. Riemann, Hist.
of Music, London (s.a.).

31 pontif. : "pontifex, ein hyschuff
oder ein burgermeisters," Gemma Gem-
mann.

Dorothea: see the Acta Sanctorum,
Feb. 6.
CONRADUS DE ZUICCIAVIA


\[21 \text{ stant: "reside," common in E. O. V.}\]
\[42 \text{ vos estis: Cantic. iv. 7.}\]
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

non fecisset; et ego credo, quia per deum alias est honesta. Et imaginavi mihi unum socium, qui debet fecisse. Et si possum perscrutare, dico vobis quod debet habere retributionem suam. Sed iam habet amicabiliorem gestus erga me quam antea. Et spero quod supponam eam. Dudum aliquis dixit ei, quod sum poetarum, et ipsa dixit: "Ego audivi quod estis bonus poetarum; ergo debetis mihi semel scribere unum carmen:" et ego feci illud, et cantavi de sero in platea quod ipsa audivit; et postea exposui ei teutonice; et est hoc:

O alma Venus, amoris inventrix et dominatrix,
Quare tuus filius est inimicus meus?
O pulchra Dorothea, quam ego elegi amicam,
Pac mihi etiam sic qualiter ego tibi:

Iipsa dixit quod vult per suam vitam servare illud propter me. Vos debetis mihi dare consilium quomodo debeo me regere, et quomodo debeo facere quod amat me. Et parcatis mihi quod fui ita grossus scribendo ad dominationem vestram. Quia est consuetudo mea quod sum socialis cum amicis meis. Vale in nomine benedicti.

Ex Lyptzick.

XXII

GERHARDUS SCHIRRUGLIUS
M. Ortvino Gratio

Salutem dicit variam per dominum nostrum gloriam,
Qui resurrectit a mortuis, et nunc sedet in caelis.

HONORANDE vir, notifico vobis quod non sum libenter hic, et paenitet me quod non mansi Coloniae apud vos, ubi potui melius proficere. Et vos potuissetis me facere bonum loicum, et etiam pro parte poeta. Et in Colonia sunt homines devoti, et libenter visitant ecclesias, et in dominica vadunt ad sermonem. Et non est tanta superbia sicut hic.

1 Schirr. Allusion unknown.
2 loicum: for logicum; not unusual in the XVth Cent.

58

18 tunicum. See i. 11, n.

90 crinis: a not uncommon relic. A large quantity brought from Jerusalem was deposited at Oviedo and Astorga; also at the Abbey of Corbie. For an instance at Cologne, see Erhardus Winheim, Sacrarium Agrippinae, Cologne, 1607, p. 179.

reges: the Magi—Kaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar. For a good description of the famous shrine, see F. Bock, Der Kunst- und Reliquienschatz des Kölner Doms, Cologne, 1870.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VRORUM


54 Thalmau. The Univ. of Mainz and Cologne had pronounced, in 1510, the opinion that the Talmud should be destroyed. See H. Graetz, Hist. of the Jews, 1892, iv, 475.
55 Fortal. : the Fortalitium contra Fidei Christianae hostes, by Alphonsus a Spina, Bp. of Orense. The third of its five books is "De bello Judaicoorum." First published not later than 1472, by J. Mentelin, Strasburg. See Copinger, Suppl. to Hain, 872.
56.xiii.: Prov. xiv, 29.
57 Eccl.: Eccles. x, 14.
58 Berna. For a good account of this extraordinary case, see E. Belfort Box, German Society at the close of the Middle Ages, 1894 (App.). See also "The Tragical History of Jetzer: or, a Faithful Narrative of the Feigned Visions, Counterfeit Revelations, and False Miracles of the Dominican Fathers of the Convent of Berno . . . to Propagate their Superstitions. For which Horrid Impieties, the
IOANNES VICKELPHIUS

per vitam meam; et quomodo fuerunt combusti, et quod ipsi semel imposuerunt venenum in sacramento eucharistiae, et sic interfecerunt unum imperatorem. Et dixit quod oportet istum ordinem delere; alias fient multa scandala in fide, quia omnis malitia est in illo ordine; et alia multa dixit. Ergo debetis aperte scire quod vellem libenter redire ad Coloniam, quia quid debeo facere cum talibus maledictis hominibus? Veniat mors super illos, et descendant ad infernum viventes, ut inquit Psalmista, quia sunt filii diaboli. Si videtur vobis, tunc prius volo accipere gradum: si non, tunc volo abire statim. Ergo debetis mihi cito scribere mentem vestram; secundum illam volo me regere; et cum hoc commendo vos domino deo.

Ex Moguntia.

XXIII

IOANNES VICKELPHIUS humilis sacrae Theologiae professor S. D. M. Orvino Gratia poetae et Theologo, etc.

QUONIAMQUIDEM olim fuistis discipulus meus in Daventria, et ego amavi pro tunce vos ante omnes scholares, quia habuistis bonum ingenium et fuistis valde disciplinatus iuvenis, quapropter nunc etiam volo volis dare consilium ubicunque possum. Sed vos debetis etiam bono animo accipere, quia deus est scrutator cordium et scit quod ego loquor vobis ex dilectione, et pro salute animae vestrae. Fuerunt hic Prior, Sub-Prior, Lecturer, and Receiver of the said Convent were Burnt at a Stake 1509. Collected from the Records of the said City by the care of Sir William Waller, Knight; Translated from his French Copy by an impartial Pen . . . London, MDCLXXIX.”


Ps. I. 15 (A.v.).


21 Ecclus. : ix. 9.
22 ardescit: curardescit in Vulg.
24 Ibid. : Ecclus. ix. 5.
41 Hieron. "My soul was caught up from me, and carried before the Tribunal of the Supreme Judge. . . . They asked me who I was, and I answered, 'A Christian.' 'Thou liest,' said the Judge, 'thou art a Ciceronian and not a Christian, for where thy treasure is there will thy heart be also.'" He then seemed, in his dream, to be chastised, and awoke with bruises. A. Largent, Saint Jerome, 1900, p. 22. See also Migne, Patrol., vol. xxii. (Vit. st. Hier., cap. ix.).
44 affectionati. Not found elsewhere.
44 disposit. Not elsewhere found in the sense of "mood."
positionem in moribus. Et de illis loquitur Psalmista: 45
"Odisti omnes observantes vanitatem supervacue."

Etiam de alio volo scribere vobis. Ipsi dicunt quod vos scripsistis contra Ioannem Reuchlin causae fidei; et est bonum, quia vultis lucrari super talentum vestrum quod tradidit vobis deus. Sed dicitur hic quod Ioannes Pfefferkorn, quem etiam defenditis vos, est malus nequam, et non est factus christianus amore fidei, sed propterea quod Iudaei voluerunt eum suspendere propter suas nequitias, quia dicunt quod est fur et proditor, et sic fuit baptizatus; et omnes dicunt quod occulte est malus christianus, et non manebit in fide. Ergo debetis videre quid facitis. Iam com-
ibusserunt in Hallis unum baptizatum Iudaeum qui etiam vocatur Ioannes Pfefferkorn, et fecit multa mala. Ego timeo quod ille faciet semel talia, tune vos male staretis. Sed nihilominus debetis defendere Theo-
logiam.

Et accipite in bonam partem quod fraterne consukii vobis: et Valete in bona prosperitate.

Datum Madepurck.

XXIV

C PAULUS DAUBENGIGELIUS
S. D. P. M. Ortvino Gratio

ECCE si ego sum mendax sicut nuper dixistis, quod promitterem vobis semper quod vellem vobis scribere et tamen non scriberem vobis. Iam volo probare quod teneo vobis fidem, quia vir maturus et rectus nihil debet promittere quod non vult servare. Et esset magna inconstantia de me si non servarem vobis promissa, et esset fallax. Vos debetis similiter scribere mihi; tunc saepe volumus ad invicem mittere seu dirigere epistolas. Et iam debetis scire quod doctor Reuchlin permisit imprimere unum librum qui

51 Pfefferkorn. Roasted before a slow fire at Halle in 1514. He had confessed, among other crimes, to having poisoned thirteen sick folk in the guise of a physician, kidnapped a child for sacrificial purposes, and committed blasphemy and sacrilege. Otherwise known as "Pfaff Rapp."
52 Daubengigelius: "Deaf and dumb noodle."
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

intitulatus est "Defensio": in quo scandalizat valde dedecorose, et vocat vos asinum. Et verecundatus sum valde legere illum librum, quamvis non legi eum per totum, quia proieci ante parietem quando vidi quod est ita malignosus contra Theologos et Artistas. Vos potestis eum legere si vultis, quia mitto hic eum vobis. Mihi videtur quod autor ille eum suo libro debet comburi, quia est maxime scandalosum quod aliquis debet talem librum compilare. Nuper fui Equiritia et volui emere equum, in quo volo equitare ad Viennaem; tune vidi illum librum venalem. Et cogitavi mecum quod necesse est quod vos videbitis illum, ut possitis ei respondere ad suam perversitatem; quia si possem facere vobis maiora servitia, non vellem tardari, quia habetis me humilem servitorem et fautorum vestrum.

Sciatis quod adhuc habeo malos oculos; sed venit huc quidam Alchimista qui dicit quod sejam medicare oculis, etiamsi homo esset totaliter caecus in illa infirmitate. Et alias habet bonam experientiam, quia ambulavit per Italiam et Franciam, et multas provincias. Et sicut scitis, omnis Alchimista est medicus aut saponista; quamvis iam est depauperatus aliquantulum. Vos quaesivistis etiam quomodo successit mihi alias. Gratior vobis quod quaeritis ita. Sed debetis scire quod adhuc bene sto de gratia dei. Et in ista

14 dedec. Reuchlin, in this work, gave the reins to his vituperative powers, Ortwin being thus introduced: "Consideranda non minus jam venit semipagani conditio, cu nomen Ortwinus, nomen barbarum, quod ipsum hominem barbarum esse designat, si nomina sint consona rebus... Quod igitur tua canat iste bonarum artium perversor, dicere volui professor Ortwinus Colonienis versifex, metrifex, immo fex omnis sceleris et perfidiae." Defensio; II. von der Hardt, Hist. Lit. Reformationis, Pt. II. p. 71.
15 nec vos: not in so many words, but in accusing Ortwin of heresy (for having, in his verses, termed the Virgin "alma pares Jovis"), Reuchlin goes on: "Si forte dicere velles quoniam Juppiter dicatur quasi 'juvans pater,' quod de deo potest intelligi, at etiam de asino intelligitur, quem fortasse pro deo adorar versifex—immo versific." Defensio, ibid. p. 73.
17 Malignosus. Not found elsewhere. But Malipus was used, like Malus, to denote the Evil One. Cf. Du Cange, s.v.
21 equiritia: here, apparently, "Horse-market." Du Cange explains equiritia as "equorum grex."
PAULUS DAUBENGIGELIUS

vindemia detorculavi multum vinum, et in frumentis habeo bonum sufficientiam.


Mittatis mihi cum isto nuncio formalitates et distinctiones Scoti quas compositus Brulefer. Et etiam Clipeum Thomistarum in littera Aldi, si potestis reperire.

38 detorc. Not found elsewhere; for torculari, "pressed."
39 Dom. Imp. : i.e. Maximilian, who was preparing an expedition against the Venetians.
40 baniris. Not found elsewhere; probably for banuis, "standards."
41 cuspides: spears. "In his (Maximilian's) early Burgundian wars, he began the reorganisation of the German foot-soldier, which soon made the German Landsknecht a terror to all Europe. . . For their equipment he discarded the useless and cumbersome shield, and gave them as their chief weapon an ashen lance some eighteen feet long, though a certain proportion were armed with halberds, and others with firearms that were portable and efficient, at least as compared with earlier weapons of the same sort." T. F. Tout, Camb. Mod. Hist., i. 325.
42 pixides: "culverins" in the sense of hand-guns—the original meaning of the English word, afterwards applied to cannon. Cf. "Hi praeterorum sutorum caedem duas etiam pixides, quas colubrinas vocant, perdiderant." Bilaldus Pirckheimerus, Lib. ii. de Bello Helvetica.
43 bombardas: here probably equivalent to portatrices, or "arquebuses." The word had many meanings. See Du Cange.
44 sci. calig.: probably "slashed shoes." For the arms and dress of the Landsknechte, see The Triumphs of Maximilian, Holbein Society, Plate 104 (119). The Gemma Gemmarum, however, interprets caliga as "hose," and this may be its meaning here.
45 Brulefer: Stephanus Brulefer (the name is spelt in several ways), born at St. Malo, in Brittany, in the middle of the XVth Cent. He entered the Franciscan Order, became a pupil of Gulielmus Vorillongus, and obtained the Doctorate of the University of Paris. He was a "Scotist," and taught his master's scholastic theology at Mayence and Metz. "Clar. An. 1490. Ob. in conventu Bernardi provinciae Britanniæ, post annum, ut videtur, 1500." H. Wharton, App. to G. Cave's Scrip. Ecleas. Historia Literaria, Oxon., 1743, p. 137. The work alluded to is, doubtless, "Doctissimi sacre theologiae doctoris Stephani Bruleferi formalitatam Textus." "Les formalités sont les divers notions, les divers points de vue que l'esprit peut distinguer dans les choses." P. Nova, Dic. de Terminologie Scolastique, 1885, p. 138.
46 Clipeum Thom. The work referred to is supposed to be "Clipeus contra Jacula adversus sacram ac immaculatam Virginis Mariae conceptionem voluntaria per modum trium sermonum, cum quadam
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VRORUM

Etiam vellem libenter videre modum metrificandi quem vos composuistis. Et emite mihi Boecium in omnibus suis operibus, et praecipue de disciplina scholarium, et de consolatione philosophica cum commento Doctoris sancti. Et cum hoc Valete et habeatis me commendatum.

55 Ex Augusta.

XXV

M. PHILIPPUS SCULPTORIS
S. D. M. Ortvin Gratio

SICUT scripsi vobis saepe, ego habeo molestiam quod ista ribaldria, scilicet facultas poetarum, fit communis et augetur per omnes provincias et regiones. Tempore meo fuit tantum unus poeta qui vocatus fuit Samuel. Et nunc solum in ista civitate sunt bene viginti, et vexant nos omnes qui tenemus cum antiquis. Ego nuper realiter expediavi unum qui dixit quod scholaris non significat personam qui vadit ad scholas discendi causa, et dixi: "asine, vis tu corrigere doctorem sanctum qui ponit istam dictionem?" Postea scripsit ipse unam invectivam ad me, et posuit multa opprobriosa dicta, et dixit quod non sum grammaticus bonus, quia non recte exposui ista vocabula quando practicavi in prima parte Alexandri, et in libro de Modis significandi. Et volo vobis quae stione theologica ac disputatone juridica in scholis juristarum alnae universitatis Lipsiensis facta sub anno D. I. 1489." See Quétif and Eeard, Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum, Paris, 1719, vol. i. p. 884.

52 in littera Aldi. Not necessarily printed by Ald. Manutius, but in the style of type introduced by him in 1501.

54 mod. metr. It does not appear that O. ever published such a work; but the Obscure Men are never tired of girding at his poetic ambitions.

54 de discip. schol. The treatise De Disciplina Scholarium, though frequently printed with the De consolatione Philosophiae, was not the work of Boethius, but was probably written by Thomas Cantimpratensis, author of a work entitled Bonum universale de proprietatibus apum.

The book Orwin is asked for is some edition of Boethius de consolatione philosophie necnon de disciplina scholariurn cum commento Sancti Thome.

60 Augustana: for Augusta Tubinga, i.e., Tübingen, where the Defensio was first published.

7 Samuel. See i. 13, n.

12 Doct. Sanct.: Aquinas.

17 De mod. sign. : otherwise Grammatica Speculativa, by Duns Scotus; "the first attempt to treat grammar in a wide and philosophic spirit." See D. N. B.
Philippus sculp
tor is

scribere formaliter illos terminos, quod debit is videre
quod recte exposui, secundum omnes vocabularios, et
ad hoc possum allegare autenticos autores, etiam in
Theologia. Et primo dixi: "Seria aliquando significat
ollam, et tunc dic tur a Syria, quia in tali provincia
primo facta est; etiam potest dici a seriis, quia est
utilis et necessaria; vel a serie, id est ordine fit. Item
Patritii dicuntur patres senatorum. Item currus dic tur
a currendo, quia per eum currunt interiora ad extra.
Item ius, iuris, significat iustitiam; sed ius, iutis, signifi-
cat prodium; unde versus:

Ius, iutis, mando; ius, iuris, in agmine pando.

Item Lucar significat pecuniam quae colligitur ex luco
vel ex sylva. Item mantellus significat pallium, et inde
venit diminutivum manticulus. Mechanicus, id est
adulterinus, hinc dicuntur artes mechanicae, id est
adulterinae, respectu liberalium, quae sunt verae artes.
Item mensorum est quicquid ad mensam pertinet.
Item Polyhistor dicitur qui scit multas historias; inde
venit Polyhistoria, id est pluralitas historiarum. Poly-
senus dicitur qui habet plures sensus." Ista et similia
dicit non esse vera, et scandalizavit me coram scholaris-
bus meis. Tunc [ego] dixi quod sufficit ad aeternam
salutem, quod aliquis est simplex grammaticus et
saltet scit exprimere mentis conceptum. Tunc re-
spondit, quod neque sum simplex neque duplex gram-
maticus et nihil scio. Tunc fui laetatus, quia iam volo
citare eum ad privilegia universitatis Vienensis, ubi
debet respondere mihi, quia ibi sum promotus de gratia
dei in magistrum; et si fui sufficiens toti universitati,
etiam volo sufficiens esse uni poetae, quia universitas est
plus quam poeta. Et credatis mihi, ego non vellem

19 onx. vocab. All the ensuing etymologies, except that of "currus," are to be found in the Catholicon.
(See i. 1, n.)
20 Int. ad ext.: the point of this is obscure.
25 mensorum: "Moose, mensor,
quod est in mensa," Wright,
Vocab., i. 26, 61.
26 Polyhistor. Caius Julius Solinus compiled, chiefly from Pliny's Nat. Hist., a work entitled Collectanea rerum memorabilium in the third

Cent. A.D., first printed c. 1473. See
"The excellent and pleasant work of
Julius Solinus, Polyhistor. Contain-
ing the noble actions of humane crea-
tures, the secrets and providence of
nature, the description of coun-
tries. . . Translated out of Latin
into English by Arthur Golding,
Gent. London, 1657." Cornelius
Alexander (Suet., De Ill. Gramm., 20)
and C. J. Hyginus (Euseb., Chron. II.
Olymp., 193), were also dubbed Poly-
histor.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


53 Triumphus: von Hutten's Tri. Cyp. was not actually published until 1517, under the pseudonym of "Eleutherius Byzenus"; but a copy had apparently been shown to Erasmus as early as 1514. Whether this is identical with another Triumphus, by "Accius Neobius," ascribed by Mutian to Buschius, is uncertain.

55 piper: "wo der Pfeffer wächst," is still a German equivalent of "Jericho." In the Vocab. Breviloquus, s.v., we learn that "piper" is derived from "pyr," fire; and that the pepper-tree, which grows on the slopes of Caucasus, is guarded by serpents that have to be driven away by fire ere the fruit can be gathered.

56 Philomusum: i.e. Jacobus Locher, the translator into Latin (1497) of Sebastian Brant's Narrenschiff, and successor to Conrad Celtis in his professorial chair at Ingolstadt.

70 Prov.: xix. 17.
Salutem ex cordiali affectu amicabiliter optat. Venerabilis domine magister, sciatis quod pronunc non habeo tempus ad scribendum de aliis rebus non valde necessariis, sed tantum respondetatis mihi ad unam quaestionem quam sic propono: Utrum doctor in iure teneatur facere reverentiam magistro nostro qui non incedit in habitu. Est autem habitus magistrorum nostrorum, sicut scitis, caputium magnum cum liripipo. Est hic unus doctor qui est promotus in utroque iure et habet inimicitiam cum magistro nostro Petro Meier plebano. Et nuper obviavit sibi in platea, quando magister noster Petrus non ivit in habitu, tunc ille iurista non fecit ei reverentiam. Et postea fuit dictum quod non bene fecisset, quia etiam si esset inimicus eius, tamen deberet ei facere reverentiam, propter honorem sacrae Theologiae. Quia deberet esse inimicus personae et non scientiae. Quia magistri sunt in loco apostolorum. De quibus scriptum est: "Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium bona, prae dicantium pacem." Quapropter si speciosi sunt pedes eorum, quanto magis capita et manus debent esse speciosa. Et videtur quod omnis homo, etiam principes debent honorem et reverentiam facere Theologis et magistris nostris. Tunc ille iurista respondit, et praecise in contrarium allegavit suas leges et multas scripturas, quia scriptum est: "Qualem te invenio, talem te iudico." Sed nemo tenetur facere ei reverentiam qui non incedit qualiter debet, etiam si esset princeps. Et quando presbyter reperitur in aliquo indecenti opere et non est vestitus sicut sacerdos esse debet, sed habitu saeculari, tunc iudex saecularis potest eum habere et tractare pro homine saeculari, et afficere

13 Meier. See i. 5, n. 20 scriptum: Rom. x. 15. 28 Qualem: Ezek. xviii. 30.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

35 eum pena corporali, non obstantibus privilegiis clericorum. Sic dixit ille iurista; sed vos debitis mihi significare mentem vestram, et si non scitis per vosmetipsum, tune habetis consilere iuristas, et Theologos in universitate Coloniensi, quod sciam veritatem: quia
deus est veritas, et qui amat veritatem, amat etiam
deam. Similiter debitis notificare mihi quomodo pro-
cedit in vestra lite contra doctorem Reuchlin. Ego
audio quod ipse est depauperatus, propter magnas
expensas, et valde laector. Quia spero quod Theologi
erunt victores et vos etiam. Valete in nomine domini.
Datum FRANCKFORDAE.

XXVII

C IOANNES STABLERIUS MILTEN-
PURGENSIS S. D. M. ORTVINO GRATIO

SICUT semper cupivistis a me habere novitates, iam
5 est tempus quod debeo et possum vobis nova
scribere, quamvis dolce, quia non sunt bona. Sciatis
quod fratres de ordine praedicatorum habuerunt hic
indulgentias quas impetraverunt in curia romana mag-
nis expensis, et colligerunt etiam satis magnum pecu-
niam. Tunc de nocte venit quidam fur in ecclesiam et
acceptit plus quam trecentos florenos, et furatus est eos.
Et isti fratres viri zelosi et in fide christianae valde bene
affectionati tristes fuerunt, et conqueruntur de illo fure.
Sed cives miserunt undique et non possunt reperire
euum, quia au fugit, et habet secum pecuniam. Et est
magna nequitia, quod hoc debet fieri in indulgentiis
papalibus, et in loco sacro: ipse est excommunicatus,
sit ubi sit. Homines qui

35 priv. cler.: "Qui in habitu et tonsura et ceteris ut laici conversantur
deprehensi in maleficis se pro clericis
non defendunt." Decretal. Greg. LIX.,
Lib. V. tit. xxxii. c. 27.
43 depauperatus. R., in a letter to
Mutilianus (Aug. 22, 1513), laments his
half-filled purse; and in 1519, writ-
ing to Pirckheimer, he says, "Sword
and pestilence I have escaped; would
that I could flee famine as well!"

46 Franck.: i.e. Frankfort-on-Main.
1 Miltenpurgensis : Miltenberg. A
small town situated on the Main; the
ancient Schloss of the Electors of
Mainz is still one of its prominent
features.
4 praedic. Apparently not to be
taken in the usual sense of "Domini-
cans," since the monastery at Milten-
berg was of Franciscans.
IOANNES STABLERIUS

pecuniam suam ad illam cistam, nunc putant quod non sunt absoluti: sed nihil est: ipsi sunt ita bene absolu-
ut sic fratres praedicatorum haberent adhuc pecu-
niam suam. Etiam scatis quod isti qui sunt ex parte
Doctoris Reuchlin, vadunt hic et faciunt multos
rumores, quia dicunt quod fratres praedicatorum prop-
terea impetrant illas indulgentias in curia romana, quod
cum illa pecunia volunt vexare ipsum doctorem et
tribulare eum in causa fidei. Et quod homines non
debent eis dare aliquid, in quocunque statu fuerint,
sive alto sive basso, sive ecclesiastico sive mundano.
Nuper fui Moguntiae in actu illo quem celebraverunt
magistri nostri contra Reuchlin: tunc est ibi quidam
praedicator in summo qui est magister noster promotus
in Heydelberga et vocatur Bartholomaeus Zehender,
latine Decimarius: ille publicavit in ambone quod
homines deberent convenire ad sequentem diem et
videre quomodo Speculum oculare combureretur: quia
ipse putatbat quod non esset possibile, quod doc.
Reuchlin posset invenire unam fallaciam quod illud
non fieret: tunc unus socius qui est ibi, et dicunt quod
est poeta, circumvivit et seminavit pessimos sermones
contra praedictum magistrum nostrum, et quando
obviavit ei, tunc aspexit eum cum aspectu draconico
et venenoso. Et dicit publice: "Iste praedicator non

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Arde supplicis, nocturnum ab-rumpe soporem
Ilia duc, tacitos gemitu testare
dolores
Palle hac invidia, et quoniam clamare vetaris,
(Quae fuit tua livoris, et una
necundi
Insita vis animo) leuto consumere
yellow
Ad Capniona nihil clamor tuus, et
tua praeceps
Pertinet illa nihil, et nihil hujus
Palloris rabies."

Triumph. Capnionis.

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Ambose: a raised reading-desk,
or pulpit, from which the epistle
and gospel were read and sermons
preached. There were often a pair
of ambos just within the choir.

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Ambone: a raised reading-desk,
or pulpit, from which the epistle
and gospel were read and sermons
preached. There were often a pair
of ambos just within the choir.

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socius: not Hutten—who did
not return from Italy until the follow-
ing year.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

est dignus quod debet sedere in mensa ubi sedent probi viri, quia possum probare quod est nequam et pultronus, quia in ambone in ecclesia vestra coram omni populo mentitus est contra famam unius excellentis viri, et dixit illa quae non sunt facta.” Et praetenditur dici: “ex invidia tribulant istum bonum doctorem”; et appellavit eum bestiam et canem; et dixit quod nullus pharisaeus unquam fuisset ita nequitiosus et invidus.

Et venit talis sermo ad praedictum magistrum, et ipse excusavit se sufficienter, ut mihi videtur, quia dixit quodnullus pharisaeus unquam fuisset ita nequitiosus et invidus.

Et praetenditur dici: “ex invidia tribulant istum bonum doctorem”; et appellavit eum bestiam et canem; et dixit quod nullus pharisaeus unquam fuisset ita nequitiosus et invidus.

Et praetenditur dici: “ex invidia tribulant istum bonum doctorem”; et appellavit eum bestiam et canem; et dixit quod nullus pharisaeus unquam fuisset ita nequitiosus et invidus.

SALUTEM et devotionem humillimam cum orationibus quottidianis apud dominum nostrum Iesum christum. Venerabilis vir, non habeatis molestiam, quod the application is obvious, as Reuchlin pointed out in his Vocabularius Brevis, s.v., “Pharisei . . . i. divisus et dicitur a phares, quod est divisio. Et hinc quidam haeretici dicit sunt pharisei.”


combur.: the book was, in fact, burnt at Cologne on Feb. 10, 1514.

Dollenkopffius: “Dunderhead.”
scribo vobis de negociis meis, cum vos bene habitis majora pro agendo. Sed dixistis mihi olim quod deberem vobis semper scribere quomodo studerem et non deberem cessare in studendo, sed deberem procedere, quia haberem bonum ingenium, et possum cum adiutorio dei bene proficere, si met vellem.

Ergo debetis scire quod ego pro nunc contuli me ad studium Heydelbergense et studeo in Theologia; sed cum hoc audio quotidie unam lectionem in poetria, in qua ineipi proficere notabiliter de gratia dei; et iam scio mentetenus omnes fabulas Ovidii in metamorphoseos, et scio eas exponere quadrupliciter, scilicet naturaliter, litteraliter, historialiter, et spiritualiter; quod non sciant isti poetae seculares.

Et nuper interrogavi unum ex illis: "unde dicitur Mavors"? Tunc dixit mihi unam sententiam quae non fuit vera; sed etiam correxiti eum, et dixi, quod Mavors dicitur quasi maeres vorans; et ipse fuit confusus.

Tunc dixi[t]: "quid significatur per novem Musas allegorice"? Tunc etiam ignoravist et ego dixi quod IX. Musae significant VII. choros Angelorum.

Tertio dixi: "unde dicitur Mercurius"? Sed quando non scivit, tune dixi ei quod Mercurius dicitur quasi mercatorum curius, quia est deus mercatorum, et habet curam pro eis. Ina videtis quod iste poetae nunc student tantum in sua arte litteraliter, et non intelligent allegorias et expositiones spirituales, quia sunt homines carnales: et ut scribit Apostolus I. ad Corinthios II.: "Animals homo non percipit ea quae sunt spiritus dei."

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13 studium: "University." The word studium, rather than Universitas, was used to denote a University in the sense of a locality: Studium Generale meaning a place where students from all parts were received. But by the XVth Cent., Universitas gradually became a mere synonym for Studium Generale. See a full discussion in Rashdall, Univ. of Eur. in the Middle Ages, i. 7-19.

17 quadr. See l. 50, below.

19 Poet. sec.: The Humanists, who were not concerned to interpret the Latin poets "in a four-fold manner."

22 Mavors: this etymology is given by "Thomas Walleuis" (see below).

26 Septem choros. This, however, is Dollenkopf's own blunder, for "Thomas Wallensis" (see below) interprets the nine Muses as "the nine orders of Angels" (Met. Or. Moral., Paris, 1509; fol. vii). We are reminded of the scholar, who, being asked, "What are the twelve Signs of the Zodiac?" replied, "They are seven in number, and are called East, West, North and South."

29 Merc. Another etymology to be found in "Tho. Wall."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIORUM

Sed possetis dicere; "unde habetis istam subtilitatem"? Respondeo quod nuper acquisivi unum librum, quem scripsit quidam Magister noster Anglicus de ordine nostro, et habet nomen Thomas de Wallesys et compositus est ille liber super librum Metamorphoseos Ovidii, exponens omnes fabulas allegoricte et spiritualiter. Et est ita profundus in Theologia quod non creditis.

Certissimum est quod spiritussanctus infudit huic viro talem doctrinam. Quia scribit ibi concordantias inter sacram scripturam, et fabulas poetales. Sicut potestis notare ex istis quae iam ponam. De Phitone serpente quem interfecit Apollo, scribit Psalmista: "Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum ei." Et iterum; "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis." De Saturno qui supponitur homo senex, et pater

27 de ord. nost.: i.e. a Dominicam.

28 Thomas de Wallesys: the book here referred to is: Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter a Magistro Thoma Wallesys Anglico de professione Predicatorum sub sanctissimo patre Dominico explanata. The first edition of this was printed in 1509, and with the text of Ovid, at Lyons, in 1510.

Thomas de Wallesys, or Wallensis (i.e. "the Welshman"), has been confused with Thomas Jorj, or Joyce ("Thomas the Englishman"), John Wallensis, and sundry other real and imaginary personages. Cf. D. N. B., Arts. "Wallensis" and "Jorj.

29 Comp. est. It has been shown, however, by J. B. Hauréau (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, tom. xxx. pp. 45–55, 1883), that Thomas Wallensis had nothing to do with the work printed under his name. M. Hauréau confidently traces the work to Petrus Bercherius (or Bercharius), i.e. Pierre Bersuire (Bercher, or Berchier), a Franciscan monk, who afterwards, like Rabelais, became a Benedictine.

Pierre Bersuire, ob. 1362, was born near the village of Bressuire (anciently Bersuire). He compiled an elaborate Biblical Encyclopaedia, and translated Livy.

45 de Phitone: Ovid, Metamorphoses, i. 438–444.


47 Super aspidem, &c.: Psalm. xc. 13.

48 de Saturno. The "four-fold" mode of interpreting the Metamorphoses, adopted by "Thom. Wall."

49 may be illustrated under this head:—

(Literaliter): "Saturn is said to devour his own sons, because a person born under the 'constellation' of Saturn rarely lives."

(Naturaliter): "Saturn devours his own sons, because he signifies Time, and whatsoever is born of Time is by Time wasted and consumed."

(Historialiter): "Saturn was King of Crete, of whom his brother Titan predicted that one of his sons would drive him from the throne. Whereupon he determined to devour his sons and avert the evil fate." He swallowed Juno, Neptune, and Pluto; but Jupiter, his son by Cybele, drove him from his kingdom.

(Alegorice): "An avaricious man, armed with rapine as with a scythe, devours his children, in the sense that by his extortions he impoverishes them and consumes their substance." Then follows the quotation from Ez. v. 10, given in the text. Met. On. Moral. Exp., Paris, 1509, fol. ii.
deorum comedens filios suos, scribitur ab Ezechiele: "Comedent patres filios in medio tui."

Diana significat beatissimam virginem Mariam, ambulans cum multis virginibus hincinde. Et ergo de ea scribitur in ps: "Adducentur virgines post eam." Et alibi: "Trahe me post te; curremus in odor um unger- torum tuorum."

Item de Iove quando defloravit Callistonom virginem, et reversus est ad coelum scribitur, Mat. xii.: "Re- vertar ad domum meam, unde exivi."

Item de Aglauro pedissequa, quam Mercurius vertit in lapidem; illa lapidificatio tangitur Iob. xlii.: "Cor eius indurabitur ut lapis."

Item quomodo Iuppiter supposuit Europam virginem, etiam habetur in sacra scriptura, quod ego ignoravi prius, quia sic dixit ad eam: "Audi, filia, et vide, et inclina aum tuam, quia concupivit rex speciem tuam." Item Cadmus quaerens sororem suam, gerit personam Christi, qui quaerit suam sororem, id est animam humanam; et acidificat civitatem, id est ecclesiam.

De Actaeone vero qui vidit Dianam nudam, prophetizavit Ezechiæl cap. XVI. dicens: "Eras nuda et confusione plena, et transivi per te et vidi te."

Et non est frustra a poetis scriptum quod Bacchus est bis genitus, quia per hoc significatur Christus qui etiam est bis genitus, uno modo ante saecula, et alia vice humaniter et carnaliter.

Et Senele quae nutrit Bacchum, significat beatam virginem, cui dicitur Exodi ii.: "Accipe puerum istum et nutri mihi, et ego dabo tibi mercedem tuam."

53 Diana: "Eece, suo comitata choro Dictyna per altum Maenalou ingrediens." Ovid, Met., ii. 441.
55 Alibi: Cant. i. 3. "Trahe me: post te," &c. in Vulg.
56 De Jove: Ovid, Met., ii. 347. The ridiculous allegorical interpretation is quoted almost verbatim from "Thomas Wallensis."
57 Aglauro: Ovid, Met., ii. 830:—
58 "Saxum jam colla tenebat; Oraque duruerant, signumque ex-sangue sedebat."
59 Job xliii. Really chap. xlii. 15.
60 "Cor euis indurabitur tanquam lapis" (Vulg.).
61 Europam: Ovid, Met., ii. 847 sqq.
62 Audi, filia, &c.: Psal. xlv. 10, 11.
63 "Audi filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam, et obliviscere populum tuum, et dominum patris tu. Et concupiseet rex decorum tuum" (Vulg.).
64 Cadmus: Ovid, Met., iii. 1 sqq.
65 Actaeone: Ovid, Met., iii. 177 sqq.
66 But the correct reading is "... plena. Et...
67 Ezech: chap. xvi. 7-8.
68 Bacchus: Ovid, Met., iii. 317.
69 Senele. But Senele did not nurse Bacchus. When she had
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Item de Vulcano qui eiicitur de coelo, et efficitur claudus, scribitur in ps. "Expulsi sunt nec potuerunt stare."

Haec et taha multa didici ex illo hbro. Vos viseretis mirabile si essetis mecum. Et ista est via qua debemus studere in poetria.

Sed parcatis mihi quod praetendo quasi docere vestram dominationem, quia vos scitis meus quam ego, sed feci in bona opinione.

Ego disposui hic, aliquid in Tubinga debet me certificare quicquid agit doctor Reuchlin, ita quod possim vos cavisse. Sed iam nihil scio, alias vellem nobis notificare. Sed iam valete in charitate non ficta.

Datum Heidelbergae.

XXIX

M. TILMANNUS LUMPLIN
S. D. M. Ortwino G.

"STULTISSIMUS sum virorum, et sapientia non est mecum; non didici sapientiam, et non novi scientiam sanctorum." Proverbiorum XXX. Ergo non debetur me spernere quod praetendo vobis dare

perished, and her child was "reborn" from the thigh of Zeus:

"Nysa's Nymphs received
The charge, and in their distant
caverns hid,
And with due nurture reared the
Growing God."

---Ovid, Met., Bk. III. 313.

"Thomas Wallensis" relates that he was "in antris carum reconditus et nutritus."

Piramo:

"Dixit; et aptato peetus mucrone
sub imum
Incubuit ferro, quod adhuc a caede
tepebat." —Ovid, Met., iv. 162.

5 \[5\] Lucae: chap. ii. v. 35 (Vulg.).

87 Vulcano. The myth of Vulcan is not mentioned in the *Metamorphoses*, but Th. de W. enlarges on it.

88 Expulsi, &c.: Psal. xxxvi. 12.

90 et talia multa. Only the first four books of *Ovid Moralised* are here quoted. These four are, however, nearly equal in bulk to the remaining eleven.

95 aliquis: a preceding "quod" is required.

96 Tubinga: not far from Stuttgart, where R. was then living.

97 Lumplin: perhaps from Ger. Limp, a ragamuffin.

Et non debetis alicuem respicere, quia dicit Salomon in Ecclesiastici XIII.: "Noli esse humiliis in sapientia, ne humiliatus in stultitiam seducaris." Neque debetis timere potentiam iuristarum, quod faciant vobis periculum corporis, quia debetis tali patri pro fide et veritate. Unde Christus dicit in evangelio Mat. XVI.: "Qui voluerit animam suam salvam facere, perdet eum." Et si timetis quod non potestis eum vincere, tune non creditis evangelio, quia ista est causa fidei. Et scriptum est in evangelio, quod nihil est impossible homini qui credit: quia ponitur Mat. XVIII [XVII]: "Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis monti huic 'transi hinc,' et transibit, et nihil erit impossible vobis." Sed non est possibile quod doctor Reuchlin potest verum scribere, quia non habet fidem integre, quia defendit Iudaeos qui sunt hostes fidei; et est contra opiniones doctorum; et cum hoc est peccator, sicut scribit magister Ioannes Pfefferkorn in suo libro qui dicitur Sturmglock. Sed peccatores non debent alicuid habere agere in scriptura sacra, quia scribitur Psalmo XLIX.: "Peccatori autem dixit deus: 'Quare tu enarras iustitias meas, et assumis testamentum of Latin, and not a graduate. The Sturmglock, a violent attack on R., ostensibly by P., appeared towards the end of 1514.

77
meum per os tuum? ’” Quapropter ergo hortor vos, et rogo pectoraliter quatenus velitis audacter defendere vos, quod homines possent laudabiler dicere de vobis quod defendistis ecclesiam et famam vestram. Nec debetis respicere aliquem, etiam si papa vellet prohibere, quia ecclesia est super papam. Et debetis me habere excusatum quod moncé vos, quia vos amo, et tu scis domine quia amo te. Valete in fortitudine corporis et ani.

XXX

Profundissimo necnon illuminatissimo magistro Ortvin Gratio theologia, poetae, et oratorii in Colonia, domino ac praeceptorii suo observandissimo IOANNES SCHNARHOLTZIUS max licentiandus salutes cxunerantissimas dicit, cum sui humiliima commendatione ad mandata

CORDIALISSIME necnon profundissime Magister Ortvne: ego Ioannes Schnarholtzius, max licentiandus in theologia in alma universitate Tubingensi, vellem libenter loqui cum vestra dignitate: sed timeo quod est irreverentialitas, quia vos estis ita doctus, et tam magnae reputationis in Colonia, quod nullus debet ad vestram dignitatem accedere, qui prius non bene praevidit se, quia scriptum est: “Amice, quomodo huc intrasti, non habens vestem nuptalem?” Sed vos estis humilis, et scitis vos humiliare, secundum quod dicit scriptura: “Qui se humiliat exaltabitur, et qui se exaltat humiliabitur.” Ideo volo deponeere pudorem, et cum dominatione vestra audacter loqui, sed tamen cum qua decet reverentia. Ego audivi nuper praedicare hic a quodam magistro de Parrisia in magna audientia in festo ascensionis domini, qui praemisit tale thema: “Ascendit deus cum iubilatione,” et fecit unum bonum sermonem, quem omnes laudaverunt

50 papa: Maximilian had written to Leo X. (Oct. 23, 1514) asking him to silence the hostile theologians. Maius, Vit. Rench., p. 462.
51 eccles. (f. i. 12.
52 Schnarholtzius: perl. “creaking wood”; the allusion is obscure.
53 scriptum est: Matt. xxii. 12.
54 scriptura: Matt. xxiii. 12; Luke xiv. 11.
55 ascendit: Psal. xlvi. 5.

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ascendit, est in centro et in medio terrae, ac ibi pendet
una campana quam omnis mundus audit, et quando
ipsa pulsat, tunc dat horribilem somnum de extremo
iudicio, et de ascensione domini. Et quin pulsat, etiam
surdi audiant. Deduxitque multa corollaria ex illa
conclusione, quam didicit in Parrhisia. Sed quando
cessavit praedicare, tunc quidam magister de Erphoria
voluit eum reprehendere, sed stetit cum confusione.
Vos debetis mihi ostendere libros ubi ista materia
habetur, et volo emere. Datum ex Basilea apud
Beatum Rhenanum, qui est vester amicus.

XXXI

C Bartholomaeo Colpio baccalauro theologiae for-
mato ordinis Carmelitarum WILLIBRORDUS
NICETI ordinis Wilhelmitarum cursor in theo-
logia autoritate reverendissimi generalis in ordine
sese commendat cum salute

Quot in mari sunt guttae, et quot in Colonia sancta beguttae,
Quot pilos habentasinorum cules, tot et plures tibi mito salutes.

VENERABILIS domine Carmelita Colpe, ego scio
quod estis de optimo ordine, et habetis multas
indulgentias a sede apostolica, et quod nullus ordo

69 Beat. Rhen.: Bild von Rheinau (Elsass) (1485–1547), "thou whom
I have no more faithful friend," wrote Erasmus. Studied at Paris
under George Hieronymus Spartanus, and then, after visiting Strasbourg,
attached himself to the famous printing-office of Johann Froben at Basle
(see ii. 9, n.). He edited Tertullian, Tacitus, Livy, Pliny, and Velleius
Paterculus. His epitaph at Schlettstadt commemorates his "innocentia,
humanitas, frugalitas, pudicitia," as well as his learning. His library
still exists at Schlettstadt. A. Horawitz, Des Beat. Rheanuu
Thitigkeit, Vienna, 1873; Die Bibliothek und Corresp. des B. R., Vienna,
1874; Horawitz u. Hartfelder, B. R. Briefwechsel, Leipsic, 1886.
1 One of the six Epp. not addressed
to O. G.

1 formato. See i. 1, n.
2 Carmel.: a monastic order founded
in the middle of the XIth Cent.,
but regularised in 1209. Driven
from Mt. Carmel, they went to
Cyprus, and thence spread to Western
Europe. (Changed to a Mendicant
Order in 1247.) See Helyot, Hist.
3 Wilhelm. The Order of the
Guilelmites was founded by St.
William of Maleval, ob. 1156;
otherwise termed "Hermits of St.
Wilhelm"; they passed under
Benedictine Rule. Bolland, Acta
Sanctorum, Feb. 10.
4 Cursor: a Bachelor who had to
give courses of lectures on selected
books of the Bible. Rashdall, i. 465.
5 beguttae: Beguines, a semi-
WILLIBRORDUS NICETI

vestro ordini potest praevaluere, quia potestis varios casus absolvere in confessione, quando videlicet con-
fitentes sunt contriti et compuncti, et volunt com-
municare. Ideo volo a dominatione vestra interrogare
unam quaestionem theologicalem, quam vos bene
potestis determinare, quia estis unus bonus artista, et
scitis bene praedicari, et habetis unum bonum zelum, et
estis conscientiosus; et cum hoc audio, quod habetis
unam magnum liberarium in vestro conventu, in qua
sunt multi libri in sacra scriptura, in philosophia, etia
logica, etia Petro Hispano. Nec non quidam pro-
cessus magistralis de Colonia de bursa Laurentii, ubi
regit actu magister noster Thungarus, vir valde zelosus
ac profundus in Theologia speculativa, et illuminatus
in fide catholica. Quamvis quidam doctor in iure vult
eum vexare; sed non est formalis in disputando, nec
qualificatus in libris sententiarum; ideo non curant eum
magistri nostri. Nec non pCeipue audio, quod in prae-
dicta liberaria, ubi cursores in Theologia habent suum
studitorium, est ligatus in ferrea catena unus liber valde
notabilis, qui dicitur Combibilationes, qui etiam con-
tinent autoritates in Theologia, et prima principia sacrae
scripturae; quem vobis legavit unus magister noster de
Parrhisia in mortis articulo, quando fecit confessionem
et revelavit quaedam secretas in Bonaventura, et man-
davit quod nemo deberet in eo legere qui non esset de
vestro ordine, et in hoc papa dedit quasdam indulgentias
et carenas; apud quem librum iacet Henricus de Hassia
et Verneus, et omnes alii doctores super libris senten-

monastic sisterhood, formed in the
XIIIth Cent. in the Netherlands.
Bound by no vows, they devoted
themselves to works of charity, and
were at times persecuted as pietists
by the Mendicant Orders. The
B&egrauville of St. Eliz. at Ghent
is still famous. See Mosheim, De
Beghardis et Beguinibus, Leipsic, 1790.
21 Hisp. See i. 11, n.
21 processus. See i. 11, n.
29 studit. Not elsewhere found.
31 Combib. An imaginary book;
perhaps a comic perversion of
"Comestor." With this may be
compared Tarraballationes doctorum
Coloniensis adversus Reuchlin, in
the mythical library of St. Victor.
Rabelais, Pantagruel, ii. 7.
32 carenas: a fast of forty days;
hence a remission from such.
"It may be your Quadragesene are not
Carenes." Jeremy Taylor, quoted in
N. E. D., s.v. "carene." Cf. "Dix
huit quarantaines des peches oubliés."
Rabelais, Pantagruel, iv. 50.
34 Hassia: Henricus de Hassia, ob.
1397. Author of Secreta Sacerdolum,
and the Speculum anime. See O.
Hartwig, Henricus de Langenstein dic-
tus de Hassia, Marburg, 1859.
35 Verneus. Unknown. Bocking sug-
gests "Harveis." Harveis is called
a pillar of the church in the Conclia-
bulum Theologistarum (1649, p. 375).
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40 tiarum, in quibus omnibus vos estis fundatus, et scitis defendere omnem viam in disputando antiquorum, modernorum, Scotistarum, Albertistarum, et etiam illorum qui sunt de secta de bursa Kneck in Colonia, ubi habent proprium processum. Ideo rogo vos cordialiter et charitative quod non velitis gravare in mea petitione, sed mihi dare unum bonum consilium in mea quaestione secundum vestrum posse. Et allegare quid domini doctores determinant disputative et conclusive. Est autem quaestio ista talis in sui forma:

“Utrum Lolhardi et Beguttae in Colonia sunt saeculares vel spirituales personae; utrum teneantur facere professionem. Et an possunt accipere mulieres et viros?”

50 Ego diu studui in sacra scriptura, in Discipulo et in Fasciculo temporum, necnon in aliis libris autenticis sacrae scripturae, sed non potui inventre. Sicut etiam quidam sacerdos in Fulda, qui multum studuit in dictis libris, sed non inventit in registro vel in libris; ipse est de genealogia domini pastoris ibidem, qui est poeta, quia scit bene latinsare, dictaminaque componere, quia ego sum plebanus ratione monasterii; et habeo multos communicantes, et etiam tales personas de quibus iam facio quaestionem. Superintendens noster dicit manifeste quod ipse non potest conscientiam suam salvare in descesse talis quaestionis, quamvis habeat disputata multorum doctorum de Parrhisia et Colonia, quia complevit usque ad licentiaturam, et respondit materialiter et formaliter pro completione: si vos non potestis determinare illam materiam, debetis interrogare magistrum Ortvinum: ille docebit nos omnia.

60 Nam vocatur Gratius propter gratiam divinam in se nihil ignorat. Compilavi unum carmen heroicum de praedicto libro: vos debetis legere et corrigere, et facere unum punctum ubi sum superflus vel diminutus; et audite quomodo placet magistro Ortvino: ego volo mittere imprimere. Et sic incipit:

59 Lolhardi. A semi-monastic society, with charitable aims, that arose in Brabant early in the XIVth Cent.; to be distinguished from the English “Lollards.”

55 Discip. See ii. 48, n.

54 Fascic.: Fasc. temp. omnes anti-
Nemo debet esse tam stultus
Et in tanta praesumptuositate sepultus,
Quod velit fieri illuminatus in sacra scriptura
Et formaliter deducere corollaria ex Bonaventura,
Qui non didicit mentetenus combibilationes,
Quas magistri nostri resumunt per omnes regiones,
Præsertim in Parrhisia quæ est mater omnium universitatum,
Et in Colonia, ubi nuper magistrâliter est probatum
Per magistros nostros in theologiâ disputatione,
In qua determinaverunt omnia seraphica probatione,
Quod multo melius est seire istas combibilationes
Quæ plurima tractant per irrefragabiles rationes,
Quam mentetenus seire Hieronymum et Augustinum,
Qui tantum sciunt scribere bonum latinum:
Quia combibilationes sunt optima materia,
Ceu disputant magistri nostri per omnia monasteria:
Ipsae concludunt per conclusiones magistrales,
Qui sunt in divinis ipsi termini essentiales;
Et tractant etiam prima principia theologiâ
destinavit, atque cor meum totiens patitur stimulos, quotiens aliquid vos stimulat: credatis mihi in bona fide, quando Hermannus Buschius stimulavit vos in suo proemio, amplius me stimulavit quam vos, et cogitavi quomodo possum istum indiscretum rixatorem restimulare, qui etiam tum praec-

XXXII

Gloriississime magister, ego amo vos pectoraliter ex intimo zelo, quia vos me semper amavistis ex quo fuistis praeceptor meus singularissimus in Daventria; et quicquid vos stimulat in conscientia vestra, hoc me magis stimulat, et quod me stimulat, scio quod vos etiam stimulat, et vester stimulus semper fuit etiam stimulus meus, et nemo vos unquam stimulavit, qui me non durius stimulavit, atque cor meum totiens patitur stimulos, quotiens aliquid vos stimulat: credatis mihi in bona fide, quando Hermannus Buschius stimulavit vos in suo proemio, amplius me stimulavit quam vos, et cogitavi quomodo possum istum indiscretum rixatorem restimulare, qui etiam tum prae-

15 proemio. It is not clear what the Proemium of the Vallum Humanarum work of Buschius is referred to; not the Proemium of the Vallum Humanarum, which was not written till 1518.
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sumptuosae superbiae est quod audet stimulare magistros nostros de Parrhisia et Colonia; et ipse tamen non est promotus, quamvis socii eius dicunt quod ipse est promotus in baccalaurium iuris in Lypsi. Sed ego non credo, quia etiam stimulat magistros in Lypsi, videlicet magnum magnum Canem et minorem Canem, et alios multos, qui eum possunt multo melius stimulare quam ipse illos stimulat: verum ipsi neminem volunt stimulare propter suam moralitatem, et propter doctrinam apostoli dicentis: “Nolite calcitrare contra stimulos.” Verum enim vero vos debetis eum restimulare, quia habetis unum bonum ingenium et estis inventivus, et scitis in una hora multa metra facere stimulativa; scitis etiam eum stimulare in omnibus suis factis et dictis. Ego compilavi unum dictamen contra eum, ipsumque magistraliter, poeticeque stimulo; non potest evadere stimulum meum. Si vult restimulare, tunc volo iterum fortius stimulare. Datum raptim ex Arge apud Mathiam Schurerium.

22 non credo. But Gingolf was mistaken; Buschius was admitted LL.B. at Leipsic in 1503. H. I. Liessem, De H. Busch. vita et scrip., 1866, p. 32.
23 Canem: “Magnus Canis” was Magnus Hundt, of Magdeburg (hence Parthenopolitanus) (1449 – 1519), Rector of the Univ. of Leipsic in 1499. Among his works are Parvus Antiquorum (a compendium of Logic), Expositio Donati secundum viam doctoris sanctorum, and a Parvus philosophiae naturalis, or introduction to Aristotle’s Physics. “Minor Canis,” also a Magnus Hundt of Magdeburg, and probably a son of the preceding. See J. J. Maderus, Scriptorum Insignium . . . Centuria, Helmstadt, 1660 [xlviii].
27 apost.: Acts ix. 5.
30 inventivus. Not met with elsewhere.
56 Schur.: Matthew Schurer, of Schlettstadt, a printer of Strasburg, and a man of letters. He was the author of Grammatica Nova, publ. in 1501, and between the years 1506 and 1521 issued many works, including several by Erasmus and Wimpheling.
XXXIII

MAMMOTRECTUS BUNTEMANTELLUS

in septem artibus magister, Magistro Ortvin:o
Gratio philosopho, oratori, poetae, iuristae, theolo
go, et sic sine statu Salutem dicit cordialissimam

CONSCIEN'TIOSISSIME domine magister Ortvino,
credatis mihi firmiter quod vos estis cor
meum, ex quo audivi multa a dignitate vestra in poesi
in Colonia, in qua vos excellitis omnes in illa arte, et
estis multo melior poeta quam Buschius vel Caesarius
et scitis etiam Plinium legere et grammaticam graecam.
Ex illa confidentia volo reverentiae vestrae quaedam
manifestare sub fide confessionis. Venerabilis domine
magister, ego amo hic unam virginem, filiam campana
toris, Margaretam cum nomine, quae sedet nuper in
latere vestro, videlicet quando plebanus noster domina
tionem vestram invitavit ad convivalitatem et tractavit
vos reverentialiter, quando bibimus et fuimus laetae
mentis, quando illa etiam propinavist vos bonos
haustus: ego amo eam in tanto amore quod non sum
me cum credatis mihi firmiter quod neque comedo
neque dormio prae ea. Et homines dixunt ad me:
“Domine magister, quare ita pallescatis? amore dei
relinquite libros vestros, vos nimium studetis: debetis
aliando solatium quaerere et zechare, vos estis
adhuoc unus iuvenis vir, bene potestis adhuoc proficere
ad doctoratum et fieri magister noster; estis etiam

1 Mammotrectus. The compilation
known as Mammotrectus super Bibliam,
attributed to Joannes Marchesinus,
was a very popular work in the
XVth Cent. The word is very
variably spelt, and is found in
the form Mammothreptus, which St.
Augustine (in Psalm xxx. serm. 2)
explains as “a child too long un-
weaned.” Erasmus said that the M.
had more faults than a leopard had
spots. See S. Berger, De Glossarior et
Compend., Exeget. . . Med. Arvi.,
Paris, 1879, for a full discussion.

9 Buschius. See i. 9, II.
9 Caesarius: Joannes C. (1460-
1531), educated under Hegius at
Deventer. At Cologne he taught
Greek, and, among other works,
edited Pliny’s Nat. Hist. He was a
warm supporter of Reuchlin, and
died in great poverty at Cologne.
See Bayle, Hist. and Crit. Diet. (Des
Maizeaux), London, 1735, s.v.
16 convitalitas. Not elsewhere
found.
26 noster. He was but plain “Magis-
ter.”
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

fundamentalis et bonus scholaris et iam quasi valetis unum doctorem”: sed ego sum timidus et non possum dicere meam infirmitatem. Ego legi Ovidium de remedium amoris quem Coloniae glosavi a vestra dignitate cum multis notabilibus et moralitatis in margine: verum non iuvat, quia iste amor quotidianus fit maior.

Nuper chorisavi cum ea ter in chorea serotinali in domo sculteti, tunc fistulator fistulavit cantilenam de pastore de nova civitate, et statim omnes chorisatores amplexantur suas virgines sicut mos est. Et ego etiam meam valde amicabitatem compressi ad pectus meum cum suis amiciis.

Nec non tetigi fortiter manus eius, tunc ipsa risit et dixit: “in anima mea, domine magister, vos estis delectabiles vir, et habetis more manus quam alii, non debetis sacerdos fieri: sed usorem accipere”: et inspexit me delectabiliter, quod ego credo quod me etiam occulta amoverem:

verum eius cor meum sic laeserunt sicut una sagitta pertransisset. Et etiam ivi ad domum cum famulo meo, et posui me ad lectum: tunc mater mea flevit, quia timuit quod haberem pestilentiam, ac cucurrit cum urina mea ad doctorem Brunellum clamans: “Domine doctor, rogo vobis propter deum, iuvate filium meum, volo vobis dare ad propinam unam bonam camisiam, quia promisi quod debet sacerdos fieri.” Tunc medicus vidit urineam, et dixit: “ille patiens pro parte est cholericus et pro parte flegmaticus, ipse habet timere de magno tumore circa renes ac tormenta ventricaha ex mala digestione, debet sumere medicam extractivam: est una herba quae videlicet dicitur gyni, nascens in locis humidis, habens gravem odorem, sicut docet Herbarius; illius herbæ partes inferiores debetis conterere, et cum suo succo facere unum longum emplastrum, et ei ponere ad totum ventrem suum hora consuetæ, et debet iacere super ventrem suum bene ad unam horam multum sudando, sic sine dubio cessabant illa tormenta ventricaha cum

34 sent.: praefectus, “Judex oppidi”; Du Cange.
35 pastore: the air of an old ballad, “Die Schäfers von Neustadt.”
36 Brunellus. See Hain (16214–18).
37 Gyni: i.e. γυνή.
38 Herh.: an anonymous work, otherwise Aggregator practicus de simplicibus, to be distinguished from Aggregator de medicinis simplicibus of Jacobus de Dondis.
ORTVINUS GRATIUS

suis inflationibus, quia non est alia medicina tam efficax ad istam infirmitatem sicut illa, ut est probatum in multis patientibus: Verū certe bonum est ut ipse prius accipiát unam purgationem de albo graeco cum succo raphani aū .5 .iiij. et bene erit.” Tunc mater venit et dedit mihi talém purgationem contra voluntatem meam; et habuí in illa nocte quinque sedes magnas atque nihil dormivi, semperque cogitavi quomodo illam in chorea compressi cum suis manillis ad pectus meum, ac quomodo illa me aspexit. Precor vos propter omnem bonitatem quam in vobis habetis, quod velitis mihi dare unam experimentum de amore ex vestro parvo libro, in quo stat scriptum “probatum est,” quem mihi semel ostendístis et díxístis: “Ecce ex illo libro possum facere quod omnis mulier me amat”; et nisi faciatis, domine magister, tunc ego moriar, et mater mea prae dolore etiam morietur.

Ex Heydelbergo.

XXXIV

C MAGISTER ORTVINUS GRATIUS Magis-tro Mamnotrecto profundissimo amico in primo gradu amicitiarum S. D.


47 alb. graec.: a popular medieval remedy, made of the chalky excreta of hyenas and other carnivora.
48 ana: for dud, in the sense of “so much of each,” frequently used in old prescriptions.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

quod petitis. Ex quo dicit scriptura: "Qui petit, accipit." Debetis primo relinquere illas vanas cogitationes de vestra Margareta, quas diabolus vobis suggestit, qui est pater omnis peccati, teste Richardo super .III. Et quandocunque de ea cogitatis, facite crucem ante vos, nec non orate unum Pater noster cum illo versus in psalterio: "Stet diabolus a dextris eius." Etiam semper comedite sal benedictum in die dominico, et spargite vos cum aqua sancta quod consecravit stationarius sancti Ruperti: et sic potestis effugere illum diabolum qui vobis suggestit illum magnum amorem de vestra Margaretha, quae non est ita pulchra ut putatis: ipsa habet unam verrucam in fronte, ac magna rubeaque crura, grossas nigrasque manus, sibique olet os suum propter malos dentes; nec non etiam habet spissum culum secundum commune proverbium: "Ars Margarethae est mirabile rete." Sed vos estis caecus ex illo diabolico amore quod non videtis eius vitia. Ipsa multum bibit et comedet, ac bis nuper bombasavit quando sedit apud me in mensa, et dixit quod fecit cum scamno. Ego habui in Colonia pulchriorem vestra Margaretha, et tamen dereliqui eam. Postquam accepit virum, saeppe vocavit me per unam antiquam vetulum, quando vir eius fuit absens: sed non veni praeter semel: sed tunc fui ebrius. Ego hortor quod bis ieunatis in sabbato, et postea faciatis vestram confessionem uni magistro nostro ordinis praedicatorum, qui posset vos bene instituere. Et quando fecistis confessionem, tunc debetis orare de sancto Christoforo quod velit vos portare in humeris suis, ne iterum recidivetis ac mergatis vos in mare amplum et spaciosum, in quo sunt reptilia quorum non est numerus, id est peccata infinita, sicut exponit Comribilator; ac postea orate ne cadetis in tentationem.

20 Richardo: R. de Mediavilla; Richard Middleton, an Englishman, ob. 1307. He is supposed to have been a teacher of Duns Scotus, on whose tomb in the Church of the Minorites his name is inscribed. He wrote a Commentary on the Sentences of Peter the Lombard. (See D. N. B.)
21 Psal.: cxxvi. 6.
22 Ars: "Ars Margarethae (Cortonensis), sanctae est ars in amore lasciviendo, et sanctae Margarethae Antiochenae formositas multum laudatur in Legenda aurea. Sed in hoc proverbio rs pronuntiandum est vsch." (Böcking.)
24 portare: referring to the legend of St. Christopher; "Christum fereins."
45 Cumbib. See l. 31, n.
ORTVINUS GRATIUS


50 script.: Psal. lxii. 2. 55 loc. sec.: lupanaria.

XXXV

LYRA BUNTSCHUCHMACHERIUS ordinis praedicatorum theologus Guillermo Hackineto qui est theologorum theologissimus S. dicit

VOS scripsistis mihi ex Anglia de Londino unam longam litteram pulchre latinisatam, in qua petivistis quod deberem vobis scribere unam novitatem sive bonam, sive malam, quia estis naturaliter inclinatus ad audiendum nova: sicut faciunt omnes qui sunt de complexione sanguinea, et audient libenter cantilenas musicales, ac in mensa sunt laetae mentis. Ego fui valde laetatus, quando accepi vestram litteram, sicut qui in-

93 vol. prim.: celebrated mass for the first time.
1 Band. The Bandschuh, or rough shoe of the Swabian peasantry, borne on their banners in the Peasants' War, had been adopted as a device as early as 1493. See Camb. Mod. Hist., ii. 175.
2 Hackin.: Guillaume Haquinet Petit, Confessor and Preacher to Francis I., as he had been to Louis XII. An eminent theologian, and "pride of the Dominicans" as Budé calls him, he had earned the wrath of the Reuchlinists, and his consequent inclusion among the Obscure Men, by his adverse influence with Louis. See Budé to Erasm., Paris [1517]. Bpp. clxvii.
3 song. The four "complexions," according to Galen, were the melancholic, the phlegmatic, the choleric, and the sanguine.
venit unam preciosam margaritam, et ostendi eam dominis meis Ioanni Grcino et Linacro dicens:

"Videte, domini mei, videte, nonne iste magister noster est formalis in latinisando et componendo dictamina, et arte epistolandi?" Et iuraverunt quod non possunt similes epistolae componere in arte latinitatis, quamvis sunt poetae, graeci, et latini. Et extulerunt vos super omnes qui sunt in Anglia, Frantia, Germania, et omni natione quae sub caelo est. Ideo non esset mirum quod vos estis generalis in vestro ordine, et quod rex in Gallia diligit vos: non enim habetis similem in latinisando, disputando, et praedicando; ac scitis regem cum regina optime informare in confessione. Etiam isti duo poetae laudaverunt vos quod habetis artem rhetoricalem: verum fuit ibi unus iunenis socius, qui intitulavit se Richardum Crocem; ille praesumpsit contra vos, quod non scribatis secundum regulas artis rhetoricalis; verum fuit valde confusus quando debuit probare. Ipse nunc stat in Lyspi et discit logicam Petri Hispani: credo quod postea erit cautior.

Sed accedo ad novitates. Schwitzenses et Lanssk-

13 Io. Grc.: William (not John), Grocyn, c. 1446-1519, born at Colerne, Wilts, and educated at Winchester, and New College, Oxford. In 1488 he visited Italy, and studied Greek under Chalcondylas. Returning to Oxford, he was probably the first publicly to lecture upon Greek in that university. Among his pupils were Sir Thomas More and Erasmus. Though a firm upholder of the New Learning, Grocyn never swerved from the strictest religious orthodoxy.

14 Linacro: Thomas Linacre, c. 1460-1524, born at Canterbury; Fellow of All-Souls College, Oxford, 1488. Like Grocyn, he visited Italy and studied Greek under Chalcondylas, and moreover counted More and Erasmus among his pupils on his return to England. He was King's Physician under Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and may be regarded as the founder of the Royal College of Physicians. He took priest's orders about four years before his death.

20 Reg. cumin regi. Since Louis XII. died Jan. 1, 1515, and the battle of Marignano, mentioned below, did not take place till Sept. 13 of that year, it is clear that Francis I. and Queen Claude are intended.

27 Crocem: Richard Croke, c. 1489-1558; born in London; graduated at Cambridge in 1506. He studied Greek under Grocyn at Oxford, and under Hieronymus Aleander at Paris, and lectured successively at Louvain, Cologne, Leipsic, Dresden, and Cambridge. In 1529 he was sent by Cranmer on a mission to Italy concerning the king's divorce. It is known that he was at Leipsic in 1515. Mutianus writing to Reuchlin, in 1515, remarks that Croke calls himself an Englishman, but that he should have judged him a Greek, such was his graceful fluency in that tongue. Croke was on very friendly terms with Reuchlin: "My Capnion," he calls him in an extant letter.

28 Lanssknecht. The Landsknechte were so called, not from the long lance with which they were armed, but from those German serfs who fought for their lords on foot. See i. 24, n.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

nechi feerunt unam magnam guerram inter se, inter-
ficientes se ad multa milia: sed timendum quod nullus
illorum venit in caelum, quia faciunt propter pecuniam,
et unus christianus non debet interficere alium. Sed
vos ista non curatis, sunt enim leves personae, et se-
untur rixas ex proposito. Alia novitas est pejor, deus
det quod non sit vera. Scribunt de Roma, quod specu-

Ex hoc inferunt quod magistri nostri sunt falsarii et
infames, quia male transtulerunt; etiam quod sunt
asini, non intelligentes latinum, vel teutonicum; ac
sicut combusserunt istum librum apud sanctum Andream
in Colonia, sic etiam debent comburere sententiam
suam, et sentimentum Parisiense, vel ipsi met debent
esse haeretici. Ego possem sanguinem flere, adeo
dolo: quis vult amplius in theologia studere, et
magistris nostris exhibere condebitam reverentiam qui
talia audit? Omnes credent quod doctor Reuchlin est
profundior quam magistri nostri, quod est impossible.
Cum hoc etiam scribunt quod post tres menses debet
venire finalis sententia contra magistros nostros; necnon
quod papa mandabit sub pena latissimae censurae, quod
fratres ordinis praedicatorum debent propter suam

33 guerram: at Marignano (now Melegnano), near Milan, was fought,
on Sept. 13, 1515, the sanguinary battle between the French army of
Francis I, aided by German levies, and the Swiss. The struggle was
fierce and protracted, and although it ended in the decisive defeat of the
Swiss, the losses of the victors were very heavy. General Trivulzio "de-
declared that the eighteen battles he
had previously witnessed were but
child's play to that of Marignano." Hug and Stead, Switzerland, p. 241.
35 "I often wonder how men, and
especially Christian men, can be so
mad as to go fighting with one
another. . . . Who make up armies?
Cut-throats, adulterers, gamblers,
ravishers, mercenaries." Erasmus,
Ep. 144.

49 de novo trans.: Card. Grimani
ordered the Augenspiegel to be newly
translated into Latin, and on com-
paring the result with the transl.
previously submitted by Hoogstraten
it was found that the latter was
grossly garbled.
49 non intell. Reuchlin had pointed
out, two years before, that Hoog-
straten was a Netherlander and had
but a poor acquaintance with High
German. (Reuch. Act. Julic., 1513.)
50 Combuss.: Feb. 10, 1514.
protervitatem portare unum album brillum sive per-
spicillum in sua nigra cappa in dorso ad perpetuam
memoriam et scandalum, quod fecerunt iniuriam speculo
oculari domini Ioannis Reuchlin, sicut iam etiam
dicuntur pati unum scandalum in celebratione missali
propter intoxicationem alicuius imperatoris. Ego non
spero quod papa erit tam stultus quod faciet: Si faciet,
volumus per universum nostrum ordinem contra ipsum
legere istum psalmum: “Deus, laudem.” Ceterum
patres et magistri nostri nunc cogitant quomodo possunt
obiare isto malo. Ipsi volunt a sede apostolica im-
petrare latissimas indulgentias, et maximam pecuniam
colligere in Germania et Gallia, per quam possunt
resistere illi autori Iudaeorum donee moriatur: quia
est senex. Et tunc volunt eum omnino damnare.
Valete, et date consilium vestrum secundum
vestrum posse, et promovete bonum ordinis.

XXXVI

EITELNARRABIANUS DE PESSENECK
ordinis Wilhelmi cursor in Theologia Magistro
Ortvino Gratio Salu. dicit numerosissimam

“ANATURA sumus proclivi ad malum,” ut legimus
in autenticis. Ideo inter homines audimus semper
plura mala quam bona. Ego disputavi nuper in
Wormatia cum duobus Iudaeis et probavi quod ipsorum
lex per Christum esset cassata, atque quod expectatio
ipsorum de Messia esset una mera frasta et phantasia,
ac super hoc allegavi dominum Ioannem Pfefferkorn
in Colonia. Illi vero riserunt dixeruntque: “Vester
 Ioannes Pfefferkorn in Colonia est unus pessimus

or, as quoted in Acts i. 20, “and his
bishoprick let another take.”

Senex: Reuchlin was just sixty.

1 This is one of the Epp. which
have been attributed to Buschius.

Antent.: i.e. Peter Lombard’s
“Sentences.”

1 frausta: frusca; see i. 16, n.

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LUPOLDUS FEDERFUSIUS

quod audivit frequenter a sua matre quod viri praeputiati faciunt feminis maiorem voluptatem, quam non praeputiati: eam ob causam dicit, quando suus maritus moritur, et ipsa alium accipiet, ille debet etiam nullam cutem habere in membro: ergo non est credendum quod amat burgimagistros, quia burgimagistri non fuerunt Iudaei, nec sunt circumsici sicut dominus Ioannes Pfefferkorn: propterea relinquite ipsum in pace: alias scribet contra vos unum tractatum quem intitulabit ‘die sturmglock,’ ut fecit contra Reuchlin.”

Vos debetis istam litteram ostendere domino Ioanni Pfefferkorn, ut se defendat realiter contra tales Iudaeos, et Hermannum Buschium, quoniam ipse est amicus meus singularissimus, et mutuavit mihi .X. florenos quando fui promotus baccalaurius formatus in theologia. Datum ex Verona Agrippina, ubi Buschius et eius socius comederunt pingui de gallina.

XXXVII

LUPOLDUS FEDERFUSIUS max licentian-
dus M. Ortvino Gratio tot salutes dicit quot aucae comedunt gramina

DOMINE magister Ortvine, est in Erphordia in quodlibetis mota una quaestio multum subtilis in duabus facultatibus, theologicae et physicae. Quidam dicunt quando Iudaeus fit Christianus, protunc renascitur sibi praeputium, quae est cutis praecisa de membro virili in nativitate per legem Iudaeorum. Et illi sunt de

49 praeputiati: i.e. circumcised; not the reverse, as in Tertullian, Adv. Marc., v. 9. “Praeputiare i. illam pellem praedicere.” Gemma Gemmarum. (Sir W. Hamilton, Edin. Rev., cv. p. 208, seems to have misunderstood this.)

51 sturmglock: publ. at the end of 1514.

52 ist. lit.: “this letter of mine.”

64 Ver. Ag. Bonn, also known as Verona Rhenana.

65 ping. de gal. A locality in Cologne is still named Unter Fetenhennu, but as Bonn is here meant the allusion is obscure.

1 Lupold. See Burgaud des Marets and Rathery, Oeuvres de Rabelais, vol. i. p. 350.

5 quodlib.: originally subtle and elaborate theological arguments, they had degenerated into trifling, and often indecorous, discussions.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIORUM

via theologorum, et habent prae se magistrales rationes, de quibus est una quod alias Iudaei facti Christiani in extremo iudicio putarentur esse Iudaei, si essent nudi in ipsorum membro virili, et sic ipsis fieret inuria. Sed deus nemini vult facere inuirium: ergo etc. Alia ratio tenet ex autoritate psalmistae qui dicit: "Et abscondit me in die malorum, et protexit me in abscondito:" dicit "in die malorum," id est in extremo iudicio in valle Iosephat, quando oportet reddere rationem omnium malorum. Alias rationes relinquo propter brevitatem: ex quo in Erphordia sumus moderni, et moderni semper gaudent brevitate, ut scitis. Etiam pro eo quod ego habeo malam memoriam, non possum multa mentetenus scire, proptereaque tamen habent pro se Plautum, qui dicit in sua poetria quod facta infecta fieri nequeunt. Ex hoc dicto probant, si aliquam partem corporis Iudaev amitis in sua iudaitate, non recuperat illam in christiana religiositate. Et cù arguunt quod ipsorum argumenta non concluent formaliter: alias ex prima ratione sequeretur quod illi Christiani qui perdiderunt propter suam luxuriam partem unam e suo membro, ut saepe contingit in saecularibus et spiritualibus personis, etiam credentur in extremo iudicio esse Iudaei: sed hoc asserre est haereticum, et magistri nostri haereticae pravitatis inquisitores nequaquam concedunt, quia ipsi aliquando etiam sunt defectuosi in ista parte; sed hoc non contingit ipsis ex meretricibus, sed quando in balneis se non praevident. Iccirco precor dominationem vestram humiliter et devotarie quod velitis vestra descisione determinare rei veritatem, et interrogare uxorem d. Io. psef. ex quo cum ea bene statis, et illa non vereundatur dicere coram vobis quaecunque vultis propter illam amicabilem conversationem quam habetis cum viro suo. Et ego etiam audio quod estis eius confessor; propter eam potestis eam compellere sub pena sanctae obedientiae. Dicatis: "Domina mi, nolite vereundari, ego scio quod estis honesta persona, sicut est una in Colonia: non peto inhonestum a vobis,

10 psal.: xxvi. 5. 18 Joseph. See i. 30, n. 15 Pust. : Amphitrit. iii. 2. 20
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PADORMANNUS FORNACIFICIS


XXVIII

PADORMANNUS FORNACIFICIS licentiatus Magistro Ortvino Gru. Salutem salutarississi-

mam dicit

NUPER scrispistis ad me de Colonia, et reprehendistis me quod ego non scriberem ad vos, ex quo dixistis quod prae alis libenter legitis meas litteras, quod habent bonum stilum, neenon procedunt recte secundum artem epistolandi, quam audivi a vestra praestantia in Colonia. Ego scriberem vobis: “non habeo semper inventionem et materiam ut nunc habeo.” Vos debetis notare quod iam hie celebratur quodlibetum, et magistri doctoresque expediunt se artificialiter eum magna doctrina in determinandis, solvendis, proponendis quaestionibus, argumentis, problematum in omni scibili. Et cum hoc poetae et oratores apparent valde artificiosi ac scientiosi; inter quos est unus notabilis et magistralis in illa arte prae ceteris, qui facit sibi magnum titulum quando intimat lectiones suas. Et dicit quod est poeta poetarum, et quod praeter eum non est alius poeta. Ipse scrispit quendam tractatum metrice, quem notabiliter intitulavit, ego sum oblivus nomen, credo quod est de ira et cholericis. In quo tractatu stimulat magistros multos, et alios poetas qui se impediverunt legere in universitate propter suam luxuriosam artem: verum magistri dicunt sibi in faciem, quod non est tam bonus poeta sicut gloriatur, et tenent sibi

55 Draco. There is still a Drachenstrasse in Erfurt, though the inn has disappeared.
1 Fornac. The name Kachelofen, “stove,” occurs in the register of Wittenberg University in 1510. Först, Alb., 34.
16 unus not. Apparently Sibutus.
See l. 3, n.
in multis oppositum, et probant per vos, videlicet quod estis multo profundior in arte poeticali; cum hoc etiam ostendunt quod non est bene fundatus in quantitate syllabarum, prout determinat magister de Villa dei in tertia sui, quam iste videtur non sufficienter legisse; atque deducunt contra ipsum intentum suum multipliciter. Primo per nomen vestrum, et hoc dupliciter. Primo sic. “Ecce iste vult profundior esse poeta quam

magister Ortvinus, et tamen nomen suum non patitur. Prefecto magister Ortvinus dicitur Gratius a supernali gratia, quae vocatur gratia gratis data, quia alias non poteritis scribere tam profunda dictamina poeticalia sine illa gratia gratis data vobis per spiritum sanctum, qui ubi vult spirat; et vos eam impetrastis per humilitatem vestram: deus enim resistit superbis, et humilbus dat gratiam.” Qui vestram poetiam legunt, et intelligunt negotium, fatentur in conscientia sua quod non habetis parem, et mirantur quod iste est sic insulsus et inverecundus, quod vult esse super vos: quando unus puer posset intelligere quod illum excellit sit Laborintus Cornutum excellit. Ipsi volunt colligere dictamina vestra, et curare imprimere quae in variis tractatibus hincinde scripsistis, videlicet in tractatu magistri nostri de Tungaris, summni regentis in bursa Laurentii, in tractatu de scandalosis propositionibus Ioannis Reuchlin, in Sentimento Parrhisiensi, in multis tractatibus domini Ioannis Pfefferkorn, qui fuit olim Iudaeus, et nunc est optimus Christianus. Ipsi timent quod alias pereat vestra poetria, et dicunt quod esset unum maximum scandalum illius temporis et peccatum mortale, si periret per negligentiam, et non imprimetur. Orant etiam domini magistri quod dignemini sibi mittere apologiam vestram contra Ioannem Reuchlin, in qua realiter tribulatis illum praetensum doctorem, quod audet oppositum tenere contra quattuor universitates:

36 supernali. Not elsewhere found.
41 deus: James iv. 6.
47 Laborintus: the Labyrinthus, a poem “de miseris rectorum Schol- arum,” attributed to Ebrard de Bethune (Eberhardus Bethuniensis, XIIIth Cent., called Graevista), from its conclusion—

“Lector condolens Eberhardi carminis ullam
Si cariem videas. Vigilet correctio limae.”

PADORMANNUS FORNACIFICIS

volunt exscribere, et vobis remittere. De isto modo probandi sunt magister Ioannes Kirchberg, amicus meus singularissimus, mecum promotus, magister Ioannes Hungen, amicus meus affectualissimus, magister Iacobus de Nurmberga, magister Iodocus Wynssheim, et alii multi magistri, amici mei dignissimi et fautores vestri imperterriti. Verum enimvero ergo alii opponunt se et dicunt quod iste modus probandi est quidem subtilis, et concludit magistraliter, sed non sit de mente vestra, quia hoc sonaret multum superbe, si vos diceretis: "Ecce domini mei, ego vocor Gratius a supernah gratia, quam mihi dedit deus in poetria et in omni scibili." Et hoc idem repugnaret humilitati vestrae, per quam habetis illam gratiam, et esset oppositum in adiecto. Nam gratia supernalis et superbia non patiuntur se in codem subiecto: Porro gratia supernalis est virtus, et superbia vitium, quae se non compatuntur propter hoc quod "unum contrariorum natum est expellere rehquum, ut caliditas expedit frigiditatem:" magister noster poeta secundum Petrum Hispanum in praedicamentis, qui disputat quod vtopus contrariatur vitio. Ergo est alia ratio multo melior, propter quam vocatur Gratius videlicet a Graccis Romanis, deposita una littera propter malam sonantiam. De quibus legitur in historiis Romanorum quod fuerint valde notabiles poetae et oratores. Isti Gracci, et quod Roma illo tempore pares non habuit, qui fuerunt tam subtiles et profundi sicut illi in poesi et in Rhetorica. Et legitur, quod fuerunt de molli et suavi voce, non tubali et grossa, sed dulci sicut una fistula, ad quam fistulam ipsi etiam aliquando ineceperunt rhetorizare in principio sui dictaminis: propterea populus audivit eos cum magna affectualitate, et dedit eis primam laudem praeceteris in illa arte. Ab istis igitur Gracchis nominatus est Gratius magister Ortvinus. Porro nemo est sibi par in poesi, et in dulcore vocis. Et illos omnes sic praecellit, sicut illi Gracchi Romanorum poetas omnes praecellevant. Ergo ideo igitur debet tacere,
et se humiliare ille poeta hic in Witenurga; alias est profundus, sed respectu vestri est unus puer. Ilam viam probandi tenent amici mei cordialissimi Eobanus Hessus, magister Henricus Urbanus, Ritius Euritus, magister Georgius Spalatinus, Ulricus Huttenus. Et in primis doctor Ludovicus Mistotheus, dominus et amicus meus, et defensor vester. Vos debetis mihi scribere qui sunt de via meliori, ac informare rei veritatem. Et volo unam missam pro vo- bis legere apud praedicatores, quod debetis vincere doctorem Ruchenlin qui vocavit vos haereticum immerito, quod scripsistis in vestra poetria: "Flet Iovis alma pares." Valete in maxima valitudine. Ex Witenburgo, ex arce apud magistrum Spahitinum, qui vobis mittit tot salutes, quot cantantur Halleluia infra pascha et penthe-

103 Hessus (1437-1540). A detailed account of his life, from his birth under a tree in a cornfield, will be found in the Narratio de H. Eob. Hesso, by Joach. Camerarius, Norimb., 1553. Melchior Adam (Lib. de Vit. Phil. Germ.) compares him to Homer, while Moreri drily remarks that he was neither so blind nor so great as H., but could drink the greatest topers in Germany under the table. He was a facile writer of Latin verse, from translations of Homer and Theocritus, to a poem on the gout. See Martin Hertz, H. E. Hessus, Berlin, 1889.

103 Urbianus: a member of the Erfurt circle, afterwards a Cistercian monk. He has been strangely confused with Euricius Cordus by Melchior Adam and many subsequent writers. (See A. Chalmiers, Gen. Ring. Dict., x. 253, and Catalogues of Brit. Mus. and Bodl. Lib.)

104 Euricius Cordus (1436-1535), poet and physician. Visited Italy in 1521; studied medicine at Ferrara, and afterwards resided at Marburg and Bremen. Besides poems, he wrote Colloquium de Herbis, and other botanical works. See Melchior Adam, In Vit. Germ. Medici., and Moreri, Diet. Hist., 1712, ii. 742.

105 Spalat. (1434-1545): Georg Burkhardt, of Spalt, Bavaria. One of the humanists of the Erfurt circle; later, chaplain and adviser of the Elector Frederick the Wise, and close friend of Luther. Author of the Analetae Reformationis and other historical works.

105 Mistothe.: believed by Bocking to stand for "Martin Luther."
S C I E N T I F I C E praeeceptor magister Ortvine: ego significo vobis plures grates, quam habeo crines in corpore meo, quod dedistis mihi consilium quod deberem ambulare ad Colionam pro studio ad bursam Laurentii: pater meus fuit optime contentus, et dedit mihi X. florenos, et emit mihi unam magnam cappam cum liripipio nigri coloris. In primo die quando veni ad universitatem, et deposui beanium in praeda bursa, tunc didici unum notabile, quod non vellem carere pro .X. albis. Quidam poeta Hermannus Buschius venit ad istam bursam cum suo negotio ad unum regentem collateralem. Tunc ille magister sibi manum suam, et exceptit eum reverentialiter dicens: “Unde mihi hoc quod mater domini venit ad me?” Et Buschius respondit: “Si dominus noster non habuit pulchioram matrem quam ego sum, certe ipsa non fuit multum pulchra”; et non intellexit illam subtilem retoricam allegoriam, quam ille regens bursalis praetendit in suo sermone.

§: Ego spero quod volo adhuc multa in hac alma universitate discere tam utilia sicut hoc notabile est. Hodie emi processum bursae; cras debo arguere in disputatione bursali, de illa materia, utrum materia prima sit ens in actu, vel potentia.

Coloniae ex bursa Laurentii.

1 Lumin. : “Editius”; but the earliest instance given by Du Cange is of 1537.

2 Lauren. See i. 11, n.

11 deposui: for the brutal horse-play accompanying the ceremony of “depositio,” i.e. the admission of a freshman to the privileges of studentship, see Rashdall, Univ. of Europe, ii. 628–32.

16 unde: the Magister clumsily alludes to Buschius’s poem, De saluberrimo fractuosissimoque divae virginis psalterio Heratostichon, &c. (Several edd. had appeared before 1516.)

HERBORDUS MISTLADERIUS Magistro
Ortvino incomparabili in doctrina praeceptori suo
sulsissimo Salutem dicit quam nemo dinnumerare
poterit

ILLUMINATISSIME magister, quando discessi a
vestra dominatione ad Suollis ante duo annos, pro-
misistis mihi ad manum mean quod velitis mihi fre-
quenter scribere, et mihi modum dare dictandi in vestris
dictaminibus: ast non facitis, et mihi non scribitis sive
vivitis, sive non vivitis; sive vivitis sive non vivitis, non
tamen scribitis ut scio quid est, quomodo vel qualiter
est. Sancte deus, quomodo me sollicitatis: rogo vos
propter deum et sanctum Geogium, liberate me ex mea
cura, quia timeo quod caput vobis dolet, vel quod
habetis infirmitatem in ventre, et estis laxus, sicut olim
fuistis quando pernerdastis caligas vestras in plateis et
non sensistis, donec una mulier dixit: ‘‘Domine magister,
ubi sedistis in merdis? ecce tunica et pantofoli vestri
sunt maculata’’: tunc ivistis in domum domini Ioannis
Pfefferkorn, et mulier eius dedit vobis alia vestimenta:
vos debetis comedere ova dura, et castaneas in fornace
assatas, neconon fabas coctas aspersas cum papavere, ut
fit in Westvalia patria vestra. Mihi somniavit de vobis
quod habetis gravem tussin, et multum de flegmate:
comedite zucarum, et pisas contusas mixtas cum
serpillo et allio contrito, ac ponite unum assatum caepe
ad umbilicum vestrum, et per sex dies debetis abstinere
a mulieribus; tegite caput et lumbos vestros bene, et
sanabitis. Vel sumite receptum quod uxor domini
Ioannis Pfefferkorn [saepe langentibus dederat,] quod
est probatum saepe. Ex Suollis.

This unsavoury Ep. gives peculiar point to one of the mythical books
in the Library of St. Victor, viz.
‘Ars honeste petandi in societate,
par M. Ortuinum.’’ Rabelais,
Pantagruel, ii. 7.

13 Geog. Sic, in [A].
23 serpillo. The flowers of wild
thyme (T. serpylum) are used in
medicine as a powerful stimulant.
30 saepe: the words in brackets
were added in [B].
VENIT ad me unus religiosus ordinis praedicatorum, discipulus magistri nostri Iacobi de Hochstrat, haereticae pravitatis exquisitoris, et salutavit me. Et statim interrogavi: "Quid facit amicus meus singularissimus magister Ortvinus Gratius, a quo multa didici in logica et poesi?" Et respondit quod estis infirmis: tunc cecidi in terram ante pedes eius prae terrore. Ipse me perfudit cum aqua frigida, et crinisavit me apud pudenda, et vix suscitavit: tunc dixi: "O quam me terruistis! quae est eiusmod infirmitas?" et ait, quod dextra vestra mamilla est inflata, ae dolorosa infirmitate vos vexat et impedit a studio. Sic cepi iterum mentem dicens: "Ha! non est aliquid: ego possum bene sanare istam infirmitatem: habeo artem per experientiam. Verum, domine magister, audite, primum, unde venit ista infirmitas?" Tunc subiungavi remedium: Quando mulieres male pudorosae vident unum pulchrum virum sicut vos estis, videlicet qui habet vilgos crines, brunellos oculos vel grauos, os rubeum, magnum nasum, et est bene corporatus, tunc volunt eum habere. Sed quando ille est bene moratus, qualificatusque in mente sicut vos, et non curat ipsarum levitates et fallacias, tunc fugiunt ad artes magicas, et in nocte sedent super unam scobem, equitantes super istam scobem ad pulchrum illum virum quem amant, facientes negotium suum cum eo quando dormit, et nihil sentit nisi somnium. Aliquae fiant cattae vel aves, et sugunt sanguinem eius per mamillas, et faciunt suum amicum aliquando sic infirmum quod vix valet cum baculo ambulare. Ego

22 grauos: Ger. grau; not elsewhere found.
30 cattae. For an account of a solemn "cat-whipping" by twelve priests, to expel the witch, see S. H. (i.e. Samuel Harsnet, Ahbp. of York), A Declaration of Popish Impostures, 1603.
credo quod diabolus docuit ipsas illam artem: verum-enimvero sic debemus ipsi obviare sicut legi in
libaria magistorum in Rostochio in antiquissimo libro, et postea probavi, et est verum. In die dominico
debemus sumere sal benedictum, et cum eo super
linguam facere unam crucem, et comedere ex mandato
scripturae: "Vos estis sal terrae," id est comeditis;
postea facere unam crucem in pectore, et unam in
dorso; similiter ponere in utramque aurem semper cum
crucem, cavendo ne cadat exinde. Ac postea orare talem
orationem devotam:

Domine Iesu Christe, et vos quattuor evangelistae,
custodite me a malis meretricibus, et ab ipsis incantatricibus,
ne exsugant meum crurem, et faciant gravem dolorem
in meis mammillis; quaeo resistite illis:
dabo vobis offertorium, unum pulchrum aspersorium:
et eritis liberatus. Si iterum veniunt, tunc exsugunt
suum sanguinem et fiunt met infirmae. Ceterum
quomodo stat res cum doctore Reuchlin? magistri
dicunt hic quod vos vicit; ego non credo quod posset
vincere magistros nostros. Et multo magis miror quod
non scribitis unum dictamen contra ipsum. Valete
superaeternaliter. Et salutate dominum Ioannem
Pfefferkorn cum sua uxore: dicatis quod ego opto sibi
plures bonas noctes, quam Astronomi habent minutas.

EX FRANCKFURDIA APUD ODERAM.

35 Rostoch.: the library in which
the mystical "Combibilations" rest.
See i. 31.
36 sal. See Grimm, Deutsche
Mythol., l. c. and p. xc, n. 570.
42 ne cadat. That ill-luck attends
the spilling of salt is still a common
superstition.

NOTE.

Epp. XLII.-XLVIII. appeared for the first time in [C]—
the third edition of the first series.
ANTONIUS N. Medicinae quasi doctor, id est Licentiatus, statim autem promotus Spectabili viro Magistro Ortvino Gra. praeceptori suo multum venerando S. dicit

PRAECEPTOR singularissime, secundum quod scripsistis mihi nuper quod debeam vobis scribere novalia, scitis quod ego nuperrime veni ex Heydelberga ad Strassburg volens emere quaedam materialia quibus utimur in nostris medicinalibus, ut scitis credo: quia etiam est consuetudo apud vestros medicos, ut si non habent in suis apotecis, tunc solent peregre in aliam civitatem ut possint emere ad practicationem suam: sed stent illa. Cum itaque venissem illuc, venit ad me unus bonus amicus qui est mihi multum favorabilis, et quem vos bene cognoscitis, quia fuit diu etiam Coloniae sub virga vestra: ille mihi dixit tunc de uno qui erat dictus Erasmus Roterdamus, mihi prius incognitus, qui esset homo valde doctus in omni scibili omnique doctrinarum genere; et dixit quod esset iam in Strassburg: ego nolui credere et adhuc non credo, quia videtur mihi impossibile quod unus homo parvus, ut ipse est, tam multa deberet scire. Rogavi ergo illum qui mihi talia dixit valde plurimum, ut vellet me tamen ducere ad eum ut possem eum videre. Habui etiam mecum tunc unum Rapiarium quod intitulavi “Vade mecum in medicina,” ut soleo semper habere, quando ambulo transcampis ad visitandos pacientes vel ad materialia emenda: in hoc habeo etiam varias quaestiones quae sunt valde subtiles in arte medicinali[.] ex illo rapiario enucleavi mihi unam quaestionem cum suis notabilibus et argumentis pro et contra, cum quibus volui armatus venire contra illum quem dicebant tam scientiosum, ut possem tamen experientiam facere an


19 iam. Erasmus passed through Strasburg on his way to Basle in 1514.
etiam aliquid sciat in medicina vel non. Cum igitur
35 dixissem hoc amico meo, instituit collationem optimam
et invitavit Theologos speculativos, Turistas splendi-
dissimos. Et me quasi unum ex medicinarum practi-
catoribus, licet indignus. Nempe cum sedissent, tunc
diu tauerunt neque aliquid ex nobis voluit incipere
praebudore [:] tunc ego stimuliavi meum proximum
concessorem, quod mihi ad salvos deos ex abrupto
occurrut in memor\a,

Contieuerce omnes intentique ora tenebant ;

quam versum adhuc habeo in recenti consideratione,
35 quia vos cum exposuistis nobis Virgilium in Aeneidis
tunc pinxi ad illum versum, ut facerem mihi locationem
in libro meo secundum quod iussistis nos, unum virum
qui habet claustrum in ore sic ergo iam optime venit ad
propositum, cum ille scientificus etiam sit poeta ut ipsis
dieunt. Quippe cum sic taceremus invicem, ipsemet
incept magno praeludio sermonisare: ego vero non
intellexi, vel non sum ex legittimo thorо natus, unicum
verbum, quia habet tam parvam vocem: puto autem
quod fuit ex theologia : et hoc fecit ut possit attrahere
illum magistrum nostrum, virum maxime profundum in
theologia, qui nobiscum sedebat in collatione. Quinimo
cum finivisset illud praeludium, tunc incepit magister
noster disputare subtilissime de ente et essencia, quod
non opus est iam repetere, quia bene pertractastis illum
materiam. Illo finito ipse respondit paucis verbis ; tunc
iterum omnes tacerunt. Tunc ergo hospes noster qui
est bonus humanista, incepit quaedam dicere ex poetria,
ubi laudavit valde Caesarem Iulium in suis scriptis et
etiam factis. Profecto cum hoc audissem, erat mihi
bene adiuvatum, quia multa legi et audivi in poesi a
vobis dum fui in Colonia, et dixi : “Quoniamquidem
igitur inceptistis loqui de poetria, non potui me longius
occultare, et dico simpliciter, quod non credo Caesarem
scripsisse illa commentaria, et volo dictum meum
roborare hoc argumento, quod sic sonat : 'Quieunque

43 Contic.: Æn. ii. 1.
53 vocem: "But they have learned, I wotte never of whom, that the enric
and beginnyng of an oracion must be
caulimly uttered without any lowde
voyce or exclamacion. So therfore
begynne their prambles so stilly as
scarce they can here their owne
voyces." Erasm., Encom. Moriae
(Challoner's Transl.).

106
ANTONIUS N.


Datum in HEYDELBURGA.
EVERENDE domine magister. Quia scripsistis mihi ad Eberburck valde solaciosam lām, in qua consolastis me quia audivistis me esse infirmum: proprierea habeo vobis grates sempiternas. Sed in illa epistola scripsistis vobis fuisse mirum quare fuissem factus infirmus, cum non habeam magnos labores, ut etiam nec alii habent qui dicuntur sine labore, id est dominorum servi. Ha ha ha! oportet me ridere, vel sim spurius, quod quaeritis ex tā simplici mente: non scitis quod hoc est in dei voluntate quod potest unum facere infirmum quando vult, et iterum sanare quando sibi placet: si semper debet venire infirmitas ex labore, tunc mihi non esset bonum: licet vos dicatis me non multum laborare. Quippe cum fui nuper in Heydelberga apud bonos socios, tunc maxime semper egebar laborare cum collo, bibendo scilicet vinum, quod non mirum fuisse quod traxissem collum meum ab inde: et vos non putatis esse illum laborem? Sed sufficiat haec responsio ad illam partem: postea sequitur in vestra lām quod debeam vobis disponere unum libellum in quo stet aliquid pulchrum pro iuuenibus quod possitis resumere. Cum igitur fuistis mihi semper amabilis propter disciplinas vestras varias quas scitis mentetemus, non potui me servare ut non mitterem vobis: vā epistolam ex pulchro libello qui inscriptus est “Epistolare magistrorum lipsensium,” quem dictaverunt magistri dispositissimi in alma universitate lipsensi; et hoc proprierea fēci, si placet vobis illa prima lām, tunc volo mittere totum librum, quia non

1 Gundel.: in Bavaria.
11 sine lab.: J. Hartlieb, De Fide Meretrix (1643), p. 495. “Sine labore, ein Pfarrenknecht.”
21 trux.: the meaning is doubtful.
libenter permitto a me: est ergo ista epistola talis in principio:

"MAGISTER CURIO Regens veterimus in bursa Henrici lipsig S. D. Matthiae Falckenbergensi ex antiqua familia Nobilistae ante Quinquaginta annos et adhuc suo socio invisibili

"Quoniamquidem cum sit iam longum tempus et non fuimus simul apud invicem, bonum esse puto vobis semel velle scribere, ut antiqua amicitia non destruatur: quia audivi a multis vos adhuc vivere et vos bene habere, atque sitis adhuc in bona possibilitate sicut fuistis adhuc iuvenis: quod ego per deum sanctum cum maxima hilaritate audivi: sed parcat mihi bonus deus quod tam robuste iuravi. Utinam deus et sancta Maria semel velit permettere ut huc possitis equitare, quia audito vos iam non sic libenter equitare sicut fecistis quando fuistis mecum in Erphordia et in ceteris partibus Saxoniae; quando ego saepius admiratus sum vestram hilaritatem, cum equitastis in equo. Ego valde timui quando audivi Wormacienses habere litigium cum quodam nobilista, ne vos etiam essetis cum illo, quia una antiqua familia, sicut vos estis, est libenter apud aliam; semper in iuventute cum illis libenter fuistis zecchando et equitando, in quo ego vos saepe taxavi. Sed tamen cum adhuc omnia bona sunt, volumus referre Deo Iesu meritas grates quod tam diu mansimus sani. Miror valde quod mihi nunquam scripsistis, cum tamen habetis multos nuncios ad lipsig, et bene scivistis quod hic semper habitavi. Ego non possum esse tam piger ut vos estis, quare etiam scribo vobis, et semper scribo libenter, et scio quod in illis annis, quibus nos simul invicem non vidimus, scripsi plus quam viginti iias ad

35 Curio: a herald; but here the equivalent of Hofmann.
55 Worm.: Franz von Sickingen warred with Worms from 1515 to 1518.

72 nupcias. The wedding of Henry, Duke of Saxony, with Catherine of Mecklenburg took place at Freiberg on July 6, 1512, and a deputation from Leipsic was present. Vogel, Leipziger Geschichtsbuch, 1714, p. 83.
89 Galrimum. Not elsewhere found, and of uncertain meaning.

110
115
120
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145

"Conventum: Kefent is still used to denote small-beer."
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

habitationibus nostris extraordinarie non habemus multa comedere, quod etiam non esset bonum, alias enim suppositi nostri non studerent quare ego scripsi ad habitationes omnium illos duos versus:

Regula bursalis est omni tempore talis:
Prandia fer tecum, si vis comedere mecum.


Nunc videte, domine Magister Ortvine, si placet vobis illa epistola, tunc volo vobis mittere totum librum plenum, quia sunt valde bonae secundum meum debile ingenium: alias nihil magis possum vobis iam scribere. Valete in eo qui cuncta creavit. Datum in Eberburck, ubi velim quod essetis mecum, vel diabolus confundat me. Sexta feria infra pasche et pentecostae.

XLV

ARNOLDUS DE THUNGARIS magister
noster in sacra pagina S. D. Magistro Ortvino
Gratio

VENERABILIS domine magister. Ego vexor iam supra vexationem: nunc intelligo illud dieterum poétarum esse verum: “Nullum dannum solum,” et hoc volo sic probare. Ego iam sum infirmus, et supra illam infirmitatem venit mihi alia vexatio maxima, quae est talis. Currunt cotidie ad me homines et etiam scribunt ad me ex diversis provinciis, ut notus sum in omnibus regionibus propter libellum, quem

apis: "Tu letius vale quam apis in thymo, quam piscis in undis," Epistole Karoli, Cologne; Quentell, 1498.
1 sup. pag.: Theology.
5 dieter.: "Es kommt kein Unglück allein."
11 libellum: "Articuli sive propositiones de inaico favore nimis
ARNOLDUS DE THUNGARIS

fe ci contra defensorium Iohannis Reuchlin, ut scitis. Illi homines dicunt et scribunt eos mirari quod permittimus Io. Pfefferkorn, tinctum Iudaeum, accipere nostrorum causa laborem scribendi, ut defendat se et nos omnes contra Reuchlin, et defendat fidem nostram: sic quod ipse habeat nomen et nos tamen scripta omnia fecerimus quae emisit suo nomine, ut tunc verum est: in confessione hoc dixi. Dixerunt etiam quod iam compilasset novum librum quem intitulavit in latino "Defensorium Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra Iohannem Reuchlin," in quo narrat totum factum a principio usque ad finem; quem libellum theutonisavit etiam. Cum ego hoc audivisse, dixi quod non esset verum, simpliciter quia ego nihil scirem de haec re; et si fecit, tunc per deum scandalum est, quod me non fecit certum, et tamen prius semper me consultavit. Credo quod ipse iam non recordatur mei, cum sum infirmus: si me interrogasset, tunc dixisset uno modo satisfuisse, quia scio quod scribendo nihil acquiremus: nam Reuchlin semper restimulat quod habet diabolum. Si ergo ita est, tunc peto diligenter, ut non faciat, quia vos potestis impedire tanquam corrector suorum librorum. Secundo audivi etiam, quod non tam vehementer dolui, vos lardasse ancillam: cum honestate dico: Quentels impressoris et fecisse sibi unum puerum: atque ut verum sit: tunc ipse dedit sibi veniam et non vult pati amplius in domo, et iam est in propria domo, et facit antiquas tunicas novas. Peto vos propter maximam charitatem quam habuimus semper alternatim, ut velitis mihi hoc scribere an sit vel non, quia ego liberter vellem eam diu supposuisse; sed tamen non volui facere, quia timebam quod esset adhuc virgo. Si autem ita sit, quod vos fecistis, tunc si potestis pati, volumus ad unam dicam lardare, ego hodie et vos eras, quia digniora sunt priora, ego doctor et vos magister: dico tamen hoc sine contemptione: sicque volumus hoc in secreto servare atque eam nutrire cum puero expensis mutuis: et scio quod ipsa liberter


12 defens.: the Augenspiegel.
21 Defens.: Pfefferkorn's Defensio.
34 Quentels: Germ. gen.
45 dieam: a tally, or account. See Du Cange, s.v.
erit contenta: atque etiam seio si diu lardassem eam, non esset mihi infirmitas illa: spero tamen quod volo renes purgare, ut fiam sanus. Et eum hoc valete; si non fuisset debilis transicionis, tune met ivisse ad vos et non scripissem: sed tamen vos debetis mihi re-

scribere. Datum raptim ex bursa nostra Montis.

XLVI

JOANNIS CURRIFICIIS AMBACHENSIS
Ortvino Gratia Daventriensi Salutis Plurimum

QUONIAMQUIDEM mihi nuper scripisistis quomodo mihi succederet in Heidelberga et quod etiam vobis rescriberem quomodo placerent mihi hic Doctores et magistri. Sciatis ergo primo quod quamprimum veni ad Heidelbergam, fiebam cocus in bursa, ubi habeo mensam gratis et etiam aliquas pecunias pro mercede, et possum proficere et complere ad gradum magisterii. Sic etiam fecit pauper Henricus qui non habit libros neque papirum, sed omnia scripsit ad pellicium suum. Ita etiam nutritivit se Plautus qui portavit saccos ad molendinam sicut asinus, et tamen postea evasit in doctissimum autorem, quia postea scripsit metra et prosas. Praeterea ut scias qui sunt hic viri docti, volo vobis prius recitare de dignioribus, et deinde successive de alis, quia, ut dicit philosophus primo phisicorum: "Oportet ex universalibus ad singularia procedere." Et Porphyrius etiam descendit a genere generalissimo ad speciem specialissimam, ubi inbet Plato quiescere. Et a dignioribus debet fieri denomination, ut dicit gentilis magister in secundo de anima. Inter

23 deb. trans.: a physiological application of a grammatical term. A verb "deb. transicionis" was one followed by a case other than the accusative.
1 Jo.: for Ioannes.
1 Curtifex. Currifex was the usual Latin rendering of Wagner.
1 Ambach. Ambach is non-existent.
16 Henricus: H. Septimellensis, or Samariensis, who in the Xlth Cent. related the vicissitudes of his own lot in a poem, "De diversitate fortunae et philosophiae consolatione." See also Migne, Patrol. Cur. Comple., tom. 204.
12 Plant. See Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att., iii. 3.
19 Porphir.: Porphyrii Isagoge, c. 2, § 35.
22 gent. mag.: i.e. Aristotle, De Anima, ii. 4.

31 per vim: Saicho Panza's judgment may be recalled. Don Quixote, Part II., chap. xlv.
32 mod. et aut.: nominalists and realists.
33 lacarito: "licorice," for nectar.
34 Torrent.: Hermann van Beek, of Zwoll, one of the Brethren of the Common Life; a Commentator on Virgil—but not on the Aeneid; neither is Ganimede referred to in his Elucidarium Poeticum.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

cum destructo capite” et “auca caput,” ex illa ratione, qui 
qua ipse stetit semel male in disputatione; tunc expedi 
verunt eum ita realiter sicut unus in centum annis expeditus est. Et unus expectavit eum ante lectorium et 
detraxit suum barem ab inde (sed non propter honorem, sed sicut fecerunt Iudaei quando corona 
verunt Christum et flectebant genua) et dixit: “Dom 
ine doctor, cum supportatione, Deus benedicat vobis 
balneum.” Tunc ipse dixit: “Deo gratias, Domine 
Baccalaurie,” et non dixit amplius et abivit: unus dixit 
mih, quod oculi eius steterunt sibi plenum aqua, et 
credidit quod ploravit postea. Et quando ego audivi 
tales vexationes, tunc doluit mih in ventre, et si ego 
scivissem quis ille lecator fuisset, ego percussisseme me 
cum eo, et si deberent mihi caput cum una dila abinde 
trusisse. Sed ipse habet adhuc unum discipulum, ille 
est mihi unus doctus vir, et quasi plus quam doctus, 
et etiam quasi plus doctus quam suus praecceptor, nisi 
quod ipse est simplex baccalaureus in biblia: ipse iam 
pauculis, immo paucissimis temporibus praeteritis in 
timavit bene viginti quaestiones et sophismata, et 
semper contra modernos, videlicet U. deus sit in prae 
dicamento, U. essentia et existentia sint distinctae, U. 
rollationes a suo fundamento sint distinctae et U. decem 
praelicametant sint realiter distincta. Hui quot res 
pondentes! ego non vidi in vita mea plus respondentes 
in lectorio, et ipse etiam defendit sua dicta et imposuit 
bonorem, quia unus simplex magister habet et uno 
sufficientiam: ego miravi quare Decanus admisit, ego 
credo quod fuit insanus propter Caniculares, quia est 
contra statuta. Et quando disputatio fuit, ex tum ego 
in laudem ipsius metrificavi illa carmina ex tempore, 
quia ego pro parte sum humanista:

Hic est unus doctus magister,
Qui intimavit bis vel ter,
An esse essentiae
Distinguatur ab esse existentiae;

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73 dila. Not elsewhere found.
83 praedic.: the ten Aristotelian Categories; oœia, πογων, πογων, πρός τι, πογων, πᾶς χων, τον, πότε, καίδαι, ἡχων.
86 cont. stat.: “Lectiones aliquae pro gradu in canicularibus ad tempus debent suspendi.” Zarncke, Die Statutenbicher der Univ. Lpz., p. 446.
Et de Rollationibus, Et de praedicamentorum distinctionibus, Et utrum deus in firmamento Sit in aliquo praedicamento: Quod nemo fecit ante eum Per omnia saecula saeculorum.

Sed de hoc sufficienter nunc de poetis Volo aliquid dicere vel scribere, et sic: Est hic unus qui facit Valerium Maximum, sed ipse non placet mihi in media parte tam bene sicut vos mihi placeuistis quando vos fecistis Coloniae Valerium Maximum, quia ille hic procedit simpliciter, vos autem quando legistis ibi de neglecta religione, de Somniis, et de Auspitiis, tunc allegastis sacram scripturam, videlicet Cathenam auream quae vocatur Continuum beati Thomae, Durandum et alios sublimatos in Theologia, et iussistis quod bene notaremus illa puncta ex sacra pagina et pingeremus ibi unam manum et disce rerum mentetenus. Sciatis etiam quod hic non intrant tam multa supposita sicut Coloniae, quia Coloniae studentes possunt esse sicut hic sunt scutones, et ibi aliqui studentes scutant etiam partheacas, quod non volunt hic concedere, quia oportet hic quod omnes habeant mensam in bursa et sint in matricula universitatis. Sed quamvis hic sunt pauci, tamen sunt audaces et bene tam audaces sicut illi mult in Coloniae, quia ipsi scalaverunt nuperrime unum regetem in bursa, qui statit ante cameram et audivit quod luserunt interius: tunc unus voluit exire et invenit eum ibi et proiect eum per gradus. Praeterea etiam sunt audaces, quia percutiunt se hic cum reuteris sicut faciunt Coloniae cum Doleatoribus, et incidunt more reuterorum cum productis gladiis et Chordin et Spadis, etiam cum plumbatis, ubi habent cordulam, ut possunt iactare et iterum ad se trahere nuper semel reuteri secaverunt hic unum Domicellum per scabiem quod cecidit ad terram; sed cito surrexit et defendit se realiter et percessit et secavit eos omnes quod habuerunt Sanctum Valentinum, et omnes currebant fugens.

109 Cat. Aur. In his dedication to Urban IV. the author called his work "Expositio continua"; the name Catena was not applied to it till after his death. Early edd. have Glossa Continua, or Continuum. See Pref., by J. H. Newman, to Catena Aurea, Oxford, 1842.

110 Durand.: ii. 52, n.

112 Sanct. Val.: said of one subject to epilepsy.

113 fugens: used as an adverb.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Adhuc unum est quod debetis scire. Vos debetis interro-
gerare Doctorem Arnolbum de Tungari, qui non est minimus in Theologia. An etiam sit peccatum lude-
re in taxilis pro indulgentiis. Ego scio aliquos praetensos socios qui sunt ribaldi, qui perluserunt omnes indul-
gentias quas dedit eis Iacobus de alta platea, quando

ipse terminavit causam Reuchlinis in Mag. quia tres
fuerunt ibi, et etiam dixerunt quod illae indulgentiae
non essent hominibus proficuae. Si est peccatum sicut
credо, et non est possibile quod non sit peccatum, tunc
ego nosco bene, tunc ego volo hoc praedicatoribus
 dicere, qui erunt eos recte confundere, et ego etiam
volo eis met in propria persona, ego sum bene tam
audax, ad panem eorum ponere. Nihil est iam amplius
ad scribendum, nisi salutate mihi ancillam Quentels
quae iam est in puerperio, et Vate Panecratice, Athle-
tice, Pugilice, Basilice, belle et magnifice, prout dicit
Erasmus in parabolis. Datum heidelber.

XLVII

C WENDELINUS PANNITONSORIS bacca-
laureus et Cantor in Strassbergk Magistro Ortnio
Gratio S. P.

VOS culpastis me in superiori littera quod atra-
mentum esset mihi balsamus et calamus bissinus
et papirus aurea co quod ego vobis ita raro scribere.
Ego volo nunc deineps semper vobis scribere, et
maxime quia vos fuistis praeceptor meus in Daventria
in quinto loco, et quia etiam estis vittrinus meus, quare
ego tencor vobis scribere. Sed quia iam nullas novi-
tates habeo, volo vobis alia scribere: sed ego scio quod
illa non delectabunt vos, quia vos estis bonus super
latere praedicatorum. Nuper semel sedimus in simposio.

Mag. : Magnatia.

patr., &c. All these adverbs
occur in the Ruchides and Epithicus
of Plautus.

heild. : Heidelberg.

Strassbergk; "c" for "u" is used
throughout this Ep.

Ort. Sire, in [C].

bisae. : the silky filaments (byssus)
secreted by certain molluscs: in the
(Mediterranean) Piana nobilis so long
as to be readily woven. Highly valued
by the ancients. Byssus cloth is still
sold at Taranto.

vitri. : for patrirus, "god-father";
cf. vitricus, "step-father."
Tunc sedit ibi unus qui loquebatur tam mirabile lati-
um, quod ego non omnia verba intellexi, sed aliqua bene, et inter cetera dixit, quod vellet unum tractatum componere qui deberet exire ad proximam missam Franckfurdensem, qui deberet intitulare “Cathalogus praevericatortum, hoc est praedicatorum:” quia vellet scribere omnes eorum nequitias quas fecerunt, quia iam essent inter omnes ordines nequitiosissimi. In primis quomodo contigisset in Berne quod prior et superiores introduxerunt meretrices ad claustrum, et quomodo fecerunt novum Sanctum Franciscum, et quomodo Beata virgo et cetera sanctae apparuissent illi Nol-

hardo, et etiam quomodo monachi voluerunt postea illi Nolhardo venenum dare in Corpore Christi; et quod haec omnia essent nequitiae et fantasias quod ipsi monachi fecerunt, et quomodo deinde essent combusti. Deinde voluit componere quomodo semel unus praedica-
tor supposuit Maguntiae in ecclesia ante altare unam meretricem, et quando deinde aliae meretrices fuerunt iratae super illam, tunc nuncupabant eam “monachus meretrix,” “ecclesia meretrix,” et “altare meretrix”: et hoc audierunt homines, et cognoscunt etiam adhuc illam meretricem. Et vult etiam componere quomodo unus praedicator voluit uno modo Maguntiae in hos-
pitio ad Coronam ancillam lardare, quando praedicatores de Augspurg habuerunt suas indulgentias ibi, quia iacuerunt in illo hospitio, et ancilla voluit lectum facere, et unus monachus vidit eam et currit ei postea et proiecit eam ad terram et voluit ante: tunc ancilla clamavit, et homines venerunt ei in auxilium: alias oportuisset quod illa ancilla servasset ei unum ex. Et voluit componere quomodo hic in Strassberg in claustro praedicatorum fuissent monachi qui duxissent mulieres ad cellas eorum per ripam quae fluit apud claustrum eorum, et raserunt eis crines abinde, et illae mulieres iverunt longe pro monachis, et iverunt ad forum et emebant pisces a viris suis qui erant piscatores, et postea fuerunt traditae: et taliter praedicatorum fecerunt semel nequitiam bachantibus: et quando semel unus praedi-

25 Nolh.: for Lohardus, i.e. Jetzer.  
See i. 22, n.  
52 bachant. For an account of the bacchanten, or begging students, see The Autobiography of Thomas Platter, a schoolmaster of the XVth Cent. Transl. from the German (by E. A. M'Caul), London, 1839.
cator ivit spaciatum cum monacha, tunc iverunt apud Scholas, et scolares trahebant illos duos monachos ad scholam et correxerunt eos audacter, et quando mona-
cham correxerunt, viderunt quod habuit vulvam: tunc omnes riserunt et dimiserunt eos in pace, et tota civitas fiebat deinde plena de illa re. Tunc ego fui per deum valde iratus quando talia dixit, et dixi ad eum: "vos non debeteris talia dicere; posito casu quod essent vera, tamen adhuc non debeteris dicere, quia posset bene con-
tingere quod omnes occiderentur in una hora sicut Tem-
plarii, si homines illas nequitias omnes seirent." Tunc
dixit: "ego scio adhuc tot quod non possem ad viginti arcus papiri scribere." Tunc ego dixi: "quare vultis
de omnibus praedicatoribus scribere: nò tamen fecerunt oñes. Si illi in Magnueta et in Augspurgk et in Strass-
berg sunt nequitiosi, tunc alii sunt forte probi." Tunc ille
dixit: "quomodo confundis me? ego credo quod tu sis filius praedicatoris, vel fuisti met praedicator; nuncupa mili unum claustrum, ubi sunt probi praedi-
catores." Tunc ego dixi: "quid fecerunt illi in Franck-
furdia?" Tunc dixi ille: "nescis hoc? illi habent prin-
cipalem apud eos qui vocatur Wigandus: illa est caput omnium nequitiarum, et ipse inceptit illam haere-
sem in Berna, et fecit unum libellum de Wesalio, et illum postea in Heydelberga revocavit, cassavit, extir-
pavit et annullavit et fecit etiam deinde unum alium libros, quem vocatur 'Die sturmglöck,' et ipse non fuit
ita audax quod scriberet suum nomë Sed misit Johan.
Pfæfferkorn suum nomen scribere, ut daret sibi medium lucrurn, tunc velit esse contentus, quia bene scivit quod Io. Pfæfferkorn esset talis homo qui neminem curaret, etiam suam famam non curaret, quando nisi lucraret pecunias, sicut faciunt omnes Iudacii." Et quando ego
vidi quod eorum erant plus quam meorum, tunc ego abivi; sed fui valde iratus quod ipse non fuit solus: si fuissemus ego et ipse solus, ego vellem diabolum posuisse.

62 Templ. Jacques de Molay and the residue of the Templars were seven years in prison before they met their fate (1314). See H. C. Lea, Hist. of the Inquisition, vol. iii., 1888.
63 Wesalio: Johann Ruchrath of Oberwesel, near Bingen, accused by the Dominicans of suspicious intercourse with the Jews, and, through their influence, unjustly condemned at Mainz for heresy in 1479 by the Cologne inquisitor. Sometimes confused with the much more famous Johann Wessel of Groningen.
IACOBUS DE ALTAPLATEA


XLVIII

IACOBUS DE ALTAPLATEA septenarum et liberalium necnon ingenuarum artium et Sacratissimae Theologiae professor humillimus necnon in aliquibus partibus in Germania haereticorum magister id est corrector Ortvin dependent Gra. Daventiensi in Colonia vitam trahens Salutem in domino nostro Iesu Christo

NUNQUAM fuit tam grata ruriculis dulcissima pluvia tempore longae siccitatis, neque sol post longas nebulas, quam mihi fuit lira vestra quam ad me huc ad Romam misistis. Quando ego eam legi, tunc fui ita gaudibundus quod libenter flevissem, quia mihi videbatur quod iam essem in Colonia in domo vestra, quando bibimus semper unam vel duas quartas vinum vel cerevisiae, et lusimus in assere, ita laetus fui. Sed vos vultis quod ego iterum ita faciam sicut vos, hoc est quod ego etiam scriberem quid faciam hic in Roma tam longe, et quomodo mihi succedat: quod volo liberissime facere. Sciatis ergo quod ego adhuc sum sanus divina spiratione. Sed tamen quamvis sum sanus, adhuc tamen non sum libenter hic, quia illa causa, propter quam ego sum hic, est mihi nunc adversa: ego vellem quod nunquam incepisset eam: omnes derident me et vexant me, et noscunt hic Reuchlin melius quam in Almania, et multi Cardinales et episcopi et praelati et Curtisani amant eum. Si non incepisset, tunc esset adhuc in Colonia, et comederem et biberem bene; ego habeo hic aliquando vix siccum panem. Ego credo etiam quod male iam procedat in Almania, quia ego sum absens; omnes iam scribunt libros in theologia secundum suum libitum. Ipsi dicunt quod Erasmus Roterdamus composuit multos tractatus in theologia: ego non credo quod faciat omnia recte.

Datum: i.e. Aug. 25, 1516.

trahens: for trahenti (?)
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIORUM

Ipse etiam prius in uno parvo tractatu vexavit theologos, etiam scribit theologice est mihi mirum. Si ego venio ad Almaniam et lego suos codiculos, et invenio unum parvissimum punctum ubi erravit vel ubi ego non intelligo, ipse debet videre quod ego volo sibi super cutem. Ipse scripsit etiam graece, quod non debere facere: quia nos sumus latini et non graeci. Si vult scribere quod nemo debet facere: quia nos sumus latini et non graeci.

Theologis in nomine centum diabolorum, et scribat per Utrum et Contra, et Arguitur, et Replicat, et per Conclusiones, sicut fecerunt omnes Theologi, sic etiam nos legeremus. Ego non possum vobis iam omnia scribere, neque meam paupertatem quam hic habeo dicere. Ilí Curtisani quando vident me, tunc nuncupant me Apostata et dicunt quod ego cucurri ex ordine; et sic etiam faciunt Doctori Petro Meyer Plebano in Franckfurdi, quia vexant eum ita bene sicet me, quia ipse favet mihi. Sed tamen ipse habet melius quam ego, quia ipse habet bonum officium, quia est Capellanus super dei agro, quod est per deum bonum officium, licet Curtisani dicunt quod sit vilissimum inter omnia officia quae in Roma possunt esse. Sed hoc nihil nocet, ipsi dicunt hoc ex inuidia. Ipse tamen habet panem suum de hoc et nutrit se taliter qualiter, donec ipse suam causam contra Francfurdienses ad finem ducat. Omni die quasi ivimus ipse et ego spatium in Campo florae, et expectamus Teutonicos: ita libenter videmus Teutonicos. Tunc veniunt illi Curtisani et monstrant cum digitis super nos, et rident et dicunt: "vidi, ibi vadunt duo qui volunt Reuchlin comedere! Comedunt ipsi eum, tunc etiam merdunt eum iterum," et habemus tantas vexationes quod debert lapidem commovere. Tunc dicit plebanus: "Sancta Maria, quid nocet? nos volumus hoc propter deum pati, quia deus multa passus est pro nobis, et nos etiam sumus Theologi, qui debent esse humiles et spreti in hoc mundo:" Et ita facit me iterum lactae mentis, et cogito: "dicant quid volunt, ipsi tamen non habent omnia quae volunt." Si essamus

55 dei agr.: "God's acre." 63 Campo. See ii. 26, n.
67 deb.: for deberet.
IACOBUS DE ALTAPLATEA

in patria et unus faceret nobis ita, tunc sciremus etiam ei aliquid dicere vel facere: quia ego vellem levem causam quaerere contra ipsum. Nuperrime etiam ivimus uno modo spaciatum, tunc duo vel tres iverunt ante nos et nos post eos, tunc ego inveni unam cedulam: ego credo quod unus eorum misit eam libenter cadere, ut nos inveniremus, et illa continet illa metra:—

EPITAPHIA HOCHSTRATI

Iræ, furor, rabies, dolus, inclementia, livor,
Dum cadit Hochstratus, non cecidero simul:
Haec ille insipido posuit plantaria vulgo,
Ingenii dotes et monumenta sui.

Aliud.

Crescite ab hoc, taxi, crescant aconita sepulchro:
Ausus erat sub eo qui iacet omne nephas.

Aliud.

Flete, mali, gaudete, boni, mors una duorum
In medium veniens abstulit his, dedit his.

Aliud.

Hic iacet Hochstratus, viventem ferre patique
Quem potuerer mali, non potuerer boni:
Ipse quoque excedens vita indignatus ab illa,
Maestus ob hoc, quod non plus nocuisset, erat.

Ego et Plebanus quando invenimus illam cedulam, tunc ivimus ad domum et iacuimus plus quam octo aut quattuordecim dies supra, et non potuimus intelligere: mihi videtur quod me attingant illa metra, quia stat Hochstratus interius; sed ego etiam cogito quod non attingant me ante, quia ego non vocor ita in latino, sed vocor Iacobus de altaplatea vel in teutonic Iacobus Hochstraten. Quare ego mitto illam litteram ad vos, quod vos velitis eam interpretare an velit me vel alium. Si vult me (quod ego non credo, quia ego adhuc non sum mortuos), tunc volo

[73] cedula: for schedula.
[84] aconita: not only as being poisonous, but in Low Germ. Mon-

nikskappen—our "monkshood."

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EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

inquisitionem facere, et quando ego habeo eum, tune volo sibi unum balneum praeparare, quod non debet ridere: ego bene possum. Ego habeo hic unum bonum fautorem, qui est lansmannus meus, et ille est Stafirus Cardialis Sancti Eusebii: ille debet bene praeparare quod veniat ad carcerem, et quod ibi comedat panem et aquam, et habere pestilentiam. Quare facite diligentem et scribite mihi mentem vestram, ut sim certioratus. Ego etiam audivi quod Ioannes Pfefferkorn esset iterum Iudaeus, quod ego non credo, quia etiam dixerunt ante duos vel tres annos, quod esset combustus a margravio in Hallis; sed etiam non fuit verum de co, sed de alio qui etiam sic vocabatur fuit bene verum. Ego non credo quod fiat mammalaca, quia ipse scribit contra Iudaeos: et esset etiam omnibus Doctoribus Theologiae in Colonia et omnibus praedicatoribus dedecus, quia ipse fuit cum eis bene ante: dicant quicquid velit, ego per deum non credo. Et sic valete. Datum Romae in hospicio ad Campanam in Campo Florae Vicesima prima Augusti.

[The succeeding Ep XLIX. was first added to the Edn. of 1556. It is quite unworthy of being included in the E. O. V., and is accordingly here neither annotated nor translated. All errors in the text of 1556 are reproduced.]

XLIX

Epistola cuiusdam devoti et imperterriti fratri sancti et impolluti ordinis, hoc est, divi Augustini, de malis novitatiibus nuper in Colmaria factis, divina ira super nos, prob. bone Deus

5 Humilis frater IOANNIS TOLLETANUS reverendo patri, frateri Rihardo Kulberstatensi, domino vere devoto S. P. D.

NON possum tibi non sine magno cruciatus animo meo dolore, elam habere, charissime frater, de his quae nobis et nostris sancti ordinis hic in civitate noviter sucesserunt, et asteterunt.

112 stafirus: a groom; Ital. stafiere.
122 mammalacum: Arab. manâbek, a slave; here, an apostate.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Prior non fuit domi, quando haec pertransierunt: sed quando de via revertit, ipsa misit omnen rem pertingere ad reverendum patrem Provincialem gratiosum dominum nostrum (ipse ille doctus vir illuminatus, lux mundi, qui super duas disputaciones strenue se habuit contra haereticos, et superdisputavit eos omnes, sed noluerunt ei credere ipsi infideles). Tunc reverendus pater Pro- vincialis statim venit in civitate, et certe fuit, ipsa et Prior male contentus super illum fratem, quod sic inconsiderate ivit ad magistratum, melius fuisse quod sibi emissemus novam cucullam de optimo panno, sed fecit ex bono zelo. Et statim Pro- vincialis ivit ad magistratum et senatores, et rogavit eos, ut nobis iterum licentiam darent, ut possumus de monasterio ire super plateas, sed nihil potuit impetrare, quia dixerunt omnes, totus consulatus: "hoc parvum est, quod non debemus amplius exire: ipsi volunt nobis ad hoc unum factorem dare (ipsi vocaverunt curatorem), qui debet monasterio omnia percipere et exponere, et nobis solummodo necessaria dare." Certa si hoc esse erit, tunc habet finem circa libertatem ecclesiasticam, nihil est amplius, diabolus maneat in monasterio, (o frater mi) vivi pervenimus illum. Quis hunc aliquando potuit sperare dolorem, quod nostri optimi fautores nobis sic derecederunt. Et certe reverendus pater frater prior est valde contransatus, et fuit aliquidus diebus prae tristitia infirmus, sed hodie est octava, quod de mane post tertia diges- tionem, unum malum sudorem habuit, et postmodum surrexit, et ivit ad opus naturae, et cacavit valde male nimis, non spisse sed tenuiter, et factum est melius circa illum. Sed habet bonam expectantiam ab una fautrice ordinis, quae bene seic illi coquire bona iuscula, et moniales crepitus, et huiusmodi charissime frater, si laici nostri domini erunt, omnes nos deridebunt: quia iam fecerunt unum proverbium de nobis, et acceperunt illi de uno antiquo, quod dicitur de uno plebano, qui libenter comedid bonum caseum, et quando in sancta nocte fuit in ludo paschali, tunc sua bona faetrix sibi homum caseum furavit, et quando revenit de ludo, et non invenit caseum, clamavit: "per deos sanctos, meretrix furavit caseum." Sic iam quando nos de muriis expsigimus ad plateas, salatij gratia, ipsi convertunt proverbium, non simpliciter, sed per contrapositionem, et clamant: "Audite per deos sanctos, meretrix furavit cucullam." Pie frater, sic oportet nos habere multas et magnas vexationes et tribulationes sub ipsis laici, propter ordinem nostrum. Et vere iam in nobis implantur illae scripturae: "Servi dominati sunt nostri, non fuit qui redimeret de manu eorum. Senes defecerunt de portis, iuvenes de choro psallentium, defecit gaudium cordis nostri, versus est in-Iuctum chorus noster." Charissime frater, ora pro nobis deum, ut liberet nos a malis laicis. Sed quicquid feceris, bone Frater, vide, & hanc literam illi mali ribaldi poetae sacu- lares non sciant, et non intelligant, quia alias erunt scripturis de nobis. Vale pangratice, charissime, pie Frater. Datum monasterio nostro, in octava mensis Maius, in anno 1537.

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IOAN. TOLLETANUS

Si quis vult hoc epistolium cum elegantiss meliorare, ille bene potest: sed debet textum historiae mittere integrum manere, quia est veritas, en non potest aliquid tam mala scribere, multum peius nobis transivit.

Haec litera missa fuit ex Brabantia, uno devoto Fratri in Moguntia, de aliquibus malis, et inchristianis novitatis scripta.
EPISTOLARUM OBSCURORUM
VIRORUM

VOLUMEN ALTERUM
I

IOHANNES LABIA dei gratia Prothonotarius apostolicus Venerabili viro M. Ortvino Gratio Daventriensi ut fratri charissimo Salutis centum milia sestertia secundum novam Grammaticam


24 Fisti: for Fisci.
24 rū: for responso.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

et natus ex Brabantia, et dixit cum magna gravitate: "Eximie vir dux Prothonotarie, Quoniam, ut dicit Arist., de singulis dubitate non est inutile: ergo Eximietas vestra assignavit mihi unam quaestionem: quare Magister Ortvinus faciens imprimere novum Epistolare, intitulavit illud "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum." Cun venia istorum Dominorum, dico opinionem meam, Quod Magister Ortvinus, qui est vir valde profundus et speculativus, mystice appellavit


Et datur intelligi, quod Magister Ortvinus, et sui amici sunt tales, quod inquirunt secreta scripturarum, et veritatem et iusticiam et Sapientiam, quae non potest intelligi ab omnibus nisi ab his, qui sunt illuminati a domino. Unde Re. cxxxviii.: "Quia tenebrae non obscurabuntur a te, et nox sicut dies illuminator. Sicut tenebrae eius, ita et lumen eius." Postquam talia dixit praedictus religiosus, omnes respexerunt me si essem contentus. Ego autem cogitavi desperer. Tune fuit ibi Bernhardus Gelff, Magister Parisiensis, qui est Juvenis, sed audio quod habet bonum ingenium, et valde studet, et bene proficit in artibus, et etiam in Theologia habet bonum fundamentum. Ipse more solito movens caput hincinde, et videns austeriter dixit: "Scitote, domini mei, quod est magna et rationabilis causa, quod Magister Ortvinus appellat amicos suos Obscuros Viros: facit enim propter humilitatem. Quoniam sicut potestis scire, quamvis etiam non potestis scire, sed praesumendum est, quod scitis, quomodo ante tres annos Iohannes Reuchlin faciens Imprimere Epistolare Amicorum suorum, intitu-
II. 1]

IOHANNES LABIA

lavit illud 'Epistolae Clarorum Virorum.' Quod considerans Magister Ortvinus, et multum desuper pensitans, dixit ad semetipsum: 'Ecce Reuchlin credit quod nemo habet Amicos nisi ipse: Quid vult facere, si ego ostendo quod habeo etiam amicos, et bene digniores quam ipse, et scientes facere Carminâ et dictaminas meliore quam sui Amici?' Et ergo in despectum ipsius dedit ad imprimendum istas Epistolas, intitulando eas: 'Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum':

Siuet dicit Psalmista: 'Misit tenebras et obscuravit.' Sed ipse fecit hoc humiliter, minorando et humiliando Se, ut queat dicere cum Psalmista: 'Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum, neque elati sunt oculi mei.'

Igitur dominus deus videns humilitatem suam, olim dabit ei gratiam, quod faciet magna opera, et etiam intitulavit ea cum magnis titulis. Unde Job: 'Et rursum post tenebras spero lucem.' Non intelhgendo, quod istud Epistolare Amicorum Magistri Ortvinii non est artificialiter compositum, quia amici Iohannis Reuchlin in vita sua nunquam componerent melius, etiam si deberent perdere capita sua; Sed propterea dixi, quia adhuc tamen excellentiora habent post se. Et favente deo spero quod videbimus magnalia. Quia Magister Ortvinus non curat de pomposis titulis, Et ergo sic dicit: 'Dominus illuminatio mea est, et salus mea, quem timebo.' Quia seict quod minorando se, maiorabitur olim. Nam dicit scriptura: 'Qui se exaltat, humiliabitur.' Et legitur Ecclesiastici .xx.: 'Est propter gloriam minoratio, et est qui ab humilitate levabit caput.' Haec prophetizata sunt per Prophetam Nahim dicentem 'et inimicos eius persequentur tenebrae.' Tunc ego non volens quod deberent fieri inimici, vel quod unus eorum deberet mihi irasci, si dicerem 'tu vel tu subtilior es,' allegavi Horatium in uno passu qui dicit: 'Et adhuc sub iudice lis est.' 'Scribens enim scribam Magistro Ortvino, quod dicat mihi rationem. Et ergo

69 Carm. et diet. Errors of this kind are foreign to the E. O. V.
70 Psalm.: civ. 28.
71 Psalm.: cxxx. 1.
72 Job: xvii. 12.
73 Dom., &e.: Psalm. xxvi. 1.
74 Scrip.: Matt. xxiii. 12. 'Qui autem se exaltaverit,' &e. Vulg.
75 Eccl.: xx. 11.
76 Naim: Nahum i. 8.
77 Hor.: Ars Poet., 78.

133
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM
parcatis mihi, quod feci vobis molestiam.' Et sic non
contenderunt amplius, quamvis Magister Bernhardus
diceret, quod vellet disputare ad ignem, quod haec est
opinio vestra. Ergo, domine Ortvine, rogo vos amici-
ter, quatinus vehtis mihi respondere, quid tamen
habuistis ante vos intitulando illud Epistolare 'Epistolae
Obscurorum Virorum'? Et sic valeatis sane et cum
honore.
Datum in Curia Romana.

II

IJOHANNES GRAPP Magistro Ortvino

SALUTEM Cordialem cum multa dilectione optat
semper, et commendat se tanquam humilem
servitore frater et preceptor dilecte, Quia nuper scrip-
sistis mihi, quod debeo vobis semel unum dictamen seu
Epistolam vel Carmen metricum scribere, quod potestis
videre quid didici a vobis Coloniae et Daventriae,
in despectum Iohannis Reuchlin, et Reuchlinistarum,
qui sunt inimici vestri. Sciatis quod feci diligentiam.
Et mitto vobis hic unam Epistolam Carminaem seu
metrosam, sicut sunt Epistolae Ovidii, quia scio quod
libenter legitis metra quam prosaica. Sed debetis
emendare: Quia non est discipulos super Magistrum.
Et debetis scandere, Quia non sum adhuc bene usitatus
in tali arte.

Epistola Iohannis Grapp novelli poetae Carmina-
alis ad preceptorem suum M. Ortvinum Gra.

Mittit Epistolio salutem Grappus in isto,
Neenon servitium Magistro Ortvino benignum,
Sicut decet iuvenem, qui amat suum praecipitorem;
Ergo, Ortvine, meos velitis haud spernere versus.

1 Grapp: called Crapp in ii. 40. It is probably merely a coincidence that Melanchthon's wife was the daughter of Burgomaster Crapp.
12 discip.: for discipulus.
13 Epist.: In all Edd., from 1556 to 1830 inclusive, the ensuing lines occur in so confused an order as to be almost unintelligible.
14 Carmina. Du Cange gives "Carmina instrumenta," but only in the sense of "means of incantation."
JOHANNES GRAPP

Si non bene sonant, veluti vestra quoque tonant
Carmina scripta quidem, quia non omnes valent idem,
Nec sumus omnes pares magistri sive scholares:
Unus novit logicam, alias didicit poetriam,
Alius est Phisicus, alias medicusque peritus,
Aliter habet gratiam in cunctis rebus mirandam,
Sicut vos etiam, qui vix habebitis parem
In Colonia tota, et hic quoque Roma in rota,
Ubi Curtisani vexant se sicut Beani
Unus alium citantes, pro beneficiis litigantes,
Sicut nuper aliquis, cum quo est mihi magna lis
Pro una vicaria, nec potest fieri concordia.
Sed vos in studiis, caretis illis fantasii,
In sacra scriptura, ubi est vobis magna cura,
Ne isti scilicet, qui sunt vestri tribulatores,
Reuchlin cum auxilio, necon non populo isto maligno,
Scilicet Poetis, et legifluis Iuristis,
Qui ita vos tentant, sua nec dictamina probant,
Contra vos faciant, et haeretica carmina scribant,
Ut facit et Tungarus et christicola Pepercornus,
Et schola Francorum, quae combussit illum librum
Speculum oculare dictum, et per vos fortiter victum.
Sed volo dimittere ista scandala in sacra fide
Vobis et Hochstrato, qui est bene maior quam Plato,
Doctior philosophis, in subtilitatibus istis.
Ergo vos valete, necon bonam noctem habete.
Deo Gratias.
Parcatis mihi si sint vicia in istis Carminibus, quia
humanum est errare secundum Philosophum, et debetis
etiam aliquid novum ad me scribere.
Datam in urbe Roma, ubi sunt mirabilia poma,
Quae rustici ibi vendunt, et per libram bene pendunt,
Sicut ego vidi, et per experientiam didici.

Amen.

29 *rota:* a tribunal, of twelve members, instituted in 1326 as the supreme court of justice and universal court of appeal for the Church. Wetzer and Welt, *Dict. Cath.*, s.v. "Curia Romana."

30 *beani:* freshmen; *"bejaune,"* a callow bird. See "Bejan," N. E. D.

31 *legifluis:* Not found elsewhere.

32 *schola:* i.e. the University of Paris. See Introd.

33 *Philos.:* "Curusvis hominis est errare." Cicero, *Phil.*, xii. 2-5.

34 *poma:* perhaps oranges or citrons.

5 Murner: Thos. M., Franciscan (1475-1537); born near Strasburg; he led the life of a wandering scholar in France, Germany, Bohemia, and Poland—studying theology at Paris and law at Freiburg. In 1505 he received a poet's crown from Maximilian. Though later the bitter opponent of Luther, none attacked the abuses of the Church more violently than M. He is best known by his rhymed sermons, the Narrenbeschreibung ("Exorcism of Fools") and the Scheuermazunft ("Rogues' Guild"), 1512, and his satire, Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren, 1522, against the Reformation. M. resembles Brant, but his works are somewhat more poetical in form, and he attacks knaves rather than fools. Cf. W. Scherer, Hist. Germ. Lit., i. 257, and Camb. Mod. Hist., i. 675.

6 superiorista: i.e. from the Oberland, or provinces of the Upper Rhine.

8 Cartas. There is a copy in the Brit. Mus. of Logica Memoria, Chartuladum logice: sive totius disiective memoria, &c., by Murner, Stras., 1509. The woodcuts of cards are extremely curious. See also W. A. Chatto, Hist. and Or. of Playing Cards, 1848, p. 102.

10 seaci. There is a copy in the Brit Mus. of Murner's Ludus studientum Fribuergensis, Frankfort, 1511, with curious diagrams of backgammon boards, &c., and the "Scacus quantitatis syllabarum."

schlim, &c. : perhaps from schelm, sive speculum satiorum (Turba Levii., a rogue. Cf. J. Geiler, Navicula Aa), Strasburg, 1510.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


Respondi, quod pie praesumendum est. Respondit Murner: "Quid ergo nunc facet Pfefferkorn?" Dixi quod fortasse vadit ad Ecclesiam audiendo missas et sermones Et defendendo se contra Iohannem Reuchlin expectat diem extremini judicii. Respondit ille: "Erit tune Pfefferkorn ita diuin in vita?" Tune dixi, quod sic quoad animam, sed non quoad corpus. Dixit doctor Murner: "Bene est: Pfefferkorn dignus est habere talem defensorem," et dimisit me: et omnes qui fuerunt

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65 dederunt. See J. 36, n. of having converted fourteen of his
80 xii. P. in his Defensio boasted brother Jews.

138
IOHANNES PILEATORIS


Datum Treveris.

IV

MAGISTER IOHANNES PILEATORIS
Salutem dicit Magistro Ortvino Gratio

Q UIA scriptum est in evangelio: "qua mensura mensuraveritis, eadem mensurabitur et vobis." Igitur ego similiter non deberem vobis scribere, sicut et vos non scribitis mihi. Et tamen scio quod magnam importantiam habetis, quod scribam vobis novalia ex urbe Roma, videlicet quomodo stat in Causa Magistri nostri Iacobi de Hochstraten, viri proculdubio Zelosi: qui defendit fidelem Catholicam contra illos iuristas et poetas saeculares, qui non habent deum prae oculis suis, sicut Theologi in Colonia et Parrhisia, qui combusserunt Speculum Oculare Johannis Reuchlin: sed ego deberem vobis facere sicut facitis mihi, et non deberem vobis scribere unam guttam: sed tamen non faciam, et adhuc semel volo indulgere vobis, ita tamen quod scribatis mihi statim. Et debetis scire qualiter isti iuristae et adversarii cum adiutorio Diaboli, qui est hostis fidei Christianae, per suas blandicias, sicut pie creditur, acquisiverunt multos fautores, et praeципue Curtisanos qui sunt de partibus superioribus, et non habent bonam Conscientiam; et inferunt magnas iniurias praedicto Magistro nostro, vexantes eum sicut beanum, et dicentes quod ipsemet est haereticus, et quod Theologi in Colonia sunt Bufones. Sancte deus, quid debemus dicere? Non est magnum miraculum quod sacra Theologia debet ita scandalizari, et haberi pro una frasaria, et Theologi qui sunt sicut apostoli

1 Joh. Pileat.; the writer also of ii. 16. There was a contemporary named Huter at Erfurt.
2 Evang.: Matt. vii. 2; Mark iv. 24.
3 scribere. Sic, in D.
15 guttum. See i. 5, n.

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EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM
dei, debent sperni quasi essent stulti. Credatis mihi
firmiter, quod fides Catholica habebit magnum malum
exinde, et ego timeo, quod erit una confusio in ecclesia
dei. Etiam dicunt, quod dominus apostolicus est pro
parte Iohannis Reuchlin, quia ipse etiam est poeta et
favet iuristis. Sed tamen spero quod sua Sanctissi-
mitas illuminabitur per gratiam Spiritussancti, et non
dabit malam sententiam,

quod velit dominus deus qui regnat in terris et
per caelos
et sua mater virgo Maria, quae liberet nos ab
ista poetria.

Datum Romae.

V

FRATER IOHANNES DE WERDEA
M. Ortvino Gratio

HUMILES et devotes Orationes cum numerosa
salute. Venerabilis vir, vos scribitis mihi quod
audivistis quod Causa vestra male stat et Iohannes
Reuchlin acquisivit unam inhibitionem apostolicam.
Et scribitis mihi quod timetis valde, ne habebit vic-
toriam contra Theologos et Sanctissimum ordinem
nostrum, et postea scandalizabitur ecclesia dei. O
modicae fidei vultis esse ita perterritus, quod vultis
statim desperare? Tamen olim quando fui vobiscum
in Daventria, non fuistis ita timax, sed habuistis
magnam audaciam. Quia scio adhuc bene, quomodo
semel percussistis illos duos beanos, venientes ad vos
cum longis cultris, et vos non habuistis unum armum
seu defendicuhun. Et tamen percussistis eos cum
adiutorio dei realiter cum effectu, ita quod unus prae
timore perminxit se. Et viderunt multi homines et

34 Sanct. See ii. 32 for the only other instance.
1 I. de W. Believed by Böcking to stand for "Johannes Fabri, alias Obermayr de Werden," Rector of
Leipsic Univ. in 1486. Werdau is in Saxony, near Zwickau.

12 timax. Occurs also in ii. 58.
13 armum. Evidently a sing. from arma.

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33 Cuncta. Can. 17, Causasiv., qu. 3. 34 de cet. This is irrelevant.
35 lex anim.: gl. ad c. 11, in VI°, De Off., &c., i. 14.
36 Potest ex causis legitimis." 37 "Aud. Rotae: one of the twelve members of the Rota.
38 *funtast. Not elsewhere found.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


Datum Romae

VI

M. CORNELIUS STORATI M. Ortuino
Salutem Plu.


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Datum Augustae.

VII

C FRATER ALBERTUS ACUFICIS
M. Ortvino Gratia Salutem


12 duor. Imp. Friedrich III. in 1492 made a grant of arms to R. imperialis consistorii comiti," and Maximilian frequently speaks of him as "consiliarium nostrum."
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


26 Pfef. See i. 23, n. the meaning "executioner" was afterwards attributed.
31 spic. By an error, the Vulg. (Mark vi. 27) rendered σπεικουλάτωρ (a guard) as "spiculatorem," to which 31 deleter. Sic [D], for deberet.
32 quod: for quam.
35 cób.: for comburre.

Datum Hallis in Saxonia.

VIII

MATHAEUS FINCK BACULARIUS
M. Ortvine G.

INENARRABLES salutes et amores ineffabiles. Honorabilis vir, quoniamquidem sufficienter scitis quomodo sto hic in Urbe Roma, et sum in Copistria et de gratia dei habeo bonum servitium: ergo non est necesse quod scribo vobis de eo, quia etiam non libenter legitis productas lfas. Sed secundum hoc quod promisi vobis scribere novitates ex urbe Roma, ad minus semel in mense, et quandocumque irent Cur-

59 wirt. See i. 47, n. 1 Finck. See ii. 54, n.
5 copistria. Not elsewhere found.
145 K
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIORUM

sores vel postae, tunc vellem certificare vos quomodo stat hic in bellis et in aliis et de rege Franciae et de imperatore, propterea potestis cogitare: "cece iste est superbus, quia habet bonam stantiam Romae, et propterea non curat mihi scribere, et est obtitus quod fui praeceptor suus, et docui eum in poesi et artibus et cum hoc etiam in græcisimo, ita quod pro parte est bonus graecus." Dico quod non, Et diabolus auferat me si non habeo vos in memoria et etiam in orationibus meis erga deum. Quia dicit Grego, quod ingratitudo est radix omnium vitiorum: Ergo qui peccat in Ingratitudine, peccat in omnibus peccatis. Sed si ego non scriberem vobis per superbum, tunc essum vobis ingratus, qui fecistis mihi talia bona. Sed habeo rationabiles causas, quod non direxi literas ad Do. vīm. Quia pro magna parte fui infirmus, et nescio quid fuit mihi. Medicus dicit quod habeo aliquid in stomacho et non scio bene digerere. Etiam nudiustertiis sumpsi unam purgationem, Et salva reverentia coram dominatione vestra, ego merdavi unam merdam ita tenuem, quod aliquis posset sorbere cum coeleari. Et cum hoc exivit de me una petia alba bene ita magna sicut pirum. Et dixit Medicus: "illa est materia indigesta et causat febrem." Sed pro nune scio iterum bene comedere, quia habeo bonum appetitum, landetur deus. Et si maneo sanus, tunc semper volo scribere vobis. Et pro ista vice debetis scire, quod Sanctissimus adhuc est Florentiae, et Curtisani hic maledicunt ei quod non venit, quia non possunt expedire negotia sua. Sed ego dico quod debent habere patientiam, et non debent ei maledicere, alias sunt excommunicati. Et allego eis Iura supra hoc, quia vado hic ad Sapientiam et studeo iā feci magnum profectum in utroque Iure, in uno ita bene sicut in aliō. Sed dicent aliqui quod oculi dolent Sanctissimo, ergo non potest ambu-

12 postae: mounted post-men as opposed to "runners"; posta being the place where horses are changed.
14 stantiam. Not elsewhere found.
15 Grego. Allusion unknown.
19 petia. See Du Cange, s.v.
32 Siuert. For an account of Leo's magnificent reception at Florence, see W. Roscoe, Life of Leo X. (1876), vol. ii. pp. 33 ff.
42 Saiuent. See ii. 32, n.
40 oculi. "His eyes were large, round, and prominent, even to a defect; insomuch that he could not discern distant objects without the aid of a glass, by the assistance of which it was observed that in hunting . . . he saw to a greater distance than any of his attendants." Roscoe, ut sup., p. 377.

Datum Romae.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

quando visitavi universitates, habens mandatum a
Theologis quod debui seminare favorem eorum contra
Iohannem Reuchlin, et quomodo fui ibi tribulatus a
poetis qui sunt hincinde. Faciam utique, sed vos[:]
iterum debetis mihi aliquid mittere de vestris operibus.
Et dedi huic nuncio quod portaret vobis. Etiam seiatis
quod composui rithmice non attendens quantitates et
pedes: quia videtur mihi quod sonat melius sic. Etiam
ego non didici illam poetriam, nec euro. Valete ex
Bruneck in Flandria.

Carmen Rithmicale magistri PHILIPPI
SCHLACURAFF quod compilavit et comportavit,
quando fuit Cursor in Theologia et ambulavit per
totam Almaniam superiorem:

Christe deus omnipotens, in quem sperat omne Ens.
Qui es deus deorum per omnia saecula saeculorum,
Tu velis mihi esse propitius, quando tribulat me
imicus.

Mitte unum diabolum, qui ducat ad patibulum
Poetas et iuristas, qui dederunt mihi vexas,
Præsertim in Saxonia, ubi fui studens in loyca,
Quam docuit me Sibutus, qui est in medicina imbatus,
Et habet antiquam vetulam, quae vendit bonam
Cerevisiam.

Tunc est ibi unus poeta, qui vocatur Balthasar de
Facha,

Qui me tribulavit, quod mihi valde doloravit.
Tunc Philippus Engentinus, qui non est vexator minus,
Incepit unam guerram; tunc quaesivi aliam terram,
Et cogitavi bonam rem, ut ad Rostock irem,
Ubi Hermannus Buschius mortificavit unum Car-

Tunc audivi in via, quod viget ibi pestilentia.
Et ivi ad Gripswaldiam, quae habet medicam Com-

paniam.

 Episcopi Trajectensis . . . Vita, Basle, 1519.
 47 Gripswe: Greifswald, memorable
to Ul. v. Hutten for his ill-treat-
ment by the Lötzes, recorded in his
Querelen.
PHILIPPUS SCHLAURAFF

Et sic abivi mox, quamvis fuit statim Nox.
Et veni ad Francfurdiam, quae iacit apud Oderam:
Ibi Hermannus Trebellius cum suis poematibus
 Multum me infamavit, et audacter blasphemavit;
Neennon duo Osthennii, qui sunt illius discipuli,
Qui multis cognominibus vexabant me in Civibus:
Do hiess mich die gantz statt "das Colnisch Copulat,”
Ita quod ambulavi in Austriam, ad meam malam
fortunam:
Quia Collimitius (veniat ei sanctus Anthonius)
Fuit ibi Rector, et meus inimicador,
Vocans me traditorem, et volens ponere ad Carcerem,
 Nisi fecisset Heckman. Sed Ioachimus Vadian,
Novum infortunium, porpter Pepercornum
 Mecum ibi incepit, quia eum vilipendit
In sua defensione, quamvis cum magna ratione.
Tunc dixi quod sum innocens, et rogavi eum flens,
Quod vellet me dimittere; tunc dixit ei tacite
 Rector bursae lili, quod retineret me cum vi.
Et dixit Cuspinianus, quem amat rex Maximilianus,
Quod magistri in artibus sunt doctores in peccatis
 mortalibus.
Tunc incepi inde transire, et ad Ingolstadt venire.
Hic Philomusus habitat, et contra Theologos metri-
 ficat.
Tunc timens eius furiam transivi ad Nurnbergam,
Ubi quidam Pirckheymer, qui non est Magister,
 Fecit mihi instantiam: sed audivi ibi clam,
Quod cum multis sociis in partibus diversis
Magna in Coniuratione vellet stare pro Capnione,
Et contra nos Theologos facere multos libros.
Et fuit mihi dictum, quod noviter unum librum
 Scripsit de usura, quam admittit Theologia,
Sicut Bononiae est disputatum et per Magistros nos-
tros probatum.
Sic ivi post unum mensem ad universitatem Lipsensem:
Ubi Richardus Crocus, qui dicitur esse Anglicus,
Vidit me per viam, et dixit "illam bestiam

51 Treb.: tutor of Ulrich von Hutten.
52 Osth.: Joannes and Alexander von der Osten, to whom Hutten
dedicated his Ars Versificatoria.
53 S. Ant.: i.e. S. Anthony's fire—erysipelas.
54 porp. Sic, in [D].
Ego novi Coloniae." Respondi "noli dicere, Quia ego non sum." Tunc dixit ad suum socium "Iste pro Theologis est proditor Capnionis, Et est magnus pultronus." Quod dixi magistris in Artibus, Qui iuraverunt invicem accipere ei lectionem Ita quod in posterum non amplius haberet stipendium. Venit Mosellanus, dicens: "ille Beanus
Et est magnus pultronus." Quod dixi magistris in Artibus, Qui iuraverunt invicem accipere ei lectionem Ita quod in posterum non amplius haberet stipendium. Venit Mosellanus, dicens: "ille Beanus

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

115 quo.: for quoddam. 115 Nemus: the Erzgebirge.
 Qui novos libros faciunt et Theologos vilipendunt: Quorum est vilissimus Philippus Melanchtonius, Sicut ego cognovi; et igitur deo vovi, Si viderem illum mortuum, quod irem ad sanctum Iacobum.

Fuit et Bebelius, et Iohannes Brassicanus, Et Paulus Vereander, die schworen alle mit ein ander, Quod vellent me percutere, si non vellem recedere. Sed quidam hic Theologus, cum nomine Franciscus, Sua cavistionem portavit me ex illa regione. Tunc cogitavi ire, et ab ipsis poetis venire, Et ivi ad unam patriam, quam dicunt Argentinam. Ibi in media via facta est una rebaldria, Quia Nicolaus Gerbellius cum suis disputationibus Confudit me in populo, quod steti in magno scandalo. Venit Sebastianus Brant, der nam mich bei der hant, Dicens "mihi sequere: nos volumus navigare Ab hinc in Narragoniam propter tuam stulticiam." Et fuit ibi Schurierius, qui est pinguis socius; Ipse me derisit, et dixit "herr, ir mussent mit Biss ins Schlauraffen landt: do seynt ir vast voll bekandt."

Collegi meam tunicam, et cepi inde fugam. Pergens ad Sletstadium: cum vidi Wimphelingum, Qui habet unum pellicium, quod est bene impinguatam, Necnon Iacobum Spigel, qui dixit: "wo her, du daubengigel?"


Respondit ei Phrygio: "parcamus sacerdotio." Venit Beatus Rhenanus, quaerens an sum Almanus.

134 Vereander: i.e. Paulus Gereander, of Salzburg, to whom Melanchthon dedicated his ed. of Terence. 135 Francis.: F. Stadianus, the friend and teacher of Melanchthon. 136 Kirher.: Johann Kierher, Canon of Spires, a friend of Erasmus. 137 Phryg.: Paulus Seidensticker, of Schlettstadt.

PHILIPPUSSCHLAURAFF

"Vos estis homo stolidus": Et statim unus Caseus Stetit mihi in capite; et sic recessi cum vulnere
Usque ad Moguntiam, ubi mihi gratiam Fecit praeSaturday Bartholomaeus decimator, Dans mihi hospitium et iurans per deum vivum,
Si ivisse ad Coronam, quod accepissem vexationem
bonam,
Quia ibi commensales sunt valde nequitiales,
Nicolaus Carbachiurn qui legens pro scholaribus
Exponit Titum Livium: tune reperi Huttichium,
Qui ex antiquo odio percussit me cum scamno,
Quod feci unum bombum: tune dedit mihi pugnum
Doctor Conrat Weydmanu: ich sprach "wie sal ich das
vorstan?"
Tunc trusit me Io. konigsteyn, quod cecidi de gradi-
bus.
Et sic post hoc periculum contuli me ad Rhenum,
Ubi cum ambulavi, visus est mihi in navi
Doctor Thomas Murner, ordinis minorum Frater,
Qui dixit "nisi parcerem propter meam dignitatem,
Statim coram omnibus iaceres hic in fluctibus."
Respondi "quare hoc?" Tune dixit "Schweyg, du
holtzbock:
Es leygt mir noch im sin, quod fecisti Doctor Reuch-
lin."
Sic ivi ad Coloniam, et inveni bonam companiam,
Quamvis mihi Buschius cum suis auditoribus
Et Johannes Caesarius, qui legit ibi Plinius,
Facerent instantias: quia non curavi has,
Sed steti cum Theologis nobilib, et vixi in laetitiis,
Und gab nit ein har auff den grafen von neuen Ar,
Quamvis sit poeticus: quia Pepercornus
In suis dictaminibus dicit de nobilibus,
Quod quamvis sunt clari, non possunt excusari,
Et debent sibi solvere pro sua Obscuritate.
Et sic est finis: propter honorem Universitatis.

[The majority of the personal names in ii. 9 occur in other Epp., and are there referred to in the notes. It has not been thought necessary to give cross-references for these, but the Index may be consulted.]

204 Caseus: i.e. his head swelled to the size of a cheese.
218 Konigs, unknown.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

X

M. NOSTER BARTHOLOMAEUS
KUCKUK, M. O.

SALUTES innumerabiles cum summa veneratione a parte ante. Venerabilis Magister, non facto praemambulo, aut multo circuitu verborum habetis scire sicut nuper scripsistis mihi quod debereb vos notificare qualiter negocium in causa fidei stat hic. Sciatis quod bene stat, sed nūdī exīvit Sententia diffinitiva. Et est hic unus Iurista qui vocatur Martinus Gronigen, Doctor Senensis, ut ipse dicit, satis praetensus et superbus. Ipse debet latiniare Speculum oculare, et est valde præsumptuosus, quia cupit viser. Aliqui laudant eum, et quaesivi nuper ex eis: "Quid scit quisquam?" Tunc dixerunt, quod habet bonam notitiam in graeco. Et sic videtis quod non est curandum de eo, quia graecum non est de essentia Sacrae scripturae. Et credo quod non scit unum punctum in libris Sententiarum. Nec ipse posset mihi formare unum Syllogismum in Baroco aut Celarent, quia non est logicus.


9 Gronigen: Martin Grüning, a native of Bremen, and Doctor of Laws of Sinigaglia, translated the Augenspiegel into Latin, on behalf of Reuchlin, and proved the version presented by Hoogstraten to the Curia false in many passages. See, Caesarius to Erasmus, Cologne, July 30, 1517. [Ep. MDCXX.]

25 librum. S. Athanasii in librum Psalmorum nuper a Ioanne Reuchlin integre translatus, Tübingen, 1515, was dedicated to Questenberg, and is probably the book alluded to.

27 Quest.: Jacob Aurelius von Q., a native of Freiburg, in Saxony, the Pope's private secretary, had been Reuchlin's firm friend ever since they had made acquaintance in Italy in 1492. See F. Gueldner, Jakob Questenberg, ein deutscher Humanist in Rom., Wernigorode, 1905. See also ii. 28, n.

XI

IODOCUS SARTORIS M. Ortvino Gratio

SALUTEM sempiternam et novum annum cum bona fortuna sicut est in mundo, et plus si est possibile, opto vestrae dominationi, quae debet scire

41 Meyer. See i. 48.
42 hospitium: the “Bell” Inn, in the Campo dei Fiori, frequented by Germans.
43 Words in brackets are omitted in D.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


6 Psal.: vi. 10.
11 script.: Gen. iii. 19.
19 librum: i.e. the book, publ. in 1514. s. i., usually known as the Preconotamenta Ortwini Gratii, directed against the Augenspiegel.
34 Albert.: i. 13, n.
Ego nuper fui iratus super unum Juristam qui defendit eum, Et scripsi unum carmen metricum contra eum.  
Etenim soleo poetricare etiam, quando sum solus, ex Arte metrificandi Bebelii quae est multum subtilis.  
Est autem hoc Carmen.

Astri potentis dei Mater venerabilis Christi,  
Da precibus famuli aures benignas tui:  
Qui te orat, Maria, pro sancta Theologia,  
Contra quam scribit Reuchlin Jurista malus,  
Non clarificatus nec desuper illuminatus,  
Qualiter esse debet qui vult placere tibi.  
Ergo tuum natum memento habere rogatum,  
Ut subvenire velit huic facultati sua.

Et est Elegiacum et scanditur sicut primum metrum in Boetio Incipiēs, “Carmina qui quondam [studio, etc.].”  
Sed nuncius non dixit mihi quod vult ita cito recedere,  
alias volui vobis nisisse plura metra:  
q scripsi pro defensione ecclesiae et fidei.  
Ergo cogitate quod mittatis mihi tale commentum a vobis practicatum.  
Tunc iterum volo aliquid novi mittere.  
Valet raptim faustim zelose Datum Olmuntz in Moravia.

XII

MAGISTER WILHELMUS LAMP artium  
Magister M. Ortvino Gratio Salutem

REVERENDE Vir, secundum quod dixistis et mandastis mihi quod statim quando venio ad Romam, debeo vobis scribere quomodo transivit mihi  


50 Boetio. De Consol. Philosophiae:—

50 D. omits words in brackets.
59 cogitate: “mind.”
53 Olmuntz: Olmütz, on the March, ceased to be the capital of Moravia in 1640.
1 Mag.: L. was “Magister” par excellence, i.e. in theology, as well as M.A. Ep. ii. 35 is also his.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


20 Flor. leg.: Flores legum aut Congeries auctoritatum juris civilis secundum ordinem Alphabeti ... Argen. Anno MCCCXCVI.
27 scamno. Cf. ii. 9.
28 spados: broad-swords; Lat. spatha; Gk. σπάθη; cogn. with "spade."
29 Comes. This gigantic and white-haired count has not been identified.
30 Camerac. The Reichskammergericht, or Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of a president and sixteen assessors, was first set up in 1495, on the proposal of Berthold, Abp. of Mainz; it soon ceased to meet, but was revived at the Diet of Constance, 1507, and after many wanderings finally settled down at Wetzlar. See also J. Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, 1904, p. 301.

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40 Stormglock. See Introd.
45 Ricius: Paulus Ricius, a converted Jew. He was acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and Erasmus eulogises his learning, zeal, and modest bearing (Erasm., Epp. L. B., 1706, col. 191). R. was appointed physician to the Emperor Maximilian in 1518; lectured on philosophy at Pavia, and translated a work on the Cabbala (The Gates of Light) into Latin: to this work Pico della Mirandola and Reuchlin were indebted. See Gesner, Biblth. Univ., f. 539; and Wolfius, Biblth. Hebr., ii. p. 1058.
49 Fettich. Cf. Theobaldus medicus, ii. 9.
55 viri terr.: Franz von Sickingen's men; his "war" with Worms lasted from 1515 to 1518.
64 bibilia: for "bibilia," trink-gelt.
71 Augusta: A. Vindelicorum (Augsburg).
pluit. Et etiam ita ninxit quod non potuimus aperire oculos nostrorum. Tunc dixit socius meus "o diabolo, quomodo friget me. Si essem adhuc Coloniae, ego non vellem ire ad Curiam Romanam." Et ego risi. In hospitio autem erat una pulchra virgo; et de nocte fecerunt choream, et socius meus chorisavit etiam: Et dixi ei quod non deberet facere: Quia iam est Magister, et non deberet exercere istas levitates. Sed ipse non curavit. Et dixit mihi: "Si illa virgo velit mecum dormire per unam noctem Ego vellem de merda eius comedere unam libram." Et non potui amplius audire, sed allegavi Ecclesiastes I.: "Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas," et ivi dormitum. De mane venimus ad Lanszpergk, ubi socius meus supposuit ancillam hospitis per noctem. Et de mane quando exivimus hospitium, tunc equus suus claudicavit, et dixi: "supponatis amplius ancillas;" sed unus faber iuvavit ei. Et postea venimus ad Schangaw, ubi eminus pulchra specula. Deinde ivimus versus Ispruck. Tunc fuit ita mala via quod Equi non potuerunt ire; et fuit ita profunda merda quod transivit Equis ad ventres superius. Et sic post multas tribulationes venimus Isprucken, ubi fuit dominus Imperator et eius vasalli et Curiales et satrapae et milites et armigeri, habentes vestes sericas et catenas aureas in collibus suis. Et alii fuerunt terribiles cum barbis et birretis scissis militariter. Et timui comedere in hospitio, quia audivi unum dicentem: Si esset Imperator, ipse vellet suspenderem omnes Curtisanos, quia vadunt Roman et discunt nequitias. "Ibi etiam decipiant se in vince pro beneficiis, et vexant alios beneficiatos in Almania, et faciunt quod pecunia venit ad Roman de Almania:" Et sic vidi quod isti Curiales non curant deum neque homines: et ergo

\[72\] ninxit: Hutter's journey to Rome, 1515, took place late in the autumn.
\[85\] Lans.: Landsberg, on the Lech.
\[87\] claudic.: "sies hat ein Hufeisen verloren"—"she has cast a shoe"—is still said of a girl who has lost her honour.
\[89\] Schang.: Schongau, on the Lech.
\[94\] Isp.: where stands, in the Hofkirche, the splendid cenotaph of Maximilian.
\[96\] satrap. Cf. :—
\[99\] collibus: for collis.
\[102\] pecunia. Cf. Rabelais, Pantagruel, iv. 53.

112 Trid.: Trient (Trent).
114 Dith.: Dietrich von Bern, i.e. Theoderic the Great, King of the Goths, as represented in German legend: *von Bern* = "of Verona."
116 Brixiam: Brescia.
118 hic: i.e. at Andes, near Mantua, n.c. 70.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


145 Baptista Mantuanum: Ioannes Baptista Hispaniolus (Spagnoli), 1488–1516, a native of Mantua; at an early age he joined the Order of Carmelites, and rose to be the head of that body. Baptista, who is said to have left 55,000 verses, is extravagantly eulogised by Trithemius (Scr. Eccl., p. 387): "Vir in divinis scripturis eruditissimus et in secularium literarum scientia nulli secundus . . . philosophus insignis, poeta et orator celeberrimus . . . Latinae linguae decus, et Graecae clarus interpres, metro excellens et prosa." His works were published at Paris in 1513.

150 Bononiam: Bologna.

152 Sanct. et rex. This meeting of Leo X. and Francois I. took place, however, in Dec. 1515, and before the death of Bapt. Mant.

162 Wilh. Parc.: i. 35, n.

XIII

THOMAS KLORBIUS humilis Theologiae doctor M. Ortvino Salutem

quia scriptum est "vexatio dat intellectum": Ergo non debetis mihi habere pro malo quod modicum teneo vos oppidum, cum Ego facio in bonam partem. Vos nuper scrispistis in uno dictamine de uno Magistro nostro, quod est valde doctus, et est

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177 Montefiascone, however, produces Muscat wine, and not Lac. Christ., which is a product of the slopes of Vesuvius.
178 pos. : for Ger. Satz; not an error for potentem.
179 Animal: ii. 48, n. For a full account of this famous elephant, see L. Pastor, Hist. of the Popes, vol. vii. p. 75 (1908).
180 vexatio. The Vulgate has "et tantummodo sola vexatio intellectum dabit auditui," rendered in the Douay version, "vexation alone shall make you understand what you hear." Is. xxviii. 19. Cf. A. V.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


Sed si velitis dicere quod talis Magister noster est Corpus decem universitatum, iterum ego vellem reprehendere vos. Quia ibi putaret aliquis, quod decem Universitates essent membra illius magistri nostri, et quod ipse constaret ex decem universitatibus; quo posito fuerit scandalum illis X universitatibus et ipe minorarentur exinde: cum unus homo (quia etiam magistri nostri, sicut scitis, sunt homines) diceretur esse dignior tot universitatibus: quod est Casus impossibilis, quia etiam Doctor sanctus non est plus quam X Universitates.

Quomodo ergo volumus emendare, quod dicimus recte? Advertatis, quia est quaestio multum difficilis. Et quamvis pertinet ad grammaticalia, tamen etiam plures Magistri nostri non sciunt.


Lib. Sent. See i. 11, n.

Doc. sanct. : i.e. Thomas Aquinas. His Tractatus de Ente et Essentia had been printed several times before 1317.

Fort. fid. See i. 22, n. By Alphonsus a Spina, Bp. of Orense.

Fortaliciunm fidei contra iudeos, Saracenos, Aliosque christianae fidei inimicos.


ceram: an amusing blunder for cerae.

decem univ. Cf. i. 11, n.

incongrus. "Oratio . . . incongrua est quae non est conformis est regulis nec figuris permissivis." Reg. cong. et fig. construct. (1505).
Ille ergo qui est inmatriculatus in decem universitatis, etiam ad tempus studuit in eis, audiens lectiones, et servans statuta, facto etiam et servato juramento, exhibens honorem Magistris et doctoribus, potest dicere: "Ego sum membra decem Universitatum," et non "membrum."

Et non est Oratio incongrua, quamvis sit ibi disconientia in numero. Quia fit ibi apposito, sicut in Virgilio:

"Formosum pastor Coridon ardebat Alexem,
Delitias domini."

Quia ibi etiam Alexis, qui est solum unus rusticus, dicitur esse delitiae per Appositionē.

Et credatis mihi quod est una subtilitas valde notabilis. Ego didici quando steti Leuoniae, et nondum fui bacularius, quando haec materia fuit disputata per quator dies. Non habeatis pro indignatione, quia ex bono scripsi vobis et Valete.

Datum Confluentiae.

XIV

M. OTHO HEMERLIN Magistro
Ortvino Gratio

Salutis maximam Copiam. Venerabilis Magister, dominatio vestra magnam gratiam fecit mihi mittendo illum notabilem librum Iohannis Pfeferkorn, qui intitulatur "Defensio Iohannis Pfeferkorn contra famosas." Ego non possum admirari satis, quod sic notabiliter et excellenter ille vir reprehendid Ioannahem Reuchlin. Et dixi quando legi: "Iste Reuchlin deberet libenter esse mortuus." Sed plabanus quidam existens bonus Reuchlinista, semper opponit mihi Arguens a maiorì ad minus. Et heri ante vesperas quando ivi secum spaciatum, haec verba exiverunt ab ore suo: "Si Theologi non obtinuerunt contra Reuchlin in Almania, multo minus obtinebunt in Curia Romana, quia in Italia sunt doctissimi viri, et statim intelligent stul-

49 Virg.: Eclog. ii. 1.
44 Leu.: for Loraniæ.
1 Hemerlin. See ii. 70.
10 plab. Sic, in [D].

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titiam et Vanitāti Theologorum, Quia Romae non curantur tales fractariae." Et etiam dixit: "Quale signum est hoc? quod Theologi non audent nominibus propriis scribere contra Iohannem Reuchlin et cohaerentes, sed subordinant unum bufonem qui neque honorem neque bona habet perdere, et huic adscribunt libros?" Tunc respondi ego: "Pfefferkorn quidem composit materiam, sed M. Or. postea latinisavit."

Dixit plebanus: "Bene scio quod Ortvins cōpsuit hoc latinum, quia statim cognovi stilum suum; etiam scio quod ipse Ortvins est de bona progenie, scilicet sacerdotali. Sed dicatis mihi unum: Vos habetis fateri quod Pfefferkorn non scit Alphabetum Latinum. Et si non scit alphabetum, multo minus [minus] scit legere. Et si non legere, multo minus scit intelligere. Et si non intelligere, multo minus scit scribere et componere. Et si non legere neque intelligere neque scribere, multo minus scit disputare de istis quaestionibus quas nemo potest sapere nisi sit profundissimus litteratus. Quomodo ergo est possibile quod ipse compossuit hanc materiam vel latine vel teutonice vel hebraice? Respondi quod videtur mihi quod Pfefferkorn habet ita illuminatum Intellectū: et ita saepe audīvit istam materiam quod adiuvante deo et ex instinctu spiritussancti bene potest disputare desuper. Et causa illa est ita facilis, quod Reuchlin posset vincé in ea etiam per uxorem Pfefferkorns."

Dixit plebanus: "Verum est hoc. Quia credo quod uxorem Iohannis Pfefferkorn non vincerent quinque Juvenes quadrati rustici ex Westphalia, multo minus Iohannes Reuchlin, qui est senex et debilis et per Consequens impotens, poterit eam vincere. Sed miror quod Sanctissimus Dominus Papa et etiam Imperator noster permittunt tanta scandala fieri per istum Judaicum bufonem, quod debet stare in loco sacro et praedicare populo et dare benedictionem. Et facere talia, quae si faceret unus laycus qui fuisset semper Christianus, tamen nihil boni deberemus suspicari de Eo: multo minus de Iudaeco...

24 materiam: i.e. the Beschyrnung Johannes Pfefferkorn, 1516.
25 cōpsuit: for compossuit.
43 per n.r. This boast occurs in the Defensio.
44 in loco sac. P. in his Defensio pleads that he did not preach "pontificialiter," but merely exhorted the Jews, at Frankfort, standing outside the church.

Datum Vratislavie.

XV

M. PETRUS STEYNHART Magistro
Ortvino Gratia Salutem

MULTUM vellem vobis scribere, domine Ortvine, de novitatibus hincinde et bellis et guerris et etiam de Causa Iohannis Reuchlin: Sed iam sum ita iratus quod non possum sedere prae ira: et ergo non possum scribere talia, quia Cor palpat mihi quasi unus percuteret cum pugno, quia est hic unus Almanus de partibus Misnensium, et ipse promisit mihi dare unum vocabularium Iuris: et nunc non vult dare, et saepe monui eum amicabiliter, sed non iuvat. Et video quod praetendit me vexare. Sed quia scitis quod omne promissum cadit in debitum, propterea feci eum citare. Tunc hodie scripsit mihi unam litteram vituperativam et scandalisavit me quasi bufonem. Ergo sum ita iratus quod nescio quid debeo facere. Sed volo ire ad gubernatorem et impetrare unum mandatum de capiendo, quia iste socius est mihi suspicatus de fuga. Et quando non mittit mihi statim librum, tunc afferam famulos pariselli ad captivandum eum, et mittere in

97 fiant: Psal. cviii. 8.
99 bellis, &c.: i.e. Maximilian’s campaign in Northern Italy.
10 Vocab., &c. A work of uncertain authorship, usually cited as Vocabularius Iuris utriusque. Its popularity may be estimated from the fact that some forty editions were published during the XVth and XVIth Cents. It may be described as a glossary of technical terms.
11 vitup. Not elsewhere met with, except in Ep. ii. 53.
13 pariselli. Not elsewhere met with. Du Cange has: Bargellus, lictor; Barigelius, apparitor.

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PETRUS STEYNHART

praesunä: et si tunc habebit unam strapecordam vel duas, capiat sibi: Quia volo eum docere quomodo debet unum circumducere, et non tenere promissum. Et credatis mihi firmiter quod volo rectificare illum socium: vel est damnun quod vivo. Quia oportet me habere 25
talem librum, quia iam pono studium meum in ordine, et emi libros in Iure et in alis, vadens cotidie quattuor horas ad sapietiam, audiendo instituta, et infortiatum, et etiam in iure Canonico, et Regulas cancellariae; et etiam hinc unum librum multum Practicū: et est excellens, et ex eo disco multa: ego credo quod in 30
Almania non habetis eum: ipse est mirabilis et est valde declaratius, et intitulatur “Casus longi super institutis” et practicat pulcherrimas materias, et ita profunde declarat instituta: quod saepe dividit unum Paragraphum in .X. partes, et procedit per modum dialogi, et est etiam quantum ad latinitatem valde elegans. Non possum vobis scribere quantum est utile habere talem librum. Sed non debetis dicere Juristis in Colonia qui sunt fautores Io, Reuchlin: quia si haberent illum librum, magis subtiliter possent practicare. Ego bene scio quod non habetis libenter quod studeo in Iure, quia saepe dixistis mihi quod debeo studere in Theologia, quae beatificat et est de maiori merito, quam illa iura q faciunt curvum rectum et rec-

22 strapec.: an adaptation of the Italian “strappato di corda”; the punishment of the strapecadot consisting in raising the victim to a height, and letting him fall suddenly so as to suffer a violent jerk from the suspending rope.
23 sapient. See II. 32, n.
24 Institut.: the Institutes of Justinian. The introductory part of the Corpus Juris Civilis, the other portions being the Digest, the Code, and the Novellae.
25 Infort.: a portion of the Digest, comprising Books XXIV. (3)-XXXVIII., and coming between the Digestum Vetus and the Digestum Novum. This division is quite arbitrary, and seems due to the mere accident of an ancient copy having been split at the points indicated.

The entire Digest consists of fifty books.

26 Reg. can. : a collection of papal mandates, regulations, ordinances, &c. These were reissued and confirmed by successive Popes, and numerous editions had appeared before 1517.
27 Casus longi: perhaps by Wilhelm, third son of Francesco Accorso (Accursius). He was born in 1246, and ended his days as Professor of Jurisprudence at Bologna. Maurus Sartius, De clar. archigymnasii Bono-niensis profess., Bonon., 1769, 1. i. p. 188.
28 profunde. Stintzing, Gesch. der populären Lit. des röm. kanon. R., points out that in the Casus the treatment of the subject is so superficial (not to say silly) that the title of this trivial production is quite misleading.

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EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

tum curvum. Et allegastis mihi Richardum in uno passu. Attamen dico vobis quod oportet me facere. Quia scientia Iuris est de pane lucendo. Unde versus—

50 "Dat Galienus opes et sanctio Justiniani:
Ex aliis paleas, ex istis collige grana."

Et scitis bene quod alias sum pauper, et mater mea scripsit mihi quod debo cogitare ad habendum victum et amictum. Quia amplius non vult mittere mihi pecuniam: et sic est per deum. Sed iam iterum cogito de isto socio qui fecit me iratum. Valete cordialiter.

Datum Romae.

XVI

| M. IOHANNES PILEATORIS |
| M. Ortvino Gratio |

| SALUTES vobis plures |
| Quam sunt in Polonia fures, |
| in Bohemia haeretici, |
| Et in terra Suitensium rustici, Et |
| in Italia Scorpiones, |
| in Hispania lenones, |
| in Ungaria pediculi, |
| in Parrisia articuli, |

Meretrices in Bambergae, artifrices in Nurnbergae, in Praga Iudaei, Coloniae Pharisaei, Clerici in Herbipoli, naves in Neapoli, Busto ducis acuifices, Franckfordiae pellifrices.

46 Richardum: Richardus de Media-villa, i.e. Richard Middleton, fl. 1280, a Franciscan monk, supposed to have been born either at Middleton-Stoney (Oxf.) or at Middleton Cheyney (Northants). He rose to eminence in canon law and theology, and was perhaps the teacher of Duns Scotus. Middleton's chief work was a Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, which appeared in many editions. (D. N. B.)


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II. 16] IOHANNES PILEATORIS

in Saxonia potatores, nobiles in Franconia,
in Venetia Mercatores, nautae in Selandia, 15
Romae Curtisani, Sodamiticì Florentiae,
in Almania Cappellani, ex ordine prædica-
Et in Frisia Caballi, torum indulgentiae,
in terra Franciaæ vasalli, textores Augustae,
pisces in Marchia, per Estatem locustae,
sues in Pomerania, Columbiae in Wet-
oves in terra Angliae, trania,
Et in terra Franciaæ vasalli, caules in Bavaria,
pisces in Marchia, alleces in Flandria,
sues in Pomerania, sacci in Turingia,
oves in terra Angliae.

Id est infinitas Salutes vobis opto, Venerabilis
Magister, quia estis mihi ita charus sicut est possibile
in caritate non ficta. Sed possitis dicere quod fingo
illum dilectionem, quia non creditis quod est ita cor-
dialis: igitur non volo multum scribere de illa. Unde
versus "Laus proprio sorde in ore," Teutonice
"Eygen lob stinekt geren." Sed in signum dilec-
tionis mitto vobis hic duo munera, scilicet unum Pater
noster factum de cornu buffi, et tetigit sepulchrum
Sanctorum Petri et Pauli et multas alias reliquias
Romae. Et cum hoc feci tres missas superius legi. Et
dicunt quod valet contra latrones et omnes inter-
fectoriales nequitias, quando aliquis orat Rosarium in
eo. Secundo mitto vobis unam rem qu est ligata
in paniculo, et habet virtutes contra serpentes, quia vidi
experimentum; et quandocunque (deus custodiat)
mordet vos unus serpens, tunc non nocet vobis: ego
dedi unum Carthus pro. Fuit hic unus in Campo
florae qui facit mirabilia per virtutem sancti Pauli, et
habuit multum de serpentibus terribiliter formatis,

14 *Franconia*: Hutten’s native coun-
try.
15 *Florent.* The evil reputation of
F. is reflected in the words *florentinae*
and *florenzer.* See Grimm, *Deutsches*
Wörterbuch*, Leipsic, 1861.
16 *Frisia*: Friesland.
17 *August.*: Augsburg.
18 *Wettr.*: the district of Wetterau.
19 *Daciae*: Hungary.
20 *Rosar.*: the series of devotions in
which the “beads” are used.
21 *carl.* See ii. 26, n.
22 *Pater nostr.*: specifically one of
the larger beads in a rosary; dividing
decads of smaller ones. Here, the
whole rosary.
23 *buffi.* Not elsewhere found.
24 *interfect.* Not elsewhere found.
25 *Carth.*: specifically one of
the larger beads in a rosary; dividing
decads of smaller ones. Here, the
whole rosary.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


venef. Not elsewhere found.
XXVII

FRADERICUS GLANTZ
M. Ortvino GratO

SALUTIS Cumulum. Honorabilis vir, si non scitis prius, tune volo vobis certificare nova, quod fui hic in guerra cum quodam Cantore, qui putat se esse magnum dominum, sed est adhuc ita bene pauper socius sicut ego et alii. Nos bibimus in simul, et ipse dixit quod portasset mihi unum totum cantarum Cerevisiae: et ego dixi quod non. Et ita me deus iuvet quod non vidi quod bibit.


Datum Monasterii.

1 Frad.: thus in [C] and [D], but perhaps a misprint.

22 l. Vin., &c.: L. 22, D. de rebus creditis si certum petatur xii. 1.
POSTQUAM venit huc defensio Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra famosas quam composuit in latino, semper omni die audimus hic nova: Unus dicit sic, alius sic; Unus est pro eo, alius pro Reuchlin; Unus defendit eum, alius culpatur. Et est magnum certamen, et volunt invicem percutere se. Si deberem vobis scribere Omnes guerras, sic sunt de hoc libro, Olympiae me tempus sit defecturum. Sed traseunte dicam paucà. Simpliciter plures dicunt, et communiter saeculares Magistri et presbiteri et fratres de ordine minorum, quod non est possibile quod Pfefferkorn composuit istum librum; Quia nunquam didicit unum verbum latinum. Respondœo quod haec obiectio nihil valet, licet magnos etiam viros in hunc usque diem perverterit, et male: quia Io. Pef., sic secum fert Calamare et atramentarium, ea potest annotare quae audit, vel in sermonibus publicis, vel in conventiculis, vel quando studentes et fratres praedicatores veniunt in domum suam, vel quando ipse vadit ad balneum. Sancte deus, quot praedicationes intra XII. annos audivit? Quot admonitiones? Quot sanctorum patrum autoritates? Quas ipse vel per seipsum retinere aut uxori suae dicere potuit, vel ad parietem scribere, vel ad tabulam suam ponere. Et dixi etiam nuper quod Io. Pfefferkorn de seipso profitetur (citra iactantiam tamen), quod omnia illa quae in biblia vel in sacris Evangelii habentur, per seipsum allegare potest ad omne propositum, sive malum sive bonum, sive Judaice sive Almanice. Et etiam scit mentetenus omnia Evangelia quae per totum annum exponuntur, et potest ea recitare ad unguem, quod non possunt facere isti Iuristae et poetæ. Etiam habet filium nomine Laurentium, ingenuum profecto

1 This Ep. is based almost entirely on passages from Pfefferkorn's De-fensio. 10 tres: for transeunte. 20 sive mal. s. bon. P. does not add these words.

XIX

CUNRADUS UNCKEBUNCK M. Ortvmo

MIRABILE est, venerabilis domine Magister, quod parentes mei non mittunt mihi pecuniam, et tamen sciant quod non habeo unum obulum, et


49 tres viri. P. declared that the quotations in the Handspiegel were furnished him by the three members of the commission appointed by Max. to report on the opinions. See S. A. Hirsch, A Book of Essays, 1905, p. 101. The three named by him being Angelus de Besutio, Pius Hieron. Baldung, and Greg. Reisch.

52 Genesi: xviii 2.
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5 scripsi eis bene viginti lbas. Si non volunt mittere mihi pecuniam, tunc per deum ego volo aliter facere. Et credatis mihi quod nuper habui in voluntate, quod volui me obligare sub paenis Camere accommodando duos florenos Renenses aut tres, et redire in patriam, et dicere eis opinionem meam, ita grosse quod deberent tangere. Diabole, credent quod sum natus super arborem, vel debo comedere fenum sicut animal? diabolus auferat me si habui unum Carlinum in sex mensibus: et semper nihil comedo nisi salatum et cepe et allium, et aliquando unum menestrum de fabis vel herbis vel spinaciam more Italico. Ego bene scio quod fratres mei in patria comedunt pisces et aves et bona fercula, et non cogitant super me; sed ego non volo diutius pati, et debetis ipsis dicere: tunc ego etiam volo diligenter hic instare apud domi-

7 num meum, quod promovebit negotium vestrum sicut scripsistis mihi. Et rogo vos, quando parentes mei dabunt pecuniam, quod velitis mihi mittere. Et cum hoc mittatis mihi Hgas teutonicas ad Hgandum caHgas, quia faciunt ita malas Hgas in ItaHa quod est mira-

15 bile. Mitto vobis hic unam veronicam q tetigit capita sanctorum Pe. et pau. et multas alias reliquias; et mitto vobis unum agnus dei; et debetis mihi salutare dominum Valentinum de Gelterszheim, magistrum nostrum colendissimum. Per deum ego nunquam ita potuissem dicere logicam si non stetissem in bursa sua; quia ipse est valde declaratius, et supposita

8 Camere: perhaps for camerieae (camariarum) or Cambiae.
11 tangere: not merely "verbera linguae." Hor., Od., iii. 12, 3.
12 arborem: "sicut poma." See i. 3.
13 Carl. See ii. 16, n.
22 velit.: for velitis.
32 veronic.: a copy of the kerchief of St. Veronica, which bore a miracu-

20 lous image of Christ's face. Cf.:—

24 agn. dei: a cake of wax, blessed by the Pope, and stamped with a figure of the Lamb.
35 Valent. See i. 7, n.
MARQUARDUS FOTZENHUT

II. 20] MARQUARDUS FOTZENHUT

Cito capiunt quando ipse legit. Valete plurime cum sanitate mentis et corporis.

Datum Romanae Curiae.

XX

C. M. MARQUARDUS FOTZENHUT
M. Ortvino Gratii


1 Fotzen: cunni pilens. See Grimm, Wörterbuch, s.v.
4 Ant. Rex: Louis XII.

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Colonii sunt magni stulti, quia Poeta et Episcopus proprie sunt duo Contradictoria. Etiam non esset bonum pro causa fidei, quia talis Comes est magnus fautor Iohannis R. Quia dixit mihi quidam Curtis-anus, quod quando ex Colonia ivit ad Italiam, tunc ipse dedit ei unam Epistolam, quam portavit Io. Reuchlin; et audivi ab aliis quod habet societatem cum multis poetis et novis Theologis sicut est Erasmus Roterdamus. Quanto ego fui in Herbipoli, tunc fuit unus poeta qui vocatur Ulrichus Hutenus qui semper ridet et vexat Thologos et Magistros artium: ipse dixit in mensa in uno hospitio ad quendam alium nobilitem, quod in illo die scripsit unam Iram ad illum Comitem. Tunc respondit ille nobilis: “quid tamen scribitis, quando sic scribitis ad invicem?” Respondit ille, quod scripsit ei, quod debet facere magnam diligentiam in causa fidei, et debet laborare pro Reuch-lin contra Theologos, ne comburant Speculum oculare; et quod multum commendavit ei Iohannem Reuchlin, et dixit quod amat Io. R. tanquam patrem suum. Et ego tacui, ne notaret quod sum fautor vester. Et propterea dico vobis, quod non est bonum si iste debet esse episcopus. Sed spero quod non est verum. Ergo scribatis mihi veritatem et Valete a planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis. Sicut dicit Esaias.

Datum in Urbe Roma.

XXI

IOHANNES HOLCOT M. Ortvino G.

A MICABILITATEM pro salute. Excellens vir, accepi Iram vestram quam compilastis in Colo. et notetis quod talis Ira fuit compilata in die s. Margerethae, et ego accepi eam in die s. Bartholo.; et quando accepi eam, tunc dixi “O diabole, ista Ira diu est scripta, et dominus Ortvinus irascabitur mihi et potest dicere ‘Quam iste est superbus, et non respondet mihi!”"

38 Thol. Sic, in [D].
39 ne comb. But the Augenspiegel had been burnt Feb. 10, 1514.
32 Esaias : Is. i. 6.
1 Holcot. Robert of H. was an English Dominican, ob. 1349; his commentary on Prov., Cant., &c., appeared in many edd. (D. N. B.)
4 Marg. : July 20.
5 Barth. : Aug. 24.

XXII

IODOCUS KLYNGE BACLARIUS
M. Ortvino G.

VENERABILIS vir, quamvis sum remotus a vobis corporaliter, tamen habetis scire quod quoad mentem semper sum vobis propinquus cogitando de sodalitate nostra quam habuimus invicem cum stetimus Daventriae. Ergo nuper ille Beanus veniens huc et portans mihi illud vestrum dictamen dixit quod dixistis

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11 Cassel: on the Fulda, capital of Hesse-Nassau.
12 Margb.: Marburg, where there was a large Dominican monastery. (The Univ. was not founded until 1527.)
13 multum. The letter, in fact, had travelled about 126 miles in 36 days.
14 resumo. See i. 6, n.
15 dare. The Defensio was actually published in July 1516.
16 talis scatur. sic, in [D] and [E].
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ei "O ille Iodocus pro nunc est in patria et habet bonos dies et non curat pro me." Ego respondeo quod nihil est. Quia non sum de talibus, et adhuc bene scio quomodo semper Daventriæ scripsistis ad parietem:

Qui procul est oculus, procul est a cordis lumine.

Et per deum, heri quando fuimus in Cena et habuimus de illis piscibus de patria mea qui vocantur Amae, quia pater meas portavit mihi, tunc optavi vos et dixi: "O si M. Ortvinus deberet esse praesens et comedere de talibus piscibus, tunc cor deberet mihi laetari." Respondit pater meas "Quis est iste Ortvinus?" tunc dixi ei quod estis socius meus antiquus, et fuistis mecum Daventriæ, et quando ego fui secum domi, Vos fuistis primarius; et postea in universitate Coloniensi fuistis depositor meus, quando deposui beanium, quia vos venistis unum annum ante me ad Coloniam, et postea steti nobiscum usque ad gradum baculaureatus: tune vos accepi magisterium. Sed ego promovus in bacula-rium de gratia dei recessi ad universitatem Wittenbergensem: tunc fui scholirega hincinde: et sic non vidi vos. Et dixi ei multa de vobis. Et dixi ei quomodo semel feci vos ridere quando allegavi vobis illud metrum:

Veni Spandaw aggere, tune inspexerunt me Amae.

Et dixi vobis quomodo Beani in Spandaw composuerunt tale metrum de teutonico in latinum, quia teutonicum sic sonat:

Iek kam genn Spandaw opp den dam,
Dar segen miek de plötgen ann.

Et pro tunce dixistis mihi quod prius nescivistis quod ille piscis, scilicet plotzken, latine vocatur Amae: et allegavi tale metrum et vos risistis intime, et consequenter dixi vobis qualiter ille piscis est in magna copia apud nos: et unus qui est ìta longus sicut brachium meum, vix solvit unum grossum. Et dixistis: "O deus, si essemus ibi!" et ergo heri optavi quod essetis mecum. Dixit autem pater meas "Credis quod etiam non habet pisces Coloniæ?" Dixi ei quomodo pisces

15 Amae. There seems to be intentional mystification with reference to the fish mentioned here. The classical amia (âpia) was a sea-fish, the tunny. (Amia, Linn., is a N. American ganoid.) But we are told below that amae means plötzen, i.e. roach.

23 depos. See l. 39, n.

Datum Perlin in Marchia, ubi sunt bona piscalia

XXIII

M. BERTHOLDUS HACKSTRO
Magister Ortvin Gratio

FRATERNALEM dilectionem loco Salutis. Honorable vir, secundum quod reliqui vobiscum, quod volo vobis notificare singula et scribere quomodo sto. Scire debetis quod nunc fui per duos menses in Urbe Roma, et non possum habere patronum. Unus auditor Rotae voluit me suscipere. Tunc fui laetus et dixi "Bene est, domine, sed magnificentia vestra velit mihi dicere quod debo facere." Respondit quod debo esse in stabulo et unum mulum servare in ordine, dando ei comedere et bibere, et strigilando et mundificando. Et quando ipse vult equitare, quod sit paratus. Et habeat frenum et sellum et omnia. Et postea debo currere et cum eo ad audientiam et iterum ad domum. Ego dixi quod non est pro me, quod sum et magister arcii Coloniensis et non possum talia facere. Respondit ipse: "Si non vis facere, tuum damnum." Et sic credo quod volo iterum ire ad patriam. Deberem strigilare mulum et purgare stabulum ego potius vel-

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46 in caro foro: expensive; "dear cheape" of fish.
11 mulum. "As late as 1547 the Primate Siliceo of Toledo asserted that in every cathedral chapter in the land the majority of canons had been either hostlers in Rome or traders in benefices, who scarce knew grammar enough to read their hours." *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, i. 657.
PHILIPPUS MESUE


XXIV

M. PHILIPPUS MESUE Magistro

Ortino Gratio


1 Mesue. The name would be familiar, as the mediaeval transliteration of Yūhannā ibn Māsawāh, an Arab writer on Medicine, many of whose works were translated into Latin.

14 Ecbertus: Rector of the University of Rostock in 1517.

23 Card.: Cardinals Grimani and Pietro Accolti.

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alibus et mandavit silentium ex utraque parte. Illo non obstante Theologi Colonienses combusserunt librum.”


Datum Rostock.

XXV

C MAGISTER ADOLFUS KLINGESOR
Magistro Ortvino Gratio

SALUTIS tantum sit Magistro Ortvino, quantum non potest in hac lira stare, et nuncius non potest portare, et nemo potest dicere, et nemo potest scribere. Et cum hoc etiam vellem quod essetis laetus et non cruciareatis vos sic in causa fidei. Ego nunquam suadeo vos quod debetis esse ita tristis, sed permittatis vos requiem. Ipsi etiam multa dicunt mihi hic, quia sum Coloniensis. Sed ego rideo quasi non curans. Aliqu etiam respondeo ipsis vexans eos iterum. Sicut nuper quando unus (qui etiam stetit Coloniae ante x annos)

27 &.Lum.: i.e. Louvain, Cologne, Erfurt, and Mainz.
29 diab. A fiend holding a candle appears on the title-page of the Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum, 1518. The phrase occurs in Pfefferkorn’s Defence.
31 Klingesor. Cf. ii. 50.

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HENRICUS SCHAFFSMULIUS

dixit mihi quod non credit quod Pfefferkorn adhuc est bonus Christianus. Quia dixit quod vidit eum ante unum annum et adhuc foetebat sicut alius Iudaeus. 15

Tunc omnes qui audiverunt, dixerunt quod est bona ratio. Sic etiam rogo vos quod non velitis nimis tristari in illa causa, quia spiritus tristis exsiccet ossa. Valete.

Datum Franckfordiae ad Ode.

XXVI

HENRICUS SCHAFFSMULIUS
Mag. Ortvino Gratii S. P. D.

CUM priusquam ambularem ad Curiam, dixistis mihi quod saepe debo vobis scribere et aliquando debo dirigere aliquas quaestiones Theologicales ad vos: tune

5 foetebat: the famous Franciscan preacher, Berthold of Regensburg, was wont to introduce Jews into his discourses with the stock epithet of "stinking." See W. Scherer, Hist. Germ. Lit., 1886, p. 228.
10 post aur.: i.e. he was still a Jew at heart.
13 macell. P., in his Defensio, denies that he was a "lauius," but adds that, after all, Peter was a fisherman.
15 spiritus: Prov. xvii. 22.
18 "Schaffsmulius": "Muttonhead"; "Il Pecorone."

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EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIORUM

vultis mihi eos solvere melius quam Curtisani Romae. Ergo nunc quaero dominationem vestram quid tenetis de co, quando unus in die Veneris, id est feria sexta, vel alias quando est ieiunium, comedit ovum et est pullus intus; quia nuper in Campo flores sedimus in uno hospitio et fecimus collationem, et comedimus ova: et ego aperiens ovum vidi quod juvenis pullus est in eo: et ostendi socio meo, tunc ipse dixit: "Comedatis cito ante quam hospes videt, quia quando videt, tunc oportet ei dare unum Carlinum vel Iulium pro gallina:" quia est hic consuctudo quod quando hospes ponit aliquid ad tabulam, tunc oportet solvere, quia non volunt recipere. Et si videt quod juvenis gallina est in ovo, ipse dicit: "Solvatis mihi etiam gallinam," quia computat parvam, sicut magnum. Et ego statim bibi ovum, et simul illum pullum intus: et postea cogitavi quod fuit dies Veneris, et dixi socio meo: "Vos fecistis quod feci peccatum mortale comedendo carnes in feriis sextis." Et dixit ipse, quod non est peccatum mortale: immo non est peccatum veniale: quia ille pullaster non reputatur alter quam ovum, donec est natus. Et dixit

6 Curtisani: audici, Du Cange. Curialists, or, in a general sense, persons in any way attached to the Papal Court.

7 feria sexta: i.e. "the sixth day of the week." Feria is also used in the special sense of any day that is not a festival. Cf. F. G. Lee, Directorium Anglicanum, p. 134.

8 ieiunium: a fast-day, when meat was to be abstained from, at all events up to 3 p.m.

9 Campo flores: the piazza known as Campo dei Fiori, near the Palazzo Farnese, now a market-place, was the scene of "the most terrible of the Antas de Fe, instituted by the Dominicans, in which many Jews and other heretics were burnt alive." A. J. C. Hare, Walks in Rome (1887), ii. 181. In 1600 it was the place of execution of Giordano Bruno.

The inn there was a favourite haunt of German pilgrims. Cf. Ep. i. 48.

11 collationem. See i. 4, n.


20 bibi. The egg was evidently raw. Cf. note on line 26, below.

25 pullaster: "chickling." (N. E. D.)

In a glossary for school-children, entitled Nomenclatura Recum (to which the pamphlet attributed to Melanchthon, and mentioned above (i. 15), is appended), Franzofurti, 1573 (revised edition), we find: "Pullaster, Jungerlan; Pullastr, Jungshenlin." Scalfu-mius might have been contemplated had it been known that some theologians classed fowls with fishes, because they proceeded from the waters. (Gen. i. 20.)

26 unum: quaestio subtilissima—"when is a chick born?"

St. Augustine mentions a singular scruple of the Manichaens, who would not eat a (raw) egg lest they should chance thus to eat a "corpse": "Nec ova saltem sumunt, quasi et ipsa cum franguntur expirent, nec

Datum in Urbe Roma.


29 vigil. Apost.: the days before Apostolic Feasts.

40 rep. pro pisc.: “Eadem ratione limaces et ranae prohiberi debent, cum instar piscium edantur, quando essus carnium prohibetur.” P. T. P. Gury, Casus Conscientiae, i. 212.

45 hic acq.: if a mortal sin, absolution could not be postponed without risk; perhaps, too, it is hinted that absolution could be more easily obtained at Rome.

47 mille flor.: Hermann von dem Busche writes to Ruchenli, Sept. 30, 1514: “I find that the Theologians have lately sent Jakob Hochstraten, through the bankers at Rome, fifteen hundred crowns—not for maintenance, for monks should be frugal—not for necessary legal expenses, for these, I think, would amount to a much smaller sum—but I strongly suspect (bad luck to them!), for purposes of bribery; to obtain, for gold, votes that they could not hope for in the interests of justice.”


51 dixit: Matth. xvi. 18.
QUID est quod multum scribitis mihi de vobis et tamen non repraesentatis mihi semel illum librum quem scripsistis contra Iohannem Reuchlin. Et scribitis mihi quod habuistis bonum ingenium quando composuistis illum librum; et creditis quod talis erit multum notabilis, Ita quod unus impressor voluit vobis dare viginti florenos quod mitteretis eum imprimere. Et scribitis mihi quod vultis mihi mittere copiam, quod debo ostendere hic Curtisanis et copistis, et vexare eos. Quia non volunt credere quod in Almania sunt etiam ita bene poetae sicut in Italia. Et esset bene bonum quod mitteretis mihi eum. Sed non facitis: et tamen semper scribitis quod vultis facere. Et rogo vos quod velitis mihi mittere illud dictamen seu librum. Quia volo hic vexare aliquos copistas, qui eredunt quod nemo scit aliquad quam ipsi. Etiam reprehendunt hic carmina mea quando aliqua scribo, dicentes quod sunt bene compilata. Videatis tamen si est verum, quia hic mitto vobis unum quod composui nuper quando M. N. Hochstrat advenit et posui ad pastquillu in honorem illius doctoris. Quia est vir singularis et defendit fidem Catholicam contra multos haereticos. Et est tale Carmen:

CARMEN MAGISTRI WILHELMI STORCH DAVENTRIENSIS
quod composuit ad Intronisationem Reverendi pris Fra. Ia. de Ho. ord. praeidentorum Magistri nostri et inquisitoris haer. pra.

Notum sit hic omnibus parvis neenon senibus,
Qualiter unus Magister noster, qui est doctus excellenter, Et vocatur Iacobus de Hochstraten, quod est suum proprium nomen, which lampoons were affixed. See I. Disraeli, Cur. of Lit., and J. B. Mary-Lafon, Pasquin et Marforio, Paris, 1861.

11 Impessor: Quentel, though his name did not appear on the title-page.
22 Pastquill: the Pasquino statue, to ironically.
WILHELMUS STORCH

Est in hac Civitate, et vadi et cum magna gravitate:
Sed venit ex Almaniae partibus, ubi collegit multos caseos
In magna quantitate: et in una universitate
Tandem fuit graduatus, et in Theologia qualificatus;
Quia ibi subtiliter disputavit, et multos syllogismos formavit
In Baroco et Celarent, ita ut omnes admirarent.
Quod videntes ibi Theologi, qui sunt in fide zelosi,
Fecerunt eum inquisitorem, contra haereticam pravitatem.
Sed posset aliquis quaerere, "quid vult talis hic facere?"
Advertatis diligentius: quia dico vobis libenter:
Est ibidem in Aehnania unus doctor in iuristria,
Qui iohannes Reuchlin vocatur: ille per hunc Magistrum nostrum citatur
Ad Romanam Curiam: quia scripsit unam materiam,
Quae non est Theologicis: sed videtur esse haereticalis:
Et debet notum esse vobis, quod ille liber favet Judaeis,
Et propterea est spectus: Ergo nuper ad illo inquisitore perlectus,
Fuit ad ignem damnatus, et autor ad revocationem vocatus.
Etiam scitis istum librum Speculum Oculare dictum.
Sed ille magister noster iam venit ad Romanam curiam
Ad perficiendum illud negocium, quia Theologi non permiserunt ei oecium,
Donec huc veniret, et faceret quod ille iurista periret.
Ergo debetis eum honorare, et reverenter salutare,
Quando est vobis obvius: quia est valde disputativus,
Et quantum ad primas intentiones paucos habet similes.


Datum Romae.
HONORABILIS seu praestans vir, quamvis non habeo notitiam vestri quoad personam, tamen quod famam novi vos Et iamdudum est quod intellexi de Causa vestra que vocatur Causa fidei contra Ioannem Reuchlin, et habeo mecum totum processum. Et disputo cotti die cum Curtisanis et Copistis qui defendunt Ioannem Reuchlin. Et quando iste Cursor praesentium lator dixit mihi quod vult ire ad Almaniam et per Coloniam habet facere iter, dixi “Tune per deum sanctum ego volo contrahere notitiam cum M. Ortvino et scribere ei unum dictamen.” Tune ille dixit “o per deum facatis: ipse multum gaudebit. Et dixit mihi quando exivi Coloniam, ‘Dicatis omnibus Theologis et magistris et Artistik et poetis qui sunt Romae, quod scribant mihi. Quia libenter habeo quod docti viri et qui sunt bene qualificati, scribunt mihi dictaminas. Et quando sic scribunt mihi, tune ego colligo illas lras, et postea facio unum librum ex illis, et facio eas imprimere.” Respondi ei: ‘bene scio, quia vidi bene unum librum qui intitulatur Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, et multum delectat me quando lego, quia est notabiliter bonus, habens in se de multis materias hincinde.’

Ergo, M. Ortvine, rogo Dominatio vestra velit me habere commendatum, quia sum mirabilis fator vester, et amo vos in credibiliter. Etiam debitis me commendare Ioanni Pfeferekorn quondam Iudaeo, sed nunc feliciter in Christo baptizato. Liber suus qui intitulatur “Defensio Ioannis Pfeferekorn contra Famosas” est mihi portatus ex Almania, et legi eum per totum, et signavi notabilia et Continuationes in margine. Et mul-

1 (gelff. See ii. 1, n. 7 processum; seemingly “minutes of the case” ; Ger. Prozessaden. 9 Cursor: i.e. in theology; the first stage of bachelorship in the case of a secular student, in which he delivered a course of lectures on a portion of the Bible. See Rashdall, Univ. of Eur. in the Mid. Ages, i. 465, 467. 32 notab.: indicated by “NB.” 22 Contin.: brief marginal summaries.

Datum in Curia Ro. 45

Articuli extracti de libro Io. Pfeff.
contra Reuchlin et quosdam Reuchlinistas qui liber intitulatur Defensio Io. Pfeff. contra Famosas. Et sunt tales Articuli a Reuchlinistis excerpti pro haereticis et habenibus in se Crimen laesae Maiestatis quod fovente deo non est nec fuit nec erit verum.

Primus Articulus


Offic.: almost certainly Jacobus Aurelius von Questemberg. See ii. 10, n. Von Q., who was a liberal-minded and learned man, proved a valuable "friend at Court" for Reuchlin during the hearing of Hoogstraten’s appeal, and, as one of Reuchlin’s biographers puts it, "his influence was of more service to Reuchlin than all the letters commendatory of Kings and Princes." Maius, Vit. Reuchlin, p. 214.

artic.: just as Arnold von Tongern had published Articuli, culled from the Augenspiegel in 1512.

laesae maj.: Pfefferkorn’s Defence is full of accusations of high treason against Reuchlin.

femina: in allusion, of course, to the legend of “Pope Joan,” universally credited throughout the XVth and XVIth Cents. The development of this vague myth into an accepted fact of history is a remarkable phenomenon, resulting as it did in the accumulation of a vast evidential structure upon the flimsiest of foundations. For an adequate discussion of the whole subject see Düllinger, Die Papsstfabeln des Mittelalters, 1868 (Eng. tr. by Plummer, 1871).
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col. ij.: “Tuam itaque sanctitatem, velut domini nostri in terris locum tenens ac ministrum.” Etiam habet in se haeresim iste articulus: quia vult ibi pfefferkorn innovere, licet non expresse, tamen implicite, quod tota ecclesia erraverit faciendo mulierem in papam: quia ille error est maximus. Sed qui ecclesiam dicit errare, de facto est haereticius: ergo.

Respondeo quod Io. P. qui non est bonus grammaticus et non intelligit latinum, putavit quod Papa est generis feminini, sicut Musa: quia ut ipse audivit ab aliis “Nomina in a sunt generis feminini exceptis excipiendis.” Unde Alexander:

Sit tibi nomen in a muliebre, sed excipe plura.

Unde patet quod Io. P. in praesenti tractatu scribit sicut Theologus: sed theologi non curant grammaticam, quia non est de sua facultate.

Secundus Articulus

Reuchlinistae argument: Io. Pfef. in multis locis sicut A j. et K iiij. quando vult iurare quod aliquid sit verum, dicit “mediusfidius,” quasi diceret “per meum deum fidium.” Nam mediusfidius interpretatur “meus deus fidius”: unde manifestum est, quod ipse I. pf. est idolotra et non habet cristent pro deo suo, sed Fidium qui fuit idolum apud veteres paganos.

Respondeo quod pf. iuravit ibi “mediusfidius” non respiciendo ad hunc Terminum “fidius,” quod est forsitan proprium nomen alicuius Idoli: sed ipse utitur illo termino in quantum est Adverbum. Et sic ponit Donatus, qui est autenticus et legitur in scholis: et est dicere “mediusfidius” id est “certe” vel “seriose.” Vel dic, ut prius, quod Iohannes pfefferkorn non curat grammaticam: vel dic, quod “mediusfidius” idem est quod “per meam fidem,” et sic audivi ab uno Poeta.

67 latinum: the point of the gibe, of course, being that it was well known the Latin of the Defence was due to Ortwin Gratius himself. 68 mediusfidius. In the Catholicon we are informed that the word signifies either “By Mercury,” “qui mediator est et fidus interpres,” or that it is “quasi mediante fide.”
**Tertius Articulus**


*Respondeo quod Pfefferkorn non sumit terminos sic stricte, et prout in sua prima impositione signifcant. Sed dicit se membrum, id est partem ecclesiae, sicut omnis homo Christianus dicitur esse pars Ecclesiae: vel etiam "membrum" largo [modo] utendo terminis. Et sumitur ibi "humilis" pro devoto et simplici: sicut etiam in Epistola ad Papam idem Ioannes Pfefferkorn dicit: "Quanquam minime dignus sum ut vel ad sacratiss. pedes tuos etc." Ergo non debet intelligi quod Pfefferkorn loquitur contra Papam.*

**Quartus Articulus**

*Dictit Reuchlinista:* Pfefferkorn tenet quod fides Christiana est falsa, et hoc suismet verbis affirmat. Sic etiam scribit se dixisse ad Moguntinensem Episcopum in libro praefato D. J.: "Si fides Christiana est vera, Reuchlin nullam perfidiam mihi facturus est." Sed postea plus quam in ducentis locis et etiam in alii suis libris prius scriptis vocat Io hannem Reuchlin perfidum; Ergo 111 *imposit.:* almost exactly equivalent to "application."
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manifestissime dat intelligere quod non credat fidem Christianam esse veram.

130 ☛ Respondeo quod illa verba sunt limitanda. Quia quando dixit Pfefferkorn "si fides Christiana est vera," subintelligendum est: "et Reuchlin est verus Christianus"; quia si Reuchlin fuisset verus Christianus, non-quam fecisset tantam perfidiam: vel dico et melius Qd

Iohannes Pfefferkorn protunc ita sensit: Quia omnes sumus homines et humanum est errare: sed tunc statim fecit [fuit] ab Episcopo castigatus et patienter tuht illam Correctionem faciens paenitentiam. Quia scribit quomodo episcopus dedit ei alapam quando dixit illa verba: et sic habuit illam correctionem pro peccato suo.

 önünde Quintus Articulus


145 ☛ Respondeo, quod quando Pfefferkorn ibi dicit, quod sit peius traditus quam Christus, vult intelligere, quod Reuchlin tradidit eum Caesari: sed Christus tanti- tum fuit traditus scribis et sacerdotibus qui sunt minores quam Caesar. Et sic videtur esse peius, id est terribilis, quod aliquis traditur Caesari quam Sacerdotibus et scribis qui non habent ita magnum potestatem.

Sextus Articulus

149 ☛ Dicit Reuchlinista: Pfefferkorn committit iterum Crimen laesae maiestatis, et hoc multipliciter. Dicit enim O i.: omnes amicos et fautores Iohannes Reuchlin, principes et alias doctos et indoctos peccare in hoc quod

149 tangere, &c.: Ger. man kann es mit Fingern greifen; "it is clear as noonday."
BERNHARDUS GELFF


C. Respondeo quod Pfefferkorn fecit hoc Amore veritatis que est maior quam Papa et Imperator et omnes Cardinales et Episcopi et Principes. Et ergo in protestatione sua finali, O iiiij. sic excusat se: "Me ipsum duce veritate et sine alicuius defensione defendi. Nam Hieremiae vaticinio Maledictus qui prohibit gladium suum a sanguine: et melius est incidere in manus hominum quam in manus omnipotentis dei." Et ergo putat quod melius est offendere Papam et Imperatorem quam veritatem, id est deum. Quia deus est veritas.

C. Septimus Articulus

C. Dicit Reuchlinista: Pfefferkorn in eodem libro uno codemque loco committit haeresim et Crimen laesae maiestatis. Quia dicit O j. columna ij. "Non pug- natur hic gladio, non viribus, non hasta progradientur in campum (quod superficiae Crimen est) cum rege miles, etc." Ibì enim dicit quod bellare et ire in campum superficiae crimen est: sed hoc faciunt Papa et Imperator, et semper fecerunt, et etiam multi qui sunt in Cathalogo sanctorum. Si ergo ire in campum esset Crimen superficiae, tunç illi sancti et imperator modernus et etiam papa essent in

164 Card. Raffaello Riario, Cardinal of S. Georgia, was degraded for conspiracy against Leo X. in 1517, but was soon restored to favour. Dominico Grimani, Cardinal of S. Marco, had been appointed by the Pope to cite Reuchlin to appear, personally or through an advocate, at Rome. Adrian di Castello, Cardinal of S. Chrisogono (to be carefully distinguished from Adrian of Utrecht, afterwards Pope Adrian VI.), was also one of the conspirators against Leo X., and to avoid the penalty fled from Rome. He was an accomplished scholar, and to him Reuchlin dedicated one of his works on Hebrew grammar. Adrian, who was in high favour with Henry VIII., was Rector of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, and held successively the sees of Hereford and Bath, which latter he farmed out to Wolsey. See Rymer, Foed., vi. 1, 141.

170 Hier: Jer. xlviii. 10.

176 melius, &c.: 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; 1 Chron. xxi. 13.
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peccato mortali, et per consequens erraret Ecclesia quae habet pro sanctis. Ergo Pfefferkorn directe est contra ius Canonicum et Civile, contra Imperatorem et Papam, contra Ecclesiam et Imperium.”

Respondeo quod haec verba sunt limitanda, quam talis erit intellectus quo bellantes cum armis et vadentes in campo committunt crimen superbiae in quantum sine iusta causa aliis faciunt iniuriam. Sed quando Imperator et Papa gerunt bellum, tunc prae-sumitur quod faciunt pro defensione Ecclesiae et Imperii: et sic Pfefferkorn non reprehendit eos.

Octavus Articulus


Epist. sua ad Papam: i.e. of Oct. 23, 1514. See Introd.

irremiss.: a technical term in theology; “unpardonably” in its strictest sense.

duo puncta: a semicolon (in the place of the more modern comma); but Gelff’s emendation scarcely mends matters.
\textbf{D Nonus Articulus}

\textit{Dicit Reuchlinista: Quod omnium maximum et grandissimum et terribilissimum et horribilissimum et diabolicissimum et infernalissimum est, Io. Pfefferkorn reprehendit Papam et Curiam, attribuendo eis Crimen falsi. Sic enim scribit I. iiiij. \textquotesingle\textquotesingle\ Ceterum omnia haec, id est ipsius ex urbe Roma commissionem, minus inste, immo instissimae acquisitam, haereticus pravitatis Magister non curavit, etc.\textquotesingle\textquotesingle. Sed Papa dedit illam commissionem: ergo Papam vituperat Io. pfe. quod non bene administrat iustitiam: quod est ita haereticum ut mereatur tres ignes.\textit{Respondeo: Pfefferkorn non dicit ibi quod Papa vel Curia Romana inste dedit commissionem: sed vult intelligere quod Reuchlin inste acquisit eam. Et ergo Io. Reuchlin appellat insteustum, et non Papam.}

\textbf{D Decimus Articulus}

\textit{Dicit Reuchlinista: Pfefferkorn iterum committit Crimen laesae maiestatis, quia manifeste mentitur de Imperatore et Episcopo Coloniensi. Quia dicit quod quidam inquisitor haereticus pravitatis ex commissione Caes. Maiestatis cum appositione manus Episcopi Coloniensis combussit Spectulum Oculare Coloniae. Quod est falsissimum. Quia neque Caes. Ma. commissit hoc, neque Episcopus unquam apposuit manum: quia si imperator commississet hoc, non iam laboraret pro Reuchlin scribendo ad papan, quod debet sibi Consiliarii defensionem habere contra invidos et Captiosos Theologos. Ergo Pfefferkorn manifeste est falsarius, quia falsificat seu mentitur commissiones imperiales.\textit{Respondeo quod de Episcopo Coloniensi non curatur, quia est mortuus. Sed de Imperatore Io. pfe. loquitur intentionaliter, et implicite quantum ad primam imperatoris mentem. Quia primo quando Johannes Pfefferkorn incepit istud laudabile negocium in Causa fidei, ut faceret combustere libros Iudaicorum, tunc imperator fuit intentionatus, ut videbatur, quod vellet...

\textit{mortuus: ii. 2, n.}

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XXIX

ECBERTUS UNGENANT
M. Ortvin Gratio Salutem

VENERABILIS domine et amice singularissime. Diu est quod non habui nuncios, ut possem dirigere litteras ad dominationem vestram: alias diu scripsissem vobis. Parcatis ergo mihi, quia libenter scripsissem vobis, si habuissem nuncium. Sed sicut scripsistis mihi quod Mgr. n. Valentinus de Gelterstheim dixit vobis, quod debetis mihi scribere, quod adhuc duos florenos debco ei pro lectionibus quando steti in bursa sua: Sciatis quod nihil volo ei dare, Quia ipse etiam promisit mihi multa, et dixit

266 reprehend.: for "comprehenduntur."
269 liberarios: equivalent to "liberarias" in i. 31, "Libaria, ein libery, locus librorum," Gemma Gemmarum.
272 Doctore, &c.: i.e. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Bonaventura, respectively.
274 profic.: "profitable" (the word is used by Martiannus Capella).
7 Ungenant: Ger. ungenannt, "unnamed."
8 Valentinus: i.e. Valentin Engelhart von Geltershheim. See i. 7, n.
11 in bursawna: i.e. in the De Monte hostel at Cologne.

Sed vos valete in Caritate.

Datum Lo.

XXX

BALTHASAR SCLAUCH baccalarius
Theologiae formatus M. Ortvino Gra. Sa.

GRATIARUM actiones vobis immensas, infinitas, inenarrabiles, innumerabiles, incomparabiles, ineffabiles, quod misistis mihi librum d. Iohannis Pfefferkorn, qui intitulatur "Defensio Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra famosas." Ego fui ita laetus quando accepi illum librum, quod saltavi prae gaudio. Et certissime credo quod Io. Pfefferkorn est ille de quo prophetizatur Ezechielis IX. sic: "Et vocavit virum qui indutus erat lineis et atra mentorum scribendor in lumbis suis." Quia Io. pfeff. semper habet atra mentarium secum et scribit in praedicationibus vel conventiculis Auctoritates et notabilia, unde postea componit talia. Vos exhilaratis me valde quando mittitis mihi libors suos: quia sunt ita artificialiter compositi quod miror. Ego etiam Viennae multum

15 beani: Fr. bejaune (beau jaune), a novice, a freshman, in allusion to the yellow bill of a callow nestling. The equivalent "bejaune" is still used in more than one Scottish university.

17 visitarent. This practice of touting for particular hostels was expressly forbidden in the statutes of the University of Basle (1477), and the Rhine bridge is mentioned as a favourite hunting ground.

25 Lo.: probably for Lovaniae, i.e. Louvain. The university was founded in 1426.

Sclauch: for Schlauch, a leathern bottle.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

22 Phar. Sic, in [D]; perhaps an intentional allusion to Pharisaei.
23 Meyer. See i. 5, n.
26 dial. See ii. 24, n.
50 Coll. Georg Tannstetter, Rector of Vienna Univ. in 1512, called C. from his native town of Rain (a boundary).

XXXI

ALBERTUS STRUNCK

Venerabilis domine Magister. Rogo vos Cordialiter quatenus velitis mihi indulgere, quod non scribo vobis saepe, quia est per deum ita magnus Calor in Roma, quod unus non potest ire in plateis vel sedere in domo: Et non possum scribere aliquid vel componere prae Calore. Sed vos scitis quod est Magnus labor facere dictaminas, et dixistis mihi in Colonia, quod in septem diebus vix facitis unum bonum dictamen. Et allegastis mihi Horatium dicens, quod talis poeta docet quod novem annos debemus consumere faciendo unum bonum dictamen. Quia oportet esse cautum et videre quod est bona congruitas. Et aliquando non est satis quod est bona congruitas: quia requiritur etiam Ornatus secundum viginti praecepta Elegantiarum et Modum epistolandi.
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Pontii vel Pauli Niavis qui fuit magister Lipsensis.  
Etiam isti poetae sunt nunc valde reprehensivi, et quando aliquis scribit aliquid, tunc dicunt: "Ecce ibi et ibi non è bona latinisatio:" et veniunt huc cum suis novis terminis et confundunt antiquam grammaticam. Ergo non possum scribere in istis Caloribus. Ergo habeatis me excusatum. Et Valete.

Datum ROMAE.

XXXII

M. HENRICHUS CRIBELINIONIACIUS
Magistro Ortvinio Salutem


19 Niavis. See i. 7, n.

20 reprehensivi. Not elsewhere found.

21 antiquam: i.e. scholastic.

1 Cribel: sieve-maker (?). Allusion unknown.

5 diabol: the first recorded instance of this proverbial phrase: "the powers of darkness gain the mastery." See Grimm, Wörterbuch, s. v. Abd.


28 Sanctissimata. See ii. 5.

29 Sapientia: the Universita della Sapienza, founded, as a law school, by Innocent IV., 1244. Schools of theology and grammar were added by Boniface VIII. and Clement V. The present building, near the Pantheon, dates from 1576. Above the entrance are the words: "Initium Sapientiae timor Domini."
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Datum Romanae Curiae.

XXXIII

PETRUS LAPP sacrae paginae Licentiatus
M. Ortvino Gratio Salu.


9 Remig. See i. 5, n. Rector of the Univ. of Cologne in 1518.
10 Gellerszh. See i. 7, n.
11 Buβing suggests P. Sülz. Rutg. See i. 3, n.
tiam sanctorum, sicut dicit scrip. Etiam nominastis
mihi in Maguntia duos M. n., D. Bartholomaeum Zehe-
er praedicatorum in summo, et D. Pe. bertrā pleba-
um. Et in Frankfordia d. Pe. meyer qui est mirabilis
in sermonibus suis Et quando vult ipse facit homines
ridere, et quando vult facit eos flere, et facit mirabilia
praedicando. Secundum hoc vellem quod faceretis
omnes ad unum et excelleretis istos Iuristas et Poetas
saeculares, vel imponatis eis silentium quod non au-
rent ita scribere libros. Et quando vellet aliquid com-
pilare, tunc deberent prius ostendere Magistris nostris ad
videndum si debet imprimi. Et si non placet magistris
nostros, non debet imprimi vel debet comburi. Etiam
deberent M. nostri facere mandatum quod nullus iurista
vel poeta aliquid scriberet in Theologia, et ne introdu-
cerent illam novam latinitatem in sacrosanctam Theo-
logiam, sicut fecerunt Io. Reuchlin et quidam ut audio
qui appellatur Proverbia Erasmi: quia non sunt funda-
mentales in ea: et possibile est quod nunquam disputa-
verunt publice vel tenuerunt conclusiones sicut est mos.
Ipsi volunt mittere falcem in messem alterius, quod
Theologi non debent pati. Ergo rogo vos quod velitis
rogare illos doctissimos viros de quibus scribitis, quod
disponant disputare contra illos novos latinisatores et
scommatizare eos bene. Et si dicunt quod sciant
litteras graecas et hebraicas, habetis respondere, quod
tales litterae non curantur a Theologis. Quia sacra
scriptura sufficienter est translata et non indigemus
alii translationibus. Et potius non debemus discere
tales ἱέας propter despectum Iudaeorum et Graecorum.
Quia Iudaei videntes quod discimus suas ἱέας, dicunt:
"Ecce Christiani discunt nostras scientias, et sine illis
non possunt fidem suam defendere:" et fit magna
verecundia Christianis, et Iudaei fortificant se in sua
fide. Sed Graeci recesserunt ab ecclesia: igitur etiam
debet haberi pro inimicis et eorum scientiae non

20 Zehen. See i. 27, n.
21 Bertr.: "crassus rudisque sacer-
dos," known only by allusions in the
Triumphus Reuchlini.
22 Meyer. See i. 5, n.
23 facis. Sic, in [D]; for facit.
25 appell. "Smaragdus, a gram-
marian, mistook Ennuchus Comœdia
and Orestes Tragoedia, mentioned by
Donatus, for the names of authors." J.
A. Symonds, Revival of Learning
(Renaissance in Italy), 1897.
24 scom. Not elsewhere found.

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Datum in Halberstat.

XXXIV

MAGISTER IOHANNES SCHNERCKIUS
Magistro Ortvino Gratio

SALUTEM simpliciter annuntiatam et non per pomposum ornatum verborum sicut consueverunt poetales Magistri non ambulantes in via simplici cum Theologis.

Sed salutem in Christo, qui liberet nos in die isto
Ab omni tribulatione, necnon a Iohanne Capnione,
Qui est Iurista saecularis, sed in Theologia xix scholaris,
Et si deberet disputare, eum Theologis se exercitare,
Ita quod aliquid solveret: per deum ipse perderet
In sacra scriptura: quia ibi est magna cura
Quod posit alquis bene stare, vel unum alium vexare,
Ita quod cum concludat, et concludinge bene confundat,
Sint nuper Hochstratus, qui est ad salutem ecclesiae natus,
Ut expellat istos socios, poetas et historicos,
Qui tenent malas opiniones, et non valent ad disputationes.


14 eum: in later edd. "eum," which is clearly preferable.
22 Parrh. Indeed. See ii. 37, ad fin.
24 un. Mag. Apparently a confused reference to Petrus de Riga, fragments of whose /utura are given by Migne (Patrol., vol. 212); additions were made by Egidius Parisiensis.
An example is appended:—
"Mox Deus adduxit animantium singulara terrae:

Praebent ut eumitis nomina rebus Adam,
Hebraice loquens imponit noimna rebus
Omnibus ille. Prior illa loquela fuit."
—p. 52.
Coll.: Boccking; however (citing Crivier, Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris), favours the College "des Augustins dans le quartier Montmartre."
II. 34] IOHANNES SCHNERCKIUS

componeret totam bibliam metrice, silicet cum istis metris. Debetis autem scire novitates quae sunt bene pro vobis: videlicet quod Reuchlin non potest amplius ita multum studere sicut prius, quia oculi volunt ei de-
crescere, sicut dicit scriptura in Genesi: “Et caliga-
verunt oculi eius, nec videre poterat.” Quia nuper
venit unus bacularius de Stuckgardia qui fuit ibi in
domo eius: et ego feci quasi non seirem de inimicitia
vestra quam habetis invicem, dixi ad eum: “Bone
domine bacularie, Non habetis mihi pro malo quod
interrogo vobis. Et cum supportatione pro primo lib-
enter vellem scire, An Reuchlin est adhuc sanus?”
Respondit, quod ita, sed tamen quod non potest bene
videre sine brillo. Tunc dixi “Ergo pro secundo dicatis
mihi quomodo tamen habet se quoad Causam fidei.
Ego audivi quod habet certas lites cum certis Theo-
logis: sed credo quod faciunt ei iniuriam (sed dixi
tronice): quomodo ergo habet se. Ego credo quod
semper componat aliquid contra Theologos.” Respondit
ille: “Nescio, sed tamen volo dicere vobis quid ego
vidi ab eo: quando veni in domum eius, dixit mihi:
‘Bene veneritis domine bacularie, sedeatis.’ Et ipse
habuit brillum in naso et librum ante se qui fuit
scriptus mirifice, Ita quod statim vidi quod non erat
Almanice neque bohemice scriptus, neque etiam latine.
Et dixi ei ‘Egregie domine doctor, quomodo tamen
vocatur talis liber?’ Respondit quod vocatur Plut-
archus in graecoe, et tractat de Philosophia. Tunc dixi,
‘Legatis in nomine domini.’ Et sic credo quod seif
artes mirabiles. Tunc vidi iacere unum parvum liber
noviter impressum sub scamno. Et dixi ei: ‘Egregie
domine doctor, quid iacet hic?’ Respondit: ‘est unus
liber scandalizativus quem nuper quidam amicus meus
misit mihi ex Colonia, et est scriptus contra me, et
Theologi Colonientes composuerunt eum, dicentes nunc
quod Ioannes P. fecit talen librum.’ Tunc dixi:
‘Quid facitis ergo desuper? Non multis vindicare
vos?’ Respondit: ‘Nullo modo. Sed sum satis vindici-
catus. Ego nunc non curo amplius istam stulticiam,
sed vix habeo satis oculos ad studendum ea quae sunt

29 Gen.: xxvii. 1.
42 tron.: (sic) for ironice.
55 nov. imp.: i.e. Pfefferkorn’s
Defensio.
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65 mihi utilia.' Fuit autem talis liber intitulatus 'Defensio Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra famosas.' Aliud non scio de doctore Reuchlin." Talia dixit praedictus bacaviestrius. Ergo, domine Ortvine, habeatis bonam Confidentialiam. Quia si ille habet malos oculos quod non potest amplius multum legere aut scribere, suum damnum, Vos autem non debetis quiescere, sed debetis recenter scribere contra eum. Valete.

Datum Ulmae.

XXXV

M. WILHELMUS LAMP

M. Ortvino Gratio S.

EXIMIE et promotoriali reverentia celeberrime vir. Vos seripsisistis mihi qualiter litera mea quam composui vobis de ambulatione mea ad Curiam, fuit vobis praezentata. Et scribitis quod potestis exinde notare quod diligo vos valde. Et bene scribitis talia: sunt etenim vera. Quia vos estis mihi in corde et ego amo vos cordialiter. Sed etiam scribitis mihi quod debo vobis Intimare seu declarare quomodo transit mihi pronunc. Sciatis quod sum apud unum Notarium Rotae et habeo parare mensam, et ire ad forum pro comparando herbas et fabas et panes et Carnes et talia, et facere domum in ordine, quando dominus venit ex audientia et commensales sui, quod omnia sunt parata. Et cum hoc etiam studeo. Et dominus meus nuper dixit mihi, quod per deum quando sto unum annum vel duos secum, ipse vult mihi iuvare ad unum beneficium, sicut prius iuvavit multis. Et est bene credendum, quia amat me multum. Et praecipue nuper quando vidit quod sum poeta, tune dixit quod vult me semper Amatius habere. Et factum est ita: Est unus ex commensalibus qui est poeta in ista poctria nova, et semper in mensa loquitur de poesi, et multum repre-

1 Lamp: the writer of ii. 12.
2 promo. At Bologna the promotor was the graduate who presented candidates for degrees. (Rashdall.)

“Ad placitum poni propriorum multa notavi.”

Sed prout quaeritur quantam habet primam naturaliter respiciendo ad naturas appellativorum, tunc habet primam brevem secundum Alexandrum dicitem quod $a$ ante $b$ in primis syllabis, exceptis excipiendis, est brevis.” Tunc ille adhuc magis derisit me et dixit “Vade tu Coloniensis Copulatista, cum tuo Alexandro, qui fuit asinus Parrhisiensis, sicut adhuc sunt plures.” Et sic multum scandalizans illum bonum Alexandrum abivit. Et dixi ego: “Cras videbitis.” Et de mane portavi unum carmen quod compilavi per noctem in laudem Alexandri, et mitto vobis exemplum. Et quando dominus meus vidit illud Carmen, tunc laudavit me et dixit “Iste socius est pro me.” Et dixit “O Wilhelme, scis ita compilare metra? Ego igno-
avi. Et proptererea plus volo te diligere in posterum.” Et sic spero quod volo bene stare. Et quando vult dominus deus quod acquiro aliquid, tunc iterum volo
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

me conferre ad partes, fiendo presbiter. Valete iugiter.

Datum Romanae Curiae.

Metrum Epigrammaticum confectionatum per Wilhelnum Lamp M. septem artium liberalium Coloniensem In laudem Alexandri Galli

Qui vult discere grammaticam, legat Alexandri materiam,
Quae est divisa in quattuor partes, docens multas bonas Artes,
Praebens lae et mel pueris, sic ut docto Glosa notabilis
In Colonia facta: praeclipe quod metra
Collige partem tertiam: ipsa tollet tibi omnen inertiam,
Sicut fecit mihi, qui multum ex hac didici.

XXXVI

IOHANNES ARNOLDI M. Ortviso Gratio
Salutem I. P.

CREDIDERIM utique quod audiveritis vel fuerit vobis pluscule dictum qualiter ex quadam affectione animali bona contulerim me nuperrime viatica ambulatione ad urbanam Romae Curiam causa lucruli ad consarcinandum unum beneficiolum seu praebendiolam vel parrochiam aliquam missam, unde poterit mihi ex nunc usque ad finem vitae meae sufficere ac suppetere victus et amictus, si divina voluerit dei gratia. Quamobrem, me hercule vel mediusfidius, debueritis mihi non rariuscule unam literalam amiciose conflatam se compilatam ascribere, et in ea affectionaliter significare quomodo steteritis in omni qualitate Corporali seu animali, Et quomodo fueritis fortunatus fataliter ex praedestinatione divina quae fuit ante saecula, sicut dixerit Lactantius quem nuperrime audiverim studio intentionalii, quando lectus fuerit formaliter hic in sapia praeterea Enimvero venerit unus sociolus ex Colonia et gelidis Almaniae partibus, apportans epistolam missiva hincinde sibi astipulata, A quo videlicet intellixerim qualiter vos fecistis imprimere arte charac-

65 Glosa. See i. 3, n.
66 omnen. Sic, in [D].
1 The fantastic style of this Ep. bears no resemblance to that of i. 10, A. being now "aliter stilatus."
19 sap.: see ii. 32, n.
21 sibi. It is useless to attempt the disentanglement of A.'s account. (Böcking doubts whether we should deem him crazy or merely tipsy.)

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terali unum librum, qui intelligitur esse vel fuisse intitulatus seu praenominatus "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum ad M. Ortvinum Gratium," in quo utique codiculo seu libello, sicut talis dederit mihi intelligendum, continentur omnes literulae ad vestram dignitatem hincinde destinatae charitative et fraternaliter a vestris amicis et notis: et etiam posueritis meum epistolium meum epistolium intus, et valde miratorie stupefactus fuerim, quod dignamin me tantisper honore sesquipidali; et facitis mihi aeternalem famam. Quapropter habueritis scire quatinus voluerim vobis gratiam referre in quantum potero. Etiam sciveritis qualiter studuero hic per totum in poeseos artificiolo, et ergo fuerim aliter stilatus quam prius. Valete sesquipedaliter. Datum Romae.

XXXVII

FRATER GEORGIUS BLECK
M. Ortvino Gratio

HUMILEM orationem meam cum ea qua decet subiectione, domine et M. Or. Vos misistis mihi hic librum I. P. qui est praetitulatus "Defensio Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra famosas." Quem utique, sicut petivistis, ostendi omnibus Magistris nostris per totam Parrhisiam, et similiter de nostro ordine Theologis, qui unanimiter dixerunt: "Ecce Almania habet notabiles Theologos. Si unus simplex scribit tale, quid deberent facere docti et promoti?" Et unus interrogavit me, an etiam principes in Almania faciunt magnam reverentiam Io. P. " Respondi quod pro parte sic et pro parte non. Et qualiter ipse est verus et dilectus sollicitator Imperatoris ad procurandum negotium de libris Iudaicorum et augmentum fidei Christianae. Et quod episcopus Moguntinensis piae memoriae defunctus iam solebat eum valde amare et promisit ei auxilium in rebus omnibus quantum ei fuit possibile: et quando ambulavit hincinde in negocio fidei, tunc dedit et magni precii

25 28 35
31 ~segr. Sir, in [D] and [E].

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nummiim pro viatico. Respondit unus Theologus "facit tune etiam magnam diligentiam ipse Io. P. in dicto negotio?" Dixi velut scripsistis mihi, quod sic: quia sine molestia circumivit per totam Almaniam, quamvis pro tune fuit ei inconveniens, cum uxorem et libros suos educare et alere conveniret quos dereliquit. Quamvis in absentia sua Theologi fecerunt multa bona uxori eius consolantes eam, quia vident quod vir eius est occupatus in causa fidei. Etiam aliquando Fratres de Monasterio nostro accedunt eam dicentes: "Misere-mur vestri quod estis sic sohī:" et ipsa respondet: "Veniatis ahquando visitantes me, quia sum quasi vidua, et detis mihi consolationes vestras." Attamen modernus Episcopus Moguntinensis non favet lo. P.; et hoc propter ea, quia habet aliquos Consiliarios qui multum promovent Io. R. et odiunt Theologos. Etiam dictus episcopus non voluit admittere Ioannem P., quando voluit ei praesentare suain Defensionem contra famosas, sicut intellexi ex vestra htera. Taha dixi. Tunc respondit unus "Quis est tamen ille Pfefferkorn?" Respondi quod olim fuit Iudaeus et nunc est fecicter in Christo baptizatus et est vir procul dubio integerrimus et est de tribu Neptalim. Dixit ille "Vere benedictio, quae data est Neptalim, completa est in Io. P. Quia Iacob dixit filio suo Neptalim: 'Neptalim cervus Emissus dans eloquia pulchritudinis.' Genesis .XLI X." Postea multi Magistri nostri et licentiatii et aliī Theologi per totum legerunt istum librum de folio ad folium, de verbo ad verbum, de Articulo ad articulum. Sed est unus superiorista qui studet in graecō: ipse vadit ubique et dicit, quod non est verum quod Pfefferkorn est sollicitator Caesaris, et quod nunquam etiam fuit. Et quod imperator pro Reuchlin scripsit ad sanctissimum et simpliciter vult quod Theologi non debent sibi vexare suum consiliarium fidelem et probum. Item Iacobus Fabri Stapulensis, de quo audivistis multa, ipse aperte

21 pro riat.: a fact mentioned by P. in the Defensio.
34 mod. Episc.: Albert of Brandenburg.
46 Genes.: xlix. 21.
56 Fabri: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, of lowly birth, a forerunner of the Reformation. His Commentaries on S. Paul's Epistles (1512) anticipated some of Luther's conclusions, but the Sorbonne took no proceedings against him till 1521, when he escaped by the aid of François I. See also Bayle, Dict. Hist., Lond., 1736, iii. 46.
DEMETRIUS PHALERIUS


XXXVIII

< DEMETRIUS PHALERIUS
M. Ortvinio G. S.

Scribitis mihi interrogas a me quomodo tamen universitas nostra habet se in Causa fidei: an est pro vobis an pro Io. R. Scitis, hic et per totem terram Suitensium fratres de ordine praedicatorum habent malam famam et sunt in magna disgratia propter illos Innocentes fratres qui fuerunt combusti in Bern, quia nunquam credo quod fecerunt talia quae dicuntur de eis. Igitur Monasteria eorum desolantur, et monasteria fratrum s. Francisci crescent. Et quando unus homo dat Elemosinam predicatoribus, tunc viginti dant minoribus et Augustinensibus et aliis. Etiam dicitur quod est in prophetia, quod ille Ordo praedicatorum debet totaliter deleri. Super hoc est hic unus Theologus, ut ipse se nominat, sed mihi videtur quod magis est poeta, dictus Erasmus Roterodamus, qui a multis ita honoratur sicut si esset miraculum Mundi. Et est ille qui scripsit librum Proverbiorum, quem semel ostendistis mihi Coloniae, et dixistis: "Quid nobis cum Proverbiis Erasmi, cum habemus proverbias Salamonis?" ille Erasmus multum tenet de Reuchlin et semper laudat eum: et nuper fecit imprimere aliquas Epistolas quas misit ad Curiam Romanam

1 Demetr. Why the name of the learned librarian of Alexandria, b.c. 345–283, should be selected as that of one of the Obsc. Viri is unexplained.
2 Bern. See i. 22, n.
3 Erasm. E. visited Basle more than once in 1514–16, taking up his residence there in 1521.
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XXXIX

CHUNRADUS STRYLDRIOT
M. Ortvino G.

REVERENTIA et servitio affectuositatis meae praeecedentibus erga virtuositatem vestram, venerabilis M. Intimavi vobis saepe qualiter non sum hic libenter: Sed credo quod diabulus portavit me hue: et non possum recedere quia non sunt hic bonae societates sicut in Almania. Et homines non sunt ita sociales: et habent pro malo quando aliquid semel in die est ebrius, vocantes eum porcum. Etiam non habeo supponere. Quia meretricies volunt multum pecuniae, et tamen non sunt pulchrae. Et dico vobis in veritate quod in Italia sunt ita distortae mulieres sicut est possibile, quamvis habent pulcherrimas vestes


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CHUNRADUS STRYLDRIOT


15 samelot. Not elsewhere found.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

non faciunt pueros. Sed hic habeo neque antiquas neque novas: ergo volo redire in Almaniam sic ut spero. Valete tam diu donec una alauda ponderat C talenta. D. R.

XL

M. IOHANNES CRAPP Magistro
Ortvino Gratio Salutem

Scribit mihi dominatio vestra qualiter valde gavisa est de Epistola mea Carinali nuper compilata, et scribitis quod vix vidistis similem: et sic ut intelligo vultis quod semper ita debo vobis scribere. Sed dico vobis, sic ut etiam ipse met sitis, quod non est possibile quod unus semper facit carmina. Vos bene sitis de vobis, quamvis estis valde facundus et sitis facere plura metra. Tū “non semper oleum,” sic ut communiter dicit: et aliquando estis luxuriosus ad metra, aliquando ad prosas. Et recordor quod semel dixi vobis Coloniae “D. Or., faciatis mihi tamen aliquod Carmen metricum,” Respondistis mihi “non habeo pronunc Apollinem.” Et dixistis mihi quod aliquando in X diebus vix potestis facere unum bonum metrum: quia Aer non patitur Et oportet expectare tempus, unde Ovidius

Tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis.

Ergo quando semel habeo bonum Apollinem, tum vo volo dictare unum et mittere vobis: etiā scribitis mihi quod debo vobis intimare aliquas novitates; sed nihil scio nisi quod sunt hic tres excellentes Theologi qui habent magnà nomina inter Almanos Et faciunt nobis bonam famam et laudabilem per totam Curiam. Duos forte bene novistis, Reverendum patrem dominum Magistrum nostrum Iacolum de Hochstraten, latine de Alta platea, et d. m. n. Petrum Meyer plebanum Franckfordiensem. Tertius est D. Caspar praedicator ex Kempten, sacrae

* Epist. See ii. 2.  
15 Apoll.:—
18 Ovid.: Fast., vi. 771.

“neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo.”—Hor., Car., ii. 10.

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II. 40]  IOHANNES CRAPP

Theologiae Licentiatius propediem Magisternostrandus. 30

Commendo vos domino deo, qui vos custodiat quod estis fortis sicut Leo,
Pulcher sicut Absolon, Prudens sicut Salomon,
Dives sicut Asuerus, Poeticalis sicut Homerus,
Et sanctus sicut Ioannes Baptista. Moriatur Reuchlin Iurista,
Nec non poetae saeculares, qui adhuc possent esse vestri scholares.


38 Caspar. Böcking quotes a letter from Adelmann to Pirekheimer, Dec. 19, 1517, on this "absurd and detestable brangle between monks andburghers," in which more than 3000 guldens had been wasted.
39 Nescio. The words in brackets were added in [E].
40 Tetrag.: the name Jehovah, as written with four Hebrew letters: "Tetragrammaton id est quatuor litterarum . . . Istae sunt litterae: Ioth, he, vau, heth. Ioth, id est principium, he et vau, iste, heth vita sive Christus."—Mamotectus super Bibliam (Prol. super libr. Regum.), Metis, 1511.
“Mirabilis facta est Scientia tua ex me, confortata est, et non potero ad eam.” Psalmista.

Haec verba possunt appropriari mihi directe, quando considero Doctrinam dominationis vestrae quam perspexi nuper ex libro vestro qui intitulatur “Orat. M. Ortvini.” Sancte deus, quomodo crevistis ita in magnum virum, cum tamen olim fuistis scholaris meus, sed nunc estis super magistrum, quamvis dicit scriptura: “Non est discipulus super Magistrum.” Et ergo quando vidi talem librum, tunc clamavi alta voce: “Ô Ortvine, Mirabilis [facta est scientia tua ex me, confortata est, et non potero ad eam.]” Et bene “mirabilis,[]” quia nunquam credidi quod potestis sic facere dictamina excellenter et artificialiter ex me: quia de gratia dei fui resumptor et instructor vester: et multum glorior super vobis. “Confortata est,” bene, quia olim non fuit ita efficax scientia vestra, sed nunc confortata est per instinctum Spiritussancti qui illuminavit vos. Et olim (parcatis mihi) non voluistis studere: et saepe correxisti vos quando non scivistis “mei” vel “sui” cuius Casus: et “legat, legant” cuius temporis. Et saepe dixi ad vos illud Metrum:

Durae cervicis es, haec enim sapere non vales.


7 scrip. : Matt. x. 24.

12 facta, &c. The words in brackets were added in [E].
13 Durae cere. : “stiff-necked,” but here rather in the sense of “block-head.”
XLII

M. ACHATUS LAMPIRIUS
M. Ortvinio Gratio S. P. D.

VALDE miror, vir honorabilis, quod scribitis omnibus sociis et Amicis vestris Romam versus, et solum mihi non scribitis, cum dixistis tamen quod vultis semper scribere mihi. Sed intellexi ab uno qui venit ex Colonia quod velitis libenter habere illum artem de qua dixi vobis semel. Videlice ut faciatis quod una mulier maxime amat unum.

Quamvis jam non seripsistis mihi, tamen volo mittere vobis, ut potestis videre qualiter diligo vos. Quia non volo aliud in secreto habere prae vobis, sed volo vos docere,

"Quae veteres sociis nolebant pandere charis."


14 Quae vet., &c. — "Jamque legent pueri pro nugis Maximiani
Quae veteres," &c.
This couplet occurs in the Doctrinale of Alexander Grammaticus (v. 4).
17 ipsius: i.e. "of the image."
29 vitr.: either "made of glass," or merely "glazed."
21 in qua, &c.: large wax candles used in churches at Eastertide.
"Wax from the candles consecrated at Easter" is an ingredient of a magical potion in a receipt due to "one Martyr, an organist of Botzen, a famous conjurer." The Tragical History of Jetzer, Lond., 1679, p. 15.
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modicum de Candela paschali. Deinde dicatis istam Coniurationem super Imaginem: "Coniuro te Cera per virtutem dei omnipotentis, per novem choros angelorum, per virtutem Cosdriel: boldriach: tornab. Lissiel far-nach pitrax et Starnial, quod velis mihi representare in omni substantia et Corporalitate Barbaram Elsae, ut obediat mihi in omnibus q volo." Postea scribatis circum caput imaginis haec nomina cum stilo argenteo "Astrab + Arnod + Bildron + Sydra +" 


XLIII

C FRATER OTHO FLERSZKLIRDRIUS
M. Ortvino Gratia

DEVOTAM Orationem meam pro salute. Venera-bilis vir, ut scribitis mihi quod omnes nos Theologi debemus agere gratias omnipotenti deo quod pronunc Theologia est ita in flore et sunt plures docti Theologi in omnibus partibus Almaniae: Et omnes homines, domini et servi, nobles et rustici, faciunt eos magnum honorem vocantes eos Magistros nostros propter excel-lentiam et deponunt pileos et barea ante eos dicentes:

32 Cosdriel, &c. Gibberish, with a suggestion of Hebrew.
haec Civitate in summo. Ipse est in magno honore et omnes Canonici et nobiles valde amant eum: quia scit eis bona verba dare. Sed talis doctor videtur esse valde contra religiosos intentionatus. Unus dixit mihi qui saepe fuit cum eo in mensa, quod ipse omnino tenet unam propriam viam, Et neque est Albertista, neque Scotista, neque Oceanista, neque Thomista. Sed quando aliquid interrogat eum "Eximie domine doctor, de qua via estis." Rüdet " de via Christi." Et ipse ridet quando doctores theologiae appellant se Magistros nostros. Etiam non multum tenet de religiosis dicens quod non oportet induere cappam, sed alias etiam possimus salvari. Et dicit quod deus non respicit vestes. Et in hoc videtur mihi esse haereticus, quia est irreverentiahs erga religiosos et sanctos patres. Ipse tenet etiam specialm modum pôdicandi: et non facit sicut ali. Mouêdo subtiles questões et formando Argumenta contra, et solvendo postea et eliciendo Corollarìa; sed simpliciter procedit. Et ergo miror, quod libenter audiant praedicationes eius, cum tamen non est artificialis praedicator: ego consideravi in duobus passibus, quod non est bene intentionatus erga religiosos. Semel quando incepistis vos Colonienses una cum ordine nostro universaliter istam laudabilem contentionem contra Ioannem Reuchlin: tunc ego portavi ei unam schedulam, in qua Erat mandatum contra Ioannem Reuchlin quod liber suus deberet comburi et ipse debet cogi ad revocationem. Et dixi ei sicut mihi commissum a provinciali nostro "Eximie domine Magister noster, hic habet eximietas vestra unum mandatum quod Reuchlin est haereticus et liber eius debet comburi. Ergo velitis publicare super cancellis: et cum hoc rogamus vos quod velitis stare nobiscum contra predicturn haereticum." Tunc ipse legit mandatum Et postea dixit: "ego non video nisi quod est mandatum quod Speculum Oculare non debet vendi publice, usque ad cognitionem et decisionem Causae. Ego non intelligo quod Reuchlin debet dici haereticus." Respondi, quod praesumitur ex quo prohibitum est quod liber suus non
debet vendi, et rogavi eum quod vult causam nostram commendare in cancellis. Respondit: "Permittatis me in pace: ego sum hic quod debo seminare verbum dei, et non debo scandalizare quenquam. Quia scriptum est: 'Qui scandalizaverit unum ex minimis istis, etc.' "


89 script. : Matt. xviii. 6. 87 dare. Sic, in [D] and [E].
VIR eximie, secundum quod estis mihi naturaliter inclinatus et multum favetis mihi: ergo etiam volo vobis facere possibilia.

Dixistis mihi autem "O Petre, quando venitis Romam, videte an sunt novi libri et mittatis mihi aliquos." Ecce habetis unum novum librum qui est hic impressum.

Et quia estis poeta, credo quod potestis vos multum ex illo meliorare.

Quia audivi hic in Audience ab uno Notario, qui debet esse perfect in tali arte, quod iste liber est fons poetiae, et autor eius qui vocatur Homerus est pater omnium poetrarum: et dixit quod est adhuc alius Homerus in Graeco.

Tunc dixi: quid mihi cum graeco? Ille Latinus est melior: quia volo eum in Almaniam mittere M. Ortvino, qui non curat illas graecas fantasias.

Et interrogavi eum "quid continetur in tali libro."

Respondit quod tractat de quibusdam viris qui vocantur Graeci: qui bellaverunt cum alienis viris qui vocantur Troiani, quos etiam audivi prius nominare.

Et isti Troiani habuerunt unam magnam Civitatem, et illi Graeci posuerunt se ante Civitatem et iacuerunt

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7 *non. libr., &c.* Böcking considers that this is, "without doubt, *Homeri Iliadis libri aliqui per Nicol. de Valle latino carmine redditi . . . Impressus est iste Liber Rome in domo Johannis Philippi . . . 1474" (Hain, Rep. Bibliog. n. 8780).

This is, however, far from clear, inasmuch as N. de Valle's rendering of parts of the Iliad into Latin verse comprises only Books III.-V., XIV., XVIII., XIX. (20 lines), XX., XXII.-XXIV.; and it happens that not one of the passages alluded to in this Ep. is contained in these Books of the Iliad.

There is some reason, as will appear below, for believing that the "Latin Homer" actually made use of by the writer of the Ep. was the *Iliadis Homericae Epitome*, of uncertain authorship, but attributed to *Pindaros Thbanus*, of which the first dated edition appeared in 1492 (Hain, 8778 *sqq.*).

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18 *in Graeco*: e.g. the Florentine edition of 1488, or the Venetian edition of 1504.
ib unde tunc Troiani aliquando exierunt
ad eos, et pereuSSerunt se realiter cum ipsis, et inter-
feerunt se mirabiler ad invicem, ita quod totus
Campus sanguinavit: et fuit ibi quaeGene aqua, quae fuit
colorata per sanguinem et fuit per totum rubicata. Ita
quod fluxit sicut si esset sanguis; et clamor audiebatur
in Caelo, et unus proiecit unum lapidem quem XII
vir non possent elevare, et unus equus incepit loqui et
prophetizavit. Sed non credo talia, quia videntur
mihi impossibilia: et tamen nescio an talis liber est multum
autenticus.
Rogo scribatis mihi de eo, et faciatis me
cognoscere quid tenetis. Et cum hoc Valete.
Datum Romae.

26 decem annos: II., ii. 328. Cf. —
"In decimo labor est, quem Calchas
dicerat, anno
Quo caderet Danaum victricibus
Iliam armis."
28 ad invicem. Cf. —
"Inque vicem Troiumque cadunt
Danaumque catervae."
29 sanguine, &c. II., iv. 451, and
II., xix. 326. Cf. —
"Sanguine Dardanii manabant un-
dique campi
Manabant annes passim."
31 clamor, &c.: II., xxii. 338. Cf. —
"Ingens ad sidera clamor
Tollitur, et vastis impetur vocibus
aether."
"And Clamour flew so high
Her wings struck heaven."
—Chapman's Transl.
32 lapidem.: II., xxii. 447. Cf. —
"Saxum ingens, medio quod forte
jacebat in agro
Bis seni quod vix juvenes tellure
levabant,
Sustulit;"

Where it is particularly to be
observed that "Peter of Worms"
agrees with the writer of the
Epitome
in giving "twelve" men instead of
Homer's "two," following Virgil:

"Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo
qui forte jacebat,
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice
subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit
corpora tellus."
—Aen., xii. 897 sqq.
33 equus: Xanthus, one of the steeds
of Achilles (II., xix. 404). This
incident is not referred to in the
Epitome, but is mentioned by Servius
in a Scholium on Virgil (Aen.,
Book xi. 90). "Quod antem equum dicit
'lacrymare' non mirum est, cum
Homerus etiam divinantem indux-
erit."
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

XLV

SICUT scribitur "Amicus in necessitate probatur," volo etiam videre an adhuc habetis memoriam mei. Et possum videre tali medio: praesentium lator est consanguineus meus et habet bonum ingenium et intendit studere in artibus. Tunc pater suus voluit eum hie facere ad universitatem: et ego dissuasi, quia volo quod studet in via Antiquorum, sicut ego studui. Et rogo quod mittatis eum vobis esse commendatum. Quamvis ego sum Albertista, non euro tamen quod faciatis eum ad bursam Montis, ubi student in via Thomae. Quia ille rector est superiorista, et etiam non est magna differentia inter Thomistas et Albertistas, nisi quod Albertistae tenent quod adiectiva appellant, et quod corpus mobile est subiectum in Phisica. Sed Thomistae tenent quod Adiectiva non appellant, et quod Ens mobile est subiectum in phisica. Etiam Albertistae dicunt quod logica est de securdis intentionibus in ordine ad primas, Thomistae vero dicunt quod est de primitis intentionibus in ordine ad secundas. Item Albertistae tenent quod Mobile positum in vacuo movetur successive, Thomistae dicunt quod Mobile positum in vacuo movetur in instanti. Etiam Alber-

13 rector: i.e. von Geltersheim. See i. 7, n.
18 magus diff: Gerardus de Monte, after whom the Hostel was named, wrote Expositiones textuales dubiorum atque luculentissime explanationes in libros de Celo et mundo [and other writings of Arist.]; the same volume including the De Ente and Essentia of Thomas Aquinas, and also Tractatus Gerardii de Monte . . . ad favorabilibem dirigens concordiam, quodem problemata inter suum Thomae et venerabilem Albertum magnum . . .
1497 (Brit. Mus., I. B. 4659). This is clearly the book at which this Ep. is aimed.
19 de securd: "Avicenna dicit quod logica est de securdis intentionibus adjunctis primis, ergo logica est magis de securdis quam de primis." Copulata commentaria omnium tractatuum Petri hyspanti (for the use of students at de Monte Hostel), Cologne, 1496, fol. x.

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XLVI

M. CUNRADUS UNCKEBUNCK
M. Ortvino Gratio S. P. D.

"O S habent et non loquentur; oculos habent et non videbunt; Aures habent et non audient." Psalmista. Haec verba possunt sic introduci et the-

25 Galaxia: Tractatus, ut sup., fol. xii.
27 Caesarii. See i. 33, n.
28 Busch. See i. 9, n.
41 Aperbach. See i. 38, n.
41 Aperbach. Peter Eberbach, ob. 1532; one of the Erfurt circle.
1 Unck. See ii. 19.
3 Psal. cxiii. 5, 6.
5 themat. Not elsewhere found.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

matisari ad propositum meum: Magister Or. habet os et non loquitur, ita ut semel diceret alieui Curti-
sano qui tendit Romanum: "salutetis mihi d. Cumradum Unekebunck." Et habet oculos et non videt: quia
seriptit ei multas litteras et non respondet mihi quasi non legens seu videns. Et tertio habet aures et non
audit: quia commendavi multis sociis quando ierunt ad partes, ut salutarent eum. Sed ipse non audivit
salutationes meas, quia non respondit illis. Ergo
10 peceatis valde, quia ego amo vos: et ergo debetis me iterum amare. Sed non facitis, quia non
scribitis milii nihil. Et vellem hbenter quod saepissime scribe-
tis mihi: quia quando lego Iras vestras, laetificant me
in corde intus. Attamen intellexi, quod habetis
20 paucos auditores, et est querela vestra quod Buschius et Caesarius trahunt vobis scholaros et supposita
abinde: eum tamen ipsi non sciunt ita exponere poetas
Allegorice sicut vos, et superallegare sacram scrip-
turam. Credo quod diabolus est in illis poetis. Ipsi
destruunt omnes universitates. Et audivi ab uno An-
tiquo Magistro lipsensi qui fuit magister XXXVI
annorum, et dixit mihi, quando ipse fuisset iunvis,
tunc illa universitas bene stetisset, quia in XX mili-
ariibus nullus poeta fuisset. Et dixit etiam quod tunc
supposita diligenter compleverunt lectiones suas for-
males et Materiales seu bursales: et fuit magnum
scandalum quod aliquis studens iret in platea et non
haberet Petrum Hispanum aut Parva logicaia sub
brachio. Et si fuerunt Grammatici, tune portabant
35 Partes Alexandri vel vade mecum vel Exercitium
puerorum, aut Opus minus, aut dicta Iohannis Sin-
then. Et in scholis advertebant diligenter: et habu-
erunt in honore magistros Artium: et quando viderunt
unum Magistrum, tune fuerunt perterriti quasi vide-
rent unum diabolum. Et dixit etiam quod protune
40 quater in anno promovebantur baculari et semper pro
una vice sunt sexagni[a] aut quinquaginta. Et illo

39 form. et mat.: the former dealing with the text of the works studied, and the latter with the commentaries.
32 Petr. Hisp.: i. 11, n. (observe that his book is here discriminated from the following).
33 Parv. log.: i. 17, n.
35 Partes.: i.e. the Doctrinale.
36 Exercit.: See i. 20, n.
37 Sinthen. See i. 7, n.
42 sec. Sic, in [D].

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II. 46] CUNRADUS UNCKEBUNCK


XLVII

FRATER BENEDICTUS DE SCOCLA
M. Ortvino G.

FRATERNALI et affectuosa delinecione salutis loco praemissa: notum facio nobis sicut petitis, quod epistola vestra est mihi praesentata in festo s. Mihaelis, et volo respondere ad proximas vestras articulariter. Primo quaeritis quare nos fratres praedicatorum cantamus grossiori voce quam alii religiosi. Dico quod non ob afiam rationem puto nisi quod scribitur Esaiæ LIX. "Rugiemus quasi ursi omnes, et quasi columbæ geme mus." Et propter ea credo quod sanctus Dominicus voluit Impleere istam prophetiam. Secundo quaeritis quid teneo, an sanctus Thomas vel sanctus Dominicus

93 expet.: John xi. 50.
9 Es. LIX.: v. 11. The Vulg. inserts "meditantes" after columbae.
10 Wee shul roren as heres alle, and as culures bethenkende we shul weilen." Wickl.

13 in s. Thom.: In the anonymous "Manuale Scholarium qui studentium universitates aggredit, et postea proficere in eisdem intendunt;" s. l. et a. [Hain, 10735 ff.], the interlocutors similarly contend (ch. iv.) concerning S. Thomas and Albertus Magnus, upholding respectively the sanctity of the former and the learning of the latter.

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BENEDICTUS DE SCOCIA

est sanctior. Dico quod sunt variae opiniones: et
doctores ordinis nostri variis modis disputant. Aliqui
15
tenent quod s. Dominicus est sanctior merito vitae, sed
non merito doctrinae: et per contrarium s. Thomas est
sanctior merito doctrinae, non merito vitae. Alii putant
quod simpliciter s. Dominicus est sanctior, et probant
duabus rationibus. Prima est quia s. Dominicus est
sanctor [auctor] ordinis nostri, et sic s. Thomas, qui
20
est de illo ordine, fuit eius discipulus. Sed non disci-
pulus super magistrum. Ergo. Secunda est quia
doctrina non habet prerogativam ad vitam et gesta: et
ergo licet s. Thomas fuit doctior quam s. Dominicus,
tamen non propterea etiam est sanctior. Alii volunt
quod simpliciter s. Thomas est sanctior, quia non est
alius doctor inter omnes sanctos qui appellantur “doctor
sanctus” praeterquam sanctus Thomas. Et ergo sicut
30
Aristoteles appellatur “philosophus” et Paulus “Apos-
tolus,” sic s. Thomas propter eminentiam vocatur
“Sanctus.” Et ergo non solum in doctrina, sed etiam
in sanctitate est maior quam s. Dominicus. Respondet
40
quod s. Thomas vocatur “sanctus” non quod est
sanctor omnibus aliis sanctis simpliciter, sed tantum
inter sanctos doctores est sanctior. Et sic non est
sanctor quam s. Dominicus. Etiam dixit mihi unus
antiquus de ordine nostro, quod vult mihi ostendere in
uno libro veterissimo, quod prohibitum est disputare de
superioritate inter istos duos sanctos. Et ergo relinquuo
hanc quaestionem et non volo eam decidere. Tertio
quareris an etiam po sto Ioannes Pfefferkorn perseverabit in fede christiana? Respondeo quod per deum
nescio quid debeo dicere. Quia est valde periculosum.

Vos bene seitis illud exemplum ad sanctum Andream
Coloniae: qualiter unus Decanus eiusdem ecclesiae
Iudaeus baptisatus diutissime mansit in fide christiana,
et vixit rectissime. Sed postea in articulo mortis iussit
sibi portare unum leporem et canem, et misit eos cur-
rere: tunc statim canis apprehendit leporem. Tunc
iterum iussit currere unum Catum et murem: et Catus

21 sanct.: Böcking proposes
22 non discip.: Matth. x. 24. In
the Vulg. “non est . . .”
31 propter emin.: “par excellence.”
39 veterissimo. Not elsewhere
found.
40 fede. Sic, in [D].
45 ad s. And.: where the Augen-
spiegel was burnt.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

apprehendit murem. Et dixit multis circumstantibus "Videtis quod ista animalia non dimittunt naturam suam? Sic etiam Iudaeus nunquam dimittit fidem suam: ergo etiam hodie volo mori sicut bonus Iudaeus:"

et mortuus est. Tunc cives Colonienses in memoriam facti illius fecerunt has aereas imagines quae adhuc sunt super murum ante cimiterium. Item audivi de alic. Qui similiter in articulo mortis constitutus iussit sibi portare unum lapidem magnum, et ponere eum in olla cum aqua et ponere ad ignem ad coquendum: et stetit bene tres dies apud ignem: tunc quaesivit an esset coctus. Responderunt quod non, quia non est possibile quod unus lapsis deberet coqui. Tunc respondit ipse: "Sicut iste lapsis nunquam fit mollis apud ignem. Ita etiam nunquam aliquis Iudaeus fit recte christianus. Sed faciunt hoc propter lucrum vel propter timorem vel propter a quod possint facere unam proditionem. Et ego hodie volo mori sicut sibi fidem Iudaesus." Ergo per deum, M. Ortvine, timendum est valde de Ioanne Pfefferkorn, quamvis spero quod dominus deus dabat eis specialem gratiam et conservabit eum in fide; et nos debemus utique semper dicere quod pro certo semper manebit christianus propter Ioannem Reuchlin et suas adhaerentes. Quarto interrogatis quid teneo de propriis nominibus: an carent plurali numero sicut tenent antiqui grammatici, Alexander et alii, an vero habent pluralem sicut opinantur moderni et novi, ut Diomedes et Priscianus. Respondero, quod dicendum est, quod propria careant plurali in quantum propria. Sed aliquid tamen declinantur in plurali, et tunc debent exponi per appellativa, ut duo Iacobi, id est duo apostoli qui fuerunt nominati Iacobus; duo Catones, id est duo reges vel sapientes Senatores Romani vocati taliter. Tres Mariae, id est tres mulieres habentes tale nomen. Respondi vobis pro posse meo. Si seirem melius, etiam melius responderem vobis. Et ergo accipiatis in bonam partem. Et salutate mihi plurimum M. nostrum Ar-

55 imagines. No longer existing. It seems that the story was originating account for them.
56 gram. Sic, in [D].
58 Diomedes. See ii. 35, n.

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XLVIII

IOANNES KALP

M. Ortvino Gratio.


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1 Kalp: in the second edition of "Kalp"; suitable to the bucolic character of the writer. It may be observed that the commentary of "Jehan le Vien" was one of those studied by Gargantua under Master Tubal Holofernes. Rabelais, Garg., I. xiv.

14 Elephas: Indecl. throughout the Ep., and probably intended as a proper name. "Portugal... sent an embassy to the Pope (Leo V.), one member of which was Tristão da Cunha, laden with gifts from India, and bringing a tame elephant and other strange animals." W. Miller, Mediaeval Rome, p. 268. Cf. F. Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom, 1896, Bd. viii. p. 189. Upon this elephant Leo X. caused the poetaster Boraallo to ride in mock triumph. P. Van Dyke, Age of the Renascence, 1897, p. 322.

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27 bar. Cf. "An elephant that out of reverence for the pope his master would bari and bend the knee." Urquhart, Babelais, Ill. xiii.

30 pacem. This treaty between Francis I. and Charles V., was signed at Noviodumum (Noyon), Aug. 13, 1516. By it certain territories lost by Venice were restored to her, and Charles became betrothed to the in-fant daughter of the French king, H. Martin, Hist. de France, vii. 456.

44 cepulas. Not elsewhere found. 

46 retro: prep. "behind." Cf. "retro jamnum" (i. 21). 

47 cepus: for cepox. 

50 Parati vel Discipuli. The Paratus is an anonymous work very popular in its time, entitled sermones parati de tempore et sanctis. This contains 157 short sermons for the Sundays of the Christian year and 81 for festivals. There is a very early example of an index (Tabula) appended, "qua bene intuita habedus sermo celeriter inveniri poterit." There are seven edd. in the Brit. Mus. from 1480 (?). The Discipuli was the anonymous work of Johann Herolt, a Dominican, who entitled his compilation sermones discipuli de tempore et de sanctis, in allusion to their simple character. H. also wrote Liber discipuli de eruditione Christifidelium. Both works belong to the end of the XVth Cent., but nearly all edd. are s. l. et a. 

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PHILIPPUS SARTORIS

laborare in horto. Et non volo curare de bellis, quia volo esse pro me, et dicere orationes meas et legere missas, et non curare ista mundana negotia quae afferunt perditionem animae. Valete. Datum Romanae Curiae.

XLIX

PHILIPPUS SARTORIS DE ERFORDIA

M. Ortvino Gratio


34 pro me. Cf. "Erasmus est homo pro se;" ii. 59, n.
36 Nov. Test.: the Greek text, with a new Lat. transl. and notes. Dedicatorie epistle, dated Basle, Feb. 1, 1516. "The effect was a spiritual earthquake. . . . A single candle shone in the universal darkness.

That a Pope should have been found to allow the lighting of it is the most startling feature in Reformation history." J. A. Froude, Life and Lett. of Erasm., 1894, p. 128.
37 Mag. sac. Pal.: Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio, Instructor of the Papal Household; ob. 1523, a Dominician, who died General of his Order. It was his duty to license the publication of books. See W. Roscoe, Leo the Tenth, 1876, ii. 94. For the controversy between Prierias and Luther, see P. Bayne, Martin Luther, i. ch. ix.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM


Valete ex Rōma.

L

C M. ADOLFUS CLINGESOR

Ortino Gratio S. P. D.

SICUT nuper intellexistis de me quod solent hie mecum disputare de Iohanne Reuchlin et causa fidei: Sciatis quod postquam misistis mihi illum librum Iohannes Pfefferkorn qui titulatur "Defensio Io. P. contra famosas," tunc ivi ad quendam qui semper tenet mihi oppositum, et ostendi ei in illo libro circa finem scilicet O iij, ubi sic scribitur "Ante .XX. annos, si

ADOLFUS CLINGESOR


10 J oh. Licht. A facsimile of the Pronosticatio in Latino of the astrologer J. L. has been edited for the Holbein Society by W. H. Rylands (1890). The work was extremely popular, and appeared in many forms. There is a copy in the Brit. Mus. of the "Ruth" (German), with coloured woodcuts (1497). Copinger, H. i. 3377.

13 fol. xvi. The quot. is from chap. xiv. The woodcut on the preceding page shows the Bps. of Trier and Cologne holding a pastoral staff, which a bear and a wolf guaw.

25 Soph.: Zeph. i. 12.


39 faciel. Sic, in [D] and [E].

39 quod. Sic, in [D] and [E].
EPISistolae ObscURorum VirorUrm

illos antiquos et literatos Theologos qui in vera luce scripturarum ambulaverunt. Ipsi autem non sciunt neque latinas neque graecas neque hebraicas literas, ut possint scripturas intelligere. Et ergo relictà vera et originali Theologia, nihil amplius faciunt nisi quod disputant et argumentantur et movent inutiles quaeestiones. Et ista faciendo dicunt se defendere fidem Catholicae, cum tamen nemen apud se habeant qui pugnat contra fidem. Et sic inutiliter perdunt tempora et non conferunt aliquam utilitatem in ecclesia dei. Sed si disputaciones eorum haberent aliquam utilitatem, tune possunt illam vertere ad commodum ecclesiae fidei Catholicae eundo per mundum et praedicare verbum dei eundo per mundum et procri deente.


68 nov. test.: publ. in Feb. 1516 by Froben, with dedication to Leo X.
logi, 'sed 'philosophi': quia theologia Coloniensium potius est philosophia, idcirco Ars Sophistica, quam Theologia dicenda, quia nihil aliud est quam garrulitas diabolicca et inanis loquacitas. 'Ne lupi rapaces,' scilicet Iacobus de Hochstraten, Arnoldus de Tungari et similis, qui falsitate et fraudibus suis violenter et feroce invadunt innocentes oves, qualis sunt et fuerunt Petrus Ravennas et Johannes Reuchlin, volentes eos declarare haereticos propter doctrinam et laudem suam cui ipsi invident. Et quia vident quod ipsi non possunt talia efficere qualia isti doctissimi viri: ergo vellent liberenter perdere eos. Hi sunt igitur lupi rapaces qui insidiantur famae ac vitae innocentum. Et sic per septem iam annos rapuerunt et tracaverunt hincinde miserum senem Johannem Reuchlin: et nisi omnipotens deus avertisset illud malum, omnino devorassent eum. Et non potest exponi, quod Reuchlin sit ille lupus rapax: quia in tota vita sua neminem rapuit, id est neminem falsamen accusavit vel contra vitam aut famam eius dictis vel scriptis egit. Sed attendatis, quid sonant sequentia verba: 'Introivit in ovile vestrum.' Quia ille bonus Reuchlin nunquam intravit studium Coloniense. Immo nunquam habuit curam de Theologis Coloniensibus vel ecclesia Coloniensi, sed habuit alia agere maioris utilitatis: Ergo ipse non potest dici unus ex illis lupis rapacibus, de quibus Lichtenberger sentit, qui debet esse ex ovili Coloniensi. Consequenter: 'Nam temporibus vestris exurgent nova et inaudita:' Bene 'nova et inaudita,' Quia neque oculus vidit neque auris audivit, neque in cor hominis descendit, quod ita doctus et probus vir, qui tam multis profuit et nemini unquam nocuit, in summa senectute sua debet ista crudeliter et perfide vexari et conturbari et persecutionem pati. Et ergo sequitur 'in ecclesiis vestris': quapropter non potest de Reuchlin allegari, quia ipse benignissime vivit extra ecclesiam Coloniensem, scilicet in Episcopatu Constantiens. 'Et sic spero quod venient Canes,' id est fideles Custodes ovium: que sine invidia et malevolentia humiliter et fideliter pascent

85 idcirco. Sic, in [D] and [E]; for "id est" (O) 94 traur. Sic, in [D]. 87 qual. Sic, in [D] and [E]. 98 que. Sic, in [D].
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

oves Christi, id est populum Christianum, 'et delacera-
bunt illos lupos qui vastaverunt ovile dei, et purgabunt
Ecclesiam dei,' id est eiicient illos sordidas et faecu-
mentos theologos qui nihil sciant et omnia scire preten-
dunt." Postquam talia dixit, recessi ab eo, et Iuravi
ad sancta sanctorum quod volo scribere ad Coloniam.
Peto ergo humilter quod velitis ista dicere Magistris
Nostris et Iohanni Pfefferkorn qui est quasi scriptor
Coloniensium et seit mirabiliter componere, ut bene
vexet eos scripitis suis. Ille qui dixit ista, est natus
ex Perlin. Si vultis nomen eius scire, tunc scribitis
mihi, et dicam vobis. Ipse stetit Bononiae, ubi
fuit bene castigatus: sed tamen adhuc loquitur contra
Theologos et est male Christianus: et manet in pravi-
tate sua, et ergo morietur in gehenna, a qua dominus
deus conservet vos et Theologos et fratres Praedicatores
per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Datum Franck-
fordiae apud Oderam.

LI

C IOHANNES HELFERICH Latine
IUPPITER M. Ortvino

SALUTEM cum humillima commendatione sui.
Venerabilis domine Magister, sicut scibitis mihi
quod habetis admirationem abinde quod voco me
iuppiter, Sciatis quod quando steti Viennae, tunc
audivi lectiones in poetria, et fuit ibi quidam iuvenis
poeta qui fuit discipulus Cunradi Celtis et vocatur
Georgius Sibutus. Ipse fuit socius meus et semper
fuimus una. Et dixit mihi "tu debes vocari Iuppiter,
quia Iupiter latine est idem quod Helferich tenonum." Et
sie vocant me nunc Iuppiter. Sed ille poeta nunc
est Wittenbergk, et ibi accepit unam antiquam vetu-
lam quae vixit annis septuaginta octo vel paulo plus.

120 delac. Sic, in [D] and [E].
122 sord. Sic, in [D] and [E].
130 hum. Sic, in [D].
130 Perlin. See ii. 22.
6 iuppiter: for the notion that J. is derived from "juvans pater" it is
not necessary to refer to the Catho-
licon. Cf. Cicero, De Nat. Deorum,
ii. 25.
9 Sibutus. See i. 3, n.
IOHANNES HELFERICH


24 Car. Sic, in [D] and [E].
25 Bilibaldus: Wilibald Pircheimer (1470–1528), one of the most notable figures of the period. Born at Nuremberg, he spent seven years of his life in Italy. On his return to N. he led the life of a wealthy scholar, patron of art and literature, and man of affairs. Not an extremist, he lamented the faults and excesses of both the defenders and assailants of the Church. The fatuous “nescio quis” is a quotation from Pfefferkorn’s Defensio. See F. Roth, Wil. Pirkh., Halle, 1887.
26 winpheling.: Jacob Wimpeling (1450–1528) was born and died at Schlettstadt, in Elsass. He was an ardent educational reformer, of the school of Gerson, but no supporter of the Reformation. His treatise, De Integritate, in which he assailed monkish pretensions, and incidentally remarked that Augustine was not a Regular, brought down on him the wrath of the Augustinians, just as his poem in honour of the Immaculate Conception did that of the Dominicans. W. was a friend and collaborator of Sebastian Brant. The chief educational works of W. are Isidonus Germanicus (1490) and Adolescencia (1498). See P. V. Wiskowatoff, J. W. sein Leben und seine Schriften, Berlin, 1867; B. Schwartz, J. W., Gotha, 1875.
27 Brant: Sebastian Brant (or Brandt) (1457–1521), a native of Strasburg, and the author of the famous Narrenschiff, which has passed into English literature in the form of Barclay’s paraphrase, The Ship of Fools of the World, 1509. The allusion in the text is to B’s association with Wimpeling in the Immaculate Conception controversy.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

praecedere extremum iudicium. Sed adhuc alius volo
significare vobis quod audivi et dictum est mihi vera-
citer ab uno religioso patre, quod dicitur pro certo
quod Anti-Christus est natus: sed est adhuc parvus.
Etiam dixit quod facta est quaedam revelatio cuidam
Ordinis Carthusiensium. Qui quando semel dormivit
in cella sua, audivit unam vocem de caelo dicentem:
"Peribit mundus, peribit mundus, peribit mundus."
Tunc ille religiosus timuit et voluit aliquid dicere,
sed occulte fecit Orationes suas contra tentationes
diaboli. Tunc incepit iterum clamare vox illa: et
etiam tertio incepit. Tunc ipse intelligens in spiritu
quod esset vox domini, respondit: "domine, quare?"
Respondit vox illa: "Propter peccata sua." Tunc
iterum dixit religiosus: "Domine, quando?" Re-
respondit vox illa: "adhuc in .X.annis." Propertera
timeo valde. Et quando ambulavi per Bononiam,
audivi quod est ibi unus Civis qui habet spiritum, qui
vocatur Rilla: et ille spiritus mirabilia dicit et de
rege Franciae et Imperatore et Papa, et de fine mundi.
Ego legi prophetias cius. Sic scripsi vobis quid ego
scio. Cum hoc sitis commendatus domino deo.

D. R. C.

LII

C HENRICHUS SCHLUKTZ

M. Ortvino Gratia

AMICITIAM et servitutem dominationi vestrae a
parte ante semper, et quicquid possum pro domina-
tione vestra hic et ubique et in omnibus locis et
honestis. Venerabilis domine Magister, mitto domina-

40 Anti-Christ. In 1190 the Abbot Joachim declared that "Anti-Christ
is already born, yea born in the city
of Rome." See Jessopp, Coming of
the Friars. For the whole subject,
see Bouset, Der Antichrist (Eng.
trans., 1896).
58 Rilla. The allusion remains in
obscurity.

1 Schluntz: the name of a strong
and heavy Erfurt beer; "stingo."
60 Joachim declared that "Anti-
christ is already born, yea born in
the city of Rome." See Jessopp,
Coming of the Friars. For the whole
subject, see Bouset, Der Antichrist
(Eng. trans., 1896).
58 Rilla. The allusion remains in
obscurity.
tioni vestrae hic unum notabilem et multum proficualem librum. Et videtur mihi quod talis liber est compositus multum artificialiter, habens in se propositiones valde Magistrales: et vocatur "Rationale divinorum": ego emi hic quando fuit in undina et dixi "iste liber est pro Magistro Ornino: laudetur deus quod inveni eum. Quia volo ei mittere, sicut ipse nuper misit mihi librum Iohannis Pfifferkorn qui intitulatur "Defensio Io. Pfifferkorn contra Famosas," quem talis vir composuit intentionaliter defensorium Sacrae Sinei Catholicae contra Iohannem Reuchlin et sequaces, dando eis bonas scommas. Sed possetis dicere: "Quare talis mittit mihi talem librum? Credit quod non met habeo libros satis?" Respondeo quod non facio prop-terea. Et quando putatis quod misi vobis talem librum propertea, tune facitis mihi iniuriam, quia feci cum bona opinione. Et non debetis credere quod parvi- pendo vos, quod habeatis paucos libros: quia scio quod habetis multos libros. Quia vidi bene quando fui in stuffa vestra Coloniae, quod habuistis multos libros in magna et in parva forma. Et aliquid fuerunt ligati in asseribus, aliquid in bergamenibus. Et aliquid fuerunt per totem cum Coreo rubeo et viridi et nigro, aliquid pro dimidio supereracti. Et vos sedistis habens fla- bellum in manu ad purgandum pulveres abinde. Tunc ego dixi "Magister Ortvine, Vos per deos habetis multos pulchros libros et tenetis eos in magnó honore." Tunc dixistis mihi, quod ita debeo cogno cere quando aliquid est doctus vel non. Quia qui honorat libros, honorat etiam scientias. Et contra qui non honorat libros, etiam non honorat scientias. Et tenui in corde

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7 proficualem. Not in Du Cange, but "proficus = utilis."

10 Rationale: the Rationale divinorum officiorum of Guillaume Durand (1237–1296), Bp. of Meude. It was one of the first printed books (Mainz, 1459), and is a work of great importance in liturgical history. "Le dernier mot du moyen âge sur la mystique du culte divin." See Ul. Chevalier, Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge, 1883.

scommas: (σκώμα) correctly used as a neuter in the title of the second edition of vol. ii. of the E. O. V.

24 mult. lib.:—

"Edibus in nostris librorum culta suppellex,
Eminet, et chartis vivo contentus opertis
Quas video ignorans, juvat et me copia sola."

—Stultifera Navis.

25 bergamenibus. Not in Du Cange; Germ. (obs.) pergamen.

29 Cor.: for corio.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM
meo tale dogma et tenebo per omnia seculorum secula
Amen. Datum in Neumberga.

LIII

IJOHANNES SCHLUNTZICK
M. Ortvino Gratio

SCRIPSISTIS mihi noviter unam litem valde vituperativam et criminatis me quod non scribo vobis quomodo stat in causa fidei cum Io. Reuchlin. Et quando legi illam litteram, fui valde iratus et dixi: "Quare scribit mihi talia, cum ego scripsi ei duas litteras et non est adhuc medius annus? Sed nuncii non praesentaverunt sibi: quid ego possum facere?"


"O deus, non est magna miseria quod talis Magister noster debet habere malam fortunam: ante duos annos

**Neumborga. Perhaps Nuremberg is meant.**

hi in curr. : Psal. xix. 8. **Rorate : Is. xliv. 8.**

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ego vidi eum venire Romam cum tribus equis, et nunc vadit per pedes." Et dixi ei: "Vultis equum meum?" Respondit ipse metrice:

Qui dare vult aliis, non debet dicere "Vultis"?

Tunc dixi: "Per deum, eximie domine, Ego habeo unam vacantiam, et propter ea oportet me velociter ire: alias vellum vobis dare equum meum." Et sic dereliqui eum. Ecce nunc scitis quomodo stat. Et videtis quod ille magister noster est in magna miseria, propter ea quae prodebat et nunc vadit per pedes. Et dixi ei: "Vultis equum meum?" Respondit ipse metrice: "Qui dare vult aliis, non debet dicere "Vultis"?"

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EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

70 Tunc Ma. no. Iac. aperte minavit ei dicens: "Ego volo facere quod paenitebit te quod unquam dixisti unum verbum pro Reuchlin." Et audivi ab ore eius tune temporis quod dixit. Quando haberet sententiam contra Reuchlin, tune statim vellet illum doctorem de Wick citare et declarare eum haereticum: quia ex verbis eius collegit aliquos articulos haereticales. Sed nunc est alium. Et credatis mihi quod non bene stat negotium: quia nunc semper sunt X fautores Io. Reuchlin, ubi non est unus Theologorum. Et quando fuit post dis- putatum a Theologis votatum, tune fuerunt XVIII qui votaverunt pro Reuchlin et solum septem pro Theologis. Et ad hue illi septem non dixerunt quod deberebant eum combru Speculum Oculare, sed limitaverunt verba sua. Ergo non habeo bonam speran-
tiam. Vos debetis omnia facere quae potestis quod moriatur ille Io. de Wick, quia ipse est causa quod Reuchlin bene stat et Theologi male. Et nisi ipse fuisset, talis non fuissent perpetrata. Et sic credo quod bene expedivi me scribendo quod postea non potestis mihi scribere talia vituperia. Ergo Valete. Datum Romanae Curiae.

LIV

WILHELMUS BRICOT
M. Ortivino Gratio

QUIA semper petitis quod volo vobis nova scribere, et ego tamen saepe scribo vobis, sed non iuvat: 5 ergo iterum scribere vobis volo, et credo quod sufficiet. Venit mihi in litera ex Romana Urbis Curia quod Matthaeus Fineck singularissimus fautor vester est mortuus, et aliqui Curtisani lausmanni sui habuerunt

70 votatum. Not elsewhere used in this sense.
1 Bricot. Thomas Bricot was a commentator, many of whose works are extant. See Hain, 3960 sqq.
7 Fineck: to whom ii. 8 is attributed.

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WILHELMUS BRICOT

me rogatum quod volo ei componere Epitaphium. Quod feci sic:

Hic iacet extinctus quondam venerabilis Finckus
In rubea toga: pro eo deum roga:
Cuius olim venter bibit Cursica vina libenter:
In fide sincera et Charitate vera.

Unum rogo de vobis quod velitis me tamen instruere quomodo debeo intelligere quod Parrhisienses quando sententitā super Speculum oculare, ponunt ista verba "citra tamen autoris ipsius notam, quem ob humilem eius submissionem et alia eius laudabilia scripta pro Catholico habemus:" Quia non scio quid est, quod Speculum oculare debet comburi tanquam liber haereticus sine infamia Ioannis Reuchlin qui composuit et adhue defendit eum. Quia videtur quod aliquis artifex, qui est causa efficiens, magis debet habere culpam quam res illa quam facit. Etiam vellem quod Louoniēses in Epistola ad papam non scripsissent, quod Sententia Parrhisiensium et Condemnatio speculi Ocularis attulit ipsis multum Spiritualis iocunditatis, quia Sanctissimus dominus Papa Cogitabit: "Ecce nunc video quod nihil est in Theologis nisi pura Invidia: Si enim essent Theologi, Immo si essent Christiani, deberent potius compassionem habere de malis aliiuis Christiani quam gaudere et exultare." Et credatis mihi quod hoc multum promovebit causam Io. R. et omnes credent quod ex invidia tribulatur: quod tamen in rei veritate nunquam comportum est. Quia ille adversarius noster seu potius in Christo amicus, et sui Philocapniones, id est Filii Io. R. fecerrūt iniuriam Io. Pfefferkorn, qui defendit se et scripsit veritatem. Et ipse met petit quod moriatur si vel minimum mediatū scripsit. Quamvis Psalmista dicit "Omnis homo mendax." Nec debet obstare quod Io. Pfeff. in nequitii et Criminib a puerili proch dolor Aetate (ut ipse met scribit in defensione sua contra Famosas) exercitatus est. Quia licet aliquis etiam per longum tempor sit malus et nequitosus, tamen bene iterum potest fieri probus:

13 Cursica. See ii. 5.
17 sent. : for sententiant; later edd. give "sententiam ferunt."

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sic pie credendum est de Io. Pfeff. qui regeneratus est per gratiam spiritussancti mediate baptismo: et ergo nunc est probus sicut non dubito. Et manue Christianus usque ad finem seculi. Etiam intellexi quod quidam valde infamavit vos ubique dicens quod estis filius presbiteri et non estis legitimius. Miror istos ribaldos quod non habent verecediam et sunt ita audaces. Tamen habetis iias legitimationis vestrae. Ergo vellem eos citare qui dixist talia. Et rogo vos quod in Causa fidei velitis habere magnam diligentiam, quod ille haereticus eat ad patibulum et sic Valete. Datum Wormaciac.

LV

C M. SYLVESTER GRICIUS
M. Ortvino Gratia

QUONIAMQUIDEM ego sum iuratus quod volo defendere facultatem meam, et promovere eius utilitatem in omnibus: Ergo volo vobis articulare scribere qui sunt hic qui faveunt theologis et qui faveant Ioanni Reu., ut dicatis Theologis quod possent se dirigere secundum hoc. Primum sunt quidam Commensales in hospitio Corona qui semper faciunt summas nequitias Magistris nostris et fratibus de Ordine praedicatorum, facientes quod nemo in isto hospitio dat Elcmosynam praedicatoribus. Ego scio nomina aliquorum: unus vocatur Magister Philippus Keilbach: Qui semper loquitur de Reuchlin commendans eum, et semel M. nř Petrus Meyer plebanus in Franckfordia dedit ei bonam scomman; unus Ulrichus de Hutten qui est valde bestialis, qui semel dixit, si fratres praedicatorum facerent sibi illam Inriuriam quam faciunt Johanni Reuchlin, ipse vellet fieri inimicus eorum et ubicunque reperiret unum monachum de hoc Ordine, tunc vellet ei amputare nasum et aures. Istet etiam habet multos amicos in Curia episcopi qui etiam bene

13 Keilb. One of Murner's treatises was dedicated to "that learned man," P. K. (Panzer, xi. p. 415).
15 Meyer: i. 5, n.

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Sylvester Gricius


26 de Bock. Nothing is known of these.
34 Huttich. c. 1480-1544. Antiquarian writer.
35 Weyd.: friend and pupil of Zazius.
39 Euchar.: perhaps Euch. Gallarius, Canon of Spiers.
39 Carbach. See ii. 9.
44 Con.: for canonici.
49 Schwan. Unknown.
54 Han. Unknown.
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60 can Order at Basle; took part in the controversy that culminated in the Jetzer scandal.
63 Bar.: i.e. Zehender. See i. 27, n.

1 Ghil. Porr.: Gilbert Porretanus was a Bp. of Poitiers in the XIth Cent., author of a commentary on Aristotle.
2 Accursio: Francesco Accorso, c. 1180–1260, Professor at Bologna, a famous Italian jurist. His chief work was a collection of glosses on the Roman Law, known as "The Great Gloss." All the derivations given in this Ep. are to be found verbatim in the glosses.
3 Epist., for Epistographum.
4 Abaces. See Forecellini, s.v.
5 Corinthia. See Forecellini, s.v.
6 balnea: an error, accidental or intentional, for balnea.
7 prothyrn: πρόθυρον. See Forcell., s.v. diathyrum.

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Datum Ingolstadt.

LVII

GALIENUS PADEBORNENSIS
M. Ortvino Gratīo Su.

VENERABILIS M., terribilis fuit mihi valde una loquela quae pervenit ad me faciens mihi surgere Crines superius. Est autem talis: Omnes fere studentes et clerici qui veniunt ex Colonia, dicunt quod est murmur, quod fratres praedicatorum antequam volunt quod Io. Reuchlin debet eos vincere in causa fidei, ipsi volunt potius Praedicare unam aliam fidem. Et dixit quidam quod est possibile quod quando Papa facit sententiam contra eos, quod ibunt in Bohemiam et hortabunt haereticos ad credendum contra Ecclesiam et Papam, et sic vindicabunt injuriam. O bone domine Ortvine, consulatis eis quod non faciunt: quia esset magna haeresis. Ego spero quod non est verum. Et cogitavi mecum: "Forte quod Praedicatorum minuntur sic papae, volentes eum terrere, quod debet cogitare Ecce

35 Horat.: Car. i. 2, "uxorius annis."
36 chorus: "Instrumenti musici species." Du Cange.
11 Bohem. See ii. 50.

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si ego non dabo Sententiam pro ipsis, tunc ipsi erunt in maximo contemptu et despectu, Et totus mundus erit inimicus eorum, et nemo dabit eis Eleemosynas, et desruuentur monasteria eorum: tunc ibunt in Bohemiam vel etiam in Turciam et praedicabunt, quod fides Christiana non est vera: et erit magnum malum." Sit quidquid vult: Ego vellem quod haberetis patientiam et non faceretis contra papam vos Theologi, ne omnes Christiani sint inimici vestri. Et valete in nomine unigeniti filii dei. Datum Bremen.

LVIII


1 Ir. Perl.: Irus, the voracious beggar of the Odyssey; perlirus, perhaps Durchkleiner, a hurdy-gurdy player.
2 scrib. Sic, in [D] and [E].
3 Mossell.: Peter Schade, of Bruttig, or Pruttig, on the Mosel (1493–1524): succeeded Richard Croke as teacher of Greek at Leipsic, 1517. See O. G. Schmidt, Petr. Mosellanus, Leip., 1867.
4 Crocus: i. 33, n.
5 piper: i. 25, n.
II. 59] IOHANNES COCLEARILIGNEUS


LIX

C IOHANNES COCLEARILIGNEUS
M. Ortvino Gratio Su.

COMMISISTIS mihi quod quando est hic missa, tunc debo interrogare ab omnibus kauffinnannis qui veniunt ex diversis partibus, de illa coniuratione, de qua scriptum est vobis, quia debent esse aliqui poetae et iuristae qui feecerunt coniurationem, quod volunt Io. Reuchlin defendere et contra Theologos Colonienses et fratres praedicatoros scribere, nisi statim dimittunt praedictum Io. Reuchlin: Sciatis quod feci

50 Langschneyder: i. 1.
50 Negelin: i. 18.
81 Kachelofen: i. 38.
81 Wusten.: thrice Rector of Leips. Univ.
82 Ochsen.: Vice-Chancellor of Leips. Univ. in 1508.
82 mitt.: for mittunt.

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EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

magnam diligentiam quaecundo et interrogando et ultimo veni ad unum librivendum de partibus superioribus. Ipse dixit mihi mirabilia, Et nominavit mihi multos et dixit quod vidit scripta eorum quae mittunt sibi ad invicem. Et dixit primo de doctori Murner qui est quasi caput illius societatis, quod scit perfecte quod ipse compositum unum librum de scandalis praedicatorum et unum alium in defensem Reuchlin. Postea nominavit Hermannum Buschium, dicens quod vidit epistolam eius in qua promittit sociis suis, quod non vult esse minimus, et audacter vult stare pro Reuchlin. Item deinde dixit quod etiam est in illa Coniuratione Comes de nova Aquila Coloniensis Canonicus, et quod talis compositum mirabilia de Theologis quae vult statim imprimere: Et ipse habet multos alios amicos et nobiles quos ipse etiam instigat scriptis suis quod debent favere Iohanni Reuchlin. Item Bilibaldus nescio quo [quis], qui debet esse in Nurmerga: ipse fecit multas minas dicens quod realiter vult expedire Theologos scriptis suis. Tunc ego dixi: "Qui moritur minis, Ille compulsabitur bombis," teutonice 'Wer von trewen stirbt, den sol man mit furzen zum grab leutten.' Nominavit mihi postea unum poetam in Erfordia qui vocatur Eobanus Hessus et debet esse iuvenis et expertissimus poeta: et talis habet unum socium ibidem dictum Petreium Aperbachium: ipsi componunt iam libros quos volunt statim imprimere nisi Theologi faciunt concordiam cum Reuchlin. Cum hoc debet esse Liptzick unus Anglicus nescio quomodo dictus. Sed credo quod est ille qui fuit ante duos annos Coloniae, qui est etiam unus. Et Vadianus Viennae, de quo dicit quod est terribilis poeta. Item in Curia Cardinalis est quidam Caspar Ursinus qui seì

12 librin.: Froben of Basle (?).
15 Murner: ii. 3, n.
19 Busch.: i. 9, n.
23 Nov. Aq.: Hermann, Graf von Neuenar, c. 1491-1530; pupil of Caesarius, with whom he visited Italy. Himself a man of letters, and Dean of the Canonical Chapter at Cologne, he was a liberal patron of the humanists of his day, and a strenuous upholder of Reuchlin. By many
of the earlier critics he was believed to have had a hand in the E. O. V.
27 Bilibald.: ii. 51, n.
34 Eobanus: i. 38, n.
36 Aperb.: ii. 45.
39 Angl.: i.e. Croke. See i. 35, n.
41 Vadian.: ii. 30, n.
42 Card.: Matth. Lang, Abp. of Salzburg.
43 Ursinus: Caspar Ursinus Velius, 1493-1538, a precocious scholar who

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wrote Latin and Greek verse fluently in his boyhood. There are frequent references to his accomplishments in the letters of Erasmus, and he was laurate by Maximilian. He was author of a biographical work, *Chronicorum mundi epitome*, 1534; and *C. V. Poenatum libri quinque*, 1522. V.'s life came strangely to an end; he was missing one morning, and was never seen again. Eder, *Catal. Rect. Vien.* p. 74.

46 *Melauch*. *Sie*, in [D]. See ii. 9. It was on Reuchlin's recommendation that M. was appointed Prof. of Greek at Wittenberg. 47 *winph.*: ii. 55, n. 48 *Beatus*: i. 30, n. 49 *Gre.*: for *Gerbellius*. 50 *homo*, &c.: these five words probe E.'s character to the core. See *Edin. Rev.*, vol. liii. 202, n. 51 *Ritius*: ii. 12, n. 52 *Cusp.*: ii. 30, n. 53 *Beutinger*: Conrad Peutinger, 1465–1547, antiquary and scholar: citizen of Augsburg and Keeper of its Archives; his name is perpetuated in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a Roman military map of the IIIrd Cent. A.D., now in the Imp. Library at Vienna. 54 *Mutien*: ii. 30, n.

1 camera: the examination-room. 29 disputare: Böcking proposes desperare.
REVERENDISSIME domine Magister. Quia hic ante picem sive Harzonem est Consuetudo Quod in die habent semper duas zechas, Una vocatur Civium zecha Et incipit hora duodecimo, et manet usque ad horam quartam sive quintam; Altera vocatur nocturnalis et post zecha, q a quinta hora incipit et durat Interdum ad octavam, nonam, et etiam decimam horam, interdum etiam durat usque ad duodecimam et ad primam horam: Et divites cives, et etiam consules, et Magistri civium quando in prima zecha sederunt et satis biberunt, tunc solvunt et vadunt ad domum. Sed iuvenis bursa et illi socii qui non multum curant quid solvit tritticū. Isti manent sedere in illa postzecha et bibunt ac si corpus et animam solveret. Nuper ergo cum sic etiam sederemus in una post zecha, ego et dominus Petrus monachus ordinis praedicatorum qui vobis multum favet propter Iacobum Hochstraten haereticorum magistrum in Colonia: tunc erat infra decimam et undecimam in nocte: tunc multa disputavimus de ratione nominis vestri. Et ego tenui istam opinionem de Grachis Romanis vos esse nominatum. Sed dominus Petrus qui etiam est aliqualiter in arte humanitatis bene tentus, dixit non convenire, sed quod a gratia supernali nominemini Gratius. Tunc fuit ibi unus trufat qui fecit valde crispum latinum, quod ego non omnia bene intellexi: ille dixit quod neque a grachys neque a gratia essetis dictus Gratius; et fecit tam multa inutilia verba quod ego dixi: "Unde ergo dicitur Gratius tamen alii viri valde profundi habuerunt desuper latam examinationem et conclusionem Quod vel grachys vel a gratia est dictus Gratius." Tunc ipse dixit "Isti qui hoc disputaverunt, fuerunt amici M. Ortvini Gratii, Et

1 Gram. Sic, in [D].
2 hic: in the district of the Vorharz.
4 qui non mult.: "who live from hand to mouth."
interpretati sunt illud nomen quilibet secundum suam opinionem in meliorem partem: Sed tamen iste opini-ones non praeciudicant veritati." Tunc dominus Petrus interrogavit "quid est veritas?" et putabat quod ipse deberet tacere, sicut fecit dominus noster quando Pilatus eum interrogavit. Sed ipse non tacuit et dixit "Est in Halberstat unus suspensor qui vocatur magister Gratus, et illae est Ortvinii avunculus maternus et ab illo Gratio suspensore vocatur Gratus." Tunc ego non potui me servare et dixi "Ohe socie, illa est una magna inuaria et ego protestor: M. Ortvinus non debet sic mittere transire: ego scio vos dicitis haec ex invidia, Quä habetis adversus dominum Ortvinum. Quia omnis progenies accepit nomen et cognomen a patre et non a matre: quare ergo deberet ille bonus magister ab matre et ab avunculo materno nominari, et non a patre sicut aliTunc ipse respondit et dixit adaeter quod omnes audirent: "Est bene verum et deberet sic esse ut dicitis: sed ipse non audet patrem suum cum honore nominare: Quia pater suus est prespiter: si ergo se nominaret a patre, tunc omnes intellerent quod ipse esset sacerdotis et meretricis fiilius, qui propriae vocatur spurii." Tunc ego iterum valde adaeter clamavi et dixi "Quomodo potest hoc verum esse? Tamen ipse est magister Colonieensis: Sed alma universitas habet omn statutum quod nemen promovet nisi sit legit- timus: Et ergo," etc. Tunc respondit "sive promovet legittimos sive illegittimos, tamen M. Ortvinus est spurius et manebit spurius in aeternum." Tunc ego iterum dixi "Quid tune si forte Papa dispensasset secum tunc ipse tamen esset legittimus, et tu graviter peccares dicendo contra Romanam ecclesiam." Tunc ille dixit "ctiam si millies esset secum dispensatum, tamem non esset legittimus." Et dixit unum exem- plum: Quemadmodum esset cum Iudaeco qui baptizare- tur ex aqua sive baptismate, si ibi tamen non esset spiritus sanctus, tunc illa aqua nihil proficeret, sed esset adhuc Iudaecus: "Sic etiam est cum istis spuriis qui sunt sacerdotum et meretricium filii: Quia isti sacerdotes non possunt in iure meretricies matrimoni-

41 Suspensor: the writer of ii. 62. 51 adiac. for audacter.
54 pres. Sit, in [D].

LXII

C MAGISTER GRATIUS Zisaniae Extirpator hoc est furum suspensor proditorum quadruplicator falsariorum et calumniatorum virgator haereticoorum combustor et multa alia Magistro Ortvino avunculo materno saluté D. P. 5

CHARISSIME avuncule nec non reverendissime domine Magister. Quia iam sunt multi anni elapsi et non vidimus nos invicem, Cogitavi quod bonum esset, quod vobis unam litteram scribere. Audio enim multa mirabilia de vobis, quomodo sitis magnae famae, Et dicunt quod iam estis omnibus etiam mediocriter doctis notus, non solum in Colonia, sed etiam ultra Albim et Rhenum, et etiam in tota

59 Mathaei ; John iii. 5. "Nisi . . . spiritu sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei." Vulg.
5 avunculo : nephew.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Italia et Francia. Coloniienses tamen praecipue colunt vos propter egregiam doctrinam, quam scribitis in fide catholicâ contra quendam doctorem et poetam saecularem Johannem Reuchlin Et ita vos inspiciunt et admirantur Quod quocunque eatis in platea, tunc monstrant cum digitis super vos, dicendo "hic est M. Ortvinus qui ita vexat poetas." Credo si scirent quod essetis avunculus meus, tunc magis hoc facerent. Nam ego hic sum etiam magnae famositatis, Et exerco artem meam in maxima populari frequentia, et homines faciunt mihi eundem honorem, et quando eo in plateis, etiam monstrant cum digitis super vos. Quare ego valde laetor, quod homines servant aliquid de vobis et me. Audio etiam alios viros esse in Colonia qui sunt vestri amici, et etiam vobiscum scribunt contra Doctorem Reuchlin:

"videhcat Iacobum de alta platea haereticorum magistrum, et magistrum Arnoldum de Tungari regentem in bursa sancti Laurentii. Et omnes homines credunt quod vos tres estis vere illuminati in fide catholicâ, Et servant vos tanquam tria magna candelabra sive lucernas. Et aliqui addunt quartum velut unam lampadem sive pendens lumen quod non tam clare splendet, scilicet dominum Johannem Pfefferkorn. Ego credo si vos quattuor eritis lux mundi fieri, Et etiam clarius quam fuit illud in Berna. Sed haec, charissime avuncule, quam fuit illud in Berna. Spero tamen Extra iocum futurum quod vos quattuor eritis lux mundi fieri: Nam non est possibile ut illa magna scientia que est in vobis, deberet sic in medro manere iacere. Est mihi etiam dictum quod nuper voluistis unam antiquam vetulam, quae vendit multa vitra circa fontem Coloniae, in nocte supponere, et ipsa clamavit et homines viderunt cum luminibus extra domum et viderunt vos: per deum, ego valde laudo tam bona facta vestra quae pertinent omnia ad meum artificium: et hoc decet etiam vos Theologos. Venit nuper hue fama quod esset unus poeta in Colonia, Ille solus teneret vos pro stulto et vocaret

41 Berna: the four heresiarchs, in 1509.

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IOANNES DE SCHWINFORDIA

vos Porquinum, hoc est porcis et hara dignum. Per 55
deum, si ego scirem quis esset iste poeta, Ego vellem
uem gratanter suspendere [·] sed finaliter vos, charissime
avuncule, valde Orarem ut omnia cum magna dili-
gentia faceretis, quod fama vestra per totum orbem
terrarum fiat nota, Nisi scirem non opus esse ut vos
admonerem: Vos enim per vos pulchre scitis, ab avis,
abavis, attavis et trittavis habetis, Praecipue tamen
didicistis a matre vestra charissima meaque sorore,
que audiens quod spuri spurius semper habet meliorem
fortunam quam legittimi. Iccirco ad sacerdotem cucer-
rit et permisit se lardare, ut vos tales virum generaret,
Quem totus mundus aliquando cognosceret. Valete ex
Halberstat.

Quinta luna Obscuros viros edidit. Lector
Solue nodum (ἐ) et ridebis amplius. 70

C Impressum Romanae Curiae.

[The first ed. of the second part (D) ends here. In (E) Ep. i. 19
is reprinted before No. 63.]

LXIII

C IOANNES DE SCHWINFORDIA septen-
arum artium liberalium Magister scientifico et
mirabiliter docto atque illuminato viro Ortvino
Gratio in Daventria graecam et latinam linguam
magistraliter docenti mille salutes et paulo plus.

EVERENTIALI honore et obedientia praelibatis,
Praeceptor in pluribus scilibibus experte. Scrip-
sitis mihi nuper de victoria vestra obtenta in Roma
contra istum Reuchlin qui audacter fuit contra vos, et
virum noviter deificae illuminatum in fide Christiana
Ioannem Pfeffer., Et quomodo Papa imposuit sibi
silentium, ita quod nihil deberet magis scribere, “ne

55 Porquinum : the nearest approach
to this is “Portuinum,” coined by
Glareanus (Hutt., Opp., i. p. 127).
69 Quinta : unlucky. Cf.
"Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna
Felices operum. Quintam fugit.”
—Virg., Georg., i. 276.
4 Darent. But O. had been at
Cologne for ten years.
10 Deif. Sir, in [E].
12 Silentium : the Pope enjoined
silence on both sides.

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deterius sibi aliquid contingat," ut dicit dominus noster
in evangelio. Prius enim in Speculo Oculari sic scrip-
sit mirabiliter quod magistri nostri non potuerunt
intelligere: et tamen dixerunt quod est haereticus:
ideo quia non habent sic in libris suis, sicut ille scrip-
sit, neque novus eorum theologus quem deus suscitavit
ex lapidibus, ut esset semen Abrahae, sicut scriptura
dicit, videlicet Ioannes Pfefferkorn habet sic ex deifica
visione seu manifestione. Vel ex fide digna relatione
uxoris suae: quam audivi etiam habere spiritum pro-
phetiae. De quo vos melius scitis quam ego: quia saepe
cum ea fuistis quando Ioannes Pfefferkorn non fuit in
domo. Sed nescio per deum, quomodo Reuchlin sit
per vos confusus aut per papam. Quia iam fecerunt
novam facultatem ultra alias quattuor facultates, quas
iam habuimus: et omnes illi laudant Reuchlin et
dicunt quod sunt eius discipuli: et non curant amplius
familiam Artisticam, eo quod artistae sunt ita magni
et superbi asini: quia non sciant tria aut quattuor
verba latine loqui, et vah illae bestiae seducunt plures
innocentes iuvenes qui postquam longam aetatem con-
trivere et quasi immersi in hac omnis barbariae nequam
sentina, redeuntes in paternas aedes nihil praeter
"Arguitur, Respondetur, Quaeritur" didicere, quo-
rum dii Tateretus, Versor, Perversor, Buridanus, Brux-
ellensis, et id genus similes turbæ obscūrae sunt. Est
tamen mirum quod unus simplex studens aut cornutus
vult plus seire iam in Aristotèle quam baccalaureandus
aut magistrandus qui audivit cursum et est bene quali-
icatus. Ipsi etiam non sunt reverentiales magistris,
et quando ante unum vadunt, non tangunt birretum
(sicut moris est) et semper volunt frequentare domum

15 mirab.: i.e. in "Middle High German."
37 Tater.: Petrus Tartaretus, a
ccontemporary theologian of Paris,
author of many commentaries on
Aristotle and his commentators.
37 Versor: another Parisian theo-
logian of the XVth Cent. (Tou-
neur?)
37 Perversor: Reuchlin in his De-
fensio, 1515, called Ortwin, "Artium
perversor, volui professor." 3
37 Burid.: Jean Buridan, ob. c.
1358. Pupil of William of Ockham,
Rector of the Univ. of Paris, 1327;
a writer on philosophy, best known
from his association with the sophism
of "Buridan's Ass" (though a simi-
lar "case" is mooted by Dante, Par.
IV.).
37 Brux.: Georgius B., a XVth Cent. nominalist. See Foppens, Bibl.
Belg., p. 332.
44 dom.: i.e. lupanar.

45 Marsil.: M. ab Inghen, ob. 1396. A pupil of William of Ockham, first Rector of Heidelberg Univ. For the "Consequentiae," see i. 17, n.
46 Suppos.: apparently by Peter Hisp., but no separate work of his is thus named.
47 Parv. log.: See ii. 17, n.
48 Wimphel.: See ii. 51, n., and the Camb. Mod. Hist., vol. i. p. 634.
49 appr.: Sic, in [E].
50 Donatus.: Aelianus Donatus, a grammarian of the IVth Cent., whose Ars Grammatica was used as a school text-book in the Mid. Ages so widely that "Donat" became a synonym for "grammar," or the elements of any science. The early Donatus was the only block-book without illustrations.
51 Phis., &c.: of Aristotle.
52 comm. : a comic perversion of "commentaverunt."

265
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Tertio ad magistros nostros qui sunt bene illuminati, sed non in superlativo. Quarto ad monachos: et illi superexcellenter habent scientiam sicut vos habetis. Igitur rogo vos, iuvate illi monacho: quia etiam vos estis ex parte, id est. Tertio modo cucullatus, ut possit scripta sua defendere contra Wimphelingum. Quia ut audio quod Wimphelingus habet multos discipulos, quos michi unus nuper nominavit, qui sunt in Argentina: Unus vocatur Iacobus Sturmius nobilis, et [est] ut dicunt bonus latinista. Alius Ottomarus Lucinius qui etiam se habet graecum sicut Reuchlin, et se habet multum allegare Extra et Digestis, etiam ex Biblia, quae non sunt mirabilia, quia studuit in Parrhisia. Item Lucas Batodius et Ioannes Ruserus, Ioannes Sapidus et multi alii, qui omnes volunt Wimphelingio iuvare contra cucullatos et eos realiter expedire in scriptis suis. Et dicunt omnes quod ille Paulus non est bene fundatus in dictis suis, et bene novem modis apostatavit ab ordine et est inquietus et trufator maximus, sicut ipsemet Tritemius scripsit in una l[a] ad Hieronymum Tungerszheim ex Ochsenfurt: et magnum damnum est quod aliquis sic debet perdere papyrum et incaustum, et etiam tempus, sicut ipse fecit. Ipsi etiam dicunt, quod sanctus Hieronymus scribit ad unum monachum sic: "Nunquam de manu tua vel oculis tuis liber Psalterii discedat:" quod si esset verum, tunc obligaret monachus semper et pro semper, quia est negativum. Et sicut monachi nihil aliud deberent facere quam Psalterium

89 Extra.: the Extra-Decretals of Gregory IX.
91 Ruserus.: another of Wimpheling's circle. See Erasmi, Epp. l.B. 1706, cccvii. col. 1825.
92 Sapidus.: Johann Witz, 1490–1561; nephew of Wimpheling. See Autobiog. of T. Platter, Lond., 1839.
95 Paulus.: See Bayle, s.v. Lange. He had taken up the cudgels on behalf of his teacher, Tritheimus, whose writings Wimpheling had attacked.
97 Triten.: Johannes Tritemius (von Tritenheim), Abbot of Sponheim, 1461–1516. His Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers is historically valuable.

125 Colleg.: in 1516 the Cistercians deserted the College of St. Jacob at Schönau, near Heidelberg.

145 cel.: for cellerarium.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIORUM

rariu: et Philippum portarium et sic de alis secundum sub et supra, quae omnia iste illuminatus et valde scientificus monachus Paulus Langius sic magistraliter probat, ut Wimphelingus et sui discipuli non debent unum verbum contra rebellare sed resistit michi unus Wimphelingianus in faciem et dixit quod monachi mentiantur sicut seceleratiissimi caupones, qui volunt Christum fuisset ita portentosum animal et eucullatam bestiam, et super me protestavit nomine Christi. Tunc fui ita perterritus quod perminxi et permerdavi me, quod omnes nasinn praetenebant: sed sit quomodo sit, ego hoc firmiter credo, quod omnes tandem erunt stare confuse tum cum sua scientia, et dicere "diabolus portavit illum monachum ad nos quis fecit eum in omnibus scibilibus ita formalem et qualificatum. Quo potest hoc esse nisi per scientiam infusam: quia non stetit in aliqua universitate, et est adhuc unus purus beanus: et tamen bene valet magistrandum vel etiam plus, cum venia eximiorum magistrorum nostrorum."

Ipse etiam Thomas Murner monachus et doctor multum subtilis et semel solemniter praedicavit in ambone quod Christus dominus noster fuit monachus: et scivit etiam realiter defendere. Sed unus discipulus Wimphelingii noluit credere in Christum si esset monachus et fecit illos versus desuper:—

Non ego fallaci tecto: Tibi Christe ceculo Crediderim: veste hac fraud tegiturque dolus. Atque probat novus e Berna quaesitus, habenda, Franciscus, monachis quanta sit, ipse, fides.

Sed quid ad hoc quod non vult crede: tunc erit haereticus, sicut alii qui condemnati sunt cum Reuchlin in Parrhisia et Colonia et in aliis Universitatibus. Oro etiam vos ut velitis etiam librurn ponere illos versus quos ego in laudem libri et authoris, videlicet Pauli Langii monachi, cum magna diligentia compositi et pro maior parte quando de nocte iaeui in lecto et sie speculavi, tunc quasi in somnis factus sum versificator ut sequitur.

165 Murner. See ii. 3, n. 166 Francis.: i.e. Jetzer at the hands of the heresiarchs of Berne. See i. 22, n. 169 comp.: for composui
Hic liber indignum: Uexat Iacobum Wimphelingum
185
Langius quem Paulus fecerat mirifice,
Metrice qui scripsit, etiam quoque rhetoricavit,
Quot omnes Artes sunt in Cucullatulis.
Sie quoque Tritemius dixit, sic et Eberhardus
190
De Campis, Volzius Paulus, et Schuterius,
Johannes Piemont, Siberti Iacobus, Rotger
Sicamber, docti cuculatique viri.
Iam erit confusus Iacobus, et omnino detrusus
Wimphelingius, Bebelius, atque ille Gerbelius,
Sturnius et Spiegel, Luseinius atque Rhenanus,
Ruserus, Sapidus, Guidaque, Bathodium:
195
Omnis hi victi iacent, non audent dicere Gukuck,
Sic in saeco conclusi Wimphelingiani erunt,
Non valent in Graecis invenire neque Poetis
Quod Lango respondeant viro scientifico.

Valet, vir illuminatissime et praeceptor valde doctrinalis, et me vice versa habeatis dilectum, quod ita bene promoveo vos per omnia saecula saeculorum. Datum in Oppido Imperiali Suerszheim in longa platea, ubi iuvenes Rustici semper in Dominica die corrisant: quod cor eius crepet. Anno a mundo condito Primo.

LXIV

C DOMINUS VOLWINIUS DE MONTEFLASCON Reverendo Magistro Domino Ort-vino Gratiano Aeternam Salutem

QUANQUAM vos nichil sciatis, Reverende magister, in latinitate seculari (ut unus michi dixit), propter quod multum diligo vos, et non curatis Pomposa verba

185 Eberh.: E. de Campis, a Benedictine: prior of the Monastery of St. Mathias, near Trier.
189 Schuter: See i. 32, n.
190 Piemont: Johann Butzbach (1478-1526) of Miltenberg. Prior of the Benedictine monastery at Laach.
190 Siberti: a monk of the same monastery.
190 Rotger: Rutgerus Sicamber. See i. 3, n.
193 Bebel. See ii. 11, n.
194 Spiegel: Jakob S., Jurist, of Schlettsstadt; Wimpheling’s nephew.
195 Guida: another of W.’s circle.
203 Suersz.: Schnersheim, a small town of Elsass, another Gotham.
1 Volw.: quasi, “Fullowine of Bottleberg.”
2 Gratiano. Also in ii. 65.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VRORUM

sicut faciunt poetae: tamen alias scitis ubi debetis denoecte iacere (sicut dicit Sapiens in proverbiis) Et non est nobis magna cura quid faciant illi novatores latinitatis, scilicet

Erasmus Rotterodamus et Ioannes Reuchlin: Nee ego curo cos, quia non est de essentia saecrae scripturae, licet ipse et etiam alii semper volunt Theologos antiquos plagare cum ista literatura, et nescio quomodo ipsi supponunt cum novo testamento et operibus sancti Hieronymi quod semper volunt illam haereticam literaturam immiscere, cum tamen dicit Paulus quod Graeci semper sint mendaces: et ergo videtur cum supportatione eximiorum magistrorum nostrorum, quod illa literatura nichil sit quam mendacium: nunc subsumo: Sed quiunque vult confundere saecrum mendaciis, ille est haereticus:  

Tacete tamen usque ad finem, ut deprehenderit quia aitipsis sequitur, quia esset credo ipsis scandalum quando ego palam cludere eos esse haereticos. 

sed qui volunt confundere saecrum mendaciis,  

Tacete tamen usque ad finem, tunc bene videbitur cuius toni.  

Sed pro novitatibus non possum dimittere quin vobis scribam.  

Sedi enim nuper nescio quando in uno convivio, et ibi etiam fuerunt multi praetensi iuvenes socii, et venerunt quilibet ex alia regione in unum symbolum: unus ex Anglia, alius ex Argentina, alius ex Vienna, alius Wimpinus qui vocatur Angelinus, alius Romanus qui fuit bene medius Curtisanus, et multi multa dixerunt ut ipse scitis. Et venimus in Colloquia de causa Reuchlin. Tune unus surrexit erga me, ubi audivit quod ego non fui bonus Reuchlinista, et dixit "ne veniat nichil obvius Coloniensis copulatista theologus, alius volo cum cito emasculare. Et praesertim magistrum Ortvium:" tune ego traxi fistulam meam in se cum mecum. Et alius dixit qui non erat dives et perdidit plura beneficia in curia Romania, et cum hoc male habet cum omnibus Curtisanis, et dixit mirabilia, ut sequitur "super anima mea ego saepe miravi quod isti in magnis caputiis qui vocantur Theologi et sunt in illa civitate ubi impressitae sunt quaestiones super

15 Paul: Tit. i. 12.  
30 symbol.: symbola, a contribution to a common meal: "ut de symbolis essentis" (Ter., Enn., III. iv. 2). Here, the meal itself.  
35 caput.: ii. 9, n.  
38 traxi, &c. Cf. Othello, iii. 1. "Put up your pipes in your bag."
VOLWINIUS DE MONTEFLASCON

Donatum secundum viam sancti Thomae et regulae grammaticales secundum viam antiquorum cum isto carmine:

Accipias tanti doctoris dogmata sancti,

inter ipsos monachi, qui volunt alios semper facere haereticos. Quare etiam non stimulant super illos, et producunt inquisitionem super eos super haeretica pravitate, qui habent tot multa beneficia, unus sex, alter deecem, alius viginti et magis et congregant tam multam pecuniam, et tantam credentiam ex flasculis et poculis pecheriis, sicut si essent filii principum vel comitum, et in domo nutriuit putanas sive concubinas preciseo cum catenis in collo, cum annulis in manibus, cum schubis veluti si essent uxoribus militum. Et interdum unus illorum habet tres Canonias simul et semel, et imbusat de omnibus illis tribus giltas, quod inde potest habere multas zechas, et potest solum stare et esse in uno choro, et in aliis non. Et sic in aliis choris nullus et nemo stat pro eis, qui laudat deum et rogat pro vivis et pro defunctis: estne hoc recte? Quare non inquiruntur super eos et interrogant coram multis notariis et multis testibus (sic et olim in Mentz fecerunt) et dicunt ‘quid creditis? ita vel non? creditis vel non creditis? quid creditis de sacramentis in ecclesia dei? Dicatis nobis quot sunt sacramenta, et quam fidem in corde vestro portatis de sacramento eucharistiae: estne ibi corpus et sanguis Christi? Si creditis, quando ergo postquam missam legistis (si saltem in anno semel legistis), statim quando ad domum iterum vaditis, concubina vestra habens mores et inspectum acsi esset una meretrix, vobissem in domo vel in mensa vel in camera [est hilaris, ludit, iocatur, et taliter qualiter facit etc.]? dicatis nobis si creditis adeo magnum esse fructum: Et qui deo placet, ex missa, sicut in decretalibus et in tractatibus Theologorum stat: Quare ergo vos habetis tot beneficia, quae possent quine aut sex devotos sacerdotes sustentarequi libenter legerent missas, qui libenti animo facerent praedicationes ad populum et ad clerum, qui possent dare consilia pro honore dei, pro

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num: perhaps for nos.

nut: for nutriuit.

imb.: for imbursat.

Mentz: referring to the case of Rucherath. See i. 47, n.

est hit. The words in brackets were inserted in the edn. of 1599.
salvatione animarum, pro libertate ecclesiastica, corrige viti. Et vellent rogare deum pro domino Papa, pro Rege, pro Episcopis et pro aliis Christicolis, pro pace et sanitate, sicut stat in tranquilla et silenti missa post Sanctus et post Te igitur clementissime pr. Si creditis tantum bonum venire ex missa pro vivis atque defunctis, quare non supra datis illa quae habetis in superflu, Et dimittitis alius bonis devotis et doctis viris, ut de exinde praeconisceretur et animae eorum qui mortuerunt citius ex purganti igne redimerentur, et deus nobis amicabiliter placatus non sic immitteret nobis deorsum pustulas, et non sic percuteret nobis vinum et plada per grandinem et pruinam, et non esset sic magna fames in terra. Si autem non creditis tot bona venire ex missa, tunc estis per deum sanctum suspecti de haeresi. Imo estis reaeter haeretici plus quam Wessalia et doctor Reuchlin. Videte, reverendae magistri Ortvine, has novitates volui vobis etiam scribere, quomodo ipsi communiter omnes tenent contra vos cum Reuchlin. Per conscientiam meam, ego credo denique quod diabolus etiam favet ipsi Reuchlin: tunc bene permerdavimus nos. Et sic commendo me vobis Ex Spira, ubi de nobis dicuntur marabilia, Quia omnes Reuchlinistae dicunt quod Coloniienses nil sunt quam copulatistae: Sed multum gaudeo de vobis, quod patiens estis sicut ovis, Et potestis pati illa, sicut essetis simplex sacerdos in villa.

LXV

C Perdocto artium prohibitarum M. Ortvino Gratiano Coloniensii Theologo M. BARTHOLUS KUTZ

Salutem accipite quando vultis, perdocte domine magister Ortvine. Dixit mihi quidam quondam quodam in loco de vobis quod estis valde infirmus, et quando estis infirmus, tunc semper facitis quasi essetis

praec.: for praeconisceretur.  
Gratiano. See ii. 64.
BARTHOLUS KUTZ

insanus: quod laudo in vobis, quia proprium est illis qui sciunt scientias prohibitas, hoc est diabolum in vitrum vel quocumque banniare, quia isti ut in plurimum sunt ita insanii quandoque. Et oportet etiam quod sint spurii, sicut vos (ut michi ab singulari amico dictum est) etiam estis: quia illi semper sunt meliores diabolo ad aliquid efficiendum. Quia diabolus non ita libenter committit se legittimis ut sicut spuriis, [qui] sunt singulariter apti diabolo. Et si solum essetis monachus. Tunc omnia dona haberetis ad hanc artem, et tunc essetis egregium instrumentum diaboli. [Ubi enim diabolus pervenire, vel quocumque banniare, ibi semper mittit unam malam antiquam vetulam, vel unum monachum.] Sed ego nescio tamen an sitis monachus. Quia si essetis, tunc esset bene contentus: Quia monachi prae aliiis habent illam gratiam quod sunt protervi multum et quicquid conantur, hoc facere audent. Sicut nuper audivi de aliquo qui vocatur Paulus Langius et scripsit unum excelltissimum tractatum cum versibus contra Iacobum Wimpelingium et bene scompisat eum. Et etiam dicunt de illo Paulo quod novem modis cucurrit (Salva reverentia) ex claustro. Et quicquid nemo conat facere, hoc ipse facit. Et credo quod etiam aliquando sit insanus; et quod sit spurius. Tertium ex se habet. Et ego plurimum laudo quod etiam est nobis similis, qui rem habetis cum diabolo: sed transeat hoc cum reverentia. Ego habeo hic unum notable punctum Nigromanticum quod vobis libenter manifeste scriberem. Sed ego timeo, quod quando estis ita insanus, tunc famulus vester posset illam epistolam invenire et si legeret, tunc diabolus confunderet me et eum; et ergo volo secundum consuetudinem meam facere, quia quando habeo sic aliquid secretum, tunc scribo super papirum sine atramento, et tunc nemo scit legere nisi sit illegittimus. Et ergo eo casu in praesentiarum vobis etiam decrevi facere. Et est illud punctum ut sequitur:

Credo quod bene intellexistis me, et haec est veritas: et

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18 ubi . . . monachum. First inserted in the ed. of 1599.
26 Langius. See ii. 63, passim.
23 nobis. Bicking suggests vobis.
41 ut seq.; being written with magic ink, is invisible!

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prohibeo vobis et coniuro vos per virtutem omnium scientiarum prohibitarum quod neminem doceatis. Et sic Valete ex Ruprechtso: in brevi plura expectabitis a me et maiora si illa placuerint vobis.

LXVI

MAGISTER ABRAAM ISAAC DE STIRPE AMINADAB M. Ortv. Gra. S.

MALARUM bonarumque artium altissime magister: sciat dominatio vestra quod ego volo iam satisfacere promissis meis, quia promisi super vestram petitionem quando a vobis recessi ex Colonia, quod volo vobis continue novitates scribere. Et ante omnia libenter haberetis quod notificarem vobis de ille astuto Iurista Ioanne Reuchlin, cum quo M. noster Iacob. de Hochstrat multum habet in Curia propter fidem tractandum. Hoc ego volo facere ex singulari dilectione. Tunc scias primum (quia ego ab origine mundi vobis omnia pandam). Quando ego recessi in diebus Canicularibus versus Romam, ut bene scitis, tunc nullam maiorem passionem habui super totam viam, nisi quod maxime sitivit me, Quin ascendii altos montes in Algoia cum meis sociis. Et quando veni ad Curiam, factus sum servus corporalis unius Cardinalis prope Campum florear: et fui servitor suus octo mensibus cum magna diligentia pro uno beneficio curato in Kelbertzhausen, quod iacet in Vollenbergensi dioecesi. Et impetravi super hoc unam bullam cum duodecim sigillis de omnibus Cardinalibus. Et sanctissimus noster fecit suum sigillum etiam ante, ad maiorem cautelam. Tunc eum laetitia exivi et volui possessionem accipere, tunc ille prior plebanus non est mortuus: tunc ego in magna ira dixi: "Percutiant mille diaboli ad hoc: deboo pecuniam meam sic perdere?" Etiam fuit parvum beneficium: si in Curia scivisset, ego non exivisset propter eam.
ABRAAM ISAAC


44 Wimpina. There was a famous Dominican monastery at Wimpfen-Berge.
49 Trent uno: a game of cards.
50 sicut: for sic.
59 retro: from right to left like Hebrew.
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EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VRORUM


LXVII

DEVOTAS meas orationes opto vobis loco salutis. Excellentia vestra theologalis scit quod ego iam veni quasi peregrinus ex monte Synai. Nescitis tamen quam multa sum passus in hoc tempore, quando a vobis a Colonia recessi: longum esset vobis illa omnia scribere, quia nullus alius amicus mihi superest cui necessitatem meam conquereret praeter vos: quando aliquid dico in monasterio, tunc statim respondent mihi: "O tu non es ido claustralis quod velles habere bonam vitam." Non sic impii, non sic. Ego non possum excogitare unde veniat, nisi ex illa mala fortuna quod M. noster Iacobus de Hochstrat consumit ita magnam summam pecuniae in curia Ro. propter fidem Christianam quam ille nequam Ioan. Reuch. destruxit in suo Speculo Oculari: ego credo quod omnia monasteria nostra debent ei mittere pecuniam: quia oportet eum esse liberalem dando hincinde Cardinalibus propinas, ut iudicant pro se et non pro Ioan. Reuch. Ideo priores nostri abbreviant nobis vinum, quamvis Salomon dicat "Musica, mulier et vinum laetificant cor hominis." pri. proverb. .XII. Et ego me semper exerceo in musica, Psalmos in choro lyrando et ululado: et hoc non est

1 de Cal.: perh. of the Order of Berthold of Calabria. 12 non sic: Psal. i. 4. 20 prov. xii.: Ecclus. xl. 20.
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

rarum. Ideo non clarum. De mulieribus est mihi grave loquendum: quia nullam video, nisi quando vado ad forum cum procuratore nostro quando emit ova. Etiam quando vado ad villas ad colligendum rapas et olera, et si caro me superaret quando essem apud unam feminam, tunc ipsa non teneret mihi. Ergo quando nunc nobis vinum abbreviatur, quale gaudium habebimus? Si medium haberemus ita bonum sicut alii ordines, ut sacerdotes nobiscum apud Spiritus san. professionati. Credo quod bene sciatis quid sit pro ordine: ipsi habent duplices albas cruces in tunica, et non sunt alte rasi sicut nos: et quando illis unum gaudium tolhitur, sic habent alium gaudium: Nam possunt disponere meretrices per claudicantem Ioannem qui ligna secat. Etiam graditur super manibus et genubus. Possetis dicere "haec vita meretricia non licet Sanctispiritusan." Respondeo, quod audivi pro certo, quod eorum dominus magister (quamvis senex, claudus, griseus, et lippodus, est tamen avidus ad illam rem, non autem semper potens) solet habere propriam in sua suffia: et quando excavavit illam totaliter, tune disponit sibi unum virum et dat sibi bonam dotem ex Gazophilacio Spiritussancti, quod nunquam minoratur, quia est ibi mera gratia spirituss. Deinde sibi aliam ancillam procurat, et facit sibi etiam sicut iam scripsi. Et sic ille ordo in multis hominis occulte crescit: nunc volo inferre proverbialiter, quia communiter diciut: "Quandocunque abbas, id est pater supremus, apponit tesseras, tune possunt fratres ludere:" hoc est quando praelati nostri antiqui sunt ita luxuriosi, et ducent ita miserabilem vitam, Ergo nos subditi licite possimus sequere. Haec est bona consequentia, quia perspexi in tractata de sup-

33 sacerd. The Order of the Holy Ghost, established in 1178, was divided into Knights Hospitallers and Canons Regular, the former being abolished in 1499.

34 profess. Not elsewhere found.


36 supergross. Not elsewhere found.

37 abbas:—

"Und wenn der abt die würfel leydt,
So sint die münch zum spiel bereit."

—Brant, Narrenschiff, c. 49. For many forms of this proverb, see Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, Sprichwörter, vol. i. p. 4.

38 suppositor.: a manifest double entendre.
IOHANNES TEXTORIS


LXVIII

M. IOHAN. TEXTORIS Petro Schwinkoncio suo tot dicit salutes quot sunt guttae in mari et athomi in sole

SCIATIS, Charissime amice, quod ego literam vestram accepi, in qua mihi scribitis de Erasmo Rotherodamo, et vultis scire quid ego teneam de eo. Debete scire et michi credere, quia etiam, quando fui adhuc iuvenis, multa legi in literis humanis et Ste-

59 ly: perhaps for ëij.
60 Marsil. See ii. 63, n.
67 ferment.: 1 Cor. v. 7.
72 Amphorat. Unknown.
75 1416: altered to 1516 in ed. of 1599.
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9 Graccist. See i. 38, n.
9 Synthis. See i. 7, n.
9 Facetum: Liber Facetii morosi, docens morae hominum, included in the Auctores orto morales, ascribed to John Garland, Reinerus Alemannus, and others. A subject of Gargantua's early studies (Garg., i. 14). Three specimens of its quaint maxims may be given:—

(1) "Dum eibus extat in ore tuo potare caveto,
In vasis offare dicit non ore repleto."
(2) "Irritare canem noli dormire volentem,
Nec movas iram post tempora longa latentem."

(3) "Pocula si sumas tu mergas labra
modeste
Qui prope fert nasum non potus
sumit honeste."

10 Floretus: also included in the Auct. orto mor.: attributed to Joh. Garland: a didactic poem on faith, morality, and conduct. Its leonine verses may be thus exemplified:—

"Stringe tum gustum quia vult consumere multum
Plurima gustare vult ventrem sepe gravare."

"Floretus mille centum versus habet
iste;
Et ter viginti qui sunt metrice rediuit."}

11 Gabalam: i.e., Johannes Reuchlin,
De Arte Cabalistica Libri Tres
Leon. N. Bietl, Hagenau, 1517.
12 Navem: confusing Erasmus with Brandt.
13 Hieron. See ii. 50, n.

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IOHANNES TEXTORIS


35 Cantabria: possibly for Cantabrica, or Cantuaria.
42 Augustus: Virg., EcL, iii. 93. (Not in Alex.).
47 22 benef:—
“ But though one prebende were to hym suffycient
Or one benyfuye his lyvyng might suffyre
Yet this blynde folke is not therwith content
But labowrith for mo, and always doth devyse
Fals meanes to come therto by couetyse.”
—Barclay, The Ship of Fools, i. 157 (1874).
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

pinguia, et poetae qui sunt ibi, faciunt multa metra contra illum. Alius nichil scio nisi quod Dominus tam diu teneat vos sanum quam diu unus supercurrit unum Canem. Valete ex Argentina.

LXIX

MARCOLPHUS SCULTETI Ioanni
Bimperlenbumpum ex Rorbach


9 Gabala. See ii. 68, n.
10 Cathol. See i. 1, n.
11 Gemma. See i. 1, n.
12 Briton: for William Briton (or supposed, for the doctrines of the

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sed nigromantia est scientia prohibita, sicut patet q. io. capi. nullo, et in Canone \textquotedblleft O vos azini\textquotedblright; et concordat doctor sanctus et Arestoteles in nono Phisicorum de ignorantii. Est enim in hoc etiam libro multum hebraeum, quod magistri nostri non possunt legere, et multum graecum: et quia ipsi non curant haec vana, sed maiora, et ideo disponuerunt Ioannem Pфеферкorn christianum et dimidium Iudaeum, qui est bonus ebrius: et ille iam examinat ne forte ibi latet venenum sub melle. Sed volo volo illa iam dimittere, quia videbimus bene in nundinis Francfurdiensibus, et tunc volumus plura loquere de illis cum magistro nostro Ortvino, qui est missus a magistris nostris quod debet emere novitiae quae ibi venduntur: et tunc volunt etiam examinare. De alis novitatibus non possum scribere nisi quod etiam unus magister noster de ordine praedicatorum in Argentina, qui semper vocatus est doctor Iesus, exivit ex claustro: et multa mala dicunt de eo: quod ego non audeo dicere: et multi ribaldi carministae faciunt sibi versus in vituperium eius; et mittunt cadere in foro, et ecclesia: quod male me habet: ego vellem quod non facerent, ne venirent ex gratia illorum praedicatorum: inter alia tamen ego reperi unum carmen et est tale:

Detractor cleri, fur, profugus atque cinaedus
Igne aut perpetuo carceri dignus erat.
Plebanorum osor, gestus imitans muliebres,
Formidans flammis more latronis abit.
Cuius ope ex claustro seducta est magna sacerdos.
Omnia per monachum pessima daemon agit.

Ecce videte quid illi mali furciferi faciunt, ipsi neminem curant, sed per deum sanctum non facit hoc aliud (ut verissime dixit Alexander) quia semper est de mala consuetudine eorum, quod quicquid fit sic Argentinae, tunc ipsi tractant de eo et faciunt sic carmina de eo.

Cabbalists were doubtless inspired in part by the dreams of the Neo-pythagoreans. See Ginsburg, \textit{The Kabbala}, 1865.

\textit{nigromantia}: a corruption of \textit{necromantia}, hence \textquotedblleft the black art\textquotedblright;\cite{nono}

\textit{mono}: the Physics contain only eight books.

\textit{Jesus}: one Johann Burkhardt, a Dominican, Dean of Strasburg, whose scandalous proceedings are sufficiently explained in the text.

\textit{carministae}. Not elsewhere found.

\textit{Alex.}: \textit{Ille referit monstrat: non facit hoc aliud.} Alex., \textit{Doctrinale}.\cite{283}
Proxime vobis plura scribam de ea re. Valete ex Schletstat.

**LXX**

MAGISTER MALEOLUS in Paradiso, Omni verborum ornata reciso,
Famosissimo Magistro Ortvino: Qui clamat more asinino
Contra poetas et latinos, Nec non Graecos peregrinos,
Omnium Barbarorum defensori, Et Coloniensium praecomi famosiori.

MIRABILES trufas et egregias nequitias audio de
vobis praeicicare, magister Ortvine, quas unquam
in vita mea nunquam per deum sanctum adivi, quas
vos et alii Colonienses magistri nostri (cum supporta-
tione) fecistis honestissimo et doctissimo viro domino
Ioanni Reuchlin. Et tamen cum audivi, non scivi in
tantum mirare, quia cum estis bicipites asini et
naturales Philosophi (Vulgo "naturhch zwenzig zentner
erbh ein dollen fantasten"), Intenditis etiam misere et
nebulonice vexare ita pios et doctos viros. Tamen super
hoc incidunt michi una singularis miratio quis vos docuit
ita subtiliter pervertere et falsificare ita pias opiniones
probissimi hominii. Sed ego finaliter cogitavi quod non
facit hoc alium hominum genus [quam hoc] quod Iudas
de testiculis scalpsit, quia patrem sequitur sua proles,
ut est Ioannes Pfefferkorn. Et vos omnes estis anici
huius, quia "schlim schlem similest quae sibi similum."
Et ergo ad furcas cum Vobis omnibus, ad quas perdot
vos lictor cum sociis suis, vos dicitibus "Orate pro
nobis"! Sed quamquam quioniamquidem illa omnia
vera sint et ideo vobis singulariter ad manum propriae
illa scribo, possitis etiam aliis dicere qui vobiscum sedent
in hac Cathedra pestilentiae, ut dicit Psalmus. Et ne
illa veniant in publicum, Q’ omnis homo sciat quid retro

1 In this Ep. the satiric mask is
torn off, and open scorn and derision
of Reuchlin’s opponents are made
manifest. Erasmus, referring to the
belief of many monks that the E. O. V.
were written in good faith and in
their defence, says: “Nec hodie
dehprehendissent, niquidam, addita
epistolae, lectorem admonuisset rem
non esse seriam.” In the edd. from
1599 to 1858 this Ep. is ascribed to
"Rupertus Cuculus."
2 Maleolus: Felix Hammerlein,
1389-1456. See B. Reber, Felix
Hammerlin von Zurich, Zurich, 1846.
25 schlim, &c. See Ep. ii. 3.
MAGISTER MALEOLUS

vis est: sed ad omnes sanctos michi incidit unam serupulatio, et timeo quod Impressor furavit michi unam copiam de epistola, et si sic est, tune invat vobis deus: tune ego non possum resistere; sed tamen ego volo vobis bonum consilium dare: Orate solum Octo dies continue flexis genubus et invocate ieiunus sanctam Helenam quae in venit Crucem Domini nostri Ihesu christi. Tune iterum ero invenire illam epistolam. Tune vos iterum bene stabitis. Ecce videte quod illa facio vobis ex charitate Fraterna, sicut omnes sumus fratres, et omnia facio vobis quod etiam homines tenent aliquid de vobis. Valete ex Heydelberga apud Claudicantem Lipsium qui sinit unum sibi cum naso in culum currere. O utinam vos etiam essetis cum illo. Tune non opus esset vobis disponere unum brillum, Quia ipsi dicunt quod gratis accommodat uni.

Hoc opus est Impressum Bernae
Ubi quatuor praedicatorum Lucernae:
Illuminaverunt totam Suitensium regionem
Ante§3 Hochstat vexuit Ioannes Capnionem.

[Romae Stampato con privilegio del Papa, & confirmato in lugo, qui Vulgo dicitur, Bel vedere.]

42 *naso.* "Spurcius quam clarius," as Böcking well remarks.
40 *hoc opus,* &c. In all edd. later than the second [E.] the four lines of verse are omitted, and in their place is the colophon in brackets.

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LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

TO

MAGISTER ORTWIN GRATIUS

OF DEVENTER

For the first time done into English
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

I

THOMAS LANGSCHNEIDER, duly qualified, albeit unworthy, Bachelor in Theology, sendeth greeting to the supereminent and high-scientifical Herr Ortwin Gratius of Deventer, Poet, Orator, and Philosopher—Theologian too, and whatsoever else he listeth

SINCE, as Aristotle hath it, "To enquire concerning all and singular is not unprofitable"; and, as we read in The Preacher, "I purposed in my soul to seek and ensearch wisely of all things that are made under the sun," so I, therefore, am purposed to propound to your worship a question about which I have a doubt.

But first I call the Lord to witness that I seek not to craftily entangle your excellence or your reverence; I do but heartily and sincerely crave of you that you will instruct me on this perplexful matter. For it is written in the Evangel, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God," and Solomon saith, "All wisdom is of God."

Now, it was you who imparted to me all the learning that is mine—and all right learning is the beginning of wisdom—therefore, to speak as a Poet, you stand to me, as it were, in the place of a god, because it was you who imparted to me this beginning of wisdom.

Now, the aforesaid question arose after this manner:—The other day a Feast of Aristotle was celebrated here—the Doctors, the Licentiates, and the Magisters were in high feather, and I too was present. To begin with, by way of a whet, we drank three bumpers of Malmsey, and for the first course we had fresh wastel-bread and made sops; and then we had six dishes of meat, and chickens, and capons—and one of
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

fish; and between the courses we ceased not to drink Kotzberger and Rhine wine, and beer of Eimbeck, and Torgau, and Naumburg; and the Magisters were full pleased, and vowed that the new-fledged graduates had acquitted themselves right well, and greatly to their credit.

Then began the Doctors over their cups to argue canonically concerning profundities. And the question arose, whether “magister nostrandus” or “noster magistrandus” is the fitter to denote a candidate eligible for the degree of Doctor in Divinity. (As is now, for example, the mellifluous Father Theodoric of Gouda, friar of the Order of Carmelites, most reverend legate of the benign University of Cologne—most sagacious Artsman, Philosopher, and syllogiser—and withal Theologian pre-eminent.)

Forthwith made answer Magister Warmsemnel, my compatriot—a right subtle Scotist, and a Master of eighteen years’ standing. (He was, in his time, twice rejected and thrice impedited, for the Master’s degree, and yet he resided until, for the honour of the University, he was graduated.)

He knoweth his business right well, and hath many pupils, high and low, young and old; and, speaking with ripeness of knowledge, he held that we should say “noster magistrandus”—in one word—because “magistrare” signifies to make Master, and “baccalauriare” to make Bachelor, and “doctorare” to make Doctor (whence come the technical terms “magistrand,” “baccalauriand,” and “doctorand”). Now Doctors in Divinity are not styled “Doctors,” but on account of their humility and sanctity, and by way of distinction, are named and styled “Magistri Nostri,” because in the Catholic Faith they stand in the room of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the fount of life, and the “Magister” of us all: wherefore are they styled “Magistri Nostri” because it is for them to instruct us in the way of truth—and God is truth.

Rightly, he argued, are they called “our masters,” for it is the bounden duty of us all, as Christians, to hearken to their preachments, and no man may say them nay—wherefore are they the masters of us all.
1.1] THOMAS LANGSCHNEIDER

But "nostro-tras-trare" is not in use, and is found neither in the Vocabulary *Ex Quo*, nor in the *Catholicicon*, nor in the *Breviloquus*, nor even in the *Gemma gemmarum*, notwithstanding that this containeth many terms of art.

Thereupon uprose Magister *Andreas Delitzsch*, a very subtle scholar—on the one hand a Poet, and on the other, an Artsman, Physician, and Jurist—who lectureth in ordinary upon *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoses*, and explaineth all the fables allegorically and literally (I myself have attended his lectures, by reason that his exposition is mightily fundamental), and he lectureth privately on *Quintilian* and *Juvenecus*—and he held, in opposition to Magister *Warmsenmel*, that we should say "magisternostrandus"; for, as there is a difference between "magisternoster" and "noster magister," so there is a like difference between "magisternostrandus" and "nostermagistrandus." Because "magisternoster" signifieth a Doctor of Divinity, and is one word, but "noster magister" consisteth of two words, and is used for a Master in any Liberal Science, whether it concern handicraft or braincraft. And it booteth not that "nostro-tras-trare" is not in use, for we may devise new words—and on this point he quoted Horace.

Then the company marvelled greatly at his subtilty, and a tankard of Naumburg beer was handed to him. Quoth he, "Now I wait awhile—but, with your leave!" and, laughing heartily, he touched his cap and pledged Master *Warmsenmel*, saying, "Marry, Herr Magister, think not that I am out with you!" He made but one draught of it, and bravely did Master *Warmsenmel* respond thereto, for the honour of the Silesian "Nation."

Then all the Magisters waxed merry, till at last the bell rang to Vespers.

I beseech your excellency, therefore, to set forth your opinion, seeing that you are mightily profound, and, as I said at the time, "Magister *Oertwin* will easily unfold the truth of the matter, for he was my teacher at *Deventer*, when I was in the third class."

Let me know, too, how standeth the strife between Doctor *Johann Reuchlin* and yourself. I have heard, indeed, that the scoundrel, albeit a Doctor and a Jurist, will not yet recant.
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Send me also, I prithee, Mag. N. Arnold von Tongern’s book of “Articles,” which he hath drawn up; for it is vengeance subtle, and treateth of many theological profundities.

Farewell—and take it not amiss that I write to you thus familiarly, for you told me once on a time that you loved me as a brother, and desired to advance me in all things, even if it should cost you a pretty penny.

Leipsic.

II

MAGISTER JOHANNES PELZER, to Magister Ortwin Gratius, Greeting

CORDIAL greeting, and homage beyond belief. Reverend Herr Magister, since, as saith Aristotle in his Categories, to doubt concerning all and sundry is not unprofitable, know then that there is a matter that giveth me great searchings of heart.

I was lately at Frankfort fair, and as I walked along the street with a certain Bachelor, two men met us, who, to all outward appearance, were reputable, and they wore black cassocks and great hoods with lappets. Now, heaven be my witness, I took them for two Doctors of Divinity, and I saluted them, taking off my cap. Thereupon the Bachelor nudged me, and said, “God-a-mercy! what doest thou? Those fellows are Jews, and thou uncoveredst to them!”

Then was I aghast, as though I had seen a devil! And I said, “Herr Bachelor, may the Lord forgive me, for in ignorance I did it! But how think you, is it a heinous sin?” And at first he said that it seemed to him that the sin was mortal, inasmuch as it fell under the head of idolatry, and broke the first commandment of the Ten—“Thou shalt believe in one God.” “Because, when any one payeth respect to a Jew or to a heathen, as though he were a Christian, then he withstandeth Christianity, and seemeth to be a Jew or a Pagan himself: the Jews, too, and the Pagans, say, ‘Lo, ours is the better way, for the Christians do
us reverence—and unless we were of the better way they would not do us reverence." And thus they are confirmed in their own creed, and despise the Christian faith, and will not be baptized.” Then I replied, "That is true enough, when the deed is done wittingly; but I did it in ignorance, and ignorance excuseth sin. For if I had known them to be Jews, and had nevertheless done them reverence, then I should have been deserving of the stake, for it would have been heresy. But, heaven knoweth, neither from word or gesture did I gather that they were Jews, but I thought that they were Doctors.”

Still he declared that it was, nevertheless, a sin, and he added, "I myself was once walking in a church where there was placed a Jew, of wood, before the Saviour, grasping a hammer; and I took it for St. Peter with a key in his hand, and I made a genuflexion, and took off my biretta. Then I saw that it was meant for a Jew, and immediately I repented; nevertheless at my confession, when I made it at the monastery of the Predicants, my confessor told me that the sin was mortal, because we must ever be heedful; and he told me that he could not have shriven me unless he had had episcopal powers, because it was a reserved case. And he said that if I had erred wilfully, and not through ignorance, it would have been a papal case. Nevertheless I received absolution, because he had episcopal powers. And, by the Lord, I think that if you desire to salve your conscience you ought to make confession to an Official of the Consistory. Ignorance cannot excuse that sin, because you ought to have been vigilant, and the Jews always wear a round yellow patch on their cloaks in front, which you could have seen as well as I; whereas your ignorance is crass, and of no avail towards absolution of your sin."

All this the Bachelor told me.

Now, seeing that you are a profound theologian, I beg of you, earnestly and humbly, that you will deign to resolve this my question, and tell me whether this sin is mortal or venial, and mine an ordinary, or an episcopal, or a papal case? Tell me, too, whether it seemeth to you that the citizens of Frankfort do well in having
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

such a custom as to allow Jews to walk abroad in the garb of Doctors of Divinity. It seemeth to me that it is not right, but a great scandal, that no distinction should be made between Jews and the Doctors; it is mockery of holy Theology. And his Serene Highness the Emperor ought in no way to countenance it, that a Jew, who is a dog, and an enemy of Christ, should strut about like a Doctor of holy Theology.

I send you herewith a missive from Magister Bernhard Plumilegus, commonly called Federleser, that he sent me from Wittenburg. You know him, for he was your crony at Deventer, and he told me that you were right good company. He is still a boon-companion, and sings your praises; and so, farewell, in the name of the Lord.

Leipsic.

III

MAGISTER BERNHARD FEDERLESER
sendeth many greetings to Magister Ortwini Gratius

"WRETCHED is the mouse that hath but one hole;" and this saw, by your favour, I can apply to myself, Reverend Sir, for I should be undone if I had but one friend, and when he betrayed me there was none other to play a friend’s part.

You must know that there is a certain Poet here, Georg Sibutus by name, who is reckoned among the Secular Poets, and lectureth publicly on the Humanities, and is withal a boon-companion. However, as you know, these Poets, when they are not theologers too, as you are, are ever carping at others, and vilifying the Theologians. Now it fell out at a junketing at his house, when we sat drinking Torgau beer till the third hour, that I was half-seas-over because that same beer had risen into my head.

Now there was a fellow there who was at loggerheads with me, but I pledged him in a modest cup, and he took the greeting, but, after, he would not do me right. Thrice I challenged him, and he would not respond, but sat mute and mumchance. Then think I to myself, “See now,
JOHANN KANNEGIESZER

this fellow smoketh you, he giveth himself airs, and is always seeking to put you down!" And I was so moved with wrath that I took up the tankard and smote him on the pate.

Then the Poet flew into a rage, and said that I made a tumult in his house; and he bade me begone in the Devil's name.

Then quoth I, "What care I tho' you are my enemy? I have had enemies to the full as curst as you, and yet I've worsted them. And what tho' you are a Poet? I have Poets who are friends of mine, and they are just as good as you. To the jakes with your poetry! What do you take me for? Thinkest thou I'm a gowk, or that I grew on a tree, like an apple?"

Thereupon he called me an ass, and said that I had never seen a Poet.

Then cried I, "There's an ass in your own hide! I've seen a sight more Poets than you!"

Then I held forth about you, and about Doctor von Zutphen of Kuijk Hostel, who compiled the Commentary, and about Domine Roger the Licentiate in Divinity at De Monte Hostel—and with that I flung out of the house, and we are at feud to this day.

Now, therefore, I beg most earnestly that you will send me but an exemplar of your art, and I will flourish it before that Poet and the rest, and I will make boast that you are my friend, and a sight better Poet than he. Be sure you tell me what Domine Johann Pfefferkorn is doing; whether he still maintaineth his quarrel with Doctor Reuchlin, and whether you still take up the cudgels on his behalf, and send me some news. Farewell in Christ.

IV

MAGISTER JOHANN KANNEGIESZER
to Magister Ortwin Gratius hearty greetings

REVEREND HERR MAGISTER—seeing that we have oftentimes played the fool in company, and that it irketh you not a whit to hear tell of a
PLEASANTRY such as that I have in store for you, I have no fear that you will take it amiss if I relate a merry jest—for you send the like to me.

You will laugh, I trow, for it is a mighty fine affair. There was here of late one of the Preaching Friars—he was not ill-versed in Theology, a cunning syllogiser, and he had many patrons.

This Predicant, Herr Georg by name, was formerly at Halle, and then he came hither and held forth for full half a year, upbraiding in his preachments men of all sorts and conditions, even the Prince himself and his courtiers. He was, nevertheless, at the board a hail-fellow and of good cheer, who tossed off his dramas and bumpers with the rest; but whenever of an evening he drank deep with us, he failed not the next morning to preach about us, saying, “Thus do the Magisters in this University sit swilling the live-long night, flegging and fooling with their boon-companions, whose ways they ought to mend, whereas they do but entice them to evil:” and before now he hath put me to very shame.

At the last I waxed wroth with him, and cast about in my mind how I might be even with him—but I could not devise a means.

One day it was told me how that Predicant was wont to go by night to a certain woman, and abuse her, and, after, sleep with her. Hearing this, I straightway collected a band of collegers, and at about ten of the clock we went to the house, and brake into it; whereupon the monk, desiring to escape, found no time to bear away his garments, but leapt stark from the window; and I laughed till I had well-nigh pickled myself, and cried out, “Herr Predicant, take thy pontificals with thee!”

Then my comrades without rolled him in the mire and in the water, till I stayed them and told them to use moderation. Nevertheless I lent them my aid; and we all had knowledge of the wench.

And thus was I even with that monk, and never again hath he preached about me!

But you must not blab this forth to others, for the Preaching Friars are now your allies against Doctor
Reuchlin, and they are the defenders of the Church and the Catholic Faith against those secular poets.

I could wish that the monk had been of some other Order, seeing that of all the Orders 'tis the one that worketh the greatest marvels.

Now must you, in turn, indite a merry tale, and be not angered with me. Fare thee well.

Wittenberg.

V

JOHANNES STRAUSZFEDER to Ortwin Gratius

ABUNDANT greetings—and gooddens as many as there are stars in heaven and fishes in the sea.

I would have you know that I am hearty, and my mother too. Right glad should I be to hear the like concerning you, for at least once in every day do I think of your worship.

And now you shall learn, an it please you, of the incredible carryings-on of a certain nobleman here. May the devil confound him world without end—for he vilified Herr Magister Peter Meyer; at table, before many gentlemen and noblemen; and not one drop of deference did he manifest, but he was that haughty that I marvelled. "Go to!" said he, "Doctor Reuchlin hath deeper learning than thou!" and he snapped his fingers at him.

Then Magister Peter replied: "I'll be hanged if that is true! Holy Mary! Doctor Reuchlin is a mere child in theology—a child knows more theology than Doctor Reuchlin. Holy Mary! mark my words, for I have experience, and he knows not a whit of the Book of Sentences. Holy Mary! there's subtle stuff for you! Thou canst not pick that up like grammar and poetry! I could easily become a poet if I would, and I should know well enough how to turn a verse, because at Leipsic I heard read Sulpitius on the quantities of syllables. But what is that to the purpose? Let him propound me a thesis in theology, and argue pro et
Then he shewed by a multitude of proofs that no man could attain a perfect knowledge of theology save through the holy spirit, and that the holy spirit was the well-spring of that art, and that poetry is the food of the devil, as saith Jerome in his Epistles.

Then the zany declared that to be a lie, and that Doctor Reuchlin had the holy spirit too, and was duly qualified in theology, seeing that he had written a right theological book (I know not what its name may be), and thereafter he called Magister Peter a beast. And then he swore that Magister Hoogstraten was naught but a mumping, cheese-begging friar, and so set the table on a roar; but I cried that it was a shameful thing that a mere student should behave so irreverently towards a Doctor of Divinity.

Thereupon Doctor Peter was so wrath that he rose from the table, and, quoting the Evangel, said: "Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil!" And I cried: "Swallow that!" and was overjoyed because he had so roundly trounced that braggart.

You must persevere in your undertaking, and must defend theology as you were wont—and you must have no respect for any man, for are you not qualified?

If I knew how to write verses as thou dost, I would not heed even the prince if he went about to slay me.

I hate those Jurists, too, who strut up and down in red boots and marten-fur cloaks, and make not the obeisance, that would be fitting, to the Magisters and Doctors.

Now I entreat you, humbly but affectionately, that you will explain to me how the matter standeth at Paris concerning the Augenspiegel. God grant that the University of Paris, that alma mater, will hold with you, and will burn that heretical book—for it containeth many heretical things, as Magister von Tongern hath declared.

I have heard that Magister von Zutphen, of Kneck Hostel, who compiled the notable commentary on the four parts of Alexander, is dead. I trust, however, that this is not true, for he was an eminent man and a profound grammarian, and was far more skilled than these new poetising grammaticasters.
Be pleased to salute, on my behalf, Magister Remigius, for he was formerly my class-master, and oftentimes would chide me roundly, saying: “You are a goose, and will not study how to become a good disputant.” And I would say: “Most excellent Herr Magister, I will do better in future.” And then he would sometimes send me away, and sometimes give me sound chastisement: in those days I was so submissive that I would willingly endure correction for my faults.

And now I have no more to write, save that I hope you will live for a hundred years. Fare thee well in peace.

Mainz.

VI

NIKOLAUS ZIEGENMELKER, Bachelor,
to Magister Ortwin Gratius

ABUNDANT greetings, with mighty respect to your worthiness, as is but meet in addressing your magistrality.

Reverend Herr Magister, you must know that there is a notable question that I desire, or entreat, to be by you magistrally determined.

There is a certain Grecian here who readeth in Urban’s Grammar, and whenever he writeth Greek he always putteth tittles atop.

Thereupon I said, a little while ago, “Magister Ortwin of Deventer also handleth Greek Grammar, and he is as well qualified therein as that fellow, and yet he never maketh tittles so: and I trow he knoweth his business as well as that Grecian—ay, and can put him to rights.” Nevertheless some distrusted me in this matter, wherefore my friends and fellow-students besought me to write to your worthiness so that you might make it known to me whether we ought to put tittles or no. And if we ought not to put them, then, by the Lord, we will roundly harry that Grecian, and bring it to pass that his hearers shall be but few!

Of a truth I took note of you at Cologne, in Heinrich Quentell’s house, when you were reader, and had to correct Greek, that you would strike out all the tittles
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

that were above the letters and say, "Of what use are these fiddle-faddles?" And it hath just come into my mind that you must have had some ground for this, or you would not have done it.

You are a marvellous man, and God hath given you a large measure of grace, so that you know somewhat of all things knowable. You must praise God, therefore, in your metrification, and the Blessed Virgin, and all the Saints.

Prithee, take it not amiss if I weary your migh
tiness with such questions as these, seeing that it is for edification that I propound them. Farewell.

Leipsic.

VII

M. PETRUS HAFENMUSIUS sendeth Greet
ings innumerable to M. Ortuinus Gratius

REVEREND HERR MAGISTER, an I had pelf and great substance, I would give you, believe me in good earnest, no small guerdon to resolve for me the question that I am going to propose.

Nevertheless, since, at present, I possess not "sheep and oxen and all the beasts of the field," but have not a doit, I cannot recompense you for your exposition. Yet I pledge my word that when I am beneficed—and I am even now a candidate for a vicarship—I will do you signal honour.

Tell me, then, whether it be necessary to eternal salvation, for scholars to learn their grammar out of the profane poets, such as Virgil, Tully, Pliny, and the rest?

Methinks that to study in this wise is blameworthy, for, as saith Aristotle in the First of The Metaphysics, "Many are the feignings of the poets." But those who feign, sin; and those who base their learning upon falsehoods, base it upon sin; and whatsoever is based upon sin, resisteth God, because God is the enemy of sin.

Now poetry containeth falsehoods, and therefore those who commence their studies with poetry cannot advance in virtue, for from an evil root springeth an
evil plant, and a corrupt tree bringeth forth corrupt fruit, according to the Evangel, wherein the Saviour saith, "A good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit."

I well remember the monition that Doctor Valentin von Geliersheim, of De Monte Hostel, gave me when I was his pupil, and desired to attend lectures on Sallust. "Wherefore art thou fain to read Sallust, thou rebel?" he asked. And I told him that Magister Johann of Breslau said that one could learn to write correct theses out of such like poets.

Then said he, "A fiddlestick! You must needs be well drilled in Alexander's 'Parts,' and the Epistles of Carolus, which are taught in the Grammar School. I never read Sallust, and yet I can write theses in verse and prose."

And so Doctor Valentin brought it about that I never read the Poets. And now these humanists pester me with their new-fangled Latin, and laugh to scorn the good old books—Alexander, and Remigius, and Joannes de Garlandia, and the Cornutus, and the Composita Verborum, and Master Paul Schneevogel his Complete Letter-writer. They tell such thumping lies, too, that I cross myself when I hear them. Just now one of these fellows said that in some country there is a river called the Tagus, which hath golden sands! But I whistled to myself, for that could not be.

Now I well know you to be a poet, but I cannot tell whence you learned that art. I have heard say that when you are so minded you can turn out a screed of verses in an hour. But I suppose that your intellect is illuminated by the grace of the Holy Spirit from above, so that you know this art and all else, for you have ever been a steadfast theologer and have trounced those heathens.

Gladly would I send you some news if I knew any, but I have heard none, save that the Dominican friars and priests here can give absolution, a poena et a culpa, to any one who hath confessed and is contrite; and they hold papal letters as well.

Write to me, for I am thy humble servant. Farewell.

Nuremberg.
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

VIII

FRANZ GÄNSEPREDIGER to Magister Ortwin Gratius

GREETING, of ponderosity to make a thousand talents kick the beam.

Reverend Herr Magister, you must know that there is a mighty buzz here concerning you, and the theologers applaud you hugely because you pay no heed to any man, and have written in defence of the faith against Doctor Reuchlin.

Howbeit certain doltish fellows here—and those jurists too who are not enlightened in the Christian faith—scoff at you and say all manner of things against you; but they are of small account, for the Faculty of Theology upholdeth you. And lately, when those books found their way here which are intituled "Acta Parisiensium," straightway almost all the Magisters bought them and were mightily pleased. Thereupon I myself bought the books and sent them to Heidelberg, that they may be read there.

And I trow that when the Heidelbergers see them they will rue that they did not join hands with the benign University of Cologne against Doctor Reuchlin.

Moreover I learn that the University of Cologne hath made a statute ordaining that never, world without end, will it grant a degree to any man who has qualified as Bachelor or Master at Heidelberg. And a good thing too; for this will learn them what the University of Cologne is, and to take part with her another time. Would that you had dealt so with the rest, but I ween the other Universities knew naught of the matter, and you spared them on the score of ignorance.

A friend has given me some mighty pretty verses which you must have published in the University of Cologne. I have shewn them to the Magisters and Doctors, and they were highly lauded. And to your glory I have sent them to many parts, for am I not on your side?
CONRAD OF ZWICKAU

And here they follow, that you may know what I mean:

"Pravities heretical—fain are you to learn 'em?
Phrases Latinistical—vultis you to turn 'em?
Then by you buyenda the Parisians' *Acta*,
And the scripta newly in *Lutetia facta*!
Telling how Herr *Reuchlin* from the Faith erravit,
As Magister noster *Arnold* well probavit:
And Magister *Ortwin* soon will lecture, gratis,
On them, to the members Universitatis,
Et cum on the textum he hath done enlarging,
Tum the pretty postils jotting in the margin.
Pro he first will argufy—contra then, profoundly,
Sicut the theologers who in Paris roundly
Swore Doctorem *Reuchlin* and his dissertation,
*Oculare Speculum*, worthy of damnation!
This the brethren understand—fratres *Carmelitae*—
Sciunt too the others—plet the *Jacobitae*.

I marvel how you can conceive such things. You are wondrously skilful in your craft, and there is in your compositions such a dulcitude that I snicker for very joy when I read aught that you have written. I ever hope that your life may be long and that your fame may continue to wax as it hath to this day, inasmuch as your writings are of much profit.

May God keep you and quicken you, and not deliver you into the hands of your enemies, as saith the Psalmist: "Grant thee thy heart's desire, and fulfil all thy mind."

Write also to me concerning your doings, for joyfully do I hear and regard all your deeds and actions. And so, farewell.

Freiburg.

IX

MAGISTER CONRAD OF ZWICKAU to
Magister Ortwin Gratius

GREETING. Seeing that it is written in *Ecclesiastes* XI.: "Rejoice, O young man, be glad in thy youth," I therefore am of jocund heart; and you must know that I have prospered in love affairs,
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

and have had much dalliance.] Doth not Ezekiel say: “Nunc fornicabitur in fornicatione sua”? And wherefore may I not sometimes purge my reins? I am no angel, but a man—and to err is human. Even you go a-wenching now and then, albeit you are a Theologer, for you cannot always lie alone; as saith Ecclesiastes III.: “If two lie together, then they have heat, but how can one be warm?”

Give me tidings of your doxy, how she doth. A fellow told me lately that when he was at Cologne you were at odds with her, and beat her because she, by ill hap, was not of your opinion. I marvel, indeed, that you could thus smite a comely woman: I should have wept to see it. You ought rather to have told her to do so no more, and she would have turned over a new leaf and been all the more buxom at even-tide. When you expounded Ovid to us you told us that we should never strike women, and you cited the Scriptures concerning this matter.

I am well content if my wench is blithe and not grudging to me; and when I visit her I am the like, and we make good cheer, and drink beer and wine—for wine maketh glad the heart of man, but grief drieth up the bones. Now and then I am angered with her—but she giveth me a buss, and straightway we are at one, and she crieth, “Be of good cheer, Herr Magister!”

Not long ago it had come into my mind to pay her a visit, when I met a young chapman quitting her house—his points untrussed, and beads on his brow—and methought he had had dealings with her. This, in some measure, irked me, but she swore that the chapman had not laid hands on her, and had but desired to sell her some linen to make shifts. “Good,” said I, “and when are you going to give me a shirt?” Thereupon she asked me to give her two florins, wherewith to pay for the linen, and then she would give me a shirt. Just then I had no money, but I sought out a friend who lent it to me, and I gave it to her.

Let a man ever be merry, say I. The physicians say it is wholesome for a man to be merry without ceasing. There is a certain Magister here who is always crabbed and never merry, and hence it falleth out that he is
always sick. He is for ever chiding me, and telling me that I ought not to set my affections on women, for that they are devils, and bring men to destruction, and are abominable, and that no woman is chaste, and that to consort with a woman is as bad as consorting with a devil, and that they allow a man no peace. Then said I, “Cry you mercy, Herr Magister, but your mother was a woman!” And with that I left him.

He hath been preaching too, of late, that priests should in no wise maintain concubines, and he declared that bishops are guilty of mortal sin when they take milk-tithes, and wink at priests consorting with their handmaidens, whereas they ought to drive them forth one and all.

Be this as it may, we must sometimes be merry and have to do with a wench, when nobody is the wiser; after, we can make confession; and the Lord is merciful, wherefore we hope for forgiveness.

Herewith I send you a certain writing in defence of Alexander Gallus—that grammarian time-honoured and trusty, notwithstanding that the “Poets” of to-day scoff at him: but they know not what they say, for Alexander is the best of all, as you were wont to tell me when we were at Deventer. A certain Magister here gave me the tractate, but I wot not where he obtained it. Would that you might have it printed, and then would you make the “Poets” rage furiously, for the author trounces them roundly. And it is so poetically composed that it passeth! He that wrote it was a pretty poet and Theologer withal, and he holdeth not with the secular poets—such as Doctor Renschlin, Buschius, and the rest.

No sooner had that document been put into my hands than I promised myself to send it to you, that you might read it. If you have any news give me knowledge of it. Farewell, in love unfeigned.

Leipsic.
JOHANN ARNOLDI sendeth many greetings to Magister Ortwin Gratius

FORASMUCH as, and seeing that, you at all times would fain learn the news, according to that dict of Aristotle: "All men by nature crave after knowledge"; wherefore I, therefore, Johann Arnoldi, your disciple and humble servant, send herewith to your mightiness, or your honour, a libel that a certain cullion here hath clouted up to malign Herr Johann Pfefferkorn of Cologne—a man beyond all doubt of properest probity.

I was mightily wrath, but could not hinder him so that he should not print it, because the rascal hath here many patrons, even nobles, who strut about the streets like mountebanks, girt with long swords. Nevertheless I averred that this thing was not seemly, because, mark my words, these same secular poets will stir up branglings without end with their metrifications, if our Magisters do not take heed, and do not straightway cite them before the Roman Court, by the hand of Magister Jakob van Hoogstraten. I fear, moreover, that there will arise a mighty pudder among the faithful.

I entreat you, therefore, to write a book against this scandalmonger, and put him to confusion: and another time he will not be so foolhardy as to molest the Magisters.

The fellow is a mere student, neither graduated nor qualified in Jurisprudence or Arts—but he hath kept residence at Bologna, where there are herds of these same secular poets, neither enlightened in the faith nor defenders thereof. A little while ago he sat at the board and averred that the Magisters at Cologne and Paris were persecuting Doctor Reuchlin. Then I argued in the contrary sense, whereupon he turned upon me with many objurgations and railings, so that I rose from the table and called all the company to witness how I was shent—and I had no stomach for a morsel of victuals.
Now, prithee, give me counsel in the matter aforesaid, for you are even, in some sort, a jurist.

I have made up some verses, and I send them to you herewith. *A Choriambi-hexametri-sapphiambic-asclepiadic-endecasyllabic-elegiac-dicolic Distrophe*:

"He who a perfect Catholic would be,
Must aye with the Pariscans agree—
Because
Of every other
Their University is mother;
Cologne the sacred, ranks as second,
And bulwark of the Faith is reckoned—
To this
If any man say 'Nay,'
He the penalty must pay;
Doctor Reuchlin, to wit,—
*Augenspiegel* who writ;
Whom *Arnold of Tongern*, magisternoster,
Unmasked as an heretical impostor—
As did Master *Hoogstraten*, not least though the last,
Who into the fire *The Eyeglass* did cast!"

Had I but materials, I would compose a tome against that windbag, and prove that he is *de facto* excommunicate.

I have no further leisure for writing, for I must needs hie to lecture, where a Magister handleth *pro et con* very subtle opinions on ancient philosophy, and I listen—to finish my course.

Fare ye well, above all my comrades and friends here and everywhere and in all places of honest report.

XI

*CORNELIUS FENSTERMACHER* to
*Magister Ortwin Gratius*, many greetings

GREETINGS as many as are the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea. Reverend Herr Magister, I encounter here much strife and brangling with certain lewd fellows who boast that they are lettered, and yet have read not Logic, the Science of Sciences.
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

And I have lately said mass with the brethren, "De Spiritu Sancto," that God might give me his grace and a good memory for syllogisms in disputing with these fellows that only know Latinizing and how to compose themes. And into that mass was foisted a collect for Magister van Hoogstraten, and Magister Arnold von Tongern, Regent of St. Lawrence Hostel, that they may conduct to the goal of refutation a certain Doctor of Laws hight Johann Reuchlin, a secular poet and an arrogant man withal, who putteth himself, in opposition to four Universities, on the side of the Jews, and frameth propositions most scandalous and offensive to pious ears—as Johann Pfefferkorn hath demonstrated, and Magister Arnold. And all the while he is not grounded in speculative Theology, nor versed in Aristotle, nor in Petrus Hispanus. And on this account the Doctors of the Sorbonne have condemned him to the stake—failing recantation. I have seen the missive and the seal of the Dean of the Holy Faculty of Theology at Paris.

One of the Magisters, deeply versed in Sacred Theology and enlightened in the faith, who is member of four universities, and who hath more than a hundred treatises on "The Sentences," in the which he groundeth himself, hath openly declared that Doctor Johann Reuchlin cannot escape, and that the Pope himself dareth not give a decision adverse to so pious a University, seeing that his Holiness is no theologian, and doth not understand the "Contra Gentiles" of the blessed Thomas—albeit it is rumoured that he is versed in poetics. A Magister who is a priest at St. Martin’s showed me a letter in which that University promiseth in most friendly fashion real and earnest help to her sister of Cologne. And yet these Latinists presume to run counter to them.

A little while ago I sojourned at Mainz, at the sign of "The Crown," where two braggarts annoyed me greatly, calling the Doctors of Paris and Cologne idiots and fools! And they said that the books written on The Sentences were mere moonshine, and in like manner they declared that the "Processus" and the "Copulata," and the "Reparationes" were all balderdash! There-
upon I was so wroth that I knew not how to reply. Moreover they twitted me with having made pilgrimage to Treves to see the holy coat, which they averred was perchance not the Lord's garment. This they would fain prove by a dilemmatic syllogism, thus: "That which is torn should not be shown as the Holy Coat, but this is torn, therefore, &c." Thereupon I conceded the major but denied the minor premiss. Then they argued thus: "Saint Jerome saith, 'By its ancient schism the Eastern Church hath rent in pieces the Lord's coat, woven without seam throughout.'" But I retorted that Jerome's style differs from that of the Evangelist, and is not idiomatically apostolic. And, so saying, I arose from the table and left those windbags.

You must know that so irreverently do these fellows talk concerning the Magisters, that certainly and without doubt they can be excommunicated therefor by the Pope. If the authorities at Rome but heard of it they would summon them to the Court, and confiscate their benefices—or, at the least, saddle them with costs. Who ever heard of such a thing as that mere students, neither graduated nor qualified in a single Faculty, should dare to calumniate men so exalted, so profoundly immersed in all knowledge, as our Magisters!

I too have learned how to fashion theses and verses, for I have been studying the "Novum Latinum Idioma" of Magister Lorenz Rabe, and Kohlburger's Grammar, and Valerius Maximus, and other poets. And as I went along I just now constructed a metrical composition against those rascals. It followeth:

In Mayence town there standeth
a hostel cleped Corona,
And there I lay, the other day,
in propria persona,
But two buffoons, irreverent loons,
'gainst Doctors of Theology
Began to bray, though graduates they
not even in Philosophy!
Unknown to them the solemn disputation,
And multifold corollary formation
From one small "ergo": as Duns Scotus taught—
(Who scorns him to confusion will be brought)—
Unknown the Quodlibets of Alexander,
Of all the foes of learning a withstander;
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Unknown to them the Seraph Doctor—he
Without whose lore none can Physician be;
The Holy Doctor is to them unknown,
Who Porphyry and the Stagirite alone
Expoundeth with a comment ever true—
Predicaments and predicables too,
The Universals five, and Moral Rules
Of Aristotle fitting for the Schools.

Such things new-fangled Poets all ignore,
And hence inanely jabber all the more;
As did these windbags, braggart and loquacious,
Against our Masters, with words contumacious:
Let but Hoogstraten nab them, and 'tis plain
The faithful they will never plague again!

Fare ye well, and salute for me with all reverence
the worshipful Magisternosters Arnold von Tongern,
Remigius, Valentin von Geltersheim, Herr Jakob von
Gouda, of the order of Preachers—most subtle poet—and the rest.

XII

MAGISTER HILDEBRAND MAM-
MACEUS to Magister Ortwin Gratius, Greeting

EARLY beloved Herr Ortwin! I cannot indite
to you an epistle curiously composed according
to the precepts of “The Art of Letter-writing,” for time
doth not allow of this; wherefore I am constrained
briefly, and in a few words, to make manifest the nature
of the matter in hand—for I desire with your aid to dis-
entangle a prodigious difficulty. The affair standeth thus:
—You must know that there is a terrifying rumour afoot
here, and it is in all men’s mouths, that at the Roman
Court the cause of the Theologers is in evil case. For
they say that the Pope is minded to confirm the sentence
pronounced a year agone at Spires in favour of Doctor
Reuchlin!

When this came to my ears I had such a fright that
I could not utter a word, but became like a dumb man,
and I slept not for two whole nights. But Reuchlin’s
friends make merry, and strut hither and thither, bruiting
this report. As for me, I should not have given heed to
the thing without I had seen a letter from one of the Order of Preachers—a Magister—in which he related the tidings in sore anguish. He wrote withal that the Pope hath allowed the Augenspiegel to be printed at Court, and the booksellers to vend it, and every man to read it! Thereupon Magister Hoogstraten made petition to leave Rome, and would fain plead poverty. But the Judges would not let him go, declaring that he must await the issue, and, moreover, that he could not plead poverty, seeing that he arrived at Rome with three horses, and while at the Court had guests at his table, and dispensed much money, and had bestowed many gifts upon the Cardinals and Bishops and Assessors of the Consistory—wherefore it was not possible for him to plead destitution.

Holy Mary! what are we to do next, if Theology is thus insulted, so that a single Jurist is able to prevail against all the Theologers? I verily fear me that the Pope is no good Christian—for if he were a good Christian it would be impossible for him not to uphold the Theologers. If, moreover, the Pope pronounceth judgment against the Theologers, it seemeth to me that an appeal to a Council might be made; for a Council is above a Pope, and, in a Council, Theology hath a precedence over the other faculties. And then I trust the Lord will show his loving-kindness, and look upon his servants the Theologers, and not permit their foes to triumph over them, and will give us the grace of his holy spirit to enable us to surpass the fallacies of these heretics.

A certain Jurist lately declared that it hath been prophesied that the Order of Preachers would perish, and that out of that Order would proceed grievous offences against the Christian Faith—such as never were heard of before. But grant that this may be far from the truth! For that Order is right profitable, and if it were not for that Order I know not how Theology would endure—for the Dominicans are more deeply immersed in Theology than the Minorites or the Augustinians, and follow the way of the Holy Doctor, who never erred. They have, too, many saints of their Order, and are bold in disputation against heretics.

I marvel how it cometh about that Magister Jakob
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

van Hoogstraten cannot plead poverty, seeing that he is one of a mendicant Order, who are all manifestly poor. If it were not that I fear excommunication, I would say that the Pope erred on this point. Moreover I do not believe it to be true that Magister Jakob dispersed money in that fashion, or bestowed gifts, because he is a mighty zealous man; and it is my belief that those Jurists and the rest concoct this gossip, and that Doctor Reuchlin knoweth how to wheedle them, for I have heard that many burgs, and princes, and persons of quality have written letters on his behalf.

Now the reason of this is that they are not grounded in Theology, and do not understand how the case standeth—otherwise they would bid the devil take that heretic—for a heretic he is, though the whole world should hold the contrary. You must forthwith explain matters to the Magisters at Cologne, that they may take counsel. Write and tell me what they intend to do. Farewell in Christ.

Tübingen.

XIII

MAGISTER CONRAD OF ZWICKAU to
Magister Ortwin, Greeting

YOU have sent me word that you no longer have any mind to wantonness, nor to consort with woman-kind—save once in a month, or, maybe, twice—yet I marvel that you can write such things. Full well do I know to the contrary. There is a student here who hath just arrived from Cologne—you know him right well, he was ever in your company—and he saith that you are intimate with Johann Pfefferkorn’s wife. He declared this to be true, and made oath, and I believe him. For you are a squire of dames, and know how to wheedle them—besides, you have Ovid’s “Art of Love” by rote! A certain merchant did tell me, too, that Magister Arnold von Tüngern was in the lady’s good graces as well. But this is false, for I know of a truth that he is a virgin, and hath never bussed a wench. But even if he had done, or were to do, what I cannot believe of
him, that would not make him a bad man, for to err is human. You send me whole screeds about that sin—which is not the worst sin in the world—and you quote texts without end. I very well know that it is not a virtue, and yet it is recorded in Holy Writ that certain men thus erred, and yet were saved. Samson, to wit, had dealings with a bona-roba, and nevertheless the spirit of the Lord afterwards came upon him. I can syllogize against you thus:—"Whosoever is not unrighteous receiveth the holy spirit; but Samson was not unrighteous, ergo, he received the holy spirit." I can prove the major premiss—for it is written, "Into an unrighteous soul the spirit of wisdom shall not enter; but the holy spirit is the spirit of wisdom, ergo, &c." The minor premiss is manifest, for if that sin of incontinence is so grave, then the spirit of the Lord would not have come upon Samson, as it is told us in the Book of Judges. We read, too, of Solomon, how he had three hundred queens, and concubines without number—and he was prince of gallants to his dying day. Nevertheless, the Doctors, with one accord, declare that he found salvation. What then? I am not stronger than Samson, nor wiser than Solomon, and so I must needs be wanton, once and again, Moreover the physicians say it is sovrant against melancholy. Fie! what booteth it that you cite those dumpish fathers! What saith The Preacher? "I know that there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own works." Wherefore, with Solomon, I say to my doxy: "Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse: thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes, with one chain of thy neck. How beautiful are thy breasts, my sister, my spouse. Thy bosom is fairer than wine—" and so forth.

By the Lord, courting the lasses is merry sport! As that Ode of Samuel the poet saith:—

"Fail not, jolly cleric, merry maids amare,
Flattering busses knowing how to you praestare—
So contriving, many a day, youth's flower conservare!"

"Amor is love, and God is love—therefore Amor is not a bad thing!" Answer me that argument. And Solomon saith: "If a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would utterly be contemned."
But enough of this; let us turn to other matters. You bid me send you some news—so you must know that there were high jinks here in Lent. There were joustings, and the Prince himself rode in the Platz, and he had a fine horse, and a fine saddle-cloth too, upon which was painted a woman in brave attire, and near her sitting a youth, with curly locks, who played an organ to her, as saith the Psalmist: “Young men and maidens, old men and children, praise the name of the Lord.” And when the Prince had entered the town, the University enthroned him with great pomp, and the burghers brewed lashings of beer, and set forth toothsome fare, and royally feasted the Prince and all his train. And afterwards they fell to dancing, and I stood on a scaffold to look on. I can call to remembrance nothing else, save that I wish you all good wishes. So fare ye well, in the name of the Lord.

Leipsic.

XIV

MAGISTER JOHANN KRABACIUS sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius

SEEING that I was formerly for two years with your Excellency at Cologne, and that you bade me always write to you, wheresoever I might be, I therefore now make bold to announce to you that I have heard of the death of a most illustrious Theologian—denominated Magister Heckman of Franconia. He was a topping Divine, and in my time was Rector there [at Vienna]. He was a profound dialectician after the school of the Scotists, and was the foe of all the secular poets; he was a man of zeal withal, and right willingly would celebrate a mass. Moreover, when he held the Rectorship at Vienna he ruled the undergraduates with a rod of iron, and therein was most laudable. A certain fellow once came from Moravia when I was at Vienna, who was by way of being a poet, for he wrote verses, and he must needs teach the art of metrification—but he was not matriculate. Thereupon Magister Heckman inhibited him; but the rascal was so impudent that he paid
JOHANN KRABACIUS

no heed to the mandate. Then the Rector inhibited the undergraduates that they should not attend his lectures; and then the fellow forced his way to the Rector and said many insolent words to him, and thou'd him! Then the Rector sent for the University beadle, and essayed to imprison him, because it was mightily scandalous that a mere student should “thou” the Rector of a University and a Doctor of Divinity: besides I hear that the fellow is neither Bachelor nor Master, and is in no way either qualified or graduated, though he strutted about like a warrior who was going to march to war, and he wore a helmet, and a long knife by his side. Nevertheless, by the Lord, he would have been clapped in gaol if he had not had friends in the city. I greatly grieve if it be true that such a man as Magister Heckman is dead, for he did me many a good turn when I was at Vienna, and so I have written an epitaph on him, as followeth:—

He who in this tomb doth lie
Was the Poets’ enemy,
Minded aye to send them flying,
When their craft they would be plying!
One from out Moravia came,
Who could no precedence claim,
Metre-spinning fain to teach,
And, his lawless end to reach,
Thou’d the Rector to his face—
Jail for him the proper place!
Now that the good Rector’s dead,
And in Wien is buri-ed,
Grudge not, of your charity,
Paternosters two or three.

A messenger hath brought us tidings which, if true, are ill indeed—to wit, that your cause goeth amiss at the Roman court. This I cannot believe, for these messengers tell a pack of lies.

The Poets murmur sorely against you, and say that they will defend Doctor Reuchlin with their verses. But since you are likewise a poet—when you are so minded—I think you will easily get the better of them. Nevertheless, prithee let me know how the business goeth; and then, if I can aid you, you will find in me a faithful helpmate. Farewell.

Nuremberg.

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XV

WILHELM SCHERENSCHLEIFER

sendeth greeting to Master Ortwin Gratius

I MARVEL greatly, Reverend Sir, why you write not to me, and nevertheless write to others who write not to you as often as I write to you.

If you are in dudgeon with me, and will not write to me again, at the least write and tell me why you will not write to me again, that I might know why you write not, although I am ever writing to you—as I am writing to you now, although I know you will not write back.

But I beseech you from my heart's core that you will yet write to me; and when you have written to me once then I will write ten times to you, because I gladly write to my friends, and I love to exercise myself in writing, so as to be able to finely indite tractates and letters.

I cannot think what is the reason why you write not to me. Lately, when there were some folk here from Cologne, I grooped them and asked them, "What is Master Ortwin about, that he doth not write to me? He hath not written for two years; but bid him write to me, for I would rather read his letters than eat honey. And on a time he was my chiefest friend."

I asked them, too, how you sped in that controversy with Doctor Reuchlin. And they replied that that Jurist well knew how to circumvent you with his craft. And then I wished that the Lord would give you his grace that you might triumph.

If you do write to me, you might write to me about that affair, for I would gladly know more concerning it. The Jurists strut about here and say, "Doctor Reuchlin doeth well, and the Theologians at Cologne have used him ill."

And, by the Lord, I fear me that a great scandal will befall the Church if that book, "The Eyeglass," be not burnt.
MATTHÄUS HONIGLECKER

For it containeth many irreverent propositions in opposition to the Catholic faith. And if that Jurist is not compelled to recant them, then others will try to write after the same fashion about questions of Theology, although they know naught of the matter, and follow neither Thomas, nor Albertus, nor Scotus, and are not enlightened in the faith by the Holy Spirit.

For every one should cleave to his own business, and none should put his sickle into another man’s corn. Because a cobbler is a cobbler, and a tailor is a tailor, and a smith is a smith; and it would go ill with a tailor who tried to make shoes and slippers.

You must stoutly defend both yourself and sacred Theology, and I will pray on your behalf that God will grant you his grace, and will enlighten your mind, as he did that of the Fathers of old, lest the Devil and his meiny should prevail against justice.

Nevertheless for God’s sake write to me, and tell me how you speed. You cause me great anguish, albeit there is no need. And now I commend you to the Lord. Farewell, in Christ.

Frankfort-on-Main.

XVI

MATTHÄUS HONIGLECKER to
Magister Ortwin Gratius, Greeting

INASMUCH as I have ever been your worship’s adherent, and have ever wrought on your behalf, I now take upon myself to premonish you in a time of trouble—for in your prosperity will I rejoice, and in your adversity will I lament. Are you not my friend? And it beseemeth us to exult when our friends prosper, and to sorrow when they mourn—as saith Tully, notwithstanding that he is a pagan and a poet.

I must tell you, therefore, that you have here a most malicious enemy, who uttereth many slanders against your worship, and he noiseth abroad many matters, exalting himself in his pride. And he averreth
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to all and sundry that you are a bastard—that your mother is a drab, and your father a priest. But I stood up for you and said: "Herr Bachelor—or whatever your degree may be—you are still a young man, and you ought not to slander the Magisters. For what saith the scripture? 'The disciple is not above the master,' and you are yet a disciple, while Herr Ortwin is a Master of eight or ten years' standing. You are therefore not competent to slander one who is a Magister and in such an exalted position; but you will find some one to slander you, notwithstanding that you are so high and mighty. You should use more modesty, and not be of such behaviour." Then quoth he: "I am speaking sooth, and I can prove my words, and I heed you not a whit; I say that Ortwin is a bastard, and a fellow-countrman of his told me so of a truth, because he knew his parents; and I am resolved to write and unfold the matter to Doctor Reuchlin, who is not yet apprized of it. But on what grounds could you censure me, a man unknown to you?" Then quoth I: "See, gentlemen, this fellow boasteth himself a saint, and saith that he is above censure, and that he hath done no evil, like that Pharisee who boasted that he fasted twice in the week." Then the fellow waxed wrath, and cried: "I said not that I had never sinned, because that would be contrary to the words of the Psalmist, 'All men are liars,' which the gloss expounds as 'sinners.' What I said was that you have no right, nor are you able, to censure me as touching my parentage. But Ortwin is a bastard, and not true-born—therefore he is reprobate, and reproach him I will for ever and a day!" Then said I: "You cannot, for Herr Ortwin is an eminent man, and can protect himself." Thereupon the fellow reeled off many scandalous tales concerning your mother—how she had been in the company of priests, and monks, and soldiers, and rustics, in the meadow and in the byre. You would not credit how great was my shamefacedness.

Notwithstanding, I cannot be active in your defence, for I never saw your father and mother: however, I firmly believe them to be worthy and decent.
fear. But write and tell me how this matter standeth, and any glad tidings I will scatter broadcast.

I said furthermore to your calumniator: "You ought not to say such things, for even if Herr Ortzwin be base-born, he may have been legitimised; and if he is legitimised then he is no longer a bastard, seeing that the sovereign pontiff hath power to bind and to loose, and can make a bastard legitimate—and contrariwise. Moreover, I can prove from scripture that you are blameworthy; for it is written, 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again;' but you mete with the measure of abuse, therefore abuse shall be meted to you. Or I can prove it thus: the Lord said: 'Judge not, that ye be not judged,' but thou judgest others, and slanderest them, therefore shalt thou be judged and slandered." Then he replied that my arguments were all flapdoodle and led nowhither; and he was so stubborn as to declare that if the pope himself begat a son out of wedlock, and afterwards legitimised him, the child would nevertheless in the sight of heaven be a bastard and not true-born.

I trow the devil must be in these vagabonds, that they slander you thus. I beseech you, therefore, write to me, so that I may defend your good name; of a truth it would be scandalous for Doctor Reuchlin to be apprized that you were a bastard. But even if you are, the fellow cannot certainly prove it, and if it seem good to you, we will hale him before the Court at Rome, and we will compel him to recant—the Jurists know the way; and we will harry him at law, and we will seize his benefices when he incurs deprivation—for he holds a canonry here at Mainz, and a living elsewhere. Take it not amiss that I write to tell you what I have heard. My intent is of the best. Farewell in the Lord, who shall keep thee in all thy ways.

Mainz.
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XVII

MAGISTER JOHANN HIPP to Mag. Ortwin Gratius, greeting

“Be glad, O ye righteous, and rejoice in the Lord: and be joyful, all ye that are true of heart.”—Psalm xxxi.

Now, take this not amiss, saying within yourself, “What aileth this fellow with his texts?” But hearken rather, with glee, to a piece of news that will mightily tickle your lordship.

You shall have it in a nut-shell. There was a poet here, calling himself Joannes Aesticampianus—a bumptious fellow, ever girding at the Masters of Arts, and decrying them in his lectures. He would dub them dunces, and aver that one Poet was worth ten Masters, and that Poets should always take precedence of Masters and Licentiates in processions. He lectured on Pliny and other poets, and declared that the Magisters were not Masters of the Seven Liberal Arts, but of the Seven Deadly Sins, and that they were not grounded in their rudiments, and knew naught save Peter of Spain and his Logical Primer. The rantipole was much run after, even by the gentleman-commoners. He used to say that the Scotists and Thomists were piddlers alike, and he uttered blasphemies against the Angelic Doctor himself!

But the Magisters bided their time, to avenge themselves by the help of the Lord. And by the Lord’s will, at last he made a speech, and railed at the Magisters, and the Doctors, and the Licentiates and the Bachelors, and extolled his own Faculty, and reviled sacred Theology.

Thereupon mighty indignation arose among the heads of the Faculty. And the Masters and Doctors took counsel together, saying, “What shall we do? For this man hath done many notable things; and if we send him away, all men will believe that he is more learned than we. And mayhap the Moderns will come
and say that their way is better than that of the Ancients, and our University will be defamed, and will become a laughing-stock."

Then Magister Andrew Delitzsch, who is a fine poet himself, said that Aesticampianus at the University was like a fifth wheel to a coach—for he thwarted the other Faculties, so that the students could not graduate therein. And the other Masters were of the same mind, so the long and the short of it was that they determined to either expel or inhibit that poet, at the risk of his everlasting dudgeon. Thereupon they cited him before the Rector, and nailed the citation on the doors of the church.

Then the fellow put in an appearance—an advocate with him—and made as though he would defend himself, nor was he without friends to support him, but the Masters told them to stand aside, if they would not commit perjury in opposing the University. And the Masters waxed valiant in fight, and stuck to their guns, and swore they would spare nobody—for justice' sake.

Nevertheless certain jurists and courtiers pleaded for the fellow. But the Magisters said that this was out of the question, for they had statutes, and by the statutes he ought to be expelled. Then the marvel was that even the Duke put in a word for him; but to no effect, because they replied that he himself ought to observe the statutes of the University, inasmuch as its statutes are to a University as is the binding to a book. If there be no binding, the leaves fall hither and thither; and if there were no statutes order would cease in the University, and the students would be at sixes and sevens, and Chaos would come again—therefore should the Duke work for the good of the University, as did his father before him.

Then the Duke was persuaded, and avouched that he might not oppose the University, and that it was expedient that one man should be expelled, rather than that the whole University should suffer disgrace. The Magisters then were fully content, and cried: "Heaven be thanked, Lord Duke, for this thy righteous judgment!" Then the Rector fastened a decree to the
church doors, that *Aesticampianus* should be banished for ten years.

But his disciples murmured much, and declared that the Lords of the Council had done grievous wrong to *Aesticampianus*. But the Doctors swore that they cared not a doit for that.

Some gentlemen-commoners, indeed, have spread it abroad that *Aesticampianus* will avenge the injury, and cite the University before the Roman Curia. But the Magisters laughed, and said: "Pish! what can that vagabond do?"

And now great peace reigneth in the University. Mag. Delitzsch lectureth on the humanities, and so doth a Magister from Rothenburg, who hath compiled a book full three times as large as all the works of *Virgil*; and in that book he hath put many mighty fine things, both in defence of holy Mother Church and in praise of the saints. And he most of all hath praised our University, and sacred Theology, and the Faculty of Arts—and he hath reproved the secular and heathen poets. The Masters say that his verses are as good as *Virgil's*, and have no faults at all, because he knoweth quite perfectly the Art of Metrification, and hath been a good metrist these twenty years. Therefore the Lords of the Council have allowed him to lecture on that book instead of on *Terence*, because it is more necessary than *Terence*, and is not all about drabs and clowns, as *Terence* is.

You must spread abroad these tidings in your University, and then peradventure *Buschius* will be served in like manner as was *Aesticampianus*. When will you send me your book about *Buschlin*? You say much, and nothing cometh of it. You promised faithfully that you would send it, but you have sent it not. The Lord forgive you in that you do not love me as I love you, for you are my heart's core. Nevertheless fail not to send it, for with desire have I desired to cat this passover with you—I mean, to read that book. Send me some news—and, just for once, write a little treatise, or some verses, about me, if I am worthy thereof.

NOTWITHSTANDING that I am mightily afraid to be so bold as to show you a composition of my own devising—seeing that you have great cunning in the making of metres and lyricisms, while I am but a dabbler (as saith Jeremy, “Ah, ah, Lord! Behold I cannot speak: for I am a child”), for I am not yet fully grounded in my fundaments, nor am I perfectly skilled in poetistical art and Rhetorick.

Nevertheless, since you once said that I should by all means construct a poem and send it to you, that you might botch it up, and show forth its faults—a little while ago quoth I to myself, “See now, Ortwin was your teacher, and he meaneth well by you, and you should do what he biddeth you. He can advance you in this matter, and in all else besides. And you will grow up to be a learned clerk, an it please God, and will prosper in all your affairs. Is it not written in the First Book of Kings: “To obey is better than sacrifice”?

And thus it hath fallen out that I send you a poem fashioned by myself in praise of Saint Peter, and a composer who excels in plainsong and descants hath set it to music in four parts. Indeed I took great pains to rhyme it in the way it is rhymed—because songs sound best to four parts, just as Alexander’s Grammar is in four parts.

I know not whether the poem hath any faults. Scan it, I pray you, according to the Rules of Metrification, and mend it if you will.

Here beginneth Peter Negelin’s new ditty
in praise of Saint Peter

Good Saint Peter, pity me!
Since the Lord hath given thee
Power—and, by peculiar grace,
‘Midst the saints the topmost place;

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By prepollence of the keys,
Tying, loosing, as thou please,
Things on earth and things on high:
Hear me, as to thee I cry!
For my sins entreat—for the
Sake of th' Universitie!

They say that Dr. Reuchlin (who is named in the Hebrew tongue Joannes Capniyon) hath obtained a judgment in his favour at Spire— but the Magisters of the Friars Preachers say that this irketh them not, for the Bishop there hath no comprehension of sacred Theology. Dr. Hoogstraten is at the Roman Court, and is in high favour with the Apostolic Chair. He hath plenty of money and other necessaries. I would give a groat to learn the truth of the matter. You must write to me. Good Lord! what is the reason that you will not now send me one single syllable? And yet when you do write to me I am full fain.

Farewell, and deign to salute for me Dr. Valentinus von Geltersheim, and Dr. Arnold von Tongern of Lawrence Hostel, and Dr. Remigius, and Herr Roger the licentiate of De Monte Hostel, and first of all, Herr Doctor Johann Pfefferkorn, that man of zeal, and all others who are learned in Theology and the Arts.

Farewell, once more, in the name of the Lord.

Trier.

XIX

STEPHAN GLATZKOPF, Licentiate, to
Mag. Ortwin Gratins

GREETING, with all humility, to your loftiness. Reverend Herr Magister, a fellow hath come hither bringing with him certain verses, which he averred you had written and published at Cologne. Thereupon, a Poet of this place, who is held in high esteem, but is no good Christian, read them and declared that they were poor stuff, and full of blunders. Then quoth I, "If Master Ortwin composed them they have no faults—be sure of that." And I offered
to wager my coat that if those verses contained any faults you had not composed them, and that if you had composed them they contained no faults. Accordingly I send you the lines, that you may judge whether you contrived them, or not, and let me know. The poem is written concerning the death of Doctor Gerhard von Zutphen of Kneck Hostel, who composed the commentary but now, alas, is dead and gone. May he rest in peace. Thus it beginneth:—

A famous scholar here doth lie lamented,
To th' University by heaven presented;
He o'er Kneck Hostel erst did Regent sit,
And pieced the Copulata bit by bit.
Oh! that he might upon the hither shore
Have lingered, and of comments written more!
To adjuvate the University,
And teach her students fair Latinity!
But now, his life by death untimely lost,
With half the Alexander still unglossed,
The University deplores her limb,
Who, like a shining lantern, or the glim
Of candle in a candle-stick a-burning,
Lit far and wide the darkness with his learning.
What man than his could better periods round?
He joyed the upstart Poets to confound,
Who in their foolish grammars scorn reliance
On Logic—of all Sciences the Science.
So, in the Faith being unillumined, they
From Mother Church aye wander, all astray.
But if to think aright they are not willing,
Soon will Hoogstraten set them all a-grilling!
Who Doctor Johann Reuchlin lately cited,
Before the Court, and grievously indicted.
Almighy, to thy suppliant lend an ear,
Who humbly thee invokes, with many a tear,
To grant our member dead thy grace eternal,
And pack the Poets off to realms infernal!

This seemeth to me an excellent poem, though I know not how to scan it, because it is of an unwonted kind, and I have only skill to scan hexameters. You must suffer no man to spurn your verses; so write to me, and I will defend you even at the risk of single combat.

Fare ye well.

Münster in Westphalia.
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XX

JOHANNES LUCIBULARIUS to Magister Ortwin Gratus

GREETINGS that no man can number.

Reverend Herr Magister, inasmuch as you formerly promised me that you would be my help in time of need, and that you would fain advance me before all others; and inasmuch as you told me boldly to seek your aid, and that you would then stretch out a helping hand to me as to a brother, and would not desert me in adversity—I therefore now entreat you, for the love of God, to succour me, as you are well able.

The Rector here hath dismissed an assistant teacher, and desireth to appoint another—will you therefore on my behalf write a letter of recommendation, praying him to be pleased, or to deign, to appoint me? I have no more money, since I have spent it all, for I have even bought me some books and some shoes.

You are well aware that, by God's grace, I am competent; for when you were at Deventer I was in the second class, and I afterwards stayed in residence at Cologne for a year, so that I qualified for the Bachelor's degree, and I should have graduated at Michaelmas if I had had the money. I know how to expound the Boys' Exercise-book to learners, and the Opus Minus (Part II.), and I know the art of Scansion as you taught it me, and Peter of Spain in all his works, and the Parvulus of Natural Philosophy. I am a singer too, and am skilled in plain-song and prick-song, and I have a bass voice withal, and can sing one note below contra-C.

I call these things to your mind in no vainglorious spirit; pardon me, therefore—and so I commend you to God Almighty.

Zwolle.

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MAGISTER CONRAD OF ZWICKAU
sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius

INASMUCH as you have written to apprize me of all things concerning your mistress—how dearly you dote upon her, and how she cherisheth you, and sendeth you posies and kerchiefs and girdles and the like, and taketh no guerdon from you, as is the wont of venal hussies—and how, when her spouse goeth abroad, you visit her to her great content—and how you thrice embraced her in succession, and once on the threshold behind the door, chanting "Attolite portas!"—and how, when her husband returned you fled privily by way of the garden—I therefore will in turn now relate how I have fared with my lady-love.

She is a topping dame, and a wealthy, and I scraped acquaintance with her by a strange chance, for a certain gentleman-commoner, a friend of the Bishop's, was our go-between. Straightway I fell over head and ears in love with her, till by day I knew not what I did, and at night I could not sleep. But when I would have slumbered I cried aloud from my bed, "Dorothea! Dorothea! Dorothea!" so that the students in the hostel heard me, and ran to me, saying, "Herr Magister, what would you, that you thus cry aloud? If you would fain make confession, we will fetch you a priest"—for they thought I was at the point of death and cried upon S. Dorothea with other saints. Thereupon I was mightily abashed. Nevertheless when I visited my beloved I was always so terrified that I durst not regard her, but grew red from head to foot. Then quoth she, "Prithee, Herr Magister, why so shy?" Then I said that I was afeared to tell her. But she must needs have an answer, and would not let me go until I told her—she said, moreover, that she would not be out with me, tho' my words were downright roguishness. Then at last I grew bold and opened my heart to her. Can you call to mind how that you explained long ago, when you expounded Ovid in his "Art of
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Love," that lovers ought to be as bold as warriors, else it availed them not?

Then said I to her, "Reverend mistress mine, forgive me for God's love, and for your honour's sake—but I love you, and I have chosen you from among all the children of men; for you are fair among women, and there is no spot in you. You are the goodliest that there is in the whole world." Then she laughed, and said, "Pardy! you talk full loverly—if I could but trust you!" And after that I often visited her at her house, and drank with her. And when I was in the church I always stood where I could see her, and in turn she looked me through and through. At last I earnestly asked her to keep me in her thoughts—whereupon she declared that I loved her not. But I swore that I loved her as my own mother, and that I would dare all things in her service, though it should cost me my life. Then answered the lady fair: "I would fain learn if that be so," and she made a cross with chalk upon the door of her house, and said: "If you love me, you will kiss that cross, for my sake, every evening after dark." This I did for many days, but at last came some one and smeared the cross with filth, and when I kissed it I defiled my lips and teeth and nose. Then was I full of wrath against the lady; but she swore by the Holy of Holies that she had no hand in the matter. And I believe her, for she is in all else an honourable woman.

I have suspicion of a student here, that the deed was his. Can I but bring it home to him—verily I say unto you, he shall have his reward! But she useth me in more friendly wise than formerly, and I trust I shall yet gain her favours. She heard of late that I was a poet. Then quoth she: "I have been told that you are a jolly rhymer—so you must write me a ballad!" This I did, and I sang it in the street at even-tide that she might hear; and afterwards I rendered it for her into German. It runneth thus:—

Venus benign! of love the fountain and the queen!
Why frownest thou on me with such a hostile mien?
Oh, Dorothea mine! whom I for mistress choose,
Me for thy leman true, in turn, do not refuse!

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GERHARD SCHIRRUGEL

Fairest of maidens all that in this city are,
Thy smile is like a rose, thy twinkle like a star!

She said that she would keep this as long as she lived, for my sake. I pray you give me counsel how to comport myself, and how to make her love me. Forgive me for having so grossly written to your worthiness. It is my wont to unbosom myself to my friends. Farewell, in the name of the Blessed.

From Leipsic.

XXII

GERHARD SCHIRRUGEL to Magister Ortwin Gratius

Manifold greeting to thee, in the glorious name of our Master, Who from the dead arose, and now is enthroned in heaven.

HONORED Sir, I would have you know that I abide here reluctantly, and it irketh me that I remained not at Cologne with you, where I should have made fairer progress. You, indeed, would have been able to make me a good syllogiser, and even in some sort a poet. In Cologne folk are devout, and gladly visit the churches, and on Sundays they flock to the sermon. The arrogance of this place is not to be seen there. Here the students show no deference to the magisters, and the magisters pay no heed to the students, but let them go wheresoe'er they will; and they wear no hoods. When they are in their cups they take God’s name in vain, and blaspheme, and do many unseemly things. A little while ago, for instance, a fellow said that he did not believe the Holy Coat of Treves to be our Lord’s Coat, but a lousy old rag; and he said that he did not believe that a single hair of the Blessed Virgin remained in the world. Another further said that like enough the Three Kings at Cologne were three boors from Westphalia, and that the sword and shield of St. Michael were not St. Michael’s. He swore, too, that the indulgences of the Preaching Friars were
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only fit for the jakes, and that the Friars themselves were a pack of jack-puddings, who deceived women and churls. Then cried I, "To the stake, to the stake with such a heretic!"

But he laughed in my face. Then said I, "Thou rascal, if thou shouldest but say such things in the ears of Doctor Hoogstraten of Cologne, the Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity!" Quoth he, "Hoogstraten is a vile and damnable beast," and thereupon he railed against him, and said "Johann Reuchlin is an upright man, but the theologians are devils, and unjustly have they given sentence that his book, the Augenspiegel should be burned."

Then I answered, "Say not so, for it is written in the eighth chapter of Ecclesiasticus: 'Deem thou not against the judge, for after that is righteous he deemeth.' Knowest thou not that the University of Paris, where the theologians are learned and zealous and cannot err, hath decided as Cologne hath? Wherefore wilt thou fight against the universal Church?" Then he averred that the theologians of Paris were unjust judges, and that they took from the Predicant Friars a bribe which—so the lying rascal said—was conveyed to them by that most zealous and learned man Herr Theodoric von Gouda, legate of the University of Cologne. Moreover he swore that the church I spake of was not God's Church, but that of which the Psalmist spake, "I have hated the congregation of evil doers, and will not sit with the wicked." And he reviled the Doctors of Paris for all that they did; saying that the University of Paris was the mother of all foolishness, which, taking there its rise, spread into Germany and Italy, and that that University sowed broadcast superstition and folly. He said too that, as a rule, all students of Paris were wrong-headed and in a manner numskulls. In conclusion he declared the Talmud not to be under the ban of the Church. Then Doctor Peter Meyer, parish priest of Frankfort, who was seated hard by, said, "I will prove to you that this fellow is no good Christian and holdeth not with the opinion of the Church. By'r lady! you fellows talk much about theology, and know nothing.

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Rechlin even doth not know where it is written that the Talmud is a forbidden book."

"And where is it written?" asked the fellow.

Then Doctor Peter told him that it was written in "The Fortress of Faith." Then the braggart made answer that "The Fortress of Faith" was a dung-hill book, and of no account, and that none save a ninny or a dunce cited that book. Then I was overcome with fear, for Doctor Peter was so wroth that his hands trembled, and I feared lest he should do the fellow an injury, but I said to him, "Good Sir, prithee have patience, for 'Who is patient is governed with much wisdom.'—Proverbs xiii. Let him alone and he will perish like the dust before the wind. He speaketh much, yet knoweth nothing. As it is written in Ecclesiasticus, 'A fool multiplieth words,' so doth he." And then, oh shame! the fellow began to say many things against the Order of Preachers—how that those pious friars did a deed of wickedness at Berne that I would not credit to save my life—how that they were burned at the stake—and how that the Preachers once mingled poison in the Eucharistic Sacrament and thus murdered an Emperor. He declared that the whole Order should be blotted out—for otherwise great scandals would be caused in the Church, since from that Order proceedeth all malice—and many other such like things he said.

Know then of a truth that I earnestly desire to return to Cologne, for what can I do among such accursed men as these? "May death come upon them, and may they go down alive into the pit," as saith the Psalmist, for they are sons of Belial. If it seemeth good to you, I will first of all take my degree—but if not, I will depart immediately. Speedily therefore send me your opinion: therewith will I be governed. And now I commend you to the Lord. Farewell.

Mainz.

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I NASMUCH as you were once my pupil at Deventer, where I loved you before all my scholars, in that you were a youth of good parts and very towardly, I therefore am ever mindful to give you good counsel whenever it lieth in my power.

But you must take it in good part, for God who seeth the heart knoweth that I speak but for love of you, and for the saving of your soul.

There were here of late certain folk, hailing from Cologne, and they declared that there is a woman in that city who is oft at your house, and that you are oft at hers, and have commerce with her. Now when I heard these sayings I was smitten with great dread, for if this be true, it is a grievous scandal, seeing that you are a graduate and will in due time rise to higher things, to wit, a degree in sacred Theology. Moreover, when such doings of yours are noised abroad, a bad example is set to the young, who are thereby corrupted. You know how that the son of Sirach saith: "For many have perished by the beauty of a woman; for hereby lust is enkindled as a fire;" The Preacher, too, toucheth the matter: "Turn away thy face from a woman dressed up, and look not upon another's beauty;" and again: "Gaze not upon a maiden, lest her beauty be a stumbling-block to thee." Full well you know that incontinence is a grievous sin.

Moreover, what is worse, I hear that this woman liveth in lawful wedlock with her husband. For the Lord's sake send her packing, and have regard to your own good name. It is a disgrace that men should say of a theologian that he is an avouter; and yet in other matters your repute is fair enough, and all deem you a competent scholar—as I well know you to be. Once every day you must devoutly call to remembrance the Lord's Passion, for that is a powerful remedy against
the wiles of the Devil and the thorn in the flesh; seek, too, in your prayers that you may be preserved from all evil thoughts. It is my belief that you have been reading about such things in the heathen poets, and are corrupted thereby. Would that you might cast away all their works, for you know that St. Jerome himself was smitten by an angel for reading a book of poetry. At Deventer I often urged you not to become a Poet or a Jurist, for such men are evil-affectioned towards the Faith, and almost all are loose livers. Concerning them the Psalmist saith: “Thou hast hated them that regard vanities to no purpose.”

There is another matter on which I have a mind to counsel you. The rumour goeth that you have written, in defence of the Faith, against Johann Reuchlin. This is well enough, if you would use to your profit the talent that God hath given you. But it is reported here that Johann Pfefferkorn, the man whom you buttress, is a worthless knave, and became not a Christian for love of the Faith, but, because the Jews would have fain have hanged him for his wrong doings—for they say he is a thief and a traitor—he was baptized to save himself. And all aver that at heart he is a sorry Christian, and will not abide in the Faith. Therefore take heed what you do. Already they have burnt at Halle another baptized Jew, also named Johann Pfefferkorn, for his many evil deeds. I fear me that this fellow will tread in his steps, and then you will be in a quandary.

Nevertheless, continue to defend Theology, and take in good part my brotherly counsel. Fare ye well, in all prosperity.

Magdeburg.

XXIV

Paul Daubengigel sendeth goodly greeting to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

See now whether I am a liar, as you lately said I was, in that I was always promising to write to you and yet wrote not. Hereby I will prove that I keep faith with you—for
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a discreet and upright man should make no promise that he doth not keep. It would be the height of fickleness in me not to keep my promises to you, and I should be a deceiver.

You must write back to me, and then we will often send, or address, letters in turn to each other.

Now you must know that Doctor Reuchlin hath published a book entitled "A Defence," in which he is scandalously abusive, and calleth you an ass. And I felt greatly ashamed as I read that book—not that I read it all, for I threw it against the wall when I found that it was full of malice against the Theologians and Artsmen.

You may read it, an you will, because I am sending it to you herewith. It seemeth to me that the author and the book ought to be burned together, for it is a monstrous scandal that anybody should compile such a volume.

I was lately at the horse-market, for I wanted to buy a horse to take me to Vienna, and it was then that I saw the book exposed for sale, and I thought to myself that you ought to see it, so that you might write a rejoinder to its falsehoods—and if I could do you some greater service I would not delay, for in me you have a humble servant and adherent.

You may know that hitherto I have had weak eyes, but a certain Alchemist came here who said he knew how to heal eyes—even if a man were stark blind with that malady. In other leechcraft too he had much experience, for he had roved through Italy and France, and many provinces. Every Alchemist, as you know, is either a leech or a quack-salver—but this fellow was something out at elbows. You ask me how I thrive in general. I thank you for asking, and you must know that, by God's grace, I am doing well. At the last vintage I pressed much wine, and of crops I have an abundance.

By way of news I may tell you that our most serene Lord, the Emperor, is sending a great force into Lombardy, against the Venetians, and intendeth to chastise them for their insolence. I saw full two thousand men with six standards; half had spears, and half, culverins or arquebuses; they were indeed right formidable, and had
slashed hose, and they wrought much scathe to the country-folk and villagers. Folk said that they hoped they would all be slain, but I trust they will all return safe and sound. Send me, I pray you, by the carrier, what Brulifer has written concerning Scotus, his Formalis\textit{\text{t}i}t\textit{a}t\textit{e}s \textit{\text{e}t} \textit{D}i\textit{s}t\textit{i}n\textit{t}i\textit{o}n\textit{e}s; and also "The \textit{S}hield" of the Thomists in the Aldine character, if you can come by it.

I greatly desire also to see your tractate on the \textit{Method of Versifying}.

Buy for me, too, Boethius in all his works, but especially his \textit{De Disciplina Scholari\textit{u}m}, and his \textit{De Consolatione Philosophica} with the Commentary of the \textit{Holy Doctor}.

And now, farewell, and hold me not in disesteem.

Augsburg.

XXV

\textit{\text{M}AG\text{I}STER PHILIPP STEINMETZ} to Mag. Ort\textit{w}in Gratius, greeting

\textit{A}s I have oft\textit{t}imes told you, I chafe bitterly because that vile \textit{raff}, to wit the Faculty of Poets, groweth and extendeth throughout every province and region. In my time there was only one poet—and his name was Samuel—but now in a single burg a good score may be found, to harass us who cling to the ancients. Just now I sharply nibbed one who said that "scholaris" did not mean a person who went to school to learn, for, quoth I, "Thou ass! Wouldst thou correct the Holy Doctor who useth that word?" But forthwith he wrote a lampoon against me, with many scurrilities therein, and vowed that I was no sound grammarian, in that I had not rightly expounded certain words when I treated of \textit{Alexander}, his First Part, and of the book \textit{De modis significandi}.

Now therefore I will set down in due form those words, that you may see that I have rightly expounded them according to all the vocabularies, and I can moreover cite canonical writers, even in Theology. First, I
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maintained that "seria" sometimes meaneth a pot, and in that case is derived from Syria as being first made in that country; or from "serius," because useful and necessary; or from "series," because pots stand in a row. Again, "patricians" were so called as being the fathers of senators. "Currus" is derived from "currendo" because therewith things within run out. "Jus, juris" signifies justice, but "jus, jutis," broth, as the verse runneth:

"Jus, jutis, mando: jus, juris, in agmine pando."

Again, "Lucar" signifies money culled from a grove or forest. "Mantellus" means a cloak, and hence proceedeth the diminutive "manticulus." "Mechanicus" means adulterous, and hence the "mechanical arts" are named, as being adulterine, when compared with the liberal arts, which are true-born. "Mensorium" means that which appertains to a table, "mensa." Again, Polychistor signifies one who knows many histories, whence cometh Polychistoria—that is a multitude of histories. Polysenus means "possessing many senses."

These, and such-like teachings the fellow declared to be false, and he put me to shame before my pupils. Then I alleged that it sufficed for a man's eternal salvation that he should be a simple grammarian, and at least know how to express his thoughts. But he replied that I was neither a simple nor a duplex grammarian, and knew nothing at all. Thereat I rejoiced, for now I shall cite him for breach of the privileges of the University of Vienna, where he will have to answer me—for there by God's grace I have graduated Magister: and if I proved learned enough in the eyes of a whole university, I am learned enough for a single poet. Is not a university greater than a poet? Believe me I would not forego that slander for twenty florins.

The rumour goes that all the Poets here will take Doctor Renchlin's part against the Theologians, and that one of them hath composed a book entitled "The Triumph of Capnion" which contains many libels upon you. Would that all the poets were where the pepper groweth, and would let us rest in peace, for it is to be feared that the Faculty of Arts will perish through these same
poets! For they say that the Artsmen decoy youths, and take their money, and make Bachelors and Doctors of them though they know nothing. And they have brought it about that students no longer desire to graduate even in Arts, but all wish to became Poets. I have a friend who is a worthy youth, and talented withal; and his parents sent him to Ingolstadt, and I gave him a letter of introduction to a Magister there who is duly qualified in Arts and intendeth to graduate Doctor of Divinity—but the youngster must needs quit the Magister and attend the lectures of Philomusus the poet. Of a truth I am woundily grieved for that young man, as it is written, Prov. xiv., "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord"; for if he had but stayed with the Magister he would have been Bachelor by this time. And now his labour is in vain—if he were to study Poetry for ten years.

I know that these profane poets harass you greatly, notwithstanding that you are a poet yourself—but not of that kind: for you hold with the Church and are moreover well-grounded in Theology. When you indite verses they deal not with vanities, but with the praises of the Saints. Most earnestly do I desire to know how that affair of Doctor Reuchlin's standeth. If I can be of any service to you therein prithee let me know, and tell me all things concerning it. Farewell.

XXVI

ANTON RÜBENSTADT amicably and with hearty affection wisheth weal to Magister Ortwin Gratius

VENERABLE Herr Magister, I would have you know that at this present I have not the leisure for writing to you concerning matters that press not urgently, but solely that you may reply to a single question that I will propound forthwith: whether, namely, a Doctor of Laws is bound to make obeisance to a Magister-noster who weareth not his rightful habit. The garb of a Doctor of Divinity, as you know, con-
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sisteth of a large cope with a loripoop. Now there is a Doctor here, a graduate in Canon and Civil Law, who hath a grudge against Magister-noster Peter Meyer the parish priest. Lately the Jurist met in the street Magister Peter, who was not garbed in his canonicals, and he made him no obeisance. Then it was said that he had not done well, for even if he were out with him, yet he should have done him reverence for the honour of sacred Theology. We may be at odds with a person without insulting his Faculty, and the Magisters stand in the Apostles' place, of whom it is written, "How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things." If, therefore, their feet are beautiful, how much fairer are their heads and their hands. It is meet, therefore, for every man, even a prince, to do reverence and honour to the Theologians and Magisters. But the Jurist made reply, and cited in a precisely opposite sense the Laws, and many passages in Scripture, where it is written, "I will judge you according to your ways"; and he argued that we need do reverence to no man who doth not go about in his proper habit, even if he were a prince. "When a priest," quoth he, "is detected in some disgraceful act, while he is not garbed as a priest should be, but is in lay attire, then the secular judge can hale him and treat him as a layman, and sentence him to corporal punishment, benefit of clergy notwithstanding." This is what the Jurist said, but, I pray you, unfold your opinion, and if of yourself you cannot tell, there are jurists and theologians in the University of Cologne with whom to take counsel. I would fain know the truth, for God is truth, and whose loveth truth loveth God also.

You might likewise send me word how matters stand in that suit of yours against Doctor Rencchin. I hear that he is beggared by reason of the great law costs, and right glad of it I am. But I trust that with the Theologians and you will rest the victory. Farewell, in the Lord's name.

FRANKFORT.
JOHANN STABLER of MILTENBERG sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratus

YOU have ever been minded to learn the news from me, and just now I can, and will, send you tidings, though I grieve that they are ill.

You must know, then, that the Friars of the Order of Preachers here held certain indulgences which they procured from the Roman Court at a great price, and that therefrom they derived no small gain. And then by night some thief broke into the Church, filched more than three hundred florins, and made off with them. Thereupon the Friars, men full of zeal, and warmly affectioned in the Christian Faith, were sad at heart, and bewailed concerning that thief. And the citizens sent hither and thither and could not find him, for he had escaped and taken the money with him. Great is the wickedness of such a crime, committed against the papal indulgences and in a holy place, and the robber is excommunicate wherever he may be. The folk who had been absolved, and had paid their fees into the chest, now believe that they are unshriven: but this fear is groundless—they are just as truly shriven as if the Preachers still possessed the money.

You must know, too, that certain fellows who support Doctor Reuchlin have come hither, and spread abroad many rumours, and aver that the Friars obtained those indulgences from Rome that with their price they might harry the Doctor, and in the cause of the Faith trouble him; and that folk should give them not a doit, whatever their condition—high or low, rich or poor, religious or secular. Not long ago I was present at the proceedings at Mainz that the Magisters instituted against Reuchlin; now there is a certain preacher there, in the Cathedral, who graduated Doctor of Divinity at Heidelberg, Bartholomew Zehender by name—or, in the Latin, Decimarius—and from the pulpit he enjoined all men to come on the morrow to see the "Augenspiegel"
burnt, inasmuch as he deemed it impossible that Doctor Reuchlin could devise any quibble to prevent that being done. But a fellow here, a Poet by repute, went about uttering foul words against the aforesaid Doctor of Divinity, and when he met him glared at him with snaky and venomous eyes: and he cried openly, "That preacher is not worthy to sit at the same table with honest men; and I can prove that he is a vile poltroon, for in the pulpit of your church, before all the congregation, he lied against the good report of an illustrious man, and said that which is not." Then he cried, "Out of envy do they torment the good Doctor!" And he called Decimarius a beast and a dog, and swore that no heretic was ever so malicious and envious. Now this saying came to the ears of the preacher, and he excused himself—sufficiently as it seemeth to me—saying that although the book had not been burnt, perhaps nevertheless it would be burnt later on; moreover he quoted Scripture in many places to prove that nothing any one may say in defence of the Catholic Faith is a lie. He declared, moreover, that the bailiffs and officers of the Bishop of Mainz had hindered the execution of the sentence, contrary to all justice, but that folk would see what would happen yet, for he would venture a prophecy that the book would be burnt, though the Emperor, and the King of France, and every Prince and Duke maintained Doctor Reuchlin's cause. I deem it well to inform you of these things, that you may be forewarned—and I beg of you to walk warily in all your ways, lest you incur reproach. And so, farewell.

Miltenberg.

XXVIII

+A FRIAR CONRAD DOLLENKOPF to Mag. Ortwin Gratius, greeting, with the humblest devotion, and daily intercessions to our Lord Jesus Christ

Take it not amiss, Reverend Sir, if I write to you concerning affairs of my own, albeit you have weightier matters to give heed to.

But you told me erstwhile to keep you acquainted
with my studies, and never to weary of learning, but to press forward, seeing that I had rare capacities, and might, by God's help, excel if I were fain.

You must know, then, that for the present I have betaken myself to the University of Heidelberg, where I am studying Theology. But I attend likewise a daily lecture on Poetics, and in this art I am making, by God's grace, notable progress.

I already know by rote all the fables of Ovid in his Metamorphoses, and these I can expound quadruply—to wit, naturally, literally, historically, and spiritually—and this is more than the secular poets can do.

Just now I asked one of those fellows whence "Mavors" is derived. Whereupon he put forth a conjecture, but it was false.

Then I set him right, and told him that Mavors was so named as being, so to speak, "mares vorans," a man-eater—and he was put to confusion.

I next demanded of him what is signified allegorically by the Nine Muses. And again he was at fault. Then I told him that the Nine Muses signify the Seven Quires of Angels.

Thirdly, I asked him whence "Mercurius" is derived. But he did not know, and I showed him that Mercurius was so named as being "mercatorum curius"—for he is the god of merchants, and curious concerning them.

You will hence understand that nowadays these Poets do but study their art literally, and do not comprehend allegorizing and spiritual expositions: as saith the Apostle, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God."

Now you may ask whence I have obtained this subtle skill. I reply that I lately bought a book composed by a certain English Doctor, of our Order, Thomas of Wales by name; and this book is all writ concerning Ovid's Metamorphoses, explaining each story allegorically and spiritually, and its profundity in Theology passeth belief.

Most assuredly hath the Holy Spirit inspired this man with so great learning, for in his book he setteth forth the harmonies between the Holy Scriptures and
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the fables of the Poet, and of these you may judge from the instances subjoined:

Of the Python that Apollo slew, the Psalmist saith, “This dragon which thou hast formed to play therein.” And, again, “Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk.”

Concerning Saturn—who is always feigned an old man, and the father of the gods—devouring his own children, Ezekiel saith: “The fathers shall eat the sons in the midst of thee.”

Diana signifieth the Blessed Virgin Mary, going hither and thither with a virgin company. And therefore it is written in the Psalms, “The virgins that be her fellows”; and, elsewhere, “Draw me, we will run after thee in the savour of thine ointments.”

Concerning Jupiter, who after the deflowering of Callisto returned to heaven, it is written, Matt. xii., “I will return to my house from whence I came out.”

Of the lapidification of the maiden Aglauros, whom Mercury turned into a stone, Job hinteth, “Whose heart is as firm as a stone.”

Also, it is related in Holy Writ how Jupiter had commerce with the virgin Europa, though formerly I knew it not, for he spake to her thus, “Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear, because the King hath pleasure in thy beauty.”

Cadmus, too, seeking for his sister, is a figure of Christ who seeketh for his sister, to wit, the soul of man; and he buildeth a city, that is, the Church.

Concerning Actaeon, who beheld Diana naked, Ezekiel prophesied, saying, “Thou wast bare and full of confusion, and I passed by thee and saw thee.”

Not without cause is it written in the Poets that Bacchus was twice born, for by him is denoted Christ, who was twice born, once before the worlds, and a second time humanly and carnally.

Semele also, who nursed Bacchus, is an image of the Blessed Virgin, of whom it is written in Exodus, “Take this child away and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages.”

Furthermore the story of Pyramus and Thisbe is to be allegorically and spiritually expounded thus:
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Pyramus signifieth the Son of God, and Thisbe, the soul of man, which Christ loveth, and concerning which it is written in the Gospel, "A sword shall pierce through thy own soul also." And in like manner Thisbe slew herself with her lover's sword.

Concerning Vulcan, who was thrown down from heaven and was made lame, it is written in the Psalms: "They were cast down and could not stand."

All this, and much more, I have learnt out of that book. If you were but with me you should behold marvellous things.

And this is the way in which we ought to study Poetry.

Nevertheless you will forgive me if I seem, as it were, to be instructing your worthiness (for your learning is greater than mine), but it is in good faith that I have written.

I have arranged that one of the folk at Tübingen should keep me informed of Doctor Reuchlin's doings, so that I might warn you. But I have learnt nothing, or I would let you know.

And now, farewell, in love unfeigned.

Heidelberg.

XXIX

MAGISTER TILMANN LUMPLIN to Magister Ortwin Gratius, greeting

"I AM more brutish than any man, and have no understanding; I neither learned wisdom, nor have the knowledge of the holy" (Prov. xxx.). Yet scorn me not if I make bold to give you counsel in your affairs, for I do this with good intent. I desire, moreover, to monish you according to my knowledge, and modestly to chide you, for "vexation giveth understanding." Now it is written in the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, "He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled therewith." And thus it falleth out in your case, since you are fain to have me for a friend; wherefore you must take my chastenings in good part.

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I have perceived, or understood, that you hold your peace in the matter of Johann Reuchlin, and make no rejoinder to his attacks. Therefore I have great wrath, for I love you, and it is written, "Whom I love, I chasten." Wherefore did you begin to retort to him if you meant not to persevere? Are you not man enough for him? By the Lord you are, and especially do you excel him in Theology, wherefore you should reply to him, and defend your reputation, and preach the Christian Faith, against which that heretic writeth. You should have respect unto no man, as saith Solomon in Ecclus. viii.

Fear not the power of the Jurists—lest they should do you carnal hurt—for you must suffer such things for the faith and the truth. As saith Christ, in St. Matthew's Gospel, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove hence, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible unto you." But it is impossible for Doctor Reuchlin to write what is true, for he hath not wholly kept the faith, since he defendeth the Jews, who are foes of the faith; and he holdeth not with the opinions of the Doctors; moreover he is a sinner, as Dr. Johann Pflefferkorn setteth forth in his book entitled "The Tocsin." Now sinners should not meddle with Holy Writ, as it is written in the xliith Psalm, "But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth?" Wherefore I exhort you, and I beseech you from my very midriff, to boldly defend yourself, that men may say, to your praise, that you have been a bulwark to the Church and to your own good name. Have respect unto no man—even though the Pope should inhibit you—for the Church is above the Pope.

I pray thee have me excused for counselling you, for I love thee—lord, thou knowest that I love thee.

Fare thee well, in all stoutness of body and of soul.
JOHANN SCHNARRHOLTZ, licentiate, in posse, sendeth exuberant greetings, together with his humblest duty, to the most erudite and enlightened Magister Ortwin Gratius, Theologian, Poet and Orator, of Cologne, his most venerated master and preceptor.

MOST cordial and profound Herr Magister Ortwin: I, Johann Schnarrholtz, ere long licentiate in Theology in the University of Tübingen, greatly desire to seek counsel of your worthiness; but I fear lest this may savour of irreverence, seeing that you are of such learning, and of such high repute in Cologne, that no man dareth to draw near your worthiness without due forethought—as it is written, “Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?”

Nevertheless you are lowly-minded, and can bemean yourself, as saith the Scripture, “Whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted, and he that exalteth himself shall be abased.” Therefore will I put off diffidence, and confer boldly with your worthiness—yet so as with reverence meet.

I lately heard a certain Magister of Paris deliver a sermon here, before a great congregation on the Feast of the Ascension. He took for his text, “God is gone up with a shout”; and he preached a notable sermon, so that all who heard lauded it, and, with tears, were edified. The preacher in the second part of his discourse deduced two masterly and subtle inferences. First, that when the Lord ascended on high with uplifted hands, then the apostles with the Blessed Virgin stood and shouted until they were hoarse, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, “I am weary of crying, and my throat is dry.” He proved, moreover, that this outcry was a shout of joy, and furthermore necessary for the Catholic faith, as saith the Lord in the Evangel, “Verily, verily I say unto you, if these should hold their peace, the stones would cry out.”
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They all shouted with rapture and great zeal—especially St. Peter, who had a voice like a sackbut—as David witnesseth, "This poor man cried." The Blessed Virgin shouted not, but praised God in her heart, because she knew that all these things should come to pass as the Angel had foreshewn. And while the Apostles thus shouted together with jubilation and devotion, an angel came from heaven and said unto them, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye here shouting, and gazing into heaven? This same Jesus who is taken from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as you have seen," and this was done that the Scripture might be fulfilled which saith, "They cried, and the Lord heard them."

The second conclusion was yet more profound, as followeth: The Son of Man had his passion, his burial, and his resurrection at Jerusalem, which is the centre of the earth, that his resurrection should be manifest in all regions, and that no heathen might make excuse for his heresy, and say, "I knew not that the Lord was risen from the dead." Now whatsoever is at the centre, all men round about the centre can behold, but in order that no unbeliever should find the least excuse for evasion, in that place where the Lord ascended, in the very core and centre of the earth, there hangeth a bell that all the world can hear, and when it tolleth it giveth forth dreadful voices concerning Doomsday and the ascension of the Lord; and its tolling even the deaf attend. And from this conclusion he deduced many corollaries which he had learnt in Paris. And when he had ended, a certain Magister from Erfurt would fain cavil at the discourse, but he was discomfited. If you will tell me of the books that deal with these matters I will buy them.

BASLE (at the house of the Beatus Rhenanus, your friend).
XXXI

WILLIBRORD NICETI, of the Order of Wilhelmites, Cursor in Theology, by authority of the most reverend the General of his Order, commendeth himself to Bartholomew Colp, qualified Bachelor in Theology, of the Order of Carmelites

As many as drops in the midst of the sea,
Or Beguins in holy Cologne that there be—
As many as hairs on a jackass's hide;
So many my greetings—and many beside.

VENERABLE Herr Carmelite Colp, your Order, I trow, is of the highest, and many the indulgences that you hold from the Apostolic See: no other Order may take precedence of your Order, and many are the cases you can absolve in confession when penitents are contrite and humble and would fain communicate.

I therefore desire to propound to your worship a theological question. This you are well qualified to determine, since you are an Artsman of parts, and can ably preach, and are full of zeal and of a good conscience; moreover I have heard that you have a fine library in your Convent, in which are many books concerning Holy Scripture, and Philosophy, and Logic, and Petrus Hispanus; the magistral syllabus, too, of the Lawrence Hostel, Cologne, where resideth acting regent Doctor von Tongern—a man right zealous, profoundly versed in speculative Theology, and enlightened in the Catholic Faith. Him a certain Doctor of Laws sought to vex, but—this fellow having no craft in formal disputation nor in the Book of Sentences—the Magisters heeded him not.

Now, above all, I hear that in the library aforesaid, where the Cursors in Theology study, there is confined by a chain of iron a most notable book, named The Combilibilations, which containeth authoritative opinions in Theology, and the first principles of Holy Scripture. This Book, I hear, a certain Divine of Paris bequeathed to you upon his death-bed—when he made confession
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and revealed certain secrets out of Bonaventura—and he ordained that no man should read therein save members of your Order, but to them so doing the Pope granteth certain indulgences and remissions.

Near this book lie Henricus de Hassia, and Verneus, and all the other commentators on the Book of Sentences, in the which you are versed, and are therefore a tower of strength in every disputation, whether of ancients or moderns, Scotists or Albertists, or even of those who are of the sect of Kuick Hostel in Cologne, and have a syllabus all their own.

Therefore I beseech you, heartily and in all charity, that you will take not amiss my petition, but will give me good counsel in my perplexity in so far as in you lies, and will quote to this end what the Doctors lay down thereon in replication and conclusion. Now the aforesaid question is as followeth: “Are the Lollards and Beguins in Cologne seculars or religious? Have they taken the vows? Can they wed?”

For a long while have I searched the Discipulus and the Fasciculus Temporum and other authorities in Holy Writ, but naught have I found thereon. ’Twas the same with a priest at Fulda, deeply read in the aforesaid writings, who hath found naught thereon in the Catalogue or in the books themselves: he is kinsman of the Pastor there, who is a poet—for he is a good latiniser and he can indite theses withal. Moreover, I am myself vicar at the monastery here and have the cure of many communicants—persons from whom I can make quest. Our Superior himself hath openly declared that he cannot resolve this question, with ease to his conscience, notwithstanding that he hath attended the disputations of many Doctors at Paris and Cologne—for he is a qualified licentiate, and hath responded in due form and manner to that end.

If you are unable to decide this matter, I beg you to make enquiry of Magister Ortwin, and he will make all things clear—Gratius is he called by virtue of that divine grace within him which knoweth all things. I have put together an heroic ode concerning the book aforesaid; prithee read it and correct it, and make a mark where I have a foot too much or too little: learn,
too, what Magister Ortwin thinketh of it; and then I will send it to the printer. Followeth:

In pride presumptuous, who but a fool
From Bonaventure pregnant truths by rule
Would try to draw, or out of Holy Writ
Would seek enlightenment, while not a whit
He knoweth of the great Comibilations,
By learned Doctors taught to all the nations?
In every University professed,
But first in Paris—dam of all the rest.
Cologne divines, hamming the question out,
By proof seraphic shewed, without a doubt,
Comibilations better 'tis to quote
Than Jerome and Augustine con by rote—
(Although they scribbled Latin well enough.)
Comibilations are the primest stuff!
When Doctors in each Monast'ry contend,
With word divine Comibilations end
The brabble—and they rummage to the root
Theology: some other things they moot.

XXXII

To Magister Ortwin Gratius, that man of unutterable learning. MAGISTER GINGOLF HOLZHACKER offereth a thousand thousand greetings in love unfeigned

Gloriousest of Magisters: I have loved thee in my very midriff, with an innermost affection, from the time when thou wert my very own teacher at Deventer: and whatsoever goadeth thee in thy heart, that goadeth me more, and whatsoever goadeth me, that, I know, goadeth thee, and thy goad hath always been my goad, and no man ever goaded thee who did not goad me the more sharply, and my heart feeleth the goad whensoever any one goadeth thee: believe me faithfully that when Hermann Buschius goadeth thee in that "Prooemium" of his he goadeth me more than thee, and I have taken thought how I could goad in turn that impudent brangler, who is of such presumptuous arrogance as to dare to goad the Doctors of Divinity of Paris and Cologne! Yet he is himself not graduated 351
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—though his comrades avow that he proceeded Bachelor of Laws at Leipsic. But this I credit not, for he even goadeth Magisters in Leipsic, to wit, Hundt senior and Hundt junior, and many others, who are much the apter to goad him than he is to goad them; but they desire to goad no man, on moral grounds, and according to the precept of the Apostle, "Kick not against the goads." Nevertheless it is meet for thee to goad him in return, for thou hast a fine intellect and art a cunning deviser, and in a single hour thou canst contrive metrical goads, and canst goad him concerning all his words and deeds. I have put together a tractate against him wherein I magistrally and poetically goad him; he can by no means evade my goad. And if he ventureth to goad me in return, I will goad him again the more sharply.

In haste, from Strasburg, at the house of Matthew Schürer.

XXXIII

MAMMOTRECT BUNTEMANTEL, Magister in the Seven Liberal Arts, sendeth right hearty greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius, Philosopher, Orator, Poet, Jurist, and Theologian, of discretionary Faculty

RIGHT conscionable Herr Magister Ortwin, believe me in good sooth, you have been mine own dear heart from the days wherein I heard much discourse on Poetry from your worthiness at Cologne, where you overtop all others in that art, for you are a Poet much more excellent than Buschius or Casarius—and can moreover expound Pliny and Greek Grammar.

In all confidence, therefore, I desire to disclose somewhat to your reverence under seal of confession.

Reverend Herr Magister, I have become enamoured of a damsel here, Margaret by name, the daughter of a bell-ringer. No long while ago she sat by your own side, to wit when the parson invited your worship to the feast, and treated you with deference due; when
we drank and were merry, she too pledged you in great bumpers.

Her I love with such passion that I am beside myself. Believe me, because of her I can neither eat nor sleep. Folk say to me, "Herr Magister, why so pale? For the love of God quit your books; you study over much; you should now and again seek some diversion, and drink deep; you are yet in your youth, and are well able to proceed Doctor and become Magister Noster. You are a profound and able scholar, and are almost the equal of a Doctor."

But I am bashful, and cannot unfold my disorder. I have studied Ovid, "Of the Remedy of Love," which I annotated at Cologne under your worthiness, with many notabilia and moralisations in the margin—but it availeth not, for this love of mine waxeth from day to day.

Lately I danced with her thrice, at an evening junketing at the Mayor's house. The piper struck up the tune of "The Shepherds of Neustadt," and straightway all the dancers clasped their partners, as is the wont—so I also hugged mine right lovingly, with her bosom next my heart, and tightly did I squeeze her hand. Then she simpered, and said, "By my soul, Herr Magister, you are a sweet man, and you have softer hands than the others; you must not be a priest, you must take a wife!" Then she eyed me so amorously that I believe she loveth me—secretly. Her glance, in sooth, wounded my heart as though an arrow had pierced it, and straightway I went home with my servant, and flung myself upon my bed.

Then my mother fell a-weeping, because she thought I was sick of the plague, and she ran with my water to Dr. Brunell, crying out, "Herr Doctor, I beseech you by the Lord to heal my son; I will give you a fine shirt for a fee, because I made a vow that he should become a priest!" Then the leech cast the water, and said, "The patient is partly cholerical, and partly phlegmatical; there is danger of great intumescence in his reins, with tympanies and abdominal colics from ill concoctions. He must needs have recourse to a purgative. There is a simple named Gyni, which groweth in
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moist places and hath a rank odour, as the *Herbarius* teacheth: the roots of this herb you must triturate with the juice thereof, and therewith you must make a great cataplasm, and cover his paunch with it at the accustomed time, and he must lie upon his belly a full hour, sweating profusely. And thus without a doubt his colicky pains and tympanies will abate, for there is no other medicament so effectual as this for his distemper, as has been proved in the case of many patients. But it will assuredly be proper for him first to take a cathartic of *Album Græcum* and radish juice—four drachms of each—and all will be well.”

Then came my mother, and gave me that concoction, sorely against my will, and I was purged five times ere dawn, and I slept not at all, but all the while I ceased not to think of how I had embraced the damsel at the dance, with her breast to mine, and how she looked at me.

Now I beseech you, by all your bowels of mercy, give me a remedy for Love out of that little book of yours wherein is written “I have tried this.” You once showed it to me, saying, “See, with this book I can make any woman love me!”

And unless you do this, Herr Magister, I shall die, and for grief my mother will die too.

Heidelberg.

XXXIV

MAGISTER ORTWIN GRATIUS to his most learned friend, in friendship’s loftiest rank, Magister Mammutrectus, sendeth salutations

INASMUCH as the Scripture saith, “The Lord shall defend them who go simply,” I greatly commend your worthiness, most argute Herr Magister, in that you have opened your inmost heart to me so frankly, and yet with a nice concinnity and a pretty trick in Latinising. I, in like manner, will write to you congruously with the canons of Rhetoric, and not as a poet.
Most amicable Herr Magister, you have unfolded to me your amours, but I marvel that you are not too prudent to hanker after maidens; I warn you that in this you do ill, and that you have a sinful end in view, that may bring you to hell-fire. I deemed you prudent, and one that had no mind for such follies, for they ever have an ill event.

Nevertheless I will give you the counsel that you seek—as saith the Scripture, "Ask ye, and ye shall take." First, you must cast aside those vain imaginings concerning that Margaret of yours, for they are suggested to you by the Devil, who is the father of all sin—as Richard allegeth, in his comment on the Fourth Book. Whenevery thoughts of her assail you, fail not to cross yourself and say a paternoster, with that verse of the Psalms, "The Devil stand at his right side." Neglect not to eat consecrated salt on the Lord's Day, and sprinkle yourself with holy water that the priest of St. Rupert hath blessed. Thus may you escape from that devil who hath instilled in you so great fervour for this Margaret—who, after all, is not so comely as you think her; she hath a wart on her forehead, long red shanks, and clumsy brown hands, and her breath savoureth because of her foul teeth; moreover she hath a heavy stern, in accordance with the common saying that "Ars Margaretae is a wonderful snare." But you are so blinded by that devil-begotten passion that you perceive not her faults. She eateth and drinketh over much, and when she sat by me at table she made a bounce and said it was the foot-stool. A fairer wench than your Margaret was mine at Cologne, nevertheless I sent her packing. After she was wedded she often used to send for me through an old crone—yet I visited her but once, and then I was fuddled. I counsel you to fast twice on the Sabbath, and afterwards to make confession to a Doctor of the Order of Preachers, who will set you on your legs again. And when you have made confession you must pray to St. Christopher to bear you on his shoulders, that you backslide not, nor be souse in that great and wide sea wherein are creeping things innumerable—that is, numberless sins, as saith the Combibilator—and, finally,
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pray that you enter not into temptation. Arise betimes, wash your hands, comb your hair and be not slothful; for the Scripture saith, "God my God, to thee from light I wake." Avoid too, houses of ill-fame, for we well know that places and opportunities oft lead men into sin, and especially into lechery.

In that you desire to learn from me an experience in fascination, I must tell you that my conscience forbiddeth. When I expounded to you here Ovid in his "Art of Love," I warned you that no man ought to compass the love of women by the Black Art; and whoso gainsayeth this is in sooth excommunicate, and the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity may hale him and condemn him to the stake.

This former ensample, I pray you, bear in thy mind: A certain Bachelor of Leipsie became enamoured of a maiden—Katherine by name—the daughter of a miller, and he tossed her a magical apple, which she caught and placed in her bosom, between her breasts. Thereupon on a sudden she began to love that Bachelor like a fury, so that when she was in church she could not refrain her eyes from him, and when she should have said, "Pater noster qui es in caelo," she cried, "Oh, Bachelor, where art thou?" Even at home, when her father or mother called to her, she would answer, "Yes, Bachelor! What is your will?" Now the old folk comprehended not the matter, until a certain Doctor of Divinity, passing by the house, greeted the maiden, saying, "Goodden, Mistress Katherine! Save you! you have a fine comb!" Thereupon Katherine made answer, "God be praised, dear Bachelor! Wilt join with me in a draught of good ale?" And she held out a tankard to him. Then was that divine mightily wrath, and he made his complaint to her mother, and said, "Mistress Müller, correct your daughter, for she behaveth herself frowardly, and hath insulted our University, in that she called me 'Bachelor,' whereas I am Magister Noster! Verily, verily, I say unto you that she hath committed a deadly sin; she hath robbed me of my good fame; and this sin is not remitted until she hath restored that which she hath filched.
Other Doctors, too, she hath called 'Bachelor'—take heed therefore."

Thereupon her mother took a cudgel, and laid it about her head and back till she beshamed herself; and then she shut her up in her chamber for half a year, and fed her on bread and water. In the meantime the Bachelor gained preferment, and celebrated his first mass, and then received a cure of souls at Pardau in Saxony. But when the maiden heard thereof she leaped from a lofty window and came nigh to breaking her arm, and fled to Saxony, to the aforesaid Bachelor. She dwelleth with him unto this day, and hath borne him four sons. You know right well that this is a grievous scandal in the Church. Take heed, therefore, and shun that Black Art from which so many evils flow. But by all means use that recipe of Gyni that Dr. Brunnell hath prescribed. 'Tis a sovran remedy, and I have ofttimes tried it against such colicky spasms.

Fare ye well—you and your mother.

From Cologne; at Johann Pfefferkorn's house.

XXXV

LYRA BUNTSCHUHMACHER, Theologian, of the Order of Preachers, to Wilhelm Hackinet, Most Theological of Theologians, greeting

YOU have written me, from London in England, a long letter excellently well Latinised, and in it you adjure me to send you some tidings, whether good or bad, since you are by nature inclined ever to be hearkening to news—as are all men of a sanguine complexion, who delight to hear the concords of sweet music, and are of joyful heart at the board.

"I was greatly gladdened when I received your letter, and was as one who findeth a precious pearl; and I shewed it to Herren John Grocyn and Linacre, saying: "See, my lords, see; is not this Doctor a paragon in latinity, and composition, and the epistolary art?"
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And they vowed that they could not themselves write such a letter in the Latin tongue, though poets, and possessed both of Greek and Latin.

They extolled you, indeed, above all writers in England, France and Germany, and in every other nation under heaven.

Small wonder then that you are General of your Order, and that in France the king loveth you; for you have no peer in Latinising, nor in disputation, nor in preaching; and right well do you know how to instruct the King and the Queen in the confessional.

The two poets aforesaid also lauded you, in that you were skilled in the art rhetorical; but there was a certain young man, Richard Croke by name, who alleged against you that you did not write according to the Canons of the Art of Rhetoric: but when he made shift to prove his words he was put to confusion.

He is now at Leipsic, studying the Logic of Peter of Spain: I trow in future he will be more heedful.

But, to come to the news: The Swissers and the Landsknechts have been mightily waging war, and slaying one another in thousands; and it is to be feared that none of them will go to heaven, because they fight for pelf, and one Christian ought not to slay another. But these are matters that you heed not; the soldiers are but lewd folk, and they fight because they list.

Another piece of news is graver—God grant that it be not true—it is reported from Rome that Johann Reuchlin’s Augenspiegel hath been newly translated from the mother-tongue into Latin by the command of my lord the Pope, and that in more than two hundred passages it differeth in the Latin from the rendering made by the Doctors and Herr Johann Pfefferkorn at Cologne; they say too, for certain, that it is openly read in Rome, and is printed with the Talmud of the Jews. And they conclude from this that the Doctors are infamous falsifiers, because they have translated ill; also that they are asses, ignorant of both Latin and German; and that as they burnt that book at St. Andrew’s in Cologne, so ought they to burn their own Verdict, and the Verdict of Paris, or be themselves held as heretics.
I could weep tears of blood, so greatly do I grieve! Who that hears such things will study Theology any more, or show the Doctors of Divinity condign reverence? All folk will believe that Doctor Reuchlin hath more learning than the Divines: though this is impossible.

It is reported too, that after three months a final decree against the Doctors will issue; and that the Pope will command, under pain of the severest censure, that the friars of the Order of Preachers, shall on account of their insolence, wear, in white, upon the back of their black mantles, a pair of spectacles, or barnacles, in perpetual memorial, to their shame, of their having wrought ill to the Eyeglass of Herr Johann Reuchlin, as they are also held to be disgraced on account of the poisoning of some Emperor or other during the celebration of mass.

But I hope the Pope will not be such a noddy as to do this; if he doth, we must everywhere throughout our Order, recite against him the Psalm "Deus, laudem."

The Fathers and Doctors are pondering how to stave off this calamity. They purpose to seek from the Apostolic See plenary indulgences, and to collect great store of money in Germany and France, and by this means to hold out against that abettor of the Jews, until he die—for he is an old man. And then they will totally damn him.

Farewell, give counsel to the extent of your ability, and labour for the good of our Order.

XXXVI

EITELNARRABIANUS VON PESSENECK, Cursor in Theology, of the Order of St. Wilhelm, sendeth innumerable salutations to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

"We are by nature prone to sin," as we read in the Authentica. Hence it followeth that among men we hear more evil than good report. I lately held disputation at Worms with two Jews, and proved that
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their Law was made by Christ of none effect, and that their expectation of a Messiah was mere moonshine; and on this matter I quoted Herr Johann Pfefferkorn of Cologne. Then they laughed, and said, “That Johann Pfefferkorn of yours is a vile braggart; he knoweth no Hebrew, and he became a Christian to hide his naughtiness. When he was yet a Jew, in Moravia, seeing a woman standing at a money-changer’s counter, he smote her in the face, so that she was blinded, and seizing more than two hundred florins, he made off with them. Elsewhere a gallows was set up that he might be hanged thereon for theft, but by some means or other he escaped scot-free; we have seen the gallows ourselves, and so have many Christians, and some noblemen, whom we can name. Call not to witness, therefore, a thief like him.” Then was I wrath, and made answer, “You lie in your throats, vile Jews! Were you not privileged, I would seize you by the weasand and roll you in the mire! You speak thus out of hatred to Herr Johann Pfefferkorn; he is as good and zealous a Christian as any in Cologne: this I know from observation, for he confesseth regularly to the Dominicans, together with his wife; he rejoicest to hear mass, and when the priest elevateth the Host he regardeth it devoutly, and casteth not his eyes down to the ground, as his revilers aver—save when he hawketh, and this he doth because he is rheumy and taketh pectorals of a morning. Think you that the Doctors and Burgomasters of Cologne are fools, who have set him over the Revilien Hospital, and made him surveyor of salt? Assuredly they would not have this done if he had not been a good Catholic. I warn you that I shall relate all your words to him, for he can well defend his honour, and trounce you to some purpose by writing about your own Confession. You say, forsooth, that he is cokkered by the Magisternosters and Burgomasters because he hath a fair wife. But this is not sooth, for the Burgomasters have fair wives themselves, and the Magisternosters pay no heed to woman-kind; none ever heard tell of a Magisternoster who was a gallant! The dame is as honest a matron as any in Cologne; she would rather lose an eye than her good fame. Moreover I have often heard that her mother
used to say that the circumcised are dearer to a woman's heart than the uncircumcised; wherefore she declareth that when her husband dieth, and she taketh another spouse, he must be one who hath been fitly trimmed. It is unbelievable, therefore, that she hankereth after Burgomasters, who have never been Jews, and are not circumcised as is Herr Johann Pfefferkorn. Wherefore leave him in peace, else he will launch against you a tractate which he will call The Tocsin, as he did against Reuchlin.” It would be well for you to show this letter of mine to Herr Johann Pfefferkorn, that he may stoutly defend himself against such Jews as these, and against Hermann Busch, for Pfefferkorn is mine own familiar friend, and lent me ten florins when I was admitted qualified Bachelor in Theology.

From Bonn; where Buschius and his crony board together at "The Fatted Hen."

XXXVII

LUPOLD FEDERFUCHSER, Licentiate—in a little while—sendeth to Mag. Gratian greetings as many as are the blades of grass in a goose's supper

HERR MAGISTER ORTWIN, among the quodlibets at Erfurt a vengeance subtle question hath been mooted in the two Faculties of Theology and Natural Philosophy.

The one part hold that when a Jew becometh a Christian there ensueth a preputial regeneration, or retrieval of the virile deprivation inflicted in childhood under the Judaic law.

These disputants are of the Theological Faculty, and they allege for their part sundry weighty reasons, one whereof is that were it not so, Jews who had become Christians might be regarded as being yet Jews at the last Judgment—their virile deficiency being made manifest—and hence an injury would be done to them; but the Lord doth injury to no man.—Q.E.D.

And they find another argument in the words of the Psalmist, who saith: “He covereth me in the day of evils, in the secret place he covereth me” : but “the day
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of evils" meaneth the Day of Doom in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, when account of all sins must be rendered. Other arguments I omit for brevity's sake, for we at Erfurt are moderns, and the moderns ever delight in brevity, as you know. Moreover, in that my memory is weak, I cannot learn by rote a multitude of citations, as do the Jurists.

But there are others who contend that this argument holdeth not, and they quote Plautus on their side, who saith: "What is done cannot be undone." From this they prove that if a Jew in the days of his Judaism lost any portion of his corporality he will by no means recover it in Christian baptism. They argue, too, that their opponents' proof concludeth illogically; for, from their major premiss it would follow that Christians who had, through loose living, suffered some carnal deficiency—as happeneth many a time to both secular and spiritual persons—would also be held to be Jews at the Last Judgment.

But this is an heretical conclusion, and our Masters the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity will by no means grant it, seeing that they themselves are now and then a trifle lacking thereabouts—a mishap which occurreth to them by no means from consorting with wantons, but from lack of care at the baths. Most humbly and devotedly I pray your worship, therefore, to determine the truth of this matter once for all by your decision, and to make enquiries of Herr Pfefferkorn's wife, seeing that you stand in her good graces, and she will not be backward in telling you whatsoever you ask in the name of the close friendship you have with her husband. Moreover, I hear that you are her confessor, and therefore you may compel her to due obedience under pain of penance.

Say to her: "Madam, be not bashful! I know you for as honest a lady as any in Cologne: and nothing dishonest do I ask from you. I do but seek to learn the truth from you: is your husband of the circumcision, or not? Speak boldly, without shame! Od's life! have you lost your tongue?" But I must not presume to instruct you, for you know much better than I how to deal with women. I write in haste.

From Erfurt: at the sign of the Dragon.

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PETERMANN KACHELOFEN, Licentiate,
to Magister Ortwin Gratius most salutiferous salutations

YOU wrote to me of late from Cologne, and chided me for not writing to you, since, you averred, you read my letters with more relish than any others, inasmuch as their style is good, and they are artificially composed according to the Epistolary Rules that I learnt from your worthiness in Cologne. But I may tell you that I have not always inspiration, and matter withal, such as is now mine.

You must know that a public Disputation is being held here, and the Magisters and Doctors exhibit their craft and profundity in deciding, solving, and propounding questions, arguments, and problems concerning all things knowable. The Poets and Orators, too, prove themselves highly skilled and learned, and amongst them there standeth forth one who is woundily magistral in that art above all the rest, and he assumes a brave title in announcing his lectures—for he alleges that he is the Poet of poets, and that besides him there is none other poet.

He hath written a treatise all in verse, with a mighty fine name—what it is called I have forgot, but I trow it handleth wrath and choler—and in that treatise he vexeth many of the Magisters, and the other poets who hindered him from lecturing in the University, on account of his licentious art. The Magisters, moreover, tell him to his face that he is not so fine a poet as he boasteth himself to be, and they oppose him stoutly, and prove their case by citing you, seeing that you are more deeply immersed in the art poetical. They prove too that he is not well grounded in the quantities of syllables, as the Master of Villedieu determines them in his Third Book (which the fellow seemeth not to have duly studied), and they prove their
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case by many arguments. Imprimis, by means of your name—and this in twofold fashion. First: this fellow would fain be a deeper poet than Magister Ortwin, and yet his very name will not suffer it.

Magister Ortwin manifestly hath the name Gratius from the grace given him from on high (which is called grace because it is given gratis), for you could not compose those profound poems without that gratuitous grace given you by the divine spirit that breatheth where it listeth. It is through your humility that you have obtained this, for "God withstandeth proud men, but to meek men he giveth grace." They who read your poetry, and understand such matters, vow that you have no peer, and marvel that this fellow can be so doltish and irreverent as to wish to excel you, when a child may see that you surpass him as doth the Labyrinthus the Cornutus.

The Magisters desire to collect your writings, and to print those that are scattered about in sundry tractates—as, for instance, in that book of Doct or von Tongern, High-master of Lawrence Hostel, against Johann Reuchlin’s scandalous theses—in the "Sentimentum Parisiense"—and in many a treatise of Herr Johann Pfleifferkorn, once a Jew but now best of Christians. They fear that otherwise your poetry will be lost, and they declare that it would be a disgrace to the age—nay, a mortal sin—if through neglect it should perish and not be printed. The Magisters pray that you will deign to send them your Vindication in reply to Johann Reuchlin, in which you soundly trounce that swaggering doctor who dares to contend with four universities: they would fain transcribe your work and restore it to you.

Among those who rely on the aforesaid arguments are Magister Johann Kirchberg, mine own particular friend and fellow-graduate—Magister Johann Hungen, my most loving friend—Magister Jakob von Nürnberg, Magister Jodok Windsheim, and many other Magisters, my own right worthy friends, and your undaunted well-wishers.

Some there are, nevertheless, who object, and say that albeit this mode of proof is indeed subtle, and the
conclusion regular, it accords not with your intention; for it would sound vainglorious to say, “Sirs, I am named Gratius after that grace from on high which God hath given me in Poetry and all things knowable.” For this would seem to fit but ill with that lowliness through which you received that grace, and argueth a certain inconcinnity; for supernal grace and pride cannot coexist, since grace is a virtue, and pride is a vice, and these are incompatible; for “one of two countraries expelleth the other, as heat drives out cold”: as saith the poet, according to Petrus Hispanus in the “Prædicamenta,” who showeth that virtue is the opposite of vice.

Another solution is therefore much to be preferred, to wit, that Gratius is so named after the Roman Gracchi, a letter being dropped for euphony’s sake. Now concerning these Gracchi we read in Roman History that they were very famous poets and orators, and that in Rome in those days their equals were not to be found, subtle and skilled as they in Poetry and Rhetoric. It is related, too, that their voices were soft and sweet, not strident and harsh, but dulcet as a flute. And sometimes it was to the sound of a flute that they opened their discourses, wherefore the people listened to them with the liveliest delight, and lauded them above all others in that art. Now it was from these Gracchi that Magister Ortwin was surnamed Gratius. For, in turn, no man is his equal in poetry, or in dulcitude of voice. He surpasseth all, just as the Gracchi overtopped all the poets of Rome. Therefore the aforesaid poet of Wittenberg should keep silent and humble himself: he is learned after a fashion, but compared to you he is a child.

This second proof is adopted by my familiar friends Eoban Hessus, Magister Heinrich Urbanus, Ritius Euritus, Magister Georg Spalatin, Ulrich Hutten, and especially Doctor Ludwic Mistotheus, my honoured friend and protector. Prithee, write and tell me which are on the right track, and what is the truth of the matter. And a mass shall be read for you that you may get the better of Doctor Reuchlin, who undeservedly dubbed you a heretic in that you wrote
in your verse, "Jove's holy mother wept." Fare ye well, in all holiness.

From Wittenberg, at the Castle, with Magister Spalatin, who sends you greetings as many as the Hallelujahs sung between Easter and Whitsuntide. Farewell, once more, and be of joyous countenance.

XXXIX

E NIKOLAUS LUMINATORIS sendeth to Herr Magister Ortwin as many greetings as there be fleas and midges begotten in a year

MAGISTER ORTWIN, most learned preceptor, I render you more thanks than I have hairs on my body, for that you counselled me to trudge to Cologne and study at Lawrence Hostel. My father was well pleased thereat, and gave me ten florins; furthermore he bought me a long gown with a black hood. On the very day when I arrived at the University, and underwent initiation at the aforesaid hostel, I learned a most noteworthy thing that I would not have missed for ten silver pieces. A certain poet, one Hermann Buschius, came to the hostel to confer with the vice-regent on business. Thereupon the vice-regent took him by the hand, and greeted him deferentially, saying, "Whereof is this thing to me, that the mother of the Lord cometh to me?" But Buschius made answer, "If the Lord had a mother no fairer than I am, of a truth she was not very comely!" Thus he failed to comprehend the subtle rhetorical allegory that the vice-regent had intended by his greeting!

I trust that I shall yet learn in this benign University many things as profitable as this notable topic. To-day I bought the Statutes of the Hostel; to-morrow I must argue in an academical disputation on this theme: "Whether prime matter is an actual or potential entity."

Lawrence Hostel, Cologne.

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HERBORD MISTLADER offereth to Magister Ortwin Gratius of learning incomparable, his own most sapient preceptor, salutations that no man may number.

ALL-ENLIGHTENED Magister! When I parted from your worthiness at Zwolle, two years agone, you plighted your troth that you would write oft to me, and would provide for me in your writings patterns of fair diction. But, alas, you have gone from your word, and write not to tell me if you be quick or dead—and, whether you be alive or dead, you tell me not which, or what hath haped, or how the matter standeth. Dear Lord! how you rack me! I beseech you, by the Lord and St. George, free me from my solicitude; for I am in great dread lest you have a headache, or some infirmity in your bowels, with a flux such as you once had when you berayed your garments in the public street and perceived it not until a woman cried out, "Herr Magister! hast thou been sitting on a mixen? See! even thy skirts and shoes are slubbered!" And then you turned in to Johann Pfefferkorn's house, and his wife gave you a change of raiment. It behoveth you to eat hard-boiled eggs, and roasted chestnuts, and cooked beans sprinkled with poppy-seed, as is the wont in your country of Westphalia. I have dreamed a dream concerning you—that you have a grievous cough and much rheume withal; eat therefore sugar-plums, and peas mashed with thyme and pounded garlic; lay a roasted onion on your navel, and be continent for six days; wrap up your head and your loins, and you will be cured.

Or you may try the remedy that Johann Pfefferkorn's wife hath often given to the infirm, and the virtue whereof hath oft been proved.

From Zwolle.
THERE was a certain religious of the Order of Preachers, a disciple of Doctor Jakob von Hoogstraten, who came to me and saluted me. Straightway I asked him, “How doth my own particular friend, Magister Ortwin Gratius, from whom I have learnt much lore in Logic and Poetry?” Thereupon he replied that you were in ill-health, and immediately I fell upon the earth at his feet in dismay. Then that religious drenched me with cold water, and twitched my hairs, and with much ado revived me; then I cried, “Ah! how grievously you have terrified me: what is his malady?” And he told me that your right pap was swollen, and that you were galled, and hindered in your studies, by the anguish of that distemper. Then I came to my senses and cried, “Ha! is it no more than that? I can cure that ailment; I know the healing thereof by experience. But Herr Magister, learn first whence that infirmity proceedeth.” And therewith I set forth the remedy: When wanton wenches see a proper man, like yourself, with auburn locks, to wit, and brown or hazel eyes, and ruddy lips, and a fine nose, and portly withal, straightway they hanker after him. But when he is virtuous, and a man of learning, like yourself, who pays no heed to their follies and wiles, then they resort to magic arts, and at night, mounted on besoms, they ride thereon to the comely man of their heart, and visit him in his sleep—but to him all is naught but a dream. And some assume the shapes of cats and birds, and suck the blood from their good man’s breast, and at times make him so weak that he can scarce hobble with a staff.

It is, I trow, the devil who teacheth them these tricks. Nevertheless, this is the way to frustrate them, as I read in the Doctors’ Library at Rostock, out of a very
ancient book; and afterwards I made trial of it, and it proved true.

Upon a Sunday take some consecrated salt, and with it make the sign of the cross upon the tongue, and eat it, as saith the Scripture, "Vos estis sal terrae," which is by interpretation, "Eat ye the salt of the earth." Afterwards make the sign of the cross upon the breast, and again on the back; in like manner put some salt in each ear, not omitting the sign of the cross, and taking heed that none fall out. Finally recite the following devout prayer:—

"Jesu Christe Domine,
And Evangels four, do ye
Fend me from ev'ry harlot's harm,
And from the sorceress's charm—
Lest she my blood shall suck, and wring
My paps with anguish: I will bring
If ye preserve me, as oblation,
A pretty asperge for lustration."

And thus you will be delivered. And if the blood-suckers come again and gorge, they will fall sick themselves.

And, now, how standeth it with Doctor Reuchlin? The Magisters here say that he is too much for you; but I cannot believe that he can overcome Magisternosters. All the more do I wonder that you do not write somewhat against him.

Fare ye well, more than eternally. Greet for me Herr Johann Pfefferkorn and his wife: tell them that I wish them more good nights than the minutes that the astronomers reckon.

Frankfort-on-Oder.

XLII

ANTON N., of the Art of Medicine almost Doctor—Licentiate, to wit, but shortly to be graduated—sendeth greeting to the inestimable Mag. Ortwin Gratius, his venerated teacher

PRECEPTOR unparalleled! Seeing that a little while ago you requested me to tell you the news, you must know that I have but now attained Stras-
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burg, journeying from Heidelberg, to purchase certain drugs that, as I believe you know, we use in our medicaments. For it is the custom amongst your physicians, if aught be lacking in their stores, to proceed elsewhither to procure it for the practice of their Art. But let this pass. As soon as I arrived hither, there came to me a good friend, and one very well-disposed towards me; you know him well, for he was for a long while under your ferule at Cologne—and he told me of a man named Erasmus of Rotterdam, of whom I had never heard, but who is profoundly skilled in all knowledge and in every branch of learning. This man, he told me, was even then at Strasburg. (I could not believe, and I yet cannot bring myself to believe, that a man so small as he is could know so much.) Thereupon I earnestly begged my friend to bring me to Erasmus that I might see him. I had with me a note-book that I call my medical Vade-mecum—for I always carry it with me when I walk abroad to visit patients, or to buy simples—and in this are jotted down sundry very subtle questions concerning the medical art. Out of this notebook, therefore, I culled me a question with all the comments thereon, and the arguments pro and con, and armed with these I purposed to beset this man whom they deem so learned, and make trial whether he knew somewhat of Medicine, or not. Now when I told my friend my intent, he made a great feast, and bade to it speculative Theologians, and Jurists of high renown, and myself as a representative, all unworthy, of the Art Medicinal.

Now, when we were set, for a long while there was a silence, and from modesty no man would break it; then I nudged my neighbour, for of a sudden—heaven knoweth how—there rushed into my mind:

"Conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant."

This verse I still have fresh in my memory, for when you expounded to us Virgil in his Eneid, I limned beside it a man with a bolt on his mouth, to mark the passage, as you bade us.

At the last it was fairly brought to the proof, whether that wiseacre was indeed a poet, as the report
went. For as we all sat in silence, he began to hold forth in a mighty long preamble.

But of this—else am I no true-born man—I understood not a single word, by reason that he had such a wee little voice; I think he did in some sort handle theology, and this to engage a certain Magister Noster, a man of vast profundity in matters theological, who sat with us at board.

Thereupon, when Erasmus had concluded that prelude, the Magister Noster began to argue with great subtlety concerning entity and essence—but it skilth not that I should recall his words, for you are well versed in such matters. When he had finished, Erasmus replied, but briefly, and once more we all sat silent. Our host, therefore, who is a humanist of parts, fell to some discourse on Poetry, and greatly belauded Julius Caesar, as touching both his writings and his valorous deeds. So soon as I heard this, I perceived my opportunity, for I had studied much, and learned much under you in the matter of Poetry, when I was at Cologne, and I said, “Forasmuch as you have begun to speak concerning Poetry, I can therefore no longer hide my light under a bushel, and I roundly aver that I believe not that Caesar wrote those Commentaries, and I will prove my position with argument following, which runneth thus: Whosoever hath business with arms and is occupied in labour unceasing cannot learn Latin; but Caesar was ever at War and in labours manifold; therefore he could not become lettered and get Latin. In truth, therefore, I believe that it was none other than Suetonius who wrote those Commentaries, for I have met with none who hath a style liker to Caesar’s than Suetonius.”

After I had this spoken, and much else which here, for brevity’s sake, I set not down—since, as you know from the ancient saw, “The moderns delight in brevity”—Erasmus laughed, but said nothing, for I had overthrown him by the subtilty of my argument. And so we made an end of the feast, and I propounded not my question in the Art of Medicine, for I well knew that he could not resolve it, since he could not answer me that argument in Poetry. He, a poet! Pardy, I
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declare that there is not so much in him as they say. In the way of Poetry I admit that he can speak fair Latin. But what of that? We can learn many such things as that in a year. But in respect of the philosophic sciences, such as Theology and Medicine, much more hath to be done if one would fain learn them. And yet would he be held a Theologian. But, my good Master, what kind of Theologian? A novice, forsooth, who dealeth with words alone, and tasteth not the inner meanings of things; as though—to make a fair comparison—one should desire to eat a nut, and yet only eat the outer husk, and come not at the kernel within. Thus it standeth with such triflers, according to my own dull understanding. But of this you know much more than I, for I hear that even now you are minded to assume the robes of the Doctorate of Theology—to which may God and the Holy Mother exalt you. Nevertheless, I will say this on my own behalf—that I be not more tedious than I had purposed—that I would gain more by my art—if God but grant that sick folk be multiplied—in a week, than Erasmus or any other Poet in a year. Let this, then, suffice for the present. Good luck to you! I have been greatly perturbed. Another time I will send you more news. May you live and prosper as long as doth a phcenix—this may all the Saints grant—and have affection for me as of yore.

From Heidelberg.

XLIII–XLIV

GALLUS LEINEWEBER, of Gundelfingen, Singer among Good Fellows, sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius, his well-beloved teacher

REVEREND Herr Magister: seeing that you sent me a letter full of solace at Eberburg, in the which you consoled me, inasmuch as you had heard that I was sick, I render you sempiternal thanks. Nevertheless you wrote in that letter that you marvell'd at my being sick, since I had no more labour to
perform than the other do—notings—the quality's lackeys, to wit. Ha, ha, ha! I must needs laugh—else I am no true-born man—that you can ask so foolish a question! Know you not that it is God's will to make a man sick when he pleaseth, and to cure him when he listeth? If sickness came by toil 'twould be a bad thing for me; although you say I have little to do. When of late I was at Heidelberg among boon-companions, I was compelled to labour so mightily with my throat, in the drinking of wine, that it would have been no marvel had I stretched my gullet thereby—and think you that no labour? But concerning that matter let this suffice. There followeth in your letter a request that I should procure for you a little book in which is set forth somewhat useful for the young, that you may use it for a primer. Since, therefore, I have ever held you in esteem by reason of the various branches of learning that you know by rote, I cannot refrain from sending you a letter culled from a fair volume intituled "The Leipsic Magisters' Chaplet of Letters" which the most accomplished Magisters in the benign University of Leipsic have devised. This I have done that, if this first letter please you, I may send you the whole book—but I do not willingly let it pass from my hands.

Here beginneth the aforesaid letter:

MAGISTER HOFMAN, Senior Regent in Heinrich Hostel at Leipsic, sendeth greeting to Matthias Falkenberg, of noble family, for fifty years, and more, his friend inseparable

SINCE we have not met for a long while, it seemeth good to me to send you a letter, that our ancient friendship may not decay; I have heard from many that you still live, and are of good health, and are all the man you were in your youth: and this, by the Lord, I heard with vast pleasure—God, who is good, will pardon me for so round an oath. Would to God and Holy Mary
that you might once in a way ride hither! But I hear that you take not the same joy in riding as was your wont when you were with me at Erfurt and in other parts of Saxony, and when I often marvelled at your ease on horseback. I had great fear, when I heard that the folk at Worms were at strife with a certain nobleman, lest you should be involved therein, for an ancient family, such as yours, readily joineth hands with its equals; and in your youth you ever rejoiced to drink and ride with such, of which I have oft-times taxed you. But since all still goeth well, let us render thanks to Christ that we have so long remained in good health.

I marvel greatly that you have never written to me, notwithstanding that you have at your service many messengers to Leipsic, and you know well enough that I am ever to be found there. But I cannot be so slothful, wherefore I willingly write to you; I trow, forsooth, that in all those years in which we have never met I must have written as many as twenty letters to learned men, my contemporaries. I was mistaken in you; but let this pass with the rest.

Noble Sir, would that you had been here of late, when his Serenity the Prince of Saxony celebrated his nuptials with a splendid mask, at which many nobles were present. I was sent thither with our Rector, according to custom, to present a large bowl filled with florins, and there we abode two days, and were right well entertained and refreshed ourselves mightily with victuals and drink. My servant brought with him two jars, and learning where I should sit at table, he placed these under my stool: then we had wine of the best—you know what that is like, 'tis the sweetest of the sweet! and such I drink till my head goes round, and after supper I want to dance. Then I took and filled one jar with the liquor, and put it back under the table. This I did that we might have somewhat to drink by the way. Later on, among other dishes, we had a mighty fine ragout.
full of chickens and other good things; thereupon I took the other jar and popped a whole pullet into it: this I did that his Magnificence the Rector and I might have somewhat to eat by the way. This done, I said to a nobleman near, “My Lord, prithee summon my servant, I have an order for him.” This he did, and when my servant came, I said, “Fellow, pick up my knife that I have let fall beneath the board” (but I had dropped it on purpose). Then he crept under the table, and picked up the knife, and hid the jars beneath his coat, and slipped away, so that no one saw him.

Saint Dorothy! if you had but fared with us to Leipsic! With what jollity would we have spent the time! I lived for two days on the orts, for we could not eat the whole by the way.

I tell you all this, since I know that you also gladly filch with sack and sieve, at least you did—when you abode with me, and by my faith ’tis a noble art! I would not lose it for a hundred guldens. I learnt the other day that you have a fair garden at your home, where you grow much fruit—pears and apples and grapes; and when you are at your Inn—for you keep no table at home—you are wont to have a great satchel into which you slip cakes, and roast chickens, and meat, and so craftily do you make the pass, that no man perceiveth it; whereat I marvel. This skill I trow cometh from long use—for “practise maketh perfect,” as saith the Philosopher in the Ninth of the Physics.

’Tis told me you have a doxy who is sand-blind of one eye. I marvel that you are such a man anights, being full of years. More wondrous still, I have heard of that stubborn plight of yours that persisted for six sennights. This you spake of as your infirmity. Dio! if such an infirmity were mine, what a good fellow I! But, believe me, I am not the man I was. A month ago I packed my cook out of the house. For many a day I have been out of pocket.

There is one more thing I would fain say to
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you before I make an end. If you have a son, or other kinsman—or a dear friend of yours hath one—who is destined to be a student, send him hither to me at Leipsic. We have many learned doctors amongst us, and rare good victuals in our hostels—seven courses twice every day, at noon and evening: the first is called *Ever*—that is, porridge; the second, *Always*—that is, Soup; the third, *Daily*—that is, greens; the fourth, *Again and again*—that is, meat; the fifth, *Sometimes*—that is, roast; the sixth, *Never*—that is, cheese; the seventh, *Now and then*—that is, apples and pears. We have good liquor withal, called *Conventum*. Behold now, and see! Is not this enough? We keep this order throughout the year, to the great content of all. Nevertheless in our chambers we keep not overmuch victuals to eat between whiles, for this would not be healthful, and would hinder the students in their work; wherefore I have sent round to all the scholars these verses:—

"Within these walls let all observe
The standing regulations:
Be sure that he who sups with me
Provides his proper rations."

You perceive that I too am a poet.—But enough, lest I should prove long-winded. Written at Leipsic, hastily, beneath the blue sky; and may you fare more joyfully than a bee among the thyme, or a fish in the waves. Once again, farewell.

See now, Herr Magister *Ortwin*, if this letter pleaseth you, and I will send you a whole book full of the like; and right excellent they are, according to my poor judgment. I have naught else to write to you.

Farewell, in Him who created all things.

Dated from *Eberburg*, where I would that you were with me. Friday, between Easter and Pentecost.
EVEREND Herr Magister! I am vexed beyond all vexation! Full well do I perceive that saying of the poets to be true: "Misfortunes never come singly"; and this I can prove as followeth: I am in poor health, and besides my distemper there falleth on me another heavy burden, namely this: Men flock to me daily, and write to me from varicus provinces, since I am known everywhere by reason of that tractate you wot of, which I wrote against Johann Reuchlin’s "Vindication." These men declare that they marvel at our allowing Johann Pfefferkorn, a baptised Jew, to undertake the work of writing in our cause, to defend himself and all of us against Reuchlin, so that the fame is his, although we have written all the works published under his name—and all this, forsooth, is true enough. I tell you this under seal of confession. They say also that he hath now compiled a new book, the which in Latin is intituled, "Defensorium Johannis Pfefferkorn contra Johannem Reuchlin," in which he setteth forth the whole case from beginning to end—and this book he hath also translated into German. When I heard of this I swore that it was a lie—simply because I knew naught about the matter; but if he hath acted thus, then, pardy! it is disgraceful for him not to have informed me thereof, tho' previously he hath always consulted me. I trow that now he thinketh not of me because I am in ill health. If he had consulted me I should have told him that once was enough; for I am sure we shall gain nothing by writing, for Reuchlin is a devil incarnate, and ever hitteth back. If, however, the matter standeth thus, I desire earnestly that he refrain. You can hinder him as the corrector of his books.

Secondly, I have heard somewhat over which I do
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not so greatly grieve; namely, that you have consorted with a handmaid of Quentel's the printer—I speak not as reproving you—and that by her you have had issue; I hear, too, that her master sent her packing, and would not suffer her to remain in his house—so she now liveth in her own home and maintaineth herself by tailoring.

I beseech you by the mutual friendship we have ever had, tell me whether this be sooth. For a long while have I had hankerings after her, but was afeared by reason of her maidenhood. If, however, you have done this, then, with your permission, we will maintain her in common: I to-day and you to-morrow—the worthiest first; I a Doctor, you a Magister. (I put it thus bluntly without intending any slight.) And thus, in secrecy, will we maintain her and the child at our common charge. She, I know, will be well content, and I trow that if I consorted with her for a while, I should be healed. I desire to purge my reins, and to become whole.

And now, farewell. If I had not been plagued with this flux I would have come to you, instead of writing. In haste, from our Hostel.

XLVI

JOHANN WAGNER VON AMBACH

sendeth many greetings to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

SEEING that you lately wrote to me, asking how it fareth with me at Heidelberg, and what I think of the Doctors and Magisters here, I must tell you that so soon as I arrived at Heidelberg I was appointed cook at a hostel, where I receive my victuals and certain monies by way of guerdon, and am thus enabled to proceed Magister, in due course. Harry the Poor did the like, who, having neither books nor paper, wrote all on his leathern jerkin. In like manner Plautus maintained himself, who carried sacks to the mill like an ass, and nevertheless became a very learned author, who wrote both verse and prose.
That you may know who are the learned here, I will speak first of the most worthy, and then of the rest in turn, since, as the Philosopher saith in the First Book of the Physics, "We must proceed from universals to particulars. Porphirius too descends from the most general genus to the most special species, where Plato calls a halt. Moreover, appellation should be based on the worthiest examples, as saith the heathen philosopher in his Second Book of The Soul. Among all the Doctors of Theology there is one here who is our Preacher, and he hath a mighty voice, albeit he is a little man. Folk hear his preaching right gladly, and think much of him—for, pardy, he is learned, nay, superlatively learned I can tell you, and folk throng to his sermons, for he is a delectable man and cracketh good jokes in the pulpit. I once heard him treat of that question out of the Posterior Analytics: Why? Wherefore? What? When? And he could discuss it all in German. Once too he preached concerning virginity, and said that virgins who had lost their virginity were wont to aver they had lost it by force. "'By force' is good," quoth he: "I ask you if one, having a drawn sword in one hand and its scabbard in the other, jounceth the scabbard—is it to impede the sword? And so it is with virgins."

Moreover, once when he was offering New Year's wishes to men of different ranks he turned to the students of the three Hostels—who here comprise both Nominalists and Realists—and to the former he allotted Saturn, reasoning thus: "Saturn is a cold planet, and he consorteth well with the moderns, for they are cold Artsmen, who follow not after the way of St. Thomas, and his Copulata and Reparationes according to the syllabus of De Monte Hostel at Cologne." But to the Thomists he allotted in the New Year the boy Ganymede who piggeth with Jupiter. Ganymede suiteth well with the Realists, for he poureth out wine and beer for Jove, and the sweet juice of liquorice—which story Torrentius hath fairly expounded in the First Book of the Aeneid—and in like manner do the Realists pour forth their Arts and Science; and thereon he argued much. And many other pleasant things said he,
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whereat I marvelled. I trow he lieth sleepless for many nights when he thinketh out these high and subtle matters. Howbeit there are many who say that he preacheth flapdoodle—and they call him Quackulator, and Johnny Jolthead, and Goosecap, for the reason that once he was found wanting in disputation, and he was sent packing with greater ignominy than had befallen a man for a hundred years; and a fellow waited for him near the chair, and doffed his cap—not by way of honour, but as those Jews did when they crowned Christ—and he bent the knee before him, and said, “Herr Doctor, by your favour, may God bless your bath!” Then quoth he, “Deo Gratias, Herr Bachelor,” but he said no more, and went away—and I heard that the tears stood in his eyes, and that it was believed that he afterwards wept. And when I heard of these insults my bowels of compassion were moved, and had I but known who that rascal was, I would have fallen upon him tho’ I had lost my head with a deal plank. He hath one pupil who is, believe me, a learned man—more than learned, as it were; more learned than his teacher, perchance, albeit he is but a Bible Bachelor; he has already, a little while—a very little while—ago, put forward fully twenty questions and arguments, all against the realists; for instance, “Whether God is predicamental”; “Whether essence and existence are distinct”; “Whether Rollations are fundamentally distinct,” and “Whether the ten predicaments are actually distinct.”

Mercy on us! what a crowd of respondents! I never in my life saw more disputants in a lecture-room; yet he honourably defended his theses. A magister hath but to contend with one opponent. I wonder that the Dean admitted them—I believe he was mad by reason of the dog-days, for it is contrary to the statutes.

And when the disputation was over I straightway metrified these verses in his honour:

Liveth here a learned scholar,
Who debated, twice or thrice,
If the Being of Essentia
Can be, by distinctions nice,
Sifted from its Existentia? 
And about Rollations he 
Argued, till the Categories 
Stood as stark as they could be. 
Whether God within his heaven 
The Predicaments enfold, 
He discusseth: none before him 
Matched him through the days of old!

But enough of this: I would fain say—or write—some-
what concerning the poets.

There is one here who lectures on Valerius Maximus, 
but he pleaseth me not half as well as you pleased me 
when you lectured on Valerius Maximus at Cologne, 
for he merely expoundeth the text—but when you 
treated of "The Neglect of Religion," or "Dreams," or 
"Auspices," you quoted Holy Scripture, that is to say, 
the Catena Aurea of St. Thomas which is called the 
Continuum, and Durandus, and other shining lights of 
Theology, and you bade us note down these passages 
from holy writ, and draw a hand beside them, and learn 
them by rote. You must know that not so many 
students matriculate here as at Cologne, for at Cologne 
the students can be as the beggars here—and there 
some students even steal their victuals, but this is not 
allowed here, where all must have their commons in a 
hostel, and be matriculated in the University.

But although they be few here, yet are they saucy— 
to the full as saucy as the many at Cologne. Lately 
they "staircased" a regent of the Hostel; he was 
standing without a chamber, and listening to the 
merrymaking within, when one of those within came 
out, and finding him there threw him downstairs. 
They are, moreover, so bold here that they fight with 
the horse-patrol as they at Cologne do with the dray-
men, and they go about like patrols themselves with 
drawn swords, and ropes, and sabres, and pieces of lead 
attached to a cord, which they can throw and draw 
back again. A little while ago the patrol smote a 
student on the head so that he fell to the ground— 
but he jumped up and thwacked and belaboured them 
so that St. Valentine seized them and they all ran away.

There is still one other thing that you ought to know.
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You must ask Magister Arnold von Tongern—who is no trifling Theologian—whether it is a sin to cast dice for indulgences. I know some overweening fellows—scoundrels that they are—who have played away all the indulgences that Jakob van Hoogstraten gave them when he had ended the business of Reuchlin at Mainz—the same three were there, and they declared that those indulgences were of none effect for men.

If it is a sin, as I think—for it is impossible for it not to be a sin—I know the fellows well enough, and I will inform the Dominicans, who will soon confound them; and I myself—for I am quite brave enough—will put a spoke in their wheel as well. I have no more to write, save that you may salute for me Quentel's handmaid, and fare ye well pancretically, athletically, pugilistically, regally, and magnificently, as saith Erasmus in his Adages.

From Heidelberg.

XLVII

E WENDELIN TUCHSCHERER, Bachelor, and Quirister at Strasburg, sendeth many greetings to Magister Ortwin Gratius

YOU laid blame on me in a former letter, in that my ink seemed precious balm—and my pen, byssus—and my paper, leaf of gold—so seldom did I write to you.

Henceforth, therefore, I will write to you oft—the more readily seeing that since you were my teacher in the fifth class at Deventer, and are, moreover, my godfather, I am in honour bound to write to you. But, inasmuch as I have at present no news to tell you, I must write to you on certain other matters, though I am sure they will please you not, seeing that you stand firmly on the side of the preachers. Lately we sat drinking together, and there was one there who spake such uncouth Latin, that I understood not all he said—yet a part I comprehended well enough, and amongst other things he declared that he would compile a book, to be brought out at next Frankfort fair, and to be

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intituled “A Catalogue of Prevaricators,” that is, of Predicants—and that he would lay bare all their misdeeds, inasmuch as of all Orders they were the most iniquitous. In the first place he would relate how that at Berne the Prior and the Superiors introduced harlots into the Convent, and how they produced a new St. Francis, and how the Blessed Virgin and other Saints appeared to one Nollharden, and how afterwards the monks would fain have given the said Nollharden poison in Christ’s body, and how that for all the follies and crimes that the monks had committed they went as they deserved to the stake.

Next, he would relate how that at Mainz a Dominican had knowledge of a trollop in the Cathedral, anear the altar—whence it came to pass that the other drabs had a spite against her, and called her “monk-mort,” and “quire-quean,” and “altar-piece”—so that it came to folks’ ears, and she is thus named unto this day.

He would relate, too, how that once at Mainz, at the sign of The Crown, when the Predicants from Augsburg lodged at that inn to sell their indulgences, one of their number would fain have forced a serving-maid who prepared his bed, and he pursued her and threw her to the ground, but she cried out, and men ran to her rescue, else would she have served his turn.

And, finally, he would relate how that here at Strasburg there were monks in the Monastery of the Preachers who brought women-folk to their cells by way of the river beneath their walls; and they trimmed their hair, so that for a long while they passed for monks, and went to market, and bought fish from their husbands the fishermen, but at the last they were unmasked. For in like manner the Predicants wrought evil among the vagrant scholars—and once when a Predicant went a-walking with a monkess, they came nigh unto the schools, and the scholars dragged them both into the school and set to work to chastise them soundly; but when they would have drubbed the monkess they uncovered her shame, and with laughter let them both depart in peace; but the whole town rang with tidings of these things.
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Now when he had finished speaking, my wrath was greatly inflamed, and I cried, "You ought not to utter such words as these. Put case that they be true—nevertheless they should not be uttered, for it might well happen that destruction might come upon them in a single hour—as it did upon the Templars—if men should learn of their iniquities!"

Then quoth he, "I know further of matters that I could not write of on twenty sheets of paper."

Then said I, "Why would you write against all the Predicants? All of them have not done such deeds: if those in Mainz, and Augsburg, and Strasburg are wicked, nevertheless others are upright." Said he, "Why darest thou to contradict me? I verily believe that thou art the son of a Predicant, or hast been a Predicant thyself! Show me a Monastery wherein there are upright Dominicans!" Then said I, "What have those at Frankfort done?" Said he, "Knowest thou not? It is their Principal who is named Wigand, and he is the head and front of all their iniquities. He it was who started that heresy at Berne, and who wrote a book against von Wesel, which he afterwards at Heidelberg recanted, annulled, and blotted out; and he it was who afterwards wrote another book intituled 'The Tocsin,' and he was not courageous enough to issue it under his own name, but suborned Johann Pfefferkorn to set it forth under his name, for half of the profit—which would well content him, for he knew that Pfefferkorn was a reckless man, and, like all Jews, regarded not his own good fame so long as he could make money."

Now when I perceived that the more part were against me, I went my way, but I was sorely vexed that the fellow was not alone. for if he and I had been by ourselves, I would have played the devil with him. Farewell.

From Strasburg: on Wednesday, after the Feast of St. Bernard, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixteen.
NEVER was refreshing rain so grateful to the husbandman after long drought, nor sunshine after clouds, as was the letter you sent me hither at Rome. When I read it I could have wept for very joy, for I seemed to be back again at your house in Cologne—where we were wont to drink a quart or two of wine or beer, over a game at draughts—so glad was I.

But you desire me to do the like—to write to you, namely, and tell you what I have for so long a time been doing at Rome, and how I fare—and this will I do right gladly. First, I must tell you that, by divine inspiration, I am in good health. Yet although I am well, I abide here against my will, for that Cause on account of which I am here now goeth against me. Would that I had never begun it! All men deride me and plague me, and Reuchlin hath more friends here than in Germany, and many Cardinals, and bishops, and prelates and Curialists love him. Had I not entered upon this business I should now be at Cologne enjoying my victuals and drink, whereas here I have scarce a crust. I trow that things go ill in Germany, too, now that I am away; everybody is scribbling books about Theology as he listeth. It is said that Erasmus of Rotterdam hath composed many treatises on Theology; I cannot believe he hath avoided error. He beginneth by writing a tract to vex the theologians, and now he writeth theologically himself—so that it passeth! If I come back to Germany and read his scribblings, and find in them the very smallest jot on which he hath gone astray—or which I do not understand—let him
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

take heed to his skin! He hath also written in Greek; this is not well, for we are Latins and not Greeks. If he would fain write what no man can understand, why doth he not use Italian, or Bohemian, or Hungarian? For then none could understand him. In the name of a hundred devils let him conform to us Theologians, and dispute in his writings with Utrum, and Contra, and Arguitur, and Replica, and reach formal conclusions, as all Theologians are wont to do, and then we could read them.

I cannot tell you all now, nor describe the poverty into which I have fallen. When the Curialists see me they call me Apostate, and declare that I have deserted my Order, and they do the like to Doctor Peter Meyer, the Pastor, of Frankfort, whom they harass as greatly as myself, since he is of my part. Nevertheless he is better off than I, for he hath a good post, being Chaplain of the cemetery—and this, pardy, is a good post, though the Curialists aver that 'tis the meanest office in Rome. But this booteth not; they do but say it out of envy; at the least he earneth his bread and maintaineth himself by hook and by crook until he shall bring that case of his against the Frankfurdians to an end. Almost every day he and I go to take the air in the Campo dei Fiori, and look out for Germans, whom we would fain meet. But the Curialists come and point at us with their fingers, and laugh, and say: "There go the two who want to eat up Reuchlin! They eat him and then void him again!" And we have such tribulations as might move a stone. Then said the pastor: "Holy Mary! What doth it signify? We must endure this for God's sake. He suffered many things for us, and we are Theologians who needs must be lowly and despised in this world." And thus he maketh me of joyful heart once more, and, think I to myself: "Let them say what they will; yet they fail of their desire." If we were but back in the fatherland and a fellow did such things, we should know what to say and do to him, and I should have an easy task in proceeding against him. Just now we happened to be abroad together, behind two or three fellows who walked in front, and I lighted upon a paper that, I
trow, one of them had dropped on purpose that we might find it; and it contained these verses:

**EPITAPH ON HOCHSTRATUS.**

Hochstratus dead—Craft, Fury, Spite, and Rage  
With him die not, but still, with poison rife,  
Inflict the witless herd; his monument,  
Sprung from the hellish seed he sowed in life.

_After._

From out his bones let yew and hemlock grow;  
No crime he shrank from who lies here below.

_After._

Rejoice, ye righteous! while the base complain—  
For kindly Death hath made their loss your gain.

_After._

Here Virtue's bane, Hochstratus, carrion lies,  
In life the cynosure of scoundrels' eyes;  
Indignant fled his soul that she had run  
Her earthly course—with evil left undone!

Now when the Pastor and I had found this paper, we went home and laid our heads together over it for a week or a fortnight but could not interpret it. It seems likely that the verses point at me, because the word "Hochstratus" occurreth in them. And yet mayhap the verses do not point at me, seeing that such is not my name in Latin, but Jacobus de Alta-platea, which is in German Jakob Hoogstraeten. And so I send you the paper that you may decide whether it pointeth at me or another. If it mean me—which I cannot believe, for I am not yet dead—I will hold an inquiry, and when I have caught the fellow I will make ready a bath for him that will be no laughing matter: that is easy. I have a good friend here, a countryman of mine, who is one of the grooms of the Cardinal of S. Eusebius; and he can easily get the fellow sent to prison on bread and water—to die there of the pestilence. Wherefore I pray you use all diligence to write to me, that I may be certified of the matter.

I have heard that Johann Pfefferkorn hath once
more become a Jew—but I believe it not, for they said two or three years ago that he had been burned by the Margrave at Halle—though this was not true concerning him, but was true enough of another man of the same name. I cannot believe he hath become a renegade, for he hath written against the Jews; and it would be a disgrace to all the Doctors of Theology in Cologne, and all the Dominicans, for he hath been in high favour with them. Let them say what they will, I believe it not. And now farewell.

From Rome, at the sign of the Bell, in the Campo dei Fiori, August 21.
PART II
TO THE READER

Time was when Heraclitus smiled, and moved
To laughter, e'en grim Stoics shook their sides:
Art sunk in doleful dumps? Approach, and read—
Laughter is lord! and naught but Mirth abides.
JOHANN Labia, by the grace of God Apostolic Prothonotary, to the Reverend Herr Magister Ortwin Gratius of Deventer, as to a well-beloved brother, of Salutations a hundred thousand Sesterces, as the New Grammarians have it

I RECEIVED the day before yesterday, honoured Sir, a book that your worship will have sent me from Germany. This work was—or is—entitled "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum." Soony! How rejoiced was I in mine heart when my eyes fell on that book—for it hath goodly contents, in prose and eke in verse. And I had great joy with dulcet jubilation when I perceived that you have many allies—Poets, and Rhetoricians and Theologians, who write to you and are your friends in opposition to Johann Reuchlin.

Yesterday there was a feast toward—and certain Curialists were present,—scholars and men of affairs—and I laid that book before them on the board. And after that they had dipped into it here and there, I mooted a logomachy, saying, "Masters, how think ye? Wherefore hath Magister Ortwin named this book of his, 'Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum'—seeming thereby to call his friends and allies 'Obscure men'?

Then answered a priest from Münster, a learned Jurist, and he declared that "Obscure" was a word of many meanings, as, following "Lex Ita fidei sqq. de Jure Fisci," the first Solution hath it. He said, too, that it might be some family name. For it is recorded that the parents of Diocletian and some other kings were "Obscuri."

Then I nudged him, and said, "By your favour, Sir, this is beside the point." And next I put the question to a famous Theologian who drank with us. He is of the Carmelite Order and a native of Brabant. Full
solemnly spake he his reasons: "Most eximious Herr Prothonotary, since, as Aristotle saith, it is profitable to make enquiry concerning each and all; therefore hath your Eximiousness proposed to me a question, to wit, for what cause did Magister Ortwin, in publishing a new Collection of Letters, entitled them 'Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum.' By favour of these gentlemen, I pronounce my opinion that Magister Ortwin, who is a learned man and a philosopher, cognominated his friends 'Obscure Men' in a mystical sense: for I once read in an authority that truth lieth in obscurity. Wherefore also saith Job, 'He discovereth deep things out of darkness.' Also in the Seventh of Micah we read, 'When I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me.' And, again, Job xxviii.: 'Trahitur autem Sapientia de Occultis.' Whence also, as I have heard tell, Virgil hath it: 'Truth is wrapped in obscurity.' And it may be presumed that Magister Ortwin and his friends are men who seek out the secrets of the Scriptures, and truth, and justice, and wisdom—which things are not to be understood of all men, but by those who are illuminated of the Lord.

"As it is written in Kings cxxviii.: 'Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee, the night shineth as the day: the darkness and the light are both alike to thee.'"

And after the aforesaid Theologian had made an end of speaking, all regarded me, to mark whether I was persuaded. But I pondered over these words.

There was present Bernhard Gelff, a Magister of Paris, a youth indeed, but, as I hear, of good parts, and one who studieth much, and maketh fair progress in the Arts, and moreover hath good grounding in Theology. And he, after his manner, shaking his head this way and that, spake thus with a grave countenance: "Learn, Gentlemen, the weighty and reasonable cause wherefore Magister Ortwin calleth his friends 'Obscure Men.' He doeth it for humility's sake. For, you may know, and even if you know not it may be presumed that you do know, how that three years ago Johann Reuchlin, when he published a Collection of Letters from his friends, entitled it 'Epistolae Clarorum Virorum.' And Magister Ortwin chewing upon this,
and perpendning much thereon, said within himself: 'Lo, Reuchlin believeth that none save he himself hath any friends: what will he do if I prove that I too have many friends—worthier far, and able to write better metrifications and compositions than his friends?' And so, to put him to shame he sent to the press those Letters, and entitled them 'Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum.' As saith the Psalmist, 'He sent darkness and made it dark.' But this he did in lowliness, belittling and humbling himself, that he might say with the Psalmist, 'Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty.' Wherefore the Lord, beholding his humility, will in due time give him grace to send abroad mighty works and name them with exalted titles. As saith Job: 'And again after darkness I hope for the day.' But it must not be supposed that that letter-book of the friends of Magister Ortwin is not artistically composed—for Johann Reuchlin's friends never in their lives could compose anything better; no, not to save their necks—but, as I have declared, more excellent conceits will ensue; and, by God's help, I hope we may see great things.

"Magister Ortwin layeth no store by swelling titles. Wherefore he saith, 'The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom then shall I fear?' For he knoweth that in belittling himself he will hereafter be magnified. As saith the Scripture, "Whoso exalteth himself will be brought low." And, as we read in the twentieth of Ecclesiasticus, 'There is an abasement because of glory, and there is that lifteth up his head from a low estate.' These things the Prophet Nahum prophesied when he said, 'And darkness shall pursue his enemies.'"

Then, desiring that the disputants should not be out with one another, and that neither of them should fall foul of me for saying, "this or that is the subtler reasoning," I quoted that line of Horace in which he saith, "The case is still before the judge." "When next I write to Magister Ortwin," I added, "I will ask him to tell me his motive. Forgive me, therefore, if I have in any wise perplexed you."

So then they disputed no longer, though Magister Bernhard muttered that he would contend to the stake
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

that he had rightly apprehended your motive. Therefore, Herr Ortwin, I adjure you in friendly wise that you reveal to me what you had in your mind when you entitled that fardel of Letters "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum."

And now farewell, in all health and honour.

The Court, at Rome.

II

JOHANN GRAPP to Magister Ortwin Gratius

EVER cordially wisheth welfare, with love unending, and commendeth himself as his humble servant. Brother and beloved preceptor, since you lately desired me to send you (that you might gather therefrom what I had learnt from you at Cologne and Deventer), a treatise, or an Epistle, or a poem in verse, in mockery of Johann Reuchlin, and the Reuchlinists who are your foes—behold, and see how that I have done diligence! Herewith I send you an odistic or metrified Epistle, like unto Ovid in his Epistola; for well I know that you would fain read verse rather than prose. Mend it, an you will; for the disciple is not above his master. Scan it, too, for I am not yet well-skilled in this art.

A Letter from JOHANN GRAPP, metrifying poetical tyro, to his teacher, MAGISTER ORTWIN GRATIUS

Grapp his greeting doth send, in this poetic Epistle, Humble duty as well, to Magister Ortwin the kindly—As is but meet for a youth who dearly loveth his master; Therefore contemn not, I pray, my Ortwin, the metrification,
If it should harshly sound; for though thy resonant verses
Sweetly thunder indeed—yet all are not on a level,
Neither are all alike, whether teachers or diligent scholars;

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JOHANN GRAPP

One in logic is versed, another in poetry skilleth, 
Natural Philosophy one acquireth, leechcraft another, 
While yet another, through grace, hath competent learning in all things; 
Thou the exemplar of such, who a peer doth hardly acknowledge 
At Cologne—or at Rome, in all the ranks of the Rota— 
Rome, where folk at the Court contend like so many freshmen, 
Brangling and wrangling at law, with an eye to possible livings; 
(I myself am embroiled, for lately in sharp litigation 
I for a vicarage strove—nor yet hath peace been attained to.) 
But, in deep studies immersed, such vanities little thou wottest, 
All thy heart and mind intent on the pages of Scripture, 
Heed not thou heathen men, of thee the bitter tormentors— 
Reuchlin with all his crew, and that maleficient junto 
Secular Poets y-clept, and the crowd of jabbering Jurists 
Who, with their quillets and quirks and screeds of flimsy averments, 
Seek to trip thee up, and scribble heretical verses. 
Arnold von Tongern is with you, and Pepericornus the Christian, 
And that College in France that burnt the infamous libel, 
Augenspiegel to wit, by you triumphantly coped with. 
Fain would I leave to you the defence of faith and religion— 
To you and Hoogstraten—by far superior to Plato, 
Who the philosophers tops in craft of subtle distinctions; 
Therefore I bid you good-night—be all untroubled your pillow, 
Deo Gratias.

Forgive me if there are faults in these verses, for, as saith the Philosopher, "To err is human." Prithee, send me some news.
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

This is written at Rome, where grow miraculous apples, And in the hucksters’ stalls it is by the pound that they sell them—
This I have seen with mine eyes, and I by experience know it.

Amen.

III

MAGISTER STEPHAN RUMELANT

to Mag. Ortwin Gratius greeting

FORTHWITH, and without preface, I would have your worthiness to know that a Doctor of Theology hath just come hither, Thomas Murner by name. He is of the Order of S. Francis, an Oberlander, and he is vainglorious beyond belief. It is said that he maketh certain cards, and whosoever playeth with these cards learneth grammar and logic. He hath contrived a game of checkers, too, which dealeth with the quantities of syllables. He boasteth that he knoweth Hebrew, and he composeth verses in German. And the report goeth that this Doctor wotteth somewhat of every art.

But when I heard this, I said, “Jack-of-all-trades, and master of none!” and some that stood by laughed. Now this Doctor is a great crony of Johann Reuchlin’s—devil take him! I fear that here he will so work upon the Canons and other Clerks that they will side with Reuchlin. He declared, before many who heard, that a child could discern the folly, and the stupidity, and the malice of the Theologians of Cologne and their adherents. And he swore by the Holy of Holies that unless the Pope took heed, and corrected them in their perversity, a schism would spring up in the Church and the Christian Faith; for if the Pope permitted them to act thus, it would come to pass that no man would study, nor desire to gain knowledge. Moreover he said that Reuchlin could in one day be of more profit to the Church of God than could his enemies in a hundred years. “And if,” he went on, “they are upright men,
and have any just cause against Reuchlin, wherefore do they not act for themselves? Why do they need a baptized Jew to do their work for them, and why do they write scandalous books against the worthy doctor, and father them on that renegade? If they could have lighted upon a viler or more malicious man in all Germany they would have joined themselves to him! Yet this is nothing strange. 'Like draws to like.' Thereupon I could no longer hold my peace, but said, "Herr Doctor, by your favour, Johann Pfefferkorn is an honourable man; he is the trusty counsellor of his Imperial Majesty, and he cometh of the tribe of Naphthali. That, be well assured, is a most ancient stock. He might, an he would, boast himself to be of noble birth—but doth not, for humility's sake." Then said the Doctor, "Take a spoon and bib your words!" Then said I, "Think you that I know naught of men? I am a Magister of Paris, and I have studied Theology at Cologne for two years. Be not so arrogant, Herr Doctor, ere you know to whom you speak." Doctor Murner made answer that he knew not that I was a Magister, and he added, "Of Johann Pfefferkorn's honour I have heard but little, but from what I have heard of him I can safely say that unless the Jews had sought to put him to death by reason of his crimes, he would never have become a Christian."

Said I, "Herr Doctor, hear me yet a little: the Jews do Johann Pfefferkorn an injury, for he never stole aught, nor did he commit any crime, even when he was a Jew—as is piously to be believed. And to prove that this is true, I may tell you that two Jews once sought to saddle him with the shame of theft—merely out of envy and execrable malice—whereupon he cited them before the Imperial Chamber, and they handed him thirty florins for costs, wherewith he was content. Johann Pfefferkorn was indeed born of a good stock, but when he was a Jew he did as other Jews. For, as the proverb runs, 'He who is among wolves, must howl with the wolves.' But now he eateth swine's flesh, and behaveth like a good Christian." Then answered Doctor Murner, "Doth Pfefferkorn also eat sausages?"
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

I answered, “I have not with mine eyes beheld him eating them, but it may be piously presumed that if he eateth pork, he also eateth such things as are made of pork.” Quoth he, “You have made good apologies for Johann Pfefferkorn: hath he still two ears?”

I answered that he had them both when I was at Cologne, and that I believed he still had them, and will have them for ever. Then said he, “What opinion do you hold concerning Johann Reuchlin?” I replied that I knew him not, but that I was well aware that the Theologians and the Church for the most part regarded him as a heretic, because he hath assailed with undeserved calumnies Johann Pfefforkorn and other very eminent men. Then quoth he, “By the Lord, you do right well in defending Johann Pfefferkorn and the other very eminent men.”

Then said I, “Hear yet more: this Pfefferkorn is very useful to the Church, for he hath won twelve souls for God, as he hath himself candidly confessed.”

Quoth Doctor Murner, “Where gave he those souls to God? In the Bohmer Wald? Maybe he, with other robbers, slew sundry folk whose souls passed to God.”

I replied, “Not at all; but by converting them to the Christian Faith.”

Said he, “And how do you know that these souls were added to God?”

I answered that this might be piously presumed. Then asked Murner, “And what doeth Pfefferkorn now?”

I answered that he perchance visiteth the church, and attendeth Masses and Sermons, and, while defending himself against Johann Reuchlin, awaiteth the Day of Judgment.

“Think you,” saith he, “that Pfefferkorn will live so long?”

“Ay,” said I, “with respect to his soul, but not with respect to his body.”

Doctor Murner made answer, “Good! Pfefferkorn deserveth to have such a champion!” Thereupon he dismissed me, and all who stood around laughed, and said,
JOHANN HUTER

"Pardy, Herr Stephan, you have answered him stoutly!"

Then said I, "I will write every word of this to Magister Ortwin"—and this, as you see, I am now doing. Write to me in reply; I am yours to command.

From Trier.

IV

MAGISTER JOHANN HUTER sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius

SINCE it is written in the Evangel: "In what measure ye meten it shall be meten again to you," it becometh me not, therefore, to write to you, seeing that you write not to me. Nevertheless I know of what moment it is that I should send you tidings from Rome, to wit, how it fareth with Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten—that man of zeal unimpeachable, who defendeth the Catholic faith against those Jurists and secular Poets who have not the fear of God before their eyes, as have the Theologians in Cologne and Paris who burnt Johann Reuchlin's Augenspiegel. Though it would be but meet that I should do unto you even as you do unto me—and not write you a single drop; nevertheless this I will not do, but will yet this once favour you, on condition that you forthwith send me a reply. You must know, then, that those Jurists and adversaries, with the help of the Devil, the enemy of the Christian Faith, have by their wiles—as is piously believed—suborned a swarm of allies, more especially curialists of high rank—who have no scruples of conscience; and they inflict grievous injuries on the aforesaid Doctor, baiting him like a very bejan, and declaring that he is himself a heretic, and the Theologians of Cologne mere jack-puddings. Sonty! What is to be said? Is it not marvellous that Sacred Theology should be thus vilified, and held as trash, and that the Theologians who are, as it were, the Lord's Apostles should be despised as so many fools? Mark my words! There will hence be much seatehe to the Catholic Faith,
and, I fear me, confusion in the Church of God. The rumour goeth that the Pontiff holdeth with Reuchlin, being himself a poet and a favourer of the Jurists. Yet I trust that his Holiness will be enlightened by the grace of the Holy Spirit, and will not pronounce an unrighteous judgment—through the Lord who reigneth in heaven and on earth, and His Mother the Virgin Mary, and may she from all Poetry deliver us.

Rome.

V

\textsc{C BROTHER JOHANN VON WERDAU}

to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

SUPPLICATIONS humble and devout, with greetings manifold.

You say, reverend Sir, that you have heard that your Cause goeth amiss, and that Johann Reuchlin hath obtained an apostolical Inhibition; you say, too, that you fear greatly lest he gain the victory against the Theologians and our most holy Order, and that thereafter scandal will befall the Church of God. Why are ye so fearful, O ye of little faith, that ye are incontinently dumpish? And yet when I abode with you at Deventer you were not thus timorous, but were of good courage. For I well remember how you smote those freshmen who fell upon you with swords, though you had neither weapon nor shield; yet by God's help you thwacked them so soundly and roundly that one of them beshamed himself for very anguish. This was seen of many folk, and they cried, "By the Lord, this Magister Ortwin is a doughty man!" You must know that here at the Court of Rome things are not as they are elsewhere, and accord not with expectations; one day a man prospereth, and the next he foundereth. It may hap that a man obtaineth two or three decrees in his favour and nevertheless loseth his case. Perchance you will say "The Pope hath permitted the Augenspiegel to be sold, read, and printed." But this skilleth not. What he hath permitted cannot
he in turn forbid? Yea, of a truth—for his Holiness hath power to loose and to bind, and is not on that account blameworthy. Hath he not plenary powers, here and everywhere, as you know from the Evangel, for you are wondrously versed in Holy Scripture? Furthermore I can cite thereon the Canon Law: First, the Pope hath sway over the whole world, Quest. IX. Chap. 4, “Cuncta per mundum,” &c. He can depose the Emperor, alone, without a Council, as saith the gloss on the Chapter, “Ad apostolicae, de sententia et re judicata.” Compare also Quest. VI. Chap. 100, “De cetero.” Moreover the Pope is not subject to the Law, but is himself the living Law upon the Earth; as saith the gloss on Chap. XI., “De officio Judic. delegati.” And since the Pope is the Law, he can do whatsoever he listeth, and heedeth no man. If, therefore, he saith at one time “Yea,” nevertheless he can afterwards say “Nay.” Be then of good courage, for I lately heard from one of the judges of the Rota—a notable man, and of wide experience—that it is not possible that the Pope will pronounce sentence against you, for yours is the best of Causes, the Cause of the Faith.

Be ye therefore valiant in battle; and whatever those noddies may say to you about the Inhibition, credit it not, for it goeth for naught. I trust that I may soon be able to send you good tidings, for Herr Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten is doing his uttermost. Lately he gave a banquet, and invited many courtiers of years and experience, and an Apostolical Secretary who is in high favour with his Holiness, and sundry judges of the Rota. He plied them with partridges, and pheasants, and hares, and fresh fish, and the best Corsican and Greek wines. They all declared that he had dealt with them most honourably, and said among themselves, “By the Lord, we have here a Theologian of consequence: We will be on his side.”

Now therefore he taketh heart of grace. But I must stay my hand, for the messenger will no longer wait.

Farewell, and salute for me all the Doctors and Magisters, and Johann Pfefferkorn.

Rome.

403
CONFORMABLY to the request which you sent me when I was at Rome, that I should let you know to a tittle how matters stood in the Cause of the Faith between you and the other Theologians, on the one hand, and Johann Reuchlin on the other—

I would have you take note that I departed thence in such haste that I was not able to write a single word. I resolved, however, that I would write to you as soon as I reached the fatherland, and this I now do.

Know then, though I deeply lament it, that when I left Rome matters were in a parlous state. Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten is in great poverty. Have you Theologians no sense of shame, that you make him no provision? You would fain accomplish great results, and yet you will not loose the purse-strings! Think you that this is the way to bring about your ends? When the Doctor arrived at Rome with his two or three horses, and gold in the bank, and when he kept open house, then the courtiers rendered him high honour. Quoth one to another, “Who is this?” and the answer would come, “He is a Doctor from Germany, none is more renowned: he is a philosopher, and so excelleth in disputations that he hath no peer. He is here to maintain the Cause of the Faith against some secular Jurist.” Then would the courtiers sing his praises, and many a time has one said to me, “Herr Cornelius, commend me to this renowned Doctor!” Then his patrons abounded and his cause flourished. But now you desert him, and stint his supplies. Not long ago I was in his chamber, and casting my eyes on his mantle that lay there, I saw that it was full of vermin. And he, observing that I saw this, cited the Scripture which saith, “Thy congregation shall dwell therein, for thou, O God,
hast of thy goodness prepared for the poor;” and again, “My zeal hath even consumed me.” And I for bitter ruth shed tears.

It behoves you to succour him, and see that the Friars Predicant send him money. If they plead that they have none, bid them take what is needed from the store they have amassed out of Indulgences: it is in the Cause of the Faith, and whatsoever is devoted to that cause is devoted to the Christian Faith. Farewell.

AUGSBURG.

VII

FRIAR ALBERT NADLER to
Magister Ortwin Gratius

HONOURED Sir, a letter hath lately come hither, addressed from your worship to myself. With joy I opened it, for I recognised your seal. I have read it, and find that your worship desireth to know what folks say here of the Cause of the Faith between you Theologians and Johann Reuchlin. I will tell you—but you must not think scorn of me when you learn that they espouse not your cause. All men here say that the Theologians are treating Reuchlin as the scribes treated Christ, and that he hath ever been an upright man, and hath been the Counsellor of two Emperors. His skill in Jurisprudence, too, hath been of service to many burghers and princes, and all men have found him trusty and true. Yet because the Theologians have become envious of his fame, they seek to brand him as a heretic, by crooked devices and niggling quirks.

When I hear such things said, I raise my voice against them—but, as you well know, “many dogs can outbark one.”

Two Magisters who have lately arrived from Cologne—one of them is a noble—declare that those who assail Reuchlin are for the most part bastards, cullions, and braggarts. And this saying seemeth to me very shameful. One of them even made an harangue, so that all
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who stood near could hear, saying, "Gentlemen, that you may understand the true nature of this suit against Johann Reuchlin, let me tell you that the root of it all is Johann Pfefferkorn, who resembleth in name, and in all else, that Johann Pfefferkorn who was in this very place torn with red-hot pincers, and who in like manner had become a pervert from his faith, by reason of the wickedness that he had committed. If Pfefferkorn were safe here in gaol, and the executioners were to put the question to him as to what he had committed, he would make confession of not a whit less than his namesake. He hath egged on the Theologians at Cologne, and they have egged him on in turn, and they would fain have burned all the books of the Jews throughout Germany. And this, that the Jews might come privily to the Theologians and the aforesaid Pfefferkorn with large sums of money, beseeching them, and saying, 'Leave us, we pray you, our books—and lo, here are forty pieces of gold!' Some Jews, indeed, would have freely given a hundred, and some, a thousand pieces. Then came Reuchlin and baulked their scheme, and they were wrath with him. Hence they write books, and try to defame him, and declare him to be a heretic. Some books they write in Latin, and they publish them under Pfefferkorn's name, whereas he is ignorant even of the alphabet in Latin. This they do, since they know full well that no man will reply, for none will defile himself by touching such a scoundrel. It is plain that if they were true Theologians—or even honest men—they would do their own work, and not shield and hide themselves behind that braggart. Other books also they have published—some in the name of Arnold von Tongern, who hath been detected in forgery—this no man can deny, nor can he himself declare in his own defence that he is not a forger—it is known throughout Germany how he falsified the writings of Johann Reuchlin. Another writer on behalf of the Theologians is Magister Ortwin Gratius—the son of a priest, and one who keepeth concubines and hath been taken in advoutry. Then there is another scribe, of whom you have heard much, Doctor Weigand Wirth
of the Order of Preachers, who is just as great a scoundrel. He wrote a book to prove that the Blessed Virgin was conceived in original sin, and he stirred up much sedition with his preaching. He was therefore compelled to recant and publicly to adjure his own preachments and writings at Heidelberg—as I myself heard and saw. And now you may judge what manner of men the foes of Reuchlin are.”

Now when I heard these things I said, “Sir, it is not meet that you should utter such words as these before the people, even though they be true, for the whole Order hence cometh into ill odour, and folk are set a bad example thereby.”

“Even you,” he replied, “ought not to have acted as you have against Reuchlin, for you also have desired to defame him. And he now cannot clear himself without some hurt to you.”

By the Lord, Herr Ortwin, I would that this Cause had come to an end, for it is mightily discommodious to us: folk will no longer give us alms. Last week I set out on a tramp for cheeses, and during ten days I collected no more than fifteen, for everybody said, “Get thee to Johann Reuchlin, and ask him for cheeses!” May God grant a favourable issue; and now farewell in the Lord.

From Halle, in Saxony.

VIII

GREETINGS indescribable, and love ineffable!

Honoured Sir, inasmuch as you know right well how it standeth with me here in Rome, how that I am of the Chancery, and, by God’s mercy, am in good case; there is no need to tell you of such matters, for you suffer not tedious letters gladly. Nevertheless, seeing that I promised to send you news from Rome at least once a month, and, whenever the running or riding postmen set out, to avize
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you how matters stand with regard to the war and so forth, and concerning the King of France and the Emperor, perchance you will say within yourself, "See, how haughty this fellow hath become! He hath a fine post in Rome, and therefore he taketh not the trouble to write to me, forgetting that I was erst-while his Teacher, and implanted in him Poetry, and the Arts, and a slice of Greek too, whence it cometh that he is no small Grecian." But I swear that it is not so, and may the Devil take me if I have you not ever in my thoughts and in my prayers to God. Saith not Gregory that ingratitude is the root of all evil? Wherefore he who committeth the sin of Ingratitude sinneth the sin of sins; and if through pride I fail to write to you, then am I ungrateful to you my benefactor.

Howbeit I can show reasonable cause wherefore I have not sent letters to your worship, for I have been for a long while queasy, and I knew not what ailed me. The leech averred that I had certain ill-concocted baggage in my stomach. But the day before yesterday I took a cathartic, and, saving your honour's reverence, the peccant draff was as it were spoon-meat, and there-with passed a white gobbet of the size of a pear: "Lo!" quoth the leech, "the crudity that caused the fever." And now I can eat heartily again, and have a good appetite, God be praised. If I abide in good health I will write to you oft. For the nonce it must suffice to say that His Holiness is at Florence, and the Curialists here are cursing him because he doth not come back, and their business is hindered. They should have patience, say I, and should by no means curse His Holiness, lest they should be excommunicated.

I quote the Law to them anent this matter—for I frequent the Sapienza, and study there, so that I am become an expert in both branches of the Law, in the one as much as in the other. It is said that His Holiness aileth in his eyes, and cannot walk in the open air. You must know too that the King of France hath returned to his country, and is about to lead a greater host in array against the Emperor. The Spaniards will help the Emperor, and so you may be
assured there will be a mighty war. We must not omit, therefore, to say in our prayers, "Give peace in our time, O Lord!" For war in those parts advantageth not the Curialists. If peace is maintained, prithee send me word concerning any vacant benefice—whether it be a cure of souls or not, and whether in a patron's gift or not.

I am now of ripe experience, and would fain be beneficed. If you have any suit toward, I will use my interest here on your behalf. With regard to Johann Reuchlin’s case I may tell you that Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten hath culled certain other paragraphs out of the Augenspiegel, and they are to the full as heretical as the rest. He is now at Florence with the Court, and worketh diligently. Doubt not that the victory will be yours. Send me the news in turn, and farewell, with glory.

From Rome.

IX

MAGISTER PHILIPP SCHLAURAFF to Mag. Ortwin Gratius sesquipedal greetings

VENERATED Magister! you must know that I have received your letter, written in mighty pretty poesy, as is your wont: and you date it "From Cologne,

"Where we have good company—
Living all in jollity!
So, a fig for gravity!"

Whereby it hath come into my mind that you are well vinified—that is (to speak poetically) over-flowing with wine: and I trow that you were mellow when you penned those verses.

You bid me send you the poem that I composed concerning my peregrination throughout Germany—wherein I visited the Universities on behalf of the Theologians, to influence them, in their favour, against Johann Reuchlin—and concerning the tribulations I suffered at the hands of the Poets, who every-
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where abound. I gladly comply, but you must send me in return an account of your own doings. I send my poem by the messenger who conveys this: You must know that I have composed it rhythmically, and not with observance of quantities and feet, for methinks it soundeth better so: besides, I have never learned the other kind of Poetry—but this irks me not. Farewell.

From Bruneck, in Flanders.

CHRIST omnipotent, the hope of every creature
'tneath the sun,
God of gods to everlasting, while the endless ages run—
Show thou me thy loving-kindness when, with buffetings, the foe
Unrelenting fall upon me: send a fiend from realms below
Charged all Poets—ay, and Jurists—to the gallows-tree to hale,
Who have wrought on me—all blameless—without ceasing, scathe and bale.
First in Saxony, a student of the dialectic art
I resided; 'twas Sibutus that its mystery did impart—
He of leech-craft was Professor, and was wedded to a crone,
But the beer she brewed and vended for all blemish might atone!
There a Poet, one Balthasar, with his railing drove me mad,
And one Philipp Engentinus, who was every whit as bad!
So I deemed it was but prudent, to escape another broil,
To direct my steps to Rostock, and to seek a distant soil.

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Hermann Buschius there resideth, who to death a man be-rhymes—
But that there the plague was raging, luckily I heard betimes.
Fain at Greifsward I'd have sojourned, but it meagre cheer supplied,
So by night I tramped to Frankfort—Frankfort on the Oder's tide:
There Trebellius, with his verses blasphemous, reviled me sore,
And his pupils, the van Osthens, at his bidding 'gan to pour
Bitter ridicule upon me with their fleers and jeers so pat,
Till folk cried whene'er they saw me, "Scht das Kölnisch Kopulat!"
To Vienna then I hied me—sure beneath a planet dire
I was born, for Collimitius there was Rector—may the fire
Of St. Antony consume him! For he proved a bitter foe,
Calling me a recreant rascal, vowing I to jail should go!
Heckmann timely me delivered: straightway Vadian a new
Quarrel fastened on me, guiltless of his hurt, (altho' 'twas true
Pfefferkorn had soundly lashed him, rightly, in his own defence),
Shedding bitter tears of anguish, I proclaimed my innocence,
Praying that upon my journey I might scatheless go and free,
But the Lily Hostel's Rector whispered, "Let him prisoner be!"
Then outspake Cuspinianus, who the Emperor's friendship wins,
"Masters," quoth he, "of the Arts are Doctors of the Deadly Sins!"
Then 'wards Ingoldstadt I turned me, but one
Philomusus there
Fulminates 'gainst Theologians—him to brave I did not dare;
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So resolved, for peace and safety, on to Nuremberg to fare.

There a wight named Bilibaldus Pirckheimer fell foul of me,
Though no Master he of Arts is—it was told me privily
That, in league with many comrades, sojourners in divers lands,
He the foes of Johann Reuchlin with his voice and pen withstands,
And against us Theologians many a carping book hath he
Written; and 'tis whispered, newly hath he censured Usury—
Tho' the Doctors at Bologna, where the question late was moved,
Have declared that Compound Interest may be by the Church approved.
In a month I went to Leipsic—to the University—
There I met one Richard Crocus (Englishman he's said to be),
When he met me straight he shouted, "That's the beast I at Cologne
Lighted on!" But I the honour of his friendship would not own.
Then he cried to his companion, "Lo, the ninny-hammer! he
Johann Reuchlin fain would harass with his vain Theology."
This to the Magister Nosters I reported, and they swore
That for lectures Richard Crocus stipend should receive no more.
Then spake Mosellanus—taking up his parable, Quoth he,
"Straightway seize this meddling greenhorn—hang him on the gallows-tree!"
So from thence they sent me packing, and I set my face to go
On to Erfurt, where arriving, soon I found another foe! Eberbach began to vex me—Eobanus Hessus too,
Ceased not to contrive my drubbing, egging on a ribald crew

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PHILIPP SCHLAURAFF

In the streets to basely swinge me, "Dash to bits the runnion's jowl! Is he not the bane of Reuchlin, and a Theologian foul?" "Whence doth come this callow bejan?" Crotus cried, "He is unknown!" "I'm a graduate!" "Get thee gone then!" I was minded to Cologne, Through the Buchenwald to journey, but a comrade cried, "Beware!" Warning me of Mutianus, with his bludgeon, lurking there! Through Campanien I evaded, and again to Meissen came, But to Aesticampianus all too quickly spread the fame— Straight he sent forth his disciples, and they dragged me by the hair, And his neighbour Spalatinus came and threatened then and there For a private grudge to swinge me—but my bruised and battered hide Hardly saving, I escaped me to a forest dark and wide; Did the Devil, or an angel of the Pit my footsteps lead Then to Sturnus? When he saw me parlous was my plight indeed! Mercy! How my lugs he basted! So I fled in evil case To Franconia's river valley—and met Hutten face to face! Solemn oath, with upraised fingers, made he that a scourging sore He would give me if I lingered—so to save my skin, once more On I hurried into Swabia, and to Augsburg won my way— Peutinger, the foe of Brulfer, would not suffer me to stay There in peace, so passing Stuttgart, knowing Reuchlin there did dwell, Heretic by me suspected—ay! and dreaded, sooth to tell— Thence to Tübingen I journeyed—many ribald fellows there
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Write new-fangled nonsense, and they never Theologians spare;
Of them Schwarzerd was the vilest—might his corse rejoice mine eyne,
Gladly would I tramp, a footsore Pilgrim, to St. James’s shrine!
Bebel, Johann Brassicanus, with Paul Vereander, swore
That, to save my back from bruises, I must go, and come no more!
But by help of one Franciscus—blessed be his saintly name!
I, his prudent counsel heeding, safely from that country came.
Eager then to leave those Poets far behind me, straight I hied me
On to Strasburg, where Gerbellius with distracting quibbles plied me:
Tangled in sophistic meshes, I was held to open scorn,
In the street before the vulgar—would that I had ne’er been born!
Then Sebastian Brandt cried "Follow me!" and took me by the neif,
"You’re the man for Narragonia—welcome to the Narrenschiff!"
Schurer too, gor-belied glutton! grinning, wheezed "I understand
You’re the kind of lubbard losel that they want in Lazyland!"
Girding up my loins, I scampered, and to Schlettstadt took my flight—
In a greasy gown of leather, straightway Wimpeling hove in sight;
Jakob Spiegel, too, who shouted, "Whence? thou ninny-hammer, whence?"
Murmuring I came from Swabia, "Beast!" I got for recompence!
Wrath was I, and one Kirherus bade me off to Athens pack,
Greek to learn—and Johann Witz, with all his scholars at his back,
Thwacked me, till the Queen of Heaven I invoked; then, "Down the stairs

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Pitch him!” Storckius cried, but Phrygio, softened
maybe by my prayers,
Saved me: then Rhenanus asked me if from Germany
I hailed,
“Ay, from Flanders!” but the answer, humbly spoken,
aught availed!
Thumps upon my pate descended, Whack! and Whack!
on either ear,
And my staggered cerebellum buzzed till I could
scarcely hear.
Then to Hagenau I hied me; out upon thee, Wolfgang
Angst!
For mine eyes thou foully smotest—but Gott gebe dass
du hangst!
Comes a youth, one Johann Letzer, with a folio thick
and wide,
Knocks my breath from out my body, hurling it against
my side!
“Hear, oh hear my last confession!” gaspingly the
words I said,
“Shrive me in my deep contrition!” But at midnight
from my bed
Soft arising, off to Friburg I departed, seeking ruth—
There were nobles, clad in armour! Reuchlin’s fators,
and in truth
Terrible to see! Their aspect threatened me with
instant death!
But an old juristic gauffer, Zazius hight, with husky
breath,
Coughed out “Art thou then a Scotist?” With
disdain I straight replied,
“Nay, but Thomas, Holy Doctor, of Aquino is my
pride.”
Up to scorn he held me, shamefaced, while Amorbach
shouted “Thick
Tho’ his pate be, something novel I’ll implant there:
fetch a stick!”
Born to sorrow, Basle I fled to, where Erasmus famed
doth dwell,
I addressed him: “By your favour, will your ex-
cellency tell
One who humbly asketh, are you candidate for a degree,
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Or a postulant for licence?" "Oh, assuredly!" quoth he.
There, within the house of Froben, many heretics abide,
Notably one Glareanus, who my aching back and side
Buffeted with thumps resounding, then to finish,
knocked me down,
Though I cried aloud for pity, "Mercy! by thy laurel
crown!"
Taking boat, to Worms I drifted; there I met within
an inn
Theobaldus, a physician—quickly did our strife begin!
How he raved 'gainst Theologians! "Thou'rt a
gowk!" I mildly said,
Scarcely had the words been uttered when a cheese
replaced my head!
Wounded, I to Mainz betook me, where with kindness,
in my need,
Good Bartholomaeus Zehner took me in, and gave me
rede:
"Go ye not to the Corona! Pardy! 'tis a dangerous
inn!
Certes, there the guests will shend you! Men of
violence and sin!"
Carbach there on Livy lectures: Woe is me! an
ancient foe,
One Huttichius, with a joint-stool, felled me at a single
blow!
For a bounce that all unwitting, slipped me, Weydmann,
standing there,
Smote me—while I vengeance threatened for the insult,
down the stair
Königstein propelled me headlong; but—the danger
'scaped, by flight—
As beside the Rhine I wandered, Doctor Murner met
my sight!
In a boat upon the river—Thomas Murner, Minorite!
"'Tis my dignity that saves thee!" cried he, "or thou
straight should'st lie,
Underneath the rolling waters!" Shivering, I made
reply:
"Wherefore?" "Knave and fool!" he shouted,
"Reuchlin's wrongs will tell you why!"

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But, at last, to Köln I drifted, where I found good company,  
And I heeded not though Buschius and Caesarius flouted me,  
With their Livy-reading pupils jeering; for with open arms  
The Theologers received me faint from dangers and alarms.  
There I dwelt in happy leisure, and I heeded not a hair  
Tho' he boasts himself a Poet, Hermann, Graf von Neuenar.  
Pfefferkorn hath somewhere written, that their rank doth not excuse  
Nobles, who to duly answer for their deeds may not refuse:  
Writing as Obscuri Viri, they must pay the penalty—  
Ends my story: for the honour of the University.

X

GREETINGS innumerable, with the utmost respect, reverend Magister!

Without tedious preamble or ambagious circumlocution,—seeing that you lately sent me word that you desired me to let you know how matters stand here with regard to the Cause of the Faith, I would have you know that it prospereth, but that the definitive judgment hath not yet been promulgated.  
There is a Jurist here, one Martin Gröning, a Doctor of Sinigaglia—so he saith—and vengeance proud and arrogant. He must needs translate the "Augenspiegel," and is mighty boastful, for he would cut a figure. Some men praise him, and of such I lately demanded, "What more does this fellow know than another?" They made answer that he had competent knowledge of Greek. You see therefore that you need not pay any regard to him, for Greek is not material to Holy Scripture. I believe that he knows not a jot of the "Book of Sentences." Neither can he frame me a
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syllogism in Baroco or Celarent, for he is no logician. Not long ago he called me an ass, and I said, “Come now, if thou art so bold, dispute with me!” for I made free to “thou” him. But he was silent. Then pressing my attack, I said “I will prove that thou art an ass. Thus: whatever bears a burden is an ass—thou bearest a burden—therefore thou art an ass. The minor premiss is evident, since thou bearest that book.” Now this was true, for he was carrying a book, that Jakob von Questenberg had given him to read, against Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten; and he was not shrewd enough to deny my major, although I could not have proved that—but I knew full well that he was unversed in logic. Then quoth I, “Herr Doctor, you wish to thrust your nose in Theologians’ affairs, which pertain not to your Faculty; I counsel you to hold aloof, seeing that you have no knowledge of the matter; else you will surely come to grief, for the Theologians are not minded that Jurists should meddle with questions of Faith.” Forthwith, fuming he cried, “I not only understand these things, but I can see that thou art a damned beast!” Then I was enraged, and started up, and that day the strife was hot between us! But Doctor Peter Meyer, parish priest of Frankfort, said to me, “Come now, let us go to the inn, and seek some victuals, for it is dinner-time; and let this worthy gentleman be, for he doth not yet know his rudiments; he must go to school and learn.”

But, mark you, Magister Ortwin, we will roundly avenge that insult; the fellow is a student of Cologne, and I know for certain that he resided at De Monte hostel; if therefore you will prevail on the University to cite him, we will convict him of perjury; for when he matriculated he made oath that he would work for the good of the University, whereas now he sideth with Johann Reuchlin, against it. Prithee, do this forthwith—and send me that treatise of Johann Pfefferkorn’s entitled, “The Defence of J. P. against slanders.” A student lately brought it hither, and my heart acheth to possess the book, for it containeth many subtle propositions. The Lord grant you welfare and peace.

Amen.
SALUTATIONS unending, and a New Year full of as good fortune as there is to be found on earth—nay, more if possible—I wish your worship. You must know that I am prospering, by the grace of God who hath granted me His mercy, and, as the Psalmist saith, "The Lord hath heard my petition; the Lord hath received my prayers." Daily do I pray for my sins and beseech our Lord to keep me in body and soul. Especially the soul, for the body is but dust, and, as Holy Scripture saith, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." I hope, moreover, that it goeth not ill with you, for he who by the grace of God always repenteth of his sins, and devoutly telleth his beads, even if he fasteth not oft—with him the Lord willeth not that it should go ill.

I know that your conscience is good, and you are ever studying how to forward the good of the Church. I well know how that lately you wrote a book against a certain heretic, Johann Reuchlin by name, and it was composed so masterly that I was held in admiration thereby. I said to a Cursor of the Order of Preachers who was carrying that book, "I think the man must have a pair of heads to handle a matter so canonically as that." Then the Cursor told me that you were writing a commentary on that book of Doctor Arnold von Tongern's that he composed, in the title of "Articles," against the heretical propositions of the "Augenspiegel." Prithee, send me this Commentary when it is completed. I trow that, without doubt, it will be a miracle of art—expounding all the arguments, and notabilia, and propositions, and conclusions, and corollaries which few fully comprehend; for the Doctor is exceeding subtle in his writings, as is the wont of the School of the Albertists. You must not take it ill if I praise the Albertists—you yourself being a
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Thomist—for their diversity is not great, and on certain points they closely agree. Nevertheless the Holy Doctor is the more profound, and this by the special inspiration of the Holy Spirit; hence it is that he is called the Holy Doctor, although Reuchlin nameth him not thus in his writings—wherefore is he a heretic, and, in the devil's name, let him so abide. I was lately wrath against a Jurist who defended him, and I wrote an ode in verse against him. For I, too, am wont to poetise when I am alone, by aid of Bebelius' "Art of Versifying," which is very subtle. The Ode runneth thus:

"Turn not away thine ear from the humble prayer of thy servant!
Hearken, O Mother revered of the astripient god!
'Tis for Theology's sake, O Mary, thy servant beseecheth;
Reuchlin the wicked Jurist, holy Theology's foe
Hath no light from above nor mental clarification,
As there needeth to be in him who wisheth to please thee.
To recite to your son our prayers therefore remember,
That he may come to the aid of his own Faculty."

These are elegiacs, and they are scanned after the manner of the first metre in Boethius, beginning "Carmina qui quondam studio," &c.

If the messenger had not told me that he must make haste and be off, I would have sent you a pile of verses that I have written in defence of the Church and the Faith. Do not forget, then, to send me the commentary you have constructed, and I will send you further news in return.

Farewell—hurriedly, happily, fervidly.
From Olmütz, in Moravia.

XII

E WILHELM LAMP, Master of Arts, sendeth greeting to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

REVEREND Sir, inasmuch as you bade me, and commanded me to write to you as soon as I reached Rome, and to tell you all that befell me on the way, and how I stood with regard to bodily health—you must know that by God's grace I am quite well, and I should
rejoice to hear that you are quite well too. I hope that, please God, you are in good ease.

Now you must know how that as soon as I arrived at the "Crown" at Mainz, I found certain folk there who were talking about the Cause of the Faith, and were of Doctor Reuchlin's part; and when they saw me to be of Cologne, they but talked the more, and treated me with disdain. They praised Johann Reuchlin, and disparaged the Magisternosters at Cologne, and called them bats that could do nothing in the light of day, but flew by night and busied themselves in the darkness. Then quoth I, "Hear the other side!" and I quoted to them the "Flores Legum." Then they began to assail me with many words, till I said, "What have I to do with Reuchlin? Let me eat my money's worth." Perhaps you will say, "Herr Wilhelm, you ought to have maintained your ground and answered them boldly." But that was out of the question in such a place. I heard that in that Inn a man had just been basted with a joint-stool because he had said a word for Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten. The men who come there for their victuals are very terrible rufflers, who wear swords and cutlasses, and one of them is a Count, who is a tall man and hath white hair. They say that he can take an armed man up in his hands and dash him to the ground. His sword is as long as a giant's. And when I set eyes on him, I held my peace and let them talk on. I intended to write to you forthwith, but there was no messenger at hand.

When I reached Worms we lodged at an Inn where there were many Doctors, assessors at the Supreme Court. They said dreadful things about the Theologians, and I heard that they had indicted Johann Pfefferkorn on account of the "Tocsin." One of them said, "Mark my words; in a few years these Magisternosters will be swept away, and will be heard of no more." Then said I, "Who then will preach to you, and instruct you in the Catholic faith?" He replied, "That will be the work of learned Theologians who understand the Scriptures, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, Paul Ricius, Johann Reuchlin, and the like." Then I held my peace, and thought within myself, "Fools
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talk foolishness." There was one sitting at the board, 
*Theobald Fettich* by name, who is now *Doctor of Medi-
cine*, and him I recognised, for he formerly resided at 
*Cologne* at *De Monte* Hostel; and he talked more than 
all the rest together. Then said I to him, "You ought 
to bear in mind the oath that you took to the Rector 
and University of *Cologne*."

"To the jakes with the pack of you," quoth he. But 
let this pass.

Afterwards, when we had taken our departure from 
*Worms*, certain fearful men on horseback met us, with 
cross-bows in their hands, and made as though they 
would shoot us. Then my companion cried out "Jesus! 
Jesus!" but I, being of good courage, bade him cry not 
out thus, and I said to the men, "Most noble *Sirs*, shoot 
us not! We are not armed—we are no foes of yours—
we are clerks who are on our way to *Rome* to seek bene-
fices." Then cried one of them, "What are benefices 
to us? Give us money that we may drink withal—or 
the Devil take you!" And so, to get out of their clutches, 
we had to give them two florins. And I whispered 
privily, "Drink! and may the Devil give you his bless-
ing!" After a while my companion asked, saying,"What 
think ye? Shall we cite them before the Curia?" But 
I told him that this could not be, inasmuch as we knew 
not their names.

Thereafter, through deep mire, we reached *Augsburg*, 
and meanwhile it rained and snowed so hard that we 
could scarce open our eyes. Then said my companion, 
"Good lack! how cold I am! If I were back at *Cologne*, 
I should never set out for *Rome*!" But I laughed. Now 
at the Inn there was a comely damsels, and in the even-
ing there was a dance, and my companion joined the 
dancers. But I chided him for this, in that he was a 
Magister and ought not to partake of such frivolities. 
But he cared not a whit, and swore that he would eat 
a peck of dirt if only that damsels would join him for the 
night. But I would hearken to no more, and quoting from 
the *Preacher*: "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity!" I went 
to bed. Next morning we reached *Landsberg*, and my 
comrade must needs lie with the serving-maid that night. 
In the morning when we quitted the Inn his horse fell
lame. "More damsels abused?" quoth I. But a smith came to the rescue.

Afterwards we came to Schongau, where we bought some fine glasses. Then we set forth for Innsbruck. But the ways were so foul that the horses could not make way, and sank up to their girths in the mud. And so after much tribulation we attained to Innsbruck, and there we found his Majesty the Emperor, with his vassals, and his courtiers, and his knights, and soldiers, and men-at-arms—having silken cloaks, and gold chains round their necks. And there were some who looked very fierce, with beards, and caps slashed soldier-wise; and I feared to sit at meat in the Inn, for I heard one of them say, "If I were Emperor, I would hang every one of these blood-suckers at the Court who come to Rome and learn wickedness. They cog and cozen one another for benefices, and seek to oust country parsons in Germany, and cause much money to flow from Germany to Rome." Hence I perceived that the Curialists heed neither God nor man, and therefore they will perish like dust before the wind.

Afterwards we passed over a mountain all covered with snow, and so high that I trow it reached half-way to heaven. And so bitter was the cold on the summit thereof that I feared lest it should give me a fever; and I thought of my stove at Cologne. And my comrade said to me, "Oh, if I but had my cloak!" Then said I to him, "You are for ever complaining of chills when you are abroad, and when you get to an Inn you desire revelry. Know you not that venery cooleth the blood?" But he replied that it seemed to him not to cool it, but warm it. I must tell you, Master Ortwyn, that never in my life have I seen a man so given to lechery. Whenever we entered an Inn the first thing he did was to ask the drawer, "Is there aught within for my lap?"

Next we reached Trient; and your worthiness will forgive me, and take it not ill that I tell you the truth, that there for once I purged my reins in the stews by stealth. Nevertheless at night I read my Hours to the Blessed Virgin for my sin. At Trient were many soldiers preparing to advance against Verona and work
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wonders there! And they made boast to us how that the Emperor was going to capture Venice. We saw bombards there, and many other engines that I had never set eyes on in my life.

On a Sunday we reached Verona. This is a fair city, with walls, and forts and bastions. We saw there the house of Dietrich von Bern, where he lived, and where he overthrew and slew the many giants who fought with him.

Afterwards, when we would fain have proceeded on our way, for a long while we could not, for fear of the Venetians, who, it was said, had taken the field. And this was true, for afterwards at Mantua we heard the sound of their bombards as they laid siege to Brescia. At Mantua I said to my companion, "Here Virgil was born." But said he, "What care I for that heathen? Let us go to the Carmelites and see Baptista Mantuanus, who is twice as good a poet as Virgil, so Ortwin hath ten times told me." And I reminded him how that you had once censured Donatus for saying that Virgil was the most learned of poets and the greatest of men. You said, "Would that Donatus were here, that I might tell him to his face that he lied; for Baptista the Mantuan is above Virgil." But when we came to the Monastery of the Carmelites, it was told us that Baptista was dead. "May he rest in peace!" quoth I.

Thence we came to Bologna, where was his Holiness, and also the King of France. There we heard a Papal Mass, and gained many indulgences for all our sins, both venial and mortal, and made confession. The reverend Father Jakob van Hoogstraten, Magister-noster, and Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity was there too; and when I saw him, I said, "Reverend Father, what doeth your Excellency here? I thought you had been at Rome." Then I delivered to him your letter and that of Doctor Arnold von Tongern, and he told me that he was seeking by the help of the King of France to bring it about that Reuchlin should be declared a heretic, and that the "Augenspiegel" should be burned. I asked him, saying, "Doth the King, then, understand this matter?" He replied, "Of himself
doubtless, he doth not, but the Theologians of Paris have instructed him, and his Confessor Guillaume Petit, a very zealous man, hath told him, in confession, that he will not shrive him, unless he bring it about, through the Pope, that Reuchlin shall be declared a heretic." Then I rejoiced greatly, and cried, "May the Lord grant that it shall be according to your words!" I met many courtiers there who were known to me, and I invited them to the Inn.

Thence we proceeded to Florence, which is as fair a city as any upon earth.

Afterwards we came to Sienna, where there is a University, but the Theologians are few. Then we came to sundry small towns. One of these is called Montefiascone. There we drank of the best wine that I had ever tasted in my life, and I asked the taverner how it was named. "Laerima Christi," said he. Then said my companion, "Would that Christ shed tears in the Fatherland!" And there we had a roaring bowse.

Three days later we reached Rome. The Lord be praised, who hath delivered us from so many dangers by the way—not to speak of botched shoes. I have as yet heard no news at Court, except that I have seen a beast as big as four horses, and which hath a snout as long as I, and is a wondrous creature. When I saw it, I said, "God is wonderful in his works." I would give a florin for you to see that beast. And now, pardy, I trow I have acquitted myself well in writing. Do the like, or I will never write to you again. Farewell soundly.

From Rome; in haste.

XIII

THOMAS KLORBUS, of Theology a humble Doctor, sendeth greeting to Magister Ortuinus

SINCE, as it is written, "affliction giveth understanding," take it not amiss if, in some measure, I censure you, seeing that I do it with all good will.

Lately, in a tractate, you described a certain theo-
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logian as being well-lettered, and a Doctor of long standing, and a profound Scotist, and deeply versed in the Book of the Sentences.

You also averred that he had conned by rote the whole book of the Holy Doctor "Of Entity and Essence," and that he knew "The Fortress of Faith" like his paternoster, and that by memorative art he had impressed the Formalities of Scotus upon his mind like so much wax; and, finally, you alleged that he was "a member of ten universities."

You commit—pardon me—a solecism. One member cannot have many bodies; but, on the other hand, one body may rightly possess many members.

Thus, the human body hath a head, feet, hands, arms, belly, parts male and female; and a foot is a member of a man, and the head is a member of a man, and so forth.

Now, the whole body of a man consists of these members, and these members are comprised in the body, as species are comprised in a genus.

But none of these members consists of many bodies. On the other hand, if you were to aver that a certain Doctor was a body of ten Universities, I should still censure you. For any one might hence conclude that the ten Universities were members of that Doctor, and that he consisted of ten Universities. But if this were granted, it would be a scandal to those ten Universities, and they would be vilified if a single man—for even Doctors of Divinity, as you know, are men—was declared to be more worthy than so many Universities. It is an impossible case. For even the Holy Doctor himself is not greater than ten Universities.

How then shall we mend the matter? What should we rightly say?

Perpend; for the question is mightily intricate, and although it appertaineth to Grammar, yet many a Doctor knoweth not how to resolve it:

A man who has been matriculated at ten Universities, who has studied therein for the appointed time—attending lectures and observing the statutes—when he has taken and kept the oaths, and has rendered honour to the Masters and Doctors, is entitled to
say—“I am members of ten Universities”—not “a member.”

This phrase is not solecistic, notwithstanding a certain lack of concord in the numbers.

It is a case of Apposition, as in Virgil:

“Forfornosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim, Delicias domini,”

For here Alexis, who is but a single swain, is yet called “delights”—by Apposition.

Believe me, this is a most subtle and notable resolution. I learned it when I was at Louvain, and was not yet Bachelor: the question was debated for four days.

Take not this in dudgeon. I write to you with good intent. Farewell.

COBLENZ.

XIV

MAGISTER OTTO HÄMMERLIN to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

VAST store of salutations! Reverend Magister, your worship hath done me a great favour in sending me that notable book of Johann Pfefferkorn’s intituled, “Johann Pfefferkorn’s Defence.” I cannot sufficiently admire how notably and excellently he reprehendeth Johann Reuchlin. When I read it I cried, “Would that that fellow Reuchlin were dead!” But a certain parish priest, who is a stiff Reuchlinist, always resisteth me—and favoureth the argument a fortiori. Yesterday, when before Vespers I walked with him, these words proceeded from his mouth, “If the Theologians have not overcome Reuchlin in Germany, much less will they overcome him in Rome; for in Italy there are very learned men, and they instantly recognise the stupidity and emptiness of the Theologians—for they pay no heed to such nonsense at Rome. What a testimony it is,” quoth he, “against the Theologians that they do not dare to write against Reuchlin and his allies in their own names, but foist in a jack-pudding, who hath neither honour nor goods to lose, and ascribe their books to him.” Then I made
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answer, "Pfefferkorn of a truth compiled the work, but Magister Ortswin afterwards Latinised it." Said the priest, "I know well enough that Ortswin composed the Latin, for I recognised his style at once. I know too that Ortswin is of a good stock—a priestly one, to wit. But tell me one thing: you must confess that Pfefferkorn knoweth not the Latin alphabet, much less can he read. And if he cannot read, much less can he understand. And if he cannot understand, much less can he write and compose. And if he can neither read, nor understand, nor write—much less can he discuss questions that none but a deeply learned man can deal with. Therefore, how is it possible that he put together that material, either in Latin, or German, or Hebrew?" I replied that I supposed that Pfefferkorn had such an enlightened intellect, and had heard so much of the subject-matter that, by God's help and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, he was well able to dispute concerning it. "The matter is such an easy one that Reuchlin could be vanquished therein by Pfefferkorn's wife." Then said the priest, "That is very sooth. I trow that five sturdy young Westphalian boors could not vanquish Johann Pfefferkorn's wife, and much less could Johann Reuchlin, who is an old man and feeble, and impotent withal. But I marvel that his Holiness the Pope, and the Emperor as well, can allow such scandals to be perpetrated by that Jewish buffoon, and permit him to stand in a holy place, and preach to the people, and pronounce benediction, and do such things that if a layman who had always been a Christian were to do them, nevertheless we should have no good opinion of him—much less is it seemly in the case of a baptized Jew, who cannot be shewn to be a true Christian until he be dead. And such things as this ought not to be suffered, much less should he be permitted to thrust himself into the disputations of learned men and thus be an offence to all honest folk. He ought to be hanged—with his books and his scandals—as he hath long deserved."

I made answer that his preaching was not pontifical, and was but simple instruction such as a layman might
give. And as for his books, it is evident that he doth but defend himself against Johann Reuchlin, who disparaged him. And in his Hand-spiegel he chideth the injustice of Johann Reuchlin. And that he is a good Christian may be presumed from the fact that if he did not intend always to remain a Christian he would not be so wrathful against the Jews, and do them so much hurt. The priest said, “To write, or compose, a book is no small matter, and only great and learned men who have taken high degrees are competent for this, not a lewd fellow like Johann Pfefferkorn: and therefore the Theologians of Cologne ought never to have thought that they could persuade folk that Pfefferkorn wrote the like. If I were Emperor, I would hang Pfefferkorn and Hoogstraten on the same gallows.”

Quoth I, “What hath Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten done? He is a good Imperialist, as I can prove by his Letter to the Emperor, in the which he saith ‘May his Imperial Majesty prosper and rejoice for ever; and may God preserve him for a thousand years.’”

Quoth the priest, “I have seen ten malefactors suffer death, and none of them was so worthy of death as Hoogstraten, who persecuteth so unjustly a good and innocent man; moreover he hath sought the aid of the King of France, who is the Emperor’s open foe, against Johann Reuchlin. And this is the crime of High Treason, over which he lamented at Rome.”

I replied that Hoogstraten had done this through zeal for the faith; for the faith is greater than an Emperor, and theologians pay no heed to secular rank. Then departed the priest, crying, “Oh most innocent Reuchlin! Why should you be harassed by these vile and wicked persecutors? May God preserve you! If there is any justice on Earth, you cannot be overthrown in such a cause! Therefore can I say, ‘the heathen have raged, and have imagined a vain thing.’” I answered, in my sleeve, “Let his days be few, and his bishoprick may another take.” Pardy, Master Ortwin, our troubles are many. I would that our cause made way. Write to me how matters stand at Rome. Farewell—for as long as lived Methusela.

From Breslau.
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XV

* MAGISTER PETER STEINHART

_to Magister Ortwin Gratius greeting_

I WAS minded, Domine Ortwin, to write to you at large concerning all manner of news—about wars and battles, and about Johann Reuchlin’s affair, and now I am so beflustered that I cannot sit me down for wrath; and I cannot write about such things when my heart is a-thumping me like a fist—because there is a German here from Meissen or thereabouts, and he promised to give me a Juristical Vocabulary, and now he denieth it to me; I have often exhorted him friendly, but it is of no avail. It is manifest that he meaneth to insult me. And since, as you know, every promise createth a debt, I thereupon summonsed him. Then, to-day he sends me an abusive letter and gibeth at me as if I were a dotterel. And so I am choleric to such a degree that I know not what to be at. But I shall to the magistrate, and apply for a warrant of arrest, inasmuch as that fellow is by me suspect of absconding himself. And if he sendeth me not that book incontinent I shall set on the catchpoles to attach him and put him in gaol—and then if he geteth a turn or two of the strappado he must e’en put up with it, for I will learn him to fail a man, and not keep his promises. Mark my word, I will set that fellow to rights—my life else! Because I must have that book, since I am setting in order my studies, and I have bought books about law and other things, going every day for four hours to the Sapienza to hear the Institutes, and the Infortiatum, and the Canon Law too, and the Precepts of the Chancellery. And I have found here a right useful book—it exceeded! I have learnt many things from it—I doubt that you have it in Germany—it is marvellous and mightily explicatory, and it is intituled “Casus longi super Institutis,” and it treateth of the prettiest matters, and expoundeth the Institutes so deeply that it often divideth one para-
JOHANN HUTER

graph into ten parts, and it runneth after the fashion of a dialogue—and as for its latinity, it is hugely elegant. I cannot tell you how useful it is to have a book like that.

But you must not blab to those Jurists in Cologne who are on Johann Reuchlin’s side, for if they had that book they could practise the more subtilly.

I know very well that you commend not my studying Law, because you have often told me that I ought the rather to study Theology, which giveth a blessing, and is of higher desert than the Jurisprudence which maketh the crooked straight and the straight crooked—and you cited a passage in Richardus. Nevertheless I say unto you that it is my duty, inasmuch as the science of Jurisprudence toucheth the earning of our bread, as it is written:

"Con well Justinian’s code, if pelf you’d gain,
And Galen: chaff all else, but they the grain."

Moreover you know right well that I am a poor man; and my mother has written to tell me that I must bestir myself to get cheer and gear, because she will not send me another stiver—and, by the Lord, that’s how it standeth.

And now again I bethink myself of that fellow who hath so mightily stirred my choler. From my heart, fare ye well.

Rome.

XVI

MAGISTER JOHANN HUTER to
Mag. Ortwin Gratius

I SEND you more salutations than there are thieves in Poland—heretics in Bohemia—boors in Switzerland—scorpions in Italy—pimps in Spain—vermin in Hungary—Articles in Paris—topers in Saxony—chapmen in Venice—courtiers at Rome—chaplains in Germany—nags in Friesland—vassals in France—fishes in the Marches—swine in Pomerania—sheep in England—cattle in Dacia—harlots in Bamberg—artisans in
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN


In a word, greetings infinite I offer you, reverend Magister, for you are beloved by me to the verge of possibility—with love unfeigned. But you may say that I pretend this affection, and that you do not believe it to be so heartfelt, therefore I will say but little about it. The saying goes, “Self-praise defileth the lips,” or vulgarly, “Eigenlob stinkt.” Nevertheless in token of my love I send you herewith two gifts; the first is a rosary made out of ox-horn, which hath touched the tomb of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and many other relics at Rome. And over this I have read three masses. They say that it is sover against robbers and all murderous assaults, if one telleth his beads with it. The second gift I send is something wrapped up in a piece of cloth which hath a virtue against serpents, and I have seen trial made thereof. And if ever a serpent bite you—which heaven forfend—it will do you no hurt. This I gave a Carlin for. There was a man here in the Campo dei Fiori who worked miracles by virtue of St. Paul, and he had a mort of serpents of terrible shapes, so that it was a marvel to behold. He touched them and they did him no hurt—but when they bit any one else, then he cured him by this talisman, giving him this kickshaw tied up; and they say that he is of that stock on which St. Paul conferred healing power. For when St. Paul walked the earth he was once entertained by a man who treated him with the greatest reverence, and played the good fellow, giving him victuals and drink and good lodging, and in the morning he asked him, saying, “Sir, take it not amiss—I see that you are a great man, and have especial grace from God, and I doubt not that you are a saint, for but yesterday I saw you work a miracle. Tell me,
I pray you, who you are." Then answered Saint Paul, "I am Paul, an apostle of Christ." Then the man fell on his knees, saying, "Forgive me, Saint Paul, in that I knew not who you were; I ask you to pray for my sins, and to give me by way of valediction a special grace from on high." Then said Saint Paul, "Thy faith hath preserved thee;" and he gave to him and all his posterity, the gift of healing men who had been stung by serpents. And the man who gave me this remedy is of his posterity, as hath been proved many a time. Accept it therefore with all good will. Write and send me tidings concerning the war; and tell me whether that Jurist Johann Reuchlin still composeth treatises against you—which mayhap he still doth out of mere hardihood and from no demerits in yourself. But I trust that you will fairly set him at nought, for Herr Doctor Hochstrat telleth me that his cause prospereth, and that I should avize you thereof. Farewell.

From Rome.

XVII

FRIEDRICH GLANTZ to
Magister Ortwin Gratius

A CONGLOMERATION of greetings. In case, Reverend Sir, you know it not already, let me forthwith tell you that I have been at odds with a certain quirister here who thinketh himself to be somebody, and yet is merely a poor student, like myself and the rest.

We were bowsing together, and he declared that he had pledged me in a full tankard of beer. I averred that he had not—for, by the Lord, I never saw him drink it. Then said I, "Master quirister, I did not see you drink; an I had seen you, right gladly would I have pledged you again, for I am not the man to be scared at a tankard of beer." Thereupon the fellow swore that he had in sooth pledged me, and argued that therefore I must needs drink to him. "Nay," quoth I, "drink to me, and I will hob and nob with
you." Again he declared that he had pledged me, and that it behoved me to do my duty. I made answer that there was no statute to compel me to drink against my will. Said he, "Nay, but I can compel you." Said I, "Where find you that?" Said he, "In the Code: 'Vinum, etc., si certum putatur.'" Said I, "You cite the Code to me, but I am no Jurist; I will enquire further on this matter." Thereupon I paid my shot, and took myself off. The fellow cried that never, so long as he lived, would he drink with me again. "So be it!" said I. And thus the matter standeth, Herr Ortwin.

Send me now some news in return: and fare thee well, till a sparrow weigh a quintal.

Münster.

XVIII

To Brother Simon Wurst, Doctor of Sacred Theology, to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

Ever since Johann Pfefferkorn's "Defence," which he composed in Latin, reached us here, daily there have been fresh rumours. One man saith this, another saith that. One man is on Pfefferkorn's side, another on Reuchlin's; whom one man upholdeth, another blameth. There is sore brangling, and folk would fain be at fisticuffs. If I were to relate all the squabbles that have arisen over that book, a whole Olympiad would fail me.

Briefly, however, I will glance at one or two matters. Many folk—especially the lay Magisters, and the priests and friars of the Franciscan Order—roundly declare it to be a thing impossible that Pfefferkorn composed that book, seeing that he never learned a word of Latin. I reply that this objection is futile, though it hath been for the undoing of great men even to this day, but with injustice—for Johann Pfefferkorn, who beareth with him a pen and an ink-horn, can jot down that which he heareth at public preachments, or at
assemblies, or when students and Dominicans come to his house, or when he goeth to the baths. Sonty! how many sermons hath he not heard in twelve years! How many exhortations! How many opinions of the holy fathers! And these he could either lay up in his own mind, or dictate to his wife, or scratch upon the walls, or enter in his notebook. I added, moreover, that Johann Pfefferkorn avoweth of himself—without boasting—that he can apply, without help, everything contained in the Bible or in the Holy Gospel, to any purpose, good or evil, and that in German or in Hebrew. He knoweth too, by rote, all the gospels that are read throughout the year, and he can recite them to the letter—and this is more than the Jurists and Poets can do. He hath, moreover, a son named Lorenz—a right towardly youth—who studieth until he hath grown pale; I marvel however, that he is allowed to study those diabolical poets. He gathereth for his father saws from the Orators and poets—both personally and from the lips of his teachers—to be applied to any subject and any argument; moreover he can quote Hugo. Johann Pfefferkorn, forsooth, hath profited much from this sagacious youth, inasmuch as what he for lack of learning cannot attain to, his son despatcheth.

Let them therefore be put to shame who have falsely spread it abroad that Johann Pfefferkorn hath not composed his own books, but that they have been written by the Doctors and Magisters at Cologne: let Johann Reichlin, too, blush, and groan to all eternity, in that he declared that Pfefferkorn composed not the Handspiegel himself—concerning which there hath been before now much discussion amongst the learned—since three men furnished him with the authorities he citeth therein. One asked me, saying, "What three men be they?" And I replied that I knew not, but that I deemed them to be the same three men who appeared unto Abram, of whom we read in the Book of Genesis. But when I said this they all made mouths at me, and mocked me as if I was a greenhorn. Would that the devil would smite them with heavy blows, as it is written in the book of Job, which just now in our
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monastery we are reading in the refectory. Exhort Johann Pfefferkorn to have patience, for I trust that the Lord will sooner or later work a miracle. Greet him, too, in my name. Prithee salute also his wife for me—you well know how: but privily. And now, fare-well.

ANTWERP: written in hot haste, and without deliberation.

XIX

KONRAD UNCKEBUNCK to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

I MARVEL greatly, reverend Herr Magister, that my parents have sent me no money, though they know that I have not a doit, and I have sent them twenty letters at the least. If they will send me no money, then, by the Lord, I have another plan in my head. Mark my word, I have been minded of late to bind myself under a bond to the Chamber and borrow two or three Rhenish florins, and come home and expound to them my opinion—in form thick enough for them to feel. The devil! Think they that I grow upon a tree—or that I can eat hay like a beast? Devil take me if I have had a Carlin these six months! and I never have any victuals save salad, and onions, and garlic, and once in a way a dish of beans or kail, or some spinach in Italian fashion. But well I know how my brethren at home guzzle fish and fowl and all manner of dainty dishes, and never give me a thought. But I will endure it no longer. Prithee tell them so, and then I will urge my master here to press forward your suit as you would have me do.

Moreover, I pray you, when my parents hand over the money, send it to me, and with it send me a piece of chalk, for there is no good chalk in Rome, if you were to give a florin for it. And, as you know, one must have chalk—for I am a logician, and when I want to make syllogisms there is not always ink at hand. Besides, it is irksome to make them with ink; send
me, too, some German laces for my boots, for it is wonderful what bad laces they make in Italy.

Herewith I send you a vernicle that hath touched the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul and many other relics—also I send an Agnus Dei. Greet for me the reverend Doctor Herr Valentin von Geltersheim. By the Lord, I could never have learnt logic so well had I not resided in his hostel, for he is mightily explicit, and his pupils gulch their facts when he lectureth.

Fare ye well—in all health of mind and body.

The Court of Rome.

XX

TO MAGISTER MARQUARD FOTZENHUT

to Magister Ortwin Gratius tendereth greeting and friendly offices

YOU ask me, Reverend Herr Magister, to tell you how it fareth with Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten. You must know, then, that the Jurists withstand him sorely. Yet, as I hear, the devil will undo them; for many Cardinals are on your side, especially the Cardinal of Santa Croce, who will be pope when the Pope dieth. I hear that he said, "I will defend that worthy Theologian Jakob van Hoogstraten against Reuchlin, though all the Jurists in the world should back him:" so he stood up formerly against Peter of Ravenna in the matter of those theses, which were mightily heretical.

And you may take it for certain, Herr Ortwin, that the Cardinal will overthrow the Jurists, for he is on good terms with the Theologians. He is in the good graces, moreover, of the King of France and the University of Paris, and the old King of France would fain have made him Pope. Matters prosper, too, in other quarters. To that end Doctor Jakob a week ago gave a thumping bribe to the referendary of a certain Cardinal (whom here I name not), that he might work upon his Eminence as he well knoweth how to do. A rumour goes here that the Bishop of Cologne is dead,
and that the Count von Neuenar has been elected the new Bishop. If this be true I must say that the Canons of Cologne are great fools, since Poet and Bishop are a pair of opposites. It is ill, too, for the cause of the Faith, for the Count is a stubborn ally of Reuchlin. A certain Curialist told me that when he left Cologne for Italy the Count gave him a letter to take to Reuchlin; and I have heard from others that he consorteth with many poets, and new-fangled Theologians like Erasmus of Rotterdam. When I was in Würzburg, there was a poet there, Ulrich Hutten by name, who was ever deriding and girding at the Theologians and Masters of Arts; and sitting at table in an Inn, he told another person of quality that he had that very day sent the Count a letter. Then quoth the noble, "What do you write about, when you write thus to one another?" And he made answer that he wrote to urge the Count to do good diligence in the Cause of the Faith, and to work for Reuchlin against the Theologians, so that they should not commit the Augenspiegel to the flames; and that he heartily commended Reuchlin to him; and he averred that he loved Reuchlin as his own father: but I held my peace, lest he should suspect that I was on your side. And for this reason it is not good for that man to be made Bishop. But I hope the rumour lieth. Tell me, then, the whole truth, and fare ye well from the soles of your feet to the crown of your head, as saith Esaias.

The City of Rome.

XXI

JOHANN HOLKOT to Magister Ortwin Gratius

GREETING, in all amity. Excellent Sir, I have received the letter which you drew up at Cologne. The said letter was dated on St. Margaret's Day, but it reached me on St. Bartholomew's Day; and when I received it I cried, "The devil! that letter was written a long time ago, and Herr Ortwin will be nettled with
me, and will say, 'How haughty the fellow is! he deigns not to send me a reply.'"

Wherefore I beseech your Reverence to hold me blameless, and to know of a certainty that the matter standeth not thus.

You thought, forsooth, that I abode still at Cassel, but mine host there, when he received the letter, forwarded it to me at Marburg, and thus much time was spent. For I am at present at Marburg, and am grounding two young men of quality. When, therefore, you send me a letter, prithee address it hither. I gather that you are busy composing a notable treatise, and that you intend to send it to the printers, but deem it better to entitle it "Johann Pfefferkorn's Defence against Calumnies." You tell me that you shall not put your name to this, but shall attribute it to J. P., inasmuch as Pfefferkorn, since he heeds not such things, has no fear of Johann Reuchlin and his complices, should they take it into their heads to concoct a rejoinder. But I would fain put this question to you: What an if Reuchlin should say, "Marry! Pfefferkorn hath no Latin, so he could not have written this: it is the Theologians of Cologne and that poet of theirs, Ortwyn, who compose these lampoons, and then say 'Pfefferkorn wrote them, not we!'"

I trust therefore that you will take much thought before you do this. If you were afterwards to deny the authorship, Reuchlin might recognize your style and prove that you wrote the book, and then you would be drawn into a scandal.

Forgive me, for I write but out of affection. Farewell.

Marburg.

XXII

JOHANNES KLYNGE, Bachelor of Arts, to
Magister Ortwyn Gratius

REVEREND Sir, albeit in the flesh I am far from you, nevertheless I would have you know that in the spirit I am ever near you when I call to mind our
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mutual amity when we abode at Deventer. But when the freshman came hither, bearing with him your treatise, he told me that you had said to him, "Jodocus now dwelleth at home, and he leadeth a merry life, and thinketh no more of me." I answer that this is not true. I am not a man of that kidney, but I well remember how you used to scribble on the wall at Deventer, "Out of sight, out of mind."

Yesterday, pardy, when we were at supper, and were discussing some of those fish of my native country, called Amae, that my father had brought me, I yearned for you to be there, and I cried "Oh, if Magister Ortwin were only here to guttle fish like these, how my heart would rejoice!" Then said my father, "Who is this Magister Ortwin?" Thereupon I told him that you were an old crony of mine, my comrade at Deventer, and when I abode with you, you were in the first class, and afterwards at the University of Cologne you were my inductor when I was initiated as freshman, because you came to Cologne a year before me; and then we kept terms together, till I took my Bachelor's degree, and you proceeded Magister. But I, when by God's grace, I had become Bachelor, migrated to the University of Wittenberg; and then I was a schoolmaster in one place and another—and thus I lost sight of you. The things I told him about you! And I described how that once I made you laugh by quoting to you this verse:

"Veni Spandaw aggere, tune inspexerunt me Amae!"

and telling you how the freshmen at Spandau had done this verse into Latin out of German—for in the vulgar tongue it runneth thus:

"Ich kam gen Spandau auf den Damm,
Da schauten mich die plötzten an."

And then you told me that you never knew before that that sort of fish, roach to wit, went by the name of amae in Latin; and when I quoted the verse you laughed consumedly—and I went on to tell you that fish like that were very plentiful with us, and that one as long as my arm scarcely costs a groschen. Then you cried, "By Cocke, if we were but there!" And
this is why I longed for you to be with us yesterday. But my father said, "Thinkest thou that there are no fish at Cologne?" "Yea," said I, "but they are plaguy dear!"

You tell me that things go ill with you, and that your cause prospereth not at Rome, and that Johann Reuchlin's allies vex you sorely. Believe me, I grieve for you as though you were my mother. Yet I trust that the Lord will "give that which is good; and our land shall yield her increase"—that is to say that you Theologians at Cologne, now that you have burnt the heretical books, will yield your increase, by preaching, arguing, disputing, writing treatises on new subjects, and so forth. And may Christ, the Son of God, bring this to pass, and show you loving kindness. Amen.

The Market-place, Berlin—where there are prime fish.

XXIII

BROTHELEY love, by way of salutation.

Honoured Sir, having in remembrance the promise I made you on parting, that I would tell you all the news, and how I fared, I would have you know that I have now been two months at Rome, but as yet have found no patron. An assessor of the Rota would fain have bespoken me, and I was well pleased, and said, "I am nothing loth, Sir; but I pray your magnificence to apprize me what my charge will be." He replied, that my lodgment would be in the stable, to minister unto a mule, serve it with victuals and drink, curry-comb it, and keep it clean; and that I must have a care that he was ready to carry his master, with bridle and saddle and so forth. And then it would be my office to run by his side to the court, and home again.

Thereupon I made answer that it was not meet for me, who am a Master of Arts of Cologne, to drudge thus. Quoth he, "If not, the loss is yours." I am
resolved, therefore, to return to the fatherland. I, to
curry-comb a mule and mundify a stable! The Devil
run away with the stable and the mule! I verily believe
it would be flying in the face of the Statutes of the
University! For a Magister must needs comport
himself as a Magister. It would be a scandalous thing
for a Master of Arts of Cologne to do such drudgery.
Nay, for the honour of the University I will return to
the fatherland.

Rome moreover pleaseth me not in other ways.
You would not believe how arrogant are the Clerks
and Curialists. One of them said but yesterday that
he would besquatter a Cologne Magister. "Besquatter
the gallows!" quoth I. Then he made answer that he,
too, was a Magister, to wit of the Curia, and that a
Magister of the Curia took precedence of a Master of
Arts of Germany. "That," said I, "is impossible.
Would you fain make yourself out my equal, seeing
that you have never offered yourself for examination,
as did I when five Magisters sifted me with rigour?
You are naught but a Magister by diploma."

Then began he to dispute with me, saying, "And
what is a Magister?"

"A Magister," I answered, "is a person duly quali-
fied, promoted, and graduated in the Seven Liberal
Arts, having first undergone a magistral examination;
he is privileged to wear a gold ring, and a silken lining
to his cope, and he comporteth himself towards his
pupils as doth a king towards his subjects. The name
'Magister' hath a fourfold derivation. First, from magis
and ter, for a Magister knoweth three times as much
as a lewd person. Secondly, from magis and terreo, for
a Magister is terrible in the sight of his disciples.
Thirdly, from magis and theron (that is, rank), for a
Magister is of higher rank than his disciples. Fourthly,
from Magis and sedere, for a magister ever sitteth in a
higher room than any of his disciples."

Then quoth he, "What is your authority?" I
answered that I had read all this in the Vademecum.
Forthwith he began to carp at that book, and declared
that it was in no way authentic. Then said I, "You
find fault with the Ancients, because you know no
better. But I never heard of any man at Cologne making light of that book. Have you no sense of shame?" And in high dudgeon I departed from him.

So, be well assured, I shall hie me back to Germany; for there Magisters are paramount; and rightly. I can prove it by the Gospel: Christ called himself Magister, and not Doctor, saying, "Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am."

But I can now write no more, for paper faileth me, and it is a great way to the Campo dei Fiori. Farewell.

From the Court of Rome

XXIV

HUMBLE duty by way of greeting.

Reverend Herr Magister, inasmuch as I promised to impart to you all that I hear and see touching that cause of yours,—rightly called "The Cause of the Faith," seeing that it pertaineth to the Christian Faith universally—I must tell you that when I first came hither the Magisters all cried, "What news, what news, Magister Philipp? What news from Cologne?" Then I made answer that all the news I had knowledge of was, that lately my lords the Theologians, and the Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, had burned an heretical book entitled "Johann Reuchlin's Augenspiegel." Thereupon Magister Egbert von Harlem, a learned and upright man, and, believe me, indifferent withal, replied, "We know full well that they have burned that book, but we have also learned that they acted not well in that matter, but committed a scandalous deed, for we have read that book and have found naught that is heretical therein. What is worse—the Theologians have passed sentence while the cause is still pending before the Roman Curia, and his Holiness hath committed it to two Cardinals, and hath imposed silence on both parties to the suit. Yet in despite of this
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the Theologians have burned the book." Thereupon I answered that they acted thus at the instigation of the University of Paris and the four other Universities that withstood Reuchlin. Quoth Magister Egbert, "Though ten Universities opposed that Doctor, yet should they obey the supreme Pontiff, who is the head of the Church." I replied that it was taken for granted that so many universities could not err. "That postulate is baseless," he replied. "Mark my words, this business will have a bad ending." I was fain to make no further answer, but said, "'Tis all one to me, whether it turn out A or B."

Now I tell you these things, Herr Ortvín, that you may be forewarned, for I fear me the decision will go against you, since the Pope is wrath; and if you lose your case at Rome, the Devil will hold the candle! The men of Rostock are bitter foes of the Parisians, for the Parisians have a statute by which they forbid the admission of the Magisters of Rostock to their Faculties. And in turn the Rostockians will not admit the men of Paris. But now you will know right well what you ought to do. I commend myself to you.

Rostock.

XXV

¶ MAGISTER ADOLF KLINGESOR to Magister Ortvín Gratins

SALUTATIONS, Magister Ortvín, so abundant that this letter cannot contain them, nor messenger bear them, nor can any man utter them nor pen them.

I trust, to boot, that you are of jocund heart, and are not in a taking concerning that Cause of the Faith. I counsel you never to be dumpish, but to give yourself repose.

Folk here often rail at me because I am of Cologne. But I snicker as though I heeded not; yet now and again I make retort and give them a whirret in turn. For example, the other day a fellow who had resided
at Cologne ten years ago, told me that he believed not that Pfefferkorn was yet a good Christian: for he declared that he met him a year back and that he still stank like any other Jew—and yet it is common proof that when Jews are baptised they smell rank no longer. He believes, therefore, that Pfefferkorn is still a knave at the back of his head, and when the Theologians think him the best of Christians he will turn Jew again: “We should put no trust in him,” quoth he, “for all men have misgivings concerning baptised Jews.”

Then said I, “Sonty! Will you syllogise on a suspicion? ‘Men suspect baptised Jews to be botched Christians—therefore Pfefferkorn is a botched Christian!’ It followeth not. I might be apt to suspect Doctor Arnold von Tongern to be of the brood of Sodom—yet would it not therefore be sooth, for all the Colognese hold him to be an unspotted virgin. Moreover, I will resolve that other objection of yours: you say that Pfefferkorn savoureth: put case that he doth—though I believe it not, neither have I ever perceived it—then I maintain that there is another cause of this emanation; for Johann Pfefferkorn when he was a Jew was a flesher by trade, and fleshers are commonly rank.”

Then all they who stood near vowed that my reasoning was just. So I conjure you that you disquiet not yourself overmuch in this matter, for a broken spirit drieth the bones. Farewell.

Frankfort-on-Oder.

XXVI

HEINRICH SCHAFAUL to Magister Ortuinus Gratius many greetings

INASMUCH as before I journeyed to Court you charged me to write to you oft, and propose from time to time knotty points in Theology, which you would straightway resolve better than the Courticians at Rome: therefore, I now write to ask your reverence
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what opinion you hold concerning one who on a Friday, that is on the sixth day of the week—or on any other fast-day—should eat an egg with a chicken in it?

For you must know that we were lately sitting in an inn in the Campo dei Fiori, having our supper, and were eating eggs, when on opening one I saw that there was a young chicken within.

This I showed to a comrade; whereupon quoth he to me, "Eat it up speedily, before the taverner sees it, for if he mark it, you will have to pay a Carline or a Julius for a fowl. For it is the rule of the house that once the landlord has put anything on the table you must pay for it—he won't take it back. And if he sees that there is a young fowl in that egg, he will say 'Pay me for that fowl!' Little or big, 'tis all one."

In a trice I gulped down the egg, chicken and all.

And then I remembered that it was Friday!

Whereupon I said to my crony, "You have made me commit a mortal sin, in eating flesh on the sixth day of the week!"

But he averred that it was not a mortal sin—nor even a venial one, seeing that such a chickling is accounted merely as an egg, until it is born.

He told me, too, that it is just the same in the case of cheese, in which there are sometimes grubs, as there are in cherries, peas, and new beans: yet all these may be eaten on Fridays, and even on Apostolic Vigils. But taverners are such rascals that they call them flesh, to get the more money.

Then I departed, and thought the matter over.

And by the Lord, Master Ortvin, I am in a mighty quandary, and know not what to do.

I would willingly seek counsel of one of the Courticians, but they are not devout men.

It seemeth to me that these young fowls in eggs are flesh, because their substance is formed and fashioned into the limbs and body of an animal, and possesseth a vital principle.

It is different in the case of grubs in cheese, and such-like, because grubs are accounted fish, as I learnt from a physician who is also skilled in Natural Philosophy.
Most earnestly do I entreat you to resolve the question that I have propounded. For if you hold that the sin is mortal, then, I would fain get shrift here, ere I return to Germany.

You must know, too, that Doctor Jakob von Hochstraten hath received a thousand florins through the bankers, and I trow he will gain the day, and that the devil will overthrow Johann Reuchlin and the rest of the Poets and Jurists, because they would fain withstand the Church of God—that is, the Theologians, on whom the Church is founded, according to Christ’s words—“Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.”

And so I commend you to the Lord. Farewell.

Rome.

XXVII

MAGISTER WILHELM STORCH sendeth many salutations to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

HOW cometh it that you write much to me concerning yourself, and nevertheless send me not the book that you have indited against Johann Reuchlin?

You tell me that you were full of inspiration when you wrote that book, and that you believe it will be a notable work, and that a publisher offered you twenty florins to entrust it to him. You tell me moreover that you will send me a copy to show to the Curialists and scribes here, and vex them thereby, since they will not believe that there are in Germany poets as good as there are in Italy. It is indeed most desirable that you should send it to me. And yet you send it not—although you are for ever promising it. I entreat you to send me that book, or tractate, for I would fain plague some clerks here who think that nobody else understandeth aught. They scoff at my odes, too, when I write them, declaring them to be faulty. You shall see for yourself whether this be true, for I send herewith a poem that I composed of late when Doctor
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Hoogstraten arrived here, and I posted it on Pasquin's statue in his honour—for he is an eminent man, and defendeth the Catholic Faith against many a heretic. The ode runneth thus:—

AN ODE,

Upon the solemn entry of the Reverend Father Jakob van Hoogstraten, of the Order of Preachers, Magisternoster and Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity: By Magister Wilhelm Storch of Deventer.

Be it known to all—both young and old, by these presents, That a grave Divine, immersed in learning profoundly, Hath to the city come, and with great solemnity stalketh, Jakob van Hoogstraten y-clept: this also his name is. He from Germany came, where he abounded in cheeses Which he collected in heaps—until at last at a University he a degree Theological haply attained to; Craftily could he dispute, syllogisms subtly devising In Baroco and Celarent, till all the world wondered. This Theologians marked, and they in the Faith being zealous, Made him Inquisitor 'gainst Heretical Pravity. If you Ask, saying, "What doeth here this man so mighty in learning?" Lend me your ears awhile, and I will shew you the reason. There is in Germany now another Doctor—a Jurist, Johann Reuchlin his name, and him the Inquisitor cited Here at Rome to appear, because he lately indited A book of Theology void, but crammed with heresy hurtful; 'Gainst the Faith it hath a heap of scandalous theses, And—be it known to all—it likewise cockers the Hebrews; Therefore suspect it was, and, by th' Inquisitor tested, It to the fire was doomed—to recantation, its author, (Would you know its name? The Augenspiegel its title.) Now the Inquisitor grave hath hither come on the matter— No delay nor rest would the Theologians allow him. Swift to Rome must he fare, and rend that Jurist to tatters. Therefore is honour his due, and reverent low salutations When he walked abroad—for he is a disputant stalwart, And in Logic few are worthy his hatchet to loosen. They say that this is not composed according to rule, and limpeth upon its feet. "What have I to do with feet?" say I. I am not a heathen poet, but a Theological, and I care not for such childishness; 'tis the sense I heed. Wherefore, Herr Ortwin, it behoveth you to answer this my composition, and deliver your letter at the bank. But I have some news for you. Some men called
Spaniards have invaded Lombardy; and it is said that the Emperor would fain drive out the King of France, and this would be a bad thing for Doctor van Hoogstraten, for it is through the King of France that he advanceth his cause before his Holiness, and the King of France doeth his utmost for him, for the honour of the University of Paris, which would be disgraced if the Augenspiegel were not burned. I know no more. Farewell, in all happiness.

From Rome.

XXVIII

MAGISTER BERNHARD GELFF, one of the lowliest, to Mag. Ortwin Gratins greeting

HONOURABLE, or excellent Sir; notwithstanding that I have not personal acquaintance of you, I nevertheless know you by reputation, and for many a day I have had cognisance of that Cause of yours which is known as "The Cause of the Faith against Johann Reuchlin," and I have the whole process in my possession.

Daily do I dispute with the Courtiers and the scribes who defend Johann Reuchlin, and when the Cursor who bears these presents told me that he was starting for Germany and would make his way through Cologne, I said, "Then will I, by the Lord, make acquaintance of Magister Ortwin and write somewhat to him." Then said he, "Ay, by the Lord, do so, and he will be right glad. When I left Cologne he charged me, saying, 'Bid all the Theologians, and Doctors, and Artsmen and Poets who are in Rome to write to me; for gladly do I receive the missives that learned and well-skilled men send me, and then I collect the letters that they have written to me, and afterwards make a volume of them, and have them printed.'"

Thereupon I replied, "I know that full well, for I have seen a book entitled Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, and it greatly delighted me when I read it, for it is mightily fine and containeth notable matters collected from all quarters!"
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And therefore, Herr Orttin, I beg that you will look upon me graciously, for I am an astonishing ally of yours and love you incredibly. Commend me also, I pray you, to Johann Pfefferkorn, once a Jew, but now happily baptized in Christ. His treatise entitled “The Defence of Johann Pfefferkorn against Calumnies” hath been brought to me from Germany, and I have read it through and have jotted down notabilia and summaries in the margin. I think very highly of the said book. But you must tell Pfefferkorn that one of the officers of the Curia is a mighty upholder of Johann Reuchlin. He has collected sundry paragraphs out of Pfefferkorn’s book, and seeks to prove that in these passages both Heresy and the crime of High Treason are to be found; and he declares that he wishes proceedings might be taken against Johann Pfefferkorn on the grounds of Heresy and High Treason. I send you herewith a schedule in which these passages are copied out, and subjoined are the refutations which I have composed—for I held a disputation with that officer, and defended Johann Pfefferkorn to the utmost of my ability. And so, farewell, and look upon me as an acquaintance as well as a friend.

The Court of Rome.

(Enclosure.)

Passages Extracted from a Book by Johann Pfefferkorn against Reuchlin and the Reuchlinists: the which Book is entitled “Johann Pfefferkorn’s Defence against Calumnies.”

Following are the passages alleged by the Reuchlinists to be heretical, and to involve the crime of high treason—which, by God’s help, is not, and hath not been, and never will be true.

Article I.

The Reuchlinist alleges, that Johann Pfefferkorn, in that book of his that is entitled “Johann Pfefferkorn’s Defence against Calumnies,” in his Letter to His
Sovereign Holiness Pope Leo, etc., utters blasphemy, and commits the crime of High Treason, in that he calls the Pope "the hand-maid of the Lord," as though he were a woman—as, indeed, we read that a woman was once Pope—for he saith (A. ii. 1), "And thus your holiness as the Vicar of Christ on earth, and 'ministram.'" There is also heresy contained in this passage, for Pfefferkorn herein hints, not explicitly but nevertheless implicitly, that the universal church hath erred in making a woman a pope, which is the greatest of errors. But whosoever saith that the Church errs is necessarily a heretic. Q. E. D.

I reply, that Johann Pfefferkorn, who is not a good grammarian, and doth not understand Latin, thought that "Papa" was of the feminine gender, like "Musa": for he had heard from others that "nouns in a are of the feminine gender, with exceptions;" as Alexander puts it:

"Sit tibi nomen in a muliebre, sed excipe plura."

Whence it is manifest that Johann Pfefferkorn in the present tractate writeth like a Theologian, and Theologians pay no heed to grammar, for they belong to another Faculty.

**Article II.**

*The Reuchlinists argue:* Johann Pfefferkorn in many places, as for instance (A. i.) and (K. iv.), when he wishes to swear that something is true, says "medius-fidius," as though he should say "by my god Fidius." For "mediusfidius" is by interpretation "neus deus fidius:"

And Donatus puts it thus, who is authoritative and is read in the schools, that "mediusfidius" means "assuredly" or "truly." Again, we may allege, as before, that Johann Pfefferkorn pays no heed to grammar: or again, that "mediusfidius" means "by my faith," as I heard from a Humanist.
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Article III.

The Reuchlinist objects: "Whoso declares that he supports the Church is a heretic: but Johann Pfefferkorn declares that he supports the Church: ergo, he is a heretic. The major premiss is manifest, since he who boasteth that he supports the Church assumes that the whole Church is in error, and that unless he supported it, it would fall and be destroyed. Such an one would also appear to be Anti-Pope, that is, desirous of being Pope in opposition to that pope who has been chosen by the Catholic Church. For to support the Church is the duty of the Pope; but Pfefferkorn arrogates this duty to himself—therefore he is Anti-Pope, and a heretic who implies that the Pope errreth and is not a good shepherd. The minor premiss is manifest from the words of Johann Pfefferkorn, who alleges in the aforesaid book that he is "a lowly member of the Church." Now in the body a lowly member is the foot, because the feet stand on the ground, that is upon the earth; and if the feet were removed the body would fall: ergo, Pfefferkorn pretends that the Church stands on him, and that he supports the Church.

I reply, that Pfefferkorn does not use the words in such strictness, nor as in accordance with their primary signification. But he calls himself a member, that is a part, of the Church, in the sense that every good Christian man is a part of the Church—or even a member, to use the term in a wide meaning. "Lowly," too, is to be taken as signifying devout and simple; as the same Johann Pfefferkorn saith in his Epistle to the Pope: "All unworthy though I be at thy most holy feet, etc." Therefore it must not be inferred that Pfefferkorn speaketh against the Pope.

Article IV.

The Reuchlinist objects: Pfefferkorn again commits the crime of High Treason, not once but many times. For he saith, (O. i.) that all the friends and upholders of Johann Reuchlin, both nobles and other learned and
unlearned men, sin in that they show favour to Johann Reuchlin; but among these are to be numbered in Germany full ten Princes, and his Highness the Emperor himself, and at Rome many Cardinals and Bishops, and his Holiness Pope Leo in person, who lately, when he had read Johann Reuchlin’s letter, highly praised the writer, and said he would defend him against all the Friars; and so said the Very Reverend Cardinals of S. Marco, and S. Georgio, and S. Chrysogono, and many more.

I reply, that Pfefferkorn did this from the love of truth, which is greater than Pope, and Emperor, and all the Cardinals, and Bishops, and Princes. And for this cause in his final protest (O. 4) he excusest himself, saying, “I have defended myself, truth alone being my guide, and without offence of any man. For Jeremy the prophet saith, “Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood: and, it is better to fall into the hands of man, than into the hands of Almighty God.” And therefore he deems it better to offend Pope and Emperor rather than Truth—that is God. For God is Truth.

Article VII.

The Reuchlinist objects: Pfefferkorn in that book commits heresy and High Treason in one and the same passage. For he saith (O. i. col. ii.), “I fight not with the sword, nor with violence, I march not into the field with a spear like a soldier of the king, (for that would be sinful pride), etc.” Here then he saith that it is sinful pride to make war and take the field: but the Pope and the Emperor do this, and always have done so, and so have many who are in the Calendr of Saints. If, therefore, to take the field is sinful pride, then the saints, and the reigning Emperor, and even the Pope have committed deadly sin, and consequently the Church, which regards them as holy, is in error. Hence Pfefferkorn is in direct conflict with the Canon and Civil Law, with the Emperor and the Pope, with the Church and the Empire.

I reply, that these words are to be understood with a reservation, namely that those who make war and
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take the field are guilty of the sin of Pride only in so far that they do these things unjustly to the injury of others. But when the Emperor and the Pope wage war, it is to be assumed that they do so in defence of the Church and the Empire, and therefore Pfefferkorn’s censure doth not apply to them.

Article VIII.

The Reuchlinist objects: Pfefferkorn accuseth the Emperor of falsehood, for he uses these words, (O. ii. col. i.), against Reuchlin, “I accuse him of being a betrayer of God and man and of his Imperial Majesty a faithless Counsellor.” In these words he flatly contradicts the Emperor, and calls him a liar. For his Majesty the Emperor, in his Letter to the Pope, and in many mandates and commissions calls Johann Reuchlin his faithful counsellor and adviser. What greater slander can he utter than to call him a liar? Hence he is irremissibly deserving of the penalty of High Treason.

I reply, that this passage distinguishes, and should be punctuated with a comma after the word “Majesty.” For Reuchlin is perchance a faithful counsellor of the Emperor in his affairs, but not faithful to Johann Pfefferkorn, as he has shewn by many proofs. And hence no man can suppose that Johann Pfefferkorn speaks against the Emperor, seeing that he is a good imperialist, as his writings everywhere show, whether German or Latin.

Article IX.

The Reuchlinist objects: that the chiefest and greatest, and most terrible, and most horrible, and most diabolical, and infernal charge of all is that Johann Pfefferkorn blames both the Pope and the Curia by accusing them of the sin of deceit. For he writes, (I. iv.), “But all these matters, his commission obtained, not justly, but with the greatest injustice, from Rome, the Master of Heretical Pravity heeded not, etc.” Now it was the Pope who gave that commission; therefore Johann Pfefferkorn accuses the Pope
of not rightly administering justice, and deserves to go thrice to the stake as a heretic.

_I reply_: Pfefferkorn does not say that the Pope or the Curia issued that Commission unjustly, but means that Reuchlin obtained it unjustly. Therefore it is Johann Reuchlin and not the Pope whom he calleth unjust.

**Article X.**

_The Reuchlinist objects_: Pfefferkorn once again commits the crime of High Treason, in that he lies manifestly concerning the Emperor and the Bishop of Cologne. For he alleges that a certain Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, by the authority of His Majesty, and with the approval of the Bishop of Cologne, burnt the *Augenspiegel* at Cologne. This is utterly false. For neither did his Majesty authorise this, nor did the Bishop of Cologne approve of it: for if the Emperor had authorized this, he would not have laboured in Reuchlin's behalf by writing to the Pope, and desiring him to defend his Counsellor against the envy and craft of the Theologians. Therefore Pfefferkorn is plainly a forger, for he forges, or contrives, Imperial Commissions.

_I reply_, that it matters not about the Bishop of Cologne, for he is dead. But, as to the Emperor, Johann Pfefferkorn speaks deliberately with regard to what was implicitly the Emperor's intention. For at the first, when Pfefferkorn took up this laudable work in the Cause of the Faith, to wit, the condemnation of all Jewish books to the flames, the Emperor was minded, as it seemed, to burn all books that are contrary to the Christian faith. But Johann Reuchlin's book is one of these: therefore the Emperor was minded to burn that also. Hence Pfefferkorn declares what the Emperor intended—but implicitly, not explicitly and expressly. And he deems it to suffice that the Emperor once for all gave him authorization to deal with Jewish books, with which heretical books may be also included. For I have heard that if the Emperor had adhered to that laudable proposal, the Theologians would have made a visitation of all the libraries throughout Germany, and would have burnt
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all wicked books, and especially those works of the New Theologians which are not founded upon the Angelic Doctor, the Subtle Doctor, the Seraphic Doctor, or St. Thomas Aquinas. This would without doubt have been praiseworthy and highly profitable; and I believe the time will yet come—which may the Omnipotent grant who reigneth through all, and above all, and for ever. Amen.

XXIX

EGBERT THE NAMELESS to Magister Ortwin Gratius greeting

WENERABLE Sir, who art mine own familiar friend! for a long while I have found no convenient messenger by whom I could transmit letters to your worship, or long ago I would have written to you.

Grant me forgiveness therefore, for gladly would I have written to you if I could but have found a messenger.

But since you have written to inform me that Doctor Valentin von Geltersheim asked you to let me know that I still owe him two florins, for lectures when I resided in his hostel, you may tell him I will not pay him a penny. For he promised me all manner of things, and told me he would give me a bouncing gratuity if I would go twice or thrice a day to the Rhine wharf, and scan the boats coming up or down the stream, see if any freshmen were in them, and persuade them to come and lodge at his hostel. And, by the Lord, I netted for him twenty yellow-beaks at the least, and I lost no end of time in running hither and thither, when I ought to have been studying.

But the Doctor never gave me anything, except what he gave us all—sorry commons, meagre meat, and sour drink. Bid him bear that in mind.

But fare ye well, in all affection.

Lo[uvain].
unto you thanks be rendered—immeasurable, infinite, indescribable, incomparable, ineffable thanks—in that you have sent me herr Johann Pfefferkorn’s book which is intituled “Johann Pfefferkorn’s Defence against Calumnies.” I was so gladdened when I received that book that I skipped for very joy. I verily believe that Johann Pfefferkorn is he of whom Ezekiel prophesied, Chap. ix., saying, “And he called a man clothed in linen, with a writer’s ink-horn by his side;” for Johann Pfefferkorn ever hath a writer’s ink-horn with him, and jotteth down citations and postils at sermons or in assemblies, and afterwards constructeth his tracts. You rejoice me greatly when you send me his books, for they are so craftily fabricated that I marvel thereat. I plume myself not a little at vienna in that I am of his acquaintance; and when I mention him, I say, “Johann Pfefferkorn, my friend.”

Nevertheless I have gathered from that book that the theologians are at variance concerning the Augenspiegel—for some condemn it to the flames—for instance, the Parisians and Colognese; and others, to the rope—as did doctor Peter Meyer, who when he set eyes on the Augenspiegel, cried with a loud voice, “To the gallows, to the gallows with such a book as this!” But you ought to be of one mind, and then would you gain the day against that heretic. I was greatly alarmed when I read of these things, and I said, “Now the Devil will hold the candle, if the theologians fall out!” But I trust you will once more agree together. Nevertheless it seemeth to me that doctor Peter and his friends are not judicious in holding that the Augenspiegel should be hung on a gallows. For the book is heretical, and being heretical, deserveth the stake. Heretics are burned—it is thieves that are hanged. Howbeit they may perchance contend that the Augen-
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spiegel hath committed a theft, since Johann Pfefferkorn avers that through that book Johann Reuchlin hath stolen away his honour—which he would not part with for twenty florins; two Jews, forsooth, who in like manner robbed him of his good name, gave him thirty florins for it. However this may be, I would that you were all of a mind.

There is no news here to tell, save that the Poet Joachim Vadianus, who is one of the Reuchlinist faction, hath become Rector of the University. May the Lord smite the whole crew of Poets and Jurists, and leave not one of them of man's estate! I am minded to return home. What place is there for me in a University that hath a Poet for its Rector? There are here a host of Reuchlinists, such as are in no other University. There is Joachim Vadianus the Rector; Georgius Collimitius Tanstetter—now a Physician, formerly Mathematician; Joannes Cuspinianus, servant and counsellor of the Emperor; one Thomas Resch; Simon Lasius, a fellow-countryman of Johann Reuchlin, and many more. Yet Magister Noster Heckmann is with us, and he hath declared that he will cleave to the Theologians so long as he liveth. He saluteth heartily you and Johann Pfefferkorn. Farewell.

From Vienna.

Once more, farewell—so long as Pfefferkorn abideth a Christian.

XXXI

C ALBERT STRUNCK to Magister Ortwin Gratius of Deventer

My humble duty, by way of greeting, reverend Herr Magister! I earnestly crave your indulgence, in that I write not to you oft, because, pardy, the weather in Rome is so sultry that one can neither walk in the streets, nor sit at home: in sooth I can neither write nor compose a scantling, by reason of the fervid heat. And well you know what heavy
labour it is to frame theses, for you told me at Cologne that you could scarce put together a seemly exercise in a sennight. You cited Horace to me—how that poet hath laid it down that we ought to spend nine years in the inditing a fair treatise. And that, I trow, is the manner fit. For it behoves us to be wary, and to take heed that there are no false concords. Sometimes congruity sufficeth not, for embellishments are needed—according to the twenty precepts of the *Elegantiæ*, and the Art of Letter-writing of Pontius, or of Paulus Schneevogel, who was Magister of Leipsic. Those Poets too, now-a-days, are vengeance captious, and when one writes anything they straightway cry, "See, in this place and that, there is sorry latinity!" and they come here with their new-fangled whim-whams, and subvert the good old grammar. And so I cannot write amidst such heat as this. Therefore I pray thee hold me excused. Farewell.

Rome.

**XXXII**

*Magister Heinrich Siebmacher* with greetings to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

VENERABLE Master! First, and before all, be it known to you that two judgments have gone against me, and if I lose a third, the devil will be Abbot! I am in great fear, for an Assessor just now said to me, "If I were you, I would not appeal, for you are in the wrong;" and therefore I know not what to be at. I trow that this year is an ill-starred one for Theologians; for even that eminent man, Herr Magister-noster Peter Meyer prospereth not in his cause against the Canons of Frankfort, and they harry that pious and devoted father. It seemeth to me that the Canons act thus on Johann Reuchlin's behalf, whom they love for his poetry's sake. And therefore, being minded to do him a pleasure, they bait the good pastor, who is mightily at loggerheads with Johann Reuchlin—and rightly, for he representeth his
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Faculty. Johann Reuchlin is a foe to the Theologians; Magister-noster Peter is a Theologian; therefore—etc. And for a man to defend his Faculty is a thing most permissible. Even Herr Jakob van Hoogstraten, Magister-noster and Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, has met with no good fortune in the Cause of the Faith. The Curialists now all desire to be thought Poets, and hence they belittle the Theologians and withstand them. And yet I trust it will profit them but little; for the Lord will look upon his servants and deliver them.

I lately heard that the Emperor hath sent a letter to the Pope on Johann Reuchlin's behalf, and that he wrote in the sense that if his Holiness doth not speedily make an end of the business, and pronounce judgment, he will himself take steps to defend his Counsellor. But what boots it? If the Pope is on the side of the Theologians, I have no fear. A man of weight, an officer of the Curia, said to me, "What care we for these letters? If Reuchlin hath any money, let him send it hither. In the Curia one must have money, or naught goeth forward."

Another officer hath told me privily that Magister-noster Jakob hath again given donatives to certain referendaries. Hence it cometh to pass that when they meet him they greet him with respect, and converse with him in friendly wise. Now therefore we are the more hopeful. If I miss the benefice, then I shall aim at the vicarage in Neuss that you wot of. My proctor hath told me that my claim is good. I have heard that news hath lately come hither that the University of Erfurt intendeth to withdraw its judgment, or decision, against Johann Reuchlin. If this be sooth, I declare all the Theologians there to be liars and traitors, and I shall ever hold it a scandal that they abide not by their own Faculty, and defend not that most zealous man Herr Jakob van Hoogstraten, who is the light of Theology, and shineth like a star by reason of his doctrines and arguments on behalf of the Catholic Faith. As a Theologian he hath no peer. Lately he disputed here, very learnedly, in the Sapienza. Whereupon a certain Italian said, "I knew not that
Germany possessed such Theologians;” but another averred that he was not well versed in the language of the Bible, and understood not Jerome and Augustine. Then said I, “O guter Gott! what sayest thou? The Doctor taketh such things for granted; he himself hath other things to attend to, and much more subtle matters.”

May the Lord grant that all turn out well; then cometh our triumph; we will drive out Poetry from the whole of Germany, and we will bring it about that the Jurists shall not dare to utter a word when they are in the presence of Theologians; for they shall fear lest the Inquisitor be set upon them, and they be burned for heretics—as I hope will yet happen to Johann Reuchlin, by God’s aid, whose judges we are: for as soldiers defend Justice upon Earth, so do we defend the Church by our disputations and sermons.

Pardon my verbosity. Farewell.

From the Roman Curia.

XXXIII

PETE R LAPP, Licentiate of the sacred page, to Mag. Ortwin Gratius greeting

INASMUCH as you once told me, Reverend Sir, how great a marvel you hold it that there is now at Cologne a host of illustrious Doctors—not to speak of others not yet graduated but almost Magister-nosters—and super-excellent Theologians in swarms, amongst whom you name to me Magister-noster Jakob van Hoogstraten, Magister-nosters Arnold von Tongern, Remigius, and Valentin von Geltersheim, Magister-noster Peter, who in my time presided over Knick Hostel, Herr Roger the Licentiate, and many others now dwelling in Cologne; Johann Pfefferkorn too, who, although he is a layman, and unlearned in the Liberal Arts, and hath never attended Christian schools nor learnt Grammar or Logic, nevertheless hath, as you say, a profound intellect and an enlightened heart.

(Even the Apostles were not men of learning, and
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yet they knew all things; and so we may suppose that the Holy Spirit can instil into the aforesaid Johann Pfefferkorn all the knowledge of the Saints, as saith the Scripture.) You also name two Magister-nosters in Mainz—Herr Bartholomev Zehender, preacher in the Cathedral, and Herr Peter Bertram the pastor; as well as, in Frankfort, Herr Peter Meyer, who excelleth in his sermons, and maketh folk laugh or weep as he willeth, and by his preaching worketh miracles.

Now therefore, having due regard to all these, I would that you all put your shoulders to the wheel to prevail over those Jurists and profane Poets—or impose silence upon them, so that they should no longer venture to write books: or, at least, if they would fain be at botching something together, let them first submit it to the Magister-nosters to decide if it may be printed. And if it meeteth not with the approval of the Magister-nosters let it not be printed—or let it be burnt. The Magister-nosters ought also to issue a mandate that no jurist or poet should write anything concerning Theology, nor drag this new Latin of theirs into holy Theology—as hath Johann Reuchlin, and, I am told, another fellow, Proverbia Erasmi by name—for they are not grounded in that Science, and 'tis likely that they have never debated publickly, nor held syllogistic disputation thereon, according to precedent. They would ever be putting their sickles into other men's corn—and this the Theologians should by no means suffer.

I beseech you, therefore, to urge these mightily learned men of whom you speak, to dispute against these new-fanged Latinisers and dust their doublets soundly. If they make boast that they know Greek and Hebrew, tell them that Theologians have naught to do with such tongues. Holy Scripture hath been sufficiently translated, and we have no need of any other renderings. Furthermore, it is not meet that we should learn such tongues, lest we bring upon us the contempt of Jews and Greeks. When the Jews see that we learn their tongue, they say, “Lo, the Christians study our sciences, and without them they cannot defend their own faith;” and thereby Christians are deeply humiliated, and the Jews are strengthened in
their creed. The Greeks, moreover, have seceded from the Church; they should, therefore, be regarded as our enemies, and their learning should not be studied by Christians.

Such is the course I earnestly counsel you to follow. Write to me after a while, and tell me what cometh of it. Farewell.

From Halberstadt.

XXXIV

\[ C \text{ Magister Johann Schneck to Mag. Ortwin Gratius } \]

SALUTATION—pronounced with all simplicity, and not with bombastic pomposity as is the wont of the poetising Magisters who ambulate not in the way of simplicity with the Theologians.

Greeting in Christ—and in that Dreadful Day
May He deliver us, we humbly pray,
From all our tribulations—may He, too,
Preserve us from the Jurist Capinion, who
Is yet an infant in Theology;
No skilled and subtle disputant is he—
If with Theologers he should dispute,
A word of Holy Writ would strike him mute:
For Scripture is the weapon and the stay
Of all who fain would hold the higher way,
Or, like Hoogstraten, to condign confusion
Condemn their foes, with logical conclusion—
Hoogstraten, born to be the Faith's salvation,
Dealing to poets and their crew damnation,
Those erring souls, debile in disputaition!

Zooks! I had no mind to send you poetry, and yet I am sending it. All unawares I wrote it. The metre followeth not the new-fangled secular poetry, but is of that ancient kind that the Doctors at Paris, and Cologne and elsewhere allow. In my time, when I was a student at Paris, it was said that an old Magister who dwelt at Montmartre Hostel turned the whole Bible into verse after that metrification.

But I must tell you the news—for all goeth in our favour. Reuchlin can no longer study as of yore, since his eyes have become bleared; as saith the
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Scripture in *Genesis*, “Their eyes were blinded, and they could not see.”

A bachelor lately came hither from *Stuttgart*, who had been in his house, and I made as though I knew not of the strife you had with each other, and asked him, saying, “Prithee, Herr Bachelor, take it not amiss that I question you. In the first place, by your favour, I would inquire whether *Reuchlin* is in good health.” “Yea,” replied he, “but he cannot see very well without spectacles.” Then said I, “And will you next tell me what he is now doing in the business of the Cause of the Faith? I have heard that he had some dispute with certain Theologians, and I trow they did him some injury;” (but I spake in irony), “what doeth he? I take it he is for ever composing something against the Theologians.” “I know not,” he answered, “but I will tell you what I saw myself. When I entered his house, he said, ‘Welcome, Herr Bachelor! Be seated!’ He had spectacles upon his nose, and a book lay before him in strange characters, so that I could see at once that it was written neither in German nor in Bohemian, nor in Latin. And I said to him, ‘Most excellent Herr Doctor, how name you this book?’ He replied that it was called *Plutarch* in Greek, and dealt with Philosophy. Then said I, ‘Read on, in the Lord’s name.’ And I verily believe he is skilled in magical arts. Then I espied a little book, newly imprinted, lying beneath his seat. And I said to him, ‘Most excellent Herr Doctor, what is this book that lieth here?’ He replied, ‘It is a scurrilous work that a friend of mine lately sent me from *Cologne*; it is aimed at me, and the Theologians of *Cologne* compiled it, declaring it at the same time to be the work of *Johann Pfefferkorn*.’ Then said I, ‘What will you do concerning it? Will you not vindicate yourself?’ ‘By no means,’ he replied, ‘I am already vindicated. I pay no further heed to such folly, and my eyes scarcely suffice me for studying matters of use to me.’ The book was intituled ‘Johann Pfefferkorn’s Defence against Calumnies, &c.’ That is all I know of Doctor *Reuchlin.*” And this is all that the aforesaid Bachelor told me. Therefore
Herr Ortwin, be of good cheer; for if his eyes grow so weak that he can neither read nor write, so much the worse for him. But you must not stay your hand, but assail him again and again. Farewell.

From Ulm.

XXXV

[Letter from Magister Wilhelm Lamp to Mag. Ortwin]

RIGHT distinguished and high-renowned Man, with
the reverence meet to you my promoter!
You tell me that the letter in which I described my
journey to Rome hath reached you—you tell me, too,
that you thence learn of a surety that I love you
dearly. These words are well said—for they are true.
I love you verily in my heart of hearts. You bid me
moreover to make known to you, or to apprise you,
how it fareth with me now. You must know, then,
that I reside with a Notary of the Rota, and it is my
duty to prepare the board, and to go to market to
procure pot-herbs, and beans, and bread, and meat and
such like; and to put the house in order, that when
my lord returneth from Court with his fellows, all
things may be ready. Withal, I study. My lord told
me lately that, God willing, if I abide with him for a
year or two he will procure a benefice for me, as he
hath for many others. This is easy of belief; for he
hath much love for me.

To crown all—when of late he discovered me to be
a poet, he declared that he would love me more and
more. It thus fell out: One of those who sat at meat
is a poet, after the new fashion, and he is ever talking
at the board about Poetry, and he findeth much fault
with the ancient fathers—Alexander, and the Graecist,
and Verba Deponentialia, and Remigius, and the others.
And not long ago he averred that any one who desired
to write good verses must study Diomedes; and of
Diomedes he spake much. Then quoth I, “It sur-
priseth me that you pay such heed to these new-fangled
grammarians, when you may find all things concerning feet, and the quantities of syllables, set forth metrically in the third part of *Alexander*, not to speak of the Art of Scansion and the rest. Moreover that same *Diomedes* was no good Christian, for I once read that he kept horses that fed upon men, and he himself gave them men to eat."

Then the Curialist laughed loudly, jeering me, and asked me what I made the first syllable of "Abacuck?"

I replied, "We must distinguish. For, in so far as it is a proper name, the first syllable is indifferent, according to *Alexander*:—

'Ad placitum poni propriorum multa notavi,'

but in so far as it is asked what quantity the first hath conformably to the quiddity of common nouns, then it hath the first short; according to *Alexander*, who saith that in first syllables *a* before *b* is short—exceptions除外了."

Then he laughed me to scorn yet again, and said, "Get thee gone, thou Cologne abecedarian, with thine *Alexander*, who was but a Parisian ass—and there are plenty more." And thus, shamefully reviling the good *Alexander*, he went his way. "Ha!" quoth I, "to-morrow you shall see!" And in the morning I drew forth a poem that I had concocted in the night-time in praise of *Alexander*, and I send you a copy thereof. So soon as my lord set eyes on that poem, he applauded me, and cried, "Oh *Wilhelm*, can you compose such verses as these? And I never knew it! In future I shall love you more than ever!" Therefore I trust I shall get good preferment, and when it pleases Heaven that I achieve somewhat, then shall I betake myself, as a priest, to mine own country once more.

*From the Roman Curia.*
JOHANN ARNOLDI

FOLLOWETH,

An Epigrammatic Ode, concocted by Wilhelm Lamp, Magister of the Seven Liberal Arts at Cologne, in praise of Alexander Gallus.

Who would of Grammar be an understander,
Must con with care the work of Alexander;
Parcelled it is into four diverse parts,
And disciplineth many useful Arts:
With milk and honey for the young it floweth,
As the Colognian Commentary sheweth.
Would you to metrifying skill attain?
Read Part the third—’twill make the pathway plain:
All ignorance ’twill purge away from you,
As well I know, who thereout wisdom drew!

XXXVI

JOHANN ARNOLDI sendeth many greetings to M. Ortwin Gratius

I SHOULD forsooth have been persuaded that at any rate you might have heard, or that it might promiscuously have reached your ears, how that I, instigated by a certain righteous affection of the soul, have very lately betaken myself, by ambulatory journeying, to the Urban Court of Rome, in contemplation of remunerative emolument flowing from the acquisition of a trifling foolish benefice, or prebendicule, or other cure of souls, whence, from time present to the ultimate determination of my vital spark, sufficing aliment and raiment be mine, by the divine grace of God. Wherefore, by Hercules and Mediusfidius, it would have been meet and right for you to have addressed to me, and that not rarely, an epistle amicably concocted, or compacted, and therein to have affectionately signified how you are situated with respect to every corporeal and mental condition. And how you have been fortuned by the fates, through that divine predestination which was before the worlds, as saith Lactantius—whom I have of late been earnestly
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studying, since he hath been lectured upon in the Sapienza conformably with the regulations. Besides and furthermore, a juvenal hath come hither out of Cologne and the hyperborean regions of Germany, bearing epistolary missives to him addressed from all parts of the world, from which, forsooth, I have learned how that you have procured to be impressed by the typographical art an opuscule which is understood to be—or to have been intituled, or cognominated, “The Letters of Obscure Men to Magister Ortwin Gratius,” in which booklet, or tractate, are comprehended—so I have been given to understand—all the letters addressed to your worthiness, lovingly and fraternally, by your friends and acquaintances throughout the world; and I have moreover heard that you have therein included my own epistle, and thereby I have been very marvellously stupefied—to think that you should have glorified me with such sesquipedalian honour and promoted me to everlasting renown! And for this, believe me, I render you all the thanks in my power. I must tell you that I have been studying here to acquire incomparable virtuosity in the Poetic Art, and that consequently my diction differeth from its complexion of yore.

I bid thee a sesquipedal farewell.

From Rome.

XXXVII

FRIAR GEORG BLECK to
Magister Ortwin Gratius

IN humility and with homage due, Herr Magister! You have sent me hither a book entitled “Johann Pfefferkorn’s Defence.” This I failed not, in accordance with your desire, to lay before the Divines throughout Paris, as well as before the Theologians of our Order, and they all cried with one voice, “See! what notable Theologians Germany possesseth! If an unlettered man can write thus, what cannot learned men and graduates put forth?” Then it was asked of me
whether the princes of Germany paid great honour to Johann Pfefferkorn. I replied that some did, and some did not; but that nevertheless he was the trusty and well-beloved Counsellor of the Emperor in all that concerned Hebrew books and the increase of the Christian Faith. I told him, moreover, how that the late Bishop of Mainz, of pious memory, loved him dearly, and promised him aid in all things to the extent of his power—and when Pfefferkorn journeyed hither and thither on the business of the Faith he was wont to provide him with large sums of money for his expenses. A Theologian present said, "This Johann Pfefferkorn doth great diligence, then, in the aforesaid business?"

I told him, as you had informed me, that he had indefatigably circumambulated the whole of Germany, notwithstanding that it was discommodious for him at that time to neglect his wife and children, whom it was befitting for him to educate and maintain. Nevertheless during his absence, the Theologians ministered not a little to his wife, affording her consolation, inasmuch as they knew that her husband was occupied in the cause of the Faith. Sometimes, moreover, the Friars from our Monastery come to her and say, "We pity you in that you are so lonely." And she replieth "Come then sometimes and visit me, for I am as it were a widow, and afford me consolation." Howbeit the new Bishop of Mainz favoureth not Johann Pfefferkorn, and the reason is that he hath other Counsellors who strongly support Johann Reuchlin and hate the Theologians.

This bishop, indeed, would not give audience to Pfefferkorn when he desired to present him with his "Defence,"—as I learnt from your letter. All this I related. Then one asked, "And who is this Pfefferkorn?" I replied that he was formerly a Jew—but is now happily baptised into the Church—and that he is without doubt a very upright man, and of the tribe of Naphtali. And he said, "Of a truth the blessing conferred upon Naphtali is fulfilled in Johann Pfefferkorn. For Jacob said to his son Naphtali, 'Naphtalym shall be a hart sent out, and giving speeches of fairness,' Gen. xlix." Thereafter many Divines, and Licentiates
and other Theologians read that book from beginning to end, page by page, word by word, paragraph by paragraph. But there is here a certain Oberlander who studieth Greek, and he everywhere bruiteth it about that it is not true either that Pfefferkorn is an Imperial Counsellor, or that he ever was—and he declareth that the Emperor hath written on Reuchlin's behalf to his Holiness, and desireth, without more ado, that the Theologians will henceforth let his upright and trusty counsellor alone. Jakob Fabri von Estaples, too, of whom you have heard much, openly favoureth Johann Reuchlin, although the Theologians have told him that he ought to refrain. It is even said that in a letter he sent to Germany he declared that the Theologians of Paris have treated Reuchlin just as the Jews treated Christ. But let him say what he will, the fact remaineth that the more part in Paris are on our side, for the honour of the University and in despite of the Jurists. Be therefore, of good heart, and rejoice and be glad. Fare ye well for ever and ever.

Paris.

XXXVIII

Œ DEMETRIUS PHALERIUS to Magister Ortwin Gratius greeting

YOU write to me asking how our University comporteth itself with regard to the Cause of the Faith—whether it taketh your part, or that of Johann Reuchlin. You must know, therefore, that throughout the whole of Switzerland the Brethren of the Order of Preachers are in ill odour and deep disgrace by reason of those innocent Friars who were burned at Berne—for I shall never believe that they did the deeds imputed to them. Therefore are their Monasteries deserted, while the Monasteries of the Franciscans flourish; and where one man giveth alms to a Dominican, twenty give to Minorites, Augustinians and the rest. It is said that it hath been prophesied that the Order of Preachers will be wholly blotted out.
Moreover there is here a Theologian—as he calleth himself, but I should rather call him a Poet—Erasmus of Rotterdam by name, who is reverenced by many as if he were one of the wonders of the world. He it is who wrote the Book of Proverbs that you once shewed me at Cologne, saying, "What do we want with the Proverbs of Erasmus when we have the Proverbs of Solomon?" This Erasmus holdeth firmly by Reuchlin, and is for ever praising him; and lately he printed certain Letters which he sent to the Court of Rome, addressed to the Pope and some of the Cardinals. In these he lauded Reuchlin and slandered the theologians. When I saw them I cried, "If the Magister-nosters do but cast their eyes on this, the Devil will nab him!"

It happeneth therefore that our University, which highly regardeth Erasmus, leaneth towards Reuchlin. The Poet Glareanus, moreover, hath come hither—a very headstrong man, as you know—and he uttereth outrageous calumnies against you and other Theologians. He declareth that he is going to write a book about the iniquities of the Dominicans, and will relate from beginning to end all the doings that took place at Berne. I would gladly beg him, in friendly wise, to refrain from this, but he is a terrible man, and a choleric, for ever threatening buffets—and he must be possessed of a devil. I trust that judgment in favour of the Theologians will soon issue from Rome—and then all will go well. But, if it should prove in favour of Reuchlin, then the Devil will hold the candle! Farewell.

From Basle.

XXXIX

I HAVE ofttimes told you that I abide not here of mine own free will. The Devil, I trow, carried me hither, and now I cannot get back. There is no good-
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fellowship here as there is in Germany; folk are not convivial, and if a man be but mellow once in a day, they take it amiss, and call him a swine. There is no wenching for me, either, for the bona-robas are woundily extortionate, and uncomely withal. I tell you of a truth that in Italy the women are as ill-made as is possible, notwithstanding their fine gowns of silks and velvets. For when they are scarce middle-aged they all grow crook-backed, and walk about as if they had the gripes. They eat garlic, moreover, and savour rankly. They are swarthy, too, and not fair like German lasses. Their cheeks are pallid as death—and though some be blowsy, it is plain that they have ruddled themselves with salves. Wherefore the women of Rome please me not. They have a saying that it is not physical to go a-wenching here in the dog-days. So, say I, let me get home to Germany again, where one can wench the year round.

Ofttimes I call to mind how we both had our doxies—you and I; and how we held in contempt that young tuft who had a design on yours—but she would have beslubbered his visnomy!

I have lately heard that you must needs consort with Johann Pfefferkorn's wife for honesty's sake—for she is close-tongued, and—so to say—an honest woman. It is, forsooth, but seemly to possess your leman privily: but it hath been told me that Pfefferkorn once fell out with you, and said, "Herr Ortwin! would that you would eat from your own plate, and let me eat from mine!" But you for a long time understood him not, for he is a very subtle man, and given to speaking mystically by tropes. But a friend of yours, as I have heard tell, expounded these riddling words, and interpreted them thus: "Would that you would eat from your own plate"—that is, lie with your own wife or mistress—"and let me eat from mine"—that is, lay not your hands on my wife, but leave her to me.

I asked a certain poet, here, to seek out this aphorism in the Adages of Erasmus; but he told me that he could not find it therein. "Then," quoth I, "by the same token that Author is not complete but faulty!"

Nevertheless, when I heard these things concerning
JOHANN KRAPP

Johann Pfefferkorn, I declared him to be over-jealous if he acts thus. For there is a saying that friends have all things in common—though some hold that wives are to be excepted. Nevertheless, with thee he should not be angry, seeing that you have no wife of your own, and we ought to give to those who have not. I have heard, moreover, that you have lain with a maid-servant of Quentel the printer’s, and that she hath borne you a child. It is not well that you should till fallow ground. I hold ever by the outworn, that beareth no crop. Howbeit, young or old, there are none here for me. Oh, that I were back, therefore, in Germany, where I fain would be!

Fare ye well, until that day when a laverock shall weigh a hundred talents.

From Rome.

XL

□ MAGISTER JOHANN KRAPP to
Magister Ortvin Gratius greeting

YOU tell me how mightily pleased your worship was with that my Metrical Epistle, of late composed; you say indeed that you have scarce seen the like; and I take it that you would fain have me ever write to you after that fashion. Yet I must warn you—though you know it well—that one cannot at all times be poetising. You well know in your own case, though you are vastly facund and can write verses in plenty, that nevertheless “oil sometimes lacketh” as the saying goes; sometimes you are lickerish for verse, and sometimes for prose. I remember how that I once said to you at Cologne, “Herr Ortvin, devise me, I pray you, a metrical Ode;” and you made answer, “Apollo is afar from me for the nonce.” And you said that sometimes in ten whole days you would not make one good verse; for the weather suffered it not, and you must needs wait the occasion, as saith Ovid:—

“Tempora labuntur tacitisque senescimus annis.”

As soon, therefore, as Apollo is gracious to me, I will
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indite somewhat and send it to you. You desire me likewise to send you some news; all I know is that there are here three eminent Theologians who are of high renown among the Germans, and cause us to be of good and laudable report throughout the Curia. Two of these you know well—the Reverend Father Herr Magister-noster Jakob van Hoogstraten, (in the Latin tongue, de Alta platea), and Herr Magister-noster Peter Meyer, of Frankfort, Pastor. The third is Herr Kaspar, Preacher at Kempten, Licentiate in Sacred Theology, and ere long to become Magister-noster.

They are here occupied with three notable Causes.

The first, Magister-noster Jakob, maintaineth the Cause of the Faith against Johann Reuchlin, who they say is a heretic; and they say well, for so he is. The second, Magister-noster Peter, instituteth a suit concerning competence against the Canons of Frankfort, inasmuch as they will not yield him his competence, and therefore he hath come hither to Court, and harrieth them woundily. The third, Herr Kaspar, maintaineth a suit concerning certain sacred oil, against certain monks who dwell without the walls of Kempten, and hoard this sacred oil; and when folk should be aneled the sacred oil is not forthcoming. Wherefore the afore-said Licentiate desireth to correct those monks and compel them to yield the oil to the Burg for the common good of the inhabitants. I have no other news to relate; and from you I have heard naught. [I know not indeed the cause wherefore I have merited your reverence's neglect.] And now I commend you to the Lord—

May he you in peril save,
Make you as a lion brave,
Wise as prudent Solomon,
Fair of face as Absolon,
Holy as the Baptist, John,
Wealthy as Ahasuerus,
And poetie as Homerus.
Perish Reuchlin! and the crew
Of ungodly poets, too—
Humbly they might learn of you!

Lo! while I was not minded to write poetry, nevertheless I have dropped into verse. How this came to pass
I know not. Glory be to God! Farewell! Finis! Telos! Tetragrammaton!

From the Court of Rome.

**XLI**

**MAGISTER SIMON POCOPORIUS** to

*Magister Ortwin Gratian* greeting

"SUCH knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it," saith the Psalmist. These words I can apply directly to myself when I consider your lordship's learning, which I lately became aware of through that book of yours entitled "The Orations of Magister Ortwin." Sonty! What a great man you have become, though in days gone by you were but a bungling pupil of mine? And now you overtop your teacher, notwithstanding that Scripture: "The disciple is not above his master." So then, as I read that book, I cried in a loud voice, "Oh, Ortwin, thy knowledge is too wonderful for me, it is high, I cannot attain unto it!" "Wonderful" of a truth it is, for I should never have believed that from my teaching you could have indited compositions so fairly and artificially; I glory greatly when I call to remembrance that by God's grace I was once your master and teacher. "High" indeed it is, for though in days gone by your knowledge was none of the loftiest, it hath been heightened by the inspiration of the spirit from above that hath enlightened you. Formerly—pardon me—you had no mind to study: ofttimes I have corrected you for knowing not the case of "mei" or "sui," or the tense of "legat, legant," and I would say to you this rime:

You must be a ninny-hammer
If you cannot learn your grammar!

But now you can teach me, and I should feel it no disgrace to learn of you. Nevertheless, I add, "I cannot attain unto it," since, as *Socrates* saith, "What is
above us toucheth us not." Persevere in compiling essays and you will become a notable man. Farewell.

Lübeck.

XLII

MAGISTER ACHATIUS LAMPIRIUS to Magister Ortwinus Gratius with many greetings

I MARVEL greatly, honoured Sir, that you write to all your friends and adherents at Rome, and yet to me alone you write not, although you said that you would write to me oft.

I learn however, of a pilgrim from Cologne, that you would fain have knowledge of that art concerning which I once hinted to you—to wit, how a man may compass that a woman shall mightily love him. Now, albeit you have not written to me, yet will I impart this to you, that you may see how dearly I cherish you: for I will keep nothing secret from you, but will disclose matters

"Which the filosofes of olde,
Would not to their feres unfolde;"

of such a kind is this subtle device. But you must reveal it to no man, for I keep it so covered that I would not whisper it to my brother—but you I love more than a brother. Therefore I am nothing loth to communicate the secret to you.

You must go about in this wise:—

When you are enamoured of a woman, you must first discover what her name is, and what her mother's name is.

Put the case that you are in love with a damsel named Barbara, whose mother's name is Elsa.

You must first procure a hair from Barbara's own head, and must thereupon be shriven as a penitent, or at the least make general confession.

Next, you must make an image of virgin wax, and over this Mass must thrice be read, the hair meanwhile being bound around its neck.

Afterwards, on a morning, having first heard Mass,
you must take a new glazed pot full of water, and having kindled a fire in a room closed in all parts, you must make fumigation with incense, and light a candle made of new wax with which a morsel of a Paschal candle has been mingled. Then you must pronounce this incantation over the image: “I conjure you, by the virtue of the Almighty, by the Nine Choirs of Angels, by the virtue of Cosdriel, Boldriach, Tornach, Lissiel, Farnach, Pitrax, and Starniel, that you set before me, in her proper substance and corporeality, Barbara daughter of Elsa, to submit herself to me in all things in accordance with my will.”

Then you must write these names around the head of the image with a silver style: Astrob + Arnod + Bildron + Sydra +, and forthwith place it in the pot of water, and set it by the fire, uttering this conjuration: “I charge thee, Barbara daughter of Elsa, by the power of the Almighty, by the nine Choirs of the Angels, by the power of Cosdriel, Boldriach, Tornach, Lissiel, Farnach, Pitrax, and Starniel, and by the power of those names, Astrob, Arnod, Bildron, Sydra, that thou instantly conceive such love for me, that without tarrying thou wilt come to me, because I languish in love.” Thereupon, so soon as the water becometh hot, all is accomplished, for she will begin to love you to such a degree, that when she sees you not—she knows not where you are.

This has been proved oftentimes, and never fails. Believe me, this is very precious lore. I would not unfold it to you were it not that I love you so fervently; and, for once, you might in turn communicate a secret to me.

May you abide sound in health.

The Court of Rome.

XLIII

To Mag. Ortwin Gratius

My pious prayers by way of greeting.

Reverend Sir! You tell me that all we Theologians should render thanks to Almighty God for that
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Theology is now in blossom, and that there is a cloud of learned Divines in all parts of Germany. Moreover all men, masters or servants, nobles or churls, do them high honour, calling them Magisternosters by reason of their pre-eminence, and doffing their hats and caps when they meet one, saying, "Commend me to your egregiousness, eximious Herr Magisternoster!" And when a Magisternoster passeth along the street all folk salute him as though a prince passed by. And this is well—for Magisternosters are as the Apostles of God. So then in your letter you tell me great things. Nevertheless must I hold myself opposed, and say that this doubtless is true enough for Cologne, but not elsewhere. Here, especially, in my own country, Magisternosters who are Regulars are paid no honours, but the Canons and nobles shamefully belittle them. Yet the secular priests are accorded honour, and held in respect. Now this seemeth to me unbecoming, for Regulars should ever take the first place, inasmuch as they are the more spiritual, and a Regular with respect to celestiality standeth above a Secular. For Regulars are naturally fitted for chanting lauds to the glory of God, and of his Holy Mother, the ever-blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the Saints and Martyrs, and Confessors, and the rest. Therefore it seemeth to me a great error for men to honour Seculars rather than Regulars. Moreover the secular Theologians in high places begin to wax proud, and are, as it were, opposed to the Regulars, while they themselves grow more worldly, and further removed from the Kingdom of Heaven. You know how that Christ hath said, "Ye who follow me shall sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Now Regulars have left their goods and chattels, and are despised in this world, therefore are they nighest to the Kingdom of Heaven. Forgive me in that I write such things concerning secular Theologians, seeing that you are one. But it is otherwise at Cologne, for there folk are humble and reverent towards Regulars. Nay, even you may be yourself deemed a Regular, as far as zeal goeth, and you once said to me at Cologne, "Herr Otto, I trow that one day I shall
become a monk of your Order, for I have a strong hankering thereafter." Hence I write to you from my heart. But it inketh me mightily that Secular Theologians should now-a-days be so over-weening— as is Doctor Johann Reiss, who is a preacher at the Cathedral in this Burg. He is held in high esteem, and all the Canons and nobles make much of him; for he knoweth how to gloze them with fair words. Yet this Doctor seemeth to be mightily prejudiced against the Regulars. One told me, who often sat with him at board, that he altogether holdeth a way of his own, and is neither an Albertist, nor a Scotist, nor an Occamist, nor a Thomist. And if any one asketh him, "Most excellent Herr Doctor, of what way are you?" he answereth, "The way of Christ." He laugheth when the Doctors of Theology call themselves Magisternosters.

Moreover he holdeth not greatly with the Regulars, saying that it is not needful for us to put on a cowl, but that we can be saved by other means. He declareth that God hath no respect for vesture. In this he seemeth to me to be heretical, for he lacketh reverence towards the Regulars and the Holy Father. He useth moreover an uncouth method of preaching—for he doth not, as do others, propound subtle questions and construct arguments contra, and afterwards solve them and deduce Corollaries, but he proceedeth without art or rule. I marvel, therefore, that folks listen his sermons gladly, for he preacheth not canonically. I have by two instances been convinced that he is ill-disposed towards Regulars. Once when you at Cologne instituted, with the aid of our Order universally, that laudable strife against Johann Reuchlin, I brought him a paper containing the decree concerning Johann Reuchlin, that his book should be burned and he himself be forced to recant. I said to him, as I had been instructed by our Provincial, "Excellent Herr Magisternoster, your excellency here hath a decree that Reuchlin is a heretic and that his book is to be burned. Be pleased, therefore, to publish it from the pulpit; and at the same time we request you to join us in withstanding the aforesaid heretic."
Thereupon he read the mandate, and said:

"I cannot see that aught is decreed herein save that the Augenspiegel is not to be sold publicly until the charge is heard and decided. It doth not appear that Reuchlin is pronounced a heretic." I answered that this might be piously presumed from the fact that the sale of his book was banned, and I asked him to espouse our Cause from the pulpit. He made answer, "I pray thee leave me in peace: I am here to spread the word of God, and to offend no man. For it is written, 'But whoso slandereth one of these small,' etc.;" and so I could not bring it about that he should aid the Cause of the Faith.

On another occasion I observed that when Brother Jakob of our Order was here, and distributed the indulgences that we had procured at Rome for the Monastery at Augsburg, he also asked the aforesaid Doctor Reiss to extol the Indulgences in the pulpit, and exhort women, and others, so that money might flow into the chest, for it would be well spent. But he neglected to say what was required, and would not even utter a single word concerning Indulgences. Thereupon Brother Jakob said to him, "Lo, you grudge our collecting money; yet collect it we will, if it should break your heart;" and from the pulpit he cried, "Lo, here you have indulgences, and letters of indulgence, and that which is written in them is as true and credible as the Gospel; and when you receive these indulgences, you are as surely shriven as though Christ had come hither and shriven you himself." Then Doctor Reiss argued to the contrary, and said:

"Naught can be evened with the Gospel; and it will go well with him who doeth well. If a man receiveth those indulgences a hundred times over, and yet liveth not uprightly, he shall perish; nor shall the Indulgence profit him. But, on the other hand, if a man liveth righteously, or, after sinning repenteth and amendeth his ways, I tell you that he will be an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven, and will need no other helper." And hence it hath entered my mind that this Doctor Reiss is an enemy of the Regulars:
PETER OF WORMS

and it seemeth to me that he favoureth *Johann Reuchlin*; but I cannot tell. You will perceive therefore how matters stand. I allow that the Theologians in *Cologne* are held in high reverence, and that the Secular Theologians and lay folk are in close bonds with the Regulars—but here it is not so. Yet I trust that when *Reuchlin* is overthrown, then the Theologians will rejoice in their turn; which may our only-begotten Saviour grant. Amen.

From Würzburg.

XLIV

*Peter of Worms* to *Mag. Ortwinus Gratius* sendeth many greetings

*Eximious* Sir; Inasmuch as you are by nature well-disposed towards me, and have shewn me much favour, I too will do on your behoof what lieth in my power.

Now you said to me, “O Peter, when you attain to *Rome*, mark whether there be any new books, and send me some.” Receive, then, with this, a new book that has been printed here.

I trow, indeed, seeing that you are a Poet, you will learn from it for the perfecting of your art.

For I heard, at a session of the Court here, from a Notary, who was doubtless proficient in that mystery, that this book is the well-spring of Poesy, and that its author, one *Homer*, is the father of all the Poets.

He told me moreover, that there is another *Homer*, in Greek.

“Nay,” quoth I, “what care I about Greek? The Latin one is better, for I want it to send to *Germany*, to Magister *Ortwin*, who pays no heed to those Greek fantasticalities.”

Then I sounded him concerning the theme of this book. And he told me that it treated of certain folk called Greeks, who made war on some other folk called Trojans, whom I had heard tell of before. These same Trojans had a great city, and the Greeks pitched before it and lay there for more than ten years. And anon
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the Trojans sallied forth and laid about them mightily, and they slew one another so wondrously that all the ground was bloodied, and there was a certain river there, and that was all dyed with blood and made quite red, so that it flowed like so much gore—and the noise was heard in heaven; and a wight threw a stone that twelve men could not lift, and a horse began to speak, and prophesied.

But I do not believe such things as these, for they seem to me impossible, and yet I suppose that this book may be very authentic. Write to me, I beg you, concerning it, and let me know your opinion. And now, farewell.

Rome.

XLV

JOHANN GERLAMB to Magister Ortwin Gratius

As the saying goes, "A friend in need is a friend indeed," and I desire to make proof whether you still hold me in remembrance, and this I shall put to the test in manner following: The bearer of this letter is my kinsman, he is a youth of good parts, and desireth to study the liberal Arts; his father was minded to send him hither to this University, but I dissuaded him, because I would fain have him study after the methods of the Ancients, as I myself had been taught. I pray you, therefore, receive him as your charge. Although I am an Albertist, I should disapprove not of your sending him to De Monte Hostel, where they cleave to the methods of Thomas. The Rector there is an Oberlander, and, after all, there is no great difference between Thomists and Albertists—except that the Albertists hold that adjectives are appellative, and that the mobile body is in nature the object, while the Thomists hold that adjectives are not appellative, and that the mobile Ens is in nature the object. The Albertists assert, too, that logic proceedeth from terms of the second intentions to first intentions, while the Thomists assert that it proceedeth from first to second
intentions. Again, the Albertists hold that a mobile body in vacuo moveth continuously, but the Thomists hold that a mobile body in vacuo moveth instantly. Again, the Albertists say that the Milky Way is celestial in its nature, but the Thomists say that it is elemental. Yet it matters not much with which side a man holdeth, so long as he followeth the ancient ways. I desire that this young man should have his commons in the hostel, and that he should be kept under strict control and not permitted to run wild wheresoever he willeth. And when he transgresseth, chastise him. For it is written in the Book of Proverbs, Chap. xxii.: "Withhold not correction from the child; for if thou beatest him with the rod he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with the rod and deliver his soul from hell." Induce in him the habit of joining in the disputations of the hostel, and take heed that he attendeth not the lectures of Caesarius, or other poets. I rejoiced when you told me that Buschius no longer abideth at Cologne, for he was a stumbling-block to the University, enticing students away with that poetry of his. There are two Poets here—Eoban Hesse and Peter Aperbach, who are enemies of mine, but I pay no heed to them. Whenever they see me they fall to talking about Johann Reuchlin's case, making him out to be in the right, and defaming the Theologians. But I hold my tongue—though a little while ago I did say, "Johann Pfefferkorn knows right well what to call him," and I shewed them that book of his called "J. P.'s Defence against Slanders," and with that I took myself off. God grant that the judgment may go in your favour, or else these poets will laugh us to scorn. And now I commend the young man to your charge. Farewell.

Erfurt.
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

XLVI

Magister Konrad Unckebunck sendeth to Magister Ortwin Gratus abundant greetings

"MOUTHS have they and they speak not; eyes have they and they see not; ears have they and they hear not," saith the Psalmist: and these words will serve as preambule and text of my discourse:—

Magister Ortwin hath a mouth and speaketh not—else would he have said to some Curialist setting out for Rome, "Salute Herr Konrad Unckebunck for me:" Eyes hath he and he seeth not—for I have written him many letters and he replieth not, as though he could neither read nor see them: and, in the third place, ears hath he and he heareth not—for I have commissioned many a comrade departing hence for the provinces to greet him, but he cannot have heard my salutations, inasmuch as he reciprocated them not.

In this you sorely err, for I love you, and you therefore ought to love me in return. Howbeit you do not—for you write naught to me. It would gladden me exceedingly were you to write to me very oft, for when I read your letters they inwardly rejoice the cockles of my heart.

Nevertheless I have learnt that you have of pupils but a few, and complain that Buschius and Caesarius lure the students from you—notwithstanding that they lack your skill to expound the poets allegorically and to cite thereanent the Scriptures. The Devil, I trow, is in those Poets. They are the bane of the universities.

An old Magister of Leipsic, who hath been Master for these thirty years, told me that when he was a lad, then did the University greatly prosper: those were the days when there was not a Poet within twenty miles. He told me, too, how that the students then diligently attended lectures—whether public or bur-
sarial; it was deemed a great scandal that a student should walk in the street without having *Peter of Spain* or the *Parva Logicalia* under his arm; or, if they were grammarians, then they would carry with them Alexander's *Doctrinale*, or his *Opus Minus*, or the *Vade Mecum*, or the *Exercitium Puerorum*, or Johann Sinthen's *Dicta*. Then were there zealous students in the Schools, who held the Masters of Arts in honour, and if they spied a Magister they fell to trembling as if they had seen a devil. He told me that in those days there were four promotions of bachelors each year, and many a time fifty or sixty graduated at once. In those days the University was in full bloom; and when a student had resided for a year and a half he was made Bachelor, and after three years, or two and a half years, in all, a Magister. Thus it came to pass that his parents were well pleased, and freely sent him money when they saw that their son had attained a place of honour. But now-a-days all the students must needs attend lectures on *Virgil* and *Pliny* and the rest of the new-fangled authors—what is more, they may listen to them for five years and yet get no degree: and so, when they return home, their parents ask them, saying, "What art thou?" And they reply that they are naught, but that they have been reading *Poetry*! And then the parents are perplexed—but they see that their sons are not grammarians, and therefore they are disgruntled at the University, and begrudge sorely the money they have spent. Then they say to others, "Send not your sons to the University— they'll learn naught, but go trapesing in the streets anights; money given for such a bringing-up is but thrown away."

The old Magister furthermore told me that in his time there were full two thousand students at *Leipsic*, and a like number at *Erfurt*; four thousand at *Vienna* and as many at *Cologne*—and so with the rest. Now-a-days there are not as many students at all the Universities put together as there were then in one or two. The Magisters at *Leipsic* bitterly lament the scarcity of scholars. It is the Poets that do them
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this hurt. Even when students are sent by their parents to hostels and colleges they will not stay there, but are off to the Poets to learn stuff and nonsense. He told me that at Leipsic he used to have two score pupils, and when he went to the Church, or to the market, or to stroll in the Rosengarten, they would all follow after him. In those days it was a grave offence to study poetry. If a penitent admitted in the confessional that he had privily listened to a Bachelor lecturing upon Virgil, the priest would impose upon him a thumping penance—to wit, to fast every Friday, or to rehearse daily the seven penitential Psalms. He swore to me, on his conscience, that he saw a candidate rejected because he had once been detected by one of the Examiners reading Terence on a feast-day. Would that it were thus in the Universities now; then I should not have to drudge here at the Curia. For what work is there for us at the Universities? We cannot make a living. Students no longer will dwell in Hostels under Magisters. Among twenty students you will scarce find one with a mind to graduate. Yet all of them are eager to study the Humanities. When a Magister lectureth he findeth no audience; but, as for the Poets, when they discourse it is a marvel to behold the crowd of listeners. And thus the Universities throughout all Germany are minished and brought low. Let us pray God, then, that all the Poets may perish, for “it is expedient that one man should die”—that is that the Poets, of whom there are but a handful in any one University, should perish, rather than so many Universities should come to naught.

And now you will surely send me a letter—or long will be my lamentations over your neglect. Farewell.

From Rome.
SENDETH brotherly and heartfelt love by way of salutation.

Let me tell you, in reply to your question, that your letter reached me on Michaelmas Day, and I will now answer it categorically.

First, you ask why we Predicant Friars chant with a louder voice than any others. I answer that I trow it is for no other reason save that it is written in Isaiah lx., “We shall roar all of us like bears, and shall lament as mournful doves;” and that I believe *St. Dominic* desired to fulfil this prophecy.

Secondly, you ask whether I hold *St. Thomas* or *St. Dominic* to be the holier? I answer that it is a moot point, and that Doctors of our Order dispute with one another concerning the matter. Some hold *St. Dominic* to be the holier as touching his life, but not as touching his doctrine; and, on the other hand, *St. Thomas* to be the holier as touching his doctrine, but not as touching his life. Others contend that *St. Dominic* is absolutely the holier, and this they maintain for two reasons: The first is that *St. Dominic* was the founder of our Order, and therefore that *St. Thomas*, who was a member of the Order, was his disciple; and the disciple is not above his master: Q.E.D. The second is that learning hath no pre-eminence over life and conduct, and that therefore, perchance, *St. Thomas* was more learned than *St. Dominic* and yet not necessarily holier. Others again will have it that *St. Thomas* is absolutely the holier, inasmuch as no other Doctor among all the saints is called the Holy Doctor except *St. Thomas*. Hence, just as *Aristotle* is called “The Philosopher,” and *Paul*, “The Apostle,” so *St. Thomas* is called par excellence “The Saint”; therefore, not only in learning but also in sanctity doth he excel *St. Dominic*.
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To this it is objected that St. Thomas is called “Holy,” not as being absolutely holier than all other saints, but merely as being the holiest of the canonized Doctors. Hence he is not holier than St. Dominic. But an aged member of our Order hath told me that he will show me a very ancient book in which disputation concerning the relative sanctity of these two saints is prohibited. Wherefore I dismiss this question, and pronounce not my judgment thereon.

You ask me, in the third place, whether I think Johann Pfefferkorn will persevere in the Christian Faith. I answer that, by the Lord, I know not what to say. It is a mighty ticklish point. You will call to mind that precedent at St. Andrew’s in Cologne—how a Dean of that Church, who was a baptized Jew, abided long in the Christian Faith, and lived an upright life. But upon his death-bed he ordered a hare and a hound to be brought to him and enlarged, whereupon the hound in a trice seized the hare. Then he ordered a cat and a mouse to be brought—and the cat pounced on the mouse. Then said he to many who were standing around, “You see how that these animals cannot cast off their natures; and a Jew can never cast off his faith. Wherefore to-day I would fain die a true Israelite,” and so speaking he died. Thereupon the citizens of Cologne in memory of this event set up the brazen images which still stand on the wall before the cemetery. I have heard, too, of another Jew who in like manner upon his death-bed commanded a large stone to be brought, and to be placed in a pot full of water beside the fire. After it had stood there quite three days he asked whether it was yet cooked. They answered, “Nay,” for it was not possible that a stone should be cooked. Then said he, “As that stone can never be sodden by the heat, so can Jews never be turned into true Christians. But they are baptized for gain’s sake, or through fear, or to work some treachery. And to-day I will die a faithful Jew.” And therefore, by the Lord, there is much to be feared concerning Johann Pfefferkorn, though I trust that God will grant him especial grace and keep him in the faith, and at any rate it behoves us—on account
of Johann Reuchlin and his allies—always to maintain that for a certainty he will continue a Christian.

In the fourth place you ask me my opinion about Proper Nouns; whether they are wanting in a plural, as the ancient grammarians, Alexander and the rest, hold—or, have a plural, as the modern and new-fangled writers, such as Diomedes and Priscian, contend. I answer that we should say that Proper Nouns, in so far as they are proper, have no plural. Nevertheless sometimes they are declined in the plural, and can then be classed with common nouns: as “two Jameses,” that is, the two Apostles named James—“two Catos,” that is, two Kings or wise Roman Senators so named—“three Mariæ,” that is, three women named Mary.

I have now answered you to the best of my ability; if I knew more I would answer you better. Take, then, my words in good part. Greet for me with right good will Dr. Arnold von Tongern, mine own esteemed preceptor. Farewell.

Zwolle (?)

XLVIII

JOHANN KALB to Magister Ortwin Gratius
amicable greeting

HONOURABLE and Reverend Herr Magister, I would have you know that I marvel greatly how it cometh that you importune me in continually bidding me to send you “some news.” You are endlessly craving for news, notwithstanding that I have other business to attend to, and therefore cannot occupy myself with gossip; for I must needs run hither and thither in canvassing, lest I miscarry in my candidature, and come not at the benefice.

Nevertheless, I will write to you this once, to satisfy you, so that, after, you may leave me in peace with your “news!”

You have doubtless heard that the Pope had a huge great beast called Elephant, and held it in great
honour, and mightily loved it. And now I would have you know that this beast is dead. When it was ill the Pope fell into great grief, and he summoned a host of physicians, and said, “If it be possible, cure Elephant for me.” Thereupon they bestirred themselves, and cast its water, and gave it a cathartic that cost five hundred golden crowns—yet were not the bowels of Elephant moved thereby, and so it died. Sorely doth the Pope grieve for Elephant, for whom, they say, he gave a thousand ducats.

In sooth it was a marvellous brute, and it had a great abundance of long snout; and when it saw the Pope it would kneel to him, and cry in a terrible voice, “Bar, bar, bar!” There is, I trow, not the like beast in the whole world.

The rumour goes that the King of France and King Charles have made a treaty of peace for many years, and have exchanged oaths. But some think this peace is but politic, and will not long endure. I know not if this be so—nor do I greatly care. For when I come home to Germany, then I shall betake me to my parsonage, and spend happy days. There shall I keep flocks of geese and hens and ducks, and I shall have in my byre five or six cows to yield me milk for the making of cheese and butter. And I shall keep a cook who can turn her hand to such work. She must be of ripe years, for if she were young she might sorely tempt me, and I might fall into sin. She will spin for me, and I will buy the flax for her. I shall keep two or three pigs, and fatten them to furnish me with good bacon. Before all things I shall keep in my house great store of victuals. Once a year I shall kill an ox and sell half to the country-folk, and cure the rest in the reek. And behind the house there is a garden where I shall sow garlic, and onions and parsley—with pot-herbs, turnips, and the like. Then in the winter I shall sit in my chamber and study how to hold forth to my flock, out of the Paratus, or the Simple Sermons, or even out of the Bible, so that I may become practised in preaching. But in the summer I shall go a-fishing, or dig in my garden; and I shall take no heed of wars, for I shall live my own life, and preach sermons
and read mass, heeding not those worldly concerns that bring damnation to the soul. Farewell.

The Court of Rome.

XLIX

PHILIPP SCHNEIDER VON ERFURT
to Magister Ortwin Gratius

REVERENTIAL Salutations to your Reverence.

Venerated Herr Magister, you lately wrote to inform me that a certain Poet in Germany, Erasmus by name, of Rotterdam, inditeth many books, and that in particular he hath drawn up a letter to the Pope in the which he commendeth Johann Reuchlin. I must tell you that I have read that letter. I have moreover seen another book of his, a big one, intituled "The New Testament," which he hath sent to the Pope, and I understand that he would fain obtain the Pope's approval of it. I trust that he will not get it. For the Master of the Sacred Palace, a man of consequence and of high repute, declared that he could manifestly prove Erasmus to be heretic, inasmuch as in certain passages he reprehendeth the Holy Doctor, and maketh light of the Theologians. Besides this he hath written a treatise called "Moria Erasmi," which containeth many scandalous and irreverent passages, and, here and there, open blasphemies. Wherefore the Parisians are desirous to burn that volume. I trow, therefore, that the Pope will not grant his approval to the big book. The hopes of Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten run high. Yesterday he invited me to his board and told me of a truth that a Cardinal had assured him that judgment would go in his favour. But Johann Wick, who is Johann Reuchlin's Proctor, withstandeth him sorely: Doctor Jakob once said to him, in my presence, "You, forsooth, are now my adversary, but, mark my words, if I gain the day, I will harass you so that you will not find a place of safety in the whole of Germany." And another time he said to him, "I know that Reuchlin hath no money to give you, and are you so foolhardy
as to wish to make enemies of the whole Order?” And then there is another man, Dr. Martin Gröning by name, who must needs translate the Augenspiegel. I hear that Doctor Jakob will privily give him a hundred ducats if he will falsify that book—and if this be done, the victory is yours. I trust Dr. Martin will consent. Write, and tell me all the news you hear. Farewell.

ROME.

I MAGISTER ADOLFUS CLINGESOR sendeth much greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius

NOT long ago I sent you word that folk here were wont to dispute with me concerning Johann Reuchlin and the Cause of the Faith. I would have you know, therefore, that after you sent me that book of Johann Pfefferkorn’s intituled “J. P.’s defence against Slanders, &c.,” I took it to a certain man who held an opposite opinion, and shewed him how that it was written in that book, at the end of O. ii.: “Twenty years ago, if I remember right, this was prophesied to us at Cologne by Johann Lichtenberger, otherwise Ruth the outlandish eremite (whose prophecies have been printed at Mainz in Latin and German). In them it is written, fol. 16, ‘Take heed, O ye Philosophers of Cologne, lest ravening wolves break into your sheepfold! For in your days strange and unheard of things shall arise in your churches, which may the All-bountiful avert.’” Now when he had read this, he stood for a while in thought. Then quoth he, “I marvel at the folly of the Theologians! Think you all men to be children, that you practise upon them with such fustian? But since the Theologians of Cologne thus desire to appear subtle, I will show you a prophecy concerning Johann Reuchlin which will be much more to the point: and afterwards I will prove that the prophecy which they have cited tendeth in Reuchlin’s favour and not against him. Turn, therefore, to the first
Chapter of the Book of Zephaniah, where saith the prophet, 'And it shall come to pass at that time, that I will search Jerusalem with candles, and will punish the men that are settled on their lees, that say in their heart, &c.' Now since you men of Cologne make bold to wrest the scriptures after your own good pleasure, hearken how I interpret those words of the prophet. 'The Lord saith, by the mouth of the prophet, 'And it shall come to pass at that time that I will search Jerusalem,' that is to say, I will visit my Church, to the end that I may reform her, and remove whatsoever errors may be within her; and I will do this 'with candles'—that is, by the mediation of enlightened men, such as are Erasmus of Rotterdam, Johann Reuchlin, and Mutianus Rufus, and others in Germany; and 'I will punish the men'—that is, the Theologians; 'settled'—that is, obstinately bigoted; 'on their lees'—that is in a sorry, misty, and bootless Theology, which a few centuries ago they took to their bosoms, deserting the ancient and learned Theologians who walked in the true light of the Holy Writ. Knowing neither the Latin, the Greek, nor the Hebrew tongue, they cannot understand the Scriptures. Therefore, casting aside the veracious and primitive Theology, they do naught but dispute, and wrangle, and moot unprofitable questions. And in so doing they declare that they are defending the Catholic Faith, notwithstanding that there are none among the disputants who attack the Faith. And thus to no purpose do they spend their days, and do not advantage the Church of God. If, indeed, their disputations were of any profit, they could turn them to account in the service of the faith of the Catholic Church, by journeying throughout the world and preaching God's Word, as did the Apostles, and convincing the Greeks that they should come again into union with the Church of Rome. Or, if they wish not to wander far from home, at least let them go amongst the Bohemians and put that folk to silence with their Arguments and Syllogisms. Nevertheless they do none of these things, but wrangle concerning unprofitable matters. Therefore will the Lord punish them, and will send among them Doctors learned in Greek, and in Latin, and in Hebrew, who, purging
those 'lees'—that is, sweeping away the sophistries, and the false and darkening commentaries of Theology, shall bring their 'candles' and cast light upon the Scriptures, and give us once more the primitive and true Theology; in like manner as the aforesaid Erasmus, for example, hath lately emended the works of St. Jerome and caused them to be imprinted. He hath emended the New Testament also, and this, I take it, is of more profit than if twenty thousand Scotists and Thomists were to wrangle for a hundred years concerning Entity and Essence.” Now, when he had made an end of speaking, I cried, “God preserve me! What do I hear? You are de facto excommunicate!” and I would fain have left him. But he detained me, saying, “Hear yet the conclusion of the matter.” “I will not hear the conclusion,” said I. “At least listen while I expound your prophecy,” said he. Then I thought within myself that I would listen, for it is not a sin to listen to excommunicates so long as we do not eat or drink with them. Straightway he began, “Hearken, oh ye Philosophers of Cologne—the prophet saith not ‘Theologians’ but ‘Philosophers,’ inasmuch as the theology of the men of Cologne is rather to be termed philosophy, that is, the Art of Sophistry, than truly Theology, for it consisteth of naught but diabolical garrulity and fatuous loquacity. ‘Lest ravening wolves,’ namely Jacob von Hoogstraten, Arnold von Tongern, and the like, who, by their lying and frauds, with rage and violence ravish the innocent sheep—such as are Peter of Ravenna and Johann Reuchlin—desiring to brand them as heretics by reason of their learning and their renown which they envy. And since they perceive that they cannot do such mighty works as those most learned men, they would fain destroy them. These then are the ‘ravening wolves’ who lie in wait against the repute and the very lives of the innocent. And now for seven years have they on all sides harassed and maltreated Johann Reuchlin, that poor old man, and unless the Almighty had averted their wickedness, they would have altogether destroyed him. It cannot be alleged that Reuchlin himself is a ravening wolf, for in all his life he hath ravaged no one, that is he hath
accused no man falsely, nor has he attacked the life or reputation of any man by word or deed. Hearken once more—what mean the words that follow, ‘Break into your sheepfold’? Reuchlin, good man, never entered the University of Cologne—never, indeed, did he pay any heed to the Theologians or the Church at Cologne, for he was occupied with more useful matters. Therefore it is impossible to reckon him as one of the ravening wolves of whom Lichtenberger speaketh; for such must be found in the Colognese sheepfold. Then followeth, ‘For in your days strange and unheard of things shall arise.’ ‘Strange and unheard of’ is good. For neither hath eye seen nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, that so learned and upright a man, who hath profited so many and done hurt to none, should, in his old age, be so cruelly and so treacherously harassed and tormented and persecuted. Then, too, the words that follow, ‘in your churches’ cannot by any possibility be applied to Reuchlin, for, most fortunately, he hath lived outside the jurisdiction of the Church of Cologne—namely, within the diocese of Constance. ‘And so I hope that the dogs will come,’ that is, the faithful warders of the flock, who, without envy and malice, will humbly and faithfully feed Christ’s sheep—that is, all Christian folk—‘and will tear those wolves that lay waste God’s fold, and will purge the Church of God’—that is, drive out those base and lewd theologians who know nothing and boast to know all things.” Now when he had done speaking I departed from him, and swore by all that is holy that I would write to Cologne. I therefore humbly entreat you to report these things to the Magisternosters, and to Johann Pfefferkorn, who is, as it were, the mouthpiece of the Colognese, and wondrously skilled in composition—and let him trounce the fellow soundly with his pen. The man who said these things is a native of Berlin. If you wish to learn his name, send me word, and I will tell you. He once resided at Bonn, where he was strictly disciplined, nevertheless he continues to speak against the Theologians and is no good Christian—he abideth in wickedness, and will therefore perish in hell—from which may God preserve you, and the Theo-
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logians and the Friars Predicant, world without end.
Amen.

FRANKFORT-ON-ODER.

LI

JOHANN HELFERICH (latine Juppiter) to Magister Ortwin sendeth greeting and humbly commendeth himself

REVEREND Herr Magister, you tell me that you marvel how it cometh to pass that I dub myself Juppiter. You must know, then, that when I resided at Vienna I attended lectures on poetry, and there was a certain young poet there—George Sibutus by name—who had been a pupil of Conrad Celtis. He was my companion, and we were ever together, and he said, "You ought to be named Juppiter, for Juppiter hath in Latin the same meaning as Helferich in German." So Juppiter is my cognomen. Sibutus now dwells at Wittenberg, and he has taken to himself an old trot seventy-eight years old and more. I visited his house a while ago when I was making my way out of Prussia—and there sat the crone behind the stove. "Is that your mother?" I asked. "No," said he, "that is my spouse and wedded wife." "Why did you marry such an old woman?" quoth I. He made answer that she was still not so over-ripe as to have lost all sapor, and had good store of pelf; moreover she could brew rare stingo, which she sold and turned to profit. Then said I, "Thou hast done well; and how call you your wife?"

"My Corinna," he replied, "my Lesbia, and my Cynthia." But let this pass.

You tell me that it seemeth to you that the Day of Judgment is at hand: for the world hath become so depraved that it cannot by any means grow worse, and men walk in such evil ways that the times are portentous. The young are fain to put themselves on a level with their elders, scholars with their teachers, and Jurists with Theologians. All things are out of joint, and heretics and mock Christians are springing
up—Johann Reuchlin, Erasmus of Rotterdam, one Wilibald—something or other—with Ulrich Hutten, Hermann Busch, and Jakob Wimpeling, who wrote against the Augustinians, and Sebastian Brant, who wrote against the Dominicans—the pity of it! and wantonly rails at them. Thereby many scandals arise within the Faith, and I can well share your belief, for I have read that such happenings will immediately precede the Last Judgment. Moreover I will declare to you somewhat else, to wit that I have heard (it was told me as truth by a Father Superior) that Anti-Christ hath been born, but is as yet a child. He told me, too, that a revelation had been made to a certain Carthusian Monk, who, as he was sleeping in his cell, heard a voice from heaven crying, "The world shall perish! The world shall perish! The world shall perish!" Then the monk feared, and would fain have spoken, but silently made supplication against the wiles of the Devil. Then once more began the voice to cry out—and yet again a third time. Then perceiving in his heart that it was the voice of the Lord, he cried, "Why, Lord?" and the voice answered, "By reason of its sins." Then cried the Monk, "When, Lord?" and the voice answered, "There are yet ten years."

Wherefore I go in great dread. When I passed through Bologna I heard that there was a citizen there who had a familiar Spirit called Rilla; and that wondrous spirit speaketh to him concerning the King of France, and the Emperor, and the Pope, and the end of the world. I have read his prophecies. And now, I have told you what I know, and commend you to the Lord.

The Roman Curia.

LII

HEINRICH SCHLUNTZ to Magister Ortwin Gratius

ALL amity and humble duty to your excellence, first and foremost, with my uttermost service to your excellence, here and everywhere—in all honest places.
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Reverend Herr Magister, herewith I send your excellency a notable and right profitable book. It seemeth to me that this book is most skilfully composed; it containeth very masterly propositions, and is named "Rationale Divinorum." I bought it here, at the fair, for I said to myself, "That is the book for Magister Ortwin! The Lord be praised that I have lighted upon it! Now will I send it to him, just as he lately sent me Johann Pfefferkorn's work entitled 'Johann Pfefferkorn's Defence against Calumnies,' which he compiled in the intent that it should be a bulwark of the Holy Catholic Faith against Johann Reuchlin and his followers, and wherein he flouted them with many a shrewd gibe." But you may say, "Why doth this fellow send the book to me? Doth he think that I have not plenty of books myself?" I answer that such was far from my mind. If indeed you think that I was for this reason moved to send you this book, you do me an injustice, for I do but send it with fair intent. You must not believe that I disparage you in that you possess but few books, for I know that you have many. Indeed, when I was in your study at Cologne I could see well enough that you had a multitude of volumes, both great and small. Some were clad in wooden boards, and some in parchment bindings,—some were covered all over with leather, red and green and black, while some were half-bound. And there you sat, with a whisk in your hand, to flap away the dust from the bindings. "Pardy!" said I, "Magister Ortwin, you have full many a fair volume, and you hold them in high esteem." Then you replied that in this we might know whether a man were learned or not; for he that honoureth books, honoureth knowledge; and he that honoureth not books, honoureth not knowledge. And that saying I have laid up in my heart, and I will keep it there world without end. Amen.

Naumburg.
YOU have lately sent me a most vituperative letter, and you lay it to my charge that I tell you not how standeth the controversy, concerning the Faith, with Johann Reuchlin. When I read the letter I was very wrath, and said, "Wherefore writeth he to me in this fashion? Have I not sent him two letters in less than half a year! Is it my fault that the messengers have not delivered them?"

Believe steadfastly that I have related to you, precisely and word for word, all that hath come to my knowledge. But peradventure the messengers have not given you my letters. In particular did I inform you that when I was riding from Florence to Rome I overtook upon the road the reverend Father Jakob van Hoogstraten, Magister-noster, and Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, coming from Florence, where he had been on business concerning your cause to the King of France. Thereupon taking off my hat, I said, "Reverend Father—are you, or are you not?" and he replied, "I am that I am." Then said I, "You are Herr Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten, Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity." Quoth he, "Of the truth, I am." Thereupon I gave him my hand, saying, "Mein Gott! how cometh it that you walk afoot? It is a shame that such a man as you should walk on his feet through the mire and clay!"

He made answer, "Some with chariots, and some with horses; but we come in the name of the Lord." Quoth I, "Yea, but now it raineth sorely, and it is bitter cold." Then lifted he up his hands towards heaven, saying, "Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness!"

Then thought I within myself, "Pardy, is it not right pitiful that such a Magister-noster should be in these parlous straits? Two years ago I saw him enter
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Rome with three horses, and now he goeth afoot."
Then said I to him, "Would you fain have my horse?"
And he answered, rimeing:—

"'Willest thou have?' he need not say
Who fain would freely give away."

Then said I, "Pardy! Excellent Sir, there is a
vacant benefice awaiting me, and I must needs make
haste—else would I yield thee my steed," and there-
upon I left him. So now you see how matters stand.
It is manifest that the Doctor is in great straits: pro-
cure money for him, therefore, or it will go ill with
the Cause.

Reuchlin's proctor—Johann von der Wick—worketh
zealously for him, and runneth hither and thither.
Lately he laid before the Court certain libels against
Magister-noster Jakob, so scandalous that I marvel the
Lord did not then and there smite him with plagues;
moreover, he abused the aforesaid Magister-noster to
his face, saying, "I will bring it about, by the help of
the truth, that thou shalt perish in infamy, misery, and
sorrow, and Johann Reuchlin shall triumph: and this
all the Theologians shall behold, even though they
burst." It is manifest, therefore, that the aforesaid
Johann von der Wick putteth himself forward as the
enemy of all Theologians; he is a woundily daring
man—and foolhardy beyond belief. I have heard that
Master Jakob said, "If it had not been for that fellow
I should have obtained judgment in my favour as soon
as I arrived at Rome."

And this is sooth; for I have heard from others
that when Doctor Jakob first came to Court he was
so overbearing that all the Curialists were in dread of
him; and none of the proctors would act for Johann
Reuchlin, for they all feared the Doctor; and Jakob
von Questenberg sought in vain for a proctor through-
out all Rome, and could find none—for they said that
in all else they would gladly serve him, but in a matter
of Faith they feared lest the Inquisitor Jakob might
inquisite them to the stake. In these circumstances
this Doctor—if he deserve such a title—Johann von
der Wick, came to Jakob von Questenberg and said,
"I am ready to oppose myself to this monk's fury."

Then Doctor van Hoogstraten openly threatened him, saying, "I will make you repent ever having said one word on Reuchlin's behalf." And I heard him declare, with his own lips, at the time, that when he had obtained judgment against Reuchlin he would instantly proceed against Doctor von der Wick, and denounce him as a heretic, inasmuch as he had collected certain heretical propositions out of his words. But now all is changed! Believe me, the business fareth but ill—and you may now find anywhere ten upholders of Reuchlin and not one of the Theologians.

Moreover upon a division after a disputation by Theologians, eighteen were found to vote for Reuchlin, and only seven for his accusers: nay, even those seven did not declare that the Augenspiegel ought to be burned, but spake with limitations.

Therefore I can hold out but little hope. You must do all in your power to bring about Johann von der Wick's death, for he it is that is the cause of Reuchlin's ascendency, and the Theologians' decline. Had it not been for him such things would never have happened.

And now I trow I have acquitted myself so well in letter-writing, that never again will you have grounds for vituperating me. And so, farewell.

From the Court of Rome.

LIV

\[ WILHELM BRIKOT \]
\[ Mag. Ortwin Gratius \]

YOU entreat me for news without ceasing, and albeit I write to you oft it availeth not: I will therefore write to you yet once again, and pray that this may suffice.

I have received a letter from the Roman Court wherein it is related that your especial supporter, Matthew Finck, is dead; and certain Curialists, his
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compatriots, have desired me to write his epitaph. This I have done in manner following:—

"Old Finck is dead — His cloak was red
For him be said — A prayer, for he
Full joyously — Right Corsic swilled,
His belly filled — and piously
Lived in true faith and charity."

There is one thing concerning which I would fain seek instruction from you, and that is in what manner I am to understand the Parisians in setting forth their opinion concerning the Augenspiegel to use these words, "Without reproach, however, to the writer himself, whom, by reason of his humble submission, and his other laudable writings, we regard as a true Catholic." I know not how this might be—that the Augenspiegel can be burned as a heretical work without shame to Johann Reuchlin who composed it, and still defendeth it. It is manifest that the workman, as the efficient cause, is more blameworthy than the work that he produceth. Moreover I would that the Doctors of Louvain had not boasted, in their letter to the Pope, that the opinion of the Parisians, and their condemnation of the Augenspiegel, brought them much spiritual delight; for his Holiness the Pope may think to himself; "Lo, I now perceive that all this is mere envy on the part of these Theologians; if they were true Theologians, nay, if they were Christians, they would have compassion over the misdeeds of a fellow-Christian rather than rejoice and exult over them." Mark me, this will greatly further Johann Reuchlin's cause, and folk will believe that out of envy he is persecuted: which however admitteth of no proof. For that adversary of ours—friend, I should say, in Christ—and the Philocapnions, that is "Sons of Johann Reuchlin," have done much hurt to Johann Pfefferkorn, who defendeth himself, and hath written but the truth; he desireth indeed, that he may die if he hath lied in the smallest particular. Nevertheless, as the Psalmist saith, "All men are liars." Nor should it be objected that Johann Pfefferkorn was habituated to villainy and crime from

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his youth—alas!—as he himself admitteth in his "Defence." For even though for a long time a man may be wicked and abandoned, nevertheless he may full well be rendered righteous again; and this is piously to be believed in the case of Johann Pfefferkorn who was regenerate by the grace of the Holy Spirit, by the mediation of baptism, and therefore now is upright—as I doubt not, and he will remain a Christian till the end of the world. It has likewise come to my knowledge that an infamous rumour everywhere spreadeth abroad concerning you; to wit, that you are the son of a priest, and are illegitimate. I marvel that those ribalds have no sense of shame, and are so bold. Have you not letters of legitimisation? I pray you to have great diligence in the Cause of the Faith, so that that heretic may go to the gallows; and so farewell.

From Worms.

LV

MAGISTER SYLVESTER GRICIUS to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

INASMUCH as I have sworn an oath to defend my Faculty, and by all means to further its interests, I will therefore set down for you, in order, the names of all those who here stand by the Theologians and by Johann Reuchlin, respectively; so that you may lay them before the Theologians, and they may act accordingly.

First, there are certain fellows who sojourn at the sign of "The Crown," and who are ever deriding the Magister-nosters and brethren of the Order of Preachers, and have thus brought it about that no one at that inn giveth alms to a Dominican. I know the names of some of them. There is Magister Philipp Keilbach, who is continually singing Reuchlin's praises—and once Pastor Peter Meyer of Frankfort put him down finely; then there is one Ulrich von Hutten, an arrant brute, who once declared that if the Preach-
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ing Friars insulted him as they have Johann Reuchlin he would be their foe to some tune, and wherever he came across a monk of that order he would lop off his nose and his ears. The fellow hath many friends at the Bishop's Court, who also take Johann Reuchlin's part. But now he hath departed for a year—God be thanked—to be made Doctor. The Devil fly away with him!

Then there are two brothers—sprigs of nobility—Otto and Philipp von Bock—who gird at all the Theologians. Once, during the solemn Act which the Magister-nosters celebrated against the Augen-spiegel, Magister Jakob van Hoogstraten by virtue of his office granted indulgences to all those who were present at the rite; and these same brothers with other scoffers, in the presence of the Theologians who were sitting in the Inn, cast dice for the indulgences.

Then there is a fellow, Johann Huttich by name, who also is your enemy; and another, lately made Doctor of Law, one Conrad Weydmann, who always sideth with those who withstand you. There is a Doctor, too, who was once an Artist—in the way of the Moderns—who calleth himself Eucharius. Then there are Nikolaus Carbach, who lectur eth on Poetry; and Heinrich Brumann who is Vicar at the Cathedral, and a good organist: I am ever telling him to mind his organ, and leave the Theologians in peace. But, worst of all, the Canons are almost to a man on Reuchlin's side—as well as many other Magisters who hanker after Poetry but whose names I have forgot.

And now I will tell you of your own friends and supporters. You have here an ally who is a very eminent man—Herr Adular Schwann by name; he is of noble birth, and beareth a cup on his scutcheon: his father was a bell-founder. He is a very subtle disputant, after the school of the Scotists, and he argueth profoundly, and averreth that he would put down Johann Reuchlin in a crack if he might but dispute with him. There is another very peculiar prop of yours, named Heinrich Han—otherwise Glock-
enheintz, since he taketh great pleasure in bell-ringing. He is a most skilful man, and hath a marvellous intellect; you would scarcely credit the profundity of his genius. He is ever ready for a disputation, and when he argueth, he laugheth; and by his laughter he putteth down his adversary. When he saw Johann Reuchlin's heretical theses he declared that on the score of a single one of them Reuchlin ought to be burned.

Next you can reckon amongst your company a young nobleman and soldier, Matthias von Falkenberg by name: he is a very warlike man, and goeth ever armed as becometh a knight; he always sitteth on the hither side of the board, and never behind it—for, as he saith, it is not possible for one sitting behind the table to leap up on a sudden and smite one's foes if war should break out. He is moreover a very subtle disputant after the school of the ancients, and he declareth that if Reuchlin doth not yield, he will come to your aid with a hundred horse. Then there is a burgher of Mainz named Wigand von Solms. He is but a youth, yet so learned that he is the equal of a Magister-noster, and he saith that he would fain dispute with Reuchlin for ten florins. A little while ago he out-argued Johann Huttich so that he was undone and could answer nothing.

Besides these there is also on your side Herr Wernher, who is prodigiously well up in the "Summa Thomae contra Gentiles" and knoweth the "Formalitates" of Duns Scotus by rote—and he saith that if Magister van Hoogstraten were not already at the Curia he would go there himself and settle Johann Reuchlin. These allies of yours that I have named, meet together once a week at the house of the eminent Herr Magister-noster Bartholomew, who is chiefest of all your friends, and there they discuss matters of mighty abstruseness. They oppose one another in turn, and one holdeth the opinion of Johann Reuchlin while the rest argue against him, and their disputes are very notable.

Of the others here who are on your side I have no knowledge, for they are not of my acquaintance.
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When I have knowledge, I will let you know. And now I commend you to God.

From Mainz.

LVI

GILBERT PORRETONIUS, Master of Arts and Bachelor of Laws, to Magister Ortwin Gratius

GREETING, and good-day to you, Reverend Sir.

I have read the letter which you have sent me here at Ingoldstadt, and I wholly understand your meaning. You tell me that you rejoice that I, though a Theologian to begin with, now study the Law, for it is meet that some Theologians should be learned in the Law, that they may be able to dispute with the Jurists. Furthermore, you consult me concerning certain technical terms—as desiring to know what they signify, and you suspect that they appertain to matters juridical. You are right: they do.

I subjoin their significations, gathered from the glosses, and from Accursius. You will hence perceive that I have laid a firm foundation in the study of Law. A laticlave is a title of dignity: or, it is a wand of metal that the tribune used to throw into the thickest of the enemy, and then all the other soldiers would fight furiously to recover the said wand. Epistographum is a wooden tablet on which debts are inscribed, as is done unto this day: it is so named from opibus and graphia—that is writing—as being a record of wealth. Abaces meaneth precious vessels. Corinthia meaneth vessels of common material, such as straw or reeds, which are sold at Bologna. Balnea is a shining vessel, or—so to say—"bajulans lucem, vel lancem." Prothyrum cometh from thyros—that is, master—but what it meaneth I know not: or, it is "quod procul trahitur," that which is brought from afar—as water to wit, or anything else, as the hydraulic engine in Accursius' own house. Obsonatores are they who guard their master when he is abed; or, those who are sonorous, and sing to their master at table. Hypo-
GALEN OF PADERBORN

caustum is a place where sick folk stand when they need the fire. Gallus gallinaceus is a caponed cock, impotent, yet the more courageous in combat with the serpent. Or, he is named Gallus gallinaceus as being a lover of hens—as we call a man uxorious who is a lover of wives, witness Horace in his Odes. Dieta is a place at Court where the gentlemen stand by the fire. A Chorus is a multitude of slaves, singing to a certain instrument of music named a chorus.

Centumviri are senators, one hundred in number.

Patritius signifieth pater principii, the father of a prince: witness that place of Sallust, “O patres conscripti,” for their names were inscribed either on their headgear, or elsewhere. Whenever you entertain a doubt in matters pertaining to Canon or Civil Law unfold them to me, and I will resolve them as fairly as Johann Reuchlin, or any other Jurist that is in the world.

And now—farewell.

INGOLSTADT.

LVII

GALEN OF PADERBORN to Mag.

Ortwiin Gratius greeting

REVEREND Sir, a direful rumour hath reached me, and hath made the hairs of my head to stand upright. It is this: Almost all the clerics and students who have come hither from Cologne declare that there is a report that the Preaching Friars, rather than suffer Johann Reuchlin to get the better of them in the Cause of the Faith, will preach another religion. And it hath even been said that it is quite possible that if the Pope giveth judgment against them, they will hie them to Bohemia and stir up the heretics to disbelief in the Church and the Pope, and will thus be avenged of their wrongs. Oh, my good Herr Ortwiin, counsel them that they act not thus, for it would be a dreadful heresy! Yet I trust 'tis a lying rumour. Nevertheless I have thought within myself, “Peradventure the Preachers utter these threats against the Pope, seeking to intimidate him, that he might say to himself, 'Lo, if
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I pronounce not judgment in their favour, they will be held in sore contempt and laughed to scorn, and the whole world will be their enemy, and no man will give them alms, and their monasteries will be razed; and then they will depart to Bohemia, or even to Turkey, and preach, saying that Christianity is not the true faith—and this would be a great evil.”

Be this as it may, I trust that you Theologians will have patience, and fly not in the face of the Pope, lest ye make all Christians your foes. Fare ye well, in the name of the only-begotten son of God.

Bremen.

LVIII

M AG I S T E R IR US P E R L I R U S t o
Mag. Ortwin Gratium

GREETINGS in plenty, Reverend Sir.

Your writings against Johann Reuchlin have reached our University. The Senior Magisters praise them highly, but the greenhorn Juniors make light of them, saying that you do but assail Reuchlin out of envy. And when we took counsel as to whether we, too, should resolve somewhat against the Angenspiegel—these Juniors, who are still void of experience, held themselves opposed to the Seniors, and declared that Reuchlin is blameless, and that he hath never written aught that is heretical. And thus far they continue to withstand us, and I know not what the upshot will be. I believe the University will ere long perish because of these poets who abound marvellously.

Lately one hath come here calling himself Peter of the Mosel, and he is a Grecian. There is also another who lecteth on Greek, Richard Croke by name, and he cometh from England; and just now I said, “Cometh he from England? The devil he doth! I believe that if there dwelt a Poet where the pepper groweth, he would straightway come to Leipsic!”

Hence it happeneth that the Magisters have so few students that it is pitiful. I remember that in days
gone by when a Magister went to the baths more pupils would follow him than now go to the Church on a Festival. Moreover, students then were as decorous as so many angels; but now they run wild, and pay no heed to the Magisters; and they are all minded to dwell in the Town, and to have their meals without the Hostels, and the Magisters have very few boarders. On the last degree-day only ten bachelors graduated; and when we held the examination the Magisters had some talk of rejecting certain candidates. Then cried I, "Heaven forbid! for if we reject a single student, hereafter not a soul will come forward for examination, or even study for the degree—they will all be off to the poets." And so we made shift to let them pass. We found grounds of dispensation under three heads. First, with regard to age: for it is ordained that a graduating bachelor must be at least sixteen years of age, and Magisters, twenty. Yet, if they be not of full age, a dispensation may be granted.

Secondly, there is dispensatory power in the matter of conduct. For if undergraduates have not shown sufficient respect to Magisters and graduates, they must be rejected—unless admitted by dispensation. And with this view inquiry is made concerning their trespasses; whether they have been uncivil in the streets, or have consorted with harlots, or have borne arms, or have thou’d a Magister or a priest, or have made a disturbance at lecture, or in a hostel. Thirdly, there is a dispensation in Liberal Arts, when candidates are ill-conversant with their subjects, and have not fulfilled the prescribed conditions. A little while ago, during an examination, I asked such an one, "Tell me, how cometh it that you answer nothing?" He replied that it was because he was "so fearsome." "Nay," said I, "I trow that it is not so fearsome, but so dulsome, that you are." Then he cried, "Nay, by the Lord, Herr Magister—I have store of knowledge within me, but it won't come out!" Thereupon I gave him dispensation.

It is manifest, then, that the Universities will be sore losers. The other day I questioned a student about some transgression—straightway he turned upon me and thou’d me! Then said I, "I will store that up
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for degree-day,” hinting that he might suffer rejection. But he snapped back, “To the jakes with you and your baccalauriate; I shall go to Italy, where teachers do not cheat their pupils, and have no such mummery when they make their bachelors. If a man is learned the honour is conferred on him—if unlearned, he is treated like any other ass.”

Then said I, “Thou rascal! Wilt thou belittle the degree of Bachelor, that high dignity?” He answered that he thought but little even of Magisters—“And,” quoth he, “a friend told me that when he was resident at Bologna he observed that all the Masters of Arts from Germany were inducted like freshmen; not so the mere students. For in Italy it is deemed a disgrace to hold the degree of Bachelor or Magister of a German University.”

See to what a height these scandals grow! Would that all the Universities might join hands and make an end of all these poets and humanists who are their bane. Mag. Langschneyder, Mag. Negelin, Mag. Kachelhofen, Mag. Arnold Wüstenfeldt, and Dr. Ochsenfurt salute you. Farewell.

Leipsic.

LIX

[JOHANN LÖFFELHOLZ sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius]

YOU desired me to inquire of the merchants who flock hither from all parts during the fair, concerning that complot you have heard of; to wit, the conspiracy entered into by sundry poets and jurists to defend Johann Reuchlin, and write against the Theologians of Cologne and the Dominicans, unless they forthwith leave the aforesaid Johann Reuchlin in peace.

You must know, therefore, that I made great diligence in inquiring and searching out, and at last I lighted upon a bookseller from the Oberland who told me many astonishing things. He named me sundry of
the conspirators, and said that he had seen the writings that they send to one another.

In the first place he declared Doctor Murner to be the head of the junto, and he assured me that this fellow was the author of a book concerning the misdeeds of the Friars Preachers, and of another in defence of Reuchlin. Then he mentioned Hermann Busch, and said that he had seen a letter of his, in which he promises his companions that he will not be backward, but will stand up boldly for Reuchlin. Next he specified the Graf von Neuenar, Canon of Cologne, as being of the plot; this man hath concocted wondrous accusations against the Theologians, and they are shortly to be published.

Then there is Wilibald—something or other—who, I suppose, lives at Nuremberg; he hath uttered many threats; declaring that he will send all the Theologers packing with his writings. Then quoth I:

"Qui moritur minis, Ille compulsabitur bombis;"

that is to say:

"Wer vom Drohen stirbt, dem soll man mit Fürzen zu
Grabe läuten."

"He who by empty threats is felled,
With airy bounces shall be knelled."

Then he named to me one Eoban Hesse, of Erfurt—a young man, it seemeth, and a poet of great skill. He hath a comrade, Petreius Aperbach by name, and the twain are now composing certain books that they will forthwith publish unless the Theologians make peace with Reuchlin.

Then there is at Leipsic an Englishman—I know not what his name may be, but I trow that it is he who two years ago dwelt at Cologne—and he also is one of them. Besides these, there is Vadianus at Vienna, who is said to be a woundy great poet. At the Cardinal’s Court, too, there is one Caspar Ursinus, who knoweth how to make Greek verses, and hath promised Reuchlin his aid: he is among the band.

The bookseller moreover told me that he had heard
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that Philipp Melanchthon, and Jakob Wimpheling, and Beatus Rhenanus, and Nicolas Gerbelius, were all of the plot. He averred, moreover, that they write letters to Ulrich Hutten, who studieth at Bologna, seeking that he should join them. Besides these he had heard of none. Then I enquired in other quarters whether Erasmus of Rotterdam taketh their part? And a certain merchant answered, saying, “Erasmus taketh his own part; but, be assured he will never be the friend of those Theologians and Friars; and he hath evidently, in his words and writings, defended and vindicated Johann Reuchlin and hath addressed letters to the Pope on his behalf.”

From others I learnt that Paul Ricinus is also of the number. Some say that Johann Speisshammer and Konrad Peutinger—who are in high favour with the Emperor—also consort with this crew, and do all in their power against the Theologians of Cologne, and in honour of Johann Reuchlin. A certain student of Erfurt, a friend of mine, tells me that Konrad Mutianus is the bitterest of all, and that Theologians are so hateful to him that he cannot endure to hear those of Cologne as much as named; he saith, too, that he hath seen full twenty letters of his, in which he urgeth certain students to join the Reuchlinists.

This is all the information I have gathered so far; when I learn more, I will impart it to you. Farewell in Christ.

Frankfort-on-Main.

LX

To MAG. WERNHER STOMPF to
Mag. Ortwin Gratius greeting

Sir, I would have your magnificence to know, that when I received your letter I was affrighted beyond measure, my face mantled and the hair of my head stood up. And I doubt whether I stood in greater dread in the Red Room at Cologne when I sought to be made Bachelor, and offered myself for examination; for then I had grievous fears lest the Examiners should reject
PETER LIEB

me. You tell me that the Cause of the Faith fareth ill at Rome. Gadzookers! what can we say? Those Jurists and Poets will overthrow the whole faculty of the Artists and Theologians; for even here, in our University, they would fain brow-beat the Magisters and the Divines. A fellow here claimed of late that a Bachelor of Law should take precedence of a Master of Arts. Then quoth I, "That is impossible. I can prove that Masters of Arts rank higher than Doctors of Law. Doctors of Law are learned in one science only—namely Jurisprudence; but Magisters are Masters of the Seven Liberal Arts, and therefore are the more learned. "Go to Italy," said he, "and tell them that you are a Magister of Leipsic, and see how they will bait you!" But I made answer that I could defend my Mastership as well as any that cometh out of Italy. And so I departed, thinking within myself that our faculty is sorely maligned, and this is a crying shame. For it is the Masters of Arts who should rule the Universities, and now the Jurists claim to govern them, which is a thing most indecent. But I bid you be of good cheer, and call not in question the victory of the Cause of the Faith. May the Lord provide for you. And now, fare ye well—so long as Pfefferkorn abideth a Christian.

Prince's College, Leipsic.

LXI

PETER LIEB, Cursor in Grammar, and Professor of Logic, sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratins

REVEREND Herr Magister—two drinking-bouts a day are the custom here at Vorpech, or Vorharz. The first is called the Burgher-bout, which beginneth at noon and is kept a-going till four or five of the clock: the second is the Night- or After-bout; this beginneth at five, and lasteth until eight, nine, or even ten of the clock—nay, it is sometimes kept up till midnight or one of the clock in the morning. Well-to-do folk, and the burgomasters and the guildmasters, when they have sat drinking long enough at the first bout, pay their scores 513
and go home; but the younger folk, and good fellows who care not much what the corn costs, sit long at the After-bout, and drink for dear life.

Now it happened that we were of late thus making merry, and there was with us Herr Peter, a friar of the Order of Preachers, who is mightily well disposed towards you by reason of Jakob van Hoogstraten the Inquisitor at Cologne; and between ten and eleven at night a warm dispute arose concerning the derivation of your name. I held the opinion that you were named after the Roman Gracchi. But Herr Peter, who is pretty well versed in humane letters, declared that this was unapt, and that you were named Gratius after the grace that cometh from on high.

Now there was a braggart there who spake very crinkly Latin, so that I could not understand half he said, and he declared that you were called Gratius neither from Grace nor Gracchi; and he spake such a deal of superfluous nothing that I asked him, saying, "Whence then cometh Gratius? Very learned men have held high dispute over the matter, and have determined that the name proceedeth either from gratia or Gracchi." Quoth he, "They who discussed the matter were friends of Magister Ortwin Gratius, and they therefore interpreted his name in a favourable sense, but their opinions do not affect the naked truth." Then said Herr Peter, "What is truth?" and he thought that the fellow would hold his peace, as our Lord did when Pilate put this question to him. Yet he did not hold his peace, but continued, "There is a hangman in Halberstadt, Herr Gratius by name, and he is Ortwin's maternal uncle, so it is after him that Ortwin was named Gratius." Then I could not contain myself, and cried, "Fellow! that is a vile outrage, and I protest against it! Herr Ortwin must not let that pass: I know you say this out of envy, since you are at enmity with him. A child receiveth his name and surname from his father and not from his mother. Wherefore then hath this worthy Magister been named after his mother and his maternal uncle, and not after his father like other folk?" Then he replied, speaking loudly so that all should hear, "What you say is true enough, but
he cannot, in honour, mention his father, because his father is a priest, and if he were named after his father all folk would know that he was the son of a priest and a whore—and a bastard if ever there were one!” Then again I cried aloud, saying, “How can this thing be? Is he not a Magister of Cologne? Hath not the University a statute which declareth that no man may graduate unless he be legitimate? Therefore—” Then saith he, “Whether graduates must be legitimate or illegitimate, the fact remaineth that Magister Ortwin is a bastard, and a bastard he will remain world without end!” Then said I, “But what if the Pope hath per-chance given him dispensation? Then he would be legitimate after all, and you would be in grievous error, speaking against the Church of Rome?” Then said he, “It matters not if he had a thousand dispensations—he would not be legitimate for all that.”

Then he cited a case in point, “Take the case of a Jew baptised with the water of baptism: if the Holy Spirit be absent, the water profiteth nothing, and he is still a Jew. So it is with those bastards who are the sons of priests and whores—for priests cannot lawfully enter into wedlock with whores, and therefore a dispensation profiteth their children nothing.” Then I asked him, saying, “What opinion holdest thou concerning Herr Johann Pfefferkorn?” And he answering said, “I firmly believe that he is still a Jew.” And in reply to the citations made he further quoted Matthew iii., where it is written, “Unless a man be born again of water and of the spirit he shall not enter into eternal life.” “And since,” saith he, “Pfefferkorn was not born again of the Spirit, the water profiteth him nothing, and he will abide a Jew for ever.” Then I could no longer answer him, and we arose, Herr Peter and I, and went home to bed. And now I hear that this reprobate boasteth himself that he hath overcome us in disputation, and is more learned than Herr Peter or myself. Wherefore I pray your worthiness to write and tell me how those arguments about dispensations and Herr Johann Pfefferkorn’s baptism may best be met, and how this rascal may be hoist with his own petard.

May I deserve your favour all my life long. Farewell.
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LXII

MAGISTER GRATIUS, Uprooter of Tares, that is, Quarterer of Traitors, Scourger of Forgers and Slanderers, Incinerator of Heretics, and much besides, sendeth many salutations to Magister Ortwin, his sister’s son

DEARLY-BELOVED nephew, and most Reverend Herr Magister, inasmuch as many years have now passed by since we set eyes on one another, it hath come into my mind that it would be a good thing to send you a letter. I hear marvellous tidings concerning you—how that you are of high repute, and are known to all who have even a scantling of learning, not only in Cologne, but beyond Elbe and Rhine, and even throughout Italy and France.

It is the Colognese, however, who honour you most for that singular learning displayed in your writings in defence of the Catholic Faith against one Johann Reuchlin, Doctor and secular poet, and they set such store by you that when you walk in the streets they point at you with their fingers and say, "There goeth Magister Ortwin who trounces the poets!"

Methinks that if they but knew that you were my nephew they would respect you yet more. For here I too am of high renown, and I exercise my art amidst great crowds of people; and folk honour me in like manner, and when I walk in the streets they point at me, as they do at you at Cologne. And I exult greatly that folk thus think not a little of both you and me.

I hear, too, that there are others in Cologne who are friendly to you, and also write in opposition to Doctor Reuchlin—to wit, Jakob van Hoogstraten, and Magister Arnold von Tongern, Regent of St. Lawrence Hostel. All men deem you three to be the true lights of the Catholic Faith, and they look upon you as three great candlesticks, or lanterns. There are some, indeed, who add a fourth light, or, as it were, a hanging-lamp, which
doth not shine quite so brightly, to wit, Herr Johann Pfefferkorn.

And I verily believe that if you four, with all your knowledge, were bound together to a stout stake, in an exalted position, on a pile of dry wood, there might straightway be kindled a light of the world, brighter even than that which blazed at Berne. But, dearest nephew, all this is naught save a merry jest of mine, and—quips apart—I hope you four will become a true light of the world: it is impossible that such learning as yours can long remain sunk in the mire.

It hath come to my ears that not long ago you would fain have bussed, after dark, an old trot who selleth pots hard by the fountain at Cologne, but she lifted up her voice, and folk came around the house with lanterns, and discovered you. Pardy! I highly esteem such fine pranks of yours, for they smell of my art, which pointeth too in some sort at Theologians also.

There hath of late been a rumour here that a poet hath appeared in Cologne. He alone holdeth you for a fool, and calleth you Porkwinus—that is, meet dweller in a pig-sty. Pardy! if I could only scrape acquaintance with that same poet, right gladly would I hang him without fee!

And now, in conclusion, beloved nephew, I would earnestly beseech you to strive with great diligence to spread your renown throughout the whole earth, were it not that I well know such counsel to be needless. For this you well know of yourself, and have received it from your grandparents—ay, and from your great- and great-great- and great-great-great-grand-parents; and especially from your mother, my dearly-beloved sister, who had no sooner heard that bastards are ever more the favourites of fortune than the true-born, than she straightway betook herself to a priest, and let him work his will, that there might be begotten such a man as you, whom some day all the world shall hear of! Farewell.

From Halberstadt.
JOHANN VON SCHWEINFURTH, Master of the Seven Liberal Arts, sendeth a thousand greetings, and a few more, to the scientifical, learned, and enlightened Ortvain Gratins, who masterly teacheth the Greek and Latin tongues at Deventer.

PREMISING all honour and submissive respect due to a teacher skilled in sundry branches of knowledge. You wrote to me of late concerning your victory gained at Rome over Reuchlin, who so temerariously opposed you and Johann Pfefferkorn not long divinely enlightened in the Christian Faith. You told me, too, how that the Pope hath imposed silence upon him, forbidding him to write more, “lest a worse thing happen to him,” as saith our Lord in the Evangel. For formerly in the Augenspiegel he wrote in a fashion so uncouth that the Doctors could not understand him. Nevertheless they declared him a heretic—since it standeth not in their books as he hath written, nor hath that new theologian whom God raised from the stones to be the child of Abraham, (as saith the scripture), Johann Pfefferkorn to wit, knowledge thereof by divine vision or revelation, or from the authentic intelligence of his wife; and she, I have heard, hath also the spirit of prophecy. But of this you know much better than do I, for you have ofttimes consorted with her when Johann Pfefferkorn was not at home. I know not in what manner Reuchlin was put down by you or by the Pope. For now they have instituted a new faculty, besides the four faculties we used to have; and they all praise Reuchlin and call themselves his disciples; and they pay no regard to the Faculty of Arts, for they say that the Artsmen are so many conceited asses—and that they can scarce speak three or four Latin words—and that, shame to them! these beasts seduce many innocent youths, who after they have wasted a long time, and are, as it were, immersed in this vile sink of barbarism, return to their homes, having learned nothing
save "Arguitur," "Respondetur," and "Quaeritur," and having for their Gods Tartaretus, and Versor, and Perversor, and Buridan and Bruxellensis and the like, differ not from the vulgar herd.

Nevertheless it is a strange thing for a mere student—a greenhorn—to know more of Aristotle than a candidate for a Bachelor's or Master's degree, who hath attended the courses, and is fully qualified. Moreover they are not respectful to the Magisters, and when they meet one they fail to touch their caps, as would be seemly, and they are perpetually to be found at that house you well wot of. Moreover they never hsten to the "Consequentias" of Marsilius, nor the "Suppositiones," nor the "Parva Logica"; so that it is not possible that they should be duly trained to take part in disputations. But let this pass. I must now tell you some news: Jacob Wimpheling, who is half a Reuchlinist, hath been roundly taken to task by a certain Monk, Paul Lang by name, who hath told him plainly that he hath not written the truth in a book of his intituled "De Integritate"—to wit, in saying that learning is not only to be found beneath a cowl. For Paul the Monk wrote another book to refute this, which was approved by the Chapter, or Synod, of the Order of St. Benedict at Reinhardtsbronn, in the year of our Lord 1509. It is fine Latin, withal—almost as good as Alexander's Doctrinale, it hath been said; and I rejoice greatly that such Latin is to be found among monks. They say themselves that it superlatively excelleth the style of Cicero—but this I scarcely believe, for that striketh a high note. Nevertheless it argueth learnedly against Wimpheling in verse, and in prose, and in rime; and it holdeth, rightly as I think, that all learning lieth under a cowl—that is, with the monks. For, to proceed from things small to great, the monks have written commentaries on grammatical rules, on Donatus, on Peter of Spain, upon the Physics and the Metaphysics and the Ethics, and have thus submerged them in their comments, and have become masters of all knowledge.

Yet, by your favour, I would fain distinguish. First, with regard to the word "cowled," for that is an equi-
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vocal term. First, as applied to the Bohemians, who go about with long hoods down to their middles, and yet have no learning, but, rather, heresy. Secondly, as applied to the Jews, who also are cowled, and yet are ignorant, for they are without the pale of the Church. Thirdly, as applied to Magister-nosters, who are illuminated— but not in the highest degree. Fourthly, as applied to monks; and they have knowledge supereminent, as you have.

I beseech you, therefore, aid that monk—for you also are of his party, being cowled after the third fashion—that he may defend his writings against Wimpheling. For I hear that Wimpheling hath many followers, and those at Strasburg were lately named to me. There is one Jakob Sturm, a noble, who is said to be a good Latinist; and there is Ottomar Nachtigall, who knoweth Greek as well as Reuchlin, and can quote from the Extra Decretum and the Digests and likewise from the Bible—which is not to be wondered at, seeing that he studied at Paris. Then there are Lucas Hackfurt and Johann Ruserus and Johann Witz and many others, all of whom desire to aid Wimpheling against the monks and to trounce them with their writings. They all declare that Paul is unsound in his views, and hath deviated from the Rules of his Order in nine particulars, and that he is a mischievous windbag, as Trithemius himself hath averred in a letter to Hieronymus Tungersheim of Ochsenfurt—and that it is a great shame for anybody to waste paper and ink, and time too, as he hath done. They also declare that St. Jerome once wrote to a monk as followeth: “Never let the Psalter depart from your hand or from before your eyes;” yet if this were true the prohibition would be binding continually and for ever. And it would follow that monks ought to do nothing save read the Psalter. This I am sure is untrue, for St. Jerome himself was a monk, and would not write against them. I lately heard a wondy long rigmarole from a disciple of Wimpheling. I said boldly to his face, “Your master, Wimpheling, erreth greatly, who hath written in opposition to the Abbot Trithemius, and against the monks, who are notable both for their learning and
their sanctity, and mightily useful: the Church's only pillars are the monks." Then quoth he, "I divide monks into three classes. The first are holy and useful, but they are in heaven. The second are neither profitable nor wholly useless—you will see them painted in the churches. The third are still alive, and they are mightily noxious and are by no means saints. They are as vain-glorious as any laymen. They take delight in storing up wealth and having fair ladies around them. Not long ago I was at Heidelberg; now there liveth near Heidelberg a great Abbot—a fat, surly rascal—and he drove out all the monks from St. Jacob's College, saying that he would brew fine broth for them, and naught beside. But they said that they believed that he acted thus—the good brother!—because the Count Palatine was about to introduce new methods, and that a Poet was coming to Heidelberg who would make the monks and other students talk the new-fangled Latin. And so the fat Abbot quickly perceived what the event of the jest would be; and, quoth he, 'My monks must not learn the new Latin, for then they would grow proud of knowing more than I, and I should cut a fine figure among them—like an overfed jackass in a rout of monkeys!'"

But of a truth this argument seemeth irregular, for it lacketh a pair of premises and therefore reacheth no conclusion.

I send you Paul's book, which you ought to have printed, for it containeth a store of good things in opposition to Wimpeling who assaileth the monks; but he will change his tune when he readeth that Christ was a monk—an Abbot, to wit—and St. Peter a prior, and Judas Iscariot a cellarer, and Philip a porter, and so of the rest according to sub et supra; all of which this illuminated and learned monk Paul Lang so masterly proveth, that Wimpeling and his disciples cannot open their lips against him. Yet a fautor of Wimpeling's withstood me to my face, and swore that the monks lied like so many scurvy tapsters who would fain make out that Christ was therefore a portentous animal—a cowled beast! And they cried out against me in His name. Then was I sore afraid,
and fell into such a pickle that I savoured ill in the nostrils of those who stood by. But, be this as it may, I firmly believe that sooner or later they will all stand dismayed by Paul's learning, and will say, "Of a truth the Devil hath brought this monk against us: who else can have instructed him thus canonically in all knowledge? How can this be saved by inspiration? He hath resided in no University, and is naught but a mere bejan; and nevertheless he is fit and more than fit to graduate Master—by the leave of our illustrious Magisters." Thomas Marner, himself a monk, and a right subtle Doctor, once solemnly declared in the pulpit that Christ our Lord was a monk—and powerfully argued thereon. But one of Wimpheling's disciples declared that he would not believe in Christ if he were a monk, and made the following verses:—

"In Christ himself beneath a cowl—
That cloak of guile—I'd not believe:
Let the S. Francis feigned at Berne
Show all how monkish wiles deceive!"

What skills it if he believe not? Then he will be a heretic like the rest of them who were condemned, with Renchlin, by Paris and Cologne and the other Universities.

Now I beseech you to imprint in the book the verses that follow, which I have made in praise of the book and its author Paul Lang the Monk. With great labour have I composed them, for the most part in the night-time when I lay in meditation on my bed, for then in my dreams I became, so to say, a poet, as you will now perceive:—

"This book, which worthless Wimpheling boldly baits,
Hath been by Paul miraculously wrought—
Langius, we mean, who with poetic art
And craft rhetorical hath soothly proved
That every Science lurketh 'neath a cowl:
Trithemius said the like, and Eberhard
De Campis, Volzius (Paul), and Schurer too;
Johann von Miltenberg, and Jacob Si—
Berti, and Roger who Sicamber hight—
All learned men, and hooded monks withal.
Now Jacob is o'erthrown, and crushed to earth
With Wimpheling, Gerbelins, and Bebel,
HERR VOLLWEIN

Sturmius and Spiegel, Nachtigall, and he
Of Rhenus named; Ruserus, Sapidus,
And Johann Guida, with Bathodius;
All bite the dust, and dare not 'Cuckoo!' cry.
And weltering thus, they have no leg to stand
Upon; no Greek or Poet can they find
Who dares to learned Langius answer make!'

Farewell, O man most illustrious, and mine own
right learned teacher! Hold me, in return, within
your heart, in that I thus perpetuate your fame world
without end.

From the Imperial City of Schenersheim, in the
High Street, where the swains make merry on a
Sunday, when their hearts o'erflow. In the Year of
the World one.

LXIV

[香BER VOLLWEIN VON GROSSFLA-
SCHENBERG to the Reverend Magister Herr
Ortwin Gratianus endless greetings]

Reverend Sir, although, as it hath been told
me, you know naught of secular Latin—for the
which I highly esteem you—and you pay no heed to
those high-sounding words that the poets delight in,
nevertheless you know well enough where to lie a-night,
as the Wise Man saith in his Proverbs.

And it is no great matter to us what those innov-
ators in Latin do, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam and
Johann Reuchlin, neither heed I them. It concerneth
not the essence of Holy Scripture—even if they and
the rest are ever ready to attack the old Theologians
with that Literature of theirs. I know not how they
presume to ever be mingling that heretical literature
with the New Testament and the works of St. Jerome;
notwithstanding that Paul saith that the Greeks are
always liars, and hence it seems to me—saving our
exalted Magisternosters' presence—that their literature
is nothing else than a lie. Hearken now to my syl-
logism: whosoever desireth to overturn Holy Scripture
with lies is a heretic; therefore—but they know well

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enough what followeth, and it would be uncivil for me to openly prove them to be heretics. Oh, if they but knew the subtlety that I possess they would not shew themselves before my face. But keep silence till the end, and then it will be perceived in what key the tune goeth.

No longer can I put off telling you the news. Lately, I know not when, I sat at a feast, and there were many vain-glorious youths present; and certain folk from other parts joined in the symposium—one from England, another from Strasburg, another from Vienna, another (Angelinus by name) from Wimpfen, another from Rome, who was well nigh half a Curialist; and there was that mighty chatter of many mouths, that you well wot of. At last we fell to discourse upon that business of Reuchlin's. And one fellow set himself in opposition to me when he heard I was no good Reuchlinist. Quoth he: "Let no Abecedarian Theologian from Cologne come across my path, else will I geld him—Magister Ortwin in particular."

Thereupon, I held my peace. Then spake one who was out at elbows, and who had failed in many an attempt at the Curia to gain a benefice, and was at loggerheads with most of the Curialists; and many a strange thing he said, as followeth:

"By my soul, I have oftentimes marvelled that those fellows in great hoods who call themselves Theologians, and who abound in that city where are printed Questions on Donatus according to the use of St. Thomas, and Grammatical Rules according to the use of the ancients, with this verse:

"'Accipias tanti doctoris dogmata sancti,'" why the monks, I say, who ever yearn to declare others heretics, and stir us up against them, and hold an inquisition concerning heretical pravity on them—yet hold so many benefices. one, six; another, ten; another, twenty or more; and heap up so much money, and sideboards with bottles and goblets—as though they were the sons of counts or princes—and keep harlots or concubines within their doors at a great cost, with chains on their necks, and rings on their fingers,
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HERR VOLLWEIN

and mantles fit for the wives of knights. Sometimes one of them holdeth three Canonries at one and the same time, and putteth dues in his purse from all three; whence he is able to enjoy many a drinking bout. And yet he can stand in but one choir and not in the others. So in some choirs there is no canon, and no substitute to praise God and pray for the quick and the dead. Can this be right? Wherefore are they not inquisitioned, and asked before a cloud of notaries and witnesses—as of yore at Mainz—'What do you believe? Yes, or no? Do you believe, or do you not believe? What is your belief concerning the sacraments in the Church of God? Tell us, how many are the Sacraments? What do you believe in your heart concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist? Are the body and blood of Christ present in it? If you believe this, why then after you have read mass—if, forsooth, you read it once in the year—do you go home, and consort with a concubine who hath the manners and aspect of a harlot, at the table or in your chamber? Tell us if you believe the fruit of the mass to be so great and so pleasing to God as that which abideth in the Decretals and the Tractates of the Theologians. Wherefore do ye hold so many benefices, enough to maintain five or six devout priests, who would joyfully read masses, and who with a willing heart would preach to the people and the clergy, and are able to give good counsel for the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the liberty of the Church—who would chide evil-doers, and beseech God for our Lord the Pope, for the King, for the Bishops and other Christian folk—and offer that prayer for Peace and Prosperity that in the Low Mass standeth after the Sanctus and the Te igitur clementissime Pater? If you believe that so much good proceedeth from the Mass both to quick and dead, wherefore do you not give to others of your superfluities, and hand them over to other good, devout, and learned men—that God might hence be exalted and the souls of the dead might be the more speedily redeemed from the fires of Purgatory; and that the wrath of God against us might be stayed, so that he might no longer afflict us

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from on high with sore blains, nor smite our vines and our corn with hail and frost, so that the times of so great famine in the world should cease? If, on the other hand, ye do not believe these great benefits to flow from the Mass, then are ye, by the Lord, suspect of heresy; yea, ye are more assuredly heretics than Wessulius and Doctor Reuchlin."

Lo, Reverend Magister Ortwin, I have thought it well to tell you all this—that you may see how that all men hold themselves on Reuchlin's side against you. By my conscience I believe the Devil himself favoureth this Reuchlin, and we are finely bemired. And now I commend myself to you.

From Speier—where strange scandals are spread abroad concerning us; for all the Reuchlinists declare that the Colognese are naught but raw tyros. Nevertheless:

Of pride in you I have a heap,
For you are patient as a sheep;
And all revilings you endure
Like simple priest in country cure.

LXV

MAGISTER BARTHEL KUTZ to the learned Master of unlawful Arts, Ortwin Gratianus, Theologian of Cologne

RECEIVE my salutations, if you will, most learned Herr Magister Ortwin. Somebody, once on a time, told me, in some place or other, that you were very sick, and that when you are sick you always demean yourself as though you were crazy. This I commend in you, for it suiteth well with one who hath skill in unlawful arts—to wit how to conjure the devil into a glass, or elsewhere—for such are, almost without exception, oftentimes crazy. It is meet too that all such should likewise be bastards—and that you are one was told me by a dear friend—for they are the better tools where-with the devil can work for his ends.

The devil, forsooth, doth not yield himself so readily
to the legitimate as to bastards, who are peculiarly fitted for him. And if only you were a monk you would possess every qualification for this art, and you would be an egregious instrument of the devil—but I know not whether you are a monk. If such you be, then I should be right glad. Monks above all men have this gift—that they are very obstinate, and whatever they take in hand that they carry through—as I lately heard from one Paul Lang who has written a most excellent treatise, with verses, against Jacob Wimpheling and has flouted him finely. They say of that same Paul—saving your reverence—that he has run out of the cloister in nine diverse ways.

And what none else attempteth to do, he doeth. I believe too that he is crazy at times, and is base-born. The third condition abideth in him. I rejoice greatly that he also resembleth you who have dealings with the devil—but, let this pass, with all respect. I have here a notable necromantic formula that I would gladly communicate to you openly—but I am afraid lest when you are crazy your servant may find this letter and read it, and then the devil would fetch both him and me. Therefore I will proceed according to my wont, for when I deal with secret matters I write upon paper without ink, and then none save a bastard can read it, and this I have determined to do in the present case. The formula runneth thus:—

, , !

You, I know, will understand this, and it is the very truth, but I warn you, and conjure you by the virtue of all the forbidden Sciences not to impart it to a single soul. And now farewell; from Ruprechtsau: in a little while you may expect somewhat more, and weightier, from me if you relish these presents.
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LXVI

Magister Abram Isaaq, of the stem of Aminadab, sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius

Exalted Master of Arts good and evil; may it please your worship to know that I will now fulfil the promise that I promised at your instance, when I departed from Cologne—namely, that I would fail not to send you all the news.

Before all things you were desirous that I should notify you concerning that crafty Jurist, Johann Reuchlin, with whom Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten hath sharp contention concerning the Faith at the Roman Court. All these matters will I unfold, out of the love that I bear you.

In the first place, then—to relate all things from the foundation of the world—you must know that having set out for Rome in the dog-days, as you will remember, I met with no great misadventure on the way, save exceeding great thirst when I traversed the lofty mountains of Allgäu with my comrades.

When I reached Rome I engaged myself as varlet to a Cardinal, hard by the Campo dei Fiori; him I served with great diligence for eight months, to gain a cure of souls at Kelbertzhausen in the diocese of Vollenberg. Now, with this object, I obtained a brief with the seals of twelve Cardinals, and his Holiness prefixed his own seal for the firmer security. Thereupon with great joy I set forth to take possession—when, lo! the Incumbent was not dead after all! Then cried I in great wrath, "A thousand devils fly away with him! Am I to lose my money?" 'Twas a mighty poor prebend, too. An I had known this, I would never have left Rome. I reckoned that it might bring me in good twenty gulden every year. You well know that I should not think of residing in such a place. I would far rather have a prebend near home at Deventer of a hundred gulden, with a simple handmaid of twelve, than one of thirty gulden up
the country with a shrewish gammer of sixty. But it is a sinecure benefice that would suit me best of all.

Now I must tell you in the next place, Herr Ortwin, that I could not get back immediately to Rome by reason of the war in Italy: naked scoundrels were running about in every direction; and if one of them had taken my clothes, then should I have lost all my poverty, as the old woman said when she broke her eggs on Heilbronn bridge. So it came to pass that I abode for two months at Wimpfen-am-Thai with some jolly fellows from Rome. And there I learned a game of Johann Grayfer—who is mighty liberal, for he once gave six comrades, whereof I was one, seven eggs to eat, and no fewer. This game is named in the Italian tongue Trent uno. I never saw it at Rome, but this is in no wise strange, for I had always to be dancing attendance on the mule in the stables.

You shall hear how we spent our time: We often went to Wimpfen-am-Berge, where the best of good fellows foregather. There was one among them, Gregory Spiegel by name, who is a great authority de modo supponendi. He expoundeth this as clearly as you were wont to unfold Alexander's Third Part, concerning Versification.

So liberally spake he concerning that matter that carnal stings assailed me. Much did I learn from him—saving your presence, 'tis but Nature's province. I would give, pardy! a carlin for you to master such amicabilities, if it were but on account of Frau Pfefferhorn, since I well know she affecteth you above all the Theologians of Cologne. In good sooth, that Art which you once showed me in a little book written backwards is of no avail.

But to proceed; they once asked me over the wine—seeing that I was from the Curia—how matters stood in the Cause of the Faith between Johann Reuchlin and the Colognese. Quoth I, "I fear me greatly that Johann Reuchlin, good man, is too poor to bring the case to an end. The Preachers can go further with their sacks of cheese than a lone man with his money." Then said one: "Sonty! What villains are those
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same cheese-collecting monks! Not long ago Brother N., of the monastery here, came to my cottage, and would fain have forced my sister. He pursued her up the steps into the house, and threw her down, and would have worked his will, but my sister cried 'Herr N.! Herr N.! desist, or I will scream that all the world shall hear, and then will the Devil shend you.' 'Body o' me!' cried he, 'Cry not out, and I will give you handsel, if it cost me half a gulden!'. Then came her mother, and he stinted. (His foiled fury! dangerous as a harrow-tine under a clout!)." Then said another who sat near, "If the culHon had treated my sister thus, I would have stoned him, and sent the other monks pickled cod for feast-day." Then replied the other: "Pardy! I can forgive them, for they are ever cloistered. I trow an ass with a kirtle on would scarce find security—how then a wench?" Another straightway swore that Johann Reuchlin was minded to put down in a book all the evil deeds of the monks throughout Germany. This he will present to his Holiness with these words: "Wherefore doth not Hoogstraten cast out this licentiousness from among his brethren?" The fellow would have it, too, that monks savour like sweating he-goats, and that in his country they have tainted all the trulls, so that upon occasion he might believe a cowl was at hand, by reason of that odour of sanctity.

Now you, Magister Ortwin, are their fautor: Take heed lest, to mend matters, there be added to the Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, an Inquisitor of Libidinous Depravity. Let them at all events work their iniquities prively in their cells, like their betters, where none can see; all might then go well, but open vice is a scandal to the whole Order. Beware lest evil come upon you.

After all, I have again betaken myself to the Court, and await Heaven's favour. Farewell.

LXVII

BROTHER NOLLERIUS STECH of Calabria to Magister Ortwin Gratius

My devout prayers I desire you, by way of greeting. Your Theological Excellency knoweth that I am as it were a pilgrim from Mount Sinai—but you know not of the ills that I have suffered since I departed from you at Cologne. Though it would be tedious to tell you all, yet have I no other friend remaining to me to whom I may pour forth my woes, save you.

When I open my lips in the monastery they forthwith cry, "A pretty monk art thou, who desirest to lead an easy life!" As for the ungodly, it is not so with them. I cannot guess what may be the root of it all, unless it be the ill-fortune of Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten in consuming so large a sum of money in the Roman Curia on behalf of the Christian Faith that Johann Reuchlin the worthless hath overthrown in his Augenspiegel. All our monasteries, I trow, ought to send him money, for he must needs be liberal and give bribes at large to the Cardinals, that they may give judgment in his favour, and not for Johann Reuchlin. Hence it cometh that the Superiors abate our wine, notwithstanding that Solomon saith in Proverbs xii. 1, "Song, woman, and wine rejoice the heart of man!" As for song, I am for ever at it—chanting and howling Psalms in the Choir, so that it hath neither grown rare nor precious. Concerning women, it is a grief for me to speak, for I never see any, save when I go to market with our steward to buy eggs. Even when I go to the villages round about to collect turnips and greens, and the flesh assaileth me with a wench hard by, she will have naught to do with me. Now therefore that our wine is minished, what solace is left us? Would that we had but one half of the comforts of life enjoyed by other orders—or by the priests with us who are vowed to the Holy Ghost. With this order, I think, you are well acquainted; they wear a double white cross on
their habit, and are not all shaven and shorn as we are; and when any relaxation is taken away from them—for instance, if their wine be docked for some transgression—then have they other solace, for they can procure doxies by the aid of lame Johann the wood-cutter who crawleth on his hands and knees. You may say, "Such a dissolute life is not permitted to the Sanctispirituales." But I tell you that I have heard for sooth that their Superior—who, though old, lame, grey, and bleary-eyed, is nevertheless avid in that matter, but not always the man he was—is wont to keep a laced-mutton in his study; and when he casteth her aside he provideth her with a husband, and giveth her a good dowry out of the treasury of the Holy Spirit, which never runneth low, for it abideth by the mere grace of the Spirit. Then he getteth another wench and doeth as I have said, and thus the order increaseth and multiplieth in secret. And now will I cite a proverb: "Whenever the Abbot—that is the Father Superior—throweth the dice, the friars can play." That is, since our old prelates are so licentious, and lead such loose lives, it followeth that we underlings may imitate them. This is a sound conclusion, for I have seen in a tractate "De Suppositionibus" that "Prelatus supponit personaliter," but, according to Marsilius, "Supponit inferius materialiter." And now to the main point: I would that if Doctor Jakob van Hoogstraten cannot win his cause against Johann Beuchlin, he would obtain for us a milder Rule, such as that aforesaid. For the flesh will be served, and I know full well that my days will be short in the land if I may not at some time or other cast out the old leaven that I have derived from those cheeses. Pardon me in that I speak to you cordially, that is out of my inmost heart. I am ever in dread lest that Cause should have a bad end—as did the Cause at Berne. You well know what I mean.

Herr Magister-noster Johann Eimerich desireth you many greetings. He hath become a very holy man. He is now our preacher, and everybody praiseth him. He is mighty fine at signs and symbols: in the year of Our Lord 1516 he preached on the Passion, and he took with him a staff into the pulpit, and when he read
Pilate's sentence he drew forth the staff from his cowl, and brake it in halves, as though it were a judge's wand. It was a dreadful sight to behold, and the old women wept as bitterly as did Peter when he heard the cock crow near the fire. Farewell, and commend me to the Doctor when he returneth from Rome.

LXVIII

JOHANN TEXTORIS sendeth his own Peter Schweinkoncius as many greetings as there are drops in the sea, and atoms in the sun

I MUST tell you, dearly beloved friend, that I have received a letter in the which you write to me concerning Erasmus of Rotterdam, desiring to learn what I think of him.

Now, you must know of a truth that in the days of my youth I read many works in humane letters—and as for Stephanus Fliscus, and the Graecist, and Sinthen, and the Facetus, and the Floretus, and those ancient poets—I knew them all by rote, at my fingers' ends—and in proof thereof I compiled a book styled "Florista," in the which you may discern my learning and much else—if I desired to make boast thereof. I tell you this merely that you may not think I lie, and to show you that I am well able to judge concerning this Erasmus I have also examined Reuchlin's Augenspiegel, and his Gabala, as you are aware.

Now, not to be tedious, I avouch that I have no good opinion of Erasmus. He is an enemy of the monks: he speaketh much ill of them; he saith they are clumsy jackasses, who hate polite letters, and they can do naught save guzzle, and swill, and mumble psalms.

Yet he lieth in his throat when he saith these things. He himself is the jackass. He is a sound Latinist, and writeth fair Latin—but he knoweth naught else. He hath written many books—notably the Ship of Fools and a commentary on Jerome—and in these he doeth
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naught but belabour the Regulars. I warn him, pardy, that if he refrain not his hands from them we will do to him as to Reuchlin, though he were in a hundred ways favoured by the Pope and King Charles. We have seen many men as arrogant as he, and yet we have suppressed them.

I will tell you somewhat—but blab not thereof, or the devil may confound me. Doctor Jacob van Hoogstraten and all the Doctors in Cologne and Cambridge are now examining his commentary on Jerome, and I hear it will go woundily hard with him. I would not stand in his shoes for a hundred florins, for they say that he hath sowed many tares there, thinking that no one would mark it. But the Divines are not such fools as that—they know well enough where the snake lurks in the grass, as Alexander hath it. I cannot call to mind all that they found, but I remember somewhat; he declareth that Saint Jerome was not a Cardinal—and this is high treason; he is heterodox concerning St. George and St. Christopher, and relics of Saints, and candles, and the Sacraments of Confession; moreover in many passages he speaketh blasphemy, inasmuch as he speaketh against the Holy Doctor and the Subtle Doctor. He declareth that their Theology is nothing worth. Now all these things the Magisters have collected into a volume, and they will undo him as they did Johann Wessalia in Mainz. And if he barketh at them, and writeth invectives against them, they will wait till he is dead, and then they will condemn all his works; this, forsooth, is the Magisters’ design.

As you ever joy in hearing the news, I must tell you that the Minorites now have a General of Observance, a privilege that they purchased from Rome for sixteen thousand ducats. The nuns of St. Clara, of the Minorite Order, are in parlous fear lest they should be reformed, and they have fled into the country and lie miserably on bare boards. Some say that Dr. Murner hath had to do with them—but this cannot be true, for he is an emasculate capon. But of other Regulars I have my doubts, since they thus pursue them. A curialist hath just died in the country who
held twenty-two fat livings, and the Poets thereabouts have composed many verses concerning him. This is all I know—except that may the Lord preserve you until a man can outrun a hound. Farewell.

From Strasburg.

LXIX

MARKULPH SCHULZ to Johann Bimperlebumpum of Rorbach

SALUTATIONS infinite and eternal. Beloved Johann, you lately sent me news that was but ill hearing—to wit that Johann Reuchlin hath gained for himself great renown among those Poets of his by writing a book intituled "Gabellistica," or "Gabala," and that he is in high favour with the Pope. I would fain know what "Gabala" may mean, but though I have long sought for it in my Catholicon and Gemma Gemmarum, as well as in Briton, I cannot discover its signification. I addressed a letter thereon to Magister Ortwin, but he hath sent no reply. Nevertheless the Divines have held a great council, and have examined that book, and—as I heard from them at a rouse one night, when we drank so deep that each had to pay three groschen for his shot, and I had no more money in my fob—it will of a surety go ill with him: for in that book he hath set down certain passages in opposition to the Holy Doctor and his disciples, and he saith that the son of God is made of the Father. It containeth much else, and perverteth the Theological terms "beget" and "make," and others likewise; and it payeth no heed to the arguments and questions and sophisms of the Holy Doctor. Therefore are they resolved to burn that book—because they declare they cannot understand it, and what they do not understand, that they burn. Q.E.D.

For every Doctor of Theology is a rabbi and a light of the World.

The book moreover containeth many sayings of Pythagoras, who was a necromancer; but necromancy
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is an unlawful art—as saith LXVI, Quest. X, Chap. O, and in the Canon beginning "O ye asses!" and the Holy Doctor agreeth therewith—as well as Aristotle in the Ninth of his Physics, "Of Ignorance." There is moreover in the book much Hebrew, which the Divines cannot read, and much Greek; but inasmuch as they pay no heed to vanities such as these, but meditate on higher things, they have appointed Johann Pfefferkorn—Christian, yet half Hebrew, for he is oft ebrious—to examine it, lest mayhap poison should lurk beneath the honey.

But of this anon, for we shall know all about it come Frankfort fair, and then we can discuss these matters with Doctor Ortwin, who goeth thither, as the emissary of the Divines, to buy any new books exposed for sale there, that they may examine them.

I have none other news to tell you, save that a Doctor of the Order of Preachers in Strasburg, who was always called Doctor Jesus, hath fled from the Convent, and many evil things are said concerning him of which I dare not speak, and many scurrilous scribblers write verses to vilify him, and drop them in the market-place and in the church. This disquieteth me; would that they would refrain themselves, lest they fall into disfavour with the Preachers. Amongst others, I picked up the lampoon following:—

"Thief, slanderer, sink of crimes unspeakable—
Worthy of life-long fetters, or the stake—
Hater of pious priests, effeminate,
Thy coward soul doth e'en in exile quake,
A holy abbess victim of thy snares—
Satan's best tool a monk doth ever make!"

See, now, what these gallows-birds are doing! They have respect for no man, and by the Lord, the cause of this is none other—"non facit hoc alius," as Alexander very truly putteth it—than that evil habit of theirs of writing and making verses concerning everything that happeneth at Strasburg. Anon I will write to you more fully concerning this matter.

From Schlettstadt.
SUCH wondrous boasts and such soaring scurrilities, Herr Ortwin, have I never heard in my whole life as those put forth by yourself and the Doctors of Cologne—saving your presence—against that most honourable and learned of men, Herr Johann Reuchlin. Nevertheless when I heard thereof great wonder possessed me—seeing that you are all double-headed asses, and natural philosophers, to wit born fools, “zwanzig zentner über einen tollen Fantasten”—that you strive so meanly and so scurvily to assail men so pious and learned. Moreover I marvelled greatly who taught you so craftily to pervert and falsify the pious opinions of such an upright man. At last I concluded in my mind that it could be none other than one sprung from the seed of Judas—like father like son—and of such is Johann Pfeflóerkorn. Small wonder that ye are all friends of this man, for “birds of a feather flock together.”

To the gallows then with you all, to a man, whither the hangman and his men will hale you, while you howl “Pray for us!” Now inasmuch as all these my words are very sooth, I address them to you privately and especially, and you may impart them to the rest who sit with you in the seat of the scornful, as saith the Psalmist. But let not these matters be published abroad, lest all the righteous discern what manner of men ye are.

Nevertheless, by all the saints! a great dread falleth upon me; a fear lest the printer hath stolen a copy of my letter—for, if this be so, God help you! Then I can in no wise hinder it. Yet will I give you good
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counsel. Down on your marrow-bones, and pray without ceasing for eight days, and invoke, fasting, St. Helena who recovered the true cross. In like manner may I recover that letter. Then once more will you abide in security.

Lo, all these things have I done out of brotherly love toward you—for we are brothers all. Farewell.

From Heidelberg; at the house of the Lame Man at Leipsic, who heedeth not though a man's nose be shut in the postern. Would that you were with him. You would have no need of spectacles, for 'tis said he supplieth them without charge.
APPENDICES

I

The more important variants of the text are given below. The five editions prior to that of 1556 are denoted by [A] [B] [C] [D] and [E] respectively. Readings to which no letters are appended are those of the Leipsic text of 1864 (Böcking).

VOLUMEN PRIMUM

I. 32, (d.) domini; 39, Theodoricus [C]; 74, metamorphosi; 86, qui.
II. 22, (quai) quid [B]; 73, [A, B, C] omit pati; 76, Bernardi.
III. 18, (ibi) hic [B]; 50, D; for dominus [A, B, C].
IV. 38, verumtamen.
VIII. 49, [C] omits ita.
IX. 58, aliquando esse [B].
XI. 39, sorori; 59, discrissit per frustra [C]; 89, quodlibeta; 94, Prophyrro [C].
XII. 38, consilium, quia concilium [A, B, C]; 41, permittit.
XIII. 73, propinaverunt.
XIV. 9, notus for profundus [B]; 36, [C] omits non.
XVI. 19, sed.
XVII. 64, [B] omits optime.
XX. 1, Lucibulauius [B], lucibulairus [C].
XXII. 48, Psalmista; 71, dixit [B].
XXIV. 39, bonam.
XXV. 19, sed.
XXVIII. 54, animi [C], animae.
XXX. 6, humilima, sic; 55, Quoniam; 62, quando.
XXXI. 20–21, et in, et in; 28, praecipue; 64, (desc.) for decisione, but sic in all edd.; 70, quae.
XXXII. 36, Argentina.
XXXIII. 14, sedit; 20, mecum: credatis; 68, ana drachmas .iiij.
XXXIV. 65, Catarinam, jactavit; 68, sic quod quando.
XXXV. 19, Francia.
XXXVI. 9, frasca.
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XXXVII. 29, Böcking suggests et simul, or etiam; 42, domini Ioannis Pfefférkorn.

XXXVIII. 82, virtus; 87, oratores isti.

XLII. 58, In [A], and, with variations of punctuation and capitals only, in [B], there follows:

"Et sic est finis epistolorum obscuros virorum Deo gratia eiusque sancte matri. In Venetia impressum in impressoria Aldi Minutii: Anno supra: etiam causatum est vt in alii, ne quis audeat post nos impressare per decennium per illustrissimum principem Venetianorum."

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XLIII. 29, medicinali. Ex; 36, splendidissimos, et; 48, ore. Sic; 57, finivisset.

XLIII.-IV. 13, queris [C]; 29, vobis unam; 37, 65, 102, Lipsig; 151, studerent: quare.


XLVIII. 58, invidia: ipse.

VOLUMEN ALTERUM

I. 24, responso primo in fine; 26, scribitur; 43, Micheae; 51, Regum; 73, Carminam [E].

II. 36, saeculares. In the Eds. from 1556 to 1830 the order of these lines is changed from (abcdefg . . .) to (aceg . . . bdf . . .). Lines 52–54 are printed as prose in [D] and [E].

IV. 15, scribere.

V. 21, [E] omits alibi; et sicuit; 36, De Sententia et Re judicata; 39, de officio Iudicis delegati.

VII. 46, respondebit; 49, for occultarent, or occulerent (Böcking); 78, Iohannem Reuchlin.

VIII. 20, Gregorius; 22, peccat in grat. [E]; 26, dominationem vestram; 43, studeo; jan; 62, Florentiae.

IX. 9, [E] omits sic; 17, vos iterum; 20, [E] omits et . . . quia; 61, Böcking suggests fuisset for fecisset; 115, quoddam; 119, Ulrichus; 186, pritschen [E].

X. 8, nondum; 46, Colonensis; 49, inmatriculatus.

XI. 7, meam; Dominus; 54, facultati; 58, quae.

XII. 22, Permittatis; 38, [E] omits assessores; 71, ivimus; 90, Inspruck; 94, Insprucken; 113, [D] omits tunc; 120, [D] omits words in brackets; 142, Carmelitas, Baptistam Mantuanum; 174, quae; 189, Quando. 540
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XIII. 15, membrum; 30, ipsae; 46, disconvenientia; 55, quatuor.
XIV. 10, plebanus; 30, minus; 81, majestas.
XV. 21, presunam; 28, Sapientiam; 45, quae.
XVI. 24, Haleces [E]; 39, quae.
XVII. 28, Sapientiam; 45, quae.
XVIII. 24, Haleces [E]; 39, quae.
XIX. 1, Fredericus; 20, volo. Dixit.
XX. 7, confundet; 38, Theoalogos; 52, capitis, sicut.
XXI. 4, Margarethae; 27, tales scandalizationes.
XXII. 36, plontzgen; 52, suuni, id est.
XXIII. 8, Rhomae; 17, Artium; 32, praevalet.
XXIV. 7, Christianam; 15, probus, et.
XXV. 10, aliquando; 38, Oderani.
XXVI. 6, eas; 50, dei, id est; 51, Christus; 54, Rhomana [E].
XXVIII. 3, Venerabilis [E]; 34, hic; 59, col. i.; 81, Christum
83, Pfefferkorn; 114, [D] omits modo; 157, [D] alone has fecit; 169, Chrisogoni; 190, nimis [D] [E], for minus; 260, comburere.
XXIX. 9, Gelterszheim.
XXX. 16, libros; 22, Parrhisienses; 36, Oculare; 49, scilicet Ioachimus; 51, Ioannes.
XXXI. 2, Daventriensi; 4, cordialiter; 22, est.
XXXII. 10, Dominus Magister.
XXXIII. 9, Valentinum; 10, Petrum; 11, Licentiatum; 21, Bertram.
XXXIV. 60, Pfefferkorn.
XXXV. 22, amantius; 25, Alexandrum; 37, subsannavit; 63, Legat prius [E]; 67, omnem.
XXXVI. 19, Sapientia. Praeterea; 31, sesquipedali.
XXXVIII. 3, interrogans; 13, Minoribus; 22, Salomonis; 35, amicabiliter [E].
XXXIX. 1, Conradus Strildriot [E]; 2, Gratio Salutem; 20, rubrae; 39, Böcking proposes id est before quod; 55, quae; 59, Datum Romae.
XL. 10, tamen; 28, dominum magistrum nostrum.
XLI. 9, hebes added in [E]; 23, casus, .
XLI. 20, Sed ponamus [E]; 38, quae; 51, sepe et: [D].
XLII. 56, respondet; 63, praedicandi: ib. , movendo; 74, tE [D]; 95, praedictum; 97, darent.
XLIV. 13, perfectus, (Böcking suggests profectus); 30, rubicata, ita.

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XLV. 7, artibus; tunc; 27, [E] omits vel sic; 31, Proverbiorum.

XLVI. 1, Unckenbunck [E]; 41, bacualii; 42, sexaginta; 46, si, for sic in [D] [E]; 50, novos; 82, etiam ego; 96, pareant [E].

XLVII. 5, Michaelis; 43, fide; 65, ignem, ita; 77, grammatici; 90, Val. D. S. [E].

XLVIII. 47, Cepas [E].

XLIX. 21, comburere; 22, autenticabit; 32, [D] omits quod.

L. 6, Iohannis; 12, sunt; 25, eum. Videatis; 30, fecibus; 39, quadam; 46, originali; 57, Bohemiam; 62, id est; 73, eo. Tunc; 87, quales; 94, tractaverunt; 118, qui; 120, dilacerabunt; 122, sordidos; 126, humiliter.

LI. 24, Corinna; 35, Wimphelingus.

LII. 1, Henricus [E]; 29, corio.

LIII. 12, Böcking suggests praesentaverunt; 15, Fratrem; 21, haereticae pravitatis; 69, contra.

LIV. 1, Guilhelmus [E]; 25, Lovanienses; 38, fecerunt; 40, mendacium; 43, criminius.


LVI. 2, [E] has Gratio Salutem Plurima. Dicit. Ma., taking the last words from the end of Ep. L V.; 5, opinionem; 11, etenim; 30, [D] omits est; 46, Ingelstat [E].

LVII. 14, scribit [D] [E]; 32, Böcking suggests voluerunt; 39, [D] omits autem; 45, querunt [D] [E]; 82, mittunt.

LIX. 2, Salutem; 28, quo [D] [E]; 46, Melanchthon; 47, Gerbellius; 50, [D] omits autem.

LX. 25, ob [D].

LXI. 8, quae; 14, triticum, insti; 26, trufator; 28, 32, Grachis; 54, presbiter; 57, audacter; 78, respondendo [D].

LXII. 38, quatuor; 52, docet [E].

LXIII. 46, prava [E]; 55, approbatus; 87, Böcking suggests et est; 101, sauctus [E]; 132, novum for nunc; 158, tantum; 159, quis; 175, credere; 189, Schurerius.

LXIV. 21, scilicet; 87, pater.

LXVI. 16, quando; 53, iinus [E].

LXVII. 22, primo Proverbiorum; 71, dominus.

LXVIII. 38, in loco.

LXIX. 24, [E] omits non; 29, asini.

LXX. 19, quam hoc, first inserted in ed. of 1599; 29, quod; 44, accommodat.
The following non-classical words, occurring in the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, are not included in Du Cange's Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis (Niort, 1883-87).

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(Crinisatus, Du C.).
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(Dapere, dapare, Du C.).
Descisione, i. 37.
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