OPERA OMNIA DESIDERII ERASMI

OPERA OMNIA

DESIDERII ERASMI

ROTERODAMI

RECOGNITA ET ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRVCTA
NOTISQVE ILLVSTRATA

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ELSEVIER

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NOVVM TESTAMENTVM
AB ERASMO RECOGNITVM
III

EPISTOLAE APOSTOLICAE (PRIMA PARS)

ed. Andrew J. Brown

PREFACE

This thirty-third volume in Erasmus' *Opera omnia* (*ASD*) is the third within 'ordo' VI, that is, the 'ordo' of the New Testament and the Annotations; the *Paraphrases* belong to 'ordo' VII. The division into 'ordines' – each 'ordo' being devoted to a specific literary or thematic category – was laid down by Erasmus himself for the posthumous publication of his works (see *General introduction*, *ASD* I, pp. x, xvii–xviii, and C. Reedijk, *Tandem bona causa triumphat. Zur Geschichte des Gesamtwerkes des Erasmus von Rotterdam*. Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel, XVI, Basel/Stuttgart, 1980, p. 12 sqq., 21–22).

The present volume (tom. VI, 3, edited by Andrew J. Brown, London) contains the third part of Erasmus' edition of the *Nouum Testamentum* (Greek and Latin text), to wit Romans–2 Thessalonians.

The other books of the *Nouum Testamentum* will be published in *ASD* VI, 1 and VI, 4. Tom. VI, 2 (John and Acts, ed. Andrew J. Brown) was published in 2001.

ASD VI, 5–10 will comprise the Annotations on the New Testament, of which already have been published: tom. VI, 5 (Annot. on Matthew-Luke, ed. P.F. Hovingh, 2000); VI, 6 (Annot. on John and Acts, ed. P.F. Hovingh, 2003); VI, 8 (Annot. on 1–2 Corinthians, ed. M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk, 2003). The order of publication depends on when the respective volumes are finished.

With regard to the edition of 'ordo' VI the Editorial Board is much indebted to Professor H.J. de Jonge (Leiden) for his expert advice.

The Editorial Board and the editor of the present volume are grateful to all libraries that kindly put books, photostats, microfilms, and bibliographical material at their disposal.

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NOVVM TESTAMENTVM
AB ERASMO RECOGNITVM
III

EPISTOLAE APOSTOLICAE (PRIMA PARS)

edited by

ANDREW J. BROWN

London

University Library, Basle, ms. A.N. III. 11 (= codex 2817), Greek, 11th-century, Pauline Epistles accompanied by the commentary of Ps.-Oecumenius: f. 314r, containing 1 *Tim.* 2,1-3. This manuscript was frequently cited in Erasmus' Annotations, and seems to have been the main basis for his 1516 edition of the Greek text, in this part of the New Testament. A Latin inscription in the lower margin of this page, perhaps inserted in the autumn of 1515, mentions the name of one of Erasmus' assistants, "Gerbellius" (= Nikolaus Gerbel: see the Introduction, p. 5).
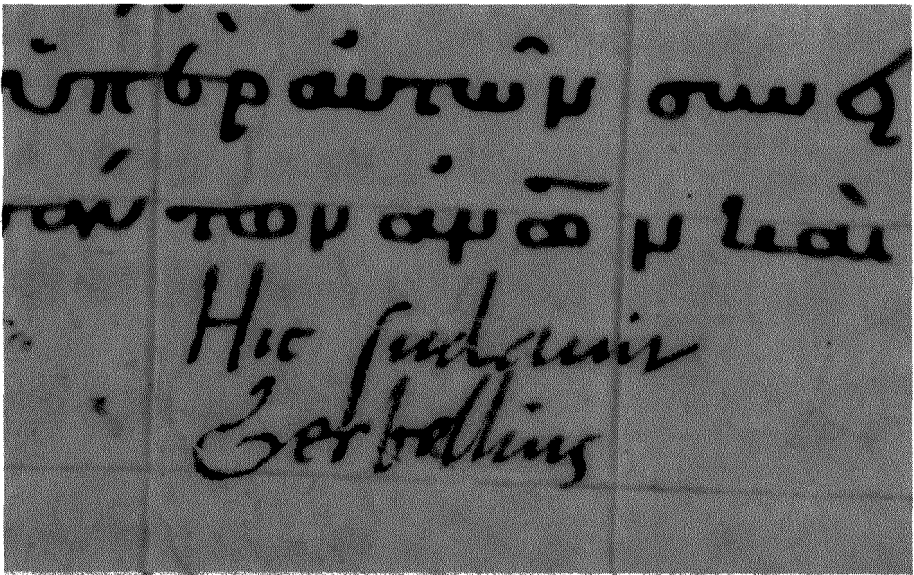
University Library, Basle, ms. A.N. III. 11 (= codex 2817): f. 314r, detail from the lower margin, showing the Latin inscription, "Hic sudauit Gerbellius" ("Here laboured [Nikolaus] Gerbel").
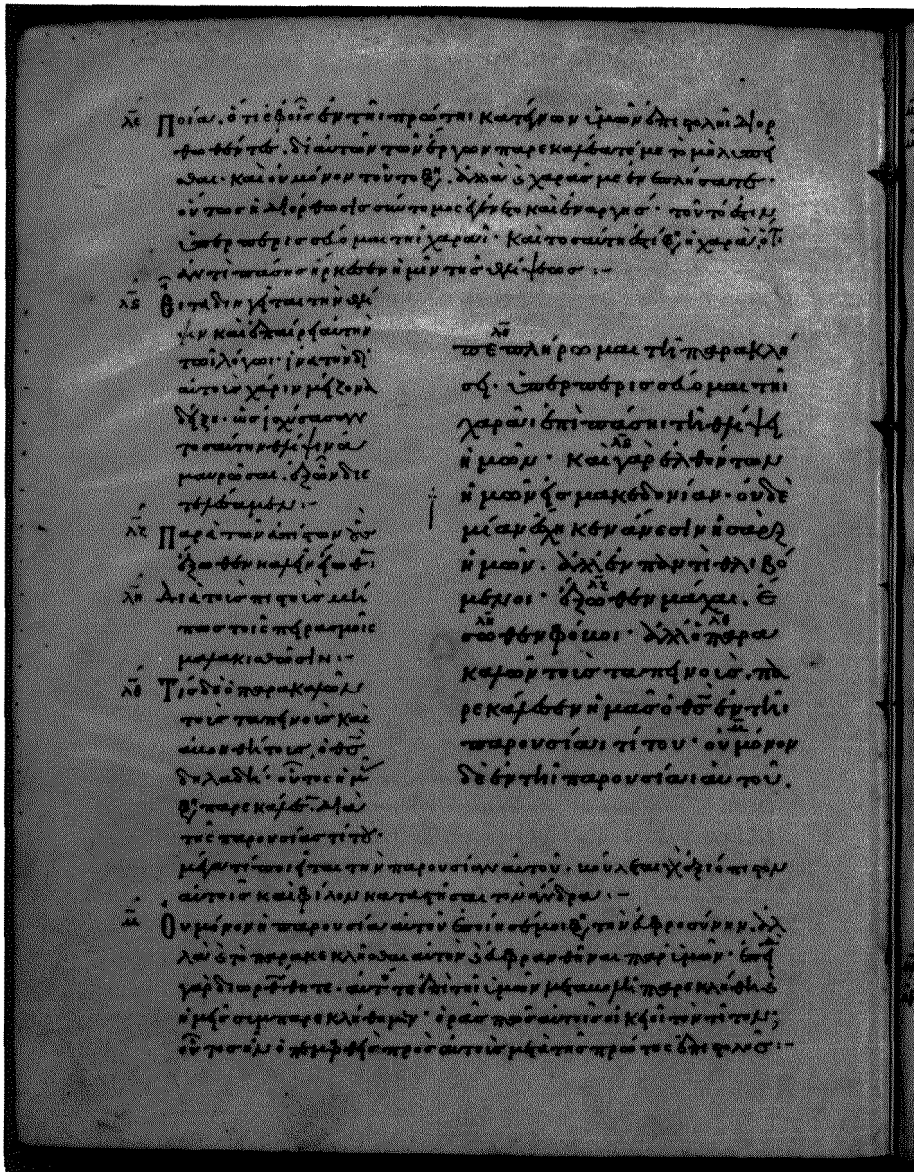
University Library, Basle, ms. A.N. III. 11 (= codex 2817), Greek, 11th-century, Pauline Epistles accompanied by the commentary of Ps.-Oecumenius: f. 196v, containing 2 *Cor.* 7,4-7. The symbol which has been inserted in the inner margin, beside the line which begins with the words ἡμῶν εἰσ μακεδονίαν, appears to be contemporary with the preparation of Erasmus' Greek New Testament text: in the 1516 edition, p. 65, these words start a new column of Greek text (see the Introduction, p. 5).

INTRODUCTION

This volume covers the first nine of the Epistles of Paul, from Erasmus' editions of the Greek and Latin New Testament, 1516-1535. A brief account of Erasmus' work, with a summary of the approach taken by the present edition, has been given in the previous volume (*ASD* VI, 2), and further introductory material will also be found in the first volume of this series (*ASD* VI, 1).

The Greek Manuscripts used by Erasmus for his first edition

Among the Greek manuscripts which were available to Erasmus in Basle from 1514 onwards, five offered a more or less complete text of the Pauline Epistles. In the commonly accepted enumeration of the Greek New Testament minuscules, these are now designated as codices 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, and 2817.[1] The text of codex 1 includes every New Testament book apart from the Apocalypse. Codices 2815 and 2816 contain the Acts and all the Epistles. The remaining two manuscripts, 2105 and 2817, have just the Pauline Epistles, presented in the format of a commentary.

In codex 2105, the New Testament text is broken up into phrases and sentences, embedded into the commentary of Theophylact (misnamed as "Vulgarius" in the 1516-19 editions of Erasmus' Annotations) in such a manner that it is often difficult to find the beginning and end of each scripture citation, despite the use of quotation-marks in the margins. In codex 2817, the portions of continuous New Testament text are much longer, and written in a larger script, easily distinguishable from the accompanying commentary of pseudo-Oecumenius which occupies the upper, lower and outer margins (i.e. the *Graeca scholia*, or *Graecanica scholia*, to which Erasmus' Annotations frequently refer).

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[1] The recently introduced numbering of these manuscripts as 2815, 2816 and 2817 (instead of the former 2^{ap}, 4^{ap} and 7^{p}) clearly distinguishes them from codices 2^{e}, 4^{e} and 7^{e}, which contain only the Gospels. The new numbers have been adopted by Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, 1993: 27th edition) and K. Aland, *et al.*, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin and New York, 1994: 2nd edition).

These manuscripts are listed below, showing their current library shelf-marks (bracketed), together with their approximate date:

University Library, Basle:
1. Cod. 1, formerly known as 1ᵉᵃᵖ (A.N. IV. 2) - 12th century.
2. Cod. 2815, formerly known as 2ᵃᵖ (A.N. IV. 4) - 12th century.
3. Cod. 2816, formerly known as 4ᵃᵖ (A.N. IV. 5) - 15th century.
4. Cod. 2817, formerly known as 7ᵖ (A.N. III. 11) - 11th century.

Bodleian Library, Oxford:
5. Cod. 2105 (Auct. E. 1. 6) - 12th century.[2]

Apart from codex 2815, which was apparently loaned by the Amerbach family,[3] Erasmus was able to borrow the other four manuscripts from the Dominican friars of Basle (including codex 1, which he obtained from Johann Reuchlin, who had previously borrowed it from the Dominican library: see *ASD* VI, 2, p. 6). Although codex 2105 is now in Oxford, it belonged to the library of the Basle Dominicans during the period when Erasmus was preparing and publishing his series of New Testament editions.

On the grounds that codex 2815 contains various corrections in Erasmus' handwriting, as well as frequent jottings added by the typesetters, it has been widely believed that this Greek manuscript was used as printer's copy for the whole of the Acts and the Epistles. However, on inspection of the manuscript, it can be seen that most of the corrections and printer's marks are confined to the book of Acts. Although it is possible that many printer's marks could have been cut away during the later rebinding of the volume, there is little surviving evidence that these marginal notes were originally present, in any significant quantity, in the margins of the pages containing the Epistles. In the book of Acts, despite the ferocity of the binder, numerous truncated remnants of the printer's markings are still visible.[4]

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[2] The portion of Ms. Auct. E. 1. 6 which contains Theophylact's commentary on the Pauline Epistles was assigned a twelfth-century date by N. G. Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2 vols., 1973), vol. 1, p. 26. In the opinion of I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften ... Oxford, Bodleian Library* (Stuttgart, 1982), vol. 3, 1, pp. 112-15, this part of the manuscript probably belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century. See also p. 9, n. 7, below.

[3] Although codex 2815 carries the inscription, *Est Amorbacchiorum* (f. 1r), there seems to be a possibility that this manuscript too was formerly a possession of the Dominican library at Basle. See A. Vernet, "Les manuscrits grecs de Jean de Raguse (†1443)", *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, vol. 61 (1961), p. 84, entry no. xiii. This was also the view of J. Mill and F. H. A. Scrivener, though disputed by J. J. Wettstein.

[4] In the lower margins of codex 2815, there is a crudely chalked signature-letter (in roman script) visible on almost every eighth folio, probably intended as guidance to the binder rather than the typesetter. These letters are inserted on the same pages as the inked signature-numerals (in Greek script), which were already in this manuscript.

Further, while Erasmus' 1516 edition of the Greek text of the Pauline Epistles agrees with codex 2815 on some unusual readings, it is found that there is also a large number of differences. This suggests that the typesetters either did not use this manuscript as their sole basis for the text of the Epistles, or that their work was afterwards heavily corrected from other sources by the proof-readers or by Erasmus himself. To investigate this problem, it has been necessary to make a more extensive examination of the text of each of the other manuscripts to which Erasmus and his assistants are known to have had access.

At the outset, it could have been expected that codex 1 would be a promising candidate, as a potential source of textual corrections. Its influence on the Erasmian text of the Gospels is well-established, even to the extent that Erasmus complained that his proof-readers drew a number of readings from this Greek manuscript without his authority. He professed a low opinion of this copy, as he suspected it of having a bias in favour of the Vulgate. However, in the Epistles, where the text of codex 1 is far less supportive of the Vulgate text, hardly any passages can be found where it convincingly agrees with the 1516 edition against the other Basle manuscripts.

Another source which Erasmus was in a position to consult was codex 2816, from which he unquestionably derived some important Greek variants for his text of the book of Acts. In the Epistles, however, detailed checking of codex 2816 yields very few passages where it could have provided sole authority for the 1516 edition. Furthermore, the numerous abbreviations employed by the scribe of this manuscript made it unsuitable to serve as printer's copy, as the ambiguities of spelling would have been a prolific source of uncertainty and error for any typesetter who used it.

When turning to codex 2105, which contains Theophylact's commentary on the Pauline Epistles, it might have been anticipated that this would prove to have been a constant point of reference for Erasmus, in establishing his Greek text. Since it can be demonstrated that Erasmus made considerable use of Theophylact (in codex 817) as a source for correcting the text of the Gospels, it would be natural to expect that a similar procedure would apply to the Epistles, especially in view of the explicit references to Theophylact in Erasmus' Annotations.

Surprisingly, it is found that there are few textual variants where the 1516 edition of the Greek text agrees exclusively with codex 2105, in opposition to the other manuscripts at Basle. One exception is the reading εὐλογηθήσονται at *Gal.* 3,8. Additionally, in the errata to the 1516 edition, several corrections could have been drawn from this manuscript, e.g. 1 *Cor.* 13,9 γάρ (for δέ), though this may also have been influenced by the Vulgate. At many points, the text of codex 2105 displays a closer affinity with the Vulgate than is seen in Erasmus' other Greek copies of the Epistles. In 1514-15, he seemed to be more interested in this manuscript as a guide to interpretation than as an authority for the wording of the Greek text.

Finally we come to codex 2817, in which the Pauline Epistles are accompanied by a set of Greek scholia (formerly attributed to "Oecumenius", but compiled from a variety of patristic and medieval Greek commentators). The fact that Erasmus consulted codex 2817 is sufficiently clear from the references to the *scholia* in his Annotations. Details of a number of textual agreements between this manuscript and Erasmus' 1516 edition were made available in the apparatus of J. J. Wettstein's *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Amsterdam, 1751-2), but Wettstein accepted the opinion of John Mill that codex 2815 was the main basis for Erasmus' text of the Pauline Epistles. In the nineteenth century, F. H. A. Scrivener made additional comparisons between Erasmus' first two editions and Wettstein's citations from codex 2817, and realised that Erasmus had often adopted the readings of this manuscript. He concluded that codices 2815 and 2817 were both "constantly used" by Erasmus, but did not seem to question the traditional view that codex 2815 was the copy text which was supplied to the printer of the 1516 edition, for the Pauline Epistles.[5]

It is now possible to go beyond Scrivener's provisional findings. When these two manuscripts are compared in their entirety with Erasmus' Greek text and Latin translation, it is discovered that the 1516 edition agrees far more closely with codex 2817 than with codex 2815 in this part of the New Testament.

At 400 instances where codices 2815 and 2817 diverge from one another in Romans-2 Thessalonians (excluding passages where the 1516 edition agrees with neither manuscript), Erasmus' 1516 Greek text agrees with codex 2815 at 101 passages, but with codex 2817 at 299 passages, almost three times as many. Among these passages, there are many instances where the Greek variant in question is incapable of affecting the Latin translation, or where Erasmus' Greek and Latin texts are in conflict with one another: if all these are excluded from the reckoning, there remain only 24 passages where Erasmus' Latin translation clearly agreed with the Greek text of codex 2815, but 204 passages where his translation conformed with codex 2817. Among the readings of the 1516 Greek text which cannot be traced either to codex 2815 or to codex 2817 (or both), most are probably the result of typesetting errors: fewer than twenty such readings can be attributed, with any confidence, to the use of other manuscripts. From these statistics, it is reasonable to conclude that codex 2817, and not codex 2815, served as Erasmus' principal Greek manuscript for this section of the New Testament, and provided

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[5] Scrivener listed twenty such passages in *A Plain Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (London, 2 vols., 1894: 4th ed., revised by E. Miller), vol. 1, p. 307; cf. vol. 2, p. 183. An earlier version of this list had appeared in the second edition of Scrivener's work (Cambridge, 1874), p. 238. In a letter of 11 December 1862, Scrivener had already given similar details to Franz Delitzsch: "I have lately been comparing the first two editions of Erasmus afresh with the common text, and find many variations not recorded by Wetstein and others. In the Pauline Epistles I am sure that Erasmus must have used Cod. 7 [i.e. 2817] at Basle, though it has not usually been named as one of his authorities. The collation of 7 [i.e. codex 2817] as given by Wetstein must have guided Erasmus in many places. I have made a long list, and will set down a few ...". See F. Delitzsch, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Polyglottenbibel des Cardinals Ximenes* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 3.

the main basis for his Greek text as well as his Latin rendering, and that this was the copy which he expected the typesetters to follow.

It does not seem likely that Erasmus had prepared a separate "fair copy" of his preferred Greek text, or even a definitive list of passages where his Latin rendering deviated from codex 2817. As is demonstrably the case in the Gospels and Acts, most of the final shaping of the 1516 text of the Epistles was left in the hands of the typesetters and proof-readers. If the typesetters had followed codex 2817 as closely as possible, while the proof-readers took responsibility for resolving any differences between the Greek and Latin columns by referring additionally to codex 2815, it would have been possible to achieve a fair degree of consistency. However, in the urgent haste with which the typesetting process was conducted, confusion was apparently caused by allowing the typesetters to compose some parts of their text directly from codex 2815 instead of 2817, and the proof-readers sometimes failed in their task of removing discrepancies between the Greek and Latin wording.

The use of codex 2817 during the proof-reading stage of the 1516 edition appears to receive further corroboration from the words *Hic sudauit Gerbellius* ("Gerbel laboured here"), inserted at the foot of f. 314r of this manuscript, in the section containing the first Epistle to Timothy. Since Nikolaus Gerbel and Johannes Oecolampadius were chiefly responsible for the proof reading of Erasmus' first edition, this inscription may well have been written during the autumn of 1515 when the typesetting and printing of the Epistles was in progress. It should, incidentally, be noted that the Epistles were the first part of the 1516 edition to be printed (possibly because Erasmus had not yet completed his translation of the Gospels, and because his main Greek manuscript of the Gospels required such extensive correction before it was fit to be used as printer's copy).

Another feature of this manuscript is the insertion of a series of more than thirty symbols (usually in the form of an elongated ï), placed alongside the text, and roughly corresponding with page-divisions of the 1516 edition. Accompanying these symbols, a mark is sometimes added within the text of the manuscript, but not always at the same word or syllable which starts the corresponding printed page. For example, at 1 *Tim.* 5,18, the mark placed within the text of codex 2817 divides the sentence at ἐργάτης | τοῦ μισθοῦ but the 1516 page-division occurs at ἐργάτης τοῦ μι | σθοῦ (on pp. 124-5, at the beginning of a new *ternio* or 12-page gathering). Unless they are merely random errors, small discrepancies of this kind may be an indication that, at the time when these marks were inserted, the exact starting and finishing point of each column of printed text had not yet been decided. These annotations become more noticeable from f. 271v (at *Phil.* 1,29) onwards, but also appear sporadically earlier in the volume, e.g. on f. 185v (at 2 *Cor.* 4,15).

At exactly the point where codex 2817 breaks off, at *Hebr.* 12,18, a mark is placed in the text of codex 2815, as Erasmus and his assistants took the ending of this epistle from the latter manuscript. In the margins of codex 2815, on ff. 209r

and 209v, symbols are inserted which correspond with the commencement of
pp. 152 and 153 of Erasmus' 1516 edition (at *Hebr.* 12,17; 13,5). Finally, on f. 210v
of codex 2815, a mark in the text corresponds with the start of the last page of
Hebrews in the 1516 edition (at *Hebr.* 13,20), but owing to damage caused by the
binder, it is no longer possible to see whether or not there was another symbol in
the margin of the manuscript at this point. All of these marks and symbols appear
to be contemporary with the use of codices 2815 and 2817 during the typesetting
and proof-reading of Erasmus' first edition. The treatment of the end of Hebrews
in codex 2815 also provides further confirmation that, prior to *Hebr.* 12,18, the
typesetters had been using codex 2817 as their main copy text.

Supplements to the Greek text

It can also be seen that codex 2817 is the primary source from which Erasmus'
1516 edition derived two different categories of Greek supplementary material,
which were not part of the scripture text: the "hypotheses" which were prefixed to
each of the epistles of Paul, summarising the contents, and the "subscriptions"
which were added at the end of nine of Paul's epistles, purporting to identify the
place of writing. In Erasmus' later editions, the subscriptions to the remaining five
epistles of Paul (Colossians, and 2 Timothy-Hebrews) were added from other
sources. Codex 2815 also contained a set of "hypotheses", which Erasmus adopted
in James-Jude, and Romans.

A curious feature of Erasmus' editions is the series of Greek numerals which
are printed in the margins of just Romans-2 Corinthians, dividing the text into a
larger number of sections than the modern chapter-divisions. These numerals do
not correspond with the usual Greek section-divisions or κεφάλαια, but more
closely approximate to the western system of *capitula* found in Vulgate manu-
scripts, and may therefore have been based on a Latin text.

In addition to the above, the 1516 edition includes a traditional, anonymous
Latin *Argumentum* introducing each of the epistles, replaced in 1519 by a series of
much longer *Argumenta*, compiled by Erasmus himself. These had been published
separately in 1518, and were also added to Erasmus' various editions of his
Paraphrases. His New Testament edition of 1527 added a new general prologue to
the Pauline Epistles, in Greek, taken from Chrysostom. The present edition
contains the "subscriptions", but not the *Argumenta* or other supplementary
material.

The adequacy, or otherwise, of Erasmus' use of Greek manuscript sources

The question of how many manuscripts Erasmus actually consulted at indivi-
dual passages is difficult to answer with any degree of certainty. At some passages
of the Epistles, especially where there was a notable problem of interpretation or
doctrine, it is reasonable to suppose that Erasmus checked all five of the Greek

manuscripts to which he had access at Basle. However, in the 1516 edition of his Annotations, when commenting on the text of the Epistles, he rarely goes so far as to acknowledge that *plerique* (i.e. most of his Greek codices) have a particular reading: exceptions can be found e.g. at *Rom.* 16,25-7; 1 *Cor.* 14,1; 15,45. More frequently he uses expressions such as *nonnulli codices* ("some manuscripts"), *quidam Graeci codices* ("certain Greek manuscripts"), or just *Graeci* ("the Greeks"). Sometimes a reading which he attributes to *Graeci* is found in only one of his Basle manuscripts, although the reader of the Annotations might naturally have assumed that "the Greeks" meant all of Erasmus' Greek manuscripts without exception.

At other passages in the Annotations, Erasmus simply cites the Greek text without giving a single word of information about his sources, and yet the Basle manuscripts are now known to contain significant variants of which he made no mention. There are also instances where Erasmus' Annotations offer no citation of the Greek text, even at passages where his continuous printed text of the Greek New Testament is at variance with all or most of the manuscripts which were available to him. These features of Erasmus' 1516 edition can partly be explained by the conclusion that, at most passages of the Pauline Epistles, he did not consult more than one or two of his Greek manuscripts at Basle, and that his exploration of the text was usually confined to the codices 2815 and 2817, and that even then, he did not regard it as obligatory to report every textual variant which he found.

In principle, Erasmus' textual method was eclectic, as he felt at liberty to compile his text from more than one manuscript. In practice, however, this eclecticism operated within a narrow range of sources. His chief guide, codex 2817, offered the means of producing a usable Greek text of the Pauline Epistles in the shortest possible time. He seems to have perceived that this manuscript offered a more reliable text than codex 2815, perhaps noticing that the latter contained a larger number of readings that were likely to have originated from scribal error or were lacking in support from the early church fathers or conflicted with the evidence of the other manuscripts which were available. On the other hand, his excessive reliance on one source detracted from the quality of his work on the Epistles, as a more systematic collation of his other Basle manuscripts would have enabled him to eliminate those variants of codex 2817 which had little or no other manuscript support.

In his later editions, through consultation of additional manuscripts and a more intensive comparison with patristic texts, Erasmus was able to remove many of the mistakes which had occurred in 1516, and to expand the information on textual variants given in his Annotations. However, because this task of correction was not performed in accordance with any consistent plan, some of the errors which had been derived from codex 2817 (or from other manuscripts) remained unchanged, and continued to be exhibited in the later *Textus Receptus*.

Since the later editions of the Annotations more frequently referred to the testimony of *plerique* or "most" manuscripts, it might be tempting to conclude

that Erasmus was moving towards the concept of establishing a "majority text". This would not be an entirely accurate representation of his textual views, as he attached greater importance to manuscripts which he viewed as "more correct" (*exemplaria emendatiora*) than to those Greek manuscripts which he considered as merely "ordinary" or "commonplace" (*exemplaria vulgata*), and was hence not swayed by purely numerical considerations. Although he professed great respect for the consensus of his Greek manuscripts, he remained of the opinion that there were a few passages where all or most of the manuscripts were corrupted by scribal error and were to be amended by reference to the writings of the early church fathers, or in accordance with the surrounding context. Whether he was correct in his identification of such passages continues to be a matter of debate.

It is well known that there are many points in the Epistles where Erasmus' text has little or no support among the surviving earlier uncial manuscripts and papyri, and yet enjoys wide attestation among the manuscripts of the later period. At such passages, the question arises whether the "earlier" manuscripts are more reliable as witnesses to the original New Testament text, or whether the far more numerous later manuscripts could have preserved a reading of greater antiquity than any of the New Testament manuscripts which are now extant. That many of the characteristic readings of the "later manuscripts" already existed in the fourth century can be shown from the evidence of the early versions and church fathers.

To resolve the dilemma posed by the existence of several competing forms of text, all of which were in circulation during the earliest centuries of the Christian era, many textual critics utilise a range of "internal criteria", including consideration of the author's style and the known tendencies of scribes to make various kinds of intentional or unintentional changes to the text when copying a manuscript. On this basis, it has often been suggested that the kind of manuscripts which Erasmus used contain a Greek text that is intrinsically "inferior" and "secondary" when compared with the early uncial and papyrus documents. Others have considered that the application of "internal criteria" does not justify such a conclusion, and have commented on the difficulty of achieving consistent or objective results with this text-critical tool, but have acknowledged its usefulness at individual passages. In several ways, Erasmus himself employed criteria of this kind in his treatment of particular textual variants. The commentary in the present edition discusses such issues, when they have a bearing on the evaluation of the Greek text which Erasmus published.

Theophylact's Commentary on the Pauline Epistles (Codex 2105)

Reference has already been made to Erasmus' consultation of codex 2105 in his Annotations. This manuscript was later extensively used by Johannes Lonicerus for his Latin translation of Theophylact's commentary on the Pauline Epistles (Basle, 1540), and was borrowed again for a revised Latin edition of Theophylact

by Philip Montanus (Basle, 1554, with a preface dated 1552). Montanus, who knew that this was the same manuscript that Erasmus had used, treated it almost as if it were his own personal possession, making alterations to the text and inserting many annotations in the margin.[6] Some years after the monastery of the Dominicans at Basle was dissolved, many of their manuscripts were transferred to the university library of that city, in 1559. At that time, codex 2105 was not with the rest of the collection, perhaps because Montanus had never returned it. Whether he gave it away or sold it, or retained it among his own books, is unknown.

Eventually the manuscript was acquired by Sir Ralph Winwood, who presented it to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1604. Not long afterwards, it was used as a source of variant readings for the *editio princeps* of Theophylact's Greek commentaries on the Pauline Epistles (London, 1636), edited by Augustine Lindsell, and completed by Thomas Bayly (or Bailey) after Lindsell's death. This edition was reprinted, with little change, in the Venice Theophylact of 1754-63 (vol. 2, in 1755, with an appendix of variants from a manuscript in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, *Fondo antico*, Ms. 32 = codex 891), and again in J.-P. Migne's *Patrologiae Cursus Completus ... Series Graeca* of 1857-66 (Paris, vols. 124-125, in 1864). Those who produced these Greek editions did not seem to be aware that one of their principal sources was identical with the manuscript which Erasmus had so frequently cited in his Annotations.

Bayly's preface to the 1636 edition indicates that the first task was to prepare an accurate copy of a manuscript owned by the earl of Arundel (now British Library, Ms. Arundel 534 = codex 1961), and that this copy was then corrected by reference to two manuscripts at Oxford (identifiable as Bodleian Library, Mss. Barocc. 146 and Auct. E. 1. 6 = codices 2102 and 2105).[7] The margins of the 1636 edition contain many citations of variant readings, unaccompanied by any distinguishing number or symbol to identify each manuscript from which these readings were drawn. In consequence, it was incorrectly assumed by later editors and readers that the main printed text was to be equated with the Arundel manuscript, and that all the readings in the margin were drawn from one or both of the two manuscripts at Oxford. This assumption is reflected in the title page of the Venice edition, and enshrined in the rudimentary apparatus of Migne, where all the marginal variants of the 1636 edition are explicitly attributed to the Oxford manuscripts.

It becomes clear from a comparison of the 1636 edition with its underlying sources that the text is not solely a reproduction of Ms. Arundel 534, but that

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[6] See Montanus' letter of 16 August 1548 to Bonifacius Amerbach, seeking to borrow the Theophylact manuscript: *Ep.* 3082 in *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, vol. 7 (Basle, 1973), pp. 104-6. A small sample of Montanus' Greek script appears in Basle, University Library, Ms. G². II. 67, f. 138r, in a letter of 15 July 1536 (printed as *Ep.* 2039 in *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, vol. 4).

[7] For the identification of Erasmus' manuscript of Theophylact's Pauline Epistles with the Bodleian Ms. Auct. E. 1. 6, see R. W. Hunt, "Greek Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library from the Collection of John Stojkovic of Ragusa", *Studia Patristica, VII*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. 92 (Berlin, 1966), pp. 75-82.

readings from one or both of the Oxford manuscripts are often printed as the main text, relegating the wording of the Arundel manuscript into the margin.

The editorial process which produced the 1636 edition is illuminated by the preservation of another manuscript at the Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud. Gr. 76. This manuscript was evidently the original copy which Augustine Lindsell caused to be made from Ms. Arundel 534. In the margins of Ms. Laud. Gr. 76 were entered the results of collating Mss. Barocc. 146 and Auct. E. 1. 6, respectively designated as "Ms. Ox." (also "M. Ox." or "M. O.") and "M. 2". Thus the manuscript known to Erasmus, and cited as "M. 2" in the margin of Ms. Laud. Gr. 76, is probably identical with the *posterius exemplar* mentioned in Bayly's preface, and said to have been collated with the assistance of Thomas Triplet and John Gregory.

Equipped with this array of data, the editors chose to replace many of the readings of the main text by the variants which had been noted in the margin, and transferred the corresponding readings of the text into the margin. This elucidates the meaning of Bayly's statement, *ad vnum et alterum exemplum Oxoniense instituta est castigatio*, in the printed preface. At the same time, the editors deleted nearly all the symbols by which the individual manuscripts had been previously recorded, and the result was then used as final copy for the printer. Readers of the 1636 Theophylact, and also of the later editions which were based upon it, were thereby deprived of valuable information regarding the source of each variant.

In this way, though hidden from the eyes of the readers, the copy of Theophylact which had been used by Erasmus made a major contribution to the later printed editions, not only through entries in the marginal apparatus, but by the adoption of many of its readings as an integral part of the edited text.

The Codex Leicestrensis (Codex 69)

Another topic requiring discussion is the identity of the Greek manuscript (or manuscripts) which Erasmus consulted in England during 1512-14, while preparing the section of his Annotations which relates to the Pauline Epistles. There has been a tendency to assume that one such manuscript must have been codex 69 (the "codex Leicestrensis"), which contains the New Testament text from Matthew ch. 18 onwards. The basis for this view is that Erasmus' Greek text of the Gospels, both in his continuous text and in his Annotations, contains a number of unusual variants which are also found in codex 69 but not in the manuscripts which he consulted at Basle.

In the Epistles, when Erasmus' text and Annotations are compared with codex 69, it is not possible to discover the same kind of correlation that is seen in the Gospels.[8] In Romans-2 Thessalonians, apart from a few coincidences in variations

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[8] A collation of codex 69 is provided by F. H. A. Scrivener, *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis, ... To which is added a Full Collation of Fifty Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1859).

of spelling, the only real variants shared by the 1516 Greek text with this manuscript (and not also found in any of Erasmus' manuscripts at Basle) are *Rom.* 16,25 ἡμᾶς, 1 *Cor.* 6,5 ἐστιν (for ἔνι), 2 *Cor.* 13,10 μὴ παρὼν μή, *Gal.* 2,6 ἀνθρώπου θεός, *Phil.* 4,13 δυναμοῦντι. None of the above variants is mentioned in the Annotations, but there are two further agreements between the 1516 Annotations and codex 69, in the omission of καί before οὐ βρῶμα at 1 *Cor.* 3,2, and the omission of τῇ before κτίσει at *Col.* 1,23. These relatively minor variants do not provide conclusive evidence that Erasmus consulted codex 69 for this portion of the New Testament.

To put these coincidences with codex 69 into perspective, it should also be observed that the Romans-2 Thessalonians section of the 1516 edition of the Annotations contains more than twenty further variants which are not found in codex 69 or in any of the Basle mss. (excluding those variants which consist of the presence or absence of the Greek article, or insignificant variations of spelling). Examples of such readings are *Rom.* 8,23 συστενάζομεν, 14,9 ἀνέζησεν, 1 *Cor.* 1,30 γάρ (for δέ), 13,3 τὰ πάντα (for πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα), *Eph.* 3,9 πλοῦτος (for κοινωνία or οἰκονομία), 4,17 ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου (for ἐν κυρίῳ), 1 *Thess.* 4,18 τούτοις τοῦ πνεύματος. Some of these additional variants may turn out to have had a patristic origin, and others may simply reflect inaccuracies by Erasmus in deciphering the Greek script, or even in transcribing his own notes. However, the existence of these variants introduces the possibility that Erasmus derived some or all of them from another manuscript which he consulted in England: it could not have been codex 69, as this does not exhibit any of the additional variants just mentioned. Since such a manuscript (unidentified, and possibly now lost) could also have contained the readings listed in the previous paragraph, the theory that Erasmus used codex 69 in this part of the New Testament remains unproven. In the Gospels, there is the further possibility that he did not use codex 69 itself but the exemplar from which that section of codex 69 was copied, or another closely related manuscript.

The Greek manuscripts cited in the Commentary

The commentary gives full details of Erasmus' Greek manuscript sources at those passages where his printed wording differs from either codex 2815 or codex 2817, or where these codices jointly diverge from the text found in most other manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles. At the same passages, and also in places where the Latin Vulgate may have been based on a different Greek text, information is given on the additional manuscript evidence which is now available, so that Erasmus' work can be placed in its historical context. Greek manuscripts from the second to the seventh century A.D., together with codices F and G of the ninth century, are cited individually. Manuscripts which do not fall into this category are collectively described as "other mss.", "late mss." or "later mss." This arbitrary chronological distinction is made necessary by the fact that the Greek manuscripts

known to contain all or part of the Pauline Epistles currently reach a total of about 800.[9]

The need to cite the readings of the bilingual codices F and G, which are relatively late manuscripts, arises from their status as representatives of the Greek text which is presumed to underlie the Old Latin translation of the Epistles. Because of the link between the Vulgate and the Old Latin versions, codices D F G sometimes constitute the only Greek support for the Vulgate rendering. There are some passages (possibly a greater number than is sometimes supposed) where the wording of these manuscripts may reflect a process of retranslation into Greek from one of the earlier Latin versions, which reduces their value for the reconstruction of the original Greek text.

Another example of a Greek manuscript which appears to incorporate many instances of retranslation from a Latin version is the 14th-century bilingual codex 629, which in some places is the only Greek witness to agree with the wording of the late Vulgate. Only a few citations from this manuscript have been included in the present edition. Other Greek manuscripts similarly contain a number of readings which probably had a medieval Latin origin. For this reason, it is inevitable that passages which are described in the commentary as "lacking Greek manuscript support" will occasionally turn out to be attested by a few later Greek manuscripts which were subject to Latin influence.

In verifying such points, and in answering many other questions relating to the history of the text, it is greatly to be desired that all the extant manuscripts of the Greek New Testament should be fully and accurately collated. Future progress in the field of New Testament textual criticism is dependent on the completion of this great unfinished task.

The sources of Erasmus' Latin translation

In the introduction to the second volume, it was mentioned that Erasmus' Latin translation, as published in 1516, contained a more intensive revision of the Vulgate Epistles and the first two Gospels than of the remainder of the New Testament, perhaps aiming to improve on the version of the Pauline Epistles which had been issued by Jacques Lefèvre (Paris, 1512). At the same time as improving on Lefèvre's Latin translation, it seems that Erasmus also took the

[9] The main sources from which information has been obtained regarding the text of manuscripts, other than those consulted by Erasmus, are: C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Leipzig, 2 vols., 1869-72: 8th edition); H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen, 4 vols., 1902-13); Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, 1993: 27th edition); K. Junack, *et al.*, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus, ii, Die Paulinischen Briefe* (Berlin and New York, 1989-94: vols. 12 and 22 in *Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung*); K. Aland, *et al.*, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, ii, Die Paulinischen Briefe* (Berlin and New York, 1991: vols. 16-19 in *Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung*). Where necessary, use has been made of the standard editions and facsimiles of individual manuscripts.

opportunity to borrow certain words and phrases from Lefèvre, at passages where the latter had already expressed the meaning with sufficient elegance or precision.

Another work which Erasmus seems to have had constantly to hand was the anonymous (probably 4th-century) Latin commentary which now passes under the name of "Ambrosiaster", though formerly included among the writings of Ambrose. Since this commentary frequently reproduces a form of the Old Latin translation of the Pauline Epistles, it was a useful storehouse from which to obtain alternative renderings. Another important ancient source from which Erasmus compiled his translation was Jerome, making particular use of the latter's commentaries on Paul's Epistles to the Galatians and the Ephesians. Alongside these works, Erasmus made repeated use of the 15th-century Annotations of Lorenzo Valla (printed in 1505, Paris), who had criticised many of the inaccuracies and solecisms of the Latin Vulgate.

In measuring the influence exerted by these authorities on Erasmus' Latin translation, it is necessary to bear in mind that Lefèvre also had access to some of the same sources which were consulted by Erasmus. The points of translation in which Lefèvre's influence can be more readily discerned are therefore to be found at those passages where Erasmus has the same wording as Lefèvre while at the same time differing from the Latin Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Jerome and Valla.[10]

Information on all these sources is included in the commentary to the present edition. The commentary aims to refer to all points of difference between Erasmus' translation and the late Vulgate. At such passages, reference is made to any agreement between Erasmus' wording and the renderings used by Ambrosiaster, Jerome, Valla or Lefèvre. Alternative renderings offered by Valla and Lefèvre are also noted, except at passages where Erasmus agrees with the Vulgate.

In the case of Ambrosiaster, where the 1492 Amerbach *editio princeps* of the works of "Ambrose" agrees with the wording of the modern edition of Ambrosiaster by H. J. Vogels,[11] the text is cited simply as "Ambrosiaster". Where the manuscripts or editions of Ambrosiaster differ from one another, preference has been given to the 15th-century edition, which corresponds more closely with Erasmus' quotations: in such instances, the text is cited as "Ambrosiaster 1492". Each sub-section of the Ambrosiaster commentary consists of two main elements: the lemma (i.e. the scripture citation) and the exposition. Usually Erasmus' borrowings from Ambrosiaster are based on the lemmata.

The text of Jerome's commentaries is cited from the 1516 Froben edition, prepared by the Amerbach brothers in consultation with Erasmus. It is clear that Erasmus had access to the manuscript materials on which that edition was based. The 1516 Jerome presents the Latin New Testament text in three different places

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[10] That the mere existence of verbal similarities between Erasmus and Lefèvre is not sufficient, on its own, to establish that Erasmus borrowed from Lefèvre's work, has been pointed out by H. J. de Jonge in "The Relationship of Erasmus' Translation of the New Testament to that of the Pauline Epistles by Lefèvre d'Etaples", *Erasmus in English* no. 15 (1987-8), pp. 2-7.

[11] *CSEL* 81 (3 vols.: 1966-9).

on each page: the continuous scripture text, the lemma, and the commentary. When these various elements diverged from one another as to the scripture wording, Erasmus placed greater reliance on the section containing the commentary, as this was more likely to give an accurate representation of the rendering which Jerome himself preferred. In the present edition, references to "Jerome *Comm.*" denote the commentary portions of the 1516 edition of Jerome, but should not be taken to imply any divergence between Jerome's commentary and the text or lemma which accompanied it, unless expressly stated.

Lefèvre's translation of the Pauline Epistles is printed in three different forms in the 1512 edition. In the first part of the book, after the preliminary matter, a 132-page section contains two columns of text, of which the inner column on each page is occupied by Lefèvre's continuous Latin rendering of the scripture text, headed *Intelligentia ex Graeco*, while the outer column (in larger print) gives the wording of the late Vulgate. The next part of the volume, occupying 391 pages, contains Lefèvre's commentary, in which each paragraph of comment is usually introduced by a lemma consisting of a few sentences from Lefèvre's Latin translation. At the end of each chapter of the commentary is a separate section headed *Examinatio nonnullorum circa literam*, comprising a short series of annotations, which each consist of a Vulgate lemma, followed by one or more alternative renderings or corrections suggested by Lefèvre, after which the name *Paulus* (or *Interpres Pauli*, in the epistle to the Hebrews) introduces a citation of the corresponding portion of Greek text.

The lemmata of Lefèvre's commentary generally agree with the wording of the continuous translation which was provided in the first part of the book, but sometimes they contain improvements which may have arisen from secondary revision by Lefèvre during the course of publishing his work. Where relevant, the differences between Lefèvre's text and commentary are noted in the present edition (using the words "Lefèvre *Comm.*" to refer to either the commentary or the *Examinatio*).

To provide a "control" on the above data, this edition further makes frequent reference to the 15th-century rendering of Giannozzo Manetti, whose work was not available to either Erasmus or Lefèvre.[12] Where different translators make use of a similar form of Greek text, it is likely that there will be some passages where they will independently achieve an identical wording for their respective translations. Coincidences between Manetti and Erasmus, or between Manetti and Lefèvre, therefore give a useful indication of those New Testament passages where different Latin translators might independently produce similar versions, through sharing the same objective of translating the same Greek text accurately into classical Latin. At passages where Manetti, Lefèvre and Erasmus all differ from the

[12] The New Testament translation of Manetti is preserved in two manuscripts of the Vatican Library, *Urb. Lat.* 6 and *Pal. Lat.* 45. As indicated in *ASD* VI, 2, p. 5n, the second of these manuscripts is probably the earlier of the two, and often appears to provide a more accurate copy of Manetti's wording.

Vulgate, and at the same time the versions of Erasmus and Lefèvre agree with one another against the wording of Manetti, there is correspondingly an increased probability that in these instances Erasmus has been influenced by Lefèvre's work. There are also many passages where Manetti was content with the Vulgate translation, while Erasmus and Lefèvre agree on making an identical correction.

Since the level of agreement between Erasmus and Lefèvre is noticeably greater than between Erasmus and Manetti, there is a heightened suspicion that Erasmus' translation owed an unacknowledged debt to Lefèvre's work. It would not be correct to give the impression that Erasmus resorted to outright plagiarism. He did not stoop to the copying of whole sentences or paragraphs from Lefèvre: it was a matter of borrowing a word here, and a phrase there. His own mastery of Latin idiom and elegance of style excelled that of Lefèvre, but pressure of time acted as a constraint on originality of expression. As an aid to the rapid production of a new Latin translation, the works of Lefèvre, Valla, Ambrosiaster and Jerome served as a convenient quarry, from which Erasmus was glad to extract any well-phrased improvement on the Vulgate wording.

A few examples of agreements between Erasmus' 1516 rendering and Lefèvre are as follows: *simplicium* (*Rom.* 16,18); *vobis in memoriam reducet* (1 *Cor.* 4,17); *conuitiator* (1 *Cor.* 5,11); *conducunt* (1 *Cor.* 6,12); *facultas* (1 *Cor.* 8,9); *meam ipsius vtilitatem* (1 *Cor.* 10,33); *sileant* (1 *Cor.* 14,34); *idoneus* (1 *Cor.* 15,9); *refocillauerunt* (1 *Cor.* 16,18); *increpatio* (2 *Cor.* 2,6); *carneis* (2 *Cor.* 3,3); *delectus* (2 *Cor.* 8,19); *lis ... seditiones* (*Gal.* 5,20); *ob crucem* (*Gal.* 6,12); *inquam* (*Eph.* 2,12); *valeatis* (*Eph.* 3,18); *lucta* (*Eph.* 6,12); *vita ... mors* (*Phil.* 1,21); *disceptationibus* (*Phil.* 2,14); *breui missurum* (*Phil.* 2,19); *exhibete* (*Col.* 4,1); *consolaretur* (1 *Thess.* 3,2); *absurdis* (2 *Thess.* 3,2). Apart from direct agreements, there are also passages where Erasmus' wording looks like an adaptation of Lefèvre's version: e.g. *praedefiniuit* for *praediffiniuit* (*Rom.* 8,29-30); *configuremini* for *configurari* (*Rom.* 12,2); *sua mens satisfaciat* for *in sua mente satisfaciat* (*Rom.* 14,5); *obcaecati* for *obcaecatae* (2 *Cor.* 3,14); *ob multam fiduciam* for *ob fiduciam multam* (2 *Cor.* 8,22).

There are also many passages where Erasmus gives an alternative rendering in his Annotations without mentioning that it had been previously used by Lefèvre. In the Annotations, Lefèvre is cited by name mainly for the purpose of finding fault with his choice of wording. Where Erasmus' rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster or Jerome, however, the Annotations often openly acknowledge the fact. Erasmus' strategy is to emphasise his reliance upon the works of the church fathers, but to be more discreet concerning the extent to which he has borrowed from Valla and Lefèvre. This is particularly apparent at passages of the Annotations where Ambrosiaster is named as an authority, and yet Erasmus' published translation is closer to the wording of Lefèvre. For example, in rendering συν-υπεκρίθησαν at *Gal.* 2,13, Erasmus follows Lefèvre in translating the Greek aorist by the imperfect tense, *simulabant*, but in the Annotations he mentions only "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster), who has the more accurate perfect tense, *simulauerunt*. In translating ἀμέμπτους at 1 *Thess.* 3,13, Erasmus coincides with Lefèvre

in replacing *sine querela* by the non-classical expression, *irreprehensibilia*, but in the Annotations he prefers to cite the authority of Ambrosiaster for another word, *irreprehensa*, again without making any mention of Lefèvre's contribution.

Erasmus is more willing to acknowledge his use of Valla than of Lefèvre, but even here, Erasmus' translation and Annotations seem to have drawn far more from Valla than he wished to admit. This did not escape the notice of his opponents, as may be seen from the criticisms raised by Stunica.[13]

To a small degree, Erasmus' careful work of revising the Latin translation was marred by alterations which do not seem to be attributable to textual variants of the Greek manuscripts or to the influence of Latin Vulgate editions. Whether these were errors of his own making or mistakes perpetrated by his assistants in the process of transcription cannot easily be determined. Some of these blemishes remained undetected even as late as the 1535 edition: e.g. 16,2 *Christo* (for *domino*), 1 *Cor.* 1,6 *Iesu Christi* (for *Christi*), *Phil.* 3,1 *fratres* (for *fratres mei*).

The Latin Vulgate and Old Latin versions

In order to show the relationship of Erasmus' translation to the Latin Vulgate, the commentary aims to refer to every instance where Erasmus differs from the late Vulgate wording. The "late Vulgate", for this purpose, is defined as the text printed in the Vulgate column of Erasmus' 1527 New Testament, or in the Vulgate lemma of the various editions of his Annotations. No reference is made to the Sixtine or Clementine Vulgates of 1590-92, which represent a later development within the Vulgate tradition. Where Erasmus' late Vulgate reading agrees with the standard critical editions of the earlier Vulgate, it is designated as "Vg.", or if it disagrees with those editions it is referred to as "late Vg." Sometimes reference is made to the Vulgate editions published by Froben in 1491 and 1514.

Where the Oxford and Stuttgart editions differ from one another, they are designated as Vg^{ww} and Vgst respectively. In 1 Corinthians to Ephesians, some differences between the Oxford *editio maior* of 1889-1954 and the *editio minor* of 1911 are also recorded.[14]

The present edition does not attempt to make detailed comparisons between Erasmus' rendering and the various Old Latin texts, apart from the text cited by Ambrosiaster. By adopting forms of wording which he found in the commentary of Ambrosiaster and other patristic sources, Erasmus was in effect patching elements of one or more Old Latin versions on to the Latin Vulgate, which was itself a revision of the Old Latin. Sometimes he did this because he felt that the

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[13] See *ASD* IX, 2, pp. 154-5.

[14] The editions used are J. Wordsworth - H. J. White, *et al.*, *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine Secundum Editionem Sancti Hieronymi* (Oxford, 3 vols., 1889-1954); H. J. White, *Nouum Testamentum Latine Secundum Editionem Sancti Hieronymi* (Oxford, 1911); R. Weber, *et al.*, *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart, 1994: 4th edition).

wording of Ambrosiaster was closer to the original form of the Vulgate; more often, it was because the rendering cited by Ambrosiaster seemed more accurate or more elegantly expressed. Quite apart from this, the late Vulgate manuscripts and editions frequently contained a mixture of Old Latin readings with the Vulgate text, making it difficult to distinguish the original Vulgate reading.[15]

The 1521 Latin edition

The 1522 folio edition of Erasmus' Greek and Latin New Testament was preceded by a separate quarto edition of the Latin translation, completed by Froben on 14 June 1521. When printing of the quarto edition commenced, perhaps in the first week of May, 1521, Froben had not yet received a copy of Erasmus' corrections to the 1519 edition. Consequently the greater part of the 1521 edition reproduced the Latin text of 1519.

At some point during the last week of April or the first two weeks of May, 1521, Erasmus despatched the corrected copy of the 1519 edition from Louvain, where he was residing at that time. In the same package, he probably also enclosed a preface for the Latin New Testament that was currently going through the press. In a letter written at Basle on 30 May 1521, Basil Amerbach made an oblique reference to the arrival of Erasmus' revised copy of the New Testament (*Ep.* 1207: "ad nos missum Instrumentum tuum Nouum"), and confirmed that he himself had just received a letter from Erasmus, and that Erasmus' messenger was still in Basle. The typesetters immediately began to use the material which Erasmus had sent, as a source of corrections for those parts of the 1521 New Testament which had not yet been printed, particularly in 1 Corinthians ch. 10 - 15, and from Ephesians through to the Apocalypse. In these portions of the Latin text, the 1521 edition anticipates many of the changes which were later incorporated in the folio edition of 1522: such passages are duly noted in the commentary.

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[15] Detailed information regarding the Old Latin versions can be found in the series of volumes edited by H. J. Frede, *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, vols. 24/1 [Ephesians] (Freiburg, 1962-4), 24/2 [Philippians-Colossians] (Freiburg, 1966-71), 25 pt. i [1 Thessalonians to 2 Timothy] (Freiburg, 1975-82).

TABLE OF NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS CITED IN THE COMMENTARY

(Romans - 2 Thessalonians)

Codex	Date	Codex	Date
$\mathfrak{P}^{11}$	VI/VII	0111	VII
$\mathfrak{P}^{15}$	III/IV	0172	V
$\mathfrak{P}^{16}$	III/IV	0176	IV/V
$\mathfrak{P}^{26}$	VI/VII	0183	VII
$\mathfrak{P}^{27}$	III	0185	IV
$\mathfrak{P}^{30}$	III	0186	V/VI
$\mathfrak{P}^{31}$	VII	0198	VI
$\mathfrak{P}^{34}$	VII	0199	VI/VII
$\mathfrak{P}^{40}$	III	0201	V
$\mathfrak{P}^{46}$	II/III	0208	VI
$\mathfrak{P}^{49}$	III	0209	VII
$\mathfrak{P}^{51}$	IV/V	0219	IV/V
$\mathfrak{P}^{61}$	VII/VIII	0220	III
$\mathfrak{P}^{65}$	III	0221	IV
$\mathfrak{P}^{68}$	VI/VII	0223	VI
$\mathfrak{P}^{92}$	III/IV	0225	VI
$\mathfrak{P}^{94}$	V/VI	0254	V
ℵ	IV	0261	V
A	V	0270	IV/V
B	IV	0282	VI
C	V	0285	VI
D^p	VI	0289	VII/VIII
F^p	IX	1	XII (formerly cod.1^{eap})
G^p	IX	3	XII
H^p	VI	69	XV
I	V	(629	XIV)
048	V	2105	XII
062	V	2815	XII (formerly cod. 2^{ap})
082	VI	2816	XV (formerly cod. 4^{ap})
088	V/VI	2817	XI (formerly cod. 7^p)
098	VII		

Further details of these manuscripts can be found in
Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste* (see p. 1, n. 1, above).

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

Editiones

A: ed. pr., Basileae, Io. Frobenius, Febr. 1516 (*Nouum Instrumentum*).
B: ed. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, Mart. 1519 (*Nouum Testamentum*).
C: ed. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, 1522.
D: ed. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, Mart. 1527.
E: ed. Basileae, Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopius, Mart. 1535
       (fundamentum huiusce editionis).

Signa superscripta

*   textus editionum
       (vbi ei opponitur diuersa lectio vel in *b* vel in *c* vel in *mg*).
b   verbum in ima paginae ora impressum
       (vocatum a typographis, *reclamans*; Anglice, *catchword*).
c   lectio data in tabula corrigendorum.
mg   lectio marginalis.

ΠΑΥΛΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ
Η ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

EPISTOLA
PAVLI APOSTOLI
AD
ROMANOS

1 Παῦλος δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος, ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, ²ὃ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις, ³περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα,

1 Paulus seruus Iesu Christi, vocatus ad munus apostolicum, segregatus in euangelium dei, ²quod ante promiserat per prophetas suos in scripturis sanctis, ³de filio suo qui genitus fuit ex semine Dauid secundum carnem,

Inscriptio EPISTOLA ... ROMANOS *A E*: EPISTOLA ... RHOMANOS *B C*, ERASMI VERSIO *D* | **1,1** ad munus apostolicum *B-E*: apostolus *A*

1,1 *ad munus apostolicum* ἀπόστολος ("apostolus" 1516 = Vg.). In vs. 5, *munus apostolicum* is again used in rendering ἀποστολή. Cf. *episcopi munus* for ἐπισκοπή at 1 *Tim.* 3,1. By this change, Erasmus makes clear that ἀπόστολος or "apostle" here refers to the practical function which Paul was called upon to fulfil, and not merely his acquisition of an honorific title. See also *Annot.* The terms *apostolus* and *apostolicus* are not found in classical authors. Valla *Annot.* interpreted the meaning as *in apostolatum*. For *munus*, see further Valla *Elegantiae*, VI, 39; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 278, ll. 976-979.

3 *qui genitus fuit* τοῦ γενομένου ("qui factus est ei" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "qui factus est" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). For Erasmus' avoidance of *facio*, see on *Ioh.* 1,15. The Vulgate is ambiguous here. If *factus est ... ex semine Dauid* is taken to mean that the Son of God "became" from the seed of David, this has the appearance of incompleteness, omitting to say what he became. If the Vulgate wording were, alternatively, to be interpreted as meaning that the Son (with regard to his human nature) was "made" or "created" from

the seed of David, this would be a departure from the literal sense of the Greek verb. Erasmus argues in *Annot.* that the Greek word meant "began to be", and that a translation should make clear that the passage speaks of how the eternal God began to be man, i.e through the conception and birth of Christ. In his published translation, following a suggestion of Valla *Annot.*, he goes further and translates the Greek word as the equivalent of γεννηθέντος ("begotten"). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggested using *natus* ("born"). However, since neither *genitus* nor *natus* was a literal rendering of γενομένου, it was possible for his opponents to charge him with inaccuracy. Defending himself against Stunica in 1521, Erasmus objected to the clumsiness or abruptness of the Vulgate expression ("dure sonabat Latinis auribus"): see his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, pp. 162-4, ll. 984-1003. Since the Vulgate use of *ei* lacked support from Greek mss., Erasmus rejected this word as an unnecessary explanatory addition, and accordingly listed this item among the *Quae Sint Addita*, from 1519 onwards. Some years later, in 1529, he had to defend his treatment of this passage against another opponent, F. Titelmans, in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*,

LB 555   ⁴τοῦ | ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυ-
νάμει, κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, ἐξ
ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
LB 557   τοῦ | κυρίου ἡμῶν,   ⁵δι' οὗ ἐλά-
βομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολήν, εἰς
ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς
ἔθνεσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ,
⁶ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, κλητοὶ
LB 559   Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· | ⁷πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν
ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, κλητοῖς
ἁγίοις, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ
θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ.
     ⁸Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ
μου διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ

⁴qui | declaratus fuit filius dei cum   LB 556
potentia, secundum spiritum sanctifi-
cationis, ex eo quod resur | rexit e mor-   LB 558
tuis Iesus Christus dominus noster,
⁵per quem accepimus gratiam ac mu-
neris apostolici functionem, vt obedi-
atur fidei inter omnes gentes, super
ipsius nomine,   ⁶quorum de nume-
ro estis et | vos, vocati Iesu Christi.   LB 560
⁷Omnibus qui Romae estis dilectis
dei, vocatis sanctis, gratia vobis et pax
a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu
Christo.
     ⁸Primum quidem gratias ago deo
meo per Iesum Christum super

1,7 ημων *A-D*: υμων *E*

4 cum *B-E*: in *A* | e *B-E*: a *A* | 5 ac *B-E*: et *A* | obediatur *A C-E*: obediatnr *B* | 7 Romae
A B E: Rhomae *C D*

LB IX, 967 F-969 A. The word *ei* was likewise
omitted by Lefèvre, who just put *facto*, agreeing
with *filio*.

4 *qui declaratus fuit* τοῦ ὁρισθέντος ("qui prae-
destinatus est" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus follows
the Vulgate in using *definio* at *Act.* 2,23, and
constituo at *Act.* 10,42, to translate this Greek
verb. As pointed out in *Annot.*, the use of
praedestino is not only inaccurate here (= προ-
ορισθέντος), but also theologically inappro-
priate, as it appeared to contradict the doctrine
of the eternal pre-existence of the Son of God.
See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 969
B-F, on this passage. Valla *Annot.* proposed
destinato, and Lefèvre *definito*. For *declaro*, see
also Valla *Elegantiae*, V, 38; Erasmus *Paraphr.
in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 244, ll. 998-
1000.

4 *cum potentia* ἐν δυνάμει ("in virtute" Vg.;
"in potentia" 1516). When rendering ἐν in the
1519 edition, substitutions of *cum* for *in* occur
at about sixty other N.T. passages, mainly in
the Epistles, either in an instrumental sense
or to express the sense "accompanied by".

Examples of this usage can be found in some
passages of the Vulgate, e.g. at *Act.* 2,46; 5,23;
Eph. 6,19; 1 *Thess.* 2,17. See also on *Ioh.* 1,26;
Act. 17,31. In *Annot.* on the present passage,
Erasmus takes the Greek preposition as the
equivalent of *per* (see on vs. 17, below). His
purpose in using *potentia*, as explained in *Annot.*
on this verse and again on vs. 16, is to avoid
the misunderstanding of *virtus* as referring here
to moral virtue. This substitution of *potentia*
occurs thirty times in the 1516 edition, all in
the Pauline Epistles. Erasmus also suggested
using *potestas*, which he elsewhere substitutes
for *virtus* in rendering δύναμις at *Mc.* 13,26;
Lc. 4,36; 9,1 (both in 1519); *Rom.* 8,38; 1 *Cor.*
5,4; 12,28-9, following the example of the
Vulgate at *Lc.* 21,27. He further substitutes
fortitudo for *virtus* at 2 *Cor.* 12,9 (1516 only);
Eph. 3,16, in accordance with Vulgate usage
at *Act.* 6,8. At many other passages, *virtus* is
retained, and the 1519 edition restores *virtus*
in three places where it had previously been
replaced by *potentia*: 1 *Cor.* 4,19, 20; 2 *Cor.* 4,7.
Valla *Annot.* offered the same translation as
Erasmus' 1516 edition. Lefèvre had *in potestate*

in his rendering, but gave *potentia* as an alternative in *Comm.*

4 *ex eo quod resurrexit ... dominus noster* ἐξ ἀναστάσεως ... κυρίου ἡμῶν ("ex resurrectione mortuorum Iesu Christi domini nostri" Vg.). Erasmus clarifies the meaning by converting the grammatical construction into a subordinate clause. However, by combining this with the substitution of *e mortuis* (or *a mortuis* in 1516) for *mortuorum*, he changes the sense. Whereas the Greek text and the Vulgate refer to the "resurrection of the dead" (plural), Erasmus' translation here refers only to the resurrection of Christ, as if the Greek text had added ἐκ in front of νεκρῶν. The significance of this distinction is discussed at considerable length in *Annot.* See also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, pp. 220-1, ll. 474-523; *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 969 F-970 B. (A minor point of Latin style may incidentally be observed in Erasmus' use of *e* rather than *ex* before *mortuis* in this verse. Far more frequently, in the Epistles, he preferred *ex*, before consonants as well as vowels. Here, partly because of the use of *ex eo* earlier in the sentence, and also because of the occurrence of -*ex*- in the immediately preceding verb, *resurrexit*, he found it more euphonious to follow this with *e mortuis*. By contrast, at 1 *Cor.* 15,20 (1519), he was content to put *surrexit ex mortuis*). A different interpretation of the passage was offered by Valla *Annot.*, linking Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ with ὁρισθέντος rather than with ἀναστάσεως, and perhaps also substituting καί for ἐξ: his rendering was *et resurrectionis mortuorum Iesu Christo domino nostro.* Lefèvre proposed *ex resurrectione a mortuis, Ihesu Christo domino nostro.*

5 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). For Erasmus' frequent substitution of *ac* in 1519, see on *Ioh.* 1,25. Such changes were mainly for the sake of varying the vocabulary.

5 *muneris apostolici functionem* ἀποστολήν ("apostolatum" Vg.). See on vs. 1 regarding *munus apostolicum*. Erasmus retains *apostolatus* at the other three passages where ἀποστολή occurs: *Act.* 1,25; 1 *Cor.* 9,2; *Gal.* 2,8. In *Annot.*, he also approves of the renderings *functionem apostolicam* and *legationem hanc qua fungimur.* He defended his use of *functio*, against Titelmans, in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 970 B-C.

5 *vt obediatur fidei* εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ("ad obediendum fidei" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, a more literal translation, *ad obedientiam fidei*

(as adopted by Manetti and Lefèvre), suffers from ambiguity as it could be taken to refer to the obedience which faith shows, or the obedience which shows faith, or obedience to the faith. Erasmus preferred the last of these possible interpretations. He retains the gerund construction, *obediendum*, in rendering the same phrase at *Rom.* 6,16 (1519), and introduces it at 2 *Cor.* 10,5 (1519); 1 *Petr.* 1,22. At *Rom.* 16,26, inconsistently, he uses *in obedientiam fidei*, and similarly retains *in obedientiam* at *Rom.* 15,18; 1 *Petr.* 1,2.

5 *inter omnes gentes* ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ("in omnibus gentibus" Vg.). Such substitutions of *inter* ("among") are sometimes for the sake of varying the vocabulary. See on *Ioh.* 15,24. At the present passage, it helps to clarify the meaning, as the Vulgate could be misunderstood as implying that the nations were the object of faith.

5 *super ipsius nomine* ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ("pro nomine eius" Vg.). The substitution of *super* also occurs in vs. 8, and at *Rom.* 9,27; 2 *Cor.* 12,5; *Eph.* 6,20. Erasmus connects this phrase with πίστεως, whereas Lefèvre preferred to link it with ἀποστολή: see *Annot.*, and also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 970 C-D. The version of Manetti had *pro nomine suo.*

6 *quorum de numero* ἐν οἷς ("in quibus" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus gives *inter quas* as an alternative rendering. As in the previous verse, he wishes to avoid the ambiguity of *in*. For his choice of *de numero*, see further on *Ioh.* 7,50.

7 *qui Romae estis* τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ("qui sunt Romae" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, both interpretations are legitimate. Erasmus here partly follows Lefèvre, who had *qui estis Romae* (cf. also *qui agitis* in the 1516 edition, for *qui sunt* at *Eph.* 1,1).

7 *nostro et domino* ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου ("et domino nostro" late Vg.). The late Vulgate word-order lacks support from Greek mss. Cf. *Annot.* In effect, Erasmus restores the reading of the earlier Vulgate, in agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre. The reading ὑμῶν in 1535 is possibly a misprint, in view of the retention of *nostro* in the accompanying Latin translation. An identical inconsistency occurs in Lefèvre *Comm.*

8 *super* ὑπέρ ("pro" Vg.). As in vs. 5, Erasmus prefers the sense "concerning" rather than "on behalf of", in the present context.

πάντων ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν κατ-
αγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ. ⁹μάρ-
τυς γάρ μού ἐστιν ὁ θεός, ᾧ λατρεύω
ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ
τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνεί-
αν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι ¹⁰πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν
προσευχῶν μου, δεόμενος εἴπως ἤδη
ποτὲ εὐοδωθήσομαι ἐν τῷ θελήματι
τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ¹¹ἐπιποθῶ
γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα
ὑμῖν πνευματικόν, εἰς τὸ στηριχθῆναι
ὑμᾶς· ¹²τοῦτο δέ ἐστι, συμπαρακλη-
θῆναι ἐν | ὑμῖν, διὰ τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις
πίστεως, ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐμοῦ.

    ¹³Οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελ-
φοί, ὅτι πολλάκις προεθέμην ἐλθεῖν

omnibus vobis, quod fides vestra an-
nunciatur in toto mundo.   ⁹Testis
enim mihi est deus, quem colo spiritu
meo, in euangelio filii ipsius, quod
indesinenter mentionem vestri faci-
am ¹⁰semper in precibus meis, orans
si quo modo tandem aliquando pro-
sperum iter contingat, volente deo,
vt veniam ad vos.   ¹¹Desidero enim
videre vos, vt aliquod impertiar vobis
donum spirituale, quo confirmemini:
¹²hoc est, vt communem | capiam
consolationem in vobis, per mutuam
fidem, vestram simul et meam.

    ¹³Nolo autem vos ignorare fra-
tres, quod saepe proposueram venire

---

8 *alt.* υμων *B-E:* ημων *A*

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9 mihi *B-E:* meus *A* | quem colo *B-E:* cui seruio in *A* | ipsius *B-E:* sui *A* | 9-10 faciam
semper ... meis, orans *E:* facio, semper in orationibus meis deprecans *A,* faciam, semper ...
meis orans *B-D* | 11 Desidero *C-E:* Desydero *A B* | vobis donum *B-E:* donum vobis *A* |
quo *B-E:* vt *A* | 12 in vobis *B-E:* om. *A* | 13 saepe *B-E:* sepe *A*

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8 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to
make clear that this clause contains the subject
matter of Paul's giving of thanks, rather than
the reason for it. For his frequent removal of
quia, see on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti also made this
change.

8 ὑμῶν (2nd.). The use of ἡμῶν in 1516 is in
conflict with Erasmus' Greek mss. and accom-
panying Latin translation, and is unsuited to
the context. It must therefore be considered a
misprint.

8 *toto* ὅλῳ ("vniuerso" Vg.). In *Annot.,* Erasmus
complains that the Vulgate rendering is an ex-
aggeration. For other substitutions of *totus,* see
on *Act.* 5,34. This change was anticipated by
Manetti.

9 *mihi* μου ("meus" 1516). Erasmus speculates
in *Annot.* that the Vulgate use of *mihi* may re-
flect a Greek variant, μοι, which is found in
codd. D* G and a few other mss. However, in
1519 he restored the Vulgate rendering, which
he regarded as better Latin style at this point.
He similarly retained *testis enim mihi* at *Phil.* 1,8.

The more literal *meus,* adopted in Erasmus'
1516 edition, had also been used by Manetti.

9 *quem colo* ᾧ λατρεύω ("cui seruio" 1516
= Vg.). In *Annot.,* Erasmus distinguishes between
λατρεύω and δουλεύω. He here adopts the
rendering offered by Lefèvre. See further on
Act. 7,42, and see also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.,*
LB IX, 970 D-E. The version of Manetti replaced
seruio by *deseruio.*

9 *spiritu* ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ("in spiritu" 1516
= Vg.). Erasmus understands the preposition in
an instrumental sense. See *Annot.,* and see also
on *Ioh.* 1,26.

9 *ipsius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.; "sui" 1516). The use
of the reflexive pronoun is intended to refer
more clearly to God, as the subject of the
main clause. Manetti made the same change
as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

9 *indesinenter* ἀδιαλείπτως ("sine intermissi-
one" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at
1 *Thess.* 1,2; 2,13; 5,17. For Erasmus' frequent
avoidance of *sine,* see on *Ioh.* 8,7. He retains
sine intermissione for ἐκτενής at *Act.* 12,5.

9 *mentionem* μνείαν ("memoriam" Vg.). In *Annot.*, and also in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 970 E-F, Erasmus objects that the phrase *memoriam facio* is not good Latin. He makes a similar substitution at *Eph.* 1,16; 1 *Thess.* 1,2; 2 *Tim.* 1,3; *Phm.* 4. For *mentionem facio*, cf. also Valla *Elegantiae*, III, 58; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 276, ll. 911-914.

9 *faciam* ποιοῦμαι ("facio" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus prefers to use the subjunctive after *quod*. His different punctuation, in 1535, links *semper in precibus meis* with *mentionem faciam* rather than with the following *orans*.

10 *precibus* τῶν προσευχῶν ("orationibus" 1516 = Vg.). More often, Erasmus replaces *oratio* by *precatio* or *deprecatio*: see on *Act.* 1,14. The substitution of *preces*, in rendering the plural of προσευχή, also occurs at *Eph.* 1,16; 1 *Thess.* 1,2; *Phm.* 4, 22; 1 *Petr.* 3,7; *Ap. Ioh.* 8,4 (all in 1519).

10 *orans* δεόμενος ("obsecrans" Vg.; "deprecans" 1516). Erasmus reserves *obsecro* for contexts requiring the sense of "beseech". He substitutes *deprecor* for *oro* at *Lc.* 21,36 (1519). Lefèvre had *rogans*.

10 *prosperum iter contingat* εὐοδωθήσομαι ("prosperum iter habeam" Vg.). Erasmus introduces this more idiomatic use of *contingo* to avoid the inelegant combination of *habeo* and *venio*. Cf. the substitution of *contingo* for *facio* at *Lc.* 19,9 (1519). See also *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *prosperer*.

10 *volente deo* ἐν τῷ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ ("in voluntate dei" Vg.). Erasmus gives a less literal rendering, taking ἐν in an instrumental sense: see *Annot.*, and also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 970 F-971 A.

10 *vt veniam* ἐλθεῖν ("veniendi" Vg.). Erasmus here follows Lefèvre, and explains in *Annot.* that he wishes to connect this verb more closely with the preceding *orans*. The Vulgate use of the gerund *veniendi*, immediately after *dei*, obscures the meaning.

11 *aliquod ... donum spirituale* τι ... χάρισμα ... πνευματικόν ("aliquid ... gratiae spiritalis" late Vg.; "aliquod ... donum ... spirituale" 1516). In *Annot.* (cf. also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 971 A-B), Erasmus criticises the diversity of renderings of χάρισμα at other passages, as the Vulgate has *donum* at *Rom.* 5,15, 16; 11,29; 1 *Cor.* 7,7; *donatio* at *Rom.* 12,6; 2 *Cor.* 1,11; *charismata* at 1 *Cor.* 12,31; but *gratia* in nine

other instances, in translating the same Greek word. Erasmus consistently renders by *donum* ("gift") at all these passages, and reserves *gratia* ("grace") for χάρις. Further, the Vulgate use of the genitive here is unsupported by Greek mss. Erasmus' rendering closely resembles that of Lefèvre, who had *aliquod spirituale donum*. Manetti tried *aliquam gratiam spiritualem*.

11 *quo confirmemini* εἰς τὸ στηριχθῆναι ὑμᾶς ("ad confirmandos vos" Vg.; "vt confirmemini" 1516). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the passive sense of the Greek verb. Manetti put *ad confirmandum vos*.

12 *hoc* τοῦτο ("id" Vg.). The rendering of Erasmus is more literal. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *vt communem capiam consolationem* συμπαρακληθῆναι ("simul consolari" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus approves of the objection raised by Valla *Annot.*, that the Vulgate was inconsistent to retain an infinitive here, while substituting a gerundive for the infinitive in vs. 11. Valla proposed putting *ad simul consolandum*, which was also adopted by Manetti. Another suggestion of Valla was to render this by *vt vna consolationem siue solatium caperem*, which Erasmus' wording closely resembles. A further reason for avoiding *consolor* was that this verb usually has an active rather than a passive sense in classical Latin: see on *Act.* 20,12. See also the discussion of this passage in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 971 B-E. The version of Lefèvre simply had *vt consoler*, but in *Comm.* he also suggested *ad simul consolandum*.

12 *in vobis* ἐν ὑμῖν (1516 Lat. omits). The omission of these words from the 1516 rendering seems to have been accidental. Lefèvre put *vobiscum*.

12 *mutuam* ἐν ἀλλήλοις ("eam quae inuicem est" Vg.). Erasmus here adopts the simpler rendering proposed by Lefèvre, avoiding the use of *inuicem*. See also on *Ioh.* 13,34, and *Annot.*

12 *simul et* τε καί ("atque" Vg.). Erasmus, as usual, offers a more accurate rendering of τε καί. See on *Act.* 1,1. Manetti just changed *atque* to *ac*, while Lefèvre had *vestramque atque* for *vestram atque*.

13 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

13 *proposueram* προεθέμην ("proposui" Vg.). For Erasmus' fondness for the pluperfect, see on *Ioh.* 1,19.

πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐκωλύθην ἄχρι τοῦ
δεῦρο, ἵνα καρπόν τινα σχῶ καὶ
ἐν ὑμῖν, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς
ἔθνεσιν.   ¹⁴ Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβά-
ροις, σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις, ὀφει-
λέτης εἰμί·   ¹⁵ οὕτως τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ
πρόθυμον, καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμη εὐ-
αγγελίσασθαι.   ¹⁶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύ-
νομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστιν εἰς σωτη-
ρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι, Ἰουδαίῳ

ad vos, licet praepeditus fuerim ad
hunc vsque diem, quo fructum ali-
quem haberem inter vos quoque,
quemadmodum et inter reliquas gen-
tes.   ¹⁴ Graecis simul et barbaris, eru-
ditis pariter ac rudibus, debitor sum:
¹⁵ ita quantum in me est, paratus
sum vobis quoque qui Romae estis,
euangelizare.   ¹⁶ Non enim me pudet
euangelii Christi. Potentia siquidem est
dei, ad salutem omni credenti, Iudaeo

13 εκωλυθην *A-C:* εκολυθην *D E*

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13 licet ... vsque *B-E:* sed prohibitus fui vsque ad hunc *A* | inter vos *B-E:* in vobis *A* | inter
reliquas gentes *B-E:* in reliquis gentibus *A* | 14 Graecis simul *B-E:* Et graecis *A* | eruditis pariter
ac rudibus *B-E:* et sapientibus et stultis *A* | 15 in me est *B-E:* ad me attinet *A* | Romae *A E:*
Rhomae *B-D*

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13 *licet* καί ("et" Vg.; "sed" 1516). Erasmus uses
licet at several other passages in the Epistles, in
the sense of "although", to render εἰ καί, καίτοι
and καίπερ at 2 *Cor.* 11,6; *Hebr.* 4,3 (1519); 7,5,
following the example of the Vulgate at 2 *Cor.*
12,15. Cf. also on *Ioh.* 7,19, for his use of *et
tamen* to convey the adversative sense of καί at
other passages.

13 *praepeditus fuerim* ἐκωλύθην ("prohibitus
sum" Vg.; "prohibitus fui" 1516). The spelling
ἐκολύθην in 1527-35 is a misprint. In 1535
Annot., Erasmus discusses the possibility that
Paul was literally forbidden to go to Rome by
the Holy Spirit (cf. *Act.* 16,6-7), but prefers to
understand the Greek verb in its more com-
mon sense of "hinder". This was comparable
with the Vulgate use of *impedio* for ἐγκόπτω
at *Rom.* 15,22, in a similar context. Lefèvre
Comm. explained the meaning as *impedimento
detentus.*

13 *ad hunc vsque diem* ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο ("vsque
adhuc" Vg.; "vsque ad hunc diem" 1516). For
Erasmus' removal of the doubled adverbs *vsque
adhuc, vsque modo,* and *vsque nunc,* see on *Ioh.*
2,10. Lefèvre tried *hucusque.*

13 *quo* ἵνα ("vt" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes *quo*
for *vt* at eighteen other N.T. passages, mainly
for the sake of varying the vocabulary.

13 *fructum aliquèm* καρπόν τινα ("aliquem
fructum" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different
Greek word-order, τινὰ καρπόν, found in

codd. א A B C D^corr G and most other mss.,
including 1, 2105, 2816. Erasmus follows his
codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by a few other
late mss. This poorly attested variant was retained
by the *Textus Receptus.*

13 *haberem* σχῶ ("habeam" Vg.). The use of
the imperfect subjunctive follows from Erasmus'
earlier substitution of the pluperfect *proposueram.*
In 1516 *Annot.*, he had the misspelling ἐχῶ,
exactly as in Lefèvre *Comm.* and without support
from any of his usual mss.

13 *inter vos quoque* καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ("in vobis"
late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "in vobis quoque"
1516). See on vs. 5 for the substitution of *inter.*
The late Vulgate omission of *et* corresponds
with the omission of καί in cod. G and a few
other mss. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti
added *et* before *in vobis,* as found in many
Vulgate mss., while Lefèvre added *etiam* before
fructum.

13 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). In the
Epistles, Erasmus uses *quemadmodum* far more
frequently than *sicut,* in rendering ὡς, ὥσπερ
and καθώς. This substitution also occurs in
the Gospels, but less often. See on *Act.* 11,15.
Lefèvre made the same change.

13 *inter reliquas gentes* ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθ-
νεσιν ("in caeteris gentibus" Vg.; "in reliquis
gentibus" 1516). For *inter,* see on vs. 5. Other
substitutions of *reliqui* for *caeteri* occur at
Mc. 16,13; *Act.* 15,17; *Rom.* 11,7; 1 *Cor.* 7,12;

2 *Cor.* 13,2; *Phil.* 4,3, 8, in rendering λοιποί and κατάλοιποι.

14 *Graecis simul et* Έλλησί τε καί ("Graecis ac" Vg.; "Et graecis et" 1516). For Erasmus' greater accuracy in rendering τε καί, see on *Act.* 1,1. In *Annot.,* he also suggests *Graecisque ac.* Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition. Valla *Annot* proposed *Graecis pariter et.*

14 *eruditis pariter ac* σοφοῖς τε καί ("sapientibus et" Vg.; "et sapientibus et" 1516). For τε καί, see again on *Act.* 1,1. In *Annot.,* Erasmus also suggests *sapientibusque et,* following Valla *Annot.* He further argues that σοφός here has more to do with acquired learning than with innate wisdom or intelligence. Cf. his replacement of *sapientia* by *eruditus* (or *eruditio* in 1516) at 1 *Cor.* 1,17. Ambrosiaster's comment was "mundanis rationibus eruditi". Manetti had *et sapientibus et* (though in *Pal. Lat.* 45, the first *et* was a later insertion). Lefèvre put *tam sapientibus quam.*

14 *rudibus* ἀνοήτοις ("insipientibus" Vg.; "stultis" 1516). In *Annot.,* Erasmus gives *crassus* or *indoctus* as alternative renderings, but rejects *stultus.* The Vulgate word, like *stultus,* meant "foolish", rather than "untaught" or "lacking in knowledge". At the other five N.T. occurrences of ἀνόητος, Erasmus retains *stultus* at *Lc.* 24,25; *Gal.* 3,3, and substitutes *stultus* for *insensatus* at *Gal.* 3,1, for *inutilis* at 1 *Tim.* 6,9, and for *insipiens* at *Tit.* 3,3. Elsewhere he substitutes *rudis* for *expers* in rendering ἄπειρος at *Hebr.* 5,13.

15 *quantum in me est, paratus sum* τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον ("quod in me promptum est" Vg.; "quantum ad me attinet, paratus sum" 1516). Erasmus gives a clearer sense than the literal Vulgate rendering. His use of *quantum* may be compared with his substitution of *quantum attinet ad carnem* in rendering τὸ κατὰ σάρκα at *Rom.* 9,5, and *quantum in vobis est* for τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν at *Rom.* 12,18. He retains *promptus* for πρόθυμος at *Mt.* 26,41; *Mc.* 14,38, and for προθυμία at 2 *Cor.* 8,11. In *Annot.,* Erasmus commends the interpretation offered by Valla *Annot.,* taking τὸ πρόθυμον as equivalent to the noun *promptitudo.* Valla rendered the phrase by *pro meo in vobis studio.* Lefèvre tried *adeo vt et in me promptitudo sit.* Manetti had the word-order *quod est in me promptum.*

15 *vobis quoque* καὶ ὑμῖν ("et vobis" Vg.). For Erasmus' increased use of *quoque,* see on

Ioh. 5,27. Manetti had *etiam vobis.* Lefèvre added *et* before *in me:* see the previous note.

16 *me pudet euangelii* ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ("erubesco euangelium" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.,* Erasmus prefers the construction of *me pudet* with the genitive, as being better Latin style. He makes a similar substitution at *Mc.* 8,38; *Lc.* 9,26 (1522); 2 *Tim.* 1,8. At 2 *Tim.* 1,16 (1522), he was content to retain *erubesco,* while converting the accompanying accusative into an ablative preceded by *de* (cf. *de quibus nunc erubescitis* at *Rom.* 6,21). Where an object was not required, he retained *erubesco* at *Lc.* 13,17; 16,3, or converted *confundor* to *erubesco* at 2 *Tim.* 1,12; *Hebr.* 2,11; 11,16. Elsewhere he makes use of *pudefacio.*

16 *Christi* τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓²⁶ ℵ A B C D* G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with D^corr and also 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. See *Annot.* A similar restoration of *Christi* occurs at 1 *Cor.* 9,18. The question here is whether certain scribes added τοῦ Χριστοῦ from familiarity with the phrase εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ at other passages, or whether some scribes (either accidentally or deliberately) omitted these words. At *Phil.* 1,27, for example, τοῦ Χριστοῦ was omitted after εὐαγγελίου by cod. ℵ*, contrary to the testimony of most other mss. At several other passages, the phrase εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ was altered to εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ, and elsewhere εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ sometimes became εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, in a few mss. At the present passage, Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

16 *Potentia* δύναμις ("Virtus" Vg.). See on vs. 4, and *Annot.* The rendering offered by Lefèvre was *potestas.*

16 *siquidem* γάρ ("enim" Vg.). This change was for the sake of stylistic variety, to avoid the repetition of *enim* from earlier in the verse. See on *Ioh.* 3,34; 4,47.

16 *est dei* θεοῦ ἐστιν ("dei est" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is more literal.

16 *ad* εἰς ("in" Vg.). This change was previously made by Lefèvre. Erasmus similarly substitutes *ad salutem* for *in salutem* at *Rom.* 10,1, 10; 2 *Cor.* 7,10 (1519); *Hebr.* 11,7; 1 *Petr.* 1,5, following the example of the Vulgate at 2 *Tim.* 3,15. However, he retains *in salutem* at *Phil.* 1,19; 2 *Thess.* 2,13; *Hebr.* 9,28.

τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι. ⁱ⁷δικαιοσύνη
γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ
πίστεως εἰς πίστιν· καθὼς | γέγραπται,
Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

ⁱ⁸Ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ θεοῦ
ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν
καὶ ἀδικίαν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν
ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντων·
ⁱ⁹διότι τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φα-
νερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς
αὐτοῖς ἐφανέρωσε. ²⁰τὰ γὰρ ἀόρα-
τα αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου
τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται,
ἥ τε ἀΐδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ

primum simul et Graeco.   ⁱ⁷Iustitia
enim dei per illud patefit ex | fide   LB 564
in fidem: sicuti scriptum est: Iustus
autem ex fide victurus est.

ⁱ⁸Palam fit enim ira dei de coelo
aduersus omnem impietatem et iniu-
stitiam hominum, qui veritatem in
iniustitia detinent: ⁱ⁹propterea quod
id quod de deo cognosci potest, ma-
nifestum est in illis. Deus enim illis
patefecit.   ²⁰Siquidem quae sunt in-
uisibilia illius, ex creatione mundi,
dum per opera intelliguntur, peruiden-
tur ipsaque aeterna eius potentia ac

LB 563

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18 ανθρωπων *C-E*: ανθροπων *A B* | 19 γνωστον *C-E*: γνοστον *A B*

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17 per illud patefit *B-E*: manifestatur *A* | 18 Palam fit *B-E*: Manifestatur *A* | 19 id ...
potest *B-E*: de deo cognobile est, id *A* | patefecit *B-E*: manifestauit *A* | 20 potentia ac *B-E*:
om. *A*

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16 *simul et* τε ... καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,1,
and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *atque.*

17 *per illud* ἐν αὐτῷ ("in eo" Vg.; 1516 Lat.
omits). For Erasmus' preference for understand-
ing ἐν in an instrumental sense, see further on
Ioh. 3,21. In the Epistles, this change from *in*
to *per* occurred about 180 times in the 1519
edition. Erasmus also rejects the frequent Vulgate
practice of using *in* with an accusative when
rendering such phrases, as this inaccurately
made ἐν the equivalent of "into". The omission
of *in eo* in the 1516 rendering here seems to
have been accidental: cf. the omission of *in
vobis* in vs. 12. By using the neuter, *illud,*
Erasmus makes a clearer connection with *euan-
gelium,* preventing the phrase from being taken
to mean "in him". Manetti put *in ipso.*

17 *patefit* ἀποκαλύπτεται ("reuelatur" Vg.; "ma-
nifestatur" 1516). The substitution of *manifesto*
for *reuelo,* in 1516, also occurs in vs. 18, and
additionally *manifesto* replaces *patefacio* at *Rom.*
16,26. The verb *patefacio,* which was more
commonly used by classical authors, is used
only once in 1516, translating γνωρίζω at *Eph.*
1,9, but in 1519 it is introduced at ten further
passages of the Epistles, usually replacing *reuelo*
and *manifesto* in rendering ἀποκαλύπτω and
φανερόω. For Erasmus' removal of *manifesto* in
1519, see on *Ioh.* 1,31. Other substitutions for

reuelo are *retego* at *Mt.* 10,26; *Lc.* 2,35 (both in
1519); 2 *Cor.* 3,18 (as recommended in *Annot.*
on *Rom.* 1,18), and *aperio* at *Lc.* 10,22 (1519),
but more often *reuelo* is retained.

17 *sicuti* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). The form *sicuti*
occurs at ten other passages in Erasmus' N.T.
translation, but only at *Eph.* 3,5; 1 *Ioh.* 3,2
in the Vulgate N.T. See also on *vti* for *vt* at
Act. 23,20.

17 *victurus est* ζήσεται ("viuit" Vg.). The present
tense of the Vulgate lacks Greek ms. support.
In *Annot.,* Erasmus gives *viuet* as an alterna-
tive rendering, which had been proposed by
Valla *Annot.,* Manetti and Lefèvre. By adopting
victurus, he perhaps hoped to prevent the trans-
lation from being accidentally changed back to
viuit, which could easily arise from the alteration
of a single letter.

18 *Palam fit* Ἀποκαλύπτεται ("Reuelatur" Vg.;
"Manifestatur" 1516). This change may be
compared with the substitution of *palam facio*
(or *palam fio*) for *reuelatio* in rendering ἀπο-
κάλυψις at *Rom.* 8,19 (1519), and for *manifesto*
in rendering φανερόω at 2 *Cor.* 7,12; 2 *Tim.*
1,10 (1519), following the example of the Vulgate
in rendering δείκνυμι at *Ap. Ioh.* 1,1. See *Annot.,*
and see also on vs. 17 above, and on *Ioh.* 1,31.

18 *aduersus* ἐπί ("super" Vg.). The stronger ren-
dering offered by Erasmus (meaning "against"

rather than "upon") is better suited to the context. Cf. on 2 *Thess.* 2,4.

18 ἀνθρώπων. The incorrect spelling ἀνθρόπων in 1516-19 perhaps arose from the typesetter misunderstanding the abbreviation ἀνῶν, customarily used in the Greek mss.

18 *qui* τῶν ("eorum qui" Vg.). Both renderings are legitimate. Lefèvre placed *eorum* before *hominum*.

18 *veritatem* τὴν ἀλήθειαν ("veritatem dei" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition has little support among the Greek mss. See *Annot.* This passage is mentioned in the *Quae Sint Addita*. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus, restoring the earlier Vulgate reading.

19 *propterea quod* διότι ("quia" Vg.; "propterea" 1516). A similar substitution of *propterea quod* occurs in vs. 21, and also at *Act.* 10,20 (1519); *Rom.* 3,20; *Hebr.* 11,5; 1 *Petr.* 1,24. Further, *propterea quod* replaces *eo quod* at *Hebr.* 11,23, and is put in place of *quoniam* at *Rom.* 8,7; 1 *Cor.* 15,9; 1 *Thess.* 2,8; 4,6; 1 *Petr.* 1,16. Cf. also on *Act.* 8,11. The Vulgate word resembles ὅτι in codd. D^corr G, though these mss. do not make the same change in vs. 21.

19 *id quod de deo cognosci potest, manifestum* τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φανερόν ("quod notum est dei, manifestum" Vg.; "quod de deo cognobile est, id manifestum" 1516). Erasmus' rendering is clearer and more accurate. See *Annot.* The word which he chose in 1516, *cognobilis*, was rare in classical usage. The incorrect spelling γνοστόν, in 1516-19, is not found in Erasmus' Basle mss. The version of Lefèvre had *notitia dei manifesta*.

19 *patefecit* ἐφανέρωσε ("manifestauit" 1516 = Vg.). see on vs. 17. By making this change, Erasmus loses the connection between φανερόν and φανερόω in this verse.

20 *Siquidem quae sunt inuisibilia* τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα ("Inuisibilia enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34; 4,47, regarding *siquidem*. Erasmus is more precise in providing a rendering of τά. Lefèvre had *Nam inuisibilia*.

20 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("ipsius" Vg.). Erasmus no doubt felt that a reflexive pronoun was unduly emphatic here. Similar substitutions of *is* or *ille* for *ipse* occur quite frequently at other passages. In Romans - 2 Thessalonians, there are thirty-seven instances of this kind of change, not including passages affected by the use of a

different Greek text. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *eius*.

20 *ex creatione* ἀπὸ κτίσεως ("a creatura" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek text, and resembles the wording of Valla *Annot.* and Manetti, who both proposed *a creatione*, though neither *creatio* nor *creatura* is used in such a context among classical authors (in *Pal. Lat.* 45, *creatione* is a later correction). See *Annot.* Erasmus usually retains *creatura* for κτίσις, and *a* for ἀπό in such phrases. Lefèvre had *a conditione*.

20 *dum ... intelliguntur* νοούμενα ("intellecta" Vg.). Erasmus conveys the continuous sense of the present participle more accurately. Other instances of the use of *dum* for this purpose can be found at e.g. *Mt.* 13,29; *Act.* 1,3; 14,17 (1519); *Rom.* 3,21 (1519); 2 *Cor.* 3,3, following the example of the Vulgate at *Mt.* 25,10; *Lc.* 24,36; *Act.* 9,32. See *Annot.*

20 *per opera* τοῖς ποιήμασι ("per ea quae facta sunt" Vg.). The use of *opus* for ποίημα also occurs at *Eph.* 2,10 (1522). The simpler rendering offered by Erasmus may have been influenced by the suggestion of Valla *Annot.*, proposing *operibus* or *factis*. Manetti combined these two in *ex operibus factis*. Lefèvre had *operibus ipsis*.

20 *peruidentur* καθορᾶται ("conspiciuntur" Vg.). Erasmus does not elsewhere use *peruideo* in the N.T. The suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was *cernuntur*. Both renderings were designed to convey the sense that the *inuisibilia* were seen clearly or fully, and not merely glimpsed.

20 *ipsaque aeterna* ἥ τε ἀΐδιος ("sempiterna quoque" Vg.). For Erasmus' objections to the use of *quoque* for τε, see on *Ioh.* 2,15, and see also *Annot.* The use of *-que* was similarly recommended by Valla *Annot.* The substitution of *aeternus* for *sempiternus* also occurs in rendering εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα at *Mt.* 21,19. In rendering διὰ παντός at 2 *Thess.* 3,16, Erasmus replaces *sempiternus* by *semper*. He further substitutes *perpetuo* and *in perpetuum* for *in sempiternum* in rendering εἰς τὸ διηνεκές at *Hebr.* 10,12, 14, and also replaces *sempiternus* by *perpetuus* in rendering ἀπαράβατος at *Hebr.* 7,24. However, he retains *sempiternus* for αἰώνιος at 1 *Tim.* 6,16. Manetti had *et sempiterna* at the present passage. Lefèvre put *id est sempiterna* in his translation, but *sempiternaque* in *Comm.*

20 *potentia ac* δύναμις καί ("virtus et" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vg^st; "virtus ac" other Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; omitted in 1516 Lat.). See

θειότης, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους, ²¹διότι γνόντες τὸν θεόν, οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ εὐχαρίστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία. ²²φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοί, ἐμωράνθησαν, ²³καὶ ἤλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ, ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τε|τραπόδων καὶ ἑρπετῶν. ²⁴διὸ καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν, εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν, τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς·

diuinitas, in hoc vt sint inexcusabiles: ²¹propterea quod quum deum cognouerint, non vt deum glorificauerunt, neque grati fuerunt: sed frustrati sunt per cogitationes suas, et obtenebratum est insciens cor eorum. ²²Quum se crederent esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt: ²³mutaueruntque gloriam immortalis dei, per imaginem, non solum ad mortalis hominis similitudinem effictam, ve|rum etiam volatilium et quadrupedum et reptilium. ²⁴Quapropter tradidit illos deus per cupiditates cordium suorum, in immunditiam, vt ignominia afficiant corpora sua inter se mutuo:

LB 565

LB 566

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21   frustrati B-E: vanifacti A | per cogitationes suas B-E: in cogitationibus suis A |
23   mutaueruntque B-E: et mutauerunt A | immortalis B-E: incorruptibilis A | per ...
etiam B-E: in assimilatione imaginis corruptibilis hominis, et A | 24 per cupiditates B D E:
in desyderiis A, per cupiditares C | mutuo B-E: ipsos A

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on vs. 4 regarding the substitution of *potentia*, and on *Ioh.* 1,25 for the use of *ac*. The omission of these words from the 1516 rendering seems to have been inadvertent. Lefèvre had *potestas ac*. Manetti replaced *eius virtus et* by *virtus sua et*.

20 *in hoc vt sint* εἰς τὸ εἶναι ("ita vt sint" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "vt sint" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). In *Annot.*, Erasmus criticises the (late) Vulgate for altering the sense of the Greek, which literally expresses purpose rather than consequence. Other instances of this use of *in hoc vt* can be found e.g. at *Rom.* 3,26; 11,11; 15,13, 16. Cf. also the insertion of *ob id* or *ad hoc* in rendering πρὸς τό at 1 *Thess.* 2,9; 2 *Thess.* 3,8. Manetti had *vt ipsi sint*, and Lefèvre just *vt sint*.

21 *propterea quod* διότι ("Quia" Vg.). See on vs. 19.

21 *quum deum cognouerint* γνόντες τὸν θεόν ("cum cognouissent deum" Vg.). Either rendering is acceptable, though the Vulgate more closely adheres to the Greek word-order. A comparable change of tense occurs at vs. 32. At the present passage, Erasmus' choice of the perfect subjunctive was the same as in the version of Lefèvre, who had *cum cognouerint deum*.

21 *vt ὡς* ("sicut" Vg.) In the Pauline Epistles, Erasmus tends to avoid using *sicut* with nouns. Other such changes are to be found e.g. at *Rom.* 5,15; 9,29; 1 *Cor.* 7,7-8; 14,33. Lefèvre put *tanquam*.

21 *neque ἢ* ("aut" Vg.). Cod. 2815 substituted καί for ἢ. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and nearly all other mss. He also, no doubt, regarded the sequence *non ... neque* as better style than *non ... aut*.

21 *grati fuerunt* εὐχαρίστησαν ("gratias egerunt" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus usually retains *gratias ago* for this Greek verb.

21 *frustrati sunt* ἐματαιώθησαν ("euanuerunt" Vg.; "vanifacti sunt" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to *euanesco*, in the sense of "vanish", as being inaccurate and unsuited to the context. He also introduces *frustror* at *Hebr.* 4,1, to render ὑστερέω. His choice of *vanifacio* in 1516 is not found in classical authors. The use of *frustror* was suggested in Lefèvre *Comm.*

21 *per cogitationes suas* ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν ("in cogitationibus suis" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 17.

21 *obtenebratum est* ἐσκοτίσθη ("obscuratum est" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at

Rom. 11,10. Cf. *Eph.* 4,18, where Erasmus replaces *tenebris obscuratus* with *obtenebratus*. The verb *obtenebro*, however, does not occur in classical Latin. For Erasmus' fondness for words commencing with *ob-*, see on *Act.* 10,38.

21 *insciens* ἀσύνετος ("insipiens" Vg.). Erasmus reserves *insipiens* for ἄφρων at six passages, and once for ἄσοφος. At *Rom.* 1,31, he renders ἀσύνετος by *expers intelligentiae*, and at *Rom.* 10,19 by *stultus*.

22 *Quum se crederent* φάσκοντες ("Dicentes enim se" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggested *putarent* or *profiterentur*. The latter rendering would have been more accurate. He retains *dico* for φάσκω at *Act.* 24,9; *Ap. Ioh.* 2,2. In cod. 2815, καί is inserted before φάσκοντες, with little other ms. support. Erasmus here followed cod. 2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816. In omitting *enim*, he is closer to the Greek text, and further noted in *Annot.* the omission of this word in some Vulgate mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre likewise omitted *enim*.

23 *mutaueruntque* καὶ ἤλλαξαν ("et mutauerunt" 1516 = Vg.). For the use of *-que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39.

23 *immortalis* ἀφθάρτου ("incorruptibilis" 1516 = Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Petr.* 1,4, 23. As indicated in *Annot.*, this change was better suited to the context, and in accord with Vulgate usage at 1 *Tim.* 1,17. However, Erasmus uses *incorruptibilis*, a non-classical expression, for ἄφθαρτος at 1 *Cor.* 15,52 (1519). At 1 *Cor.* 9,25, he replaces *incorruptus* by *aeternus*, in rendering the same Greek word. See also on *immortalitas* for ἀφθαρσία at *Rom.* 2,7.

23 *per imaginem ... etiam* ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καί ("in similitudinem imaginis corruptibilis hominis, et" Vg.; "in assimilatione imaginis corruptibilis hominis, et" 1516). Erasmus uses an extra five words to clarify the meaning, though his construction *non solum ... sed etiam* is not warranted by the Greek text. See *Annot.*, and also on vs. 17 for *per*. A similar substitution of *mortalis* occurs at 1 *Petr.* 1,23. In rendering φθαρτός elsewhere, Erasmus replaces *corruptibilis* with *periturus* at 1 *Cor.* 9,25, and with *caducus* at 1 *Petr.* 1,18. At the same time, he is content to use *corruptibilis* at 1 *Cor.* 15,53-4, because of the need to put *mortalis* for θνητός in 1 *Cor.* 15,54. His use of *assimilatio* in the present verse in 1516 is paralleled by the substitution of *assimulatio*, again in 1516 only, in rendering ὁμοίωμα at

Rom. 8,3. Lefèvre omitted *imaginis* from his translation, but not in *Comm.*

23 *volatilium* πετεινῶν ("volucrum" Vg.). This change is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 6,26; *Act.* 10,12; 11,6. More often, Erasmus retains *volucris*.

23 *reptilium* ἑρπετῶν ("serpentium" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,12. Manetti and Lefèvre both preferred the spelling *serpentum*.

24 *Quapropter* διὸ καί ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. In leaving καί untranslated, Erasmus follows the Vulgate, though the latter reflects a text in which καί is omitted, as in codd. ℵ A B C and some other mss. His Greek text here follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with D G and most other mss., including 1, 2105, 2816. The version of Manetti had *Quare*, and Lefèvre *Propter quod et*.

24 *per cupiditates* ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ("in desideria" Vg.; "in desyderiis" 1516). See on vs. 17 for *per*. The word *cupiditas*, here referring to sinful desire, is better suited to the context. A similar substitution of *cupiditas* for *desiderium* occurs at 1 *Tim.* 6,9 and *Iud.* 18 (1519). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests using *concupiscentias*. His rendering in 1516 exactly agreed with that of Lefèvre.

24 *cordium* τῶν καρδιῶν ("cordis" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. The Vulgate singular is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. See *Annot.* and Valla *Annot.* The versions of Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

24 *suorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.). This substitution produces consistency with *corpora sua* later in the sentence. Manetti made the same change, while Valla *Annot.* had *sui*.

24 *vt ignominia afficiant* τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι ("vt contumeliis afficiant" Vg.). The Vulgate phrase would be more appropriate to the utterance of verbal insults than to the present context of dishonouring the human body by immoral behaviour. A similar substitution of *ignominia* occurs at *Rom.* 9,21, in rendering ἀτιμία. Erasmus further replaces *inhonoro* by *ignominia afficio* at *Ioh.* 8,49 (1519): see *ad loc.* However, he uses *contumeliis* (or *contumelia*) *afficio* for ἀτιμάζω at *Lc.* 20,11; *Act.* 5,41 (1519). Erasmus' rendering of the present passage is identical with that of Lefèvre. Manetti had *vt inhonorent*.

24 *inter se mutuo* ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ("in semet ipsis" Vg.; "inter se ipsos" 1516). A similar substitution of *vobis mutuo* occurs in rendering ἑαυτοῖς at

²⁵ οἵτινες μετήλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει, καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

²⁶ Διὰ τοῦτο παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας· αἵ τε γὰρ θήλειαι αὐτῶν μετήλλαξαν τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν, εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν· ²⁷ ὁμοίως τε καὶ οἱ ἄρσενες, ἀφέντες τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας, ἐξεκαύθησαν

²⁵ qui commutarunt veritatem eius mendacio: et venerati sunt, colueruntque ea quae condita sunt, supra eum qui condidit, qui est laudandus in secula, amen.

²⁶ Quamobrem tradidit eos deus in cupiditates ignominiosas: nam et foeminae illorum mutauerunt naturalem vsum, in eum qui est praeter naturam: ²⁷ similiterque et masculi, relicto naturali vsu foeminae, exarserunt

26 χρησιν *B-E*: χρησιν της θηλειας *A* | 27 θηλειας *A B E*: θυλειας *C D*

25 mendacio *B-E*: in mendacio *A* | et venerati sunt *Aᶜ B-E*: om. *A** | colueruntque *B-E*: et coluerunt *A* | secula *C-E*: saecula *A B* | 26 Quamobrem *B-E*: Propter hoc *A* | vsum *B-E*: vsum foeminae *A*

Col. 3,13. See on *Ioh.* 13,34 for the use of *mutuo*, and on *Ioh.* 15,24 regarding *inter*. See also *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *in se ipsis*.

25 *qui* οἵτινες ("quia" late Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, giving the same rendering as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

25 *commutarunt* μετήλλαξαν ("commutauerunt" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *transmutauerunt*, a word which had already been used by Manetti. Erasmus usually retains the longer form of the perfect tense, *-auerunt*. Other instances of the shortened form are found e.g. at *Mt.* 9,31; 14,12; 21,7; *Mc.* 16,13; *Act.* 6,11. Occasionally, for stylistic variety, he also uses shortened forms of the perfect subjunctive (*-arim, -aris, -arit*).

25 *eius* αὐτοῦ ("dei" Vg.). Erasmus here follows cod. 2815, apparently without other ms. support, and somewhat implausibly justified this reading in *Annot.* on the grounds that it avoided a repetition of the name of God, in view of the occurrence of θεός near the beginning of vs. 24. The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having τοῦ θεοῦ, attested by codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817 and virtually all other mss. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus cites both readings without appearing to be aware of the discrepancy: in his notes on vs. 23 he refers forward to this passage as having τοῦ θεοῦ, but in his note on vs. 25 he gives αὐτοῦ as the text.

25 *mendacio* ἐν τῷ ψεύδει ("in mendacium" late Vg.; "in mendacio" 1516 = Vg. mss.). Again Erasmus takes ἐν in an instrumental sense: see on *Ioh.* 1,26, and *Annot.*

25 *et venerati sunt, colueruntque* καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν ("et coluerunt et seruierunt" Vg.; "et venerati sunt et coluerunt" 1516 errata). In *Annot.*, Erasmus distinguishes between σεβάζομαι (here rendered by *veneror*), in the sense of showing reverence for divinity and majesty, and λατρεύω, as meaning "worship". Elsewhere he is sometimes content to retain *colo* for the related verb, σέβομαι. See also on *colo* in vs. 9, above. For *-que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39. The rendering adopted in the 1516 errata is exactly that of Lefèvre. Manetti substituted *deseruierunt* for *seruierunt*.

25 *ea quae condita sunt* τῇ κτίσει ("creaturae" Vg.). In using the plural, Erasmus is less strictly literal than the Vulgate. For his treatment of κτίσις, see on vs. 20. He also uses *condo* to replace *creo* in rendering κτίζω at 1 *Cor.* 11,9; *Eph.* 2,10; 3,9; 4,24; *Col.* 3,10, and in rendering κατασκευάζω at *Hebr.* 3,4. A problem with *condo* is that in classical usage it tends to mean "establish" or "compose", without implying a divine act of creation from nothing. At the present passage, Lefèvre put *creaturam*.

25 *supra* παρά ("potius quam" Vg.). Erasmus here understands παρά in the sense of "beyond" or "more than", whereas *potius quam* would

imply "rather than" or "instead of". At *Lc.* 13,2, he follows the Vulgate in rendering παρά by *prae*, in a similar context. Cf. his use of *supra* for παρά at *Lc.* 13,4 (1516 only), or *vltra* at *Lc.* 13,4 (1519); *Hebr.* 1,9. See also *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *praeter creatorem* for *potius quam creatori.* Lefèvre rendered by *praetermisso creatore*, though in *Comm.* he also made use of *praeter eum qui creauit.*

25 *eum qui condidit* τὸν κτίσαντα ("creatori" Vg.). By using a verb, Erasmus keeps closer to the sense of the Greek participle. See also *Annot.* His rendering may have been partly influenced by Lefèvre *Comm.*: see the previous note.

25 *laudandus* εὐλογητός ("benedictus" Vg.). A similar change occurs, in the interests of accuracy, at *Lc.* 1,68 (1519); *Rom.* 9,5; *2 Cor.* 11,31 (1519); *1 Petr.* 1,3. The Greek expression meant "should be praised" rather than "is blessed". See *Annot.*, and also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 164, ll. 5-17, where Erasmus explains that some readers might otherwise suppose that *benedictus* referred to the practice of making the sign of the cross. He retains *benedictus* for this Greek word at *Mc.* 14,61; *2 Cor.* 1,3; *Eph.* 1,3.

26 *Quamobrem* Διὰ τοῦτο ("Propterea" Vg.; "Propter hoc" 1516). The word *quamobrem* is used by Erasmus elsewhere only at *2 Cor.* 12,10, to render διό. His rendering in 1516 was exactly that of Lefèvre. Manetti put *Ideo.*

26 *eos ... illorum* αὐτούς ...αὐτῶν ("illos ... eorum" Vg.). By altering these pronouns, Erasmus avoids the repetitive appearance of *eorum ... eum* within the same clause. Manetti and Lefèvre had *eos ... eorum.*

26 *cupiditates* πάθη ("passiones" Vg.). The word *passio* is rare in classical Latin. In *Annot.*, Erasmus went further and described it as a novel and artificial expression. He recommended using *affectus*, which was also the preference of Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, and which Erasmus adopted at *1 Thess.* 4,5. At *Col.* 3,5, he rendered πάθος by *mollicies.* The use of *cupiditas* at the present passage obscures the distinction between πάθος and ἐπιθυμία, especially when (in 1519) the latter term is rendered by *cupiditas* in vs. 24, above.

26 *ignominiosas* ἀτιμίας ("ignominiae" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal, but for the sake of clarity Erasmus uses an adjective: see *Annot.*,

where he also suggests *dedecorosos* or *contumeliosos.* Valla *Annot.* proposed *contumeliae.*

26 *et* τε (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

26 *mutauerunt* μετήλλαξαν ("immutauerunt" Vg.). By making this change while retaining *mutauerunt* for ἤλλαξαν in vs. 23, Erasmus removes the slight distinction between the two Greek verbs. In vs. 25, on the other hand, he was content to retain *commuto* for μεταλλάσσω. The present change may have been influenced by Lefèvre, who had the same wording.

26 *vsum* χρῆσιν ("vsum foeminae" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus followed cod. 2815, which added τῆς θηλείας, with little other ms. support. His codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817 all have just χρῆσιν. In 1519 *Annot.*, he describes the other reading as a mistaken addition, taken from the following sentence (in vs. 27).

26 *eum* τήν ("eum vsum" Vg.). The Vulgate addition partly corresponds with the addition of χρῆσιν after φύσιν in codd. D* G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

26 *praeter* παρά ("contra" Vg.). The same substitution, in rendering παρά in the sense of "beyond", occurs at *Rom.* 4,18; 11,24, following the example of the Vulgate at *1 Cor.* 3,11; *Gal.* 1,8, 9; *Hebr.* 11,11. Erasmus retains *contra* for παρά at *Act.* 18,13, and even substitutes *contra* for *praeter* at *Rom.* 16,17. Manetti anticipated Erasmus' use of *praeter* at the present passage.

27 *similiterque* ὁμοίως τε ("Similiter autem" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a text substituting δέ for τε, as in codd. A D* G and many other mss., including 2816. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817 in company with ℵ B D^corr and a large section of the later mss., including cod. 1. In cod. C, together with cod. 2105 and many other late mss., τε is simply omitted, corresponding with the omission of *autem* in Manetti's translation.

27 ἄρσενες (1st.). The text of cod. 2815* here had ἄρρενες, which was corrected (possibly by Erasmus) to read ἄρσενες, as found in cod. 2817 together with 𝔓^40vid B D* G and a few later mss. The reading ἄρρενες, which Erasmus rejected, had additional support from codd. 1, 2105, 2816, along with most other mss., commencing with ℵ A C D^corr.

ἐν τῇ ὀρέξει αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἄρ-
σενες ἐν ἄρσεσι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατ-
εργαζόμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν, ἣν ἔδει
τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολαμ-
βάνοντες. ²⁸ καὶ καθὼς οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν
τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, παρέδω-
κεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν,
ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, ²⁹ πεπληρω-
μένους πάσῃ ἀδικίᾳ, πορνείᾳ, | πονη-
ρίᾳ, πλεονεξίᾳ, κακίᾳ, μεστοὺς φθόνου,

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per appetentiam sui, alius in alium,
masculi in masculos foeditatem per-
petrantes, et praemium quod oportuit
erroris sui in sese recipientes. ²⁸ Et
quemadmodum non probauerunt vt
deum agnoscerent, ita tradidit eos
deus in reprobam mentem, vt face-
rent quae non conueniebat: ²⁹ repleti
omni iniustitia, scortatione, versu-
tia, auaritia, malitia, pleni inuidia,

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27 per appetentiam *B-E*: in appetentia *A* | sese *B-E*: seipsos *A* | 28 agnoscerent *B-E*: haberent
in cognitione *A* | 29 scortatione *B-E*: fornicatione *A* | versutia *A*ᶜ *B-E*: om. *A**

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27 *per appetentiam sui* ἐν τῇ ὀρέξει αὐτῶν ("in
desideriis suis" Vg.; "in appetentia sui" 1516).
The Vulgate use of the plural was less accurate.
Erasmus wished to distinguish ὄρεξις from
ἐπιθυμία. Cf. *Annot.* He understands αὐτῶν as
a reflexive pronoun, referring to mutual lust.
For Erasmus' innovation in 1519, in using the
rough breathing on the third-person pronoun,
see on *Ioh.* 2,21. In Romans - 2 Thessalonians,
the 1519 edition has nine other instances of
αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, αὐτῶν, etc., at *Rom.* 2,15; 8,29;
1 *Cor.* 11,4; *Gal.* 4,25; *Eph.* 1,5, 9 (twice), 20;
Col. 2,15. Of these, αὐτοῦ at 1 *Cor.* 11,4
reverted to αὐτοῦ in 1527. At *Eph.* 1,9, αὐτοῦ
(1st.) became αὐτοῦ from 1522 onwards, and
at 2 *Cor.* 3,14, αὐτῶν became αὐτῶν in 1535.
The only instance noticed in the 1516 edition,
in this part of the N.T., is at 1 *Cor.* 8,3, where
the rough breathing on the pronoun was clearly
a printing error (ὑπ' αὐτοῦ). It may incidentally
be noted that in Erasmus' editions, contrary to
modern practice, breathings and accents were
frequently placed on the first vowel of an initial
diphthong (e.g. as αὐτοῦ, at the passage just
mentioned). In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus incorrectly
omits τῇ, contrary to the wording of his Basle
mss. The version of Manetti had *in desiderio suo,*
and Lefèvre *in concupiscentia sua.*

27 *alius in alium* εἰς ἀλλήλους ("in inuicem"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33 for Erasmus' avoidance
of *inuicem*. Manetti's version omitted this phrase.
Lefèvre put *in se inuicem.*

27 *foeditatem* τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην ("turpitudi-
nem" Vg.). At *Ap. Ioh.* 16,15, the only other
N.T. occurrence of this Greek word, Erasmus
retains *turpitudo.* At *Eph.* 5,4, rendering αἰσχρό-
της, he replaces *turpitudo* with *obscoenitas.*

27 *perpetrantes* κατεργαζόμενοι ("operantes"
Vg.). Erasmus wishes to convey the greater
emphasis of the Greek compound verb. A si-
milar substitution occurs at *Rom.* 2,9; 7,17, 20
(both in 1519). He further substitutes *pario* at
Rom. 5,3; 2 *Cor.* 4,17; 7,10; *Iac.* 1,3; *gigno* at
Rom. 7,8, 13; 2 *Cor.* 7,11; *ago* at *Rom.* 7,15; *patro*
at 1 *Cor.* 5,3; *adfero* at 2 *Cor.* 7,10; and *efficio*
at 2 *Cor.* 9,11; *Iac.* 1,20. However, he retains
operor at *Rom.* 4,15; *Phil.* 2,12.

27 *praemium quod* τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν, ἣν ("merce-
dem quam" Vg.). From *Annot.*, it appears that
Erasmus felt that *praemium* better conveyed the
required sense of retribution, but *merces* can
also have this meaning in classical authors. A
similar substitution of *praemium* occurs in ren-
dering μισθός at *Mt.* 5,46; 6,1; 1 *Cor.* 9,17, 18,
though without any pejorative connotation.
Manetti tried *conuenientem mercedem quam.*

27 *sese* ἑαυτοῖς ("semet ipsis" Vg.; "seipsos"
1516). See on *Ioh.* 7,35 for Erasmus' use of *sese.*
Lefèvre had *seipsis.*

28 *quemadmodum ... ita* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 1,13.

28 *vt ... agnoscerent* ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει ("habere
in notitia" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with
Vgˢᵗ; "habere in notitiam" some Vg. mss., with
Vgʷʷ; "vt ... haberent in cognitione" 1516). In
Annot., Erasmus argues that ἐπίγνωσις here
means a grateful acknowledgment rather than
merely intellectual knowledge. Cf. also on
Ioh. 8,43. He retains *notitia* for γνῶσις at
2 *Cor.* 2,14.

28 *eos* αὐτούς ("illos" late Vg. and some Vg.
mss., with Vgʷʷ). Erasmus frequently removes
the pronoun, *ille*, sometimes for the sake of

variety, and sometimes because it appeared unduly emphatic. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change here. The reading *eos* is also found in some Vulgate mss., together with Vgst.

28 ὁ θεός. These two words were omitted in cod. 2815, accompanied by אׁ * A 0172* and a few later mss. Erasmus' text here follows cod. 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816^{vid} and most other mss., commencing with אׁ ^{corr} B C D G 0172^{corr}.

28 *reprobam mentem* ἀδόκιμον νοῦν ("reprobum sensum" Vg.). A similar change from *sensus* ("sense" or "perception") to the more accurate *mens* ("mind") is made at thirteen other passages, e.g. in rendering νοῦς at *Lc.* 24,45; *Rom.* 11,34; 12,2; 14,5; 1 *Cor.* 1,10, and διάνοια at *Col.* 1,21; 1 *Ioh.* 5,20. See *Annot.* At *Eph.* 4,17 (1516 only) and *Phil.* 4,7, Erasmus replaces *sensus* by *intellectus*, as used by the Vulgate at *Ap. Ioh.* 13,18. Lefèvre *Comm.* offered the same rendering as Erasmus, though Lefèvre's preferred translation was *improbam mentem*.

28 *vt facerent* ποιεῖν ("vt faciant" Vg.). Either rendering is satisfactory, following the use of *tradidit* earlier in the sentence. Manetti preferred *ad faciendum*, and Lefèvre *faciendi*.

28 *quae non conueniebat* τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα ("ea quae non conueniunt" late Vg.). The impersonal, singular verb *conueniebat* implies an accompanying infinitive, such as *facere*, which Erasmus idiomatically leaves unexpressed. See also *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *quae non decent*.

29 *repleti ... pleni* πεπληρωμένους ... μεστούς ("repletos ... plenos" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the accusative refers back to *illos* in vs. 28. Erasmus uses the nominative, to agree with the implied subject of *facerent*: see *Annot.*

29 *iniustitia* ἀδικίᾳ ("iniquitate" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to give a more literal rendering of the Greek word, as meaning "injustice", though *iniustitia* does not adequately convey the additional connotation of "unrighteousness". The word *iniquitas* was more frequently used among classical authors, originally meaning "inequality" or "unfairness": it was only at a later period that it acquired the meaning of "sin" and "wickedness". A similar substitution occurs at nine other passages, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 7,18; *Rom.* 1,18. At a further nine passages, *iniquitas* is retained in rendering the same Greek word. See also on

Act. 3,26. The spelling in 1516-22 is usually *iniusticia*. In 1527, all instances of *iniusticia* in Romans were changed to *iniustitia*, and finally in 1535 this change was made in the other N.T. books. Lefèvre made the same substitution of *iniusticia* here.

29 *scortatione ... malitia* πορνείᾳ, πονηρίᾳ, πλεονεξίᾳ, κακίᾳ ("malitia, fornicatione, auaritia, nequitia" Vg.; "fornicatione, auaritia, malitia" 1516 Lat. text). In cod. 2815, πονηρίᾳ is omitted, in company with D^{supp}* G and a few later mss., corresponding with the omission of *versutia* (or *nequitia*) in the 1516 printed text of Erasmus' Latin translation. Possibly it was his original intention to omit πονηρίᾳ from his Greek text. However, during the typesetting of the volume, either Erasmus or his assistants adopted πονηρίᾳ from cod. 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816^{vid} and most other late mss., and the Latin translation was subsequently made to conform with this in the 1516 errata list. In codd. אׁ A B C 0172^{vid}, πονηρίᾳ is included, but πορνείᾳ omitted, and these mss. further present several different varieties of word-order for this passage. In *Annot.*, Erasmus observed that such lists were commonly subject to textual variation among the mss., though his criticisms of the Vulgate rendering of κακίᾳ and πονηρίᾳ reflect an assumption that the Vulgate was based on the same Greek word-order that he found in Greek mss. such as cod. 2817. He claimed that the Vulgate use of *nequitia* and *malitia* corresponded respectively with κακίᾳ and πονηρίᾳ, but in view of Vulgate practice at most other passages, it appears more likely that the opposite is the case, and that the Vulgate *nequitia* here represents πονηρίᾳ, and *malitia* κακίᾳ (a rare exception is the Vulgate use of *nequitia* for κακία at *Act.* 8,22). The implied Greek word-order underlying the Vulgate would then be κακίᾳ, πορνείᾳ, πλεονεξίᾳ, πονηρίᾳ, despite the absence of early ms. support for this reading. In his translation of πονηρίᾳ, Erasmus' use of *versutia* is hence better understood as a replacement for *nequitia*, and not for *malitia* as alleged in *Annot.* Other substitutions of *versutia* for *nequitia* occur in rendering πονηρία at 1 *Cor.* 5,8, and in rendering κυβείᾳ at *Eph.* 4,14. Elsewhere Erasmus used *versutia* for ῥᾳδιουργία at *Act.* 13,10 (1519), and for πανουργία at *Lc.* 20,23; 2 *Cor.* 11,3. The only Vulgate N.T. instance of *versutia* is in rendering ὑπόκρισις at *Mc.* 12,15, where Erasmus replaces it with

φόνου,   ἔριδος,   δόλου,   κακο-   caede, conten | tione, dolo, malis prae-
ηθείας,   ψιθυριστάς,   ³⁰ καταλάλους,   diti moribus, susurrones,   ³⁰ obtrecta-
θεοστυγεῖς,   ὑβριστάς,   ὑπερηφά-   tores, dei osores, contumeliosi, elati,
νους,   ἀλαζόνας,   ἐφευρετὰς   κα-   gloriosi, excogitatores malorum, paren-
κῶν,   γονεῦσιν   ἀπειθεῖς,   ³¹ ἀσυ-   tibus immorigeri,   ³¹ expertes intelli-
νέτους,   ἀσυνθέτους,   ἀστόργους,   gentiae, pactorum haudquaquam tena-
ἀσπόνδους,   ἀνελεήμονας·   ³² οἵτινες   ces, alieni a charitatis affectu, nescii
τὸ   δικαίωμα   τοῦ   θεοῦ   ἐπι-   foederis, immisericordes: ³² qui quum
γνόντες,   ὅτι   οἱ   τὰ   τοιαῦτα   dei iustitiam nouerint, nempe quod
πράσσοντες   ἄξιοι   θανάτου   εἰσίν,   ii qui talia faciunt, digni sint morte,

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29   caede *B-E*: cede *A* | **30**   obtrectatores *B-E*: oblocutores *A* | excogitatores *B-E*:
inuentores *A* | **31**   pactorum haudquaquam tenaces *B-E*: incompositi *A*

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simulatio. For his removal of *nequitia* from the
N.T., see further on *Act.* 3,26, and for the
substitution of *scortatio* for *fornicatio*, see on *Ioh.*
8,41. Lefèvre put *fornicatione, nequitia, auaritia,
malignitate.*

29   *caede* φόνου ("homicidiis" late Vg.; "homi-
cidio" Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate use of the
plural has little ms. support other than φόνων
in cod. G. See *Annot.* A similar substitution
of *caedes* occurs at *Mt.* 15,19; *Mc.* 15,7; *Gal.*
5,21, following the example of the Vulgate at
Act. 9,1. Erasmus retains *homicidium* for φόνος
at *Mc.* 7,21; *Lc.* 23,19, 25; *Ap. Ioh.* 9,21, and
also in rendering φονεύω at *Mt.* 19,18. At the
present passage, his adoption of *caede* coincides
with the rendering of Lefèvre. Manetti had
homicidio.

29   *malis praediti moribus* ... κακοηθείας ("ma-
lignitate" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that
malignitas denotes "meanness", whereas κακο-
ήθεια suggested a harsh disposition. In 1519,
similarly, he replaced *malignus* by *malus* in four
places. Lefèvre had *deprauata consuetudine.*

30   *obtrectatores* καταλάλους ("detractores" Vg.;
"oblocutores" 1516). Erasmus distinguished be-
tween a *detractor*, who undermines someone's
reputation, and an *obtrectator*, who declaims
abusively against another person ("qui male
praedicat"): see *Annot.* The word *oblocutor*, adop-
ted in 1516, was extremely rare in classical
usage (found only in Plautus *Miles Gloriosus*
643).

30   *dei osores* θεοστυγεῖς ("deo odibiles" Vg.).
As Erasmus points out in *Annot.*, the Greek

word denotes those who hate God rather than
those who are hated by God.

30   *elati, gloriosi* ὑπερηφάνους, ἀλαζόνας ("su-
perbos, elatos" Vg.). Erasmus would have done
better to retain the more pejorative *superbus*
("proud"), as at *Lc.* 1,51; 2 *Tim.* 3,2; 1 *Petr.* 5,5.
At 2 *Tim.* 3,2, he replaces *elatus* by *fastuosus*, in
rendering ἀλαζών. In *Annot.*, he cites Plautus
in favour of his choice of *gloriosus*, in the sense
of "boastful", though at two other passages he
uses *gloriosus* in a more favourable sense, meaning
"glorious", as at *Eph.* 5,27; *Phil.* 3,21 (1519).
Lefèvre had *superbos, arrogantes.*

30   *excogitatores* ἐφευρετάς ("inuentores" 1516
= Vg.). The word *excogitator* is rare in classical
literature, but helps to make clear that such
persons produced evil schemes from within
their own minds, and that they were not merely
innocent "discoverers" of other people's sins.
In *Annot.*, he offers the non-classical *adinuen-
tores* as a literal rendering, and interprets the
Greek prefix ἐφ- as signifying that such people
produced "additional" evils. Manetti preferred
repertores.

30   *immorigeri* ἀπειθεῖς ("non obedientes" Vg.).
A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Tim.* 3,2.
Erasmus further replaces *incredibilis* by *immori-
gerus* at *Tit.* 1,16 (1516-19 only). In classical
usage, *morigerus* ("obliging") exists, but not its
opposite, *immorigerus.* In *Annot.*, Erasmus also
suggests *inobedientes*, as adopted at *Lc.* 1,17
(1519); *Act.* 26,19; *Tit.* 3,3, and which was also
used by Manetti at the present passage. Lefèvre
preferred *rebelles.*

31 *expertes intelligentiae* ἀσυνέτους ("insipientes" Vg.). See on vs. 21 (*insciens*), and for *expers* see on *Act.* 14,17. For *intelligentia*, see also on 1 *Cor.* 1,19. In 1516-27 *Annot.*, lemma, Erasmus rendered as *sine intellectu*.

31 *pactorum haudquaquam tenaces* ἀσυνθέτους ("incompositos" Vg.; "incompositi" 1516). The Vulgate translation, meaning "in a state of disorder", is inaccurate, as the Greek word refers to those who break an agreement. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites Theophylact in favour of his rendering (cod. 2105ᶜᵒᵐᵐ: τοῖς συμπεφωνημένοις μὴ ἐμμένοντας). Regarding *incompositos*, see also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 971 F-972 C. For *haudquaquam*, see on *Ioh.* 18,30.

31 *alieni a charitatis affectu* ἀστόργους ("sine affectione" Vg.). Erasmus adds *charitate* ("love"), having in mind that in classical Latin both *affectio* and *affectus*, when used without further qualification, could refer to any form of emotion. Further, whereas *affectus* was sometimes used on its own to mean "love", *affectio* did not have this specific meaning among the earlier classical authors. Cf. *Annot.* In rendering the same Greek word at 2 *Tim.* 3,3, Erasmus replaces *sine affectione* by *carentes affectu*. He also uses *affectus* at eleven other passages, e.g. in *affectu misericordiae* at *Mt.* 9,36; 14,14; *Mc.* 6,34. A comparable use of *alienus* occurs in *alienus ab auaritia* at 1 *Tim.* 3,3 and *Hebr.* 13,5. For the removal of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7. Manetti put *importunos*, and Lefèvre *sine dilectione*.

31 *nescii foederis* ἀσπόνδους ("absque foedere" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering (meaning "ignorant about agreements") is scarcely any more satisfactory than the Vulgate phrase (which means "without agreement"). At 2 *Tim.* 3,3, he makes a similar substitution of *nescius foederis* for *sine pace*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus mentions another sense of the Greek word, as meaning "irreconcilable", which would have fitted the present context. He also offers *foedifragos* ("breakers of agreements"), a rare classical word which had been adopted by Manetti.

31 *immisericordes* ἀνελεήμονας ("sine misericordia" Vg.). For the avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7, and *Annot.* This change was anticipated by Manetti and Lefèvre.

32 *quum ... nouerint* ἐπιγνόντες ("cum ... cognouissent" Vg.). Although *nosco* and *cognosco* are often used interchangeably, Erasmus sometimes distinguishes between *nosco* in the sense of "know" and *cognosco* in the sense of

"find out" or "recognise". Other substitutions of *nosco* which involve this distinction can be found at 1 *Cor.* 2,11; 8,2; *Phil.* 2,22; 2 *Tim.* 2,19. The change of tense to *nouerint* is comparable with the substitution of *cognouerint* in vs. 21. Lefèvre had *cognoscentes*.

32 *dei iustitiam* τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ ("iustitiam dei" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is closer to the Greek.

32 *nempe quod* ὅτι ("non intellexerunt quoniam" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *non intellexerunt* corresponds with the addition of οὐκ ἐνόησαν in cod. D*, or οὐκ ἔγνωσαν in cod. G (before ὅτι), though these Greek variants possibly originated as a retranslation from one of the Old Latin versions. In *Annot.*, Erasmus mentions the absence of these two words from the Greek mss., echoing a criticism made by Valla *Annot.*, and concluded that the Latin translator had added the words to complete the sense of the passage. This passage was therefore assigned to the *Quae Sint Addita*. In 1529, opposing Erasmus' correction of the Vulgate, Titelmans cited a Greek codex (formerly in the possession of Amandus of Zierikzee) which added οὐ συνῆκαν. Erasmus surmised that this item came from the Augustinian priory of Corsendonck, but it was a different ms. from the one which he himself had borrowed from that monastery when preparing his 1519 edition, namely cod. 3, as the latter does not contain these two words. See F. Titelmans *Collationes quinque super epistolam ad Romanos* (Antwerp, 1529), f. 49r, and Erasmus *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 972 C-F. In the 1516 N.T., *nempe* was used at eighteen passages (in Matthew, Mark, and the Epistles), as an explanatory addition to convey the sense of "that is". This word does not occur in the Vulgate N.T. For the substitution of *quod* for *quoniam*, see on *Ioh.* 1,20. Lefèvre and Manetti both substituted *quod* for *quoniam*, and Lefèvre further omitted *non intellexerunt*.

32 *ii qui talia faciunt* οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ("qui talia agunt" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,29 for this substitution of *facio*. Erasmus more often retains *ago* for this Greek verb. The added pronoun, *ii*, completes the grammatical construction by supplying an antecedent for *qui*.

32 *sint* εἰσίν ("sunt" Vg.). Erasmus prefers the subjunctive after the earlier *quod*. See on *Ioh.* 1,20.

οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσι.

non solum ea faciunt, verum etiam
assentiuntur iis qui faciunt.

2 Διὸ | ἀναπολόγητος εἶ, ὦ ἄν-
θρωπε, πᾶς ὁ κρίνων. ἐν ᾧ γὰρ
κρίνεις τὸν ἕτερον, σεαυτὸν κατακρί-
νεις. τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ πράσσεις ὁ κρίνων.
²οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐστι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ τοι-
αῦτα πράσσοντας. ³λογίζῃ δὲ τοῦτο,
ὦ ἄνθρωπε ὁ κρίνων τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦ-
τα πράσσοντας, καὶ ποιῶν αὐτά, ὅτι
σὺ ἐκφεύξῃ τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ; ⁴ἢ
τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας

2 Quapro|pter inexcusabilis es o
homo, quisquis es qui iudicas.
Nam hoc ipso quod iudicas alte-
rum, te ipsum condemnas. Eadem
enim facis, tu qui iudicas. ²Scimus
autem quod iudicium dei est se-
cundum veritatem aduersus eos qui
talia agunt. ³Cogitas autem hoc, o
homo qui iudicas eos qui talia faci-
unt, et facis eadem, quod tu suffugies
iudicium dei? ⁴Aut diuitias bonita-
tis illius ac tolerantiae lenitatisque

2,1 αναπολογητος *A B Cᶜ D E*: απολογητος *C** | 2 δε *B-E*: γαρ *A*

2,1 hoc ipso *B-E*: in hoc *A* | Eadem ... iudicas *B-E*: om. *A* | 4 ac *B-E*: et *A* | lenitatisque *B-E*:
et longanimitatis *A*

32 *solum* μόνον ("solum qui" late Vg. and
some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate (and Old
Latin) addition is unsupported by Greek mss.,
though in *Annot.* on *Rom.* 2,1, Erasmus alludes
to the possible existence of a text which once
had οἱ after μόνον. Lefèvre similarly omitted
qui.

32 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed etiam qui" late
Vg.). Again the late Vulgate addition of *qui*
lacks Greek support. See on *Ioh.* 15,24 for
Erasmus' use of *verum etiam*. Lefèvre had *sed
etiam*, omitting *qui*. Some Vulgate mss. also had
sed et qui, and others just *sed et*.

32 *assentiuntur* συνευδοκοῦσι ("consentiunt"
Vg.). See on *Act.* 22,20.

32 *iis qui faciunt* τοῖς πράσσουσι ("facienti-
bus" Vg.). Erasmus' fuller rendering takes more
account of the Greek article τοῖς. Lefèvre put
agentibus.

2,1 *Quapropter* Διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on
Act. 10,29. This change was in agreement with
the wording of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

1 *quisquis es* πᾶς ("omnis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.*
4,14, and *Annot.* Erasmus may have been in-
fluenced by Lefèvre's use of *quicunque es*.

1 *Nam hoc ipso quod* ἐν ᾧ γάρ ("In quo enim"
Vg.; "Nam in hoc" 1516). For *nam*, see on *Ioh.*
3,34. Erasmus takes ἐν ᾧ as meaning "insofar
as" or "by virtue of the fact that", rather than
"in whom" or "in what": see *Annot.*

1 *iudicas alterum* κρίνεις τὸν ἕτερον ("alterum
iudicas" late Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek
word-order more literally, in agreement with
the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti.
Lefèvre put *iudicas alium*.

1 *Eadem ... iudicas* τὰ γὰρ ... κρίνων (omitted
in 1516 Lat.). The omission of this sentence in
the 1516 rendering was probably accidental,
and unrelated to the Greek mss. It could have
arisen from a mistake of the typesetter, mis-
understanding Erasmus' intended correction
of *quae* to *qui*.

1 *facis* πράσσεις ("agis" Vg.). See on *Act.*
15,29.

1 *tu qui* ὁ ("quae" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.).
In 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus speculates that the
late Vulgate reading may have been based on
a different Greek text, having ἃ κρίνεις in-
stead of ὁ κρίνων, but he did not find this
reading in his Greek mss. Both Manetti and
Lefèvre put *qui*, as in some mss. of the earlier
Vulgate.

2 *autem* δέ ("enim" Vg.). In the 1516 Greek
text, the reading γάρ was taken from cod.
2817, in company with ℵ C and a few later
mss., together with the Vulgate. In 1519, Erasmus
corrected this to δέ, with support from codd.
1, 3, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss.,
commencing with A B D. The substitution of
autem was in agreement with the wording of
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20.
Manetti and Lefèvre again made the same
change as Erasmus.

2 *aduersus* ἐπί ("in" Vg.). See on *Act.* 9,1.

2 πράσσοντας. Erasmus' cod. 2815 has the
"Attic" spelling, πράττοντας. His Greek text
here follows cod. 2817, along with 1, 2105,
2816 and most other mss.

3 *Cogitas* λογίζῃ ("Existimas" Vg.). Erasmus
felt that *existimo* meant holding a tentative or
possibly fallacious opinion on a matter, whereas
λογίζομαι implied a greater degree of certainty:
see especially *Annot.* on *Rom.* 8,18. A similar
substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 10,2 (1535); 12,6,
consistent with Vulgate usage at 1 *Cor.* 13,5, 11;
2 *Cor.* 3,5; *Phil.* 4,8. Erasmus substitutes *reputo*
at *Rom.* 6,11 (1527); 8,18; *aestimo* at 1 *Cor.* 4,1;
and *arbitror* at 2 *Cor.* 11,5. However, he retains
existimo at *Rom.* 14,14, in rendering the same
Greek verb. According to Valla, *existimo* was the
equivalent of *iudico*: see his *Elegantiae*, V, 20;
Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD*
I, 4, p. 251, ll. 219-222. Lefèvre's rendering was
Putas.

3 *qui iudicas* ὁ κρίνων ("omnis qui iudicas"
Vg. 1527). The late Vulgate addition of *omnis*
lacks Greek ms. support, and looks like a
harmonisation with vs. 1. The added word is
also found in the Froben Vulgate of 1514,
though not that of 1491. The word was omitted
by the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti
and Lefèvre (both columns).

3 *qui ... faciunt* τούς ... πράσσοντας ("qui ...
agunt" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,29. This substitution

removes the distinction between πράσσω and
ποιέω.

3 *eadem* αὐτά ("ea" Vg.). Either rendering is
legitimate. The use of *eadem* was already pro-
posed by Lefèvre.

3 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20.
Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

3 *suffugies* ἐκφεύξῃ ("effugies" Vg.). At *Mt.*
23,33, Erasmus uses *effugio iudicium* in render-
ing φεύγω ἀπὸ τῆς κρίσεως, and also retains
effugio for ἐκφεύγω at *Act.* 19,16; 2 *Cor.* 11,33;
1 *Thess.* 5,3; *Hebr.* 2,3.

4 *Aut* ἤ ("An" Vg.). A similar substitution
occurs at *Gal.* 1,10. Erasmus elsewhere quite
often retains *an* for ἤ.

4 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). This change is
mainly for the sake of variety, in view of the
use of *eos* in vs. 3. Manetti preferred *suae*.

4 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

4 *tolerantiae* τῆς ἀνοχῆς ("patientiae" Vg.). Cf.
Erasmus' adoption of *quae deus tolerauit* for ἐν
τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ at *Rom.* 3,26 (1519). A
comparable substitution of *tolerantia*, in render-
ing ὑπομονή, occurs at *Rom.* 2,7 (1516 only);
2 *Cor.* 6,4; *Col.* 1,11 (1519); 2 *Thess.* 1,4; *Hebr.*
12,1, following the example of the Vulgate at
2 *Cor.* 1,6. However, at other passages, Erasmus
more frequently retains *patientia* for ὑπομονή.

4 *lenitatisque* καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας ("et longa-
nimitatis" 1516 = Vg.). A similar substitution
occurs at *Gal.* 5,22; 2 *Tim.* 3,10 (both in 1519).
In rendering the same Greek word elsewhere in
the 1519 edition, Erasmus used *animi lenitas* to
replace *longanimitas* at 2 *Cor.* 6,6, and to replace
patientia at *Rom.* 9,22; *Eph.* 4,2, and similarly
substituted *lenitas* for *patientia* at *Col.* 3,12;
2 *Tim.* 4,2; 1 *Petr.* 3,20; at *Col.* 1,11 and 2 *Petr.*
3,15, *longanimitas* was replaced by *patientia*; and
at 1 *Tim.* 1,16, *patientia* was replaced by *clementia*.
The result was that, in 1519, Erasmus completely
removed *longanimitas* from the N.T., recognising
that the word did not occur in classical Latin
usage: cf. 1519 *Annot.* on 2 *Tim.* 4,2. In 1516,
he had no qualms about using *longanimitas*,
and even substituted it for *patientia* at *Rom.*
9,22; *Eph.* 4,2; *Col.* 3,12; 1 *Tim.* 1,16; 2 *Tim.*
4,2; *Hebr.* 6,12; 1 *Petr.* 3,20 (all in 1516 only).
He also used *lenitas* for πραότης, replacing
mansuetudo at 1 *Cor.* 4,21; 2 *Cor.* 10,1, and
replacing *modestia* at *Col.* 3,12 (1516 only). For
-*que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39.

καταφρονεῖς, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸ χρη-
στὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει;
⁵κατὰ δὲ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ
ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν, θησαυρίζεις σε-
αυτῷ ὀργὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς, καὶ
ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ,
⁶ὃς ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα
αὐτοῦ· ⁷τοῖς μὲν καθ᾽ ὑπομονὴν ἔργου
ἀγαθοῦ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσί-
αν ζητοῦσι, ζωὴν αἰώνιον· ⁸τοῖς δὲ

contemnis, ignorans quod bonitas
dei ad poenitentiam te inuitat? ⁵Sed
iuxta duritiam tuam et cor poenitere
nescium, colligis tibi ipsi iram in
die irae, quo patefiet iustum iudicium
dei, ⁶qui rediturus est vnicuique
iuxta facta sua: ⁷his quidem qui
perseuerantes in benefaciendo, glori-
am et honorem et immortalitatem
quaerunt, vitam aeternam: ⁸iis vero

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5 οργην *C-E*: οργυν *A B* | δικαιοκρισιας *B-E*: και δικαιοκρισιας *A*

---

5 quo patefiet iustum iudicium *B-E*: et reuelationis, et iusti iudicii *A* | 7 perseuerantes in benefaciendo *B-E*: iuxta tolerantiam boni operis *A*

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4 *contemnis, ignorans ... inuitat?* καταφρονεῖς, ἀγνοῶν ... ἄγει; ("contemnis? Ignoras ... adducit." late Vg.). The late Vulgate alteration of participle into main verb is unsupported by Greek mss. Erasmus does not elsewhere use *inuito* for ἄγω. See *Annot.*, and cf. also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 973 C-F. His change of verb is doctrinally questionable, as the weaker *inuito* no longer speaks of the exercise of divine power in leading people to repent. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *ignorans*. Lefèvre also made the same correction of punctuation as Erasmus.

4 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

4 *bonitas* τὸ χρηστόν ("benignitas" Vg.). This change treats τὸ χρηστόν as the equivalent of χρηστότης, for which Erasmus retained *bonitas* earlier in the present verse as well as at *Rom.* 11,22; *Tit.* 3,4. The word *bonitas* means both goodness and kindness, while *benignitas* refers mainly to kindness or generosity. Cf. *Annot.*, where Erasmus cites *bonitas* as the Vulgate reading; in fact, this was the wording of Ambrosiaster. In rendering χρηστότης elsewhere, he retains *benignitas* from the late Vulgate at *Gal.* 5,22, and even substitutes *benignitas* for *bonitas*

at *Eph.* 2,7, and for *suauitas* at 2 *Cor.* 6,6. At *Col.* 3,12, he replaces *benignitas* by *comitas*. Valla regarded *bonitas* and *benignitas* as partly synonymous: see *Elegantiae*, IV, 100; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 228, l. 583.

5 *Sed iuxta* κατὰ δέ ("Secundum autem" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26 regarding *sed*, and on *Act.* 13,23 for *iuxta*. Lefèvre omitted *autem*. The earlier Vulgate placed *autem* after *duritiam*.

5 *poenitere nescium* ἀμετανόητον ("impoenitens" Vg.). The word *impoenitens*, or *inpaenitens*, does not exist in classical usage. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests using *resipiscere* rather than *poenitere*. See also on *Act.* 2,38. The Vulgate, including the Vulgate columns of Lefèvre and of Erasmus' 1527 edition, places *impoenitens* before *cor*, literally conforming with the Greek word-order, but in *Annot.*, lemma, it is *cor impoenitens*, as found in some Vulgate mss.

5 *colligis* θησαυρίζεις ("thesaurizas" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus replaces *thesaurizo* by *repono* at *Mt.* 6,19 and 2 *Cor.* 12,14 (1516 only), following the example of the Vulgate at 2 *Petr.* 3,7; by *recondo* at *Mt.* 6,20; *Lc.* 12,21 (1519); 2 *Cor.* 12,14 (1519), in accordance with Vulgate usage at 1 *Cor.* 16,2; and by *thesaurum congero* at *Iac.* 5,3 (1519). Further, in rendering ἀποθησαυρίζω at 1 *Tim.* 6,19, Erasmus replaces *thesaurizo* by

repono in 1516, and *recondo* in 1519. In *Annot.*, and also in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 973 F-974 A, Erasmus objects to the Vulgate use of *thesaurizo*, which does not occur in classical authors, and is no more than a transliteration of the Greek verb.

5 *tibi ipsi* σεαυτῷ ("tibi" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to convey the reflexive sense of the Greek pronoun: see *Annot.* This change was also made by Manetti and Lefèvre. See further on *Act.* 9,34.

5 *quo patefiet iustum iudicium* καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρισίας ("et reuelationis iusti iudicii" Vg.; "et reuelationis, et iusti iudicii" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus added καὶ before δικαιοκρισίας, in conformity with codd. 2815 and 2817, as well as א ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss., including 1, 2105, 2816. This had the effect of assigning three separate characteristics to the appointed day, as being a day of wrath, revelation, and righteous judgment, whereas the Vulgate combines the last two characteristics into one. In 1519, Erasmus reverts to the text underlying the Vulgate, omitting καὶ at this point, with support from codd. א* A B D* G and a few later mss. (in cod. 3, καὶ is replaced by τῆς before δικαιοκρισίας). His 1519 rendering further converts *reuelationis* into a verb, for the sake of clarity, and to avoid the sequence of genitives. See *Annot.* For *patefacio*, see on *Rom.* 1,17. Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

6 *redditurus est* ἀποδώσει ("reddet" Vg. mss.; "reddit" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column followed the Froben Vulgate of 1514, whereas the Froben edition of 1491 had *reddet*. Erasmus uses the future participle far more frequently than the Vulgate. Sometimes the participle was useful in preventing potential confusion between the future tense and other tenses. In this verse, for example, the probable reason why Erasmus replaced *reddet* with the future participle is that he thereby hoped to avoid a recurrence of the late Vulgate error, which substituted the present tense by a change of just one letter. At other passages, the future participle was sometimes used for the sake of stylistic variety. Occasionally the future participle could offer greater precision, e.g. by indicating the gender of the subject, or by hinting at the imminence of a future event (see further on 1 *Cor.* 7,28). In Manetti's version, the scribe of *Urb. Lat.* 6 inaccurately substituted the perfect tense, *reddidit*.

6 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23, and *Annot.*

6 *facta* τὰ ἔργα ("opera" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,21, and *Annot.*

6 *sua* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus prefers the reflexive pronoun, to clarify the connection with *vnicuique*. See *Annot.* This change was in agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

7 *his quidem qui ... quaerunt* τοῖς μὲν ... ζητοῦσι ("His quidem ... quaerentibus" Vg. 1527). Other Vulgate copies add *qui* after *quidem*, as in the Froben edition of 1491. In omitting this word, the 1527 Vulgate follows the Froben edition of 1514. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the text as having ἐπιζητοῦσι, a reading which exists in a few later mss., and which he perhaps found while in England. His codd. 2815 and 2817 have ζητοῦσι, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also cod. 69 and most other mss. As pointed out in *Annot.*, ζωήν should preferably be taken as the object of ἀποδώσει, not of ζητοῦσι. Erasmus includes this rendering among the *Loca Obscura*. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 974 A-C. His substitution of *quaerunt*, though not his punctuation, follows the rendering of Lefèvre.

7 *perseuerantes in benefaciendo* καθ᾽ ὑπομονὴν ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ ("secundum patientiam boni operis" Vg.; "iuxta tolerantiam boni operis" 1516). Erasmus' less literal translation, in 1519, clarifies the meaning. For the substitution of *iuxta*, in 1516, see on *Act.* 13,23, and for *tolerantia* see on vs. 4, above. In *Annot.*, Erasmus renders ὑπομονή by *perseuerantia* or *sustinentia*. Lefèvre put *per patientiam boni operis*.

7 *immortalitatem* ἀφθαρσίαν ("incorruptionem" Vg.). The same substitution occurs at 2 *Tim.* 1,10. At 1 *Cor.* 15,42, 50, 53, Erasmus replaces *incorruptio* or *incorruptela* with *incorruptibilitas*, which was used by Lefèvre at the present passage. Further, at *Eph.* 6,24 (1519), Erasmus replaces *incorruptio* with *synceritas*. None of the expressions *incorruptio*, *incorruptela*, or *incorruptibilitas*, exists in classical usage. In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus merely says "'incorruptio' an Latina vox sit, nescio". Cf. on *Rom.* 1,23, regarding the substitution of *immortalis* for *incorruptibilis*, and see also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 974 C-D.

8 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. This change agreed with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

LB 571 ἐξ ἐριθείας, | καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι μὲν τῇ
ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ,
θυμὸς καὶ ὀργή, ⁹θλίψις καὶ στενο-
χωρία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου
τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακόν, Ἰου-
δαίου τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνος· ¹⁰δόξα
δὲ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη παντὶ τῷ ἐρ-
γαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν, Ἰουδαίῳ τε
πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι. ¹¹οὐ γάρ ἐστι
προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ¹²ὅσοι
γὰρ ἀνόμως ἥμαρτον, ἀνόμως καὶ
ἀπολοῦνται· καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἥμαρ-
τον, διὰ νόμου κριθήσονται.   ¹³οὐ
γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι
παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ
νόμου δικαιωθήσονται.   ¹⁴ὅταν γὰρ
ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα, φύσει
τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῇ, οὗτοι νόμον μὴ
ἔχοντες, ἑαυτοῖς εἰσι νόμος, ¹⁵οἵτινες
ἐνδείκνυνται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου
γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν,

qui sunt contentiosi et qui veri-
tati quidem non obtemperant, sed
obtemperant iniustitiae, ven | tura est   LB 572
indignatio et ira, ⁹afflictio et anxie-
tas aduersus omnem animam hominis
perpetrantis malum, Iudaei primum si-
mul et Graeci: ¹⁰gloria vero et honor
et pax omni operanti bonum, Iudaeo
primum simul et Graeco. ¹¹Non enim
est personarum respectus apud deum.
¹²Quicunque enim sine lege peccaue-
runt, sine lege et peribunt: et qui-
cunque in lege peccauerunt, per legem
iudicabuntur. ¹³Non enim qui audi-
unt legem, iusti sunt apud deum: sed
qui legem factis exprimunt, iusti ha-
bebuntur. ¹⁴Nam quum gentes quae
legem non habent, natura quae legis
sunt, fecerint: eae legem non habentes,
sibi ipsis sunt lex, ¹⁵qui ostendunt
opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis,

13 ακροαται *A B D E*: ακραοται *C*

8 et qui ... sed obtemperant *B-E*: quique non obtemperant quidem veritati, obtemperant
autem *A* | ventura est *B-E*: om. *A* | 9 Iudaei primum simul *B-E*: et Iudaei primum *A* |
10 Iudaeo primum simul *B-E*: et Iudaeo primum *A* | 13 qui audiunt legem *B-E*: auditores
legis *A* | factis ... habebuntur *B-E*: opere seruant, iustificabuntur *A* | 14 eae *B-E*: ii *A*

8 *contentiosi* ἐξ ἐριθείας ("ex contentione" Vg.).
Erasmus again uses a less literal rendering to
produce a clearer meaning, substituting an ad-
jective for the prepositional phrase. See *Annot.*

8 *et qui veritati quidem non obtemperant, sed
obtemperant* ἀπειθοῦσι μὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πει-
θομένοις δέ ("et qui non acquiescunt veritati,
credunt autem" Vg.; "quique non obtemperant
quidem veritati, obtemperant autem" 1516).
The Vulgate reflects a Greek text omitting μέν,
as in codd. א* B D* G and a few later mss.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accom-
panied by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss.,
commencing with א^corr A D^corr. In *Annot.*, he
follows Valla *Annot.* in objecting that the se-
quence *acquiescunt ... credunt* does not adequately
convey the contrast between the related Greek
words ἀπειθοῦσι and πειθομένοις. This point
is also mentioned in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*,

LB IX, 974 E. For Erasmus' use of *obtempero*,
see on *Ioh.* 7,17, and for *sed*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26.
His changed rendering takes account of the
fact that πείθω and ἀπειθέω refer to obedience
and disobedience, and not only to faith and
unbelief. Lefèvre put *et qui sunt increduli veritati,
creduli autem.* Manetti reproduced the Vulgate
wording, apart from his omission of *qui.*

8 *iniustitiae* τῇ ἀδικίᾳ ("iniquitati" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 1,29. The same change was made by
Lefèvre.

8 *ventura est indignatio et ira* θυμὸς καὶ ὀργή
("ira et indignatio" Vg.; "indignatio et ira"
1516). Erasmus adds a verb, as implied by the
context. The Vulgate word-order may reflect a
Greek text having ὀργὴ καὶ θυμός, as in codd.
א A B D* G. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815
and 2817, supported by D^corr and most later
mss., including 1, 2105, 2816. The version of

Manetti made the same change as in Erasmus' 1516 edition. Lefèvre put *furor erit et ira*.

9 *afflictio et anxietas* θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία ("tribulatio et angustia" Vg.). The word *angustia* tends to mean narrowness or restriction, whereas the present context requires a term of greater intensity, signifying trouble or distress. A similar substitution of *anxietas* for *angustia* occurs in rendering στενοχωρία at 2 *Cor.* 6,4; 12,10, and in rendering συνοχή at 2 *Cor.* 2,4. The use of *anxietas* may also be compared with the replacement of *angustiamur* by *anxii reddimur*, in translating στενοχωρέομαι at 2 *Cor.* 4,8. Inconsistently Erasmus retained *angustia* for στενοχωρία at *Rom.* 8,35, while θλίψις is rendered by *angustia* at 2 *Cor.* 8,13 but by *anxietas* at *Ioh.* 16,21 (1519). For *afflictio* and *anxietas*, see further on *Ioh.* 16,21; 2 *Cor.* 2,4; 4,8. Erasmus' preference for *anxietas* is also mentioned in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 974 E-975 A. The version of Lefèvre had *pressura erit et angustia*.

9 *aduersus* ἐπί ("in" Vg.). See on *Act.* 9,1. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *super*.

9 *perpetrantis* τοῦ κατεργαζομένου ("operantis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,27.

9 *Iudaei primum simul et* Ἰουδαίου τε πρῶτον καί ("Iudaei primum et" Vg.; "et Iudaei primum et" 1516). For τε καί, see on *Act.* 1,1. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests *Iudaeique primum et*.

10 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

10 *Iudaeo primum simul et* Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καί ("Iudaeo primum et" Vg.; "et Iudaeo primum et" 1516). See on vs. 9.

11 *personarum respectus* προσωποληψία ("acceptio personarum" late Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,34, and *Annot.*, as well as *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 975 A-C. The wording of Erasmus here follows Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

12 *et peribunt* καὶ ἀπολοῦνται ("peribunt" late Vg.). The late Vulgate omission of *et* is unsupported by Greek mss. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

13 *qui audiunt legem* οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου ("auditores legis" 1516 = Vg.). A similar change of construction occurs at *Iac.* 1,23 (*audiat sermonem* for *auditor est verbi*). In substituting a subordinate clause, Erasmus seeks a more natural form of Latin expression.

13 *qui legem factis exprimunt* οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου ("factores legis" Vg.; "qui legem opere

seruant" 1516). For Erasmus' avoidance of *facio legem* and *factor legis*, see on *Ioh.* 3,21, and *Annot.* His use of *exprimo* is defended in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 975 C-D.

13 *iusti habebuntur* δικαιωθήσονται ("iustificabuntur" 1516 = Vg.). This is the only passage where Erasmus attempts to alter the non-classical verb, *iustifico*, in rendering δικαιόω. There is a change of meaning here, as being "regarded as just" is clearly different from being "made just" or "justified". A possible reason for this substitution was that it provided a closer symmetry with the earlier *iusti sunt*.

14 *Nam quum* ὅταν γάρ ("Cum enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34 regarding *nam*. This change was anticipated by Manetti.

14 *natura* φύσει ("naturaliter" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering follows that of Lefèvre, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Gal.* 2,15; 4,8; *Eph.* 2,3. The adoption of *natura* involves a slight awkwardness of style, as at first sight the word could appear to be the antecedent for the following *quae*, although the latter is intended to be a neuter plural rather than feminine singular.

14 *quae* (2nd.) τά ("ea quae" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The added pronoun of the late Vulgate is not explicitly supported by the Greek text. Erasmus here restores the reading of some earlier Vulgate mss., in agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

14 *fecerint* ποιῇ ("faciunt" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with ποιοῦσιν in codd. D* G (which may have retranslated from the Latin here). In codd. ℵ A B, the verb is ποιῶσιν. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with D^corr and most later mss., including 2105 and 2816 (cod. 1 has ποιεῖ). His Latin version substitutes the more idiomatic future perfect tense, whereas Lefèvre preferred the present subjunctive, *faciant*.

14 *eae* οὗτοι ("eiusmodi" Vg.; "ii" 1516). Comparable changes were proposed by Valla *Annot.* (who joined Ambrosiaster in putting *hi*), Manetti (*isti*), and Lefèvre (*ipsae*). In *Annot.*, Erasmus speculates that the text underlying the Vulgate was τοιοῦτοι (cf. οἱ τοιοῦτοι in cod. G).

14 *sibi ipsis* ἑαυτοῖς ("ipsi sibi" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre, while Valla *Annot.* suggested *sibimet* or *sibi ipsi*.

συμμαρτυρούσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδή-
σεως, καὶ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων τῶν λογι-
σμῶν κατηγορούντων ἢ καὶ ἀπολο-
γουμένων, [16] ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὅτε κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς
τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὸ
εὐαγγέλιόν μου διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[17] Ἴδε σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ἐπονομάζῃ, καὶ
ἐπαναπαύῃ τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ καυχᾶσαι ἐν
θεῷ, [18] καὶ γινώσκεις τὸ θέλημα, καὶ δο-
κιμάζεις τὰ διαφέροντα, κατηχούμενος
ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, [19] πέποιθάς τε σεαυτὸν
ὁδηγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν, φῶς τῶν ἐν σκό-
τει, [20] παιδευτὴν ἀφρόνων, διδάσκαλον
νηπίων, ἔχοντα τὴν μόρφωσιν γνώσεως
καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ· [21] ὁ οὖν

simul attestante illorum conscientia,
et cogitationibus inter se accusanti-
bus aut etiam excusantibus [16] in eo
die, quum iudicabit dominus occulta
hominum, iuxta euangelium meum
per Iesum Christum.

[17] Ecce tu Iudaeus cognominaris, et
acquiescis in lege, et gloriaris in deo,
[18] et nosti voluntatem, ac probas exi-
mia, institutus ex lege, [19] confidisque te
ipsum ducem esse caecorum, lumen
in tenebris versantium, [20] erudito-
rem insipientium, doctorem imperi-
torum, habentem formam cognitio-
nis ac veritatis per legem: [21] qui igitur

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15 συμμαρτυρουσης *B-E*: συμαρτυρουσης *A* | 20 γνωσεως *D E*: της γνωσεως *A-C*

15 attestante *B-E*: testificante *A* | 16 eo *B-E*: om. *A* | 18 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 20 imperitorum *B-E*: stultorum *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* | per legem *B-E*: in lege *A*

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15 *simul attestante* συμμαρτυρούσης ("testimo-
nium reddente" Vg.; "simul testificante" 1516).
A comparable substitution occurs at *Rom.* 9,1
(1519), where *attestor simul* replaces *testimonium
perhibeo*. Additions of *simul*, to convey the sense
of the Greek prefix συμ- or συν- in compound
verbs, occur at more than twenty other passages,
in Matthew, Mark, and the Epistles. See *Annot.*
The spelling συμαρτυρούσης in 1516 was a
typesetting error. The use of *simul* was suggested
by Valla *Annot.* The version of Manetti had
contestificante at both passages.

15 *illorum conscientia* αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως
("illis conscientia ipsorum" Vg.). As pointed
out in *Annot.* and Valla *Annot.*, the Vulgate
addition of *illis* has little support from Greek
mss. For Erasmus' removal of *ipse*, see on *Rom.*
1,20. The rendering of Manetti had *conscientia
eorum*, and Lefèvre *conscientia sua*.

15 *cogitationibus ... accusantibus ... excusantibus*
τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων ... ἀπο-
λογουμένων ("cogitationum accusantium ...
defendentium" Vg.). The Vulgate retention of
the genitive, instead of converting it into the
ablative absolute, was condemned by Erasmus
in *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.* He further
added this passage to the *Soloecismi.* In his
Epist. apolog. adv. Stun., *LB* IX, 398 C-D, he

maintained his view that the Vulgate wording
was due to an error of the translator rather than
of subsequent copyists of the Latin text. In
the *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 975 D-
976 E, the charge of solecism is repeated. Eras-
mus' substitution of *excuso* for *defendo* is in
accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 12,19,
and may be compared with his use of *excusa-
tio* for ἀπολογία at *Act.* 22,1 (1519): see *ad
loc.* Ambrosiaster, Valla, Manetti and Lefèvre
translated by *cogitationibus ... accusantibus ...
defendentibus.*

15 *inter se* μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων ("inter se inuicem"
Vg.). The Vulgate placed this expression before
cogitationum, following the Greek word-order
more closely. Erasmus' word-order resembles
that of Lefèvre. For the avoidance of *inuicem*,
see on *Ioh.* 4,33. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests
putting just *inuicem* (as used by Ambrosiaster),
omitting *inter se*. He was content, however, with
inter vos inuicem at 1 *Cor.* 6,7. The word *inuicem*
was omitted by Manetti.

16 *in eo die* ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ("in die" 1516 = Vg.).
Erasmus' addition of *eo* is not explicitly sup-
ported by the Greek text. His extra emphasis
on one future day was in direct opposition to
the interpretation offered by Lefèvre, who had
in diem, dum ("day by day, until").

16 *dominus* ὁ θεός ("deus" Vg.). The rendering *dominus* was an error which persisted through all five folio editions of Erasmus' N.T., in conflict with his accompanying Greek text.

16 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

17 *Ecce* Ἴδε ("Si autem" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, the Vulgate reflects a Greek text having εἰ δέ. The latter reading is found in codd. א A B D* and also in 1, 2105 and some other late mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with D^corr and most later mss., including cod. 2816. In *Annot.*, Erasmus argued that ἴδε (or ἰδέ) was "verior et antiquior", on the grounds that the other reading produced a harsh sentence construction. Stunica objected to this conclusion, citing early patristic support for the text which underlay the Vulgate. For Erasmus' reply, see his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 164, ll. 19-31. He addressed this issue again in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 976 E-F. The version of Lefèvre put *Vide*, similarly following a Greek ms. which had ἴδε.

17 *acquiescis* ἐπαναπαύῃ ("requiescis" Vg.). Both renderings are legitimate. Erasmus preferred the sense of "take comfort in" or "trust in", in the present context, though he retains *requiesco* in the sense of "rest upon" at *Lc.* 10,6, translating the same Greek word.

18 *voluntatem* τὸ θέλημα ("voluntatem eius" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

18 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

18 *eximia* τὰ διαφέροντα ("vtiliora" Vg.). The Vulgate comparative adjective, meaning "more useful", fits the context, but is not an accurate translation, as the Greek expression refers to those things which are "different" or "of particular importance". In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *egregia*, and objects that the Vulgate rendering would have been more suitable for τὰ συμφέροντα. At *Phil.* 1,10, he uses *quae sunt praestantia*, in a similar context, replacing *potiora* of the Vulgate.

18 *institutus* κατηχούμενος ("instructus" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus gives *eruditus* and *initiatus* as alternatives. See further on *Act.* 18,25. For the avoidance of *instruo* in the sense of "teach", see Valla *Elegantiae*, V, 1; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD* I, 4, p. 264, ll. 561-563.

18 *ex lege* ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ("per legem" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. Lefèvre put *in lege*.

19 *confidisque* πέποιθάς τε ("confidis" Vg.). The Vulgate left τε untranslated. In Manetti's version, the scribe of *Urb. Lat.* 6 substituted *confidis et* for *confidis te*.

19 *ducem esse* ὁδηγὸν εἶναι ("esse ducem" late Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more literally, adopting the same rendering as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

19 *in tenebris versantium* τῶν ἐν σκότει ("eorum qui in tenebris sunt" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,1 for Erasmus' use of *versor*.

20 *doctorem* διδάσκαλον ("magistrum" Vg.). Erasmus disliked the use of *magister* here, as he felt that it could imply governing or controlling rather than just teaching: see *Annot.* A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Tim.* 1,11; 4,3; *Hebr.* 5,12, in accordance with Vulgate usage at e.g *Lc.* 2,46; *Act.* 13,1; 1 *Cor.* 12,28-9. At seventeen passages, Erasmus substitutes *praeceptor*, mainly in Matthew and Mark. However, in Matthew, ch. 19 onwards, and in Luke and John, he usually retains *magister*.

20 *imperitorum* νηπίων ("infantium" Vg.; "stultorum" 1516). Erasmus considered that the Greek word, in this context, meant those who were unlearned rather than "babies". In *Annot.* he accepts that νήπιοι could refer to older children, suggesting *puerorum* or *paruulorum*. The latter rendering was preferred by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 11,25; *Lc.* 10,21. In translating the same Greek word, Erasmus replaces *paruulus* by *puer* at 1 *Cor.* 13,11; *Gal.* 4,1, 3; *Eph.* 4,14, and by *infans* at 1 *Cor.* 3,1; *Hebr.* 5,13.

20 *cognitionis* γνώσεως ("scientiae" Vg.). The 1516-22 editions more correctly have τῆς γνώσεως. The omission of the article in 1527-35 lacks ms. support and may have been a printer's error. A similar substitution of *cognitionis* occurs at *Rom.* 11,33; 1 *Cor.* 1,5; 2 *Cor.* 4,6; 10,5 (1519); *Eph.* 3,19; *Phil.* 3,8, following the example of the Vulgate at 2 *Petr.* 3,18. More often *scientia* is retained. This change was anticipated by Manetti, while Lefèvre had *agnitionis*.

20 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

20 *per legem* ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ("in lege" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

21 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Lefèvre made a similar change, beginning the sentence with *igitur qui*.

διδάσκων ἕτερον, σεαυτὸν οὐ διδά-
σκεις· ὁ κηρύσσων μὴ κλέπτειν, κλέ-
πτεις· 22 ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν, μοι-
χεύεις· ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἴδωλα,
ἱεροσυλεῖς· 23 ὃς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι,
διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸν
θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις. 24 Τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ
θεοῦ δι᾽ ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς
ἔθνεσι, καθὼς γέγραπται. 25 περιτομὴ
μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ, ἐὰν νόμον πράσ-
σῃς. ἐὰν δὲ παραβάτης νόμου ᾖς,
ἡ περιτομή σου ἀκροβυστία γέγο-
νεν. 26 ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ἀκροβυστία τὰ
δικαιώ|ματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσσῃ,
οὐχὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ εἰς πε-
ριτομὴν λογισθήσεται; 27 καὶ κρινεῖ

LB 573

doces alium, te ipsum non doces:
qui praedicas non furandum, furaris:
22 qui dicis non adulterandum, adul-
terium committis: qui execraris si-
mulacra, sacrilegium admittis: 23 qui
de lege gloriaris, per legis transgres-
sionem deum dehonestas. 24 Nam
nomen dei propter vos male audit
inter gentes: quemadmodum scriptum
est. 25 Nam circuncisio quidem pro-
dest, si legem seruaris. Quod si trans-
gressor legis fueris, circuncisio tua in
praeputium versa est. 26 Ergo si | prae-
putium iustificationes legis seruauerit,
nonne praeputium illius pro circun-
cisione imputabitur? 27 Et iudicabit

LB 574

22 ειδωλα *A-D*: ειδολα *E* | 25 παραβατης *A C-E*: παρεβατης *B*

23 de *B-E*: in *A* | 25 in *B-E*: om. *A* | versa *B-E*: facta *A*

21 *doces alium* διδάσκων ἕτερον ("alium doces" Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more closely. This change was also made by Lefèvre.

22 *adulterandum, adulterium committis* μοιχεύειν, μοιχεύεις ("moechandum, moecharis" Vg.). This change is in accordance with Vulgate usage of *adultero* at *Rom.* 13,9. A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 5,27 (1516 only). Elsewhere, in rendering μοιχάομαι and μοιχεύω, Erasmus substitutes *adulterium committo* for *moechor* at *Mt.* 5,27 (1519); 5,28; 19,9; *Mc.* 10,12; *Lc.* 16,18; 18,20 (both in 1519); and for *adultero* at *Mt.* 5,32; 19,18; *Mc.* 10,19, following the Vulgate example at *Mc.* 10,11. Inconsistently he retains *moechor* at *Iac.* 2,11, and replaces *adultero* by *moechor* at *Rom.* 13,9 (1527). Generally Erasmus avoided *moechor*, because of its Greek origin.

22 *qui execraris* ὁ βδελυσσόμενος ("qui abominaris" Vg.). Erasmus elsewhere substitutes *execror* for *detestor* at *Mt.* 26,74 (1522), and for *anathematizo* at *Mc.* 14,71, in rendering καταναθεματίζω and ἀναθεματίζω. He is content to use *abomino(r)* in rendering βδέλυγμα at *Lc.* 16,15

(1519). At the present passage, his wording is identical with that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre used *detestor*.

22 *simulacra* τὰ εἴδωλα ("idola" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 8,4, 7; 10,19; 2 *Cor.* 6,16, and also in rendering εἰδωλόθυτον at *Act.* 21,25; 1 *Cor.* 8,1, 4; 10,19, 28. Erasmus retains *idolum* (-*on*) only at *Ap. Ioh.* 22,15. In *Annot.* on 1 *Cor.* 8,4, he objects that *idolum* is a Greek word. The spelling εἴδολα in 1535 seems to be a printer's error, as the spelling εἴδωλ- is retained at all other N.T. instances of this word. A similar error occurs in the 1527 edition at *Ap. Ioh.* 9,20, corrected in 1535.

22 *sacrilegium admittis* ἱεροσυλεῖς ("sacrilegium facis" Vg.). For the avoidance of *facio*, see on *Ioh.* 1,15.

23 *de* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). A similar substitu-
tion of *de* occurs in rendering ἐν at 2 *Thess.* 1,4 (1519). Sometimes Erasmus prefers *super*, but at several other passages he retains *in* after *glorior*.

23 *legis transgressionem* τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου ("praeuaricationem legis" Vg.). A similar substitution of *transgressio* occurs at *Rom.* 4,15;

5,14; 1 *Tim.* 2,14 (1522); *Hebr.* 2,2, following the example of the Vulgate at *Gal.* 3,19. Erasmus retains *praeuaricatio* only at *Hebr.* 9,15, and also *praeuaricor* for παραβαίνω at *Act.* 1,25. In classical Latin, the words *praeuaricatio, praeuaricator* and *praeuaricor* usually refer to collusion between advocates who represent different sides in a court case, and hence are not suitable as general terms for breaking the law. Nor was *transgressio* used by classical authors in this sense, and *transgressor* did not occur at all: in classical usage, there was no single set of words which conveyed the required meaning. Used in this way, *transgressio* and *transgressor* are ecclesiastical terms. See also on *transgressor* at vs. 25, below. Erasmus' rendering of the present passage may have been influenced by Lefèvre, who had *transgressionem legis*.

23 *dehonestas* ἀτιμάζεις ("inhonoras" Vg.). Erasmus uses *dehonesto* at only one other passage, to render καταισχύνω at 1 *Cor.* 11,5. In *Annot.*, he also recommends *ignominia afficio*, a rendering which he adopts at *Ioh.* 8,49 (1519): see *ad loc.* The Vulgate verb, *inhonoro*, was not used by classical authors.

24 *Nam nomen* Τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα ("Nomen enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

24 *propter* δι' ("per" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs e.g. at *Mt.* 27,18; *Mc.* 15,10. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

24 *male audit* βλασφημεῖται ("blasphematur" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,45, and *Annot.*

24 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

25 *Nam* γάρ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by only a few of the later Greek mss. The version of Manetti added *enim* after *circuncisio* (in *Urb. Lat.* 6, the following *quidem* is placed in the margin rather than the text).

25 *seruaris* πράσσῃς ("obserues" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds more closely with φυλάσσῃς in cod. D*, though the latter may represent a retranslation from the Latin. Another verb relating to the performance of a law or command, τηρέω, is often rendered by the Vulgate as *seruo*, or sometimes by *custodio*. Erasmus generally follows Vulgate usage in such contexts, including one passage where he retains *obseruo* for τηρέω, at 1 *Ioh.* 2,3. In adopting *seruaris* here, he again displays his fondness for the idiomatic use of the future perfect tense: cf. *fueris* later in this verse, and *seruauerit* in vss. 26-7, below.

25 *Quod si* ἐὰν δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). Similar substitutions in rendering εἰ δέ and ἐὰν δέ are frequent in Matthew and the Epistles, in accordance with Vulgate usage e.g. at *Mt.* 5,13, 29; *Rom.* 8,11; 9,22.

25 *transgressor* παραβάτης ("praeuaricator" Vg.). A similar change occurs at *Rom.* 2,27; *Gal.* 2,18, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Iac.* 2,9, 11. See on vs. 23 regarding *transgressio*.

25 *fueris* ᾖς ("sis" Vg.). See on *seruaris*, earlier in this verse, for this use of the future perfect tense.

25 *in praeputium versa est* ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν ("praeputium facta est" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,9, for a comparable change from *vinum factum* to *in vinum versam*.

26 *Ergo si* ἐὰν οὖν ("Si igitur" Vg.). Erasmus' usual tendency is to change *ergo* to *igitur*: see on *Ioh.* 6,62. Because *ergo* is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the effect of the present change is to lay more emphasis on this word. A similar use of *Ergo si* occurs at *Mt.* 6,23; 1 *Cor.* 14,23. Cf. also *Ergo quod* at *Rom.* 7,13.

26 *iustificationes* τὰ δικαιώματα ("iustitias" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Rom.* 5,18; *Hebr.* 9,10, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Lc.* 1,6; *Rom.* 5,16; *Rom.* 8,4; *Hebr.* 9,1; *Ap. Ioh.* 19,8. Elsewhere *iustitia* is usually reserved for δικαιοσύνη, though Erasmus retains *iustitia* at *Rom.* 1,32, and *iudicium* at *Ap. Ioh.* 15,4, both in rendering δικαίωμα. Possibly he felt that *iustitia*, or "justice", was a singular abstract concept, for which a plural was inappropriate. However, *iustificatio* did not exist in classical usage.

26 *seruauerit* φυλάσσῃ ("custodiat" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,53 for the change of verb. For the substitution of the future perfect tense, see on *seruaris* in vs. 25.

26 αὐτοῦ. This word was omitted in Erasmus' cod. 2815. Virtually all other mss. have αὐτοῦ, including codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817.

26 *pro circuncisione imputabitur* εἰς περιτομὴν λογισθήσεται ("in circuncisionem reputabitur" Vg.). A similar substitution of *imputo* occurs at *Rom.* 4,3, 5, 9-11, 22-24; 2 *Cor.* 5,19; *Gal.* 3,6; *Iac.* 2,23. See on *Act.* 19,27. The meaning of *imputo* and *reputo* is discussed in Valla *Elegantiae*, VI, 44; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 268, ll. 668-669. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 979 E-980 D.

ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία, τὸν
νόμον τελοῦσα, σὲ τὸν διὰ
γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παρα-
βάτην νόμου; ²⁸ οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν
τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν· οὐδὲ
ἡ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἐν σαρκὶ πε-
ριτομή· ²⁹ ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ
Ἰουδαῖος· καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας,
ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ γράμματι· οὗ ὁ
ἔπαινος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ'
ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

3 Τί οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰου-
δαίου; ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς
περιτομῆς; ² πολὺ κατὰ πάντα
τρόπον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅτι
ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ.
³ τί γάρ, εἰ ἠπίστησάν τινες;
μὴ ἡ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν

quod est ex natura praeputium, si
legem seruauerit, te qui per literam et
circuncisionem transgressor es legis?
²⁸ Non is qui in manifesto Iudaeus sit,
Iudaeus est: nec ea quae in manifesto
sit carnis circuncisio, circuncisio est:
²⁹ sed qui in occulto Iudaeus fuerit, is
Iudaeus est: et circuncisio cordis, cir-
cuncisio est, quae spiritu constat, non
litera: cuius laus non ex hominibus
est, sed ex deo.

3 Quid igitur habet in quo praecel-
lat Iudaeus? Aut quae vtilitas cir-
cuncisionis? ² Multum per omnem
modum. Nam primum quidem illud,
quod illis commissa sunt oracula dei.
³ Quid enim, si quidam fuerunt incre-
duli? Num incredulitas illorum, fidem

3,1 περισσον *A B Cᶜ D E*: περσσον *C** | 3 πιστιν *B-E*: πιστην *A*

27 si legem seruauerit *B-E*: legem perficiens *A* | 29 fuerit, is Iudaeus est *B-E*: om. *A* |
circuncisio est ... constat *B-E (exc.* circūcisio *pro* circuncisio *B-E)*: in spiritu *A* | litera *B-E*:
littera *A* | *tert.* est *B-E*: om. *A*
3,2 oracula *B-E*: eloquia *A*

27 *quod* ἡ ("id quod" late Vg.). The added
pronoun of the late Vulgate was superfluous,
in view of the following *praeputium*. In deleting
id, Erasmus adopted the same wording as the
earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

27 *est ex natura* ἐκ φύσεως ("ex natura est" Vg.).
Erasmus sometimes gives preference to an earlier
position for *sum*, etc. Here, this has the effect
of placing additional emphasis on *ex natura*.
Other instances of such transpositions occur
e.g. in vs. 29 and at *Rom.* 5,8; 7,8; 9,16; 1 *Cor.*
2,12; 4,18. Manetti placed *est* after *praeputium*.

27 *si legem seruauerit* τὸν νόμον τελοῦσα ("legem
consummans" Vg.; "legem perficiens" 1516).
Neither *consummo* nor *perficio* was quite suit-
able, in classical Latin usage, for referring to
the keeping or fulfilment of the law. However,
Erasmus retains *perficio* for τελέω in such a
context at *Iac.* 2,8. The verb *seruo* was more ap-
propriate, except that it removes any distinction

between τελέω and φυλάσσω, which was also
rendered by *seruo* in vs. 26. For the use of the
future perfect tense, see again on *seruaris* in
vs. 25. For the substitution of *perficio* in 1516,
see on *Rom.* 9,28. Ambrosiaster and Manetti
offered the same wording as the 1516 edition.

27 *transgressor* παραβάτην ("praeuaricator"
Vg.). See on vs. 25.

27 *es legis?* νόμου; ("legis es." Vg.). Erasmus
adopts the same word-order as Ambrosiaster
and Lefèvre, unaffected by the Greek text. The
use of a question-mark is also found in Lefèvre,
as well as in some editions of the late Vulgate,
but not in the Vulgate column of 1527 or in
the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514, or in
Ambrosiaster.

28 *Non* οὐ γάρ ("Non enim" Vg.). Erasmus'
omission of *enim* is an inaccuracy.

28 *is qui in manifesto Iudaeus sit* ὁ ἐν τῷ φανε-
ρῷ ("qui in manifesto" Vg.). Erasmus expands

this phrase for the sake of clarity, as explained in *Annot.* He defended his rendering of this passage in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 976 F-977 A.

28 *nec ... est* οὐδὲ ... περιτομή ("neque quae in manifesto, in carne est circumcisio" late Vg.). For this expansion of the meaning, see the previous note. Other substitutions of *nec* for *neque* occur in rendering οὐδέ at *Mt.* 13,13; *Mc.* 11,33; 13,32 (1516 only); 1 *Cor.* 4,3; *Phil.* 2,16, and in rendering μηδέ at *Mc.* 2,2; 1 *Cor.* 5,8; 1 *Tim.* 1,4. Manetti had *nec que* (= *quae*) *in manifesto in carne est, circuncisio est.*

29 *in occulto* ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ ("in abscondito" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 6,4, 6, 18, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 7,4, 10; 18,20. The phrase *in occulto* was the usual idiom in classical Latin usage, and was adopted here by Ambrosiaster. However, Erasmus retains *in abscondito* at *Lc.* 11,33 (for εἰς κρυπτόν).

29 *Iudaeus fuerit, is Iudaeus est* Ἰουδαῖος ("Iudaeus est" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "Iudaeus" 1516 = some Vg. mss.). Again Erasmus adds several words to clarify the meaning. See *Annot.*

29 *circuncisio est, quae spiritu constat* ἐν πνεύματι ("in spiritu" 1516 = Vg.). See the previous note. Erasmus takes ἐν in an instrumental sense: see on *Ioh.* 1,26. By adopting *constat*, he avoids repetition of *est*. The verb *consto* does not occur elsewhere in the N.T.

29 *est, sed ex deo* ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ("sed ex deo est" Vg.; "sed ex deo" 1516). Erasmus' 1516 rendering is more literal. For his insertion of *est* in an earlier position, see on vs. 27.

3,1 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

1 *habet in quo praecellat Iudaeus* τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ("amplius Iudaeo est" late Vg.). Erasmus treats τοῦ Ἰουδαίου as the genitive of possession, whereas the Vulgate ablative could be understood as expressing a comparison. See *Annot.*, and cf. also the use of *praecellimus* for προεχόμεθα in vs. 9. This passage is further discussed in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 977 A-B. The version of Manetti substituted *Iudei* (= *Iudaei*) for *Iudaeo*.

1 ἡ ὠφέλεια. Erasmus' cod. 2817 omits ἡ, in company with ℵ* and a few later mss., including 1 and 2816*.

2 *Nam primum quidem* πρῶτον μὲν γάρ ("Primum quidem" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect a

Greek text omitting γάρ, as in codd. B D* G, together with cod. 2105 and a few other mss. Here Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A D^corr.

2 *illud, quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). This change gives a clearer connection with *Quid* in vs. 1. Lefèvre similarly had *quod* here.

2 *illis commissa sunt* ἐπιστεύθησαν ("credita sunt illis" Vg.). A similar substitution of *committo* occurs at 1 *Cor.* 9,17; 1 *Thess.* 2,4; *Tit.* 1,3. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggested *concredita*, from *concredo*, a verb which he uses to replace *credo* in rendering πιστεύω at *Gal.* 2,7 (1519); 1 *Tim.* 1,11, and in rendering πιστόω at 2 *Tim.* 3,14. However, he was content to use *credo* in the sense of "entrust" at *Lc.* 16,11 and also, following the Vulgate, at *Ioh.* 2,24. He included the Vulgate translation of the present passage among the *Loca Obscura*. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 977 B-D. The version of Manetti put just *credita sunt*, and Lefèvre *credita sunt ei*, referring back to the singular *Iudaeo* in vs. 1.

2 *oracula* τὰ λόγια ("eloquia" 1516 = Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus uses *oraculum* solely in rendering χρηματίζω (see on *Act.* 10,22). In his translation of τὰ λόγια at *Hebr.* 5,12 and 1 *Petr.* 4,11, he substitutes *eloquia* for *sermones*. In 1519 *Annot.*, he observed that *eloquium* had other connotations in classical usage, referring to human "eloquence" rather than a divine or prophetic utterance. Erasmus further defends his adoption of *oracula*, in the *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 977 B-D.

3 *quidam* τινες ("quidam illorum" Vg.). The Vulgate addition lacks explicit support from Greek mss. The version of Lefèvre put *aliqui*, omitting *illorum*, while Manetti had *quidam eorum*.

3 *fuerunt increduli* ἠπίστησαν ("non crediderunt" Vg.). This substitution was probably influenced by the desire to produce a closer symmetry with the following sentence, matching the use of *incredulitas*. A comparable change, involving ἀπειθέω, occurs at *Rom.* 11,30-1. For a change in the opposite direction, from *incredulus* to *non credo*, see on *Ioh.* 3,36.

3 *Num* μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4.

3 πίστιν. The misspelling πίστην in 1516 is derived from cod. 2815. In codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817 and nearly all other mss., it is πίστιν.

τοῦ θεοῦ καταργήσει; ⁴μὴ γένοιτο.
γινέσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής, πᾶς δὲ ἄν-
θρωπος ψεύστης, καθὼς γέγραπται,
"Ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
σου, καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε.
    ⁵Εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀδικία ἡμῶν, θεοῦ δι-
καιοσύνην συνίστησι, τί ἐροῦμεν; μὴ
ἄδικος ὁ θεός, ὁ ἐπιφέρων τὴν ὀρ-
γήν; κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέ|γω. ⁶μὴ
γένοιτο. ἐπεὶ πῶς κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὸν
κόσμον; ⁷εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ
θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ψεύσματι ἐπερίσ-
σευσεν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, τί
ἔτι κἀγὼ ὡς ἁμαρτωλὸς κρίνομαι;
⁸καὶ μὴ (καθὼς βλασφημούμεθα,

dei faciet irritam? ⁴Absit. Imo sit
deus verax, omnis autem homo men-
dax. Quemadmodum scriptum est:
Vt iustificeris in sermonibus tuis, et
vincas quum iudicaris.
    ⁵Quod si iniustitia nostra, dei iusti-
tiam commendat, quid dicemus? Num
iniustus deus, qui inducat iram? |
Humano more loquor. ⁶Absit. Nam
quomodo iudicabit deus mundum?
⁷Etenim si veritas dei, per meum
mendacium excelluit in gloriam ipsi-
us, quid posthac et ego veluti peccator
iudicor? ⁸Ac non potius (quemad-
modum de nobis male loquuntur,

LB 575

LB 576

7 καγω ως αμαρτωλος B-E: ως αμαρτωλος εγω A

4 Imo sit B-E: Sit vero A | 5 commendat B-E: constituit A | inducat B-E: inducit A | Humano
more B-E: Secundum hominem A | 7 per meum mendacium B-E: in meo mendacio A |
8 potius B-E: om. A

3 *faciet irritam* καταργήσει ("euacuauit" late
Vg.). Erasmus makes a similar substitution of
facio irritum for *destruo* at *Rom.* 3,31, and for
aboleo at *Rom.* 4,14. In *Annot.*, he also suggests
oblitero (which he substitutes for *destruo* at
1 *Cor.* 1,28), and *antiquo*. One reason for
changing the verb was to avoid the possibi-
lity of the future tense being inadvertently
replaced by the perfect tense, as happened in
the late Vulgate. Erasmus notes *euacuauit* as a
probable scribal error, in *Resp. ad collat. iuv.
geront.*, LB IX, 977 F. The use of *irritum facio*
("nullify" or "make ineffectual") also gave a
clearer sense than *euacuo* ("make empty") and
was proposed, among other alternatives, by
Lefèvre *Comm.* In his rendering, Lefèvre adopted
tollet, while Manetti offered *euacuabit*, as found
in the earlier Vulgate.

4 *Imo sit* γινέσθω δέ ("Est autem" Vg.; "Sit
vero" 1516). Erasmus renders the Greek im-
perative more accurately. In *Annot.*, he sugges-
ted that the Vulgate originally had *esto* for
est, and accordingly included this point in
the 1519-22 editions of the *Loca Manifeste
Deprauata*. The point is further discussed in
Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB IX, 978 A-B.
See on *Act.* 19,2 for Erasmus' use of *imo*
(or *immo*), which here provides a means of

avoiding repetition of *autem*. Lefèvre proposed
Esto autem.

4 *Quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13.

4 κρίνεσθαι. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus cited
the text as κριθῆναι, a reading which was not
exhibited by any of his usual mss.

5 *Quod si* Εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on
Rom. 2,25.

5 *iniustitia* ἡ ἀδικία ("iniquitas" Vg.). One
purpose of this change is to preserve the lin-
guistic association between ἀδικία and the
following δικαιοσύνη, as Erasmus mentions
in his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2,
p. 166, ll. 33-37. See also on *Rom.* 1,29. Eras-
mus' version agrees with that of Ambrosiaster
and Lefèvre.

5 *dei iustitiam* θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ("iustitiam
dei" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds
with δικαιοσύνην θεοῦ in cod. G. The rendering
of Erasmus was again the same as the wording
of Ambrosiaster.

5 *commendat* συνίστησι ("constituit" 1516). In
Annot., Erasmus gives *stabilio*, *confirmo*, and
fulcio as alternatives. See also his *Apolog. resp. Iac.
Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 166, ll. 38-42. At *Gal.*
2,18, he follows the Vulgate in using *constituo*

("establish") for this Greek verb, but retains *commendo* at *Rom.* 5,8; 16,1; 2 *Cor.* 4,2; 10,18; 12,11, and substitutes *commendo* for *exhibeo* at 2 *Cor.* 6,4; 7,11. In 1519, he restored the Vulgate use of *commendo* at the present passage.

5 *Num* μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4.

5 *iniustus* ἄδικος ("iniquus est" late Vg.; "iniquus" Vg. mss.). See on *Act.* 24,15 for the substitution of *iniustus.* In omitting the verb, Erasmus conforms with the earlier Vulgate, as well as the Greek text. Lefèvre had *iniustus est.*

5 *qui inducat* ὁ ἐπιφέρων ("qui infert" Vg.; "qui inducit" 1516). The Vulgate gives a satisfactory rendering of the Greek verb, in the sense of "inflict". There is a considerable overlap of meaning between *infero* and *induco.*

5 *Humano more* κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ("Secundum hominem" 1516 = Vg.). By this change, Erasmus seeks to make the meaning a little clearer ("in a human manner" rather than the literal "according to man"). He retains *secundum hominem* at 1 *Cor.* 3,3; 9,8; 15,32; *Gal.* 3,15. In *Annot.*, he gives *iuxta hominem* as an alternative.

5 *loquor* λέγω ("dico" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,27. This change is partly for the sake of variety, in view of the use of *dico* earlier in the verse. At *Gal.* 3,15, Erasmus retains *secundum hominem dico.*

6 *Nam* ἐπεί ("Alioquin" Vg.). More often, when rendering ἐπεί, Erasmus is content to replace *alioquin* by *alioqui*, as at *Rom.* 11,22 (1535 only); 1 *Cor.* 5,10 (1519); 7,14; 15,29; *Hebr.* 9,26; 10,2.

6 *mundum* τὸν κόσμον ("hunc mundum" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *hunc* is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. See *Annot.*, and also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 978 B. Further changes of this kind are seen at *Rom.* 5,12; 1 *Cor.* 2,12; 4,13; 5,10; 6,2; 11,32; 14,10; 2 *Cor.* 1,12; *Eph.* 2,12; *Col.* 2,20; 1 *Tim.* 1,15; 6,7; *Iac.* 1,27; 4,4. See also on *Ioh.* 1,9. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

7 *Etenim si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *etenim* for καὶ γάρ at *Lc.* 22,37; *Rom.* 15,3; 1 *Cor.* 12,13; 14,8; *Hebr.* 4,2; 5,12; 12,29; 13,22, and for γάρ at *Ioh.* 13,13. In the Epistles, rendering γάρ, he substitutes *etenim* for *enim* or *nam* at twenty-six passages, mainly in Romans and 1 Corinthians. The Vulgate generally reserves *etenim* for καὶ γάρ. Occasionally Erasmus changes *etenim* to

nam et, as at *Rom.* 16,2 (1516 only); 1 *Cor.* 5,7; 1 *Thess.* 4,10. See also on 1 *Cor.* 12,14.

7 *per meum mendacium* ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ψεύσματι ("in meo mendacio" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

7 *excelluit* ἐπερίσσευσεν ("abundauit" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 14,12; 2 *Cor.* 3,9; *Phil.* 4,12. In rendering περισσεύω elsewhere, Erasmus retains *abundo* at ten passages, but replaces it with *exubero* at *Lc.* 21,4; *Rom.* 5,15; 15,13; 2 *Cor.* 4,15; 9,8, 12; *Phil.* 1,9, 26; *Col.* 2,7; 1 *Thess.* 3,12; with *exundo* at 2 *Cor.* 8,2; and with *supersum* at *Mc.* 12,44; 1 *Cor.* 8,8. These changes were mainly for the sake of variety. Cf. also *exuberantia* for *abundantia* in rendering περισσεία at *Rom.* 5,17; 2 *Cor.* 10,15. In rendering πλεονάζω, Erasmus similarly replaces *abundo* with *exubero* at *Rom.* 5,20; *Phil.* 4,17; 2 *Thess.* 1,3; with *exundo* at 2 *Cor.* 4,15; and with *supersum* at 2 *Cor.* 8,15. For his removal of the adverb, *abundantius*, at a number of passages, see on 1 *Cor.* 15,10.

7 *posthac et ego veluti peccator* ἔτι κἀγὼ ὡς ἁμαρτωλός ("et adhuc ego tanquam peccator" Vg. 1527). The transposition of *et* before *adhuc*, in some editions of the late Vulgate, lacks support from Greek mss. The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben 1514 edition on this point. The substitution of *posthac* ("hereafter") for *adhuc* ("still") also occurs at *Rom.* 6,2; 2 *Cor.* 1,10; 1 *Tim.* 5,23; *Ap. Ioh.* 18,23 (1519). See further on *Ioh.* 5,14. A similar substitution of *velut* or *veluti* for *tanquam* occurs at *Rom.* 6,13; 15,15; 1 *Cor.* 4,13; 15,8; 2 *Cor.* 10,2; *Hebr.* 3,5. The Greek text of the 1516 edition, ἔτι ὡς ἁμαρτωλὸς ἐγώ, was taken from cod. 2815, apparently without other ms. support. Manetti and Lefèvre had the word-order *adhuc et ... peccator*, as in the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster.

8 *Ac* καί ("Et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Lefèvre had *At.*

8 *non potius* μή ("non" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds *potius* ("rather") to make clear the connection with the previous sentence. Lefèvre put *non est.*

8 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. This change is partly designed to avoid repetition of *sicut*, which occurs later in the sentence. Lefèvre had *vt* in both places.

8 *de nobis male loquuntur* βλασφημούμεθα ("blasphemamur" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,45, and *Annot.*,

καὶ καθώς φασί τινες ἡμᾶς λέγειν)
ὅτι ποιήσωμεν τὰ κακά, ἵνα ἔλθη τὰ
ἀγαθά· ὧν τὸ κρίμα ἔνδικόν ἐστι.

⁹Τί οὖν; προεχόμεθα; οὐ πάντως.
προῃτιασάμεθα γὰρ Ἰουδαίους τε
καὶ Ἕλληνας πάντας ὑφ' ἁμαρτίαν
εἶναι, ¹⁰καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι Οὐκ
ἔστι δίκαιος, οὐδὲ εἷς· ¹¹οὐκ ἔστιν
ὁ συνιῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν
θεόν· ¹²πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρει-
ώθησαν· οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστό-
τητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός. ¹³τάφος
ἀνεῳγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς
γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν, ἰὸς
ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χείλη αὐτῶν.
¹⁴ὧν τὸ στόμα ἀρᾶς καὶ πικρίας
γέμει· ¹⁵ὀξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκ-
χέαι αἷμα. ¹⁶σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαι-
πωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, ¹⁷καὶ
ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν. ¹⁸οὐκ
ἔστι φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν
ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

et sicut quidam aiunt nos dicere) faci-
amus mala, vt veniant bona: quorum
damnatio iusta est?

⁹Quid igitur? Praecellimus eos?
Nullo modo. Nam ante causis reddi-
tis ostendimus et Iudaeos et Graecos
omnes peccato esse obnoxios: ¹⁰sicut
scriptum est: Non est iustus, ne vnus
quidem: ¹¹non est qui intelligat, non
est qui exquirat deum: ¹²omnes de-
flexerunt, simul inutiles facti sunt:
non est qui exerceat bonitatem, non
est vsque ad vnum. ¹³Sepulchrum
apertum guttur eorum, linguis suis ad
dolum vsi sunt, venenum aspidum
sub labiis eorum. ¹⁴Quorum os ex-
ecratione et amarulentia plenum est:
¹⁵veloces pedes illorum ad effunden-
dum sanguinem. ¹⁶Contritio et cala-
mitas in viis eorum, ¹⁷et viam pacis
non cognouerunt. ¹⁸Non est timor
dei coram oculis eorum.

10 οτι *B-E: om. A*

9 causis reddiddis ostendimus *B-E*: causas reddidimus *A* | 12 exerceat *B-E*: faciat *A* |
15 effundendum *B C E*: effudendum *A*, effundedum *D*

and also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX,
978 B-C.

8 *quidam aiunt nos* φασί τινες ἡμᾶς ("aiunt
quidam nos" late Vg.). The late Vulgate word-
order is closer to the Greek text. Manetti put
inquiunt quidam nos.

9 *igitur?* οὖν; ("ergo?" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.*
6,62. In adopting *igitur*, Erasmus partly restores
the earlier Vulgate wording. However, he retains
the question-mark from the late Vulgate, and
indicates in *Annot.* that he found the same
punctuation in the Greek mss. This received
support from cod. 1ᶜᵒʳʳ ᵛⁱᵈ, but not from codd.
2815 and 2817, in both of which the sentence
reads τί οὖν προεχόμεθα; In codd. 2105,
2816ᵛⁱᵈ, οὖν is followed by a colon. In Valla
Annot., the Vulgate lemma had *igitur*, and so
did the version of Manetti (both without a
question-mark).

9 *Praecellimus eos* προεχόμεθα. Erasmus retains
the added pronoun, *eos*, from the Vulgate,
although not explicitly required by the Greek
text. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre,
more literally, omitted *eos.*

9 *Nullo modo* οὐ πάντως ("Nequaquam" Vg.).
Erasmus keeps *nequaquam* for οὐδαμῶς at *Mt.*
2,6, for οὐχί at *Lc.* 1,60, and for μηδαμῶς at
Act. 11,8. Manetti and Lefèvre both preferred
non omnino, a phrase which Erasmus adopts
for οὐ πάντως at 1 *Cor.* 5,10 (1519).

9 *Nam ante causis redditis ostendimus* προῃτια-
σάμεθα γὰρ ("Causati enim sumus" Vg.; "Nam
ante causas reddidimus" 1516). The Vulgate
may reflect a Greek text having ᾐτιασάμεθα,
as in codd. D* G and a few later mss. The
proposal of Valla *Annot.* was *supradiximus enim
causam*, while Lefèvre had *causam enim praedixi-
mus.* In *Comm.*, Lefèvre also suggested replacing
causati with *praecausati*, which may be the reason

why the phrase *praecausati sumus* appeared in the Vulgate lemma of 1516-27 *Annot.*

9 *et Iudaeos et* 'Ιουδαίους τε καί ("Iudaeos et" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,1, regarding τε καί. It may also be noted that Erasmus' cod. 2817 inserted an additional πάντας after τε. Lefèvre put *Iudaeos scilicet et.*

9 *omnes* πάντας. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the Vulgate as having *et omnes*, which is exhibited by the Froben 1491 edition. The added conjunction is not in the Froben Vulgate of 1514 or the 1527 Vulgate column or the earlier Vulgate copies.

9 *peccato esse obnoxios* ὑφ' ἁμαρτίαν εἶναι ("sub peccato esse" Vg.). Erasmus introduced the word *obnoxius* eleven times in 1516, and at a further fifteen passages in 1519. In the Vulgate N.T., it occurs only at *Act.* 19,40; *Hebr.* 2,15. The word conveys a more emphatic sense, "under the authority or domination of" rather than just "under". See further on *Act.* 14,15.

10 *Non* ὅτι Οὐκ ("Quia non" Vg.). For the omission of *quia*, see on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.* Erasmus' 1516 edition followed codd. 2815 and 2817 in omitting ὅτι, accompanied by cod. 1 and many other late mss. In 1519, he restored the word to the text, in agreement with codd. 3, 2105, 2816 and another large section of the later mss., as well as א A B D G. The word *quia* was omitted by Manetti.

10 *ne vnus quidem* οὐδὲ εἷς ("quisquam" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 6,5. See *Annot.* This change may have been influenced by Lefèvre, who had *nec vnus quidem.*

11 *qui intelligat* ὁ συνιῶν ("intelligens" Vg.). Erasmus provides a rendering for the Greek article, and also avoids the combination of *est* with a present participle (cf. on *Ioh.* 1,28), thus producing consistency with the Vulgate usage of *qui faciat* in vs. 12.

11 *qui exquirat* ὁ ἐκζητῶν ("requirens" Vg.). See the previous note. In *Annot.*, Erasmus further objects that *requiro* does not convey the sense of seeking after God. However, *exquiro* is not without ambiguity, as it can also mean "enquire after", in which sense it is employed by Erasmus at *Mt.* 10,11, rendering ἐξετάζω. He retains *requiro* for ἐκζητέω at *Lc.* 11,51; *Act.* 15,17.

12 *deflexerunt* ἐξέκλιναν ("declinauerunt" Vg.). Erasmus also uses *deflecto* for ἐκτρέπομαι at 1 *Tim.* 1,6; 5,15. However, he retains *declino* for ἐκκλίνω at *Rom.* 16,17; 1 *Petr.* 3,11.

12 *qui exerceat* ποιῶν ("qui faciat" 1516 = Vg.). A similar substitution of *exerceo* occurs at *Lc.* 10,37; 1 *Ioh.* 3,7 (both 1519). Erasmus retains *facio bonum* for ποιέω τὸ καλόν at *Rom.* 7,21; *Gal.* 6,9, and for ποιέω ἀγαθόν at 1 *Petr.* 3,11, and puts *facio iustitiam* for ποιέω δικαιοσύνην at 1 *Ioh.* 3,10. For the avoidance of *facio*, see on *Ioh.* 1,15.

12 *bonitatem* χρηστότητα ("bonum" Vg.). This change is consistent with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 2,4; 11,22; *Gal.* 5,22; *Eph.* 2,7. At *Tit.* 3,4, rendering the same Greek word, Erasmus substituted *bonitas* for *benignitas.*

13 *apertum* ἀνεῳγμένος ("patens" Vg.). Erasmus selects a rendering which is closer to the form of the Greek passive participle, and consistent with Vulgate usage at e.g. *Ap. Ioh.* 3,8. The word *patens* could also mean "broad" or "wide" rather than "open".

13 *ad dolum vsi sunt* ἐδολιοῦσαν ("dolose agebant" Vg.). Erasmus produces a clearer rendering ("used their tongues for deceit", rather than "behaved deceitfully with their tongues"), though less literal than the Vulgate.

14 *execratione* ἀρᾶς ("maledictione" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in rendering κατάρα at 2 *Petr.* 2,14 (1516 only), though *maledictio* is retained at *Iac.* 3,10. At *Gal.* 3,10, 13 (both in 1519), *execratio* replaces *maledictum*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *deuotione* or *imprecatione*. The point here is that the Greek word refers to a curse, whereas *maledictio*, which is comparatively rare in classical Latin usage, means "verbal abuse".

14 *amarulentia* πικρίας ("amaritudine" Vg.). A similar change occurs at *Eph.* 4,31; *Hebr.* 12,15, though Erasmus keeps *amaritudo* at *Act.* 8,23. His choice of *amarulentia* does not exist in classical usage.

15 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.). This change appears to be merely for the sake of variety.

16 *calamitas* ταλαιπωρία ("infelicitas" Vg.). The Vulgate word is not unsuitable, but Erasmus may have felt that it was ambiguous, as it can also mean a lack of success or a lapse of style, as well as a state of wretchedness and misfortune. The word *calamitas* appears in the Vulgate at twelve O.T. passages, but nowhere in the N.T. The change made by Erasmus was anticipated by Manetti.

18 *coram oculis* ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ("ante oculos" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,46 for Erasmus' use

¹⁹Οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέ-
γει, τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ, ἵνα πᾶν
στόμα φραγῇ, καὶ ὑπόδικος γένηται
πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τῷ θεῷ· ²⁰διότι ἐξ
ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα
σάρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. διὰ γὰρ νόμου
ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας. ²¹νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς
νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ πεφανέρωται,
μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν
προφητῶν. ²²δικαιοσύνη δὲ θεοῦ διὰ
πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς πάντας
καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας. οὐ
γάρ ἐστι διαστολή. ²³πάντες γὰρ
ἥμαρτον, καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης
τοῦ θεοῦ, ²⁴δικαιούμενοι δωρεὰν τῇ
αὐτοῦ χάριτι, διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώ-
σεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ²⁵ὃν
προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον, διὰ τῆς
πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι, εἰς ἔν-
δειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν
πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρ-
τημάτων, ²⁶ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ,

¹⁹Scimus autem quod quaecunque
lex dicit, his qui in lege sunt dicat: vt
omne os obturetur, et obnoxius fiat
totus mundus deo: ²⁰propterea quod
ex operibus legis, non iustificabitur
omnis caro in conspectu eius. Per le-
gem enim agnitio peccati. ²¹Nunc
vero absque lege iustitia dei manife-
stata est, dum comprobatur testimonio
legis ac prophetarum. ²²Iustitia vero
dei per fidem Iesu Christi in omnes
et super omnes eos qui credunt. Non
enim est distinctio. ²³Omnes enim
peccauerunt, ac destituuntur gloria
dei. ²⁴Iustificantur autem gratis per
illius gratiam, per redemptionem
quae est in Christo Iesu, ²⁵quem
proposuit deus reconciliatorem per
fidem, interueniente ipsius sangui-
ne, ad ostensionem iustitiae suae,
propter remissionem praeteritorum
peccatorum, ²⁶quae deus tolerauit,

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21 manifestata *B-E*: manifesta *A* | dum comprobatur *B-E*: comprobata *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* |
23 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 25 interueniente *B-E*: in *A* | 26 quae deus tolerauit *B-E*: in patientia dei *A*

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of *coram*. He retains *ante oculos* for ἐνώπιον at
Ap. Ioh. 9,13. Manetti again anticipated this
change.

19 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20.
Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

19 *dicit ... dicat* λέγει ... λαλεῖ ("loquitur ...
loquitur" Vg.). The Vulgate repetition of *loqui-
tur* corresponds with λέγει ... λέγει in codd.
D* (F) G. As elsewhere, Erasmus prefers to use
dico when accompanied by an object. Manetti
put *dicit ... loquitur*, distinguishing between the
two different Greek verbs.

19 *obturetur* φραγῇ ("obstruatur" Vg.). Erasmus
also uses the idiomatic phrase *obturo os* ("seal
the mouth") for φιμόω at *Mt.* 22,34 (1522);
1 *Petr.* 2,15, and for ἐπιστομίζω at *Tit.* 1,11,
In rendering φράσσω at *Hebr.* 11,33, inconsis-
tently, he replaces *obturo os* by *occludo os*.

19 *obnoxius* ὑπόδικος ("subditus" Vg.). Whereas
the Vulgate rendering merely denoted subjection
to divine authority, Erasmus wished to add the

sense of liability to divine punishment, as ex-
plained in *Annot.* ("obligatus ad poenam"). See
also on vs. 9, above, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv.
geront.*, LB IX, 978 C-D. Elsewhere Erasmus
retains *subditus* in rendering ὑποτάσσω. The
use of *obnoxius* here was suggested by Lefèvre
Comm.

19 *totus* πᾶς ("omnis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,2.

20 *propterea quod* διότι ("quia" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,19.

20 *in conspectu eius* ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ("coram
illo" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,13 regarding *in conspectu*.
Manetti and Lefèvre both had *coram eo*.

20 *agnitio* ἐπίγνωσις ("cognitio" Vg.). Erasmus
felt that ἐπίγνωσις meant "recognition" or
"acknowledgment" rather than just the acqui-
sition of knowledge. Cf. *Annot.* A similar sub-
stitution occurs at 2 *Petr.* 1,2, 3; 2,20, in
accordance with Vulgate usage at *Eph.* 1,17;
4,13; *Col.* 1,9; 2,2; 3,10; 1 *Tim.* 2,4; *Tit.* 1,1;
Phm. 6. Erasmus further substitutes *agnitio* for

scientia at *Phil.* 1,9; *Col.* 1,10. See on *Ioh.* 8,43 for the related substitution of *agnosco* for *cognosco*, and cf. on *Rom.* 1,28.

21 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus' choice of word was the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

21 *absque* χωρίς ("sine" Vg.). In rendering χωρίς, Erasmus also makes this substitution at sixteen other passages, e.g. at *Lc.* 6,49 (1519); *Rom.* 3,28; 4,6, in conformity with Vulgate usage at *Hebr.* 4,15. See further on *Ioh.* 8,7.

21 *manifestata est* πεφανέρωται ("manifesta est" 1516). The 1516 rendering was less literal than the Vulgate, and followed the wording of Lefèvre. Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *manifestus sum* for this Greek verb at 2 *Cor.* 5,11; 11,6. In 1519, he restored the Vulgate rendering here. However, elsewhere in 1519, he shows a tendency to remove the verb *manifesto*: see on *Ioh.* 1,31.

21 *dum comprobatur testimonio legis ac prophetarum* μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ("testificata a lege et prophetis" Vg.; "comprobata testimonio legis et prophetarum" 1516). In classical Latin, since *testificor* is a deponent verb, *testificata* does not have the passive sense required by the Greek participle. See *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 978 D-E. In using the present tense, Erasmus is more precise. This substitution may be compared with his use of *testimonio comprobata* to render μαρτυρουμένη at 1 *Tim.* 5,10. For *ac*, see on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti replaced *a* by *sub*.

22 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

22 *omnes eos* πάντας ("omnes" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal here.

22 *qui credunt* τοὺς πιστεύοντας ("qui credunt in eum" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *in eum* is virtually unsupported by Greek mss. (cf. Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 328-30). Erasmus' correction agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

23 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

23 *destituuntur* ὑστεροῦνται ("egent" Vg.). Erasmus finds a more vigorous rendering, meaning that such persons not merely "lack" (*egent*) but are "deprived of" or "made destitute of" the glory of God. See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 978 F-979 A. Elsewhere a similar substitution occurs at *Hebr.* 11,37, and *destituo* also replaces *desum* at 1 *Cor.* 1,7. Erasmus retains *egeo* for ὑστερέω at *Lc.* 15,14; 2 *Cor.* 11,9.

23 *gloria* τῆς δόξης. In *Annot.*, Erasmus implies that *gratia* was found in some copies of the late Vulgate, a reading which lacks Greek ms. support. He could have derived this information from Lefèvre, who made the same point. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 978 E-F.

24 *Iustificantur autem* δικαιούμενοι ("Iustificati" Vg.). As explained in *Annot.*, Erasmus regarded it as more important to convey the Greek present tense than to preserve the participial form of the Greek word.

24 *per illius gratiam* τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι ("per gratiam ipsius" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20 for the removal of *ipse*. Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order.

25 *reconciliatorem* ἱλαστήριον ("propitiatorem" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus' adoption of *reconciliator* ("reconciler") may have been partly prompted by an awareness that *propitiator* and *propitiatio*, etc., do not occur in classical usage. However, this changed rendering is less suitable for conveying the doctrinal concept of propitiatory sacrifice. In *Annot.*, Erasmus commended *propiciationem* as an alternative, which seems to have been the rendering of the earlier Vulgate. He further suggested *propiciatorium*, which had been proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, consistent with Vulgate usage at *Hebr.* 9,5.

25 *interueniente ipsius sanguine* ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι ("in sanguine ipsius" Vg.; "in ipsius sanguine" 1516). This alteration is again doctrinally controversial, as Erasmus' 1519 rendering excludes the possible interpretation, "through faith in his blood". Cf. *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 979 B. The version of Manetti put *in sanguine suo*.

25 *praeteritorum* προγεγονότων ("praecedentium" Vg.). Erasmus renders the perfect participle more accurately.

25 *peccatorum* ἁμαρτημάτων ("delictorum" Vg.). This substitution is consistent with Vulgate usage at *Mc.* 3,28; 4,12; 1 *Cor.* 6,18. Erasmus follows the usual Vulgate practice of reserving *delictum* for παράπτωμα, but see on *Rom.* 4,25 for some exceptions.

26 *quae deus tolerauit* ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ("in sustentatione dei" Vg.; "in patientia dei" 1516). The Vulgate used *patientia* in rendering ἀνοχή at *Rom.* 2,4, where Erasmus substituted *tolerantia*: see *ad loc.*, and also *Annot.*

πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ
ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν
δίκαιον, καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως
Ἰησοῦ. ²⁷Ποῦ οὖν ἡ καύχησις; ἐξεκλείσθη.
διὰ ποίου νόμου; τῶν ἔργων; οὐχί, ἀλ-
λὰ διὰ | νόμου πίστεως. ²⁸λογιζόμε-
θα οὖν πίστει δικαιοῦσθαι ἄνθρωπον
χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου. ²⁹ἢ Ἰουδαίων ὁ
θεὸς μόνον; οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐθνῶν; ναὶ καὶ
ἐθνῶν. ³⁰ἐπείπερ εἷς ὁ θεός, ὃς δικαιώ-
σει περιτομὴν ἐκ πίστεως, καὶ ἀκροβυ-
στίαν διὰ τῆς πίστεως. ³¹νόμον οὖν
καταργοῦμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως; μὴ γέ-
νοιτο· ἀλλὰ νόμον ἱστῶμεν.

ad ostendendam iustitiam suam in
praesenti tempore: in hoc, vt ipse sit
iustus: et iustificans eum qui est ex
fide Iesu. ²⁷Vbi igitur gloriatio? Exclusa est.
Per quam legem? Operum? Non: imo
per | legem fidei. ²⁸Arbitramur igi-
tur fide iustificari hominem absque
operibus legis. ²⁹An Iudaeorum deus
tantum? An non et gentium? Certe
et gentium. ³⁰Quandoquidem vnus
deus qui iustificabit circuncisionem
ex fide, et praeputium per fidem.
³¹Legem igitur irritam facimus per
fidem? Absit. Imo legem stabilimus.

LB 577

LB 578

31 αλλα *A B E*: ελλα *C D*

26 ostendendam iustitiam suam *B-E (exc.* iusticiam *pro* iustitiam *B C)*: ostensionem iusticiae
suae *A* | 27 imo *B-E*: sed *A* | 31 stabilimus *B-E*: constituimus *A*

In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus abbreviates the text
by omitting τῇ. This article is contained in all
his Basle mss. (though cod. 1 had χριστοῦ for
θεοῦ). The 1516 rendering was identical with
that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *in sufferentia
dei*, though in *Comm.* he also proposed using
patientia or *tolerantia*.
26 *ad ostendendam iustitiam suam* πρὸς ἔνδειξιν
τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ("ad ostensionem iu-
stitiae eius" Vg.; "ad ostensionem iusticiae suae"
1516). Erasmus' adoption of *ostendo* was for
stylistic variety, in view of the occurrence of *ad
ostensionem* in the previous verse. A similar
substitution, in rendering ἀνάδειξις, occurs at
Lc. 1,80 (1519). At 2 *Cor.* 8,24, Erasmus replaced
ostensio by *documentum*. He retained *ostensio* for
ἀπόδειξις at 1 *Cor.* 2,4. See further on 2 *Cor.*
8,24. The use of *suae*, as found in the 1516
edition, had already been adopted by Ambrosi-
aster, Manetti and Lefèvre.
26 *praesenti* τῷ νῦν ("hoc" Vg.). Erasmus is
more precise here. A similar change occurs at
Rom. 8,18; 1 *Tim.* 6,17; 2 *Tim.* 4,10; *Tit.* 2,12
(these last three in 1519). At 2 *Cor.* 8,14 (1516
only), there is an opposite change from *praesenti*

to *hoc*, and *hoc* is further retained for νῦν at
Rom. 11,5. Manetti anticipated the correction
made by Erasmus here.
26 *in hoc, vt* εἰς τό ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20.
26 *ipse sit* εἶναι αὐτόν ("sit ipse" Vg.). The
Vulgate is closer to the Greek word-order.
26 *qui est ex fide* τὸν ἐκ πίστεως ("qui ex fide
est" Vg.). Erasmus' word-order corresponds with
the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster, together with
Lefèvre and some late Vulgate copies, though
not the 1527 Vulgate column.
26 *Iesu* Ἰησοῦ ("Iesu Christi" late Vg.). Erasmus'
Greek text here follows cod. 2817, supported
by ℵ A B C and most later mss., including
2105 and 2816. His codd. 1 and 2815, together
with cod. D and some later mss., had Ἰησοῦν.
In codd. F G, Ἰησοῦ is completely omitted.
The late Vulgate addition of *Christi*, which
seems to have been influenced by the Old
Latin, is supported by only a few of the later
Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the
same correction as Erasmus.
27 *igitur* οὖν ("est ergo" Vg.). For *igitur*, see on
Ioh. 6,62. The Vulgate addition of *est* was a

matter of translation rather than any variation of Greek mss. See *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was just *ergo*.

27 *gloriatio* ἡ καύχησις ("gloriatio tua" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg***). The pronoun *tua*, ultimately derived from an Old Latin source, corresponds with the addition of σου in codd. F G and a few later mss. Erasmus regarded it as an explanatory addition by the translator: see *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 979 B-C. The word *tua* was omitted by a few Vulgate mss. (with Vg***), as well as by Manetti and Lefèvre. In Manetti's version, *glorificatio* was further substituted for *gloriatio*.

27 *Operum* τῶν ἔργων ("Factorum" Vg.). Erasmus retains *factum* at *Lc.* 23,41; *Rom.* 8,13; 15,18; 2 *Cor.* 10,11; *Tit.* 1,16; *Ap. Ioh.* 2,6. Elsewhere he quite often changes changes *opus* to *factum*: see on *Ioh.* 3,21. This change, which produces consistency with vs. 28, was anticipated by Manetti.

27 *imo* ἀλλά ("sed" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2.

28 *igitur* οὖν ("enim" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having γάρ, as in codd. ℵ A D* F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with B C D^corr. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti had *ergo*.

28 *fide iustificari hominem* πίστει δικαιοῦσθαι ἄνθρωπον ("iustificari hominem per fidem" Vg.). The Vulgate possibly reflects the reading δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον, exhibited by 𝔓^40vid ℵ* A B C D 0219^vid and some later mss. The variant δικαιοῦσθαι ἄνθρωπον διὰ πίστεως, found in codd. F G, is closer to the Vulgate word-order, but may represent a retranslation from the Latin. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with ℵ^corr as well as 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. The mss. of Manetti's translation had *fide iustificare hominem* (*sic*), while Lefèvre put *iustificari hominem*, without *fide*.

28 *absque* χωρίς ("sine" Vg.). See on vs. 21, above.

29 μόνον. Erasmus' cod. 2815 had μόνων, as in cod. B and a few later mss.

29 *An non* οὐχὶ δέ ("Nonne" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 18,11 for Erasmus' use of *an non*. The Vulgate

may reflect the omission of δέ, in company with codd. ℵ A B C D F G and a few other mss. Here Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. The rendering of Manetti put *non autem*.

29 *Certe* ναί ("Immo" Vg.). Erasmus elsewhere sometimes substitutes *certe* for *etiam* or *ita* in rendering this Greek word: at *Mt.* 11,9, 26; 15,27; *Lc.* 12,5 (1519). Usually he reserves *imo* or *immo* for ἀλλά or δέ. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti was *vtique*.

30 *Quandoquidem* ἐπείπερ ("Quoniam quidem" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs twice elsewhere, in rendering ἐπειδή at *Phil.* 2,26 and ὡς ὅτι at 2 *Cor.* 5,19. Erasmus further replaces *quoniam* by *quandoquidem* in rendering ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, and ὅτι, at *Lc.* 1,34; 1 *Cor.* 1,22; 14,12, 16; 2 *Cor.* 11,18; *Hebr.* 5,2, 11; 1 *Petr.* 4,17. At the present passage, the same change was made by Lefèvre. Manetti had just *quoniam*.

30 *vnus* εἷς ("vnus est" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *est* lacks explicit Greek ms. support, though it is a legitimate expansion. Erasmus' correction was in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

30 *iustificabit* δικαιώσει ("iustificat" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The present tense of the late Vulgate is not warranted by the Greek mss.: see *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 979 C-E. In Valla *Annot.*, the Vulgate was cited as having *iustificauit*, which is found in many Vulgate mss. Both Valla and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

31 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. This change was anticipated by Manetti.

31 *irritam facimus* καταργοῦμεν ("destruimus" Vg.). See on vs. 3, above, and see also *Annot.*

31 *Imo* ἀλλά ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2.

31 *stabilimus* ἱστῶμεν ("statuimus" Vg.; "constituimus" 1516 Lat.). The Vulgate use of the indicative, retained by Erasmus, may reflect the substitution of ἱστάνομεν, as in codd. ℵ* A B C D^corr (1) and a few later mss. Other variants also exist. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by ℵ^corr D^corr (2) and most later mss., including 1, 2105, 2816. Elsewhere he uses *stabilio* for στηρίζω at 2 *Thess.* 2,17; 3,3, and for θεμελιόω at 1 *Petr.* 5,10. In the present context, he wished to avoid the suggestion that the apostle "enacted" the law: see *Annot.*

4 Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πα-
τέρα ἡμῶν εὑρηκέναι κατὰ σάρκα;
² εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώ-
θη, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πρὸς τὸν
θεόν. ³ τί γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ λέγει; Ἐπί-
στευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλο-
γίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. ⁴ τῷ δὲ
ἐργαζομένῳ, ὁ μισθὸς οὐ λογίζεται
κατὰ χάριν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ὀφείλημα.
⁵ τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐργαζομένῳ, πιστεύοντι
δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἀσεβῆ,
λογίζεται ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ εἰς δικαιο-
σύνην. ⁶ καθάπερ καὶ Δαβὶδ λέγει
τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ᾧ
ὁ θεὸς λογίζεται δικαιοσύνην χωρὶς

4 Quid igitur dicemus, inuenisse
Abraham patrem nostrum secun-
dum carnem? ² Nam si Abraham ex
operibus iustificatus fuit, habet quod
glorietur, at non apud deum. ³ Quid
enim scriptura dicit? Credidit autem
Abraham deo, et imputatum est ei
ad iustitiam. ⁴ Ei vero qui operatur,
merces non imputatur secundum gra-
tiam, sed secundum debitum. ⁵ Porro
ei qui non operatur, sed credit in eum
qui iustificat impium, imputatur fides
sua ad iustitiam. ⁶ Quemadmodum et
Dauid explicat beatificationem homi-
nis, cui deus imputat iustitiam absque

4,1 inuenisse ... nostrum B-E: Abraham patrem nostrum inuenisse A | 2 quod glorietur B-E:
gloriationem A | 5 sed credit B-E: credit autem A | 6 explicat B-E: dicit A

4,1 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

1 *inuenisse Abraham patrem nostrum* Ἀβραὰμ
τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν εὑρηκέναι ("Abraham pa-
trem nostrum inuenisse" 1516). The position
of the verb in the Vulgate version, as well as
in the later editions of Erasmus' Latin transla-
tion, involves an ambiguity as to whether the
following words *secundum carnem* are connected
with *inuenisse* ("found ... according to the flesh")
or with *patrem nostrum* ("our father according
to the flesh"). In 1516, Erasmus' rendering
strictly followed the word-order of his Greek
mss., linking *secundum carnem* with *inuenisse*. In
1519, citing patristic testimony in *Annot.*, he
returned to the Vulgate word-order in his
translation, resulting in a conflict between his
Latin and Greek texts. The Vulgate reflected the
transposition of εὑρηκέναι before Ἀβραάμ, as
in codd. ℵ A C D F G and a few other mss.
In cod. B, this verb is omitted, and in codd.
ℵ* A B C*, προπάτορα (a word not used
elsewhere in the N.T.) is further substituted for
πατέρα. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd.
2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816*vid
and most other late mss. (in 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ ᵛⁱᵈ, εὑρηκέναι
is replaced by εὑρεστηκέναι). The main textual
issue here is whether εὑρηκέναι was placed after
ἡμῶν by some copyists in order to remove a
perceived ambiguity, or whether the concept of

"finding something according to the flesh"
appeared strange to a few ancient scribes, who
solved this problem either by deleting the verb
or by moving it to an earlier position in the
sentence.

2 *Nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 3,34.

2 *operibus* ἔργων ("operibus legis" late Vg.).
The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms.
support. The word *legis* was omitted in the
versions of Manetti and Lefèvre, and was not
in Lefèvre's Vulgate text.

2 *iustificatus fuit* ἐδικαιώθη ("iustificatus est"
Vg.). Erasmus frequently substitutes *fui, fueram,
fuissem*, etc., to refer more explicitly to a past
action or state of being: in this instance, to
convey the sense of "was justified (or was
brought into a justified state) at that time",
rather than "is now in a justified state". This
distinction was useful for expressing more
precisely the meaning of the Greek aorist
tense. Further examples occur e.g. in vs. 25,
below, *traditus fuit* for *traditus est* (παρεδόθη);
Rom. 5,8, *mortuus fuit* for *mortuus est* (ἀπέθανε);
Rom. 5,10, *reconciliati fuimus* for *reconciliati sumus*
(κατηλλάγημεν).

2 *quod glorietur* καύχημα ("gloriam" Vg.; "glori-
ationem" 1516). The Vulgate use of *gloria* here

misleadingly treats καύχημα ("boast") as equivalent to δόξα ("glory"). See *Annot*. A similar substitution of *quod glorier* occurs at 1 *Cor*. 9,16, and also in rendering καύχησις at *Rom*. 15,17 (1519). At 2 *Cor*. 9,3, Erasmus renders καύχημα ἡμῶν by *gloria qua glorior*. The replacement of *gloria* by *gloriatio*, as adopted in 1516 at the present passage, is found elsewhere in rendering both καύχημα and καύχησις at *Rom*. 15,17 (1516 only); 1 *Cor*. 9,15; 15,31; 2 *Cor*. 1,12; 8,24; 11,10, 17; *Gal*. 6,4; 1 *Thess*. 2,19; *Hebr*. 3,6, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom*. 3,27; 1 *Cor*. 5,6; 2 *Cor*. 7,4, 14. In Valla *Annot*. on *Rom*. 15,17, preference was given to *habeo vnde glorier*, on the grounds that *habeo gloriationem* was contrary to classical usage. Similarly, in the present verse, Lefèvre put *vnde glorietur*, though he also mentioned *gloriationem* as an alternative in *Comm*.

2 *at* ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). Erasmus often follows the Vulgate in using *sed* for ἀλλά, but sometimes varies the vocabulary by substituting *im(m)o*, *at*, or *verum*, and occasionally *age*, *caeterum*, *quin*, *tamen*, or *veruntamen*. Cf. on *Ioh*. 1,26 (*autem*); 15,4 (*verum etiam*); *Act*. 19,2 (*immo*).

3 *scriptura dicit* ἡ γραφὴ λέγει ("dicit scriptura" late Vg.). The word-order of Erasmus' translation is more literal, restoring the earlier Vulgate reading. The same wording was also used by Manetti.

3 *autem* δέ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of δέ by codd. D* F G. The version of Manetti made the same correction as Erasmus.

3 *imputatum est* ἐλογίσθη ("reputatum est" Vg.). In *Annot*., Erasmus describes the Vulgate's inconsistent treatment of λογίζομαι in these verses as "puerilem affectationem copiae", and agrees with the similar objection raised by Valla *Annot*. For *imputo* and *reputo*, see further on *Rom*. 2,26, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 979 E-980 D.

3 *ei* αὐτῷ ("illi" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 1,28. Erasmus' wording agrees with Ambrosiaster (1492 edition) and Manetti.

4 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 1,26. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

4 τό. The article was omitted by codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817 and virtually all other mss. Erasmus' text here follows cod. 2815, giving a poorly supported reading which remained in the *Textus Receptus*.

5 *Porro ei* τῷ δέ ("Ei vero" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 8,16.

5 *sed credit* πιστεύοντι δέ ("credenti autem" Vg.; "credit autem" 1516). For *sed*, see on *Ioh*. 1,26. Erasmus felt that, to preserve the symmetry of the Greek construction, this second verb should be in the indicative, matching *operatur*, though the Greek wording has participles in both places. See *Annot*.

5 *imputatur* λογίζεται ("reputatur" Vg.). See on vs. 3, and *Annot*.

5 *sua* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus uses the reflexive pronoun to make a clearer distinction from the preceding *eum*, which referred to God. The reading of cod. 2815 was αὐτῷ, with little or no other ms. support. Manetti made the same change as Erasmus.

5 *iustitiam* δικαιοσύνην ("iusticiam secundum propositum gratiae dei" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). As indicated in *Annot*., the late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support. Lefèvre omitted the extra words, while guardedly observing in *Comm*. that they were "not now contained ("nunc non habetur") in the Greek mss."

6 *Quemadmodum* καθάπερ ("Sicut" Vg.). In rendering καθάπερ, similar substitutions occur at *Rom*. 12,4; 1 *Cor*. 12,12; 2 *Cor*. 1,14; 3,13; 1 *Thess*. 2,11; 3,6; 4,5, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor*. 8,11; 1 *Thess*. 3,12; *Hebr*. 4,2. See further on *Rom*. 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *explicat* λέγει ("dicit" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus renders according to context, no doubt finding *dico beatitudinem* ("say the blessedness") an unnatural turn of phrase.

6 *beatificationem* τὸν μακαρισμόν ("beatitudinem" Vg.). The same substitution occurs in vs. 9, though Erasmus retains *beatitudo* at *Gal*. 4,15. The term *beatificatio*, unlike *beatitudo*, did not occur in classical usage, and was hence not an improvement. In *Annot*. on vs. 9, Erasmus also suggests *beatio*, which is similarly absent from classical authors.

6 *imputat* λογίζεται ("accepto fert" Vg.). See on vs. 3, and *Annot*. In 1516 *Annot*., Erasmus cites the text as λογίζηται, a spelling not found in his Basle mss. The phrase *accepto fero* was rare in classical usage. Manetti anticipated this change, while Lefèvre had *reputat*.

6 *absque* χωρίς ("sine" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 3,21.

ἔργων. ⁷Μακάριοι, ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. ⁸μακάριος ἀνήρ, ᾧ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν. ⁹ὁ μακαρισμὸς οὖν οὗτος, ἐπὶ τὴν περιτομήν, ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν; λέγομεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐλογίσθη τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ἡ πίστις εἰς δικαιοσύνην. ¹⁰πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη; ἐν περιτομῇ ὄντι, ἢ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ; οὐκ ἐν περιτομῇ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ. ¹¹καὶ | σημεῖον ἔλαβε περιτομῆς, σφραγῖδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων δι᾽ ἀκροβυστίας, εἰς τὸ λογισθῆναι καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ¹²καὶ πατέρα περιτομῆς τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον,

operibus. ⁷Beati, quorum remissae sunt iniquitates, et quorum obtecta sunt peccata. ⁸Beatus vir, cui non imputabit dominus peccatum. ⁹Beatificatio igitur haec, in circuncisionem tantum, an et in praeputium deuenit? Dicimus enim, quod imputata fuerit Abrahae fides ad iustitiam. ¹⁰Quomodo ergo imputata est? Quum esset in circuncisione, an quum esset in praeputio? Non in circuncisione, sed in praeputio. ¹¹Et signum | accepit circuncisionis, signaculum iustitiae fidei, quae fuerat in praeputio, vt esset pater omnium credentium per praeputium, vt imputaretur et illis iustitia, ¹²et pater circuncisionis iis qui non solum genus ducerent a circuncisis,

<div style="text-align: right;">LB 579</div>

<div style="text-align: right;">LB 580</div>

4,11 αυτον B-E: om. A

8 imputabit B-E: imputarit A | 9 circuncisionem E: praepucium A-C, praeputium D | tantum, an et B-E: an A | praeputium E: circūcisionem A-D | deuenit B-E: om. A | iustitiam B-E (iusticiam B C): iustificationem A | 11 signaculum B-E: obsignaculum A | fuerat B-E: erat A | 12 et pater C-E: pater inquam A B | genus ... circuncisis B-E (exc. circūcisis pro circuncisis B D E): essent ex circūcisione A

7 obtecta sunt ἐπεκαλύφθησαν ("tecta sunt" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to render the Greek compound verb more precisely. It does not occur elsewhere in the N.T.

8 imputabit λογίσηται ("imputauit" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "imputarit" 1516). The late Vulgate substitution of perfect for future tense arose from a textual alteration within the Latin tradition, changing -b- to -u-. The spelling offered by most Greek mss., and reproduced in Erasmus' text, is the aorist subjunctive. However, in 1516 Annot., he spells it λογίζη, and in 1519-35 Annot. as λογίσεται, future tense. Erasmus' Basle mss. all have λογίσηται (except that cod. 2816*ᵛⁱᵈ had λογίζηται). His rendering was in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster, and Manetti.

9 Beatificatio ὁ μακαρισμός ("Beatitudo" Vg.). See on vs. 6.

9 igitur οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on Ioh. 6,62. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

9 circuncisionem ... praeputium deuenit τὴν περιτομήν ... τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν ("circuncisione ... praeputio" Vg.; "praepucium ... circuncisionem" 1516; "praepu(c)ium ... circuncisionem deuenit" 1519-27). Erasmus' use of the accusative in his rendering is closer to the Greek wording. His change of Latin word-order in 1516-27, however, does not seem to be based on mss. The addition of deuenit supplied a verb to complete the elliptical Greek construction. See Annot., where Erasmus also suggests venit or competit.

9 tantum, an et ἢ καί ("tantum manet, an etiam" late Vg.; "an" 1516). The omission of etiam in 1516 corresponds with the omission of καί in cod. 2817, together with 1, 2105*, 2816 and some other late mss., and this was the form of text cited in Annot. The typesetter of the 1516 Greek text was following cod. 2815, which like most other mss. inserted καί. This resulted in a disagreement with the accompanying Latin column, which escaped the notice of Erasmus or his proof-reader. The

discrepancy was rectified in 1519 by amending the Latin N.T. translation; at the same time, Erasmus also restored *tantum*, as being a legitimate expansion of the meaning of the Greek wording: see *Annot*. In cod. D, μόνον was inserted here, probably as a result of retranslation from the Old Latin. The late Vulgate addition of *manet* is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. The version of Manetti had just *an*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition. Lefèvre *Comm*. offered *an etiam* (as in some mss. of the earlier Vulgate), and also *an ne etiam*.

9 γάρ. Cod. 2815 has οὖν, apparently without other ms. support.

9 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 1,20. The same change was made by Manetti.

9 *imputata fuerit* ἐλογίσθη ("reputata est" Vg.). See on vs. 3.

9 *Abrahae fides* τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ἡ πίστις ("fides Abraae" Vg. 1527). The late Vulgate word-order has little support from Greek mss. The 1527 Vulgate column agreed with the Froben edition of 1514, while the 1491 edition had *fides Abrae*. The wording of Erasmus agreed with the earlier Vulgate, the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster, and also Manetti and Lefèvre.

9 *iustitiam* δικαιοσύνην ("iustificationem" 1516). The substitution of *iustificatio* also occurs at *Rom*. 10,4, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom*. 8,10. Usually this word is reserved for rendering δικαίωμα and δικαίωσις.

10 *imputata est* ἐλογίσθη ("reputata est" Vg.). See on vs. 3.

10 *Quum esset* ὄντι (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission of the verb has little ms. support other than codd. F G. See *Annot*. The word-order of Lefèvre followed Ambrosiaster in putting *cum in circuncisione esset*.

10 *quum esset* (Vg. omits). Erasmus repeats these words for the sake of clarity.

11 *signaculum* σφραγῖδα ("obsignaculum" 1516). Erasmus, in 1516, introduces a word which is absent from classical authors, in an attempt to convey the distinction between σημεῖον and σφραγίς. At 1 *Cor*. 9,2, he substitutes *sigillum*, in accordance with Vulgate usage in several passages of the Apocalypse. He retains *signaculum* at 2 *Tim*. 2,19; *Ap. Ioh*. 5,2, 5, 9. See *Annot*. In 1519, he restored the Vulgate word here.

11 *quae fuerat* τῆς ("quae est" Vg.; "quae erat" 1516). Erasmus prefers a past tense, following *accepit*. Lefèvre *Comm*. suggested using *fuit*.

11 τῇ. The article is omitted in codd. 1, 2816, 2817, along with D F G and some later mss.

11 *vt esset* εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτόν ("vt sit" Vg.). Erasmus again observes a more consistent sequence of tenses. The omission of αὐτόν in 1516 was derived from cod. 2817, apparently without other ms. support.

11 *vt imputaretur* εἰς τὸ λογισθῆναι ("vt reputetur" Vg.). See on vs. 3.

11 καὶ αὐτοῖς. Cod. 2815* originally omitted καί, in company with codd. ℵ * A B and some later mss., but the word was inserted as a correction (possibly by the original scribe). Most mss. have καί, as in ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ C D F G, together with 1, 2105, 2816, 2817.

11 *iustitia* τὴν δικαιοσύνην ("ad iustitiam" Vg.). The Vulgate implies a different Greek text, having εἰς δικαιοσύνην as in cod. A and a few later mss., or εἰς τὴν δικαιοσύνην as in cod. 2816.

12 *et pater* καὶ πατέρα ("vt sit pater" late Vg.; "et sit pater" Vg. mss.; "pater inquam" 1516-19). The Vulgate addition of a verb is not dependent on Greek mss. For Erasmus' use of *inquam*, see on *Ioh*. 1,20. The mss. of Manetti's translation had *et si pater*.

12 *iis qui non solum* τοῖς οὐκ ... μόνον ("non his tantum qui" Vg.). In *Annot*., Erasmus objects to the Vulgate word-order. The passage is further discussed in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 980 D-981 D. For the substitution of *solum*, see on vs. 16. The substitution of *iis* for *his* gives a more precise rendering of the Greek article. Other examples of such a change can be found e.g. at *Mt*. 5,44; 12,4; *Mc*. 16,10; *Lc*. 9,61; 1 *Cor*. 8,1; 2 *Cor*. 13,2, and elsewhere in the Epistles. Textual variation between *iis* and *his* is a noticeable feature of Vulgate mss. and editions. At some passages, Erasmus is content to retain *his*. Closely resembling the rendering of Erasmus, Ambrosiaster had *eorum qui non solum*. Lefèvre's word-order was *non iis qui sunt ex circuncisione solum*, and Manetti had the same, except that he put *his* rather than *iis*.

12 *... genus ducerent a circuncisis* ἐκ περιτομῆς ("sunt ex circuncisione" Vg.; "essent ex circuncisione" 1516). The substitution of *genus duco* for *sum* was a change of meaning, suggesting

ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσι τοῖς ἴχνεσι
τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ τοῦ
πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ.   ¹³οὐ γὰρ
διὰ νόμου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραάμ,
ἢ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, τὸ κληρονό-
μον αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου, ἀλλὰ
διὰ δικαιοσύνης πίστεως.   ¹⁴εἰ γὰρ οἱ
ἐκ νόμου, κληρονόμοι, ἐκκεκένωται ἡ
πίστις, καὶ κατήργηται ἡ ἐπαγγελία·
¹⁵ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὀργὴν κατεργάζεται.
οὗ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος, οὐδὲ παρά-
βασις.   ¹⁶διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ πίστεως, ἵνα
κατὰ χάριν, εἰς τὸ εἶναι βεβαίαν τὴν
ἐπαγγελίαν παντὶ τῷ σπέρματι, οὐ
τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῷ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ, ὅς ἐστι πα-
τὴρ πάντων ἡμῶν·   ¹⁷καθὼς γέγρα-
πται ὅτι Πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθει-
κά σε· κατέναντι οὗ ἐπίστευσε θεοῦ,

verum etiam ingrederentur vestigiis
fidei, quae fuit in praeputio patris no-
stri Abrahae.   ¹³Non enim per legem
promissio contigit Abrahae, aut semi-
ni eius, illum haeredem fore mundi,
sed per iustitiam fidei.   ¹⁴Etenim si
ii qui ad legem pertinent, haeredes
sunt, inanis facta est fides, et irrita
facta est promissio: ¹⁵nam lex iram
operatur. Siquidem vbi non est lex,
ibi nec transgressio est.   ¹⁶Idcirco ex
fide datur haereditas, vt secundum
gratiam, vt firma sit promissio vni-
uerso semini: non ei quod est ex lege
tantum, verum etiam ei quod est ex
fide Abrahae, qui est pater omnium
nostrum: ¹⁷sicut scriptum est: Patrem
multarum gentium constitui te. Nimi-
rum ad exemplum dei cui crediderat,

12 στοιχουσι *A C-E*: στιχουσι *B* | *alt.* της *B-E*: τοις *A*

12 verum *B-E*: sed *A* | 14 ad legem pertinent *B-E*: ex lege sunt *A* | 15 *alt.* est *B-E*: om. *A* |
16 datur haereditas *B-E*: om. *A* | sit *B-E*: esset *A* | ei ... tantum *B-E*: solum ei, quod est ex
lege *A* | 17 Nimirum *B-E* (nimirum *B-E*): om. *A*

"descended from" rather than "belonged to".
The replacement of *circuncisio* by *circuncisi* is
again less literal, but yields a clearer sense in
this context.

12 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed et" Vg.; "sed
etiam" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Manetti an-
ticipated the change which Erasmus made in
1516.

12 *ingrederentur vestigiis* τοῖς στοιχοῦσι τοῖς
ἴχνεσι ("his qui sectantur vestigia" Vg.). The
Vulgate is more literal than Erasmus, in at least
attempting to provide a rendering for the first
τοῖς here, but see above regarding the Vulgate
use of *his* rather than *iis*. Erasmus wished to
avoid any implication that these were Gentile
believers: according to his interpretation, the
passage speaks of those Jews who were not
merely Jewish by descent but also sincerely fol-
lowed the faith of Abraham. See *Annot.*, where
he also conjectures that the Greek text originally
had τοῖς καί for καὶ τοῖς, in front of στοιχοῦσι.

He elsewhere renders στοιχέω by *ambulo, incedo*
and *procedo*.

12 *fidei, quae fuit in praeputio* τῆς πίστεως τῆς
ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ ("fidei, quae est in praeputio"
late Vg.). In 1516, Erasmus' text had τοῖς for
τῆς (2nd.), following cod. 2815, together with
a few other late mss. The earlier Vulgate placed
fidei after *praeputio*, with support from codd.
א ᶜᵒʳʳ A B C F G and many later mss. Erasmus'
word-order is supported by most of the later
mss., though with diversity as to the presence
or absence of τῇ before ἀκροβυστίᾳ (codd.
1, 2105 insert τῇ). His rendering here follows
the wording proposed in Lefèvre *Comm.*

13 *contigit Abrahae* τῷ Ἀβραάμ ("Abra(h)ae"
Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb, for clarification. See
Annot. He makes a similar addition of *contingo*
at *Rom.* 11,11.

13 *illum haeredem fore* τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν
εἶναι ("vt haeres esset" Vg.). For the use of *fore*,
see on *Act.* 14,9. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests

the word-order *haredem mundi futurum*. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *vt ipse haeres esset* (except that Manetti's spelling was *heres*).

14 *Etenim si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

14 *ii qui ad legem pertinent* οἱ ἐκ νόμου ("qui ex lege" Vg.; "ii qui ex lege sunt" 1516). Erasmus again expands the meaning for the sake of clarity, but at vs. 16 he retains *ex lege*.

14 *inanis facta est* ἐκκεκένωται ("exinanita est" Vg.). Erasmus' Greek text is here derived from cod. 2815, apparently without other ms. support. However, his Latin rendering corresponds more closely with κεκένωται, attested by codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817 and most other mss. At 1 *Cor.* 1,17; 9,15, he substitutes *inanem reddo* for *euacuo* in rendering κενόω, and replaces *euacuo* with *inanem facio* (or rather, *inanis fiat*) at 2 *Cor.* 9,3. In the same way, he substituted *inanis* for *vacuus* in rendering κενός at 1 *Cor.* 15,10, while retaining *vacuus* at *Mc.* 12,3; 2 *Cor.* 6,1. At *Phil.* 2,7 (1519), he changed *exinaniuit* to *inaniuit*: see *ad loc.*

14 *irrita facta est* κατήργηται ("abolita est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,3, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *sublata est*.

15 *nam lex* ὁ γὰρ νόμος ("lex enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

15 *Siquidem vbi ... ibi* οὗ γάρ ("Vbi enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34; 4,47, for *siquidem*. In vss. 13-15, where the Vulgate uses *enim* four times, Erasmus varies the style by adopting *enim*, *etenim*, *nam*, and *siquidem*. By inserting *ibi*, he prevents *non ... nec* from being misunderstood to mean "neither ... nor". Manetti had *Nam vbi*.

15 *transgressio est* παράβασις ("praeuaricatio" Vg.; "transgressio" 1516). See on *Rom.* 2,23 for *transgressio*. The addition of *est* is for the sake of clarity.

16 *Idcirco* διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 9,41. For other replacements for *ideo* in rendering διὰ τοῦτο, see on *Rom.* 13,6. This change was anticipated by Manetti.

16 *ex fide datur haereditas* ἐκ πίστεως ("ex fide" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus' explanatory addition was intended to supply the implied sense of this elliptical Greek expression, resuming from the references to κληρονόμος in vss. 13-14.

16 *vt firma sit* εἰς τὸ εἶναι βεβαίαν ("firma sit" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "vt firma esset" 1516). In 1519, Erasmus restores the reading of some mss. of the earlier Vulgate, in company with the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster.

16 *vniuerso* παντί ("omni" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,2.

16 *non ... tantum* οὐ ... μόνον ("non ... solum" Vg.; "non solum ..." 1516). When using *solum* in the N.T., Erasmus usually follows the classical practice of placing the word directly after the negative, *non*. Since the Greek word-order here requires the adverb to be postponed, Erasmus prefers *tantum*. Other substitutions of *tantum* occur at 2 *Cor.* 8,21; *Phil.* 2,27; 2 *Tim.* 2,20. A change in the opposite direction, from *tantum* to *solum*, occurs at vs. 12 above, and also at *Gal.* 4,18; *Phil.* 2,12; 1 *Thess.* 1,5; 1 *Petr.* 2,18. Erasmus' 1519 rendering is again the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

16 *ei quod est ex lege ... ei quod est ex fide* τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ... τῷ ἐκ πίστεως ("ei qui ex lege est ... ei qui ex fide est" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to make clear that the pronoun *ei* relates to the preceding *semen*: see *Annot.*, and also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 981 E-F. On this point, he follows Lefèvre.

16 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Manetti just put *sed*.

16 *est pater* ἐστι πατήρ ("pater est" late Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more closely, in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

17 *Patrem* ὅτι Πατέρα ("Quia patrem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was *quod patrem*.

17 *constitui* τέθεικα ("posui" Vg.). Erasmus here conforms with the Vulgate rendering of *Gn.* 17,5: see *Annot.*

17 *Nimirum ad exemplum dei* κατέναντι ... θεοῦ ("ante deum" Vg.; "Ad exemplum dei" 1516). Erasmus' addition of *nimirum* helps to indicate that the O.T. quotation has finished, and that the following words are the apostle's exposition. The substitution of *ad exemplum dei* ("following the example of God") is based on a dubious patristic interpretation, which Erasmus found in cod. 2817comm and other sources: see *Annot.*, where he also mentions a more straightforward rendering, *coram deo*. For his removal of *ante deum*, see on *Act.* 7,46.

17 *crediderat* ἐπίστευσε ("credidisti" late Vg.). The late Vulgate, under influence from the Old Latin, corresponds with ἐπίστευσας in codd. F G. See *Annot.* The earlier Vulgate had *credidit*.

LB 581 τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος τοὺς νεκρούς, καὶ | καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ὡς ὄντα· ¹⁸ ὃς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσεν, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, Οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου. ¹⁹ καὶ μὴ ἀσθενήσας τῇ πίστει, οὐ κατενόησε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἤδη νενεκρωμένον, ἑκατονταέτης που ὑπάρχων, καὶ τὴν νέκρωσιν τῆς μήτρας Σάρρας· ²⁰ εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, δοὺς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, ²¹ καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὅτι ὃ ἐπήγγελται,

qui vitae restituit mortuos: ac vocat ea quae non sunt, | tanquam sint: LB 582 ¹⁸ qui praeter spem sub spe credidit, se fore patrem multarum gentium: iuxta id quod dictum est: Sic erit semen tuum. ¹⁹ Ac non infirmatus fide, haud considerauit suum ipsius corpus iam emortuum, quum centum fere natus esset annos, nec emortuam vuluam Sarae: ²⁰ verum ad promissionem dei non haesitabat ob incredulitatem, sed robustus factus est fide, tribuens gloriam deo: ²¹ certa persuasione concepta, quod is qui promiserat,

17 vitae restituit B-E: viuificat A | ac B-E: et A | 18 sub B-E: in A | 19 considerauit C-E: consyderauit A B | 20 ob incredulitatem B-E: incredulitate A | tribuens B-E: dans A | 21 concepta B-E: accepta A

Manetti put *credebat*, as if the Greek were ἐπίστευε.

17 *qui vitae restituit* τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος ("qui viuificat" 1516 = Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus always retains *viuifico* for this Greek verb, though it was not used by classical authors. He defended his revised rendering, in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 981 F-982 C.

17 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

17 *tanquam sint* ὡς ὄντα ("tanquam ea quae sunt" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here: see *Annot.* The same change was made by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

18 *praeter* παρ' ("contra" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,26, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti made the same change.

18 *sub spe* ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ("in spem" Vg.; "in spe" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus implies that some Greek mss. have just ἐλπίδι, omitting ἐπ', though the preposition was contained in all his mss. at Basle. He substitutes *sub spe* for *in spe* at *Rom.* 5,2; 8,20 (both in 1519); 1 *Cor.* 9,10, but has *in spe* at *Act.* 2,26; *Tit.* 1,2. Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* both had *in spe* here, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

18 *se fore patrem* εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν πατέρα ("vt fieret pater" Vg.). Erasmus' questionable alteration of the sense, taking the Greek phrase

as expressing the content of Abraham's faith, seems to have been influenced by Theophylact (cod. 2105^comm: ἐπίστευσεν ὅτι γενήσεται πατήρ). Cf. *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 982 C-D. The words εἰς τό, with the infinitive, usually express a purpose. For the use of *fore*, see on *Act.* 14,9.

18 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

18 *id quod* τό ("quod" Vg.). The addition of *id* prevents ambiguity. See *Annot.* This change was anticipated by Manetti.

18 *dictum est* εἰρημένον ("dictum est ei" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The added pronoun of the late Vulgate lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* Erasmus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. In the two mss. of Manetti's translation, *ei* was deleted through a later correction.

18 *tuum* σου ("tuum sicut stellae coeli et arena maris" late Vg. with some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of ὡς αἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης in codd. F G and a few later mss. See *Annot.* The passage is listed in the 1527 edition of the *Quae Sint Addita.* Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus. Manetti had an even longer version, replacing *arena* with *sicut arena que est in litore* (cf. *Gn.* 22,17).

19 *Ac* καί ("Et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

19 *infirmatus* ἀσθενήσας ("est infirmatus in" Vg. 1527). The late Vulgate preposition, *in*, corresponds with the addition of ἐν in codd. D* F G. In 1516 *Annot.*, citing this passage in his comments on vs. 20, Erasmus also adds ἐν here, though it is omitted in his note on vs. 19 and is absent from all his Basle mss. Some late Vulgate copies also have *infirmatus est in*, as followed by Lefèvre.

19 *haud* οὐ ("nec" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). For Erasmus' use of *haud*, see on *Act.* 24,18. The earlier Vulgate omits *nec*, reflecting a Greek text omitting οὐ, as in codd. ℵ A B C and a few later Greek mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also D F G and most other mss.

19 *suum ipsius corpus* τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ("corpus suum" Vg.). Erasmus attributes additional emphasis to the Greek pronoun here: see *Annot.*

19 *iam* ἤδη (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. B F G and a few later mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

19 *quum centum fere natus esset annos* ἑκατονταέτης που ὑπάρχων ("cum iam fere centum esset annorum" late Vg.). Erasmus uses a more idiomatic expression. The late Vulgate addition of *iam*, at this point, lacks Greek ms. support. Manetti contented himself with omitting *iam*, while Lefèvre had *vbi centum esset annorum*.

19 *nec* καί ("et" Vg.). This change follows from the earlier negative, *haud considerauit*. Manetti made the same change.

20 *verum ad promissionem* εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ("in repromissione etiam" Vg.). A similar substitution of *promissio* occurs at *Gal.* 3,18; 4,23 (1516 only); *Hebr.* 7,6; 9,15; 11,9, 13, 17, 33, 39. The more emphatic form of the word, *repromissio*, was less common in classical usage, though Erasmus retains it at *Act.* 2,39; 13,32; 26,6; *Gal.* 4,23 (1519); 1 *Ioh.* 2,25. See *Annot.*, and see also on *Act.* 1,4; *Rom.* 9,4; *Gal.* 3,14. In using *verum* and *ad*, Erasmus gives a more literal rendering. Manetti put *In promissione autem*, and Lefèvre *In promissione etiam*.

20 *haesitabat* διεκρίθη ("haesitauit" Vg.). This change may be compared with the replacement of *dubitasti* by *dubitabas* in 1516, and by *haesitabas* in 1519, in rendering ἐδίστασας at *Mt.* 14,31. Although the Greek aorist is used in both places, any action of doubting or wavering

might naturally have been expected to continue for a period, and this is probably why Erasmus preferred the imperfect tense. At *Mt.* 28,17, however, he retained *dubitauerunt* for ἐδίστασαν. Cf. *Annot.*

20 *ob incredulitatem* τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ("diffidentia" Vg.; "incredulitate" 1516). The Vulgate use of *diffidentia* was ambiguous, as it could mean a lack of confidence rather than unbelief. Erasmus' substitution of *incredulitas* is consistent with Vulgate usage at all other instances of ἀπιστία. For *ob*, see on *Ioh.* 10,33.

20 *robustus factus est* ἐνεδυναμώθη ("confortatus est" Vg.). For Erasmus' removal of the non-classical verb *conforto*, see on *Act.* 9,19. In *Annot.*, he also suggests *inualuit*, which was the rendering of Lefèvre.

20 *tribuens* δούς ("dans" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus is elsewhere content with *do gloriam*. At 1 *Cor.* 12,24, by contrast, he changes *tribuo* to *addo*, in rendering δοὺς τιμήν. He follows the Vulgate in using *tribuo* for δίδωμι at *Lc.* 6,30.

21 *certa persuasione concepta* καὶ πληροφορηθείς ("plenissime sciens" Vg.; "certa persuasione accepta" 1516). The Vulgate use of *scio* is inappropriate, as the Greek verb refers to belief rather than knowledge. This substitution may be compared with Erasmus' use of *certa persuasio* for πληροφορία at *Col.* 2,2 (cf. also *certitudo* at 1 *Thess.* 1,5; *Hebr.* 6,11; 10,22), and *certissima fides* for πληροφορέω at *Lc.* 1,1. See *Annot.* In leaving καί untranslated, Erasmus follows the Vulgate, though there is little Greek ms. support for such an omission other than codd. F G. The rendering proposed by Manetti was *et certificatus*, a word which Erasmus somewhat diffidently mentions as an alternative rendering in *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *et plene certior factus*.

21 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The same change was made by Manetti.

21 *is qui* ὅ ("quaecunque" Vg.). Possibly influenced by Ambrosiaster (whose text had *qui*, in the 1492 edition), Erasmus unjustifiably treats ὅ as a masculine nominative rather than a neuter accusative, in conflict with the interpretation offered in *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *quod*.

21 *promiserat* ἐπήγγελται ("promisit deus" late Vg.). Erasmus' use of the pluperfect produces a better sequence of tenses. The late Vulgate addition of *deus* is supported by only a few late mss. See *Annot.*

δυνατός ἐστι καὶ ποιῆσαι. ²²διὸ
καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.
²³οὐκ ἐγράφη δὲ δι’ αὐτὸν μόνον,
ὅτι ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ, ²⁴ἀλλὰ καὶ
δι’ ἡμᾶς, οἷς μέλλει λογίζεσθαι,
τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείραντα
Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν,
²⁵ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώμα-
τα ἡμῶν, καὶ ἠγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαιο-
σύνην ἡμῶν.

5 Δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως, εἰ-
ρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, διὰ
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
²δι’ οὗ καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχή-
καμεν τῇ πίστει εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην,
ἐν ᾗ ἑστήκαμεν καὶ | καυχώμε-
θα ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ.

idem potens esset et praestare. ²²Qua-
propter etiam imputatum est illi ad
iustitiam. ²³Non scriptum est autem
propter illum tantum, imputatum fu-
isse illi, ²⁴sed etiam propter nos, qui-
bus imputabitur, credentibus in eum
qui excitauit Iesum dominum no-
strum a mortuis, ²⁵qui traditus fuit
propter peccata nostra, et excitatus
est propter iustificationem nostri.

5 Iustificati igitur ex fide, pacem
habemus erga deum, per do-
minum nostrum Iesum Christum:
²per quem et contigit nobis,
vt fide perduceremur in gra-
tiam | hanc, in qua stamus
et gloriamur sub spe gloriae dei.

LB 583 (left of Greek col.) · LB 584 (right of Latin col.)

24 ιησουν *A*ᶜ *B-E*: ιησουν χριστον *A**
5,2 καυχωμεθα *A-C E*: καυχομεθα *D*

21 idem *B-E*: om. *A*
5,2 sub *B-E*: in *A*

21 *idem potens* δυνατός ("potens" 1516 = Vg.).
The added pronoun, *idem*, reinforces Erasmus'
questionable substitution of *is qui* earlier in the
sentence. See above.

21 *esset* ἐστι ("est" Vg.). Again Erasmus improves
the sequence of tenses.

21 *praestare* ποιῆσαι ("facere" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 7,19.

22 *Quapropter* διό ("Ideo" Vg.). See on *Act.*
10,29.

22 *etiam* καί ("et" Vg.). For *etiam*, see on
Ioh. 6,36. Manetti put *et ideo* for *ideo et*.

22 *imputatum est* ἐλογίσθη ("reputatum est"
Vg.). See on vs. 3.

23 *scriptum est autem* ἐγράφη δέ ("est autem
scriptum" Vg.). Erasmus' improvement of
word-order had previously been introduced
by Lefèvre.

23 *propter illum tantum* δι’ αὐτὸν μόνον
("tantum propter ipsum" Vg.). The Vulgate

word-order corresponds with μόνον δι’ αὐτόν
in codd. D F G. For Erasmus' removal of *ipse*,
see on *Rom.* 1,20. Manetti had *propter eum
solum*, while Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre
had *propter ipsum solum*.

23 *imputatum fuisse* ὅτι ἐλογίσθη ("quia reputa-
tum est" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of the accusative
and infinitive construction, see on *Ioh.* 1,34,
and for *imputo*, see on vs. 3, and *Annot.* The
rendering of Manetti had *quod* for *quia*.

23 *illi* αὐτῷ ("illi ad iusticiam" late Vg.). The
late Vulgate addition corresponds with the ad-
dition of εἰς δικαιοσύνην in cod. Dᶜᵒʳʳ and a
few later mss., including 2105, 2816ˢᵘᵖᵖ, despite
Erasmus' statement in *Annot.* that "the Greeks"
do not have these words. The versions of Ma-
netti and Lefèvre omitted *ad iusticiam*, and
Manetti further substituted *ei* for *illi*.

24 *etiam* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,36. The
sequence *sed et* is quite often retained by Eras-
mus at other passages. Manetti anticipated
this change.

24 *imputabitur* μέλλει λογίζεσθαι ("reputabitur" Vg.). See on vs. 3. In *Annot.*, Erasmus criticises a suggestion of Lefèvre *Comm.*, which offered the alternative rendering *debet reputari*.

24 *qui excitauit* τὸν ἐγείραντα ("qui suscitauit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 17,31.

24 *Iesum* Ἰησοῦν ("Iesum Christum" late Vg.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of χριστόν in cod. 2815 and some other late mss. For this reason, the text of Erasmus' 1516 edition reads Ἰησοῦν χριστόν, later corrected in the 1516 errata. His comment in 1516 *Annot.*, that χριστόν is not added "apud graecos", was evidently written without consultation of cod. 2815. Manetti and Lefèvre omitted *Christum*.

25 *traditus fuit* παρεδόθη ("traditus est" Vg.). See on vs. 2 for Erasmus' preference for *fuit*.

25 *peccata* τὰ παραπτώματα ("delicta" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Rom.* 5,15; 2 *Cor.* 5,19, and also in rendering ἁμάρτημα at *Rom.* 3,25 (see *ad loc.*). More often Erasmus retains *delictum* for παράπτωμα. His rendering here is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

25 *excitatus est* ἠγέρθη ("resurrexit" Vg.). Erasmus more accurately conveys the passive sense of the Greek verb ("was raised"). A similar change occurs at *Mt.* 11,5. Cf. also *excito* for *consurgo* at *Mt.* 2,14, and for *surgo* at *Mt.* 8,26 (1519); *Rom.* 6,4, 9. At *Mc.* 4,39 (1519), *excito* further replaces *exurgo* in rendering διεγείρω. On the same theme, *resurgo* is replaced by *resuscito* at *Mt.* 16,21; *Mc.* 12,26; 16,14 (1527), and by *suscito* at *Rom.* 8,34. These references are all in the context of resurrection from the dead. However, more often Erasmus follows the Vulgate in putting *surgo* or *resurgo*.

25 *iustificationem* δικαιοσύνην. Erasmus' Greek text follows cod. 2815, supported by D^corr and a few later mss. The same reading was also in codd. 2105^mg and 2817^*vid. In codd. 1, 2816^supp, 2817^corr and most other mss., it is δικαίωσιν. In cod. 2105* the whole verse was omitted, but the missing words were restored in 2105^mg by the hand of Philip Montanus in the mid-sixteenth century. Manetti probably also found δικαιοσύνην in his mss., as he changed the rendering to *iustitiam*.

25 *nostri* ἡμῶν ("nostram" Vg.). Cf. *admonitionem nostri* for *correptionem nostram* at 1 *Cor.* 10,11. Erasmus wishes to avoid the ambiguity of the Vulgate rendering by making plain that

the pronoun has an objective rather than a possessive sense.

5,1 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. This change produced agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

1 *habemus* ἔχομεν ("habeamus" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with a Greek variant, ἔχωμεν, in codd. ℵ* A B* C D and more than 250 later mss., with cod. 2817 among them. Erasmus follows cod. 2815, together with 1, 2105, 2816^supp and about 330 other mss., including ℵ^corr B^corr F G 0220^vid (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 330-2). See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 982 E-983 C, where Erasmus suggests that the use of the indicative is better suited to the context. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

1 *erga* πρός ("ad" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25.

2 *et contigit nobis, vt fide perduceremur* καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν τῇ πίστει ("habemus accessum per fidem" late Vg.). By this "periphrasis" (carefully distinguished from mere "paraphrase" in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 983 C-D), Erasmus aimed to give an accurate rendering of the Greek aorist, and to convey more fully the meaning of προσαγωγή. In *Annot.*, he translates more concisely by *aditum habuimus*. In rendering ἔχομεν τὴν προσαγωγήν at *Eph.* 2,18; 3,12, he accordingly replaces *habemus accessum* by *habemus aditum*. Erasmus felt that προσαγωγή implied that someone is led or introduced (i.e. through Christ, by faith) into the presence of God. See *Annot.* on *Eph.* 2,18. The late Vulgate omission of *et* lacks Greek ms. support. Manetti had *accessum habuimus* (or *habemus*, in *Urb. Lat.* 6) *ad fidem*.

2 *hanc* ταύτην ("istam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,4.

2 *sub* ἐπ' ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,18.

2 *gloriae* τῆς δόξης ("filiorum" *Annot.*, lemma; "gloriae filiorum" Vg. 1527 = Vg. mss.). The Vulgate use of *filiorum* is unsupported by Greek mss. In *Annot.*, and also in the *Quae Sint Addita* of 1519-27, Erasmus cited the Vulgate as omitting *gloriae*, though it was printed in his 1527 Vulgate column as well as in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514. Cf. also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 983 D. The Vulgate column of Lefèvre had *gloriae filiorum*, but in *Comm.* he omitted *gloriae* from his Vulgate citation: possibly this was the source of Erasmus' information. The renderings of Manetti and Lefèvre both had just *gloriae* (spelled *glorie* in Manetti).

³οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμεθα
ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἡ θλίψις
ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, ⁴ἡ δὲ ὑπο-
μονὴ δοκιμήν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα.
⁵ἡ δὲ ἐλπὶς οὐ καταισχύνει, ὅτι ἡ
ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς
καρδίαις ἡμῶν, διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου
τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν.

⁶Ἔτι γὰρ Χριστός, ὄντων ἡμῶν
ἀσθενῶν κατὰ καιρόν, ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν
ἀπέθανε. ⁷μόλις γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαίου
τις ἀποθανεῖται. ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγα-
θοῦ τάχα τις καὶ τολμᾷ ἀποθανεῖν.
⁸συνίστησι δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην
εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν
ὄντων ἡμῶν, Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
ἀπέθανε. ⁹πολλῷ οὖν μᾶλλον δι-
καιωθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ,

³Nec id solum, verum etiam gloria-
mur super afflictionibus, scientes quod
afflictio patientiam pariat, ⁴patien-
tia vero probationem, probatio autem
spem. ⁵Porro spes non pudefacit,
quod dilectio dei effusa sit in cordi-
bus nostris, per spiritum sanctum qui
datus est nobis.

⁶Christus enim, quum adhuc esse-
mus infirmi, iuxta temporis rationem,
pro impiis mortuus est. ⁷Nam vix pro
iusto quisquam morietur. Siquidem
pro bono forsitan aliquis etiam mori
sustinet. ⁸Commendat autem suam
charitatem erga nos deus, quod quum
adhuc essemus peccatores, Christus
pro nobis mortuus fuit. ⁹Multo igitur
magis iustificati nunc sanguine eius,

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7 αποθανειται *A-C*: αποθανειτε *D E*

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3 super *B-E*: in *A* | 5 Porro spes *B-E*: Spes autem *A* | 9 sanguine *B-E*: in sanguine *A*

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3 *Nec id solum* οὐ μόνον δέ ("Non solum
autem" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus complains
that the over-literal translation offered by the
Vulgate was in unacceptable Latin style, and
he therefore substitutes a pronoun for *autem*.
See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX,
983 D-E. His choice of wording may have been
influenced by Valla *Annot.*, where *neque id solum*
was recommended for vs. 11. However, at that
verse, Erasmus prefers *non solum autem hoc*.
Lefèvre *Comm.* proposed *Non id solum autem*
here, and *non solum id autem* in vs. 11.

3 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed etiam" late Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Lefèvre (both columns) had
sed et, as in the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster.

3 *super* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 3,10.
More often Erasmus retains *in* after *glorior*.
Other instances of *glorior super* can be seen at
2 *Cor.* 10,15 (1519); 12,5, 9 (1519).

3 *afflictionibus ... afflictio* ταῖς θλίψεσιν ... ἡ
θλίψις ("tribulationibus ... tribulatio" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 16,21.

3 *pariat* κατεργάζεται ("operatur" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 1,27 (*perpetrantes*).

4 *vero ... autem* δὲ ... δέ ("autem ... vero" Vg.).
This transposition of word-order makes little
difference to the sense. Manetti made the same
change.

5 *Porro spes* ἡ δὲ ἐλπίς ("Spes autem" 1516
= Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16. Manetti had *Spes vero*.

5 *pudefacit* καταισχύνει ("confundit" Vg.). A
similar substitution occurs at *Rom.* 9,33; 10,11;
1 *Cor.* 1,27; 11,22; 2 *Cor.* 7,14; 1 *Petr.* 2,6; 3,16.
As pointed out in *Annot.*, *confundo* does not
necessarily imply "shame". See also *Resp. ad
collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 983 E-984 C.

5 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). Erasmus often removes
quia, replacing it with *quod, eo quod, quoniam*,
and *nam*. In this instance, the use of *quod*
with the subjunctive could suggest the unex-
pected interpretation "ashamed that ...". In the
Pauline Epistles, Erasmus uses *quia* at just four
passages, each time in a causal sense. Cf. also
on *Ioh.* 1,20.

5 *dilectio* ἡ ἀγάπη ("charitas" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 13,35.

5 *effusa sit* ἐκκέχυται ("diffusa est" Vg.). See
on *Act.* 1,18, and *Annot.*

6 *Christus enim, quum adhuc essemus infirmi* Ἔτι γὰρ Χριστός, ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ("Vt quid enim Christus cum adhuc infirmi essemus" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect a Greek text substituting εἰς τί for ἔτι and adding ἔτι after ἀσθενῶν, as in codd. D^corr F G. In cod. B, it is εἴ γε ... ἀσθενῶν ἔτι, omitting γάρ. The repetitious wording of codd. א A C D*, which have ἔτι in both places, seems unlikely to be genuine. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2816^supp and most other late mss. (cod. 2105* began with Ὅτι). See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre moved *adhuc* to the beginning of the sentence, having *Adhuc enim Christus cum infirmi essemus.* Valla *Annot.* proposed starting the sentence with *Nam etiam Christus* or *Christus enim etiam.*

6 *quum ... essemus infirmi* ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ("cum ... infirmi essemus" Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more literally.

6 *iuxta temporis rationem* κατὰ καιρόν ("secundum tempus" Vg.). This use of *ratio* may be compared with Erasmus' substitution of *pro temporis ratione* for *propter tempus* in rendering διὰ τὸν χρόνον at *Hebr.* 5,12, and *praeter aetatis rationem* for *praeter tempus aetatis* in rendering παρὰ καιρὸν ἡλικίας at *Hebr.* 11,11. For *iuxta*, see further on *Act.* 13,23. See also *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 984 C-D. The punctuation of Erasmus' Greek text connects this phrase with ἀσθενῶν rather than ἀπέθανε.

7 *Nam vix* μόλις γάρ ("Vix enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

7 *quisquam* τις ("quis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,25.

7 *morietur* ἀποθανεῖται ("moritur" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the present tense is unsupported by Greek mss. See *Annot.* The spelling ἀποθανεῖτε in 1527-35 is no more than a misprint.

7 *Siquidem* γάρ ("nam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,47. The word is omitted in cod. 2815, with little other ms. support.

7 *aliquis etiam* τις καί ("quis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "quis et" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). Cf. on *Ioh.* 2,25. Erasmus tends to avoid the use of *quis* as an indefinite pronoun, except in questions and in phrases such as *si quis.* There is little Greek support for the omission of καί, which was left untranslated by those Vulgate copies which have just *quis.* Manetti put *quis et.*

7 *mori sustinet* τολμᾷ ἀποθανεῖν ("audeat mori" Vg.). A similar substitution of *sustineo* occurs at 1 *Cor.* 6,1; 2 *Cor.* 10,12 (1519). In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites Suetonius (cf. *Julius Caesar* 74, 1; *Augustus Caesar* 31, 1; 66, 4) for this idiom. He further expanded this theme in later editions of *Annot.* at 1 *Cor.* 6,1, citing Seneca, Quintilian and Lucan. Cf. also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 984 D-E. Usually Erasmus retains *audeo* for τολμάω.

8 *suam charitatem* τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην ("charitatem suam" late Vg.). Erasmus' word-order is more literal, agreeing with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

8 *erga nos deus* εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός ("deus in nobis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "deus in nos" other Vg. mss.). For *erga*, see on *Act.* 3,25. The late Vulgate use of the ablative is not supported by Greek mss. However, the Vulgate word-order corresponds with ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς, as in codd. D F G and about fifty other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 335-7). Manetti put *in nobis deus.*

8 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam si" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.* The late Vulgate, under the influence of the Old Latin, corresponds with ὅτι εἰ, as found in codd. D^corr F G. The word *si* is absent here from Lefèvre's rendering and also from his accompanying Vulgate text.

8 *quum ... essemus peccatores* ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν ("cum ... peccatores essemus secundum tempus" late Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for an earlier position for *essemus*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. The late Vulgate addition of *secundum tempus* lacks Greek ms. support, and seems to have been taken from vs. 6. In removing these two words, Erasmus' rendering agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

8 *mortuus fuit* ἀπέθανε ("mortuus est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

9 *iustificati nunc* δικαιωθέντες νῦν ("nunc iustificati" late Vg.). Erasmus restores the more literal word-order of the earlier Vulgate, again accompanied by Ambrosiaster and Manetti (though the first hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45 altogether omitted *nunc*).

9 *sanguine* ἐν τῷ αἵματι ("in sanguine" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus takes ἐν in an instrumental sense. See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

9 *eius* αὐτοῦ ("ipsius" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20. Manetti put *suo.*

σωθησόμεθα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρ-
γῆς. ¹⁰εἰ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες κατηλλά-
γημεν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ
υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον καταλλα-
γέντες σωθησόμεθα ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ.
¹¹οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμενοι
ἐν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν
ἐλάβομεν.

¹²Διὰ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ δι' ἑνὸς ἀν-
θρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσ-
ῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος,
καὶ οὕτως εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώ|πους ὁ
θάνατος διῆλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρ-
τον. | ¹³ἄχρι γὰρ νόμου ἁμαρτία ἦν
ἐν κόσμῳ· ἁμαρτία δὲ οὐκ ἐλλογεῖται,
μὴ ὄντος νόμου.

¹⁴Ἀλλ' ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ θάνατος ἀπὸ
Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Μωσέως, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς

LB 585

LB 589

seruabimur per eum ab ira. ¹⁰Nam
si quum inimici essemus, reconcili-
ati fuimus deo per mortem filii eius,
multo magis reconciliati seruabimur
per vitam ipsius. ¹¹Non solum autem
hoc, verum etiam gloriantes in deo
per dominum nostrum Iesum Chris-
tum, per quem nunc reconciliationem
assequuti sumus.

¹²Propterea, quemadmodum per
vnum hominem peccatum in mun-
dum introiit, ac per peccatum mors,
et sic in omnes ho|mines mors per-
uasit, quatenus omnes peccauimus. |
¹³Vsque ad legem enim peccatum erat
in mundo: porro peccatum non im-
putatur, quum non est lex.

¹⁴Imo regnauit mors ab Adam
vsque ad Mosen, in eos quoque qui

LB 586

LB 590

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10 ζωη A C-E: ζοη B | 11 ημων D E: υμων A-C | 12 της αμαρτιας B-E: την αμαρτιαν A

10 per vitam B-E: in vita A | 11 autem Aᶜ B-E: aut A* | 12 prius per E: propter A-D |
ac B-E: et A | alt. per C-E: propter A B | quatenus B-E: in eo quod A | 14 Mosen B-E:
Moysen A

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9 *seruabimur* σωθησόμεθα ("salui erimus" Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 3,17. Manetti had *saluabimur*, posi-
tioned at the end of the sentence.

9 *per eum ab ira* δι' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς
("ab ira per ipsum" Vg.). The Vulgate word-
order is unsupported by Greek mss. As earlier
in the verse, Erasmus removes the unnecessary
reflexive pronoun. See on *Rom.* 1,20.

10 *Nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 3,34.

10 *reconciliati fuimus* κατηλλάγημεν ("recon-
ciliati sumus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

10 *seruabimur* σωθησόμεθα ("salui erimus" Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 3,17. As in the previous verse,
Manetti substituted *saluabimur*.

10 *per vitam* ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ("in vita" 1516 = Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 1,17.

11 *Non solum autem hoc* οὐ μόνον δέ ("Non
solum autem" Vg.). This addition of *hoc* re-
produced the wording of Ambrosiaster, who
in turn was influenced by the Old Latin, cor-
responding with the addition of τοῦτο in

codd. D* F G. See also vs. 3, above. The sub-
stitution of *aut* for *autem* in the 1516 rendering
seems to have been caused by a mistake of the
typesetter: this error was corrected in the 1516
errata.

11 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed et" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 15,24.

11 *gloriantes* καυχώμενοι ("gloriamur" Vg.).
The Vulgate rendering reflects a Greek text
having καυχώμεθα, as in codd. 2105, 2816ˢᵘᵖᵖ
and many other late mss.: see *Annot.* Cf. also
καυχῶμεν in codd. F G.

11 ἡμῶν. The reading ὑμῶν in 1516-22 lacks
ms. support, and was probably a printer's
error.

11 *assequuti sumus* ἐλάβομεν ("accepimus" Vg.).
Erasmus elsewhere uses *assequor* in rendering
ἐπιτυγχάνω, καταλαμβάνω, and κληρονομέω.
At the present passage, it conveys more vigo-
rously the sense of attaining something which
was earnestly desired, i.e. reconciliation with
God, through the work of Christ.

12 *quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

12 *per* (1st.) δι' ("propter" 1516-27). In the 1529 *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 985 E-986 A, Erasmus alleges that *propter* was the responsibility of his proof-readers, said to be following a manuscript having δι' ἕνα ἄνθρωπον in place of δι' ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου. However, this claim by Erasmus was merely a guess, having no factual foundation: codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 unite in reading δι' ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου, as printed in the Greek column of all five folio editions. More credible was Erasmus' statement that he had written the correction *per* in his marked-up copy of the second edition, but that this had been overlooked by his assistants (i.e. during the preparation of the 1522 edition).

12 *mundum* τὸν κόσμον ("hunc mundum" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *hunc* is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. See on *Rom.* 3,6 for other such changes involving *mundus*. Erasmus retains the Vulgate word-order, which corresponds more closely with εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἡ ἁμαρτία in codd. D F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

12 *introiit* εἰσῆλθε ("intrauit" Vg.). Erasmus completely removes the verb *intro* from the Epistles. At many other passages he prefers *ingredior*: see on *Ioh.* 13,27.

12 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

12 *per peccatum* διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ("propter peccatum" 1516-19). The use of *propter* in 1516-19 corresponded with the adoption of διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν in the 1516 Greek text, derived from cod. 2815. The reading διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας is attested by codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2816^supp, 2817 and most other mss.

12 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus is content to use *ita* after *quemadmodum*, e.g. at *Ioh.* 13,15. However, at the present passage, the link between οὕτως and the earlier ὥσπερ is weakened by a separate intervening clause, which has affected Erasmus' rendering. Cf. *Annot.* This change agreed with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

12 *peruasit* διῆλθεν ("pertransiit" Vg.). Erasmus selects a verb more suited to the context, in the sense of "spread throughout" rather than "pass through". He justified this change in his *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX, 4, p. 224, ll. 597-606. Manetti put *pertransiuit*.

12 *quatenus* ἐφ' ᾧ ("in quo" Vg.; "in eo quod" 1516). A similar substitution occurs at *Phil.* 3,12 (1519). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues at length against the interpretation that ᾧ refers to Adam. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 984 E-993 B.

12 *peccauimus* ἥμαρτον ("peccauerunt" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the first person plural for his Latin rendering remained in conflict with his Greek text through all five folio editions. In *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 986 F-987 A, he alleged that his translation was here based on a Greek variant which he found in a ms. in England, having ἡμάρτομεν: if such a reading existed, it was not derived from cod. 69, as the latter agreed with Erasmus' Basle mss. in reading ἥμαρτον.

13 *porro peccatum* ἁμαρτία δέ ("peccatum autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

13 *imputatur* ἐλλογεῖται ("imputabatur" late Vg. = *Annot.*, lemma; "imputabitur" Vg. 1527). The future tense, *imputabitur*, was also adopted by the Froben Vulgate of 1514. Erasmus here restores the earlier Vulgate rendering. In *Annot.*, he further cites the rendering *reputatur*, resembling Lefèvre's choice of *reputabatur*. In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, pp. 166-8, ll. 44-75, and in 1522 *Annot.*, he criticises the suggestion of Stunica that *imputabatur* could have been based on a Greek text having ἐλλογεῖτο, and objects that a more correct form of the imperfect tense would have been ἐνελογεῖτο. The latter variant exists in cod. ℵ *, though most other mss. have ἐλλογεῖται. If Erasmus had troubled to consult his cod. 2105 at this point, he would have found that it contained ἐλλογεῖτο, the reading favoured by Stunica. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus twice cites the text as εὐλογεῖται: cf. εὐλλογεῖται in cod. 2815^corr.

13 *quum non est lex* μὴ ὄντος νόμου ("cum lex non esset" late Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is more literal in its word-order and also in the tense of the verb. The late Vulgate use of the imperfect tense followed from its adoption of *imputabatur* earlier in the sentence.

14 *Imo* Ἀλλ' ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2.

14 Μωσέως. The spelling in cod. 2817 is μωϋσέως, also supported by codd. 1, 2816^supp. In cod. 2815, it is μωσέως, and in 2105, μωϋσέος.

14 *in eos quoque* καὶ ἐπὶ τούς ("etiam in eos" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,27.

μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοιώματι
τῆς | παραβάσεως Ἀδάμ, ὅς ἐστι τύπος
τοῦ μέλλοντος.

¹⁵Ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς τὸ παράπτωμα, οὕ-
τως καὶ τὸ χάρισμα. εἰ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ
ἑνὸς παραπτώματι οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπέθα-
νον, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ,
καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ἐν χάριτι τῇ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀν-
θρώπου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς τοὺς πολ-
λοὺς ἐπερίσσευσε. ¹⁶καὶ οὐχ ὡς δι᾽ ἑνὸς
ἁμαρτήσαντος, τὸ δώρημα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
κρίμα ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς κατάκριμα, τὸ δὲ χά-
ρισμα ἐκ πολλῶν παραπτωμάτων εἰς
δικαίωμα. ¹⁷εἰ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ ἑνὸς παρα-
πτώματι ὁ θάνατος ἐβασίλευσε διὰ τοῦ
ἑνός, πολλῷ μᾶλλον οἱ τὴν περισσείαν
τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δι-
καιοσύνης λαμβάνοντες, ἐν ζωῇ βασι-
λεύσουσι διὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
¹⁸ἄρα οὖν ὡς δι᾽ ἑνὸς παραπτώματος

non peccauerant ad similitudinem |
transgressionis Adam, qui typum gerit
illius futuri.

¹⁵At non vt peccatum, ita et do-
num. Nam si vnius delicto multi
mortui sunt, multo magis gratia
dei, et donum per gratiam, quae
fuit vnius hominis Iesu Christi,
in multos exuberauit.   ¹⁶Et non
sicut per vnum qui peccauerat, ve-
nerat mors, ita donum. Nam con-
demnatio quidem ex vno delicto ad
condemnationem, donum autem ex
multis delictis ad iustificationem.
¹⁷Etenim   si   per   vnius   delictum
mors regnauit per vnum, multo
magis ii qui exuberantiam gratiae et
doni iustitiae accipiunt, per vitam
regnabunt autore vno Iesu Christo.
¹⁸Itaque   sicut   per   vnius   delictum

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15 τῇ *B-E: om. A* | 17 βασιλευσουσι *B-E:* βασιλευουσι *A*

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14 ad similitudinem *B-E:* in similitudine *A* | typum gerit illius *B-E:* est forma *A* |
15 per gratiam *B-E:* in gratia *A* | 16 condemnatio *B-E:* iudicium *A* | delicto *B-E: om. A* |
prius ad *B-E:* in *A* | alt. ad *B-E:* in *A* | 17 exuberantiam *B-E:* exuperantiam *A* | per ...
Christo *B-E:* in vita regnant per vnum Iesum Christum *A*

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14 *peccauerant* ἁμαρτήσαντας ("peccauerunt"
Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for the pluperfect,
see on *Ioh.* 1,19.

14 *ad similitudinem* ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοιώματι ("in
similitudinem" Vg.; "in similitudine" 1516).
In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the Greek text as ἐν
ὁμοιώματι, contrary to his Basle mss. The
reading ἐν τῷ ὁμοιώματι is exhibited by
cod. B and a few later mss. Erasmus substitutes
in similitudine for *in similitudinem* in rendering
ἐν ὁμοιώματι at *Phil.* 2,7.

14 *transgressionis* τῆς παραβάσεως ("praeuari-
cationis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,23.

14 *typum gerit illius futuri* ἐστι τύπος τοῦ μέλ-
λοντος ("est forma futuri" 1516 = Vg.). Else-
where, in rendering τύπος, Erasmus sometimes
substitutes *exemplar*: at *Phil.* 3,17 (1519); 1 *Petr.*
5,3. At 1 *Thess.* 1,7, he replaces *forma* with
exemplum, but makes an opposite change at

1 *Tim.* 4,12; *Tit.* 2,7, where he changes *exemplum*
to *forma*. In *Annot.*, he also suggests *figura*,
which had been adopted by Manetti. The addi-
tion of *illius* supplied the need for a pronoun,
implicit in the Greek expression, and referred
more clearly to Christ.

15 *At* Ἀλλ᾽ ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

15 *vt* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21.

15 *peccatum* τὸ παράπτωμα ("delictum" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 4,25.

15 *Nam si* εἰ γὰρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 3,34.

15 *per gratiam* ἐν χάριτι ("in gratia" 1516
= late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.
Some mss. of the earlier Vulgate have *in gratiam*.

15 *quae fuit* τῇ (Vg. omits). The word τῇ was
omitted in 1516, following cod. 2815 and also
2105, in conformity with the Vulgate. Lefèvre

Comm. omitted τῇ τοῦ. Erasmus' Latin translation follows cod. 2817, which contains τῇ, supported by codd. 1, 3, 2816 and most other mss.

15 *multos* τοὺς πολλούς ("plures" Vg.). The Vulgate incorrectly renders πολλούς as if it were a comparative adjective. Erasmus makes a similar correction at *Mc.* 12,5. At *Act.* 15,35 (1519), he substitutes *complures*. For a defence of his alteration of the present passage, see his *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 224, ll. 608-614.

15 *exuberauit* ἐπερίσσευσε ("abundauit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

16 *qui peccauerat, venerat mors* ἁμαρτήσαντος ("peccatum" late Vg.). The late Vulgate reading corresponds with ἁμαρτήματος, as in codd. D F G. In Erasmus' version, *venerat mors* is added to complete the sense: see *Annot.* The earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster had *peccantem*, as adopted by Lefèvre for his rendering. Manetti put *qui peccauit*.

16 *ita donum* τὸ δώρημα ("ita et donum" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et* is not explicitly supported by Greek mss., though it is a legitimate expansion. Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*, more literally, just put *donum*.

16 *Nam condemnatio quidem* τὸ μὲν γὰρ κρίμα ("Nam iudicium" Vg.; "Nam iudicium quidem" 1516). In 1519, Erasmus' translation no longer distinguishes between κρίμα and κατάκριμα in this verse. Two other such substitutions of *condemnatio* in rendering κρίμα occur at 1 *Cor.* 11,34; 1 *Tim.* 3,6 (both in 1519). Cf. also on *Ioh.* 3,19; *Rom.* 8,1. The earlier Vulgate (cf. on *Act.* 13,36) leaves μέν untranslated. In adding *quidem*, Erasmus' 1516 rendering agreed with Ambrosiaster and also some copies of the late Vulgate, such as the Froben edition of 1491. Manetti put *Iudicium enim*.

16 *vno delicto* ἑνός ("vno" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus supplies an additional word to make clear that the reference is to "sin" rather than "man" or Adam: see *Annot.* He listed the Vulgate rendering among the *Loca Obscura*.

16 *ad* (twice) εἰς ("in" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus sometimes prefers *ad*, where εἰς expresses a result or consequence. A similar change of preposition occurs e.g. at *Rom.* 5,18, 21 (1519); 1 *Cor.* 11,34; 2 *Cor.* 2,16 (1519).

16 *donum autem* τὸ δὲ χάρισμα ("gratia autem" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the

inconsistency of the Vulgate in translating χάρισμα by *donum* in vs. 15 but by *gratia* in vs. 16. See on *Rom.* 1,11. The same point was made in Lefèvre *Comm.* The rendering of Erasmus was identical with that of Ambrosiaster.

17 *Etenim si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

17 *per vnius delictum* τῷ τοῦ ἑνὸς παραπτώματι ("in vnius delicto" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17 for *per*. The Vulgate corresponds with a Greek variant, ἐν ἑνὸς παραπτώματι, which occurs in a few later mss. The preposition *in* was omitted by some copies of the late Vulgate, including the Froben 1491 edition, and was absent from the renderings offered by Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

17 *ii qui ... accipiunt* οἱ ... λαμβάνοντες ("... accipientes" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering appears to reflect a text lacking οἱ, though such an omission is not supported by Greek mss. The version of Manetti was *qui ... acceperunt*.

17 *exuberantiam* τὴν περισσείαν ("abundantiam" Vg.). Cf. on *excelluit* at *Rom.* 3,7.

17 *doni* τῆς δωρεᾶς ("donationis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 4,7 (1516-19 only). Here in *Rom.* 5,15-17, Erasmus treats χάρισμα, δωρεά, and δώρημα as being identical in meaning. At 2 *Cor.* 9,15, he renders δωρεά by *munus*. See *Annot.* The rendering *doni* was also suggested by Lefèvre *Comm.*

17 *iustitiae* τῆς δικαιοσύνης ("et iustitiae" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text inserting καί before τῆς, as in a few later mss. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre omitted *et*.

17 *per vitam* ἐν ζωῇ ("in vita" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. The late Vulgate punctuates after *in vita*, instead of before, yielding a different sense.

17 *regnabunt* βασιλεύσουσι ("regnant" 1516). The 1516 edition has βασιλεύουσι, in the present tense, as found in cod. 2817, together with 1, 2105 and some other late mss.

17 *autore vno Iesu Christo* διὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ("per vnum Iesum Christum" 1516 = Vg.). Cf. Erasmus' use of *nobis autoribus* for δι' ἡμῶν at 2 *Thess.* 2,2 (1535). Lefèvre's rendering incorrectly omitted *vnum*.

18 *Itaque* ἄρα οὖν ("Igitur" Vg.). The same substitution occurs at *Rom.* 7,25; 9,16, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 14,19; 2 *Thess.* 2,15. In rendering ἄρα οὖν elsewhere,

εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς κατάκρι-
μα, οὕτως καὶ δι᾽ ἑνὸς δικαιώματος
εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς δικαίωσιν
ζωῆς. ¹⁹ὥσπερ γὰρ διὰ τῆς παρα-
κοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἁμαρτωλοὶ
κατεστάθημεν οἱ πολλοί, οὕτως καὶ
διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς δίκαιοι
κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί. ²⁰νόμος
δὲ παρεισῆλθεν, ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ πα-
ράπτωμα. οὗ δὲ ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρ-
τία, ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις· ²¹ἵνα
ὥσπερ ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ
θανάτῳ, οὕτως καὶ ἡ χάρις βασιλεύ-
σῃ διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον,
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. |

6 Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ἐπιμενοῦμεν τῇ
ἁμαρτίᾳ, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονά-
σῃ; ²μὴ γένοιτο. οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν
τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν
αὐτῇ;

propagatum est malum in omnes
homines ad condemnationem, ita et
per vnius iustificationem propagatur
bonum in omnes homines ad iustifica-
tionem vitae. ¹⁹Quemadmodum enim
per inobedientiam vnius hominis, pec-
catores constituti fuimus multi: ita per
obedientiam vnius, iusti constituentur
multi. ²⁰Caeterum lex obiter subiit, vt
abundaret delictum. Vbi vero exuber-
auit peccatum, ibi magis exuberauit
gratia: ²¹vt quemadmodum regnaue-
rat peccatum in morte, sic et gratia
regnaret per iustitiam ad vitam aeter-
nam, per Iesum Christum. |

6 Quid igitur dicemus? Manebi-
mus in peccato, vt gratia abun-
det? ²Absit. Qui mortui sumus
peccato, quomodo posthac viuemus
in eodem?

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18 propagatum est malum B-E: om. A | propagatur bonum B-E: om. A | 21 ad B-E: in A
6,2 eodem B-E: eo A

Erasmus substitutes *itaque* for *ergo* at Rom.
9,18; *Gal.* 6,10; *Eph.* 2,19 (1516 only), and also
puts *proinde* instead of *ergo* at Rom. 8,12, and
instead of *igitur* at Rom. 7,3; 1 *Thess.* 5,6. Incon-
sistently he replaces *itaque* with *igitur* at Rom.
14,12.

18 *propagatum est malum in omnes ... propagatur
bonum in omnes* εἰς πάντας ... εἰς πάντας
("in omnes ... in omnes" 1516 = Vg.). Eras-
mus supplies what he considers to be the
implied subject and verb of this elliptical Greek
sentence. However, this introduces concepts
which are mentioned nowhere else in this
passage. Instead of *malum* and *bonum*, it would
have been more relevant to put *iudicium* and
donum, on analogy with vs. 16. In *Annot.*,
Erasmus proposes another interpretation, using
peccatum and *salus*. He does not use *propago*
elsewhere in the N.T.

18 *ad* (twice) εἰς ("in" Vg.). See on vs. 16.

18 *ita* οὕτως ("sic" Vg.). This change produces
conformity with the use of *ita* in vss. 15, 16
and 19.

18 *iustificationem* δικαιώματος ("iustitiam" Vg.).
This questionable change assumes an identity
of meaning between δικαίωμα and δικαίωσις,
and creates an unwanted ambiguity as to whether
the preceding *vnius* is a possessive genitive (the
person who justifies, i.e. Christ), or an objective
genitive (the person who is justified).

19 *Quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("Sicut" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13.

19 *constituti fuimus* κατεστάθημεν ("constituti
sunt" Vg.). Erasmus seems to have taken this
reading, slightly misspelled, from cod. 2817,
which had κατεστάθημεν, a variant which has
little other support apart from cod. 69. His

cod. 2815 had the perfect tense, καθεστήκα-
μεν. The reading of codd. 1, 2105, 2816 and
most other mss. is κατεστάθησαν, support-
ing the Vulgate at this point. In 1521, in his
Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD IX, 2, p. 168,
ll. 77-83, Erasmus incorrectly implies that his
printed text had κατεστήθημεν, which was
yet another misspelling. He claims that he
had followed what was in the Greek mss.
("in Graecis codicibus"), and further cites the
1518 Aldine Bible in his support, not realising
that it was largely derived from his own first
edition of 1516. In 1522 *Annot.*, he corrected
the spelling to κατεστάθημεν, but now made
the unjustifiable assertion that this was the
reading of most Greek mss. ("in plerisque
Graecis"), while acknowledging that some mss.
have κατεστάθησαν.

19 *ita* οὕτως καί ("ita et" Vg.). Erasmus is less
precise here, leaving καί untranslated.

19 *obedientiam vnius* τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἑνός
("vnius obedientiam" Vg. 1527 and some Vg.
mss.; "vnius obeditionem" other Vg. mss.). The
1527 Vulgate column followed the Froben
1514 edition in reading *obedientiam* rather
than *obeditionem.* Erasmus' rendering is closer
to the Greek word-order. The same change
was made by Manetti (though the first hand
of *Urb. Lat.* 6 incorrectly had the spelling
inobedientiam).

20 *Caeterum lex* νόμος δέ ("Lex autem" Vg.).
See on *Act.* 6,2.

20 *obiter subiit* παρεισῆλθεν ("subintrauit" Vg.).
In *Annot.*, Erasmus also interprets as *obiter
subiit.* The verb *subintro* does not occur in
classical usage.

20 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

20 *exuberauit* ἐπλεόνασεν ("abundauit" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 3,7. This change is solely for
stylistic variety, to avoid repetition of *abundo*
from the previous sentence, in rendering the
same Greek verb.

20 *ibi magis exuberauit* ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν
("superabundauit et" late Vg.). Neither *ibi* nor
et is explicitly warranted by the Greek text. The
verb *superabundo* does not exist in classical
usage. See *Annot.* In rendering the same Greek
verb at 2 *Cor.* 7,4, Erasmus replaces *superabundo*
with *exundo.* See also on *Rom.* 3,7.

21 *quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13. Erasmus' rendering is the same as
that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *ceu.*

21 *regnauerat* ἐβασίλευσεν ("regnauit" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 1,19 for Erasmus' use of the pluperfect.

21 *in morte* ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ ("in mortem" late
Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is more accurate, in
conformity with the earlier Vulgate. See *Annot.*,
where he also suggests *per mortem*, though in
a separate note he contradicts this by stating
that the apostle here used ἐν for εἰς. Manetti
put *in morte.*

21 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). This change produces
an inconsistency with Erasmus' use of *ita* in
vss. 15, 16, 18, and 19. A similar substitution
occurs e.g. at *Rom.* 6,19; 11,31; 1 *Cor.* 2,11.

21 *regnaret* βασιλεύσῃ ("regnet" Vg.). Erasmus'
use of the imperfect subjunctive follows from
his change from *regnauit* to *regnauerat* earlier in
the sentence. Codd. 1 and 2817 have the future
tense, βασιλεύσει.

21 *ad* εἰς ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 16.

21 *Christum* Χριστοῦ ("Christum dominum
nostrum" Vg.). Erasmus' omission of τοῦ κυ-
ρίου ἡμῶν after Χριστοῦ is based on cod.
2817. In 1519 *Annot.*, his statement that these
words are not added "apud Graecos" appears
to rest solely on the evidence of this ms. (as
cod. 2105 makes a longer omission, of διά ...
ἡμῶν). Codd. 1, 3, 2815, 2816 and most other
mss. contain the missing words.

6,1 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

1 *Manebimus* ἐπιμενοῦμεν. Erasmus' Greek text
follows cod. 2817, with support from many
other late mss., and the Vulgate. His cod. 2815
had ἐπιμένομεν, also attested by 1, 2816 and
many other mss., commencing with cod. א.
Another large section of the ms. evidence
favours ἐπιμένωμεν, as in codd. A B C D F G
(cf. cod. 2105, ἐπιμείνωμεν). The earlier Vulgate,
Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *permanebimus.*

2 *Qui* οἵτινες ("Qui enim" Vg.). The Vulgate
implies a Greek text having οἵτινες γάρ, duly
found in codd. F G but probably through
retranslation from the Latin. Cf. *Annot.* Both
Manetti and Lefèvre omitted *enim.*

2 *posthac* ἔτι ("adhuc" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

2 *eodem* αὐτῇ ("illo" Vg.; "eo" 1516). Here
eodem refers back more clearly to *peccato.* Eras-
mus wishes to prevent the Latin pronoun from
being misinterpreted as meaning "in him",
though in 1516 *Annot.* the text was misleadingly
cited as αὐτῷ. All the Basle mss. had αὐτῇ.
The version of Manetti had *eo*, as in Erasmus'
first edition.

³ Ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτί-
σθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν
θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν; ⁴συν-
ετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτί-
σματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα ὥσ-
περ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν, διὰ
τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρός, οὕτως καὶ
ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατή-
σωμεν. ⁵εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν
τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα·
⁶τοῦτο γινώσκοντες, ὅτι ὁ παλαιὸς
ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συνεσταυρώθη, ἵνα
καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτί-
ας, τοῦ μηκέτι δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ
ἁμαρτίᾳ. ⁷ὁ γὰρ ἀποθανών, δε-
δικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας. ⁸εἰ δὲ
ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ, πιστεύομεν
ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ. ⁹εἰδό-
τες ὅτι Χριστὸς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν,
οὐκέτι ἀποθνήσκει, θάνατος αὐτοῦ
οὐκέτι κυριεύει. ¹⁰ὃ γὰρ ἀπέθανε, τῇ
ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ· ὃ δὲ ζῇ,

³An ignoratis, quod quicunque
baptizati sumus in Christum Iesum,
in mortem eius baptizati sumus?
⁴Sepulti igitur sumus vna cum illo
per baptismum in mortem, vt quem-
admodum excitatus est Christus ex
mortuis, per gloriam patris, ita et nos
in nouitate vitae ambulemus. ⁵Nam
si insititii facti sumus illi, per simi-
litudinem mortis eius: nimirum et
resurrectionis participes erimus: ⁶illud
scientes, quod vetus ille noster homo
cum illo crucifixus est, vt aboleretur
corpus peccati, vt posthac non seruia-
mus peccato. ⁷Etenim qui mortuus
est, iustificatus est a peccato. ⁸Quod
si mortui sumus cum Christo, cre-
dimus quod et viuemus cum illo.
⁹Scientes quod Christus excitatus a
mortuis, non amplius moritur: mors
illi non amplius dominatur. ¹⁰Nam
quod mortuus fuit, peccato mor-
tuus fuit semel: quod autem viuit,

6,6 καταργηθη *A C-E*: καταργητη *B*

3 Christum Iesum *B-E*: Christo Iesu *A* | mortem *B-E*: morte *A* | 4 baptismum *B-E*:
baptisma *A* | mortem *B-E*: morte *A* | 5 participes *B-E*: om. *A* | 10 fuit, peccato *B-E*:
fuit peccato, *A*

3 *ignoratis* ἀγνοεῖτε ("ignoratis fratres" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate reading corresponds with
the addition of ἀδελφοί in cod. 0221ᵛⁱᵈ and a
few later Greek mss., possibly influenced by
Rom. 7,1. See *Annot.* This passage accordingly
appears in the *Quae Sint Addita*. The extra word
was omitted by the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster,
Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The
same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *in Christum Iesum, in mortem* εἰς Χριστὸν
Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον ("in Christo Iesu,
in morte" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus gives a more
literal rendering here: see *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad
collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 993 B-C. This change
is comparable with the substitution of *in Mosen*
for *in Mose* at 1 *Cor.* 10,2. In 1516 *Annot.*, τόν
was mistakenly inserted before Χριστόν.

3 *eius* αὐτοῦ ("ipsius" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20.
Erasmus' rendering agrees with the wording of
Ambrosiaster.

4 *Sepulti ... sumus vna* συνετάφημεν ("Consepul-
ti ... sumus" Vg.). The verb *consepelio* does not
occur in classical usage, though Erasmus retains
it at *Col.* 2,12. For his use of *vna*, see on *Act.*
1,22. Lefèvre similarly had *sepulti ... sumus*.

4 *igitur* οὖν ("enim" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering
has little support from Greek mss. The version
of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus,
while Manetti had *ergo*.

4 *baptismum* τοῦ βαπτίσματος ("baptisma"
1516). See on *Act.* 1,22.

4 *in mortem* εἰς τὸν θάνατον ("in morte"
1516). The change in 1516 was designed to con-
form with *in morte* in vs. 3. In 1519, Erasmus
changed to *mortem* in both places: see on vs. 3.

The rendering *in morte* was used here by both Manetti and Lefèvre.

4 *quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("quomodo" Vg.). This substitution also occurs at *Gal.* 4,29. See further on *Rom.* 1,13. Erasmus' wording agrees with that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

4 *excitatus est Christus* ἠγέρθη Χριστός ("Christus surrexit" late Vg.). Erasmus' word-order is more literal. For *excito*, see on *Rom.* 4,25. Manetti and Lefèvre had *surrexit Christus*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

4 *ex mortuis* ἐκ νεκρῶν ("a mortuis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,22. This change was arbitrary: at vs. 9, Erasmus changes *ex mortuis* to *a mortuis*.

5 *Nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

5 *insititii* σύμφυτοι ("complantati" Vg.). Erasmus, questionably, interprets the Greek word as meaning "grafted into": see *Annot.*, where he further suggests that the prefix συμ- may signify the union of Jews and Gentiles in Christ. In *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 993 C-D, he observes that the word *complanto* did not occur in classical usage.

5 *illi, per similitudinem* τῷ ὁμοιώματι ("similitudini" Vg.). Erasmus somewhat changes the meaning, providing a new indirect object, instead of linking σύμφυτοι directly with τῷ ὁμοιώματι.

5 *nimirum* ἀλλά ("simul" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *nimirum*, see on *Ioh.* 13,23. In *Annot.*, he speculates that the Greek text underlying the Vulgate was ἅμα, which is the reading of codd. F G.

5 *resurrectionis participes* τῆς ἀναστάσεως ("resurrectionis" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds *participes*, avoiding the interpretation that the believer would share only in the "likeness" of the resurrection. In 1516 *Annot.*, the article τῆς was incorrectly omitted.

6 *illud* τοῦτο ("Hoc" Vg.). Erasmus prefers *illud*, as referring to a subsequent statement rather than to the preceding words. The Vulgate is here more literal. Similar changes occur e.g. at *Rom.* 14,13; 1 *Cor.* 1,12; 7,29 (1519).

6 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti made the same change.

6 *vetus ille noster homo* ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος ("vetus homo noster" Vg.). Erasmus provides a more emphatic rendering of the Greek article.

6 *cum illo crucifixus est* συνεσταυρώθη ("simul crucifixus est" Vg.). Erasmus makes the meaning more explicit: cf. *Gal.* 2,19.

6 *aboleretur* καταργηθῇ ("destruatur" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 2,6; 6,13; 13,8; 15,26; 2 *Thess.* 2,8; 2 *Tim.* 1,10; *Hebr.* 2,14. Erasmus also uses *aboleo* to replace *euacuo*, in rendering the same Greek verb at 1 *Cor.* 13,8, 10, 11; 15,24; 2 *Cor.* 3,7, 11, 13, 14; *Gal.* 5,11. Additionally, at *Gal.* 3,17; *Eph.* 2,15, he replaces *euacuo* by *abrogo*. See further on *Rom.* 3,3.

6 *posthac non* μηκέτι ("vltra non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,14. Manetti put *vltra nos non*.

7 *Etenim qui* ὁ γάρ ("Qui enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

8 *Quod si* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25.

8 σύν. Cod. 2815* originally omitted this preposition, but the scribe later added ἐν, with little other ms. support.

8 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Ambrosiaster and Manetti used the same word as Erasmus.

8 *et viuemus* καὶ συζήσομεν ("simul etiam viuemus" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also proposes the use of *conuiuemus*, but commends the Vulgate rendering. Manetti had *et simul viuemus*.

9 *excitatus* ἐγερθείς ("resurgens" late Vg.). Greek aorist. For *excito*, see on *Rom.* 4,25. See also *Annot.*

9 *a mortuis* ἐκ νεκρῶν ("ex mortuis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). See on *Ioh.* 2,22, and also on vs. 4, above. Erasmus' substitution of *a* for *ex* corresponds with the reading of some mss. of the earlier Vulgate (together with Vg^ww). Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus.

9 *non amplius* (twice) οὐκέτι ("iam non ... vltra non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,66, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *non amplius ... vltra non*, and Lefèvre *non vltra* (twice).

9 *dominatur* κυριεύει ("dominabitur" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the future tense has little Greek ms. support. See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 993 D-E. The same correction was made by Lefèvre.

10 *Nam quod* ὃ γάρ ("Quod enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Manetti put *Quod autem*.

10 *mortuus fuit, peccato mortuus fuit* ἀπέθανε, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ("mortuus est peccato, mortuus est" Vg.; "mortuus fuit peccato,

ζῆ τῷ θεῷ. ¹¹οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς λογί-
ζεσθε ἑαυτούς, νεκροὺς μὲν εἶναι τῇ
ἁμαρτίᾳ, ζῶντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χρι-
στῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

¹²Μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία
ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν σώματι, εἰς τὸ ὑπ-
ακούειν αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ.
¹³μηδὲ παριστάνετε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν, ὅπ-
λα ἀδικίας τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ἀλλὰ παρα-
στήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ, ὡς ἐκ νε-
κρῶν ζῶντας, καὶ τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν, ὅπλα
δικαιοσύνης τῷ θεῷ. ¹⁴ἁμαρτία γὰρ
ὑμῶν οὐ κυριεύσει. οὐ γάρ ἐστε ὑπὸ
νόμον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ χάριν. ¹⁵τί οὖν; ἁμαρ-
τήσομεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐσμὲν ὑπὸ νόμον, ἀλλ᾽
ὑπὸ χάριν; μὴ γένοιτο. ¹⁶οὐκ οἴδατε
ὅτι ᾧ παριστάνετε ἑαυτοὺς δούλους
εἰς ὑπακοήν, δοῦλοί ἐστε ᾧ ὑπακούετε,
ἤτοι ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον, ἢ ὑπακοῆς
εἰς δικαιοσύνην; ¹⁷χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ,

viuit deo. ¹¹Ita et vos reputate vos
ipsos, mortuos quidem esse peccato,
viuentes autem deo per Christum
Iesum dominum nostrum.

¹²Ne regnet igitur peccatum in
mortali vestro corpore, vt obediatis illi
per cupiditates eius. ¹³Neque accom-
modetis membra vestra, arma iniusti-
tiae peccato: sed accommodetis vosmet
ipsos deo, velut ex mortuis viuentes,
et membra vestra arma iustitiae deo.
¹⁴Peccatum enim vobis non dominabi-
tur. Non enim estis sub lege, sed sub
gratia. ¹⁵Quid igitur? Peccabimus,
quod non simus sub lege, sed sub
gratia? Absit. ¹⁶An nescitis, quod cui
accommodatis vos ipsos seruos ad obe-
diendum, eius serui estis cui obeditis,
siue peccati ad mortem, siue obedien-
tiae ad iustitiam? ¹⁷Gratia autem deo

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11 ημων *D E*: υμων *A-C*

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11 reputate *D E*: existimate *A-C* | per ... nostrum *B-E*: in Christo Iesu domino nostro *A* |
12 per cupiditates *B-E*: in cupiditatibus *A* | 15 simus *B-E*: sumus *A* | 16 obediendum *B-E*:
obedientiam *A* | *alt.* ad *B-E*: in *A* | *tert.* ad *B-E*: in *A*

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mortuus fuit" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus ampli-
fied the meaning as *mortem eam quam mortuus
est, mortuus est peccato*, disagreeing with the
proposal of Valla *Annot.* to render by *mortuum*
(neuter), referring to Christ's human body. See
also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 993 E-
994 A. For *fuit*, see on *Rom.* 4,2. Manetti and
Lefèvre both had *mortuum est*, twice.

11 *reputate* λογίζεσθε ("existimate" 1516-22
= Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *reputo*, see on *Act.*
19,27; *Rom.* 8,18, and *Annot.*, together with
Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB IX, 994 A-B.

11 *vos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("vos" Vg.). Erasmus ren-
ders the reflexive pronoun more emphatically.
See on *Ioh.* 11,55, and *Annot.* The same change
was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti had *vosmet
ipsos*.

11 *per Christum Iesum dominum nostrum* ἐν
Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ("in Christo
Iesu" Vg. 1527 = Vg. mss.; "in Christo Iesu

domino nostro" 1516 = some late Vg. edd.).
The earlier Vulgate is supported by the omission
of τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν in twenty mss., commencing
with 𝔓⁴⁶ A B D F G. The text of Erasmus
follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by
1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ C and about
560 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 1, pp. 337-9). See *Annot.* The expression
ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν is used frequently in the Paul-
ine Epistles, including about fourteen examples
in Romans. At this passage, it has been suggested
that the words are a later addition, caused by
scribal familiarity with a well-known phrase.
One of the easiest forms of scribal error,
however, is accidental omission, which could
have led to the loss of τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν from
an early copy, which in turn influenced a small
number of other mss. The substitution of ὑμῶν
for ἡμῶν in 1516-22 probably resulted from
a printer's error, though it is also found in
a few later mss. For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17.

Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre offered the same rendering as in Erasmus' first edition.

12 *Ne regnet igitur* Μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ("non ergo regnet" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,7 for *ne*, and on *Ioh.* 6,62 for *igitur*.

12 *mortali vestro* τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν ("vestro mortali" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order.

12 *illi per cupiditates eius* αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ ("concupiscentiis eius" Vg.; "illi in cupiditatibus eius" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the omission of αὐτῇ ἐν, as in 𝔓⁹⁴ ℵ A B C* and about forty later mss., among which was cod. 2816*. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 2105 and 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ, with Cᶜᵒʳʳ and about 520 later mss. In 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G and two later mss., the text has just αὐτῇ, omitting ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ. (See Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 339-42, though it should be noted that cod. 1 has αὐτήν for αὐτῇ and does not omit αὐτοῦ, contrary to the impression given by Aland). See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 994 B. According to one theory, the longer reading adopted by Erasmus represents a later conflation of two different shorter forms of text, facilitated by the insertion of the preposition ἐν. An alternative possibility is that the longer text is authentic, but that the sequence of feminine and neuter pronouns αὐτῇ ... αὐτοῦ (referring to ἁμαρτία and σώματι, respectively) appeared inelegant or ungrammatical to some early scribes, who resolved the problem by the simple expedient of deleting various parts of the wording. The same difficulty also prompted a few later copyists to replace αὐτῇ with αὐτῷ or αὐτοῦ, or even to change αὐτοῦ to αὐτῆς. The version of Manetti had *ei in concupiscentiis suis*, while Lefèvre *Comm.* put *ei in concupiscentiis eius*.

13 *Neque* μηδέ ("Sed neque" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that *sed* is redundant. The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti had *sed ne*.

13 *accommodetis* (twice) παριστάνετε ... παραστήσατε ("exhibeatis ... exhibete" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at vs. 16. For Erasmus' use of *exhibeo*, see on *Act.* 1,3. See also *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre replaced *exhibeatis* with *exhibete*.

13 *iniustitiae* ἀδικίας ("iniquitatis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,29. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

13 *vosmet ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("vos" Vg.). This change was in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 12,16, 19; 2 *Cor.* 13,5; *Iac.* 1,22. Manetti and Lefèvre put *vos ipsos*.

13 *velut* ὡς ("tanquam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

14 *estis sub lege* ἐστε ὑπὸ νόμον ("sub lege estis" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

15 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Manetti made the same change.

15 *quod non simus* ὅτι οὐκ ἐσμέν ("quoniam non sumus" Vg.; "quod non sumus" 1516). Erasmus prefers *quod* with the subjunctive, in this instance, because the clause occurs within a hypothetical statement. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *quia* in place of *quoniam*.

16 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The same change was made by Manetti.

16 *accommodatis* παριστάνετε ("exhibetis" Vg.). See on vs. 13.

16 *vos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("vos" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 11,55. The same change was made by Manetti.

16 *obediendum* ὑπακοήν ("obedientiam" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,5. Manetti anticipated the change made by Erasmus in 1516, this being a more literal translation.

16 *eius serui estis cui* δοῦλοί ἐστε ᾧ ("serui estis eius cui" Vg.). By making this change of word-order, Erasmus seeks to clarify the connection with the preceding clause, linking *eius* with *cui accommodatis*.

16 *ad mortem ... ad iustitiam* εἰς θάνατον ... εἰς δικαιοσύνην ("in mortem ... in iusticiam" 1516). The change of preposition in 1516 was not strictly necessary, though Erasmus retains *in mortem* at *Mc.* 13,12; *Lc.* 22,33; 2 *Cor.* 4,11; *Ap. Ioh.* 13,3. Ambrosiaster (1492 edition) had *in mortem ... ad iusticiam*.

16 *obedientiae* ὑπακοῆς ("obeditionis" Vg.). Cf. on *Rom.* 5,19. The word *obeditio* does not exist in classical usage. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

17 *Gratia* χάρις ("Gratias" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 15,57; 2 *Cor.* 2,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that *gratias*, in the accusative plural, is a solecism. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 994 B-C. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

ὅτι ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὑπηκού-
σατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας, εἰς ὃν παρεδό-
θητε τύπον διδαχῆς. ¹⁸ἐλευθερωθέντες
δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἐδουλώθητε τῇ
δικαιοσύνῃ. ¹⁹ἀνθρώπινον λέγω, |
διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν.
ὥσπερ γὰρ παρεστήσατε τὰ μέλη
ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ τῇ
ἀνομίᾳ, εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν, οὕτως καὶ
νῦν παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν
δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, εἰς ἁγιασμόν.
²⁰ὅτε γὰρ δοῦλοι ἦτε τῆς ἁμαρτίας,
ἐλεύθεροι ἦτε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ. ²¹τίνα
οὖν καρπὸν εἴχετε τότε, ἐφ' οἷς νῦν
ἐπαισχύνεσθε; τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἐκείνων
θάνατος. ²²νυνὶ δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες
ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, δουλωθέντες δὲ
τῷ θεῷ, ἔχετε τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶν εἰς
ἁγιασμόν, τὸ δὲ τέλος ζωὴν αἰώνιον.
²³τὰ γὰρ ὀψώνια τῆς ἁμαρτίας, θάνα-
τος· τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ, ζωὴ
αἰώνιος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ
ἡμῶν.

quod fuistis quidem serui peccati,
sed obedistis ex animo, in eam in
quam traducti estis formam doctri-
nae. ¹⁸Caeterum liberati a peccato,
serui facti estis iustitiae. ¹⁹Humanum
quid | dam dico, propter infirmitatem
carnis vestrae. Quemadmodum enim
praebuistis membra vestra serua im-
munditiae et iniquitati, ad aliam
atque aliam iniquitatem: sic et nunc
praebete membra vestra serua iusti-
tiae ad sanctificationem. ²⁰Quum
enim serui essetis peccati, liberi era-
tis iustitiae. ²¹Quem igitur fructum
habebatis tunc in his, de quibus
nunc erubescitis? Nam finis illorum
mors. ²²Nunc vero manumissi a
peccato, serui autem facti deo, ha-
betis fructum vestrum in sanctifica-
tionem, finem autem vitam aeternam.
²³Etenim autoramenta peccati, mors:
donum autem dei, vita aeterna per
Christum Iesum dominum nostrum.

LB 595

LB 596

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17 quidem B-E: om. A | animo B-E: corde A | 19 ad aliam atque aliam B-E: in A |
alt. serua B-E: om. A | alt. ad B-E: in A | 22 manumissi B-E: liberi facti A | finem B-E:
fructum A | 23 per ... nostrum B-E: in Christo Iesu domino nostro A

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17 *fuistis quidem* ἦτε ("fuistis" 1516 = Vg.).
Erasmus adds *quidem* to provide a more sym-
metrical construction, because of the following
sed. Similar insertions of *quidem* occur at *Rom.*
11,29; 2 *Cor.* 8,10; 2 *Tim.* 1,9 (1519); *Hebr.* 8,5,
in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Iac.* 4,13
(and also with late Vulgate usage at *Act.* 15,39).
Lefèvre put *cum fuistis*.

17 *sed obedistis* ὑπηκούσατε δέ ("obedistis au-
tem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Ambrosiaster and
Lefèvre omitted *autem*.

17 *animo* καρδίας ("corde" 1516 = Vg.). The
Vulgate is more accurate. Erasmus retains *ex
toto corde* at *Mt.* 22,37; *Mc.* 12,30, 33; *Lc.* 10,27;
Act. 8,37.

17 *in eam in quam traducti estis formam doctrinae*
εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς ("in eam
formam doctrinae in qua traditi estis" Vg.).
Erasmus' rendering resembles the Greek word-
order more closely. However, his use of *traduco*
is less accurate, and perhaps surprising in view
of his avoidance of this verb elsewhere in
the N.T. See on *Col.* 2,15. In *Resp. ad collat.
iuv. geront., LB* IX, 994 C-D, Erasmus argues
that it is inappropriate to use *trado* with an
impersonal indirect object ("quod traditur homo
homini potius quam rei"). In the use of *in
quam*, his version agreed with Ambrosiaster.
The rendering of Manetti was *in eam doctrinae
figuram in qua traditi estis*, while Lefèvre put *in
ea forma doctrinae quae tradita est vobis*.

18 *Caeterum liberati* ἐλευθερωθέντες δέ ("Liberati autem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2.

19 *Humanum quiddam* ἀνθρώπινον ("Humanum" Vg.). Erasmus inserts *quiddam*, to make clear that *humanum* has a neuter sense here. See also on *Ioh.* 9,30, and *Annot.*

19 *Quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("Sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

19 *praebuistis ... praebete* παρεστήσατε ... παραστήσατε ("exhibuistis ... exhibete" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,3.

19 *serua* (twice) δοῦλα ("seruire" Vg.; "serua" (1st. only) 1516 Lat.). The Vulgate rendering is the equivalent of δουλεύειν, found in codd. F G, though these mss. may reflect a process of retranslation from the Old Latin. Cf. *Annot.* The omission of the second instance of *serua* in 1516 may have been accidental. Manetti used *famulantia*.

19 *ad aliam atque aliam iniquitatem* εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν ("ad iniquitatem" Vg.; "in iniquitatem" 1516). Erasmus' insertion of *aliam atque aliam* (i.e. "various kinds of iniquity") was intended to explain the apostle's repetition of ἀνομία: see *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 994 D ("quia varia est iniquitas, virtus est simplex"). Manetti had *in iniquitatem*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

19 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. The same change was made by Manetti.

19 *et nunc* καὶ νῦν ("nunc" Vg.). Erasmus here follows cod. 2817, with little other ms. support. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss., together with the text underlying the Vulgate, καί is omitted.

19 *ad* (2nd.) εἰς ("in" 1516 = Vg.). In vs. 22, Erasmus retains *in sanctificationem* for exactly the same Greek phrase, εἰς ἁγιασμόν.

20 *eratis* ἦτε ("fuistis" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the imperfect tense is more accurate, and also more consistent, following *essetis*: see *Annot.* This change agreed with the wording of Ambrosiaster and the proposed rendering of Valla *Annot.* The solution of Lefèvre was to change *essetis* to *fuistis*, in conformity with *fuistis serui* in vs. 17.

21 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

21 *habebatis* εἴχετε ("habuistis" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the imperfect tense is, again, more precise.

21 *in his, de quibus* ἐφ᾽ οἷς ("in illis in quibus" late Vg.). The preposition *de* is better suited to the accompanying verb, *erubesco*. Other substitutions of *de* for *in*, when rendering ἐπί, occur e.g. at *Act.* 4,9; *Rom.* 16,19; 1 *Cor.* 1,4; *Gal.* 3,16, consistent with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 12,16.

21 *mors* θάνατος ("mors est" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *est* corresponds with θάνατός ἐστι in codd. F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre omitted *est*.

22 *manumissi* ἐλευθερωθέντες ("liberati" Vg.; "liberi facti" 1516). Erasmus' chosen verb, *manumitto*, has the connotation of release from slavery, providing a more pointed contrast with *serui*. Cf. *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 994 D-995 E. However, *libero* is a more precise equivalent for the Greek verb, and is retained at *Rom.* 6,18; 8,21; *Gal.* 5,1. Sometimes Erasmus uses *liberum reddo*: see on *Ioh.* 8,32. He nowhere else uses *manumitto* in the N.T.

22 *finem* τὸ ... τέλος ("fructum" 1516 Lat.). The alteration made in 1516 was a mistake, influenced by *fructum* earlier in the sentence. In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 168, ll. 85-90, Erasmus blames the carelessness of the typesetter ("incuria typographi"). Cf. also 1522 *Annot.*

22 *autem* δέ ("vero" Vg.). This change appears to be for stylistic variety, avoiding repetition of *vero* from earlier in the sentence. Manetti had *autem* in both places.

22 *vitam* ζωήν. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the proposal of Lefèvre to render by *in vitam*, reflecting a poorly supported Greek variant, εἰς ζωήν.

23 *Etenim autoramenta* τὰ γὰρ ὀψώνια ("Stipendia enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7 regarding *etenim*. Erasmus does not elsewhere use *au(c)toramentum* ("wages" or "reward"), but retains *stipendium* for the other three N.T. instances of ὀψώνιον. See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 994 F-995 E. For *autoramentum* as payment for military service, see Valla *Elegantiae*, IV, 32; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 226, ll. 512-514.

23 *donum* τὸ ... χάρισμα ("gratia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,11, and *Annot.* The same change was suggested by Lefèvre *Comm.*

23 *per Christum Iesum dominum nostrum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ("in Christo Iesu domino nostro" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

7 Ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε, ἀδελφοί, γινώσκουσι γὰρ νόμον λαλῶ, ὅτι ὁ νόμος κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ; ²ἡ γὰρ ὕπανδρος γυνή, τῷ ζῶντι ἀνδρὶ δέδεται νόμῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνήρ, κατήργηται ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός. ³ἄρα οὖν ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μοιχαλὶς χρηματίσει, ἐὰν γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν μοιχαλίδα, γενομένην ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ. ⁴ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἑτέρῳ,

7 An ignoratis fratres, scientibus enim legem loquor, quod lex tantisper dominetur homini, quoad ea vixerit? ²Nam viro obnoxia mulier, viuenti viro alligata est per legem: quod si mortuus fuerit vir, liberata est a lege viri. ³Proinde viuente viro, adultera vocabitur, si se iunxerit alteri viro. Sin autem mortuus fuerit vir, libera est a iure viri: vt non sit adultera, si iuncta fuerit alteri viro. ⁴Itaque fratres mei, vos quoque mortificati estis legi per corpus Christi, vt iungeremini alteri:

7,4 χριστου B-E: ιησου χριστου A

7,1 tantisper B-E: om. A | quoad ea vixerit B-E: quamdiu viuit A | 3 vocabitur D E: iudicabitur A-C | se iunxerit alteri viro B-E: coeperit altero viro iungi A | iure B-E: lege A

7,1 γάρ. Erasmus' cod. 2815 omits this word, in company with few other mss. His text follows cod. 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and virtually all other mss., as well as the Latin Vulgate.

1 quod ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on Ioh. 1,20. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

1 tantisper ... quoad ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ("quanto tempore" Vg.; "quamdiu" 1516). The use of tantisper ... quoad does not occur elsewhere in Erasmus' N.T., and seems to have been rare in classical usage. A more widely used classical idiom was tantisper ... dum, commended by Erasmus in Annot. and also in Valla Elegantiae, II, 48; Erasmus Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD I, 4, p. 322, ll. 166-168. The alternative substitution of quamdiu, as adopted here in the 1516 edition, is also found at 1 Cor. 7,39; Gal. 4,1, consistent with Vulgate usage in rendering ἐφ' ὅσον at Mt. 9,15; 2 Petr. 1,13, and ὅσον χρόνον at Mc. 2,19. Elsewhere Erasmus substitutes quoad for donec in rendering ἕως ἄν at Mt. 5,18 and ἄχρις οὗ at Hebr. 3,13.

1 dominetur homini κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ("in homine dominatur" Vg.). This change of word-order conforms more closely with the Greek text. Erasmus' use of the dative with

dominor here is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of Rom. 6,9, 14, though the Vulgate elsewhere sometimes has the genitive. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put dominatur homini.

1 ea vixerit ζῇ ("viuit" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus' insertion of ea reflects his opinion that the ambiguous Greek verb refers to the law rather than to the man: see Annot.

2 viro obnoxia ὕπανδρος ("quae sub viro est" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of obnoxius, see on Rom. 3,9, and Annot. The rendering of Manetti had Quae enim in place of Nam quae.

2 viuenti viro ... per legem τῷ ζῶντι ἀνδρὶ ... νόμῳ ("viuente viro ... legi" Vg.). Erasmus correctly identifies ἀνδρὶ as the indirect object of the verb, and νόμῳ as an instrumental dative: see Annot., and Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB IX, 995 E-F.

2 quod si ἐὰν δέ ("si autem" Vg.). See on Rom. 2,25. Cod. 2815 adds καί, supported by few other mss. Erasmus' version here agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster.

2 vir ὁ ἀνήρ ("vir eius" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ). The added pronoun, eius, seen in most copies of the Vulgate, both early and late, has little explicit support from Greek mss. A few Vulgate mss. omit it, together with Vgˢᵗ.

In *Annot.*, Erasmus appears to refer to this passage when he mentions the lack of Greek support for *eius*, but his comment would be equally applicable to the same phrase in vs. 3, where the Vulgate again adds *eius*. Owing to the similarities of wording between these two verses, the sequence (and also the content) of Erasmus' notes becomes confused here. The same correction was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *liberata est* κατήργηται ("soluta est" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 6. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites *liberata* in his Vulgate lemma, apparently through confusion with vs. 3, where the Vulgate has *liberata* for ἐλευθέρα. Manetti anticipated Erasmus' rendering of the present passage.

2 *viri* τοῦ ἀνδρός. In *Annot.*, with reference to *soluta est a lege viri*, Erasmus states that *viri* is not found "apud Graecos", but then immediately appears to contradict himself by stating that he knows of certain mss. which add τοῦ ἀνδρός ("in quibusdam inuenio codicibus"). In fact, at this point in the text, these words are contained in nearly all the mss. He again seems to have confused this passage with vs. 3, where the addition of τοῦ ἀνδρός after νόμου has only a few mss. to support it.

3 *Proinde* ἄρα οὖν ("Igitur" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17.

3 *adultera vocabitur* μοιχαλὶς χρηματίσει ("vocabitur adultera" Vg.; "adultera iudicabitur" 1516-22). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with χρηματίσει μοιχαλίς in codd. D F G. The verb *iudico* ("judge") is not used by Erasmus in rendering χρηματίζω elsewhere, and the Greek word rarely has such a sense. In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, pp. 168-70, ll. 92-104, and also in 1522 *Annot.*, he attempts to defend his use of *iudico* by equating the Greek verb with *ius dico*. In 1527, in a belated concession to Stunica's criticism, he abandoned this justification of *iudico* in *Annot.*, and reinstated *vocabitur* in the Latin text.

3 *se iunxerit alteri viro* γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ ("fuerit cum alio viro" Vg.; "coeperit altero viro iungi" 1516). By adding *iungo*, Erasmus makes the meaning more explicit, denoting marriage: see *Annot.*, and cf. *fuerit iuncta alteri viro* in Ambrosiaster. For Erasmus' adoption of *coepio* for γίνομαι in 1516, see on *Ioh.* 1,15; further instances of this usage occur at *Gal.* 3,17; 1 *Thess.* 2,8 (1516 only); 1 *Petr.* 2,7; 1 *Ioh.* 2,18. For *alteri*, see on *Ioh.* 18,16. Manetti had *fuerit*

cum altero viro, and Lefèvre *fuerit alterius viri* (cf. the Vulgate use of *vt sit alterius* in vs. 4).

3 *Sin* ἐάν ("Si" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 10,38.

3 *vir* ὁ ἀνήρ ("vir eius" Vg.). The Vulgate pronoun *eius* corresponds with the addition of αὐτῆς in codd. D F G. For Erasmus' comments in *Annot.*, see on vs. 2. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction.

3 *libera est* ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν ("liberata est" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 7,39. In 1535 *Annot.*, Erasmus speculates that the Vulgate originally had *libera*, and that this was later changed by copyists.

3 *iure viri* τοῦ νόμου ("lege viri" 1516 = late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww). The use of *iure* here is for stylistic variety, as Erasmus retained *lege* in vs. 2. A similar substitution occurs at *Rom.* 8,2. His retention of *viri* is inconsistent with his Greek text, and would correspond more closely with the addition of τοῦ ἀνδρός, exhibited by a few mss., but not by any of those which Erasmus consulted at Basle. For his confused remarks on this subject in *Annot.*, see on vs. 2. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 995 F-996 A. At the present passage, a few Vulgate mss. (with Vg^st) omit *viri*, and so did Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *si iuncta fuerit alteri viro* γενομένην ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ ("si fuerit cum alio viro" Vg.). See on *iunxerit alteri*, above. Erasmus' rendering resembles that of Ambrosiaster (1492), *iuncta si fuerit alteri viro*. Manetti put *si fuerit cum altero viro*, and Lefèvre *si fuerit alterius viri*, exactly as in the first part of this verse.

4 *vos quoque* καὶ ὑμεῖς ("et vos" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,27.

4 τοῦ Χριστοῦ. The reading τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 1516 does not enjoy ms. support and is possibly a printer's error.

4 *vt iungeremini alteri* εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἑτέρῳ ("vt sitis vos alterius" *Annot.*, lemma; "vt sitis alterius" Vg. 1527 = Vg. mss.). See on vs. 3, for Erasmus' substitution of *iungo*. In *Annot.*, commenting on the late Vulgate addition of *vos*, he pointed out that this word was superfluous to the sense, as the meaning of ὑμᾶς was already contained within the Latin verb. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 996 A. The use of *vos* is found e.g. in the 1502 *Glossa Ordinaria* and in the version of Manetti, but not in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514 or in either column of Lefèvre.

τῷ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθέντι, ἵνα καρπο-
φορήσωμεν τῷ θεῷ. ⁵ὅτε γὰρ ἦμεν
ἐν τῇ σαρκί, τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρ-
τιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐνηργεῖτο ἐν
τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆ-
σαι τῷ θανάτῳ. ⁶νυνὶ δὲ κατηργή-
θημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἀποθανόντες
ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα, ὥστε δουλεύειν
ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος, καὶ οὐ
παλαιότητι γράμματος.

⁷Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ὁ νόμος ἁμαρ-
τία; μὴ γένοιτο. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἁμαρτί-
αν οὐκ ἔγνων, εἰ μὴ διὰ νόμου. τήν
τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ ᾔδειν, εἰ μὴ
LB 597 ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν, Οὐκ | ἐπιθυμήσεις.
⁸ἀφορμὴν δὲ λαβοῦσα, ἡ ἁμαρτία
διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς κατειργάσατο ἐν
ἐμοὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν. χωρὶς γὰρ
νόμου, ἁμαρτία νεκρά. ⁹ἐγὼ δὲ
ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ. ἐλθούσης
δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς, ἡ ἁμαρτία ἀνέ-
ζησεν, ¹⁰ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέθανον. καὶ
εὑρέθη μοι ἡ ἐντολὴ ἡ εἰς ζωήν,
αὕτη εἰς θάνατον. ¹¹ἡ γὰρ ἁμαρτία

nimirum ei qui ex mortuis surrexit,
vt fructificemus deo. ⁵Quum enim
essemus in carne, affectus peccato-
rum qui sunt per legem, vigebant
in membris nostris ad fructifican-
dum morti. ⁶Nunc autem liberati
sumus a lege, mortui ei in qua de-
tinebamur vt seruiamus per nouita-
tem spiritus, et non per vetustatem
literae.

⁷Quid ergo dicemus? Lex peccatum
est? Absit. Sed peccatum non cognoui,
nisi per legem. Nam et concupiscen-
tiam non nouissem, nisi lex dixisset,
Non concupi | sces. ⁸Sed occasione   LB 598
accepta, peccatum per praeceptum ge-
nuit in me omnem concupiscentiam.
Siquidem absque lege, peccatum erat
mortuum. ⁹Ego autem viuebam sine
lege quondam. Porro veniente manda-
to, peccatum reuixit: ¹⁰ego vero mor-
tuus sum. Et repertum est, mandatum
quod institutum erat ad vitam, mihi
cedere ad mortem. ¹¹Nam peccatum

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6 ημας *B-E*: υμας *A*

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4 nimirum *B-E*: om. *A* | ex *B-E*: a *A* | 5 vigebant *B-E*: operabantur *A* | 6 ei *B-E*: om. *A* |
per nouitatem *B-E*: in nouitate *A* | per vetustatem literae *B-E*: vetustate litterae *A* | 10 mihi
cedere *B-E*: id mihi esse *A*

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4 *nimirum ei qui* τῷ ("qui" Vg.; "ei qui" 1516).
See on *Ioh.* 13,23 regarding *nimirum.*

4 *ex mortuis* ἐκ νεκρῶν ("a mortuis" 1516). See
on *Ioh.* 2,22.

4 *surrexit* ἐγερθέντι ("resurrexit" Vg.). A similar
substitution occurs at *Mc.* 6,16; 1 *Cor.* 15,20.
Cf. on *Rom.* 4,25, where Erasmus prefers *excitatus
est.*

4 *fructificemus* καρποφορήσωμεν ("fructificetis"
late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of the second
person plural lacks Greek ms. support. Cf.
Annot. Some Vulgate mss. have *fructificaremus,*
while others offer the rendering which was pre-
ferred by Erasmus, together with Ambrosiaster,
Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*

5 *affectus* τὰ παθήματα ("passiones" Vg.). For
Erasmus' avoidance of *passio,* see on *Rom.* 1,26.
See also *Annot.* He uses *affectus* for πάθημα
again at *Gal.* 5,24 (1519). At the present passage,
his rendering follows that of Lefèvre.

5 *qui sunt per legem* τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου ("quae
per legem erant" Vg.). The Vulgate render-
ing produces an ambiguity as to whether the
pronoun *quae* relates to *passiones* or *peccata.* Cf.
Annot. The version of Manetti had *quae erant
per legem,* and Lefèvre *qui per legem erant.*

5 *vigebant* ἐνηργεῖτο ("operabantur" 1516 = Vg.).
Erasmus disliked *operor* ("work") because it did
not quite convey the required sense of being
"active" or "efficacious". The use of *operor* was
largely confined to the later part of the classical

period. The verb *vigeo* does not occur in the Vulgate N.T. Elsewhere Erasmus retains *operor* for ἐνεργέω at 2 *Cor.* 1,6; *Gal.* 3,5; 5,6, but replaces it with *efficio* at 1 *Cor.* 12,6, 11 (both in 1519); with *ago* at *Mt.* 14,2; *Mc.* 6,14; 2 *Cor.* 4,12; *Eph.* 2,2; 3,20; *Phil.* 2,13; *Col.* 1,29; 1 *Thess.* 2,13; 2 *Thess.* 2,7; with *efficax sum* at *Gal.* 2,8; and with *exerceo* at *Eph.* 1,20. See *Annot.*, where Erasmus also suggests *vim habebant* and *secreto agebant*. See also *Annot.* on 1 *Cor.* 12,6.

5 *ad fructificandum* εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι ("vt fructificarent" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is more suitable, avoiding the need to choose between first and third person plural.

6 *liberati sumus* κατηργήθημεν ("soluti sumus" Vg.). See on vs. 2.

6 *mortui* ἀποθανόντες ("mortis" late Vg. and many Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate follows the Old Latin version, corresponding with τοῦ θανάτου in codd. D F G. See *Annot.* In a few Vulgate mss., the reading is *morientes*, and this was also used by Manetti and Lefèvre, providing a less accurate translation of the Greek aorist participle. Lefèvre placed *morientes* after *in qua*.

6 *ei in qua* ἐν ᾧ ("in qua" 1516 = late Vg. and many Vg. mss.; "in quo" other Vg. mss.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus relates these words to *lege*. Manetti had *in eo in quo*.

6 *vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). Erasmus similarly deletes *ita* at e.g. *Rom.* 15,19; 1 *Cor.* 5,1; 1 *Thess.* 1,8; *Hebr.* 13,6, but at twenty passages he substitutes *adeo vt*, to make clear that ὥστε implies consequence rather than purpose. The same change was made here by Lefèvre.

6 ἡμᾶς. The reading ὑμᾶς in 1516 seems to be a printer's error, as it is not supported by Erasmus' Basle mss. and does not fit the context.

6 *per nouitatem ... per vetustatem* ἐν καινότητι ... παλαιότητι ("in nouitate ... in vetustate" Vg.; "in nouitate ... vetustate" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

7 *et* τε (Vg. omits). See on *Act.* 1,1. The Vulgate omission corresponds with a similar omission by codd. F G.

7 *non nouissem* οὐκ ᾔδειν ("nesciebam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,33.

7 *dixisset* ἔλεγεν ("diceret" Vg.). Erasmus' choice of the pluperfect is less literal, but more in accordance with classical Latin style.

8 *Sed occasione* ἀφορμὴν δέ ("Occasione autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre *Comm.* put

Occasionem autem accipiens for *Occasione autem accepta.*

8 *praeceptum* τῆς ἐντολῆς ("mandatum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 11,57. The use of *praeceptum* here and in vss. 11-13, is for stylistic variety, as *mandatum* is retained twice in vs. 10.

8 *genuit* κατειργάσατο ("operatum est" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 13, and at 2 *Cor.* 7,11. See further on *Rom.* 1,27 (*perpetrantes*).

8 *Siquidem absque lege* χωρὶς γὰρ νόμου ("sine lege enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,47 for *siquidem*. For *absque*, see on *Rom.* 3,21. The use of *absque* here avoids repetition, in view of the occurrence of *sine lege* in vs. 9.

8 *erat mortuum* νεκρά ("mortuum erat" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with νεκρὰ ἦν in codd. F G. For Erasmus' preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27.

9 *quondam* ποτέ ("aliquando" Vg.). The same substitution occurs at twelve other passages in the Epistles. At 1 *Petr.* 3,5; 2 *Petr.* 1,21, Erasmus substitutes *olim*. At 1 *Thess.* 2,5; *Hebr.* 1,5, 13; 2 *Petr.* 1,10, he has *vnquam*. He retains *aliquando* for ποτέ at *Lc.* 22,32; *Rom.* 1,10; *Gal.* 1,23; 2,6; *Eph.* 2,2, 3.

9 *Porro* δέ ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

9 *veniente mandato* ἐλθούσης ... τῆς ἐντολῆς ("cum venisset mandatum" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the present participle to render the Greek aorist is a departure from his usual practice. The Vulgate is more accurate on this occasion.

10 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

10 *repertum est* εὑρέθη ("inuentum est" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,41.

10 *mandatum ... mihi cedere* μοι ἡ ἐντολὴ ... αὕτη ("mihi mandatum ... hoc esse" Vg.; "mandatum ... id mihi esse" 1516). Erasmus changes the Latin word-order, to clarify the meaning. For this use of *cedo* ("have a result"), cf. his substitution of *cedo* for *prouenio* in *hoc mihi cedet in salutem* at *Phil.* 1,19, and his replacement of *prosum* by *cedo* in rendering ὠφελέω at *Mc.* 7,11. Manetti and Lefèvre retained the Vulgate wording, except that Lefèvre substituted *fuisse* for *esse*.

10 *quod institutum erat* ἡ ("quod erat" Vg.). Erasmus supplies an extra word, by way of explanation. The word ἡ was originally omitted by cod. 2817*, in company with a few other late mss., but was restored by a corrector.

ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς, ἐξηπάτησέ με, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀπέκτεινεν. ¹²ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος, καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή. ¹³τὸ οὖν ἀγαθόν, ἐμοὶ γέγονε θάνατος; μὴ γένοιτο. ἀλλὰ ἡ ἁμαρτία. ἵνα φανῇ ἁμαρτία, διὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μοι κατεργαζομένη θάνατον, ἵνα γένηται καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλὸς ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς.

¹⁴Οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστιν· ἐγὼ δὲ σαρκικός εἰμι, πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. ¹⁵ὃ γὰρ κατεργάζομαι, οὐ γινώσκω. οὐ γὰρ ὃ θέλω, τοῦτο πράσσω, ἀλλ' ὃ μισῶ, τοῦτο ποιῶ. ¹⁶εἰ δὲ ὃ οὐ θέλω, τοῦτο ποιῶ, σύμφημι τῷ νόμῳ, ὅτι καλός. ¹⁷νυνὶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγὼ κατεργάζομαι αὐτό, ἀλλ' ἡ οἰκοῦσα ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτία.

occasione accepta per praeceptum, decepit me: et per illud occidit. ¹²Itaque lex ipsa quidem sancta, et praeceptum sanctum ac iustum et bonum. ¹³Ergo quod bonum erat, mihi factum est mors? Absit. Imo peccatum. Vt appareret peccatum, per id quod erat bonum mihi gignere mortem, vt fieret maiorem in modum peccans peccatum per praeceptum.

¹⁴Scimus enim quod lex, spiritualis est: at ego carnalis sum, venditus sub peccatum. ¹⁵Quod enim ago, non probo. Non enim quod volo, hoc facio: sed quod odi, hoc ago. ¹⁶Si vero quod non volo, hoc facio, consentio legi, quod bona sit. ¹⁷Nunc autem non iam ego perpetro illud, sed inhabitans in me peccatum.

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12 praeceptum *B-E*: mandatum *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* | 13 peccans *B-E*: peccaminosum *A* | 14 at ego *B-E*: Ego autem *A* | 16 sit *B-E*: est *A* | 17 perpetro *B-E*: facio *A*

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11 *praeceptum* τῆς ἐντολῆς ("mandatum" Vg.). See on vs. 8, and on *Ioh.* 11,57.

11 *decepit* ἐξηπάτησε ("seduxit" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, as the literal meaning of ἐξαπατάω is "deceive". A similar substitution occurs at *Rom.* 16,18; 2 *Cor.* 11,3; 2 *Thess.* 2,3 in rendering the same Greek verb, and also in rendering πλανάω at *Mc.* 13,6; 1 *Cor.* 15,33, ἀποπλανάω at *Mc.* 13,22, and ἀπατάω at *Eph.* 5,6; 1 *Tim.* 2,14. Erasmus further replaces *seduco* with *fallo*, in rendering ἐξαπατάω at 1 *Cor.* 3,18. Elsewhere he retains *seduco* ("lead astray") mainly for πλανάω. See *Annot.*, and see further on *deceptio* at *Col.* 2,8.

12 *lex ipsa quidem* ὁ μὲν νόμος ("lex quidem" Vg.). Erasmus' insertion of the more emphatic *ipsa* is not explicitly required by the Greek text.

12 *praeceptum* ἡ ἐντολή ("mandatum" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 8, and on *Ioh.* 11,57.

12 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. The words καὶ δικαία were omitted by cod. 2815. Virtually all other mss. include the words.

13 *Ergo quod* τὸ οὖν ("Quod ergo" Vg.). Erasmus moves *ergo* to a more prominent position,

for emphasis. Cf. on *Rom.* 2,26. Manetti replaced *Quod ergo bonum est* by *Bonum ergo*.

13 *bonum erat* ἀγαθόν ("bonum est" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate, in the absence of a Greek verb.

13 *Imo* ἀλλά ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2.

13 *appareret* φανῇ ("appareat" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the present subjunctive is influenced by the tense of the accompanying participle, κατεργαζομένη. Erasmus makes *vt appareret* and ἵνα φανῇ begin a new sentence, whereas the Vulgate made this clause follow on directly from the preceding *peccatum*. See *Annot.* and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 996 B-D.

13 *id quod erat bonum* τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ("bonum" Vg.). Erasmus expands the meaning, consistent with the use of the phrase *quod bonum erat* earlier in the sentence.

13 *mihi gignere* μοι κατεργαζομένη ("operatum est mihi" late Vg.). See on vs. 8 for *gigno*. Valla *Annot.* suggested *operando* or *perpetrando*, as mentioned by Erasmus in *Annot.* The late Vulgate word-order lacks Greek ms. support. Manetti had the word-order *mihi mortem*

operatum est, while the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *mihi operatum est mortem*.

13 *fieret* γένηται ("fiat" Vg.). This change of tense follows from Erasmus' adoption of *appareret* earlier in the sentence.

13 *maiorem in modum* καθ᾽ ὑπερβολήν ("supra modum" Vg.). Erasmus retains *supra modum* for this Greek expression at 2 *Cor.* 1,8; 4,17; *Gal.* 1,13. Elsewhere he uses *maiorem in modum* for περισσοτέρως at 2 *Cor.* 7,15. Manetti had *per superabundantiam*.

13 *peccans* ἁμαρτωλός ("peccaminosum" 1516). Erasmus objected to the use of a present participle to represent the Greek noun. However, as conceded in *Annot.*, the word *peccaminosus* does not exist in classical usage, and it is not found elsewhere in Erasmus' N.T. See further his *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, pp. 224-5, ll. 616-622. The version of Manetti had *peccator*, a rendering favoured by Augustine in *De Ciuitate Dei* XIII, 5 (*CSEL* 40, i, p. 621).

13 *praeceptum* τῆς ἐντολῆς ("mandatum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 11,57.

14 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Erasmus' choice of wording is the same as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti.

14 *at ego* ἐγὼ δέ ("Ego autem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

14 *venditus* πεπραμένος ("venundatus" Vg.). Erasmus is slightly more accurate here, as the Greek word means "sold" rather than "put up for sale". See *Annot.* He retains *venundo* at *Mt.* 18,25; 26,9; *Act.* 5,4. Lefèvre preferred *negociatus*.

14 *sub peccatum* ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ("sub peccato" Vg.). Erasmus retains the sense of the Greek accusative, which he further interprets in *Annot.* as meaning "in seruitutem et iugum peccati". He similarly restores the accusative after *sub*, when accompanied by a verb of motion, at *Lc.* 13,34 (1519); *Rom.* 16,20; 1 *Cor.* 15,25, 27; *Gal.* 3,22; *Eph.* 1,22, consistent with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 23,37; *Lc.* 7,6.

15 *ago* (1st.) κατεργάζομαι ("operor" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,27 (*perpetrantes*), and on *Rom.* 7,5 (*vigebant*).

15 *probo* γινώσκω ("intelligo" Vg.). Erasmus translates according to his understanding of the context. The Vulgate is more literal. Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* put *cognosco*.

15 *volo* θέλω ("volo bonum" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition is unsupported by Greek mss. See *Annot.* Erasmus' correction agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

15 *facio ... ago* πράσσω ... ποιῶ ("ago ... facio" Vg.). Erasmus' Latin wording appears to reflect a different word-order in his cod. 2817, which had ποιῶ ... πράσσω, as in cod. 2816 and some other late mss. His printed Greek text, however, followed cod. 2815, together with 1, 2105 and most other mss., and this was the text cited in *Annot.*

15 *odi* μισῶ ("odi malum" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "odio malum" Vg. 1527). The substitution of *odio* by the 1527 Vulgate column is also found in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514. The late Vulgate addition of *malum* is unsupported by Greek mss. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

15 *hoc* (2nd.) τοῦτο ("illud" Vg.). A similar change occurs in vss. 16 and 20. Erasmus is more literal here. The same change was made by Manetti.

16 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

16 *non volo* οὐ θέλω ("nolo" Vg.). A similar change occurs in vss. 19-20, and also at *Rom.* 11,25; 2 *Petr.* 3,9. Erasmus keeps closer to the form of the Greek expression.

16 *hoc* τοῦτο ("illud" Vg.). See on vs. 15. The same change, again, was made by Manetti.

16 *quod bona sit* ὅτι καλός ("quoniam bona est" late Vg.; "quod bona est" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre both had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

17 *non iam* οὐκέτι ("iam non" Vg.). The same change occurs in vs. 20, and also at *Mc.* 10,8; *Rom.* 11,6; 14,15; *Gal.* 2,20; 3,18; *Phm.* 16. More often Erasmus retains *iam non*, and in *Annot.* he commends the Vulgate rendering. Manetti put *non amplius*, and Lefèvre *etiam non*.

17 *perpetro* κατεργάζομαι ("operor" Vg.; "facio" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,27.

17 *inhabitans* ἡ οἰκοῦσα ("quod habitat" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering retains the participial form of the Greek expression. A similar change occurs in vs. 20. The use of *inhabito* is for stylistic variety, in view of the retention of *habito* in vs. 18.

¹⁸οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ οἰκεῖ ἐν ἐμοί, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου, ἀγαθόν. τὸ γὰρ θέλειν παράκειταί μοι, τὸ δὲ κατεργά- ζεσθαι τὸ καλόν, οὐχ εὑρίσκω. ¹⁹οὐ γὰρ ὃ θέλω ποιῶ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ᾽ ὃ οὐ θέλω κακόν, τοῦτο πράσσω. ²⁰εἰ δὲ ὃ οὐ θέλω ἐγώ, τοῦτο ποιῶ, οὐκέτι ἐγὼ κατεργάζομαι αὐτό, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ οἰκοῦσα ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτία. ²¹εὑρίσκω ἄρα τὸν νό- μον τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ ποιεῖν τὸ καλόν, ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται. ²²συνήδομαι γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον. ²³βλέπω δὲ ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσί μου, ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου, καὶ αἰχμαλω- τίζοντά με τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, | τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσί μου. ²⁴ταλαί- πωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος, τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τού- του; ²⁵εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ

¹⁸Noui enim quod non habitet in me, hoc est in carne mea, bonum. Nam velle adest mihi, at vt faciam bonum, non reperio. ¹⁹Non enim quod volo facio bonum, sed quod non volo malum, hoc ago. ²⁰Porro si quod non volo ego, hoc facio: non iam ego perpetro illud, sed in- habitans in me peccatum. ²¹Reperio igitur per legem volenti mihi facere bonum, quod mihi malum adiunc- tum sit. ²²Delectat enim me lex dei secundum internum hominem. ²³Sed video aliam legem in mem- bris meis, rebellantem legi mentis meae: et captiuum red|dentem me legi peccati, quae est in membris meis. ²⁴Miser ego homo, quis me eripiet ex hoc corpore morti ob- noxio? ²⁵Gratias ago deo per Iesum

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21 τω θελοντι *B-E*: το θελωντι *A*

18 vt faciam *B-E*: facere *A* | 20 perpetro *B-E*: operor *A* | 21 per *B-E*: om. *A* | sit *B-E*: est *A* | 24 eripiet *B-E*: liberabit *A* | hoc corpore morti obnoxio *B-E*: corpore mortis hoc *A*

18 *Noui* οἶδα ("Scio" Vg.). This change seems to be for variety of style, as *scio* is used in vs. 14. Elsewhere Erasmus quite often retains *scio* in such contexts, in relation to knowledge of a fact: see on *Ioh.* 1,33; *Rom.* 14,14.

18 *quod non habitet* ὅτι οὐκ οἰκεῖ ("quia non habitat" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *quod non habitat*.

18 *adest* παράκειται ("adiacet" Vg.). In vs. 21, Erasmus replaces *adiacet* with *adiunctum sit*, in rendering the same Greek word. The literal rendering of the Vulgate ("it lies next to") is not easily intelligible in this context.

18 *at vt faciam* τὸ δὲ κατεργάζεσθαι ("perficere autem" Vg.; "at facere" 1516). For *at*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus prefers to use the subjunctive here, to express the sense more clearly as an indirect question ("how I can do"). His sub- stitution of *facio* for *perficio* is not entirely satisfactory, as it does not differentiate κατ- εργάζομαι from ποιέω, which he also renders by *facio* in vs. 19. Cf. on *Rom.* 1,27. Both

Manetti and Lefèvre preferred *operari autem*, consistent with Vulgate usage elsewhere.

18 *reperio* εὑρίσκω ("inuenio" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,41.

19 *facio bonum* ποιῶ ἀγαθόν ("bonum hoc facio" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *hoc* may be compared with τοῦτο ποιῶ ἀγαθόν in cod. C and a few later mss., though the word- order is different. The change made by Erasmus was in agreement with the wording of Ambro- siaster and Manetti, while Lefèvre *Comm.* had *bonum facio*.

19 *non volo* οὐ θέλω ("nolo" Vg.). See on vs. 16.

20 *Porro si* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

20 *non volo* οὐ θέλω ("nolo" Vg.). See on vs. 16.

20 *ego* (1st.) ἐγώ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. B C D F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815

and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816, with
א A and most later mss. Both Manetti and
Lefèvre made the same change.

20 *hoc* τοῦτο ("illud" Vg.). See on vs. 15. This
substitution was in agreement with the wording
of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

20 *non iam* οὐκέτι ("iam non" late Vg.). See
on vs. 17. Lefèvre made the same change, while
Manetti had *non amplius*.

20 *perpetro* κατεργάζομαι ("operor" 1516 = Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 1,27.

20 *inhabitans* ἡ οἰκοῦσα ("quod habitat" Vg.).
See on vs. 17. Manetti put *quod inhabitat*.

21 *Reperio* εὑρίσκω ("Inuenio" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 1,41.

21 *per legem* τὸν νόμον ("legem" 1516 = Vg.).
Erasmus' insertion of *per* is a questionable
departure from the Greek text, altering the
meaning: see *Annot.*

21 τῷ θέλοντι. In 1516, the incorrect spelling,
τὸ θέλωντι, may have been influenced by cod.
2815, which had τὸ θέλοντι ἐν.

21 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20.
Manetti and Lefèvre both made this change.

21 *adiunctum sit* παράκειται ("adiacet" Vg.;
"adiunctum est" 1516). See on vs. 18.

22 *Delectat enim me lex* συνήδομαι γὰρ τῷ
νόμῳ ("Condelector enim legi" Vg.). The Vulgate
verb does not exist in classical usage.

22 *internum* τὸν ἔσω ("interiorem" Vg.). A si-
milar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 3,16. Erasmus
may have wished to avoid *interior* here, because
it was a comparative adjective. He also used
internus for ὁ ἔσωθεν at 2 *Cor.* 4,16. At *Act.*
16,24, where the Greek uses the comparative
form of the adjective, he retained *interiorem
carcerem* in rendering τὴν ἐσωτέραν φυλακήν.

23 *Sed video* βλέπω δέ ("Video autem" Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

23 *rebellantem* ἀντιστρατευόμενον ("repugnan-
tem" Vg.). Erasmus preferred a rendering which
more strongly conveyed the military overtones
of the Greek verb: see *Annot.*, where he also
suggests *contra militantem*, as proposed by Valla
Annot.

23 *captiuum reddentem* αἰχμαλωτίζοντα ("capti-
uantem" Vg.). The verb *captiuo* does not occur
in classical usage. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the
text as αἰχμαλωτίζοντι, dative, contrary to his
Basle mss. For his usual preference for *captiuum*

duco in rendering αἰχμαλωτίζω and αἰχμα-
λωτεύω, see on 2 *Cor.* 10,5: Ambrosiaster had
captiuum me ducentem at the present passage.

23 *legi* (2nd.) τῷ νόμῳ ("in lege" Vg.). The
Vulgate reflects a text having ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, as
in codd. א B D F G and many other mss.,
including 1 and 2816. Erasmus follows codd.
2815 and 2817, in company with cod. C and
another large section of the later mss., among
which was cod. 2105. See *Annot.*

24 *Miser* ταλαίπωρος ("Infelix" Vg.). This
change was in accordance with Vulgate usage
at *Ap. Ioh.* 3,17. The word *infelix* had the
unwanted connotation of "unlucky", which
could have implied that the apostle was blaming
his wretched state on external circumstances
rather than on his sinful nature. Manetti made
the same change as Erasmus.

24 *eripiet* ῥύσεται ("liberabit" 1516 = Vg.). Eras-
mus is more precise here, as the literal sense
of ῥύομαι is "deliver" rather than "set free".
A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Thess.* 3,2;
2 *Tim.* 4,17, 18, in accordance with Vulgate
usage at 2 *Cor.* 1,10; *Col.* 1,13; 2 *Tim.* 3,11;
2 *Petr.* 2,7, 9. However, Erasmus retains *libero*
for this Greek verb at *Mt.* 6,13; 27,43; *Lc.* 1,74;
Rom. 15,31. At *Rom.* 11,26 and 1 *Thess.* 1,10,
he even substitutes *libero* for *eripio.*

24 *ex* ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15.

24 *hoc corpore morti obnoxio* τοῦ σώματος τοῦ
θανάτου τούτου ("corpore mortis huius" Vg.;
"corpore mortis hoc" 1516). The Vulgate ren-
dering takes the Greek words in their natural
order, treating τούτου as belonging to θανά-
του ("this death"), whereas Erasmus obtains a
clearer sense by coupling τούτου with σώματος
("this body"): see *Annot.* For *obnoxius*, see on
Rom. 3,9.

25 *Gratias ago deo* εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ ("Gra-
tia dei" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text
having ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, as in cod. D. It is
therefore surprising that Erasmus confidently
asserts in *Annot.* that *gratias ago deo* is found
"in emendatis Latinorum codicibus". He fur-
ther cites the reading χάρις τῷ θεῷ, which
he drew from Valla *Annot.* and which is sup-
ported by cod. B. Another variant is χάρις δὲ
τῷ θεῷ, found e.g. in א^corr C^corr (favoured by
N^27). Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and
2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, and also א * A
and most later mss. If εὐχαριστῶ is genuine,
this word could first have been accidentally
shortened to χάρις (as in cod. B), which other

Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. ἄρα οὖν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῷ μὲν νοῒ δουλεύω νόμῳ θεοῦ, τῇ δὲ σαρκὶ νόμῳ ἁμαρτίας.

8 Οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα. ²ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσέ με ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου. ³τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου, ἐν ᾧ ἠσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός, ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ⁴ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν,

Christum dominum nostrum. Itaque idem ego mente quidem seruio legi dei, carne vero legi peccati.

8 Nulla igitur nunc est condemnatio, his qui insiti sunt Christo Iesu, qui non iuxta carnem versantur, sed iuxta spiritum. ²Nam lex, spiritus vitae per Christum Iesum, liberum me reddidit a iure peccati et mortis. ³Etenim quod lex praestare non poterat, ea parte qua imbecillis erat per carnem, hoc deus proprio filio, misso sub specie carnis peccato obnoxiae, praestitit, ac de peccato condemnauit peccatum per carnem, ⁴vt iustificatio legis impleretur in nobis:

8,4 ημιν *B-E*: υμιν *A*

8,1 est *B-E*: om. *A* | insiti sunt *B-E*: sunt in *A* | versantur *B-E*: ambulant *A* | 2 per Christum Iesum *B-E*: in Christo Iesu *A* | 3 ea parte qua *B-E*: in quo *A* | hoc *B-E*: om. *A* | sub specie *B-E*: in assimulatione *A* | peccato ... ac *B-E*: peccati, et *A* | per carnem *B-E*: in carne *A*

scribes could in turn have expanded to ἡ χάρις or χάρις δέ. However, since comparable arguments can be adduced in favour of each of these competing readings, the validity of any textual decision must ultimately depend upon the relative strength of the manuscript testimony in each case. This passage is further discussed in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 996 D-997 A. The translation adopted by Erasmus had previously been proposed by Valla, Manetti and Lefèvre.

25 *Itaque* ἄρα οὖν ("Igitur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,18. Manetti put *An ergo*.

25 *idem ego* αὐτὸς ἐγώ ("ego ipse" Vg.). Erasmus does not elsewhere use this expression in the N.T. He retains *ego ipse* at *Lc.* 24,39; *Act.* 10,26; *Rom.* 9,3, and *ipse ego* at 2 *Cor.* 10,1, while putting *ipse ego* for *ego ipse* at *Rom.* 15,14; 2 *Cor.* 12,13. The Vulgate word-order corresponds with ἐγὼ αὐτός in cod. D.

25 *mente quidem* τῷ μὲν νοῒ ("mente" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect a text omitting μέν, as in codd. ℵ* F G. The version of Manetti made the same change as Erasmus.

25 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

8,1 *Nulla ... est condemnatio* Οὐδὲν ... κατάκριμα ("Nihil ... damnationis est" Vg.; "Nulla ... condemnatio" 1516). Erasmus is closer to the grammatical form of the Greek expression. In classical usage, both *condemnatio* and *damnatio* refer to condemnation within a legal context. The present substitution of *condemnatio* was in accordance with the Vulgate rendering of κατάκριμα at *Rom.* 5,16, 18, and helped to distinguish from κρίμα, for which Erasmus retains *damnatio* at *Lc.* 20,47; 23,40; *Rom.* 3,8; *Ap. Ioh.* 17,1. At several other instances of κρίμα, however, this distinction is ignored, through the substitution of *condemnatio* for *damnatio* at *Lc.* 24,20 (1519); 1 *Tim.* 5,12, and for *iudicium* at three further passages in 1519 (see on *Rom.* 5,16). See also on *Ioh.* 3,19 and 2 *Cor.* 3,9. Lefèvre similarly had *Nulla ... condemnatio est*, while Manetti had *Nulla ... damnatio*.

1 *igitur* ἄρα ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. The same change was made by Manetti.

1 *insiti sunt* ἐν ("sunt in" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus' use of *insero*, "graft" or "implant", is not explicitly warranted by the Greek text, and borrows a theological concept from *Rom.* 11,17-24, where

insero is several times used to render ἐγκεντρίζω. At the present passage, the preposition ἐν can equally imply belonging to Christ, partaking of faith in him, or membership of his mystical body, the church, but does not define the process by which a person attains to any of these. Cf. 2 *Cor.* 5,17, *si quis est in Christo, noua creatura est.* Lefèvre omitted *sunt* and *qui* (2nd.), taking τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ directly with the following participle, περιπατοῦσιν. Manetti retained *sunt*, but placed it after *Iesu.*

1 *qui ... versantur* περιπατοῦσιν ("qui ... ambulant" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,1. Manetti and Lefèvre both omitted *qui*, and Manetti further replaced *ambulant* by the more literal *ambulantibus.*

1 *iuxta* (1st.) κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

1 *sed iuxta spiritum* ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα (Vg. omits). The Vulgate follows a Greek text omitting these words, as in codd. ℵ * A B D* F G and about twenty other mss., though some of this group also omit μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ corr D corr and about 570 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 345-8, though this work incorrectly cites cod. 1 as omitting ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα). The question here is whether some scribes introduced these words from vs. 4, where the same phrase occurs, or whether an ancient scribe or editor decided to omit material which he deemed to be repetitious. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *sed secundum spiritum.*

2 *Nam lex* ὁ γὰρ νόμος ("Lex enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

2 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

2 *liberum me reddidit* ἠλευθέρωσέ με ("liberauit me" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,32.

2 *iure* τοῦ νόμου ("lege" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,3, and *Annot.*, and also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 997 A-B. In cod. 2815, καί is added after νόμου, with little other ms. support.

3 *Etenim* γάρ ("Nam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. Manetti began the sentence with *Quod enim.*

3 *lex praestare non poterat, ... hoc deus ... praestitit* ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου, ... ὁ θεός ("impossibile erat legi, ... deus" late Vg.; "lex praestare non poterat, ... deus" 1516). Erasmus provided an expanded rendering, to clarify the sense: see *Annot.*

3 *ea parte qua* ἐν ᾧ ("in quo" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus interprets the Greek phrase as meaning "to the extent that". In *Annot.*, he also renders by *quatenus.* Manetti put *in qua.*

3 *imbecillis erat* ἠσθένει ("infirmabatur" Vg.). By using an adjective, Erasmus conveys the sense that the law "was weak" (or "was ineffective", as he explains in *Annot.*) rather than "was being made weak". Cf. the substitution of *imbecillis* for *infirmus* in rendering ἀσθενής at 1 *Cor.* 1,27; 4,10; 11,30; and *imbecillior* for *infirmior* in rendering ἀσθενέστερος at 1 *Cor.* 12,22. See also on *imbecillitas* at 1 *Cor.* 1,25.

3 *proprio filio, misso* τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ("filium suum mittens" Vg.). Greek aorist. For Erasmus' use of *proprius*, see on *Ioh.* 1,11. Manetti replaced *mittens* by *cum misisset*, while Lefèvre put *misit.*

3 *sub specie* ἐν ὁμοιώματι ("in similitudinem" Vg.; "in assimilatione" 1516). Elsewhere Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *species* to render εἶδος at several passages: see also on *Ioh.* 1,32. He retains *similitudo* for all other N.T instances of ὁμοίωμα at *Rom.* 1,23 (1519); 5,14; 6,5; *Phil.* 2,7; *Ap. Ioh.* 9,7. In the present instance, Erasmus wished to make clear that it was only an outward appearance ("falsam similitudinem"): see *Annot.*, and see also on *Rom.* 1,23. This substitution is further defended in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 998 C-F. The rendering of Lefèvre *Comm.* was *in similitudine.*

3 *peccato obnoxiae* ἁμαρτίας ("peccati" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,9. In *Annot.*, Erasmus describes the Greek expression as a Hebraism.

3 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Ambrosiaster and Manetti omitted the word.

3 *condemnauit* κατέκρινε ("damnauit" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 10,33; *Rom.* 14,23; 1 *Cor.* 11,32; *Hebr.* 11,7; 2 *Petr.* 2,6, in accordance with Vulgate usage at e.g. *Mt.* 12,41, 42; 20,18; *Mc.* 14,64. These changes are comparable with Erasmus' substitution of *condemnatio* for *damnatio* in rendering κατάκριμα at *Rom.* 8,1: see *ad loc.* He retains *damno* for κατακρίνω at *Mt.* 27,3.

3 *per carnem* ἐν τῇ σαρκί ("in carne" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. In cod. 2815, τῇ was omitted, though found in nearly all other mss.

4 ἡμῖν. The reading ὑμῖν in 1516, in conflict with Erasmus' Basle mss. and Latin rendering, was probably a misprint.

τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα. ⁵οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες, τὰ | τῆς σαρκὸς φρονοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα, τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.

⁶Τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός, θάνατος. τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος, ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη. ⁷διότι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός, ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν· τῷ γὰρ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται. ⁸οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες, θεῷ ἀρέσαι οὐ δύνανται. ⁹ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκί, ἀλλ’ ἐν πνεύματι, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. ¹⁰εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν διὰ ἁμαρτίαν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωὴ διὰ δικαιοσύνην. ¹¹εἰ δὲ

qui non secundum carnem versamur, sed secundum spiritum. ⁵Nam qui carnales sunt, quae | carnis sunt curant: at qui spirituales, quae spiritus sunt.

⁶Nam affectus carnis, mors est. Affectus vero spiritus, vita et pax. ⁷Propterea quod affectus carnis, inimicitia est aduersus deum: nam legi dei non subditur, siquidem ne potest quidem. ⁸Qui vero in carne sunt, deo placere non possunt. ⁹Vos autem non estis in carne, sed in spiritu: siquidem spiritus dei habitat in vobis. Quod si quis spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est eius. ¹⁰Porro si Christus in vobis est, corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum, spiritus autem vita est propter iustificationem. ¹¹Quod si

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7 τω *B-E*: το *A*

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4 versamur *B-E*: ambulamus *A* | 5 curant *B-E*: cogitant *A* | 6 *prius* affectus *B-E*: prudentia *A* | est *B-E*: *om. A* | *alt.* affectus *B-E*: prudentia *A* | 7 affectus *B-E*: prudentia *A* | 10 Porro *B-E*: Quod *A* | *prius* est *B-E*: *om. A* | *tert.* est *B-E*: *om. A*

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4 *qui ... versamur* τοῖς ... περιπατοῦσιν ("qui ... ambulamus" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,1. Manetti and Lefèvre placed *ambulamus* after *spiritum*.

5 *Nam qui* οἱ γάρ ("Qui enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

5 *carnales* κατὰ σάρκα ("secundum carnem" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is less literal, but clearer.

5 *curant* φρονοῦσιν ("sapiunt" Vg.; "cogitant" 1516). The sense of φρονέω here is "show a concern for" or "occupy one's mind with", whereas *sapio* tends to mean "taste" or "understand". A similar substitution occurs at *Rom.* 14,6; *Phil.* 3,19; *Col.* 3,2. Erasmus retains *sapio* for φρονέω at *Mt.* 16,23; *Mc.* 8,33. Where φρονέω means "have an opinion or attitude", he sometimes replaces *sapio* with *sentio*, as at *Rom.* 12,3, 16; 15,5; 1 *Cor.* 13,11; *Gal.* 5,10; *Phil.* 3,15; 4,2 (1516 only), in accordance with Vulgate usage at e.g. *Act.* 28,22; *Phil.* 1,7; 2,2. See *Annot.* and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX,

997 C-998 B, and see further on *Rom.* 11,20. The rendering of Lefèvre had *sentiunt* at the present passage, as was also proposed by Valla *Annot.*

5 *at qui* οἱ δέ ("qui vero" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti put *Qui autem.*

5 *spirituales* κατὰ πνεῦμα ("secundum spiritum sunt" late Vg.). See on *carnales*, above. The late Vulgate addition of *sunt* does not have explicit Greek support, and was omitted by Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre. This verb was also omitted by Valla *Annot.*, in his citation of the Vulgate wording.

5 *quae spiritus sunt* τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ("quae sunt spiritus sentiunt" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that the Vulgate use of *sapiunt ... sentiunt* is a needless variation of vocabulary, seeing that there was only one Greek verb, φρονοῦσιν. Manetti put *ea quae sunt spiritus*, as was rendered by Valla *Annot*; even more literally, Lefèvre put just *quae spiritus* (all three omitting *sentiunt*).

6 *affectus* (twice) Τὸ ... φρόνημα ("pruden-
tia" 1516 = Vg.). A comparable substitution
of *affectus* for *sapientia* occurs in rendering the
same Greek expression in vs. 7, and conveys
the sense of emotional attachment and mental
preoccupation. See on φρονέω in vs. 5, and
Annot. on vs. 7, together with *Resp. ad collat.
iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 997 C-998 B. Elsewhere
Erasmus reserves *prudentia* for φρόνησις at
Lc. 1,17; *Eph.* 1,8, and for σύνεσις at *Col.* 1,9.

6 *mors est* θάνατος ("mors" 1516 = some Vg.
mss., with Vgˢᵗ). Erasmus' 1516 rendering is
more literal, and follows that of Lefèvre.

6 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. This
change was also made by Lefèvre.

7 *Propterea quod* διότι ("Quoniam" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 1,19. Manetti had *Idcirco*, and Lefèvre
Ideo.

7 *affectus* τὸ φρόνημα ("sapientia" Vg.; "pruden-
tia" 1516). See on vs. 6, and *Annot.* The substi-
tution of *prudentia* in 1516 was earlier proposed
by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre, to produce
consistency with the previous verse.

7 *inimicitia* ἔχθρα ("inimica" late Vg. and
some Vg. mss.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects
that the Greek word cannot be understood as
an adjective (ἐχθρά), as this would not be in
agreement with the neuter singular noun, φρό-
νημα. Accordingly, he regarded *inimicitia* as the
original Vulgate reading, altered by later scribes.
He placed *inimica* among the *Loca Manifeste
Deprauata*. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*,
LB IX, 998 F-999 A.

7 *aduersus deum* εἰς θεόν ("deo" late Vg. and
some Vg. mss.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to
the sense of the Greek. See *Annot.* Some mss.
of the earlier Vulgate had *in deum*.

7 *nam legi* τῷ γὰρ νόμῳ ("legi enim" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 3,34.

7 *subditur* ὑποτάσσεται ("est subiecta" late
Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Similar substitutions
of *subdo* or *subditus* occur at *Rom.* 10,3; *Eph.*
5,21, 24; 1 *Petr.* 2,13; 3,5, in accordance with
Vulgate usage at *Lc.* 2,51; *Rom.* 13,1, 5, and
several other passages. Elsewhere Erasmus some-
times retains *subiicio*, usually in contexts where
the degree of control is absolute, rather than
just subordination to authority. However, at
1 *Petr.* 5,5, for the sake of variety, he uses both
subditus and *subiicio* within the same context. At
vs. 20, below, he tried *subiacet*. Manetti put *sub-
icitur*, as in some mss. of the earlier Vulgate.

7 *siquidem ne potest quidem* οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται
("nec enim potest" Vg.). For *siquidem*, see on
Ioh. 4,47. The repetitious use of *siquidem* and
quidem here might be thought to detract from
the elegance of style at which Erasmus aimed.
Manetti and Lefèvre put *neque enim potest* (though
Lefèvre *Comm.*, less correctly, had *neque autem
potest*).

8 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Am-
brosiaster and Manetti had *enim*.

9 *non estis in carne* οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκί ("in carne
non estis" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering, identical
with that of Ambrosiaster, follows the Greek
word-order more closely.

9 *siquidem* εἴπερ ("si tamen" Vg.). A similar
substitution occurs in vs. 17, and also at 2 *Thess.*
1,6; 1 *Petr.* 2,3. In *Annot.*, Erasmus expresses
his feeling that the Vulgate rendering intro-
duced an unwanted doubt as to whether the
Spirit of God might or might not dwell in the
believer. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same
change.

9 *Quod si quis* εἰ δέ τις ("Si quis autem" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 2,25.

10 *Porro si* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.; "Quod si"
1516). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

10 *in vobis est* ἐν ὑμῖν ("in vobis" 1516).
Erasmus' 1516 rendering is more literal.

10 διά. In codd. 2105, 2816, 2817 and many
other mss., this word is elided as δι'.

10 ἁμαρτίαν. Cod. 2815 had τὴν ἁμαρτίαν,
with little other ms. support.

10 *autem* δέ ("vero" Vg.). In this instance, Eras-
mus considered that the Greek particle had a
more strongly adversative sense, contrasting
corpus and *spiritus*. Another substitution of
autem, to balance an earlier *quidem*, occurs at
1 *Cor.* 7,7. However, Erasmus retains *quidem ...
vero* at e.g. *Rom.* 9,21. Manetti made the same
change.

10 *vita est* ζωή ("viuit" late Vg.; "vita" 1516
= Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with
ζῇ in codd. F G. See *Annot.* The wording of
Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre was the
same as that of Erasmus' 1516 edition.

10 δικαιοσύνην. In *Annot.*, Erasmus inserts
τήν before δικαιοσύνην, probably through
looseness of citation rather than reflecting any
specific ms. support. All his mss. at Basle omit
τήν.

τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος Ἰησοῦν ἐκ
νεκρῶν οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν
Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ζωοποιήσει καὶ
τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, διὰ τὸ
ἐνοικοῦν αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐν ὑμῖν.
¹²Ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ὀφειλέται
ἐσμὲν οὐ τῇ σαρκί, τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα
ζῆν· ¹³εἰ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆτε,
μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν. εἰ δὲ πνεύματι
τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανα-
τοῦτε, ζήσεσθε. ¹⁴ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύ-
ματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοί εἰσιν υἱοὶ
θεοῦ. ¹⁵οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα
δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον, ἀλλ' ἐλά-
βετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας, ἐν ᾧ κράζο-
μεν, Ἀβ|βᾶ ὁ πατήρ. ¹⁶αὐτὸ τὸ
πνεῦμα συμμαρτυρεῖ τῷ πνεύματι
ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἐσμὲν τέκνα θεοῦ. ¹⁷εἰ
δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι. κληρο-
νόμοι μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι δὲ
Χριστοῦ, εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ
συνδοξασθῶμεν.

spiritus eius qui excitauit Iesum a mor-
tuis, habitat in vobis: is qui excitauit
Christum ex mortuis, viuificabit et
mortalia corpora vestra, propter ipsius
spiritum inhabitantem in vobis.
¹²Proinde fratres, debitores sumus,
non carni, vt secundum carnem vi-
uamus: ¹³nam si secundum carnem
vixeritis, moriemini. Quod si spi-
ritu facta corporis mortificetis, viue-
tis. ¹⁴Etenim quicunque spiritu dei
ducuntur, hi sunt filii dei. ¹⁵Non
enim accepistis spiritum seruitutis ite-
rum ad timorem, sed accepistis spiri-
tum adoptionis: per quem clamamus,
Ab|ba, pater. ¹⁶Idem spiritus testatur
vna cum spiritu nostro, quod simus
filii dei. ¹⁷Quod si filii, igitur et hae-
redes. Haeredes quidem dei, cohaere-
des autem Christi: siquidem simul
cum eo patimur, vt et vna cum illo
glorificemur.

LB 603

LB 604

14 οσοι *A C-E*: οσι *B* | 16 συμμαρτυρει *B-E*: συμμαρτυροι *A* | 17 *alt.* κληρονομοι *A C-E*:
κληρορομοι *B*

11 is *B-E*: *om. A* | ipsius spiritum inhabitantem *B-E*: inhabitantem ipsius spiritum *A* |
13 mortificetis *B-E*: mortificatis *A* | 15 per quem *B-E*: in quo *A* | 16 testatur *B-E*: testimonium
perhibet *A*

11 *excitauit* (twice) ἐγείραντος ... ἐγείρας
("suscitauit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 17,31.

11 *is qui* ὁ ("qui" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus intro-
duces another pronoun, which serves to indicate
more clearly that this clause is the beginning
of the apodosis, rather than a repetitive sup-
plement to the earlier conditional clause.

11 *Christum* τὸν Χριστόν ("Iesum Christum"
Vg.). The Vulgate rendering corresponds with
Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν in cod. C and eight later mss.
(some of which place the words after ἐκ νεκρῶν).
Others have Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, as in codd.
ℵ* A D* and twelve later mss., placed either
before or after ἐκ νεκρῶν. Some have just
Χριστόν, as in codd. B Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and eleven
later mss. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815
and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with
ℵᶜᵒʳʳ and about 500 later mss. (see Aland *Die*

Paulinischen Briefe vol. 1, pp. 348-52). Manetti
and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

11 *ex mortuis* ἐκ νεκρῶν ("a mortuis" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 2,22.

11 *ipsius spiritum inhabitantem* τὸ ἐνοικοῦν
αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ("inhabitantem spiritum eius"
Vg.; "inhabitantem ipsius spiritum" 1516). For
the sake of good Latin style, Erasmus found it
necessary to change the word-order: see *Annot.*
His use of *ipsius* refers back to the implied main
subject, the Spirit of God, rather than the Spirit
of Christ. In 1519 *Annot.*, he further records
an alternative reading, τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ
πνεύματος, exhibited by codd. ℵ A C and
ninety-five later mss. (not including cod. 3,
which joins three other mss. in putting τὸ
ἐνοικοῦν ἐν αὐτῷ πνεῦμα). The reading of
cod. 2816⁽ᶜᵒʳʳ⁾ is τὸ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα.

Erasmus' printed text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816[*] and about 450 other mss., commencing with B D F G (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 352-5). Lefèvre (text, not *Comm.*) put *inhabitantem eius spiritum*.

12 *Proinde* Ἄρα οὖν ("Ergo" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17. Manetti had *An ergo*.

13 *nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

13 *Quod si* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25. Lefèvre (text, not *Comm.*) put *Sin autem*.

13 *corporis* τοῦ σώματος ("carnis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of τῆς σαρκός, as in codd. D F G and a few later mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

13 *mortificetis* θανατοῦτε ("mortificaueritis" late Vg.; "mortificatis" 1516 = some Vg. mss.). The use of the future perfect tense by the late Vulgate, which was retained by Manetti and Lefèvre, was more consistent with the use of *vixeritis* earlier in the sentence. However, the verb *mortifico* does not occur in classical usage. In vs. 36 (1519), below, Erasmus substitutes *morti trado*.

14 *Etenim quicunque* ὅσοι γάρ ("Quicunque enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

14 *ducuntur* ἄγονται ("aguntur" Vg.). This change, signifying that such people are "led" rather than "driven" by the Spirit, was in accordance with Vulgate usage at e.g. *Mt.* 10,18; *Mc.* 11,7; 13,11. Erasmus retains *ago* for ἄγω at *Lc.* 4,1; *Act.* 19,38.

15 *ad timorem* εἰς φόβον ("in timore" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here: see *Annot.*

15 *adoptionis* υἱοθεσίας ("adoptionis filiorum dei" late Vg.). A similar alteration occurs in vs. 23, and *adoptio* is further substituted for *adoptio filiorum* at *Rom.* 9,4. At *Gal.* 4,5 (1519), Erasmus uses *adoptione ius filiorum*, and at *Eph.* 1,5 (1519) *adopto in filios*. See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 999 A-C, arguing that the addition of *filiorum* involved several unhelpful ambiguities. The late Vulgate insertion of *dei*, both here and in vs. 23, is not warranted by the Greek mss. The present passage is accordingly assigned to the *Quae Sint Addita*. Erasmus' rendering follows that of Lefèvre. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *adoptionis filiorum*, omitting *dei*.

15 *per quem* ἐν ᾧ ("in quo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

16 *Idem* αὐτό ("Ipse enim" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *enim* has negligible Greek ms. support. By using *idem*, Erasmus makes it appear that the following reference to *spiritus* is linked with *spiritus adoptionis* in vs. 15. This is a questionable change, as *ipse* would be more clearly understood as referring to the Holy Spirit.

16 *testatur vna cum* συμμαρτυρεῖ ("testimonium reddit" Vg.; "testimonium perhibet vna cum" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,7 regarding *testor*, and also on *Rom.* 2,15. Erasmus' insertion of *vna cum* conveys the added force of the Greek prefix συμ-. In *Annot.*, he gives *contestatur* as a literal rendering. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 999 D-E. At *Ap. Ioh.* 22,18, he retains *contestor* for the same Greek verb. The version of Manetti had *contestificatur*.

16 *spiritu nostro* τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν ("spiritui nostro" Vg.). Erasmus provides a more satisfactory rendering, taking the Greek wording as equivalent to a prepositional phrase with συμ-, and not as an indirect object.

16 *simus* ἐσμέν ("sumus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26 for Erasmus' use of the subjunctive after *quod*.

17 *Quod si* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25.

17 *igitur et* καί ("et" Vg.). Here, Erasmus understands καί as expressing a logical consequence, and not just as a conjunction.

17 *siquidem* εἴπερ ("si tamen" Vg.). See on vs. 9. In *Annot.*, Erasmus explains that the Greek word, in the present context, does not signify any doubt as to whether or not the statement is true. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 999 E-F. Both Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* proposed the same change.

17 *simul cum eo patimur* συμπάσχομεν ("compatimur" Vg.). For other additions of *simul*, see on *Rom.* 2,15. As indicated in *Annot.*, the sense required is that of participation in, or imitation of, the sufferings of Christ, rather than just emotional sympathy. Erasmus similarly substitutes *simul patior* at 1 *Cor.* 12,26 (1522). He also, in 1519, removed *compatior* at three passages of Hebrews, recognising that this verb does not occur in classical literature. Lefèvre put *simul patimur* at the present passage.

17 *vna cum illo glorificemur* συνδοξασθῶμεν ("conglorificemur" Vg.). Again Erasmus removes

¹⁸Λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. ¹⁹ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως, τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται. ²⁰τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ κτίσις ὑπετάγη, οὐχ ἑκοῦσα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. ²¹ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς, εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ. ²²οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν· ²³οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενά|ζομεν, υἱοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν.

LB 605

¹⁸Nam reputo, non esse pares afflictiones praesentis temporis ad gloriam, quae reuelabitur erga nos. ¹⁹Etenim solicita creaturae expectatio expectat vt palam fiant filii dei. ²⁰Quippe vanitati creatura subiacet: non volens, sed propter eum qui subiecit illam sub spe. ²¹Quoniam et ipsa creatura liberabitur a seruitute corruptionis, in libertatem gloriae filiorum dei. ²²Scimus enim quod omnis creatura congemiscit, simulque nobiscum parturit vsque ad hoc tempus: ²³non solum autem illa, sed et ipsi qui primitias spiritus habemus: et nos ipsi in nobis ipsis gemi|mus, adoptionem expectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri.

LB 606

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20 υπεταγη *A-C E*: υπεταγει *D* | 21 ελευθερωθησεται *A B D E*: ελευθεροθησεται *C*

18 erga *B-E*: in *A* | 19 solicita *B-E*: sollicita *A* | expectat ... dei *B-E*: reuelationem filiorum dei expectat *A* | 20 sub *B-E*: in *A* | 23 habemus *B-E*: habent *A*

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a verb which does not occur in classical Latin usage. See also *Annot.* In Manetti's rendering, *et conglorificemur* was replaced by *simul et glorificemur*, while Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *et simul glorificemur.*

18 *Nam reputo* Λογίζομαι γάρ ("Existimo enim" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,27; *Rom.* 2,3, regarding *reputo*, and on *Ioh.* 3,34 for *nam*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus makes a detailed distinction between λογίζομαι, as expressing certainty, and *existimo*, as merely holding an opinion. This topic is also covered in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 999 F-1000 B.

18 *non esse pares* ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια ("quod non sunt condignae" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,34, for Erasmus' occasional preference for the accusative and infinitive construction. He probably regarded *condignus* as unsuited to the context, which required a phrase meaning "not to be compared with" rather than "unworthy" or "unfitting". Cf. the substitution of *par* for *dignum* (ἄξιον) at 2 *Thess.* 1,3.

18 *afflictiones* τὰ παθήματα ("passiones" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 1,5-7;

Phil. 3,10; *Col.* 1,24; 2 *Tim.* 3,11; *Hebr.* 2,10; 10,32; 1 *Petr.* 1,11; 4,13; 5,1. 9. For Erasmus' avoidance of *passio*, see on *Rom.* 1,26.

18 *praesentis* τοῦ νῦν ("huius" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. See on *Rom.* 3,26. This alteration was anticipated by Manetti.

18 *quae reuelabitur* τὴν μέλλουσαν ... ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ("futuram ... quae reuelabitur" Vg.). Erasmus considered the word *futuram*, in the Vulgate rendering, to be redundant, as the meaning of μέλλουσαν was sufficiently expressed by the future tense of the following verb. Cf. *Annot.*

18 *erga nos* εἰς ἡμᾶς ("in nobis" Vg.; "in nos" 1516). Erasmus renders the preposition more accurately. See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1000 B.

19 *Etenim* γάρ ("Nam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. Manetti began the sentence with *Expectatio enim.*

19 *solicita creaturae expectatio* ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως ("expectatio creaturae" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, Erasmus wanted to convey

the sense of ἀποκαραδοκία more emphatically. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1000 C. In rendering the same Greek word at *Phil.* 1,20, *expectatio* is left unmodified.

19 *expectat vt palam fiant filii dei* τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται ("reuelationem filiorum dei expectat" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,18 for Erasmus' use of *palam fit* to render ἀποκαλύπτεται. He alters the literal Vulgate rendering for the sake of clarity, avoiding the possibility that *filiorum* might be misunderstood as a subjective genitive.

20 *Quippe vanitati* τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ("Vanitati enim" Vg.). The substitution of *quippe* is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 5,18; 17,20; *Lc.* 6,38; *Ioh.* 7,4. At the present passage, it is introduced to avoid the repetition of *nam*, *enim*, or *etenim*, which had all been used in the preceding verses. See also on *Ioh.* 3,34.

20 *subiacet* ὑπετάγη ("subiecta est" Vg.). The Vulgate appears more accurate here, and more consistent, in view of the use of *subiicio* for the same Greek verb later in the sentence. See also on vs. 7 (*subditur*).

20 *qui subiecit illam* τὸν ὑποτάξαντα ("qui subiecit eam" late Vg.). Erasmus, in agreement with Ambrosiaster, uses a pronoun which contrasts with the preceding *eum*. He comments on the late Vulgate addition of *eam*, both in *Annot.* and in the *Vbi Interpres Ausus Sit Aliquid Immutare*. Lefèvre *Comm.* omitted *eam*, in company with the earlier Vulgate.

20 *sub spe* ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ("in spe" 1516 = late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus connects this phrase more closely with the verb *subiecit*: cf. *Annot.*

21 *Quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). The use of *quoniam* prevented the clause from being misunderstood as defining what was hoped for, rather than the cause of hope. Elsewhere in the Epistles, Erasmus often prefers *quoniam* to *quia*, to avoid this kind of ambiguity. See also on *Rom.* 5,5. His wording was once more the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *quod*.

22 *congemiscit* συστενάζει ("ingemiscit" Vg.). Erasmus seeks a more precise rendering of the Greek verb. His choice of *congemisco*, however, was not drawn from classical Latin usage. In *Annot.*, he cites *congemiscit* from Jerome's commentary on *Is.* 24,21-3 (*CCSL* 73, p. 324). See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*,

LB IX, 1000 C-D. The same rendering was also proposed by Lefèvre *Comm.*

22 *simulque nobiscum parturit* καὶ συνωδίνει ("et parturit" Vg.). Again Erasmus wishes to convey the sense of the Greek prefix συν-: see on *Rom.* 2,15. See also *Annot.*, where he also suggests *comparturit*, which had been adopted by Lefèvre *Comm.*

22 *vsque ad hoc tempus* ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν ("vsque adhuc" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,10. Manetti had *vsque ad presens.*

23 *ipsi* (1st.) αὐτοί ("nos ipsi" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering corresponds with ἡμεῖς αὐτοί in codd. D F G. The change made by Erasmus was anticipated by Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*

23 *qui ... habemus* ἔχοντες ("habentes" Vg.; "qui ... habent" 1516). Erasmus alters the construction to avoid a succession of present participles, in view of the following *expectantes*. The verb *habemus*, which he used in 1519, was also to be found in Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre (text, not *Comm.*) mistakenly omitted *primitias spiritus habentes, et ipsi*.

23 *et nos ipsi* καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοί ("et ipsi" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text omitting ἡμεῖς at this point, as in cod. B and thirteen later mss. (while codd. D F G have just αὐτοί, omitting καὶ ἡμεῖς). Seventeen other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A C, have ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοί. In cod. 1 and fourteen others, it is just καὶ ἡμεῖς. Erasmus' text follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 2105, 2816 and about 530 other late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 355-7). Manetti made the same change as Erasmus, while Lefèvre *Comm.* put *nos inquam ipsi.*

23 *in nobis ipsis* ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ("intra nos" Vg.). Erasmus renders the reflexive pronoun more emphatically: see *Annot.* The rendering of Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *intra nosmet ipsos*, and Lefèvre *intra nos ipsos.*

23 *gemimus* στενάζομεν. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the text as συστενάζομεν (rendered by *congemiscimus*), with support from cod. D* and a few later mss., but not from any of his mss. at Basle. Cf. on vs. 22 (*congemiscit*). Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti put *ingemiscimus.*

23 *adoptionem* υἱοθεσίαν ("adoptionem filiorum dei" late Vg.). See on vs. 15, and *Annot.* Here, Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre, while Manetti had *adoptionem filiorum* as in the earlier Vulgate.

²⁴ Τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν. ἐλπὶς δὲ βλεπομένη, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλπίς. ὃ γὰρ βλέπει τις, τί καὶ ἐλπίζει; ²⁵ εἰ δὲ ὃ οὐ βλέπομεν ἐλπίζομεν, δι' ὑπομονῆς ἀπεκδεχόμεθα. ²⁶ ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συναντιλαμβάνεται ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν. τὸ γὰρ τί προσευξόμεθα καθὸ δεῖ, οὐκ οἴδαμεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις. ²⁷ ὁ δὲ ἐρευνῶν τὰς καρδίας, οἶδε τί τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅτι κατὰ θεὸν ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἁγίων. ²⁸ οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν, τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν. ²⁹ ὅτι οὓς

²⁴ Siquidem spe seruati sumus. Porro spes si videatur, non est spes. Quod enim quis cernit, cur idem speret? ²⁵ Si vero quod non videmus, speramus, id per patientiam expectamus. ²⁶ Consimiliter autem et spiritus auxiliatur infirmitatibus nostris. Siquidem hoc ipsum quid oraturi simus, vt oportet, non nouimus: verum ipse spiritus intercedit pro nobis, gemitibus inenarrabilibus. ²⁷ At ille qui scrutatur corda, nouit quis sit sensus spiritus: quoniam secundum deum intercedit pro sanctis. ²⁸ Scimus autem quod his qui diligunt deum, omnia simul adiumento sunt in bonum, nimirum his qui iuxta propositum vocati sunt. ²⁹ Quoniam quos

24 Quod ... speret B-E: Etenim quod vidit aliquis, vt quid etiam sperat A | 25 id B-E: om. A | 27 intercedit B-E: inrercedit A | 28 nimirum B-E: om. A

24 *Siquidem spe* Τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ("Spe enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,47.

24 *seruati sumus* ἐσώθημεν ("salui facti sumus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,17. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had *saluati sumus*.

24 *Porro spes* ἐλπὶς δέ ("Spes autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

24 *si videatur* βλεπομένη ("quae videtur" Vg.). Both renderings are legitimate.

24 *Quod enim* ὃ γάρ ("Nam quod" Vg.; "Etenim quod" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 3,34, and also on *Rom.* 3,7. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as in Erasmus' 1519 edition.

24 *quis cernit* βλέπει τις ("videt quis" Vg.; "vidit aliquis" 1516). A similar substitution of *cerno* occurs at *Mt.* 12,22; *Mc.* 8,18; 1 *Cor.* 13,12; *Hebr.* 2,9. At the present passage, the change is mainly for the sake of stylistic variety.

24 *cur idem speret* τί καὶ ἐλπίζει ("quid sperat" Vg.; "vt quid etiam sperat" 1516). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text omitting καί, as in codd. B^{corr} D F G and a few later mss. In 𝔓⁴⁶ B*, τί καί is omitted. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by ℵ^{corr} A C and most later mss., including 1 and 2816 (in cod. 2105, it is τί καὶ τοῦτο ἐλπίζει). See *Annot.*, where he argues in favour of καί, as it helped to express

the pointlessness of continuing to hope for something which was already within sight. For *cur*, see on *Ioh.* 1,25. Lefèvre had *quid et sperat*.

25 *Si vero* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

25 *id* (omitted in 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds a pronoun, answering to the earlier *quod*, and marking a clearer start to the apodosis in this conditional statement.

26 *Consimiliter* ὡσαύτως ("Similiter" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Tim.* 2,9; 5,25; *Tit.* 2,6. See *Annot.* Sometimes Erasmus replaces *similiter* with *itidem*. The word *consimiliter* is rare in classical usage. Manetti put *Eodem ... modo*.

26 *et* καί (Vg. 1527 omits). The lemma of *Annot.* includes *et*, along with most mss. and editions of the Vulgate. The omission in the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben edition of 1514, is supported by just a few of the later Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *et*.

26 *auxiliatur* συναντιλαμβάνεται ("adiuuat" Vg.). Erasmus felt that *auxilior* was more suitable, in the sense of coming to the assistance of someone who was in trouble or difficulty. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *coadiuuat*, which was more literal but lacked classical precedent.

26 *infirmitatibus nostris* ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν ("infirmitatem nostram" Vg.). The Vulgate follows a Greek text replacing ταῖς ἀσθενείαις by τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ (or ἀσθενίᾳ), as in codd. ℵ A B C D* and about twenty-five later mss. Erasmus followed codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and about 550 other late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 359-61). See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 1000 D-E. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *infirmitates nostras*.

26 *Siquidem* γάρ ("Nam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,47. Manetti had *Quid enim* for *Nam quid*.

26 *hoc ipsum quid* τὸ ... τί ("quid" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that the Vulgate has not provided a rendering for τό.

26 *oraturi simus* προσευξόμεθα ("oremus" Vg.). The Vulgate could reflect a text having προσευξώμεθα, as in codd. ℵ A B C and a few later mss. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *oramus*.

26 *vt* καθό ("sicut" Vg.). Erasmus uses *sicut oportet* for ὡς δεῖ at *Eph.* 6,20; *Col.* 4,4. In using *vt* here, he has the same rendering as Lefèvre. Manetti had *secundum quod*.

26 *non nouimus* οὐκ οἴδαμεν ("nescimus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,33; *Rom.* 14,14.

26 *verum* ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. Codd. 1 and 2815 had ἀλλά, as in ℵ D F G.

26 *intercedit* ὑπερεντυγχάνει ("postulat" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise here. As he makes the same change in rendering ἐντυγχάνω in vs. 27, his translation does not clarify the distinction of meaning between the two Greek words, though he comments further on this aspect in *Annot.* In rendering ἐντυγχάνω in vs. 34, he uses *intercedo* to replace *interpello*. However, he retains *interpello* at *Act.* 25,24; *Rom.* 11,2; *Hebr.* 7,25. In *Annot.* (partly following Valla *Annot.* on vs. 34), he complains of the Vulgate's inconsistent treatment of these verbs. Manetti tried *super assistit*.

27 *At ille qui* ὁ δέ ("Qui autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26 regarding *at*. As elsewhere, Erasmus provides a more emphatic rendering for the Greek article.

27 *nouit* οἶδε ("scit" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,33; *Rom.* 14,14. Erasmus retains *scimus* in the following verse. Valla *Annot.* proposed the same change.

27 *quis sit sensus* τί τὸ φρόνημα ("quid desideret" Vg.). Erasmus attempts a more exact rendering of φρόνημα, as expressing an "attitude of mind". This resembles a suggestion of Valla *Annot.*, who offered *qui sensus*. See further on φρονέω and φρόνημα in vss. 5-6, above, and see also *Annot.* In *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.* (*LB* IX, 1000 E-F), and also in 1535 *Annot.*, Erasmus defends himself against the objection that *sensus* was theologically inappropriate. Manetti had *quae sit prudentia*, and Lefèvre *quae haec prudentia*.

27 *quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to ensure that this conjunction is understood in a causal sense. Cf. on vs. 21. Manetti anticipated this change.

27 *intercedit* ἐντυγχάνει ("postulat" Vg.). See on vs. 26. Manetti put *assistit*.

28 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti made the same change.

28 *his qui diligunt* τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι ("diligentibus" Vg.). Erasmus avoids using the present participle as a noun, and provides a more symmetrical construction, in view of the use of *his qui* later in the sentence.

28 *simul adiumento sunt* συνεργεῖ ("cooperantur" Vg.). For other additions of *simul*, see on *Rom.* 2,15. This change may be compared with the substitution of *adiumento sum* for *cooperor* at *Iac.* 2,22. The verb *cooperor* did not occur in classical authors. Other instances of Erasmus' idiomatic use of the predicative dative occur e.g. at *Iud.* 3 (*adiumento sum*); 1 *Cor.* 11,14-15 (*probro sum* and *gloriae sum*); 1 *Thess.* 1,7 (*exemplo sum*), and see further on 1 *Cor.* 8,9 for the use of *offendiculo sum*. At 1 *Cor.* 16,16, Erasmus replaces *cooperor* with *adiuuo*, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 6,1. He retains *cooperor* at *Mc.* 16,20. See also *Annot.* and Valla *Annot.*, on the ambiguity of the Greek verb. Lefèvre put *cooperatur*, referring to God.

28 *nimirum his qui* τοῖς ("his qui" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,23. Lefèvre had just *qui*.

28 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

28 *vocati sunt* κλητοῖς οὖσιν ("vocati sunt sancti" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *sancti* is unsupported by Greek mss. Cf. *vocatis sanctis* at *Rom.* 1,7; 1 *Cor.* 1,2, from which the word may have been interpolated. See *Annot.* The same point was raised by Valla *Annot.*, and *sancti* was likewise omitted by Lefèvre.

29 *Quoniam* ὅτι ("Nam" Vg.). By contrast, Erasmus has *nam* for ὅτι at fourteen other

προέγνω, καὶ προώρισε, συμ-
μόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ
αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρωτό-
τοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.
³⁰ Οὓς δὲ προώρισε, τούτους
καὶ ἐκάλεσε· καὶ οὓς ἐκάλεσε,
τούτους καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν· οὓς δὲ
ἐδικαίωσε, τούτους καὶ ἐδόξασε.
³¹ Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν πρὸς ταῦτα;
εἰ ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τίς |
καθ' ἡμῶν; ³² ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου
υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν,
πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ
πάντα ἡμῖν χαρίσεται;
³³ Τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατὰ ἐκ-
λεκτῶν θεοῦ; θεὸς ὁ δικαιῶν.
³⁴ τίς ὁ κατακρίνων; Χριστὸς
ὁ ἀποθανών, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ

praesciuerat, eosdem et praefiniuit,
conformes imaginis filii sui, vt
ipse sit primogenitus inter multos
fratres.
³⁰ Porro quos praedefinierat, eos-
dem et vocauit. Et quos vocauit,
eos et iustificauit. Quos autem iu-
stificauit, hos et glorificauit.
³¹ Quid igitur dice | mus ad haec?
Si deus pro nobis, quis contra
nos? ³² Qui proprio filio non
pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus
tradidit illum, qui fieri potest, vt
non et cum eodem omnia nobis
donet?
³³ Quis intentabit crimina aduersus
electos dei? Deus est qui iustificat.
³⁴ Quis ille qui condemnet? Christus
est, qui mortuus est, imo qui et

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29 praesciuerat *B-E*: praesciuit *A* | praefiniuit *B-E*: praedefiniuit *A* | 33 iustificat *B-E*:
iudicat *A* | 34 Christus est *B-E*: Num Christus *A*

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passages, generally replacing *quoniam* or *quia*.
Lefèvre put *quia* here.

29 *praesciuerat* προέγνω ("praesciuit" 1516
= Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for the plu-
perfect, see on *Ioh.* 1,19. In *Annot.*, he cites the
Greek text as προέγνωκεν. The reading προ-
έγνω, which he merely attributes to "quibus-
dam", was attested by codd. 1, 2105, 2815,
2816^vid and 2817. A similar discrepancy occurs
at *Rom.* 11,2. Lefèvre had *praegnouit*.

29 *eosdem et* καί ("et" Vg.). Erasmus' addition
of *eosdem* was a clarification, similar to Lefèvre's
proposal of *hos et*.

29 *praefiniuit* προώρισε ("praedestinauit" Vg.;
"praedefiniuit" 1516). Erasmus' rendering of
this word could be described as a theologically
motivated alteration of the meaning. The verb
praefinio can mean "prescribe" or "limit", but
in classical usage it does not convey the sense
of "determine beforehand", which might other-
wise have been understood to be implied by the
Greek prefix προ-. In *Annot.*, Erasmus courted
controversy by arguing that this Greek verb did
not refer to predestination, but that it signified
a public declaration or promulgation (through
Christ and the prophets) of a divine decree,

and that the making of that decree (which
Erasmus restricted to the act of determining
who would be called to eternal life) was covered
by the previous verb, προέγνω(κε). The 1516
rendering was modelled on Lefèvre's use of
praediffiniuit, and Erasmus similarly substituted
praedefinio in vs. 30. Another substitution of
praefinio occurs at 1 *Cor.* 2,7. However, at *Eph.*
1,5, 11, Erasmus retains *praedestino* for the same
Greek verb. Neither *praedestino* nor *praedefinio*
occurred in classical Latin usage.

29 *conformes* συμμόρφους ("conformes fieri"
Vg.). Erasmus gives a more literal rendering, as
no verb is added in the Greek mss. The same
change was made by Manetti.

29 *vt ipse sit* εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτόν ("vt sit ipse"
Vg.). The Vulgate word-order follows the Greek
text more closely.

29 *inter multos fratres* ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ("in
multis fratribus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24.

30 *Porro quos* Οὓς δέ ("Quos autem" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 8,16.

30 *praedefinierat* προώρισε ("praedestinauit"
Vg.). See on vs. 29. Lefèvre again had *prae-
diffiniuit*.

30 *eosdem ... eos ... hos* τούτους ... τούτους ... τούτους ("hos ... hos ... illos" Vg.). These changes are partly for the sake of stylistic variety, avoiding repetition of *hos*. Manetti and Lefèvre put *hos* in all three places.

30 *glorificauit* ἐδόξασε ("magnificauit" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). See on *Act.* 21,20, and *Annot.* In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 170, ll. 115-119, Erasmus argues that *glorifico* is a more exact representation of the Greek word. He also correctly notes that *magnifico* was infrequent in classical usage, but chooses not to mention the fact that *glorifico* (as far as is known) did not even exist in the classical period. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1001 A. This substitution agreed with the wording of some mss. of the early Vulgate, together with Manetti and Lefèvre.

31 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

32 *Qui* ὅς γε ("Qui etiam" Vg.). Erasmus here treats γε as superfluous for the purpose of translation. At 1 *Cor.* 4,8 (1527); 9,2, he renders γε by *sane*. Ambrosiaster and Manetti likewise omitted *etiam* at the present passage.

32 *proprio filio* τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ ("proprio filio suo" late Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that *suo* is redundant. Earlier Vulgate mss. had *filio suo*, omitting *proprio*. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

32 *qui fieri potest* πῶς ("quomodo" Vg.). A similar substitution of *qui fit* (meaning "How can it be?") occurs at *Mc.* 8,21; *Lc.* 12,56 (1519), and also in replacing *quare* at *Mt.* 16,11. Erasmus regarded *quomodo* as unsuitable for rendering πῶς when followed by a negative. At 2 *Cor.* 3,8, for the same reason, he changed *quomodo non* to *cur non*.

32 *vt non ... donet* οὐχὶ ... χαρίσεται ("non ... donauit" late Vg. and most Vg. mss.). In 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus speculates that the Greek verb may originally have been ἐχαρίσατο, corresponding with the late Vulgate rendering. Valla *Annot.* had objected that the future tense was required, not only because this was found in his Greek mss., but also on the grounds that God had not yet given "everything". Erasmus, more subtly, argued that such reasoning may have prompted some scribes to substitute χαρίσεται for ἐχαρίσατο. However, since ἐχαρίσατο does not enjoy ms. support, it seems more probable that *donabit* (as adopted by Vg^{st ww}) was

the original Vulgate reading, though preserved in relatively few Vulgate mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre accordingly used *donabit* in their translations of this passage.

32 *et* καί ("etiam" Vg.). Possibly Erasmus regarded *etiam* as too emphatic, as the required sense was "also" rather than "even".

32 *eodem* αὐτῷ ("illo" Vg.). This change is partly for stylistic variety, in view of the use of *illum* a few words earlier. Manetti put *ipsum* for *illum*, and *eo* for *illo*.

33 *intentabit crimina* ἐγκαλέσει ("accusabit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 25,7, 18, and *Annot.*

33 θεοῦ. In *Annot.*, without specific ms. support, Erasmus adds τοῦ before θεοῦ in his citation of the text.

33 *Deus est* θεός ("Deus" Vg.). By adding a verb, Erasmus hoped to avoid the supposition that God might accuse the elect. The same motivation seems to have prompted Lefèvre's inaccurate rendering of the previous sentence by *Quis eos accusabit qui aduersus electos dei sunt*: see *Annot.*, and cf. Erasmus' addition of *est* after *Christus* in vs. 34.

33 *qui iustificat* ὁ δικαιῶν ("qui iudicat" 1516 Lat.). The 1516 rendering, which greatly alters the meaning, could have been an error of the typesetter or one of Erasmus' assistants, caused by the resemblance of spelling. The normal translation of δικαιόω, throughout the N.T., is *iustifico* ("justify"), whereas *iudico* is the equivalent of κρίνω ("judge").

34 *Quis ille qui* τίς ὁ ("Quis est qui" Vg.). In omitting a verb, Erasmus' rendering is more precise. Lefèvre simply had *Quis*, omitting *est qui*.

34 *Christus est* Χριστός ("Christus Iesus" Vg.; "Num Christus" 1516). The Vulgate follows a Greek text adding Ἰησοῦς, as in 𝔓^{46vid} ℵ A C F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2105, with B D 0289 and most of the later mss. His addition of *est*, though less literal, was intended to prevent the misunderstanding that Christ would condemn the elect. A similar consideration lay behind the insertion of *num* in 1516, with a question-mark after *nobis*. See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1001 A-D. See also on *Deus est* in vs. 33. The renderings of Ambrosiaster and Manetti just had *Christus*.

ἐγερθείς, ὃς καί ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾳ
τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν. ³⁵τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς
ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ; θλίψις; ἢ στενο-
χωρία; ἢ διωγμός; ἢ λιμός; ἢ
γυμνότης; ἢ κίνδυνος; ἢ μάχαιρα;
³⁶καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι Ἕνεκά σου
θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν,
ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς πρόβατα σφαγῆς.
³⁷ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τούτοις πᾶσιν ὑπερ-
νικῶμεν, διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπή|σαντος
ἡμᾶς. ³⁸πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε
θάνατος, οὔτε ζωή, οὔτε ἄγγελοι,
οὔτε ἀρχαί, οὔτε δυνάμεις, οὔτε
ἐνεστῶτα, οὔτε μέλλοντα, ³⁹οὔτε

suscitatus est, qui etiam est ad dex-
teram dei, qui et intercedit pro nobis.
³⁵ Quis nos separabit a dilectione dei?
Num afflictio? Num angustia? Num
persequutio? Num fames? Num nudi-
tas? Num periculum? Num gladius?
³⁶ Quemadmodum scriptum est: Pro-
pter te morti tradimur tota die, habiti
sumus velut oues destinatae macta-
tioni. ³⁷ Verum in his omnibus |
superamus, per eum qui dilexit nos.
³⁸ Nam mihi persuasum habeo, quod
neque mors, neque vita, neque angeli,
neque principatus, neque potestates,
neque instantia, neque futura, ³⁹ neque

34 ημων *A B D E*: υμων *C* | 35 ημας *A B D E*: υμας *C*

34 ad dexteram *B-E*: in dextera *A* | *alt.* et *B-E*: etiam *A* | nobis. *B-E*: nobis? *A* | 36 morti
tradimur *B-E*: mortificamur *A* | destinatae mactationi *B-E*: mactationis *A* | 37 superamus *B-E*:
superuincimus *A*

34 *suscitatus est* ἐγερθείς ("resurrexit" Vg.).
Cf. on *excitatus* at *Rom.* 4,25.

34 *etiam* καί (omitted by late Vg. and most Vg.
mss., with Vgʷʷ; "et" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ).
The late Vulgate omission is supported by
codd. ℵ* A C 0289ᵛⁱᵈ and a few other mss.,
among which were codd. 2105 and 2816. Eras-
mus follows codd. 2815, 2817, in company
with cod. 1 and most other mss., commencing
with 𝔓²⁷ ⁴⁶ ℵᶜᵒʳʳ B D F G. The versions of Am-
brosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had *et* (though
Ambrosiaster and Manetti omitted the preceding
qui).

34 *ad dexteram* ἐν δεξιᾳ ("in dextera" 1516).
The 1516 rendering attempted greater precision,
using the same wording as Ambrosiaster and
Lefèvre. A similar substitution of *in dext(e)ra*
occurs at *Eph.* 1,20 (1516 only); *Hebr.* 1,3.
However, this had the unwanted connotation
of Christ standing, literally, "in his right hand".
At *Col.* 3,1; *Hebr.* 10,12; 12,2; 1 *Petr.* 3,22, by
contrast, Erasmus substitutes *ad dexteram* for
in dextera.

34 *et* (2nd.) καί ("etiam" 1516 = Vg.). This
alteration is mainly for variety of style, after the
previous insertion of *etiam*. The same change

was made by Lefèvre, whereas Manetti omitted
the word.

34 *intercedit* ἐντυγχάνει ("interpellat" Vg.). See
on vs. 26, above. Manetti put *assistit*, and Lefèvre
postulat.

34 *pro nobis* ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. The reading ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν, in the 1522 edition, was probably just
a typesetting error as it conflicts with the
accompanying Latin version.

35 *Quis* τίς ("Quis ergo" late Vg. and some Vg.
mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the
addition of οὖν in codd. F G. See *Annot.* The
extra word was omitted by Ambrosiaster, Ma-
netti and Lefèvre, and also by some mss. of the
earlier Vulgate.

35 *nos* ἡμᾶς. Again the substitution of ὑμᾶς in
1522, conflicting with the Latin text, is presumed
to be an error of the typesetter.

35 *dilectione* τῆς ἀγάπης ("charitate" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 13,35.

35 *dei* τοῦ θεοῦ ("Christi" Vg.). Erasmus de-
rived this reading from cod. 2817, supported
by cod. ℵ and a few later mss., including 2105.
The Vulgate reflects a text having τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
as in codd. 1, 2815, 2816 and most other mss.,
commencing with C D F G.

35 *Num afflictio* θλῖψις ("Tribulatio" Vg.). Erasmus introduces *num* here, and further substitutes it six times for *an* in the remainder of the verse, to give the sense "surely not" rather than "or". For *afflictio*, see on *Ioh.* 16,21.

35 *Num* (2nd. to 7th.) ἤ ("an" Vg.). See the previous note.

35 *persequutio ... fames ... nuditas ... periculum* διωγμὸς ... λιμὸς ... γυμνότης ... κίνδυνος ("fames ... nuditas ... periculum ... persecutio" late Vg.). The late Vulgate transposition of *persecutio* lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus follows the word-order of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

36 *Quemadmodum* καθώς ("Sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

36 *Propter* ὅτι Ἕνεκα ("Quia propter" Vg.). Erasmus here treats ὅτι as redundant for the purpose of translation. See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.*, together with *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1001 D-F. The version of Manetti had *Quod propter*.

36 *morti tradimur* θανατούμεθα ("mortificamur" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 13.

36 *habiti sumus* ἐλογίσθημεν ("aestimati sumus" Vg.). Erasmus perhaps wished to avoid the ambiguity of *aestimo*, which could mean "value" or "esteem" as well as "consider". At *Rom.* 9,8 he replaces *aestimo* by *recenseo*. Manetti tried *existimati quidem*, and Lefèvre (text, not *Comm.*) *existimati sumus*.

36 *velut* ὡς ("sicut" late Vg.). Erasmus' choice of expression was also exhibited by Ambrosiaster. The same substitution occurs elsewhere in rendering ὡς, ὥσπερ or ὡσεί (at e.g. *Mt.* 6,16; 7,29; 9,36), often for the sake of stylistic variety. See also on *2 Cor.* 2,17. The earlier Vulgate had *vt*, and Manetti *tanquam*.

36 *destinatae mactationi* σφαγῆς ("occisionis" Vg.; "mactationis" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that *mactatio* is better suited to the Hebrew expression underlying *Ps.* 43,22, signifying a ritual or sacrificial killing. However, *mactatio* is not used by classical authors. At *Act.* 8,32 and *Iac.* 5,5, he retains *occisio* for σφαγή. His addition of *destinatae* is an attempt to remove any obscurity caused by the literal rendering, "sheep of slaughter".

37 *Verum* ἀλλ' ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

37 *superamus* ὑπερνικῶμεν ("superuincimus" 1516). Erasmus' 1516 rendering is the same as

that of Augustine in *De Ciuitate Dei* XXII, 23 (*CSEL* 40, ii, p. 641), aiming to convey the Greek verb more exactly: see *Annot.* However, *superuinco* does not occur in classical Latin authors, and hence in 1519 Erasmus returns to the Vulgate wording.

37 *per* διά ("propter" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering would require the Greek preposition to be accompanied by an accusative rather than a genitive, corresponding with the text of codd. D F G, which have διὰ τὸν ἀγαπήσαντα. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

38 *Nam mihi persuasum habeo* πέπεισμαι γάρ ("Certus sum enim" Vg.). The use of *persuasum habeo* ("I am persuaded" or "I am convinced") is closer to the precise meaning of the Greek verb. Erasmus here follows a suggestion of Valla *Annot.* A similar substitution occurs at *Lc.* 20,6 (1519); *Rom.* 15,14; and *persuasum habeo* further replaces *confido* at *Rom.* 14,14; *Phil.* 1,6. In *Annot.* on the present passage, Erasmus suggests using *confido* (as in Ambrosiaster) or *persuasus sum*. For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34.

38 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti made the same change.

38 *potestates* δυνάμεις ("virtutes" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

38 *futura* μέλλοντα ("futura, neque fortitudo" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate inclusion of *fortitudo* as well as *virtutes* lacks Greek ms. support, and seems to represent two different attempts to render δυνάμεις (cf. also the use of the singular, δύναμις, in 𝔓⁴⁶). Some mss. of the Vulgate, by adding *fortitudines* instead of *fortitudo* here, while omitting the previous *neque virtutes*, reflect a Greek text which repositions οὔτε δυνάμεις after μέλλοντα, as found in 𝔓²⁷ᵛⁱᵈ ⁽⁴⁶⁾ ℵ A B C D F G 0285 and a few later mss. Although this sequence has been praised as a *lectio difficilior*, it remains legitimate to suspect that the apparently illogical intrusion of οὔτε δυνάμεις between the two sets of paired expressions, οὔτε ἐνεστῶτα οὔτε μέλλοντα and οὔτε ὕψωμα οὔτε βάθος, was caused by an accident of scribal transmission. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. (cod. 1 adds οὔτε ἐξουσίαι after ἀρχαί). See also *Annot.*, which here resembles Lefèvre *Comm.* The passage was assigned to the *Quae Sint Addita*. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

ὕψωμα, οὔτε βάθος, οὔτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρίσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

9 Ἀλήθειαν λέγω ἐν Χριστῷ, οὐ ψεύδομαι, συμμαρτυρούσης μοι τῆς συνειδήσεώς μου, ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, ²ὅτι λύπη μοί ἐστι μεγάλη, καὶ ἀδιάλειπτος ὀδύνη τῇ καρδίᾳ μου. ³ηὐχόμην γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου, τῶν συγγενῶν μου κατὰ σάρκα, ⁴οἵτινές εἰσιν Ἰσραηλῖται, ὧν ἡ υἱοθεσία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ αἱ διαθῆκαι καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία καὶ ἡ λατρεία καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι, ⁵ὧν οἱ πατέρες, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστός, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς | αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

⁶Οὐχ οἷον δὲ ὅτι ἐκπέπτωκεν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. οὐ γὰρ πάντες

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altitudo, neque profunditas, neque vlla creatura alia poterit nos separare a dilectione dei, quae est in Christo Iesu domino nostro.

9 Veritatem dico in Christo, non mentior, attestante mihi simul conscientia mea, per spiritum sanctum, ²quod dolor mihi sit magnus et assiduus cruciatus cordi meo. ³Optarim enim ego ipse, anathema esse a Christo pro fratribus meis, cognatis meis secundum carnem, ⁴qui sunt Israelitae, quorum est adoptio et gloria et testamenta et legis constitutio et cultus et promissiones, ⁵quorum sunt patres et ii ex quibus est Christus quantum attinet ad carnem, qui est in omnibus deus laudandus in secula, | amen.

⁶Non autem haec loquor quod exciderit sermo dei. Non enim omnes

LB 612

9,1 mihi simul B-E: om. A | per spiritum sanctum B-E: in spiritu sancto A | 2 sit B-E: est A | 3 cognatis meis B-E: qui sunt cognati mei A | 4 Israelitae B-E: israhelitae A | 5 secula A C-E: saecula B | 6 haec loquor quod B-E: tanquam A

39 profunditas βάθος ("profundum" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 Cor. 2,10; Eph. 3,18, though profunditas was not used by classical authors. At the present passage, this change was also made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

39 vlla τις (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ A B C 0285 and most later mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre Comm. preferred aliqua.

39 dilectione τῆς ἀγάπης ("charitate" Vg.). See on Ioh. 13,35.

9,1 Christo Χριστῷ ("Christo Iesu" late Vg.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of Ἰησοῦ in codd. D* F G. The version of Manetti made the same correction as Erasmus.

1 attestante mihi simul συμμαρτυρούσης μοι ("testimonium mihi perhibente" Vg.; "attestante" 1516). See on Rom. 2,15, and Annot., for attestor simul. See also Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB IX, 1002 A. The omission of mihi in 1516 was mistaken. The version of Manetti had contestificante mihi.

1 per spiritum sanctum ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ("in spiritu sancto" 1516 = Vg.). See on Rom. 1,17.

2 quod ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on Ioh. 1,20. Manetti made the same change.

2 dolor λύπη ("tristitia" Vg.). See on Ioh. 16,6.

2 sit magnus ἐστι μεγάλη ("magna est" late Vg.; "est magnus" 1516). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more closely. For the use of the subjunctive, see on Ioh. 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre both had est magna, as in some copies of the Vulgate (though in Manetti's version, the first hand of Pal. Lat. 45 seems to have read

est et magna). In Ambrosiaster and mss. of the earlier Vulgate, *est* is positioned before *mihi*.

2 *assiduus* ἀδιάλειπτος ("continuus" Vg.). This change was not strictly necessary, though Erasmus may have wished to avoid the alliterative effect of *continuus cruciatus cordi*.

2 *cruciatus* ὀδύνη ("dolor" Vg.). The word *cruciatus*, meaning anguish or torment, is somewhat more emphatic than *dolor* ("sorrow" or "grief"). Cf. the use of *crucior* for ὀδυνάομαι at *Lc.* 16,24-5. Erasmus retains *dolor* for ὀδύνη at 1 *Tim.* 6,10. In the present verse, as he wanted to use *dolor* for λύπη, he now needed to select a different rendering for ὀδύνη. Elsewhere he uses *cruciatus* for βάσανος, βασανισμός, κόλασις, and πάθημα.

3 *Optarim* ηὐχόμην ("Optabam" Vg.). This substitution of the subjunctive is for theological reasons, to avoid the suggestion that the apostle actually wished to be accursed: see *Annot.* In Manetti, the rendering was *Orabam*, while Lefèvre had *Optaui*.

3 *cognatis meis* τῶν συγγενῶν μου ("qui sunt cognati mei" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek construction. In cod. 2815, τῶν is repeated after μου, in company with D^corr and a few later mss. (D* F G have τῶν συγγενῶν τῶν, omitting μου). Ambrosiaster had just *cognatis*, while Lefèvre put *consanguineis meis*.

4 *est adoptio* ἡ υἱοθεσία ("adoptio est filiorum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,15, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre had just *adoptio*, omitting *est*.

4 *testamenta* αἱ διαθῆκαι ("testamentum" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate use of the singular corresponds with ἡ διαθήκη in 𝔓^46 B D F G. The latter variant, substituting singular for plural may have been influenced by the adjacent singular nouns, υἱοθεσία ... δόξα ... νομοθεσία ... λατρεία. The same explanation could also account for the substitution of ἐπαγγελία for ἐπαγγελίαι in a few mss., later in the sentence. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ C 0285 and most later mss. See *Annot.* His use of the plural agreed with some mss. of the earlier Vulgate, and also with Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

4 *legis constitutio* ἡ νομοθεσία ("legislatio" Vg.). The word *legislatio* did not occur in classical Latin. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *legis positio*.

4 *cultus* ἡ λατρεία ("obsequium" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,2, and *Annot.*, together with *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1002 A-B. Cf. also Valla *Annot.*, distinguishing between *obsequium* and *latria*. Erasmus follows the wording of Lefèvre, while Manetti had *obsequium cultus*.

4 *promissiones* αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι ("promissa" Vg.). In *Annot.*, lemma, Erasmus cites the Vulgate reading as *promissio*, in the singular, which more closely corresponded with the substitution of ἡ ἐπαγγελία in cod. D, or just ἐπαγγελία in codd. F (G). See above, regarding the similar substitution of διαθήκη for διαθῆκαι in a few mss. The use of *promissiones* produces consistency with vss. 8-9, below. Cf. on *Act.* 1,4, where Erasmus prefers *promissum*, and see further on *Rom.* 4,20; *Gal.* 3,14. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

5 *quorum sunt* ὧν ("quorum" Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb, for the sake of clarity. Lefèvre also added *sunt*, but with the word-order *patres etiam sunt*.

5 *et ii* καί (late Vg. omits). The late Vulgate corresponds with the omission of καί in codd. F G. The version of Erasmus adds *ii*, treating ἐξ ὧν as introducing a new category, separate from "the fathers". Manetti put just *et*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

5 *quantum attinet ad carnem* τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ("secundum carnem" Vg.). See on *quantum ad me attinet* for τὸ κατ' ἐμέ at *Rom.* 1,15 (1516), and *Annot.*

5 *in omnibus* ἐπὶ πάντων ("super omnia" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus discusses whether πάντων is neuter ("all things") or masculine ("all men"): by using the ablative, he retains the ambiguity of gender. In 1516 *Annot.*, he even cites *in omnibus* as the Vulgate wording. For other instances of the avoidance of *super*, see on vs. 28, below. Manetti likewise had *in omnibus*.

5 *laudandus* εὐλογητός ("benedictus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,25.

6 *haec loquor quod* οἷον ... ὅτι ("quod" Vg.; "tanquam" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *velut*. Valla *Annot.* proposed *tale quod*, while Manetti began the sentence with *Non est autem possibile quod*. Lefèvre *Comm.* gave the sense as *sic ... quod*. These were all different attempts at expanding the abbreviated Greek form of expression.

6 *sermo* ὁ λόγος ("verbum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1.

οἱ ἐξ Ἰσραήλ, οὗτοι Ἰσραήλ· ⁷οὐδ' ὅτι εἰσὶ σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ, πάντες τέκνα· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεταί σοι σπέρμα, ⁸τοῦτ' ἔστιν, οὐ τὰ τέκνα τῆς σαρκός, ταῦτα τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, λογίζεται εἰς σπέρμα. ⁹ἐπαγγελίας γὰρ ὁ λόγος οὗτος, Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐλεύσομαι, καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάρρᾳ υἱός. ¹⁰οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥεβέκκα ἐξ ἑνὸς κοίτην ἔχουσα Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν. ¹¹μήπω γὰρ γεννηθέντων, μηδὲ πραξάντων τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν, ἵνα ἡ κατ' ἐκλογήν, τοῦ θεοῦ πρόθεσις μένῃ· ¹²οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦν|τος, ἐρρήθη αὐτῇ ὅτι Ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι. ¹³καθὼς γέγραπται, Τὸν Ἰακὼβ ἠγάπησα, τὸν δὲ Ἡσαῦ ἐμίσησα.

LB 613

qui sunt ex Israel, sunt Israel: ⁷neque quia sunt semen Abrahae, statim omnes filii: sed per Isaac nominabitur tibi semen: ⁸hoc est, non qui filii carnis, ii filii dei: sed qui sunt filii promissionis, recensentur in semen. ⁹Promissionis enim sermo hic est: In tempore hoc veniam, et erit Sarae filius. ¹⁰Non solum autem hoc, sed et Rebecca ex vno conceperat Isaac patre nostro: ¹¹nondum enim natis pueris: quum neque boni quippiam fecissent neque mali, vt secundum electionem, propositum dei maneret: ¹²non ex operibus, sed ex vocante, | dictum est illi: Maior seruiet minori. ¹³Sicut scriptum est: Iacob dilexi, Esau vero odio habui.

LB 614

6 *alt.* sunt *B-E*: ii sunt *A* | 7 quia *B-E*: quod *A* | statim *B-E*: *om. A* | per *B-E*: in *A* | 8 ii *C-E*: hii *A B* | recensentur *B-E*: recensebuntur *A* | 9 Sarae *B-E*: Sarai *A*

6 *qui sunt ex Israel* οἱ ἐξ Ἰσραήλ ("qui ex Israel sunt" late Vg.; "qui ex circuncisione sunt Israel" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column has the same wording as the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514. In *Annot.*, Erasmus comments that this longer reading was not supported by "the Greeks". The earlier Vulgate omits *sunt*. Erasmus' word-order follows that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

6 *sunt Israel* οὗτοι Ἰσραήλ ("hi sunt Isra(h)elitae" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgᵂᵂ; "hi sunt Israel" other Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ; "ii sunt Israel" 1516). The use of *Israelitae* in part of the Vulgate tradition corresponds with the substitution of Ἰσραηλεῖται for Ἰσραήλ in codd. D* F G. The omission of a pronoun in the 1519 rendering was less literal. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition. Manetti put *hi Israelite sunt.*

7 *quia* ὅτι ("qui" late Vg.; "quod" 1516). Erasmus' 1519 version agrees with the wording of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. See *Annot.*

7 *sunt semen* εἰσὶ σπέρμα ("semen sunt" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order. Lefèvre (text) made the same change. Manetti's word-order was *semen Abrae sunt.*

7 *statim* (omitted in 1516 = Vg.). By adding *statim*, Erasmus makes a clearer distinction between the premise (*quia ... Abrahae*) and the inference (*omnes filii*).

7 *per* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Inconsistently, at *Hebr.* 11,18, where the same O.T. passage is quoted (*Gn.* 21,12), Erasmus retains *in Isaac.*

7 *nominabitur* κληθήσεται ("vocabitur" Vg.). In using *nomino* ("name", rather than "call"), Erasmus departs from the literal sense. The only other passage where he uses *nomino* for καλέω is at 1 *Ioh.* 3,1, following the Vulgate. At *Hebr.* 11,18, an exactly parallel passage, he retains *vocabitur*. See the previous note.

8 *hoc est* τοῦτ' ἔστιν ("id est" Vg.). A similar substitution, for the sake of greater precision, occurs at *Rom.* 10,6; *Hebr.* 2,14; 7,5; 9,11; 10,20; 11,16; 13,15; 1 *Petr.* 3,20. Manetti made the same change.

8 *ii* ταῦτα ("hi" Vg.; "hii" 1516-19). In this instance, Erasmus substitutes *ii* because it resumes from an earlier *qui*. See on *Gal.* 2,18. The pronoun *ii* was also adopted in Lefèvre *Comm.*

8 *qui sunt filii* τὰ τέκνα ("qui filii sunt" Vg.). Erasmus preferred not to separate *filii* from *promissionis*. Ambrosiaster and Manetti omitted *sunt*.

8 *recensentur* λογίζεται ("aestimantur" Vg.; "recensebuntur" 1516). See on *Rom.* 8,36. Erasmus uses *recenseo* ("count") only once elsewhere, in rendering γενεαλογέομαι at *Hebr.* 7,6. Lefèvre had *reputantur*. One of the copyists of Manetti's translation (*Pal. Lat.* 45) had *extimantur*.

8 *in semen* εἰς σπέρμα ("in semine" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate on this point. Manetti's version (as transcribed by the first hand of *Urb. Lat.* 6) anticipated this change.

9 *sermo hic* ὁ λόγος οὗτος ("verbum hoc" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre had *sermo iste*, and Manetti *verbum istud*.

9 *In tempore hoc* Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ("Secundum hoc tempus" Vg.). For κατὰ καιρόν, see on *Rom.* 5,6, where Erasmus prefers to use *iuxta*. See also *Annot.*

10 *hoc* ("illa" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of the feminine pronoun refers more directly to Sarah, mentioned in vs. 9. See *Annot.* In Manetti's rendering, the sentence began with *Non solum autem*, as in the earlier Vulgate, omitting *illa*. Lefèvre began with *Non solum id quidem*.

10 *conceperat* κοίτην ἔχουσα ("concubitu habens" Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot.*, following

Valla *Annot.*, the use of the ablative by most mss. of the Vulgate appears to be a mistake for *concubitum*. By substituting *conceperat*, Erasmus prevents repetition of the same error. He listed this passage among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1003 C-1004 A. The version of Manetti substituted *concubitum habens* (which is also the reading adopted by Vg$^{st\ ww}$), and Lefèvre *quae cubile habebat*.

10 *patre nostro* τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ("patris nostri" late Vg.). By using the genitive case, the late Vulgate makes it appear that Isaac is unconnected with the previous phrase *ex vno*. By using the ablative in both places, Erasmus removes this error, and restores the earlier Vulgate reading. The same correction was made by Manetti (though the first hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45 seems to have read *patris nostri*, as well as inserting *geminos filios* after *habens*).

11 *nondum enim natis pueris* μήπω γὰρ γεννηθέντων ("cum enim nondum nati fuissent" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the ablative absolute provides a closer equivalent for the Greek construction, while adding *pueris* for the sake of clarity.

11 *quum neque boni quippiam fecissent neque mali* μηδὲ πραξάντων τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν ("aut aliquid boni egissent aut mali" late Vg.). Erasmus' construction has a more emphatic negative sense, compared with the Vulgate. For *quippiam*, see on *Ioh.* 6,7; for *facio* as a rendering of πράσσω, see on *Act.* 15,29. Lefèvre put *neque egissent quicquam bonum aut malum*, while Manetti contented himself with moving *egissent* to the end of the clause.

11 *propositum dei* τοῦ θεοῦ πρόθεσις. The word-order of Erasmus' Greek text, which conflicted with the Latin, followed cod. 2815. His Latin word-order, which followed the Vulgate, was closer to πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ, as in cod. 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss.

12 *illi* αὐτῇ ὅτι ("ei: quia" Vg.). The change of pronoun points to a more remote indirect object, referring back to Rebecca in vs. 10. For the omission of *quia*, see on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti put *ei quod*.

13 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). In the present context, the more strongly adversative *autem*, of the Vulgate, seems more appropriate.

¹⁴Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; μὴ ἀδικία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ; μὴ γένοιτο. ¹⁵τῷ γὰρ Μωσῇ λέγει, Ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, καὶ οἰκτειρήσω ὃν ἂν οἰκτείρω. ¹⁶ἄρα οὖν οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος, οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ. ¹⁷λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ τῷ Φαραὼ ὅτι Εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε, ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου, καὶ ὅπως διαγγελῇ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ. ¹⁸Ἄρα οὖν ὃν θέλει ἐλεεῖ, ὃν δὲ θέλει σκληρύνει. ¹⁹ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι, Τί ἔτι μέμφεται; τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκε; ²⁰μενοῦνγε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ τίς εἶ, ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ; μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι, τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως; ²¹ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν

¹⁴Quid igitur dicemus? Num iniustitia est apud deum? Absit. ¹⁵Nam Mosi dicit: Miserebor cuiuscunque misereor, et commiserabor quencunque commiseror. ¹⁶Itaque non volentis est, neque currentis: sed miserentis dei. ¹⁷Dicit enim scriptura Pharaoni: In hoc ipsum te excitaui, vt ostendam in te potentiam meam, et vt annuncietur nomen meum in tota terra. ¹⁸Itaque cui vult, miseretur: quem autem vult, indurat. ¹⁹Dices ergo mihi: Quid adhuc conqueritur? Nam voluntati illius quis restitit? ²⁰Atqui, o homo, tu quis es, qui ex aduerso respondes deo? Num dicet figmentum, ei qui finxit, cur me finxisti ad hunc modum? ²¹An non habet potestatem figulus luti, vt ex eadem massa fingat aliud quidem

9,15 τω *B-E*: το *A* | 16 θέλοντος *A B D E*: τελοντος *C*

20 finxit *B-E*: se finxit *A* | hunc *A B D E*: huc *C*

14 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

14 *Num* μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4.

14 *iniustitia est* ἀδικία ("iniquitas" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,29. Erasmus adds a verb, to complete the construction. Lefèvre also had *iniustitia*, but without adding *est*. Manetti put *iniquitas est*.

15 *Nam Mosi* τῷ γὰρ Μωσῇ ("Mosi enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34 for *nam*. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815 and 2816, the spelling is μωϋσῇ, and in cod. 2817 μωσεῖ. Erasmus here makes an arbitrary correction, which happens to be supported by many other mss.

15 *dicit* λέγει ("dixit" Vg. 1527). The use of the perfect tense in the 1527 Vulgate column, which follows the 1514 Froben Vulgate, is unsupported by Greek mss. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre (both columns) had *dicit*.

15 *cuiuscunque ... quencunque* ὃν ἂν ... ὃν ἂν ("cui ... cui" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "cuius ... cuius" other Vg. mss.). Cf. on *Ioh.* 13,20.

Erasmus here follows a suggestion of Valla *Annot.* In his citation of the text in 1516 *Annot.*, he incorrectly omits the first ἂν: the same omission occurs in cod. 1, at the end of a line of text (the other Basle mss. all contain this instance of ἂν). Lefèvre *Comm.* similarly proposed *cuiuscunque ... cuicunque*. Manetti had *cuius vtique ... cuius*.

15 *misereor* ἐλεῶ ("misertus sum" late Vg.). Again the late Vulgate incorrectly substitutes the perfect tense, without justification from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus, restoring the earlier Vulgate reading. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti put *miserebor*.

15 *commiserabor ... commiseror* οἰκτειρήσω ... οἰκτείρω ("misericordiam praestabo ... miserebor" Vg.). Erasmus' choice of *commiseror* reflected the Greek nuance, of compassion rather than mercy. He elsewhere uses *commiseror* only at *Iac.* 5,11 (1519), in rendering οἰκτίρμων. In *Annot.*, and also in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*,

LB IX, 1004 A-B, Erasmus objected to the Vulgate use of two different renderings of the same Greek verb, in this sentence. He further noted the inaccuracy of the Vulgate in using the future tense, *miserebor*, to translate οἰκτείρω. The same point had been made by Lefèvre, who put *Miserabor ... miseror* in his translation, and *clemens ero ... clemens sum* in *Comm.* (which received Erasmus' approval in 1516 *Annot.*).

16 *Itaque* ἄρα οὖν ("Igitur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,18.

16 *non volentis est ... sed miserentis* οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος ... ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος ("non volentis ... sed miserentis est" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vgᵚᵚ; "non volentis ... sed miserentis" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). By moving *est* to an earlier position, Erasmus makes a clearer contrast between the will of man and the mercy of God. For other transpositions of *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. Cf. *Annot.* In Manetti's version, *neque* was substituted for *non*.

17 *In hoc* ὅτι Εἰς αὐτό ("Quia in hoc" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti put *quod* for *quia*. Lefèvre had *Quia ad hoc.*

17 *te excitaui* ἐξήγειρά σε ("excitaui te" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is more literal. Ambrosiaster offered both *te seruaui* and *te suscitaui.*

17 *potentiam* τὴν δύναμιν ("virtutem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

17 *tota* πάσῃ ("vniuersa" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,34.

18 *Itaque* Ἄρα οὖν ("Ergo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,18. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *Igitur*.

18 *cui* ὅν ("cuius" Vg.). Some Vulgate mss., and also Ambrosiaster, have *cui* here, as used by Erasmus. At other passages, he retains the genitive case with *misereor*.

18 *quem autem* ὅν δέ ("et quem" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more literal rendering of δέ.

19 *Dices* ἐρεῖς ("Dicis" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate in using the future tense. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre (text).

19 *ergo* οὖν ("itaque" Vg.). In this chapter, Erasmus reserves *itaque* for the more emphatic ἄρα οὖν, in vss. 16 and 18. Manetti made the same change in the present verse.

19 *conqueritur* μέμφεται ("queritur" Vg.). One motive for this change was to prevent confusion between *queror* ("complain") and the passive of

quaero ("ask"): see *Annot.* Here, Erasmus follows a suggestion of Valla *Annot.*, which was also adopted by Manetti. Lefèvre put *accusatur*.

19 *Nam voluntati* τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι ("Voluntati enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

19 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus' uses the more emphatic pronoun to refer back to God. Manetti adopted the more ambiguous *suae*.

19 *restitit* ἀνθέστηκε ("resistit" Vg.). Erasmus renders the perfect tense more accurately.

20 *Atqui* μενοῦνγε (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ D* F G. Some early mss. place μενοῦνγε after ἄνθρωπε, as in codd. ℵ* A (B). Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti put *Ergo*, and Lefèvre *Quinimmo*.

20 *quis* τίς ("qui" Vg. 1527). The incorrect spelling of the 1527 Vulgate column corresponds with the use of *q̄* in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514.

20 *qui ex aduerso respondes deo* ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ ("qui respondeas deo" Vg.). Erasmus conveys the added meaning of the Greek prefix ἀντ-. See *Annot.* The Vulgate use of *respondeas* is further discussed in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1004 C. The version of Manetti put *qui respondeas contra deum*, and Lefèvre *qui contra respondeas deo*.

20 *Num* μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4.

20 *dicet* ἐρεῖ ("dicit" Vg.). As in the previous verse, Erasmus renders the future tense more accurately, following a recommendation from Valla *Annot.*

20 *qui finxit* τῷ πλάσαντι ("qui se finxit" 1516 = Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus describes the Vulgate use of *se* as superfluous. The same correction had been made by Lefèvre. The point was also discussed by Valla *Annot.*, where preference was given to the use of *ipsum*, *illud*, or *id*.

20 *cur* τί ("quid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

20 *finxisti* ἐποίησας ("fecisti" Vg.). Erasmus, less accurately, treats πλάσσω and ποιέω as synonymous in this passage.

20 *ad hunc modum* οὕτως ("sic" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes this longer phrase also at *Mt.* 6,9; *2 Petr.* 1,11.

21 *vt ... fingat* ποιῆσαι ("facere" Vg.). After *potestas*, Erasmus usually avoids the infinitive,

LB 615

εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος, ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμί-
αν; ²²εἰ δὲ θέλων ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείξα-
σθαι τὴν ὀργήν, | καὶ γνωρίσαι τὸ
δυνατὸν αὐτοῦ, ἤνεγκεν ἐν πολλῇ
μακροθυμίᾳ σκεύη ὀργῆς κατηρτι-
σμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν, ²³καὶ ἵνα γνω-
ρίσῃ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ,
ἐπὶ σκεύη ἐλέους ἃ προητοίμασεν
εἰς δόξαν· ²⁴οὓς καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς,
οὐ μόνον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐξ ἐθνῶν. ²⁵ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὡσὴ
λέγει, Καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου,
λαόν μου, καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημέ-
νην, ἠγαπημένην· ²⁶καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ
τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρήθη αὐτοῖς, Οὐ λαός
μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θεοῦ
ζῶντος.
²⁷Ἡσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσρα-
ήλ, Ἐὰν ᾖ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσ-
ραήλ, ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ
κατάλειμμα σωθήσεται. ²⁸λόγον γὰρ
συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ,

vas in honorem, aliud vero in igno-
miniam? ²²Quod si deus volens |
ostendere iram, et notam facere
potentiam suam, tulit multa animi
lenitate vasa irae, apparata in interi-
tum, ²³et vt notas faceret diuitias
gloriae suae, erga vasa misericor-
diae quae praeparauerat in gloriam:
²⁴quos et vocauit, nimirum nos,
non solum ex Iudaeis, verum etiam
ex gentibus, ²⁵quemadmodum et
Osee dicit: Vocabo populum qui
meus non erat, populum meum, et
eam quae dilecta non erat, dilectam:
²⁶et erit in loco vbi dictum fuerat
eis, Non populus meus vos: ibi
vocabuntur filii dei viuentis.
²⁷Hesaias autem clamat super
Israel: Si fuerit numerus filiorum
Israel, vt arena maris, reliquiae sal-
uae erunt. ²⁸Sermonem enim per-
ficiens et abbreuians cum iustitia,

LB 616

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22 κατηρτισμενα *A-C E*: κατηρτιμενα *D* | 24 και εξ *A C-E*: *om. B* | 28 δικαιο-
συνη *A B D E*: δικαιουνη *C*

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22 multa *B-E*: in multa *A* | animi lenitate *B-E*: longanimitate *A* | 23 erga *B-E*: in *A* |
24 nimirum *B-E*: *om. A* | 27 Hesaias *E*: Esaias *A-D* | 28 cum *B-E*: in *A*

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e.g. replacing it with a gerund at *Lc.* 12,5 (1519);
Ioh. 5,27; 19,10; *Ap. Ioh.* 6,8; 13,5 (1519). For
fingo, see on vs. 20, above.

21 *ignominiam* ἀτιμίαν ("contumeliam" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 1,24 for a similar change. See also
Annot. The preference of Valla *Annot.* was for
dedecus, while Lefèvre put *inhonorationem*.

22 *tulit* ἤνεγκεν ("sustinuit" Vg.). Erasmus
made this change so as to allow the Greek word
to be understood as meaning either "brought"
or "endured". See *Annot.* The rendering of
Lefèvre was *tolerauit*.

22 *multa* ἐν πολλῇ ("in multa" 1516 = Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti made the same
change.

22 *animi lenitate* μακροθυμίᾳ ("patientia"
Vg.; "longanimitate" 1516). See on *Rom.* 2,4.

Erasmus' initial choice of *longanimitate* was
anticipated by Manetti.

22 *apparata* κατηρτισμένα ("apta" late Vg.).
The late Vulgate use of an adjective was less
appropriate for rendering the Greek partici-
ple. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggested either *apta-
ta* or *parata*. In *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*,
LB IX, 1004 C-D, he also recommended *prae-
parata*. He elsewhere uses *apparatus* in rendering
ἐξηρτισμένος at 2 *Tim.* 3,17. In Valla *Annot.*,
Manetti and Lefèvre, the use of *aptata* was
preferred, as in the earlier Vulgate.

23 *et* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is
supported by few mss. other than cod. B. The
insertion of *et* was also made by Ambrosiaster,
Manetti and Lefèvre.

23 *notas faceret* γνωρίσῃ ("ostenderet" Vg.).
This change produces consistency with the

Vulgate rendering of γνωρίζω in the previous verse. Elsewhere Erasmus sometimes replaces *notum facio* with expressions such as *certiorem reddo* or *expono*, e.g. at *Col.* 4,7, 9, with a degree of stylistic freedom which he rejects at the present passage. Here, he has the same rendering as Lefèvre. Manetti put *notificaret*.

23 *erga* ἐπί ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25.

23 *praeparauerat* προητοίμασεν ("praeparauit" Vg.). Erasmus improves the sequence of tenses. For his use of the pluperfect, see on *Ioh.* 1,19.

23 *gloriam* δόξαν. In *Annot.*, Erasmus reports a Greek variant adding αὐτοῦ, as found in codd. 1, 2816^corr and a few other late mss., but he objected to this as being repetitious.

24 *nimirum nos* ἡμᾶς ("nos" 1516 = Vg. mss.; omitted in Vg. 1527). The omission of *nos* by the 1527 Vulgate column was also made in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514. In *Annot.*, Erasmus indicates the omission of ἡμᾶς from some Greek mss., though his Basle mss. all contain this word. The addition of *nimirum* makes a smoother connection with what precedes. Lefèvre *Comm.* began the clause with *nos (inquam) quos et vocauit*.

24 *verum* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24.

24 καί ἐξ. The omission of these two words in 1519 seems to have been accidental, with no accompanying change in the Latin rendering. All Erasmus' Basle mss., as well as cod. 3, contain the words.

25 *quemadmodum* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. This change follows the rendering of Lefèvre. Manetti had *vt*.

25 *Osee* ἐν τῷ Ὠσηέ ("in Osee" Vg.). Erasmus' omission of *in* may have been accidental, as it misleadingly makes *Osee* (an indeclinable name) appear to be the subject of *dicit*. The Vulgate rendering is more literal.

25 *populum qui meus non erat, populum meum* τὸν οὐ λαόν μου, λαόν μου ("non plebem meam, plebem meam" Vg.). By employing a subordinate clause, Erasmus makes the passage more intelligible. For the substitution of *populum* for *plebem*, see on *Act.* 2,47. Lefèvre had *non populum meum, populum meum*.

25 *et eam quae dilecta non erat, dilectam* καί τήν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην, ἠγαπημένην ("et non dilectam, dilectam: et non misericordiam consecutam, misericordiam consecutam" late Vg.). For Erasmus' substitution of a subordinate clause,

see the previous note. The Vulgate's six additional words concerning *misericordia* (apparently adapted from 1 *Petr.* 2,10) lack Greek support. See *Annot.*, and also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, *ASD* IX, 4, pp. 225-6, ll. 624-641, and *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, pp. 170-2, ll. 121-151. The passage is listed among the *Quae Sint Addita*. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had just *et non dilectam: dilectam*.

26 *dictum fuerat* ἐρρήθη ("dictum est" Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for the pluperfect, see on *Ioh.* 1,19.

26 *populus meus* λαός μου ("plebs mea" Vg.). See on vs. 25. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same substitution.

26 *viuentis* ζῶντος ("viui" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,3, and *Annot.* This change was also made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

27 *super* ὑπέρ ("pro" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,5, and *Annot.*

27 *vt* ὡς ("tanquam" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 12,31, 33. Erasmus quite often retains *tanquam* for ὡς, but no doubt considered it less suitable here, for the purpose of a numerical comparison.

27 *saluae erunt* σωθήσεται ("saluae fient" Vg.). The verb *fio* is similarly replaced by *sum* at *Mc.* 10,26; *Rom.* 11,26 (both in 1519). Elsewhere Erasmus sometimes retains *saluus fio*, or even substitutes it for *saluus sum*, e.g. at *Mt.* 10,22. Manetti put *saluabuntur*.

28 *Sermonem* λόγον ("Verbum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1, and *Annot.*, where Erasmus follows Valla *Annot.* in complaining of the confusion caused by the juxtaposition of *verbum* (neuter accusative) and *consummans* (masculine nominative). Lefèvre made the same change.

28 *perficiens* συντελῶν ("consummans" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in rendering τελέω at *Rom.* 2,27 (1516 only), ἐπιτελέω at *Rom.* 15,28, ἀποτελέω at *Iac.* 1,15, and τελειόω at *Iac.* 2,22. At other passages, *consummo* is retained. See on 2 *Cor.* 8,6, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre had *qui ... consumat*.

28 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus in this way avoids the possibility of *in iustitia* being confused with *iniustitia*: see on *Act.* 17,31, and also on *Rom.* 1,4.

28 *iustitia* δικαιοσύνη ("aequitate" Vg.). See on *Act.* 17,31. Manetti and Lefèvre both made this change.

ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον ποιήσει κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ²⁹ καὶ καθὼς προείρηκεν Ἡσαΐας, Εἰ μὴ κύριος Σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν, καὶ ὡς Γόμορρα ἂν ὡμοιώθημεν.

³⁰ Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ὅτι ἔθνη τὰ μὴ διώκοντα δικαιοσύνην, κατέλαβε δικαιοσύνην, δικαιοσύνην δὲ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως. ³¹ Ἰσραὴλ δὲ διώκων νόμον δικαιοσύνης, εἰς νόμον δικαιοσύνης οὐκ ἔφθασε. ³² διατί; ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ ἔργων νόμου. προσέκοψαν γὰρ τῷ | λίθῳ τοῦ προσκόμματος. ³³ καθὼς γέγραπται, Ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν λίθον προσκόμματος, καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου· καὶ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ, οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.

LB 617

quoniam sermonem abbreuiatum faciet dominus in terra. ²⁹ Et quemadmodum prius dixit Hesaias: Nisi dominus Sabaoth reliquisset nobis semen, vt Sodoma facti fuissemus, et Gomorrhae assimilati fuissemus.

³⁰ Quid igitur dicemus? Quod gentes quae non sectabantur iustitiam, apprehenderunt iustitiam: iustitiam autem eam quae est ex fide. ³¹ Contra, Israel, qui sectabatur legem iustitiae, ad legem iustitiae non peruenit. ³² Propter quid? Quia non ex fide, sed tanquam ex operibus legis. Impegerunt enim in lapi | dem offendiculi. ³³ Quemadmodum scriptum est: Ecce pono in Sion lapidem offendiculi, et petram offensionis: et omnis qui credit in eo, non pudefiet.

LB 618

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28 sermonem *B-E*: verbum *A* | 29 prius dixit *B-E*: praedixit *A* | Hesaias *E*: Esaias *A-D* | Gomorrhae *D E*: Gomorrae *A-C* | 32 tanquam *B-E*: *om. A*

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28 *quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). Erasmus no doubt wished to ensure that this clause was understood in a causal sense, rather than as an indirect statement: see on *Rom.* 8,21. The same change was made by Manetti.

28 *sermonem* λόγον ("verbum" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1. Lefèvre had already made this substitution.

28 *abbreuiatum* συντετμημένον ("breuiatum" Vg.). This change was made in order to achieve consistency with the Vulgate use of *abbreuio* earlier in the sentence, although this verb does not occur in classical usage. A similar substitution occurs in rendering κολοβόω at *Mc.* 13,20. At *Mt.* 24,22 (1519), Erasmus preferred to use *decurto*. Manetti and Lefèvre both made the same change.

28 *in terra* ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ("super terram" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 16,19; 23,9 (1522); *Mc.* 4,1; *Eph.* 6,3; *Hebr.* 8,4; 11,13; 12,25, and also in rendering ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν at *Mt.* 15,35. At eighteen other passages Erasmus

retains *super terram*, but nowhere in the Pauline Epistles.

29 *quemadmodum* καθὼς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt*.

29 *prius dixit* προείρηκεν ("praedixit" 1516 = Vg.). This change is comparable with the replacement of *praedico* by *ante dico* at 2 *Cor.* 7,3; *Gal.* 1,9 (1519); 1 *Thess.* 4,6; and by *antehac dico* at *Iud.* 17. Elsewhere Erasmus usually retains *praedico*. In the present context, perhaps he wished to avoid the word being taken as the equivalent of "prophesied" or "preached".

29 *vt* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21.

29 *facti fuissemus* ἐγενήθημεν ("facti essemus" Vg.). Erasmus produces consistency with the use of *fuissemus* later in the sentence. Ambrosiaster had just *fuissemus* here.

29 *Gomorrhae assimilati fuissemus* ὡς Γόμορρα ἂν ὡμοιώθημεν ("sicut Gomorra similes fuissemus" Vg.). By using *assimilati*, Erasmus more

accurately conveys the sense "we were made to be like" (or "were likened to") rather than "we were like". At *Mt.* 6,8, by contrast, he replaces *assimilari* by *efficiamini similes*. Elsewhere he substitutes *assimilo* at *Mt.* 7,26; 11,16; 13,24, following the example of the Vulgate at *Mt.* 7,24; 18,23; *Mc.* 4,30. He retains *similis* with various verbs at *Mt.* 22,2; 25,1; *Lc.* 7,31; 13,18, 20. Manetti and Lefèvre followed the Vulgate, except that Manetti added *vtique* after *Gomorra*, and Lefèvre put *essemus* for *fuissemus*.

30 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

30 *eam quae est* τήν ("quae ... est" Vg.). Erasmus makes it clearer that the "righteousness from faith" was a distinct form of righteousness, rather than a definition of righteousness in general. Lefèvre just had *quae*, omitting *est*.

31 *Contra, Israel* Ἰσραὴλ δέ ("Israel vero" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,20. Erasmus wanted to convey a more strongly adversative sense for δέ. Manetti and Lefèvre had *Israel autem*.

31 *qui sectabantur* διώκων ("sectando" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus' rendering is consistent with the use of *sectabantur* in the previous verse. Manetti used *sequebantur* in vs. 30, but *persequens* here in vs. 31. Lefèvre put *sectans*, as in some mss. of the earlier Vulgate.

31 *ad* εἰς ("in" Vg.). A similar substitution of *ad*, after *peruenio*, occurs at *Mt.* 12,28, but Erasmus uses *in* after this verb at *Act.* 27,8; 1 *Thess.* 2,16.

32 *Propter quid* διατί ("Quare" Vg.). A comparable change occurs in rendering διατί at 2 *Cor.* 11,11, where Erasmus replaces *quare* with *quapropter*. The only other N.T. passage where he uses *propter quid* is in rendering χάριν τίνος at 1 *Ioh.* 3,12, following the Vulgate.

32 *tanquam* ὡς ("quasi" Vg.; 1516 Lat. omits). The same substitution occurs at *Mc.* 1,22; 6,15 (1519); 1 *Cor.* 3,15; 2 *Cor.* 3,5; 9,5; *Gal.* 3,16; *Col.* 3,22; *Hebr.* 13,17; 1 *Petr.* 1,14 (1519); 2,13, 16. At other passages, *quasi* is quite often retained. See on *Ioh.* 1,32, and *Annot.*

32 *legis* νόμου (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. א* A B F G and a few later mss. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with א^{corr} D and most later mss. See *Annot.* The question here is whether νόμου is a later harmonisation influenced by Pauline usage of the

phrase ἐξ ἔργων νόμου at several other passages (at *Rom.* 3,20; *Gal.* 2,16, etc.), or whether an early scribe deliberately or accidentally omitted the word. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

32 *Impegerunt* προσέκοψαν ("Offenderunt" Vg.). A similar change occurs at *Mt.* 4,6; *Rom.* 14,21; 1 *Petr.* 2,8, though Erasmus retained *offendo* at *Lc.* 4,11 in a similar context. In *Annot.* on *Rom.* 14,21, he observes that *offendo* is ambiguous, as it can mean "cause offence", which is the opposite of the meaning required by the context ("be caused to stumble"). For this double sense, see also Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 286, ll. 204-206 (and cf. Valla *Elegantiae*, V, 2). At the present passage, Lefèvre put *repulerunt*.

32 *offendiculi* τοῦ προσκόμματος ("offensionis" Vg.). A similar change occurs in vs. 33, in conformity with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 14,13, 20; 1 *Cor.* 8,9. Erasmus uses *offensio* to render σκάνδαλον in vs. 33, and προσκοπή at 2 *Cor.* 6,3.

33 *Quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

33 *offendiculi* προσκόμματος ("offensionis" Vg.). See on vs. 32.

33 *offensionis* σκανδάλου ("scandali" Vg.). Erasmus objected to *scandalum*, as it did not occur in classical Latin usage, and was simply a transliteration of the Greek word. In 1516, he replaced *scandalum* with *obstaculum* at *Mt.* 16,23; with *offendiculum* at *Mt.* 18,7 (part); *Rom.* 11,9; 1 *Cor.* 1,23; 1 *Ioh.* 2,10; with *lapsus occasio* at *Rom.* 14,13; and with *in quem impingitur* at 1 *Petr.* 2,8. Then in 1519, he replaced further instances of *scandalum* with *offendiculum* at *Mt.* 13,41; 18,7 (part); *Lc.* 17,1; *Gal.* 5,11, in keeping with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 16,17. By 1522, Erasmus retains *scandalum* only at *Ap. Ioh.* 2,14, as this book was less thoroughly revised. See on *scandalizo* at *Ioh.* 6,61, and *Annot.* on *Mt.* 16,23 and also *Annot.* on the present passage.

33 *in eo* ἐπ' αὐτῷ ("in eum" Vg.). Erasmus here distinguishes ἐπ' αὐτῷ from the more usual ἐπ' αὐτόν or εἰς αὐτόν. A similar change occurs at *Rom.* 10,11 (1516 only); 1 *Petr.* 2,6.

33 *pudefiet* καταισχυνθήσεται ("confundetur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,5, and *Annot.*

10 Ἀδελφοί, ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας, καὶ ἡ δέησις ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ ἐστιν εἰς σωτηρίαν. ²μαρτυρῶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅτι ζῆλον θεοῦ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ κατ᾽ ἐπίγνωσιν. ³ἀγνοοῦντες γὰρ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δικαιοσύνην ζητοῦντες στῆσαι, τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ὑπετάγησαν. ⁴τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι.

⁵Μωσῆς γὰρ γράφει τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος, ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

10 Fratres, propensa quidem voluntas cordis mei, et deprecatio quae fit ad deum, pro Israel est ad salutem. ²Testimonium enim illis perhibeo, quod studium dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam. ³Nam ignorantes dei iustitiam, et propriam iustitiam quaerentes constituere, iustitiae dei non fuerunt subditi. ⁴Nam perfectio legis, Christus, ad iustificationem omni credenti.

⁵Moses enim scribit de iustitia quae est ex lege, quod qui fecerit ea homo, viuet per illa.

10,2 ου *restitui*: ουκ *A-E*

10,3 quaerentes *B-E*: querentes *A* | 4 Nam perfectio *B-E*: Finis enim *A* | 5 de iustitia *B-E* (de iusticia *B-D*): iusticiam *A* | per illa *B-E*: in illis *A*

10,1 *propensa quidem voluntas* ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία ("voluntas quidem" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to convey the added emphasis of the prefix εὐ-. In *Annot.*, he observes that there is no precise Latin equivalent for εὐδοκία. Elsewhere he uses *propensus* ("eager") in rendering ἑτοίμως ἔχω, ἱμείρομαι, προθύμως, and φιλόστοργος. Manetti, omitting *quidem*, tried *bona voluntas*, a phrase used by the Vulgate at *Lc.* 2,14, but less suited to the present context.

1 *deprecatio* ἡ δέησις ("obsecratio" Vg.). This substitution occurs also at *Lc.* 2,37 (1519); *Eph.* 6,18; 1 *Tim.* 2,1, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Lc.* 1,13; *Iac.* 5,16. However, Erasmus elsewhere retains *obsecratio* at several passages. See further on *Act.* 1,14. Manetti made the same change.

1 *quae fit* ἡ (Vg. omits). Erasmus provides an expanded rendering, to convey the sense of the Greek construction, which lacks a verb. The Vulgate may reflect a Greek text in which ἡ is omitted, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ א A B D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss.

1 *pro Israel est* ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ ἐστιν ("fit pro illis" Vg.). The Vulgate follows a Greek text substituting αὐτῶν for τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ א A B D F G and a few other mss.; some of these also omit ἐστιν. It has been suggested that the words τοῦ Ἰσραήλ were a later explanatory comment, designed to connect this verse with the references to Israel in *Rom.* 9,27, 31. However, it could also be said that τοῦ Ἰσραήλ has the merit of being a *lectio difficilior*, as the use of the singular is not in grammatical agreement with the plural pronoun, αὐτοῖς, in vs. 2. An earlier scribe who found τοῦ Ἰσραήλ in his exemplar might therefore have thought of substituting αὐτῶν in order to achieve harmony with the immediate context. Erasmus again follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. See also *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

1 *ad* (2nd.) εἰς ("in" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,16. This substitution was already made by Lefèvre.

2 *Testimonium ... illis perhibeo* μαρτυρῶ ... αὐτοῖς ("Testimonium ... perhibeo illis" Vg.). This change of word-order was not required by the Greek text, though it has the advantage of placing the verb immediately before the indirect statement which depends upon it. Manetti put *Testificor ... eis*.

2 *studium* ζῆλον ("aemulationem quidem" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *quidem* lacks Greek ms. support. The Vulgate use of *aemulatio*, whether in the sense of "imitation" or "jealousy", was unsuited to the context, as pointed out in *Annot.* See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1004 D. Similar substitutions of *studium* occur at 2 *Cor.* 7,7; *Phil.* 3,6. At *Col.* 4,13, Erasmus puts *studium* in place of *labor*; at 2 *Cor.* 9,2, he tries *exemplum*. At 2 *Cor.* 11,2, he adopts *zelus*, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 2,17; *Act.* 5,17; 13,45; *Iac.* 3,14, 16, and this was the word which Manetti and Lefèvre employed at the present passage (*zelum*, omitting *quidem*).

3 *Nam ignorantes* ἀγνοοῦντες γάρ ("Ignorantes enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. This change follows the wording of Lefèvre.

3 *dei iustitiam* τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ("iustitiam dei" late Vg.). Erasmus' word-order is closer to the Greek, producing agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

3 *propriam iustitiam* τὴν ἰδίαν δικαιοσύνην ("suam" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of δικαιοσύνην at this point, as in codd. A B D and nineteen later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and about 550 other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ G. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 370-3). Although the meaning is sufficiently clear without this additional δικαιοσύνην, the extra word brings a heightened emphasis, and is in keeping with the apostle's use of δικαιοσύνην several times in *Rom.* 9,30. The shorter reading may have arisen from the tendency of some early scribes to abbreviate phraseology which they considered to be unduly repetitious. The same tendency may also account for the omission of δικαιοσύνης (2nd.) by some mss. in *Rom.* 9,31. See also *Annot.* For *proprius*, see further on *Ioh.* 1,11. Erasmus here followed the version of Lefèvre. Manetti had the word-order *propriam querentes statuere iustitiam*.

3 *constituere* στῆσαι ("statuere" Vg.). Cf. on 2 *Cor.* 13,1, where Erasmus uses *constituo* to replace *sto* in rendering the same Greek verb. This change follows the wording of Ambrosiaster.

3 *fuerunt subditi* ὑπετάγησαν ("sunt subiecti" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,7.

4 *Nam perfectio* τέλος γάρ ("Finis enim" 1516 = Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that the sense

of consummation, or perfection, is better suited to the context, on analogy with τέλειος. He makes a similar change at *Hebr.* 6,11.

4 *iustificationem* δικαιοσύνην ("iustitiam" Vg.). This change is not an improvement, especially as *iustitia* is retained in vss. 3 and 5. See on *Rom.* 4,9.

5 Μωσῆς. This is the spelling of cod. 2817, and also 2105. In 1516 *Annot.*, it is Μωϋσῆς, following cod. 2815, together with 1, 2816 and many other mss.

5 *scribit* γράφει ("scripsit" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate as to the tense here. See *Annot.* The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *de iustitia quae est ex lege, quod qui fecerit ea* τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας αὐτά ("quoniam iustitia quae ex lege est, qui fecerit" Vg.; "iusticiam quae est ex lege, quod qui fecerit ea" 1516). The Vulgate word-order is supported by codd. ℵ * A D* and a few later mss., which place ὅτι before τὴν δικαιοσύνην and omit αὐτά. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests that the Greek text underlying the Vulgate represented an alteration by a reader who objected to the use of τὴν δικαιοσύνην as an object of γράφει, and to the use of the plural pronoun αὐτά after a singular antecedent ("offensus absurda sermonis specie"). He follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1 and 2816, and also 𝔓⁴⁶ D^{corr} F G and most other mss. The wording of codd. ℵ ^{corr} B is the same as Erasmus' text, apart from their omission of τοῦ (which also happens to be omitted in 1516 *Annot.*). He seems to refer to this passage in the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata* (where he cites only the words *Moses enim scripsit*). See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1004 D-E. The Vulgate word-order was similarly corrected by Valla *Annot.*, suggesting *iusticiam quae est ex lege, quoniam* (or ... *quod*) *qui fecerit ea*, while Lefèvre put *iustitiam quae ex lege est, quod qui ea fecerit*. Manetti had *quod iustitiam que ex lege est quicunque seruauerit ea*.

5 ἄνθρωπος. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the text as ὁ ἄνθρωπος, without support from the Basle mss.

5 *per illa* ἐν αὐτοῖς ("in ea" Vg.; "in illis" 1516). The Vulgate reflects a Greek variant, ἐν αὐτῇ, as in codd. ℵ * A B and a few other mss. The substitution of αὐτῇ may have been influenced by the lack of a plural antecedent, in those

⁶ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη, οὕ-
τως λέγει, Μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
σου, Τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρα-
νόν; τοῦτ' ἔστι Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν.
⁷ἤ, τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον;
τοῦτ' ἔστι Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγα-
γεῖν. ⁸ἀλλὰ τί λέγει; Ἐγγύς σου τὸ
ῥῆμά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ στόματί σου, καὶ
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου. τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ ῥῆ-
μα τῆς πίστεως, ὃ κηρύσσομεν, ⁹ὅτι
ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου
κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ
καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγει-
ρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, σωθήσῃ. ¹⁰καρδίᾳ
γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στό-
ματι δὲ ὁμολο|γεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν.
¹¹λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή, Πᾶς ὁ πιστεύ-
ων ἐπ' αὐτῷ, οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.
¹²οὐ γάρ ἐστι διαστολὴ Ἰουδαίου τε
καὶ Ἕλληνος· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς κύριος
πάντων, πλουτῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς
ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν· ¹³πᾶς γὰρ
ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου,
σωθήσεται.

⁶Caeterum quae ex fide est iusti-
tia, ea sic loquitur: Ne dixeris
in corde tuo, Quis ascendet in
coelum? Hoc est, Christum ex
alto deducere. ⁷Aut, quis descendet
in abyssum? Hoc est, Christum
ex mortuis reducere. ⁸Sed quid
dicit? Prope te verbum est in ore
tuo et in corde tuo. Hoc est,
verbum fidei, quod praedicamus:
⁹nempe si confessus fueris ore
tuo dominum Iesum, et credideris
in corde tuo, quod deus illum
excitauit a mortuis, saluus eris.
¹⁰Corde enim creditur ad iustiti-
am, ore autem confessio | fit ad
salutem. ¹¹Dicit enim scriptura:
Omnis qui fidit illi, non pude-
fiet. ¹²Non enim est distinctio
vel Iudaei vel Graeci: nam idem
dominus omnium, diues in omnes
inuocantes se: ¹³quisquis enim
inuocauerit nomen domini, saluus
erit.

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6 Caeterum B-E: Ceterum A | coelum B-E: celum A | 7 reducere B-E: subducere A |
9 ore B-E: in ore A | 11 fidit illi B-E: credit in illo A | 13 quisquis enim B-E: Omnis enim
qui A*, quicunque Aᶜ | saluus erit B-E: saluabitur A

mss. which had deleted αὐτά earlier in the
sentence. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817,
supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ D
F G and most other mss. See above (on αὐτά),
and also *Annot.* The suggestion of Valla *Annot.*
was *in ipsis,* as adopted by Manetti, while
Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *in eis.*

6 *Caeterum quae* ἡ δέ ("Quae autem" Vg.). See
on *Act.* 6,2. Lefèvre somewhat altered the sense,
putting *De ea autem quae.*

6 *ea* (Vg. omits). Erasmus adds a pronoun,
resuming from the earlier *quae.*

6 *loquitur* λέγει ("dicit" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,27.
This change avoids the repetition of *dico,* which
is used almost immediately afterwards.

6 *Hoc est* τοῦτ' ἔστι ("id est" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
9,8. Erasmus' wording was in agreement with
that of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Manetti.
The rendering of Lefèvre was *hoc significat.*

6 *ex alto deducere* καταγαγεῖν ("deducere" Vg.).
Erasmus adds *ex alto* for the sake of clarity,
avoiding the possible misinterpretation of *de-
duco* in the sense of "lead away": cf. *Annot.* In
Lefèvre, *Christi descensum* was substituted for
Christum deducere.

7 *ex* ἐκ ("a" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,22. This
change agreed with the wording of the earlier
Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

7 *reducere* ἀναγαγεῖν ("reuocare" Vg.; "sub-
ducere" 1516). These changes may be compared

with Erasmus' treatment of *Hebr.* 13,20, where he puts *subduco* in 1516, replaced by *reduco* in 1519. At the present passage, *reduco* provides a more precise rendering, contrasting more symmetrically with *deduco* in vs. 6. See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 1004 E-F. There is also a confused reference to this passage in the *Vbi Interpres Ausus Sit Aliquid Immutare.* Erasmus used the same verb as Ambrosiaster and Manetti, while Lefèvre had *reductionem.*

8 *dicit* λέγει ("dicit scriptura" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of ἡ γραφή after λέγει in cod. D and a few later mss., or before λέγει in codd. F G. In *Annot.*, Erasmus describes *scriptura* as an explanatory addition, while accepting that it suited the context. As in vs. 7, this passage was assigned to the *Vbi Interpres Ausus Sit Aliquid Immutare.* Lefèvre omitted *scriptura*, and put *ait* for *dicit.*

8 *te* σου (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission lacks support from Greek mss.: cf. *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

8 *verbum est* τὸ ῥῆμά ἐστιν ("est verbum" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is in accordance with the Greek word-order. Lefèvre, again, had already made this change.

9 *nempe* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,32. Manetti substituted *Quod.*

9 *confessus fueris* ὁμολογήσῃς ("confitearis" Vg.). By substituting the future perfect tense, Erasmus produces consistency with the use of *credideris* later in the sentence.

9 *ore* ἐν τῷ στόματι ("in ore" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26 for the instrumental sense of ἐν.

9 *credideris in corde tuo* πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ("in corde tuo credideris" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering, which reproduces the Greek word-order, was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti, while Lefèvre put *credas in corde tuo.*

9 *excitauit* ἤγειρεν ("suscitauit" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). See on *Act.* 17,31. Erasmus' wording agreed with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster.

11 *qui fidit illi* ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ ("qui credit in illum" Vg.; "qui credit in illo" 1516). For the comparable substitution of *confido* for *credo* at two other passages, see on *Ioh.* 6,47.

This change produces an inconsistency with *credit in eo*, which Erasmus adopted in translating the same Greek phrase at *Rom.* 9,33. In *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 1005 A-B, he argued that *fidit* was more appropriate in the present context (i.e. as expressing "faith" rather than mere "belief"), and objected that *credere in illum* was a non-classical turn of phrase. In 1516, the use of *in illo* gave a more literal rendering than the Vulgate, in representing ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *qui credit in eum.*

11 *pudefiet* καταισχυνθήσεται ("confundetur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,5, and *Annot.*

12 *vel Iudaei vel Graeci* Ἰουδαίου τε καὶ Ἕλληνος ("Iudaei et Graeci" Vg.). A similar use of *vel ... vel*, in rendering τε καί, occurs at 1 *Cor.* 1,2. In *Annot.* on the present passage, Erasmus observes that the Greek phrase is more emphatic. See further on *Act.* 1,1. Lefèvre put *Iudaei atque gentilis.*

12 *inuocantes se* τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν ("qui inuocant illum" Vg.). Here, Erasmus' rendering closely follows the participial form of the Greek expression. The reflexive pronoun, *se*, provided a more idiomatic means of referring back to the subject. Manetti and Lefèvre, for a similar reason, substituted *ipsum* for *illum.*

13 *quisquis* πᾶς ... ὅς ("Omnis ... quicunque" Vg.; "Omnis ... qui" 1516 text). In the 1516 errata, it is stated that the reading should be *quicunque inuocauerit*, which at first sight appears to be intended to restore the Vulgate wording. However, the line number cited in the errata ("versu 14") might suggest that Erasmus wanted *quicunque* to replace *Omnis enim qui*, since *Omnis* is the last word of line 14 on the relevant page of the 1516 edition. The problem with this is that it would introduce an inaccuracy by omitting *enim*. Erasmus' later substitution of *quisquis* avoids the repetition of *omnis qui* from vs. 11. Other such omissions of *omnis* occur e.g. at *Col.* 3,17, 22. For his use of *quisquis* elsewhere, see further on *Ioh.* 4,14. The wording of the 1516 text, *Omnis enim qui*, was identical with the rendering offered by both Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *saluus erit* σωθήσεται ("saluabitur" 1516). A similar shift to *saluabitur* in 1516, and back again to *saluus erit* in 1519, occurs at *Mc.* 16,16. For Erasmus' later removal of the verb, *saluo*, see on *Ioh.* 3,17. Manetti anticipated the wording of Erasmus' 1516 edition at the present passage.

¹⁴Πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσονται εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν; πῶς δὲ πιστεύσουσιν οὗ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; πῶς δὲ ἀκούσουσι χωρὶς κηρύσσοντος; ¹⁵πῶς δὲ κηρύξουσιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσι; καθὼς γέγραπται, Ὡς ὡραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθά. ¹⁶ἀλλ’ οὐ πάντες ὑπήκουσαν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Ἡσαΐας γὰρ λέγει, Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; ¹⁷ἄρα ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς· ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος θεοῦ. ¹⁸ἀλλὰ λέγω, μὴ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; μενοῦνγε εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν. ¹⁹ἀλλὰ λέγω, μὴ οὐκ ἔγνω Ἰσραήλ; πρῶτος Μωσῆς λέγει, Ἐγὼ παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ’ οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ ὑμᾶς. ²⁰Ἡσαΐας δὲ

¹⁴Quomodo igitur inuocabunt eum, in quem non crediderunt? Quomodo autem credent ei, de quo non audierunt? Quomodo autem audient absque praedicante? ¹⁵Quomodo autem praedicabunt, nisi missi fuerint? Sicut scriptum est: Quam speciosi pedes annunciantium pacem, annunciantium bona. ¹⁶At non omnes obedierunt euangelio. Hesaias enim dicit: Domine quis credidit sermonibus nostris? ¹⁷Ergo fides, ex auditu est: auditus autem per verbum dei. ¹⁸Sed dico, an non audierunt? Atqui in omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrarum verba illorum. ¹⁹Sed dico, nunquid non cognouit Israel? Primus Moses dicit: Ego ad aemulationem prouocabo vos per gentem quae non est gens, per gentem stultam ad iram commouebo vos. ²⁰Hesaias autem

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15 αποσταλωσι B-E: αποσταλλωσι A

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16 Hesaias E: Esaias A-D | sermonibus nostris B-E: auditis nobis A | 19 Israel B-E: israhel A | per gentem quae ... stultam B-E: in non gente, in gente stulta A | 20 Hesaias E: Esaias A-D

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14 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

14 *eum, in quem* εἰς ὃν ("in quem" Vg.). Erasmus adds a pronoun to expand the meaning of the elliptical Greek expression. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

14 *Quomodo autem* (1st.) πῶς δέ ("Aut quomodo" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering might suggest a Greek text having ἢ πῶς, but this has little support from Greek mss. (cf. ἢ πῶς δέ in codd. F G). Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* both made the same substitution as Erasmus.

14 *ei, de quo* οὗ ("ei quem" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is better suited to the context, which refers to hearing a preacher rather than hearing the voice of the Lord directly. See *Annot.*

14 *absque* χωρίς ("sine" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,21.

15 *autem* δέ ("vero" Vg.). Erasmus is more consistent in translating this sequence of adversative

particles which began in vs. 14. Manetti made the same change.

15 *missi fuerint* ἀποσταλῶσι ("mittantur" Vg.). By using the future perfect tense, Erasmus' rendering more accurately reflects the sense of the Greek aorist subjunctive. The reading ἀποσταλλῶσι in 1516 appears to be a misprint, as Erasmus' Basle mss. all had ἀποσταλῶσι.

15 *annunciantium* (twice) τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ("euangelizantium" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,42. The verb *annuncio* was used by the Vulgate at the parallel passage in *Is.* 52,7. See *Annot.*

16 *At* ἀλλ’ ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

16 *obedierunt* ὑπήκουσαν ("obediunt" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). In 1516-27 *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the use of the present tense to render the Greek aorist. In 1535 *Annot.*, following *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 1005 B, he

concedes that this might be among the passages where the aorist refers to a past action which continues into the present. The use of *obedierunt* was advocated by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*

16 *sermonibus nostris* τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν ("auditui nostro" Vg.; "auditis nobis" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 12,38, and *Annot.* The Vulgate rendering was placed among the *Soloecismi*, on the grounds that *auditus*, in Latin usage, meant the faculty of hearing rather than the content of what was heard, and therefore could not in itself be an object of belief. For Erasmus' defence against the objections of Stunica and Titelmans, see *Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.*, *LB* IX, 398 D-E; *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1005 B-1006 B.

17 *ex auditu est* ἐξ ἀκοῆς ("ex auditu" Vg.). Erasmus supplies a verb, for the sake of clarity.

17 *dei* θεοῦ ("Christi" Vg.). The Vulgate follows a Greek text having Χριστοῦ, as exhibited by 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ * B C D* and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ A Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. The phrase ῥήματος Χριστοῦ has been commended as a *lectio difficilior*, because this is the only place in the N.T. where the expression is used (cf. also λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, found in most mss. at *Col.* 3,16). However, having regard to the shortened form in which these words appear in N.T. mss. (as χ̄ῡ and θ̄ῡ), accidental changes from θεοῦ to Χριστοῦ as well as from Χριστοῦ to θεοῦ could easily occur. In the present instance, θεοῦ appears better suited to the accompanying quotations from Isaiah and the Psalms, in vss. 16 and 18: see *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *dei*.

18 *an* μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). This change appears to be designed to avoid repetition of the same wording in the following verse. Lefèvre preferred *nonne* in both places, instead of *nunquid non*.

18 *Atqui* μενοῦνγε ("Et quidem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,26 for Erasmus' use of *atqui*. At *Lc.* 11,28, where the same Greek particle occurs, he retains *quinimmo* from the late Vulgate, a rendering which Lefèvre ventured to substitute at the present passage.

18 *orbis terrarum* τῆς οἰκουμένης ("orbis terrae" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Hebr.* 1,6. However, Erasmus retains *orbis terrae* at *Lc.* 4,5; *Hebr.* 2,5. Both renderings are equally accurate. Lefèvre, with excessive literalism, put just *habitatae*.

18 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.). This change is mainly for the sake of variety, avoiding repetition of *eorum*, which was used earlier in the sentence. The same pronoun occurred in Ambrosiaster.

19 *non cognouit Israel* οὐκ ἔγνω Ἰσραήλ ("Israel non cognouit" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect a different Greek word-order, Ἰσραήλ οὐκ ἔγνω, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. In Lefèvre's version, this sentence was translated as *Sed nonne inquam cognouit israel?*

19 Μωσῆς. Erasmus' text here adopts the spelling of cod. 2817. In his codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss., it is Μωϋσῆς.

19 *ad aemulationem prouocabo vos* παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ("ad aemulationem vos adducam" Vg.). This substitution of the more vigorous verb, *prouoco*, is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 11,14. Erasmus further introduces *prouoco* in rendering the same Greek verb at *Rom.* 11,11; 1 *Cor.* 10,22. See *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *ad zelum prouocabo vos*.

19 *per gentem quae non est gens* ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει ("in non gentem" Vg.; "in non gente" 1516). Erasmus expands the wording, for the sake of clarity, partly influenced by the Vulgate translation of *Dt.* 32,21, *in eo qui non est populus*. For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17. In *Annot.*, he argues that *in non gente* is more accurate than the Vulgate in representing the Greek dative, and this was the wording which he chose for his 1516 Latin text, following a suggestion of Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1006 B-C.

19 *per gentem stultam* ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ ("in gentem insipientem" Vg.; "in gente stulta" 1516). For *per gentem* and *in gente*, see the previous note, and for Erasmus' rendering of ἀσύνετος, see on *Rom.* 1,21. The 1516 use of *in gente stulta* was exactly in accordance with the Vulgate rendering of *Dt.* 32,21. In Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, this phrase was translated *in gente insipiente*.

19 *ad iram commouebo vos* παροργιῶ ὑμᾶς ("in iram vos mittam" Vg.). As at many other passages, Erasmus finds a more emphatic word to replace the colourless *mitto* of the Vulgate. See on *Ioh.* 3,24; *Act.* 12,4. Manetti and Lefèvre both proposed *irritabo vos*, comparable with the Vulgate use of *irritabo illos* at *Dt.* 32,21.

ἀποτολμᾷ, καὶ λέγει, Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσι. [21] πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει, "Ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα. |

post hunc audet, ac dicit: Inuentus fui his qui me non quaerebant: conspicuus factus sum his qui de me non interrogabant.   [21] Aduersus Israel autem dicit: Toto die expandi manus meas ad populum non credentem et contradicen|tem.

11 Λέγω οὖν, μὴ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ; μὴ γένοιτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Ἰσραηλίτης εἰμί, ἐκ σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ, φυλῆς Βενιαμίν. [2] οὐκ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, ὃν προέγνω. ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε, ἐν Ἐλίᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; ὡς ἐντυγχάνει τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, λέγων, [3] Κύριε, τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου

11 Dico igitur, num repulit deus populum suum? Absit. Nam et ego Israelita sum, ex semine Abrahae, tribus Beniamin.   [2] Non repulit deus populum suum, quem ante agnouerat. An nescitis, de Elia quid dicat scriptura? Quomodo interpellat apud deum aduersus Israel, dicens: [3] Domine, prophetas tuos occiderunt, et altaria tua

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20 επερωτωσι *A C-E*: επερετωσι *B*
11,2 ελια *B-E*: ηλια *A*

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20 ac *B-E*: et *A* | **21** Aduersus Israel *B-E*: Ad Israhel *A*
11,2 agnouerat *B-E*: cognouerat *A* | de *B-E*: in *A* | Israel *B-E*: Israhel *A*

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20 *post hunc audet* ἀποτολμᾷ ("audet" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to convey the added sense of the Greek prefix ἀπο-. In *Annot.*, he suggests that the implication is that Isaiah was emboldened by the words which had earlier been uttered by Moses.

20 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Lefèvre made the same change.

20 *Inuentus fui* Εὑρέθην ("Inuentus sum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

20 *his qui me non quaerebant* τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν ("a non quaerentibus me" late Vg.). This change produces greater consistency with *his qui ... non interrogabant* in the following clause.

20 *conspicuus factus sum* ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην ("palam apparui" Vg.). While Erasmus' rendering is closer to the grammatical form of the Greek, it is less successful in conveying the required sense of a manifestation of God. In *Annot.*, he seems to accept *apparui* as a legitimate rendering of the similarly-worded Septuagint

phrase in *Is.* 65,2. Manetti rendered ἐμφανής by *manifestatus*, and Lefèvre *manifestus*, both followed by *factus sum*.

20 *de me* ἐμέ ("me" Vg.). Erasmus is less literal here.

21 *Aduersus* πρός ("Ad" 1516 = Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus refers to the ambiguity of the Greek preposition. A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 12,12 (1519); *Lc.* 5,30; 2 *Cor.* 5,12; *Col.* 3,19, following the example of the Vulgate at e.g. *Act.* 6,1; 11,2; 15,2, where the context indicates a degree of hostility.

21 *Toto* Ὅλην ("Tota" Vg.). For the gender of *dies*, see on *Ioh.* 1,29.

21 *et* καί ("sed" late Vg.). The adversative *sed* of the late Vulgate is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. The earlier Vulgate had *et*, this being the reading attributed to the Vulgate in *Annot.*, lemma. The same wording was used by Ambrosiaster (1492), Manetti and Lefèvre.

21 *contradicentem* ἀντιλέγοντα ("contradicen-tem mihi" late Vg.). The added pronoun of the late Vulgate again lacks explicit support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The passage was hence assigned to the *Quae Sint Addita*. The correction made by Erasmus agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster (1492), Manetti and Lefèvre.

11,1 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Erasmus again uses the same expression as Ambrosiaster.

1 *num* μή ("nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4, and *Annot.*

1 *repulit deus* ἀπώσατο ὁ θεός ("deus repulit" late Vg.). Erasmus restores the more literal word-order of the earlier Vulgate, also to be found in Ambrosiaster.

1 *Abrahae* Ἀβραάμ ("Abra(h)am" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,26 for Erasmus' use of the inflected form of this name. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti had *Abrae*.

1 *tribus* φυλῆς ("de tribu" Vg.). Erasmus aims at a more literal rendering, omitting the prepo-sition, but he creates an unwanted ambiguity, as *tribus* could be misunderstood as a nominative (referring back to *ego*), instead of the intended genitive.

2 *populum suum, quem* τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, ὅν ("plebem suam, quam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 2,47. This change produces consistency with *populum* in vs. 1, and was also advocated by Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *ante agnouerat* προέγνω ("praesciuit" late Vg.; "ante cognouerat" 1516). See on *Act.* 26,5. The point of using *agnosco* in the present context is that it refers not merely to divine foreknowledge of a fact, but also to the recog-nition or acknowledgment that the people of Israel, in a special sense, belonged to God and enjoyed his favour. In 1535 *Annot.*, Erasmus conceded that the Greek verb could also refer to predestination, a point which he was less willing to admit in his previous editions. Cf. *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1006 D. In 1516 *Annot.*, he cited the text as προέγνωκεν, without support from his Basle mss.: see on *Rom.* 8,29 for a similar discrepancy. Lefèvre used *praegnouit*.

2 *de* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus is less literal here. This alteration was perhaps designed to avoid giving the impression that "Elias" him-self was the author of the account which followed.

2 Ἐλίᾳ. This spelling, which was introduced in 1519, does not appear to be derived from mss. In codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 and most other mss., it is Ἠλίᾳ. Since Erasmus retained Ἠλίας (or Ἡλίας) at all other N.T. occurrences of this name, the change at the present passage may have resulted from a printer's error, which subsequently remained uncorrected.

2 *dicat* λέγει ("dicit" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,18 for this use of the subjunctive.

2 *Quomodo* ὡς ("quemadmodum" Vg.). Erasmus treats this as the beginning of a supplementary indirect question. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

2 *apud deum* τῷ θεῷ ("deum" Vg.). The prepo-sition *apud* was perhaps added to soften the force of the preceding verb, *interpello*, which could in other contexts be understood in the sense of "interrupt" rather than "beseech" or "intercede". See *Annot.*, and see further on *Rom.* 8,26 (*intercedit*). Lefèvre solved the problem by replacing *interpellat* with *postulat*.

2 *aduersus* κατά ("aduersum" late Vg.). The form more commonly preferred by Erasmus is *aduersus*, though there are ten N.T. passages where he retains or introduces the spelling *aduersum* for this preposition. Manetti had the same spelling as Erasmus here, while Ambro-siaster and Lefèvre put *contra*.

2 *dicens* λέγων (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. אᶜᵒʳʳ A B C D F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, and also א* and most other mss. This textual vari-ation raises the issue of whether some scribes inserted λέγων to alleviate the transition from ἐντυγχάνει to κύριε, or whether the word was originally in the text but was excised by a corrector who thought that it was an unnecessary repetition after the earlier λέγει. The word was similarly added by Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *et* (1st.) καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission has support from codd. א* A B C F G and some other mss. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with אᶜᵒʳʳ D and most other mss. The use of καί is more in keeping with the series of conjunc-tions used in 1 *Rg.* 19,10, 14, on which the present passage is based, though in other respects the apostle does not give an exact quotation of the O.T. wording. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

κατέσκαψαν· κἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μό-
νος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχήν μου.
⁴ἀλλὰ τί λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ χρηματι-
σμός; Κατέλιπον ἐμαυτῷ ἑπτακισ-
χιλίους ἄνδρας, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμ-
ψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ. ⁵οὕτως οὖν
καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ, λεῖμμα κατ'
ἐκλογὴν χάριτος γέγονεν. ⁶εἰ δὲ
χάριτι, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἔργων· ἐπεὶ ἡ
χάρις, οὐκέτι γίνεται χάρις. εἰ δὲ
ἐξ ἔργων, οὐκέτι ἐστὶ χάρις· ἐπεὶ
τὸ ἔργον, οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἔργον.

⁷Τί οὖν; ὃ ἐπιζητεῖ Ἰσραήλ,
τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπέτυχεν· ἡ δὲ ἐκλογὴ
ἐπέτυχεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπωρώθη-
σαν· ⁸καθὼς γέγραπται, Ἔδωκεν
αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως,
ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ ὦτα

subruerunt: et ego relictus fui solus, et
insidiantur vitae meae. ⁴Sed quid dicit
ei diuinum responsum? Reliqui mihi
ipsi septem milia virorum, qui non
inflexerunt genu imagini Baal. ⁵Sic
igitur et in hoc tempore, reliquiae
secundum electionem gratiae fuerunt.
⁶Quod si per gratiam, non iam ex
operibus: quandoquidem gratia, iam
non est gratia. Sin ex operibus, iam
non est gratia: quandoquidem opus,
iam non est opus.

⁷Quid igitur? Quod quaerit Israel,
hoc non assequutus est: sed electio
consequuta est, reliqui vero excaecati
sunt: ⁸quemadmodum scriptum est:
Dedit eis deus spiritum compuncti-
onis, oculos vt non videant, et aures

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3 insidiantur vitae meae *B-E*: quaerunt animam meam *A* | 6 *alt.* iam non *D E*: non iam *A-C* |
7 Israel *B-E*: Israhel *A*

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3 *subruerunt* κατέσκαψαν ("suffoderunt" Vg.).
Erasmus wished to avoid the literal sense of
suffodio, as meaning "dig a tunnel beneath", and
chose a verb which was more general in applica-
tion. In *Annot.*, he also mentioned *subuerterunt*
as a possible alternative, without mentioning
that this was the rendering of Lefèvre.

3 *relictus fui* ὑπελείφθην ("relictus sum" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 4,2.

3 *insidiantur vitae meae* ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχήν
μου ("quaerunt animam meam" 1516 = Vg.).
Erasmus again avoids the literal Vulgate ren-
dering, probably on the grounds that to "seek
after the soul" might be understood as having
a beneficial intent, e.g. to seek for a person's
salvation. He therefore substituted a form of
paraphrase, adapting a passage which was fami-
liar to him from *Ps.* 59,3 (58,4), of which the
Hebrew is rendered by the Vulgate as *insidiati
sunt animae meae* (cf. also 1 *Sm.* 24,12; 28,9,
etc.). However, Erasmus retains *quaero animam*
for the similar Greek expression at *Mt.* 2,20.

4 *ei* αὐτῷ ("illi" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,28. The
same substitution was made by Manetti and
Lefèvre.

4 *mihi ipsi* ἐμαυτῷ ("mihi" Vg.). See on *Act.*
9,34. Manetti and Lefèvre had already made
this change.

4 *inflexerunt* ἔκαμψαν ("curuauerunt" Vg.).
Erasmus does not elsewhere use *inflecto* in the
N.T. The more common verb in such con-
texts is *flecto*, as at *Rom.* 14,11; *Eph.* 3,14; *Phil.*
2,10.

4 *genu* γόνυ ("genua" late Vg. and some Vg.
mss.). The late Vulgate use of the plural lacks
Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The same change
was made by Lefèvre.

4 *imagini Baal* τῇ Βάαλ ("ante Baal" late Vg.
and some Vg. mss.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus observes
that the preposition *ante* is a Latin addition,
unsupported by the Greek text. He further
argues, from the presence of the feminine
article τῇ, that a second noun must be in-
serted or understood: presumably he thought
that this would be εἰκόνι. Another explanation
which has sometimes been given for τῇ is that
it stands for τῇ αἰσχύνῃ, while others have
suggested that Baal was regarded as a female,
or androgynous, deity. Manetti put *ipsi Baal*,
and Lefèvre just *Baal*.

5 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus.

5 *gratiae* χάριτος ("gratiae dei" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *dei* lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* This passage was included in the *Quae Sint Addita.* Erasmus' correction agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *fuerunt* γέγονεν ("saluae factae sunt" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The addition of *saluae* by the late Vulgate is, again, unsupported by Greek mss. See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1006 D-E. Like the addition of *dei*, this point also appears in the *Quae Sint Addita.* For the avoidance of *facio* in rendering γίνομαι, see on *Ioh.* 1,15. The word *saluae* was deleted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *Quod si* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25.

6 *per gratiam* χάριτι ("gratia" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to avoid *gratia* being misunderstood as a nominative: see *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti.

6 *non iam* οὐκέτι ("iam non" late Vg.). This change was perhaps intended to vary the style, in view of further instances of *iam non* later in the verse (the same applies to the use of *non iam* after *Sin ex operibus*, in 1516-22). The same change was made by Manetti, while Lefèvre had *non amplius.* The earlier Vulgate had just *non*, corresponding with οὐκ in 𝔓⁴⁶ and a few later mss.

6 *quandoquidem* (1st.) ἐπεί ("alioquin" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus observes that the Vulgate rendering would be better suited to εἰ δὲ μή, but such a variant lacks Greek ms. support. Manetti put *quoniam*, and Lefèvre *quia.*

6 *Sin ex operibus, iam non ... iam non est opus* εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων ... οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἔργον (Vg. omits; "Sin ex operibus, non iam ... iam non est opus" 1516-22). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A C D F G and fourteen other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ and more than 520 later mss., among which were codd. 1, 2105 and 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ. Several other variations of wording also exist, including that of cod. B which lacks ἐστί (1st.) and substitutes χάρις for ἔργον, and cod. 2816* which omits ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἔργον. (See Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 375-9). In *Annot.*, Erasmus expressed

doubt as to whether the longer reading was genuine, partly on the grounds of patristic evidence (Origen and Chrysostom) and partly based on his understanding of the context. See also his *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 227, ll. 680-684, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1006 E-F. It would, however, be possible to argue that an ancient scribe accidentally omitted this sentence, or deliberately deleted it because he thought it repetitious. The disputed words certainly appear to be in accordance with Pauline style. Manetti put *Si autem ex operibus, non amplius est gratia, quia opus non amplius est opus.* Lefèvre offered three slightly different versions. His main text had just *Et si ex operibus: non amplius est gratia* (perhaps by accident, making the same omission as cod. 2816*); in the first section of *Comm.*, he added the missing words, *quia opus non amplius esset opus*; in the second section of *Comm.* (the *Examinatio*), he put *Si autem ex operibus, non iam est gratia, alioqui opus non iam est opus.*

7 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *quaerit* ἐπιζητεῖ ("quaerebat" Vg.). The imperfect tense of the Vulgate corresponds with ἐπεζήτει in cod. G and a few later mss. (cf. ἐπεζήται in cod. F). Lefèvre put *inquirit.*

7 τοῦτο. This is the reading of cod. 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816ᵛⁱᵈ and most other mss. In cod. 2815, it is τούτου, also adopted by a few other late mss. and the *Textus Receptus.*

7 *assequutus est* ἐπέτυχεν ("est consecutus" Vg.). This change is purely for stylistic variety, to avoid repetition of *consequor* later in the sentence. Cod. 2815 had ἔτυχεν, apparently without other ms. support. Lefèvre used *assequor* in both parts of this sentence.

7 *reliqui* λοιποί ("ceteri" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

8 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See *ibid.*

8 *eis* αὐτοῖς ("illis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,28. A possible reason for this change is that *illis* might be misunderstood as meaning "the former", i.e. the elect, whereas the context requires this sentence to refer to those who were mentioned at the end of vs. 7, i.e. those who were blinded. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

8 καί. This word is omitted in cod. 2815, with few other mss.

τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν, ἕως τῆς σήμερον
ἡμέρας. ⁹καὶ Δαβὶδ λέγει, Γενηθήτω
ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα καὶ εἰς
θήραν καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον καὶ εἰς ἀντ-
απόδομα αὐτοῖς. ¹⁰σκοτισθήτωσαν
οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν,
καὶ τὸ νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς
σύγκαμψον.

LB 623

¹¹Λέγω οὖν, μὴ ἔπταισαν, ἵνα
πέσωσι; μὴ | γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ τῷ αὐ-
τῶν παραπτώματι ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς
ἔθνεσιν, εἰς τὸ παραζηλῶσαι αὐτούς.
¹²εἰ δὲ τὸ παράπτωμα αὐτῶν πλοῦ-
τος κόσμου, καὶ τὸ ἥττημα αὐτῶν
πλοῦτος ἐθνῶν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ
πλήρωμα αὐτῶν;

vt non audiant, vsque ad hodier-
num diem.   ⁹Et Dauid dicit: Ver-
tatur mensa illorum in laqueum
et in captionem et in offendicu-
lum et in retaliationem ipsis. ¹⁰Ob-
tenebrentur oculi eorum, vt non
videant, et tergum illorum semper
incurua.

¹¹Dico igitur, num ideo im | pege-   LB 624
runt, vt conciderent? Absit. Sed per
lapsum illorum salus contigit gen-
tibus, in hoc vt eos ad aemulan-
dum prouocaret.   ¹²Quod si lapsus
illorum diuitiae sunt mundi, et di-
minutio illorum diuitiae gentium,
quanto magis plenitudo illorum?

10 το *A^c B-E*: τον *A**

9 Vertatur *B-E*: Fiat *A* | retaliationem *B-E*: retributionem *A* | 11 ideo impegerunt *B-E*: sic
lapsi sunt *A* | conciderent *B-E*: conciderint *A* | lapsum illorum *B-E*: illorum delictum *A* |
contigit *B-E*: om. *A* | 12 lapsus *B-E*: delictum *A*

8 *vsque ad* ἕως ("vsque in" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,2
for Erasmus' lack of consistency as to the
preposition after *vsque* at other passages. The
same change was made by one of the mss. of
Manetti's translation (*Urb. Lat.* 6).

9 *dicit* λέγει ("dixit" Vg. 1527). The use of the
perfect tense in Erasmus' 1527 Vulgate column,
following the Froben Vulgate of 1514, is unsup-
ported by Greek mss. The earlier Vulgate, Am-
brosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns)
all had *dicit*.

9 *Vertatur* Γενηθήτω ("Fiat" 1516 = Vg.). Com-
parable instances of the substitution of *verto*
("turn") are found at *Ioh.* 2,9 and *Rom.* 2,25
(both in 1519). Erasmus prefers to use a verb
which is more expressive and specific to the
context than either *fio* or *facio*, even though this
involved a slight departure from the literal
meaning.

9 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum coram ipsis" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *coram ipsis*
has minimal support from Greek mss., and
appears to have originated by harmonisation

with *Ps.* 69,22 (68,23). See *Annot.* The substitu-
tion of *illorum* is perhaps mainly for the sake
of stylistic variety, on this occasion, in view of
Erasmus' use of *eis* in vs. 8. The earlier Vulgate,
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had just
eorum.

9 *offendiculum* σκάνδαλον ("scandalum" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 9,33.

9 *retaliationem* ἀνταπόδομα ("retributionem"
1516 = Vg.). In rendering the same Greek word
at *Lc.* 14,12 (1519), Erasmus replaces *retributio*
with a verb, *rependo*. In rendering μισθαποδοσία,
at *Hebr.* 2,2 (1519) he changes *retributio* to *repen-
satio*; at *Hebr.* 11,26, after replacing *remuneratio*
with *retributio* in 1516, he reverted to *remuneratio*
in 1519. He retained *retributio* for μισθαποδοσία
at *Hebr.* 10,35. A problem with *repensatio, retali-
atio* and *retributio*, is that none of these words
occurred in classical usage. Faced with the lack
of a suitable classical Latin equivalent for
ἀνταπόδομα, here, Erasmus preferred *retaliatio*
as it had the required connotation of punish-
ment, whereas *retributio* had a more neutral

sense. Cf. also on vs. 35, below, for his removal of *retribuo* in rendering ἀνταποδίδωμι.

9 *ipsis* αὐτοῖς ("illis" Vg.). This change, again, is mainly for the sake of variety of style, giving the sequence *eis ... illorum ... ipsis ... eorum ... illorum* in vss. 8-10. Manetti likewise had *ipsis* here.

10 *Obtenebrentur* σκοτισθήτωσαν ("Obscurentur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21.

10 *vt non* τοῦ μή ("ne" Vg.). Erasmus preferred to understand this as expressing consequence rather than intention. His choice of words agreed with that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

10 *tergum* τὸ νῶτον ("dorsum" Vg.). The word *tergum* was far more common in classical usage. The replacement of τόν by τό in the 1516 errata, a change which was retained in all Erasmus' later editions, seems to have been an arbitrary correction derived from his knowledge of classical authors, whereas in most N.T. mss., including those used by Erasmus at Basle, it was written as τόν, treating νῶτον as a masculine noun.

10 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" late Vg.). This change, which was probably made for the sake of stylistic variety, adopted the same wording as the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster.

11 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

11 *num* μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4, and *Annot.*

11 *ideo ... vt* ἵνα ("sic ... vt" 1516 = Vg.). In 1527 *Annot.*, Erasmus explains that the Greek word expresses a divine intention, and not merely a natural consequence. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1007 A. The version of Lefèvre just had *vt*.

11 *impegerunt* ἔπταισαν ("offenderunt" Vg.; "lapsi sunt" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus comments on the ambiguity of *offendo*, which can mean both "stumble" and "transgress". See on *Rom.* 9,32 for a similar change in rendering προσκόπτω. At *Iac.* 2,10, Erasmus retains *offendo*. Lefèvre followed Augustine *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos, ad loc.* (*CSEL* 84, p. 43), in preferring *deliquerunt* at the present passage, a rendering to which Erasmus objects in *Annot.*, as this verb does not possess the required connotation of stumbling.

11 *conciderent* πέσωσι ("caderent" Vg.; "conciderint" 1516). See on *Act.* 5,10, and *Annot.*

11 *per lapsum illorum* τῷ αὐτῶν παραπτώματι ("illorum delicto" Vg.; "per illorum delictum" 1516). A similar substitution of *lapsus* occurs in vs. 12. Erasmus considered that, in the present context, παράπτωμα refers to a fall which resulted from negligence, rather than from a deliberate act: see *Annot.*, and cf. *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1007 A-B. However, he retains *delictum* in *Rom.* 5,15-20; *Gal.* 6,1; *Eph.* 2,1; *Col.* 2,13. Manetti had *delictum eorum* (though the copyist of *Urb. Lat.* 6, by an error of parablepsis, omitted a line of text from *delictum eorum* in vs. 11 to *si autem* in vs. 12).

11 *contigit gentibus* τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ("est gentibus" late Vg.; "gentibus" 1516 = Vg. mss.). Erasmus uses a more meaningful verb than the late Vulgate, to clarify the elliptical Greek expression. His rendering of 1516 agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre (both columns) in omitting *est*.

11 *in hoc vt* εἰς τό ("vt" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to make clear that this was a matter of divine purpose, and not merely an incidental consequence: see *Annot.*, and see also on *Rom.* 1,20.

11 *eos ad aemulandum prouocaret* παραζηλῶσαι αὐτούς ("illos aemulentur" Vg.). Erasmus adopts the view of Valla *Annot.*, that God is the subject of the verb, stirring up the Jews to emulate the Gentiles, although in the Greek text, the more immediate subject of παραζηλῶσαι is "salvation", or σωτηρία. The wording of Erasmus' translation is partly modelled on the Vulgate rendering of vs. 14, whereas Valla's suggested wording, *vt adduceret eos ad aemulationem*, was based on the Vulgate rendering of *Rom.* 10,19. From the Vulgate wording of the present passage, it might be misunderstood that the Gentiles were to emulate the Jews. See *Annot.*, and also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, pp. 172-4, ll. 163-188. The Vulgate rendering is assigned to the *Loca Obscura*. Manetti (in *Pal. Lat.* 45) had *vt eos emulentur*. Lefèvre's translation was *vt illi earum zelo ducantur*, altering the emphasis by converting active to passive.

12 *lapsus* τὸ παράπτωμα ("delictum" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 11.

12 *illorum* (2nd. and 3rd.) αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.). In this verse, Erasmus uses *illorum* throughout, to make clear that the pronoun consistently refers to the Jews. Manetti and Lefèvre achieved consistency by changing *illorum* (before *diuitiae*) to *eorum*.

¹³Ὑμῖν γὰρ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,
ἐφ᾽ ὅσον μέν εἰμι ἐγὼ ἐθνῶν ἀπό-
στολος, τὴν διακονίαν μου δοξάσω,
¹⁴εἴ πως παραζηλώσω μου τὴν σάρ-
κα, καὶ σώσω τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν. ¹⁵εἰ
γὰρ ἡ ἀποβολὴ αὐτῶν καταλλα-
γὴ κόσμου, τίς ἡ πρόσληψις, εἰ μὴ
ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν; ¹⁶εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀπαρ-
χὴ ἁγία, καὶ τὸ φύραμα· καὶ εἰ ἡ
ῥίζα ἁγία, καὶ οἱ κλάδοι. ¹⁷εἰ δέ
τινες τῶν κλάδων ἐξεκλάσθησαν, σὺ
δὲ ἀγριέλαιος ὤν, ἐνεκεντρίσθης ἐν
αὐτοῖς, καὶ συγκοινωνὸς τῆς ῥίζης
καὶ τῆς πιότητος τῆς ἐλαίας ἐγένου,

¹³Vobis enim dico gentibus, qua-
tenus ego quidem sum apostolus gen-
tium, ministerium meum illustro, ¹⁴si
quo modo ad aemulandum prouocem
carnem meam, et saluos reddam non-
nullos ex illis. ¹⁵Nam si reiectio il-
lorum, est reconciliatio mundi: quae
erit assumptio, nisi vita ex mortuis?
¹⁶Quod si primitiae sanctae, sancta est
et conspersio: et si radix sancta, sancti
erunt et rami: ¹⁷quod si nonnulli
rami defracti sunt, tu vero quum esses
oleaster, insitus fuisti illis, et consors
radicis et pinguitudinis oleae factus es,

13 δοξασω *E*: δοξαζω *A-D*

13 illustro *B-E*: glorifico *A* | 16 conspersio *C-E*: massa *A B* | 17 pinguitudinis *B-E*:
pinguedinis *A*

13 *quatenus* ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ("quamdiu" Vg.). A similar
change occurs at *Mt.* 25,40, 45, taking ἐφ᾽ ὅσον
as meaning "to the extent that". The Vulgate
treats the Greek expression as the equivalent of
ἐφ᾽ ὅσον χρόνον, on analogy with *Rom.* 7,1
and other passages. At *Mt.* 9,15, where χρόνον
is omitted, Erasmus retained *quamdiu* ("as long
as") because the parallel passage at *Mc.* 2,19
made clear that this was the required sense. In
Annot. on the present passage, he objects to the
notion that the apostle was hinting at a coming
day when he might abandon his mission to the
Gentiles.

13 *ego quidem sum* μέν εἰμι ἐγώ ("quidem ego
sum" Vg.). Erasmus renders the passage as if
it were the equivalent of ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι, though
the difference of emphasis is slight.

13 *apostolus gentium* ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος ("genti-
um apostolus" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal
as to the word-order here.

13 *illustro* δοξάσω ("honorificabo" Vg.; "glori-
fico" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 12,23, 28, and also on
Rom. 8,30, for Erasmus' use of *glorifico* and *illu-
stro*. The verb *honorifico* does not exist in classical
Latin. The substitution of the equally non-
classical *glorifico* in 1516 was matched by similar
changes at *Mt.* 6,2; *Mc.* 2,12; 1 *Petr.* 4,11, 14.
Erasmus' use of δοξάζω in 1516-27 more ac-
curately corresponded with the present tense of

his Latin rendering. The substitution of δοξάσω
in 1535 matched the future tense of the Vulgate:
although this variant is to be seen in 𝔓⁴⁶ F G
and a few other mss., its inclusion in Erasmus'
text was probably the result of a printer's error,
as it conflicts with his Latin translation and
Annot. The rendering of Ambrosiaster (1492)
and Manetti was *glorificabo*. Lefèvre put *honorifico*
in his text, but in *Comm.* he also advocated
existimo, a rendering which Erasmus criticises
in *Annot.*

14 *saluos reddam* σώσω ("saluos faciam" Vg.).
A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 10,52
(1519); *Lc.* 18,42 (1519); 1 *Petr.* 3,21. More
often, especially in 1519, Erasmus substitutes
seruo, though other instances of *saluum facio* are
retained. See further on *Ioh.* 3,17. Manetti put
saluabo.

14 *nonnullos* τινάς ("aliquos" Vg.). A similar
change occurs in vs. 17. At twelve other passages,
nonnulli is substituted for *quidam*. The word
nonnulli does not occur in the Vulgate N.T.,
and seems to be introduced by Erasmus mainly
with a view to stylistic variety. The same change
was made here by Lefèvre.

15 *Nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 3,34.

15 *reiectio* ἡ ἀποβολή ("amissio" Vg.). In
Annot., Erasmus expresses his view that *reiectio*

makes a more suitable contrast with the following *assumptio*.

15 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.). Erasmus continues to use *illorum* to refer to the Jews, as in vs. 12.

15 *est reconciliatio* καταλλαγή ("reconciliatio est" Vg.). The Greek permits either rendering, though Erasmus' word-order is clearer and more euphonious.

15 *quae erit* τίς ("quae" Vg.). Erasmus introduces a verb, for the sake of clarity (cf. *quae est* in Ambrosiaster).

16 *primitiae sanctae, sancta est* ἡ ἀπαρχὴ ἁγία ("delibatio sancta est" Vg.). As pointed out by Valla *Annot.*, the Vulgate generally uses *primitiae* for ἀπαρχή at other passages (*Rom.* 8,23; 1 *Cor.* 15,20, 23; 16,15; *Ap. Ioh.* 14,4). See also *Annot.* The word *delibatio* was unsuitable, not only because it did not occur in classical usage, but also because it denoted a drink-offering, whereas *primitiae* was a more general term which could refer to the "first-fruits" of corn or dough, hence providing a clearer connection with φύραμα. The repetition of the adjective (*sanctae, sancta*) further clarifies the meaning of the elliptical Greek construction. Lefèvre had *primitiae sanctae sunt*. Manetti merely deleted *est*.

16 *conspersio* τὸ φύραμα ("massa" 1516-19 = Vg.). Erasmus follows Valla *Annot.* in making use of a non-classical term, borrowed from the Vulgate rendering of 1 *Cor.* 5,7, to designate flour mingled with oil or water, with special reference to the unleavened cakes of Exodus ch. 29, and Leviticus ch. 2 and ch. 7, etc. A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 5,6; *Gal.* 5,9 (1522). At *Rom.* 9,21, Erasmus retains *massa*, in the different context of a lump of clay in the hands of the potter. In 1522 *Annot.* on 1 *Cor.* 5,6, Erasmus alleges that *conspersio* is used by "approved authors" ("probatos autores"). In 1522 *Annot.* on *Gal.* 5,9, he tries to substantiate this by claiming that the word is found in Columella. However, this first-century writer uses only the verb, *conspargo*, not the noun *consparsio* or *conspersio*.

16 *sancti erunt et rami* καὶ οἱ κλάδοι ("et rami" Vg.). Erasmus again expands the wording, to clarify the meaning.

17 *nonnulli rami* τινὲς τῶν κλάδων ("aliqui ex ramis" Vg.). See on vs. 14. Lefèvre had *aliqui ramorum*.

17 *defracti sunt* ἐξεκλάσθησαν ("fracti sunt" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to render more precisely the Greek prefix, ἐξ-. The same alteration occurs in vss. 19-20.

17 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre began this clause with *et tu*.

17 *quum esses oleaster* ἀγριέλαιος ὤν ("cum oleaster esses" Vg.). Erasmus brings the verb forward, possibly to prevent it from being mistakenly attached to *insitus*. The same word-order occurred in Ambrosiaster.

17 *insitus fuisti* ἐνεκεντρίσθης ("insertus es" Vg.). A similar change occurs in vs. 24. The verb used by Erasmus, meaning "graft", is more specifically relevant to the present context, and follows a suggestion of Valla *Annot.* See also *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1007 B-C. The rendering of Lefèvre, for the same reason, was *insitus es*.

17 *illis* ἐν αὐτοῖς ("in illis" Vg.). Erasmus regarded the preposition as redundant for the purpose of translation: see *Annot.* In Manetti, this was rendered as *in ipsis*.

17 *consors* συγκοινωνός ("socius" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Phil.* 1,7. At 1 *Cor.* 9,23 and *Ap. Ioh.* 1,9, Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *particeps* to render this Greek word. He also makes the same change in rendering κοινωνός at 1 *Cor.* 10,20; *Phm.* 17; *Hebr.* 10,33, following the example of the Vulgate at 2 *Petr.* 1,4. As explained in *Annot.*, the required meaning is that the wild olive, when grafted into the other tree, partakes jointly with the remaining branches of that tree, so that both derive their sustenance from the same root. The Vulgate word, *socius*, refers only to the relationship between the graft and the root, rather than between the graft and the other branches. Manetti had *particeps*, and Lefèvre *comparticeps*.

17 *pinguitudinis* τῆς πιότητος ("pinguedinis" 1516 = late Vg.). Erasmus substitutes a slightly more common classical word, which was well-suited to express the nourishment drawn up from the soil. However, in the context of an olive tree, either word is acceptable, with reference to the "oiliness" of the fruit. Lefèvre preferred *vbertatis*.

17 *oleae* τῆς ἐλαίας ("oliuae" Vg.). The form *olea* is somewhat more common than *oliua* in prose authors of the classical period. Some writers identified *olea* as the tree, and *oliua* as the fruit, while others made an opposite

¹⁸ μὴ κατακαυχῶ τῶν κλάδων. εἰ
δὲ κατακαυχᾶσαι, οὐ σὺ τὴν ῥίζαν
βαστάζεις, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ῥίζα σέ. ¹⁹ ἐρεῖς
οὖν, ᾽Εξεκλάσθησαν κλάδοι, ἵνα ἐ|γὼ
ἐγκεντρισθῶ. ²⁰ καλῶς· τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἐξ-
εκλάσθησαν, σὺ δὲ πίστει ἕστηκας. μὴ
ὑψηλοφρόνει, ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ. ²¹ εἰ γὰρ
ὁ θεὸς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν κλάδων οὐκ
ἐφείσατο, μή πως οὐδὲ σοῦ φείσηται.
²² ἴδε οὖν χρηστότητα καὶ ἀποτομί-
αν θεοῦ· ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πεσόντας, ἀπο-
τομίαν· ἐπὶ δὲ σέ, χρηστότητα, ἐὰν
ἐπιμείνῃς τῇ χρηστότητι. ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ
ἐκκοπήσῃ· ²³ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δέ, ἐὰν μὴ

¹⁸ ne glorieris aduersus ramos: quod si
gloriaris, non tu radicem portas, sed
radix te. ¹⁹ Dices igitur, De | fracti sunt   LB 626
rami, vt ego insererer: ²⁰ bene dicis,
per incredulitatem defracti sunt, tu
vero fide constitisti. Ne efferaris ani-
mo, sed timeas. ²¹ Nam si deus natu-
ralibus ramis non pepercit, vide ne
qua fiat, vt nec tibi parcat. ²² Vide
igitur bonitatem ac seueritatem dei:
in eos quidem qui ceciderunt, seueri-
tatem: in te vero bonitatem, si per-
manseris in bonitate. Alioqui et tu
excideris: ²³ et illi rursum, si non

LB 625 (left margin)

20 απιστια *A-C*: απιστεια *D E* | 21 φεισηται *B-E*: φεισεται *A*

22 Vide *E*: Ecce *A-D* | ac *B-E*: et *A* | *prius* seueritatem *C-E*: saeueritatem *A B* | *alt.* seuerita-
tem *C-E*: saeueritatem *A B* | Alioqui *E*: Quoniam *A-D* | 23 rursum *B-E*: porro *A*

distinction. A similar change occurs in vs. 24,
and also at *Iac.* 3,12, but *oliua* is retained at
Ap. Ioh. 11,4 as well as in the various passages
referring to the Mount of Olives.

18 *ne glorieris* μὴ κατακαυχῶ ("noli gloriari"
Vg.). In the Pauline Epistles, Erasmus consis-
tently removes all instances of the imperative
of *nolo*, with the exception of 1 *Cor.* 7,23
(1519), affecting more than forty passages. In
other parts of the N.T., many instances of
noli and *nolite* are permitted to remain. Cf. on
Ioh. 5,14. The same change was made by Manetti
at the present passage.

19 *Dices* ἐρεῖς ("Dicis" late Vg. and some Vg.
mss., with Vg^{ww}). The present tense of the late
Vulgate lacks support from Greek mss. Both
Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* made the same
change as Erasmus, in company with some
Vulgate mss. (and Vgst).

19 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.
Lefèvre began the sentence with *Atqui*, omitting
ergo.

19 *Defracti sunt* ᾽Εξεκλάσθησαν ("Fracti sunt"
Vg.). The spelling of codd. F G was εἰ κλά-
σθησαν, probably a mistake for ἐκλάσθησαν,
which may in turn have arisen as an attempt
to provide a more exact Greek equivalent for
the (Old) Latin text. See on vss. 17 and 20.

19 *insererer* ἐγκεντρισθῶ ("inserar" Vg.). Eras-
mus may have felt that the imperfect subjunctive
was better suited to the Greek aorist. Other
examples occur e.g. in vs. 32, below, and at
1 *Cor.* 4,6; 5,2. He had the same wording as
Ambrosiaster here.

20 *bene dicis* καλῶς ("Bene" Vg.). Erasmus sup-
plies a verb, to show the connection with ἐρεῖς
in the previous verse. Cf. *Annot.* In Lefèvre, this
was rendered *Probe*.

20 *per incredulitatem* τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ("propter in-
credulitatem" Vg.). A similar change occurs in
vs. 30 (see *Annot. ad loc.*). Erasmus' rendering
interprets the dative as the equivalent of "by
the means of". Lefèvre evidently understood
the passage in the same way, translating it
literally by *infidelitate*, consistent with the Vul-
gate use of *fide* for πίστει later in the sen-
tence. The spelling ἀπιστείᾳ in the 1527-35
editions is probably the result of a printer's
error, as Erasmus retains the form ἀπιστία at
all other passages, including vs. 23 of the present
chapter.

20 *defracti sunt* ἐξεκλάσθησαν ("fracti sunt"
Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with ἐκλάσθησαν
in codd. B D* F G. See on vss. 17 and 19,
above.

20 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

20 πίστει. In Erasmus' text, the omission of τῇ before πίστει lacks ms. support, and may have been accidental.

20 *constitisti* ἕστηκας ("stas" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more literal equivalent for the Greek perfect tense, though either rendering is legitimate. Cf. on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti put *stetisti*.

20 *Ne efferaris animo* μὴ ὑψηλοφρόνει ("Noli altum sapere" Vg.). For the removal of *noli*, see on vs. 18, and for the removal of *sapio* see on *Rom.* 8,5. In rendering the same Greek verb at 1 *Tim.* 6,17, Erasmus uses *elato animo sum*, replacing *sublime sapio*. At *Rom.* 11,25 (1519), he similarly replaces *sapio* with *elatus animo* in rendering φρόνιμος. Cf. his use of *effero* to replace *extollo* in rendering ὑπεραίρομαι at 2 *Cor.* 12,7; 2 *Thess.* 2,4. In *Annot.*, he observes that the present passage refers to pride and arrogance rather than wisdom. This change may be compared with Erasmus' use of *arroganter sentio* in rendering ὑπερφρονέω and τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονέω at *Rom.* 12,3. 16. Valla *Annot.* preferred *sentio* to *sapio* here. Manetti put *ne alta sapias*, and Lefèvre *noli superbe sentire*.

20 *timeas* φοβοῦ ("time" Vg.). This use of the subjunctive matches Erasmus' earlier use of *ne efferaris*.

21 *Nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

21 *vide ne qua fiat, vt* μή πως ("ne forte" Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb, for the sake of clarity. The substitution of *ne qua fiat vt* also occurs at 2 *Cor.* 11,3; 12,20 (a). Elsewhere Erasmus replaces *forte* by *quo modo* at 1 *Cor.* 8,9; 9,27; 2 *Cor.* 2,7; 12,20 (b); *Gal.* 2,2; 4,11 (1516 only), and by *quo pacto* at 1 *Thess.* 3,5. See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1007 C. The version of Manetti put *nequaquam*, and Lefèvre *time ne forte*.

21 φείσηται. In 1516, Erasmus more correctly had φείσεται, as found in codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss. The change to φείσηται in 1519 may have been an arbitrary correction (cf. φείσητε in cod. 3). Nevertheless, this was the spelling which remained in the *Textus Receptus*.

22 *Vide* ἴδε ("Ecce" 1516-27). In 1522-35 *Annot.*, *vide* is given as the Vulgate lemma, and then Erasmus strangely goes on to say that the meaning of the Greek text is also *vide*, as if he were under the impression that this was

a correction of the Vulgate wording. Possibly he had intended to write that the meaning of the Greek text, if accentuated as ἰδέ, was *ecce*, rather than *vide*: this was the point which he made in his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 174, ll. 190-192. However, his printed Greek N.T. text has ἴδε (i.e. an imperative) in all five folio editions, and the same accentuation occurs in all his Basle mss. The 1535 Latin text restored the Vulgate wording.

22 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Lefèvre made the same change.

22 χρηστότητα ... ἀποτομίαν (1st.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus inserts τήν before both these nouns, without support from his Basle mss.

22 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

22 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

22 *bonitatem* (2nd.) χρηστότητα ("bonitatem dei" Vg.). The Vulgate follows a Greek text adding θεοῦ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* (most of which also substitute χρηστότης for χρηστότητα) and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816ᵛⁱᵈ, as well as Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and most other mss. As at other passages, the question to be considered is whether the shorter reading arose through scribal deletion of a word that seemed repetitious (because of the use of θεοῦ earlier in the sentence), or whether this second instance of θεοῦ could have originated as an explanatory comment which some scribes mistakenly inserted into the text. The same omission of *dei* was made by Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre. In Lefèvre's version, *benignitatem* was further substituted for *bonitatem*.

22 *Alioqui* ἐπεί ("Alioquin" Vg.; "Quoniam" 1516-27). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also proposes *Quandoquidem*, which he had introduced into his translation at vs. 6. In 1535, his adoption of *Alioqui* corresponded with the spelling which was attributed to the Vulgate in *Annot.*, lemma. Elsewhere he uses *alioqui* for ἐπεί at 1 *Cor.* 7,14; 14,16; 15,29; *Hebr.* 9,26; 10,2, mostly replacing *alioquin*. Manetti anticipated Erasmus' 1516 rendering, while Lefèvre put *alioqui*.

23 *et illi rursum* καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δέ ("Sed et illi" Vg.; "et illi porro" 1516). Erasmus renders according to the context. He does not use *rursum* for δέ elsewhere in the N.T., but see on *Ioh.* 9,9 for his occasional use of *rursus* in this way. For *porro*, see on *Ioh.* 8,16. Manetti had *sed si illi* in place of *sed et illi si*.

ἐπιμείνωσι τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, ἐγκεντρισθή-
σονται. δυνατὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς πάλιν
ἐγκεντρίσαι αὐτούς. ²⁴ εἰ γὰρ σὺ ἐκ τῆς
κατὰ φύσιν ἐξεκόπης ἀγριελαίου, καὶ
παρὰ φύσιν ἐνεκεντρίσθης εἰς καλλι-
έλαιον, πόσῳ μᾶλλον οὗτοι κατὰ φύ-
σιν, ἐγκεντρισθήσονται τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐλαίᾳ;

²⁵ Οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελ-
φοί, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἦτε
παρ' ἑαυτοῖς φρόνιμοι, ὅτι πώρωσις
ἀπὸ μέρους τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν, ἄχρις
οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ,
²⁶ καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται·
καθὼς γέγραπται, Ἥξει ἐκ Σιὼν ὁ ῥυ-
όμενος, καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ
Ἰακώβ. ²⁷ καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ

permanserint in incredulitate, in-
serentur. Potest enim deus denuo
inserere illos. ²⁴ Etenim si tu ex na-
turali exectus es oleastro, et praeter
naturam insitus es in veram oleam,
quanto magis hi qui naturales sunt,
inserentur propriae oleae?

²⁵ Non enim volo vos ignorare
fratres mysterium hoc, vt ne sitis
apud vosmet ipsos elati animo,
quod excaecatio ex parte Israeli ac-
cidit, donec plenitudo gentium ad-
uenerit, ²⁶ et sic totus Israel saluus
erit: sicut scriptum est: Adueniet ex
Sion ille qui liberat, et auertet im-
pietates a Iacob. ²⁷ Et hoc illis a me

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24 tu *Aᶜ B-E: om. A** | **25** ne *B-E*: non *A* | elati animo *B-E*: prudentes *A* | Israeli *B-E*:
Israheli *A* | **26** Israel saluus erit *B-E*: Israhel saluabitur *A* | ille *B-E*: is *A* | auertet *A-D*:
auertat *E* | **27** me *B-E*: me profectum *A*

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23 *Potest enim* δυνατὸς γάρ ἐστιν ("Potens est
enim" Vg.). The word-order ἐστιν ὁ θεός is
taken from cod. 2815, together with 2105, 2816
and most other mss. In codd. 1 and 2817, it
is ὁ θεός ἐστι. A similar substitution of *possum*
occurs at *Mt.* 3,9; *Eph.* 3,20; *Hebr.* 2,18; 11,19,
in conformity with frequent Vulgate usage else-
where in rendering δύναμαι, δυνατεύω and
δυνατός εἰμι. However, at twelve other passages,
Erasmus retains *potens sum.* Manetti made the
same change here (though the original reading
of *Pal. Lat.* 45 seems to have agreed with the
Vulgate).

23 *denuo* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). Erasmus pos-
sibly wanted to avoid the implication that
those Jews who repented would be grafted into
the olive tree for a *second* time, as their former
connection with the olive tree had not been as
"grafts" but as the original branches. A similar
substitution of *denuo* occurs e.g. at *Gal.* 1,17;
4,9.

24 *Etenim si* εἰ γάρ ("Nam et si" Vg. 1527;
"Nam si" Vg. mss.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. The ad-
dition of *et* by the 1527 Vulgate column, and
also in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514,
lacks Greek ms. support. Manetti made the

same change as Erasmus. Lefèvre had *Nam si*
in his translation, but *Nam si et* in his accom-
panying Vulgate text.

24 *exectus es* ἐξεκόπης ("excisus es" Vg.). The
change of verb seems to be mainly for stylistic
variety, in view of the retention of *excido* in
vs. 22. Erasmus does not elsewhere use *ex(s)eco*
in the N.T.

24 *praeter* παρά ("contra" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
1,26. Manetti made the same substitution.

24 *insitus es* ἐνεκεντρίσθης ("insertus es" Vg.).
See on vs. 17. Lefèvre likewise had *insitus*, but
omitting *es.*

24 *veram oleam* καλλιέλαιον ("bonam oliuam"
Vg.). Erasmus substitutes *verus* for *bonus*, to
obtain a more relevant contrast with *oleaster,*
the wild olive tree. Cf. *Annot.* For *olea*, see on
vs. 17. Lefèvre put *bona oliua.*

24 *hi qui naturales sunt* οὗτοι κατὰ φύσιν ("hi
qui secundum naturam" late Vg.). Nearly all
mss., including codd. 1, 2105, 2817, add οἱ
after οὗτοι, and this is the reading which
corresponds most closely with Erasmus' trans-
lation. His omission of οἱ from the text may
have been accidental, though his Greek wording

here coincides with cod. 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ (cod. 2816*
had just οὗτοι, omitting οἱ κατὰ φύσιν). In
cod. 2815, οὗτοι οἱ was replaced by οὐ. His
change to *naturales* assumes that κλάδοι is to
be understood after φύσιν, on analogy with the
phrase τῶν κατὰ φύσιν κλάδων in vs. 21.
Some late Vulgate editions replace *hi* with
ii, as used in both columns of Lefèvre.

24 *propriae* ἰδίᾳ ("suae" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,11.
The same change was made by Manetti and
Lefèvre (though the original reading of *Urb.
Lat.* 6, incorrectly, was *prope*).

25 *Non enim volo* Οὐ γὰρ θέλω ("Nolo enim"
Vg.). Erasmus gives a more literal rendering.
See on *Rom.* 7,16. Manetti and Lefèvre made
the same change.

25 *ne* μή ("non" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20.
The combination *vt ne* elsewhere occurs at *Mt.*
26,41; *Ioh.* 16,1 (1519); *Rom.* 15,20; 1 *Cor.* 1,29;
4,6; 2 *Cor.* 9,4; 13,7 (1516 only); *Phm.* 19; *Iac.*
5,9, 12. The use of *ne* had also been proposed
by Valla *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre sub-
stituted *ne* for *vt non*.

25 *apud vosmet ipsos* παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ("vobismet
ipsis" Vg. 1527; "vobis ipsis" *Annot.*, lemma
= Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows
the Froben Vulgate of 1514. The Vulgate may
reflect a Greek text omitting παρ', as in
𝔓⁴⁶ F G and a few other mss. In codd. A B,
the preposition is ἐν. Erasmus follows codd.
2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816,
with ℵ C D and most of the later mss. In
Annot., following Valla *Annot.*, Erasmus ad-
vocated *apud vos ipsos*, which had also been
adopted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

25 *elati animo* φρόνιμοι ("sapientes" Vg.; "pru-
dentes" 1516). See on vs. 20 (ὑψηλοφρόνει).
See also *Annot.* The rendering *prudentes*, in
1516, followed a suggestion of Valla *Annot.*,
which was also adopted by Manetti and Lefèvre,
in conformity with the Vulgate rendering of
Rom. 12,16.

25 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The
same change was made by Lefèvre.

25 *excaecatio* πώρωσις ("caecitas" Vg.). A similar
substitution occurs at *Eph.* 4,18. Among classical
authors, the verb *excaeco* is found, but not
excaecatio. On the other hand, *caecitas* has good
classical precedent and is retained by Erasmus
at *Mc.* 3,5. A possible reason for his choice of
excaecatio, at the present passage, is that this
word signified the process of becoming . or

being made blind, but *caecitas* the resulting
state of blindness.

25 *Israeli accidit* τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν ("contigit
in Israel" Vg.; "Israheli accidit" 1516). Erasmus
elsewhere uses *contingo* more frequently than
the Vulgate. Either verb gives a satisfactory
rendering here. However, the substitution of
Israeli is more clear, and Erasmus is closer to
the Greek word-order. Manetti had *in Israel
contigit*, and Lefèvre *in Israel facta est*.

25 *aduenerit* εἰσέλθῃ ("intraret" Vg.). Erasmus
is less accurate here, as the Greek text could
otherwise be understood as referring to the
entrance of the Gentiles into the kingdom (or
church) of God. His use of *aduenio*, meaning
"arrive" or "occur", would be more appro-
priate to *plenitudo temporis* than to *plenitudo
gentium* (cf. *Gal.* 4,4). For his idiomatic use of
the future perfect tense, cf. on *Rom.* 2,25.
Manetti had *vsque quo ... intrauit*, and Lefèvre
donec ... intret.

26 *totus* πᾶς ("omnis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,2.

26 *saluus erit* σωθήσεται ("saluus fieret" Vg.;
"saluabitur" 1516). See on *Rom.* 9,27. Manetti
had *saluabitur*, as in Erasmus' first edition,
while Lefèvre put *saluus fiet*.

26 *Adueniet* Ἥξει ("Veniet" Vg.). Elsewhere
Erasmus is usually content to retain *venio* for
ἥκω. By using *aduenio* for this verb, as well
as for εἰσέρχομαι in vs. 25, he removes the
distinction of meaning.

26 *ille qui* ὁ ("qui" Vg.; "is qui" 1516). This
addition of a pronoun makes the sense clearer,
preventing the reader from mistakenly sup-
posing that the antecedent for *qui* is *Sion*.

26 *liberat* ῥυόμενος ("eripiat" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
7,24, where an opposite change occurs. See also
Annot. The rendering of Lefèvre had *eripiet*.

26 *auertet* ἀποστρέψει ("auertat" 1535 Lat.
= late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Since, in *Annot.*,
Erasmus explicitly advocates the future tense,
auertet, it would seem likely that the restoration
of *auertat* in the 1535 edition is a printer's
error, by attraction to the preceding *liberat*.
Lefèvre put *auertet*.

26 *impietates* ἀσεβείας ("impietatem" late Vg.).
The late Vulgate use of the singular lacks Greek
ms. support. See *Annot.*

27 *a me* παρ' ἐμοῦ ("a me profectum" 1516
Lat.). See on 1 *Cor.* 15,10 for other additions
of *proficiscor*.

διαθήκη, ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν. ²⁸κατὰ μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐχθροὶ δι' ὑμᾶς· κατὰ δὲ ἐκλογήν, ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τοὺς πατέρας. ²⁹ἀμετα-μέλητα γὰρ τὰ χαρίσματα καὶ ἡ κλῆσις τοῦ θεοῦ. ³⁰ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς ποτε ἠπειθήσατε τῷ θεῷ, νῦν δὲ ἠλεήθητε τῇ τούτων ἀπειθείᾳ· ³¹οὕτως καὶ οὗτοι νῦν ἠπεί-θησαν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐλέει, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθῶσι. | ³²συν-έκλεισε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπείθειαν, ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσῃ.

³³Ὦ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως θεοῦ, ὡς ἀνεξερεύ-νητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ. ³⁴τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου; ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο; ³⁵ἢ τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ

testamentum, quum abstulero pecca-ta ipsorum. ²⁸Secundum euangelium quidem, inimici propter vos: secun-dum electionem autem, dilecti propter patres. ²⁹Nam dona quidem et voca-tio dei eiusmodi sunt, vt eorum illum poenitere non possit. ³⁰Quemadmo-dum enim et vos quondam increduli fuistis deo, nunc autem misericordiam estis consequuti per illorum incredu-litatem: ³¹sic et isti nunc increduli facti sunt, ex eo | quod vos mise-ricordiam estis adepti, vt et ipsi misericordiam consequantur. ³²Con-clusit enim deus omnes sub incre-dulitatem, vt omnium misereretur.

³³O profunditatem diuitiarum et sapientiae et cognitionis dei, quam inscrutabilia sunt iudicia eius, et imperuestigabiles viae eius. ³⁴Quis enim cognouit mentem domini? Aut quis illi fuit a consiliis? ³⁵Aut quis prior dedit illi, et

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27 ipsorum B-E: illorum A | 31 ex ... adepti B-E: per vestri misericordiam A | 32 sub B-E: in A | 34 illi fuit a consiliis B-E: illius consilii particeps fuit A

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27 *ipsorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.; "illorum" 1516). This change was scarcely necessary, though Erasmus may have wished to pre-vent any supposition that *eorum* might have a different point of reference from *illis*, used earlier in the verse.

28 ἐκλογήν. Erasmus' text mistakenly omits the preceding article τήν, in all five editions, without ms. authority.

28 *dilecti* ἀγαπητοί ("charissimi" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,25, and *Annot.* This change agreed with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

29 *Nam ... possit* ἀμεταμέλητα ... θεοῦ ("Sine poenitentia enim sunt dona et vocatio dei" Vg.). Erasmus reverses the word-order of the whole sentence. Regarding *nam* for *enim*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. The insertion of *quidem* is not explicitly

required by the Greek text: see on *Rom.* 6,17 for other additions of this word. Erasmus' long periphrasis for ἀμεταμέλητα, *eiusmodi ... vt eorum illum poenitere non possit*, is designed to clarify the meaning, in place of the obscure rendering of the Vulgate. The Vulgate phrase, *sine poenitentia*, was capable of being misunder-stood to mean that the gifts and calling of God were bestowed even if there were no repentance on the part of man. See *Annot.*, where Erasmus shows that the expression refers to God, as the one who does not repent of what he has given. At 2 *Cor.* 7,10, Erasmus renders this Greek word more simply by *haud poenitendam*.

30 *Quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("Sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

30 *et vos quondam* καὶ ὑμεῖς ποτε ("aliquando et vos" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order has little

ms. support. Several early mss. omit καί, either having ὑμεῖς ποτε, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ ⁽¹⁾ A B C D* F G, together with cod. 2105, or ποτε ὑμεῖς, as in cod. A. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1 and 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ ⁽²⁾ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. For the substitution of *quondam*, see on *Rom.* 7,9. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *et vos aliquando*.

30 *increduli fuistis* ἠπειθήσατε ("non credidistis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,3. Lefèvre, using an over-literal non-classical expression, put *discredidistis*.

30 *misericordiam estis consequuti* ἠλεήθητε ("misericordiam consecuti estis" Vg.). This change of word-order throws greater emphasis on to *consequuti*, producing an elegant partial chiasmus after *increduli fuistis*.

30 *per illorum incredulitatem* τῇ τούτων ἀπει-θείᾳ ("propter incredulitatem illorum" late Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order. For his use of *per*, see on vs. 20 (τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ). See also *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1007 D. The version of Manetti offered *ob incredulitatem ipsorum*, and Lefèvre *in incredulitate eorum*.

31 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). Cf. on *Rom.* 5,21.

31 *increduli facti sunt* ἠπείθησαν ("non credi-derunt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,3. Lefèvre put *discredunt*, repeating the verb which he had introduced in vs. 30.

31 *ex ... adepti* τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐλέει ("in vestram misericordiam" Vg.; "per vestri misericordiam" 1516). From *Annot.*, it appears that Erasmus here understands the dative as expressing the occasion rather than the cause or object of Jewish unbelief: meaning, in effect, "in response to the fact that you obtained mercy". Cf. *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1007 D-E. In a long note in 1535 *Annot.*, he referred to several other possible interpretations, in particular the sugges-tion that a comma be placed before τῷ, to give the meaning "in order that, through the mercy which you obtained, they also might obtain mercy". In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus' brief com-ment on this phrase is misplaced at *Rom.* 12,3. Lefèvre put *vestrae misericordiae*, which conveys a meaning similar to the Vulgate.

32 *omnes* τοὺς πάντας ("omnia" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having τὰ πάντα, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ D* (or just πάντα, as in F G), possibly influenced by *Gal.* 3,22. Erasmus fol-lows his codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by

1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ A B Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.* The same reading was adopted by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

32 *sub incredulitatem* εἰς ἀπείθειαν ("in incredu-litate" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "in increduli-tatem" 1516 = Vg. mss.). In using the accusative, Erasmus follows the Greek more literally. A comparable use of *sub* occurs at *Gal.* 3,22, *conclusit ... sub peccatum* (ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν). Ma-netti had *in incredulitatem*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

32 *misereretur* ἐλεήσῃ ("misereatur" Vg.). See on vs. 19 (*insererer*).

33 *profunditatem* βάθος ("altitudo" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the ambiguity of the Vulgate word, which means height as well as depth. Lefèvre also made this change.

33 *et* (1st.) καί (Vg. omits). There is little Greek ms. support for the Vulgate omission: see *Annot.* The word was similarly inserted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

33 *cognitionis* γνώσεως ("scientiae" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,20. Lefèvre put *agnitionis*.

33 *inscrutabilia* ἀνεξερεύνητα ("incomprehen-sibilia" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, the word *inscrutabilia* was adopted by Jerome, who cites this passage several times in his commentary on Isaiah (see *CCSL* 73, pp. 74, 93; *CCSL* 73A, pp. 609, 625). This expression was also used by Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

33 *imperuestigabiles* ἀνεξιχνίαστοι ("inuestigabi-les" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 3,8. In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that the Vulgate rendering is the opposite of the true meaning. Neither the Vulgate term nor Erasmus' suggested alternative is found in classical authors, though *inuestigo* and *peruestigo* existed as verbs. Lefèvre tried *ininuestigabiles* at both passages.

34 γάρ. This word, which is attested by vir-tually all mss., was omitted in cod. 2815.

34 *mentem* νοῦν ("sensum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,28, and *Annot.* The same change was advocated by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

34 *illi fuit a consiliis* σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ("consiliarius eius fuit" Vg.; "illius consilii par-ticeps fuit" 1516). Erasmus' idiomatic choice of *a consiliis* seemed an appropriate designa-tion for a servant or secretary who gave advice to his master. The Vulgate word *consiliarius* is more generally applicable to any kind of adviser.

ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ; ³⁶ ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ
καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα.
αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

12 Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί,
διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ,
παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, θυσί-
αν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ,
τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν· ²καὶ μὴ
LB 629   συ | σχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ,
ἀλλὰ μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει
τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν, εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς
τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ
εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον.

reddetur ei? ³⁶Quoniam ex illo et
per illum et in illum omnia. Ipsi
gloria in saecula, amen.

12 Obsecro igitur vos fratres, per
miserationes dei, vt praebeatis
corpora vestra hostiam viuentem,
sanctam, acceptam deo, rationalem
cultum vestrum: ²et ne | accom-   LB 630
modetis vos ad figuram seculi huius,
sed transformemini per renouatio-
nem mentis vestrae, vt probetis quae
sit voluntas dei, quod bonum est
acceptumque et perfectum.

12,1 οικτιρμων *B-E*: οεκτιρμων *A*

35 reddetur *B-E*: retribuetur *A* | 36 saecula *B D E*: saecula saeculorum *A*, secula *C*
12,1   Obsecro igitur *B-E*: Adhortor autem *A* | miserationes *B-E*: misericordias *A* |
2 accommodetis ... seculi huius *B-E (exc.* saeculi *pro* seculi *B)*: configuremini saeculo huic *A* |
quod ... perfectum *B-E*: et accepta, et perfecta *A*

35 *reddetur* ἀνταποδοθήσεται ("retribuetur"
1516 = Vg.). A similar change occurs at 2 *Thess.*
1,6. Elsewhere, in rendering the same Greek
verb, Erasmus substitutes *rependo* for *retribuo* at
Lc. 14,14 (1519); *Rom.* 12,19; 1 *Thess.* 3,9, and
rependo for *reddo* at *Hebr.* 10,30. After 1519, no
further instances of *retribuo* remained in his
translation. The removal of *retribuo* and *retributio*
prevented any misunderstanding which might
have arisen from the supposition that these
terms were necessarily associated with punish-
ment, although in classical usage *retribuo* had
the neutral sense of "repay". Cf. on vs. 9, above,
for Erasmus' removal of *retributio* in rendering
ἀνταπόδομα.

36 *illo ... illum ... in illum* αὐτοῦ ... αὐτοῦ ...
εἰς αὐτόν ("ipso ... ipsum ... in ipso" Vg.). In
the present context, the Vulgate use of the
reflexive pronouns was unnecessary. See on
Rom. 1,20. Erasmus was also more accurate in
substituting *in illum* for *in ipso*: cf. *Annot.* At
this point, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre had *in
ipsum*.

36 *omnia* τὰ πάντα ("sunt omnia" late Vg.
and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ). The late Vulgate
addition of a verb, though legitimate, is not ex-
plicitly supported by Greek mss. The rendering

adopted by Erasmus is also found in some
Vulgate mss. (with Vgˢᵗ).

36 *gloria* ἡ δόξα ("honor et gloria" late Vg.).
The late Vulgate addition of *honor et* lacks
Greek ms. support and looks like a harmonisa-
tion with 1 *Tim.* 1,17. See *Annot.*, and see also
on *Rom.* 16,27. This passage is listed in the
Quae Sint Addita. In deleting the extra words,
Erasmus' rendering agreed with the earlier Vul-
gate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

36 *saecula* τοὺς αἰῶνας ("saecula saeculorum"
1516 = late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late
Vulgate addition corresponds with the addition
of τῶν αἰώνων in codd. F Gᶜᵒʳʳ. See *Annot.*
This correction was also made by Manetti and
Lefèvre.

12,1 *Obsecro* Παρακαλῶ ("Adhortor" 1516).
See on *Act.* 15,32 for *adhortor.* A similar tem-
porary substitution of *adhortor* in 1516 occurs
at 1 *Cor.* 1,10. In 1519, Erasmus decided that
the following mention of τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν was
more appropriate to beseeching than exhorting,
and hence restored the Vulgate rendering: see
Annot. The version of Manetti had *Rogo.*

1 *igitur* οὖν ("itaque" Vg.; "autem" 1516). There
seems to be no justification for the 1516

substitution of *autem*. At 1 *Cor.* 4,16, translating exactly the same Greek wording, Erasmus put *Adhortor itaque vos*. At the present passage, Manetti had *ergo*, and Lefèvre *igitur*.

1 *fratres* ἀδελφοί ("frater" Vg. 1527). The use of the singular by the 1527 Vulgate column seems to have been a printer's error.

1 *miserationes* τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν ("misericordiam" Vg.; "misericordias" 1516). The singular used by the Vulgate is unsupported by Greek mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus uses the spelling οἰκτειρμῶν, contrary to his Basle mss. A similar substitution of *miserationes* for *misericordia* occurs at *Col.* 3,12 (though at that passage, the Vulgate probably reflects the replacement of οἰκτιρμῶν by οἰκτιρμοῦ, singular), in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Phil.* 2,1. At 2 *Cor.* 1,3, however, Erasmus retains *misericordia* (or rather *misericordiarum*), and at *Hebr.* 10,28 he even substitutes *misericordia* for *miseratio*, in rendering the same Greek word. At the present passage, Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

1 *vt praebeatis* παραστῆσαι ("vt exhibeatis" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,3, and *Annot.*, together with *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1007 E-1008 A. The version of Manetti had *vt constituatis*.

1 *acceptam deo* εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ ("deo placentem" Vg.). A similar substitution of *acceptus* for *beneplacens* occurs in vs. 2, and also for *placeo* at *Rom.* 14,18; *Hebr.* 13,21. At *Phil.* 4,18, *placens* is replaced by *gratus*, as in that verse *acceptus* is already used for δεκτός. At *Eph.* 5,10, Erasmus substitutes *acceptus* for *beneplacitus*, rendering the same Greek word. The Vulgate word-order corresponds with τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον in codd. ℵ A and a few later mss. At the present passage, Manetti put *deo beneplacentem*, and Lefèvre *beneplacentem deo*.

1 *rationalem cultum* τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ("rationabile obsequium" Vg.). From *Annot.*, it appears that Erasmus wished to avoid λογικήν being misunderstood to mean "moderate". He regarded *rationalis*, or "in accordance with reason", as better suited to convey the required sense. The Vulgate rendering is hence included among the *Loca Obscura*. The passage is further discussed in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1008 A-1009 F. Regarding *cultus*, see on *Ioh.* 16,2 and *Rom.* 9,4, and also *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *rationabilem cultum*.

2 *ne accommodetis vos ad figuram seculi huius* μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ("nolite conformari huic saeculo" Vg.; "ne configuremini saeculo huic" 1516). Erasmus may have considered that the Vulgate's use of the cognate verbs *conformo* and *reformo* wrongly implied an etymological connection between συσχηματίζω and μεταμορφόω. At the only other passage where συσχηματίζω occurs, 1 *Petr.* 1,14, he substitutes *vt non accommodetis vos* for *non configurati*. For the use of *ne*, see on *Rom.* 11,18. Erasmus' use of *configuro* in 1516 may have been prompted by Lefèvre, who had *nolite configurari saeculo huic*. Manetti put *ne conformemini huic seculo*.

2 *transformemini* μεταμορφοῦσθε ("reformamini" Vg.). This substitution is consistent with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 3,18. Erasmus further replaces *transfiguro* with *transformo* in rendering the same Greek verb at *Mt.* 17,2; *Mc.* 9,2. Lefèvre had *transformamini*, a variation which Erasmus adopted in 1516 *Annot.*

2 *per renouationem* τῇ ἀνακαινώσει ("in nouitate" Vg.). Erasmus' more accurate rendering of ἀνακαίνωσις ("renewing" rather than "newness") is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Tit.* 3,5. See *Annot.* For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre had *in renouatione*.

2 *mentis vestrae* τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν ("sensus vestri" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,28, and *Annot.* The same change was advocated by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, while Manetti preferred *intellectus vestri*.

2 *quod bonum est* τὸ ἀγαθόν ("bona" Vg.; 1516 Lat. omits). The Vulgate interprets ἀγαθόν as an adjective describing the nature of God's will, whereas Erasmus' version treats it as describing the object of God's will, or as referring to the actions comprised in the preceding verbs, παραστῆσαι, μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε, μεταμορφοῦσθε, and δοκιμάζειν. See *Annot.* The rendering of Ambrosiaster similarly had *quod bonum* but placed *est* later in the sentence. The omission in 1516 was probably accidental. Cf. Erasmus' *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 228, ll. 701-704.

2 *acceptumque* καὶ εὐάρεστον ("et beneplacens" late Vg.; "et accepta" 1516). See on vs. 1 for *acceptum*, and on *Ioh.* 1,39 for *-que*.

2 *perfectum* τέλειον ("perfecta" 1516 = Vg.). For Erasmus' use of the neuter in his 1519 revision, see on *quod bonum est*, above. The word *perfectum* was also to be found in Ambrosiaster.

³Λέγω γὰρ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δοθείσης μοι, παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν, μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, ἑκάστῳ ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐμέρισε μέτρον πίστεως.

⁴Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι μέλη πολλὰ ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ μέλη πάντα οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει πρᾶξιν, ⁵οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ ἓν σῶμά ἐσμεν ἐν Χριστῷ· ὁ δὲ καθ' εἷς, ἀλλήλων μέλη· ⁶ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα, εἴτε προφητείαν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, ⁷εἴτε διακονίαν ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ, εἴτε ὁ διδά|σκων ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, ⁸εἴτε

³Dico enim per gratiam quae data est mihi, cuilibet versanti inter vos, ne quis arroganter de se sentiat, supra quam oportet de se sentire: sed ita sentiat, vt modestus sit et sobrius, vt cuique deus partitus est mensuram fidei.

⁴Quemadmodum enim in vno corpore membra multa habemus: membra vero non omnia eundem habent actum, ⁵sic multi vnum corpus sumus in Christo: singulatim autem alii aliorum membra: ⁶sed tamen habentes dona iuxta gratiam datam nobis varia, siue prophetiam iuxta portionem fidei, ⁷siue minist|erium in administratione, siue qui docet in doctrina, ⁸siue

3 enim B-E: autem A | vt cuique B-E: vnicuique vt A | 4 non omnia D E: omnia non A-C |
5 singulatim B-E: singuli A | 6 tamen B-E: om. A | 7 administratione B-E: ministerio A

3 *enim* γάρ ("autem" 1516 Lat.). The use of *autem* for γάρ can be seen in the Vulgate at a few passages in the Gospels: e.g. *Mt.* 22,14; *Lc.* 12,58; 14,24; *Ioh.* 5,4, all retained by Erasmus in 1516.

3 *cuilibet versanti* παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ("omnibus qui sunt" Vg.). The change to the singular was more literally accurate. See on *Ioh.* 7,1, and *Annot.*, for Erasmus' use of *versor.* See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1010 A. The version of Lefèvre put *omni qui inter vos est.*

3 *ne quis arroganter de se sentiat, supra* μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν ("non plus sapere" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,5; 11,20 (ὑψηλοφρονέω). In *Annot.*, Erasmus again stresses that this was not an exhortation against learning but against an attitude of self-importance. The interpretation of Valla *Annot.* was *ne velitis de vobis sentire supra*, while Lefèvre put *non esse supra sentiendum.*

3 *de se sentire ... sentiat* φρονεῖν ... φρονεῖν ("sapere ... sapere" Vg.). See the previous note, and *Annot.* For the substitution of *sentio* for *sapio* see further on *Rom.* 8,5. Valla *Annot.* suggested replacing the first instance of *sapere* by *sentire de vobis.* Lefèvre put *sentire ... sentiendum.*

3 *ita ... vt modestus sit et sobrius* εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ("ad sobrietatem" Vg.). At *Tit.* 2,6, Erasmus was content to follow the Vulgate in using

sobrius sum for this Greek verb, without adding *modestus.* He retains *sobrietas* for σωφροσύνη at *Act.* 26,25, and for σωφρονισμός at 2 *Tim.* 1,7. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *ad modestiam.*

3 *vt cuique* ἑκάστῳ ὡς ("et vnicuique sicut" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "vnicuique sicut" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ; "vnicuique vt" 1516). The addition of *et*, in many Vulgate copies, does not have explicit Greek ms. support. Erasmus alters the word-order for the sake of clarity: cf. *Annot.* A similar substitution of *vt cuique* occurs at 1 *Cor.* 3,5 (1519). In rendering the same Greek phrase at 1 *Cor.* 7,17 (1519), *vnicuique sicut* is replaced by *vnusquisque vt ipsi.* Substitutions of *quisque* for *vnusquisque* also occur at twelve other passages, mainly for stylistic variety, e.g. at *Mt.* 18,35; *Act.* 2,8; 1 *Cor.* 3,5 (1519). Manetti put *vnicuique sicut*, while Lefèvre *Comm.* had *vt vnicuique.*

3 *partitus est* ἐμέρισε ("diuisit" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 7,17, and also in rendering διαμερίζω at *Mc.* 15,24, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 19,24. Possibly Erasmus considered that it was inappropriate to speak of faith as something which could be "divided" into portions. More often he retains *diuido.* Lefèvre made the same change, but placed *partitus est* after *fidei.*

4 *Quemadmodum* Καθάπερ ("Sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,6. Lefèvre made the same substitution.

4 *membra multa* μέλη πολλά ("multa membra" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different Greek word-order, πολλὰ μέλη, exhibited by 𝔓³¹ ⁴⁶ ℵ B D F G and a few later mss., including 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by cod. A, together with 1, 2816 and most other late mss. The same change was again made by Lefèvre.

4 *membra vero non omnia* τὰ δὲ μέλη πάντα οὐ ("omnia autem membra non" Vg.; "membra vero omnia non" 1516-22). For *vero*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. The Vulgate word-order has little Greek ms. support (cf. τὰ δὲ πάντα μέλη οὐ in cod. F, or πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη οὐ in cod. 2105). In Manetti, the wording was *membra autem non*, omitting *omnia*. Lefèvre put *non autem omnia membra*.

4 *habent actum* ἔχει πρᾶξιν ("actum habent" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with πρᾶξιν ἔχει in 𝔓³¹ ⁴⁶ F*. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

5 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. The same change was made by Manetti, but Lefèvre put *hunc in modum*.

5 *singulatim* καθ᾽ εἷς ("singuli" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,9. A similar substitution of *singulatim* for *per singulos* occurs at 1 *Cor.* 14,31, and for *singuli* at *Eph.* 5,33, and also for *per singula* at *Hebr.* 9,5, in accordance with Vulgate usage in rendering εἷς καθ᾽ εἷς at *Mc.* 14,19.

5 *alii aliorum* ἀλλήλων ("alter alterius" Vg.). Erasmus' plural rendering is more accurate. See *Annot.*, and cf. also on *Ioh.* 13,14. Valla *Annot.* suggested *alius alterius*, while Manetti offered *adinuicem*, and Lefèvre *inuicem*.

6 *sed tamen habentes* ἔχοντες δέ ("habentes" *Annot.*, lemma; "habentes autem" Vg. 1527 = Vg. mss.; "sed habentes" 1516). The omission of *autem* in some printed Vulgate copies is exemplified by the Froben Vulgate of 1491: in *Annot.*, Erasmus suggested that this word had been deliberately omitted by a later copyist. The passage was therefore mentioned in the *Ad Placandos*. The combination *sed tamen* is used by Erasmus elsewhere only at *Rom.* 15,15 (1519). Lefèvre put *habentes quidem*.

6 *dona* χαρίσματα ("donationes" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 1,11. See on *Rom.* 1,11. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus complains of the

Vulgate inconsistency in rendering this Greek word. In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, pp. 174-6, ll. 194-206, as well as in 1522 *Annot.*, he further objects that *donatio* was not used in this sense by classical authors. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1010 A-B. The rendering of Lefèvre was the same as that of Erasmus.

6 *iuxta* (1st.) κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

6 *datam* τὴν δοθεῖσαν ("quae data est" Vg.). Erasmus needed to make this change, to prevent confusion as to whether the following *varia* was connected with *dona* (neuter plural) or *data* (feminine singular).

6 *varia* διάφορα ("differentes" Vg.). Erasmus' choice of rendering avoids unnecessary use of the present participle, and is closer to the grammatical form of the Greek word. In *Annot.*, he suggested using *diuersa*. Elsewhere he follows the Vulgate in using *varius* for ποικίλος. He replaces *multiformis* by *varius* at 1 *Petr.* 4,10 (ποικίλος), and by *vehementer varius* at *Eph.* 3,10 (πολυποίκιλος). Lefèvre put *differentia*.

6 *iuxta* (2nd.) κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23, and *Annot.*

6 *portionem* τὴν ἀναλογίαν ("rationem" Vg.). The article τήν, though present in most mss., was omitted by codd. 2105, 2815 and a few other late mss. Erasmus' rendering is more intelligible, and better suited to the context. In *Annot.*, he also mentions *proportionem* as an alternative, but regarded this as inferior to *pro portione*. Cf. *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1010 B-C. The use of *proportionem* was proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Manetti. In Lefèvre's version, *rationem* was expanded to *analogiam, id est rationem*.

7 *administratione* τῇ διακονίᾳ ("ministrando" Vg.; "ministerio" 1516). Erasmus preferred to substitute a noun, so as to correspond with the form of the Greek word: see *Annot.* His usual rendering of διακονία at other passages is *ministerium* rather than *administratio*: see on 1 *Cor.* 12,5; 2 *Cor.* 3,7. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *ministerio*, as in Erasmus' first edition.

8 *siue* εἴτε (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶vid D* F G. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A B. This change agreed with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

ὁ παρακαλῶν ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει,
ὁ μεταδιδοὺς ἐν ἁπλότητι, ὁ προ-
ϊστάμενος ἐν σπουδῇ, ὁ ἐλεῶν ἐν
ἱλαρότητι. ⁹ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος·
ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρόν, κολλώ-
μενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ, ¹⁰τῇ φιλαδελ-
φίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι, τῇ
τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι, ¹¹τῇ
σπουδῇ μὴ ὀκνηροί, τῷ πνεύμα-
τι ζέοντες, τῷ καιρῷ δουλεύοντες,
¹²τῇ ἐλπίδι χαίροντες, τῇ θλίψει

qui exhortatur in exhortatione, qui
impertit in simplicitate, qui praeest
in diligentia, qui miseretur in hila-
ritate. ⁹Dilectio sit non simulata:
sitis odio prosequentes quod malum
est, adhaerentes ei quod bonum est,
¹⁰per fraternam charitatem, ad mutuo
vos diligendos propensi, honore alius
alium praeuenientes, ¹¹studio non
pigri, spiritu feruentes, tempori serui-
entes, ¹²spe gaudentes, in afflictione

11 τῶ καιρω *B-E*: κυριου *A*

9 sit *B-E*: om. *A* | sitis *B-E*: om. *A* | 10 praeuenientes *D E*: praecedentes *A-C* | 11 stu-
dio *B-E*: diligentia *A* | tempori *B-E*: domino *A* | 12 in afflictione *B-E*: per tribulationem *A*

8 *exhortatione* τῇ παρακλήσει ("exhortando"
Vg.). Again Erasmus prefers a noun, to represent
the grammatical form of the Greek expression
more closely. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and
Lefèvre made the same substitution.

8 *qui impertit* ὁ μεταδιδούς ("qui tribuit" Vg.).
Erasmus expresses more clearly a nuance of the
Greek verb, in the sense of "giving a share of"
something. A comparable substitution occurs
at *Eph.* 4,28, where the deponent form of the
verb, *impartiri*, replaces *vnde tribuat* in rendering
μεταδιδόναι, similar to the Vulgate usage of
impertiar at *Rom.* 1,11. Erasmus also uses *impertio*
in rendering the same Greek verb at *Lc.* 3,11;
1 *Thess.* 2,8. Cf. also *facilis esse ad impartiendum*
instead of *facile tribuere*, in rendering εὐμετάδο-
τος εἶναι at 1 *Tim.* 6,18. For Erasmus' occasional
use of *tribuo*, see on *Rom.* 4,20. At the present
passage, Manetti put *tribuens*, and Lefèvre *qui
contribuit.*

8 *diligentia* σπουδῇ ("sollicitudine" Vg.). The
same substitution occurs at *Rom.* 12,11 (1516
only); 2 *Cor.* 8,7. Sometimes Erasmus prefers
studium, at *Rom.* 12,11 (1519); 2 *Cor.* 7,12;
Hebr. 6,11; *Iud.* 3, and also replaces *cura* with
studium at 2 *Petr.* 1,5. Such changes avoided the
unwanted connotation of *sollicitudo*, in the
sense of "anxiety". Cf. Erasmus' substitution of
diligentior for *sollicitior* in rendering σπουδαιό-
τερος at 2 *Cor.* 8,17, 22, and *diligens* for *sollicitus*
in translating σπουδαῖος and σπουδάζω at
2 *Cor.* 8,22; *Gal.* 2,10. A related change can be
found in his use of *studeo* to replace *sollicitus*,
festino, and *sollicite curo* in rendering σπουδάζω

at *Eph.* 4,3; 1 *Thess.* 2,17; 2 *Tim.* 2,15; *Hebr.* 4,11.
However, *sollicitudo* is retained for σπουδῇ at
2 *Cor.* 7,11; 8,8 (1519); 8,16. At the present pas-
sage, Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.
Manetti, more literally, had *festinatione.*

9 *sit non simulata* ἀνυπόκριτος ("sine simula-
tione" Vg.; "non simulata" 1516). For Erasmus'
avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7. He also uses
non simulata at three other passages, replacing
non ficta at 2 *Cor.* 6,6; 1 *Tim.* 1,5; 2 *Tim.* 1,5.
At 1 *Petr.* 1,22, he introduced a longer alterna-
tive, *ab omni simulatione aliena.* Cf. also Erasmus'
replacement of *simulatio* by *simulo* in rendering
συνυπεκρίθησαν at *Gal.* 2,13. However, he
retained *sine simulatione* at *Iac.* 3,17. By adding
sit, he interprets this sentence as an exhortation
or command rather than a statement: see the
following note.

9 *sitis odio prosequentes* ἀποστυγοῦντες ("odien-
tes" Vg.; "odio prosequentes" 1516). By adding
sitis, Erasmus treats this as an instruction ad-
dressed to the readers of the epistle, anticipating
the use of the second person plural in vs. 14,
εὐλογεῖτε. He could equally have used *simus*,
resuming the first person plural from vss. 4-6.
He uses *odio prosequor* elsewhere in rendering
μισέω at *Mt.* 5,44; *Tit.* 3,3; *Iud.* 23; *Ap. Ioh.*
17,16 (1519). In *Annot.*, Erasmus further suggests
odio habentes, or *abhorrentes.* In classical usage,
the verb *odi* is defective, lacking most elements
of the present tense. For this reason, he regarded
the present participle, *odientes*, as unacceptable,
and included it among the *Soloecismi.* He also
maintained this position against Stunica in

Epist. apolog. adv. Stun., LB IX, 398 E-F. The version of Lefèvre had *odite*.

9 *quod malum est* τὸ πονηρόν ("malum" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to make clear that this refers to evil actions or things, rather than evil persons: see *Annot*. Cf. the replacement of *malum* by *id quod malum est* in rendering τὸ κακόν at *Rom*. 13,4.

9 *ei quod bonum est* τῷ ἀγαθῷ ("bono" Vg.). Again Erasmus seeks to exclude the interpretation that this might refer to a good person, and takes the words as neuter, on analogy with the preceding τὸ πονηρόν. See the previous note.

10 *per fraternam charitatem* τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ ("charitatem fraternitatis" Vg.). The Vulgate seems to make *charitatem* the object of the action implied in φιλόστοργοι, instead of taking it in an instrumental sense. As Erasmus later pointed out in *Annot.*, it is possible that the original Vulgate reading was *charitate*, as found in some Vulgate mss. By substituting a prepositional phrase, he sought to prevent the recurrence of such an error. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1010 C-D. Elsewhere Erasmus replaces *fraternitatis* with *fraterna* in rendering φιλαδελφία and φιλάδελφος at 1 *Thess*. 4,9; *Hebr*. 13,1; 1 *Petr*. 1,22; 3,8; 2 *Petr*. 1,7, but retains *fraternitas* for ἀδελφότης at 1 *Petr*. 2,17; 5,9. Manetti put *fraternam caritatem*, and Lefèvre *fraterna dilectione*.

10 *ad mutuo vos diligendos propensi* εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι ("inuicem diligentes" Vg.). In using the adjective, *propensus*, Erasmus retains the grammatical form of the Greek word, and also conveys the sense of spontaneous affection rather than a benign attitude which might arise merely from a sense of duty: see *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1010 C-D. For Erasmus' avoidance of *inuicem*, see on *Ioh*. 4,33; 13,34. Lefèvre put *mutuo beniuoli*.

10 *alius alium* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 4,33. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *mutuo*.

10 *praeuenientes* προηγούμενοι ("praecedentes" 1516-22). In 1527, Erasmus returned to the Vulgate verb. Not entirely content with this rendering, however, he suggested in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1010 D-F, that *praeferentes* might be more accurate, i.e. treating other people as more worthy of honour than oneself. A similar interpretation was offered in 1535 *Annot*.

11 *studio* τῇ σπουδῇ ("sollicitudine" Vg.; "diligentia" 1516). See on vs. 8, and *Annot*. The word *studio* was also adopted by Lefèvre.

11 μή. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus substitutes οὐκ, without support from any of his Basle mss.

11 *tempori* τῷ καιρῷ ("domino" 1516 = Vg.). The reading κυρίου in 1516, without the article, is unsupported by mss., and may reflect a mistake of the typesetter, as τῷ κυρίῳ (or rather τῷ κ̄ω̄, using the abbreviated form of the divine name) was attested by all of Erasmus' Greek mss. at Basle. Further, his 1519 substitution of τῷ καιρῷ (i.e. "serving the time" rather than "serving the Lord") was a conjecture based on his opinion as to the requirements of the context, bolstered by a misrepresentation of the patristic evidence, and having no support from the Greek mss. which he usually consulted. In viewing *tempori* as better suited to this context, he followed the judgment of Ambrosiaster. However, his statement in *Annot.*, that "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster) was aware of Greek mss. which had καιρῷ, appears to be incorrect. At this passage, the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster's commentary actually says "Tempori seruientes. In greco dicitur sic habere: Deo seruientes: quod nec loco competit". In this extract, *Tempori seruientes* is merely the lemma, which contained Ambrosiaster's preferred N.T. wording, and was possibly taken from an Old Latin source. The Greek text to which Ambrosiaster refers contained the equivalent, not of *tempori* but of *deo*, i.e. τῷ θεῷ. Some mss. of Ambrosiaster's work (see *CSEL* 81, *ad loc.*) substitute *domino* for *deo*, in which case the implied Greek wording would be τῷ κυρίῳ. In neither case does Ambrosiaster cite Greek mss. which have τῷ καιρῷ. Similarly, in mentioning Origen's commentary on Romans, Erasmus does not make sufficiently clear that the mss. which this patristic source cited in support of *tempori* were Latin and not Greek: this word was alleged, whether by Origen or his translator, to be "in nonnullis Latinorum exemplaribus". The reading τῷ καιρῷ is seen in few mss. other than codd. D* F G. See further Erasmus' *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, pp. 227-8, ll. 686-691, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1010 D.

12 *in afflictione* τῇ θλίψει ("in tribulatione" Vg.; "per tribulationem" 1516). See on *Ioh*. 16,21 for *afflictio*. Lefèvre preferred *in pressura*.

ὑπομένοντες, τῇ προσευχῇ προσ-
καρτεροῦντες, ¹³ταῖς χρείαις τῶν
ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες, τὴν φιλονεξί-
αν διώκοντες. ¹⁴εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς
διώκοντας ὑμᾶς, εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ
καταρᾶσθε. ¹⁵χαίρειν μετὰ χαι-
ρόντων, καὶ κλαίειν μετὰ κλαι-
όντων· ¹⁶τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους
φρονοῦντες, μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρο-
νοῦντες, | ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς
συναπαγόμενοι. μὴ γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι
παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς, ¹⁷μηδενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ
κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες· προνοούμενοι
καλὰ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων·
¹⁸εἰ δυνατόν, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν, μετὰ

patientes, precationi instantes, ¹³ neces-
sitatibus sanctorum communicantes,
hospitalitatem sectantes. ¹⁴Bene lo-
quamini de iis qui vos insectantur:
bene loquamini, inquam, et ne male
precemini. ¹⁵Gaudete cum gaudenti-
bus, et flete cum flentibus: ¹⁶eo|dem
animo alii in alios affecti, non arro-
ganter de vobis ipsis sentientes, sed
humilibus vos accommodantes. Ne
sitis arrogantes apud vosmet ipsos,
¹⁷neque cuiquam malum pro malo
reddatis: prouide parantes honesta in
conspectu omnium hominum: ¹⁸si
fieri potest, quantum in vobis est, cum

LB 633 (left margin)

LB 634 (right margin)

16 γινεσθε *B-E*: γινεσθαι *A*

12 precationi *B-E*: orationi *A* | 16 arrogantes *B-E*: prudentes *A* | 17 neque cuiquam *B-E*:
nemini *A* | reddatis *B-E*: reddentes *A*

12 *precationi* τῇ προσευχῇ ("orationi" 1516
= Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,14.

13 *necessitatibus* ταῖς χρείαις. In 1519 *Annot.*,
again drawing on the testimony of Ambrosiaster
and the translator of Origen, Erasmus deduces
the existence of an ancient variant, μνείαις
(*memoriis*). He further argued that, because of
the apparent absurdity ("subabsurdus sensus")
of μνείαις, scribes would have been more likely
to alter it into χρείαις than vice versa, and that
μνείαις was therefore probably the original
wording. See also the *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*,
ASD IX, 4, p. 228, ll. 693-699, and *Resp. ad
collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1010 F. However, the
reading μνείαις, which is also found in codd.
D* F G, looks more like an egregious error by
an early scribe, who was confused by the
resemblance between the two words and mis-
takenly imagined that the passage referred to
prayers of intercession (cf. *Rom.* 1,9-10, μνείαν
ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν
μου) or who had the fanciful notion that it
meant the commemoration of the lives of
departed saints.

14 *Bene loquamini* (twice) εὐλογεῖτε ("Benedi-
cite" Vg.). At *Mt.* 5,44, Erasmus preferred *bene
precor*. Elsewhere he usually retains *benedico*.
From *Annot.*, it seems that he wished to avoid

the connotation of *benedico* as meaning "praise",
which was an inappropriate verb in this con-
text. Cf. also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX,
1010 F-1011 A.

14 *de iis qui vos insectantur* τοὺς διώκοντας
ὑμᾶς ("persequentibus vos" late Vg.). Erasmus
often avoids the present participle. Similar
substitutions of *insector* occur at *Mt.* 5,11, 44.
Usually he retains *persequor* from the Vulgate.
In this instance, he felt that *insector* was better
for conveying the idea of verbal persecution.
Manetti had *persecutoribus vestris*.

14 *inquam* (Vg. omits). Erasmus adds this word
to emphasise the repetition of εὐλογεῖτε. See
on *Ioh.* 1,20.

14 *ne male precemini* μὴ καταρᾶσθε ("nolite
maledicere" Vg.). In rendering καταράομαι
elsewhere, Erasmus uses *deuoueo* at *Mt.* 5,44,
and *execror* at *Mc.* 11,21, but retains *maledico* at
Iac. 3,9. See *Annot.* In classical usage, the verb
maledico means to "abuse" rather than "curse".
For the comparable removal of *maledictio*, see
on *Rom.* 3,14. For the use of *ne*, see on *Rom.*
11,18. Manetti put *ne maledicatis*.

15 *Gaudete* χαίρειν ("Gaudere" Vg.). In *Annot.*,
Erasmus argues that the Greek infinitive, as
elsewhere, is to be understood in an imperative

sense, and that since this idiom was not used in classical Latin, it should not be translated literally. Lefèvre solved the problem by using *gaudendum*.

15 *et* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B D* F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816, with A D^corr and most of the later mss. The word was similarly restored by Manetti and Lefèvre.

15 *flete* κλαίειν ("flere" Vg.). See on *gaudete*, above. Lefèvre put *flendum*.

16 *eodem animo ... affecti* τὸ αὐτὸ ... φρονοῦντες ("id ipsum ... sentientes" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *afficio*, see on *Ioh.* 8,49. At *Phil.* 2,2, translating the same Greek expression, he uses *similiter affecti esse*. At *Rom.* 15,5, he prefers *idem sentire*; at 2 *Cor.* 13,11, *vnanimes esse*; and at *Phil.* 3,16 and 4,2 (both in 1519), *concordes esse*. As explained in *Annot.*, Erasmus understands the Greek phrase as denoting an attitude of mind, or mutual esteem, and not merely agreement on matters of fact. Lefèvre had *idem ... sentientes*.

16 *alii in alios* εἰς ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33, and *Annot.* In Lefèvre's rendering, the Vulgate word was replaced by *mutuo*.

16 *arroganter de vobis ipsis* τὰ ὑψηλά ("alta" Vg.). Erasmus paraphrases the meaning, to make it clear that the target of the apostle's criticism was not "lofty thoughts" but an attitude of arrogant self-importance. See further on *Rom.* 11,20 (ὑψηλοφρονέω), and *Annot.*

16 *sentientes* φρονοῦντες ("sapientes" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,5, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre made the same change.

16 *vos accommodantes* συναπαγόμενοι ("consentientes" Vg.). Erasmus translates in accordance with the context, which relates to the need for mutual toleration and forbearance rather than the possession of identical thoughts. See *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *aggregati* ("associating with").

16 *Ne sitis* μὴ γίνεσθε ("Nolite esse" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18. The itacistic spelling γίνεσθαι, in 1516, was an error of the typesetter, not drawn from mss. The rendering of Manetti was the same as that of Erasmus. Lefèvre's version had *Nolite fieri*, which was incorrectly adopted as the Vulgate lemma in 1516-27 *Annot.*

16 *arrogantes* φρόνιμοι ("prudentes" 1516 = Vg.). In a similar context, at *Rom.* 11,25 (1519),

Erasmus preferred *elati animo*: see *ad loc.*, and see also *Annot.*

17 *neque cuiquam* μηδενί ("Nulli" Vg.; "nemini" 1516). A similar use of *neque cuiquam* occurs at *Mc.* 16,8; *Ioh.* 8,33 (both in 1519). One problem with *nulli*, in the Vulgate rendering, is that this dative singular could be mistaken for a nominative plural. The use of *nemini* in the 1516 edition was in agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

17 *reddatis* ἀποδιδόντες ("reddentes" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus' use of the subjunctive is less literal, but avoids the inelegant combination of an auxiliary verb with a participle (*ne sitis ... reddentes*): cf. on *Ioh.* 1,28.

17 *prouide parantes* προνοούμενοι ("prouidentes" Vg.). Although the adverb *prouide* was little used by classical authors, Erasmus wished to expand the rendering so as to avoid the ambiguity of *prouideo*, which could also mean "foresee". At 2 *Cor.* 8,21, in a similar context, he replaced *prouideo* with *procuro*. However, he uses *prouideo* for προνοέω at 1 *Tim.* 5,8.

17 *honesta* καλά ("bona" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 15,26; *Mc.* 7,27 (1519); *Lc.* 8,15; 2 *Cor.* 8,21 (1519); 13,7; 1 *Tim.* 3,1; *Tit.* 3,8; 1 *Petr.* 2,12 (1519). See *Annot.* on *Mt.* 15,26, where Erasmus distinguishes between καλός (*honestus*) and ἀγαθός (*bonus*).

17 *in conspectu omnium hominum* ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων ("non tantum coram deo, sed coram omnibus hominibus" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus substitutes *solum* for *tantum* in his citation of the Vulgate wording. For the use of *in conspectu*, see on *Act.* 3,13. The Vulgate corresponds with the insertion of οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ καί before ἐνώπιον in codd. F G, possibly influenced by 2 *Cor.* 8,21. A slightly different variant inserted ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καί, as in cod. A^corr. Erasmus suggested in *Annot.* that these words were a later addition designed to prevent the apostle from appearing content with the praise of men. He placed the passage among the *Quae Sint Addita.* The extra words were likewise deleted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

18 *quantum in vobis est* τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν ("quod ex vobis est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,15. This more intelligible rendering follows the first version of Lefèvre. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre *Comm.* had *quantum ex vobis est.*

πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες,
[19] μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικοῦντες, ἀγαπη-
τοί, ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ·
γέγραπται γάρ, Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ
ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει κύριος. [20] ἐὰν
οὖν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, ψώμιζε
αὐτόν· ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν.
τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν, ἄνθρακας πυρὸς
σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.
[21] μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλὰ
νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν.

omnibus hominibus in pace viuen-
tes, [19] non vosmet ipsos vlciscen-
tes dilecti, quin potius date locum
irae: scriptum est enim: Mihi vltio,
ego rependam, dicit dominus. [20] Si
igitur esurit inimicus tuus, pasce
illum: si sitit, da illi potum. Hoc
enim si feceris, carbones ignis co-
aceruabis in caput illius. [21] Ne
vincaris a malo, imo vince bono
malum.

13 Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερ-
εχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω. οὐ
γάρ ἐστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ θεοῦ·
αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι, ὑπὸ θεοῦ

13 Omnis anima potestatibus
supereminentibus subdita sit.
Non enim est potestas nisi a deo:
quae vero sunt potestates, a deo

20 εαν διψα ποτιζε αυτον B-E: om. A

19 quin potius B-E: sed A | 20 inimicus B-E: inmicus A | si sitit, da illi potum B-E: om. A |
21 bono B-E: in bono A
13,1 supereminentibus C-E: excellentibus A B

18 *in pace viuentes* εἰρηνεύοντες ("pacem ha-
bentes" Vg.). The more vigorous expression
used by Erasmus may be compared with his
substitution of *pacifice viuo* at *Mc.* 9,50 (1516
only), and *in pace ago* at 2 *Cor.* 13,11. He
restored *pacem habeo* for this Greek verb at
Mc. 9,50 (1519), and also retained this phrase
at 1 *Thess.* 5,13.

19 *vlciscentes* ἐκδικοῦντες ("defendentes" Vg.).
Erasmus' rendering is consistent with the Vul-
gate use of *vlciscor* ("avenge") at 2 *Cor.* 10,6.
In *Annot.*, he argues that defence is a legitimate
form of action for a Christian, and that this
should be distinguished from revenge. He fur-
ther offers the alternative verb, *vindico*, employed
by the Vulgate at *Lc.* 18,3, 5; *Ap. Ioh.* 6,10; 19,2:
see also on *Act.* 7,24. The use of *vlciscentes* was
anticipated by Manetti, while Valla *Annot.* and
Lefèvre preferred *vindicantes*.

19 *dilecti* ἀγαπητοί ("charissimi" Vg.). See on
Act. 15,25, and *Annot.* The same change was
made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

19 *quin potius* ἀλλά ("sed" 1516 = Vg.). See on
Ioh. 8,17 for Erasmus' use of *quin.* The more
emphatic *quin potius* occurs elsewhere in the
1519 edition at *Mt.* 6,33; 9,13; *Lc.* 12,31; 14,10;

2 *Cor.* 8,17; 1 *Tim.* 4,7, and once in 1516 at
Gal. 4,9.

19 *vltio* ἐκδίκησις ("vindictam" Vg.). A compar-
able substitution of *vltio* occurs at 2 *Thess.* 1,8.
In *Annot.*, Erasmus follows Valla *Annot.* in
objecting to the Vulgate use of the accusative
here, and makes reference to the Vulgate ren-
dering, *mea est vltio*, at *Dt.* 32,35. At *Hebr.*
10,30, translating the same Greek expression,
Erasmus replaces *mihi vindictam* with *meum est vlcisci.* He
includes the present passage among the *Loca
Manifeste Deprauata.* Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and
Lefèvre all put *vindicta*, in the nominative.

19 *ego* ἐγώ ("et ego" late Vg.). The late Vulgate
addition of *et* lacks Greek ms. support. See
Annot. The same correction was made by Valla
Annot. and Lefèvre.

19 *rependam* ἀνταποδώσω ("retribuam" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 11,35.

20 *Si igitur* ἐὰν οὖν ("Sed et si" late Vg.). The
late Vulgate addition of *et* does not enjoy Greek
ms. support. The reading of Vulgate mss., *Sed
si*, reflects a Greek text having ἀλλὰ ἐάν or
ἀλλ' ἐάν, as in codd. ℵ A B and thirty-three
later mss. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, together
with 1 and 2816, and also D^corr and about 500

later mss. His codd. 2105 and 2815 had just ἐάν, in company with thirty-four other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ D* F G (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 380-2). Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, while Manetti had *Si ergo*.

20 *esurit* πεινᾷ ("esurierit" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes the present indicative, consistent with the use of *sitit* later in the sentence. In *Prv.* 25,21, the Vulgate has both *esurierit* and *sitierit*. Lefèvre made the same alteration as Erasmus, but both mss. of Manetti's version incorrectly had *exurit*.

20 *pasce* ψώμιζε ("ciba" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus comments that the Greek word has a greater emphasis than merely "feed". The use of *cibo* as a verb was also not favoured by classical authors.

20 *si sitit, da illi potum* ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν ("si sitit, potum da illi" Vg.; omitted in 1516). The omission of these words in 1516 was based on cod. 2817, supported by a few other late mss.: see *Annot.* In Manetti, *potum da illi* became *potum da ei*, but in Lefèvre, *da ei potum*.

20 *si feceris* ποιῶν ("faciens" Vg.). As elsewhere, Erasmus avoids the present participle. However, his use of a conditional clause prevents the Greek wording from being interpreted in a more straightforward instrumental sense ("by doing this ...").

20 *coaceruabis* σωρεύσεις ("congeres" Vg.). This change is consistent with the Vulgate use of *coaceruo* to render ἐπισωρεύω at 2 *Tim.* 4,3. It has the more specific meaning of "heap up", whereas *congero* can also mean "gather together". See *Annot.* Possibly Erasmus was influenced here by Lefèvre's adoption of *aceruabis*.

20 *in* ἐπί ("super" Vg.). Erasmus, watchful against the possibility of absurd misunderstandings, no doubt wished it to be clear that the metaphorical coals of fire were to be heaped "upon" a person's head, and not merely to be suspended above it. Cf. on *Ioh.* 7,44.

20 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). This change produces consistency with the use of *illum* and *illi* earlier in the verse. Manetti had *suum*.

21 *Ne vincaris* μὴ νικῶ ("Noli vinci" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18. Manetti made the same change.

21 *imo* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2.

21 *bono* ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ ("in bono" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

13,1 *supereminentibus* ὑπερεχούσαις ("sublimioribus" Vg.; "excellentibus" 1516-19). In *Annot.*, Erasmus observes that the Greek word is not a comparative adjective, and that at 1 *Petr.* 2,13 it is more accurately rendered by the Vulgate as *praecellens*. At *Phil.* 3,8, where the Vulgate uses *eminens* to render ὑπερέχον, Erasmus has *excellentia*. See further on 2 *Cor.* 3,10 for his use of *eminens, excellens*, and *praeeminens*, in rendering ὑπερβάλλω. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1011 A-B. The version of Manetti had *excelsis*.

1 *enim est* γάρ ἐστιν ("est enim" Vg.). Erasmus here follows the Greek word-order more precisely. Lefèvre began the sentence with *Nam non est*.

1 ἀπό. In cod. 2815, this word was replaced by ὑπό, in company with 1, 2105 and nearly all other mss. The Erasmian text follows cod. 2817, supported by 2816, with D* F G and only a few later mss. This poorly supported reading continued into the *Textus Receptus*.

1 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

1 *potestates* ἐξουσίαι (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. ℵ A B D* F G 0285ᵛⁱᵈ and some later mss. One explanation of ἐξουσίαι might be that it was added later in order to clarify the meaning of the strange-sounding phrase, αἱ δὲ οὖσαι, which immediately preceded it. If, on the other hand, ἐξουσίαι were authentic, an early scribe might have had more than one reason for omitting it. The word could, for example, have been deleted because it was considered repetitious, in view of the use of ἐξουσία earlier in the sentence. Another possibility is that the shorter reading originated through the common scribal error of homoeoteleuton, prompted by the close resemblance of the two words, ουσαι εξουσιαι, making it easy for the eye of a scribe to jump from the last two letters of οὖσαι to the same pair of letters at the end of ἐξουσίαι. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and 2816, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most of the later mss. In cod. 2105, the word-order is αἱ δὲ ἐξουσίαι αἱ οὖσαι. In *Annot.*, placing undue reliance on Origen's silence regarding the words αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ... τεταγμέναι εἰσίν, Erasmus ventures to speculate that this whole clause could have been a later insertion. Both Manetti and Lefèvre replaced *quae autem* with *potestates autem quae*.

1 *deo* (2nd.) θεοῦ. In omitting the article τοῦ before θεοῦ, Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and

τεταγμέναι εἰσίν. ²ὥστε ὁ ἀντιτασ-
σόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δια-
ταγῇ ἀνθέ|στηκεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκό-
τες, ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήψονται. ³οἱ γὰρ
ἄρχοντες οὐκ εἰσὶ φόβος τῶν ἀγαθῶν
ἔργων, ἀλλὰ τῶν κακῶν. θέλεις δὲ μὴ
φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν; τὸ ἀγαθὸν
ποίει, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς· ⁴θεοῦ
γὰρ διάκονός ἐστί σοι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν.
ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς, φοβοῦ. οὐ γὰρ
εἰκῇ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ· θεοῦ γὰρ διά-
κονός ἐστιν, ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ
κακὸν πράσσοντι. ⁵διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑπο-
τάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργήν,

ordinatae sunt. ²Itaque quisquis resi-
stit potestati, dei | ordinationi resistit:
qui autem restiterint, sibi ipsis iudici-
um accipient: ³nam principes non ter-
rori sunt bene agentibus, sed male. Vis
autem non timere potestatem? Quod
bonum est facito, et feres laudem ab
illa: ⁴dei enim minister est tibi in
bonum. Quod si feceris, id quod
malum est, time: non enim frustra
gladium gestat: nam dei minister est,
vltor ad iram, ei qui, quod malum
est, fecerit. ⁵Quapropter oportet esse
subditos, non solum propter iram,

3 feres *B-E*: habebis *A* | ab *B-E*: ex *A* | 4 *tert.* est *B-E*: est, tibi *A* | 5 subditos *B-E*:
subditum *A*

2817, along with 2105, as well as אֵ* A B D
F G and some other mss. In cod. אֵ ᶜᵒʳʳ, together
with 1, 2816 and most other late mss., τοῦ is
added, and it is also in the text cited by 1516
Annot. and Lefèvre *Comm.* In *Annot.*, Erasmus
objects to the insertion of a comma after *deo*
in some copies of the Vulgate, instead of after
quae autem sunt, as this produced a different
interpretation of the sentence. This occurred,
for example, in the Vulgate text of Lefèvre and
the 1502 *Glossa Ordinaria*, but not in Erasmus'
1527 Vulgate column.

1 *ordinatae* τεταγμέναι ("ordinata" late Vg.).
The late Vulgate use of the neuter reflects a mis-
understanding of the gender of the preceding
quae, which can elsewhere be either feminine
or neuter. Even though the Vulgate text omits
potestates (ἐξουσίαι), this word remains the im-
plied subject because of the feminine gender of
αἱ ... οὖσαι ... τεταγμέναι, and hence *quae*
must be treated as a feminine plural. Manet-
ti and Lefèvre made the same correction as
Erasmus.

2 *quisquis* ὁ ("qui" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,14. The
change is mainly for stylistic variety, as Erasmus
retains *qui* later in the verse.

2 *qui ... restiterint* οἱ ... ἀνθεστηκότες ("qui ...
resistunt" Vg.). Erasmus' idiomatic use of the
future perfect is prompted by the following
substitution of the future tense, *accipient*. See
below.

2 *sibi ipsis* ἑαυτοῖς ("ipsi sibi" Vg.). The Vulgate
use of *ipsi*, presumably intended as a nominative
plural, is less precise. Manetti and Lefèvre made
the same correction as Erasmus.

2 *iudicium* κρίμα ("damnationem" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 3,19 and *Rom.* 8,1. In *Annot.*, Erasmus
seems to commend *damnatio* as a valid rendering
("haud male vertit"). At one passage in 1519,
at *Mc.* 12,40, he even substitutes *damnatio* for
iudicium. His use of *iudicium* at the present
passage followed the version of Lefèvre.

2 *accipient* λήψονται ("acquirunt" Vg.). Eras-
mus' use of the future tense is more accurate,
and his choice of verb more appropriate to the
context. See *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.*, and
see also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX, 4,
p. 228, ll. 706-710. The rendering of Manetti
incorrectly substituted *relinquunt*. Lefèvre had
sument in his text, but offered *accipient* as an
alternative in *Comm.*

3 *terrori sunt* εἰσὶ φόβος ("sunt timori" Vg.).
The word *terror* refers to the source rather than
the feeling of fear, and is hence better suited
to this context. Cf. *Annot.* A similar substitution
of *terror* occurs at 2 *Cor.* 5,11; 7,5; 1 *Petr.* 3,14.
Valla *Annot.* gave a literal rendering of the
present passage as *sunt terror*, while Lefèvre put
sunt terrori.

3 *bene agentibus, sed male* τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων,
ἀλλὰ τῶν κακῶν ("boni operis, sed mali" Vg.).
The Vulgate follows a Greek text having

τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ κακῷ, attested by twenty-two mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* Fᶜᵒʳʳ G 0285. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and more than 550 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 385-7). His rendering, however, is more of an interpretative paraphrase. See *Annot.* This extensive textual variation between the genitive and the dative, and between the plural and singular number, would seem to have arisen from a decision by an ancient editor, rather than from an accident of copying. For example, if the dative (τῷ ... κακῷ) was not authentic, such a change could have been motivated by a desire to make clear that the preceding word, φόβος, primarily refers to the deterrent which rulers and magistrates provide against evil deeds, and not to the fear which might be caused by the evil deeds themselves. In Manetti, the rendering was *bonorum operum: sed malorum* (cf. Valla *Annot.*, which incorrectly omits *operum*). Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *bonis operibus, sed malis*.

3 *Quod bonum est* τὸ ἀγαθόν ("Bonum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,9.

3 *facito* ποίει ("fac" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 12,27 for this form of the imperative. This change agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster.

3 *feres* ἕξεις ("habebis" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus looks for an idiomatic alternative to the literal rendering offered by the Vulgate. Lefèvre put *assequeris*.

3 *ab* ἐξ ("ex" 1516 = Vg.). At *Mt.* 21,16; *Rom.* 2,29, Erasmus retains *ex* for referring to the source of praise.

4 *Quod si* ἐὰν δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25.

4 *feceris, id quod malum est* τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς ("malum feceris" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgᵂᵂ; "male feceris" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). For Erasmus' insertion of *quod ... est*, see on *Rom.* 12,9. He moves *feceris* to an earlier position, to avoid joining three verbs together in *est feceris, time*. Lefèvre had *malum facias*.

4 *frustra* εἰκῇ ("sine causa" Vg.). Erasmus prefers the sense "in vain" rather than "without a reason". A similar substitution occurs at *Gal.* 3,4; 4,11, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 1 *Cor.* 15,2; *Col.* 2,18. For Erasmus' avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7. His use of *frustra* was anticipated by Manetti. Lefèvre put *ab re*.

4 *gestat* φορεῖ ("portat" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 19,5.

4 *nam dei* θεοῦ γάρ ("Dei enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. This change was for stylistic variety, to avoid repetition of *dei enim* earlier in the verse.

4 *est* (3rd.) ἐστιν ("est, tibi" 1516 Lat.). The 1516 addition of *tibi* at this point lacks support from Greek mss., and seems to be an unintended harmonisation with *minister est tibi* in the first part of the verse.

4 *vltor* ἔκδικος ("vindex" Vg.). The same substitution occurs at 1 *Thess.* 4,6, and matches Erasmus' use of *vlciscor* and *vltio* for ἐκδικέω and ἐκδίκησις in *Rom.* 12,19: see above. Manetti anticipated this change.

4 *ad* εἰς ("in" Vg.). Possibly this change of preposition was for the sake of stylistic variety, in view of *in bonum* earlier in the verse. The same change was made by Lefèvre, in both places.

4 *ei qui ... fecerit* τῷ ... πράσσοντι ("ei qui ... agit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,29. This change obscures the slight distinction of meaning between κακὸν πράσσω and κακὸν ποιέω, used earlier in the verse. Manetti put *ei qui ... facit*.

4 *quod malum est* (2nd.) τὸ κακόν ("male" Vg. 1527; "malum" Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column agrees with the Froben Vulgate of 1514. See on *Rom.* 12,9 for Erasmus' expansion of the wording.

5 *Quapropter* διό ("Ideoque" late Vg.; "Ideo" Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of -*que* has little support from Greek mss. other than the substitution of καί for ἀνάγκη in 𝔓⁴⁶. See on *Act.* 10,29 for *quapropter*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests *Quare*. Manetti put *Idcirco*.

5 *oportet esse subditos* ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι ("necessitate subditi estote" Vg. 1527 = Vg. mss.; "necessitati subditi estote" *Annot.*, lemma; "oportet esse subditum" 1516). The use of *necessitati*, as adopted by Erasmus' Vulgate lemma and the Vulgate column of Lefèvre, would require an iota subscript, ἀνάγκῃ, making it the indirect object of ὑποτάσσεσθαι ("obey necessity" instead of "it is necessary to obey"). In putting *estote*, the Vulgate treats ὑποτάσσεσθαι as the equivalent of an imperative, or possibly followed a Greek text having ὑποτάσσεσθε, as suggested by Erasmus in *Annot.* (cf. ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθε in cod. 69). However, in 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G, which have ὑποτάσσεσθε, the word ἀνάγκη is omitted. Erasmus' Greek text

ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. ⁶διὰ
τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ φόρους τελεῖτε· λει-
τουργοὶ γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν, εἰς αὐτὸ
τοῦτο προσκαρτεροῦντες.

⁷Ἀπόδοτε οὖν πᾶσι τὰς ὀφειλάς·
τῷ τὸν φόρον, τὸν φόρον· τῷ τὸ
τέλος, τὸ τέλος· τῷ τὸν φόβον, τὸν
φόβον· τῷ τὴν τιμήν, τὴν τιμήν.
⁸μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε, εἰ μὴ τὸ
ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους. ὁ γὰρ ἀγα-
πῶν τὸν ἕτερον, νόμον πεπλήρωκε.
⁹τὸ γάρ, Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύ-
σεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρή-
σεις, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, καὶ εἴ τις
ἑτέρα ἐντολή, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ
ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται, ἐν τῷ, Ἀγαπή-
σεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυ-
τόν. ¹⁰ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον κακὸν

verum etiam propter conscientiam.
⁶Propter hoc enim et vectigalia sol-
uitis: siquidem ministri dei sunt,
in hoc ipsum incumbentes.

⁷Reddite igitur omnibus quod
debetur: cui tributum, tributum:
cui vectigal, vectigal: cui timorem,
timorem: cui honorem, honorem.
⁸Nemini quicquam debeatis, nisi
hoc, vt inuicem diligatis. Nam qui
diligit alterum, legem expleuit. ⁹Si-
quidem illa: Non moechaberis: non
occides: non furaberis: non falsum
testimonium dices: non concupisces:
et si quod aliud praeceptum, in hoc
sermone summatim comprehenditur:
nempe, Diliges proximum tuum sicut
te ipsum. ¹⁰Dilectio proximo malum

---

7 tributum, tributum: cui vectigal, vectigal B-E: vectigal, vectigal. cui tributum, tributum A |
9 moechaberis D E: adulteraberis A-C

---

follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by
1, 2105, 2816, combined with ℵ A B 048 and
most of the later mss. He does not elsewhere
use *oportet* for ἀνάγκη, but generally retains
necessitas from the Vulgate. Manetti put *necesse
est vt subditi sitis*, and Lefèvre *necessitati subiecti
estote*.

5 *verum* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24.

6 *Propter hoc* διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo" Vg.). This sub-
stitution occurs also at 1 *Cor.* 11,10, 30; 2 *Cor.*
7,13 (1516 only). Other replacements for *ideo*,
in rendering διὰ τοῦτο, are *propterea*, at twelve
passages; *idcirco* at *Rom.* 4,16; 2 *Cor.* 7,13 (1519);
1 *Thess.* 3,7; and also occasionally *quapropter, hac
de causa*, and *ob id*. Erasmus nevertheless retains
ideo for the same Greek phrase at twelve other
passages. In the Gospels, in 1516, Erasmus
replaced the first five instances of *ideo* with
propterea, as far as *Mt.* 13,52, but left all other
occurrences of *ideo* untouched, with the excep-
tion of *Mc.* 12,24. At the present passage,
Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *vectigalia* φόρους ("tributa" Vg.). This alter-
ation cannot be considered an improvement,
and is inconsistent with the rendering of vs. 7.

In *Lc.* 20,22; 23,2, φόρος is a tax which is
said to be due to "Caesar", referring to a
form of tribute (*tributum*) which was levied
on the provinces of the Roman empire. In
classical Latin, *vectigal* refers to customs duty
or taxes other than tribute, and is legitimately
used by the Vulgate in vs. 7 as the equivalent
of τέλος.

6 *soluitis* τελεῖτε ("praestatis" Vg.). This change
is consistent with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 17,24.
The verb *soluo* is appropriate in the present
context, which refers specifically to a financial
payment, whereas *praesto* means "provide"
rather than "pay". Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre
had *penditis*.

6 *siquidem ministri* λειτουργοὶ γάρ ("mini-
stri enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,47. This change
avoided the repetition of *enim*, which was used
earlier in the verse.

6 *incumbentes* προσκαρτεροῦντες ("seruientes"
Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,4, where Erasmus again uses
incumbo for this Greek verb. See also *Annot.*
At *Mc.* 3,9, he was content to retain *deseruio*.
Elsewhere he generally follows the Vulgate in
using *perseuero, perduro, adhaereo*, or *insto* for

the same Greek word. Lefèvre put *inseruientes* here.

7 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; other Vg. mss. omit). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

7 *quod debetur* τὰς ὀφειλάς ("debita" Vg.). Erasmus' change of wording is more elegant, but less accurate as it ignores the fact that the Greek noun is plural.

7 *tributum ... vectigal* τὸν φόρον ... τὸ τέλος ("vectigal ... tributum" 1516 Lat.). The transposition of wording in 1516 was in conformity with the unsatisfactory substitution of *vectigal* in vs. 6: see above. In 1519, Erasmus rightly restored the Vulgate wording here in vs. 7, but failed to reinstate *tributa* in vs. 6, thereby creating an inconsistency.

8 *nisi hoc* εἰ μή ("nisi" Vg.). Erasmus adds a pronoun, for clarity. See *Annot.*

8 *Nam qui* ὁ γάρ ("Qui enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

8 *alterum* τὸν ἕτερον ("proximum" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus observes that *proximum* would have been better suited to πλησίον, as found in vs. 9. Manetti made the same change, while Lefèvre had *alium*.

8 *expleuit* πεπλήρωκε ("impleuit" Vg.). Elsewhere, with reference to fulfilment of the law, Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *impleo* at *Rom.* 8,4, but substitutes *compleo* at *Gal.* 5,14 (1519). See further on *Ioh.* 15,25.

9 *Siquidem illa* τὸ γάρ ("Nam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,47 regarding *siquidem*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus explains that his added pronoun, *illa* (meaning, in effect, "these precepts"), is intended to express the meaning of the Greek article more fully. Lefèvre put *Nam hoc*.

9 *moechaberis* μοιχεύσεις ("adulteraberis" 1516-22 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,22. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

9 *non falsum testimonium dices* οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις. These words were omitted by codd. 1, 2105, 2815, together with 𝔓46 A B D F G and many other mss., including those consulted by Lefèvre, as well as mss. of the earlier Vulgate. Erasmus placed the words in his Greek text, following cod. 2817, accompanied by ℵ 048 and also cod. 2816 and another large section of the later mss., along with the late Vulgate. In citing this extract from the Ten Commandments, several varieties of omission occur in patristic sources, some

omitting οὐ κλέψεις, others οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, and others οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις. While the longer text has sometimes been attributed to harmonisation with the Old Testament, it is also possible that errors of homoeoteleuton may have caused some scribes to leave out individual commandments, each of which has the same ending (-εις). Manetti's translation was *non falso testificaberis* (though the first hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45 seems to have had *non falsum testimonium dices*).

9 *si quod* εἴ τις ("si quod est" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. Lefèvre made the same change. Manetti transposed *est* after *aliud*.

9 *praeceptum* ἐντολή ("mandatum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 11,57. This substitution, again, was made by Lefèvre.

9 *sermone* τῷ λόγῳ ("verbo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1. The same change was made by both Manetti and Lefèvre. The word *sermo* was also used here in Valla *Annot.*, though with altered syntax.

9 *summatim comprehenditur* ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται ("instauratur" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that *instauro* means "restore", whereas the Greek verb, in this context, means "sum up" or "recapitulate". In *Eph.* 1,10, rendering the same Greek word, he replaces *instauro* by *summatim instauro*. Cf. also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1011 B. The rendering proposed by Valla *Annot.* was *in summam ... rediguntur*. Lefèvre's suggestion was *summatim clauditur*, supplemented in *Comm.* by the further interpretation, *summatim continetur ac compraehenditur*, which may have provided the basis for Erasmus' translation here.

9 *nempe* ἐν τῷ (Vg. omits). See on *Rom.* 1,32. It is possible that the Vulgate reflects a Greek text omitting these words, as in 𝔓46vid B F G. However, the longer reading is supported by nearly all other mss., commencing with ℵ A D 048. Lefèvre put *videlicet*.

10 *proximo* τῷ πλησίον ("proximi" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vgᵂᵂ). The usual Vulgate rendering could imply a changed Greek text, having τοῦ πλησίον, to which Erasmus seems to give equal approval in 1519 *Annot.* However, the substitution of τοῦ lacks Greek ms. support. The reading *proximo* (which is placed in the Vulgate text by Vgˢᵗ, without support from any Vulgate mss. other than cod. Sangermanensis) was also adopted by Lefèvre.

οὐκ ἐργάζεται. πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου, ἡ ἀγάπη.

¹¹Καὶ τοῦτο εἰδότες, τὸν καιρόν, ὅτι ὥρα | ἡμᾶς ἤδη ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι. νῦν γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία, ἢ ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν. ¹²ἡ νὺξ προέκοψεν, ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤγγικεν. ἀποθώμεθα οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους, καὶ ἐνδυσώμεθα τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός. ¹³ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εὐσχημόνως περιπατήσωμεν, μὴ κώμοις καὶ μέθαις, μὴ κοίταις καὶ ἀσελγείαις, μὴ ἔριδι καὶ ζήλῳ, ¹⁴ἀλλ᾽ ἐνδύσασθε τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιεῖσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίας.

non operatur. Consummatio itaque legis, est dilectio.

¹¹Praesertim quum sciamus tempus, quod tempestiuum sit, nos | iam a somno expergisci. Nunc enim propius adest nobis salus, quam tum quum credebamus. ¹²Nox progressa est, dies autem appropinquat. Abiiciamus igitur opera tenebrarum, et induamur arma lucis: ¹³tanquam in die composite ambulemus, non comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non cubilibus ac lasciuiis, non contentione et aemulatione, ¹⁴sed induamini dominum Iesum Christum: et carnis curam ne agatis ad concupiscentias.

13,13 ασελγειαις *A B C^b D E*: ασσελγειαις *C**

10 Consummatio *B-E*: Plenitudo *A* | est *B-E*: *om. A* | 11 Praesertim *B-E*: Et hoc *A* | sciamus *B-E*: sciatis *A* | sit *B-E*: est *A*

10 οὐκ ἐργάζεται. The reading of cod. 2815 was οὐ κατεργάζεται, also found in cod. D* and some later mss., but with little difference of meaning. The text followed by Erasmus is supported by cod. 2817, together with 1, 2816 and most other mss. (cod. 2105 has οὐδὲν ἐργάζεται).

10 *Consummatio* πλήρωμα ("Plenitudo" 1516 = Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus reserves *consummatio* for συντέλεια, τέλος and τελείωσις. In rendering πλήρωμα, he usually retains *plenitudo*. At *Mt.* 9,16, he substitutes *supplementum*, in conformity with the Vulgate rendering of *Mc.* 2,21, while at *Eph.* 1,23 (1519) he has *complementum*. At *Eph.* 4,13 (1519), he puts *plene adultae*.

10 *itaque* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). In rendering οὖν elsewhere, Erasmus makes this substitution at twelve other passages, in Matthew, Mark, and the Pauline Epistles. For the same substitution in rendering ἄρα οὖν, see on *Rom.* 5,18. Erasmus is clearly attempting to counterbalance the Vulgate's excessive reliance on *ergo*.

10 *est dilectio* ἡ ἀγάπη ("dilectio" 1516). The omission of the verb in 1516 produces a more literal rendering, but Erasmus reinstates it in 1519, for the sake of clarity.

11 *Praesertim* Καὶ τοῦτο ("Et hoc" 1516 = Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot.*, the Vulgate rendering is ambiguous, as *hoc* could be misunderstood as relating to the following *tempus*, whereas in the Greek text there is a difference of gender. The word chosen by Erasmus is also more emphatic.

11 *quum sciamus* εἰδότες ("scientes" Vg.; "cum sciatis" 1516). As elsewhere, Erasmus avoids the present participle. Lefèvre put *simus scientes* in his rendering, while giving *sciamus* as an alternative in *Comm.*

11 *quod ... sit* ὅτι ("quia ... est" Vg.; "quod ... est" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition (though the scribe of *Urb. Lat.* 6 here omits three lines of text, from *plenitudo* in vs. 10 to *appropinquauit* in vs. 12).

11 *tempestiuum* ὥρα ("hora" Vg.). The same substitution occurs at *Lc.* 22,14 (1519). Erasmus explains in *Annot.*, that in the present context the Greek word is the equivalent of ὡραῖον, or "timely". See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1011 C-D. In his Latin rendering, the collocation of *tempus* and *tempestiuum* produces a play on words which is absent from the Greek

text. See further on *Ioh.* 5,35 for other instances of the removal of *hora*.

11 *nos iam* ἡμᾶς ἤδη ("iam nos" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different Greek word-order, ἤδη ἡμᾶς, found in 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ D and a few later mss. Others also have ἤδη ὑμᾶς, as in ℵ * A B C. There is a theoretical possibility that ὑμᾶς was a theologically motivated variant, as it conveniently prevents the apostle from including himself in the exhortation to "awake from sleep". On the other hand, no similar textual change occurs in vs. 12, where the apostle humbly counts himself among those who need to "lay aside the works of darkness" (ἀποθώμεθα ...). At other passages, changes from ἡμᾶς to ὑμᾶς, or vice versa, can often be attributed to a common form of scribal error, arising from the accidental change of a single letter. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and 2816, and also F G and most other mss. (cod. 2105 has ὑμᾶς ἤδη).

11 *a* ἐξ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,23.

11 *expergisci* ἐγερθῆναι ("surgere" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Lc.* 8,24 (1519); *Eph.* 5,14, both in the context of awakening from sleep. More often Erasmus retains *surgo*. See 1535 *Annot.*, citing *experrectus* from the late Vulgate rendering of *Gn.* 41,4, and also *Is.* 26,19. The choice of *expergiscor* was defended in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1011 C-D.

11 *propius adest* ἐγγύτερον ("propior est" Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.*, the Greek word is an adverb, rather than an adjective agreeing with σωτηρία.

11 *nobis salus* ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία ("nostra salus" Vg.). In *Annot.*, again following Valla *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that ἡμῶν should be connected with ἐγγύτερον, and that if intended as a possessive pronoun, it would have been placed after σωτηρία. Cf. ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμα at *Rom.* 10,8.

11 *tum quum* ὅτε ("cum" Vg.). Erasmus inserts an additional adverb, for clarity, and to provide an antecedent for *quum*. See *Annot.*

11 *credebamus* ἐπιστεύσαμεν ("credidimus" Vg.). Erasmus' choice of tense is less accurate, and could be misunderstood as implying that the apostle and his readers used to believe but did so no longer. A similar substitution of the imperfect tense occurs at *Iud.* 5.

12 *progressa est* προέκοψεν ("praecessit" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus uses *progredior* ("go forward"

or "advance") at several passages as a substitute for *transeo* and *procedo*. He regarded *praecedo* ("go before") as better suited for rendering προάγω or προέρχομαι. In *Annot.*, he plausibly suggests that the original Vulgate reading was *processit*. Accordingly he lists this passage among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*.

12 *appropinquat* ἤγγικεν ("appropinquauit" late Vg.). Although the Greek verb is in the perfect tense, Erasmus considered that it was more elegant in Latin for it to be rendered by the present tense: see *Annot.* Comparable changes occur at *Mt.* 3,2; 4,17; *Mc.* 1,15; *Lc.* 21,8, 20; *Iac.* 5,8 (all in 1519). At several other passages, in a similar context, *appropinquauit* is retained.

12 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

13 *tanquam* ὡς ("Sicut" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 5,1, 33 (both in 1519); 6,5; *Phil.* 2,15; *Col.* 3,12, 23; *Tit.* 1,7; *Phm.* 17; 1 *Petr.* 2,16. The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti had *vt*.

13 *composite* εὐσχημόνως ("honeste" Vg.). Whereas the Vulgate rendering suggests a "respectable" manner of life, the Greek word has more to do with modesty or orderly behaviour: see *Annot.* Elsewhere Erasmus replaces *honeste* with *decenter* at 1 *Cor.* 14,40. Inconsistently he retains *honeste* in rendering the same Greek expression at 1 *Thess.* 4,12.

13 *non* (three times) μή ("non in" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, the added prepositions of the Vulgate do not strictly correspond with the Greek text. The same objection was raised by Valla *Annot.*

13 *lasciuiis* ἀσελγείαις ("impudicitiis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Gal.* 5,19; *Eph.* 4,19. Erasmus further replaces *luxuria* with *lasciuia* at 1 *Petr.* 4,3; *Iud.* 4. However, he retains *impudicitia* at *Mc.* 7,22; 2 *Cor.* 12,21.

14 *induamini* ἐνδύσασθε ("induimini" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "induite" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). For Erasmus' use of the subjunctive instead of the imperative, see on *Ioh.* 6,27.

14 *agatis* ποιεῖσθε ("feceritis" Vg.). For Erasmus' avoidance of *facio*, see on *Ioh.* 1,15. Manetti put *faciatis*, and Lefèvre *facite*.

14 *ad concupiscentias* εἰς ἐπιθυμίας ("in desideriis" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more accurate rendering of the Greek preposition. The substitution of *concupiscentia* also occurs at fifteen

14 Τὸν δὲ ἀσθενοῦντα τῇ πί- στει, προσλαμ | βάνεσθε, μὴ εἰς διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν. ²ὃς μὲν πιστεύει φαγεῖν πάντα. ὃς δὲ ἀσθενῶν, λάχανα ἐσθίει. ³ὁ ἐσθί- ων, τὸν μὴ ἐσθίοντα μὴ ἐξου- θενείτω. καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων, τὸν ἐσθίοντα μὴ κρινέτω. ὁ θεὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν προσελάβετο. ⁴σὺ τίς εἶ, ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην; τῷ ἰδίῳ κυρίῳ στήκει ἢ πίπτει· σταθήσεται δέ. δυνατὸς γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς στῆσαι αὐτόν.

14 Porro eum qui infirmatur fide, | assumite, non ad di- iudicationes disceptationum. ²Alius quidem credit, vescendum esse qui- buslibet. Alius autem qui infirmus est, holeribus vescitur. ³Qui ve- scitur, non vescentem ne despiciat. Et qui non vescitur, vescentem ne iudicet. Deus enim illum assump- sit. ⁴Tu quis es, qui iudicas de ali- eno famulo? Proprio domino stat aut cadit, imo fulcietur vt stet. Po- tens enim est deus efficere vt stet.

14,2 *alt.* ος *B-E*: ο *A*

14,4 imo fulcietur *B-E*: fulcietur autem *A*

other passages, e.g. at *Gal.* 5,16; *Eph.* 2,3; 4,22, in accordance with Vulgate usage elsewhere. The noun *concupiscentia* (unlike the classical verb *concupisco*), did not occur in classical Latin authors but was well established in ecclesiastical usage, for referring to sinful desire. Erasmus generally reserved *desiderium* for contexts where no pejorative sense was implied, with the excep- tion of *Ioh.* 8,44; *Tit.* 3,3. Cf. *Annot.* At the present passage, Erasmus follows a suggestion of Valla *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *in concupiscentiis.*

14,1 *Porro eum qui infirmatur* Τὸν δὲ ἀσθενοῦν- τα ("Infirmum autem" Vg.). For *porro*, see on *Ioh.* 8,16. In *Annot.*, Erasmus complains of the imprecision of representing the Greek present participle by an adjective. However, he is content to retain *infirmus* for the same participle at a number of other passages.

1 *fide* τῇ πίστει ("in fide" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, attaching τῇ πίστει to ἀσθενοῦντα rather than to προσλαμβάνεσθε. See *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.* The preposi- tion was similarly omitted by Lefèvre.

1 *ad diiudicationes disceptationum* εἰς δια- κρίσεις διαλογισμῶν ("in disceptationibus

cogitationum" Vg.). The change from ablative to accusative is an improvement. Erasmus also uses *diiudicatio* in rendering ἀδιάκριτος at *Iac.* 3,17. At the present passage, his adoption of this word may have been prompted by Lefèvre's translation, *in diiudicationibus cogitationum.* See also *Annot.* However, the meaning of διάκρισις was perhaps better expressed by *haesitatio*, ad- vocated by Valla *Annot.* For Erasmus' use of *disceptatio* elsewhere, see on *Act.* 15,7. As he indicates in *Annot.*, *cogitatio* does not adequately convey the required sense of a debate between two or more people.

2 *quidem* μέν ("enim" Vg.). The Vulgate ren- dering has very little support from Greek mss. Erasmus is more accurate on this point. Cf. the substitution of *quidem* for *nam* in vs. 5, below. Valla *Annot.* and Manetti made the same correction.

2 *vescendum esse* φαγεῖν ("se manducare" late Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,13 regarding *vescor.* For Erasmus' avoidance of *manduco* see on *Ioh.* 4,31, and *Annot.*, together with *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1011 D-E. He considered that the Greek infinitive here implied "should eat" or "may eat", rather than "eats". Lefèvre, for the same reason, made use of *mandenda*

(or *manducanda*, in *Comm.*). Manetti put *manducare se.*

2 *quibuslibet* πάντα ("omnia" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, the meaning of πᾶς, in this context, is "any kind of" rather than "all". See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1011 D-E.

2 *Alius autem qui* ὃς δέ ("qui autem" Vg.). In 1516, Erasmus had ὁ δέ, following codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 3, 2105, 2816 and nearly all other mss. In 1519, he substituted ὃς δέ, mentioning in *Annot.* that this was found in some Greek mss. ("nonnullis"), though it appears to be in hardly any mss. other than codd. F G. In his rendering, Erasmus aims to preserve the balance of the Greek sentence structure more elegantly by repeating *alius*. With similar motives, Valla *Annot.* suggested *hic quidem ... ille autem*, Manetti *qui autem ... qui autem*, and Lefèvre *hic enim ... ille vero.*

2 *holeribus vescitur* λάχανα ἐσθίει ("olus manducet" late Vg.). In using the plural, *holeribus*, Erasmus is more accurate. For *vescor*, see above on *vescendum*. The use of the subjunctive by most Vulgate mss. may reflect a Greek text substituting the imperative form of the verb, ἐσθιέτω, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ D* F G. However, as hinted in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1011 E-F, and also in 1535 *Annot.*, it is possible that the Vulgate verb was originally *manducat* (as adopted by Vg^st), and that this was later changed to *manducet* through a simple scribal error. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ A B C D^corr 048 and most later mss. This passage of the Vulgate is placed among the *Loca Obscura*. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *olera manducet*, and Lefèvre *olera manducat.*

3 *Qui vescitur* ὁ ἐσθίων ("Is qui manducat" Vg.). See on vs. 2 for *vescor*. The Vulgate addition of *is* was unnecessary. Lefèvre similarly omitted the extra pronoun, putting just *qui manducat.*

3 *vescentem ... vescitur ... vescentem* ἐσθίοντα ... ἐσθίων ... ἐσθίοντα ("manducantem ... manducat ... manducantem" Vg.). For *vescor*, see again on vs. 2.

3 *ne* (twice) μή ("non" Vg.). Erasmus preferred *ne* with the subjunctive, as a more idiomatic way of expressing a negative command. See also on *Ioh.* 3,7.

3 *despiciat* ἐξουθενείτω ("spernat" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 10. Erasmus retains *sperno* at *Lc.* 23,11; 1 *Cor.* 16,11, for the same Greek verb. Cf. *Annot.*

4 *de alieno famulo* ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην ("alienum seruum" Vg.). This change to an indirect construction follows the example of the Vulgate at 1 *Cor.* 5,12; *Ap. Ioh.* 19,2. Elsewhere Erasmus usually retains a direct object after *iudico*. A similar substitution of *famulus* for *seruus* occurs at 1 *Petr.* 2,18. The point of this change is that οἰκέτης has the specific meaning of a household servant, corresponding with *famulus*, whereas *seruus* is more suitable for rendering δοῦλος, meaning a servant or slave in a more general sense. However, Erasmus retains *seruus* for οἰκέτης at *Lc.* 16,13. Lefèvre put *alienum famulum.*

4 *Proprio domino* τῷ ἰδίῳ κυρίῳ ("Domino suo" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,11. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

4 *imo fulcietur vt stet* σταθήσεται δέ ("stabit autem" Vg.; "fulcietur autem vt stet" 1516). Erasmus here seeks to differentiate the Greek future passive from the future middle tense. In the same way, he replaces *stabit* by *constituetur* at 2 *Cor.* 13,1, rendering the same Greek word. However, at other passages it is questionable whether such a distinction of meaning exists, and Erasmus is content to retain *stabit* for σταθήσεται at *Mt.* 12,25, 26; *Lc.* 11,18. He uses *fulcio* to render a different verb, στηρίζω, at 1 *Petr.* 5,10. Regarding *im(m)o*, see on *Act.* 19,2.

4 *potens enim est* δυνατὸς γάρ ἐστιν ("potens enim" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order might correspond either with δυνατεῖ γάρ, attested by codd. ℵ A B C D* F G and one other ms., or with δυνατὸς γάρ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ D^corr and thirty-three later mss., both of which readings omit ἐστιν. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and about 550 other late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 392-4). Lefèvre began this sentence with *nam potens est.*

4 *efficere vt stet* στῆσαι αὐτόν ("statuere illum" Vg.). This change produces consistency with the use of *stat* and *stet* earlier in the verse. Erasmus retains *statuo* for ἵστημι e.g. at *Mt.* 4,5; 18,2; 25,33. In 1519 *Annot.*, he commends the use of *stabilire*, citing the authority of Cyprian *Epist.* 55 (*CSEL* 3, ii, p. 637): this was also the chosen rendering of Lefèvre, who had *stabilire ipsum*. Manetti had *statuere ipsum.*

⁵ ὃς μὲν κρίνει ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέ-
ραν, ὃς δὲ κρίνει πᾶσαν ἡμέραν.
ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ νοΐ πληροφο-
ρείσθω. ⁶ ὁ φρονῶν τὴν ἡμέραν, κυ-
ρίῳ φρονεῖ. καὶ ὁ μὴ φρονῶν τὴν
ἡμέραν, κυρίῳ οὐ φρονεῖ. ὁ ἐσθίων,
κυρίῳ ἐσθίει· εὐχαριστεῖ γὰρ τῷ θεῷ·
καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων, κυρίῳ οὐκ ἐσθίει,
καὶ εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ θεῷ. ⁷ οὐδεὶς γὰρ
ἡμῶν ἑαυτῷ ζῇ, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἑαυτῷ
ἀποθνήσκει.

⁸ Ἐάν τε γὰρ ζῶμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ζῶ-
μεν· ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκομεν, τῷ κυρίῳ
ἀποθνήσκομεν. ἐάν τε οὖν ζῶμεν, ἐάν
τε ἀποθνήσκομεν, τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν.
⁹ εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ Χριστὸς καὶ ἀπέ | θανε

⁵ Hic quidem iudicat, diem ad diem
conferens: ille autem idem iudicat
de quouis die. Vnicuique sua mens
satisfaciat. ⁶ Qui curat diem, do-
mino curat. Et qui non curat diem,
domino non curat. Qui vescitur, do-
mino vescitur, gratias enim agit deo:
et qui non vescitur, domino non
vescitur, et gratias agit deo. ⁷ Nullus
enim nostrum sibi ipsi viuit, et
nullus sibi ipsi moritur.

⁸ Nam siue viuimus, domino vi-
uimus: siue morimur, domino mo-
rimur. Siue igitur viuamus, siue
moriamur, domini sumus. ⁹ In hoc
enim Christus | et mortuus est

LB 641 (left)   LB 642 (right)

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8 *prius* αποθνησκομεν *C-E*: αποθνησκωμεν *A B* | *alt.* αποθνησκομεν *A C-E*: αποθνη-
σκωμεν *B* | *tert.* αποθνησκομεν *C-E*: αποθνησκωμεν *A B*

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5 Hic *B-E*: Alius *A* | conferens *B-E*: *om. A* | ille *B-E*: alius *A* | idem *B-E*: *om. A* | de quouis
die *B-E*: omnem diem *A* | Vnicuique *A B D E*: Vunicuique *C* | 8 *prius* siue *B-E*: et si *A* |
prius domino *B-E*: domiuo *A* | *alt.* siue *B-E*: et si *A*

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5 *Hic quidem ... ille autem* ὃς μὲν ... ὃς δέ ("Nam
alius ... alius autem" late Vg.; "Alius quidem
... alius autem" 1516). Since the Vulgate appears
to use *enim* for μέν in vs. 2 (see *ad loc.*), its use
of *nam* here in vs. 5 does not necessarily support
the view that it was following a text which con-
tained γάρ, e.g. as in codd. א* A Cᶜᵒʳʳ which
begin the sentence with ὃς μὲν γάρ. Other
substitutions of *hic ... ille* occur at 1 *Cor.* 11,21;
2 *Cor.* 2,16, in accordance with Vulgate usage
at *Iud.* 22, but more often Erasmus retains *alius*
... *alius*. In *Annot.*, he also renders as *hic quidem*
... *ille vero*, a form of wording which appears
in Lefèvre *Comm.*, though Lefèvre's main ren-
dering was *Hic autem ... ille vero.* Manetti had
Aliquis ... Aliquis vero, omitting *nam*.

5 *diem ad diem conferens* ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν
("diem inter diem" late Vg. and many Vg. mss.,
with Vgʷʷ; "diem plus inter diem" some Vg.
mss., with Vgˢᵗ; "diem ad diem" 1516). Erasmus
adds *confero* to reinforce his view that παρ'
here means "beside", i.e. comparing one day
beside another day. In *Annot.*, however, he
mentioned the contrary opinion of Jerome
Adv. Iouinianum II, 22 (*PL* 23, 317 B), that

παρ' here signified *plus quam*, i.e. having a
higher regard for one day than another. Erasmus
included this passage in the *Loca Obscura*.

5 *idem iudicat* κρίνει ("iudicat" 1516 = Vg.).
Erasmus again adds a word, by way of clari-
fication.

5 *de quouis die* πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ("omnem diem"
1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 4 for the use of *de* after
iudico. The substitution of *quouis*, meaning
"any" rather than "all", is comparable with
Erasmus' substitution of *quibuslibet* in vs. 2. See
further on *Act.* 10,35.

5 *Vnicuique sua mens satisfaciat* ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ
ἰδίῳ νοΐ πληροφορείσθω ("Vnusquisque in
suo sensu abundet" Vg.). Although Erasmus'
rendering was in some respects less literal, it
was certainly more intelligible. A more precise
translation which he offered in *Annot.* was ...
propria mente certam habeat persuasionem: cf. on
Rom. 4,21. He lists this passage among the *Loca
Obscura*. For the substitution of *mens* for *sensus*,
see on *Rom.* 1,28. Erasmus' Latin wording
seems to have been adapted from the version
of Lefèvre, who had *Vnusquisque in sua mente*

satisfaciat. Manetti put *Vnusquisque in proprio sensu abundet.*

6 *curat* (1st. and 2nd.) φρονῶν ... φρονεῖ ("sapit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,5, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *sentit.*

6 *Et qui non curat diem, domino non curat* καὶ ὁ μὴ φρονῶν τὴν ἡμέραν, κυρίῳ οὐ φρονεῖ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F G 048 and twenty later mss. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816, with Cᶜᵒʳʳ and about 550 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 394-6). In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus' citation of the passage incorrectly omits τὴν ἡμέραν and *diem.* In 1519 *Annot.*, he acknowledges that this nine-word sequence is suited to the context, but expresses the opinion that it could have been a later addition. The assumption behind this is that a scribe or editor invented a completely new clause, prompted by the use of καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων, κυρίῳ οὐκ ἐσθίει later in the verse, and that the new reading then found its way into a large number of the later mss. An alternative explanation could be that the words were authentic but were omitted by an early scribe through the error of homoeoteleuton, jumping from the first to the second φρονεῖ, with the result that this mistake was copied into a few mss. which were directly or indirectly derived from the same exemplar. A similar kind of error, incidentally, led to the omission of καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων ... τῷ θεῷ in cod. 2816*. Manetti put *et qui non sapit diem, domino non sapit,* and Lefèvre *et qui non sentit diem, domino non sentit.*

6 *Qui vescitur* ὁ ἐσθίων ("et qui manducat" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having καὶ ὁ ἐσθίων, as in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and nearly all other mss., commencing with ℵ A B D (F G). Erasmus' omission of καί was derived from cod. 2817, with support from 𝔓⁴⁶ but few other mss. This inadequately attested reading passed from Erasmus into the later *Textus Receptus.* For *vescor,* see on vs. 2, and *Annot.*

6 *vescitur* (2nd.-4th.) ἐσθίει ... ἐσθίων ... ἐσθίει ("manducat" Vg.). See again on vs. 2. The first hand of cod. 2817 omitted κυρίῳ ἐσθίει, but these words were restored by a corrector of the ms., earlier than Erasmus.

7 *Nullus ... nullus* οὐδεὶς ... οὐδείς ("Nemo ... nemo" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 9,16; *Mc.* 9,39; 10,29; 11,2; 1 *Cor.* 12,3;

14,2; *Gal.* 3,11; *Eph.* 5,29, mainly for the sake of stylistic variety.

7 *sibi ipsi* (twice) ἑαυτῷ ("sibi" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 11,55. The same change was made by Lefèvre. Manetti had *sibi ipsi ... sibi.*

8 *Nam siue* Ἐάν τε γάρ ("Siue enim" Vg.; "Nam et si" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 3,34 for *nam.* In 1516, the use of *et* was intended to render more precisely the additional particle, τε.

8 *siue* (2nd.) ἐάν τε ("et si" 1516). See the previous note.

8 ἀποθνήσκομεν (1st.). Erasmus' codd. 2815 and 2816 substituted ἀποθάνωμεν, supported by cod. C and many later mss. His 1516-19 editions adopted ἀποθνήσκωμεν, as in cod. 2817, together with 1 and 2105, and also ℵ B and another large section of the later mss. His change to ἀποθνήσκομεν in 1522 has support from some other mss., commencing with codd. A D F G 048.

8 ἀποθνήσκομεν (2nd.). This was the reading of codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 3 and 2105, and also A B D F G 048 and many other mss. The temporary change to ἀποθνήσκωμεν in 1519 enjoys the support of codd. 1 and 2816, in company with ℵ C and many later mss.

8 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

8 *viuamus* ζῶμεν ("viuimus" Vg.). Erasmus' adoption of the subjunctive here seems to be mainly for stylistic variety, as he was content with *siue viuimus* earlier in the verse. Manetti anticipated this change.

8 *moriamur* ἀποθνήσκομεν ("morimur" Vg.). See the previous note for Erasmus' use of the subjunctive. In 1516-19, his Greek text was ἀποθνήσκωμεν, as in cod. 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ B C and most later mss. The substitution of ἀποθνήσκομεν in 1522 has support from codd. A D F G and some other mss., including cod. 2815. Erasmus' rendering was again anticipated by Manetti.

9 *et* (1st.) καί (omitted in late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate omission is supported by codd. ℵ* A B C* (D*) F G, and also cod. 2816 and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ (Cᶜᵒʳʳ) Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most other mss., among which were codd. 1 and 2105 (though 2105 omits Χριστός). His rendering was in agreement with some mss. of the Vulgate, and also with the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre.

καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνέζησεν, ἵνα καὶ
νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ.

¹⁰Σὺ δὲ τί κρίνεις τὸν ἀδελ-
φόν σου; ἢ καὶ σύ, τί ἐξουθε-
νεῖς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; πάντες
γὰρ παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι
τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ¹¹γέγραπται γάρ,
Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι ἐμοὶ
κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ πᾶσα
γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ θεῷ.
¹²ἄρα οὖν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ
ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δώσει τῷ θεῷ.

¹³Μηκέτι οὖν ἀλλήλους κρί-
νωμεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κρίνατε
μᾶλλον, τὸ μὴ τιθέναι πρόσ-
κομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἢ σκάν-
δαλον. ¹⁴οἶδα καὶ πέπεισμαι

et resurrexit et reuixit, vt mortuis
ac viuentibus dominetur.

¹⁰Tu vero cur iudicas fratrem
tuum? Aut etiam tu, cur despi-
cis fratrem tuum? Omnes enim
statuemur apud tribunal Christi.
¹¹Scriptum est enim: Viuo ego,
dicit dominus: Mihi sese flectet
omne genu, et omnis lingua con-
fitebitur deo. ¹²Igitur vnusquis-
que nostrum de se ipso rationem
reddet deo.

¹³Ne posthac igitur alius alium
iudicemus: verum illud iudicate
magis, ne offendiculum ponatur
fratri, aut lapsus occasio. ¹⁴Noui
siquidem, et persuasum habeo

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11 ζω *A^c B-E*: ξω *A** | 12 λογον *A C-E*: λογου *B*

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9 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 11 sese flectet *B-E*: flectetur *A*

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9 *resurrexit et reuixit* ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνέζησεν
("resurrexit" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with
Vg^{ww}; "reuixit" some Vg. mss., with Vgst). The
late Vulgate seems to reflect a text having just
ἀνέστη (cf. ἀνέστι in codd. F G). The other
Vulgate reading, *reuixit*, corresponds with a text
having just ἔζησεν, as in codd. ℵ* A B C and
a few later mss. What Erasmus would have
found in all his mss. at Basle was ἀνέστη καὶ
ἔζησεν, further attested by codd. ℵ^{corr} D^{corr}
0209 and most later mss. In modern eyes, the
main point at issue is whether καὶ ἀνέστη is
a later insertion, allegedly added as an explana-
tion of ἔζησεν, or whether the longer reading
was authentic but suffered at the hands of a
few scribes who deemed that either καὶ ἀνέστη
or καὶ ἔζησεν was superfluous. Another possible
cause of deleting καὶ ἀνέστη was the scribal
error of parablepsis, jumping from the καί
before ἀνέστη to the καί before ἔζησεν and
hence omitting what lay between. With regard
to the text edited by Erasmus, there is the quite
separate question of why he replaced ἔζησεν by
ἀνέζησεν, a variant which is now to be seen
in only a few late mss. By saying in *Annot.*, that
"Graeci codices" add καὶ ἀνέζησεν, but that
his Theophylact (i.e. cod. 2105) has ἔζησεν for

ἀνέζησεν, he gives the misleading impression
that the other Basle mss. agree with his printed
text, whereas they all read ἀνέστη καὶ ἔζησεν,
as also cited in Lefèvre *Comm.* The immediate
source, if any, from which he derived ἀνέζησεν
is uncertain. If he saw this reading in mss.
which he consulted in England, cod. 69 was
not among them, as this ms. has ἔζησεν. The
poorly supported ἀνέζησεν remained in the
Textus Receptus. The rendering offered by Erasmus
was anticipated by Manetti. Lefèvre put *resurrexit
et vixit.*

9 *mortuis ac viuentibus* νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων
("viuorum et mortuorum" late Vg.; "mortuis et
viuentibus" 1516). The late Vulgate word-order
has little support from Greek mss. For Erasmus'
substitution of dative for genitive, see on *Act.*
19,16. For *ac*, see on *Ioh.* 1,25. As to *viuentibus*,
see on *Act.* 1,3. Manetti put *viuis et mortuis*, and
Lefèvre *mortuorum et viuentium.*

10 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

10 *cur* (1st.) τί ("quid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

10 *etiam* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-
sion has little Greek ms. support. See *Annot.*
Cod. 2815 here omitted ἢ καὶ ... τὸν ἀδελφόν

σου, as a result of homoeoteleuton. Manetti put *et*.

10 *cur* (2nd.) τί ("quare" Vg.). Similar substitutions of *cur*, in rendering a variety of Greek interrogative expressions, occur at *Mt.* 14,31; *Mc.* 9,28; 11,31; 1 *Cor.* 6,7; 9,12. See also on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *quid*.

10 *despicis* ἐξουθενεῖς ("spernis" Vg.). See on vs. 3. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *aspernaris*.

10 *statuemur* παραστησόμεθα ("stabimus" Vg.). Erasmus incorrectly treats the future middle tense as a passive: "we shall be made to stand before". Cf. on vs. 4 (σταθήσεται). In *Annot.*, he offers the more ambiguous *sistemur* as an alternative. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *astabimus*.

10 *apud tribunal* τῷ βήματι ("ante tribunal" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 7,46 for the removal of *ante*, with reference to standing before God. Manetti put *ad tribunal*, and Lefèvre *tribunali*.

11 *Mihi* ὅτι ἐμοί ("quoniam mihi" Vg.). Erasmus often treats ὅτι as redundant for translation purposes: see on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti put *quod*, and Lefèvre *quia*, in place of *quoniam*.

11 *sese flectet* κάμψει ("flectetur" 1516 = late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). In substituting active for passive, Erasmus is more accurate: see *Annot.* At *Phil.* 2,10 (1519), he similarly replaces *flectatur* with *se flectat*. Lefèvre had *curuabitur*.

12 *Igitur* ἄρα οὖν ("Itaque" Vg.). Usually Erasmus prefers *itaque* for this Greek expression: see on *Rom.* 5,18. Seeing that the Vulgate also has *itaque* for ἄρα οὖν in vs. 19, below, there is no need to suppose that it reflects any difference of Greek text here in vs. 12, though οὖν is omitted in this verse by codd. B D* F G and a few other mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

12 *de* περί ("pro" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. Similar substitutions occur at e.g. *Col.* 1,3; 2,1; 1 *Thess.* 1,2; 3,2, 9; 2 *Thess.* 1,3; 2,13; *Hebr.* 11,40, though at some of these passages the Vulgate may reflect the substitution of ὑπέρ for περί. Elsewhere Erasmus often retains *pro* for περί. Valla *Annot.* proposed the same change.

12 *se ipso* ἑαυτοῦ ("se" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 11,55. This alteration had previously been made by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *Ne posthac igitur* Μηκέτι οὖν ("Non ergo amplius" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,7 for *ne*. For *posthac*,

see on *Ioh.* 5,14; *Act.* 20,25. For *igitur*, see on *Ioh.* 6,62.

13 *alius alium* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33. Lefèvre put *nos mutuo*.

13 *verum* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

13 *illud* τοῦτο ("hoc" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6.

13 *ne offendiculum ponatur* τὸ μὴ τιθέναι πρόσκομμα ("ne ponatis offendiculum" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate, though Erasmus is less literal in changing active to passive, and in altering the word-order. Manetti offered *ne apponatis offendiculum*, and Lefèvre *vt non ponatis offendiculum*.

13 *aut* ἤ ("vel" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,6. Cod. 2815 and some other late mss. substitute εἰς. The version of Lefèvre was the same as that of Erasmus.

13 *lapsus occasio* σκάνδαλον ("scandalum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 9,33.

14 *Noui siquidem* οἶδα ("Scio" Vg.). Usually Erasmus retains *scio*, with reference to the knowledge of a fact (see on *Ioh.* 1,33). However, at some passages this preference seems to have been outweighed by the consideration that *noui* offers a closer formal equivalent to the Greek verb οἶδα, as both possess the outward form of the perfect tense but are present tense in meaning. In this passage, a further advantage of *noui* is that it avoids the extended sequence of sibilants which would otherwise have been formed by *lapsus occasio. scio siquidem* (cf. *deus nouit* for *deus scit* at 2 *Cor.* 11,11; 12,2, 3). The addition of *siquidem* here is not explicitly warranted by the Greek text, and was possibly influenced by Lefèvre, who added *enim* in the main text of his Latin translation. Lefèvre, in turn, had in mind the Vulgate rendering of 2 *Tim.* 1,12, *scio enim ... et certus sum*. However, at that passage, the Greek text has οἶδα γάρ, whereas here γάρ is absent. For this reason, no doubt, *enim* was deleted from the revised version of his translation which was presented in Lefèvre *Comm.*

14 *persuasum habeo* πέπεισμαι ("confido" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,38. In *Annot.*, Erasmus further suggests *certus sum*. The use of *persuasum habeo* was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, in commenting on vs. 14 of the following chapter. Lefèvre had *pro comperto habeo* in his translation, while suggesting *persuadeor* or *certior factus sum* in *Comm.*

ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι οὐδὲν κοινὸν
δι' ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τῷ λογιζομέ-
νῳ τι κοινὸν εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ κοινόν.
¹⁵εἰ δὲ διὰ βρῶμα ὁ ἀδελφός
σου λυπεῖται, οὐκέτι κατὰ ἀγάπην
περιπατεῖς. μὴ τῷ βρώματί σου
ἐκεῖνον ἀπόλλυε, ὑπὲρ οὗ Χριστὸς
ἀπέθανε. ¹⁶μὴ βλασφημείσθω οὖν
ὑμῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν. ¹⁷οὐ γάρ ἐστιν
ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ βρῶσις καὶ
πόσις, ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρή-
νη καὶ χαρὰ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.
¹⁸ὁ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις δουλεύων τῷ
Χριστῷ, εὐάρεστος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ δό-
κιμος τοῖς | ἀνθρώποις. ¹⁹ἄρα οὖν
τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης διώκωμεν, καὶ τὰ
τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους.

LB 643

per dominum Iesum, nihil esse
commune per se, nisi ei qui exi-
stimat aliquid esse commune, illi
commune est. ¹⁵Verum si propter
cibum frater tuus contristatur, non
iam secundum charitatem ambu-
las. Ne cibo tuo illum perdas, pro
quo Christus mortuus est. ¹⁶Ne
vestrum igitur bonum, hominum
maledicentiae sit obnoxium. ¹⁷Non
enim est regnum dei cibus ac po-
tus, sed iustitia et pax et gaudi-
um, in spiritu sancto. ¹⁸Etenim qui
per haec seruit Christo, acceptus est
deo, et | probatus hominibus. ¹⁹Ita-
que quae pacis sunt, sectemur, et
quae aedificationis, alius erga alium.

LB 644

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14 εαυτου *B-E*: αυτου *A*

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14 per dominum Iesum *B-E*: in domino Iesu *A* | 15 Verum *B-E*: Quod *A* | cibum *B-E*: esum *A* | cibo *B-E*: esu *A* | 17 cibus ac *B-E*: esus et *A* | 18 per haec *B-E*: in his *A*

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14 *per dominum Iesum* ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ ("in domino Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. This change was affected by the fact that the preceding verb was πέπεισμαι rather than πέποιθα. Cf. *Phil.* 2,24, where Erasmus retains *confido in domino* for πέποιθα ἐν κυρίῳ.

14 *nihil esse* ὅτι οὐδέν ("quia nihil" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre both replaced *quia* by *quod*.

14 *se* ἑαυτοῦ ("ipsum" Vg.). In 1516, Erasmus' text had αὐτοῦ, from codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from 1 and 2816, as well as A C* D F G 0209 and most other mss. In 1519 *Annot.*, he commented that this was the read-ing which probably underlay the Vulgate ren-dering, i.e. referring back to the Lord. His substitution of *se* in 1516 suggests that he had either understood αὐτοῦ in a reflexive sense

(i.e. as referring back to οὐδέν), or intended to replace αὐτοῦ with ἑαυτοῦ but neglected to do so. His adoption of ἑαυτοῦ in 1519 receives support from codd. 3, 2105 and some other late mss., along with earlier testimony from א B Cᶜᵒʳʳ 048.

14 *aliquid* τι ("quid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,7. Erasmus here has the same rendering as Am-brosiaster. Lefèvre omitted the word.

14 *esse commune* (2nd.) κοινὸν εἶναι ("commune esse" Vg.). Erasmus' change of word-order creates an elegant partial chiasmus, *esse commune ... commune est*, again in agreement with Ambro-siaster.

15 *Verum si* εἰ δέ ("Si enim" Vg.; "Quod si" 1516). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having εἰ γάρ, found in codd. א A B C D F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and

also 0209 and most later mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *Si autem*.

15 *cibum ... cibo* βρῶμα ... τῷ βρώματι ("esum ... esu" 1516). The 1516 substitution of *esus* (a word which was comparatively rare among classical authors) was not an improvement, as it denoted the act of eating rather than food, and hence would have been better suited as a rendering for βρῶσις than for βρῶμα. With more reason, Erasmus replaced *esca* by *esus* in rendering βρῶσις in vs. 17 (1516 only), and at 1 *Cor.* 8,4. In rendering βρῶμα elsewhere, he puts *cibus* for *esca* at vs. 20, but more often retains *esca* from the Vulgate. In 1519, by restoring the use of *cibus* at the present passage, and changing *esus* to *cibus* in vs. 17, Erasmus removes any distinction between βρῶμα and βρῶσις in this chapter. Manetti and Lefèvre had *cibus* for βρῶμα in vss. 15 and 20, and *esca* for βρῶσις in vs. 17.

15 *non iam* οὐκέτι ("iam non" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,17. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *non amplius*.

15 *Ne ... perdas* μὴ ... ἀπόλλυε ("Noli ... perdere" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18. The same change was made by Manetti.

16 *Ne ... hominum maledicentiae sit obnoxium* μὴ βλασφημείσθω ("Non ... blasphemetur" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering of this passage, and especially his addition of *hominum*, could be described as a paraphrase rather than an exact translation. At four other passages, *maledicentia* is similarly substituted for *blasphemia*: see on *Act.* 6,11; *Eph.* 4,31. For his removal of the non-classical *blasphemo*, see on *Act.* 13,45. For *ne*, see on *Ioh.* 3,7. Lefèvre put *Non ... infametur*.

16 *vestrum igitur bonum* οὖν ὑμῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν ("ergo ... bonum nostrum" Vg.). For *igitur*, see on *Ioh.* 6,62. The Vulgate corresponds with a Greek text substituting ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν, as in codd. D F G and a few other mss. See *Annot.* In Lefèvre, the rendering was *igitur ... bonum vestrum*, and in Manetti, *ergo ... bonum vestrum*.

17 *enim est* γάρ ἐστιν ("est enim" late Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more literally. The earlier Vulgate omitted *enim* altogether, with little support from Greek mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

17 *cibus* βρῶσις ("esca" Vg.; "esus" 1516). See on vs. 15.

17 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

18 *Etenim qui* ὁ γάρ ("Qui enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. The change is for the sake of stylistic variety.

18 *per haec* ἐν τούτοις ("in hoc" Vg.; "in his" 1516). For the use of *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17, and *Annot.* The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having ἐν τούτῳ, as in codd. ℵ * A B C D* F G 048 0209 and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ corr D corr and most other mss. Various explanations exist concerning the origin of this difference of text. If τούτῳ were genuine, it would be possible to see τούτοις as a theologically motivated variant, designed to prevent the interpretation "he who serves Christ in the Holy Spirit". Alternatively, if τούτοις had originally been in the text, a common form of scribal error could have led to its replacement by τούτῳ, through grammatical attraction to the singular number of the preceding words πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

18 *acceptus est* εὐάρεστος ("placet" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,1. Manetti put *beneplacens est*, and Lefèvre *gratus est*.

18 *probatus* δόκιμος ("probatus est" Vg.). Erasmus is able to dispense with *est* here, as he already has this verb after *acceptus*. The same omission was made by Lefèvre.

19 *quae aedificationis* τὰ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ("quae aedificationis sunt" Vg.). Again Erasmus regards the verb as redundant, as the earlier part of the sentence already has *sunt* after *pacis*. Cf. *Annot.*

19 *alius erga alium* τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους ("inuicem custodiamus" late Vg. = some Vg. mss., with Vg ww; "inuicem" other Vg. mss., with Vg st). For the removal of *inuicem*, see on *Ioh.* 4,33. The addition of *custodiamus* in some Vulgate mss., both early and late, corresponds with the insertion of φυλάξωμεν after ἀλλήλους in codd. D* F G, together with the Old Latin version. For Erasmus' objections, see *Annot.*, where he also suggests rendering this part of the sentence by *quae ad mutuam pertinent aedificationem*. Lefèvre proposed *quae mutuae sunt aedificationis*.

²⁰ μὴ ἕνεκεν βρώματος κατάλυε τὸ
ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ. πάντα μὲν καθαρά,
ἀλλὰ κακὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ διὰ
προσκόμματος ἐσθίοντι.   ²¹ καλὸν τὸ
μὴ φαγεῖν κρέα, μηδὲ πιεῖν οἶνον,
μηδὲ ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἀδελφός σου προσ-
κόπτει ἢ σκανδαλίζεται ἢ ἀσθενεῖ.
²² σὺ πίστιν ἔχεις; κατὰ σαυτὸν
ἔχε ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. μακάριος ὁ
μὴ κρίνων ἑαυτὸν ἐν ᾧ δοκιμάζει.
²³ ὁ δὲ διακρινόμενος, ἐὰν φάγῃ,
κατακέκριται, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως.
πᾶν δὲ ὃ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, ἁμαρτία
ἐστίν.

²⁰ Ne cibi causa, destruas opus dei.
Omnia quidem pura: sed malum
est homini, qui per offendiculum
vescitur.   ²¹ Bonum est non edere
carnes, neque bibere vinum, neque
quicquam, per quod frater tuus im-
pingit aut offenditur aut infirma-
tur.   ²² Tu fidem habes? Apud temet
ipsum habe coram deo. Beatus qui
non iudicat se ipsum, in eo quod
probat.   ²³ At qui diiudicat, si ederit
condemnatus est: quoniam non edit
ex fide. Porro quicquid ex fide non
est, peccatum est.

21 προσκόπτει *A B E*: προσκόπτῃ *C D*

21 per quod *B-E*: in quo *A*

20 *Ne ... destruas* μὴ ... κατάλυε ("Noli ...
destruere" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18. Manetti
similarly put *Ne ... destruatis.*

20 *cibi causa* ἕνεκεν βρώματος ("propter
escam" Vg.). See on vs. 15 regarding *cibus.*
Erasmus' construction of *causa* with a geni-
tive, replacing *propter*, also occurs at *Mc.* 8,35;
10,29; 2 *Cor.* 7,12. He further uses *causa* with
a possessive pronoun, as in *mea causa* or *tua
causa*, at *Mt.* 10,39; 16,25; *Mc.* 8,35 (1519);
10,29.

20 *pura* καθαρά ("munda sunt" Vg.). A simi-
lar substitution of *purus* occurs at *Mt.* 23,26
(1519); *Tit.* 1,15; *Hebr.* 10,22; *Iac.* 1,27, in
accordance with Vulgate usage at 1 *Tim.* 1,5;
3,9; 2 *Tim.* 1,3; 2,22, with the result that the
adjective *mundus* is completely removed from
the Epistles. Whereas *mundus* tends to mean
"clean" in a physical sense, *purus* has a much
wider range of connotation, capable of refer-
ring to ceremonial and ritual cleanliness and
also to moral purity. In removing *sunt*, Erasmus
is also more literal. Lefèvre put *sunt munda*, as
in some copies of the late Vulgate, including
Lefèvre's own Vulgate column.

20 *qui ... vescitur* τῷ ... ἐσθίοντι ("qui ...
manducat" Vg.). See on vs. 2.

21 *edere* φαγεῖν ("manducare" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 4,31. Erasmus has the same word as Am-
brosiaster.

21 *carnes* κρέα ("carnem" Vg.). The Vulgate
singular corresponds with κρέας in cod. Dᶜᵒʳʳ.
Erasmus makes a similar substitution at 1 *Cor.*
8,13.

21 *neque* (1st.) μηδέ ("et non" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 2,16. The same change was made by
Manetti.

21 πιεῖν. Cod. 2815* originally had πίνειν at
this point, as in codd. F G.

21 *quicquam, per quod* ἐν ᾧ ("in quo" Vg.;
"quicquam, in quo" 1516). For *per*, see on *Rom.*
1,17. Erasmus provides an antecedent pronoun,
quicquam, to complete the implied sense. With
a similar motive, Lefèvre put *id in quo.* Manetti
had just *in eo.*

21 *impingit* προσκόπτει ("offenditur" late Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 9,32, and *Annot.* The reading

προσκόπτη in 1522-7 may be a misprint: it is said to occur in only two late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 401-5). Manetti put *offendatur*. The earlier Vulgate, and also Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre, had *offendit*.

21 *offenditur* σκανδαλίζεται ("scandalizatur" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,61. Manetti put *scandalizetur*.

22 *habes* ἔχεις ("quam habes" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *quam* corresponds with the insertion of ἣν before ἔχεις in codd. א A B C 048 and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with D F G 0209ᵛⁱᵈ and most other mss. In *Annot.*, he commended the shorter reading partly on the basis of patristic testimony, and partly on the grounds that the language was more lively ("omnino sermo vividior"). The passage is further assigned to the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. In omitting *quam*, Erasmus agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

22 *Apud* κατά ("penes" Vg.). The Vulgate does not use *penes* elsewhere in the N.T. Cf. *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre likewise had *apud*, but followed the late Vulgate in connecting this phrase with the preceding *habes*, while Erasmus connected the same phrase with the following *habe*.

22 σαυτόν. The spelling given in 1516 *Annot.* is σεαυτόν, as in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss. The variant adopted in Erasmus' text, which here follows cod. 2817, survived into the *Textus Receptus*.

22 ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. These words were omitted by cod. 2817, and also by א* and a few later mss. Erasmus' text followed codd. 2815, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss.

22 *se ipsum* ἑαυτόν ("semet ipsum" Vg.). This change was probably for the sake of stylistic variety, in view of the use of *temet ipsum* in the previous sentence. Lefèvre made the same change. Both copies of Manetti's version omit this sentence.

23 *At qui* ὁ δέ ("Qui autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

23 *diiudicat* διακρινόμενος ("discernit" Vg.). Although there is little difference of meaning between the two Latin verbs, which can both mean "make a distinction", Erasmus prefers *diiudico* because of its closer resemblance to the Greek word (in the literal sense of "judge between"). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 4,7, consistent with the Vulgate rendering of διακρίνω at *Mt.* 16,3; 1 *Cor.* 11,29, 31; 14,29. In *Annot.*, Erasmus alternatively suggests using *haesito*, which seems better suited to the context and is also used by the Vulgate at several other passages. He further substitutes *diiudico* for *iudico* at 1 *Cor.* 6,5; *Iac.* 2,4; *Iud.* 22. See also on *diiudicatio* for διάκρισις in vs. 1 of the present chapter.

23 *ederit* φάγῃ ("manducauerit" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31. Lefèvre had *comederit*.

23 *condemnatus est* κατακέκριται ("damnatus est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,3. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

23 *quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,21.

23 *edit* (Vg. omits). Erasmus adds a word, to complete the sense. Manetti, for a similar reason, added *est* after *fide* in this clause.

23 *Porro quicquid* πᾶν δὲ ὃ ("Omne autem quod" Vg.). For *porro*, see on *Ioh.* 8,16, and for *quicquid*, see on *Ioh.* 4,14.

23 *ex fide non est* οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ("non est ex fide" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "non ex fide" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). The changed word-order prevents *ex fide* from being incorrectly attached to the following *peccatum est*. Lefèvre had just *non ex fide*.

23 *est* (3rd.) ἐστίν. At this point in the Greek text, the passage commonly printed as *Rom.* 16,25-7 is inserted after ἐστίν by about 560 mss., commencing with 0209ᵛⁱᵈ: this was the reading of Erasmus' codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817. However, he followed the Vulgate in leaving these verses in place at the end of ch. 16, in company with (𝔓⁶¹) א B C D and about twenty later mss. In 𝔓⁴⁶ this section is placed after *Rom.* 15,33, while in cod. A and fifteen others it is included here in ch. 14 as well as in ch. 16, but in codd. F G it is altogether omitted from the Greek text (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 405-6, 447-9). In *Annot.* on ch. 16, Erasmus commented that the passage did not relate to the context of either chapter. Manetti, more boldly, moved these three verses from ch. 16, to become vss. 24-6 of ch. 14.

15 Ὀφείλομεν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ δυ-
νατοί, τὰ ἀσθενήματα τῶν
ἀδυνάτων βαστάζειν, καὶ μὴ ἑαυ-
τοῖς ἀρέσκειν. ²ἕκαστος γὰρ ἡμῶν
τῷ πλησίον ἀρεσκέτω εἰς τὸ ἀγα-
θὸν πρὸς οἰκοδομήν. ³καὶ γὰρ ὁ
Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτῷ ἤρεσεν, ἀλ-
λὰ καθὼς γέγραπται, Οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ
τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σε, ἐπέπεσον ἐπ᾽
ἐμέ.
⁴Ὅσα γὰρ προεγράφη, εἰς τὴν
ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν προεγράφη,
ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρα-
κλήσεως τῶν γραφῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα
ἔχωμεν. ⁵ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς
καὶ | τῆς παρακλήσεως δῴη ὑμῖν
τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ
Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ⁶ἵνα ὁμοθυμαδὸν

15 Debemus autem nos qui po-
tentes sumus, infirmitates im-
potentium portare, ac non placere
nobis ipsis. ²Nam vnusquisque
nostrum proximo placeat in bo-
num ad aedificationem. ³Etenim
Christus non placuit sibi ipsi: sed
quemadmodum scriptum est: Op-
probria opprobrantium tibi, inci-
derunt in me.
⁴Nam quaecunque praescripta
sunt, in nostram doctrinam prae-
scripta sunt: vt per patientiam et
consolationem scripturarum spem
habeamus. ⁵Deus autem patientiae
et consolatio|nis det vobis idem
mutuo inter vos sentire secundum
Iesum Christum, ⁶vt vnanimiter

LB 645

LB 646

15,6 ὁμοθυμαδὸν *A B D E*: ὁμοθημαδον *C*

15,4 *prius* praescripta sunt *B-E*: ante sunt scripta *A*

15,1 *qui potentes sumus* οἱ δυνατοί ("firmiores"
Vg.). The Vulgate use of a comparative adjec-
tive is inaccurate. At 2 *Cor.* 13,9, where there
is a similar contrast between the strong and
the weak, Erasmus substitutes *validi* for *poten-
tes*. Cf. *Annot.* The suggestion of Valla *Annot.*,
followed by Lefèvre, was to put *validi* at the
present passage. Manetti had just *potentes*.

1 *infirmitates* τὰ ἀσθενήματα ("imbecillitates"
Vg.). At *Hebr.* 7,18; 11,34, in rendering ἀσθενής
and ἀσθένεια, Erasmus makes an opposite
change from *infirmitas* to *imbecillitas*. Although
both words can mean "weakness", *infirmitas*
could also denote "sickness" or "ill health": see
Annot. on *Hebr.* 11,34. The use of *infirmitates*
is also to be found in Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre,
and (surprisingly) in the Vulgate lemma of
Valla *Annot.*

1 *impotentium* τῶν ἀδυνάτων ("infirmorum"
Vg.). See above on *potentes*, and *Annot.* By using
impotens ("powerless"), Erasmus avoided giving
the impression that ἀδύνατος meant "suffering
from ill health". This substitution was anticipa-
ted by Manetti. In Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*
and Lefèvre, the rendering was *inualidorum*.

1 *portare* βαστάζειν ("sustinere" Vg.). This
change is consistent with Vulgate usage else-
where, though Erasmus retains *sustineo* for βα-
στάζω at *Ap. Ioh.* 2,2. This change agreed with
the wording of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and
Lefèvre.

1 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

1 *placere nobis ipsis* ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκειν ("nobis
placere" Vg.). By changing the word-order,
Erasmus places more emphasis on *nobis ipsis*.
The addition of *ipsis*, corresponding with the
Greek reflexive pronoun, was already made by
Manetti and Lefèvre, who both put *nobis ipsis
placere*.

2 *Nam* γάρ (Vg. omits). Erasmus derived γάρ
from cod. 2817, apparently without other ms.
support. His codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, with
most other mss., omit this word. In 1516
Annot., he cites the text as δέ, probably based
on information derived from Lefèvre *Comm.*,
which adopted this reading and recommended
autem as the rendering. Despite the lack of sup-
port for γάρ, this word remained in the *Textus
Receptus*.

2 *nostrum* ἡμῶν ("vestrum" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having ὑμῶν, as in codd. D^{corr} F G 048 0209^{vid} and some other mss., including 2105, 2816. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, together with cod. 1, as well as ℵ A B C D* and most of the later mss. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

2 *proximo* τῷ πλησίον ("proximo suo" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, and also in Lefèvre *Comm.*, the Vulgate addition lacks explicit Greek ms. support.

3 *placuit sibi ipsi* ἑαυτῷ ἤρεσεν ("sibi placuit" Vg.). See on vs. 1 for a similar alteration. Manetti and Lefèvre likewise added *ipsi*, the former having the word order *non sibi ipsi Christus placuit*, and the latter *Christus non sibi ipsi placuit*.

3 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

3 *Opprobria opprobrantium* Οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων ("Improperia improperantium" Vg.). A similar substitution of *opprobrium* ("reproach") occurs at *Hebr.* 13,13, following the example of the Vulgate at 1 *Tim.* 3,7; *Hebr.* 10,33. At these last two passages, Erasmus preferred *probrum*, which he further substituted for *improperium* at *Hebr.* 11,26. The verb *impropero* is replaced by *exprobro* at *Mt.* 27,44 (1519); *Iac.* 1,5 (1522), in keeping with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 11,20; *Mc.* 16,14; *Lc.* 6,22; 1 *Petr.* 4,14. In classical authors, the word *improperium* never occurs, and *impropero* very rarely. The Vulgate translation of the O.T. passage here cited (*Ps.* 69,9) was *opprobria exprobrantium*.

3 *inciderunt* ἐπέπεσον ("ceciderunt" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 10,10; 19,19, for Erasmus' avoidance of *cado*.

3 *in* ἐπ' ("super" Vg.). At *Act.* 19,17, Erasmus preferred to retain *super* with *incido*, though elsewhere *in* is the usual preposition to accompany this verb.

4 *Nam quaecunque* Ὅσα γάρ ("Quaecunque enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

4 *praescripta sunt* (twice) προεγράφη ("scripta sunt" Vg.; "ante sunt scripta ... praescripta sunt" 1516). The Vulgate may have followed a Greek text substituting ἐγράφη in both places, as in cod. B. In codd. ℵ C D^{corr} and a few other mss., it is προεγράφη ... ἐγράφη (D* F G had προσεγράφη ... ἐγράφη). Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with A 048 and most later mss. See

Annot., and also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1011 F-1012 B. The suggested rendering in Valla *Annot.* was either *praescripta* or *antescripta*. Lefèvre adopted *praescripta* in both places.

4 *in* εἰς ("ad" Vg.). Erasmus often makes an opposite substitution, of *ad* for *in*, at other passages where εἰς expresses a purpose or consequence. Cf. on *Rom.* 1,16 (*ad salutem*).

4 τῆς (2nd.). Erasmus follows cod. 2817 and the Vulgate, with support from codd. 2105 and 2816, and also D F G and many other mss. In his codd. 1 and 2815, the text reads διὰ τῆς, as in ℵ A B C 048 and many further mss.

5 *consolationis* τῆς παρακλήσεως ("solatii" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 7,7; *Hebr.* 6,18, though Erasmus retains *solatium* for παραμύθιον at *Phil.* 2,1, and for παρηγορία at *Col.* 4,11. At the present passage, the change produces consistency with *consolationem* in vs. 4, and agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *idem* τὸ αὐτό ("id ipsum" Vg.). Erasmus corrects a Vulgate mistranslation. He retains *id ipsum* in rendering τὸ δ' αὐτό at *Mt.* 27,44; *Phil.* 2,18 (1519). See *Annot.*

5 *mutuo inter vos sentire* φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις ("sapere in alterutrum" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is more literal. For *sentio*, see on *Rom.* 8,5, and for *mutuo* and *inter*, see on *Ioh.* 13,34; 15,24, and *Annot.* The problem with *alterutrum* was that it meant "one or the other", whereas the required meaning was "one another". For Erasmus' removal of *alterutrum* elsewhere, see on *Act.* 7,26. Valla *Annot.* proposed the use of *inuicem* or *mutuo*. Manetti put *sapere adinuicem*, and Lefèvre *sentire adinuicem*.

5 *Iesum Christum* Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. Erasmus' rendering follows the Vulgate word-order, though the latter may reflect the substitution of Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, as in codd. ℵ A C F 048 and some other mss. His Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as B D G and most other mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *Christum Iesum* (spelled by Lefèvre as *Ihesum*).

6 *vnanimiter* ὁμοθυμαδόν ("vnanimes" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering reproduces the adverbial form of the Greek word. In *Annot.*, he speculates that the text underlying the Vulgate was ὁμόθυμοι, though this lacks ms. support. See also on *Act.* 12,20. Lefèvre made the same change.

ἐν ἐνὶ στόματι δοξάζητε τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ⁷διὸ προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς προσελάβετο ἡμᾶς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ. ⁸λέγω δέ, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν διάκονον γεγενῆσθαι περιτομῆς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν πατέρων· ⁹τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ ἐλέους δοξάσαι τὸν θεόν· καθὼς γέγραπται, Διὰ τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσι, καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ. ¹⁰καὶ πάλιν λέγει, Εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. ¹¹καὶ πάλιν, Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,

vno ore glorificetis deum ac patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi.   ⁷Quapropter assumite vos inuicem, quemadmodum et Christus assumpsit nos in gloriam dei.   ⁸Illud autem dico, Iesum Christum ministrum fuisse circuncisionis pro veritate dei, ad confirmandas promissiones patrum: ⁹caeterum, vt gentes pro misericordia glorificent deum: sicut scriptum est: Propter hoc confitebor tibi in gentibus, et nomini tuo canam. ¹⁰Et rursum dicit: Gaudete gentes cum populo eius.   ¹¹Et rursum: Laudate dominum omnes gentes,

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8 ιησουν χριστον *B-E*: χριστον ιησουν *A*

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6 vno *B-E*: in vno *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* | **8** Illud autem dico *B-E*: Dico autem *A* | confirmandas *B-E*: coufirmandas *A* | **9** caeterum *B-E*: In hoc autem *A* | misericordia *A-C E*: misecordia *D* | canam *B-E*: psallam *A*

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6 *vno* ἐν ἐνί ("in vno" 1516). The 1516 rendering gave a more literal rendering of the Greek preposition. In 1519, Erasmus reverted to the Vulgate wording, accepting that the Greek phrase should be understood in an instrumental sense.

6 *glorificetis* δοξάζητε ("honorificetis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,13. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Lefèvre put *deumque et* for *deum et*.

7 *Quapropter* διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti put *Idcirco*.

7 *assumite ... assumpsit* προσλαμβάνεσθε ... προσελάβετο ("suscipite ... suscepit" Vg.). This change was consistent with the Vulgate rendering of *Rom.* 14,1, 3, in the sense of "receive into fellowship". See *Annot.* on *Rom.* 14,1, and also on the present passage. However, Erasmus retains *suscipio* for this Greek verb at *Phm.* 12, 17. In 1516 *Annot.*, he had the spelling προσλαμβάνετε, an error which also occurs in 1516 *Annot.* on *Rom.* 14,1. His rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

7 *vos inuicem* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *alius alium*. The wording adopted in his translation was again identical with that of Lefèvre.

7 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt.*

7 *nos* ἡμᾶς ("vos" Vg.). The Vulgate is based on a Greek text having ὑμᾶς, as in codd. ℵ A C Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and many other mss., including cod. 1, and this reading was also cited in Lefèvre *Comm.* The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 2105 and 2816, with B D* 048 and many other mss.

7 *gloriam* δόξαν ("honorem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 12,23. A detailed discussion of the distinction of meaning is given in 1535 *Annot.* See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., LB* IX, 1012 B-C. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

8 *Illud autem dico* λέγω δέ ("Dico enim" Vg.; "Dico autem" 1516). The Vulgate follows a Greek text substituting γάρ for δέ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss. He

added *illud* to mark what, in his opinion, was a resumption of the apostle's theme after a digression: see *Annot*. The change from *enim* to *autem* was also made by Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

8 *Iesum Christum* Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ("Christum Iesum" Vg.). In 1516, the Erasmian text had the word-order Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, in agreement with the Vulgate, following cod. 2815, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. This conflicted with the word-order which Erasmus chose for his 1516 Latin rendering, which corresponded with Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν in cod. 2817. Then in 1519, he made the Greek conform with the accompanying Latin text. The reading Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν occurs in codd. 3 and 2817, together with D F G and a few later mss. This variant remained uncorrected in the *Textus Receptus*. In some other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C 048, Ἰησοῦν is omitted.

8 *pro veritate* ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας ("propter veritatem" Vg.). A similar correction of *propter* to *pro* was made at *Act.* 21,13: see *ad loc.* The same change was made by Manetti. Lefèvre used *ob veritatem*, while also suggesting the use of *pro* in *Comm.*

9 *caeterum, vt gentes ... glorificent* τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ... δοξάσαι ("gentes autem ... honorare" Vg.; "In hoc autem, vt gentes ... glorificent" 1516). For *caeterum*, see on *Act.* 6,2, and for *glorifico*, see on *Rom.* 11,13. Erasmus changes the construction to a purpose clause, presenting it as parallel with the immediately preceding phrase, *ad confirmandos*, rather than parallel with the earlier *ministrum fuisse*: see *Annot.* The passage is further discussed in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1012 C-D. The rendering of Manetti was *Gentes autem ... glorificate*, treating δοξάσαι as an imperative. Lefèvre had *at gentes ... glorificare*.

9 *pro* ὑπέρ ("super" Vg.). Erasmus gives the same translation of ὑπέρ as in vs. 8: *pro veritate ... pro misericordia*. The Vulgate inconsistency in using *propter ... super* was pointed out by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre *Comm.* See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1012 D-E. The version of Manetti made the same change as Erasmus. Valla seemed to prefer *propter misericordiam*, while Lefèvre put *ob misericordiam* (consistent with his use of *ob veritatem* in vs. 8).

9 *Propter hoc* Διὰ τοῦτο ("Propterea" late Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus sometimes retains *propterea* for this Greek expression: e.g. at *Mc.* 6,14; 11,24; *Lc.* 11,49; *Ioh.* 1,31. The use of *propterea*

is also to be seen in the Vulgate version of the parallel passage at *Ps.* 18,49. Erasmus' rendering here is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

9 *gentibus* ἔθνεσι ("gentibus domine" late Vg.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of κύριε in cod. ℵ^corr and some later mss., probably influenced by *Ps.* 18,49. In omitting *domine*, Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster.

9 *canam* ψαλῶ ("cantabo" Vg.; "psallam" 1516). Cf. on *Ioh.* 13,38 for Erasmus' preference for *cano*. His use of *psallo* in 1516 followed a suggestion of Valla *Annot.*, consistent with the Vulgate rendering of 1 *Cor.* 14,15; *Eph.* 5,19; *Iac.* 5,13. However, Erasmus substitutes *cano* for *psallo* at 1 *Cor.* 14,15. His choice of expression is again identical with that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre proposed *psalmum dicam*, while mentioning *psallam* in *Comm.*

10 *rursum* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). The same substitution, for the sake of stylistic variety, occurs at thirty other N.T. passages, especially in Matthew and Mark, but none in Luke-John-Acts. See also on *rursus* at *Ioh.* 9,9.

10 *Gaudete* Εὐφράνθητε ("Laetamini" Vg.). Erasmus retains *laetor* for this Greek verb at *Act.* 2,26; 7,41; *Gal.* 4,27; *Ap. Ioh.* 12,12. Further, at *Lc.* 15,23-32, he replaces *epulor* with *laetor* in four places, though he uses *gaudeo* to replace *epulor* (for εὐφραίνω) at *Lc.* 12,19. Generally he reserves *gaudeo* for χαίρω and συγχαίρω. In Valla *Elegantiae*, VI, 12; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 258, l. 407; p. 271, ll. 762-764, a distinction is made between *gaudeo* as an internal activity of the mind, and *laetor* as an external appearance of rejoicing.

10 *populo* τοῦ λαοῦ ("plebe" Vg.). See on *Act.* 2,47, and *Annot.* The word *populus* also occurs in the Vulgate rendering of *Dt.* 32,43, which is here cited by the apostle. Manetti made the same change.

11 *rursum* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). See on vs. 10. Manetti and Lefèvre both offered *rursus*.

11 *dominum omnes gentes* τὸν κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ("omnes gentes dominum" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different word-order, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, τὸν κύριον, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with C F G and most other mss. There

καὶ ἐπαινέσατε αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί. ¹²καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει, Ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν. ¹³ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος, πληρῶσαι ὑμᾶς πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης, ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ περισσεύειν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐλπίδι, ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἁγίου.

LB 647   ¹⁴Πέπεισμαι δέ, | ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ μεστοί ἐστε ἀγαθωσύνης, πεπληρωμένοι πάσης γνώσεως, δυνάμενοι καὶ ἀλλήλους

et collaudate eum omnes populi. ¹²Et rursum Hesaias dicit: Erit radix Iesse, et qui exurget ad imperandum gentibus: in eo gentes sperabunt. ¹³Deus autem spei impleat vos omni gaudio et pace, in credendo in hoc vt exuberetis in spe per potentiam spiritus sancti.

¹⁴Persuasum enim habeo fratres mei, et ipse ego de | vobis,   LB 648 quod et ipsi pleni estis bonitate, impleti omni scientia, valentes etiam inuicem alius alium

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14 αγαθωσυνης *D E*: αγαθοσυνης *A-C* | αλληλους *B-E*: αλλους *A*

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12 Hesaias *E*: Esaias *A-D* | Iesse *A D E*: Iessae *B C* | exurget *B-E*: exurgit *A* | 13 autem *B-E*: aut *A* | per potentiam *B-E*: in potentia *A* | 14 etiam inuicem alius alium *B-E*: et alios *A*

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are several ways in which a process of harmonisation could have given rise to this difference of word-order. More remotely, the reading adopted by Erasmus conforms with the Septuagint version of *Ps.* 116,1 (117,1), giving rise to the question of whether some scribes altered the text so as to agree with the Septuagint wording. Another hypothesis is that πάντα τὰ ἔθνη could have been moved to the end of the clause so as to match the position of πάντες οἱ λαοί in the clause which followed. However, a third potential source of harmonisation lay in the preceding verse, *Rom.* 15,10, where ἔθνη comes immediately after the verb εὐφράνθητε: in vs. 11, wishing to obtain a similar word-sequence, an ancient scribe or editor may have moved πάντα τὰ ἔθνη to stand next to αἰνεῖτε, thus creating the text which underlay the Vulgate. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

11 *collaudate* ἐπαινέσατε ("magnificate" Vg.). Erasmus brings the translation into conformity with the Vulgate rendering of *Ps.* 117,1: see *Annot.* Elsewhere he follows the Vulgate in using *laudo* at *Lc.* 16,8; 1 *Cor.* 11,17, 22. At 1 *Cor.* 11,2, he substitutes *collaudo* for *laudo*. For the removal of *magnifico* at other passages,

see on *Act.* 21,20; *Rom.* 8,30: he reserves this verb mainly for μεγαλύνω. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *laudate* at the present passage.

12 *rursum* πάλιν ("rursus" Vg.). This substitution also occurs at *Mc.* 10,24; 11,27; 14,69; 2 *Petr.* 2,20. See on vs. 10 above, and also on *Ioh.* 9,9. Lefèvre had *insuper*.

12 *dicit* λέγει ("ait" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 6,2, though *aiunt* remains unchanged at *Rom.* 3,8. In the first seventeen chapters of Matthew, and the last nine chapters of Mark, Erasmus replaces most instances of *aio* with *dico*, affecting more than eighty passages. However, in the rest of the Gospels and Acts, he generally retains *aio*. At the present passage, Erasmus' rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

12 *Iesse* Ἰεσσαί ("Iessae" 1519-22). The spelling *Iessae*, apparently a declinable form of the genitive case, also appears at *Lc.* 3,32; *Act.* 13,22 (both in 1516-27 only). For Erasmus' comparable use of *Abrahae* rather than *Abraham*, see on *Act.* 13,26. *Iessae* was also used in Lefèvre *Comm.*

12 *qui exurget* ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ("qui exurgit" 1516). Erasmus' 1516 version was more literal.

In 1519, he decided to restore the future tense of the Vulgate, on the grounds that this was more consistent with the tense of the preceding verb, ἔσται: see *Annot.*

12 *ad imperandum gentibus* ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν ("regere gentes" Vg.). Erasmus similarly used *impero* in rendering this Greek word at *Mc.* 10,42, where the Vulgate had the non-classical verb, *principari*. As elsewhere, Erasmus avoids using the infinitive to express a purpose. He reserves *rego* for ποιμαίνω. Manetti had *principari a gentibus*.

12 *in eo* ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ("in eum" late Vg.). The ablative is similarly substituted at 2 *Cor.* 1,10 (1519); 1 *Tim.* 5,5, accompanying *spem* or *spero*, even though at those passages the Greek pronoun is in the accusative case. Erasmus retains the accusative in his rendering of 1 *Petr.* 1,13 (*sperate in eam ... gratiam*). Lefèvre put *in ipso*.

13 *impleat* πληρῶσαι ("repleat" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vss. 14 and 19, and also at 2 *Cor.* 7,4; *Phil.* 1,11; 4,18 (1516 only). Possibly Erasmus wished to avoid the sense of "fill up again", implied by *repleo*. At 2 *Tim.* 1,4, by contrast, he substitutes *repleo* for *impleo*. Most instances of *repleo*, in both Erasmus and the Vulgate, are found in Luke and Acts. Manetti made the same change here.

13 *in hoc ut* εἰς ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20.

13 *exuberetis* τὸ περισσεύειν ὑμᾶς ("abundetis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. Lefèvre put *vos abundetis*.

13 *per potentiam* ἐν δυνάμει ("et virtute" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "et in virtute" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st; "in potentia" 1516). The Vulgate would correspond with a Greek text having καὶ δυνάμει or καὶ ἐν δυνάμει, neither of which has ms. support (codd. D* F G have just δυνάμει). For *potentia*, see on *Rom.* 1,4. Manetti had *in virtute*, and Lefèvre *in potestate*, both omitting *et*.

14 *Persuasum enim habeo* Πέπεισμαι δέ ("Certus sum autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,38, and *Annot.* By substituting *enim* for *autem*, in rendering δέ, Erasmus departs from the literal meaning. The use of *persuasum habeo* was also proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre (the latter having *Persuasum autem habeo*).

14 *ipse ego* αὐτὸς ἐγώ ("ego ipse" Vg.). Erasmus, this time, is more literal as to the word-order. Manetti made the same change.

14 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *bonitate* ἀγαθωσύνης ("dilectione" Vg.). The Vulgate might be expected to reflect a Greek text having ἀγάπης, as in codd. F G, but this was probably no more than a retranslation from the Latin. See *Annot.*, where Erasmus implausibly suggests that the text underlying the Vulgate was ἀγαπωσύνης. The spelling ἀγαθοσύνης in the 1516-22 text, and in 1519-27 *Annot.*, is supported by cod. D and a few later mss. The same spelling was adopted at *Gal.* 5,22; *Eph.* 5,9 (but not at 2 *Thess.* 1,11), equally in defiance of his Basle mss., though cod. 69 has -θοσ- at all four passages. The version of Manetti substituted *de benignitate* (which the scribe of *Urb. Lat.* 6 at first mistakenly copied as *dei benignitate*).

14 *impleti* πεπληρωμένοι ("repleti" Vg.). See on vs. 13.

14 *valentes* δυνάμενοι ("ita vt possitis" Vg.). Erasmus similarly makes use of *valentes* at 2 *Tim.* 3,7, translating the Greek participle more literally. *Valeo* is also substituted for *possum* in rendering ἐξισχύω at *Eph.* 3,18, and in rendering ἰσχύω at *Mc.* 5,4 (1519). However, *valeo* ("be powerful" or "have strength") appears somewhat too emphatic in the present context. See *Annot.*, where Erasmus suggests *potentes*, which had already been adopted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *etiam* καί (Vg. omits; "et" 1516). The Vulgate omission has little support other than codd. D* F G. In *Annot.*, Erasmus has *et*, as used by Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *inuicem alius alium* ἀλλήλους ("alterutrum" Vg.; "alios" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 4,33. In 1516, Erasmus' Greek text had ἄλλους, as in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 and most other late mss. His change to ἀλλήλους in 1519 was a return to the text underlying the Vulgate, prompted by consideration of the context, and having support from cod. 3 and some other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G. See *Annot.* In 1529, in the *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1012 E-F, Erasmus reverses his earlier opinion, and favours ἄλλους ("hanc opinor fuisse veram germanamque lectionem"). It is possible to see how, by the accidental scribal omission of two letters, ἀλλήλους ("one another") could become ἄλλους ("others"). A contrary line of argument would be that scribes

νουθετεῖν. ¹⁵τολμηρότερον δὲ ἔγρα-
ψα ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, ἀπὸ μέρους, ὡς
ἐπαναμιμνήσκων ὑμᾶς, διὰ τὴν χά-
ριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ, ¹⁶εἰς τὸ εἶναί με λειτουργὸν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, ἱερουρ-
γοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ,
ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν
ἐθνῶν εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἡγιασμένη ἐν
πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. ¹⁷ἔχω οὖν καύ-
χησιν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τὰ πρὸς
θεόν. ¹⁸οὐ γὰρ τολμήσω λαλεῖν
τι ὧν οὐ κατειργάσατο Χριστὸς
δι᾽ ἐμοῦ, εἰς ὑπακοὴν ἐθνῶν, λόγῳ
καὶ ἔργῳ, ¹⁹ἐν δυνάμει σημείων
καὶ τεράτων, ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος

admonere. ¹⁵Sed tamen audacius
scripsi vobis fratres ex parte, veluti
commonefaciens vos, propter grati-
am quae data est mihi a deo, ¹⁶in
hoc vt sim minister Iesu Christi in
gentes, administrans euangelium dei,
vt fiat oblatio gentium acceptabilis,
sanctificata per spiritum sanctum.
¹⁷Habeo igitur quod glorier per
Christum Iesum, in his quae ad
deum pertinent. ¹⁸Non enim ausim
loqui quicquam eorum, quae non
effecit Christus per me, in obedi-
entiam gentium, verbo et facto,
¹⁹per potentiam signorum ac pro-
digiorum, per potentiam spiritus

15 επαναμιμνησκων *B-E*: επαναμιμνησκωη *A* | 17 θεον *B-E*: τον θεον *A*

15 Sed tamen audacius *B-E*: Audacius autem *A* | 16 Iesu *C-E*: om. *A B* | per spiritum
sanctum *B-E*: in spiritu sancto *A* | 17 quod ... Iesum *B-E*: gloriationem, in Christo
Iesu *A* | 19 *prius* per potentiam *B-E*: in potentia *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* | *alt.* per potentiam *B-E*:
in potentia *A*

were likely to expand ἄλλους into ἀλλήλους
here, through familiarity with Pauline usage, as
no form of ἄλλος occurs anywhere else in
Romans, whereas ἀλλήλους, ἀλλήλων etc. are
used in thirteen other places in this epistle,
including vss. 5 and 7 of the present chapter.
Manetti had *alios*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition,
while Lefèvre put *mutuo*.

14 *admonere* νουθετεῖν ("monere" Vg.). A similar
substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 4,14; 1 *Thess.* 5,12.
At *Col.* 1,28; 2 *Thess.* 3,15, *admoneo* is substituted
for *corripio*. However, in rendering the same
Greek verb, Erasmus replaces *corripio* by *moneo*
at 1 *Thess.* 5,14, and retains *moneo* at *Act.* 20,31.
The verb *admoneo* was more suitable in con-
nection with imparting a spiritual exhortation
or rebuke. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same
change.

15 *Sed tamen audacius* τολμηρότερον δέ ("Au-
dacius autem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,6,
and *Annot.*

15 *veluti commonefaciens vos* ὡς ἐπαναμιμνή-
σκων ὑμᾶς ("tanquam in memoriam vos
reducens" Vg.). For *veluti*, see on *Rom.* 3,7.
Erasmus elsewhere uses *commonefacio* to ren-
der ὑποτίθημι, ὑπόμνησιν λαμβάνω, ἀνα-
μιμνήσκω and ὑπομιμνήσκω. By contrast, he
replaces *commonefacio* with *in memoriam reduco*
in rendering ἀναμιμνήσκω at 1 *Cor.* 4,17. Ma-
netti interpreted this as a purpose clause, *vt
commonefaciam vos*, while Lefèvre had *vt vestri
reminiscens*.

16 *in hoc vt* εἰς ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20.

16 *Iesu Christi* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ("Christi Iesu"
Vg.; "Christi" 1516-19 Lat.). The Vulgate reflects
a different Greek word-order, Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ,
as in codd. ℵ A B C F G and some other mss.
The omission of *Iesu* in 1516-19 was in conflict
with Erasmus' Greek text, and perhaps arose
from a typesetter's misreading of Erasmus'
marked-up copy of the Vulgate, in which he
would presumably have indicated that *Iesu*

should be moved before *Christi* rather than be altogether omitted. The reading Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is exhibited by his codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ D. The rendering of Lefèvre made a similar change, having *Ihesu Christi*.

16 *in gentes* εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ("in gentibus" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. A similar change occurs at *Rom.* 16,26; *Gal.* 3,14.

16 *administrans* ἱερουργοῦντα ("sanctificans" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering preserves the etymological link between ἱερουργέω and the preceding λειτουργός. In *Annot.*, he gives a fuller explanation of the Greek verb as meaning *fungor administratione sacrorum*. Cf. also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 1012 F-1013 A. The Vulgate verb, *sanctifico*, was more appropriate for rendering ἁγιάζω, which occurs later in the sentence. Lefèvre put *celebrans*.

16 *acceptabilis* εὐπρόσδεκτος ("accepta et" late Vg.). The substitution of *acceptabilis* is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of 1 *Petr.* 2,5, though Erasmus retains *acceptus* for εὐπρόσδεκτος at *Rom.* 15,31; 2 *Cor.* 8,12, and replaces *acceptabilis* with *acceptus* at 2 *Cor.* 6,2. The word *acceptabilis* did not occur in classical usage. The late Vulgate addition of *et* lacks explicit Greek ms. support: see *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *bene accepta*, and Lefèvre *bene acceptabilis*, both omitting *et*.

16 *per spiritum sanctum* ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ("in spiritu sancto" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17, and *Annot.*

17 *quod glorier* καύχησιν ("gloriam" Vg.; "gloriationem" 1516). See on *Rom.* 4,2, and *Annot.* The preferred rendering of Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre was *vnde glorier*, though Lefèvre also used *habeo gloriationem* in *Comm.*

17 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

17 *in his quae ad deum pertinent* τὰ πρὸς θεόν ("ad deum" Vg.). Erasmus' translation is more accurate here. The verb *pertineo* is similarly introduced in rendering τὰ πρός at *Lc.* 19,42 (1519); 2 *Petr.* 1,3, and for τὰ κατά at *Eph.* 6,21. See *Annot.* The inclusion of τόν before θεόν in 1516 was based on codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 3, 2105, 2816 and nearly all other mss. This was also the reading which continued to be cited in *Annot.* The omission

of τόν in the 1519 continuous text probably arose as a printing error, which later remained in the *Textus Receptus*. The translation used by Erasmus was borrowed from Valla *Annot.* Another suggestion of Valla was *in his quae ad deum sunt*, which was adopted by Lefèvre (with the exception that he substituted *iis* for *his*). Manetti similarly offered *in his quae sunt ad deum*.

18 *ausim* τολμήσω ("audeo" Vg.). The present indicative tense of the Vulgate has little ms. support, except from codd. ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ B which have τολμῶ. See *Annot.* In Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*, more literally, the rendering was *audebo*.

18 *loqui quicquam* λαλεῖν τι ("aliquid loqui" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different Greek word-order, either τι λαλεῖν as in codd. ℵ A B C or τι εἰπεῖν as in D F G. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 2816 and most other late mss. (though cod. 1 has λαβεῖν τι, and 2105 τι λαλῆσαι). Similar substitutions of *quisquam* for *aliquis* occur at fifteen other passages, where the context suggests "anyone" or "anything" rather than "someone" or "something": see further on *Ioh.* 2,25.

18 *non effecit Christus per me* οὐ κατειργάσατο Χριστὸς δι' ἐμοῦ ("per me non efficit Christus" late Vg. and many Vg. mss.). The Vulgate word-order lacks explicit Greek ms. support, and the same applies to the present tense of *efficit* in the late Vulgate. See *Annot.* This passage is inserted in the 1527 edition of the *Loca Obscura*. Lefèvre recast this part of the sentence to read *praeter ea quae perfecit Christus per me*.

18 *verbo* λόγῳ ("in verbo" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of a preposition has minimal support from Greek mss. Erasmus' correction agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

18 *facto* ἔργῳ ("factis" Vg.). The Vulgate plural lacks Greek ms. support. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *opere*, as used by the Vulgate at *Col.* 3,17.

19 *per potentiam* (twice) ἐν δυνάμει ("in virtute" Vg.; "in potentia" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,4 for *potentia*, and on *Rom.* 1,17 for *per*. Lefèvre had *in potestate*.

19 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

θεοῦ, ὥστε με ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ
καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρι-
κοῦ πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλι-
ον τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ²⁰οὕτως δὲ
φιλοτιμούμενον εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, οὐχ
ὅπου ὠνομάσθη Χριστός, ἵνα μὴ
ἐπ᾽ ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον οἰκοδο-
μῶ· ²¹ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται,
Οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ,
ὄψονται, καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκηκόασι,
LB 649   συνήσουσι. |
²²Διὸ καὶ ἐνεκοπτόμην τὰ
πολλὰ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
²³νυνὶ δὲ μηκέτι τόπον ἔχων
ἐν τοῖς κλίμασι τούτοις, ἐπι-
ποθίαν δὲ ἔχων τοῦ ἐλθεῖν
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν,

dei, vt ab Hierusalem et in circum-
iacentibus regionibus vsque ad Illyri-
cum impleuerim euangelium Chris-
ti: ²⁰ita porro annitens praedicare
euangelium, non vbi nominatus
erat Christus, vt ne super alienum
fundamentum aedificarem, ²¹sed
quemadmodum scriptum est: Qui-
bus non est annunciatum de eo,
vide|bunt, et qui non audierant,   LB 650
intelligent.
²²Quapropter et praepeditus sum
saepe, quominus venirem ad vos.
²³Nunc vero quum non amplius
habeam locum in regionibus his,
desiderium autem habeam veni-
endi ad vos multis iam annis,

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20 porro *A^c B-E: om. A** | **22** praepeditus *B-E*: impeditus *A* | **23** desiderium *C-E*:
desyderium *A B*

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19 *dei* θεοῦ ("sancti" Vg.). The Vulgate was
based on a Greek text having ἁγίου, as in codd.
A D* F G and a few later mss. In cod. B, the
word is omitted. Erasmus follows codd. 2815
and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other
mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ D^{corr}. It seems
probable that the substitution of ἁγίου in a
few mss. was influenced by the immediately
preceding word, πνεύματος, and also by the
occurrence of ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἁγίου in
vs. 13. In *Annot.*, besides considering patristic
evidence, Erasmus suggests that θεοῦ is better
suited to the context, in view of the reference
to miracles earlier in the verse. The same
change was made by Lefèvre.

19 *vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6.

19 *et in circumiacentibus regionibus* καὶ κύκλῳ
("per circuitum" Vg.). Erasmus similarly replaces
in circuitu by *vndique circumiacentes* at *Mc.* 6,6
(1519), and puts *circumiacentes* for *proximas*
at *Mc.* 6,36. However, he retains *circumitu* at
six passages in the Apocalypse, for κύκλῳ
and κυκλόθεν. At the present passage, the use
of *circumiaceo* tends to limit the meaning to

those places which were nearer to Jerusalem,
whereas the mention of Ἰλλυρικοῦ makes it
possible that κύκλῳ was intended in a more
general sense here, to mean "travelling around".
Other additions of *regio* occur in rendering
πέραν at *Mt.* 4,25 (1519); *Mc.* 10,1, and in
rendering other Greek expressions at *Lc.* 1,65
(1519); 17,24; *Act.* 13,14 (1519); *2 Cor.* 10,16.
See *Annot.* The Vulgate left καί untranslated.
Lefèvre's version had *et circumcirca*.

19 *impleuerim* πεπληρωκέναι ("repleuerim"
Vg.). Erasmus regarded *impleo* as more appro-
priate to the context, which required the sense
of "fulfil" or "complete": see *Annot.*, and see
also on vs. 13.

20 *ita ... vt ne* οὕτως ... ἵνα μή ("Sic ... ne"
Vg.). Erasmus does not often replace *sic* with
ita. Exceptions occur at *Act.* 20,11; *Rom.* 5,18;
Hebr. 5,5; 6,15; 9,28; *Iac.* 2,12. For *vt ne*, see
on *Rom.* 11,25.

20 *porro* δέ ("autem" Vg.; omitted in 1516 Lat.
text). See on *Ioh.* 8,16. From *Annot.*, it appears
that the omission of this word in the 1516
Latin rendering was unintentional, and *porro*

was restored in the 1516 errata. Valla *Annot.* suggested *tamen*, and Lefèvre *certe*.

20 *annitens praedicare euangelium* φιλοτιμούμε-νον εὐαγγελίζεσθαι ("praedicaui euangelium hoc" late Vg.). The earlier Vulgate had *hoc praedicaui euangelium*. In either case, the Vulgate rendering lacks Greek ms. support: see *Annot.* The use of *annitens* was borrowed from Valla *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *honorator euangelii*, and Lefèvre *ambitiosus euangelizasse* (text) and *pro honore ducens euangelizasse* (*Comm.*). Lefèvre's use of the perfect infinitive was based on a different Greek text, having εὐαγγελί-σασθαι, found in a few later mss.

20 *nominatus erat* ὠνομάσθη ("nominatus est" Vg.). Erasmus felt that the pluperfect tense produced a more suitable sequence of tenses, in view of the following imperfect subjunctive, *aedificarem*. Lefèvre put *nominatus fuit*.

21 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

21 *Quibus* Οἷς ("Quoniam quibus" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support. Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

21 *audierant* ἀκηκόασι ("audierunt de eo" late Vg.). Erasmus' use of the pluperfect here seems less appropriate, since the following verb is in the future tense, *intelligent*. The late Vulgate addition of *de eo* is unsupported by Greek mss.: see *Annot.* In omitting these two words, Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre. Manetti further substituted *audierint* for *audierunt*.

22 *Quapropter* Διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29, and *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was *Idcirco*.

22 *praepeditus sum* ἐνεκοπτόμην ("impediebar" Vg.; "impeditus sum" 1516). Erasmus wanted to convey the sense of "interrupted" or "prevented" rather than merely "hindered" or "slowed down": see *Annot.* The passage is also discussed in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 1013 A-B. In classical usage, the meanings of the two Latin verbs were similar, though *praepedio* was less frequent. Erasmus uses *praepedio* elsewhere only at *Rom.* 1,13 (1519), for κωλύω. In rendering ἐγκόπτω at 1 *Thess.* 2,18, he replaces *impedio* by *obsisto*, but retains *impedio* at *Gal.* 5,7. The Vulgate use of the imperfect tense is more literal. The rendering *impeditus*

sum in 1516 may have been prompted by Lefèvre, who had exactly this wording.

22 *saepe* τὰ πολλά ("plurimum" Vg.). The Vulgate use of a superlative was inaccurate. Erasmus takes the Greek phrase as equivalent to πολλάκις, which occurs in a similar context at *Rom.* 1,13. In 𝔓⁴⁶ B D F G, πολλάκις is substituted at the present passage. Lefèvre put *multis*.

22 *quominus venirem* τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ("venire" Vg.). For Erasmus' idiomatic use of *quominus*, see on *Act.* 8,36. Lefèvre proposed *ne ... venirem*.

22 *vos* ὑμᾶς ("vos, et prohibitus sum vsque adhuc" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition seems to have been interpolated from *Rom.* 1,13, and has little Greek ms. support. Erasmus' correction is in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

23 *quum non amplius habeam locum* μηκέτι τό-πον ἔχων ("vlterius locum non habens" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to alleviate the inelegant sequence of Latin present participles. The Vulgate use of *vlterius*, in combination with *locum*, was capable of being misunderstood to mean "further away", and was therefore replaced with a more common expression for "no longer": see *Annot.* In Manetti, this was translated as *non amplius locum habens*, and in Lefèvre, *locum non amplius ... habens*.

23 *regionibus his* τοῖς κλίμασι τούτοις ("his regionibus" Vg.). The word-order of Erasmus' rendering is more literal. Manetti made the same change.

23 *desiderium ... habeam* ἐπιποθίαν ... ἔχων ("cupiditatem ... habens" Vg.). Erasmus no doubt felt that *cupiditas*, which was elsewhere more often used to refer to sinful desire, was unsuitable for this context. See on *Rom.* 13,14. His substitution of *habeam* followed on from his earlier change of construction, using *quum*. In Lefèvre, this was rendered as *desyderio afficior*.

23 *multis iam* ἀπὸ πολλῶν ("ex multis iam praecedentibus" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "ex multis iam" cod. Sangermanensis, with Vgˢᵗ). For the removal of *ex*, see on *Act.* 9,33; 24,10. The Vulgate addition of *praecedentibus* was superfluous, and unsupported by Greek mss.: see *Annot.* In Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*, this was rendered *a multis*, while Lefèvre's continuous text had *a pluribus*.

²⁴ ὡς ἐὰν πορεύωμαι εἰς τὴν Σπα-
νίαν, ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐλπί-
ζω γὰρ διαπορευόμενος θεάσασθαι
ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆ-
ναι ἐκεῖ, ἐὰν ὑμῶν πρῶτον ἀπὸ
μέρους ἐμπλησθῶ. ²⁵ νυνὶ δὲ πο-
ρεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, διακο-
νῶν τοῖς ἁγίοις. ²⁶ εὐδόκησαν γὰρ
Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα, κοινωνίαν

²⁴ quandocunque iter instituero in
Hispaniam, veniam ad vos. Spero
enim fore, vt istac iter faciens, vi-
deam vos, et a vobis producar illuc,
si tamen vestra consuetudine prius ex
parte fuero expletus. ²⁵ Nunc autem
proficiscor Hierosolymam, ministrans
sanctis. ²⁶ Visum est enim Macedo-
niae et Achaiae, communicationem

24 υφ *A-C*: εφ *D E*

24 iter instituero *B-E*: fuero profectus *A* | tamen *B-E*: *om. A* | 25 Hierosolymam *B-E*:
Hierusalem *A*

24 *quandocunque* ὡς ἐάν ("cum" Vg.). The
word *quandocunque* was similarly substituted at
Mc. 14,7; *Col.* 3,4, to render ὅταν. At *Mc.* 9,18,
Erasmus also used it to replace *vbicumque*, for
ὅπου ἄν. In *Annot.*, he offered the alternative
rendering, *vt si*, which had been adopted by
Valla *Annot.* and Manetti. He further stated
that some mss. had ἕως for ὡς, though such
a variant appears to occur in hardly any mss.
other than 𝔓⁴⁶. It might have been expected
that he should mention, instead, that some
mss. have ἄν for ἐάν, as he used ἄν as the text
in 1516 *Annot.*, and both ἄν and ἐάν were
expressly cited in Lefèvre *Comm.* The rendering
suggested by Lefèvre *Comm.* was *quando* or
quandocunque.

24 *iter instituero in Hispaniam* πορεύωμαι εἰς
τὴν Σπανίαν ("in Hispaniam proficisci coepe-
ro" Vg.; "fuero profectus in Hispaniam" 1516).
Erasmus' word-order is more literal. His sub-
stitution of *iter instituo* is partly for the sake of
stylistic variety, in view of the use of *proficiscor*
in the following verse. The Vulgate addition of
coepero was redundant. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus
cited the verb as εἰσπορεύωμαι, without sup-
port from any of his Basle mss. In a discussion
of the spelling of Σπανίαν in *Apolog. resp. Iac.
Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, pp. 176-80, ll. 208-294
(especially ll. 223-224), Erasmus challenged Stu-
nica to produce a single ms. in which this name
was spelled differently, i.e. as Ἱσπανίαν. If he
had consulted his own mss. on this point, he

would have found this spelling (or Ἱσπανίαν)
in both codd. 2105 and 2816. Valla *Annot.*
and Lefèvre rendered as *proficiscar in Hispani-
am*, while Manetti similarly put *in hispaniam
proficiscar*.

24 *veniam ad vos* ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς (Vg.
omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by
twenty-four mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A
B C D F G. The text of Erasmus follows codd.
2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as
well as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ and about 550 later mss. (see Aland
Die Paulinischen Briefe vol. 1, pp. 416-20). In
1535 *Annot.*, Erasmus ventures his opinion that
the words might have been a later addition,
and he also favours omission of the following
γάρ. Cf. also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX,
1013 B. An alternative explanation of the va-
riant could be that the phrase was omitted by
an ancient scribe through the error of parablep-
sis (or homoeoarcton), jumping from the first
two letters of ἐλεύσομαι to the first two letters
of the following ἐλπίζω. The restoration of
these words was also proposed by Valla *Annot.*,
Manetti and Lefèvre.

24 *enim* γάρ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission
has little Greek ms. support other than codd.
F G, and appears to represent a secondary
textual development, designed to overcome the
problem of how to connect the clause ὡς ...
Σπανίαν with the surrounding text. See the
previous note. The word *enim* was likewise re-
instated by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

24 *fore, vt ... videam* θεάσασθαι ("quod ... videam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 14,9 for this construction. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *futurum vt ... videam*. The use of *fore vt* was advocated by Valla *Annot.* In Manetti and Lefèvre, the Greek infinitive is simply rendered as *videre.*

24 *istac iter faciens* διαπορευόμενος ("praeteriens" Vg.). Erasmus does not use *istac* ("by that route") elsewhere in the N.T., but cf. on *istuc* at 2 *Cor.* 7,11. The adoption of *iter facio* was consistent with the Vulgate rendering of διαπορεύομαι at *Lc.* 13,22. In *Annot.* on the present passage, Erasmus also suggests *pertransiens*: cf. the Vulgate use of *pertranseo* at *Act.* 16,4. However, at *Lc.* 18,36, he retains *praetereo.* Valla *Annot.* proposed *transiens*, and Lefèvre *pertranseundo.*

24 ὑφ'. The spelling ἐφ' in 1527-35 was probably a misprint. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus used ἀφ', which occurs in cod. 2816, along with D F G and a few later mss. (cf. ἀπό in 𝔓⁴⁶ B). In 1519-35 *Annot.* the spelling is ὑφ', as in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2817, together with ℵ A C and most later mss.

24 *producar* προπεμφθῆναι ("deducar" Vg.). At the eight other N.T. instances of this Greek verb, Erasmus retained *deduco* at six passages: *Act.* 15,3; 20,38; 21,5; 1 *Cor.* 16,6; 2 *Cor.* 1,16; 3 *Ioh.* 6. At 1 *Cor.* 16,11 he substituted *prosequor* for *deduco*, but at *Tit.* 3,13 he used *deduco* to replace *praemitto.* See on *Act.* 17,15 for Erasmus' removal of *deduco* in rendering καθίστημι. See also *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti had *premitti* (= *praemitti*), and the use of this verb was also considered acceptable by Lefèvre *Comm.*, meeting with criticism from Erasmus in 1535 *Annot.* The continuous text of Lefèvre had *comitari.*

24 *tamen* (omitted in 1516 = Vg.). This word is not explicitly supported by the Greek text. However, *tamen* appears in the Vulgate lemma of Valla *Annot.*

24 *vestra consuetudine* ὑμῶν ("vobis" Vg.). This paraphrase may be compared with Erasmus' use of *consuetudinem ago* at *Act.* 1,21; 11,26 (1519). The addition of *consuetudo* conveys the sense of enjoying a person's company, toning down an expression which might otherwise have appeared indelicate.

24 *prius* πρῶτον ("primum" Vg.). Similar substitutions occur at thirteen other passages, e.g. at *Mt.* 7,5; 8,21; 17,10. Erasmus considered

the comparative adverb to be more correct when referring to the earlier of two events. Inconsistently he retains *primum* at *Lc.* 6,42.

24 *fuero expletus* ἐμπλησθῶ ("fruitus fuero" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here, resembling a suggestion of Valla *Annot.*, which advocated *impletus fuero.* See *Annot.* As indicated above (on *consuetudine*), the Vulgate rendering, "I will have enjoyed you", was capable of being misunderstood. Lefèvre tried *satiatus fuero.*

25 *autem* δέ ("igitur" Vg.). There appears to be no Greek ms. support for the Vulgate rendering. Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre all recommended the same change as Erasmus.

25 *proficiscor* πορεύομαι ("proficiscar" Vg.). The future tense of the Vulgate is unsupported by Greek mss. See *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1013 B-C. The same correction was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

25 *Hierosolymam* εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ ("in Hierusalem" Vg.; "Hierusalem" 1516). See on *Act.* 1,8; 8,27, and *Annot.* The preposition *in* was omitted in the lemma of Valla *Annot.*, and in the renderings of Manetti and Lefèvre.

25 *ministrans* διακονῶν ("ministrare" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect a Greek variant, διακονῆσαι, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G. In *Annot.*, Erasmus speculates that the text underlying the Vulgate was διακονεῖν. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1013 B-C. The version of Manetti put *ministraturus*, and Lefèvre *vt ministrem.*

26 *Visum est ... Macedoniae et Achaiae* εὐδόκησαν ... Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα ("Probauerunt ... Macedonia et Achaia" Vg.). Erasmus similarly uses *visum est* to replace *placuit* in vs. 27, and also at 1 *Cor.* 1,21; *Gal.* 1,15-16 (1519); 1 *Thess.* 3,1. At *Gal.* 1,15 (1516 only), he replaces *placuit* with *visum fuit.* At *Hebr.* 10,6, 8, he substitutes *comprobasti* for *placuit* and *placita sunt.* However, he is content to use *probo* for εὐδοκέω at 2 *Cor.* 5,8; *Hebr.* 10,38. In *Annot.*, Erasmus follows Valla *Annot.* in complaining of the inconsistency of the Vulgate in translating the word by *probo* in vs. 26 but by *placeo* in vs. 27. Lefèvre resolved the problem by putting *placuit Macedoniae et Achaiae.*

26 *communicationem* κοινωνίαν ("collationem" Vg.). In this context, κοινωνία combines the sense of fellowship with practical support, for which no single Latin word can provide an

τινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς
τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ. ²⁷ εὐ-
δόκησαν γάρ, καὶ ὀφειλέται αὐτῶν
εἰσιν. εἰ γὰρ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς αὐτῶν
ἐκοινώνησαν τὰ ἔθνη, ὀφείλουσι καὶ
ἐν τοῖς σαρκικοῖς λειτουργῆσαι αὐτοῖς.
²⁸ τοῦτο οὖν ἐπιτελέσας, καὶ σφραγι-
σάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸν καρπὸν τοῦτον,
ἀπελεύσομαι δι᾽ ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν Σπανίαν.
²⁹ οἶδα δὲ ὅτι ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐν
πληρώματι εὐλογίας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐλεύσο | μαι.

    ³⁰ Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,

LB 651 (left margin)

aliquam facere in pauperes sanctos,
qui sunt Hierosolymis. ²⁷ Nam ita
visum est ipsis, et debitores illorum
sunt. Etenim si spiritualia sua com-
municauerunt gentibus, debent et hae
in carnalibus ministrare illis. ²⁸ Hoc
igitur vbi perfecero, et obsignauero
illis fructum hunc, reuertar per vos
in Hispaniam. ²⁹ Scio namque quod
vbi venero ad vos, cum plenitudine
benedi | ctionis euangelii Christi ven-
turus sim.

    ³⁰ Obsecro autem vos fratres per
dominum nostrum Iesum Christum,

LB 652 (right margin)

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27 λειτουργῆσαι *C-E*: λυτουργῆσαι *A B*

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26 Hierosolymis *B-E*: Hierusalem *A* | 27 ipsis *B-E*: illis *A* | 29 cum *B-E*: in *A*

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adequate rendering. Erasmus prefers to use *col-
latio* for λογία and εὐλογία at 1 *Cor.* 16,1-2;
2 *Cor.* 9,5-6 (all in 1519). His use of *communicatio*
here is consistent with the Vulgate rendering
of κοινωνία at several other passages. See
Annot., where he also suggests *communionem*,
which was the rendering proposed by Valla
Annot. and Lefèvre.

26 *sanctos* τῶν ἁγίων ("sanctorum" Vg.). As
indicated in *Annot.*, the literal rendering offered
by the Vulgate could be misunderstood as im-
plying that these impoverished persons were
not themselves members of the Christian church
at Jerusalem, but were merely looked after by
the church. See also *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*,
LB IX, 1013 C-D. This change was already
made by Lefèvre.

26 *Hierosolymis* ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ ("in Hierusa-
lem" Vg.; "Hierusalem" 1516). See on *Act.* 1,8.
Lefèvre had *Hierosolymae*.

27 *Nam ita visum est ipsis* εὐδόκησαν γάρ
("Placuit enim eis" Vg.; "Nam ita visum est
illis" 1516). For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34, and for
visum est, see on vs. 26, above. Erasmus adds *ita*,
to clarify the connection with the previous sen-
tence. By using *ipsis*, he also makes plain that
the subject of εὐδόκησαν remained the same
as in vs. 26. Manetti had *Placuit nanque eis*.

27 *illorum sunt* αὐτῶν εἰσιν ("sunt eorum"
Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponded with
εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D and a few
other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and
2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, as well
as F G and most other mss. The intention
behind *illorum*, no doubt, was that it should
refer more clearly to the saints of Jerusalem
rather than those of Macedonia and Achaia,
though some ambiguity still remains. Lefèvre
made the same change.

27 *Etenim* γάρ ("nam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

27 *spiritualia sua communicauerunt gentibus* τοῖς
πνευματικοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκοινώνησαν τὰ ἔθνη
("spiritualium eorum participes facti sunt gen-
tiles" Vg.). The Vulgate seems more correct in
understanding τά and ἔθνη as nominatives.
Erasmus' treatment of these two words as being
in the accusative case, taking them as the object
of ἐκοινώνησαν, is questionable, as the same
Gentile believers appear to be the subject of the
following verbs ὀφείλουσι and λειτουργῆσαι.
Further, if his interpretation were correct, τὰ
ἔθνη should rather have been τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,
on analogy with the use of the dative after
κοινωνέω at *Gal.* 6,6; *Phil.* 4,15. Cf. *Annot.*, and
Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront., *LB* IX, 1013 D-E.
The use of *communicauerunt* was suggested by

Valla *Annot.*, consistent with Vulgate usage at the other seven N.T. passages where κοινωνέω occurs. Valla also advocated the substitution of *gentes* for *gentiles*: cf. on *Ioh.* 7,35; 12,20. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *factae sunt gentes* in place of *facti sunt gentiles*. In Lefèvre, this section was rendered *spiritualibus illorum participauerunt gentes*.

27 *et hae* καί ("et" Vg.). Erasmus' addition was made necessary by his earlier unwarranted treatment of τὰ ἔθνη as an accusative: see the previous note.

27 *illis* αὐτοῖς ("eis" Vg.). The pronoun *illis*, like *illorum* in the previous sentence, is intended to refer back to the saints at Jerusalem. Lefèvre made the same change, whereas Manetti preferred *ipsis*.

28 *vbi perfecero* ἐπιτελέσας ("cum consummauero" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 9,28 for *perficio*. The occasional substitution of *vbi* for *cum* in temporal clauses is mainly for stylistic variety. Other examples can be seen at e.g. 1 *Cor.* 13,10, 11; 16,3; 2 *Cor.* 3,16; 12,21. See also *Annot.*

28 *obsignauero* σφραγισάμενος ("assignauero" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,33. From *Annot.*, it appears that Erasmus had in mind the technical use of *obsigno* by the Roman jurists to refer to the sealing of sums of money.

28 *illis* αὐτοῖς ("eis" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests that this pronoun refers to the Greeks, and not to the impoverished Christians of Jerusalem. Lefèvre *Comm.* made the same change as Erasmus. One copy of Manetti's rendering (*Urb. Lat.* 6) incorrectly had *ei*, singular.

28 *reuertar per vos* ἀπελεύσομαι δι' ὑμῶν ("per vos proficiscar" late Vg.). The late Vulgate word-order lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus does not elsewhere use *reuertor* for ἀπέρχομαι, nor is it suitable here, as it could be taken as implying that Paul had previously visited Spain. The earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster had *proficiscar per vos*.

29 *namque* δέ ("autem" Vg.). This change was no doubt based on Erasmus' view of the requirements of the context. However, this alteration of the adversative sense of δέ was unnecessary. The passage may be interpreted as implying that the apostle's next visit to Rome was intended to be just the first stage of a longer journey towards Spain, *but* (δέ) that he foresaw that he would be the means of imparting great spiritual blessing to those who gave him hospitality during that journey.

29 *quod ... venturus sim* ὅτι ... ἐλεύσομαι ("quoniam ... veniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre had *quod ... veniam*.

29 *vbi venero* ἐρχόμενος ("veniens" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the future perfect tense does not seem entirely logical ("when I shall have come, ... I will come"), as this Greek participle refers to the same visit as the following verb, ἐλεύσομαι. Lefèvre tried *cum veniam*.

29 *cum plenitudine* ἐν πληρώματι ("in abundantia" Vg.; "in plenitudine" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,4 for *cum*. The substitution of *plenitudo* ("fullness") is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of all other instances of πλήρωμα in the Epistles. The text of codd. D^corr F G has ἐν πληροφορίᾳ here. However, the word *abundantia* would have been more appropriate to περισσεύματι or περισσείᾳ (see *Mt.* 12,34; *Rom.* 5,17). Cf. *Annot.* The use of *in plenitudine* was advocated by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, as adopted in Erasmus' 1516 edition. Manetti had *in abundantiam*.

29 *euangelii* τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by thirty-two mss., commencing with 𝔓^46 ℵ* A B C D F G. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ^corr and about 560 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 420-3). See *Annot.* The omission of τοῦ εὐαγγελίου in some mss. (which also omit τοῦ before Χριστοῦ) raises the question of whether the words were a later explanatory addition, or whether certain scribes accidentally passed over this phrase, or deliberately excised it, mistakenly imagining it to be superfluous. Another possible instance of an incorrect scribal deletion of τοῦ εὐαγγελίου occurs at *Eph.* 6,19, where these same words are omitted by codd. B F G. From a stylistic point of view, in the present verse, the tripartite genitive expression (πληρώματι εὐλογίας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ) is consistent with Pauline usage e.g. at 2 *Cor.* 4,4 (φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ) and *Eph.* 4,13 (μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ). Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

30 *autem* δέ ("ergo" late Vg.). The Vulgate rendering has little Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ πνεύματος, | et per dilectionem spiritus, vt me
συναγωνίσασθαί μοι ἐν ταῖς προσ- | laborantem adiuuetis, precationibus
ευχαῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, | pro me ad deum, [31]vt liberer
[31]ἵνα ῥυσθῶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων | ab incredulis in Iudaea, vtque mi-
ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ ἵνα ἡ διακονία | nisterium hoc meum, quod ex-
μου ἡ εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ εὐπρόσδεκ- | hibebo Hierosolymis, acceptum sit
τος γένηται τοῖς ἁγίοις, [32]ἵνα ἐν | sanctis, [32]vt cum gaudio veniam
χαρᾷ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, διὰ θελή- | ad vos, per voluntatem dei, vna-
ματος θεοῦ, καὶ συναναπαύσωμαι | que vobiscum refociller. [33]Deus
ὑμῖν. [33]ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης, | autem pacis, sit cum omnibus
μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. ἀμήν. | vobis. Amen.

16 Συνίστημι δὲ ὑμῖν Φοίβην, | **16** Commendo autem vobis
τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν, οὖσαν | Phoeben, sororem nostram,
διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν | quae est ministra ecclesiae Cen-
Κεγχρεαῖς, [2]ἵνα αὐτὴν προσδέξη- | chreensis, [2]vt illam suscipiatis
σθε ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων, | in Christo, ita vt decet sanctos,

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31 εἰς *A^c B-E: om. A**
16,1 υμιν *A-D:* ημιν *E*

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30 precationibus *B-E:* in orationibus *A* | **31** vtque *B-E:* et vt *A* | hoc *B-E: om. A* |
Hierosolymis *B-E:* in hierusalem *A* | **32** cum *B-E:* in *A*

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30 *dilectionem* τῆς ἀγάπης ("charitatem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,35, and *Annot.* This substitution was also made by Lefèvre.

30 *spiritus* τοῦ πνεύματος ("sancti spiritus" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition has little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *spiritus sancti*, as also found in some Vulgate mss.

30 *me laborantem adiuuetis* συναγωνίσασθαί μοι ("adiuuetis me" Vg.). The literal sense of the Greek verb, of fighting alongside someone who is engaged in a contest, is seen only dimly in the Vulgate rendering. Erasmus' addition of *laborantem* is comparable with his use of *adiuuantes decertantem* for συναθλέω at *Phil.* 1,27 (1519). In 1516 *Annot.*, he cited the verb as συναγωνίζεσθαι, contrary to his Basle mss. In Lefèvre, this was rendered *concertetis mecum*.

30 *precationibus* ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ("in orationibus vestris" late Vg.; "in orationibus" 1516). See on *Act.* 1,14, and *Annot.* The late Vulgate addition of *vestris* corresponds with the addition of ὑμῶν in codd. D F G, though F G also omit the following ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

31 *liberer* ῥυσθῶ ("liberet" Vg. 1527). The reading of the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben Vulgate of 1514, lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' rendering agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre (both columns).

31 *incredulis* τῶν ἀπειθούντων ("infidelibus" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in rendering ἄπιστος at 1 *Cor.* 7,14-15 (1519), 22, 23-4 (1519); 2 *Cor.* 4,4; 6,14. At eight further passages, *infidelis* is retained. A problem with *infidelis* is that, in classical literature, it tends

to mean "disloyal" or "treacherous" rather than "unbelieving".

31 *in Iudaea* ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ("qui sunt in Iudaea" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here.

31 *vtque* καὶ ἵνα ("et" Vg.; "et vt" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the omission of ἵνα, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most other mss. In 1516 *Annot.*, he cites the text inconsistently, once with and once without ἵνα. In Valla *Annot.*, *et vt* is incorrectly included in the Vulgate lemma. Lefèvre likewise had *et vt*, but Manetti just *vt*.

31 *ministerium hoc meum* ἡ διακονία μου ("obsequii mei oblatio" Vg.; "ministerium meum" 1516). This change is consistent with Vulgate usage elsewhere. A variant reading, ἡ δωροφορία μου, is offered by codd. B D* F G (contrary to 𝔓⁴⁶ᶜᵒʳʳ ℵ A C Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most other mss.), but this does not account for *obsequii*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus speculates that the text followed by the Vulgate had προσφορά, which is rendered by *oblatio* at other passages. Valla *Annot.*, however, considered that the Vulgate wording contained an interpretative addition to the text. The Vulgate further uses *obsequium* for λατρεία (at *Ioh.* 16,2; *Rom.* 9,4; 12,1), and for λειτουργία (at *Phil.* 2,17, 30). Erasmus added *hoc*, to convey the sense of the Greek article: see *Annot.* The rendering proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre, was *ministerium meum*.

31 *quod exhibebo Hierosolymis, acceptum sit* ἡ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ εὐπρόσδεκτος γένηται ("accepta fiat in Hierusalem" late Vg.; "quod exhibebo in hierusalem, acceptum sit" 1516). The Vulgate word-order is unsupported by Greek mss., but may have followed a text which substituted ἐν for εἰς, as in codd. B D* F G. Erasmus' 1516 Greek text followed cod. 2817 in omitting εἰς, but this was corrected in the errata. The word εἰς is attested by codd. 1, 2815, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A C Dᶜᵒʳʳ. In cod. 2105, ἡ εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ is omitted. See *Annot.* The use of *quod exhibebo* in Erasmus' rendering is a legitimate expansion of ἡ, a word which is omitted in only a few of the later mss. For *Hierosolymis*, see on *Act.* 1,8. In using *fiat* for γένηται, the Vulgate is more literal. Manetti put *acceptum fiat in hierosolimam*, and Lefèvre *in Hierusalem bene acceptabile sit*.

32 *cum gaudio veniam ad vos* ἐν χαρᾷ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ("veniam ad vos in gaudio" Vg.; "in

gaudio veniam ad vos" 1516). The Vulgate word-order, again, lacks Greek ms. support. For *cum*, see on *Rom.* 1,4. Ambrosiaster likewise used *cum gaudio*, but placed this after *vos.* Lefèvre had the same rendering as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

32 *vnaque vobiscum refociller* καὶ συναναπαύσωμαι ὑμῖν ("et refrigerer vobiscum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22 for *vna*, and on *Ioh.* 1,39 for -*que.* Regarding *refocillo*, see on *Act.* 20,12. The use of this non-classical verb was recommended by Valla *Annot.* The problem with *refrigero* was that its usual meaning was, literally, "cool down", and in classical literature it did not have the metaphorical sense of "refresh". An alternative rendering offered by Valla was *requiescam*, adopted by both Manetti (*vt requiescam vobiscum*) and Lefèvre (*et vobiscum requiescam*).

16,1 ἡμῶν. The reading of cod. 2815 was ὑμῶν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ A F G and some other mss.

1 *ministra* διάκονον ("in ministerio" Vg.). The mistranslation offered by the Vulgate may have been prompted by theological considerations regarding female ministry. See also *Annot.* The rendering used by Erasmus was the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

1 *Cenchreensis* τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς ("quae est Cenchris" Vg.). In cod. 2817 occurs the misspelling, κεχρεαῖς, a reading which Erasmus notes in *Annot.* At *Act.* 18,18 in 1516, his text adopted κεχρεαῖς from cod. 2815, and he also had κεχρεαῖς and *Cechreensis* in the 1516 subscription to the present epistle. For his preference for the adjectival form of place-names, see on *Ioh.* 1,45. Lefèvre put *quae est in Cenchraeis.*

2 *illam* αὐτήν ("eam" Vg.). By the use of *illam*, Erasmus possibly wished to make it clearer that the pronoun refers to Phoebe rather than the church at Cenchreae.

2 *Christo* κυρίῳ ("domino" Vg.). Erasmus' change of translation is not warranted by his Greek text. In vs. 11, where a similar change occurred in his 1516 edition, it was corrected in 1519. Cf. *Gal.* 2,19, where he substituted *Christo* for *deo* in 1516-22, but restored *deo* in 1527. At 1 *Cor.* 2,12, he incorrectly had *Christo* for *deo* in all five folio editions.

2 *ita vt decet sanctos* ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων ("digne sanctis" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus further suggested *vt dignum est sanctis*, and made a similar change at *Eph.* 4,1; *Phil.* 1,27, objecting to the combination of adverb and noun. However, he

καὶ παραστῆτε αὐτῇ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν
χρῄζῃ πράγματι· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη
προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη, καὶ
αὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ.

³ Ἀσπάσασθε Πρίσκαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν,
τοὺς συνεργούς μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰη-
σοῦ, ⁴ οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου
τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον ὑπέθηκαν· οἷς
οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος εὐχαριστῶ, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν ἐθνῶν,
⁵ καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκ-
κλησίαν. ἀσπάσασθε Ἐπαινετὸν τὸν
ἀγαπητόν μου, ὅς ἐστιν ἀπαρχὴ
τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἐν Χριστῷ. ⁶ ἀσπάσα-
σθε Μαριάμ, ἥτις πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν
εἰς ἡμᾶς. ⁷ ἀσπάσασθε Ἀνδρόνικον

et adsitis ei, in quocunque vobis
eguerit negocio: nam haec quum
multis adfuit, tum mihi etiam
ipsi.

³ Salutate Priscam et Aquilam,
adiutores meos in Christo Iesu,
⁴ qui pro anima mea suam ipso-
rum ceruicem supposuerunt: qui-
bus non ego solus gratias ago,
sed et omnes ecclesiae gentium,
⁵ item quae in domo illorum est
congregationem. Salutate Epaene-
tum dilectum meum, qui est primi-
tiae Achaiae in Christo. ⁶ Salutate
Mariam, quae multum laborauit
erga nos. ⁷ Salutate Andronicum

16,2 haec quum *B-E*: et haec *A* | tum *B-E*: et *A* | etiam *B-E*: *om. A*

retains *digne* with *domino* and *deo* at *Col.* 1,10;
1 *Thess.* 2,12; 3 *Ioh.* 6. Lefèvre had *pro dignitate
sanctorum.*

2 *adsitis* παραστῆτε ("adsistatis" Vg.). For the
more general sense of giving help or support,
Erasmus' choice of *adsum* was more in accord-
ance with classical idiom, though there is some
overlap of meaning between the two verbs. He
makes a similar change in rendering προστάτις,
later in this verse.

2 *vobis eguerit negocio* ὑμῶν χρῄζῃ πράγμα-
τι ("negocio vestri indiguerit" Vg.). Erasmus
follows the Greek word-order more literally.
His change of verb is consistent with Vulgate
usage at 2 *Cor.* 3,1. At *Mt.* 6,32, he replaces
indigeo by *opus habeo*, but retains *indigeo* at
Lc. 12,30. He further substitutes *egeo* for *indi-
geo* in rendering λείπω at *Iac.* 2,15. Lefèvre
rendered this clause by *quacunque in re vobis
indiguerit.*

2 *nam haec quum ... tum mihi etiam ipsi* καὶ γὰρ
αὕτη ... καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ ("etenim ipsa quoque
... et mihi ipsi" Vg.; "nam et haec ... et mihi
ipsi" 1516). For the use of *nam et* in 1516, see
on *Rom.* 3,7. The omission of *et* after *nam* in
1519 was less precise: cf. the substitution of
nam for *nam et* at 2 *Cor.* 5,2. More often
Erasmus retains *etenim* for καὶ γάρ. The Vulgate
use of *ipsa* represented a different accentuation,

αὐτή rather than αὕτη. Other places where
Erasmus introduces the construction *quum ...
tum* are at 1 *Cor.* 7,34; *Gal.* 6,10 (both in 1519):
cf. on *tum ... tum* at *Ioh.* 11,48. Manetti had
Etenim ipsa ... et mihi ipsi, and Lefèvre *nam et
ipsa ... etiam michi ipsi.*

2 *multis adfuit* προστάτις πολλῶν ("assistit
multis" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column
followed the Froben Vulgate of 1514. For *ad-
fuit*, see on *adsitis*, above. This is the only N.T.
passage where προστάτις occurs. By altering
the word-order, Erasmus achieves a more sym-
metrical pattern (*quum multis ... tum mihi*).
Lefèvre's Vulgate column, Ambrosiaster (1492)
and Manetti had *astitit multis*. Lefèvre's rendering
was *multis astitit.*

3 *Priscam* Πρίσκαν. Erasmus here follows his
cod. 2817, supported by cod. 2105 and most
other Greek mss., as well as the Vulgate. In
codd. 1 and 2815 and some other late mss., it
is Πρίσκιλλαν, which could have arisen by
harmonisation with Acts ch. 18. In cod. 2816,
it is Πρίσκυλλαν. Cf. *Annot.*

4 *suam ipsorum ceruicem* τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον
("suas ceruices" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal in
using the singular, *ceruicem*. See *Annot.* In
rendering another instance of τὸν τράχηλον
at *Act.* 15,10, he retained the plural *ceruices* from
the late Vulgate. As elsewhere, he renders the

Greek reflexive pronoun more emphatically. Manetti preferred *colla sua*, and Lefèvre *ceruices suas*.

4 *ego solus* ἐγὼ μόνος ("solum ego" late Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. The same change was made by Lefèvre, whereas Manetti put *solus ego*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

4 *omnes* πᾶσαι ("cunctae" Vg.). Erasmus perhaps sensed an ambiguity in *cunctae ecclesiae*, which could be misunderstood as a dative singular, forming an incorrect indirect object for *gratias ago*. He also changed *cunctis* to *omnes* at vs. 26.

5 *item* καί ("et" Vg.). Erasmus does not elsewhere use *item* in his translation, nor does it occur in the Vulgate N.T. By making this change, he indicates more clearly that the construction with *Salutate*, from vs. 3, is now resumed.

5 *quae in domo illorum est congregationem* τὴν κατ᾽ οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν ("domesticam ecclesiam eorum" late Vg.). Erasmus is more literal in his use of *domus*. The term *domesticus* might be misunderstood as referring solely to the members of the family or household, whereas κατ᾽ οἶκον could also include, more widely, others who visited the house for the purpose of Christian worship. Erasmus similarly replaces *domesticus* at 1 *Cor.* 16,19, in conformity with Vulgate usage at *Col.* 4,15; *Phm.* 2. For *congregatio*, see on *Act.* 5,11. See also *Annot.*, and *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1013 F-1014 A. By using *illorum*, Erasmus refers back more clearly to Prisc(ill)a and Aquila. Manetti and Lefèvre put *domesticam eorum ecclesiam*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

5 *meum* μου ("mihi" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 8 (1519), and at 1 *Cor.* 10,14. The Vulgate use of the dative has little Greek ms. support. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

5 *primitiae* ἀπαρχή ("primitiuus" Vg.). This substitution is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of ἀπαρχή at most other passages: see on *Rom.* 11,16. The word *primitiuus* is less common in classical Latin, and does not convey the required sense of "first fruits". See *Annot.* Possibly the Vulgate reflected a text having ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ D*. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre proposed the same change as Erasmus.

5 *Achaiae* τῆς Ἀχαΐας ("ecclesiae Asiae" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *ecclesiae* lacks Greek ms. support. However, the Vulgate use

of *Asiae* reflects a Greek text having τῆς Ἀσίας, as found in twenty-six mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 2105 and 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 560 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 428-30). In cod. 1, it is τῆς Ἀγχαΐας. Erasmus placed the reading *Asiae* among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. However, in 1535 *Annot.*, he argues in favour of *Asiae* (or rather Ἀσίας), on the grounds that some readers might have substituted Ἀχαΐας because they objected to the idea that Epaenetus could have been the first convert in the whole of Asia Minor; he further alleges that *Achaiae* represents a harmonisation with 1 *Cor.* 16,15. A problem with this theory is that, at the latter passage, the firstfruits of Achaia are said to be the "house of Stephanas" rather than Epaenetus, raising the question of whether any ancient editor would deliberately have produced this appearance of contradiction. From this point of view, Ἀχαΐας at *Rom.* 16,5 might be said to have the merit of being a *lectio difficilior* rather than being a facile harmonisation. This clause is also discussed in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1013 E-F. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *Achaiae*, omitting *ecclesiae*.

5 *in Christo* ἐν Χριστῷ ("in Christo Iesu" late Vg.). Erasmus here follows his cod. 2815, supported by 2816, with D F G and only a few other mss. His codd. 1, 2105, 2817 had εἰς Χριστόν, in company with most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C. The late Vulgate addition of *Iesu* lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

6 *erga nos* εἰς ἡμᾶς ("in vobis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different Greek text, either ἐν ὑμῖν as in codd. D F G, or εἰς ὑμᾶς (cf. *Act.* 2,22), as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C* and more than 130 later mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2816, with Cᶜᵒʳʳ and about 450 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 431-3). In *Annot.*, however, he seems to prefer the reading εἰς ὑμᾶς, and to attribute ἡμᾶς to scribal error. There is further discussion of this point in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB* IX, 1014 A-B. For *erga*, see on *Act.* 3,25. The substitution of *erga nos* was proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre. Another rendering recommended by Valla was *in nobis*, which was also preferred by Manetti.

καὶ Ἰουνίαν, τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου καὶ
συναιχμαλώτους μου, οἵτινές εἰσιν ἐπί-
σημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, οἳ καὶ πρὸ
ἐμοῦ γεγόνασιν ἐν Χριστῷ. ⁸ἀσπά-
σασθε Ἀμπλίαν τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου
ἐν κυρίῳ. ⁹ἀσπάσασθε Οὐρβανόν, τὸν
συνεργὸν ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶ Στά-
χυν τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου. ¹⁰ἀσπάσα-
σθε Ἀπελλῆν, τὸν δόκιμον ἐν Χριστῷ.
ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβού-
λου. ¹¹ἀσπάσασθε Ἡρωδίωνα, τὸν
συγγενῆ μου. ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἐκ
τῶν Ναρκίσσου τοὺς ὄντας ἐν κυρίῳ.
¹²ἀσπάσασθε Τρύφαιναν καὶ Τρυφῶ-
σαν, τὰς κοπιώσας ἐν κυρίῳ. ἀσπά-
σασθε Περσίδα τὴν ἀγαπητήν, ἥτις
πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν ἐν κυρίῳ. ¹³ἀσπά-
σασθε Ῥοῦφον τὸν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐν κυρίῳ,
καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ | καὶ ἐμοῦ.
¹⁴ἀσπάσασθε Ἀσύγκριτον, Φλέγοντα,

et Iuniam, cognatos meos et con-
captiuos meos, qui sunt insignes
inter apostolos, qui etiam ante me
fuerunt in Christo. ⁸Salutate Am-
pliam, dilectum meum in domino.
⁹Salutate Vrbanum, adiutorem no-
strum in Christo, et Stachyn di-
lectum meum. ¹⁰Salutate Apellam,
probatum in Christo. Salutate eos
qui sunt ex Aristobuli familiaribus.
¹¹Salutate Herodionem, cognatum
meum. Salutate eos qui sunt ex
Narcissi familiaribus, hos qui sunt
in domino. ¹²Salutate Tryphaenam
et Tryphosam, quae laborant in do-
mino. Salutate Persidem dilectam,
quae multum laborauit in domino.
¹³Salutate Rufum, electum in domi-
no, et matrem illius ac me|am.
¹⁴Salutate Asyncritum, Phlegontem,

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12 εκοπιασεν *D E*: εκωπιασεν *A-C*

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9 nostrum *B-E*: meum *A* | 10 Apellam *B E*: Apellem *A*, Appellam *C D* | 11 domino *B-E*:
Christo *A*

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7 *Iuniam* Ἰουνίαν ("Iuliam" *Annot.*, lemma
= late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate
rendering, which corresponds with Ἰουλίαν in
𝔓⁴⁶ and four later mss. (see Aland *Die Pauli-
nischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 433-5), may represent
a harmonisation with vs. 15: see *Annot.* The
1527 Vulgate column, and also the Froben
Vulgate of 1514, had *Iuniam* as in the earlier
Vulgate, and this was the spelling advocated by
Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

7 *meos* (1st.) μου (Vg. omits). The Vulgate
omission lacks Greek ms. support. The word
meos was likewise restored by Lefèvre.

7 *insignes* ἐπίσημοι ("nobiles" Vg.). This substi-
tution is consistent with the Vulgate rendering
of the same word at *Mt.* 27,16. From *Annot.*,
it is seen that Erasmus wished to prevent the
misunderstanding that the apostle was here

referring to nobility of ancestry or birth. His
wording here agrees with the earlier Vulgate,
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

7 *inter apostolos* ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ("in apo-
stolis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24.

7 *etiam* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,36. Erasmus
recognises the need for a more emphatic word,
to underline the fact that these disciples em-
braced the Christian faith earlier than Paul.

7 *Christo* Χριστῷ ("Christo Iesu" Vg. 1527).
The addition of *Iesu* in the 1527 Vulgate column,
and also in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and
1514, corresponds with the addition of Ἰησοῦ
in codd. D* F G and a few later mss. In
omitting *Iesu*, Erasmus is in agreement with
the earlier Vulgate, Manetti and Lefèvre (both
columns).

8 *Ampliam* Ἀμπλίαν ("Ampliatum" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different Greek text, having Ἀμπλιᾶτον, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B* Cᵛⁱᵈ F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as Bᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most other mss. See also *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

8 *dilectum* τὸν ἀγαπητόν ("dilectissimum" Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot.*, the Vulgate superlative is a mistranslation. It appears to be unsupported by Greek mss., and produces a misleading distinction from *dilectum* in vss. 5 and 9. Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster (1492), Manetti and Lefèvre.

8 *meum* μου ("mihi" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the dative lacks Greek ms. support. Cf. on vs. 5. Manetti and Lefèvre again made the same correction as Erasmus.

9 *nostrum* ἡμῶν ("meum" 1516 Lat.). Erasmus' 1516 rendering was identical with that of Ambrosiaster (1492). The use of the singular would correspond with a Greek text having μου, which is not found in Erasmus' mss. at Basle but was offered to him by Lefèvre *Comm.* This reading could have originated as a harmonisation with ἀγαπητόν μου in vss. 8-9, or with συνεργός μου in vs. 21.

9 *Christo* Χριστῷ ("Christo Iesu" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks support from Greek mss., though codd. C D F G and some other mss. substitute κυρίῳ for Χριστῷ. Erasmus' correction produces agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

10 *Apellam* Ἀπελλῆν ("Apellem" 1516 = 1519-35 *Annot.*, lemma, and some Vg. mss.; "Appellam" 1522-7; "Appellem" or "Appellen" late Vg.). A more exact transliteration was *Apellen*, as used by some Vulgate mss., Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. Manetti put *Apellem*.

10 *probatum* τὸν δόκιμον ("probum" Vg.). The Vulgate word *probus* meant "of good character", whereas the required sense was "approved" or "esteemed". The substitution of *probatus* is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of δόκιμος at most other passages.

10 *Aristobuli familiaribus* τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου ("Aristobuli domo" late Vg.). The point of this change is that the Greek genitive could also relate to Aristobulus' friends or family, and not

merely his immediate household: see *Annot.* A similar alteration occurs in the next verse.

11 *Narcissi familiaribus* τῶν Ναρκίσσου ("Narcissi domo" late Vg.). See the previous note. Manetti had just *Narcissi*, as in the earlier Vulgate, while Lefèvre put *familia Narcissi*.

11 *hos qui* τούς ("qui" Vg.). Erasmus' addition makes clear that the relative pronoun refers to the earlier *eos* rather than the immediately preceding *familiaribus*. The words *qui sunt* were replaced by Manetti with *existentes*, and by Lefèvre with *credentes*.

11 *domino* κυρίῳ ("Christo" 1516 Lat.). For Erasmus' arbitrary substitution of *Christo* in 1516, with minimal support from Greek mss., see on vs. 2.

12 *Persidem* Περσίδα ("Persidam" Vg.). Cf. the substitution of *Phlegontem* for *Phlegontam* in vs. 14. Erasmus' spelling of the Latin name was the same as that adopted by Ambrosiaster (1492), Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *dilectam* τὴν ἀγαπητήν ("charissimam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,25. The Vulgate superlative was less accurate. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

12 ἐκοπίασεν. The spelling ἐκωπίασεν in 1516-22 probably arose from a misprint, being inconsistent with Erasmus' retention of κοπιώσας earlier in the verse, and ἐκοπίασεν in vs. 6.

13 τήν. The article was omitted in cod. 2815, contrary to the evidence of most other mss.

13 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). This substitution makes it clearer that the pronoun refers back to *Rufum*, rather than to *domino*. Manetti put *suam*.

13 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

14 *Asyncritum* Ἀσύγκριτον ("Asincretum" late Vg. = Vg. 1527; "Asineretum" 1516-27 *Annot.*, lemma; "Asyncretum" 1535 *Annot.*, lemma). Erasmus' rendering restores the spelling of earlier Vulgate mss. See *Annot.* The spelling *Asineretum* is included in the 1519-22 editions of the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata.* Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, while Manetti had *Ansicretum*.

14 *Phlegontem* Φλέγοντα ("Phlegontam" or "Plegontam" late Vg.). Cf. the substitution of *Persidem* for *Persidam* in vs. 12, and see also *Annot.* This change was again identical with the spelling of Lefèvre. Manetti put *phlegontiam*.

Ἑρμᾶν, Πατρόβαν, Ἑρμῆν, καὶ τοὺς
σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφούς.   ¹⁵ἀσπάσασθε
Φιλόλογον καὶ Ἰουλίαν, Νηρέα καὶ
τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ὀλυμπᾶν,
καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς πάντας ἁγίους.
¹⁶ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι
ἁγίῳ. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι
τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

¹⁷Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί,
σκοπεῖν τοὺς τὰς διχοστασίας καὶ
τὰ σκάνδαλα, παρὰ τὴν διδαχὴν ἣν
ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε, ποιοῦντας, καὶ ἐκκλί-
νατε ἀπ' αὐτῶν.   ¹⁸οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι,
τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ οὐ δουλεύ-
ουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτῶν κοιλίᾳ· καὶ
διὰ τῆς χρηστολογίας καὶ εὐλογίας

Hermam, Patrobam, Mercurium, et
qui cum his sunt fratres.   ¹⁵Saluta-
te Philologum et Iuliam, Nereum
et sororem eius, et Olympam, et
qui cum his sunt, omnes sanctos.
¹⁶Salutate vos inuicem cum oscu-
lo sancto. Salutant vos ecclesiae
Christi.

¹⁷Obsecro autem vos fratres, vt
consideretis eos qui dissidia et of-
fendicula contra doctrinam quam
vos didicistis, gignunt et decline-
tis ab illis.   ¹⁸Nam qui eiusmodi
sunt, domino Iesu Christo non
seruiunt, sed suo ventri: et per
blandiloquentiam et assentationem

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15 νηρεα *B-E*: νιρεα *A* | **18** δουλευουσιν *B-E*: δουλευοσιν *A*

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14 Hermam *C-E*: Ermam *A*, Herman *B* | **16** cum *B-E*: in *A* | **17** consideretis *C-E*: con-
syderetis *A B* | offendicula *B-E*: offensas *A* | **18** et assentationem *B-E*: ac benedicentiam *A*

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14 *Hermam* Ἑρμᾶν ("Ermam" 1516; "Herman"
1519). The spelling *Hermam* in 1522-35 cor-
responded with the 1527 Vulgate column. See
Annot. The spelling used by Lefèvre was the
same as in Erasmus' 1519 edition. Manetti put
hermem.

14 *Mercurium* Ἑρμῆν ("Hermen" late Vg.). By
giving the accepted mythological Latin equi-
valent of the Greek name, Erasmus hoped to
prevent confusion between *Hermes* and *Hermas.*
Cf.*Annot.* This expedient produced consistency
with the Vulgate rendering of Ἑρμῆν at *Act.*
14,12. Manetti put *hermam,* as in the earlier
Vulgate.

14 *his* αὐτοῖς ("eis" Vg.). Erasmus' change of
pronoun was less literal. A similar alteration
occurs in the following verse. Lefèvre *Comm.*
had *ipsis.*

15 *Nereum* Νηρέα. The spelling νιρέα in 1516
was derived from cod. 2815, with support
from cod. 2105. Most mss. have νηρέα, as in
codd. 1, 2816, 2817.

15 *Olympam* Ὀλυμπᾶν ("Olympiadem" Vg.).
The Vulgate spelling has little Greek ms. sup-
port other than Ὀλιμπεῖδα in cod. F and

Ὀλυμπεῖδα in cod. G, which were probably in-
fluenced by the Latin version. In *Annot.,* Erasmus
objects that *Olympiades* is a female name, and
that this was inconsistent with the accompanying
use of σὺν αὐτῷ. This argument was under-
mined by the fact that, in his Greek text, he
had σὺν αὐτοῖς rather than σὺν αὐτῷ (see the
next note). Lefèvre likewise put *Olympam.*

15 *qui cum his sunt, omnes* τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς
πάντας ("omnes qui cum eis sunt" Vg.). Eras-
mus is more literal as to the word-order. Despite
the apparent substitution of αὐτῷ for αὐτοῖς
in *Annot.,* αὐτοῖς was attested by all his Basle
mss. The version of Lefèvre placed *omnes* after
sanctos.

16 *vos inuicem* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 4,33. This change was also made by
Lefèvre.

16 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.
Erasmus similarly has *cum osculo* at 1 *Thess.* 5,26
(1519).

16 *ecclesiae* αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ("omnes ecclesiae"
Vg.). The Vulgate follows a Greek text adding
πᾶσαι after ἐκκλησίαι, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C
and about seventy later mss. A few others add

πᾶσαι after Χριστοῦ, or put αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ἅπασαι. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and about 500 other late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 435-9). One explanation sometimes given of this textual variation is that some scribes omitted πᾶσαι because they supposed that Paul could not have been in a position to know whether all the churches wished him to transmit their greetings in this way (cf. Erasmus' reference to the views of Origen, in *Annot.*). Another theoretical cause of the shorter text is an error of homoeoteleuton, passing from -αι at the end of ἐκκλησίαι to -αι at the end of πᾶσαι. Alternatively, if πᾶσαι was not originally in the text, it could have been inserted through the influence of πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι in vs. 4, above. A comparable harmonistic insertion of πᾶσαι after αἱ ἐκκλησίαι occurs in cod. C and a few later mss. at 1 *Cor.* 16,19. At the present passage, the word *omnes* was omitted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

17 *Obsecro* Παρακαλῶ ("Rogo" Vg.). Erasmus renders more emphatically, in the sense of "beseech" rather than just "ask". A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 8,5; 14,36; 18,32; *Mc.* 8,22; *Phil.* 4,2 (1519); 1 *Thess.* 4,10; 5,14; *Hebr.* 13,22, in conformity with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 12,1; 15,30 and other passages of the Epistles. However, Erasmus also quite often retains *rogo* for this Greek verb. Lefèvre made the same change at the present passage.

17 *consideretis* σκοπεῖν ("obseruetis" Vg.). Erasmus makes a similar change at *Phil.* 3,17, consistent with the Vulgate rendering of σκοπέω at *Gal.* 6,1. He reserves *obseruo* for translating τηρέω and its compounds, παρατηρέω and συντηρέω. Lefèvre tried *animaduertatis*.

17 *dissidia* τὰς διχοστασίας ("dissensiones" Vg.). At *Gal.* 5,20, Erasmus replaces *dissensio* by *seditio* in rendering the same Greek word. At 1 *Cor.* 3,3, he prefers *factio*. He keeps *dissensio* for σχίσμα and στάσις. Lefèvre put *diuisiones* here.

17 *offendicula* τὰ σκάνδαλα ("offensas" 1516). Since the Greek word refers to the cause rather than the act of stumbling, the substitution of *offensas* in 1516 was less appropriate. Erasmus reverted in 1519 to the Vulgate rendering. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *scandala*.

17 *contra* παρά ("praeter" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,26.

17 *gignunt* ποιοῦντας ("faciunt" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,3.

17 *declinetis* ἐκκλίνατε ("declinate" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the imperative is more accurate. By using the subjunctive, Erasmus makes it appear that this verb is linked with the earlier *Obsecro ... vt.* He may have been influenced by Lefèvre, who made the same change here.

18 *Nam qui eiusmodi sunt* οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ("Huiuscemodi enim" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. More often Erasmus retains *huiusmodi* or *talis* for τοιοῦτος. Substitutions of *huiuscemodi* also occur in the Froben 1514 Vulgate and the 1527 Vulgate column at 2 *Cor.* 12,2, 3, 5; *Gal.* 5,23; 6,1. The addition of *qui ... sunt* was for the sake of clarity: a similar expansion occurs at *Phil.* 2,29, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Tit.* 3,11. Manetti put *Tales enim*, and Lefèvre *nam tales*.

18 *domino Iesu Christo* τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ("Christo domino nostro" Vg.). The Vulgate seems to be based on a text having τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Χριστῷ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C and some later mss. (this being the word-order of Lefèvre, who had *domino nostro Christo*), or τῷ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ ἡμῶν, as in cod. D, or just κυρίῳ Χριστῷ ἡμῶν, as in codd. F G. The text followed by Erasmus is that of cod. 2817, supported by many other late mss., though codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most others have τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. Manetti accordingly had *domino nostro Iesu Christo*.

18 ἑαυτῶν. The spelling of cod. 2817 was αὐτῶν, whereas codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 all had ἑαυτῶν, as in most other mss.

18 *blandiloquentiam* τῆς χρηστολογίας ("dulces sermones" Vg.). Erasmus looks for a suitably pejorative expression to refer to fine-sounding speech that concealed an evil motive. At the same time he wanted to reproduce the singular form of the Greek word. Conveniently to hand, he would have found *blandiloquentia* in Lefèvre *Comm.* In *Annot.*, Erasmus also commended the similar *blandiloquium*, which had been adopted in Lefèvre's version. However, *blandiloquentia* was exceedingly rare in classical usage, and *blandiloquium* does not occur at all in classical Latin authors. Valla *Annot.* suggested *dulcem sermonem*.

18 *et assentationem* καὶ εὐλογίας ("et benedictiones" Vg.; "ac benedicentiam" 1516). Again,

ἐξαπατῶσι τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκά-
κων. ¹⁹ ἡ γὰρ ὑμῶν ὑπακοὴ εἰς πάν-
τας ἀφίκετο. χαίρω οὖν τὸ ἐφ' ὑμῖν.
θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς σοφοὺς μὲν εἶναι εἰς τὸ
ἀγαθόν, ἀκεραίους δὲ εἰς τὸ κακόν.
²⁰ ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης συντρίψει τὸν
σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν, ἐν
τάχει. ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν.

²¹ Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Τιμόθεος ὁ
συνεργός μου, καὶ Λούκιος καὶ Ἰάσων
καὶ Σωσίπατρος, οἱ συγγενεῖς μου.

decipiunt corda simplicium. ¹⁹ Nam
vestra obedientia ad omnes permana-
uit. Gaudeo igitur sane de vobis.
Sed volo vos sapientes quidem esse
ad bonum, synceros autem ad
malum. ²⁰ Deus autem pacis con-
teret satanam sub pedes vestros,
breui. Gratia domini nostri Iesu
Christi sit vobiscum.

²¹ Salutant vos Timotheus co-
operarius meus, et Lucius et
Iason et Sosipater, cognati mei.

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19 αφικετο *A^c B-E*: αφικετω *A**

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19 Nam vestra *B-E*: Vestra enim *A* | 20 vobiscum *B-E*: cum omnibus vobis *A*

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in 1519, Erasmus finds an appropriately pe-
jorative expression for this context, conveying
the sense of flattery or feigned compliance.
His choice of *benedicentia* in 1516, however,
was not used by classical authors. See also
Annot. At other passages, where εὐλογίας oc-
curs in a good sense, Erasmus usually retains
benedictio. The rendering of Lefèvre had *et
benedictionem,* following a suggestion of Valla
Annot.

18 *decipiunt* ἐξαπατῶσι ("seducunt" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 7,11. Lefèvre put *fallunt.*

18 *simplicium* τῶν ἀκάκων ("innocentium"
Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the use
of *innocens,* meaning "without fault" or "not
guilty", whereas the Greek word in the present
context referred to those who were lacking in
guile or who did not suspect deceitful behaviour
in other people. In a different context, at *Hebr.*
7,26, where ἄκακος referred to Christ, the use
of *innocens* was more appropriate and was duly
retained in Erasmus' translation. His adoption
of *simplicium* at the present passage was probably
influenced by Lefèvre, whose version used exactly
the same word.

19 *Nam vestra* ἡ γὰρ ὑμῶν ("Vestra enim"
1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. From *Annot.*, it
would seem that Erasmus considered *enim* to

be unsuitable when answering an imagined or
unspoken question, though the word is some-
times used in that way by classical authors. This
alteration also helped to remove the undue em-
phasis which the Vulgate word-order laid upon
the possessive pronoun, *vestra,* rather than on
the noun, *obedientia.* Lefèvre's solution was to
put *Obedientia enim vestra.*

19 *ad omnes* εἰς πάντας ("in omni loco" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate rendering could represent
a partial harmonisation with 1 *Thess.* 1,8: ἐν
παντὶ τόπῳ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ... ἐξελήλυθεν
(cf. also 1 *Cor.* 1,2; 2 *Cor.* 2,14). Erasmus is
more accurate here. Manetti and Lefèvre both
put *in omnes.*

19 *permanauit* ἀφίκετο ("diuulgata est" Vg.).
The spelling ἐφίκετο in cod. 2817 lacks other
ms. support, and ἀφίκετω in the 1516 Greek
text (accented thus) is probably no more
than a misprint. Most mss., and also the 1516
errata, have ἀφίκετο. Erasmus' rendering con-
veys the idea of an item of news filtering
through, perhaps secretly, to a distant recipi-
ent. Elsewhere he uses *diuulgo* for several
other Greek verbs, such as διαφημίζω and
διαλαλέω (see on *Act.* 10,37). More literally,
Lefèvre made use of *peruenit,* while Manetti
had *processit.*

19 *sane de vobis* τὸ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ("in vobis" Vg.). Erasmus introduces *sane* at eight other passages, in rendering a variety of Greek particles, such as γέ, δή, or μέντοι. At the present passage, it is not explicitly warranted by the Greek text, but helps to emphasise the contrast between the apostle's rejoicing at the "obedience" which the Christians in Rome had already shown, and his further desire for their progress in spiritual discernment. The word *sane* does not occur anywhere in the Vulgate. On the use of *sane*, see Valla *Elegantiae*, II, 27; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD* I, 4, p. 314, ll. 940-942. Other examples of Erasmus' use of *gaudeo de* for χαίρω ἐπί occur at 1 *Cor.* 13,6; 16,17, but more often he has *gaudeo super.* Sometimes he uses *gaudeo in* for χαίρω ἐν. For other substitutions of *de* for *in*, see on *Rom.* 6,21. Lefèvre replaced *gaudeo ... in vobis* by *vobis congratulor.*

19 *quidem* μέν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate may reflect a Greek text omitting μέν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ B D F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A C. The same change was made by Manetti.

19 *ad bonum ... ad malum* εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ... εἰς τὸ κακόν ("in bono ... in malo" Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek prepositions more accurately here. Lefèvre made the same correction.

19 *synceros autem* ἀκεραίους δέ ("et simplices" Vg.). Erasmus was not satisfied with Lefèvre's use of *simplex* for both ἄκακος in vs. 18 and ἀκέραιος in vs. 19, and hence looked for a different word to preserve a distinction of meaning. His substitution of *syncerus* occurs again at *Phil.* 2,15, though he was content to retain *simplex* for ἀκέραιος at *Mt.* 10,16. Erasmus' use of *autem* for δέ was more accurate than the Vulgate, and was also proposed by Lefèvre, who had *simplices autem*, while Manetti put *Simplices vero.*

20 *conteret* συντρίψει ("conterat" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate use of the subjunctive corresponds with the variant συντρίψαι in cod. A and a few later mss. Erasmus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

20 *sub pedes vestros* ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν ("sub pedibus vestris" Vg.). Erasmus more

accurately reproduces the sense of the Greek accusative. See on *Rom.* 7,14.

20 *breui* ἐν τάχει ("velociter" Vg.). The use of *breui* was well suited to contexts which required a word meaning "soon" rather than describing the speed of the action itself. See also on *Act.* 25,4.

20 *sit vobiscum* μεθ' ὑμῶν ("vobiscum" Vg.; "sit cum omnibus vobis" 1516). The addition of *omnibus* in 1516 was not justified by the Greek text, and looks like a harmonisation with vs. 24. Although the Greek wording lacks a main verb, the use of *sit* gives a legitimate interpretation of the sentence as a prayer rather than a factual statement. Similar additions linked with *gratia* occur in vs. 24, below, and also e.g. at 1 *Cor.* 16,23; *Eph.* 6,24; 1 *Thess.* 5,28; 2 *Thess.* 3,18. Erasmus' cod. 2815 added ἀμήν after ὑμῶν, with support from about twenty other late mss. His text follows cod. 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 439-41).

21 *Salutant* Ἀσπάζονται ("Salutat" Vg.). The Vulgate singular reflects a Greek variant, ἀσπάζεται, attested by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and some other mss., including 1, 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by cod. 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most other mss. A similar textual divergence occurs at 1 *Cor.* 16,19; *Phm.* 23 (cf. also 2 *Tim.* 4,21). Although there are passages where a plurality of subjects indisputably accompanies ἀσπάζεται (*Rom.* 16,23; *Col.* 4,10, 14), it is not necessary to suppose that this was the apostle's invariable practice.

21 *cooperarius* ὁ συνεργός ("adiutor" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 3,9; *Phil.* 4,3; *Col.* 4,11. Erasmus retains *adiutor* at *Rom.* 16,3, 9; 2 *Cor.* 1,24; 8,23; *Phm.* 24. At *Phm.* 1, he substitutes *collega*, a word which he also uses to replace *cooperator* at *Phil.* 2,25 (1519), and which he recommends as an alternative rendering in *Annot.* on the present passage. A problem with *adiutor* is that it tends to denote an assistant or helper who was of only secondary importance, whereas συνεργός implied a greater equality of effort, as might be shown by two people working closely alongside one another. However, neither *cooperator* nor *cooperarius* occurs in classical usage. Manetti and Lefèvre both preferred *cooperator* here. Valla *Annot.*, commenting on 1 *Cor.* 3,9, advocated the use of *cooperarius.*

²²ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ Τέρτιος, ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν κυρίῳ. ²³ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Γάϊος ὁ ξένος μου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅλης. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἔραστος ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ Κούαρτος ὁ ἀδελφός. ²⁴ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. ἀμήν.

²⁵Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου, χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου, ²⁶φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν, διά τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν, κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ, εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως,

²²Saluto vos ego Tertius, qui scripsi epistolam in domino. ²³Salutat vos Gaius hospes meus et ecclesiae totius. Salutat vos Erastus quaestor aerarius ciuitatis, et Quartus frater. ²⁴Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi, sit cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

²⁵Ei autem qui potens est vos confirmare secundum euangelium meum, et praeconium Iesu Christi, iuxta reuelationem mysterii, temporibus aeternis taciti, ²⁶manifestati vero nunc, et per scripturas propheticas iuxta delegationem aeterni dei, in obedientiam fidei,

22 τερτιος *A*ᶜ *B-E*: τερεντιος *A** | 23 *prius* ασπαζεται *A C-E*: ασπασεται *B* | 24 υμων *A-D*: ημων *E* | 25 υμας *B-E*: ημας *A*

22 Tertius *A*ᶜ *B-E*: Terentius *A** | 23 quaestor *C-E*: questor *A B* | 25 vos *B-E*: nos *A* | praeconium *B-E*: preconium *A*

22 *Tertius* Τέρτιος ("Terentius" 1516 text). In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites *Terentius* in the Vulgate lemma, but the 1527 Vulgate column and most other copies of the Vulgate have *Tertius*. The reading τέρεντιος (*sic*), in the 1516 Greek text, was based on cod. 2817 (though the latter had the accent positioned more correctly, as τερέντιος). In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and virtually all other mss., it is τέρτιος. Erasmus accordingly corrected his text and translation to read τέρτιος and *Tertius* in the 1516 errata. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre understood *tertius* merely as a numeral, rather than as a personal name.

22 *epistolam* τὴν ἐπιστολήν ("epistolam hanc" Vg. 1527). The late Vulgate addition is a legitimate expansion of the Greek article. In omitting *hanc*, Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

23 ἀσπάζεται (1st.). The spelling ἀσπάσεται, in 1519, was no more than a typesetting error.

23 *Gaius* Γάϊος ("Caius" late Vg.). Erasmus' spelling is more exact, restoring the earlier

Vulgate form of the name. Lefèvre had *Gaius* in his Vulgate text as well as in his translation.

23 *ecclesiae totius* τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅλης ("vniuersa ecclesia" late Vg. = Vg. 1527; "vniuersae ecclesiae" *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate rendering, in the nominative singular, lacks Greek ms. support. The earlier Vulgate, as pointed out in *Annot.*, is ambiguous, as it can be taken as either a nominative plural ("Gaius ... and all the churches"), or a genitive singular ("Gaius, the host ... of the whole church"). Erasmus removes this ambiguity by substituting *totius*, which can only be understood as a genitive. For similar substitutions of *totus* for *vniuersus* elsewhere, see on *Act.* 5,34. The Vulgate word-order corresponds with the Greek variant ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, seen in codd. ℵ A B C D and some later mss., with cod. 1 among them. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *totius ecclesiae*.

23 *quaestor aerarius* ὁ οἰκονόμος ("arcarius" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes an expression which

he believed to be more technically correct for a city treasurer (see *Annot.*). The Vulgate word, however, despite its rarity in literary usage, receives some support from inscriptional evidence. Manetti preferred *paterfamilias*, and Lefèvre *procurator*. In Lefèvre *Comm.*, it was also suggested that the original Vulgate reading was *aerarius*.

24 *sit cum* μετά ("cum" late Vg.). As in vs. 20, Erasmus adds *sit* to provide a main verb for the sentence. The whole sentence, as noted in *Annot.*, is omitted in the earlier Vulgate. The same omission is made by 𝔓⁴⁶ ⁶¹ ℵ A B C and thirteen other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by codd. D (F G) and about 500 other mss., including 1, 2105, 2816 (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 1, pp. 443-7). The evidence for the presence or absence of this verse, which repeats the substance of vs. 20, is closely linked with the textual problem concerning the correct location of vss. 25-7. In most mss., this sentence forms the conclusion of the epistle: see on *Rom.* 14,23.

24 *vobis* ὑμῶν. The substitution of ἡμῶν in the 1535 text, though having support from about fifty late mss. (cf. Aland, *loc. cit.*), seems to be a misprint as it conflicts with Erasmus' Latin translation and is not covered by any explanation in *Annot.*

25-7 *Ei autem ... Amen* Τῷ δὲ ... ἀμήν. In Erasmus' Greek mss., this section was placed after *Rom.* 14,23: see *ad loc.*, and *Annot.*

25 *vos* ὑμᾶς ("nos" 1516). The adoption of *nos* and ἡμᾶς in 1516 was not supported by Erasmus' Basle mss., but it may be observed that this reading appears in cod. 69 and a few other late mss.

25-6 *secundum ... iuxta ... iuxta* κατὰ ... κατὰ ... κατ' ("iuxta ... secundum ... secundum" Vg.). A similar substitution of *iuxta reuelationem* occurs at *Gal.* 2,2, though Erasmus is content with *secundum reuelationem* at *Eph.* 3,3. By a similar inconsistency at *Rom.* 2,16, he replaced *secundum euangelium* with *iuxta euangelium*. His general tendency in the Epistles is to increase the incidence of *iuxta*, for the sake of variety, avoiding the monotonous repetition of *secundum*. See further on *Act.* 13,23. At *Rom.* 14,24-5, Ambrosiaster and Manetti used *secundum* three times in this passage. Lefèvre followed the Vulgate on this point in the present chapter, but in *Comm.* on ch. 14 he put *secundum ... per ... per.*

25 *praeconium* τὸ κήρυγμα ("praedicationem" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Tim.* 4,17. Elsewhere Erasmus retains *praedicatio*. The word *praeconium* ("proclamation") does not occur anywhere in the Vulgate N.T.

25 *temporibus* χρόνοις ("temporis" Vg. 1527). The spelling of the 1527 Vulgate was probably a printer's error. The Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514 have *temporibus*.

26 *manifestati vero nunc* φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν ("quod nunc patefactum est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. In 1519, Erasmus preferred to use *patefacio* for γνωρίζω later in the present verse. In omitting to provide a rendering for δέ, the Vulgate is less accurate. Manetti put *nunc autem ... manifestati*, and Lefèvre *Comm.* had *manifestati autem nunc* (both at *Rom.* 14,25).

26 *et per* διά τε ("per" Vg.). The Vulgate omission corresponds with the omission of τε in cod. D and a few later mss. See *Annot.* In Lefèvre *Comm.* at *Rom.* 14,25, *per* was replaced by *iuxta*.

26 *propheticas* προφητικῶν ("prophetarum" Vg.). This rendering was consistent with Vulgate usage at 2 *Petr.* 1,19, and reproduced the adjectival form of the Greek word, but it introduces a Latin expression which was not used by classical authors. See also *Annot.* This change produced agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster, and also of Manetti (at *Rom.* 14,25).

26 *iuxta* κατ' ("secundum" Vg.). See on vs. 25.

26 *delegationem* ἐπιταγήν ("praeceptum" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Tit.* 1,3, and also at 1 *Tim.* 1,1, where Erasmus puts *delegatio* for *imperium*. He needed a word which conveyed the sense of divine appointment or decree, as this was not adequately expressed by *praeceptum*. However, in classical usage, *delegatio* was used more technically, to refer to the assignment of a debt. In translating ἐπιταγή elsewhere, Erasmus changes *imperium* to *praeceptum* at 1 *Cor.* 7,6, and to *praecipiendi studium* at *Tit.* 2,15 (1519), while retaining *praeceptum* at 1 *Cor.* 7,25. Lefèvre *Comm.* put *imperium* here (at *Rom.* 14,25), the same wording as that of Ambrosiaster.

26 *in obedientiam* εἰς ὑπακοήν ("ad obedientiam" Vg. 1527; "ad obeditionem" Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514. See on *Rom.* 1,5. Manetti (at *Rom.* 14,25) anticipated the change made by Erasmus.

εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη γνωρισθέντος, [27] μό-
νῳ σοφῷ θεῷ, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ
ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν. |

Πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.

ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Κορίνθου διὰ Φοίβης τῆς
διακόνου τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς ἐκκλησίας.

in omnes gentes patefacti, [27] soli
sapienti deo, per Iesum Christum,
cui gloria in secula. Amen. |

Ad Romanos.

Missa fuit a Corintho per Phoeben
ministram Cenchreensis ecclesiae.

LB 655

LB 656

Subscriptio κεγχρεαις *B-E*: κεχρεαις *A*

26 gentes patefacti *B-E*: notificati *A* | 27 secula *C-E*: saecula *A B*
Subscriptio Romanos *A E*: Rhomanos *B-D* | Missa *A-C D (exx.) E*: Mssa *D (exx.)* | Phoeben *B-E*:
Pheben *A* | Cenchreensis *B-E (*Cenchreeñ. *D)*: Cechreensis *A*

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26 *in omnes gentes* εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ("in
cunctis gentibus" Vg.; "in omnes" 1516 Lat.).
See on vs. 4. In using the accusative, Erasmus
is more accurate. The omission of *gentes* in 1516
was probably another error by the typesetters.
Ambrosiaster and Manetti had the same ren-
dering as Erasmus' 1519 edition, while Lefèvre
Comm. put *in omnibus gentibus* (i.e. at *Rom.*
14,25, in the case of Manetti and Lefèvre).

26 *patefacti* γνωρισθέντος ("cogniti" late Vg.;
"notificati" 1516). See on *manifestati* above, and
also on *Rom.* 1,17. The verb *notifico*, which
Erasmus adopted in 1516, was rarely used by
classical authors. However, the replacement in
1519, *patefacio*, did not entirely catch the nuance
of the Greek verb.

27 *gloria* ἡ δόξα ("honor et gloria" late Vg.;
"honor" Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate wording is
unsupported by Greek mss. and looks like a
harmonisation with 1 *Tim.* 1,17 (cf. on *Rom.*
11,36). Erasmus' choice of rendering agreed
with that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti, while
Lefèvre *Comm.* had *honor, gloria* (in Manetti
and Lefèvre, this was at *Rom.* 14,26).

27 *secula* τοὺς αἰῶνας ("saecula saeculorum"
Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of τῶν

αἰώνων, as found in 𝔓[61] ℵ A D and about
twenty later mss. Erasmus follows his codd.
2815 and 2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816
and about 570 other mss., commencing with
𝔓[46] B C (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 1, pp. 449-51). For the textual question
concerning the correct location of vss. 25-7,
see again on *Rom.* 14,23. Manetti and Lefèvre
Comm. (at *Rom.* 14,26) made the same omis-
sion of *saeculorum*.

Subscriptio *Missa fuit* ἐγράφη. As explained
in *Annot.*, Erasmus avoided a literal rendering
of the Greek verb, because it appeared to con-
tradict *Rom.* 16,22, which stated that Tertius,
and not Phoebe, wrote the letter for Paul.
Erasmus similarly used *missa* or *missa fuit* for
ἐγράφη in the subscriptions to most of the
other Pauline Epistles. Lefèvre had *scripta Corin-
thi, missa per Phoeben ministram.*

Subscriptio *Cenchreensis* Κεγχρεαῖς ("Cechre-
ensis" 1516). The 1516 Latin spelling of this
name corresponded with the omission of -γ-
in the accompanying Greek text, which was
derived from cod. 2817. The same variation of
spelling occurs at *Act.* 18,18 in cod. 2815 and
in the 1516 Greek text, and also in cod. 2817
at *Rom.* 16,1: see *ad loc.*

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ ΠΡΩΤΗ

EPISTOLA PAVLI AD CORINTHIOS PRIMA

1 Παῦλος κλητὸς ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, καὶ Σωσθένης ὁ ἀδελφός, ²τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν· ³χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

⁴Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ⁵ὅτι

1 Paulus vocatus apostolus Iesu Christi, per voluntatem dei, et Sosthenes frater, ²ecclesiae dei quae est Corinthi, sanctificatis per Christum Iesum, vocatis sanctis, vna cum omnibus qui inuocant nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi, in quouis loco vel suo vel nostro: ³gratia vobis et pax a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo.

⁴Gratias ago deo meo semper pro vobis, de gratia dei quae data est vobis per Christum Iesum, ⁵quod

1,4 δοθείσῃ *C-E:* δοθήσῃ *A B*

Inscriptio EPISTOLA PAVLI ... PRIMA *B C E:* EPISTOLA PAVLI APOSTOLI ... PRIMA *A*, ERASMI VERSIO *D* | 1,2 per Christum Iesum *B-E:* in Christo Iesu *A* | 4 per Christum Iesum *B-E:* in Christo Iesu *A*

1,2 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

2 *vna cum* σύν ("cum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22.

2 *quouis* παντί ("omni" Vg.). This potentially controversial change has the effect of moderating what might otherwise have been understood as an affirmation that the present epistle was applicable to the universal church. For Erasmus' use of *quiuis*, see on *Act.* 10,35, and see also *Annot.*

2 *vel suo vel* αὐτῶν τε καί ("ipsorum et" Vg.). Erasmus regarded *suo* as being better Latin style here, following Valla *Annot.* See *Annot.*, and for the use of *vel ... vel*, see also on *Rom.* 10,12. Manetti put *eorum ... et*, and Lefèvre *suoque ac.*

4 *de* ἐπί ("in" Vg.). This change produces a more natural idiom than the literal rendering

of the Vulgate. See on *Rom.* 6,21. Lefèvre put *ob gratiam* for *in gratia.*

4 δοθείσῃ. The spelling δοθήσῃ in 1516-19 possibly resulted from a misconceived attempt to correct the further misspelling, δοθήσει, found in cod. 2815. In codd. 1, 2105, 2817 and most other mss., it is δοθείσῃ.

4 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

5 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). In reading *quia*, the 1527 Vulgate column agrees with the Froben editions of 1491 and 1514 and the Vulgate column of Lefèvre, together with most Vulgate mss., though some later printed editions of the Vulgate have *quod.* Erasmus seems to take ὅτι, not in a causal sense, but as introducing a more detailed description of the subject of

ἐν παντὶ ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐν
παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνώσει, ⁶καθὼς
τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐβεβαιώθη
ἐν ὑμῖν, ⁷ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι
ἐν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι, ἀπεκδεχομένους
τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ⁸ὃς καὶ βεβαιώσει
ὑμᾶς ἕως τέλους, ἀνεγκλήτους ἐν τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρι-
στοῦ. ⁹πιστὸς ὁ θεός, δι’ οὗ ἐκλή-
θητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

¹⁰Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ
τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰη-
σοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε
πάντες, καὶ μὴ ᾖ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα,
ἦτε δὲ κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
νοῒ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ.

in omnibus ditati estis per ipsum,
in omni sermone et omni cognitio-
ne: ⁶quibus rebus testimonium Iesu
Christi confirmatum fuit in vobis,
⁷adeo vt non destituamini in vllo
dono, expectantes reuelationem do-
mini nostri Iesu Christi: ⁸qui et
confirmabit vos vsque ad finem, in-
culpatos in die domini nostri Iesu
Christi. ⁹Fidelis deus, per quem vo-
cati estis in consortium filii ipsius
Iesu Christi domini nostri.

¹⁰Obsecro autem vos fratres, per
nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi,
vt idem loquamini omnes, et non
sint inter vos dissidia, sed sitis
integrum corpus, eadem mente et
eadem sententia.

10 γνωμη *Aᶜ B-E*: γνωσει *A**

5 per ipsum *B-E*: in illo *A* | 10 Obsecro *B-E*: Adhortor *A* | *prius* eadem *B-E*: in eadem *A* |
alt. eadem *B-E*: in eadem *A*

Paul's rejoicing. For the frequent avoidance of
quia, see on *Ioh.* 1,20. The same change was
made by Manetti.

5 *omnibus* παντί. In *Annot.*, commenting that
the Greek noun is singular in number, Erasmus
gives *quauis re* as a possible alternative rendering.
Lefèvre put *re omni*.

5 *ditati estis* ἐπλουτίσθητε ("diuites facti estis"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,15 for Erasmus' avoidance
of *facio*. A similar substitution, in rendering the
related verb πλουτέω, occurs at 1 *Cor.* 4,8, and
Erasmus further uses *dito* to replace *locupleto*
in rendering πλουτίζω at 2 *Cor.* 6,10 and πλουτέω
at *Ap. Ioh.* 3,17. At two instances of πλουτέω,
he replaces *diues sum* and *diues fio* by *ditesco*, at
2 *Cor.* 8,9; 1 *Tim.* 6,9. However, he retains *locu-
pleto* for πλουτίζω at 2 *Cor.* 9,11, and *diuites
facti sunt* for πλουτέω at *Ap. Ioh.* 18,3, 15, 19.
In the Vulgate, the verb *dito* occurs at a number
of O.T. passages, but nowhere in the N.T. The
wording of Erasmus was the same as that of
Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

5 *per ipsum* ἐν αὐτῷ ("in illo" 1516 = Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 1,17 for *per.* By using *ipsum* rather

than *illum*, Erasmus perhaps wished to make
it clearer that this pronoun refers to Christ.
Manetti and Lefèvre both put *in eo.*

5 *sermone* λόγῳ ("verbo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1.
Lefèvre made the same change.

5 *omni* (2nd.) πάσῃ ("in omni" Vg.). The
added preposition of the Vulgate is probably
just a matter of translation, as the reading
ἐν πάσῃ appears in only a few late mss.
Erasmus is more literal here. Lefèvre again
made the same change.

5 *cognitione* γνώσει ("scientia" Vg.). See on
Rom. 2,20. The same substitution was made by
Lefèvre.

6 *quibus rebus* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). As indicated
in *Annot.*, Erasmus wishes to connect καθώς
with the preceding λόγῳ and γνώσει, rather
than view it as introducing a fresh point of
comparison. The Vulgate is more literal here.
Lefèvre *Comm.* suggested *sic.*

6 *Iesu Christi* τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("Christi" Vg.).
Erasmus' addition of *Iesu* is not justified by his
printed Greek text or by any of his Basle mss.
Cf. on *Rom.* 16,2.

6 *confirmatum fuit* ἐβεβαιώθη ("confirmatum est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

7 *adeo vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had just *vt.*

7 *non destituamini* ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ("nihil vobis desit" Vg.). Erasmus is somewhat more literal in his rendering of the Greek verb. See on *Rom.* 3,23, and *Annot.* In Lefèvre, this was translated *vos non egeatis.*

7 *vllo dono* μηδενὶ χαρίσματι ("vlla gratia" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus distinguishes between χάρις and χάρισμα, following Valla *Annot.* See on *Rom.* 1,11. Lefèvre made the same change, while Manetti had *vllo gratiae dono.*

7 *expectantes* ἀπεκδεχομένους ("expectantibus" Vg.). This substitution is determined by Erasmus' earlier use of *destituamini.* Lefèvre again made the same change.

8 *ad* ἕως ("in" late Vg.). Erasmus has a marked preference for *vsque ad*, but sometimes retains *vsque in*: see on *Act.* 1,2. His rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster (1492).

8 *inculpatos* ἀνεγκλήτους ("sine crimine" Vg.). A similar change occurs at *Tit.* 1,6, 7. At *Col.* 1,22, Erasmus uses *inculpatus* to replace *irreprehensibilis.* In *Annot.*, he comments on the need for a more emphatic word, not merely "guiltless", but beyond any possibility of reproach. For his avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7. Lefèvre tried *innoxios.*

8 *die* τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ("die aduentus" Vg.). The Vulgate addition lacks Greek support, except that codd. D F G substitute τῇ παρουσίᾳ (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 169-71). The word *aduentus* was deleted by both Manetti and Lefèvre, and the latter further changed *die* to *diem.*

9 *consortium* κοινωνίαν ("societatem" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus uses *consortium* for μετοχή at 2 *Cor.* 6,14, but retains *societas* for κοινωνία at *Gal.* 2,9; 1 *Ioh.* 1,3, 6, 7, as well as substituting *societas* for *communicatio* at 2 *Cor.* 8,4. See on *Rom.* 15,26. In *Annot.*, he also proposes *communionem*, which was the rendering offered by Lefèvre, while Manetti's version had *communitatem.*

9 *ipsius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus prefers the reflexive pronoun, when referring back to the main subject. Manetti had *sui.*

10 *Obsecro* Παρακαλῶ ("Adhortor" 1516). See on *Act.* 15,32. A similar temporary change to *adhortor* in 1516 occurred at *Rom.* 12,1. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *hortor* and *obtestor.* Manetti had *Rogo.*

10 *idem* τὸ αὐτό ("id ipsum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,5, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

10 *loquamini* λέγητε ("dicatis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,27, and *Annot.*

10 *inter vos* ἐν ὑμῖν ("in vobis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. The same alteration was made by Lefèvre.

10 *dissidia* σχίσματα ("schismata" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 12,25. The word *schisma* did not exist in classical Latin usage, and was merely a transliteration from the Greek spelling. In rendering the same Greek word at 1 *Cor.* 11,18, Erasmus uses *dissidium* to replace *scissura.* In *Annot.* on the present passage, he also suggested *dissensiones*, a rendering which had previously been adopted by Manetti. For Erasmus' substitution of *dissensio* for *schisma* at *Ioh.* 9,16, see *ad loc.*

10 *sed sitis* ἦτε δέ ("sitis autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

10 *integrum corpus* κατηρτισμένοι ("perfecti" Vg.). Erasmus' paraphrase of the meaning reflected his opinion that the apostle would not have required of the Corinthian Christians, divided as they were by factions, that they should be instantly "perfect". This may be compared with his substitution of *integri estote* for *perfecti estote* in rendering καταρτίζεσθε at 2 *Cor.* 13,11, and *integritas* for *consummatio* in rendering κατάρτισις at 2 *Cor.* 13,9. At 1 *Petr.* 5,10, Erasmus also uses *instauro* for καταρτίζω: cf. his substitution of *instauratio* for *consummatio* in rendering καταρτισμός at *Eph.* 4,12. The reading ἀπηρτισμένοι, which he cited in *Annot.*, was drawn from cod. 2817ᶜᵒᵐᵐ.

10 *eadem* (twice) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ... ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ("in eodem ... in eadem" Vg.; "in eadem ... in eadem" 1516). For the omission of *in*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

10 *mente* νοΐ ("sensu" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,28, and *Annot.* This change was also made by Lefèvre, whereas Manetti put *intellectu.*

10 *sententia* γνώμῃ ("scientia" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ). The 1516 Greek text had γνώσει from cod. 2815, with little

¹¹Ἐδηλώθη | γάρ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί μου, ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης, ὅτι ἔριδες ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσι. ¹²λέγω δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγει, Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλώ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ. ¹³μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός; μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν; ἢ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε; ¹⁴εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ ὅτι οὐδένα ὑμῶν ἐβάπτισα, εἰ μὴ Κρίσπον καὶ Γάϊον, ¹⁵ἵνα μή τις εἴπῃ ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐβάπτισα. ¹⁶ἐβάπτισα δὲ καὶ τὸν Στεφανᾶ οἶκον· λοιπὸν οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τινα ἄλλον ἐβάπτισα.

¹¹Significatum est enim | mihi de vobis fratres mei, a familiaribus Chloae, quod contentiones sint inter vos. ¹²Dico autem illud, quod vnusquisque vestrum dicit: Ego quidem sum Pauli: ego vero Apollo: ego vero Cephae: ego vero Christi. ¹³Num diuisus est Christus? Num Paulus crucifixus est pro vobis? Aut in nomine Pauli baptizati fuistis? ¹⁴Gratias ago deo meo, quod neminem vestrum baptizauerim, nisi Crispum et Gaium: ¹⁵ne quis dicat quod in meo nomine baptizauerim. ¹⁶Baptizaui autem et Stephanae familiam: praeterea haud scio, num quem alium baptizarim.

13 υμων *B-E*: ημων *A*

11 vobis *A B D E*: vobi *C* | 13 *prius* Num *B-E*: *om. A* | 14 meo *D E*: *om. A-C* | 15 in *A C-E*: sub *B*

other ms. support. In Erasmus' Latin rendering, however, the use of *sententia* corresponded more closely with γνώμῃ. He later noticed the discrepancy between his Greek and Latin texts, and corrected γνώσει to γνώμη (for γνώμη) in the 1516 errata. In 1516 *Annot.*, he mentions the possibility that *scientia* could represent a textual alteration within the Latin tradition, and in 1527 *Annot.* he argued for this view more strongly, suggesting that this reading could have arisen by harmonisation with vs. 5. Accordingly he listed *scientia* among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. His suspicions appear to be confirmed by the existence of some Vulgate mss. which have *sententia* (now adopted by Vgˢᵗ). In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the 1518 Aldine Bible as an authority for the variant γνώσει, without acknowledging that this was also the reading of his own first edition, and apparently without realising that the same 1516 edition was the source from which the Aldine text was mainly drawn: cf. on *Ioh.* 6,11; *Rom.* 5,19. Lefèvre's version already had *sententia*.

11 *a familiaribus Chloae* ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης ("ab his qui sunt C(h)loes Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,10, and *Annot.* In his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 180, ll. 296-301, Erasmus defends his expansion of the meaning against an objection of Stunica.

11 *quod ... sint inter vos* ὅτι ... ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσι ("quia ... sunt inter vos" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Erasmus' rendering partly resembles that of Ambrosiaster (1492), *quod ... inter vos sint*. Manetti had *quod ... sunt inter vos*, and Lefèvre *quod ... inter vos sunt*.

12 *Dico autem illud* λέγω δὲ τοῦτο ("Hoc autem dico" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. He substitutes *illud*, to make a closer connection with the following relative clause: see on *Rom.* 6,6. Lefèvre put *dico autem hoc*.

12 *vero* (three times) δέ ("autem ... vero ... autem" Vg.). Other examples of the repetition of *vero*, to connect a list of contrasting statements, are to be seen at *Mt.* 16,14; 1 *Cor.* 12,8-10; 15,39. More often Erasmus preferred

to vary the vocabulary: see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti had *vero ... autem ... vero*, and Lefèvre *autem ... porro ... vero*.

13 *Num diuisus est* μεμέρισται ("Diuisus est" 1516 = Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal. Erasmus treats this passage as though it were introduced by μή, like the question which followed (cf. 𝔓⁴⁶, which inserts μή here but changes the following μή to ἤ). Other instances where he inserted *num*, with no corresponding word in the Greek text, occur at *Mt.* 11,7, 8, 9; 18,21; 1 *Cor.* 6,15; 11,13; *Gal.* 3,21. Manetti put *An diuisus est*.

13 *Num* (2nd.) μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4.

13 *vobis* ὑμῶν. The reading ἡμῶν in 1516, conflicting with Erasmus' accompanying Latin translation, was drawn from cod. 2815, supported by a few other late mss.

13 *baptizati fuistis* ἐβαπτίσθητε ("baptizati estis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

14 *deo meo* τῷ θεῷ ("deo" 1516-22 = some Vg. mss.). Since, in *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that the addition of *meo* (found in the late Vulgate, and in some Vulgate mss.) lacks Greek ms. support, it seems possible that the reintroduction of this word in 1527-35 was a mistake by the printer, under influence from the adjacent Vulgate column of the 1527 edition. The addition of μου is in fact exhibited by cod. A and a few later mss., but it probably arose from harmonisation with vs. 4. Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* omitted *meo*.

14 *baptizauerim* ἐβάπτισα ("baptizaui" Vg.). Erasmus similarly introduces the subjunctive after *gratias ago* at *Mt.* 11,25; *Lc.* 18,11 (1519), but retains the indicative at *Rom.* 1,8; 1 *Cor.* 1,4; 14,18; 1 *Thess.* 2,13.

14 *Gaium* Γάϊον ("Caium" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,23. The spelling *Gaium* was also used in both columns of Lefèvre.

15 *in* εἰς ("sub" 1519). See on *Ioh.* 5,43.

15 *meo nomine* τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ("nomine meo" Vg.). The word-order of Erasmus' rendering is more literal. Lefèvre made the same change. Valla *Annot.* suggested *nomen meum*.

15 *baptizauerim* ἐβάπτισα ("baptizati sitis" Vg. 1527 and some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ; "baptizati estis" *Annot.*, lemma, and some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ). The 1527 Vulgate column

receives no support from the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514, which both have *baptizati estis*. In 1527 *Annot.*, Erasmus further reports another Vulgate variant, *baptizaui*. Most Vulgate copies reflect a different Greek text having ἐβαπτίσθητε, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C* and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with Cᶜᵒʳʳ D F G and most other mss. If ἐβαπτίσθητε was the original text, the use of ἐβάπτισα at several other points in vss. 14 and 16 could have influenced scribes to substitute ἐβάπτισα here. If, on the other hand, ἐβάπτισα was genuine, the word ἐβαπτίσθητε might have been borrowed from vs. 13, by an ancient scribe whose stylistic sensibilities were offended by the repetition of ἐβάπτισα, which (in most mss.) forms the last word of vs. 15 and also the first word of vs. 16. The version of Manetti made the same change as Erasmus, while Lefèvre put *baptizaui*.

16 *familiam* οἶκον ("domum" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in rendering οἶκος at 1 *Tim.* 3,12; 2 *Tim.* 1,16; 4,19, and in rendering οἰκία at *Mc.* 6,4; 1 *Cor.* 16,15; *Phil.* 4,22; 2 *Tim.* 3,6. More often Erasmus retains *domus* ("house") for both these Greek words, even in contexts where, with equal logic, he could have used *familia* ("household"). In using *familia* at the present passage, he imitated the rendering of Lefèvre.

16 *praeterea* λοιπόν ("caeterum" Vg.). Erasmus felt that an adversative sense was not required here, and translates in accordance with the context. He tended to reserve *caeterum* for δέ, as an alternative to *autem*: see on *Act.* 6,2. For λοιπόν, see further on 1 *Cor.* 4,2. Lefèvre put *deinceps*.

16 *haud scio* οὐκ οἶδα ("nescio" Vg.). See on *Act.* 24,18 for Erasmus' use of *haud*.

16 *num* εἰ ("si" Vg.). Erasmus probably wished to avoid the ambiguity of *si quem*, which could have been misunderstood to mean "whoever" rather than "if anyone". Cf. also on *Act.* 1,6.

16 *alium* ἄλλον ("alium vestrum" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* Erasmus' correction is in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *baptizarim* ἐβάπτισα ("baptizauerim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,25.

¹⁷Οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλέ με Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

¹⁸Ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις, μωρία ἐστί, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῖν, δύναμις θεοῦ ἐστι.

¹⁹Γέγραπται γάρ, Ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω. ²⁰ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεύς; ποῦ συζητητὴς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου; οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου; ²¹ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν θεόν, εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός, διὰ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος σῶσαι τοὺς πιστεύοντας.

¹⁷Non enim misit me Christus vt baptizarem, sed vt euangelizarem, non erudito sermone, ne inanis reddatur crux Christi.

¹⁸Nam sermo crucis, iis quidem qui pereunt, stultitia est: at nobis qui salutem consequimur, potentia dei est.

¹⁹Scriptum est enim: Perdam sapientiam sapientium, et intelligentiam intelligentium reiiciam. ²⁰Vbi sapiens? Vbi scriba? Vbi disputator seculi huius? Nonne infatuauit deus sapientiam mundi huius? ²¹Nam postquam in sapientia dei, non cognouit mundus per sapientiam deum, visum est deo, per stultitiam praedicationis saluos facere credentes.

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17 erudito sermone *B-E*: in eruditione sermonis *A* | 20 seculi *C-E*: saeculi *A B*

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17 *vt baptizarem ... vt euangelizarem* βαπτίζειν ... εὐαγγελίζεσθαι ("baptizare ... euangelizare" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. Manetti anticipated these changes.

17 *erudito sermone* ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου ("in sapientia verbi" Vg.; "in eruditione sermonis" 1516). For the omission of *in*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26, and for *sermo*, see on *Ioh.* 1,1. Erasmus makes use of *eruditus* so as to avoid giving the impression that the apostle was opposed to wise speech: see *Annot.* For his similar change of *sapiens* to *eruditus* at *Rom.* 1,14 (1519), see *ad loc.* The removal of *sapientia* is questionable, however, as it breaks the connection with several instances of σοφία in the following verses. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus incorrectly inserts τοῦ before λόγου, without support from his Basle mss. The version of Lefèvre put *in sapientia sermonis*.

17 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20. The word *ne* appears in the lemma of Valla *Annot.*, and was also used by Lefèvre.

17 *inanis reddatur* κενωθῇ ("euacuetur" Vg.). This change makes clear the figurative sense of the Greek verb, "be made void or ineffective" rather than literally "be emptied": see *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.* See also on *Rom.* 4,14. The suggested rendering of Valla was *inanis fiat*, while Lefèvre preferred *inanis reputetur*.

18 *Nam sermo* Ὁ λόγος γάρ ("Verbum enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1 regarding *sermo*, and for *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre put *sermo enim*.

18 *iis quidem qui pereunt* τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις ("pereuntibus quidem" Vg.). By avoiding the present participle, Erasmus creates a neater symmetry between *qui pereunt* and *qui ... consequimur*, which follows. Lefèvre had *iis qui pereunt*.

18 *at nobis qui salutem consequimur* τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῖν ("his autem qui salui fiunt, id est nobis" Vg.). Although Erasmus objects

in *Annot.* to the addition of *id est*, the Vulgate rendering is legitimate, in view of the postponement of ἡμῖν in the Greek word-order. For *at*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. The substitution of *salutem consequor* is also found at *Lc.* 13,23; 1 *Cor.* 15,2; 1 *Thess.* 5,9 (all in 1519), following the example of the Vulgate at 2 *Tim.* 2,10. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *Nobis autem qui saluamur*, a rendering which Erasmus uses in 1516 *Annot.*

18 *potentia dei* δύναμις θεοῦ ("dei virtus" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4, and *Annot.*, regarding *potentia*. Erasmus' word-order is closer to the Greek text. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *virtus dei*, while Lefèvre had *potestas dei*.

19 *intelligentiam intelligentium* τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ("prudentiam prudentium" Vg.). A similar substitution of *intelligentia* in rendering σύνεσις occurs at *Lc.* 2,47, and *intelligentia* further replaces *intellectus* at *Mc.* 12,33; *Col.* 2,2. At *Eph.* 3,4, *prudentia* is replaced by *cognitio*. Erasmus also uses *careo intelligentia* in rendering ἀσύνετος at *Mt.* 15,16; *Mc.* 7,18, and *expers intelligentiae* at *Rom.* 1,31. However, he puts *prudentia* for *intellectus* in rendering σύνεσις at *Col.* 1,9, and retains *prudens* for the other three N.T. occurrences of συνετός (*Mt.* 11,25; *Lc.* 10,21; *Act.* 13,7). At the present passage, Erasmus discerns that the Greek terms have more to do with intelligence and understanding than with prudence or foresight. See *Annot.* In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus incorrectly omits τῶν, which is present in all his Basle mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *prudentum* for *prudentium*.

19 *reiiciam* ἀθετήσω ("reprobabo" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *reiicio* elsewhere, see on *Ioh.* 12,48; *Act.* 4,11.

20 *disputator* συζητητής ("inquisitor" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgᵂᵂ; "conquisitor" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). Erasmus preferred *disputator* because of the connection between συζητητής and συζητέω, elsewhere usually rendered by *disputo*: see *Annot.* However, he retains *conquiro* once for συζητέω at *Mc.* 1,27. At the present passage, he follows a suggestion of Valla *Annot.* The word *conquisitor*, which occurs in some Vulgate mss., was also used by Ambrosiaster and Manetti, while Lefèvre had *indagator*, both terms meaning a "searcher", and hence unsuited to the present context.

20 *seculi huius* τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ("huius saeculi" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order.

20 *infatuauit* ἐμώρανεν ("stultam fecit" Vg.). For Erasmus' avoidance of *facio*, see on *Ioh.* 1,15. In rendering μωραίνω at *Mt.* 5,13; *Lc.* 14,34, he also uses *infatuo* to replace *euanesco*. At *Rom.* 1,22, he retains *stulti facti sunt* for the same Greek verb. See *Annot.* In Lefèvre's version, this was *inanem fecit*.

20 *mundi huius* τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ("huius mundi" Vg.). Again Erasmus' rendering more accurately reproduces the Greek word-order. Some mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B C* D*, omit τούτου. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1 and 2816, and also 𝔓¹¹ ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Cᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and most other mss. In cod. 2105*, οὐχὶ ... τούτου was omitted through homoeoteleuton; the missing words were subsequently restored in 2105ᵐᵍ by Philip Montanus. It has been suggested that, in the later mss., the addition of τούτου (after κόσμου) was a scribal error, influenced by the use of τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου earlier in the verse. Another potential source of harmonisation could have been 1 *Cor.* 3,19, where the phrase σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου occurs again. Alternatively, if τούτου was originally in the text of the present passage, an early scribe might have deleted it because he disliked the repetition of this word and considered that it was superfluous to the sense. For another alteration which could have been motivated by a desire to avoid repetition, see on vs. 15 (ἐβάπτισα).

21 *postquam* ἐπειδή ("quia" Vg.). In removing the causal sense, the substitution of *postquam* ("after") appears less appropriate, and the same applies to the replacement of *quoniam* by *postquam* in rendering ἐπειδή at 1 *Cor.* 15,21. Erasmus retains *quoniam* for ἐπειδή at *Mt.* 21,46; *Lc.* 11,6; *Act.* 13,46; 15,24. At the present passage, he may have been influenced by Lefèvre, who began the sentence with *Postquam*.

21 *sapientia dei* τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ ("dei sapientia" Vg.). As in vs. 20, Erasmus' Latin word-order is more literal, agreeing with that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

21 *visum est* εὐδόκησεν ("placuit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,26.

²²ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι σημεῖον αἰ-
τοῦσι, καὶ Ἕλληνες σοφίαν ζητοῦ-
σιν. ²³ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν
ἐσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάν-
δαλον, Ἕλλησι δὲ μω|ρίαν· ²⁴αὐ-
τοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς, Ἰουδαίοις τε
καὶ Ἕλλησι, Χριστὸν θεοῦ δύνα-
μιν καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν.

²⁵Ὅτι τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστί,
καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ θεοῦ ἰσχυ-
ρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστί.

²⁶Βλέπετε γὰρ τὴν κλῆσιν
ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ
σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, οὐ πολλοὶ
δυνατοί, οὐ πολλοὶ εὐγενεῖς,
²⁷ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου

²²Quandoquidem et Iudaei signum
postulant, et Graeci sapientiam quae-
runt.   ²³Nos autem praedicamus
Christum crucifixum, Iudaeis quidem
offen|diculum, Graecis vero stulti-
tiam: ²⁴sed iisdem vocatis, Iudaeis
pariter et Graecis, Christum dei po-
tentiam ac dei sapientiam.

²⁵Quoniam stultitia dei sapi-
entior est quam homines, et im-
becillitas dei robustior est quam
homines.

²⁶Videtis enim vocationem vestram,
fratres, quod non multi sapientes se-
cundum carnem, non multi potentes,
non multi claro genere nati: ²⁷verum
quae stulta erant secundum mundum,

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25 *prius* quam homines *C-E*: hominibus *A B* | *alt.* quam homines *C-E*: hominibus *A B*

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22 *Quandoquidem* ἐπειδή ("Quoniam" Vg.). A
similar change occurs at 1 *Cor.* 14,16. See on
vs. 21, above, and also on *Act.* 2,29. Lefèvre
tried *Enimuero*.

22 *signum* σημεῖον ("signa" Vg.). The Vulgate
plural reflects a Greek variant, σημεῖα, as in
𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D and some later mss., inclu-
ding 2105ᶜᵒʳʳ. Erasmus follows codd. 2815
and 2817, along with 1, 2105*ᵛⁱᵈ, 2816 and
most other late mss. If σημεῖον were only
a later substitution, it could perhaps be ex-
plained as a scribal reminiscence of passages
such as *Mt.* 12,39 (γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοι-
χαλὶς σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ). However, it is also
possible that σημεῖα arose by attraction to
the surrounding plurals, Ἰουδαῖοι and αἰ-
τοῦσι. Lefèvre made the same change as
Erasmus.

22 *postulant* αἰτοῦσι ("petunt" Vg.). See on
Act. 3,14.

23 *offendiculum* σκάνδαλον ("scandalum" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 9,33.

23 *Graecis* Ἕλλησι ("gentibus" Vg.). It is
uncertain whether the Vulgate here follows a
different Greek text, having ἔθνεσι(ν) as in
codd. ℵ A B C* D* F G and some other
mss., or whether it is a matter of translation,
seeing that the Vulgate appears to render
Ἕλλην by *gens* at *Ioh.* 7,35; 1 *Cor.* 10,32.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, to-
gether with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as Cᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ
and most later mss. See also on *Ioh.* 7,35, and
Annot. The use of Ἕλλησι in the later mss.
has sometimes been attributed to harmonisa-
tion with Ἕλληνες in vs. 22 and Ἕλλησι in
vs. 24. However, although Ἕλλην ("Greek")
and ἔθνος ("gentile") are often used as vir-
tual synonyms in the N.T., the apostle had
good reason for using Ἕλλην repeatedly in
this passage, as he was referring to mental
attitudes that were especially characteristic of
Greek philosophy, rather than of pagan culture
in general. An early scribe who did not value
this distinction might have sought to alleviate
the repetition of Ἕλλησι by replacing it with
a slightly different word. Another possibility

is that ἔθνεσι began as an interpretative comment in the margin, from which a copyist mistakenly introduced this word into the main text.

23 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

24 *sed iisdem* αὐτοῖς δέ ("ipsis autem" Vg.). By using *iisdem*, Erasmus hoped to make it clearer that the pronoun referred equally both to the Jews and to the Greeks: see *Annot.* For *sed*, introduced here for the sake of varying the vocabulary, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *ipsis vero*, and Manetti *Eis autem*.

24 *pariter et* τε καί ("atque" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,1. Manetti had just *et*, while Lefèvre used *tam ... quam*.

24 *potentiam* δύναμιν ("virtutem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. Lefèvre had *potestatem*.

24 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

25 *Quoniam* Ὅτι ("Quia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,21. Manetti anticipated this change.

25 *stultitia* τὸ μωρόν ("quod stultum est" Vg.). Erasmus takes τὸ μωρόν as the equivalent of μωρία: see *Annot.* In doing so, he imitates the rendering of Lefèvre, though in 1519 *Annot.*, defending the use of *stultitia dei*, Erasmus preferred to cite the authority of Augustine. The phrase *stulticia dei*, or *stultitia dei*, appears in the 1493 and 1515 editions of Augustine *Epist.* 169 (formerly *Epist.* 102), but other copies of this work replace *stultitia* with *stultum* (as adopted by *CSEL* 44, p. 613).

25 *sapientior* σοφώτερον ("sapientius" Vg.). This change was dictated by the preceding substitution of *stultitia*, a feminine noun, as also used by Lefèvre.

25 *quam homines* (twice) τῶν ἀνθρώπων ("hominibus" 1516-19 = Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus points out the ambiguity of the Vulgate rendering, which could mean "to men" as well as "than men". Other instances of his use of *quam* to avoid the ablative of comparison can be seen at *Mt.* 10,31; *Mc.* 12,33, 43; *Ioh.* 21,15 (1527); 1 *Cor.* 15,10; *Hebr.* 11,26.

25 *imbecillitas* τὸ ἀσθενές ("quod infirmum est" Vg.). This change may be compared with Erasmus' substitution of *imbecillitas* for *infirmitas* in rendering τὸ ... ἀσθενές at *Hebr.* 7,18, and ἀσθένεια at *Hebr.* 11,34. In *Annot.*

on the present passage, he also gives *infirmitas* as an alternative rendering: this was the word used by Lefèvre. See further on *imbecillis* at *Rom.* 8,3.

25 *robustior* ἰσχυρότερον ("fortius" Vg.). Erasmus presumably wished to distinguish between *robustior*, in the sense of "stronger", and *fortior*, which could also mean "braver". Comparable substitutions of *robustus* for *fortis* occur in rendering ἰσχυρός in vs. 27, and also at 2 *Cor.* 10,10; *Hebr.* 11,34. In the Vulgate, *robustus* is frequent in the O.T., but is not used anywhere in the N.T. The version of Lefèvre put *fortior* here.

26 *Videtis* Βλέπετε ("Videte" Vg.). The Greek word can be translated either way. In *Annot.*, Erasmus follows Valla *Annot.* in arguing against the use of the imperative, on the grounds that the apostle would not have requested the Corinthians to "see" something which they already knew. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

26 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Lefèvre, again, made the same change.

26 *claro genere nati* εὐγενεῖς ("nobiles" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Lc.* 19,12 (1522). In rendering εὐγενέστερος at *Act.* 17,11, Erasmus also replaced *nobilior* with *summo genere natus*. For the removal of *nobilis* from the N.T., see on *Act.* 17,4.

27 *verum* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

27 *quae stulta erant* τὰ μωρά ("quae stulta sunt" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate. In keeping with this choice of the imperfect tense, Erasmus similarly puts *quae erant* later in the verse, and *quae ignobilia erant* and *quae non erant* in vs. 28. The Vulgate is inconsistent in adding *quae ... sunt* here, while making no such addition with *infirma, fortia* and *ignobilia*. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had just *stulta*, omitting *quae* and *sunt*.

27 *secundum mundum* τοῦ κόσμου ("mundi" Vg.). In departing from the literal meaning of the Greek text, Erasmus produces an inconsistency with his rendering of τοῦ κόσμου as *in mundo* later in this verse and in vs. 28. The implication of this questionable change is that the "foolish things of the world" were merely "those things which appeared to be foolish in the eyes of the world".

ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα τοὺς σοφοὺς κατ-
αισχύνῃ· καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου
ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ
ἰσχυρά· ²⁸ καὶ τὰ ἀγεννῆ τοῦ κό-
σμου, καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα, ἐξελέξατο
ὁ θεός, καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα
καταργήσῃ· ²⁹ ὅπως μὴ καυχήσηται
πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. ³⁰ ἐξ αὐ-
τοῦ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐστε, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,
ὃς ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν σοφία ἀπὸ θεοῦ, δι-
καιοσύνη τε καὶ ἁγιασμὸς καὶ ἀπο-
λύτρωσις· ³¹ ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται,
Ὁ καυχώμενος, ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω.

2 Κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀδελ-
φοί, ἦλθον οὐ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν
λόγου ἢ σοφίας, καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν
τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ θεοῦ. ² οὐ γὰρ

delegit deus, vt pudefaceret sapientes:
et quae erant imbecillia in mundo,
delegit deus, vt pudefaceret ea quae
sunt robusta: ²⁸ et quae ignobilia erant
in mundo contemptaque, delegit deus:
et ea quae non erant, vt ea quae sunt,
obliteraret: ²⁹ vt ne gloriaretur vlla
caro coram ipso. ³⁰ Ex eodem autem
vos estis, in Christo Iesu, qui factus
fuit nobis sapientia a deo, iustitiaque
et sanctificatio et redemptio: ³¹ vt
quemadmodum scriptum est: Qui glo-
riatur in domino glorietur.

2 Et ego quum venirem ad vos, fra-
tres, non veniebam cum eminentia
sermonis aut sapientiae, annuncians
vobis testimonium dei. ² Non enim

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27 ινα ... θεος *B-E: om. A*

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27 sapientes *B-E*: ea, quae sunt sapientia *A* | 28 obliteraret *B-E*: oblitteraret *A* | 29 vlla *B-E*:
omnis *A*
2,1 cum *B-E*: in *A*

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27 *delegit* (twice) ἐξελέξατο ("elegit" Vg.). See
on *Act.* 1,2.

27 ἵνα τοὺς ... θεός. In codd. 2815 and 2817,
together with A F G and some later mss., this
section of twelve words was omitted through
the scribal error of homoeoteleuton. This section
was also absent from the 1516 Greek text, but
not from Erasmus' Latin rendering. In 1519,
this lengthy discrepancy between his Greek and
Latin columns was rectified by restoring the
missing Greek words, with support from codd.
1, 3, 2105, 2816 and most other mss.

27 *pudefaceret* (twice) καταισχύνῃ ("confundat"
Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,5, and *Annot.*, regarding
pudefacio. The change from present to imperfect
subjunctive is consistent with the use of *quae
... erant* earlier in the verse. The word-order
pudefaceret sapientes conforms with the Vulgate
rather than with Erasmus' Greek text. The
Vulgate may reflect Greek mss. having κατ-
αισχύνῃ τοὺς σοφούς, as in 𝔓¹¹ ⁴⁶ ℵ B C D
and some later mss., including cod. 2105.

27 *sapientes* τοὺς σοφούς ("ea, quae sunt sa-
pientia" 1516 Lat.). The 1516 Latin wording
produces an artificial conformity with the use
of *stulta* (neuter plural) earlier in the sentence.
Since his two principal mss. omitted this section,
Erasmus perhaps made use of cod. 2816 here,
in which τοὺς σοφούς could at first glance be
misunderstood as τὰ σοφά because of the
scribe's use of compendia to abbreviate these
words. Codd. 1, 3, 2105 and most other mss.
have τοὺς σοφούς. After discovering his error,
Erasmus reinstated *sapientes* in his 1519 edition.
Cf. *Annot.*

27 *quae erant imbecillia* τὰ ἀσθενῆ ("infirma"
Vg.). The word *imbecillis* also appears in Valla
Annot. on 1 *Cor.* 1,26. See further on *Rom.* 8,3.
Regarding the addition of *quae erant*, see on
stulta, above.

27 *in mundo* τοῦ κόσμου ("mundi" Vg.). As
indicated above, this change is inconsistent
with Erasmus' use of *secundum mundum* earlier
in the verse. The Vulgate is more literal.

27 *ea quae sunt robusta* τὰ ἰσχυρά ("fortia" Vg.). See above, for Erasmus' expanded rendering, and see on vs. 25 for the substitution of *robustus*. See also on *Rom.* 4,20. At 1 *Cor.* 4,10, Erasmus prefers *validus* as a suitable antithesis for *imbecillis*.

28 *quae ignobilia erant* τὰ ἀγεννῆ ("ignobilia" Vg.). See on vs. 27 regarding *quae ... erant*. The spelling ἀγεννῆ is derived from cod. 2815, with little other ms. support. In codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817 and most other mss., it is ἀγενῆ.

28 *in mundo* τοῦ κόσμου ("mundi" Vg.). See on vs. 27. Manetti moved *mundi* after *contemptibilia*.

28 *contemptaque* καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ("et contemptibilia" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 6,4; 2 *Cor.* 10,10. Erasmus is more accurate here. Lefèvre put *et contempta*.

28 *delegit* ἐξελέξατο ("elegit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,2.

28 *ea quae non erant* τὰ μὴ ὄντα ("ea quae non sunt" late Vg.). For the change of tense, see on vs. 27. In *Annot.*, lemma, Erasmus cites the Vulgate as using *erant*.

28 *obliteraret* καταργήσῃ ("destrueret" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,3, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *destruat*.

29 *vt ne* ὅπως μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,25.

29 *gloriaretur* καυχήσηται ("glorietur" Vg.). Erasmus' change to the imperfect tense is more consistent with the use of *destrueret* or *obliteraret* at the end of vs. 28.

29 *vlla* πᾶσα ("omnis" 1516 = Vg.). The choice of *vlla* is more suitable after the preceding *ne* ("not any" rather than "not all"), and follows the example of the Vulgate at *Ap. Ioh.* 7,1, 16. A comparable substitution of *quicquam* for *omne* occurs after *nunquam* at *Act.* 10,14 (1519). However, Erasmus retains *non ... omnis caro* at *Mt.* 24,22; *Rom.* 3,20; *Gal.* 2,16, and puts *haudquaquam ... vniuersa caro* at *Mc.* 13,20, and *non erit ... omne* at *Lc.* 1,37. See *Annot.*

29 *coram ipso* ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ("in conspectu eius" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,10; 10,4, for *coram*. Erasmus substitutes *ipso* for *eius*, to refer back to the main subject in vs. 28, *deus*. The reading ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ was taken from cod. 2817, supported by cod. C* and only a few later mss., but in agreement with the Vulgate. This was the variant which was later used in the *Textus*

Receptus. (Cf. also ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ θεοῦ in cod. א corr). In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and nearly all other mss., it is ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. In *Annot.*, Erasmus acknowledges the existence of both readings. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *in conspectu dei*, and Manetti *coram deo*.

30 *eodem* αὐτοῦ ("ipso" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate. See *Annot.*

30 *autem* δέ. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites γάρ as the Greek text, contrary to his Basle mss., and gives *enim* as the literal rendering.

30 *factus fuit* ἐγεννήθη ("factus est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2, and *Annot.*, regarding *fuit*. The dubious spelling ἐγεννήθη ("was born", from γεννάω), used in all five folio editions, was drawn from cod. 2815. In codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817 and most other mss., it is ἐγενήθη ("became", from γίνομαι). See on 2 *Cor.* 7,14 for another substitution of ἐγεννήθη, probably arising from a typesetter's error rather than a ms. variant.

30 *a deo* ἀπὸ θεοῦ (late Vg. omits). In *Annot.*, Erasmus attributed the omission of these words to scribal error. The phrase was included in his 1527 Vulgate column and the 1514 Froben Vulgate, as well as in the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (though not in Lefèvre's Vulgate text).

30 *iustitiaque* δικαιοσύνη τε ("et iustitia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,39. Lefèvre made the same change.

2,1 *quum venirem ... non veniebam* ἐλθὼν ... ἦλθον οὐ ("cum venissem ... veni non" Vg.). The Vulgate, by an over-literal rendering, makes the apostle appear to refer to two separate visits.

1 *cum eminentia* καθ᾽ ὑπεροχήν ("in sublimitate" late Vg.; "in eminentia" 1516). The replacement of *in* by *cum*, as a translation of κατά, also occurs at *Mc.* 1,27 (1519). As indicated in *Annot.*, Erasmus' use of *eminentia* was borrowed from Ambrosiaster. This word is elsewhere substituted in rendering ὑπεροχή at 1 *Tim.* 2,2, and ὑπερβολή at 2 *Cor.* 4,7. At other passages Erasmus reserves *sublimitas* for rendering ὕψος and ὑπερυψόω. Lefèvre preferred *in excellentia*.

1 *dei* τοῦ θεοῦ ("Christi" Vg.). The Vulgate wording is supported by only three late Greek mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 171-3). See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus was in agreement with Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

ἔκρινα τοῦ εἰδέναι τι ἐν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ Ἰη-
σοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρω-
μένον. ³καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ἐν
φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐγενόμην
πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ⁴καὶ ὁ λόγος μου, καὶ τὸ
κήρυγμά μου, οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς ἀνθρω-
πίνης σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει
πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, ⁵ἵνα ἡ πί-
στις ὑμῶν μὴ ᾖ ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει | θεοῦ.

⁶Σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τε-
λείοις· σοφίαν δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τού-
του, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος
τούτου, τῶν καταργουμένων, ⁷ἀλλὰ
λαλοῦμεν σοφίαν θεοῦ ἐν μυστηρίῳ,
τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν προώρισεν ὁ
θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν,
⁸ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶ-
νος τούτου ἔγνωκεν· εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν,
οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύ-
ρωσαν. ⁹ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται,

me iudicaui quicquam scire inter vos,
nisi Iesum Christum, et hunc cruci-
fixum. ³Et ego per infirmitatem, et
cum timore, ac in tremore multo apud
vos versatus sum: ⁴et sermo meus, et
praedicatio mea, non erat in persua-
soriis humanae sapientiae verbis, sed
in ostensione spiritus ac potentiae, ⁵vt
fides vestra non sit in sapientia homi-
num, sed in potentia | dei.

⁶Porro sapientiam loquimur inter
perfectos: sapientiam autem non seculi
huius, neque principum seculi huius
qui abolentur: ⁷sed loquimur sapi-
entiam dei in mysterio, quae est re-
condita, quam praefinierat deus ante
secula, in gloriam nostram, ⁸quam
nemo principum seculi huius cogno-
uit: nam si cognouissent, haudqua-
quam dominum gloriae crucifixissent:
⁹sed quemadmodum scriptum est:

2,3 υμας *B-E*: ημας *A*

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3 per infirmitatem *B-E*: in infirmitate *A* | cum *B-E*: in *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* | 4 praedicatio *B-E*:
predicatio *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* | 6 *prius* seculi *A C-E*: saeculi *B* | *alt.* seculi *A C E*: saeculi *B D* |
7 quae est recondita *B-E*: reconditam *A* | secula *A C-E*: saecula *B* | 8 seculi *A C-E*: saeculi *B*

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2 *me iudicaui* ἔκρινα ("iudicaui me" late Vg.
and some Vg. mss., with Vg*ww*). Some Vulgate
mss., with Vg*st*, place *me* after *scire*. The Greek
text, which lacks a pronoun, will permit any
of these renderings. Cf. *Annot.* The version of
Lefèvre, more literally, omitted *me*.

2 *quicquam scire* τοῦ εἰδέναι τι ("scire aliquid"
Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is more literal. See
on *Rom.* 15,18 for Erasmus' use of *quicquam*
elsewhere. See also *Annot.* The rendering of
Lefèvre was *quod quicquam scirem.*

2 *Iesum Christum* Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. In cod.
2815, the text has Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, supported
by F G and a few other mss., corresponding
with *Christum Iesum* in some mss. of the Vulgate

(followed by Vg*ww*). The text of Erasmus follows
cod. 2817, together with 2105, 2816 and most
other mss. (cod. 1 appears to read Ἰησοῦ
Χριστόν).

3 *per infirmitatem* ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ("in infirmi-
tate" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. At the
present passage, Erasmus varies the vocabu-
lary, translating ἐν successively by *per*, *cum*,
and *in*.

3 *cum timore, ac in tremore* ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν
τρόμῳ ("timore, et tremore" Vg.; "in timore
et in tremore" 1516). For the use of *ac*, see on
Ioh. 1,25, and see the previous note regarding
cum and *in*. Erasmus elsewhere changed *in
timore* to *cum timore* at 2 *Cor.* 7,1; *Eph.* 5,21;

1 *Petr.* 2,18 (all in 1519): see also on *Rom.* 1,4.
In 1522 *Annot.*, on *Eph.* 5,21, Erasmus takes ἐν
φόβῳ as the equivalent of *per timorem.* The
Vulgate seems to treat ἐν here as a superfluous
repetition, though the word is omitted from
the Greek text by codd. F G in both places, and
also by cod. D in the final instance. Lefèvre had
in timore et tremore.

3 *apud vos versatus sum* ἐγενόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς
("fui apud vos" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal
as to the word-order. For *versor*, see on *Ioh.* 7,1.
In 1516, the reading ἡμᾶς was no more than
a misprint.

4 *non erat* οὐκ ("non" Vg.). Erasmus adds a
main verb, to complete the sense. Lefèvre put
non fuit.

4 *persuasoriis* πειθοῖς ("persuasibilibus" Vg.). In
Annot., Erasmus also suggests *suasoriis*, which
was the rendering proposed by Valla *Annot.*
and Lefèvre. The word *persuasorius* has no clas-
sical precedent, though it was suggested as an
alternative rendering in Lefèvre *Comm.*

4 *humanae* ἀνθρωπίνης. The reading of cod.
2815 was ἀνθρωπίνοις, agreeing with λόγοις,
in company with about sixty other late mss.
The word is omitted by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* B D F G
and twenty-two other mss., together with
some mss. of the Vulgate and Vgˢᵗ. Erasmus
follows cod. 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816
and about 430 other mss., commencing with
ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ A C (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 2, pp. 174-8). This word has sometimes
been considered to be an explanatory addition,
or a harmonisation with ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας
in vs. 13. There is also the possibility that an
ancient editor deleted ἀνθρωπίνης here because
he thought that it was an unnecessary repeti-
tion of the idea contained in σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώ-
πων later in the sentence (in vs. 5). A similar
tendency to abbreviate the text seems to be
displayed by the further omission of λόγοις
in 𝔓⁴⁶ B, so that in place of πειθοῖς ἀνθρωπί-
νης σοφίας λόγοις these mss. offer just πειθοῖς
σοφίας.

4 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

4 *potentiae* δυνάμεως ("virtutis" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,4. Lefèvre had *potestatis.*

5 *potentia* δυνάμει ("virtute" Vg.). See again on
Rom. 1,4. Lefèvre had *potestate.*

6 *Porro sapientiam* Σοφίαν δέ ("Sapientiam
autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

6 *autem* δέ ("vero" Vg.). Erasmus no doubt felt
that the context required an adversative sense
to be given to the Greek particle. He chose
the same word as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put
quidem.

6 *seculi huius* (twice) τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ("huius
seculi" Vg.). Erasmus' translation reproduces
the Greek word-order more literally. Lefèvre
put *saeculi huius* (twice), as in Erasmus' 1519
edition.

6 τῶν ἀρχόντων. Cod. 2815 incorrectly omit-
ted these words, which are present in Erasmus'
other Basle mss.

6 *qui abolentur* τῶν καταργουμένων ("qui
destruuntur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6, and *Annot.*

7 *sapientiam dei* σοφίαν θεοῦ ("dei sapien-
tiam" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different
Greek word-order, θεοῦ σοφίαν, as found in
𝔓¹¹ ⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G and some other mss.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along
with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss. The
same change was made by Lefèvre.

7 *quae est recondita* τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην ("quae
abscondita est" Vg.; "reconditam" 1516). A
similar substitution occurs at *Col.* 1,26, and
in rendering ἀπόκρυφος at *Col.* 2,3. See also
Annot. At several other passages, *abscondo* is
retained for ἀποκρύπτω. Manetti and Lefèvre
put *absconditam.*

7 *praefinierat* προώρισεν ("praedestinauit" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 8,29. Lefèvre had *praediffiniuit.*

8 *seculi huius* τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ("huius
saeculi" Vg.). See on vs. 6. Lefèvre had *saeculi
huius*, as in Erasmus' 1519 edition.

8 *nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 3,34. Manetti put *Si etiam.*

8 *haudquaquam* οὐκ ἄν ("nunquam" Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 18,30 for Erasmus' inaccurate use
of *haudquaquam.* In *Annot.*, he speculates as
to whether the original Vulgate reading might
have been *nequaquam.* Hence he lists the passage
among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata.*

9 *sed* ἀλλά (late Vg. omits). The late Vulgate
omission has little support other than cod. A.
See *Annot.* In effect, Erasmus restores the earlier
Vulgate wording. Manetti and Lefèvre both
made the same correction.

9 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13. The same change was made by
Lefèvre.

Ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκου-
σε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέ-
βη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν
αὐτόν.
¹⁰ Ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀπεκάλυψε διὰ τοῦ
πνεύματος αὐτοῦ. τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάν-
τα ἐρευνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ. ¹¹ τίς
γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων, τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώ-
που, εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ
ἐν αὐτῷ; οὕτως καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐδεὶς
οἶδεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ.
¹² Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κό-
σμου ἐλάβομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ
τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν, ¹³ ἃ καὶ λαλοῦμεν,
οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφί-
ας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύμα-
τος ἁγίου, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ
συγκρίνον|τες. ¹⁴ ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρω-
πος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ
θεοῦ· μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστι, καὶ οὐ

Quae oculus non vidit, et auris
non audiuit, et in cor hominis non
ascenderunt, quae praeparauit deus
diligentibus se.
¹⁰ Nobis autem deus reuelauit per
spiritum suum. Spiritus enim om-
nia scrutatur, etiam profunditates dei.
¹¹ Quis enim hominum nouit ea quae
sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis
qui est in eo? Sic et ea quae sunt dei,
nemo nouit, nisi spiritus dei.
¹² Nos vero non spiritum mundi
accepimus, sed spiritum qui est ex
deo, vt sciamus quae a Christo dona-
ta sint nobis, ¹³ quae et loquimur,
non sermonibus quos docet huma-
na sapientia, sed quos docet spiritus
sanctus, spiritualibus spiritualia com-
parantes. | ¹⁴ Animalis autem homo
non accipit ea quae sunt spiritus
dei: stultitia siquidem illi sunt: nec

LB 669 (left margin) — LB 670 (right margin)

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13 sermonibus ... sapientia *B-E*: in verbis ad docendum humanam sapientiam appositis *A* |
sed ... sanctus *B-E*: sed in appositis ad docendum spiritum sanctum *A* | 14 illi sunt: nec *B-E*:
est illi, et non *A*

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9 *Quae ... ascenderunt* °Α ... ἀνέβη ("Quod ...
ascendit" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering seems to
represent a misunderstanding of the common
Greek construction of a neuter plural with
a singular verb. See *Annot.*, following Valla
Annot., and see also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*,
ASD IX, 4, pp. 229-30, ll. 723-728. The same
correction was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti
(too literally) put *quae ... ascendit*.

9 *et ... non* (twice) καὶ ... οὐκ ("nec" Vg.).
Possibly Erasmus objected to the sequence
non ... nec ...nec, exhibited by the Vulgate,
though he is content to retain such sequences
at other passages, e.g. at *Ioh.* 1,13, 25. Manetti
anticipated this change, whereas Lefèvre had
non ... neque ... neque.

9 *diligentibus* τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ("his qui diligunt"
Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here, following the
rendering offered by Ambrosiaster (1492) and
Lefèvre. See *Annot.*

9 *se* αὐτόν ("illum" Vg.). Erasmus prefers a
reflexive pronoun, to show more clearly that
it refers back to the subject, *deus*. See *Annot.*
This change agreed with the wording of Am-
brosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre, while Manetti
substituted *eum*.

10 *deus reuelauit* ὁ θεὸς ἀπεκάλυψε ("reuela-
uit deus" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect a dif-
ferent Greek word-order, ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεός,
exhibited by 𝔓⁴⁶ א A B C D F G and some
other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and
2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other
mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same
change.

10 *profunditates* τὰ βάθη ("profunda" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 8,39, and *Annot.*

11 *hominum nouit* οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων ("scit ho-
minum" Vg.). For *nosco*, see on *Ioh.* 1,33; *Rom.*
14,14. Erasmus changes the word-order, for
greater clarity. Lefèvre put *hominum scit*.

11 *ea quae* (twice) τά ("quae" Vg.). Erasmus' expanded rendering is more emphatic. However, in rendering τά τοῦ θεοῦ at *Mt.* 22,21; *Mc.* 12,17; *Lc.* 20,25, he is content with *quae ... sunt*. At the present passage, he follows the version of Lefèvre. Ambrosiaster had *ea quae ... quae*.

11 *qui est in eo* τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ("qui in ipso est" Vg.). Erasmus evidently considered that the reflexive *ipso* was inappropriate, as αὐτῷ did not refer back to the subject of the clause, πνεῦμα. See on *Rom.* 1,20. Lefèvre had *qui in eo est*.

11 *Sic* οὕτως ("Ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. This change was in agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Manetti. Lefèvre put *Hunc in modum*.

11 *sunt dei* τοῦ θεοῦ ("dei sunt" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate. Erasmus, more logically, repeats the pattern of *sunt hominis* from earlier in the same verse.

11 *nouit* (2nd.) οἶδεν ("cognouit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,32. Erasmus produces consistency with his use of *nouit* in the previous sentence. The verb *nouit* was also used here by Ambrosiaster (1492). Manetti and Lefèvre used *scit* in both places.

12 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

12 *mundi* τοῦ κόσμου ("huius mundi" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition may be compared with the variant, τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, in codd. D F G. See also on *Rom.* 3,6. Lefèvre *Comm.* made the same correction as Erasmus.

12 *qui est ex deo* τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ("qui ex deo est" Vg.). The position of the verb is unaffected by the Greek text. Erasmus follows the pattern of *sunt hominis* and *sunt dei* from vs. 11. For other transpositions of *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27.

12 ἵνα. In cod. 2815, the text has ἵνα καί, with little other ms. support.

12 *quae ... donata sint* τὰ ... χαρισθέντα ("quae ... donata sunt" Vg.). Erasmus preferes the subjunctive for an indirect question. Lefèvre put *quae ... sunt indulta*.

12 *Christo* τοῦ θεοῦ ("deo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,2 for this unwarranted change by Erasmus' translation.

13 *sermonibus quos docet humana sapientia* ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις ("in doctis humanae sapientiae verbis" Vg.;

"in verbis ad docendum humanam sapientiam appositis" 1516 Lat.). For *sermo*, see on *Ioh.* 1,1. In 1516, Erasmus renders as if the Greek text had διδακτικοῖς, a reading which he cites in 1519 *Annot.* as being in a few Greek mss., though it is not found in his Basle mss. or in cod. 3. In the 1519 Latin rendering, he converts the adjective into a verb, more successfully conveying the sense of διδακτός as meaning "taught" rather than "erudite". Valla *Annot.* proposed *in doctis verbis humanae sapientiae*, while Manetti had *in docibilibus humanae sapientiae*, transposing *verbis* after *spiritus sancti*, and Lefèvre put *in doctis humanae sapientiae sermonibus*.

13 *quos docet spiritus sanctus* ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος ἁγίου ("in doctrina spiritus" Vg.; "in appositis ad docendum spiritum sanctum" 1516 Lat.). The Vulgate omission of *sancti* corresponds with the omission of ἁγίου in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B Cᵛⁱᵈ D* F G 0185 0289 and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. Cf. *Annot.* The inclusion of ἁγίου (whose authenticity has been disputed by some) makes clear that the apostle is not referring to the πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου which was mentioned in vs. 12. Erasmus' translation is consistent with his treatment of the previous clause (see the previous note), and clearer than the Vulgate, which takes διδακτοῖς as equivalent to διδαχῇ. Valla *Annot.* had *in doctis verbis* (or *sermonibus*) *spiritus sancti*, whereas Manetti put *in docibilibus spiritus sancti verbis*, and Lefèvre *in doctis spiritus sancti*.

14 *accipit* δέχεται ("percipit" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes the more usual rendering of δέχομαι, perhaps feeling that *percipio* duplicated the sense of the following verb, γνῶναι. Lefèvre had *capit*.

14 τοῦ θεοῦ. These words were omitted in codd. 2105* and 2815, together with a few other late mss. and also several patristic sources.

14 *siquidem illi sunt* γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστι ("enim est illi" late Vg.; "siquidem est illi" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 4,47 regarding *siquidem*. Erasmus treats τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος as the subject of ἐστι, and hence prefers to translate the verb as a plural. See *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *enim ei est*.

14 *nec* καὶ οὐ ("et non" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,16.

δύναται γνῶναι, ὅτι πνευματικῶς
ἀνακρίνεται. ¹⁵ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς
ἀνακρίνει μὲν πάντα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ'
οὐδενὸς ἀνακρίνεται. ¹⁶τίς γὰρ
ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, ὃς συμβιβά-
σει αὐτόν; ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ
ἔχομεν.

3 Καὶ ἐγώ, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἠδυ-
νήθην λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν ὡς πνευ-
ματικοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς σαρκικοῖς, ὡς
νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ. ²γάλα ὑμᾶς
ἐπότισα, καὶ οὐ βρῶμα· οὔπω
γὰρ ἠδύνασθε, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἔτι
νῦν δύνασθε· ³ἔτι γὰρ σαρ-
κικοί ἐστε· ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν

potest cognoscere quod spiritualiter
diiudicatur. ¹⁵At spiritualis diiudicat
quidem omnia: ipse vero a nemine
diiudicatur. ¹⁶Quis enim cognouit
mentem domini, qui consilium da-
turus sit illi? Nos autem mentem
Christi tenemus.

3 Et ego, fratres, non potui lo-
qui vobis vt spiritualibus, sed
loquendum fuit vt carnalibus, vt
infantibus in Christo. ²Lactis potu
vos alui, et non cibo: nondum enim
poteratis, imo ne nunc quidem ad-
huc potestis, ³nam adhuc carnales
estis: siquidem quum in vobis sit

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15 αυτος A C-E: αντος B
3,2 ηδυνασθε B-E: εδυνασθε A

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14 quod B-E: id quod A | diiudicatur A E: diiudicantur B-D | 15 spiritualis B-E: spiritalis A
3,1 spiritualibus B-E: spiritalibus A | loquendum fuit B-E: om. A | 2 et B-E: om. A

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14 *cognoscere* γνῶναι ("intelligere" Vg.). This alteration produces consistency with the use of *cognosco* in vs. 16. Erasmus generally follows the Vulgate in reserving *intelligo* for συνίημι and νοέω, though he also retains *intelligo* for γινώσκω at *Lc.* 18,34; *Act.* 8,30. Lefèvre made the same change here.

14 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.; "id quod" 1516). In 1516 (and possibly in 1535, through deletion of the preceding comma), Erasmus takes this clause as the object of *cognoscere*, rather than as a causal statement. Manetti anticipated the change which Erasmus made in 1519.

14 *diiudicatur* ἀνακρίνεται ("examinatur" Vg.; "diiudicantur" 1519-27). Erasmus wished to use the same verb, *diiudico*, to render ἀνακρίνω consistently in all three instances in vss. 14-15: see *Annot.* The substitution of the plural in 1519 was based on the understanding that τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος was the subject. This interpretation was negated in 1535 by the reinstatement of the singular verb, though this might conceivably have been caused by a printing error. Lefèvre put *diiudicantur* in his main text, but in *Comm.* he offered both

diiudicatur (singular) and *examinantur*, the last of these being the suggestion of Valla *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *iudicatur*.

15 *At spiritualis* ὁ δὲ πνευματικός ("Spiritualis autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre put *vero* for *autem*.

15 *diiudicat ... diiudicatur* ἀνακρίνει ... ἀνακρίνεται ("iudicat ... iudicatur" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 4,3, consistent with Vulgate usage at 1 *Cor.* 14,24, and with late Vulgate usage at *Act.* 4,9. See further on vs. 14, above. Lefèvre made the same change. Ambrosiaster (1492) had *diiudicat ... iudicatur*.

15 *quidem* μέν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ A C D* F G, of which the first four replace μέν with τά (to accompany πάντα). Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816* and most other mss., commencing with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ B Dᶜᵒʳʳ 0289ᵛⁱᵈ. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

15 *ipse vero* αὐτὸς δέ ("et ipse" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise at this point. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *ipse autem*.

16 *Quis* τίς ("sicut scriptum est: Quis" late Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, the late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' correction agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *mentem* (twice) νοῦν ("sensum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,28, and *Annot.* The same substitution was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *qui consilium daturus sit illi* ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν ("aut quis instruxit eum" late Vg.). Erasmus here takes συμβιβάζω as being equivalent to συμβουλεύω, based on the Septuagint rendering of *Is.* 40,13: see *Annot.* The late Vulgate use of *aut quis*, and substitution of the perfect tense for the future tense, appears to have no Greek ms. support. Valla *Annot.* suggested *qui instruet eum* (similar to the earlier Vulgate reading, *qui instruat eum*), or *qui docebit eum*. Lefèvre preferred *quae instruet eum*, connecting ὅς with νοῦν.

16 *tenemus* ἔχομεν ("habemus" Vg.). Erasmus' substitution of *teneo*, in the sense of "understand", is a questionable departure from the literal meaning of the Greek text: see *Annot.*

3,1 *loqui vobis* λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν ("vobis loqui" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order may reflect a Greek variant, ὑμῖν λαλῆσαι, found in codd. D^corr 048^vid and many later mss., including 1 and 2816. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by cod. 2105 and many other mss., commencing with 𝔓^46 ℵ A B C D* F G 0289.

1 *vt* (three times) ὡς ("quasi ... quasi ... tanquam" Vg.). A similar substitution of *vt* for *quasi* occurs at *Mc.* 6,15; 1 *Cor.* 8,7 (both in 1516 only); 9,26; *Eph.* 5,15; 1 *Thess.* 2,4; 1 *Petr.* 1,14 (1516 only); 4,11, 15. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also recommends replacing *quasi* by *tanquam*: see further on *Rom.* 9,32. Similar objections to the Vulgate diversity of rendering were raised by Valla *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

1 *sed loquendum fuit* ἀλλ' ("sed" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds *loquendum fuit* to complete the sense: see *Annot.*

1 *infantibus* νηπίοις ("paruulis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Hebr.* 5,13, consistent with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 21,16. See also on *Rom.* 2,20, and *Annot.*

2 *Lactis potu vos alui* γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα ("lac vobis potum dedi" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *dedi*, as pointed out by Valla *Annot.*, probably represented an attempt to find a verb which could apply equally to γάλα and βρῶμα. However, the possibility still remained that an over-literal reader (of either the Greek text or the Vulgate) might imagine, absurdly, that the following words involved the notion of giving someone food to drink. Erasmus therefore altered the sentence structure: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre merely changed the word-order, to *lac potum dedi vobis*.

2 *et non cibo* καὶ οὐ βρῶμα ("non escam" Vg.; "non cibo" 1516 Lat.). For *cibus*, see on *Rom.* 14,15. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus omits καί, in company with 𝔓^46 ℵ A B C 0289, as well as cod. 69 and some other mss. The same omission is reflected by the Vulgate and Erasmus' 1516 Latin translation. His Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, and also D F G and most other mss. The rendering of Manetti was *et non cibum*.

2 ἠδύνασθε. In 1516, the reading ἐδύνασθε was taken from cod. 2817, along with 1, 2816 and most other mss. The change to ἠδύνασθε in 1519 corresponded with the spelling of codd. 3, 2105, 2815, supported by cod. D and many other mss.

2 *imo* ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2, and *Annot.*

2 *ne nunc quidem adhuc* οὔτε ἔτι νῦν ("nec nunc quidem" Vg. 1527 = late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "ne nunc quidem" *Annot.*, lemma = some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). In *Annot.*, Erasmus gives a more literal rendering, *nec adhuc nunc*. A few mss. omit ἔτι, as in 𝔓^46 B 0185, but the word *quidem* in the Vulgate may be considered as a loose translation of this word. Cf. *Annot.* In Manetti's version, it is *ne adhuc nunc*, and in Lefèvre, *neque adhuc nunc*, both omitting *quidem*.

3 *nam adhuc* ἔτι γάρ ("adhuc enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

3 *siquidem quum in vobis sit* ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ("Cum enim sit inter vos" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,47 regarding *siquidem*. For a change, Erasmus is more literal in his rendering of ἐν, which he often elsewhere renders by *inter*, depending on the context. Manetti put *Cum enim ... inter vos sint*, and Lefèvre *Nam vbi inter vos ... est*.

ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις καὶ διχοστασίαι, οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε, καὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε; ⁴ ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ τις, Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἔτερος δέ, Ἐγὼ Ἀπολλώ, οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε; ⁵ τίς οὖν ἐστι Παῦλος; τίς δὲ Ἀπολλώς; ἀλλ᾽ ἢ διάκονοι δι᾽ ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε, καὶ ἐκάστῳ ὡς ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν. ⁶ ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλὼς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ θεὸς ηὔ-ξανεν. ⁷ ὥστε οὔτε ὁ φυτεύων ἐστί τι, οὔτε ὁ ποτίζων, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ αὐξά-νων θεός. ⁸ ὁ φυτεύων δὲ καὶ ὁ ποτίζων ἕν εἰσιν· ἕκαστος δὲ τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν λήψεται, κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον.

aemulatio et contentio et factiones, nonne carnales estis, et secundum hominem ambulatis? ⁴ Etenim quum dicat aliquis, Ego quidem sum Pauli: alter vero, Ego Apollo: nonne carnales estis? ⁵ Quis igitur est Paulus? Quis autem Apollo? — nisi ministri per quos credidistis, et vt cuique dominus dedit. ⁶ Ego plantaui, Apollo rigauit, sed deus dedit incrementum. ⁷ Itaque neque qui plantat, est aliquid, neque qui rigat, sed qui dat incrementum, deus: ⁸ caeterum is qui plantat, et is qui rigat, vnum sunt: vnusquisque tamen suam mercedem accipiet, iuxta suum laborem.

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3 ουχι *B-E*: ου *A*

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5 vt cuique *B-E*: vnicuique vt *A* | 8 caeterum *B-E*: Ceterum *A* | vnusquisque tamen *B-E*: sed vnusquisque *A*

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3 *aemulatio et contentio* ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις ("zelus et contentio" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,17, and *Annot.* In cod. 2815, the word-order is ἔρις καὶ ζῆλος, with little or no other ms. support. Manetti anticipated the change made by Erasmus, putting *emulatio et contentio*: cf. *emulatio et contentiones* in Ambrosiaster (1492). Lefèvre had *liuor ... et contentio*.

3 *et factiones* καὶ διχοστασίαι (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓¹¹ ℵ A B C 048 0289 and twenty-two later mss. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and about 540 other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 178-80). See *Annot.* It seems that the various N.T. lists of different kinds of sinful conduct were susceptible to emendation and scribal error: other such lists giving rise to textual variation occur at *Rom.* 1,29-31; 13,13; 2 *Cor.* 12,20-1; *Gal.* 5,19-21; *Eph.* 4,31; 5,3-4; *Col.* 3,5; 1 *Tim.* 6,4-5; *Tit.* 3,9; 1 *Petr.* 2,1; 4,3. In both Manetti and Lefèvre, the rendering was *et dissensiones*.

3 *nonne* οὐχί. In 1516, Erasmus had οὐ, as in codd. 2815 and 2817, together with cod. 1 and some other late mss.

4 *Etenim quum* ὅταν γάρ ("Cum enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

4 *dicat aliquis* λέγῃ τις ("quis dicat" late Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with τις λέγῃ in codd. D F G. There is a similar substitution of *aliquis* at 1 *Cor.* 4,2; 9,15; 2 *Cor.* 11,21; *Iac.* 2,14. 18. Manetti had *quis dicit*, as in the earlier Vulgate. Lefèvre put *dicat quispiam*.

4 *alter* ἔτερος ("alius" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 18,16.

4 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

4 *carnales* σαρκικοί ("homines" Vg.). The Vulgate follows a Greek text having ἄνθρωποι, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B C D F G 048 0289 and eleven other mss. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ^corr and about 560 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 180-3). Cf. *Annot.*, in which there seems to be a degree of confusion between vss. 3 and 4. One explanation of the

divergence between the Greek mss. is that σαρκικοί in vs. 4 represents a harmonisation with οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε in vs. 3. Standing by itself in this way, however, ἄνθρωποι ("men") does not appear to convey the tone of reproof which the context would lead the reader to expect. Elsewhere in the N.T., ἄνθρωπος is not used on its own to mean "carnal" or "unspiritual", without being accompanied by κατά or some other qualifying expression. This arouses a suspicion that ἄνθρωποι does not genuinely belong here: it could perhaps have originated in a marginal comment that attempted to connect this sentence with κατὰ ἄνθρωπον in vs. 3. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

5 *Quis* (twice) τίς ("Quid" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of τί, found in codd. ℵ * A B 0289 and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, and also 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ C D F G and most other mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus considers the possibility that his mss. might not have the correct reading, in view of τι in vs. 7. However, it is also possible that τί could have been substituted in vs. 5 so as to harmonise with the immediately following use of διάκονοι, which has the appearance of answering the question "what?" rather than "who?". Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre all advocated *quis*.

5 *Paulus ... Apollo* Παῦλος ... Ἀπολλώς ("Apollo ... Paulus" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order has support from 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G 048ᵛⁱᵈ 0289 and more than twenty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, (2105), 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 530 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 183-6). Manetti and Lefèvre both had the same word-order as Erasmus, though Lefèvre had the spelling *Apollos*.

5 *autem* δέ ("vero" Vg.). There was no need for such a change, as this verse does not make any contrast between Paul and Apollos. Manetti, however, made the same substitution.

5 *nisi* ἀλλ᾽ ἤ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is, once more, supported by codd. ℵ A B C D* F G 0289 and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most other mss. See *Annot.* This textual variation among the mss. (whichever wording is preferred) seems to have been related to the preceding

transposition of Παῦλος and Ἀπολλώς. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus. Valla *Annot.* suggested *sed verum*, while Manetti had *Nonne*.

5 *per quos* δι᾽ ὧν ("eius cui" Vg.). The Vulgate reading does not possess any Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The same correction was offered by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *vt cuique* ἑκάστῳ ὡς ("vnicuique sicut" Vg.; "vnicuique vt" 1516). See on *Rom.* 12,3, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *vt vnicuique*.

6 *dedit incrementum* ηὔξανεν ("nunc incrementum dedit" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *nunc* is unsupported by Greek mss. By changing the word-order, Erasmus places more emphasis on *incrementum*. A similar transposition occurs in the following verse. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *incrementum dedit*, and Manetti *adauxit*, all omitting *nunc*.

7 *qui dat incrementum* ὁ αὐξάνων ("qui incrementum dat" Vg.). See the previous note. As well as being more euphonious (by avoiding the sequence *dat deus*), the changed word-order also helped to separate *deus* more clearly from the preceding subordinate clause. Manetti put *qui adauget*.

8 *caeterum is qui plantat* ὁ φυτεύων δέ ("Qui autem plantat" late Vg.). For *caeterum*, see on *Act.* 6,2. The addition of *is*, here and also before *qui rigat*, seems to be mainly for stylistic variety, in view of Erasmus' retention of *qui ... qui ... qui* (without *is*) in vs. 7. Lefèvre (both columns) had *Qui plantat autem*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

8 *is qui rigat* ὁ ποτίζων ("qui rigat" Vg.). See the previous note. Manetti put *qui adaquat*.

8 ἕν. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the text as τὸ ἕν, without support from his Basle mss.

8 *vnusquisque tamen* ἕκαστος δέ ("vnusquisque autem" Vg.; "sed vnusquisque" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti proposed *vnusquisque vero*.

8 *suam* τὸν ἴδιον ("propriam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,11. This change achieves consistency with the Vulgate rendering of the same Greek expression by *suum* later in the sentence. Lefèvre's solution was to use *propriam mercedem* and *proprium laborem*.

8 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

⁹Θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί· θεοῦ γεώργιον, θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἐστε, ¹⁰κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι. ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον τέθεικα, ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ. ἕκαστος δὲ βλεπέτω πῶς ἐποικοδομεῖ. ¹¹θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι, παρὰ τὸν | κείμενον, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. ¹²εἰ δέ τις ἐποικοδομεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν θεμέλιον τοῦτον, χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, λίθους τιμίους, ξύλα, χόρτον, καλάμην, ¹³ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον φανερὸν γενήσεται. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει, ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται· καὶ ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον ὁποῖόν ἐστι, τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει. ¹⁴εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον μένει ὃ ἐπῳκοδόμησε, μισθὸν λήψεται· ¹⁵εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον κατακαήσεται, ζημιωθήσεται, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός.

LB 671

⁹Etenim dei sumus cooperarii, dei agricolatio, dei aedificatio estis, ¹⁰iuxta gratiam dei quae data est mihi. Vt sapiens architectus fundamentum posui, alius autem super illud aedificat. Porro quisque videat quomodo superstruat. ¹¹Nam fundamentum aliud nemo potest po|nere, praeter hoc quod positum est, quod est Iesus Christus. ¹²Quod si quis superstruit super fundamentum hoc, aurum, argentum, lapides preciosos, ligna, foenum, stipulam, ¹³cuiusque opus manifestum fiet. Dies enim declarabit, quod in igne reuelatur: et cuiusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit. ¹⁴Si cuius opus manserit quod superstruxit, mercedem accipiet: ¹⁵si cuius opus exustum fuerit, damnum patietur, ipse vero saluus fiet, sed sic tanquam per ignem.

LB 672

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11 παρα *B-E*: παρ *A* | 15 κατακαησεται *A-C*: κατακαυσεται *D E*

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10 superstruat *B-E*: superaedificet *A* | 11 Iesus Christus *B-E*: christus Iesus *A* | 12 superstruit *B-E*: superaedificat *A* | foenum *B-E*: fenum *A* | 13 *alt.* cuiusque *B-E*: vniuscuiusque *A* | 14 superstruxit *B-E*: superaedificauit *A* | 15 saluus fiet *B-E*: saluabitur *A*

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9 *Etenim dei* Θεοῦ γάρ ("Dei enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

9 *cooperarii* συνεργοί ("adiutores" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,21. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites Augustine for this substitution, though he could have derived this information from Valla *Annot.*, who advocated the same change. In Manetti and Lefèvre, it was *cooperatores*.

9 *agricolatio* γεώργιον ("agricultura estis" Vg.). The word *agricolatio* was rare in classical usage. It is doubtful whether Erasmus' choice of

wording conveys the meaning any more accurately. What he perhaps had in mind was that *agricultura* referred to the activity of farming rather than to the product of such activity. The Vulgate addition of a verb at this point has little explicit support from Greek mss., other than cod. D^corr. Cf. *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre all omitted *estis*.

10 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

10 *super illud aedificat* ἐποικοδομεῖ ("super-aedificat" Vg.). Erasmus similarly removes *super-aedifico*, a non-classical word, at three other passages in 1516 (*Eph.* 2,20; *Col.* 2,7; *Iud.* 20), and at a further three passages in 1519 (at the end of the present verse, and also in vss. 12 and 14). At all these passages, he consistently used *superstruo*. The spelling ἐπικοδομεῖ, in the 1516 edition, is a misprint.

10 *Porro quisque* ἕκαστος δέ ("Vnusquisque autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16 for *porro*, and on *Rom.* 12,3 for *quisque*. The substitution of *quisque* was presumably for the sake of stylistic variety, as Erasmus retained *vnusquisque* in vs. 8. Lefèvre put *Quisque autem*.

10 *superstruat* ἐποικοδομεῖ ("superaedificat" Vg. 1527; "superaedificet" 1516 = Vg. mss.). See above, on *super ... aedificat*. The spelling of the 1527 Vulgate column, lacking support from the Froben Vulgates of 1491 or 1514, may have been a misprint. In Lefèvre's version, it was *superedificat*; his Vulgate column had *superedificet*, as also in Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti.

11 *Nam fundamentum* θεμέλιον γάρ ("Fundamentum enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

11 *hoc quod positum est* τὸν κείμενον ("id quod positum est" Vg.). Either rendering is a legitimate expansion of the Greek expression.

11 *Iesus Christus* Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ("christus Iesus" 1516 Lat. = Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is supported by codd. C^corr D and a few later mss. The version of Lefèvre had the same word-order as Erasmus' 1519 edition.

12 *Quod si quis* εἰ δέ τις ("Si quis autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25.

12 *superstruit* ἐποικοδομεῖ ("superaedificat" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 10.

12 *super* ἐπί ("supra" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,31.

13 *cuiusque* (twice) ἑκάστου ("vniuscuiusque ... vniuscuiusque" Vg.; "cuiusque ... vniuscuiusque" 1516). See on *Rom.* 12,3. Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1519 edition.

13 *fiet* γενήσεται ("erit" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. Manetti anticipated this change.

13 *Dies enim* ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα ("Dies enim domini" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *domini* is unsupported by Greek mss. See *Annot.* The extra word was omitted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20; *Rom.* 5,5. Erasmus regarded the Greek expression as ambiguous, meaning either "because" or "that which": see *Annot.* The same substitution was made by Manetti.

13 *reuelatur* ἀποκαλύπτεται ("reuelabitur" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate in using the present tense: see *Annot.*

14 μένει. Cod. 2815 has μείνῃ, aorist subjunctive, whereas most other mss. have μένει.

14 *superstruxit* ἐπῳκοδόμησε ("superaedificauit" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 10.

15 *exustum fuerit* κατακαήσεται ("arserit" Vg.). Erasmus conveys the sense of the Greek prefix κατα-, as meaning "be completely destroyed by fire" rather than just "catch fire" or "burn". The verb *exuro* also occurs in the late Vulgate at 2 *Petr.* 3,10. The spelling κατα-καύσεται in 1527-35 appears to be a misprint, as Erasmus retains κατακαήσεται at 2 *Petr.* 3,10.

15 *damnum patietur* ζημιωθήσεται ("detrimentum patietur" Vg.). Erasmus may have felt that *damnum* was more accurate, as it expressed the idea of "penalty" or "forfeiture" as well as "loss". Cf. *Annot.*, where his suggested rendering is *damno afficietur*. This change may be compared with his substitution of *damnum facio* for *detrimentum facio* at *Mc.* 8,36; *Phil.* 3,8 (both in 1516 only). He further makes use of *iacturam facio* in translating the same Greek verb at *Mt.* 16,26; *Mc.* 8,36 (1519); *Lc.* 9,25 (1519), while at 2 *Cor.* 7,9 he changes *detrimentum patior* to *detrimento afficior*. His rendering here is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

15 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre made the same change.

15 *saluus fiet* σωθήσεται ("saluus erit" Vg.; "saluabitur" 1516). The substitution of *saluus fio* for *saluus sum* also occurs at *Mt.* 10,22; 19,25; *Mc.* 13,13 (1516 only); *Act.* 11,14 (1516 only), consistent with Vulgate usage at many other passages. For an opposite change from *saluus fio* to *saluus sum*, see on *Rom.* 9,27. For the avoidance of *saluo* in 1519, see on *Ioh.* 3,17. Manetti and Lefèvre put *saluabitur*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

15 *sed sic tanquam* οὕτως δὲ ὡς ("sic tamen quasi" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 9,32 for Erasmus' removal of *quasi*. Since he wished to replace

¹⁶Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε,
καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν
ὑμῖν; ¹⁷εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
φθείρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ θεός. ὁ γὰρ
ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἅγιός ἐστιν, οἵτινές
ἐστε ὑμεῖς.

¹⁸Μηδεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐξαπατάτω. εἴ
τις δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐν
τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ μωρὸς γενέσθω,
ἵνα γένηται σοφός. ¹⁹ἡ γὰρ σοφία
τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, μωρία παρὰ
τῷ θεῷ ἐστι. γέ|γραπται γάρ,
Ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ
πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν. ²⁰καὶ πάλιν,
Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς
τῶν σοφῶν, ὅτι εἰσὶ μάταιοι.

²¹Ὥστε μηδεὶς καυχάσθω ἐν ἀν-
θρώποις· πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν,
²²εἴτε Παῦλος, εἴτε Ἀπολλώς, εἴ-
τε Κηφᾶς, εἴτε κόσμος, εἴτε ζωή,
εἴτε θάνατος, εἴτε ἐνεστῶτα, εἴ-
τε μέλλοντα· πάντα ὑμῶν ἐστιν,
²³ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ
θεοῦ.

¹⁶An nescitis quod templum dei
estis, et spiritus dei habitat in
vobis? ¹⁷Si quis templum dei pro-
phanat, hunc perdet deus. Nam tem-
plum dei sanctum est, quod estis
vos.

¹⁸Ne quis se ipsum fallat. Si quis
sibi videtur sapiens esse inter vos,
in seculo hoc stultus fiat, vt redda-
tur sapiens. ¹⁹Etenim sapientia mun-
di huius, stultitia est apud deum.
Scriptum est enim: | Qui com-
prehendit sapientes in astutia ipso-
rum. ²⁰Et rursum: Dominus nouit
cogitationes sapientium, quod sint
vanae.

²¹Itaque ne quis glorietur in
hominibus, omnia namque vestra
sunt, ²²siue Paulus, siue Apollo,
siue Cephas, siue mundus, siue vita,
siue mors, siue praesentia, siue fu-
tura: omnia inquam vestra sunt,
²³vos autem Christi, Christus vero
dei.

LB 673

LB 674

20 σοφων *A B D E*: σωφων *C*

18 seculo *C E*: saeculo *A B D* | reddatur *B-E*: sit *A* | 19 ipsorum *B-E*: sua *A* |
22 Apollo *C-E*: Apollos *A B* | inquam *B-E*: *om. A* | 23 vero *B-E*: autem *A*

quasi with *tanquam*, he further needed to change
tamen to *sed*, in order to avoid the inelegant
sequence of *tamen tanquam*. Manetti put *Sic
vero quasi*, and Lefèvre *sic tamen veluti*.

16 *An nescitis* Οὐκ οἴδατε ("Nescitis" Vg.). The
addition of *an* provided a more emphatic way
of introducing a negative question. Similar
additions occur at *Lc.* 2,49; 1 *Cor.* 5,6; 6,3, 15;
9,13, 24. See also on *Ioh.* 18,11.

16 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20.
Manetti made the same change.

17 *quis* τις (quis autem" Vg.). The Vulgate
addition of *autem* lacks Greek ms. support.
Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction
as Erasmus.

17 *prophanat* φθείρει ("violauerit" Vg.). See
on *Act.* 21,28, and *Annot.* The preference of
Valla *Annot.* was for *destruit*, while Lefèvre had

corrumpit. The reading of cod. 2815 was φθείρῃ, with little other ms. support.

17 *hunc perdet* φθερεῖ τοῦτον ("disperdet illum" Vg.). Erasmus seems to have regarded the compound verb *disperdo* as unduly emphatic. His word-order is less literal. The Vulgate use of *illum* may reflect the substitution of αὐτόν for τοῦτον, as in codd. A D F G and a few later mss. A suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was *destruet hunc,* while Manetti had *disperdet hunc.* The rendering of Lefèvre, *corrumpet eum,* met with objections from Erasmus in *Annot.,* as the pejorative overtones of *corrumpo,* in the sense of "corrupt", made it unsuitable for referring to an action performed by God.

17 *Nam templum* ὁ γὰρ ναός ("Templum enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

18 *Ne quis* Μηδείς ("Nemo" Vg.). Similar substitutions occur at twelve other passages, consistent with Vulgate usage at e.g. *Mt.* 9,30; *Mc.* 7,36. At *Eph.* 5,6, *nemo* is replaced with *ne quisquam.* Sometimes Erasmus retains *nemo* for μηδείς. Lefèvre put *nullus.*

18 *se ipsum* ἑαυτόν ("se" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 11,55. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

18 *fallat* ἐξαπατάτω ("seducat" Vg.). Erasmus regarded *seduco* as unsuitable for expressing the idea of self-deceit. The same concern prompted similar substitutions in rendering φρεναπατάω at *Gal.* 6,3 and πλανάω at 1 *Ioh.* 1,8, comparable with the Vulgate use of *fallo* for παραλογίζομαι at *Iac.* 1,22. See further on *Rom.* 7,11.

18 *sibi videtur* δοκεῖ ("videtur" Vg.). This interpretative addition by Erasmus gives a plainer continuation of the theme of self-deceit: see the previous note.

18 *sapiens esse inter vos* σοφὸς εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν ("inter vos sapiens esse" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order seems to have little Greek ms. support. Erasmus had the same rendering as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

18 *in seculo hoc* ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ("in hoc saeculo" Vg.). Again Erasmus' word-order is more precise. The Vulgate punctuation attaches this phrase to the preceding words, rather than to what follows.

18 *reddatur* γένηται ("sit" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate, distinguishing σοφὸς γίνομαι from σοφός εἰμι, which was used earlier in the verse. In *Annot.,* he also suggests using *fiat.* Manetti, for the same reason, substituted *efficiatur.*

19 *Etenim sapientia* ἡ γὰρ σοφία ("Sapientia enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

19 *mundi huius* τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ("huius mundi" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering follows the Greek word-order more literally.

19 *Qui comprehendit* Ὁ δρασσόμενος ("Comprehendam" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the future tense is inaccurate, and leaves ὁ untranslated (cf. the omission of ὁ in codd. F G). See *Annot.* The parallel passage at *Iob* 5,13, in the Vulgate, has *Qui apprehendit,* and this was Lefèvre's preferred translation in the present verse.

19 *ipsorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.; "sua" 1516 Lat.). In the Vulgate lemma of 1516 *Annot.,* Erasmus incorrectly had *sua,* perhaps influenced by the variant αὐτοῦ in cod. 2815. The added emphasis of *ipsorum* makes a more pointed connection with the earlier theme of self-deceit: cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *sua,* as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

20 *rursum* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,10. Lefèvre had *rursus.*

20 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. This change was anticipated by Manetti.

20 *sint vanae* εἰσὶ μάταιοι ("vanae sunt" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the subjunctive is affected by the previous substitution of *quod.* The Vulgate word-order is less literal.

21 *Itaque ne quis* Ὥστε μηδείς ("Nemo itaque" late Vg.). See on vs. 18 regarding *ne quis.* The late Vulgate word-order again follows the Greek text less closely. The version of Manetti had *Itaque nullus,* and Lefèvre *Quare nullus.*

21 *namque* γάρ ("enim" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 7,16; 1 *Thess.* 4,9; *Hebr.* 3,3. Cf. on *Ioh.* 3,34 for Erasmus' frequent removal of *enim.* Manetti happened to anticipate Erasmus' rendering here.

22 *omnia inquam* πάντα ("omnia enim" Vg.; "omnia" 1516). As pointed out in *Annot.,* the Greek text (in nearly all mss.) does not repeat γάρ from vs. 21. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* had the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

23 *vero* δέ ("autem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

4 Οὗτως ἡμᾶς λογιζέσθω ἄνθρω-
πος, ὡς ὑπηρέτας Χριστοῦ, καὶ
οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ· ²ὃ
δὲ λοιπόν, ζητεῖται ἐν τοῖς οἰκονό-
μοις, ἵνα πιστός τις εὑρεθῇ. ³ἐμοὶ
δὲ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν, ἵνα ὑφ'
ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ, ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπί-
νης ἡμέρας· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν
ἀνακρίνω. ⁴οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ
σύνοιδα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδι-
καίωμαι· ὁ δὲ ἀνακρίνων με, κύ-
ριός ἐστιν. ⁵ὥστε μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ
τι κρίνετε, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος·
ὃς καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ
σκότους, καὶ φανερώσει τὰς βουλὰς
τῶν καρδιῶν, καὶ τότε ὁ ἔπαινος
γενήσεται ἑκάστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁶Ταῦτα δέ, ἀδελφοί, μετεσχη-
μάτισα εἰς ἐμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλὼ

4 Sic nos aestimet homo, vt mi-
nistros Christi, et dispensatores
mysteriorum dei: ²quod superest
autem, illud requiritur in dispensa-
toribus, vt fidus aliquis reperiatur.
³Mihi vero pro minimo est, vt a
vobis diiudicer, aut ab humano iu-
dicio: imo nec me ipsum diiudico.
⁴Nullius enim rei mihi conscius
sum, sed non per hoc iustificatus
sum: caeterum qui me iudicat, do-
minus est. ⁵Proinde ne ante tempus
quicquam iudicetis, donec venerit
dominus: qui et illustraturus est
occulta tenebrarum, et patefaciet
consilia cordium, ac tunc laus erit
vnicuique a deo.

⁶Haec autem fratres per figuram
transtuli in me ipsum et in Apollo

4,5 κρινετε *restitui*: κρινεται *A-E*

4,1 aestimet *B-E*: estimet *A* | 3 iudicio *B-E*: die *A* | 4 per *B-E*: in *A* | caeterum *B-E*
(Caeterum *B-D*): Coeterum *A* | 5 patefaciet *B-E*: manifesturus est *A* | 6 Haec *B-E*: Hoc *A*

4,1 *aestimet* λογιζέσθω ("existimet" Vg.). This
change is consistent with Vulgate usage at *Rom.*
8,36; 9,8 (where Erasmus uses *habeo* and *recenseo*
respectively). For the removal of *existimo*, see
further on *Rom.* 2,3; 8,18. In *Annot.*, Erasmus
objects to the construction *existimo ... vt*. Lefèvre
had *reputet*.

1 *mysteriorum* μυστηρίων ("ministeriorum" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate reading is plainly the
result of scribal error within the Latin tradition.
See *Annot*. The correction made by Erasmus
agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster,
Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *quod superest autem, illud* ὃ δὲ λοιπόν ("Hic
iam" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, the Vulgate
follows a different Greek text, ὧδε λοιπόν, as
in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss.
This difference of meaning depended on the
change of just one letter. Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105,
2816, with D^corr and most later mss. In rendering
λοιπόν elsewhere, he substitutes *superest* for

reliquum est at 1 *Cor.* 7,29, for *in reliquo* at
2 *Tim.* 4,8, and for *de caetero* at 2 *Cor.* 13,11;
Eph. 6,10; *Phil.* 3,1; 1 *Thess.* 4,1; 2 *Thess.* 3,1. At
1 *Cor.* 1,16, he replaces *caeterum* with *praeterea*,
but puts *quod reliquum est* for *de caetero* at *Phil.*
4,8. Manetti had *Quod autem est reliquum*, and
Lefèvre *quod autem deinceps*.

2 *requiritur* ζητεῖται ("quaeritur" Vg.). Eras-
mus wishes to make clear that faithfulness is
"expected" rather than "vainly sought", as a
quality of stewards. See *Annot.* A similar sub-
stitution occurs in rendering ἐπιζητέω at *Mt.*
16,4. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

2 *in dispensatoribus* ἐν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις ("inter
dispensatores" Vg.). The reason for this change
is that, in this passage, the apostle is not speak-
ing of the faithfulness of one steward towards
another, but of stewards towards their masters:
see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre again made
the same substitution.

2 *fidus* πιστός ("fidelis" Vg.). A similar change
occurs at *Eph.* 6,21; *Col.* 1,7; 4,7, 9; 1 *Tim.* 3,11.

More often Erasmus retains *fidelis*. The word *fidus* is not used in the Vulgate N.T.

2 *aliquis* τις ("quis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,4.

2 *reperiatur* εὑρεθῇ ("inueniatur" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,41.

3 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

3 *diiudicer ... diiudico* ἀνακριθῶ ... ἀνακρίνω ("iudicer ... iudico" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 2,14-15. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change. Cf. Ambrosiaster, *diiudicer ... iudico*. The use of *diiudico* was also proposed by Valla *Annot.* for vs. 7, below.

3 *iudicio* ἡμέρας ("die" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus gives a clearer sense by treating the Greek word as a reference to human judgment. In *Annot.*, he also followed Jerome *Epist.* 121, *Ad Algasiam* (*CSEL* 56/1, p. 42), in citing this passage as an example of Cilician idiom. This incurred criticism from Stunica, rebutted by Erasmus at length in his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, pp. 180-2, ll. 303-351, and again in 1522 *Annot.*

3 *imo* ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2.

3 *nec* οὐδέ ("neque" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,28.

4 *Nullius enim rei* οὐδὲν γάρ ("Nihil enim" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objected to the combination of *nihil* with *conscius*. This may be compared with his replacement of *nihil* by *nulla ... in re* at 2 *Cor.* 12,11, and by *de nulla re* at *Phil.* 4,6. Lefèvre incorrectly had *nichil autem* in his main text, while retaining the Vulgate rendering in *Comm.*

4 *per hoc* ἐν τούτῳ ("in hoc" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

4 *caeterum qui* ὁ δέ ("qui autem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2.

4 *me iudicat* ἀνακρίνων με ("iudicat me" Vg.). On this occasion the Vulgate word-order is closer to the Greek. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *diiudicat me*.

5 *Proinde* ὥστε ("Itaque" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17. Lefèvre put *Quare*.

5 *ne ... iudicetis* μή ... κρίνετε ("nolite ... iudicare" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18, and *Annot.* In all five folio editions, the itacistic error, κρίνεται (also occurring in codd. א A), is retained. The correct spelling is given in *Annot.*, in accordance with codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2817 and most other mss. In Manetti, the sentence began with *Itaque ne iudicetis*.

5 *quicquam* τι (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by hardly any Greek mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same change, while Manetti put *aliquid*.

5 *donec venerit* ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ("quousque veniat" Vg. 1527). The wording of the 1527 Vulgate column here follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514, and is also found in Lefèvre's translation. A similar substitution of *donec* occurs at *Hebr.* 1,13. Cf. also *donec* for *quoadusque* in rendering ἄχρις οὗ at *Act.* 7,18 (1519). Ambrosiaster had *docec veniat*. Manetti put *quoadusque veniat*, as in the earlier Vulgate, as well as the Vulgate column of Lefèvre.

5 *illustraturus est* φωτίσει ("illuminabit" Vg.). This alteration was not strictly necessary, except that Erasmus was conscious of the frequent scribal tendency to change *-abit* into *-auit*, and vice versa. Cf. on *Rom.* 2,6; *Eph.* 3,9.

5 *occulta* τὰ κρυπτά ("abscondita" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 4,22 (1519); 1 *Petr.* 3,4. See also on 1 *Cor.* 2,7; 2 *Cor.* 4,2. Erasmus' rendering agrees with Ambrosiaster.

5 *patefaciet* φανερώσει ("manifestabit" Vg.; "manifestaturus est" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

5 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

6 *Haec* Ταῦτα ("Hoc" 1516 Lat.). The use of the singular in the 1516 Latin version is not supported by the accompanying Greek text or by Erasmus' Basle mss.

6 *per figuram transtuli* μετεσχημάτισα ("transfiguraui" Vg.). Elsewhere, in rendering the same Greek verb, Erasmus changes *transfiguro* to *sumo personam* at 2 *Cor.* 11,13, *transformo* at 2 *Cor.* 11,14 (1516 only), *transfero personam* at 2 *Cor.* 11,15, and further substitutes *transformo* for *transfiguro* in rendering μεταμορφόομαι at *Mt.* 17,2; *Mc.* 9,2, consistent with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 3,18. At the present passage, he alters the translation to make clear that the apostle is referring to a metaphor of language rather than a physical change of appearance: cf. *Annot.*

6 *me ipsum* ἐμαυτόν ("me" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to convey the added emphasis of the Greek reflexive pronoun. Manetti made the same change, while Lefèvre put *me ipso*.

6 *in Apollo* Ἀπολλώ ("Apollo" Vg.). Erasmus repeats the preposition, apparently to ensure that *Apollo* is understood as an accusative: cf. *Annot.*

δι᾽ ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε, τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ὃ γέγραπται φρονεῖν, ἵνα μή, εἷς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑνὸς μὴ φυσιοῦσθε κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου. ⁷τίς γάρ σε διακρίνει; τί δὲ ἔχεις, ὃ οὐκ ἔλαβες; εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβες, τί καυχᾶ|σαι, ὡς μὴ λαβών; ⁸ἤδη κεκορεσμένοι ἐστέ, ἤδη ἐπλουτήσατε, χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἐβασιλεύσατε· καὶ ὄφελόν γε ἐβασιλεύσατε, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν συμβασιλεύσωμεν.

⁹Δοκῶ γὰρ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς, τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐσχάτους, ἀπέδειξεν ὡς ἐπιθανατίους· ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις. ¹⁰ἡμεῖς μωροὶ διὰ Χριστόν, ὑμεῖς δὲ φρόνιμοι

propter vos, vt in nobis disceretis, ne quis supra id quod scriptum est, de se sentiat: vt ne, hic illius, ille huius nomine inflemini alius aduersus alium. ⁷Quis enim te diiudicat? Quid autem habes, quod non accepisti? Quod si etiam accepisti, quid gloriaris, quasi | non acceperis? ⁸Iam saturati estis, iam ditati estis, absque nobis regnum adepti estis: atque vtinam sane adepti sitis, vt et nos simul vobiscum regnemus.

⁹Arbitror enim quod deus, nos qui sumus apostoli postremi, ostenderit tanquam morti addictos: quoniam spectaculum facti sumus mundo et angelis et hominibus: ¹⁰nos stulti propter Christum, vos autem prudentes

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8 οφελον *A C-E*: ωφελον *B*

8 sane adepti *D E*: *om. A*, adepti *B C* | 9 addictos *B-E*: obnoxios *A*

6 *disceretis* μάθητε ("discatis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,19 for Erasmus' substitution of the imperfect subjunctive.

6 *ne quis* τὸ μή ("ne" Vg.). In cod. 2815, τό was omitted, in company with F G and a few later mss. Erasmus adds *quis*, to alleviate the transition from the second person plural (*disceretis*) to third person singular (*sentiat*). Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre changed *ne* to *non*.

6 *id quod* ὅ ("quam" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise here. See *Annot.* However, the Vulgate rendering could equally have been based on a Greek text having ἅ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C 0289 and a few other mss. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also D F G and most other mss. The same change was made by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *de se sentiat: vt ne* φρονεῖν, ἵνα μή (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission would imply an underlying Greek text which passed directly from γέγραπται to εἷς, omitting the intervening

words. There are a few mss. which have ἵνα μή (as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B F G 0289ᵛⁱᵈ), while cod. D* has just ἵνα, but the omission of all three words appears to lack ms. support. The main textual point at issue is whether φρονεῖν was a later explanatory addition, or whether the omissions of one or more words represented diverse attempts to amend phraseology which certain scribes imagined to be repetitious. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Cᵛⁱᵈ Dᶜᵒʳʳ 0285ᵛⁱᵈ and most later mss. See *Annot.* His addition of *de se* is comparable with the interpretation suggested by Valla *Annot.*, *sentire* (*id est, de vobis sentire*) *ne*. Manetti had *sapiatis vt* and added *non* before *infletur*, while Lefèvre put *sentire, ne*.

6 *hic illius, ille huius nomine ... alius aduersus alium* εἷς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑνὸς ... κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου ("vnus aduersus alterum ... pro alio" Vg.). Erasmus makes better sense of the Greek idiom. See *Annot.* Comparable additions of *nomine* occur at 2 *Cor.* 5,20 (*nomine Christi*

for *pro Christo*); 8,23 (*Titi nomine* for *pro Tito*); 1 *Thess.* 3,7 (1516 only: *nomine vestro* for *in vobis*). Valla *Annot.* suggested *quis pro altero aduersus alium*, while Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti put *vnus pro vno ... aduersus alterum*, and Lefèvre *vnus pro alio ... contra alium*.

6 *inflemini* μὴ φυσιοῦσθε ("infletur" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the third person singular is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. Erasmus adds μή from cod. 2817, with support from cod. 1 and many other late mss. In his codd. 2105, 2815, 2816, μή was omitted at this point, as in many other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G. See *Annot.* The rendering of Valla *Annot.* was the same as that of Erasmus. Manetti put *non infletur* (see above, on ἵνα μή).

7 *diiudicat* διακρίνει ("discernit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,23. In 1535 *Annot.*, Erasmus seems to suggest that a better reading would be τί γάρ σε διακρίνεις, though this had no ms. support. Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre all made the same substitution as in Erasmus' version.

7 *Quod si* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25.

7 *etiam* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission has negligible support among the Greek mss.

8 *ditati estis* ἐπλουτήσατε ("diuites facti estis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 1,5. Manetti anticipated this change.

8 *absque* χωρίς ("sine" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,21.

8 *regnum adepti estis* ἐβασιλεύσατε ("regnatis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "regnauistis" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). Erasmus renders the Greek aorist more precisely. The substitution of *regnum adipiscor* was partly for the sake of variety, in view of the use of *regnemus* in rendering συμβασιλεύσωμεν later in the verse. Elsewhere Erasmus always uses the verb *regno* for βασιλεύω. In *Annot.*, he also suggests *regnum consequuti estis*. Valla *Annot.* had *regnastis*, and Manetti and Lefèvre *regnauistis*.

8 *atque* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti made the same change.

8 ὄφελον. The temporary change to ὤφελον in 1519 (also found in cod. Dᶜᵒʳʳ and a few later mss., but not in cod. 3) was possibly just a printer's error, though another such substitution occurs in 1519 at 2 *Cor.* 11,1.

8 *sane* γε (omitted in 1516-22 Lat. = Vg.). The Vulgate omission was probably no more than

an imprecision of translation, though γε is omitted in codd. D* F G.

8 *adepti sitis* ἐβασιλεύσατε ("regnetis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "sitis" 1516). See on *regnum adepti*, above. Valla *Annot.* suggested *regnasse-tis*, while Manetti had *regnaueritis*, and Lefèvre *regnauissetis*.

8 *simul vobiscum regnemus* ὑμῖν συμβασιλεύσω-μεν ("vobiscum regnemus" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). For the addition of *simul*, see on *Rom.* 2,15. Manetti had *vobiscum regnaremus*, as in some mss. of the earlier Vulgate.

9 *Arbitror* Δοκῶ ("Puto" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 12,19. At 1 *Cor.* 7,40 (1519), Erasmus replaces *puto* with *opinor*. More often he retains *puto*, *videor*, or *existimo* for this Greek verb.

9 *qui sumus apostoli postremi* τοὺς ἀποστό-λους ἐσχάτους ("apostolos nouissimos" Vg.). By changing this into a relative clause, Erasmus takes ἐσχάτους to refer to those who were "the last to become apostles", though the Greek wording could be understood as meaning that these apostles were "put on display in the last position", i.e. subjected to greater humiliation or danger. He substitutes *postremus* for *nouissi-mus* at *Mt.* 12,45; 20,8 (1519); *Mc.* 9,35; 10,31; 12,6, 22; *Lc.* 13,30 (1519), and for *nouissime* at 1 *Cor.* 15,8. The word *postremus* does not occur in the Vulgate N.T. The version of Manetti put *apostolos vltimos*.

9 *ostenderit* ἀπέδειξεν ("ostendit" Vg.). Erasmus often prefers to use the subjunctive for indirect statements of this kind. Manetti put *demonstrauit*.

9 *morti addictos* ἐπιθανατίους ("morti desti-natos" Vg.; "morti obnoxios" 1516). Erasmus' phrase *morti addictus* ("condemned to death" rather than "destined for death") more aptly expresses the metaphor of the condemned prisoner. For this usage, see Valla *Elegantiae*, V, 28; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 216, ll. 211-212. The only other N.T. passage where Erasmus uses *addictus* is at 2 *Petr.* 2,19, where he has *in seruitutem addictus* in rendering δουλόω. He is content to use *destinatus mactationi* in rendering σφαγῆς at *Rom.* 8,36 (1519). See *Annot.* For *obnoxius*, see on *Rom.* 3,9. Manetti put *moribundos*, and Lefèvre *morti deputatos*.

9 *quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,21. The same change was made by Manetti.

ἐν Χριστῷ· ἡμεῖς ἀσθενεῖς, ὑμεῖς δὲ
ἰσχυροί· ὑμεῖς ἔνδοξοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄτι-
μοι. ¹¹ἄχρι τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας καὶ
πεινῶμεν, καὶ διψῶμεν, καὶ γυμ-
νητεύομεν, καὶ κολαφιζόμεθα, καὶ
ἀστατοῦμεν, ¹²καὶ κοπιῶμεν, ἐρ-
γαζόμενοι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσί· λοιδο-
ρούμενοι, εὐλογοῦμεν· διωκόμενοι,
ἀνεχόμεθα· ¹³βλασφημούμενοι, παρα-
καλοῦμεν· ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ
κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν, πάντων περί-
ψημα ἕως ἄρτι. ¹⁴οὐκ ἐντρέπων
ὑμᾶς γράφω ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ὡς τέκνα
μου ἀγαπητὰ νουθετῶ.

¹⁵Ἐὰν γὰρ μυρίους παιδαγωγοὺς
ἔχητε ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς
πατέρας. ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,
διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς
ἐγέννησα.

per Christum: nos imbecilles, vos au-
tem validi: vos clari, nos contempti.
¹¹Ad hoc vsque tempus et esurimus
et sitimus et nudi sumus et colaphis
caedimur et incertis vagamur sedibus
¹²et laboramus operantes propriis ma-
nibus: male audientes, benedicimus:
persequutionem patientes, sustinemus:
¹³conuitiis affecti, obsecramus: veluti
excrementa mundi facti sumus, om-
nium reiectamentum ad hunc vsque
diem. ¹⁴Non quo vos pudore suffun-
dam, haec scribo: sed vt filios meos
dilectos admoneo.

¹⁵Nam etiam si innumeros paeda-
gogos habeatis in Christo, non multos
tamen habetis patres. Siquidem in
Christo Iesu, per euangelium ego vos
genui.

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10 per Christum *B-E*: in Christo *A* | 11 caedimur *B-E*: cedimur *A* | 13 ad hunc vsque *B-E*: vsque ad hunc *A* | 15 habeatis in Christo, *B-E*: habeatis, in Christo *A* | habetis *B-E*: om. *A*

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10 *per Christum* ἐν Χριστῷ ("in Christo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

10 *imbecilles* ἀσθενεῖς ("infirmi" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,3.

10 *validi* ἰσχυροί ("fortes" Vg.). This change was consistent with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 14,30; *Lc.* 15,14; *Hebr.* 5,7. However, at 1 *Cor.* 1,27, Erasmus' preferred antithesis for *imbecillis* was *robustus*: see *ad loc.*

10 *clari* ἔνδοξοι ("nobiles" Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot.*, ἔνδοξος refers to fame and reputation, as distinct from εὐγενής which refers to nobility of birth (cf. 1 *Cor.* 1,26). Erasmus further mentions *gloriosi* as an alternative translation, resembling the Vulgate use of *gloriosus* to render the same Greek word at *Eph.* 5,27. Manetti put *honorati*, and Lefèvre *insignes*.

10 *nos* (3rd.) ἡμεῖς δέ ("nos autem" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal here. Erasmus evidently regarded the repetition of *autem* as superfluous. Lefèvre put *nos vero*.

10 *contempti* ἄτιμοι ("ignobiles" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus distinguishes ἄτιμος from ἀγενής, and additionally suggests *infamis* or *obscurus*. He uses *contemptus* to replace *sine honore* in rendering the same Greek word at *Mc.* 6,4, and also to replace *contemptibilis* in rendering ἐξουθενημένος at 1 *Cor.* 1,28; 6,4; 2 *Cor.* 10,10. Manetti had *inhonorati*, and Lefèvre *ignominiosi*.

11 *Ad hoc vsque tempus* ἄχρι τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας ("Vsque in hanc horam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,35 for other substitutions of *tempus*, and on *Act.* 1,2 for *ad ... vsque*. Manetti put *vsque in praesentem horam*, and Lefèvre *In hanc vsque horam*.

11 γυμνητεύομεν. The reading of codd. 2105 and 2817 was γυμνιτεύομεν, also attested by א A^corr B^corr C D^corr F G 0289 and many other mss. Erasmus' text follows cod. 2815, supported by 1 and 2816, with 𝔓⁴⁶ and many further mss.

11 *incertis vagamur sedibus* ἀστατοῦμεν ("insta-biles sumus" Vg.). Erasmus' expanded rendering captures the meaning more accurately in the present context, i.e. referring to the lack of a permanent home rather than unsteadiness of purpose or beliefs. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *vagi sumus*.

12 *propriis manibus* ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσί ("manibus nostris" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,11. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *male audientes* λοιδορούμενοι ("maledicimur et" Vg.). Erasmus' translation follows Valla *Annot.* in reproducing the form of the Greek participle: see *Annot.* Other suggestions of Valla were *vituperati*, or *contumelia affecti*, or *cum maledicimur*. Manetti had *Obiurgamur et*, and Lefèvre *conuiciis lacessiti*.

12 *persequutionem patientes* διωκόμενοι ("per-secutionem patimur et" Vg.). In cod. 2815, the words διωκόμενοι ἀνεχόμεθα were transposed after παρακαλοῦμεν in vs. 13, contrary to the testimony of most other mss. For Erasmus' treatment of the participle, see the previous note. This change again followed a proposal of Valla *Annot.*, which also contained the alterna-tive renderings *exagitati* and *cum persecutionem patimur*. Lefèvre put *afflicti*.

13 *conuitiis affecti* βλασφημούμενοι ("blasphe-mamur et" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,45, and *Annot.* In Valla *Annot.*, this was variously rendered as *blasphemati* or *cum blasphemamur*. Lefèvre put *execrati*.

13 *veluti* ὡς ("tanquam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

13 *excrementa* περικαθάρματα ("purgamenta" Vg.). The less pungent Vulgate expression seems nearer to the sense of the Greek word. Possibly Erasmus considered that *purgamentum* was am-biguous, as it can refer not only to something which required cleaning away but also to the means of such cleaning. Manetti had *purga-mentum*, in the singular.

13 *mundi* τοῦ κόσμου ("huius mundi" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *huius* lacks Greek ms. support. See on *Rom.* 3,6, and *Annot.* The same correction was made by Lefèvre.

13 *reiectamentum* περίψημα ("peripsema" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus follows Valla *Annot.* in ob-jecting that the Vulgate has merely transliterated the Greek word without conveying the mean-ing. Although *reiectamentum* is a non-classical word, Erasmus also uses it at *Phil.* 3,8 (1522),

to render σκύβαλον. The rendering suggested by Valla was *puluis vestigiorum*. Manetti had *putamina*, and Lefèvre *scoria*.

13 *ad hunc vsque diem* ἕως ἄρτι ("vsque adhuc" Vg.; "vsque ad hunc diem" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 2,10. Manetti put *vsque modo*.

14 *quo vos pudore suffundam* ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς ("vt confundam vos" Vg.). For *quo*, see on *Rom.* 1,13. A similar substitution of *pudore suffundo* occurs at 2 *Thess.* 3,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus alter-natively suggests *rubore suffundo*, which he uses to replace *vereor* in rendering the same Greek verb at *Tit.* 2,8. He further changes *erubesco* to *pudore suffundo* in rendering καταισχύνω at 2 *Cor.* 9,4. Cf. also his use of *pudor* for ἐντροπή at 1 *Cor.* 15,34, and see on *Rom.* 5,5 regarding the removal of *confundo*.

14 *dilectos* ἀγαπητά ("charissimos" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,25, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *admoneo* νουθετῶ ("moneo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,14. Lefèvre made the same change.

15 *etiam si* Ἐάν ("si" Vg.). Erasmus adds *etiam* to complete the sense, in view of the contrast provided by the following ἀλλ'. Lefèvre, for the same reason, had put *tametsi*.

15 *innumeros paedagogos* μυρίους παιδαγω-γούς ("decem milia paedagogorum" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that μυρίους here just means a very large number, rather than having its more literal sense as "tens of thousands". Another such change occurs at *Hebr.* 12,22, where Erasmus replaced *multorum milium fre-quentiam* with *innumerabilium coetum* in ren-dering μυριάσιν. Cf. also the Vulgate use of *multis turbis* for μυριάδων τοῦ ὄχλου at *Lc.* 12,1 (replaced by Erasmus with *innume-ra turbae multitudo*). At the present passage, the mathematically-minded Lefèvre put *denos millenos ... paedagogos*.

15 *non multos tamen* ἀλλ' οὐ πολλούς ("sed non multos" Vg.). After an earlier *si*, the use of *tamen* was less abrupt than *sed*. A comparable change occurs at 2 *Cor.* 13,4, using *quamuis ... tamen* to replace *etsi ... sed*, in rendering εἰ ... ἀλλά. Lefèvre had *non tamen multos*.

15 *habetis* (omitted in 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus supplies a verb, to complete the sense.

15 *Siquidem* γάρ ("Nam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,47. Manetti and Lefèvre used *enim*, but with differences of word-order.

LB 677

¹⁶Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, μιμηταί
μου γίνεσθε. ¹⁷διὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμψα
ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον, ὅς ἐστι τέκνον μου
ἀγαπη|τὸν καὶ πιστὸν ἐν κυρίῳ, ὅς
ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσει τὰς ὁδούς μου τὰς
ἐν Χριστῷ· καθὼς πανταχοῦ ἐν πάσῃ
ἐκκλησίᾳ διδάσκω. ¹⁸ὡς μὴ ἐρχομέ-
νου δέ μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐφυσιώθη-
σάν τινες. ¹⁹ἐλεύσομαι δὲ ταχέως
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ,
καὶ γνώσομαι οὐ τὸν λόγον τῶν
πεφυσιωμένων, ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν.
²⁰οὐ γὰρ ἐν λόγῳ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ
θεοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν δυνάμει. ²¹τί θέλετε;
ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ ἐν
ἀγάπῃ πνεύματί τε πρᾳότητος;

5 Ὅλως ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν πορ-
νεία, καὶ τοιαύτη πορνεία ἥτις
οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὀνομάζεται,

¹⁶Adhortor itaque vos, vt imita-
tores mei sitis. ¹⁷Hac de causa misi
vobis Timo|theum, qui est filius meus   LB 678
dilectus, et fidelis in domino, qui vo-
bis in memoriam reducet vias meas:
quae sunt in Christo, quemadmo-
dum vbique in omni ecclesia doceo.
¹⁸Perinde quasi non sim venturus ad
vos, inflati sunt quidam. ¹⁹Sed veniam
breui ad vos, si dominus voluerit, et
cognoscam non sermonem istorum
qui inflati sunt, sed virtutem. ²⁰Non
enim in sermone regnum est dei, sed
in virtute. ²¹Quid vultis? Cum virga
venio ad vos, an cum charitate et
spiritu lenitatis?

5 Omnino auditur inter vos stu-
prum, et huiusmodi stuprum
quod nec inter gentes nominatur,

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19 istorum *B-E*: eorum *A* | virtutem *B-E*: potentiam *A* | 20 virtute *B-E*: potentia *A* |
21 Cum *B-E*: In *A* | cum *B-E*: in *A*
5,1 *prius* stuprum *B-E*: fornicatio *A* | *alt.* stuprum *B-E*: fornicatio *A* | quod *B-E*: quae *A*

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16 *Adhortor* Παρακαλῶ ("Rogo" Vg.). A similar
substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 8,6; 9,5. See also
on *hortor* at *Act.* 27,22, and *Annot.*

16 *itaque* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,10.
Lefèvre put *igitur.*

16 *vt ... sitis* γίνεσθε ("estote, sicut et ego Chris-
ti" late Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus recommends,
more accurately, the use of *fiatis.* The additional
clause of the late Vulgate has support from
only a few of the later Greek mss. As suggested
in *Annot.*, these words were probably a harmo-
nisation with 1 *Cor.* 11,1. Erasmus lists the
passage among the *Quae Sint Addita.* The ren-
dering of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and
Lefèvre was just *estote.*

17 *Hac de causa* διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 13,6. Erasmus follows the rendering
of Lefèvre.

17 *vobis* (1st.) ὑμῖν ("ad vos" Vg.). Erasmus is
more literal here.

17 *dilectus* ἀγαπητόν ("charissimus" Vg.). See
on *Act.* 15,25, and *Annot.* The same change was
made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

17 *vobis in memoriam reducet* ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσει
("vos commonefaciat" Vg.). Erasmus probably
disliked the use of a double accusative, both
for the persons being reminded and for the
thing of which they were reminded. A possible
alternative was *vos commonefaciat de viis meis*
(cf. 1 *Tim.* 4,6, where Erasmus has *De his, si
commonefeceris fratres*). However, it was temp-
ting to borrow from the idiomatic rendering
of Lefèvre, who offered exactly the wording
which Erasmus now used. Manetti had *vos
commonefaciet,* as in some editions of the late
Vulgate.

17 *Christo* Χριστῷ ("Christo Iesu" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The insertion of *Iesu* by part of the Vulgate tradition corresponds with the addition of Ἰησοῦ in 𝔭⁴⁶ א C (D* F G) and about seventy later mss. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with A B D^corr and about 520 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 186-8). Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* likewise omitted *Iesu*.

17 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Yet again Erasmus has the same wording as Lefèvre. In this verse he agrees with Lefèvre *Comm.* in thirty-one out of thirty-two words, compared with twenty-three in Manetti and twenty-two in the Vulgate.

18 *Perinde quasi* ὡς ("Tanquam ... sic" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Hebr.* 11,27, and *quasi* is also altered to *perinde quasi* at 2 *Cor.* 11,21; 1 *Petr.* 4,12. Erasmus further makes use of *perinde ... atque* (or ... *ac*) at *Mt.* 22,39 (1522); 1 *Cor.* 11,5; 1 *Thess.* 2,7, and *perinde ... vt* at 2 *Petr.* 3,8. The word *perinde* nowhere appears in the Vulgate. For the use of this word, see Valla *Elegantiae*, II, 50; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD* I, 4, p. 294, ll. 400-406. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *tanquam*, omitting *sic* before *inflati*.

18 *sim venturus* ἐρχομένου ... μου ("venturus sim" Vg.). For the earlier position of *sim*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. In this instance, the change ensures that the participle *venturus* stands next to its associated prepositional phrase. Cf. *Annot.* In Manetti, this was rendered by *me ... venturo*.

19 *Sed veniam* ἐλεύσομαι δέ ("Veniam autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

19 *breui ad vos* ταχέως πρὸς ὑμᾶς ("ad vos cito" late Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. See on *Rom.* 16,20 for *breui*. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *cito ad vos*, and Manetti *celeriter ad vos*.

19 *istorum qui* τῶν ("eorum qui" 1516 = Vg.). For the pejorative connotation of *iste*, see on *Ioh.* 2,18. Lefèvre replaced *eorum qui inflati sunt* with *inflatorum*.

19 *virtutem* τὴν δύναμιν ("potentiam" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,4. A similar temporary change to *potentia*, in 1516, also occurs in vs. 20. Lefèvre preferred *potestatem*.

20 *regnum est dei* ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ("est regnum dei" Vg.). The Latin word-order is unaffected by the Greek text, which lacks a verb.

20 *virtute* δυνάμει ("potentia" 1516). See on vs. 19, and on *Rom.* 1,4. Lefèvre again had *potestate*.

21 *Cum virga* ἐν ῥάβδῳ ("In virga" 1516 = Vg.). To obtain a clearer sense, Erasmus treats ἐν as denoting something which the apostle would (figuratively) bring with him: see *Annot.*, and see also on *Rom.* 1,4.

21 *venio* ἔλθω ("veniam" Vg.). It is arguable that the Vulgate use of the future tense is better suited to the context, as vs. 19 shows that the apostle is referring to a possible future visit rather than one which has already begun.

21 *cum charitate* ἐν ἀγάπη ("in charitate" 1516 = Vg.). See on ἐν ῥάβδῳ, above, and on *Rom.* 1,4. Lefèvre put *in dilectione*.

21 *lenitatis* πραότητος ("mansuetudinis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 10,1; *Col.* 3,12 (1516 only). Erasmus more often prefers *mansuetudo* for this Greek word, and even replaces *lenitas* with *mansuetudo* at *Gal.* 6,1. In 1519, he tended to use *lenitas* for μακροθυμία: see on *Rom.* 2,4.

5,1 *stuprum* (twice) πορνεία ("fornicatio" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,41, and *Annot.* In Manetti, *et talis fornicatio* was omitted.

1 *huiusmodi* τοιαύτη ("talis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 11,16; 2 *Cor.* 3,4, 12, consistent with late-Vulgate usage at many other passages. However, Erasmus quite often retains *talis*, and even substitutes it for *huiusmodi* and *eiusmodi* at *Mc.* 9,37 and 1 *Cor.* 16,16, respectively. For Manetti's rendering, see the previous note.

1 *quod* ἥτις ("qualis" Vg.; "quae" 1516). Erasmus is more accurate here, as *qualis* is elsewhere confined to rendering οἷος, ὁποῖος, ποῖος, or ποταπός. Manetti and Lefèvre had *quae* (spelled *que* in Manetti), as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

1 *nominatur* ὀνομάζεται (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔭⁴⁶ א* A B C D F G and twelve other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also 𝔭⁶⁸ א^corr and about 570 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 188-90). In 1516 *Annot.*, he commended ὀνομάζεται, as supplying an emphasis which

ὥστε γυναῖκά τινα τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχειν·
²καὶ ὑμεῖς πεφυσιωμένοι ἐστέ, καὶ οὐχὶ
μᾶλλον ἐπενθήσατε, ἵνα ἐξαρθῇ ἐκ μέ-
σου ὑμῶν, ὁ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ποιήσας.

³'Εγὼ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἀπὼν τῷ σώμα-
τι, παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, ἤδη κέ-
κρικα ὡς παρών, τὸν οὕτως τοῦτο
κατεργασάμενον, ⁴ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ
κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συναχ-
θέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος,
σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰη-
σοῦ Χριστοῦ, ⁵παραδοῦναι τὸν τοι-
οῦτον τῷ σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς
σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ ἐν τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.

vt aliquis vxorem patris habeat. ²Et
vos inflati estis, ac non potius luxi-
stis, vt tolleretur de medio vestrum,
qui facinus hoc perpetrasset.

³Nam ego quidem, vt absens
corpore, praesens autem spiritu,
iam decreui tanquam praesens,
vt is qui sic hoc patrauit, ⁴in
nomine domini nostri Iesu Chris-
ti, congregatis vobis et meo spi-
ritu, vna cum potestate domini
nostri Iesu Christi, ⁵tradatur sa-
tanae ad interitum carnis, quo
spiritus saluus sit in die domini
Iesu.

5,4 *alt.* ημων *B-E*: *om. A*

---

2 facinus *B-E*: factum *A* | 5 domini *B-E*: domini nostri *A*

---

was necessary to the sense of the passage.
However, in 1519 he retreated from his earlier
opinion and seemingly decided that the Vulgate
wording was genuine ("lectionem synceram").
The question here is whether some early scribe
or editor added ὀνομάζεται (supposedly adapted
from *Eph.* 5,3) to complete an elliptical Greek
turn of phrase, or whether the absence of a verb
from a few mss. creates such unusual syntax
that it may legitimately be suspected that an
ancient scribe accidentally omitted this word.
The use of *inuenitur* in Manetti may suggest
that he too was consulting a ms. in which ὀνο-
μάζεται was omitted. Lefèvre put *nominatur.*

1 *vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6.
Lefèvre made the same change.

1 *aliquis vxorem patris* γυναῖκά τινα τοῦ πατρός
("vxorem patris sui aliquis" late Vg. and some
Vg. mss.). Erasmus has a more natural Latin
word-order: cf. Ambrosiaster, *quis vxorem patris.*
Lefèvre contented himself with substituting
quispiam for *aliquis.*

2 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

2 *potius* μᾶλλον ("magis" Vg.). See on *Act.*
20,35.

2 *luxistis* ἐπενθήσατε ("luctum habuistis" Vg.).
Erasmus' rendering reproduces the form of the
Greek verb more precisely, consistent with
Vulgate usage of *lugeo* for πενθέω at other
passages. However, a reader could confuse *luxistis*
("you have mourned") with the perfect tense
of *luceo* ("shine"). Manetti anticipated the change
made by Erasmus, while Lefèvre substituted
ingemuistis.

2 *tolleretur* ἐξαρθῇ ("tollatur" Vg.). For a similar
change of tense, see on 1 *Cor.* 4,6 (*disceretis*).
This substitution agreed with the rendering of
Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

2 *facinus hoc* τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ("hoc opus" Vg.;
"factum hoc" 1516). Erasmus' rendering is
more exact as to the word-order. For his use
of *factum* in 1516, see on *Ioh.* 3,21. In 1519,
the substitution of the more pejorative *faci-
nus* ("misdeed" or "outrage") was well-suited to
the context. The only other passage where
Erasmus uses *facinus* is at *Act.* 18,14, where he
adopts the Vulgate rendering of ῥᾳδιούργημα.
His translation of the present passage was
probably influenced by Lefèvre, who had *hoc
facinus.*

2 *perpetrasset* ποιήσας ("fecit" Vg.). Again Erasmus chooses a more colourful word, appropriate to the context. For his use of *perpetro* in rendering κατεργάζομαι at several passages, see on *Rom.* 1,27. Manetti had *fecerit*, and Lefèvre *admisit*.

3 *Nam* γάρ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by only a few of the later Greek mss. The version of Lefèvre began the sentence with *Ego enim*, omitting *quidem*.

3 *vt* ὡς (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission was this time supported by 𝔓[11vid 46 68] ℵ A B C D* and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with D[corr] F G and most other mss. It has been suggested that scribes inserted ὡς before ἀπών to correspond with ὡς παρών later in the verse. Another possibility is that an ancient scribe who found ὡς in his exemplar might have decided to omit the word, on the grounds that the apostle's absence from Corinth was real and not imagined. If authentic, the twofold use of ὡς in this verse, to mean "as" in the first instance and "as though" in the second, would be consistent with Pauline usage at 1 *Cor.* 9,20-1. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

3 *decreui* κέκρικα ("iudicaui" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,19. Lefèvre retained *iudicaui* but placed it after *praesens* (2nd.).

3 *tanquam* ὡς ("vt" Vg.). This substitution was for the sake of variety, in view of Erasmus' earlier insertion of *vt* before *absens*, and the fact that he also wished to use *vt* to introduce the next clause. Other substitutions of *tanquam* for *vt* occur at 2 *Cor.* 6,8 (1516 only); *Eph.* 6,6; *Phil.* 2,12; 1 *Thess.* 2,7. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

3-5 *vt is ... tradatur* τὸν ... παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ("eum ... tradere huiusmodi" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal, whereas Erasmus changes the grammatical structure, to clarify the meaning. This alteration was an improvement on the cumbersome wording of Lefèvre, who put *eum ... vt ... traderem ... eum ipsum.* Manetti had *eum ... tradere talem.*

3 οὕτως. In *Annot.*, in a confusingly worded sentence, Erasmus appears to suggest that some mss. add οὕτως before τοῦτο in vs. 2, and not in vs. 3. However, virtually all mss., including those which Erasmus consulted at Basle, have οὕτως here in vs. 3 rather than in vs. 2.

3 *hoc* τοῦτο (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. F G, but may have arisen as an imprecision of translation. See *Annot.* In Lefèvre, *hoc* was added before *sic*.

3 *patrauit* κατεργασάμενον ("operatus est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,27. In *Annot.*, Erasmus gives *perpetrauit* as an alternative. However, having used *perpetro* to render ποιέω in vs. 2, he now wanted a different verb. He also uses *patro* to render κατεργάζομαι at one other passage, 1 *Petr.* 4,3. He retains *operor* in similar contexts at *Mt.* 7,23 (*operamini iniquitatem*) and *Rom.* 13,10 (*malum non operatur*).

4 *vna cum* σύν ("cum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22, and *Annot.*

4 *potestate* τῇ δυνάμει ("virtute" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

4 *nostri* (2nd.) ἡμῶν (Vg. omits). The word ἡμῶν was omitted by 𝔓[46] and a few later mss. In 1516, the omission of ἡμῶν, in conflict with Erasmus' Greek mss. as well as the accompanying Latin text, might conceivably have been influenced by the Vulgate (or Ambrosiaster), but it seems more likely that it was caused by an error of the typesetter.

4 *Christi* (2nd.) Χριστοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓[46] ℵ A B D* and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓[11] D[corr] F G. The same correction was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *ad* εἰς ("in" Vg.). Erasmus often prefers *ad* where εἰς designates a purpose. See e.g. on *Rom.* 1,16; 5,16. Sometimes such changes are for the sake of varying the vocabulary.

5 *quo* ἵνα ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

5 *die* τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ("diem" *Annot.*, lemma). The 1527 Vulgate column and most other Vulgate copies have *die.*

5 *Iesu* Ἰησοῦ ("nostri Iesu Christi" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "nostri Iesu" 1516 Lat.). The late Vulgate corresponds with ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, as in codd. A F G. Another variant is Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, as in cod. D, while 𝔓[46] B completely omit. These readings are each supported by a few later mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from 1, 2105, 2816, with 𝔓[61vid] ℵ and most later mss. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

⁶Οὐ καλὸν τὸ καύχημα ὑμῶν. οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ; ⁷ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ἦτε νέον φύραμα, καθώς ἐστε ἄζυμοι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός. ⁸ὥστε ἑορτάζωμεν, μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ, μηδὲ ἐν ζύμῃ κακίας καὶ πονηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀζύμοις εἰλικρινείας καὶ ἀληθείας.

LB 679   ⁹Ἔγρα|ψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι πόρνοις· ¹⁰καὶ οὐ πάντως τοῖς πόρνοις

⁶Non est bona gloriatio vestra. An nescitis quod paululum fermenti totam conspersionem fermentat? ⁷Expurgate itaque vetus fermentum, vt sitis noua conspersio, sicut estis infermentati. Nam et pascha nostrum pro nobis immolatus est Christus. ⁸Itaque festum celebremus, non in fermento veteri, nec in fermento maliciae et versutiae, sed in panibus fermento carentibus, hoc est, synceritate et veritate.

⁹Scripsi vobis per epistolam: Ne commisceremini | cum scortatoribus: ¹⁰ac non omnino cum scortatoribus   LB 680

6 υμων E: ημων A-D

9 per epistolam B-E: in epistola A | Ne B-E: Ne denuo A | scortatoribus B-E: fornicariis A |
10 omnino B-E: vtique A | scortatoribus B-E: fornicariis A

6 ὑμῶν. The spelling ἡμῶν in 1516-27, in conflict with the Latin rendering and Erasmus' Basle mss., was probably a misprint.

6 *An nescitis* οὐκ οἴδατε ("Nescitis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,16.

6 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *paululum* μικρά ("modicum" Vg.). A comparable substitution of *paululum vtilitatis* comes at 1 *Tim.* 4,8, in rendering πρὸς ὀλίγον ὠφέλιμος. See on *Ioh.* 6,7; 13,33, for Erasmus' frequent removal of *modicus* and *modicum*, and see also *Annot.* At *Gal.* 5,9, he uses *paulum* rather than the diminutive, *paululum*, to translate the same Greek word.

6 *fermenti* ζύμη ("fermentum" Vg.). The same change occurs at *Gal.* 5,9. See *Annot.* Other instances of the partitive genitive can be seen e.g. at *Mt.* 13,5 (*multum terrae*); *Mc.* 6,35 (*multum temporis*); *Ioh.* 7,33 (1519: *pusillum temporis*).

6 *conspersionem* τὸ φύραμα ("massam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,16. In *Annot.*, Erasmus attributes this changed rendering to Jerome, citing the latter's commentary on *Gal.* 5,9. In Erasmus' 1522 rendering of that passage (see *ad loc.*), the

same substitution occurs. This change was also recommended by Valla *Annot.*

6 *fermentat* ζυμοῖ ("corrumpit" Vg.). The Vulgate verb corresponds with δολοῖ in cod. D*. The substitution of *fermento* is also found at *Gal.* 5,9. See *Annot.*, where Erasmus again cites Jerome as authority for his rendering. The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

7 *itaque* οὖν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B D F G and many other mss., including cod. 2815*. Erasmus here follows cod. 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2815ᵐˢ, 2816, and also 𝔓¹¹ᵛⁱᵈ ℵᶜᵒʳʳ C 048 and many other mss. The version of Manetti put *ergo*.

7 *infermentati* ἄζυμοι ("azymi" Vg.). In the following verse, Erasmus expands the meaning as *panis fermento carens*: see *Annot.* on vs. 8, objecting to the Vulgate transliteration of the Greek word. At other passages, which refer to the feast of unleavened bread, Erasmus retains *azymorum*.

7 *Nam et* καὶ γάρ ("Etenim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

7 *pro nobis* ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓¹¹ᵛⁱᵈ ⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ* A B C*

D F G and twelve later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵcorr Ccorr and about 550 later mss., (cf. Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 193-5). In 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus is inclined to prefer the Vulgate wording. If ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν were not genuine, the phrase could be explained as a theologically motivated addition. If, on the other hand, the words were an authentic part of the text, it is possible that they were accidentally omitted. By an error of homoeoteleuton, for example, a scribe could have passed over from the first ἡμῶν to the second. It may also be noted that a few early mss. omit ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν at 1 *Petr.* 4,1 (πάθοντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί). Valla *Annot.* argued in favour of ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν at the present passage, and this view was followed by Lefèvre.

8 *festum celebremus* ἑορτάζωμεν ("epulemur" Vg.). Erasmus wished to make a clearer connection with the feast of the passover: see *Annot.* His rendering resembles that of Ambrosiaster, *festa celebremus*. Valla *Annot.* suggested *diem festum agamus*. Lefèvre had *celebritatem agamus* in his translation, but gave *celebremus* as an alternative in *Comm.*

8 *nec* μηδέ ("neque" Vg.). Cf. on *Rom.* 2,28.

8 *versutiae* πονηρίας ("nequitiae" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,29. In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that *versutia* supplies a more appropriate contrast with the following use of *veritas*.

8 *panibus fermento carentibus* ἀζύμοις ("azymis" Vg.). See on vs. 7, and *Annot.*

8 *hoc est, synceritate et veritate* εἰλικρινείας καὶ ἀληθείας ("sinceritatis et veritatis" Vg.). Again Erasmus expands the rendering, to yield a clearer sense, whereas the Vulgate is strictly literal. See *Annot.*

9 *per epistolam* ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ("in epistola" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre made the same change.

9 *commisceremini* συναναμίγνυσθαι ("commisceamini" Vg.; "denuo commisceremini" 1516). In 1516, the addition of *denuo* was intended to convey the sense of -ανα-, implying that the Corinthian believers had formerly consorted with the πόρνοι before taking up the Christian faith. See *Annot.* This would have been a legitimate interpretation, in the light of 1 *Cor.* 6,10-11. In later editions of *Annot.*, Erasmus expressed himself more circumspectly on this point. His use of the imperfect

subjunctive was better suited to the Greek infinitive, though inconsistent with his adoption of the present subjunctive, *commisceamini*, in vs. 11. Manetti and Lefèvre had *commisceamini* in both places.

9 *cum scortatoribus* πόρνοις ("fornicariis" Vg.; "cum fornicariis" 1516). By adding *cum* here, and also three times in vs. 10, Erasmus strengthens the link with the preceding verb, *commisceo*, which is sometimes (but not always) accompanied by this preposition in classical usage. He consistently removed all instances of *fornicarius* from the N.T., as it did not occur in classical authors. In 1516, he changed *fornicarius* to *scortator* at just one passage, 1 *Tim.* 1,10, and to *fornicator* at 1 *Cor.* 6,9. Then in 1519, he changed all instances of *fornicator* (1 *Cor.* 6,9; *Eph.* 5,5; *Hebr.* 12,16; 13,4; *Ap. Ioh.* 21,8), and all remaining instances of *fornicarius* (1 *Cor.* 5,9-11), into *scortator*. At one further passage, *Ap. Ioh.* 17,16 (1519), rendering πόρνη rather than πόρνος, he changed *fornicaria* into *meretrix*. Other related changes were the substitution of *scortatio*, *scortum*, and *scortor* in rendering πορνεία, πόρνη, and πορνεύω: see on *Ioh.* 8,41; 1 *Cor.* 6,15, 18. See also *Annot.*

10 *ac* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓46 ℵ* A B C D* F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵcorr Dcorr and most later mss. See also *Annot.* A hypothetical explanation of the discrepancy might be that some scribes added καί to alleviate the transition from πόρνοις to οὐ πάντως. If καί were genuine, however, it could have been omitted by a scribe who had a tendency to abbreviate the text or who wished to heighten the contrast with the preceding words. Other omissions of καί by a few mss. occur in vss. 12 and 13, below. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *et*.

10 *omnino* πάντως ("vtique" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 21,22. The interpretation favoured by Erasmus was that the apostle here instructs the Corinthians to refrain from all association with Christian πόρνοι, but not altogether to shun the company of non-Christians who were guilty of sinful conduct: see *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*, though Lefèvre's main text replaced *non vtique* by *nullo pacto*.

10 *cum scortatoribus* τοῖς πόρνοις ("fornicariis" Vg.; "cum fornicariis" 1516). See on vs. 9.

τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ἢ τοῖς πλε-
ονέκταις, ἢ ἅρπαξιν, ἢ εἰδωλο-
λάτραις. ἐπεὶ ὀφείλετε ἄρα ἐκ
τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελθεῖν. ¹¹νυνὶ δὲ
ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, μὴ συναναμίγνυ-
σθαι. ἐάν τις ἀδελφὸς ὀνομαζό-
μενος, ἢ πόρνος, ἢ πλεονέκτης,
ἢ εἰδωλολάτρης, ἢ λοίδορος, ἢ
μέθυσος, ἢ ἅρπαξ, τῷ τοιού-
τῳ μηδὲ συνεσθίειν. ¹²τί γάρ
μοι καὶ τοὺς ἔξω κρίνειν; οὐχὶ
τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε;   ¹³τοὺς
δὲ ἔξω ὁ θεὸς κρίνει. καὶ
ἐξαρεῖτε τὸν πονηρόν, ἐξ ὑμῶν
αὐτῶν.

mundi huius, aut cum auaris, aut
cum rapacibus, aut simulacrorum
cultoribus. Alioqui vtinam videlicet
e mundo exissetis.   ¹¹Nunc autem
scripsi vobis, ne commisceamini. Si
quis quum frater appelletur, fuerit
scortator, aut auarus, aut simulacro-
rum cultor, aut conuitiator, aut ebri-
osus, aut rapax, cum eiusmodi ne
cibum quidem capiatis.   ¹²Quid enim
ad me attinet, etiam de his qui foris
sunt iudicare? Nonne de his qui intus
sunt, iudicatis?   ¹³Eos vero qui foris
sunt, deus iudicat. Etiam profligate
istum qui malus est, ex vobis ipsis.

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10 simulacrorum B-E: simulachrorum A | Alioqui vtinam B-E: Quandoquidem debetis A |
exissetis B-E: exisse A | 11 scortator B-E: fornicarius A | simulacrorum B-E: simulachro-
rum A | 13 Etiam profligate istum B-E: Et sustollite eum A

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10 *mundi huius* τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ("huius
mundi" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order has little
support other than cod. D. The version of
Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

10 *cum* (2nd. and 3rd.). Erasmus repeats the
preposition, to maintain a clear connection
with the verb *commisceremini*: see on vs. 9.

10 *simulacrorum cultoribus* εἰδωλολάτραις ("ido-
lis seruientibus" Vg.). Comparable substitutions
occur in vs. 11 and at 1 *Cor.* 6,9 (1519); *Eph.*
5,5, and also in replacing *idolatrae* at 1 *Cor.*
10,7. Inconsistently Erasmus retains *idololatris*
at *Ap. Ioh.* 21,8, and *idolis seruientes* at *Ap. Ioh.*
22,15, in rendering the same Greek word. See
on *Rom.* 2,22 for Erasmus' dislike of *idolum*.
Manetti put *idolorum cultoribus*, and Lefèvre
idololatris.

10 *Alioqui* ἐπεί ("alioquin" Vg. 1527 = Vg.
mss.; "Quandoquidem" 1516). At several other
passages, Erasmus is content to retain *alioquin*
before a vowel, but see on *Ioh.* 14,2. For
quandoquidem, see on *Act.* 2,29. See also *Annot.*
on the present passage. In *Annot.*, lemma,
Erasmus cites the Vulgate as having *alioqui*,
which was also used in the Vulgate column of
Lefèvre. The rendering offered by Lefèvre himself
was *quoniam*.

10 *vtinam ... exissetis* ὀφείλετε ... ἐξελθεῖν ("de-
bueratis ... exisse" Vg.; "debetis ... exisse" 1516).
The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having ὠφεί-
λετε, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B* C D* F G and some
other mss. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815 and
2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also
Bᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.* He
treats ὀφείλετε as the equivalent of ὄφελον,
which is uniformly translated as *vtinam* by the
Vulgate and Erasmus at all four passages where
it occurs (1 *Cor.* 4,8; 2 *Cor.* 11,1; *Gal.* 5,12;
Ap. Ioh. 3,15). Lefèvre had *debetis ... exisse*, as in
Erasmus' 1516 edition.

10 *videlicet* ἄρα (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-
sion does not necessarily indicate any difference
of Greek text. Erasmus translates ἄρα in this
way also at *Mc.* 11,13 (1519); 1 *Cor.* 15,14, 15
(1519). More commonly he uses *ergo* or *igitur*.
Lefèvre put *vtique*.

10 *e* ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. Lefèvre
had *ex*.

10 *mundo* τοῦ κόσμου ("hoc mundo" Vg.).
The Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support.
See on *Rom.* 3,6. Lefèvre made the same change
as Erasmus.

11 *ne commisceamini* μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι
("non commisceri" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the

infinitive for indirect commands. See on vs. 9 for his inconsistency as to the tense of this verb. Manetti anticipated this change, while Lefèvre had *vt non commisceamini*.

11 *Si quis* ἐάν τις ("Si is" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more accurate rendering of τίς. Lefèvre put *si quispiam*.

11 *quum ... appelletur* ὀνομαζόμενος ("qui ... nominatur inter vos" late Vg.). Erasmus attributes a concessive sense to the Greek participle. The substitution of the different verb, *appello*, was not strictly necessary. Elsewhere he uses *appello* solely in rendering καλέω, ἐπικαλέομαι, and λέγω, while usually retaining *nomino* for ὀνομάζω. The late Vulgate addition of *inter vos* lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *qui ... nominatur*, omitting *inter vos*.

11 *fuerit* ἤ ("est" Vg.). In Erasmus' text, following codd. 1, 2815ᶜᵒʳʳ, 2816, the Greek word is accented as a particle (= *aut*), rather than a verb (ἤ) as in codd. 2105, 2817. In cod. 2815* the word was at first omitted, but was later restored, either by the original scribe or by a corrector. Erasmus' substitution of *fuerit* could be misunderstood as referring only to the sins which Christians had committed before they believed.

11 *scortator* πόρνος ("fornicator" Vg.; "fornicarius" 1516). The change to *fornicarius* in 1516 produced consistency with Vulgate usage in vss. 9-10. For the further change to *scortator* in 1519, see on vs. 9.

11 *simulacrorum cultor* εἰδωλολάτρης ("idolis seruiens" Vg.). See on vs. 10. Manetti put *idolorum cultor*, and Lefèvre *idololatra*.

11 *conuitiator* λοίδορος ("maledicus" Vg.). Cf. on *Ioh.* 9,28 for Erasmus' substitution of *conuitior* for *maledico* in rendering λοιδορέω. By contrast, at 1 *Cor.* 6,10, he retains *maledicus*. At the present passage he follows the version of Lefèvre. Manetti's translation put *contumeliosus*.

11 *eiusmodi* τῷ τοιούτῳ ("huiusmodi" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). See on *Rom.* 16,18. Manetti had *tali*.

11 *ne cibum quidem capiatis* μηδὲ συνεσθίειν ("nec cibum sumere" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,5 for *ne ... quidem*, and on *Act.* 9,19 for *cibum capio*. Erasmus again avoids the infinitive for this indirect command. Ambrosiaster had *nec cibum quidem sumere*, Manetti *vt ... non comedatis*, and Lefèvre *nolite ... manducare*.

12 *ad me attinet* μοι ("mihi" Vg.). Erasmus makes use of *attineo* at several other passages where an elliptical Greek expression lacked a verb: see e.g. on *Act.* 24,22; *Rom.* 1,15. Sometimes he follows the Vulgate in dispensing with a verb, as at *Mt.* 27,4 (*Quid ad nos?*), or adds *est*, as at *Mc.* 5,7 (*Quid mihi tecum est?*). See *Annot.*, where Erasmus also suggests *mea*, which was the proposed rendering of Valla *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *michi est*.

12 *etiam* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as cod. D and most later mss. See also *Annot.* For another omission of καί, see on vs. 10, above. The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, while Lefèvre put *et*.

12 *iudicatis* ὑμεῖς κρίνετε ("vos iudicatis" Vg.). Erasmus is less accurate here, as the Greek pronoun makes an emphatic contrast with the earlier μοι.

13 *Eos vero* τοὺς δέ ("Nam eos" Vg.). This time, Erasmus is more precise: the Vulgate use of *nam* does not enjoy Greek ms. support. Manetti and Lefèvre put *eos autem*.

13 *iudicat* κρίνει ("iudicabit" Vg.). The Vulgate future tense rests on a different accentuation of the Greek verb, κρινεῖ, as in codd. 1 and 2105.

13 *Etiam* καί (Vg. omits; "Et" 1516). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. Regarding such omissions of καί, see again on vs. 10. The version of Lefèvre began this sentence with *auferte autem*.

13 *profligate* ἐξαρεῖτε ("Auferte" Vg.; "sustollite" 1516). Erasmus' choice of *profligo* is a change for the worse, as in classical literature this has the sense of "crush" or "destroy" rather than "remove" or "expel". In *Annot.*, he suggested *tollite*, consistent with the use of *tollo* for the same Greek verb in vs. 2, above.

13 *istum qui malus est* τὸν πονηρόν ("malum" Vg.; "eum qui malus est" 1516). As explained in *Annot.*, the Greek masculine article shows that the apostle is speaking of a wicked person rather than wickedness itself. A similar point was made by Valla *Annot.*, recommending *scelestum, sontem, noxium*, or *facinorosum*. Manetti

LB 681

6 Τολμᾷ τις ὑμῶν, πρᾶγμα ἔχων πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον, | κρίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδίκων, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων; ²οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινοῦσι; καὶ εἰ ἐν ὑμῖν κρίνεται ὁ κόσμος, ἀνάξιοί ἐστε κριτηρίων ἐλαχίστων; ³οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ἀγγέλους κρινοῦμεν, μήτι γε βιωτικά; ⁴βιωτικὰ μὲν οὖν κριτήρια ἐὰν ἔχητε, τοὺς ἐξουθενημένους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τούτους καθίζετε. ⁵πρὸς ἐντροπὴν ὑμῖν λέγω. οὕτως οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ὑμῖν σοφὸς οὐδὲ εἷς,

6 Sustinet aliquis vestrum, ne|gocium habens cum altero, iudicari sub iniustis, et non magis sub sanctis? ²An nescitis, quod sancti mundum iudicabunt? Et si per vos iudicatur mundus, indigni estis minimis iudiciis? ³An nescitis quod angelos iudicabimus, non tantum ista quae ad victum pertinent? ⁴Proinde iudicia siquidem habueritis de iis quae ad vitae vsum attinent, qui contempti sunt in ecclesia, eos constituite. ⁵Ad erubescentiam vestram dico. Adeo non est inter vos sapiens, ne vnus quidem,

LB 682

6,1 magis *B-E*: om. *A* | 2 per *B-E*: inter *A* | 3 non tantum ista *B-E*: nedum ea *A* | 4 iudicia ... attinent *B-E*: victualia quidem iudicia si habueritis *A*

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put just *nequam*. Lefèvre had *eum qui sceleratus est* in his main text, but proposed *eum qui malus est* in *Comm.*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

6,1 *Sustinet* Τολμᾷ ("Audet" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,7, and *Annot.*

1 *negocium habens* πρᾶγμα ἔχων ("habens negocium" Vg.). Erasmus' translation follows the Greek word-order more closely. Lefèvre put *causam habens*.

1 *cum altero* πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ("aduersus alterum" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literally correct, though Erasmus' use of *cum* is more in accordance with classical Latin idiom. Manetti put *ad alterum*, and Lefèvre *aduersus alium*.

1 *sub iniustis* ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδίκων ("apud iniquos" Vg.; "apud iniustos" 1516-27 *Annot.*, lemma). For the reading used in *Annot.*, lemma, see on vs. 6, below. A similar use of *sub* occurs in vs. 6, and is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of 1 *Tim.* 6,13 (*sub Pontio Pilato*). Cf. also Erasmus' substitution of *sub* for *ante* at *Mc.* 13,9. In *Annot.*, he argues that *sub* is more appropriate and idiomatic, citing Horace (*Ars Poetica* 78) as a precedent. However, since phrases such as *apud iudicem* or *apud magistratum* were well established in Latin usage, there was no real need to change the preposition here. At *Act.* 25,9, Erasmus retains *iudicari apud me* for κρίνεσθαι ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. For *iniustus*, see on *Act.* 24,15. Manetti put *in iniquis*, and Lefèvre *apud iniustos*.

1 *non magis* οὐχί ("non" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds *magis* to amplify the contrast between *iniustis* and *sanctis*. The Vulgate is more literal here. The reading of cod. 2815 was οὐκ, as in a few other late mss.

1 *sub sanctis* ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων ("apud sanctos" Vg.). See on *sub iniustis*, above. Manetti had *in sanctis*.

2 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

2 *mundum* τὸν κόσμον ("de hoc mundo" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *hoc* lacks support from Greek mss. See on *Rom.* 3,6, and *Annot.* The substitution of the accusative is more literal, and was similarly recommended at 1 *Cor.* 5,12 in *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.* However, at that passage, Erasmus' printed version retained *iudico ... de*, and he also uses *de* with *iudico* at *Mt.* 7,2; 12,27. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change at the present passage.

2 *per vos* ἐν ὑμῖν ("in vobis" Vg.; "inter vos" 1516). Erasmus prefers the instrumental sense of ἐν here, which makes better sense in the light of the apostle's previous statement. See also on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre, for the same reason, put *a vobis*.

2 *iudicatur* κρίνεται ("iudicabitur" Vg.). The Vulgate future tense lacks Greek ms. support: see *Annot.*

2 *minimis iudiciis* κριτηρίων ἐλαχίστων ("qui de minimis iudicetis" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here, and follows the wording recommended by Valla *Annot.* The substitution of *iudiciis* was consistent with the Vulgate use of *iudicia* in vs. 4. See also *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *de minimis iudiciis*, while Lefèvre, more obscurely, put *praetoriorum minimorum*.

3 *An nescitis* οὐκ οἴδατε ("Nescitis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,16. Manetti made the same change.

3 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. This change was made by both Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *non tantum ista quae ad victum pertinent* μήτι γε βιωτικά ("quanto magis saecularia" Vg.; "nedum ea quae ad victum pertinent" 1516). In classical usage, the adjective *saecularis* had a specific connection with the centennial games (from *saeculum*, meaning "century" or "generation"). It was only later that it took on the sense of "worldly" or "non-religious". In 1516, Erasmus closely followed a recommendation of Valla *Annot.*, which offered *nedum quae ad victum pertinent*. As alternative renderings of βιωτικά, Valla further recommended *vitalia* or *victualia*. See also *Annot.* In vs. 4, for the sake of variety, Erasmus rendered βιωτικά as *victualia* in 1516, expanded in 1519 to *de iis quae ad vitae vsum attinent.* Lefèvre used *temporalia* for both instances of βιωτικά, rendering the whole phrase in vs. 3 as *nonne et temporalia.* Manetti had *nunquid et secularia.*

4 *Proinde iudicia siquidem habueritis de ... attinent* βιωτικά μὲν οὖν κριτήρια ἐὰν ἔχητε ("Saecularia igitur iudicia si habueritis" Vg.; "Proinde victualia quidem iudicia si habueritis" 1516). See on *Act.* 11,17 regarding *proinde.* The addition of *quidem* in 1516, and the use of *siquidem* in subsequent editions, was intended as a more accurate representation of the Greek particle μέν. For the rendering of βιωτικά, see on vs. 3, and *Annot.* The proposal of Valla *Annot.* was to substitute *itaque* for *igitur*, and *habeatis* for *habueritis.* Lefèvre put *Si temporalia igitur praetoria habeatis.*

4 *qui contempti sunt* τοὺς ἐξουθενημένους ("contemptibiles qui sunt" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. In *Annot.*, he renders more concisely as *contemptos*, which was also given as an alternative by Valla *Annot.* See further on 1 *Cor.* 1,28. Lefèvre had the word-order *eos qui in ecclesia contempti sunt.*

4 *eos* τούτους ("illos" Vg.). The added emphasis of *ille* was not needed here, especially when resuming from the earlier *qui*: see on *Rom.* 1,28; *Gal.* 2,18. Lefèvre made the same substitution: for his word-order, see the previous note. Manetti omitted the pronoun.

4 *constituite* καθίζετε ("constituite ad iudicandum" Vg.). The two extra words in the Vulgate are not explicitly supported by Greek mss., and may be considered as an explanatory addition. Valla *Annot.* tentatively suggested that the verb could be translated by *constituitis*, indicative rather than imperative. See also *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *sedere facitis.*

5 *erubescentiam* ἐντροπήν ("verecundiam" Vg.). The problem with *verecundia* was its ambiguity, meaning "modesty" as well as "shame". Erasmus' choice of *erubescentia* may be compared with his replacement of *vereor* by *rubore suffundo* in rendering ἐντρέπω at *Tit.* 2,8. The substitution of *erubescentia*, however, is also open to objection, since (unlike *erubesco*) it does not occur in classical authors. In *Annot.*, Erasmus followed Valla *Annot.* in suggesting the use of *confusio* (cf. the Vulgate rendering, *confundam*, at 1 *Cor.* 4,14) or *pudor*, which he adopts for ἐντροπή at 1 *Cor.* 15,34.

5 *Adeo* οὕτως ("Sic" Vg.). The same substitution occurs at *Mt.* 26,40 (1519); *Mc.* 7,18; *Gal.* 3,3; *Ap. Ioh.* 16,18 (1519), and also *ita* is replaced by *adeo* at *Hebr.* 12,21, these being passages where the context required an adverb of degree rather than manner. In *Annot.*, Erasmus refers to mss. which attach οὕτως to the previous sentence, though this was not true of any of his Basle mss. Both Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre substituted *siccine.*

5 ἔστιν. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 and most other mss., the text is ἔνι. The substitution of ἔστιν may have been an arbitrary correction, though it has support from 𝔓[11] D F G and some later mss., including cod. 69.

5 *ne vnus quidem* οὐδὲ εἷς ("quisquam" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the Greek variant οὐδείς, as in 𝔓[46] ℵ B C and a few other mss. The word is omitted by 𝔓[11vid] D*. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also D[corr] (F G) and most other mss. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus, while Manetti put *vllus.*

ὃς δυνήσεται διακρῖναι ἀνὰ μέ-
σον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ; ⁶ἀλλὰ
ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ἀδελφοῦ κρίνεται,
καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἀπίστων;
   ⁷Ἤδη μὲν οὖν ὅλως ἥττημα
ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν, ὅτι κρίματα
ἔχετε μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν. διατί οὐχὶ
μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖσθε; διατί οὐχὶ
μᾶλλον ἀποστερεῖσθε; ⁸ἀλλὰ
ὑμεῖς ἀδικεῖτε καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε,
καὶ ταῦτα ἀδελφούς;
   ⁹Ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ἄδικοι
βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρο|νο-
μήσουσι; μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε
πόρνοι, οὔτε εἰδωλολάτραι, οὔτε

qui possit diiudicare inter fratrem
suum et fratrem?   ⁶Sed frater
cum fratre litigat, idque sub
infidelibus.
   ⁷Itaque iam quidem omnino
delictum in vobis est, quod lites
habetis inter vos inuicem. Cur
non potius iniuriam patimini?
Cur non potius damnum acci-
pitis?   ⁸Imo vos iniuriam facitis,
et damno afficitis: idque fratres?
   ⁹An nescitis, quod iniusti, re|gni
dei haereditatem non consequen-
tur? Ne erretis: neque scortatores,
neque cultores simulacrorum, neque

LB 683

LB 684

6,7 εν *A^c B-E: om. A** | υμιν *A** B-E: ημιν *A^c*

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5 *prius* fratrem *A-C E:* fatrem *D* | et fratrem *B C E: om. A,* et fatrem *D* | **6** idque *B-E:* atque id *A* | infidelibus. *E:* infidelibus? *A-D* | **7** inuicem *B-E:* ipsos *A* | **8** iniuriam *B-E:* iuiuriam *A* | **9** scortatores *B-E:* fornicatores *A* | simulacrorum *B-E:* idolorum *A*

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5 *diiudicare* διακρῖναι ("iudicare" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,23. Cod. 2815 has the different word-order ἀνὰ μέσον διακρῖναι, with little or no other ms. support. In cod. 2105, διακρῖναι is replaced by ἀνακρῖναι.

5 *inter fratrem suum et fratrem* ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ("inter fratrem suum" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds *et fratrem* to avoid the apparent impossibility of judging "between" only one person: see *Annot.*

6 *litigat* κρίνεται ("iudicio contendit" Vg.). This change makes clear that the reference is to law-suits, rather than personal arguments. In *Annot.*, Erasmus approves of the Vulgate rendering. Manetti put *in iudicio contendet*, while Lefèvre had the more literal *iudicatur*.

6 *idque* καὶ τοῦτο ("et hoc" Vg.; "atque id" 1516). The Vulgate use of *hoc* is more literal here. Erasmus makes the same change in vs. 8, rendering καὶ ταῦτα, and a similar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 2,8. For *atque* and *-que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,25, 39, respectively. Manetti put *et hoc quidem*.

6 *sub infidelibus* ἐπὶ ἀπίστων ("apud infideles" Vg.). In *Annot.*, without support from any of

his Basle mss., Erasmus cites ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδίκων as the main text, perhaps through confusion with vs. 1, where that phrase belongs. In *Annot.*, lemma, he cites the Vulgate as having *apud iniustos* here in vs. 6, and in 1516-27 *Annot.* he also attributed *apud iniustos* to the Vulgate in vs. 1 (in place of *apud iniquos*, as a rendering of ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδίκων). At neither passage does *iniustos* occur in the 1527 Vulgate column or in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 or 1514. Possibly Erasmus found this reading in one of his other Vulgate sources. Another explanation could be that he has confused the Vulgate wording, at both passages, with Lefèvre's use of *apud iniustos* in vs. 1. A further discrepancy is that, in the 1535 Latin rendering, this sentence ends with a full-stop, whereas in the Greek text it is a question.

7 *Itaque iam quidem* Ἤδη μὲν οὖν ("Iam quidem" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of οὖν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * D* and a few later mss. The version of Manetti had just *Iam*, and Lefèvre *Enimuero iam*.

7 *in vobis est* ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν ("est in vobis" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is less literal. The

omission of ἐν from the 1516 text was in accordance with codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2816, with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D and most later mss. The insertion of ἐν in the 1516 errata may have been prompted by cod. 2105, though this had the different word-order, ἐστιν ἐν ὑμῖν. The 1516 errata also introduced a new error by substituting ἡμῖν for ὑμῖν. Hereafter, the preposition ἐν remained in the *Textus Receptus*. Apart from mss. of the commentary of Theophylact, there seems to be little evidence for the inclusion of this word (contrary to the impression given by the apparatuses of Tischendorf and J. M. A. Scholz). Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti. Lefèvre changed the word-order of this part of the sentence to *in vobis scelus est*.

7 *lites* κρίματα ("iudicia" Vg.). The purpose of this change, no doubt, was to mark some distinction between κρίμα and κριτήριον (which was rendered by *iudicium* in vss. 2 and 4). Cf. the use of *litigo* for κρίνομαι in vs. 6. Lefèvre tried the more cumbersome *iudiciorum altercationes*.

7 *vos inuicem* ἑαυτῶν ("vos" Vg.; "vos ipsos" 1516). Erasmus wishes to convey more emphatically the reflexive sense of the Greek pronoun. Cf. *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre had *vos ipsos*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

7 *Cur* (twice) διατί ("Quare" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 14,10. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

7 *potius* (twice) μᾶλλον ("magis" Vg.). See on *Act*. 20,35. Lefèvre again made the same substitution.

7 *iniuriam patimini ... damnum accipitis* ἀδικεῖσθε ... ἀποστερεῖσθε ("iniuriam accipitis ... fraudem patimini" Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot*., ἀποστερέω does not necessarily involve deceit. In vs. 8, for a similar reason, Erasmus substitutes *damno afficio* for *fraudo*, though at 1 *Cor*. 7,5 *fraudo* is retained. At *Act*. 7,24, he replaced *iniuriam patientem* with *iniuria affici*. Manetti put *iniuriam accipitis ... defraudamini*, and Lefèvre *iniuriam sustinetis ... priuationem rerum toleratis*.

8 *Imo* ἀλλά ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Act*. 19,2. Manetti had *et*, and Lefèvre *Verum*.

8 *damno afficitis* ἀποστερεῖτε ("fraudatis" Vg.). See on vs. 7. Lefèvre put *spolia aufertis*.

8 *idque* καὶ ταῦτα ("et hoc" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of καὶ τοῦτο, as

in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D 048 and a few later mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. This difference of text raises the question of whether the plural ταῦτα was a later change, designed to refer to both ἀδικεῖτε and ἀποστερεῖτε, or whether τοῦτο was substituted through familiarity with Pauline usage elsewhere, especially in view of the occurrence of καὶ τοῦτο in vs. 6. In *Annot*., Erasmus argued that *et haec*, the literal rendering of Lefèvre, was not acceptable as a classical Latin idiom. See also on vs. 6.

8 *fratres* ἀδελφούς ("fratribus" Vg.). This change is affected by Erasmus' use of *afficio* earlier in the verse. See *Annot*.

9 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same substitution.

9 *iniusti* ἄδικοι ("iniqui" Vg.). See on *Act*. 24,15. The same change was again made by Lefèvre.

9 *regni ... haereditatem non consequentur* βασιλείαν ... οὐ κληρονομήσουσι ("regnum ... non possidebunt" Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek verb more accurately, as referring to inheritance rather than possession. See *Annot*. A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor*. 15,50. Elsewhere *possideo* is replaced by *haereditatem accipio* in vs. 10, and at *Mt*. 5,5; 1 *Cor*. 15,50 (b); by *haereditatem sortior* at *Mt*. 19,29; and by *consequor* at *Lc*. 18,18 (1519). Erasmus further replaces *haeredito* by *haereditatem accipio* at *Hebr*. 6,12; by *haereditario iure assequor* at *Hebr*. 12,17 (1519); and by *sortior* at *Hebr*. 1,4; 12,17 (1516 only). Another rendering for κληρονομέω is *haeres sum*, used at *Gal*. 4,30 (= Vulgate); 5,21 (for *consequor*); *Hebr*. 1,14 (for *haereditatem capio*). However, Erasmus is content to use *possideo* at *Mt*. 25,34; *Mc*. 10,17; *Lc*. 10,25; *Ap*. *Ioh*. 21,7, and *haereditate possideo* at 1 *Petr*. 3,9. At the present passage, Lefèvre put *regnum ... non haereditabunt*.

9 *Ne erretis* μὴ πλανᾶσθε ("Nolite errare" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 11,18. Manetti anticipated this change.

9 *scortatores* πόρνοι ("fornicarii" Vg.; "fornicatores" 1516). See on 1 *Cor*. 5,9, and *Annot*.

9 *cultores simulacrorum* εἰδωλολάτραι ("idolis seruientes" Vg.; "cultores idolorum" 1516). See on 1 *Cor*. 5,10. Manetti had *idolorum cultores*, similar to the wording of Erasmus' 1516 edition, while Lefèvre put *idololatrae*.

μοιχοί, οὔτε μαλακοί, οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖ
ται, ¹⁰ οὔτε κλέπται, οὔτε πλεονέκται,
οὔτε μέθυσοι, οὐ λοίδοροι, οὐχ ἅρ
παγες, βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονο
μήσουσι· ¹¹ καὶ ταῦτά τινες ἦτε, ἀλλὰ
ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιάσθητε, ἀλλὰ
ἐδικαιώθητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυ
ρίου Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ
θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

¹² Πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάν
τα συμφέρει. πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ'
οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπό τινος.
¹³ τὰ βρώματα τῇ κοιλίᾳ, καὶ ἡ κοιλία
τοῖς βρώμασιν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ ταύτην
καὶ ταῦτα καταργήσει. τὸ δὲ σῶμα
οὐ τῇ πορνείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ
ὁ κύριος τῷ σώματι. ¹⁴ ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ
τὸν κύριον ἤγειρε, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ
διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.

adulteri, neque molles, neque qui
concumbunt cum masculis, ¹⁰ neque
fures, neque auari, neque ebriosi, neque maledici, neque rapaces, regni dei
haereditatem accipient. ¹¹ Atque haec
eratis quidam, sed abluti estis, sed
sanctificati estis, sed iustificati estis per
nomen domini Iesu, et per spiritum
dei nostri.

¹² Omnia mihi licent, at non omnia
conducunt. Omnium mihi potestas
est, at ego non redigar sub vllius
potestatem. ¹³ Escae ventri destinatae
sunt, et venter escis: deus autem et
hunc et illas abolebit. Corpus vero
non stupro, sed domino, et dominus corpori. ¹⁴ Deus autem et dominum suscitauit, et nos suscitabit
per potentiam suam.

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10 κληρονομησουσι *A-D*: κληρομησουσι *E* | 12 ου *B-E*: ουκ *A* | ουκ *B-E*: ουκ κ *A* |
13 τοις *A-D*: της *E*

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9 qui ... masculis *C-E*: masculorum concubitores *A*, qui concumbunt masculis *B* | 11 haec *B-E*:
hoc *A* | per nomen *B-E*: in nomine *A* | per spiritum *B-E*: in spiritu *A* | 13 destinatae
sunt *B-E*: om. *A* | stupro *B-E*: fornicationi *A*

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9 *qui concumbunt cum masculis* ἀρσενοκοῖται
("masculorum concubitores" 1516 = Vg.; "qui
concumbunt masculis" 1519). By converting
this phrase into a subordinate clause, Erasmus
made the meaning more explicit, see *Annot.*
The noun *concubitor* was rare in classical usage.
However, at 1 *Tim.* 1,10, he retained *masculorum
concubitoribus*. Lefèvre had *cinaedi*, which Erasmus
rejected as unsuitable.

10 οὔτε κλέπται, οὔτε πλεονέκται. This was
the word-order of cod. 2817, along with ℵ A
B C 048 and many later mss. In codd. 1, 2105,
2815, 2816 and many other late mss., κλέπται
and πλεονέκται were transposed. (𝔓⁴⁶ D* had
οὐδὲ κλέπται οὐδὲ πλεονέκται, and Dᶜᵒʳʳ οὐδὲ
πλεονέκται οὐδὲ κλέπται).

10 *regni ... haereditatem accipient* βασιλείαν ...
κληρονομήσουσι ("regnum ... possidebunt"
Vg.). See on vs. 9. Lefèvre put *regnum ...
haereditabunt.*

11 *Atque* καί ("Et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

11 *haec* ταῦτα ("hoc" 1516 Lat.). The use of
the singular, in 1516, does not appear to have
been based on a different Greek text.

11 *eratis quidam* τινες ἦτε ("aliquando quidem
fuistis" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of
aliquando lacks Greek ms. support. In *Annot.*,
Erasmus follows Valla *Annot.* in arguing that
quidem was a later scribal alteration of *quidam*.
His substitution of *eratis* for *fuistis* gave a more
accurate rendering of the Greek imperfect tense.

Manetti put *aliquando fuistis*, omitting *quidem*, whereas Lefèvre put *quidam fuistis*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

11 ἀλλά (3rd.). In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 and most other late mss., the final -α was elided (ἀλλ᾽ ἐδικαιώθητε). In Erasmus' edition, the spelling ἀλλά was possibly an arbitrary correction, though it also occurs in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D and some later mss.

11 *per nomen ... per spiritum* ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι ... ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ("in nomine ... in spiritu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

11 *Iesu* Ἰησοῦ ("nostri Iesu Christi" Vg. mss.; "Iesu Christi" Vg. 1527). The reading *Iesu Christi* corresponds with Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ D*, while the further addition of *nostri* reflects the variant ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, as in codd. B Cᵛⁱᵈ. Since the later mss. are sometimes said to be characterised by pious expansions of the text, it is noteworthy that on this occasion most of the mss. exhibit a shorter wording, as adopted here by Erasmus, following codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and also A Dᶜᵒʳʳ. Both Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* made the same change.

12 *at* (twice) ἀλλ᾽ ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

12 *conducunt* συμφέρει ("expediunt" Vg.). The same substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 10,23, and *conducit* also replaces *vtile est* at 2 *Cor.* 8,10. In the same way, *vtilitas* is replaced by *conducibile* at 1 *Cor.* 7,35. Erasmus elsewhere retains *expedio* at seven passages in Matthew and John, together with 2 *Cor.* 12,1, and he also replaces *vtilitas* by *expedio* at 1 *Cor.* 12,7, but in each of these instances *expedio* is used only in the third person singular, as an impersonal verb. He seems to have considered that *expedio* (in the sense of "be profitable or expedient") was unsuitable for use with a plural subject. Lefèvre made the same change, while Manetti had *conferunt*.

12 *Omnium ... potestas est* πάντα ... ἔξεστιν ("Omnia ... licent" Vg.). Erasmus explains in *Annot.* that he wishes to maintain the linguistic connection between ἔξεστιν and ἐξουσιάζω. However, he was inconsistent in translating the repeated phrase πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν in two different ways in this verse. Lefèvre's solution was to render this Greek phrase by *omnia in mea sunt potestate* in both places.

12 *ego non redigar sub vllius potestatem* οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπό τινος ("ego sub nullius redigar potestate" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is more precise, and his use of the accusative after *redigo sub* is more in accordance with classical Latin usage. Cf. *Annot.*

13 *Escae ventri destinatae sunt* τὰ βρώματα τῇ κοιλίᾳ ("Esca ventri" Vg.; "Escae ventri" 1516). The Vulgate use of *esca*, if understood as a feminine singular, was not an accurate representation of the Greek plural. Alternatively, if *esca* was intended as a neuter plural (as suggested by the reading *deus ... haec destruet*, in the second part of the sentence, in some earlier mss. of the Vulgate), this was contrary to its accepted status as a feminine noun in classical Latin. Erasmus adds *destinatae sunt* to amplify the sense. Cf. on *Rom.* 8,36, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *cibus ventri*, and Lefèvre *escae erunt ventri*.

13 *et hunc* καὶ ταύτην ("hunc" Vg. 1527). The omission of *et* in the the 1527 Vulgate column, following the 1514 Froben Vulgate, lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns) included *et*.

13 *illas* ταῦτα ("hanc" late Vg.). Erasmus prefers *illas* in this context, marking a contrast between *escae* and *venter*. The late Vulgate use of the singular was based on the assumption that *esca* was feminine rather than neuter: see above, and see also *Annot.* The rendering of Ambrosiaster (1492) and some late Vulgate mss. was *has*, while the earlier Vulgate had *haec*. The rendering of Lefèvre was the same as that of Erasmus, while Manetti put *hos*, to agree with his substitution of *cibis* for *escis* earlier in the verse.

13 *abolebit* καταργήσει ("destruet" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6.

13 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti made the same change.

13 *stupro* τῇ πορνείᾳ ("fornicationi" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,41.

14 *autem* δέ ("vero" Vg.). Erasmus may have felt that the Greek particle, in this instance, had a more strongly adversative sense. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

14 *potentiam* τῆς δυνάμεως ("virtutem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. Erasmus again has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

¹⁵ Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστιν; ἄρας οὖν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποιήσω πόρνης μέλη; μὴ γένοιτο. ¹⁶ ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ, ἓν σῶμά ἐστιν; Ἔσονται γάρ, φησίν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. ¹⁷ ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ, ἓν πνεῦμά ἐστι.

¹⁸ Φεύγετε τὴν πορνείαν. πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ὃ ἐὰν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος, ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ πορνεύων, εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει. ¹⁹ ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν, ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματός ἐστιν, οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἑαυτῶν; ²⁰ ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς.

¹⁵An nescitis, quod corpora vestra, membra sunt Christi? Num igitur tollens membra Christi, faciam scorti membra? Absit. ¹⁶An nescitis quod qui adglutinatur scorto, vnum corpus est? Redigentur enim, inquit, duo in carnem vnam. ¹⁷At qui adglutinatur domino, vnus spiritus est.

¹⁸Fugite scortationem. Omne peccatum quodcunque fecerit homo, extra corpus est: sed qui scortatur, in proprium corpus peccat. ¹⁹An nescitis quod corpus vestrum, templum est habitantis in vobis spiritus sancti, quem habetis a deo, et non estis ipsi vestri iuris? ²⁰Nam empti estis precio.

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15 *alt.* χριστου *B-E*: χριτου *A*

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16 Redigentur *B-E*: Erunt *A* | 18 scortationem *B-E*: fornicationem *A* | scortatur *B-E*: fornicatur *A* | 19 corpus vestrum *C-E*: corpora vestra *A B* | templum est habitantis *C-E*: templum eius, qui est *A*, sint templum eius, qui est *B* | sancti *B-E*: sancti est *A*

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15 *An nescitis* Οὐκ οἴδατε ("Nescitis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,16.

15 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre both made this substitution.

15 *Num igitur tollens* ἄρας οὖν ("Tollens ergo" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 1,13 for *num*, and on *Ioh.* 6,62 for *igitur*. Lefèvre put *Tollens igitur*.

15 *scorti membra* πόρνης μέλη ("membra meretricis" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is supported by codd. D F G and a few later mss. The substitution of *scortum*, both here and in vs. 16, is consistent with the use of *scortor* for πορνεύω in vs. 18 (1519). Elsewhere Erasmus prefers *meretrix*. In the Vulgate, the word *scortum* is used eight times in the O.T., but nowhere in the N.T. See further on 1 *Cor.* 5,9.

16 ἢ. This word is omitted in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, along with 𝔓⁴⁶ D and many later mss. Erasmus' text follows his cod. 2817, supported

by cod. 2816 and many other mss., commencing with ℵ A B C F G.

16 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

16 *qui adglutinatur* ὁ κολλώμενος ("qui adhaeret" Vg.). This substitution of *adglutino* occurs again in the next verse, and also in rendering προσκολλάομαι at *Mt.* 19,5 (1519): see on *Act.* 5,36, and *Annot.* In a similar context, at *Mc.* 10,7, Erasmus retains *adhaereo*.

16 *scorto* τῇ πόρνῃ ("meretrici" Vg.). See on vs. 15.

16 *est* ἐστιν ("efficitur" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise here. See *Annot.*, where he complains that the Vulgate rendering is too emphatic. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

16 *Redigentur* Ἔσονται ("Erunt" 1516 = Vg.). This change was prompted by the following Greek preposition, εἰς, which appeared to suggest movement or action. It could be objected that

Erasmus, having just complained of the excessive emphasis of *efficio*, now introduces an even stronger word to render the same Greek verb. At *Mc.* 10,8 (1519), he prefers *fient*, but retains *erunt* at *Mt.* 19,5, both of which passages contain the same Greek expression, ἔσονται ... εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

16 *in carnem vnam* εἰς σάρκα μίαν ("in carne vna" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, and made the same substitution at *Mt.* 19,5; *Mc.* 10,8 (1516 only). At the latter passage, in 1519, he went further and put *caro vna*, omitting the preposition. See *Annot.* The preference of Valla *Annot.* (referring back to this passage in a note on vs. 18) seems to have been that the Vulgate rendering should be retained.

17 *At qui adglutinatur* ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος ("Qui autem adhaeret" Vg.). For *at*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26, and for *adglutino*, see on vs. 16.

17 *domino* τῷ κυρίῳ ("deo" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column, which follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514, is unsupported by Greek mss.

18 *scortationem* τὴν πορνείαν ("fornicationem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,41; 1 *Cor.* 5,9.

18 *Omne* πᾶν ("Omne enim" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' correction produces the same wording as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

18 *sed qui scortatur* ὁ δὲ πορνεύων ("qui autem fornicatur" Vg.; "sed qui fornicatur" 1516). For *sed*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. The use of *scortor* is consistent with Erasmus' substitution of *scortum*, *scortatio*, and *scortator* in rendering πόρνη, πορνεία, and πόρνος: see on vs. 15, and on *Ioh.* 8,41; 1 *Cor.* 5,9. He replaces *fornicor* with *scortor* at five passages in the Apocalypse, though at 1 *Cor.* 10,8 he makes use of *stupris inquino* and *stupris polluo* to render the same Greek verb. As a result of these changes in 1519-22, the non-classical *fornicor* was eliminated from the N.T.

18 *proprium corpus* τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ("corpus suum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,11. A similar change occurs e.g. at 1 *Cor.* 7,4. Manetti put *corpus proprium*, but Valla *Annot.* recommended *corpore suo*, and Lefèvre *proprio corpore*.

19 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

19 *corpus vestrum* τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ("membra vestra" Vg.; "corpora vestra" 1516-19 Lat.). The Vulgate implies a Greek text having τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν, which appears to have no ms. support. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the noun as plural, σώματα, consistent with his Latin rendering of 1516-19. As he has a tendency towards occasional abbreviation of quotations in *Annot.* (especially in the 1516 edition), he probably meant, in full, τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, which was the reading of cod. 2105 (Theophylact), together with cod. A^corr and many later mss., as well as the Greek text of Lefèvre *Comm.* In support of *corpora vestra*, Erasmus additionally mentioned "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster) and Jerome *Adv. Iouinianum* II, 19 (*PL* 23, 314 B). Lefèvre also adopted this plural rendering. However, Erasmus' codd. 1, 2815, 2816^vid, 2817 had τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν, as in 𝔓^46 ℵ A* B C D F G and many other mss., corresponding with *corpus vestrum* in the version of Manetti.

19 *templum est* ναὸς ... ἐστιν ("templum sunt" late Vg.; "templum ... est" 1516; "sint templum" 1519). The use of *sunt* in the late Vulgate, or *sint* in Erasmus' 1519 edition, is consequent upon the adoption of a plural subject, whether *membra* or *corpora*. Cf. *Annot.* and Valla *Annot.* The change to *templum est*, in 1522, in effect restored the earlier Vulgate wording, which was also adopted by Manetti and Lefèvre (except that Lefèvre positioned these words after *qui est in vobis*).

19 *habitantis in vobis spiritus sancti* τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος ("spiritus sancti qui in vobis est" Vg.; "eius, qui est in vobis spiritus sancti" 1516-19). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order, though his use of *habitantis* is an explanatory addition, perhaps prompted by 1 *Cor.* 3,16. Lefèvre put *spiritus sancti qui est in vobis*.

19 *ipsi vestri iuris* ἑαυτῶν ("vestri" Vg.). Erasmus again expands the meaning, for the sake of clarity. See also *Annot.* on vs. 20.

20 *Nam empti estis* ἠγοράσθητε γάρ ("Empti enim estis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

20 *precio* τιμῆς ("precio magno" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *magno* lacks Greek ms. support, and appears to be an interpretative addition. See *Annot.*, and also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 182, ll. 353-359. This reading is listed in the *Quae Sint Addita*. The same correction was advocated by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

LB 685

δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὑμῶν, | ἅτινά ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ.

7 Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατέ μοι, καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ, γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι. ² διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας, ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυ- τοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω, καὶ ἑκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα ἐχέτω. ³ τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὔνοιαν ἀποδιδότω, ὁμοί- ως δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ ἀνδρί. ⁴ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνήρ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει, ἀλλ' ἡ γυνή.

Glorificate iam deum in corpore ve- stro, et in spiritu vestro, quae sunt dei. |

LB 686

7 Caeterum de quibus scripsistis mihi: Bonum est homini, vxo- rem non attingere. ² Attamen propter stupra vitanda, suam quisque vxorem habeat: et suum quaeque virum habe- at. ³ Vxori vir debitam beneuolentiam reddat: similiter autem et vxor viro. ⁴ Vxor proprii corporis ius non habet, sed maritus. Similiter et maritus pro- prii corporis ius non habet, sed vxor.

7,1 Caeterum *B-E*: Ceterum *A* | **2** stupra ... quisque *B-E*: fornicationes, vnusquisque suam *A* | suum quaeque virum *B-E*: vnaquaeque virum suum *A* | **3** beneuolentiam *B-E*: beniuolen- tiam *A* | **4** *prius* ius *B-E*: potestatem *A*

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20 *iam* δή ("et portate" Vg.). The Vulgate has little support from Greek mss. and may have originated in a marginal comment which offered ἄρατε as a synonym or exposition of the preceding word, δοξάσατε, or which proposed ἄρα γε as a synonym for δή. To some degree, the Vulgate reading (or rather its Old Latin source) may also have been doctrinally moti- vated, e.g. with a view to connecting the passage with 2 *Cor.* 4,10; *Gal.* 6,17. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre substituted *itaque*.

20 *et in spiritu vestro, quae sunt dei* καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὑμῶν, ἅτινά ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ (Vg. omits). The lengthy Vulgate omission is sup- ported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C* D* F G and fifteen later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816, as well as C^corr D^corr and about 550 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 198-200). See *Annot.* These nine words have been considered by some critics to be of spurious origin. A different explanation of this discrepancy is that an ancient scribe, by an error of parablepsis, omitted one or two complete lines of text, and that his defective copy became the source for several further mss. The scribe of 𝔓⁴⁶, for example, was demonstrably prone to commit- ting lengthy errors of omission, mostly through

homoeoteleuton but also through mere para- blepsis, as may be seen e.g. at 1 *Cor.* 10,28, where 𝔓⁴⁶ (or its exemplar) mistakenly omitted the words τὸν μηνύσαντα καὶ τὴν συνείδησιν. Erasmus' rendering here agrees with Valla *Annot.* In Manetti, it is *et in spiritu vestro, qu(a)ecunque sunt dei*, and in Lefèvre, *et in spiritu vestro, quae dei sunt*.

7,1 *Caeterum de quibus* Περὶ δὲ ὧν ("De quibus autem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2.

1 *vxorem* γυναικός ("mulierem" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that the Greek word, though ambiguous in itself, should be rendered here as *vxor*, on the grounds that the rest of the passage clearly speaks of the relationship of husband and wife, and not merely man and woman. The change was doctrinally significant as this verse was sometimes alleged as a proof text for the practice of monastic or priestly celibacy. In his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 184, ll. 361-373, Erasmus further defended his translation of the passage. Simi- lar substitutions occur in twelve other places, e.g. at *Mt.* 5,28; 19,10; *Mc.* 12,22. However, Erasmus retains *mulier*, in similar contexts, at *Mt.* 22,27; *Lc.* 20,32; 1 *Cor.* 7,13; 9,5, and changes *vxor* to *mulier* at *Mc.* 10,12. Lefèvre put *vxori* at the present passage.

1 *attingere* ἅπτεσθαι ("tangere" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus explains the verb as meaning to marry, and not merely to "touch". A similar substitution of *attingo* occurs in rendering προσψαύω at *Lc.* 11,46. Erasmus renders all other instances of ἅπτομαι by *tango*. Lefèvre rendered the whole phrase by *si vxori non iungatur*.

2 *Attamen propter stupra vitanda* διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας ("propter fornicationem autem" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "propter fornicationes autem" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st; "Attamen propter fornicationes" 1516). The use of the singular, *fornicationem*, in many Vulgate mss., is probably only a matter of translation, though codd. F G offer τὴν πορνίαν. Erasmus elsewhere uses *attamen* (generally as an alternative to *autem* or *tamen*) in rendering δέ at *Mt.* 6,29; 11,11; 14,9; *Lc.* 7,28 (1519); 1 *Cor.* 7,28, 38 (1519), 40; 2 *Petr.* 1,13, and also uses it for πλήν at *Mt.* 11,22; *Phil.* 1,18; 3,16; 4,14, and for ἀλλά at 2 *Tim.* 1,12 (1519). In the Vulgate, *attamen* is nowhere used in the N.T., but occurs in about twenty O.T. passages. Erasmus does not often use *propter* in a purposive sense, though another example can be found at 1 *Cor.* 10,11 (*propter admonitionem*). See on *Ioh.* 8,41 regarding *stupra*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *scortationes*. The addition of *vitanda* was for the sake of clarity. Manetti had *propter fornicationes autem*, and Lefèvre *ob fornicationes tamen*.

2 *suam quisque* τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ("vnusquisque suam" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,3 regarding *quisque*. Lefèvre put *vnusquisque suam ipsius*.

2 *suum quaeque virum* ἑκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα ("vnaquaeque suum virum" Vg.; "vnaquaeque virum suum" 1516). For *quaeque*, see again on on *Rom.* 12,3. Manetti put *vnaqu(a)eque proprium virum*, and Lefèvre *quaeque proprium ... virum*, both making a more precise distinction between ἑαυτοῦ and ἴδιον.

3 *debitam beneuolentiam* τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὔνοιαν ("debitum" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text substituting τὴν ὀφειλήν, as in 𝔓^11vid 46vid ℵ A B C D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. In *Annot.*, he also recorded the variant τὴν ὀφειλομένην τιμήν, which occurs in the homilies of Chrysostom. Erasmus expressed his opinion that τὴν ὀφειλήν was the original reading, and that this had later been changed (possibly from a desire to moderate any sexual connotation)

into τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὔνοιαν. This plausible argument has subsequently been widely adopted. An alternative explanation is possible. If ὀφειλομένην εὔνοιαν had been the original wording, a marginal note which offered τιμήν as an exposition of εὔνοιαν (based e.g. on *Rom.* 13,7; 1 *Petr.* 3,7) might have induced one or more scribes to substitute τιμήν in their text. The further step from ὀφειλομένην τιμήν to the shorter ὀφειλήν is of a kind that could easily arise from an accidental omission of letters. Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre all advocated *debitam benivolentiam* (*sic*).

4 *Vxor ... vxor* ἡ γυνή ... ἡ γυνή ("Mulier ... mulier" Vg.). See on vs. 1. This change was likewise proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

4 *proprii* (twice) τοῦ ἰδίου ("sui" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,11; 1 *Cor.* 6,18. Manetti and Lefèvre offered the same wording.

4 *ius non habet* (twice) οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ("potestatem non habet" Vg.; "potestatem non habet ... ius non habet" 1516). By this change, Erasmus perhaps wished to convey the sense of "right" or "authority" rather than physical control. Cf. his frequent substitution of *autoritas* for *potestas* in rendering ἐξουσία in the synoptic Gospels (see on *Act.* 26,12); in the rest of the N.T., he usually retains *potestas*. Lefèvre put *non habet potestatem* (twice).

4 *maritus* (twice) ὁ ἀνήρ ("vir" Vg.). The rationale for this change is the same as for changing *mulier* to *vxor* throughout this passage. A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 1,16, 19; 1 *Cor.* 7,11, 13, 14, 16, 39; 1 *Tim.* 3,2, 12; *Tit.* 2,4. In the Vulgate, the word *maritus* is used at about thirty O.T. passages, but nowhere in the N.T.

4 *Similiter et* ὁμοίως δὲ καί ("Similiter autem et" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is inconsistent with vs. 3, where he used the Vulgate wording to translate the same Greek expression. He also has *similiter autem et* at *Iac.* 2,25, where the Vulgate omitted *autem*. He follows the Vulgate in putting *similiter autem* at *Lc.* 5,10, and *similiter et* at *Lc.* 10,32. At the present passage, he was possibly influenced by cod. 2815* which omitted δέ. The word was restored in 2815^corr, but it is represented only by a compendium, which could easily have been overlooked by a later reader. Another influence could have been Ambrosiaster, who had exactly the same wording. Lefèvre put *Simili quoque modo et*.

⁵μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μή τι
ἐὰν ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρόν, ἵνα
σχολάζητε τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ προσ-
ευχῇ· καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συν-
έρχησθε, ἵνα μὴ πειράζῃ ὑμᾶς ὁ
σατανᾶς διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὑμῶν.

⁶Τοῦτο δὲ λέγω κατὰ συγγνώ-
LB 687 μην, οὐ | κατ’ ἐπιταγήν. ⁷θέλω
γὰρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἶναι, ὡς
καὶ ἐμαυτόν. ἀλλ’ ἕκαστος ἴδιον
χάρισμα ἔχει ἐκ θεοῦ, ὃς μὲν
οὕτως, ὃς δὲ οὕτως.

⁸Λέγω δὲ τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ
ταῖς χήραις, καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν
ἐὰν μείνωσιν ὡς κἀγώ. ⁹εἰ δὲ

⁵Ne fraudetis vos inuicem, nisi
si quid ex consensu, pro tempore
vt vacetis ieiunio et precationi: et
rursum in vnum conueniatis, ne
tentet vos satanas propter intem-
perantiam vestram.

⁶Hoc autem dico iuxta indul-
gentiam, non iuxta praeceptum. | LB 688
⁷Nam velim omnes homines esse,
vt et ipse sum. Sed vnusquisque
proprium donum habet ex deo,
alius quidem sic, alius autem sic.

⁸Dico autem inconiugatis et
viduis, bonum eis est si man-
serint vt et ego: ⁹quod si

5 precationi *B-E*: orationi *A* | in vnum *B-E*: ad idipsum *A* | 6 indulgentiam *B-E*: ignoscen-
tiam *A* | praeceptum *B-E*: preceptum *A* | 8 inconiugatis *B-E*: innuptis *A*

5 *Ne fraudetis* μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ("Nolite frau-
dare" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18, and *Annot.* The
same change was made by Manetti. Lefèvre's
version had *Nolite priuati esse ab.*

5 *vos inuicem* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 4,33.

5 *nisi si quid* εἰ μή τι ἐάν ("nisi forte" Vg.).
The spelling ἐάν is not used by Erasmus' codd.
1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817, and may have been
an arbitrary correction or a misprint. The text
cited in *Annot.*, and attested by nearly all mss.,
has ἄν for ἐάν, though the word is completely
omitted in 𝔓⁴⁶ B. At *Lc.* 9,13; 2 *Cor.* 13,5, where
the text has just εἰ μή τι, without ἄν, Erasmus
replaces *nisi forte* with *nisi* and *nisi sicubi*, re-
spectively. At the present passage, Manetti put
just *nisi*, and Lefèvre *nisi aliquantulum.*

5 *pro tempore* πρὸς καιρόν ("ad tempus" Vg.).
Erasmus also uses *pro tempore* for εἰς τὸν καιρόν
at *Hebr.* 9,9, though he is content to retain *ad
tempus* for πρὸς καιρόν at *Lc.* 8,13.

5 *ieiunio et* τῇ νηστείᾳ καί (Vg. omits). The
Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓¹¹ᵛⁱᵈ ⁴⁶ ℵ *
A B C D F G and thirty-two other mss. Eras-
mus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside
1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ and about 540 other
mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2,
pp. 200-3). See *Annot.* It is possible to see how
different parties within the early church might
have had doctrinal reasons either for adding

or for deleting this reference to the practice of
fasting (cf. the omission of καὶ νηστείᾳ by
three early mss. at *Mc.* 9,29). It may also be
noted that a common form of scribal error
could have caused a copyist to leap from τῇ
before νηστείᾳ to τῇ before προσευχῇ, resul-
ting in the loss of three words from the text.
Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction
as Erasmus.

5 *precationi* τῇ προσευχῇ ("orationi" 1516
= Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,14. The article τῇ was
omitted in 1516 *Annot.*, contrary to Erasmus'
Basle mss.

5 *rursum* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
15,10. Lefèvre put *rursus.*

5 *in vnum conueniatis* ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέρχησθε
("reuertimini in id ipsum" Vg.; "ad idipsum
conueniatis" 1516). The Vulgate use of *reuertor*
("return") lacks support from Greek mss. A few
mss., commencing with 𝔓¹¹ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A B C D
F G, have ἦτε for συνέρχησθε. It has been
suggested that συνέρχησθε (or -εσθε) originated
as a later explanatory comment. An alternative
view would be that one or more scribes objected
to the sexual overtones of συνέρχησθε in such
a context (cf. πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτούς in *Mt.*
1,18), and hence substituted the more neutral
ἦτε. In 1535 *Annot.*, referring to Augustine and
Origen, Erasmus speculates that these reflected
a Greek text having γίνεσθε. His own text

follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105 and most other late mss. (cf. also συνέρχεσθε in 𝔓⁴⁶ and cod. 2816). His substitution of *in vnum* is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of *Mt.* 22,34; *Lc.* 17,35; *Act.* 4,26; 1 *Cor.* 11,20; 14,23. See also on 1 *Cor.* 11,20. Manetti put *in id ipsum conuenite*, and Lefèvre *simul conuenite*.

5 *intemperantiam* τὴν ἀκρασίαν ("incontinentiam" Vg.). Erasmus translates ἀκρασία in the same way at *Mt.* 23,25 (1519). Cf. also his substitution of *temperantia* for *continentia* in rendering ἐγκράτεια at *Gal.* 5,23. See *Annot.* His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster (1492).

6 *iuxta* (twice) κατὰ ... κατ᾽ ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

6 *indulgentiam* συγγνώμην ("ignoscentiam" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the variant γνώμην, which he found in his cod. 2815, with support from few other mss. His use of the comparatively rare word, *ignoscentia*, in 1516, was perhaps prompted by the desire to improve on Lefèvre's suggestion of *permissionem*. In 1519, he reverted to the Vulgate wording.

6 *non* οὐ ("et non" Vg. 1527). The addition of *et* in the 1527 Vulgate column, and also in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514, lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

6 *praeceptum* ἐπιταγήν ("imperium" Vg.). This substitution is consistent with Vulgate usage at vs. 25, though Erasmus is content to use *secundum imperium* to replace *quasi imperans* in rendering κατ᾽ ἐπιταγήν at 2 *Cor.* 8,8. For his treatment of this Greek word elsewhere, see on *Rom.* 16,26. Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *Nam velim* θέλω γάρ ("Volo autem" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text substituting δέ for γάρ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815ᶜᵒʳʳ and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., this time commencing with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ B Dᶜᵒʳʳ. In cod. 2815*, γάρ was altogether omitted, though reinstated by a later corrector. Erasmus follows Lefèvre in using the more tactful subjunctive, *velim*, probably so as to avoid the appearance of contradicting the apostle's previous assurance that this was not to be understood as a command. A similar use of *velim* occurs in vs. 32. Cf. the substitution

of *nolim* for *nolo* at 1 *Cor.* 10,1, 20, and see also *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was *Volo enim*, and Lefèvre *Velim autem*.

7 *homines* ἀνθρώπους ("vos" late Vg.). The late Vulgate is unsupported by Greek mss. Erasmus' correction agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

7 *vt et ipse sum* ὡς καὶ ἐμαυτόν ("sicut me ipsum" Vg.). The Vulgate omission of *et* has little support from Greek mss. For *vt*, see on *Rom.* 1,21. Erasmus adds *sum* to complete the sense. Manetti had *sicut et me ipsum*, and Lefèvre *tanquam et me ipsum*.

7 *autem* δέ ("vero" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,10.

8 *inconiugatis* τοῖς ἀγάμοις ("non nuptis" Vg.; "innuptis" 1516). One problem with *non nuptis* was that it could have been misunderstood as implying, "I am not speaking to the married and the widows". The adoption of *innuptis* in 1516 conforms with the example of the Vulgate at 1 *Cor.* 7,11, 34. However, in classical usage, *innuptis* would have been applicable mainly to unmarried women, corresponding with the variant reading ταῖς ἀγάμοις, exhibited by codd. 2105, 2815 and a few other late mss. Where the Greek word is accompanied by the masculine article, it can include both sexes. See *Annot.* The 1519 substitution of *inconiugatis* was still not satisfactory, as it has no classical precedent. Lefèvre put *iis qui sine vxore sunt*, possibly influenced by Valla *Annot.*, which likewise advocated a masculine sense.

8 *eis est* αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ("est illis" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order would correspond more closely with ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, but since this has little ms. support, a more probable influence was a Greek text which altogether omitted ἐστιν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. (cod. 2105 omits ἐστιν, and has αὐταῖς for αὐτοῖς). For the removal of *illis*, see on *Rom.* 1,28. Manetti put *est ipsis*, and Lefèvre *ipsis est*.

8 *si manserint vt* ἐὰν μείνωσιν ὡς ("si sic permanserint sicut" late Vg.). The Vulgate use of the doubled *sic ... sicut* could reflect the addition of οὕτως after ἐάν, as in cod. C. For *vt*, see on *Rom.* 1,21. A similar substitution of *maneo* occurs at 1 *Cor.* 7,20, 24, 40; 1 *Tim.* 2,15; 2 *Tim.* 3,14 (1516 only); 1 *Petr.* 1,23; 2 *Ioh.* 9. Erasmus retains *permaneo* for μένω at *Ioh.* 6,27; 1 *Ioh.* 2,19, 24; 2 *Ioh.* 2. More often he uses *permaneo*

οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν.
κρεῖσσον γάρ ἐστι γαμῆσαι, ἢ
πυροῦσθαι.

¹⁰Τοῖς δὲ γεγαμηκόσι παραγγέλ-
λω, οὐκ ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ κύριος, γυ-
ναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρισθῆναι·
¹¹ἐὰν δὲ καὶ χωρισθῇ, μενέτω ἄγα-
μος, ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταλλαγήτω· καὶ
ἄνδρα γυναῖκα μὴ ἀφιέναι. ¹²τοῖς
δὲ λοιποῖς ἐγὼ λέγω, οὐχ ὁ κύριος.

Εἴ τις ἀδελφὸς γυναῖκα ἔχει
ἄπιστον, καὶ αὐτὴ συνευδοκεῖ οἰκεῖν
μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀφιέτω αὐτήν· ¹³καὶ
γυνὴ ἥτις ἔχει ἄνδρα ἄπιστον, καὶ
αὐτὸς συνευδοκεῖ οἰκεῖν μετ᾽ αὐτῆς,

se non continent, contrahant matri-
monium. Nam satius est matrimo-
nium contrahere, quam vri.

¹⁰At coniugatis praecipio, non
ego, imo dominus: Vxor a viro ne
separetur: ¹¹quod si separata fuerit,
maneat innupta, aut marito recon-
cilietur: et maritus vxorem ne dimit-
tat. ¹²Reliquis autem ego dico, non
dominus.

Si quis frater vxorem habet in-
fidelem, et haec assentitur vt habitet
cum illo, ne dimittat eam: ¹³et mu-
lier quae habet maritum infidelem,
et is assentitur vt habitet cum ea,

7,11 ανδρι *A-C D^b E*: αν *D** | 12 συνευδοκει *B-E*: συνευδοηει *A*

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9 se ... contrahant matrimonium *B-E*: intemperantes sunt, nubant *A* | matrimonium con-
trahere *B-E*: nubere *A* | 10 At coniugatis *A B D E*: A coniugatis *C* | praecipio *B-E*: dico *A* |
11 dimittat *B-E*: amittat *A* | 12 dimittat *B-E*: amittat *A* | 13 maritum *A B D E*: maritu *C*

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for the compound forms of the Greek verb,
such as διαμένω, ἐπιμένω and παραμένω.
Manetti had *si sic permanent sicut*, and Lefèvre
si maneant quemadmodum.

9 *se non continent* οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται ("non se
continent" Vg.; "intemperantes sunt" 1516).
The substitution of *intemperantes* in 1516 was
too emphatic. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had
the same wording as Erasmus' 1519 edition,
while Lefèvre put *continere non valent*.

9 *contrahant matrimonium ... matrimonium con-
trahere* γαμησάτωσαν ... γαμῆσαι ("nubant
... nubere" 1516 = Vg.). The reading γαμείτωσαν
(for γαμησάτωσαν) in cod. 2815 has support
from some other late mss. Erasmus' text fol-
lows cod. 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and
most other mss. A similar substitution of *ma-
trimonium contraho* occurs at *Mt.* 19,10; 22,30;
24,38; *Mc.* 12,25; 1 *Tim.* 4,3. Erasmus, following
the tendency of classical Latin authors, prefers
to reserve *nubo* for the marriage of women. See
Annot. on *Mt.* 19,10 as well as on the present
passage. Lefèvre put *nuptiis intendant ... nuptiis
intendere*.

9 *Nam satius est* κρεῖσσον γάρ ἐστι ("Melius
est enim" Vg.). For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34.
A similar substitution of *satius* occurs at

2 *Petr.* 2,21, in the sense of "preferable" rather
than "better". In rendering κρεῖττον at 1 *Petr.*
3,17, Erasmus replaces *melius est* with *praestat*.
The spelling κρεῖττον, which he uses in *Annot.*,
occurs in codd. 2105 and 2817, and also in
(𝔓⁴⁶) ℵ B D and a few later mss. In his con-
tinuous Greek text, κρεῖσσον is in agreement
with codd. 1, 2815, 2816, together with most
other mss., commencing with A C F G. The
version of Lefèvre had *Nam melius est*.

10 *At coniugatis* Τοῖς δὲ γεγαμηκόσι ("His au-
tem qui matrimonio iuncti sunt" Vg.). Erasmus'
more economical rendering formed a suitable
antithesis to *inconiugatis* in vs. 8. In *Annot.*,
lemma, the Vulgate rendering is cited as having
iunctae (referring only to wives), in accordance
with some Vulgate copies. For *at*, see on *Ioh.*
1,26. Manetti put *His autem qui nupserunt*, and
Lefèvre *Iis autem qui nuptiis sunt addicti*.

10 *praecipio* παραγγέλλω ("dico" 1516). The
surprisingly weak rendering, *dico*, is not used
elsewhere by Erasmus for παραγγέλλω, and
seems to have been a deliberate harmonisation
with vs. 8.

10 *imo* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2.
The substitution of ἀλλά may have been a
misprint as codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817

all have ἀλλ' ὁ, together with 𝔓⁴⁶ Dᶜᵒʳʳ G and most other mss. The reading of codd. ℵ A B Cᵛⁱᵈ D*, and a few later mss., is ἀλλὰ ὁ.

10 *Vxor ... ne separetur* γυναῖκα ... μὴ χωρισθῆναι ("vxorem ... non discedere" Vg.). A similar substitution of *separo* occurs in vs. 11. Erasmus retains *discedo* for the same Greek verb in vs. 15, and also in *Act.* 1,4. His use of the subjunctive ignores the subtlety of the Greek syntax of vss. 10-11, in which there is a shift from infinitive to imperative, and back again to infinitive. Lefèvre put *mulier ... non separetur.*

11 *separata fuerit* χωρισθῇ ("discesserit" Vg.). See on vs. 10. Lefèvre had *separetur.*

11 *maneat innupta ... reconcilietur* μενέτω ἄγαμος ... καταλλαγήτω ("manere innuptam ... reconciliari" Vg.). The Vulgate use of these infinitives has little support from Greek mss. other than μένειν ... καταλλαγῆναι in codd. F G, and represents an attempt to harmonise the construction with the previous infinitive, χωρισθῆναι. See 1516 *Annot.* The wording of Erasmus agreed with that of Valla *Annot.* and Manetti, while Lefèvre had *maneat sine viro ... reconcilietur.*

11 *marito ... maritus* τῷ ἀνδρὶ ... ἄνδρα ("viro suo ... vir" Vg.). See on vs. 4 for *maritus.* The Vulgate addition of *suo* has little explicit support from Greek mss., but is legitimate for the purpose of translation. Manetti and Lefèvre put *viro ... vir.*

11 *ne* μή ("non" late Vg.). Erasmus felt that the use of *ne* was more appropriate to accompany the subjunctive. In effect, he restored the earlier Vulgate reading. The same change occurs in vss. 12-13. See on *Rom.* 14,3.

11 *dimittat* ἀφιέναι ("amittat" 1516). A similar substitution of *amitto* occurs in vss. 12-13 (1516 only), and also in rendering ἀπολύω at *Mt.* 15,23; 19,7 (1516-19 only). This use of *amitto* in 1516 was a questionable change, as it could be understood as meaning "lose" or "be parted from" rather than "send away" or "divorce".

12 *Reliquis autem* τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ("Nam caeteris" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *nam* is unsupported by Greek mss. For *reliquis*, see on *Rom.* 1,13. Manetti had *Ceteris autem*, and Lefèvre *De caeteris autem.*

12 *ego dico* ἐγὼ λέγω ("dico ego" Vg. 1527). The word-order of the 1527 Vulgate column, and also the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514, corresponds with the reading λέγω ἐγώ,

found in 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A B C and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816, and also (D) F G and most other mss. His rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

12 *assentitur* συνευδοκεῖ ("consentit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 22,20. The same change occurs in vs. 13.

12 *vt habitet* οἰκεῖν ("habitare" Vg.). Erasmus prefers to avoid the infinitive after verbs expressing various kinds of decision, treating these in the same way as indirect commands. The same substitution occurs in vs. 13. Cf. also the replacement of *seruare* by *vt seruet* after the verb *decreuit* in vs. 37, below.

12 *ne* μή ("non" Vg.). See on vs. 11.

12 *dimittat* ἀφιέτω ("amittat" 1516). See on vs. 11.

12 *eam* αὐτήν ("illam" Vg.). The added emphasis of *illam* was not required at this point. See on *Rom.* 1,28. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

13 *mulier quae* γυνὴ ἥτις ("si qua mulier fidelis" late Vg.). The Vulgate use of *si qua* may reflect a Greek text having γυνὴ εἴ τις, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ D* F G and many other mss., including 2816*ᵛⁱᵈ. The late Vulgate addition of *fidelis*, however, lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105ᵐᵍ, 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ, with A B Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. (cod. 2105* omitted καὶ γυνὴ ... αὐτόν). The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *si qua mulier*, while Lefèvre *Comm.* put *si vxor quaepiam.*

13 *maritum* ἄνδρα ("virum" Vg.). See on vs. 4.

13 *is* αὐτός ("hic" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek variant, οὗτος, supported by 𝔓¹¹ ⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105ᵐᵍ, 2816, as well as Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *ipse.*

13 *assentitur* συνευδοκεῖ ("consentit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 22,20. The same change occurs in vs. 12.

13 *vt habitet* οἰκεῖν ("habitare" Vg.). See on vs. 12.

13 *ea* αὐτῆς ("illa" Vg.). This change was not strictly necessary, as *illa* has the sense of "the former", as required by the context. In the parallel passage in vs. 12, Erasmus had retained

μὴ ἀφιέτω αὐτόν. ¹⁴ἡγίασται γὰρ ὁ
ἀνὴρ ὁ ἄπιστος ἐν τῇ γυναικί, καὶ
ἡγίασται ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἄπιστος ἐν τῷ
ἀνδρί. ἐπεὶ ἄρα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκά-
θαρτά ἐστι, νῦν δὲ ἅγιά ἐστιν. ¹⁵εἰ
δὲ ὁ ἄπιστος χωρίζεται, χωριζέσθω.
οὐ δεδούλωται ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἡ ἀδελ-
φὴ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ
κέκληκεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός. ¹⁶τί γὰρ οἶδας,
γύναι, εἰ τὸν ἄνδρα σώσεις; ἢ τί οἶ-
δας, ἄνερ, εἰ τὴν γυναῖκα σώσεις;

¹⁷Εἰ μὴ ἑκάστῳ ὡς ἐμέρισεν ὁ
θεός, ἕκαστον ὡς κέκληκεν ὁ κύριος,
οὕτως περιπατείτω· καὶ οὕτως ἐν
LB 689   ταῖς ἐκκλη|σίαις πάσαις διατάσσομαι.

ne dimittat illum. ¹⁴Sanctificatus est
enim maritus incredulus per vxorem,
et sanctificata est vxor incredula per
maritum. Alioqui filii vestri immun-
di essent, nunc autem sancti sunt.
¹⁵Quod si incredulus discedit, disce-
dat. Non est seruituti subiectus frater
aut soror in huiusmodi, sed in pace
vocauit nos deus. ¹⁶Qui namque scis
mulier, an maritum sis seruatura? Aut
qui scis vir, an vxorem sis seruaturus?

¹⁷Vtcunque fuerit, vnusquisque vt
ipsi partitus est deus, vnusquisque vt
illum vocauit dominus, ita | ambulet: LB 690
et sic in ecclesiis omnibus ordino.

14 alt. ηγιασται A* B-E: ηγιασθαι Aᵇ | επει B-E: επι A

13 dimittat B-E: amittat A | 14 incredulus per vxorem B-E: infidelis, in vxore A | incredula per
maritum B-E: infidelis, in marito A | essent B-E: sunt A | 15 incredulus B-E: infidelis A |
17 ipsi B-E: ille A*, illi Aᶜ

illo. More consistently Manetti and Lefèvre
both put eo in vs. 12, and ea here in vs. 13.

13 ne μή ("non" Vg.). See on vs. 11.

13 dimittat ἀφιέτω ("amittat" 1516). See on
vs. 11.

13 illum αὐτόν ("virum" Vg.). The Vulgate is
based on a Greek text substituting τὸν ἄνδρα,
as used by 𝔓¹¹ ⁴⁶ ℵᶜᵒʳʳ A B C D F G and some
later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and
2817, along with 1, 2105ᵐᵍ, 2816 and most
other late mss. (cf. αὐτὸν ἄνδρα in cod. ℵ *).
The question here is whether the shorter text
adopted by Erasmus represents a later harmo-
nisation designed to reproduce the format of
vs. 12 (μὴ ἀφιέτω αὐτήν), or whether τὸν ἄν-
δρα began as a scribal attempt at clarification.
Manetti put eum, and Lefèvre ipsum.

14 maritus ὁ ἀνήρ ("vir" Vg.). See on vs. 4.

14 incredulus ... incredula ἄπιστος ... ἄπιστος
("infidelis ... infidelis" 1516 = Vg.). See on
Rom. 15,31. This change is partly for the sake
of stylistic variety, in view of the retention of
infidelis at 1 Cor. 6,6; 7,12, 13.

14 per vxorem ἐν τῇ γυναικί ("per mulierem
fidelem" late Vg.; "in muliere fideli" Vg. mss.;
"in vxore" 1516). For vxor, see on vs. 1. The

addition of fidelem in the late Vulgate, and of
fideli in the earlier Vulgate, corresponds with
τῇ πιστῇ in codd. D F G, though the text of
these mss. is possibly no more than a retrans-
lation from the Latin at this point. In 1516
Annot., Erasmus omits τῇ, contrary to his Basle
mss. This passage is included in the Quae Sint
Addita. Manetti made the same change as Eras-
mus (though the first hand of Pal. Lat. 45 fol-
lowed the Vulgate), while Lefèvre put in muliere.

14 vxor ἡ γυνή ("mulier" Vg.). See on vs. 1.
Manetti again made the same change.

14 per maritum ἐν τῷ ἀνδρί ("per virum fi-
delem" Vg.; "in marito" 1516). For maritus, see
on vs. 4. The Vulgate addition of fidelem has
support from only six late mss., which add
πιστῷ. Twenty-one mss., commencing with
𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B C D* (F) G, have ἀδελφῷ instead
of ἀνδρί. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and
2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also
ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 560 later mss. (see Aland
Die Paulinischen Briefe vol. 2, pp. 206-8). See
Annot. This textual variation has prompted the
suggestion that ἀνδρί was substituted by scribes
who wished to avoid ἀδελφῷ being misunder-
stood to refer, in a literal sense, to the woman's
brother. An alternative possibility is that ἀδελφῷ

and *virum fidelem* represented divergent explanatory doctrinal glosses, which both aimed to make clear that an unbeliever could not be sanctified through his or her spouse unless the latter were a Christian. Manetti had *per virum* (though the first hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45 again followed the Vulgate), and Lefèvre *in viro*.

14 *Alioqui* ἐπεὶ ἄρα ("Alioquin" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 5,10. Lefèvre made the same change.

14 *essent* ἐστι ("sunt" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus tried a more literal rendering. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

15 *incredulus* ἄπιστος ("infidelis" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 14.

15 *Non est seruituti subiectus* οὐ δεδούλωται ("Non enim seruituti subiectus est" late Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *enim* does not enjoy Greek ms. support. Erasmus, as elsewhere, chooses to move the auxiliary verb to an earlier position: cf. on *Rom.* 2,27. Manetti put *Non enim seruituti addictus est*, and Lefèvre *neque seruituti subiectus sit*.

15 *aut* ἤ ("vel" Vg. 1527). See on *Ioh.* 2,6. The 1527 Vulgate column agreed with the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514. Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

15 *huiusmodi* τοῖς τοιούτοις ("eiusmodi" Vg.). Cf. on *Rom.* 16,18. Erasmus' wording agreed with the rendering of Ambrosiaster. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *in talibus*.

15 *sed in pace* ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ ("in pace autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

15 *nos* ἡμᾶς ("vos" late Vg.). The late Vulgate reflected the substitution of ὑμᾶς, occurring in cod. 2105, and also in ℵ* A C and a few later mss. Erasmus follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵᶜᵒʳʳ B D F G. See *Annot.* Erasmus' correction produced agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *Qui ... qui* τί ... τί ("Vnde ... vnde" Vg.). This may be compared with Erasmus' substitution of *Qui* for *Quid* in rendering τί at *Mc.* 4,40. See also on *Rom.* 8,32 for his use of *qui* in this sense at other passages. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *Quid ... quid* here (cf. Ambrosiaster, *Quid ... vnde*).

16 *namque* γάρ ("enim" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,21.

16 *an* (twice) εἰ ("si" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 9,25.

16 *maritum* τὸν ἄνδρα ("virum" Vg.). See on vs. 4.

16 *sis seruatura ... sis seruaturus* σώσεις ... σώσεις ("saluum facies ... saluam facies" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,17 for *seruo*. The use of the subjunctive in Latin was normal for this kind of indirect question, and more appropriate, in view of the implied uncertainty. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *saluabis* (twice).

16 *vxorem* τὴν γυναῖκα ("mulierem" Vg.). See on vs. 1. Erasmus' choice of word was the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

17 *Vtcunque fuerit* Εἰ μή ("Nisi" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the variant ἤ μή from cod. 2817ᶜᵒʳʳ, and mentions the recommendation of 2817ᶜᵒᵐᵐ that εἰ μή (*sic*) should be attached to the end of the previous sentence. He uses *vtcunque* only once elsewhere in the N.T., to render ὡς ἄν at 1 *Cor.* 12,2. Lefèvre had *Nichil nisi*.

17 *vnusquisque vt ipsi* ἑκάστῳ ὡς ("vnicuique sicut" Vg.; "vnusquisque vt illi" 1516 errata). Erasmus' expanded rendering provides a clearer subject for the verb, *ambulet*. Lefèvre had *vt vnicuique*.

17 *partitus est* ἐμέρισεν ("diuisit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,3. Lefèvre put *impertitus est*.

17 *deus ... dominus* ὁ θεὸς ... ὁ κύριος ("dominus ... deus" Vg.). The Vulgate transposition reflects a different Greek text, ὁ κύριος ... ὁ θεός, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105ᶜᵒʳʳ, 2816* and most other late mss. (cf. Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 208-12). Manetti made the same change, whereas Lefèvre put *deus* in both places.

17 *vnusquisque vt illum* ἕκαστον ὡς ("vnumquemque sicut" Vg.). See on ἑκάστῳ ὡς, above. Lefèvre had *Vt vnumquemque*.

17 *sic* οὕτως ("sicut" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre (and also by Vgˢᵗ, apparently without support from any Vulgate mss.).

17 *ecclesiis omnibus* ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάσαις ("omnibus ecclesiis" Vg.). The Vulgate possibly reflects a different Greek word-order, πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, as in cod. ℵ and many later mss.

17 *ordino* διατάσσομαι ("doceo" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering is nearer to the Greek variant διδάσκω, exhibited by codd. D* F G, but the

¹⁸ περιτετμημένος τις ἐκλήθη; μὴ
ἐπισπάσθω. ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ τις
ἐκλήθη; μὴ περιτεμνέσθω. ¹⁹ ἡ
περιτομὴ οὐδέν ἐστι, καὶ ἡ
ἀκροβυστία οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ
τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ.
²⁰ Ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ κλήσει ᾗ ἐκλή-
θη, ἐν ταύτῃ μενέτω. ²¹ δοῦλος
ἐκλήθης; μή σοι μελέτω· ἀλλ᾽
εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέ-
σθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι. ²² ὁ γὰρ
ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος, ἀπ-
ελεύθερος κυρίου ἐστίν. ὁμοίως
καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθείς, δοῦλός
ἐστι Χριστοῦ. ²³ τιμῆς ἠγοράσθη-
τε, μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλοι ἀνθρώπων.
²⁴ ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη, ἀδελφοί,
ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω παρὰ θεῷ.
²⁵ Περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἐπι-
ταγὴν κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω· γνώμην
δὲ δίδωμι, ὡς ἠλεημένος ὑπὸ
κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι. ²⁶ νομίζω
οὖν τοῦτο καλὸν ὑπάρχειν διὰ
τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην. ὅτι
καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ οὕτως εἶναι.

¹⁸ Circuncisus aliquis vocatus est? Ne
accersat praeputium. In praeputio ali-
quis vocatus est? Ne circuncidatur.
¹⁹ Circuncisio nihil est, et praeputi-
um nihil est, sed obseruatio man-
datorum dei.
²⁰ Vnusquisque in ea vocatione in
qua vocatus fuit, maneat. ²¹ Seruus
vocatus es? Ne sit tibi curae: quin
etiam si potes liber fieri, potius
vtere. ²² Etenim qui in domino
vocatus est seruus, libertus domini
est. Similiter et qui liber vocatus
fuit, seruus est Christi. ²³ Pretio
empti fuistis, nolite fieri serui homi-
num. ²⁴ Vnusquisque in eo, in quo
vocatus fuit, fratres, maneat apud
deum.
²⁵ De virginibus autem praeceptum
domini non habeo: consilium tamen
do, tanquam misericordiam conse-
quutus a domino, in hoc vt sim
fidelis. ²⁶ Arbitror igitur hoc bonum
esse propter praesentem necessitatem.
Nam bonum est homini sic esse.

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18 *prius* est? *B-E*: est, *A* | praeputium *B-E*: preputium *A* | praeputio *B-E*: preputio *A* |
alt. est? *B-E*: est, *A* | 19 praeputium *B-E*: preputium *A* | 20 Vnusquisque *A B D E*:
Vunusquisque *C* | ea *B-E*: *om. A* | maneat *B-E*: in hac maneat *A* | 21 es? *B-E*: es, *A* |
23 nolite fieri *B-E*: Ne fiatis *A* | 24 in eo ... fratres *B-E*: in quo vocatus fuit fratres, in eo *A* |
26 Arbitror *B-E*: Puto *A*

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latter may in turn represent a retranslation
from the Latin. For the use of *ordino*, see on
Act. 7,44, and *Annot.* The same change was
made by Lefèvre.

18 *Ne* (twice) μή ("Non" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
14,3.

18 *accersat praeputium* ἐπισπάσθω ("adducat
praeputium" Vg.). Erasmus regarded *adduco*
as being an indelicate expression to use in
the present context: see *Annot.*, and also
Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., *ASD* IX, 2, p. 184,
ll. 375-382. The version of Lefèvre was *attrahat
praeputium.*

18 *In praeputio* ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ ("In praeputio
autem" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate addition
of *autem*, following the Froben Vulgate of 1514,
lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' rendering
agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster,
Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

19 ἡ (2nd.). This article was omitted in
cod. 2815, whereas most other mss. contain
it.

20 *in ea vocatione in qua* ἐν τῇ κλήσει ᾗ ...
ἐν ταύτῃ ("in qua vocatione ... in ea" Vg.;
"in vocatione in qua ... in hac" 1516). Eras-
mus finds a more natural Latin word-order.

A similar alteration occurs in vs. 24. Ambrosiaster had *in ea vocatione in qua ... in ipsa*, and Lefèvre *in vocatione qua ... in ea*.

20 *vocatus fuit* ἐκλήθη ("vocatus est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. Inconsistently Erasmus retains *vocatus es* in vs. 21, and *vocatus est* in vs. 22 (a).

20 *maneat* μενέτω ("permaneat" Vg.). See on vs. 8. Lefèvre also made this change.

21 *Ne* μή ("Non" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,3.

21 *quin etiam si* ἀλλ' εἰ καί ("sed et si" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,17 for *quin*. This substitution occurs again at *Phil.* 2,17. At 1 *Petr.* 3,14, Erasmus uses *Imo si ... etiam* in rendering the same Greek phrase. See further on 1 *Cor.* 8,5. Manetti put *sed si*, and Lefèvre *attamen si*.

21 *liber fieri* ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι ("fieri liber" late Vg.). Erasmus' word-order is more literal, agreeing with that of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

21 *potius* μᾶλλον ("magis" Vg.). See on *Act.* 20,35. Lefèvre translated this part of the sentence by *maiorem operam impende*.

22 *Etenim qui* ὁ γάρ ("Qui enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. Lefèvre had *nam qui*.

22 *domini est* κυρίου ἐστίν ("est domini" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. In cod. 2815, with a few other late mss., κυρίου is omitted.

22 *et* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓[15 46] ℵ A B and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. In codd. D F G and a few later mss., it is δὲ καί. Both Manetti and Lefèvre included *et*.

22 *vocatus fuit* κληθείς ("vocatus est" Vg.). See on vs. 20, and on *Rom.* 4,2.

23 *empti fuistis* ἠγοράσθητε ("empti estis" Vg.). See *ibid*.

23 *nolite fieri* μὴ γίνεσθε ("Ne fiatis" 1516). See on *Rom.* 11,18. Erasmus reverted to the Vulgate rendering in 1519, perhaps thinking that the hortative use of *fio* was not sufficiently in accordance with classical idiom. Manetti had *ne efficiamini*.

24 *Vnusquisque* ἕκαστος ("Vnusquisque ergo" late Vg. = Vg. 1527). In *Annot.*, lemma, *ergo* is omitted, as in the earlier Vulgate. There appears to be no Greek ms. support for adding the

word. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

24 *in eo, in quo* ἐν ᾧ ... ἐν τούτῳ ("in quo ... in hoc" Vg.; "in quo ... in eo" 1516). See on vs. 20. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

24 *vocatus fuit* ἐκλήθη ("vocatus est" Vg.). See on vs. 20, and *Rom.* 4,2.

24 *fratres* ἀδελφοί ("frater" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of the singular lacks Greek ms. support, and probably arose by attraction to the adjacent singular verbs, *vocatus est* and *maneat*. In its correct form, the word is to be taken as a vocative plural. See *Annot.* Erasmus' version agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster (who placed the word after *vnusquisque*), Manetti and Lefèvre.

24 *maneat* μενέτω ("permaneat" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). See on vs. 8. Erasmus again has the same wording as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. Manetti put *remaneat*.

25 *tamen* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. This change is for the sake of stylistic variety, in view of the use of *autem* earlier in the sentence. Lefèvre again made the same change.

25 *in hoc vt sim* εἶναι ("vt sim" Vg.). Erasmus' addition of *in hoc* emphasises that this clause expresses a purpose. A comparable substitution of *in hoc ... vt* can be seen at 1 *Thess.* 4,11. See also on *Rom.* 1,20.

26 *Arbitror* νομίζω ("Existimo" Vg.; "Puto" 1516). The substitution of *arbitror* is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of νομίζω at *Mt.* 10,34; 20,10. Erasmus' use of *puto*, as found here in 1516, recurs at vs. 36, following the example of the Vulgate at *Mt.* 5,17; *Lc.* 3,23. More often he has *existimo* for this Greek verb (cf. on *Act.* 2,15), and uses *arbitror* for ἡγέομαι and λογίζομαι. Lefèvre had *Censeo*.

26 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Lefèvre made the same change. Some late Vulgate copies have *enim*, as in Lefèvre's Vulgate column.

26 *praesentem* ἐνεστῶσαν ("instantem" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Hebr.* 9,9, consistent with Vulgate usage at 1 *Cor.* 3,22; *Gal.* 1,4. Erasmus retains *instans* at *Rom.* 8,38. See *Annot.* This change produced agreement with Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

26 *Nam* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,24. Manetti and Lefèvre put *quod*.

²⁷δέδεσαι γυναικί; μὴ ζήτει λύσιν.
λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικός; μὴ ζήτει γυ-
ναῖκα.   ²⁸ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γήμῃς, οὐχ
ἥμαρτες. καὶ ἐὰν γήμῃ ἡ παρθέ-
νος, οὐχ ἥμαρτε. θλίψιν δὲ τῇ
σαρκὶ ἕξουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι. ἐγὼ δὲ
ὑμῶν φείδομαι.   ²⁹τοῦτο δέ φημι,
ἀδελφοί, ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος· τὸ
λοιπόν ἐστιν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες γυ-
ναῖκας, ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ὦσι·   ³⁰καὶ
οἱ κλαίοντες, ὡς μὴ κλαίοντες· καὶ
οἱ χαίροντες, ὡς μὴ χαίροντες· καὶ
οἱ ἀγοράζοντες, ὡς μὴ κατέχοντες·
³¹καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τού-
τῳ, ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι. παράγει
γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.
³²θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους εἶναι.
ὁ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου,

²⁷Alligatus es vxori? Ne quaere diuor-
tium. Solutus es ab vxore? Ne quaeras
vxorem. ²⁸Quod si duxeris vxorem,
non peccasti. Et si nupserit virgo,
non peccauit. Attamen afflictionem
in carne habituri sunt huiusmodi.
Ego vero vobis parco. ²⁹Caeterum
illud dico fratres, tempus contractum
est: superest, vt qui habent vxores,
sint tanquam non habeant: ³⁰et qui
plorant, tanquam non plorent: et
qui gaudent, tanquam non gaudeant:
et qui emunt, tanquam non possi-
deant: ³¹et qui vtuntur mundo hoc,
tanquam non vtantur. Praeterit enim
habitus huius mundi. ³²Velim autem
vos absque sollicitudine esse. Qui coe-
lebs est, curat ea quae sunt domini,

---

27 vxori? *B-E*: vxori, *A* | quaere *B-E*: quere *A* | diuortium *C-E*: solutionem *A B* |
vxore? *B-E*: vxore, *A* | quaeras *B-E*: queras *A* | **29** Caeterum illud *B-E*: Hoc autem *A* |
30 possideant *B-E*: teneant *A* | **31** Praeterit *B-E*: preterit *A*

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27 *Ne quaere ... Ne quaeras* μὴ ζήτει ... μὴ
ζήτει ("noli quaerere ... noli quaerere" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 11,18. Manetti put *ne queras*
(= *ne quaeras*), twice.

27 *diuortium* λύσιν ("solutionem" 1516-19
= Vg.). In classical Latin, as indicated in
Annot., *solutio* is not the correct term for
divorce. At the same time, Erasmus conceded
that *diuortium* did not offer such a good contrast
with the preceding *alligatus*, and it also broke
the linguistic link between λύσις and λύω,
which the Vulgate had attempted to convey by
using *solutionem* and *solutus*.

28 *Quod si* ἐὰν δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on
Rom. 3,25. Lefèvre put *attamen si*.

28 *duxeris vxorem* γήμῃς ("acceperis vxorem"
Vg.). This change was in accordance with Vul-
gate usage at *Mt.* 22,25; *Lc.* 14,20; 17,27; 20,35.
Erasmus retains *vxorem accipio* for γυναῖκα
λαμβάνω at *Mc.* 12,19-20; *Lc.* 20,28-9. At the

present passage he has the same rendering as
Lefèvre. Manetti had *nupseris*.

28 *Attamen afflictionem* θλίψιν δέ ("Tribula-
tionem tamen" Vg.). See on vs. 2 for *attamen*,
and on *Ioh.* 16,21 for *afflictio*. Manetti put
Tribulationem autem, and Lefèvre *praessuram
tamen*.

28 *in carne* τῇ σαρκί ("carnis" Vg.). Erasmus
is more accurate here. See *Annot.* The version
of Lefèvre had *ob carnem*.

28 *habituri sunt* ἕξουσιν ("habebunt" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 2,6 for Erasmus' more frequent use
of the future participle. At the present passage,
an advantage of the future participle was that
it could indicate more precisely the identity of
the subject: here, the use of *habituri* avoided the
possibility that *habebunt huiusmodi* might be
misunderstood to refer solely to females, seeing
that the immediately preceding subject was
virgo.

28 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.
Lefèvre had *tamen.*

29 *Caeterum illud* τοῦτο δέ ("Hoc itaque" Vg.;
"Hoc autem" 1516). The Vulgate use of *itaque,*
normally representing οὖν or ὥστε, does not
seem to reflect a Greek variant at this passage.
For *caeterum,* see on *Act.* 6,2. For the use of
illud to refer to a following statement, see on
Rom. 6,6. Manetti and Lefèvre put *Hoc autem,*
as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

29 *contractum* συνεσταλμένος ("breue" Vg.).
Erasmus looks for a more expressive rendering
to convey this Greek compound verb, not
merely "short" but "constricted". Cf. *Annot.*

29 *superest* τὸ λοιπόν ἐστιν ("reliquum est"
Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,2. Inconsistently Erasmus
substitutes *quod reliquum est* for *de caetero* in
rendering τὸ λοιπόν at *Phil.* 4,8. He further
replaces *superest* by *reliquum est* in rendering
ἀπολείπεται at *Hebr.* 4,6. In *Annot.* on the
present passage, he suggests a possible change
of word-order to *tempus quod superest contractum
est.* The choice of *superest* was also made by
Lefèvre.

29 *vt* ἵνα καί ("vt et" late Vg.). In leaving
καί untranslated, Erasmus is less literal, but
coincides with the earlier Vulgate rendering.
Manetti likewise omitted *et.*

29 *sint tanquam non habeant* ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες
ὦσι ("tanquam non habentes sint" Vg.). Eras-
mus wishes to avoid the sequence of present
participles in vss. 29-30, consistent with the
Vulgate use of *vtantur* rather than *vtentes* in
vs. 31. Lefèvre put *sint tanquam non habentes.*

30 *qui plorant ... plorent* οἱ κλαίοντες ...
κλαίοντες ("qui flent ... flentes" Vg.). Eras-
mus usually follows the Vulgate in treating
fleo and *ploro* as equally valid renderings of
κλαίω. The verb *ploro* more strongly conveys
a sense of loud wailing or grief, but the present
context does not necessarily require such an
interpretation.

30 *gaudeant ... possideant* χαίροντες ... κατέχον-
τες ("gaudentes ... possidentes" Vg.; "gaudeant
... teneant" 1516). For the removal of the
present participles, see on vs. 29. The 1516
substitution of *teneo,* in rendering κατέχω, is
consistent with Vulgate usage at several other
passages. Erasmus retains *possideo* for this Greek
verb at 2 *Cor.* 6,10. Lefèvre had *gaudentes ...
retinentes.*

31 *mundo hoc* τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ ("hoc mundo"
Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is not explicitly
supported by Greek mss. In 𝔓¹⁵ ⁴⁶ ℵ * A B, it
is τὸν κόσμον, while codd. D* F G and a few
others have τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον. The use of
the accusative case by these variants has been
commended for producing a *lectio difficilior,* as
the verb χράομαι is almost always accompa-
nied by a dative elsewhere in Greek literature:
it is correspondingly alleged that the use of
the dative (τῷ κόσμῳ) is a later substitution,
motivated by a desire for grammatical cor-
rectness. However, in view of the use of the
dative to accompany six other instances of
χράομαι in the Epistles, it could also be argued
that τὸν κόσμον (with or without τοῦτον) is
inconsistent with Pauline style, and hence less
likely to be authentic. Erasmus' reading is
supported by codd. 2815 and 2817, along with
1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most
later mss. He retains the word-order *huius
mundi* for τοῦ κόσμου τούτου at the end of
the verse.

31 *habitus* τὸ σχῆμα ("figura" Vg.). At *Phil.*
2,7, inconsistently, Erasmus substituted *figura*
for *habitus,* in rendering the same Greek word.
See *Annot.*

32 *Velim* θέλω ("Volo" Vg.). See on vs. 7.
Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

32 *absque sollicitudine* ἀμερίμνους ("sine sollicitu-
dine" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,7 for Erasmus' avoidance
of *sine,* and also on *Rom.* 3,21.

32 *coelebs* ἄγαμος ("sine vxore" Vg.). In *Annot.,*
Erasmus also suggests *inconiugatus,* which he
used in his translation of vs. 8 (1519). For the
removal of *sine,* see again on *Ioh.* 8,7.

32 *curat* μεριμνᾷ ("sollicitus est" Vg.). A simi-
lar substitution of *curo* occurs at *Phil.* 2,20.
In vs. 34 of the present chapter, *curo* replaces
cogito, in rendering the same Greek verb. Since
Erasmus more often retains *sollicitus,* e.g. in
vs. 33, it would appear that the present change
to *curo* is for the sake of stylistic variety. Lefèvre
consistently used *curat* for all four instances
of μεριμνάω in vss. 32-4. Manetti substituted
cogitat in vs. 32, matching the Vulgate use of
that word in vs. 34.

32 *ea quae sunt domini* τὰ τοῦ κυρίου ("quae
sunt domini" Vg.). Erasmus adds a pronoun to
provide a more natural connection with the
preceding verb, *curat.* A similar change occurs
in vs. 34. Lefèvre put *ea quae domini sunt.*

πῶς ἀρέσει τῷ κυρίῳ.   ³³ ὁ δὲ
γαμήσας μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κό-
σμου, πῶς ἀρέσει τῇ γυναικί.
LB 691   ³⁴ μεμέρισται | ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ
παρθένος. ἡ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ
τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία καὶ
σώματι καὶ πνεύματι. ἡ δὲ γα-
μήσασα μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου,
πῶς ἀρέσει τῷ ἀνδρί.   ³⁵ τοῦτο
δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν συμφέ-
ρον λέγω, οὐχ ἵνα βρόχον ὑμῖν
ἐπιβάλω, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ εὐσχη-
μον καὶ εὐπρόσεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ
ἀπερισπάστως.

quomodo placiturus sit domino. ³³ At
qui duxit vxorem, sollicitus est de his
quae sunt mundi, quomodo placitu-
rus sit vxori. ³⁴ Diuisa sunt haec duo:
mulier, et virgo. | Innupta curat ea,   LB 692
quae sunt domini, vt sit sancta quum
corpore tum spiritu. Contra, quae
nupta est, curat ea quae sunt mundi,
quomodo placitura sit viro.   ³⁵ Hoc
autem ad id, quod vobis conduci-
bile est, dico: non vti laqueum vobis
iniiciam: sed vt quod honestum ac
decorum est, sequamini, et adhaereatis
domino, absque vlla distractione.

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34 quum corpore tum *B-E*: et corpore et *A*

---

32 *placiturus sit* ἀρέσει ("placeat" Vg.). The Vul-
gate possibly reflects a Greek variant, ἀρέσῃ,
as found in 𝔓¹⁵ᵛⁱᵈ ⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F G and a few
later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and
2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most
other late mss. The same data also apply, for
and against ἀρέσει, in vss. 33 and 34. Lefèvre
had *placere possit*.

32 *domino* τῷ κυρίῳ ("deo" Vg.). The Vulgate
corresponds with τῷ θεῷ in codd. F G. See
Annot. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the
same change, though Lefèvre had the word-
order *domino placere possit*.

33 *At qui* ὁ δέ ("Qui autem" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 1,26.

33 *duxit vxorem* γαμήσας ("cum vxore est"
Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, using a
phrase which he adopted in vs. 28: see *ad loc*.
Lefèvre put *vxorem duxit*.

33 *de his quae sunt* τά ("quae sunt" Vg.). Erasmus'
provision of a prepositional phrase after *solli-
citus est* is more in accordance with classical
idiom, and also in line with Vulgate usage at
Mt. 6,28; *Lc*. 12,26. Cf. the substitution of *de
nulla re* for *nihil* at *Phil*. 4,6. Lefèvre translated
this part of the sentence as *curat ea quae mundi
sunt*.

33 *placiturus sit* ἀρέσει ("placeat" Vg.). See
on vs. 32.

34 *Diuisa sunt haec duo* μεμέρισται ("et diuisus
est" Vg.). The Vulgate implies a different Greek
text, καὶ μεμέρισται, occurring in cod. 2816,
and also in 𝔓¹⁵ ⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* and some other
mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817,
supported by 1, 2105, along with Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and
most other mss. He adds *haec duo* to reinforce
the connection of μεμέρισται with the words
which follow, rather than with the preceding
sentence. See *Annot*. The version of Manetti
was *atque diuisus est*, and Lefèvre *et discrimen
habet*.

34 *mulier* ἡ γυνή ("Et mulier" Vg.). The Vulgate
follows a Greek text adding καί before ἡ γυνή,
supported by most Greek mss., commencing
with 𝔓¹⁵ ⁴⁶ ℵ A B Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G, and including
codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816. In *Annot*., Erasmus
cites the passage twice, once with and once
without καί, and misleadingly introduces the
shorter reading with the words "in codicibus
Graecorum hodie legimus". The latter variant,
as also adopted in his text and translation, is
to be seen in cod. 2817, with support from
hardly any other mss. apart from cod. D*. This
poorly attested reading remained in the *Textus
Receptus*. The conjunction was also omitted in

Lefèvre's version, which had just *vxor*, though καί was cited in Lefèvre *Comm.*

34 *et virgo. Innupta* καὶ ἡ παρθένος. ἡ ἄγαμος ("innupta et virgo" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having ἡ ἄγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος, as in 𝔓¹⁵ B and about twenty other mss. The same reading, but repeating ἡ ἄγαμος after παρθένος, occurs in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A and ten others. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by D (F) G and about 540 other mss., among which were codd. 1, 2105, 2816 (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 212-15). See *Annot.* In Lefèvre's version, this was rendered *et virgo. quae sine viro est*, while Manetti had *et virgo innupta*.

34 *curat* (twice) μεριμνᾷ ("cogitat" Vg.). See on vs. 32, and *Annot.*

34 *ea, quae sunt domini* τὰ τοῦ κυρίου ("quae domini sunt" Vg.). See on vs. 32. Lefèvre again put *ea quae domini sunt*.

34 *quum corpore tum spiritu* καὶ σώματι καὶ πνεύματι ("corpore et spiritu" late Vg.; "et corpore et spiritu" 1516 = Vg. mss.). See on *Rom.* 16,2 for *quum ... tum*. The late Vulgate omission of *et* before *corpore* is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ A D and a few later mss. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same wording as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

34 *Contra, quae* ἡ δέ ("Quae autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,20. Lefèvre put *quae vero*.

34 *ea quae sunt mundi* τὰ τοῦ κόσμου ("quae sunt mundi" Vg.). This change was made for the same reason as *ea quae sunt domini* in vss. 32 and 34: see on vs. 32. Lefèvre had *ea quae mundi sunt*, as in vs. 33.

34 *placitura sit* ἀρέσει ("placeat" Vg.). See on vs. 32. Lefèvre had *placere possit*.

35 *Hoc autem* τοῦτο δέ ("Porro hoc" Vg.). Erasmus decides that the Greek particle requires an adversative rather than a continuative sense. His wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

35 *id, quod vobis conducibile est* τὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν συμφέρον ("vtilitatem vestram" Vg.). Cf. on the use of *conduco* at 1 *Cor.* 6,12. Erasmus is content with *vtilitas* at 1 *Cor.* 10,33, where he replaces *quod mihi vtile est* with *meam ipsius vtilitatem*, borrowing Lefèvre's rendering of τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ συμφέρον. At the present passage, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *vestram ipsorum vtilitatem*.

35 *vti* ἵνα ("vt" Vg.). See on *Act.* 23,20 for Erasmus' occasional use of this archaic spelling, for stylistic variety.

35 *vt ... sequamini* πρός ("ad" Vg.). Erasmus expands the meaning, for the sake of clarity. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti, less intelligibly, was *vt ad*.

35 *quod honestum ac decorum est* τὸ εὐσχημον ("id quod honestum est" Vg.). By this double rendering ("honourable and decent"), Erasmus seeks to convey more exactly the idea of propriety of conduct, contained in the Greek word. In *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 243, 1. 988, he treats *honestus* and *decorus* as virtual synonyms. At 1 *Cor.* 12,24, he replaces *honestus* by *decorus*. This may be compared with his substitution of *decenter* for *honeste* in rendering εὐσχημόνως at 1 *Cor.* 14,40, and *decor* for *honestas* in rendering εὐσχημοσύνη at 1 *Cor.* 12,23. See *Annot.* In Lefèvre, the present passage was translated by one word, *honestatem*.

35 *adhaereatis domino, absque vlla distractione* εὐπρόσεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπερισπάστως ("quod facultatem praebeat sine impedimento dominum obsecrandi" late Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus comments that some earlier printed Vulgates had *domino obsecrandi*, but that some Vulgate mss. had *obseruandi* (i.e. *dominum obseruandi*). He therefore speculated that the original Vulgate rendering was *domino obseruiendi*. The passage is also listed in the *Ad Placandos*. Although the phrase *domino obsecrandi* does not grammatically conform with classical Latin usage, the verb *obsecro* could still be considered relevant to the present subject matter, having regard to the fact that a connection between marriage and prayer is made at 1 *Petr.* 3,7. From *Annot.*, it is seen that Erasmus drew the phrase *absque vlla distractione* from Jerome *Adv. Iouinianum* I, 13 (*PL* 23, 231 B). However, in classical usage, *distractio* has a more emphatic sense of "tearing apart", whereas the Vulgate word *impedimentum* is better suited to the context, in the sense of "hindrance". These differences of interpretation do not appear to be materially affected by the existence of a Greek variant in some mss., commencing with 𝔓¹⁵ᵛⁱᵈ ⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F G, which replace εὐπρόσεδρον with εὐπάρεδρον. Manetti was content with substituting *vt ... ad dominum oretis* for *dominum obsecrandi*. Lefèvre translated this section by *bonam perseuerantiam immobiliter domino praestandam*.

³⁶ Εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρ-
θένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει, ἐὰν ᾖ ὑπέρακμος,
καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποι-
είτω· οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, γαμείτωσαν. ³⁷ ὃς
δὲ ἕστηκεν ἑδραῖος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, μὴ
ἔχων ἀνάγκην, ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ
τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος, καὶ τοῦτο κέκρι-
κεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τηρεῖν
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, καλῶς ποιεῖ.
³⁸ ὥστε ὁ ἐκγαμίζων, καλῶς ποιεῖ·
ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐκγαμίζων, κρεῖσσον ποιεῖ.

³⁹ Γυνὴ δέδεται νόμῳ, ἐφ' ὅσον
χρόνον ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς· ἐὰν δὲ

³⁶ Quod si quis indecorum virgini
suae putat, si praetereat nubendi tem-
pus, et sic oportet fieri: quod vult faci-
at, non peccat, iungantur matrimonio.
³⁷ Caeterum qui stat firmus in corde,
non habens necessitatem, sed potesta-
tem habet propriae voluntatis: et hoc
decreuit in corde suo, vt seruet suam
virginem, bene facit. ³⁸ Itaque qui elo-
cat nuptum, bene facit. Attamen qui
non elocat nuptum, melius facit.
³⁹ Vxor alligata est matrimonio,
quamdiu viuit maritus eius: quod si

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37 Caeterum *B-E*: Ceterum *A* | propriae *B-E*: proprie *A* | 38 Itaque ... facit *B-E*: *om. A* |
Attamen *B-E*: At *A* | 39 Vxor *B-E*: Vxor autem *A*

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36 *Quod si quis* Εἰ δέ τις ("Si quis autem" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 2,25.

36 *indecorum* ἀσχημονεῖν ("turpem se videri"
Vg.). This use of *indecorus* ("unbecoming") may
be compared with Erasmus' substitution of
that word for *inhonestus* in rendering ἀσχή-
μων at 1 *Cor.* 12,23. At 1 *Cor.* 13,5, he prefers
to render ἀσχημονέω by *fastidiosus sum*. See
also *Annot.* He reserves *turpis* ("shameful") for
αἰσχρός and αἰσχρόν. Manetti put *se turpiter
facere*, and Lefèvre *inhoneste ... se facere*.

36 *virgini suae putat* ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ
νομίζει ("existimat super virgine sua" late Vg.
and some Vg. mss., with Vgst). The Vulgate
word-order lacks Greek ms. support other than
cod. D*. For *puto*, see on vs. 26. See also *Annot.*
The version of Lefèvre had *contra virginem
suam ... censet.*

36 *si praetereat nubendi tempus* ἐὰν ᾖ ὑπέρακμος
("quod sit superadulta" Vg.). Erasmus offers a
more meaningful rendering. The word *superadul-
tus* did not occur in classical usage. Cf. *Annot.*
Other instances of substituting the genitive of
the gerund, as in *nubendi*, can be found e.g. at
Phil. 4,15; *Col.* 1,25; 1 *Tim.* 5,14; *Tit.* 2,15. Both
Manetti and Lefèvre put *si sit superadulta.*

36 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. This
change agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster
and Manetti.

36 *iungantur matrimonio* γαμείτωσαν ("si nu-
bat" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^{ww}).
The addition of *si*, inserted by many copies of

the Vulgate, lacks Greek ms. support. The Vul-
gate singular, *nubat*, corresponds with γαμείτω
in codd. D* F G and a few later mss. See *Annot.*

37 *Caeterum* δέ ("Nam" Vg.). The Vulgate ren-
dering is unsupported by Greek mss. Cf. *Annot.*
The versions of Manetti and Lefèvre began the
sentence with *Qui autem.*

37 *stat* ἕστηκεν ("statuit" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Eras-
mus argues that *sto* is the more appropriate
verb, as *statuo* ("decide") would make the sub-
sequent use of κέκρικεν superfluous. Manetti
had *stetit.*

37 *firmus in corde* ἑδραῖος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ("in
corde suo firmus" Vg.). The Vulgate word-
order reflects a Greek text having ἐν τῇ καρ-
δίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἑδραῖος, which occurs in (𝔓¹⁵) ℵ*
A B D and a few later mss. Erasmus fol-
lows codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from
codd. 1 and 2816*, as well as (ℵ^{corr}) and most
later mss. In cod. 2816^{corr}, αὐτοῦ was added
after καρδίᾳ, and 2105* placed ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
after ἔχων (in 2105^{corr}, at an unknown date, the
text was marked so as to give the same word-
order as Erasmus). The version of Lefèvre put
firmus ... in corde, placing *firmus* before *statuit.*

37 *sed potestatem* ἐξουσίαν δέ ("potestatem au-
tem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre had *et ...
potestatem.*

37 *habet* ἔχει ("habens" late Vg. and some Vg.
mss.). The late Vulgate present participle looks
like a harmonisation with *habens* earlier in the
verse. See *Annot.* Erasmus' correction accords

with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. The version of Manetti put *habeat*.

37 *propriae* ἰδίου ("suae" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,11. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

37 *decreuit* κέκρικεν ("iudicauit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,19, and *Annot.* Erasmus here adopts the same rendering as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

37 *vt seruet* τοῦ τηρεῖν ("seruare" Vg.). For this avoidance of the infinitive, see on vs. 12, above. Cod. 2815 omitted τοῦ, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, and also 𝔓¹⁵ ℵ A B and some later mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows cod. 2817, together with D F G and most other mss. The version of Lefèvre had *custodire*.

37 *suam virginem* τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον ("virginem suam" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. Lefèvre made the same change.

38 *Itaque ... bene facit* ὥστε ... καλῶς ποιεῖ (omitted in 1516 Lat.). The omission of this sentence from the 1516 Latin rendering, in conflict with the adjacent Greek column, seems to have arisen through homoeoteleuton (either as a misprint or as an error of one of Erasmus' assistants), jumping from *bene facit* at the end of vs. 37 to *bene facit* in the middle of vs. 38.

38 *Itaque* ὥστε ("Igitur et" Vg.; 1516 Lat. omits). See above, for the omission from the 1516 Latin version. The Vulgate reflects the addition of καί, supported by nearly all mss., including 1ᶜᵒʳʳ, 2105, 2815, 2816. Erasmus' text here follows cod. 2817. Another substitution of *itaque* for *igitur*, in rendering ὥστε, occurs at *Gal.* 3,9, and similarly *itaque* for *ergo* at 2 *Cor.* 4,12, in conformity with the usual practice of the Vulgate at other passages. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *Itaque et*, and Lefèvre *quare et*.

38 *elocat nuptum* (twice) ἐκγαμίζων ("matrimonio iungit virginem suam ... iungit" Vg.; "elocat nuptum" 1516 Lat., once only). For the 1516 Latin omission, see above. The use of *elocat nuptum* may be compared with Erasmus' substitution of *elocantur* for *nubentur*, in rendering ἐκγαμίζω at *Mt.* 22,30. However, in classical Latin, *colloco* ("give in marriage") would have been more correct than *eloco*. The longer Vulgate reading corresponds with the replacement of ἐκγαμίζων (1st.) by γαμίζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, as in 𝔓¹⁵ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A, or γαμίζων τὴν παρθένον ἑαυτοῦ in codd. B D, or γαμίζων τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ in 𝔓⁴⁶. The same mss., apart from ℵᶜᵒʳʳ, also substitute γαμίζων for

ἐκγαμίζων (2nd.). There appears to be a distinct possibility that the words τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον (and the various permutations of this phrase) have been borrowed from vs. 37, and inserted here by some scribes in order to clarify the meaning. The shorter text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. Other variants also exist (cf. Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 215-18). Manetti put *virginem suam maritat ... maritat*, and Lefèvre *dat nuptui* (twice).

38 *Attamen qui* ὁ δέ ("et qui" Vg.; "At qui" 1516). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having καὶ ὁ, as in 𝔓¹⁵ ⁴⁶ ℵ * A B D (F G) and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. The version of Manetti had *qui autem*.

39 *Vxor* Γυνή ("Mulier" Vg.; "Vxor autem" 1516). See on vs. 1 for *vxor*. The addition of *autem* in 1516 may have been influenced by Lefèvre, who likewise had *Vxor autem*. Possibly this arose from a misreading of δέδεται as δὲ δέδεται. Manetti had just *Vxor*, as in Erasmus' 1519 edition.

39 *alligata est matrimonio* δέδεται νόμῳ ("alligata est legi" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The substitution of *matrimonio* for *legi* was a significant departure from the literal meaning, though it was no doubt intended to provide a clearer understanding of the passage. For a similar reason, four late mss. replace νόμῳ by γάμῳ. Some mss. of the earlier Vulgate omitted *legi*, with support from 𝔓¹⁵ᵛⁱᵈ ⁴⁶ ℵ * A B D* and nine other mss., which omit νόμῳ. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and about 550 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 219-21). It has been suggested that νόμῳ was a later addition, in reminiscence of the similar passage at *Rom.* 7,2 (ἀνδρὶ δέδεται νόμῳ). An alternative explanation is that the deletion of νόμῳ was doctrinally motivated: an ancient editor or scribe who found νόμῳ in the text might have decided to omit the word because he thought that it conflicted with other apostolic teaching concerning the Christian's freedom from the law. Lefèvre put *alligatur legi*.

39 *quamdiu* ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ("quanto tempore" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,1. Erasmus' rendering follows Ambrosiaster.

39 *viuit maritus eius* ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ("vir eius viuit" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order does

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καὶ   κοιμηθῇ   ὁ   ἀνὴρ   αὐτῆς,
ἐλευ|θέρα ἐστὶν ᾧ θέλει γαμηθῆ-
ναι, μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ. ⁴⁰μακαριω-
τέρα δέ ἐστιν ἐὰν οὕτως μείνῃ,
κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην. δοκῶ
δὲ κἀγὼ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν.

8 Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων,
  οἴδαμεν ὅτι πάντες γνῶσιν
ἔχομεν. ἡ γνῶσις φυσιοῖ, ἡ
δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ. ²εἰ δέ
τις δοκεῖ εἰδέναι τι, οὐδέπω
οὐδὲν ἔγνωκε, καθὼς δεῖ γνῶ-
ναι. ³εἰ δέ τις ἀγαπᾷ τὸν
θεόν, οὗτος ἔγνωσται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.

dormierit maritus illius, libera est
ad cui velit nubendum, modo | in
domino. ⁴⁰Attamen beatior est, si
sic maneat, iuxta meam sententiam.
Opinor autem quod et ipse spiritum
dei habeam.

8 Caeterum de iis quae simulacris
  immolantur, scimus quod om-
nes scientiam habemus. Scientia in-
flat, charitas vero aedificat. ²Quod
si quis sibi videtur aliquid scire,
nondum quicquam nouit, quemad-
modum oporteat scire. ³At si quis
diligit deum, hic cognitus est ab illo.

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39 velit *B-E*: vult *A* | **40** Opinor *B-E*: Videor *A* | quod *B-E*: mihi *A* | habeam *B-E*: habere *A*
8,1 Caeterum *B-E*: Ceterum *A*

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not have explicit support from Greek mss. For
maritus, see on vs. 4. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre
had *viuit vir eius*, and Manetti *vir suus viuit*.

39 *dormierit* καὶ κοιμηθῇ. Erasmus follows the
Vulgate in leaving καί untranslated. However,
the Vulgate may reflect a Greek text in which
καί was omitted, as in 𝔓¹⁵ ⁴⁶ ℵ A B D*
and many other mss., including 2105. The
word is present in codd. 2815 and 2817, and
also 1 and 2816, together with D^corr F G and
most other mss. The version of Lefèvre had *et
dormierit*.

39 *maritus* (2nd.) ὁ ἀνήρ ("vir" Vg.). See
on vs. 4.

39 *illius* αὐτῆς ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus derived
αὐτῆς (2nd.) from cod. 2817, supported by
2816^corr, with D F G and many other mss. In
codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816* and most other
mss., commencing with 𝔓¹⁵ ⁴⁶ ℵ A B, this
pronoun was omitted. The change to *illius* is
merely for stylistic variety, to avoid repetition
of the previous *eius*. Manetti put *suus*, whereas
Lefèvre omitted the word.

39 *libera est* ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν ("liberata est a
lege" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus is

more precise here, in rendering ἐλευθέρα by an
adjective rather than a participle. The addition
of *a lege* in some Vulgate copies is unsupported
by Greek mss. See *Annot*. The same change was
made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

39 *ad cui velit nubendum* ᾧ θέλει γαμηθῆναι
("cui autem vult nubat" late Vg.; "ad cui vult
nubendum" 1516). The late Vulgate addition
of *autem* lacks Greek ms. support. Further, the
Vulgate use of *nubat* would normally imply an
underlying Greek imperative, which is again
lacking in support from Greek mss. Erasmus
therefore conjectured in *Annot.*, that the original
Vulgate reading was *vt cui vult nubat*. In *Annot.*,
he incorrectly cites ἐθέλει in place of θέλει,
possibly through misreading the iota adscript
of ὧι in cod. 2817. The earlier Vulgate, Am-
brosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre all had *cui vult
nubat*.

39 *modo* μόνον ("tantum" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.*
26,29, where *non modo* replaces *non tantum*.
More frequently Erasmus retains *tantum*. His
change at the present passage may have been
partly influenced by Lefèvre's substitution of
dummodo.

40 *Attamen beatior* μακαριωτέρα δέ ("Beatior autem" Vg.). See on vs. 2. Lefèvre put *Beatior tamen.*

40 *est* ἐστιν ("erit" Vg.). Erasmus is more literally accurate: see *Annot.* The same rendering was employed by Lefèvre.

40 *maneat* μείνῃ ("permanserit" Vg.). See on vs. 8. Lefèvre again made the same change.

40 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

40 *meam sententiam* τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην ("meum consilium" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Phm.* 14. See *Annot.*, and cf. on 1 *Cor.* 1,10. Erasmus retains *consilium* for γνώμη at 1 *Cor.* 7,25; 2 *Cor.* 8,10; *Ap. Ioh.* 17,13. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change, though the word-order of Lefèvre *Comm.* was *secundum meam sententiam: si sic maneat.*

40 *Opinor ... quod ... habeam* δοκῶ ... ἔχειν ("Puto ... quod ... habeam" late Vg.; "Videor ... mihi ... habere" 1516). For the removal of *puto*, see on 1 *Cor.* 4,9.

40 *et ipse* κἀγώ ("et ego" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal. A similar substitution of *ipse*, in rendering ἐγώ or κἀγώ, occurs at *Mc.* 11,29; *Lc.* 21,15 (1519); 1 *Cor.* 16,4; 2 *Cor.* 12,16; 2 *Tim.* 4,6. Manetti had *ego*, omitting *et.*

8,1 *Caeterum de iis* Περὶ δὲ τῶν ("De his autem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2 for *caeterum*, and on *Rom.* 4,12 for *iis.* Manetti put *De his vero*, and Lefèvre *De escis autem.*

1 *quae simulacris immolantur* εἰδωλοθύτων ("quae idolis sacrificantur" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes a similar phrase for *quae idolis immolantur* in vs. 4, and for *quod idolis immolatum sit* at 1 *Cor.* 10,19, and also for *idolothytum* in vss. 7 and 10, as well as at *Ap. Ioh.* 2,20 (1519). See further on *Act.* 15,29; *Rom.* 2,22; 1 *Cor.* 5,10. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *quae idolis im(m)olantur*, as in some editions of the late Vulgate, while Lefèvre put *escis ... quae immolantur idolis.*

1 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

2 *Quod si quis* εἰ δέ τις ("Si quis autem" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25. Erasmus' rendering is that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre began the sentence with *Si cui autem videtur.*

2 *sibi videtur* δοκεῖ ("se existimat" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 10,12; *Gal.* 6,3. See *Annot.*, and

cf. also on *Ioh.* 5,39; 16,2. Lefèvre, as mentioned above, made use of *cui ... videtur.* Manetti had *existimat se* (though the copyist of *Urb. Lat.* 6 accidentally omitted the whole verse).

2 *aliquid scire* εἰδέναι τι ("scire aliquid" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering does not follow the word-order of the Greek text at this point. Possibly he wished to produce a neater symmetry with the following two clauses, which ended with the verbs *nouit* and *scire.* Lefèvre put *quod quisquam sciat.*

2 *quicquam* οὐδέν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓[15vid] [46] ℵ A B D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816, with D[corr] and most later mss. If this idiomatic double negative (οὐδέπω οὐδέν) were not authentic, it might be possible to suppose that scribes added οὐδέν to provide an object for ἔγνωκε, or for the sake of stylistic refinement. If the word were a genuine part of the text, however, some scribes might have accidentally omitted οὐδέν because of its resemblance to the preceding word, οὐδέπω (which was itself replaced by οὔπω in a few mss.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus, who was not aware of any Greek variant here, commented on the important emphasis which οὐδέν contributed to the statement. Lefèvre *Comm.* made the same change.

2 *nouit* ἔγνωκε ("cognouit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,32 for the distinction of meaning, and see also *Annot.* In vs. 3, Erasmus retains *cognosco* for the same Greek verb. At the present passage, he has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

2 *scire* γνῶναι ("eum scire" Vg.). The added pronoun of the Vulgate is a legitimate expansion of the meaning, though not explicitly supported by Greek mss. Erasmus' wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti (*Pal. Lat.* 45) placed *eum* before *oporteat.* Lefèvre put *nosse*, omitting *eum.*

3 *At si quis* εἰ δέ τις ("Si quis autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus follows the rendering of Lefèvre.

3 *illo* αὐτοῦ ("eo" Vg.). This is a questionable change, as *illo* could be understood as meaning "the former", i.e. the believer, whereas it seems more likely that the Greek pronoun refers to God. In the 1516 edition, αὐτοῦ was incorrectly printed with a rough breathing: see on *Rom.* 1,27. Lefèvre changed the word-order to *ab eo cognitus est.*

⁴περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν τῶν
εἰδωλοθύτων, οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν
εἴδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδ-
εὶς θεὸς ἕτερος, εἰ μὴ εἶς. ⁵καὶ
γὰρ εἴπερ εἰσὶ λεγόμενοι θεοί, εἴτε
ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἴτε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
ὥσπερ εἰσὶ θεοὶ πολλοί, καὶ κύ-
ριοι πολλοί, ⁶ἀλλ᾽ ἡμῖν εἶς θεός,
ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ
ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν· καὶ εἶς κύριος
Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι᾽ οὗ τὰ πάντα,
καὶ ἡμεῖς δι᾽ αὐτοῦ. ⁷ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ
ἐν πᾶσιν ἡ γνῶσις. τινὲς δὲ τῇ
συνειδήσει τοῦ εἰδώλου ἕως ἄρτι,
ὡς εἰδωλόθυτον ἐσθίουσι, καὶ ἡ
συνείδησις αὐτῶν ἀσθενὴς οὖσα,
μολύνεται. ⁸βρῶμα δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐ
παρίστησι τῷ θεῷ· οὔτε γὰρ
ἐὰν φάγωμεν, περισσεύομεν· οὔτε
ἐὰν μὴ φάγωμεν, ὑστερούμεθα.

⁴De esu igitur eorum quae simulacris
immolantur, scimus quod nullum est
simulacrum in mundo: et quod nullus
sit deus alius, nisi vnus. ⁵Nam etiam
si sunt qui dicantur dii, siue in coelo,
siue in terra, quemadmodum sunt dii
multi, et domini multi: ⁶nobis tamen
vnus est deus, qui est pater ille, ex
quo omnia, et nos in illum: et vnus
dominus Iesus Christus, per quem
omnia, et nos per illum: ⁷sed non
in omnibus est scientia. Nonnulli
vero cum conscientia simulacri vsque
ad hoc tempus, tanquam simulacris
immolatum edunt, et conscientia il-
lorum infirma quum sit, polluitur.
⁸Atqui esca nos non commendat
deo: neque si comedamus, aliquid
nobis superest: neque si non co-
medamus, quicquam nobis deest.

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4 vnus B-E: vnns A | 7 tanquam B-E: vt A

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4 *esu ... eorum quae simulacris immolantur* τῆς
βρώσεως ... τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων ("escis ... quae
idolis immolantur" Vg.). Erasmus is more accu-
rate here: see *Annot.* For εἰδωλοθύτων, see also
on vs. 1. Erasmus' wording partly agrees with
Ambrosiaster (1492), *cibis ... qui simulacris immo-
lantur.* Lefèvre tried *esca ... immolatorum idolis,*
and Manetti *cibis ... qui idolis im(m)olantur.*

4 *igitur* οὖν ("autem" Vg.). The Vulgate has
little Greek ms. support apart from cod. D*,
which omits οὖν here and adds δέ after περί,
together with cod. 1 and a few other late mss.
The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had
the same word as Erasmus, while Manetti put
ergo.

4 *quod* (1st.) ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20,
and *Annot.* The same change was made by
Manetti and Lefèvre.

4 *nullum* οὐδέν ("nihil" Vg.). Erasmus preferred
the interpretation, "there is no idol" rather
than "an idol is nothing": see *Annot.*

4 *simulacrum* εἴδωλον ("idolum" Vg.). See on
Rom. 2,22, and *Annot.* The version of Erasmus
is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

4 *nullus sit* οὐδείς ("nullus est" late Vg.). Eras-
mus' use of the subjunctive is for the sake of
variety, in view of his use of *quod nullum est*
earlier in the verse. Manetti and Lefèvre had
just *nullus,* as in the earlier Vulgate.

4 *alius* ἕτερος (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-
sion is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B D F G and
a few other mss., including cod. 2105. Eras-
mus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside
codd. 1 and 2816, as well as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ and most
later mss. See *Annot.* The inclusion of ἕτερος
has sometimes been attributed to scribal remi-
niscence of passages such as *Ex.* 20,3 (θεοὶ
ἕτεροι πλὴν ἐμοῦ) or *Mc.* 12,32 (οὐκ ἔστιν
ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ). It is also possible that
some scribes accidentally or deliberately omit-
ted the word, perhaps through harmonisation
with οὐδὲν εἴδωλον earlier in the present verse,

or because it was deemed superfluous to the sense. For comparison, it may be noted that cod. D omits ἄλλος at *Mc.* 12,32, and 𝔓³⁴ omits ἕτερον at 2 *Cor.* 11,4, contrary to the testimony of most other mss. Here Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, while Manetti had *alter*.

5 *Nam etiam si* καὶ γὰρ εἴπερ ("Nam etsi" Vg.). Erasmus sometimes prefers *etiam si* to *etsi*, where the sense is "even if". Comparable substitutions of *etiam si* occur at 2 *Cor.* 5,16; 7,8 (εἰ καί); *Gal.* 6,1 (ἐὰν καί). See also on 1 *Cor.* 7,21. However, Erasmus retains *et si* in this sense at *Mt.* 26,33; *Ioh.* 8,16; 10,38. Manetti had *Etenim si*, and Lefèvre *Nam tametsi*.

5 τῆς γῆς. In cod. 2815 and many other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F G, τῆς is omitted. Erasmus' text follows cod. 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816 and many other late mss.

5 *quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("siquidem" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus speculates that the Vulgate may been based on a Greek text having εἴπερ, though this lacks ms. support. His Latin translation here was the same as that of Lefèvre.

6 *qui est pater ille* ὁ πατήρ ("pater" Vg.). Erasmus expands the meaning of the Greek article, to produce a clearer sense.

6 *in illum* εἰς αὐτόν ("in illo" late Vg.). Erasmus is more literal, restoring the earlier Vulgate rendering. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre substituted *in ipso*.

6 *illum* (2nd.) αὐτοῦ ("ipsum" Vg.). This change produces consistency with the use of *illum* earlier in the sentence. For the removal of *ipse*, see also on *Rom.* 1,20.

7 *Nonnulli* τινές ("Quidam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,14.

7 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. As the persons mentioned in this clause appear to be an example of those whom the apostle has just described as lacking γνῶσις, Erasmus no doubt wished to avoid attaching an adversative sense to the Greek particle.

7 *simulacri vsque ad hoc tempus* τοῦ εἰδώλου ἕως ἄρτι ("vsque nunc idoli" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different Greek word-order, ἕως ἄρτι τοῦ εἰδώλου, as in codd. ℵ B D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with cod. A

and most later mss. For *simulacrum*, see on *Rom.* 2,22, and for *vsque ad hoc tempus*, see on *Ioh.* 2,10. Manetti had *idoli vsque nunc*, and Lefèvre *idoli: hucusque*.

7 *tanquam* ὡς ("quasi" Vg.; "vt" 1516). See on *Rom.* 9,32 for *tanquam*, and on 1 *Cor.* 3,1 for *vt*. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1519 edition.

7 *simulacris immolatum* εἰδωλόθυτον ("idolothytum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,29; *Rom.* 2,22. Ambrosiaster put *simulacro immolatum*, Manetti *idolo im(m)olata*, and Lefèvre *immolatum idolo*.

7 *edunt* ἐσθίουσι ("manducant" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

7 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("ipsorum" Vg.). The Vulgate reflexive pronoun was not necessary in the present context. See on *Rom.* 1,20. This change was in agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre substituted *eorum*.

7 *infirma quum sit* ἀσθενὴς οὖσα ("cum sit infirma" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order.

8 *Atqui esca* βρῶμα δέ ("Esca autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,26. Manetti had *Cibus autem*.

8 *neque* (1st.) οὔτε γάρ ("Neque enim" late Vg.). The late Vulgate is more literal, in providing a rendering for γάρ. Erasmus' omission of *enim* may have been influenced by the absence of γάρ in cod. 2815, accompanied by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B and about twenty other mss. His printed Greek text follows cod. 2817, supported by D F G and about 470 other mss., with 1, 2105, 2816 among them (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 224-30).

8 *comedamus* (twice) φάγωμεν ("manducauerimus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31. Lefèvre made the same change.

8 *aliquid nobis superest* περισσεύομεν ("abundabimus" Vg.). A similar substitution of *superest* occurs at *Mc.* 12,44, and also in rendering πλεονάζω at 2 *Cor.* 8,15: see on *Rom.* 3,7. Erasmus avoids the ambiguity of *abundo*, and is more accurate in rendering the Greek present tense: see *Annot.*

8 *quicquam nobis deest* ὑστερούμεθα ("deficiemus" Vg.). By again substituting an impersonal verb, and using the present tense, Erasmus captures the required meaning more successfully. He partly follows Ambrosiaster, who had *deerit nobis*: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *priuabimur*.

⁹βλέπετε δὲ μή πως ἡ ἐξουσία ὑμῶν
αὕτη πρόσκομμα γένηται τοῖς ἀσθε-
νοῦσιν.   ¹⁰ἐὰν γάρ τις ἴδῃ σέ, τὸν
ἔχοντα γνῶσιν, ἐν εἰδωλείῳ κατα-
κείμενον, οὐχὶ ἡ συνείδησις αὐτοῦ
ἀσθενοῦς ὄντος, οἰκοδομηθήσεται εἰς
τὸ τὰ εἰδωλόθυτα | ἐσθίειν;   ¹¹καὶ
ἀπολεῖται ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἀδελφός, ἐπὶ
τῇ σῇ γνώσει, δι' ὃν Χριστὸς ἀπέ-
θανεν.   ¹²οὕτως δὲ ἁμαρτάνοντες
εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ τύπτοντες
αὐτῶν τὴν συνείδησιν ἀσθενοῦσαν,
εἰς Χριστὸν ἁμαρτάνετε.   ¹³διόπερ εἰ
βρῶμα σκανδαλίζει τὸν ἀδελφόν μου,

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⁹Sed videte ne quo modo facultas illa
vestra, offendiculo sit iis qui infir-
mi sunt.   ¹⁰Etenim si quis conspexe-
rit te, qui habes scientiam, in epulo
simulacrorum accumbentem, nonne
conscientia eius qui infirmus est, aedi-
ficabitur ad | edendum ea quae sunt
simulacris immolata?   ¹¹Et peribit
frater qui infirmus est, in tua scientia,
propter quem Christus fuit mortuus.
¹²Sic autem peccantes in fratres et
vulnerantes illorum conscientiam in-
firmam, in Christum peccatis.   ¹³Qua-
propter si esca offendit fratrem meum,

LB 706

8,9 υμων B-E: ημων A

9 illa D E: ista A-C

9 Sed videte βλέπετε δέ ("Videte autem" Vg.).
See on Ioh. 1,26.

9 ne quo modo μή πως ("ne forte" Vg.). See on
Rom. 11,21. Manetti put ne aliquo modo, and
Lefèvre (text) ne quo pacto, a phrase which
Erasmus adopts at 2 Cor. 9,4; 1 Thess. 3,5.
Lefèvre Comm. had ne quoquo pacto.

9 facultas illa vestra ἡ ἐξουσία ὑμῶν αὕτη
("haec licentia vestra" Vg.; "facultas ista vestra"
1516-22). In 1516, Erasmus' text had ἡμῶν for
ὑμῶν, following cod. 2815, with little other
ms. support and in conflict with his Latin
translation. In Annot., he suggests rendering
ἐξουσία by ius or potestas. His reason for
objecting to licentia may have been the ambiguity
of this word, which could sometimes imply
disorderly or wanton behaviour (cf. Lefèvre
Comm.). The substitution of illa (or more
strongly, ista, in 1516-22) helps to reinforce
the idea that, among the Christians at Co-
rinth, this ἐξουσία, or liberty of action, had
been notoriously exaggerated or misused. In
adopting facultas, Erasmus partly follows the

version of Lefèvre, which offered haec facultas
vestra.

9 offendiculo πρόσκομμα ("offendiculum" Vg.).
Erasmus also uses offendiculo sum at Mt. 17,27;
Lc. 17,2 (1519); 1 Cor. 8,13; Phil. 1,10, in render-
ing σκανδαλίζω and ἀπρόσκοπος. For other
instances of the predicative dative, see on Rom.
8,28. The dative was also used by Lefèvre, who
had offensioni.

9 sit γένηται ("fiat" Vg.). The Vulgate is more
literal on this occasion. The same change was
made by Lefèvre.

9 iis qui infirmi sunt τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ("infirmis"
late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgᵂᵂ; "infirmi-
bus" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). This change was
perhaps intended to preserve a small distinction
between ἀσθενοῦσιν (present participle) and
ἀσθενέσιν (adjective). A similar substitution of
a relative clause, qui infirmus est, occurs in
vs. 11.

10 Etenim si quis ἐὰν γάρ τις ("Si enim quis"
Vg.). See on Rom. 3,7. Manetti put Si quis enim,
and Lefèvre Nam si quis.

10 *conspexerit* ἴδη ("viderit" Vg.). This change is partly for the sake of variety, in view of the occurrence of *videte* in vs. 9, and is also well suited to the context, in the sense of "catching sight" of something unexpected. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the text as εἴδη, without support from his Basle mss. Lefèvre had *videat*.

10 *te, qui habes* σέ, τὸν ἔχοντα ("eum qui habet" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect a Greek variant omitting σέ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ B F G. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A D. See *Annot.* The inclusion of σέ is consistent with τῇ σῇ γνώσει in vs. 11. The rendering of Lefèvre was *te qui cognitionem habes*.

10 *epulo simulacrorum* εἰδωλείῳ ("idolo" Vg. 1527; "idolio" *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514. Erasmus wishes to replace the non-Latin expression of the Vulgate. See *Annot.* A more accurate alternative rendering might have been *templo simulacrorum*: cf. Lefèvre's *templo idoli*. Manetti had *idolo*, as in some late Vulgate copies.

10 *accumbentem* κατακείμενον ("recumbentem" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 14,3, and also *accumbo* for *discumbo* at *Mc.* 2,15; *Lc.* 5,29 (1519). See further on *Ioh.* 13,12. The verb *accumbo* was appropriate for reclining at a banquet, whereas *recumbo*, as pointed out in *Annot.*, could refer to someone lying on his back. Lefèvre put *discumbentem*, positioned before *in templo idoli*.

10 *qui infirmus est* ἀσθενοῦς ὄντος ("cum sit infirma" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering corresponds with ἀσθενὴς οὖσα, found in a few late mss., and looks like an accommodation to the phrase συνείδησιν ἀσθενοῦσαν in vs. 12. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

10 *edendum* τὸ ... ἐσθίειν ("manducandum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31.

10 *ea quae sunt simulacris immolata* τὰ εἰδω-λόθυτα ("idolothyta" Vg.; "idolotica" *Annot.*, lemma). A further spelling variant is offered by the Froben Vulgate of 1491, *idolotita*. See on *Act.* 15,29, and *Annot.* The use of *idolotica* is mentioned in the 1519-22 editions of the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. The version of Manetti was *idolo im(m)olata*, and Lefèvre *immolata idolis*.

11 *frater qui infirmus est, in tua scientia* ὁ ἀσθε-νῶν ἀδελφός, ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ γνώσει ("infirmus in tua conscientia frater" late Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the word-order ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἐν τῇ σῇ γνώσει ὁ ἀδελφός, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A (B) D* F G and two later mss. The late Vulgate use of *conscientia*, however, lacks ms. support, and seems to be a harmonisation with the same word in vss. 10 and 12. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1 and 2816, with (ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ) and about 520 later mss. In cod. 2105, σῇ γνώσει becomes γνώσει τῇ σῇ (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 233-6). For the use of *qui infirmus est*, see on vs. 9. Erasmus' wording partly resembles Ambrosiaster, *qui infirmus est in tua scientia, frater*. Manetti and Lefèvre (text) both put *infirmus frater in tua scientia*. Lefèvre *Comm.* had *infirmus frater in cognitione tua*.

11 *fuit mortuus* ἀπέθανεν ("mortuus est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2 for Erasmus' preference for *fuit*. Lefèvre put *mortem oppetiit*.

12 *vulnerantes* τύπτοντες ("percutientes" Vg.). Departing from the literal rendering offered by the Vulgate, Erasmus treats τύπτω as here equivalent to τραυματίζω, not merely "strike" but "wound". The same sense was conveyed by the version of Lefèvre, who had *sauciantes*.

12 *illorum conscientiam* αὐτῶν τὴν συνείδησιν ("conscientiam eorum" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. The substitution of *illorum* seems to be mainly for stylistic variety: cf. *conscientiam illorum* in Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre rendered this part of the sentence by *eorum infirmam sauciantes conscientiam*.

12 *Christum* Χριστόν ("Christum" late Vg.; "Christo" Vg. 1527 = Vg. mss.). The use of *Christum* by some copies of the late Vulgate, e.g. the Froben Vulgate of 1491, is more accurate. In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus discusses Ambrosiaster's preference for *Christo*. Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns) put *Christum*.

12 *peccatis* ἁμαρτάνετε ("peccetis" Vg. 1527 = 1535 *Annot.*, lemma; "peccemus" 1522-27 *Annot.*, lemma). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514 in putting *peccetis*, though this subjunctive form may have originated as a misprint. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns) had *peccatis*.

13 *offendit* σκανδαλίζει ("scandalizat" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,61. Lefèvre made the same change.

οὐ μὴ φάγω κρέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἵνα
μὴ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου σκανδαλίζω.

9 Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος; οὐκ εἰμὶ
ἐλεύθερος; οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα; οὐ τὸ ἔρ-
γον μου ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν κυρίῳ;   ²εἰ
ἄλλοις οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος, ἀλλά γε
ὑμῖν εἰμι· ἡ γὰρ σφραγὶς τῆς ἐμῆς
ἀποστολῆς, ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν κυρίῳ.   ³ἐμὴ
ἀπολογία τοῖς ἐμὲ ἀνακρίνουσιν αὔ-
τη ἐστί.   ⁴μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν
φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν;   ⁵μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν
ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν,
ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ
οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ Κηφᾶς;
⁶ἢ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρνάβας οὐκ
ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι;
⁷τίς στρατεύεται ἰδίοις ὀψωνίοις ποτέ;

9 An non sum apostolus? An non
sum liber? An non Iesum Chris-
tum dominum nostrum vidi? An non
opus meum vos estis in domino? ²Si
caeteris non sum apostolus, at sane
vobis sum: siquidem sigillum aposto-
latus mei, vos estis in domino. ³Mea
responsio apud eos qui me interro-
gant, haec est: ⁴An non habemus po-
testatem edendi ac bibendi? ⁵An non
habemus potestatem, sororem muli-
erem circunducendi, quemadmodum
et caeteri apostoli et fratres domini et
Cephas? ⁶Aut solus ego et Barnabas
non habemus potestatem hoc faciendi?
⁷Quis militat suis stipendiis vnquam?

9,6 εργαζεσθαι *D E*: εργασεσθαι *A-C*

13 haudquaquam vescar carnibus *B-E*: non comedo carnes *A*
9,6 Aut *B-E*: An *A*

13 *haudquaquam* οὐ μή ("non" 1516 = Vg.).
In 1516-22 *Annot.*, Erasmus omitted μή, con-
trary to his Basle mss. In his Latin rendering,
he finds a stronger word to represent the em-
phatic Greek double negative. More frequently
he retains the simple negative of the Vulgate
to translate this Greek expression. See further
on *Ioh.* 18,30. At 1 *Thess.* 4,15, he tried *nequaquam*,
which was the rendering of Lefèvre at the
present passage.

13 *vescar carnibus* φάγω κρέα ("manducabo
carnem" Vg.; "comedo carnes" 1516). For *comedo*
and *vescor*, see on *Ioh.* 4,31; *Act.* 10,13. In
Annot., Erasmus at first argues that the present
tense is more accurate, as adopted in his 1516
version, but he later concedes that the Vulgate
use of the future tense is preferable, in this
context. For the substitution of the plural,
carnibus, see on *Rom.* 14,21. The Vulgate singular
corresponds with the replacement of κρέα by
κρέας in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ *.

13 *fratri meo sim offendiculo* τὸν ἀδελφόν μου
σκανδαλίζω ("fratrem meum scandalizem" Vg.).

See on vs. 9, and also on *Ioh.* 6,61. The reading
σκανδαλίζω is not derived from Erasmus'
usual mss., and may be a misprint or arbi-
trary correction, as virtually all mss. have
σκανδαλίσω. Lefèvre had *offendam fratrem
meum*.

9,1 *An non* (four times) Οὐκ ... οὐκ ... οὐχὶ
... οὐ ("Non ... Non ... Nonne ... Nonne" Vg.).
A few Vulgate mss., with Vgˢᵗ, replace the final
Nonne with *Non*. Erasmus renders the Greek
interrogatives more emphatically: see *Annot.*,
and see also on *Ioh.* 18,11. Lefèvre had *Non ...
non ... non ... Nonne*.

1 *apostolus ... liber* ἀπόστολος ... ἐλεύθερος
("liber ... apostolus" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects
a different Greek word-order, ἐλεύθερος ...
ἀπόστολος, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B and
thirty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815
and 2817, accompanied by D F G and about
540 other mss., which included codd. 1, 2105,
2816 (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2,
pp. 236-8). His word-order agrees with that of
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

1 *Iesum Christum* Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ("Christum Iesum" late Vg.). The late Vulgate word-order corresponds with Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν in codd. F G. In a few mss., Χριστόν is altogether omitted, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B, followed by the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by cod. 1, with cod. D and most later mss. The word-order of cod. 2105 is τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, and cod. 2816 has the repetitious Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. The change made by Erasmus was previously introduced by Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *Si* εἰ ("Et si" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *Et* is unsupported by Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

2 *caeteris* ἄλλοις ("aliis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 12 and at 2 *Cor.* 11,8, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 1 *Cor.* 14,29. At most other passages, Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *alius* for ἄλλος, and *caeteri* for λοιποί.

2 *at sane* ἀλλά γε ("sed tamen" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2 for *at*, and on *Rom.* 16,19 for *sane.* At *Lc.* 24,21 (1519), Erasmus renders ἀλλά γε by *atqui.* Manetti and Lefèvre both put *attamen* at the present passage.

2 *siquidem* γάρ ("nam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,47. Manetti and Lefèvre began this sentence with *Signaculum enim.*

2 *sigillum* ἡ ... σφραγίς ("signaculum" Vg.). This substitution does not occur elsewhere, and Erasmus generally follows the Vulgate in treating *sigillum* and *signaculum* as synonyms. In classical literature, *sigillum* was in more common use. See *Annot.*

3 ἐμή. Virtually all mss., including those which Erasmus consulted at Basle, read ἡ ἐμή. The omission of the article was probably a misprint of the 1516 edition, subsequently left uncorrected.

3 *responsio* ἀπολογία ("defensio" Vg.). The rendering of ἀπολογία is dependent, in part, on the interpretation of ἀνακρίνουσιν, which follows. If ἀνακρίνω is understood in the sense of "judge", then *defensio* is the most suitable rendering of ἀπολογία. In *Annot.*, however, Erasmus argues that ἀνακρίνω, in the present context, can mean "question" or "examine". Giving preference to this interpretation, he therefore adopts *responsio*, as being

the appropriate word for a reply to a question rather than to an accusation. By contrast, in translating ἀπολογέομαι at *Lc.* 21,14 (1519), he uses *defensio* to replace *respondeo.*

4 *An non* μὴ οὐκ ("Nunquid non" Vg.). A similar change occurs in rendering μὴ οὐκ in vs. 5, and also at *Rom.* 10,18. However, Erasmus retains *Nunquid non* at *Rom.* 10,19. See *Annot.*, and see also on *Ioh.* 18,11; *Rom.* 10,18. Lefèvre preferred *Nonne.*

4 *edendi* φαγεῖν ("manducandi" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31. Lefèvre put *comedendi.*

4 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

5 *An non* μὴ οὐκ ("Nunquid non" Vg.). See on vs. 4. Lefèvre again had *Nonne.*

5 *sororem mulierem* ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα ("sororem mulierculam" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of a diminutive (cf. 2 *Tim.* 3,6, γυναικάρια) is unsupported by Greek mss. In effect, Erasmus restores the earlier Vulgate reading, as found in the lemma of Valla *Annot.* See also *Annot.* In Lefèvre's Vulgate column, the word-order was *mulierem sororem*, as in other late Vulgate copies, and this was the rendering adopted by Manetti. Following a suggestion of Valla, Lefèvre's translation put *sororem vxorem.*

5 *quemadmodum* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

6 *Aut* ἤ ("An" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus makes this sentence conform with his repeated use of *an non* in vss. 1-5. In doing so, he imitated the rendering of Lefèvre. In 1519, he reverted to the Vulgate wording.

6 *hoc faciendi* τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι ("hoc operandi" Vg.). A similar substitution of *facio* occurs at *Col.* 3,23, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 3,21. Cf. also *opus facio* for ἐργάζομαι at 1 *Thess.* 2,9; 2 *Thess.* 3,8; and *nihil operis facio* at 2 *Thess.* 3,11. Erasmus changes the rendering, to reinforce the idea that this Greek verb continued the theme of apostolic marriage from vs. 5. However, seeing that the normal sense of ἐργάζομαι is "work", and that various kinds of labour are discussed in vss. 7-10, it seems preferable to adopt the literal translation offered by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, *non operandi*, which was also cited by Erasmus in *Annot.* as a possible alternative rendering. Manetti put *haec operandi.*

τίς φυτεύει ἀμπελῶνα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
καρποῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθίει; ἢ τίς ποι-
μαίνει ποίμνην, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος
τῆς ποίμνης οὐκ ἐσθίει; ⁸μὴ κατὰ
ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα λαλῶ; ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ
ὁ νόμος ταῦτα λέγει; ⁹ἐν γὰρ τῷ
Μωσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται, Οὐ φιμώ-
σεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα. μὴ τῶν βοῶν
μέλει τῷ θεῷ; ¹⁰ἢ δι’ ἡμᾶς πάντως
λέγει; δι’ ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη· ὅτι ἐπ’
ἐλπίδι ὀφείλει ὁ ἀροτριῶν, ἀροτρι-
ᾶν, καὶ ὁ ἀλοῶν, τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ
μετέχειν, ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι. ¹¹εἰ ἡμεῖς | ὑμῖν
τὰ πνευματικὰ ἐσπείραμεν, μέγα εἰ
ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικὰ θερίσομεν;

LB 707

Quis plantat vineam, et de fructu eius
non edit? Aut quis pascit gregem,
et de lacte gregis non edit? ⁸Num
secundum hominem haec dico? An
non et lex eadem dicit? ⁹Etenim in
Mosi lege scriptum est: Non obliga-
bis os boui trituranti. Num boues
curae sunt deo? ¹⁰An hoc propter
nos omnino dicit? Propter nos enim
hoc scriptum est, quod sub spe
debeat is qui arat, arare: et qui
triturat sub spe, spei suae particeps
esse debeat. ¹¹Si nos vobis spiri-
tualia seminauimus, magnum | est
si nos vestra carnalia messuerimus?

LB 708

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9 φιμωσεις B-E: φημωσεις A | 10 αροτριων A B: αρατριων C-E | 11 θερισομεν B-E:
θερισ μεν A

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9 Mosi B-E: Moysi A | 10 alt. debeat B-E: debet A | 11 spiritualia B-E: spiritalia A

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7 Aut ἤ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is
supported by codd. B Cᶜᵒʳʳ D F G and a few
other mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1, 2816
and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ
A C*. Lefèvre made the same change.

7 edit (2nd.) ἐσθίει ("manducat" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 4,31. The same change was again made by
Lefèvre.

8 Num μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on Ioh. 3,4.

8 An non ... dicit ἢ οὐχὶ ... λέγει ("An ... non
dicit" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text
having ἢ ... οὐ λέγει, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D
and a few later mss. The reading of cod. 2105
is οὐχὶ ... λέγει, omitting ἤ. Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2816 and
most other late mss. His rendering is the same
as that of Lefèvre, whereas Manetti put aut
nonne ... dicit.

8 eadem ταῦτα ("haec" Vg.). Erasmus under-
stands ταῦτα as the equivalent of ταὐτά (= τὰ
αὐτά). His rendering follows that of Ambrosi-
aster (1492): see Annot.

9 Etenim in Mosi (Moysi: 1516) lege scriptum est
ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται ("Scri-
ptum est enim in lege Mosi" Vg.). The Vulgate
word-order has little ms. support. Many mss.,
but none of those which Erasmus consulted
at Basle, substitute Μωϋσέως for Μωσέως.
See on Rom. 3,7 for etenim. Ambrosiaster had
in lege enim scriptum est, omitting Mosi: this
word-order was also adopted by Manetti and
Lefèvre, except that they respectively placed
Moysi and Moseos after enim. Manetti's spelling
of this name was the same as in Erasmus' 1516
edition.

9 obligabis os φιμώσεις ("alligabis os" Vg.).
Erasmus makes the same substitution at 1 Tim.
5,18, where the late Vulgate again has alliga-
bis. Possibly he considered that alligo was more
appropriate for tying one thing to another,
whereas the sense required here was "tie up"
or "muzzle". However, there is a considerable
overlap of meaning between the two verbs.
The reading φημώσεις in 1516 was possibly
just a printer's error, as this itacistic spelling
does not occur in any of Erasmus' Basle mss.

The version of Lefèvre had *frenabis* in both passages.

9 *Num* μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4.

9 *boues curae sunt* τῶν βοῶν μέλει ("de bobus cura est" late Vg.). Erasmus has a preference for the genitive, *curae*, in such phrases, e.g. at *Mc.* 4,38; *Ioh.* 10,13; 12,6, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Lc.* 10,40; *Act.* 18,17; 1 *Cor.* 7,21, though he retains *cura est* at 1 *Petr.* 5,7. Lefèvre had *boum cura est*.

10 *hoc ... dicit* λέγει ("haec dicit" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514. Other late Vulgate copies, including the Froben 1491 edition and the Vulgate column of Lefèvre, also have *hoc dicit*. As the pronoun is an explanatory addition, the word-order is unaffected by the Greek text. The earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster, together with the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre, omitted *hoc*.

10 *omnino* πάντως ("vtique" Vg.). See on *Act.* 21,22, and cf. *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

10 *Propter nos enim* δι᾽ ἡμᾶς γάρ ("Nam propter nos vtique" Vg. 1527). The addition of a second *vtique* by the 1527 Vulgate column, and also by the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514, lacks Greek support. Further substitutions of *enim* for *nam* occur at 1 *Cor.* 10,5; 11,19; 14,5; 16,5. Usually the change is in the opposite direction, from *enim* to *nam*. In the present context, evidently wishing to ensure that the main emphasis would fall on *propter nos*, Erasmus preferred to place these words at the beginning of the sentence. His rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti, while Lefèvre put *Propter nos certe*.

10 *hoc scriptum est* ἐγράφη ("scripta sunt" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the singular produces consistency with *scriptum est* in vs. 9. His addition of *hoc* is questionable, as it is unclear whether it refers back to the scripture citation in vs. 9 or to the remainder of vs. 10. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *scriptum est*, without *hoc*.

10 *quod sub spe debeat* ὅτι ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι ὀφείλει ("quoniam debet in spe" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with ὅτι ὀφείλει ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι, as found in (𝔓⁴⁶) ℵ* A B C and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816ᵛⁱᵈ, and also ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. His rendering could be understood as implying that this clause gives

the content of a further passage of scripture. However, since these words are not used elsewhere in the Bible, it is preferable to retain a clear causal sense for ὅτι, as introducing the apostle's own explanation. Lefèvre accordingly began a new sentence with *Quia ... debet*.

10 *is qui arat* ὁ ἀροτριῶν ("qui arat" Vg.). Erasmus adds a pronoun to make a smoother connection with the preceding words. The spelling ἀρατριῶν in 1522-35 is probably a misprint.

10 *sub spe, spei suae particeps esse* τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι ("in spe fructus percipiendi" Vg.). The Vulgate appears to reflect a Greek variant, ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν, occurring in (𝔓⁴⁶) ℵ* (A) B C and eighteen later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 530 later mss., among which were codd. 1, 2105, 2816 (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 239-42). See *Annot.* Erasmus included the passage in his *Ad Placandos*. The main question raised by this textual discrepancy is whether the longer reading was a deliberate alteration by an ancient editor, acting on the (allegedly) mistaken assumption that μετέχειν must be connected with ὀφείλει in the previous clause, or whether the shorter reading was an editorial simplification, designed to eliminate the problems of interpretation which arose from the double use of ἐλπίς. Valla *Annot.* rendered by *spei suae participandi in spe*, and Lefèvre *in spe fructus spei suae participandi triturare*.

10 *debeat* (2nd.) (Vg. omits; "debet" 1516). Erasmus repeats the verb, for clarity, and changes to the subjunctive in 1519, so as to give consistency with his use of *debeat* earlier in the verse.

11 *vestra carnalia* ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικά ("carnalia vestra" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order does not have explicit Greek ms. support. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

11 *messuerimus* θερίσομεν ("metamus" Vg.). The Vulgate possibly corresponds with a Greek variant, θερίσωμεν, as in codd. C D F G and some other mss. In 1516, the -o- dropped out of θερίσομεν and became attached to the end of μετέχουσιν in vs. 12. For Erasmus' preference for the future perfect tense, see e.g. on *Rom.* 2,25; 12,20. See also *Annot.*, where he renders more literally as *metemus*. Lefèvre used the present indicative, *metimus*.

¹²εἰ ἄλλοι τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑμῶν μετέχου-
σιν, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς; ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐχρησά-
μεθα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ, ἀλλὰ πάντα
στέγομεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐγκοπήν τινα δῶμεν
τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ¹³οὐκ
οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι,
ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσθίουσιν; οἱ τῷ θυσι-
αστηρίῳ προσεδρεύοντες, τῷ θυσια-
στηρίῳ συμμερίζονται; ¹⁴οὕτως καὶ
ὁ κύριος διέταξε, τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλι-
ον καταγγέλλουσιν, ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγε-
λίου ζῆν. ¹⁵ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐχρησάμην
τούτων. οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ ταῦτα, ἵνα
οὕτως γένηται ἐν ἐμοί. καλὸν γάρ
μοι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ τὸ καύχη-
μά μου ἵνα τις κενώσῃ. ¹⁶ἐὰν γὰρ

¹²Si caeteri potestatis erga vos par-
ticipes sunt, cur non potius nos?
Atqui non vsi fuimus potestate ista,
sed omnia sufferimus, ne quod of-
fendiculum demus euangelio Christi.
¹³An nescitis quod ii qui in sacris
operantur, ex sacrificio viuunt? Qui
sacrario assistunt, vna cum sacrario
partem accipiunt? ¹⁴Sic et dominus
ordinauit, vt qui euangelium annun-
ciant, ex euangelio viuant. ¹⁵Ego
tamen nullo horum vsus fui. Quan-
quam non scripsi haec, vt ita fiat
in me. Nam bonum est mihi mori
potius, quam vt gloriationem meam
aliquis inanem reddat. ¹⁶Etenim si

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12 μετεχουσιν *B-E*: μετεχουσινο *A*

---

12 erga vos *B-E*: vestrae *A*

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12 *caeteri* ἄλλοι ("alii" Vg.). See on vs. 2.

12 *erga vos* ὑμῶν ("vestrae" 1516 = Vg.). Eras-
mus' revision of this passage makes better
sense, taking ὑμῶν as an objective genitive,
since the ἐξουσία of vss. 4-6 referred only to
the authority of the apostles, and not of the
whole Corinthian church. Cod. 2815 incorrect-
ly reads ἡμῶν. Lefèvre somewhat alters the
meaning by *Si alii potestatem habent vt vestri sint
participes*.

12 *cur non* οὐ ("quare non" late Vg.). See on
Rom. 14,10. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests *nonne*
as an alternative, which was the rendering of
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *Atqui non* ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ("Sed non" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 7,26. Lefèvre had *Non tamen*.

12 *vsi fuimus* ἐχρησάμεθα ("vsi sumus" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 4,2.

12 *potestate ista* τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ ("hac pote-
state" Vg.). Erasmus here makes idiomatic use
of *ista*, in the sense of "this power which I have
just mentioned". See on *Ioh.* 1,18. He is more
literal as to the word-order. Lefèvre had *potestate
hac*.

12 *sufferimus* στέγομεν ("sustinemus" Vg.). This
change is consistent with Vulgate usage at
1 *Cor.* 13,7. At 1 *Thess.* 3,1, 5, Erasmus changes
sustineo to *fero*, in rendering the same Greek
verb. He reserves *sustineo* mainly for such verbs
as ἀνέχομαι, τολμάω, and ὑπομένω. Cf. *Annot.*
The same change was made by Lefèvre.

12 ἐγκοπήν. The reading ἐκκοπήν of cod.
2815 is also to be seen in ℵ D* and many
later mss. Erasmus' text follows the spelling of
cod. 2817, with support from 1, 2105, 2816, as
well as A Bᶜᵒʳʳ C Dᶜᵒʳʳ and many later mss.

13 *An nescitis* οὐκ οἴδατε ("Nescitis" Vg.). See
on 1 *Cor.* 3,16.

13 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20.
Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre all advocated
this change.

13 *ii qui* οἱ ("qui" Vg.). Erasmus adds a pronoun,
as was his frequent practice, to make a smoother
connection with the preceding words, agreeing
with a suggestion of Valla *Annot.*

13 *in sacris* τὰ ἱερά ("in sacrario" Vg.). Eras-
mus tries to render the Greek plural more
accurately. In *Annot.*, he suggests *sacra*, as used

in Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, whereas Manetti had *sacramenta*.

13 *ex sacrificio* ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ("quae de sacrario sunt" Vg.). For the substitution of *ex* for *de*, see on *Ioh.* 2,15. The Vulgate may reflect a Greek text adding τά before ἐκ, as in codd. א B D* F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ A C Dᶜᵒʳʳ. His substitution of *sacrificio* for *sacrario* provided a clearer indication of what was eaten, though in *Annot.* he gives *templo* as an alternative. Valla *Annot.* recommended either *templo* or *sacro*. Manetti put *de sacris*, and Lefèvre *ex sacro*.

13 *viuunt* ἐσθίουσιν ("edunt" Vg.). In this departure from the literal meaning, Erasmus tacitly imitates the wording of Ambrosiaster, harmonising with the sense of ζῆν in vs. 14. In *Annot.*, more correctly, he suggests *vescuntur*, following Valla *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *manducant*.

13 *Qui* οἱ ("Et qui" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *Et* has negligible support from Greek mss. Erasmus has the same rendering as the earlier Vulgate, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *sacrario* (twice) τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ("altario" Vg.). A similar substitution is made at 1 *Cor.* 10,18 (1522). Cf. *Annot.* The Vulgate word is more literal, but non-classical. An idiomatic alternative is *altaribus*, but this has the disadvantage of being plural in form: cf. the use of *altari* by Valla *Annot.* and some Vulgate mss. The rendering of Lefèvre was *altari ... altaris*.

13 *assistunt* προσεδρεύοντες ("deseruiunt" Vg.). Erasmus also uses *assisto*, in a similar context, in rendering ἵστημι at *Hebr.* 10,11. At *Hebr.* 13,10, he retains *deseruio* for λατρεύω. In *Annot.*, he offers *assidentes* as an alternative: cf. the use of *assident* in Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

13 *vna cum ... partem accipiunt* συμμερίζονται ("cum ... participant" late Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22 for *vna cum.* Erasmus' substitution of *partem accipio* ("receive a share") helped to make the meaning more explicit. He elsewhere retains *participo* twice for μετέχω at 1 *Cor.* 10,17, 30. See *Annot.* The recommendation of Valla *Annot.* was *participes sunt*, while Lefèvre had *comparticipes euadunt*. Manetti put *cum ... participantur*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

14 *Sic* οὕτως ("Ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. Lefèvre made the same change.

14 *vt ... viuant* ζῆν ("his ... viuere" Vg.). Erasmus changes the grammatical structure, preferring to avoid the infinitive after verbs of command. Manetti similarly had *vt hi ... viuant*, while Lefèvre had just *viuere*.

14 καταγγέλλουσιν. The spelling καταγγέλουσιν is used in codd. 2105, 2816, 2817 and some other late mss.

14 *ex* ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. Lefèvre made the same change.

15 *tamen* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

15 *vsus fui* ἐχρησάμην ("vsus sum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

15 *Quanquam non scripsi* οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ ("Non autem scripsi" late Vg.). This change is for the sake of variety, to avoid using *autem*. Elsewhere Erasmus uses *quanquam* in six places, rendering εἰ καί at *Lc.* 18,4 (1519), πλήν at *Eph.* 5,33, καίπερ at *Phil.* 3,4 (= Vulgate), and καίτοιγε at *Ioh.* 4,2 (= Vulgate); *Act.* 14,17; *Hebr.* 4,3 (1516 only). Manetti put *nec ... scripsi* (placing *scripsi* after *haec*), and Lefèvre *Non scripsi autem*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

15 *fiat* γένηται ("fiant" Vg.). Both renderings are legitimate, in view of the preceding ταῦτα. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre used the same word as Erasmus.

15 *Nam bonum est ... mori potius* καλὸν γάρ ... μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ("Bonum est enim ... magis mori" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34 for *nam*. The Vulgate word-order is more literal. Erasmus was seeking to avoid the infelicity of *bonum ... magis*. See on *Act.* 20,35 for other substitutions of *potius*. Manetti had *Melius est enim ... mori*, and Lefèvre *praestat enim ... mori*, both omitting *magis*.

15 *gloriationem* τὸ καύχημα ("gloriam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *id vnde glorior*, though *gloriationem* was mentioned as an alternative in Lefèvre *Comm.*

15 *aliquis* τις ("quis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,4. Lefèvre had *quisquam*.

15 *inanem reddat* κενώσῃ ("euacuet" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,14, and *Annot.*, where Erasmus also suggests *irritam reddat*.

16 *Etenim si* ἐὰν γάρ ("Nam etsi" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *Nam si*, and Lefèvre *Si enim*.

εὐαγγελίζωμαι, οὐκ ἔστι μοι καύχη-
μα. ἀνάγκη γάρ μοι ἐπίκειται. οὐαὶ
δέ μοί ἐστιν, ἐὰν μὴ εὐαγγελίζω-
μαι. ¹⁷εἰ γὰρ ἑκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω,
μισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων, οἰκονομίαν
πεπίστευμαι. ¹⁸τίς οὖν μοί ἐστιν ὁ
μισθός; ἵνα εὐαγγελιζόμενος, ἀδάπα-
νον θήσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χρι-
στοῦ, εἰς τὸ μὴ καταχρήσασθαι τῇ
ἐξουσίᾳ μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.
    ¹⁹Ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάν-
των, πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα, ἵνα
τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω. ²⁰καὶ ἐγε-
νόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ὡς Ἰουδαῖ-
ος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω· τοῖς
ὑπὸ νόμον, ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα

euangelizem, non est quod glorier.
Necessitas enim mihi incumbit. Vae
autem mihi est, nisi euangelizem.
¹⁷Nam si volens hoc faciam, prae-
mium habeo: sin inuitus, dispensatio
commissa est mihi. ¹⁸Quod igitur
mihi est praemium? Vt quum euange-
lizem, gratuitum efficiam euangelium
Christi, in hoc, ne abutar potestate
mea in euangelio.
    ¹⁹Etenim quum liber sim ab om-
nibus, omnibus me ipsum seruum
feci, quo plureis lucrifaciam: ²⁰et
factus sum Iudaeis, quasi Iudaeus,
vt Iudaeos lucrifaciam: iis qui sub
lege sunt, quasi sim sub lege, vt

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16 *prius* euangelizem *B-E*: euangelizauero *A* | *alt.* euangelizem *B-E*: euangelizauero *A* |
19 lucrifaciam *B-E*: lucri facerem *A* | 20 *prius* quasi *B-E*: tanquam *A* | quasi sim *B-E*: tanquam
essem *A*

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16 *euangelizem* (twice) εὐαγγελίζωμαι ("euange-
lizauero" 1516 = Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds
more closely with εὐαγγελίσωμαι (aorist sub-
junctive), used by codd. D F G in both places,
and also by codd. B C in the latter instance.
See *Annot.* The rendering of Ambrosiaster was
euangelizem ... predicauero euangelium, and Lefèvre
euangelizo ... euangelizauero.

16 *quod glorier* μοι καύχημα ("mihi gloria"
Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. Lefèvre put *michi vnde
glorier*.

16 *autem* δέ ("enim" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects
the substitution of γάρ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ א* A B C
D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105,
2816, and also א corr vid and most later mss. The
version of Lefèvre made the same change.

16 *nisi* ἐὰν μή ("si non" Vg.). Erasmus here
adopts the usual Vulgate rendering of this
Greek expression.

17 *Nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 3,34. Erasmus had the same wording as
Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *Si autem*.

17 *faciam* πράσσω ("ago" Vg.). See on *Act.*
15,29. Lefèvre put *egero*.

17 *praemium* μισθόν ("mercedem" Vg.). A simi-
lar substitution occurs in vs. 18. See further on

Rom. 1,27. Usually Erasmus retains *merces* for
μισθός. In vs. 24, he further translates βραβεῖον
as *praemium*, though the nature of the "reward"
is not the same in both places.

17 *sin* εἰ δέ ("si autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 10,38.
Lefèvre had *sin autem*.

17 *commissa est mihi* πεπίστευμαι ("mihi credita
est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,2. Lefèvre rendered this
clause by *dispensationi creditus sum*.

18 *Quod igitur mihi est praemium* τίς οὖν μοί
ἐστιν ὁ μισθός ("Quae est ergo merces mea"
Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text substitu-
ting μου for μοι, as in codd. א* A C and over
seventy later mss. In cod. 2105, μοι is omitted.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, suppor-
ted by 1, 2816 corr and about 470 other mss.,
commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ א corr (see Aland *Die
Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 244-7). See *Annot.*
For *praemium*, see on vs. 17, and for *igitur*, see
on *Ioh.* 6,62. Manetti put *Quae ergo est merces
mea*, and Lefèvre *Quae igitur est merces mea*.

18 *quum euangelizem* εὐαγγελιζόμενος ("euange-
lium praedicans" Vg.). Erasmus here avoids the
ambiguity of the present participle, which could
mean either "when I preach" or "by preaching".
By using *quum* and the subjunctive, he is able
to convey more clearly the temporal sense,
which is required by the context. Further, the

verb *euangelizo*, rather than *euangelium praedico*, is more consistent with vs. 16, and avoids undue repetition of *euangelium* in the present verse. Sometimes, however, Erasmus prefers to avoid *euangelizo* (especially when εὐαγγελίζω is accompanied by a direct object, such as βασιλείαν, λόγον, or Ἰησοῦν): cf. on *Act.* 5,42. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *euangelizans*.

18 *gratuitum* ἀδάπανον ("sine sumptu" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is better suited to the context, which suggests that the Gospel was preached without charge to the hearer, rather than without expense to the preacher. See *Annot.* For his avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7.

18 *efficiam* θήσω ("ponam" Vg.). Erasmus, imitating the version of Ambrosiaster, again uses a word which more aptly fits the context, arguing in *Annot.* that the Greek verb was sometimes the equivalent of *facio*.

18 *Christi* τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D^corr F G and most other mss. See *Annot.* For a similar textual variation affecting εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, see on *Rom.* 1,16. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

18 *ne* εἰς τὸ μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20. Lefèvre had *quo non*.

19 *Etenim* γάρ ("Nam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. Manetti and Lefèvre both began the sentence with *Cum enim*.

19 *quum ... sim* ὤν ("quum ... essem" Vg.). While both renderings are possible, Erasmus' use of the present tense is more appropriate, as the imperfect tense of the Vulgate could be misunderstood as implying that the apostle was no longer "free".

19 *ab* ἐκ ("ex" Vg.). Erasmus translates in accordance with classical Latin idiom, in which *liber* is usually constructed either with *ab* or the genitive.

19 *omnibus* (2nd.) πᾶσιν ("omnium" Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek dative more precisely. Lefèvre put *in omnibus*.

19 *me ipsum* ἐμαυτόν ("me" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more emphatic rendering of the reflexive pronoun. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

19 *quo* ἵνα ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

19 *plureis* τοὺς πλείονας ("plures" Vg.). This archaic form of the accusative plural is also found in *omneis* and *treis* at several passages: see on *2 Cor.* 2,5; *Gal.* 1,18.

19 *lucrifaciam* κερδήσω ("lucri facerem" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. A similar substitution occurs three times in vss. 20-22, as well as *lucrifaciam* for *lucrarer* in vs. 20, as recommended by Valla *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *lucrarer* in all these instances, consistent with the Vulgate use of *vt Iudaeos lucrarer* in the first part of vs. 20.

20 *quasi* (twice) ὡς ("tanquam ... quasi" Vg.; "tanquam ... tanquam" 1516). A similar substitution of *quasi* occurs in vs. 22 (1519), and at *Col.* 2,20; *1 Petr.* 1,24; 2,12. In *Annot.* on the following verse, Erasmus argues that *quasi* is more appropriate because it relates to a "false" proposition. In the present verse, correspondingly, he might have been expected to argue that since Paul was in fact a Jew, *tanquam* was therefore acceptable. Inconsistently he did not adopt his own recommendation of *quasi* in vs. 21.

20 *lucrifaciam* (twice) κερδήσω ("lucrarer ... lucrifacerem" Vg.). See on vs. 19.

20 *iis* τοῖς ("His" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,12. Some late Vulgate editions likewise had *iis*, as in both columns of Lefèvre.

20 *sim sub lege* ὑπὸ νόμον ("sub lege essem, cum ipse non essem sub lege" Vg.; "essem sub lege" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the addition of μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον, exhibited by codd. ℵ A B C D* F G and thirty-four other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with D^corr and about 540 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 247-9). If the shorter text, as exhibited by most mss., were not authentic, it might be plausibly explained as originating through an error of homoeoteleuton, passing over from the first ὑπὸ νόμον to the second. On the other hand, in the longer form of text, the additional five words could be seen as a doctrinally motivated interpolation, partly prompted by the use of μὴ ὢν ἄνομος in vs. 21, and with the aim of enforcing consistency with passages such as *Rom.* 6,15 (οὐκ ἐσμὲν ὑπὸ νόμον). Erasmus' use of the present tense, *sim*, is more consistent with the tense of the verb in the preceding phrase, *sub lege sunt*. This was also recommended by Valla *Annot.* For Erasmus' choice of an earlier position for *sim*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. The additional Vulgate clause was omitted by Valla, Manetti and Lefèvre. The

τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω· ²¹τοῖς
ἀνόμοις, ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὢν ἄνο-
μος θεῷ, ἀλλ’ ἔννομος Χριστῷ, ἵνα
κερδήσω ἀνόμους. ²²ἐγενόμην τοῖς
ἀσθενέσιν ὡς ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοὺς
ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσω. τοῖς πᾶσι γέ-
γονα τὰ πάντα, ἵνα πάντως τινὰς
σώσω. ²³τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶ διὰ τὸ
εὐαγγέλιον, ἵνα συγκοινωνὸς αὐτοῦ
γένωμαι.

²⁴Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ
τρέχοντες, πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἷς
δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτως τρέ-
χετε, ἵνα | καταλάβητε. ²⁵πᾶς δὲ
ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται·

eos qui sub lege sunt, lucrifaciam:
²¹his qui sine lege sunt, tanquam sim
sine lege: quum non sim sine lege deo,
sed obnoxius legi Christi, vt lucrifa-
ciam eos qui sunt sine lege. ²²Factus
sum infirmis quasi infirmus, vt infir-
mos lucrifaciam. Omnibus factus sum
omnia, vt omnino aliquos seruem.
²³Hoc autem facio propter euangeli-
um, vt particeps illius fiam.

²⁴An nescitis quod qui in stadio
currunt, omnes quidem currunt, sed
vnus accipit praemium? Sic currite, |
vt comprehendatis. ²⁵Omnis autem
qui certat, per omnia temperans est:

LB 709

LB 710

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21 χριστω B-E: χριστου A | 22 παντως A-C: παντας D E

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21 prius sim B-E: essem A | obnoxius legi B-E: in lege A | 22 infirmis quasi B-E: infirmus,
tanquam A | seruem B-E: seruarem A

---

rendering of Lefèvre was just *quasi sub lege*,
without a verb.
20 *eos qui sub lege sunt* τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ("eos
qui sub lege erant" Vg.). See the previous note
for the change of tense. The Vulgate rendering
is inconsistent with its use of *sunt*, earlier in
the verse. The change made by Erasmus agreed
with the wording adopted by Ambrosiaster and
Valla *Annot*.
21 *qui sine lege sunt* ἀνόμοις ("qui sine lege
erant" Vg.). See on vs. 20. Erasmus again has
the same rendering as Ambrosiaster and Valla
Annot. The version of Lefèvre was *illegitimis*.
21 *sim* (*essem*: 1516) *sine lege: quum non sim sine
lege deo* ἄνομος, μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεῷ ("sine lege
essem, cum sine lege dei non essem" Vg.). For
the change of word-order and tense, see on
vs. 20. The Vulgate reflects the substitution of
θεοῦ for θεῷ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and
a few other mss., including codd. 2105ᶜᵒʳʳ and
2817 (cod. 2105* omits θεῷ). Erasmus follows
cod. 2815, supported by 1 and 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ
and most later mss. See *Annot*. In Valla *Annot*.,
the suggested rendering was *sine lege sim, cum
sine lege non sim* (possibly omitting *deo*, or *dei*,
by accident). Lefèvre had *illegitimus, cum non
essem illegitimus deo*.

21 *obnoxius legi* ἔννομος ("in lege essem" Vg.;
"in lege" 1516). Erasmus seeks to provide a
more intelligible translation ("bound by the
law" rather than just "in the law"). At *Act*. 19,39
he followed the Vulgate in using *legitimus* for
the same Greek word, and that was the rendering
adopted by Lefèvre at the present passage. Valla
Annot. proposed *in lege sim*.
21 *Christi* Χριστῷ. In 1516, Erasmus’ Greek
text had χριστοῦ, derived from cod. 2817, even
though he had adopted the dative, θεῷ, from
cod. 2815 a little earlier in the sentence. The
reading of cod. 2817 was supported by 2105,
and also 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other
mss. Possibly Erasmus was influenced by the
retention of *Christi* in Valla *Annot*. In 1519,
without changing the accompanying Latin ver-
sion, he substituted Χριστῷ, as in codd. 1, 3,
2815, 2816 and most other late mss., as well
as in Dᶜᵒʳʳ. See *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre
put *Christo*.
21 *lucrifaciam* κερδήσω ("lucrifacerem" Vg.).
See on vs. 19.
21 *eos qui sunt sine lege* ἀνόμους ("eos qui sine
lege erant" Vg.). See on vs. 20. Ambrosiaster
and Valla *Annot*. adopted *eos qui sine lege sunt*,
and Lefèvre *illegitimos*.

22 *infirmis* τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ("infirmus" 1516 Lat.). The 1516 spelling, in which the suffix *-us* is represented by an abbreviation, is merely an error of the typesetter.

22 *quasi* ὡς (Vg. omits; "tanquam" 1516). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817. together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ C D F G and most other mss. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *velut.*

22 *lucrifaciam* κερδήσω ("lucrifacerem" Vg.). See on vs. 19.

22 *factus sum omnia* γέγονα τὰ πάντα ("omnia factus sum" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the Latin word-order, agreeing with the version of Ambrosiaster.

22 *omnino aliquos* πάντως τινάς ("omnes" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with a Greek text substituting πάντας and omitting τινάς, as in codd. D F G. However, the reading πάντας τινάς in Erasmus' 1527-35 editions appears to be a misprint. See *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was *quosdam omnino*, and Lefèvre *omnino quoslibet.*

22 *seruem* σώσω ("facerem saluos" Vg.; "seruarem" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 3,17 for *seruo*, and see also *Annot.* In 1519, Erasmus substitutes the present subjunctive, consistent with the other instances of the present tense throughout this passage. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *saluos facerem*, while Valla *Annot.* proposed *saluos faciam*, and Manetti *saluarem.*

23 *Hoc* τοῦτο ("Omnia" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of πάντα, which occurs in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G and thirty-six other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816 and about 540 other late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 249-51). See *Annot.* If πάντα had originally been in the text, it is curious that a scribe or corrector should have thought of using τοῦτο. In view of the wide variety of activities described in vss. 19-22, a more obvious "improvement" would have been to replace πάντα by ταῦτα or to add ταῦτα after πάντα δέ, rather than substituting τοῦτο, a singular pronoun. Similarly, if πάντα had been altered accidentally, ταῦτα would have been a more likely result. On the other hand, if τοῦτο were genuine, it is easy to see how πάντα could have been substituted for it, under influence from πᾶσι ... πάντα ... πάντως in the immediately

preceding sentence. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

23 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). There appears to have been no particular need for this change.

23 *fiam* γένωμαι ("efficiar" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here, though he retains *efficiar* for γένωμαι in vs. 27.

24 *An nescitis* Οὐκ οἴδατε ("Nescitis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,16.

24 *qui* οἱ ("hi qui" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal, having the same rendering as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

24 *praemium* τὸ βραβεῖον ("brauium" Vg.). The Vulgate term, *brauium*, does not exist in classical Latin, and is little more than a transliteration of the Greek word. Ambrosiaster's use of *palmam* is cited in *Annot.* as an acceptable alternative, and this was Erasmus' preferred substitute for *brauium* at *Phil.* 3,14. Cf. also his adoption of *palmam interuerto* for καταβραβεύω at *Col.* 2,18, and *palmam fero* for βραβεύω at *Col.* 3,15. See further on vs. 17, above, for Erasmus' use of *praemium* to render μισθός.

25 *autem* (1st.) δέ ("enim" Vg. 1527). The use of *enim* in the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben Vulgate of 1514, corresponds with γάρ in codd. 3 and 2816. Although there seems to be little other Greek ms. support for this variant, Erasmus cites γάρ as his text in 1519-35 *Annot.* His Latin rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti, while Lefèvre put *etiam.*

25 *qui certat* ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος ("qui in agone contendit" Vg.). This use of *certo* is in accordance with Vulgate usage at 1 *Tim.* 6,12, and also at *Col.* 1,29; 2 *Tim.* 4,7 (both changed to *decerto* by Erasmus). At 2 *Tim.* 2,5, where the Vulgate puts *certo in agone* for ἀθλέω, Erasmus again just has *certo*. See *Annot.* He no doubt disliked the use of *agone* because of its Greek origin, but it does sometimes occur in classical Latin usage. Valla *Annot.* recommended the omission of *in* before *agone*, while Lefèvre put *qui certamine contendit.*

25 *per omnia temperans est* πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται ("ab omnibus se abstinet" Vg.). Erasmus seeks a word which implies moderation and self-control, as these qualities were more appropriate to the training of an athlete or competitor, who would not benefit by "abstaining" from all food, drink or exercise. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *in omnibus temperans est.* His use of

ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν, ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφα-
νον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον.

²⁶ Ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὕτως τρέχω, ὡς
οὐκ ἀδήλως· οὕτως πυκτεύω, ὡς
οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων· ²⁷ ἀλλ᾽ ὑπωπιάζω
μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγῶ, μή
πως ἄλλοις κηρύξας, αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος
γένωμαι.

10 Οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν,
ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν
πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην ἦσαν, καὶ
πάντες διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆλθον,
²καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωσῆν ἐβαπτί-
σαντο ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θα-
λάσσῃ· ³καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ βρῶμα
πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον, ⁴καὶ πάντες τὸ
αὐτὸ πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον. ἔπι-
νον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης
πέτρας· ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός.

illi quidem igitur, vt perituram coro-
nam accipiant, nos autem vt aeternam.

²⁶ Ego itaque sic curro, vt non in
incertum: sic pugilem ago, non velut
aerem feriens: ²⁷ verum subiicio cor-
pus meum, et in seruitutem redigo,
ne quo modo fiat, vt quum aliis
praedicarim ipse reprobus efficiar.

10 Nolim autem vos ignorare fra-
tres, quod patres nostri om-
nes sub nube erant, et omnes per
mare transierunt,   ²et omnes in
Mosen baptizati sunt in nube et
in mari: ³et omnes eandem escam
spiritualem comedebant, ⁴et omnes
eundem potum spiritualem bibebant.
Bibebant enim de spirituali, quae
illos comitabatur, petra: petra vero
fuit Christus.

---

27 ὑπωπιαζω *B-E*: ὑποπιαζω *A*
10,1 πατερες *B-E*: τατερες *A*

---

25 *alt.* vt *B-E*: *om. A* | 27 praedicarim *B-E*: predicarim *A*
10,3 spiritualem *B-E*: spiritalem *A* | 4 spiritualem *B-E*: spiritalem *A* | spirituali *B-E*:
spiritali *A*

---

temperans is analogous with his substitution of
temperantia for *castitas* and *abstinentia* in ren-
dering ἐγκράτεια: see on *Act.* 24,25. Cf. also
his replacement of *continens* by *temperans* in
rendering ἐγκρατής at *Tit.* 1,8. Lefèvre contented
himself with omitting *se*.

25 *illi quidem igitur* ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ("Et illi
quidem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 9,31. Manetti put *Illi
profecto*, and Lefèvre *hi quidem*.

25 *perituram* φθαρτόν ("corruptibilem" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 1,23 for Erasmus' treatment of
φθαρτός elsewhere. See also *Annot.*

25 *vt aeternam* ἄφθαρτον ("incorruptam" Vg.;
"aeternam" 1516). Erasmus adds *vt*, to amplify
the elliptical Greek construction. The implied
verb is *accipiamus*. In *Annot.*, he gives *incor-
ruptibilem* as an alternative rendering: cf. his

replacement of *incorrupti* by *incorruptibiles* at
1 *Cor.* 15,52 (1519). Elsewhere Erasmus renders
ἄφθαρτος by *immortalis* at several passages: see
on *Rom.* 1,23. At the present passage, Manetti
and Lefèvre both put *incorruptibilem*.

26 *itaque* τοίνυν ("igitur" Vg.). In rendering
τοίνυν elsewhere, Erasmus was content to re-
tain *igitur* at *Hebr.* 13,13, and *ergo* at *Lc.* 20,25.
Manetti had *ergo* at the present passage.

26 *vt non* ὡς οὐκ ("non quasi" Vg.). Erasmus
adheres to the Greek word-order, though without
any gain in clarity, and producing inconsistency
with his use of *non velut* for ὡς οὐκ later in
the verse. See further on 1 *Cor.* 3,1.

26 *pugilem ago* πυκτεύω ("pugno" Vg.). Erasmus
is more accurate here. In *Annot.*, he objects that
pugno is more appropriate for μάχομαι. Valla

Annot. likewise approved of the interpretation, *percutio pugnis*, given by Ambrose *De Paradiso* (*CSEL* 32, i, p. 313).

26 *velut* ὡς ("quasi" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,14.

26 *feriens* δέρων ("verberans" Vg.). Erasmus looks for a word better suited to a blow struck by a boxer, as *verbero* often means "flog" rather than "hit". On the use of *verbero*, see Valla *Elegantiae*, VI, 47; Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD* I, 4, p. 328, ll. 348-351. Erasmus elsewhere usually follows the Vulgate in rendering δέρω by *caedo*. See also *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *quatiens*.

27 *verum* ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

27 *subiicio* ὑπωπιάζω ("castigo" Vg.). Erasmus again finds a word more appropriate to the context, in the sense of subdue, or keep under control, rather than punish or reprove. At *Lc.* 18,5, he follows the Vulgate in using *sugillo* ("bruise") to render the same Greek verb. In *Annot.*, he further suggests *coerceo* or *cohibeo*. The spelling ὑποπιάζω, which was used in the 1516 edition, occurs in codd. 1, 2815 and many other mss., including 𝔓⁴⁶.

27 *ne quo modo fiat, vt* μή πως ("ne forte" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,21. Lefèvre put *ne quo pacto*. Manetti, somewhat altering the meaning, replaced *ne forte cum* with *ne cum aliquatenus*.

10,1 *Nolim* Οὐ θέλω ("Nolo" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 20. Cf. on *velim* at 1 *Cor.* 7,7.

1 *autem* δέ ("enim" Vg.). The Vulgate follows a Greek text substituting γάρ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ א * A B C D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with א ᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

1 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre again made the same change.

1 *erant* ἦσαν ("fuerunt" Vg.). Erasmus renders the imperfect tense more accurately.

1 *per mare* διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ("mare" Vg.). The insertion of *per* gives a literal rendering of the Greek preposition, which the Vulgate treats as superfluous. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same amendment as Erasmus.

2 *in Mosen* εἰς τὸν Μωσῆν ("in Moyse" late Vg.). Erasmus translates the prepositional phrase more correctly. Cf. on *Rom.* 6,3 (*in mortem*),

and *Annot.* The spelling Μωσῆν came from cod. 2817: most mss. have Μωϋσῆν, as in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816.

3 *escam spiritualem* βρῶμα πνευματικόν ("spiritalem escam" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate word-order, following the Froben Vulgate of 1514, corresponds with πνευματικὸν βρῶμα in 𝔓⁴⁶ א * B Cᶜᵒʳʳ and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, and also א ᶜᵒʳʳ D F G and most other mss. His Latin rendering is the same as that of Lefèvre: cf. also *escam spiritalem* in the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *cibum spiritualem*.

3 *comedebant* ἔφαγον ("manducauerunt" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31 regarding *manduco*. Erasmus' use of the imperfect tense is less literal, and the same applies to his substitution of *bibebant* in rendering ἔπιον in vs. 4: both verbs are Greek aorists.

4 *bibebant* (1st.) ἔπιον ("biberunt" Vg.). See the previous note.

4 *enim* γάρ ("autem" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering does not enjoy Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The change made by Erasmus agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

4 *quae illos comitabatur* ἀκολουθούσης ("consequente eos" late Vg.). Erasmus' substitution of a subordinate clause, though less literal, produces a more idiomatic Latin wording. In this instance, his choice of the imperfect tense was appropriate, in view of the preceding ἔπινον. In *Annot.*, he argues that *comitor* is better suited to the context, which refers to Christ's presence with the Israelites in the wilderness. See also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, p. 186, ll. 406-417. Throughout vss. 4-10, Erasmus uses *illos, illorum,* or *illi* (rather than *eos,* or *ipsos,* etc.), to refer back to *patres nostri* in vs. 1. In the present verse, though the Greek text lacks a pronoun, the addition of *eos* or *illos* gives a clearer sense. The Vulgate use of *eos* is accordingly mentioned in the *Vbi Interpres Ausus Sit Aliquid Immutare.* Lefèvre's version put *obsequente*, which had the undesirable connotation of "complying with their wishes"; this was replaced by *sequente* in *Comm.*

4 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

4 *fuit* ἦν ("erat" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal. Erasmus' use of the perfect tense is inconsistent with his change to *erant* in vs. 1.

⁵Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐ-
τῶν εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός· κατεστρώ-
θησαν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. ⁶ταῦτα
δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, εἰς
τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς
κακῶν, καθὼς κἀκεῖνοι ἐπεθύμη-
σαν. ⁷μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνε-
σθε, καθώς τινες αὐτῶν, ὡς γέ-
γραπται, Ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν
καὶ πιεῖν, καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίζειν.
⁸μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν, καθώς τινες
αὐτῶν ἐπόρνευσαν, καὶ ἔπεσον
ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκοσιτρεῖς χιλιάδες.
⁹μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν,
καθὼς καί τινες αὐτῶν ἐπείρασαν,
καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφεων ἀπώλοντο.

⁵Sed plures illorum non appro-
bauit deus: prostrati sunt enim in de-
serto. ⁶Haec autem figurae nostri
fuerunt, ne nos simus concupiscen-
tes rerum malarum, quemadmodum
et illi concupierunt. ⁷Neque simu-
lacrorum sitis cultores, sicuti qui-
dam illorum, quemadmodum scri-
ptum est: Sedit populus vt ederet
ac biberet, et surrexerunt ad luden-
dum. ⁸Neque stupris inquinemur,
sicuti quidam illorum stupris polluti
sunt, et conciderunt vno die viginti
tria milia. ⁹Neque tentemus Chris-
tum, sicut et quidam illorum tenta-
uerunt, et a serpentibus extincti sunt.

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7   ειδωλολατραι *A-D*: ειδωλολολατραι *E* | γεγραπται *A C-E*: γεγρκπται *B* |
9   αυτων *B-E*: αυτον *A* | απωλοντο *B-E*: απωλλοντο *A*

---

7 simulacrorum sitis *B-E*: simulachrorum simus *A* | ederet ac *B-E*: manducaret et *A* | 8 stupris
inquinemur *B-E*: fornicemur *A* | stupris polluti *B-E*: fornicati *A* | vno *B-E*: in vno *A* |
9 illorum *B-E*: eum *A*

---

5 *plures illorum non approbauit* οὐκ ἐν τοῖς
πλείοσιν αὐτῶν εὐδόκησεν ("non in pluribus
eorum beneplacitum est" Vg.). Erasmus adopts
a word-order which is more natural in Latin,
but less literal. He similarly puts *approbo* for
εὐδοκέω at 2 *Thess.* 2,12. Cf. also his use of
comprobo at *Hebr.* 10,6, 8, and *probo* at 2 *Cor.*
5,8; *Hebr.* 10,38, in rendering the same Greek
verb. See *Annot.* For *illorum*, see on *illos* in vs. 4.
Lefèvre had *non in compluribus eorum beneplacitum
fuit.*

5 *prostrati sunt enim* κατεστρώθησαν γὰρ
("nam prostrati sunt" Vg.). Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 9,10.
Ambrosiaster had *Prostrati enim sunt.*

6 *figurae nostri fuerunt* τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν
("in figura facta sunt nostri" Vg.). Erasmus
gives a more literal translation. See *Annot.*, and
cf. his use of *figurae contigerunt* for τύποι συν-
έβαινον in vs. 11. The Vulgate wording may
represent a harmonisation with vs. 11, where *in
figura* corresponds more closely with the Greek
variant reading, τυπικῶς. Lefèvre made exactly
the same change as Erasmus here, while Manetti
had *figurae factae sunt nostri.*

6 *ne* εἰς τὸ μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20.

6 *nos simus* εἶναι ἡμᾶς ("simus" Vg.). Erasmus
is more accurate here, preserving the emphatic
contrast between ἡμᾶς and κἀκεῖνοι. Lefèvre
put *ducamur concupiscentia* for *simus concupiscentes.*

6 *rerum malarum* κακῶν ("malorum" Vg.). The
Vulgate rendering preserves the ambiguity of
the Greek word, which could be taken as either
masculine or neuter. However, having regard
to the context, Erasmus perhaps wished to pre-
vent the possibility of this being applied to evil
people rather than evil deeds or things.

6 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13.

7 *simulacrorum sitis cultores* εἰδωλολάτραι γί-
νεσθε ("idolatrae efficiamini" late Vg.; "simu-
lachrorum simus cultores" 1516). In *Annot.*,
Erasmus suggests that γίνεσθε was a scribal
substitution for γίνεσθαι, and based on this
conjecture, his 1516 version uses the first person
plural for the verb, continuing the construction
from *simus* and εἶναι ἡμᾶς in the previous
sentence. Since his printed Greek text had
γίνεσθε, this gave rise to a conflict between the

Latin and Greek wording. In fact, γίνεσθαι is found only in a few of the later mss. (cf. γείνεσθαι in codd. F G). For *simulacrorum ... cultores*, see on 1 *Cor.* 5,10. A similar substitution of *sum* for *efficio* occurs at 1 *Cor.* 14,20. Possibly Erasmus thought that the use of *efficio* was too emphatic (cf. on 1 *Cor.* 6,16), though he retains this verb at 1 *Cor.* 9,27. Ambrosiaster put *simulacris seruientes*, and Lefèvre *idololatrae sitis*.

7 *sicuti* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. The same change occurs in vs. 8. Manetti substituted *ceu*.

7 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("ex ipsis" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *ex* has little Greek ms. support other than cod. A. For Erasmus' choice of pronoun, see on *illos* in vs. 4, and see also on *Rom.* 1,20. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *eorum*.

7 ὡς. Erasmus here follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by cod. 2816, with C D* and some later mss. In codd. 1, 2105 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B Dᶜᵒʳʳ, it is ὥσπερ.

7 *vt ederet ac biberet* φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ("manducare et bibere" Vg.; "vt manducaret et biberet" 1516). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. Regarding *manduco*, see on *Ioh.* 4,31, and for *ac*, see on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti used the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition (though the first hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45 followed the Vulgate).

7 *ad ludendum* παίζειν ("ludere" Vg.). For variety, Erasmus this time uses the gerund, but with the same intention of avoiding the infinitive of purpose. Cf. his substitution of *ad loquendum* for *loqui* at 1 *Thess.* 2,2, and see also on *Ioh.* 1,33. Manetti had *vt luderent* (in *Pal. Lat.* 45ᶜᵒʳʳ and *Urb. Lat.* 6).

8 *stupris inquinemur* πορνεύωμεν ("fornicemur" 1516 = Vg.). More often Erasmus replaces *fornicor* with *scortor*: see on 1 *Cor.* 6,18. Later in the present verse, his use of *stupris polluti sunt* is a further variation in the rendering of the same Greek verb.

8 *sicuti* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

8 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("ex ipsis" Vg.). The same change occurred in vs. 7. See further on *illos* in vs. 4, and also on *Rom.* 1,20. Erasmus' rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti and Lefèvre put *eorum*.

8 *stupris polluti sunt* ἐπόρνευσαν ("fornicati sunt" 1516 = Vg.). See on *stupris inquinemur*, above.

8 *conciderunt* ἔπεσον ("ceciderunt" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,10.

8 *vno* ἐν μιᾷ ("vna" Vg.; "in vno" 1516). The Vulgate omission of the preposition is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* B D* F G. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵᶜᵒʳʳ A C Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. For the gender of *dies*, see on *Ioh.* 1,29.

9 *Christum* τὸν Χριστόν. In cod. 2815, the reading is τὸν θεόν, as in fifteen other mss., including cod. A. About forty others, commencing with ℵ B C, have τὸν κύριον. In agreement with the Vulgate, Erasmus follows cod. 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and about 520 other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 251-3).

9 *et* (1st.) καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss., with cod. 2815 among them. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

9 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.; "eum" 1516). The reading αὐτόν in 1516 is taken from cod. 2817, with support from a few other late mss., as well as the text cited by Lefèvre *Comm.* In cod. 2815, the word was completely omitted, as in cod. ℵ*. In 1519, Erasmus restored αὐτῶν, as in codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2816, as well as in most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵᶜᵒʳʳ B C D F G. See *Annot.* For his choice of pronoun in 1519, see on *illos* in vs. 4. Lefèvre put *ipsorum* in his main text, but *ipsum* in *Comm.*

9 *extincti sunt* ἀπώλοντο ("perierunt" Vg.). The Vulgate almost always renders ἀπόλλυμι by either *perdo* or *pereo*, which Erasmus generally retains. At the present passage, and also in vs. 10, he may have disliked the construction of *pereo* with *a* or *ab*, though this did sometimes occur in classical usage (in the sense of "perish at the hands of" or "die as a result of"). In vs. 10, Erasmus replaced *perierunt* with *interempti sunt*, which was closer to the required meaning. The use of two different verbs, *extinguo* and *interimo*, was for the sake of stylistic variety. Elsewhere he uses *extinguo* solely to render σβέννυμι ("quench"). The spelling ἀπώλλοντο in 1516, inconsistent with ἀπώλοντο in vs. 10, was probably an error of the typesetter.

¹⁰ μηδὲ γογγύζετε, καθὼς καί τινες αὐ-
τῶν ἐγόγγυσαν, καὶ ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ
τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ.

¹¹ Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τύποι συνέβαι-
νον ἐκείνοις· ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν
ἡμῶν, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατ-
ήντησεν. ¹² ὥστε ὁ δοκῶν ἑστάναι, βλε-
πέτω μὴ πέσῃ. ¹³ πειρασμὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ
εἴληφεν, εἰ μὴ ἀνθρώπινος.

LB 711   Πιστὸς δὲ ὁ θεός, ὃς οὐκ ἐάσει | ὑμᾶς
πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε· ἀλλὰ ποι-
ήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν,
τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς ὑπερενεγκεῖν. ¹⁴ διό-
περ, ἀγαπητοί μου, φεύγετε ἀπὸ τῆς
εἰδωλολατρίας, ¹⁵ ὡς φρονίμοις λέγω,

¹⁰ Neque murmuretis, sicut et quidam
illorum murmurauerunt, et interempti
sunt ab extinctore.

¹¹ Haec autem omnia figurae conti-
gerunt illis. Scripta vero sunt propter
admonitionem nostri, in quos termini
aetatum inciderunt. ¹² Proinde qui sibi
videtur stare, videat ne cadat. ¹³ Tenta-
tio vos non cepit, nisi humana.

Sed fidelis est | deus qui non sinet   LB 712
vos tentari supra id quod potestis:
imo faciet vna cum tentatione euen-
tum, quo possitis sufferre. ¹⁴ Quapro-
pter dilecti mei, fugite ab simulacro-
rum cultu, ¹⁵ vt prudentibus loquor,

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13 euentum *B-E*: exitum *A* | 14 simulacrorum *B-E*: simulachrorum *A*

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10 *murmuretis* γογγύζετε ("murmuraueritis"
Vg.). The literary convention of using *ne* with
the perfect subjunctive, for a second-person
negative command, was sometimes retained by
Erasmus, but he often used the present subjunc-
tive for this purpose. Lefèvre put *murmurate*.

10 *et* (1st.) καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission
is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G and more
than 100 other mss., including cod. 2815.
Erasmus follows cod. 2817, supported by 2105,
2816 and about 460 other mss. (see Aland *Die
Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 253-6). Cod. 1 has
a longer omission at this point, through ho-
moeoteleuton. Lefèvre made the same change
as Erasmus.

10 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.). See on *illos*
in vs. 4.

10 *interempti sunt* ἀπώλοντο ("perierunt" Vg.).
See on vs. 9.

10 *extinctore* τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ ("exterminatore"
Vg.). Erasmus looks for a word to replace
exterminator, as this was not used by classical
authors. At the same time he needed to avoid
words having pejorative connotations, such as
interemptor, interfector, occisor, and *peremptor*.

11 *figurae* τύποι ("in figura" Vg.). The Vulgate
may reflect the substitution of τυπικῶς, with
support from codd. ℵ A B C and about sixty
other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and
2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also
D F G and about 500 other mss. (see Aland

Die Paulinischen Briefe vol. 2, pp. 256-9). If τύ-
ποι were not genuine, it could be explained as
a scribal harmonisation with the same word in
vs. 6. Having regard to the requirements of the
context in vs. 11, however, it could be argued
that Greek scribes were more likely to have
changed τύποι to τυπικῶς here, rather than
vice versa, because they would have considered
the adverbial form of the word as a more gram-
matically harmonious accompaniment for the
verb συνέβαινον (or συνέβαινεν). To a certain
extent, τύποι has the merit of being a *lectio
difficilior*, as it can only be correctly understood
by assuming that an additional word is implied,
as in ὡς τύποι. This problem did not arise in
vs. 6, where τύποι was accompanied by a
different verb. Manetti put *figure* (= *figurae*).

11 *contigerunt* συνέβαινον ("contingebant" Vg.).
The Vulgate gives a more literal rendering of
the Greek imperfect tense, referring to a series
of events in which the Israelites were involved.
Most of the mss. which had τυπικῶς for τύποι
also had συνέβαινεν in place of συνέβαινον,
though the meaning of both verbs is the same
because of the plural subject, ταῦτα.

11 *Scripta vero sunt* ἐγράφη δέ ("scripta sunt
autem" Vg.). Since these words introduce an
explanation of the use of τύποι (or τυπικῶς)
in the previous clause, Erasmus probably con-
sidered that the particle δέ did not possess a
strongly adversative sense. See also on *Ioh.* 1,26.
Lefèvre had *scripta autem sunt*.

11 *propter admonitionem* πρὸς νουθεσίαν ("ad correptionem" Vg.). Erasmus sensed that the context required a word which meant "warning" and not merely "rebuke". Further, since he wanted to use *admonitio* for this purpose, he also changed the preposition, so as to avoid the repetitious sound of *ad admonitionem*, though the latter rendering was proposed in *Annot*. For the use of *propter* in a purposive sense, see on 1 *Cor*. 7,2. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *ad admonitionem*.

11 *nostri* ἡμῶν ("nostram" Vg.). Erasmus no doubt hoped to make it clearer that the Greek pronoun was an objective genitive. Cf. *Annot*. The same change was made by Lefèvre *Comm*.

11 *termini* τὰ τέλη ("fines" Vg.). Erasmus elsewhere tends to use the plural of *finis* to mean "territory", and perhaps felt that *termini* would more clearly express the sense of "boundaries" or "ends", though the meanings of the two words considerably overlap.

11 *aetatum* τῶν αἰώνων ("saeculorum" Vg.). At other passages, Erasmus usually follows the Vulgate in using *saeculum* or *in aeternum* for αἰών, and reserves *aetas* for γενεά, ἡμέρα, and ἡλικία.

11 *inciderunt* κατήντησεν ("deuenerunt" Vg.). A comparable substitution of *incido* for *peruenio*, in rendering the same Greek verb, occurs at 1 *Cor*. 14,36. Erasmus elsewhere retains *deuenio* for καταντάω at *Act*. 18,19, 24; 28,13 (see on *Act*. 26,7), and he generally reserves *incido* for rendering πίπτω and its compounds.

12 *Proinde* ὥστε ("Itaque" Vg.). See on *Act*. 11,17. Lefèvre put *Quare*.

12 *qui sibi videtur* ὁ δοκῶν ("qui se existimat" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor*. 8,2.

13 *cepit* εἴληφεν ("apprehendat" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the subjunctive corresponds more closely with καταλάβῃ in codd. F G. Possibly at some stage within the Latin tradition, *apprehendat* was substituted for *apprehendit*, by the change of just one letter. Cf. *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre was *appraehendit*, following the recommendation of Valla *Annot*.

13 *Sed fidelis est deus* Πιστὸς δὲ ὁ θεός ("Fidelis autem deus est" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgᵂᵂ; "Fidelis autem deus" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). See on *Ioh*. 1,26 for *sed*. The position of *est* is unaffected by the Greek text. Manetti had *Potens est autem deus*, evidently based on the

replacement of πιστός by δυνατός, as in many late mss. The rendering of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre was *fidelis autem deus*, omitting *est*, in company with some Vulgate mss.

13 *sinet* ἐάσει ("patietur" Vg.). This change is consistent with Vulgate usage at several other passages, though Erasmus retains *patior* for ἐάω at *Act*. 27,32. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same substitution as Erasmus here.

13 *imo* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Act*. 19,2.

13 *vna cum* σὺν ... καί ("etiam cum" late Vg.). See on *Act*. 1,22. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti placed *etiam* after *tentatione*. Lefèvre put *etiam in*.

13 *euentum* τὴν ἔκβασιν ("prouentum" Vg.; "exitum" 1516). In *Annot*., Erasmus objects that *prouentus* is more appropriate to the natural increase or growth of a plant. Lefèvre put *bonum ... exitum*.

13 *quo* τοῦ ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 1,13.

13 *sufferre* ὑπερενεγκεῖν ("sustinere" Vg.). This Greek spelling seems to have arisen as a misprint, as codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2815, 2817 have ὑπενεγκεῖν (cod. 2816 has ἐπενεγκεῖν). In 1519 *Annot*., Erasmus accepted ὑπερενεγκεῖν without further rechecking of his mss. In rendering ὑποφέρω at 1 *Petr*. 2,19, he makes a similar substitution of *suffero*, but retains *sustineo* at 2 *Tim*. 3,11. Lefèvre used the same word as Erasmus at the present passage.

14 *Quapropter* διόπερ ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act*. 10,29. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

14 *dilecti* ἀγαπητοί ("charissimi" Vg.). See on *Act*. 15,25. Manetti and Lefèvre also made this change.

14 *mei* μου ("mihi" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 16,5. The same change was again made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *simulacrorum cultu* τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας ("idolorum cultura" Vg.). Erasmus makes a similar substitution for *idolorum seruitus* at *Gal*. 5,20, for *simulachrorum seruitus* at *Col*. 3,5, and for *idolorum cultus* at 1 *Petr*. 4,3. See also on *Rom*. 2,22; 1 *Cor*. 5,10. The spelling εἰδωλολατρίας is used by codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and the ending -λατρίας is further attested by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B C D* F G and many other mss. In codd. A Dᶜᵒʳʳ and many later mss., the word ends in -λατρείας. Manetti had *idolatria*, and Lefèvre *idololatria*.

κρίνατε ὑμεῖς ὃ φημι. ¹⁶τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστι; τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστιν; ¹⁷ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα, οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν. οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν.

¹⁸Βλέπετε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα. οὐχὶ οἱ ἐσθίοντες τὰς θυσίας, κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσί; ¹⁹τί οὖν φημι, ὅτι εἴδωλόν τί ἐστιν; ἢ ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτόν τί ἐστιν; ²⁰ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύει τὰ ἔθνη, δαιμονίοις θύει, καὶ οὐ θεῷ. οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμόνων γίνεσθαι. ²¹οὐ δύνασθε ποτήριον κυρίου πίνειν, καὶ ποτήριον δαιμονίων. οὐ δύνασθε τραπέζης κυρίου μετέχειν, καὶ τραπέζης δαιμονίων. ²²ἢ παραζηλοῦμεν τὸν κύριον; μὴ ἰσχυρότεροι αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν;

iudicate vos quod dico. ¹⁶Poculum benedictionis, cui benedicimus, nonne communicatio sanguinis Christi est? Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est? ¹⁷Quoniam vnus panis, vnum corpus multi sumus. Nam omnes ex eodem pane participamus.

¹⁸Videte Israelem iuxta carnem. Nonne qui edunt victimas, participes sacrarii sunt? ¹⁹Quid ergo dico, quod simulacrum aliquid sit? Aut quod simulacris immolatum aliquid sit? ²⁰Non: verum illud dico, quod quae immolant gentes, daemoniis immolant, et non deo. Nolim autem vos consortes daemoniorum esse. ²¹Non potestis poculum domini bibere, et poculum daemoniorum. Non potestis mensae domini participes esse, et mensae daemoniorum. ²²An prouocamus dominum? Num fortiores illo sumus?

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18 Israelem *B-E*: israel *A* | sacrarii *C-E*: altarii *A B* | 19 simulacrum *A-C E*: simulachrum *D* | *prius* sit *B-E*: est *A* | simulacris *A-C E*: simulachris *D* | *alt.* sit *B-E*: est *A*

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15 *iudicate vos* κρίνατε ὑμεῖς ("vosipsi iudicate" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of *vosipsi* was unnecessarily emphatic. Erasmus' rendering follows the Greek word-order more literally. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

15 *quod* ὃ ("quae" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate's use of the plural, following the Froben Vulgate of 1514 (cf. *que* in the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster), is unsupported by Greek mss. In putting *quod*, Erasmus' translation is the same as the earlier Vulgate, Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *Poculum* τὸ ποτήριον ("Calix" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ). See on *Ioh.* 18,11.

16 *Panis* τὸν ἄρτον ("Et panis" Vg.). The added conjunction of the Vulgate has negligible support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus. Ambrosiaster had *Panem*.

16 *communicatio* (2nd.) κοινωνία ("participatio" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the Vulgate use of both *communicatio* and *participatio* to render the same Greek word in different parts of this verse. His correction agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *communio* in both places.

16 *Christi* (2nd.) τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("domini" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with τοῦ κυρίου in codd. D* F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

17 *vnum* ἓν ("et vnum" late Vg.). The late Vulgate conjunction lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* This change produces agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

17 *Nam omnes* οἱ γὰρ πάντες ("omnes qui" late Vg. = *Annot.*, lemma; "omnes quidem"

Vg. 1527 = cod. Sangermanensis, with Vgst; "omnesque" most Vg. mss., with Vg^{ww}). In using *omnes quidem*, the 1527 Vulgate column follows the 1514 Froben Vulgate (cf. the Froben 1491 edition, in which the incorrect *omnes qui de de vno* could be a mistake for either *omnes quidem de vno* or *omnes qui de vno*). In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus seems to be of the opinion that *omnes quidem* was probably the original Vulgate reading, based on the same Greek text. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *omnes enim*.

17 *ex* ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. Lefèvre made the same change.

17 *eodem* τοῦ ἑνός ("vno" Vg.). This change was for the sake of stylistic variety, in view of *vnus panis* earlier in the verse. The Vulgate is more literal and consistent here.

17 *pane* ἄρτου ("pane et de vno calice" late Vg.). The late Vulgate wording, which is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, was ultimately derived from an Old Latin source, and corresponds with the addition of καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς ποτηρίου in codd. F G^{corr} (cf. also καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου in cod. D). See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

18 *Israelem* τὸν Ἰσραήλ ("israel" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,31 for the declinable form of this name. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

18 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

18 *victimas* τὰς θυσίας ("hostias" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 5,2; *Hebr.* 7,27; 8,3; 9,23; 10,12; 13,16, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mc.* 9,49. At three passages, Erasmus replaced *hostia* with *sacrificium* (*Hebr.* 9,9; 10,5, 8). However, he sometimes retains *hostia* and *sacrificium*, and at *Phil.* 2,17 (1519) he uses *hostia* to replace *sacrificium*.

18 *sacrarii sunt* τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσί ("sunt altaris" Vg.; "altarii sunt" 1516-19). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. His substitution of *sacrarii* was first published in the separate Latin N.T. of 1521. For this word, see further on 1 *Cor.* 9,13.

19 *Quid ergo dico, quod* τί οὖν φημι, ὅτι ("Quid ergo? Dico quod" late Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that the context requires a change in the late Vulgate punctuation. In attaching *dico* to *ergo*, he follows the earlier Vulgate and

Ambrosiaster. Both mss. of Manetti's version had *Quid ego dico quod*, while Lefèvre put *Quid igitur dico? quod*.

19 *simulacrum aliquid sit (est: 1516)? Aut quod simulacris immolatum aliquid sit (est: 1516)* εἴδωλόν τί ἐστιν; ἤ ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτόν τί ἐστιν ("idolis immolatum sit aliquid, aut quod idolum sit aliquid" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order reflects a Greek text which transposes εἴδωλον and εἰδωλόθυτον, as in codd. ℵ^{corr} B C^{corr} D and a few later mss. Some mss., as in 𝔓^{46} ℵ* A C*, wholly omit ὅτι εἴδωλόν τί ἐστιν, ἤ, apparently by an error of homoeoteleuton. Erasmus follows the text of cod. 2817, together with 1, 2816 and most other late mss. His codd. 2105 and 2815 omitted ὅτι. For *simulacrum*, see on *Act.* 15,29; *Rom.* 2,22. Manetti had *idolum aliquid sit aut quod idolis im(m)olatum sit aliquid*, and Lefèvre *idolum aliquid est, aut quod immolatum idolo aliquid est*.

20 *Non: verum illud dico, quod* ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ("Sed" Vg.). Erasmus expands the meaning, to connect this sentence with the earlier τί οὖν φημι of vs. 19 (though *illud* refers to the statement which follows: see on *Rom.* 6,6). See *Annot.* The Vulgate rendering corresponds with the omission of ὅτι by codd. D F G. The version of Manetti put *sed quod*, and Lefèvre *Non. verum quod*.

20 *Nolim* οὐ θέλω ("Nolo" Vg.). See on vs. 1.

20 *consortes daemoniorum esse* κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμόνων γίνεσθαι ("socios fieri daemoniorum" Vg.). The reading δαιμόνων came from cod. 2817, with little other ms. support. Nearly all mss. have δαιμονίων, as in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816. A similar substitution of *consors* occurs at *Phm.* 17; *Hebr.* 10,33, following Vulgate usage at 2 *Petr.* 1,4. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests using *participes* (which would here have been more consistent with vs. 18), as in the version of Ambrosiaster; or *communicatores*, as used by the Vulgate at 1 *Petr.* 5,1. The Vulgate use of *fieri* was a more literal rendering of γίνεσθαι. Lefèvre had *communicare daemoniis*.

21 *poculum* (twice) ποτήριον ("calicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 18,11.

22 *prouocamus* παραζηλοῦμεν ("aemulamur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 10,19, and *Annot.* The Vulgate rendering is listed in the *Loca Obscura*. Lefèvre put *ad aemulationem prouocamus*.

22 *Num* μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4.

²³Πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ
πάντα συμφέρει. πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν,
ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα οἰκοδομεῖ. ²⁴μηδεὶς
τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ζητείτω, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἑτέ-
ρου ἕκαστος.
²⁵Πᾶν τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ πωλούμε-
νον, ἐσθίετε· μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες, διὰ
τὴν συνείδησιν. ²⁶τοῦ γὰρ κυρίου
ἡ γῆ, καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. ²⁷εἰ
δέ τις καλεῖ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπίστων, καὶ
θέλετε πορεύεσθαι, πᾶν τὸ παρατιθέ-
μενον ὑμῖν, ἐσθίετε, μηδὲν ἀνακρίνον-
τες διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν.
²⁸Ἐὰν δέ τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ, Τοῦτο
εἰδωλόθυτόν ἐστι, μὴ ἐσθίετε, δι' ἐκεῖ-
νον τὸν μηνύσαντα, καὶ τὴν συνεί-
δησιν. τοῦ γὰρ | κυρίου ἡ γῆ, καὶ
τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. ²⁹συνείδησιν δὲ
λέγω, οὐχὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν
τοῦ ἑτέρου. ἱνατί γὰρ ἡ ἐλευθερία
μου κρίνεται ὑπὸ ἄλλης συνειδήσεως;

²³Omnia mihi licent, at non om-
nia conducunt. Omnia mihi licent,
sed non omnia aedificant. ²⁴Nemo
quod suum est, quaerat, sed quisque
quod alterius est.
²⁵Omne quod in macello vendi-
tur, edite: nihil interrogantes, propter
conscientiam. ²⁶Domini siquidem
est terra, et plenitudo eius. ²⁷Quod
si quis vocat vos infidelium, et vul-
tis ire, quicquid apponitur vobis,
edite: nihil interrogantes propter
conscientiam.
²⁸Quod si quis vobis dixerit, Hoc
simulacris immolatum est: ne eda-
tis propter illum qui indicauit, et
propter | conscientiam. Domini si-
quidem est terra, et plenitudo eius.
²⁹Porro conscientiam dico, non tuam,
sed illius alterius. Cur enim libertas
mea iudicatur ab alia conscientia?

LB 713

LB 714

27 υμιν *A-C E*: ημιν *D*

24 quaerat *B-E*: querat *A* | quisque quod alterius est *B-E*: quod alterius est vnusquisque *A* |
27 quicquid *B-E*: omne quod *A*

23 *at* ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. This
change is for the sake of variety, as Erasmus
retains *sed* for ἀλλ' in the next sentence.

23 *conducunt* συμφέρει ("expediunt" Vg.).
See on 1 *Cor.* 6,12. Manetti and Lefèvre had
conferunt.

24 *quisque quod alterius est* τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου
ἕκαστος ("quod alterius" Vg.; "quod alterius
est vnusquisque" 1516). The Vulgate reflects
the omission of ἕκαστος, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B
C D* F G H and nineteen other mss. In
cod. 2105, it is τὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἕκαστος.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along-
side codd. 1 and 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and almost
500 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 2, pp. 262-5). In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus
inserts καί before τό in his citation of the text,
with support from a few late mss., but not from
any of those which he consulted at Basle. The
word ἕκαστος has sometimes been regarded as

a later scribal harmonisation with *Phil.* 2,4
(where most mss. have τὰ ἑτέρων ἕκαστος).
Another possible explanation is that ἕκαστος
was once an integral part of the text, but that
an early scribe considered that the present
clause already possessed an implied subject in
μηδείς (or rather, in the opposite of μηδείς),
and therefore deleted ἕκαστος on the grounds
of its imagined redundancy. Manetti put *vnus-
quisque id quod alterius*, and Lefèvre *quisque quod
alterius*.

25 *venditur* πωλούμενον ("venit" Vg.). Erasmus
makes this change to avoid confusion between
venio ("come") and *veneo* ("be sold"): see *Annot.*
The version of Manetti changed *quod ... venit*
to *quae ... venduntur*, while Lefèvre had *quod ...
venundatur*, as in Valla *Annot.*

25 *edite* ἐσθίετε ("manducate" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 4,31. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the
same rendering as Erasmus.

26 *siquidem* γάρ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission lacks Greek ms. support. In codd. א B C D F G and a few later mss., γάρ is transposed after κυρίου. Erasmus' Greek word-order is supported by codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ A H. The version of Manetti began the sentence with *Domini enim*, and Lefèvre with *Nam domini*.

27 *Quod si quis* εἰ δέ τις ("Si quis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of δέ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ א A B D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as C Dᶜᵒʳʳ H and most later mss. The version of Manetti had *Si quis vero*, and Lefèvre *Si quis autem*.

27 *infidelium* τῶν ἀπίστων ("infidelium ad coenam" late Vg.). The late Vulgate rendering, which probably arose by contamination from the Old Latin version, corresponds with the addition of εἰς δεῖπνον in codd. D* F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

27 *quicquid apponitur vobis* πᾶν τὸ παρατιθέμενον ὑμῖν ("omne quod vobis apponitur" Vg.; "omne quod apponitur vobis" 1516). For *quicquid*, see on *Ioh*. 4,14. Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

27 *edite* ἐσθίετε ("manducate" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 4,31. Erasmus' wording was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

28 *Quod si quis* ᾿Εὰν δέ τις ("Si quis autem" Vg.). Cod. 2815 has εἰ for ἐάν, contrary to the testimony of most other mss. See on *Rom*. 2,25 for *quod*. Lefèvre put *Si autem quispiam*.

28 *vobis* ὑμῖν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of ὑμῖν in codd. F G. The version of Manetti put *dixerit vobis*, and Lefèvre *vobis dicat*, for *dixerit*.

28 *simulacris immolatum est* εἰδωλόθυτόν ἐστι ("immolatum est idolis" late Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus commented that earlier copies of the Vulgate had *immolatitium*. See also on *Act*. 15,29; *Rom*. 2,22. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *idolis im(m)olatum est*.

28 *ne edatis* μὴ ἐσθίετε ("nolite manducare" Vg.). By a misprint, the 1527 Vulgate column substituted *manducate* for *manducare*. See on *Rom*. 11,18 for *ne*, and on *Ioh*. 4,31 for the

removal of *manduco*. Manetti put *ne comedatis*, and Lefèvre *nolite edere*.

28 *qui indicauit* τὸν μηνύσαντα ("qui iudicauit" *Annot.*, lemma). The false reading, *qui iudicauit*, of which Erasmus complained in *Annot.*, also occurs in both mss. of Manetti's version. Erasmus' correction agreed with most Vulgate mss., the 1527 Vulgate column, and Lefèvre (both columns).

28 *Domini ... eius* τοῦ ... αὐτῆς (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by (𝔓⁴⁶) א A B C* D F G H* and forty-three other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with Hᶜᵒʳʳ and about 520 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 265-7). This sentence, which is a repetition of vs. 26, causes a difficulty of interpretation in the present context, because the words do not appear to offer a suitable justification of the preceding negative command (μὴ ἐσθίετε). It would therefore be exegetically "convenient" to remove this passage, and to condemn it as a later scribal interpolation. However, if the sentence had originally been in the text at this point, the same exegetical problem could have provided an ancient editor with a strong motive for deleting these words, with the natural result that a number of subsequent copies would exhibit a shortened form of text. In *Annot.*, Erasmus' explanation of this sentence is that Paul is referring to a hypothetical objector ("sub alterius persona, velut obiicientis Paulo"), who uses the apostle's own words as a basis for questioning what was meant by συνείδησις or "conscience". Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus, except that they both put *enim* rather than *siquidem*, and Manetti also omitted *eius*.

29 *Porro conscientiam* συνείδησιν δέ ("Conscientiam autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 8,16, and *Annot.*

29 *illius alterius* τοῦ ἑτέρου ("alterius" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to emphasise the connection between ἑτέρου and the complainant of vs. 28: cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti was *eam que* (= *quae*) *est alterius*.

29 *Cur* ἱνατί ("Vt quid" Vg.). See on *Act*. 7,26. Lefèvre's main rendering was just *quid*, but he retained *vt quid* in *Comm*.

29 *alia* ἄλλης ("aliena" late Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is more precise. His correction is in accordance with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster (1492): see *Annot*.

³⁰ εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ χάριτι μετέχω, τί βλασφημοῦμαι, ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εὐχαριστῶ;

³¹ Εἴτε οὖν ἐσθίετε, εἴτε πίνετε, εἴτε τι ποιεῖτε, πάντα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ποιεῖτε. ³² ἀπρόσκοποι γίνεσθε, καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Ἕλλησι, καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ· ³³ καθὼς κἀγὼ πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω, μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἵνα σωθῶσι.

11 Μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ.

² Ἐπαινῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι πάντα μου μέμνησθε· καὶ καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, τὰς παραδώσεις κατέχετε.

³ Θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλή, ὁ Χριστός ἐστι· κεφαλὴ δὲ γυναικός, ὁ ἀνήρ· κεφαλὴ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ὁ θεός.

⁴ Πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος, ἢ προφητεύων, κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων,

³⁰ Quod si ego cum gratia participo, cur ob id mihi male dicitur, pro quo ego gratias ago? ³¹ Siue igitur editis, siue bibitis, siue quid facitis, omnia in gloriam dei facite. ³² Tales estote, vt nullum praebeatis offendiculum, neque Iudaeis, neque Graecis, neque ecclesiae dei: ³³ quemadmodum ego per omnia omnibus placeo, non quaerens meam ipsius vtilitatem, sed multorum vt salui fiant.

11 Imitatores mei estote, sicut et ego Christi.

² Collaudo autem vos fratres, quod omnia mea memoria tenetis: et quemadmodum tradidi vobis, instituta tenetis.

³ Sed volo vos scire, quod omnis viri caput, Christus est: caput autem mulieris, vir: caput vero Christi, deus.

⁴ Omnis vir orans, aut prophetans, quicquam habens in capite,

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33 συμφερον *A B Cᵇ D E*: συμφερων *C**
11,2 μεμνησθε και *B-E*: και μεμνησθε *A*

33 quaerens *B-E*: querens *A*
11,2 instituta *B-E*: traditiones *A*

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30 *Quod si* εἰ δέ ("Si" Vg.). Erasmus derives δέ from cod. 2817, with little other ms. support. The word remained in the *Textus Receptus*, and curiously the same reading has more recently been discovered in 𝔓⁴⁶. However, most other mss. have just εἰ.

30 *cur* τί ("quid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

30 *ob id mihi male dicitur, pro quo* βλασφημοῦμαι, ὑπὲρ οὗ ("blasphemor pro eo quod" Vg.). Erasmus expands the rendering for the sake of clarity. Cf. *Annot.* For his removal of *blasphemo*, see on *Act.* 13,45. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *blasphemor pro quo*.

30 *ego* (2nd.) ἐγώ (Vg. omits). Erasmus is more literal here. The Vulgate omission does not

appear to reflect a Greek ms. variant, though in 1516 *Annot.* Erasmus omits ἐγώ from his citation of the text, contrary to his Basle mss.

31 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Lefèvre began the sentence with *Proinde siue*.

31 *editis* ἐσθίετε ("manducatis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *comeditis*.

31 *siue* (3rd.) εἴτε ("vel aliud" Vg.). Erasmus makes the rendering of εἴτε consistent with the earlier part of the sentence. The Vulgate addition of *aliud* does not enjoy Greek ms. support, and was probably inserted by way of explanation: see *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus

agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

32 *Tales estote, vt nullum praebeatis offendiculum* ἀπρόσκοποι γίνεσθε ("Sine offensione estote" Vg.). A comparable substitution of *tales, vt nemini sitis offendiculo* for *sine offensa* occurs at *Phil.* 1,10. By this change, Erasmus made clear that the passage did not primarily refer to the avoidance of injury to a person's feelings, but that it meant that Christians should not lead others astray or cause obstacles to their faith. See *Annot.*

32 *neque Iudaeis, neque Graecis, neque* καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Ἕλλησι, καί ("Iudaeis, et gentibus, et" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vg^{ww}). Erasmus prefers *neque*, in connection with a negative command. The Vulgate leaves the first καί untranslated. For *Graecis*, see on *Ioh.* 7,35; 1 *Cor.* 1,23. See also *Annot.* The version of Ambrosiaster was *iudeis et grecis et*, and Lefèvre *et iudaeis et gentilibus et.*

33 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

33 *ego* κἀγώ ("et ego" Vg.). Erasmus' omission of *et* is inaccurate, coinciding with the wording of Ambrosiaster (1492).

33 *meam ipsius vtilitatem* τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ συμφέρον ("quod mihi vtile est" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 7,35, and *Annot.* Here Erasmus' rendering is identical with that of Lefèvre. Manetti had *vtilitatem meam.*

33 *multorum* τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ("quod multis" Vg.). Erasmus' simpler construction follows on from the previous change. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre again made the same substitution. Manetti put *eam quae est multorum.*

11,1 *et ego* κἀγώ ("ego" Vg. 1527). The omission of *et* by the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben Vulgate of 1514, has little support from Greek mss. Erasmus' rendering is in agreement with most copies of the Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

2 *Collaudo* Ἐπαινῶ ("Laudo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,11.

2 *omnia* πάντα ("per omnia" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition does not have explicit support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* Erasmus' correction gives the same wording as the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. The version of Lefèvre had *omnium.*

2 *mea* μου ("mei" Vg.). Erasmus, following Ambrosiaster, takes μου as a possessive genitive (with πάντα), whereas the Vulgate takes it as the object of μέμνησθε. Either rendering is possible. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *quae mea sunt.*

2 *memoria tenetis* μέμνησθε ("memores estis" Vg.). Erasmus also uses this phrase to replace *recordamini* in rendering μνημονεύετε at *Mt.* 16,9. However, he retains *memor sum* at *Lc.* 17,32; *Gal.* 2,10; *Col.* 4,18; *Hebr.* 2,6; 2 *Petr.* 3,2; *Iud.* 17; *Ap. Ioh.* 2,5, in rendering μνημονεύω and μιμνήσκομαι. See *Annot.* The word-order καὶ μέμνησθε (for μέμνησθε καί), in 1516, lacks Greek ms. support. In cod. 2815, καί is wholly omitted, in company with cod. A* and a few later mss. Erasmus' version resembles that of Ambrosiaster, *memoria retinetis.* Manetti and Lefèvre both had *meministis*, translating the Greek aorist more literally.

2 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

2 *instituta* τὰς παραδώσεις ("praecepta mea" Vg.; "traditiones" 1516). The spelling παραδώσεις, which is found in some mss. but not in those at Basle, may have been introduced into Erasmus' N.T. through an error of the typesetter. Most mss. have τὰς παραδόσεις. At 2 *Thess.* 3,6, cod. 2815 was responsible for Erasmus' adoption of παράδωσιν. He regarded *praecepta*, or "instructions", as too strong a word: see *Annot.*, and see further on *Act.* 6,14. The Vulgate insertion of *mea* corresponds with the addition of μου in codd. D* F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as in Erasmus' 1516 edition: cf. also *traditiones meas* in Ambrosiaster.

3 *Sed volo* Θέλω δέ ("Volo autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre began the sentence with *Vos autem scire velim.*

4 *aut* ἤ ("vel" Vg. 1527). The rendering of the 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514, and the same wording was also used by Manetti. See on *Ioh.* 2,6. Erasmus' version agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre (both columns).

4 *quicquam habens in capite* κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων ("velato capite" Vg.). Erasmus' use of *quicquam habens* is more accurate, as the Greek phrase ἔχω κατά is to be distinguished from κατακαλύπτομαι, used in vss. 6-7. His explanation in *Annot.*, however, might be understood as giving

καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. ⁵πᾶσα δὲ γυνή, προσευχομένη ἢ προφητεύουσα ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ, καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἑαυτῆς. ἓν γάρ ἐστι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ ἐξυρημένῃ. ⁶εἰ γὰρ οὐ κατακαλύπτεται γυνή, καὶ κειράσθω. εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι, κατακαλυπτέσθω. ⁷ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλήν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων. γυνὴ δὲ δόξα ἀνδρός ἐστιν. ⁸οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικός, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ ἐξ ἀνδρός. ⁹καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτίσθη ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα. ¹⁰διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλει ἡ | γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους· ¹¹πλὴν οὔτε ἀνὴρ χωρὶς γυναικός, οὔτε γυνὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρὸς ἐν κυρίῳ. ¹²ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς γυναικός, τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

probro afficit caput suum. ⁵Omnis vero mulier, orans aut prophetans non velato capite, dehonestat caput suum. Nam id perinde est prorsus, ac si rasa esset. ⁶Etenim si non velatur mulier, etiam tondeatur. Quod si foedum est mulieri tonderi aut radi, veletur. ⁷Vir quidem non debet velare caput, quum is imago sit et gloria dei. At mulier, gloria viri est. ⁸Non enim est vir ex muliere, sed mulier ex viro. ⁹Neque enim conditus est vir propter mulierem, sed mulier propter virum. ¹⁰Propter hoc debet mulier potestatem habere in capite, propter angelos: | ¹¹alioqui neque vir absque muliere, neque mulier absque viro in domino. ¹²Nam quemadmodum mulier ex viro est, ita et vir per mulierem, omnia vero ex deo.

LB 715

LB 716

12 γυνη *B-E*: γννη *A*

10 potestatem *A C-E*: potestatatem *B* | capite *B-E*: capite suo *A*

undue encouragement to the notion of clerical tonsure. Lefèvre put *velatum caput habens*.

4 *probro afficit* καταισχύνει ("deturpat" Vg.). Erasmus may have considered that the Vulgate word, which was infrequent in classical usage, did not adequately convey the sense of shame or reproach. In vs. 5, for the sake of variety, he replaces *deturpat* with *dehonestat*, in rendering the same Greek verb. In a similar context, in vs. 14 of this chapter, he uses *probrum* to render ἀτιμία. Elsewhere he uses *probro afficio* in the sense of "insult", when rendering ὀνειδίζω at 1 *Tim.* 4,10; 1 *Petr.* 4,14. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *dedecori est*.

5 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). Since this sentence contrasts the woman with the man, *autem* could satisfactorily have been retained. Erasmus, however, prefers a continuative sense, as the main verb and object are the same as in the previous sentence. For a similar reason, Lefèvre put *etiam*.

5 *dehonestat* καταισχύνει ("deturpat" Vg.). See on vs. 4. Erasmus uses *dehonesto* ("dishonour") once elsewhere, in rendering ἀτιμάζω at *Rom.* 2,23. In *Annot.*, he also suggests *dedecorat* or *pudefacit*. Lefèvre put *dedecore afficit*.

5 *Nam id perinde est prorsus, ac si* ἓν γάρ ἐστι καὶ τὸ αὐτό ("Vnum enim est ac si" late Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,18 for *perinde*, and on *Act.* 5,4 for *prorsus*. For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. See also *Annot.* In Valla *Annot.*, the Vulgate lemma had *vnum est enim atque idipsum si*, though Valla complained that most Vulgate mss. omit *idipsum* (for τὸ αὐτό): his own preference was to make use of *idem*. Manetti put *Vnum enim et idem est ac si*, and Lefèvre *Vnum enim est atque idem ac si*.

5 *rasa esset* τῇ ἐξυρημένῃ ("decaluetur" Vg.). Erasmus provides a more literal rendering here, and similarly replaces *decaluari* with *radi* in vs. 6. A problem with *decaluo* was that this verb did not exist in classical Latin usage, unlike the

related adjective, *caluus*, which meant "bald" or "shaven". Cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti accordingly had *calua esset*, and Lefèvre *esset detonsa*.

6 *Etenim* γάρ ("Nam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. Manetti began the sentence with *Si enim*, and Lefèvre with *si itaque*.

6 *etiam* καί (late Vg. omits). The late Vulgate omission has little Greek ms. support. In *Annot.*, Erasmus notes the earlier Vulgate reading, *et*.

6 *Quod si* εἰ δέ ("Si vero" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25. In the present context, δέ clearly has an adversative sense, and is taken as such by Erasmus. The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti put *Si autem*.

6 *foedum est* αἰσχρόν ("turpe est" Vg.). Erasmus retains *turpis* in rendering the other N.T. instances of αἰσχρός and αἰσχρόν, at 1 *Cor.* 14,35; *Eph.* 5,12; *Tit.* 1,11. He may have felt that *foedus* was more suitable for referring to something that was visually repulsive or disgraceful, as distinct from shameful words or deeds, though the two Latin words overlap in their range of connotation.

6 *radi* ξυρᾶσθαι ("decaluari" Vg.). See on vs. 5, and *Annot.* The suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was *deradi*, while Lefèvre put *abradi*.

6 *veletur* κατακαλυπτέσθω ("velet caput suum" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering appears to be a harmonisation with κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλήν in the following sentence. Erasmus is more accurate on this point. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

7 *caput* τὴν κεφαλήν ("caput suum" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. Erasmus' correction agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

7 *quum is imago sit et gloria dei* εἰκὼν ... ὑπάρχων ("quoniam imago et gloria dei est" late Vg.). The causal sense of the Greek participle can equally be rendered by *quum* or *quoniam*. Erasmus adds a pronoun to make clear that the man, rather than the head, is the subject of the verb. For his occasional preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the word-order *cum sit imago ... dei*, and Manetti *cum imago ... dei sit*.

7 *At mulier* γυνὴ δέ ("mulier autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre had *mulier vero*.

8 *est vir ex muliere* ἐστιν ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικός ("vir ex muliere est" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering follows the Greek word-order more exactly. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

9 *Neque enim* καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ("Etenim non" Vg.). Erasmus here avoids the combination of *etenim* with a negative, just as he prefers the idiomatic *neque* to *et non* elsewhere.

9 *conditus est* ἐκτίσθη ("est creatus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,25. Lefèvre put *creatus est*.

10 *Propter hoc* διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,6. Lefèvre had *Quapropter*.

10 *potestatem* ἐξουσίαν ("velamen" late Vg.). The late Vulgate substitution appears to have arisen as a simplification of the meaning, rather than through following a different Greek text. See *Annot.* The version adopted by Erasmus is the same as that of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

10 *in capite* ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ("super caput suum et" late Vg.; "in capite suo" 1516). The late Vulgate addition of *suum et* does not receive Greek ms. support. Erasmus uses the preposition *in* to convey the meaning "on", rather than merely "above" or "over". For other instances of the avoidance of *super*, cf. on *Ioh.* 7,44; *Rom.* 9,28. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1519 edition, while Manetti had *super caput*.

11 *alioqui* πλήν ("Veruntamen" Vg.). In rendering πλήν elsewhere, Erasmus replaces *veruntamen* with *attamen* at *Mt.* 11,22; *Phil.* 3,16; 4,14; with *quanquam* at *Eph.* 5,33; with *quinim(m)o* at *Lc.* 6,35; with *quin potius* at *Lc.* 12,31; and with *quin* at *Lc.* 19,27 (these last three instances, from Luke, all in 1519). At twelve other passages in the Gospels, Erasmus retains *veruntamen* for this Greek word.

11 *absque* χωρίς ("sine" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,21.

12 *quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

12 *ex viro est* ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός ("de viro" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15 for *ex*. Erasmus adds a verb, for clarification. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *ex viro*, without *est*.

12 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus avoids the more strongly adversative *autem*, perhaps on the logical grounds that τὰ πάντα includes both γυνή and ἀνήρ, who form the subject of the earlier part of the sentence.

¹³ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς κρίνατε, πρέπον
ἐστί, γυναῖκα ἀκατακάλυπτον τῷ
θεῷ προσεύχεσθαι; ¹⁴ἢ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ
ἡ φύσις διδάσκει ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἀνὴρ μὲν
ἐὰν κομᾷ, ἀτιμία αὐτῷ ἐστι; ¹⁵γυνὴ
δὲ ἐὰν κομᾷ, δόξα αὐτῆς ἐστιν; ὅτι
ἡ κόμη ἀντὶ περιβολαίου δέδοται.

¹⁶Εἰ δέ τις δοκεῖ φιλόνεικος εἶναι,
ἡμεῖς τοιαύτην συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν,
οὐδὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ. ¹⁷τοῦ-
το δὲ παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι
οὐκ εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἧτ-
τον συνέρχεσθε. ¹⁸πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ
συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,

¹³Inter vos ipsos iudicate, num deco-
rum est, mulierem non velatam deum
orare? ¹⁴An ne natura quidem ipsa
hoc docet vos, quod viro quidem si
comatus fuerit, probro sit? ¹⁵Contra
mulieri, si comata fuerit, gloriae sit?
Eo quod coma pro velamine data sit.

¹⁶Caeterum si quis videtur conten-
tiosus esse, nos huiusmodi consuetu-
dinem non habemus, neque ecclesiae
dei. ¹⁷Illud tamen praecipiens, non
laudo quod non in melius, sed in
deterius conuenitis. ¹⁸Nam primum
quidem, quum conuenitis in ecclesia,

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14 viro *B-E*: vir *A* | sit *B-E*: sit ipsi *A* | **15** mulieri *B-E*: mulier *A* | sit? Eo *B-E* *(exc.* eo
pro Eo *B-E)*: sit illi *A* | **16** Caeterum *B-E*: Ceterum *A* | **17** praecipiens *B-E*: precipiens *A*

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13 *Inter vos ipsos* ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ("Vos ipsi"
Vg.). The Vulgate rendering corresponds with
ὑμεῖς αὐτοί in cod. D, though this Greek
variant might have originated by retranslation
from a Latin source. See *Annot.* The wording
used by Erasmus was anticipated by Manetti,
while Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre proposed *In
vobis ipsis*.

13 *num decorum est* πρέπον ἐστί ("decet" Vg.).
Erasmus adds *num*, in accordance with Latin
idiom, to express the negative response which
the question implied. His use of *decorum est* is
closer to the grammatical form of the Greek
wording. However, he retains *decet* for πρέπον
ἐστίν at *Mt.* 3,15, as well as for πρέπει at
several other passages. Manetti had *an decet*, and
Lefèvre *an decens est*.

13 *deum orare* τῷ θεῷ προσεύχεσθαι ("orare
deum" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds
with προσεύχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ in codd. D F G.
The version of Lefèvre made the same correction
as Erasmus. Manetti put *ad deum orare*.

14 *An ne natura quidem ipsa* ἢ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ἡ
φύσις ("Nec ipsa natura" Vg.). The Vulgate
reflects the omission of ἢ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C
D* F G H and a few other mss. Erasmus fol-
lows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by D^{corr}
and also 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss.
See *Annot.* If ἢ was the correct reading, some
scribes might have wished to omit the word

because they thought that it was made redundant
by the following οὐδέ. This combination of ἢ
and οὐδέ does not elsewhere occur in the N.T.
At 1 *Thess.* 2,19, the required meaning is conveyed
by ἢ οὐχὶ καί (as found also at 1 *Cor.* 9,8, in
most mss.). For the substitution of *ne ... quidem*,
see on *Ioh.* 7,5. Valla *Annot.* proposed *an nec*
(or *an ne*) *ipsa quidem natura*. Manetti's rendering
was *Vel nonne ipsa natura*, while Lefèvre put *An
non vero ipsa natura*.

14 *hoc docet* διδάσκει ("docet" Vg.). Erasmus is
less literal here. The content of the teaching is
sufficiently expressed by the following clause,
quod ... probro sit.

14 *viro ... sit* ἀνὴρ ... αὐτῷ ἐστι ("vir ... est
illi" Vg.; "vir ... sit ipsi" 1516). Erasmus alters
the construction, to avoid the apparent ana-
coluthon of the Greek wording. This use of
viro was suggested in Valla *Annot.* The version
of Lefèvre solved the problem by placing *vir
quidem* after *si*. Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre
all put *est ei* for *est illi*.

14 *comatus fuerit* κομᾷ ("comam nutriat" Vg.).
A similar substitution occurs in the next verse.
Erasmus finds a more natural Latin idiom to
convey the sense of κομάω, which signifies the
possession of long hair rather than a method
by which the hair is "nourished". See *Annot.*
The proposed rendering of Valla *Annot.* and
Lefèvre was *comatus est*.

14 *probro* ἀτιμία ("ignominia" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of the predicative dative, see on *Rom.* 8,28. For his use of *probrum* in rendering καταισχύνω, see on vs. 4, above. He prefers *ignominia* for ἀτιμία at *Rom.* 9,21; 1 *Cor.* 15,43; 2 *Cor.* 6,8, though at 2 *Cor.* 11,21 he has *contumelia*, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 9,21; 2 *Tim.* 2,20. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre suggested *dedecus*.

15 *Contra mulieri ... sit* γυνὴ δὲ ... αὐτῆς ἐστιν ("mulier vero ... est illi" Vg.; "Contra mulier ... sit illi" 1516). Erasmus repeats his change of construction from vs. 14. For *contra*, see on *Ioh.* 16,20. Erasmus prefers a stronger adversative sense for δέ in this instance, because of the direct contrast between man and woman with regard to the requirement for a head-covering. The word αὐτῆς is derived from cod. 2817, with little other ms. support. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and nearly all other mss., the text has αὐτῇ at this point. Valla *Annot.* proposed *mulieri autem ... ei est*. Manetti put *Mulier autem ... est ipsi*, and Lefèvre *mulier vero ... est ei*.

15 *comata fuerit* κομᾷ ("comam nutriat" Vg.). See on vs. 14. Valla *Annot.* had *comata*, and Lefèvre *comata est*.

15 *gloriae* δόξα ("gloria" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,28, again, for the predicative dative. Valla *Annot.* suggested *honori*, and Lefèvre *honor*.

15 *Eo quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.; "quod" 1516). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Ioh.* 3,9 (1527), and also *quia* is replaced by *eo quod* at *Gal.* 2,11 (1519). Lefèvre had *quia* here.

15 *coma* ἡ κόμη ("capilli" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus complains of the Vulgate inconsistency in using *capilli* for κόμη but *comam nutrio* for κομάω. His correction agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

15 *data sit* δέδοται ("dati sunt ei" Vg. 1527; "ei dati sunt" Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514. The Vulgate follows a Greek text adding αὐτῇ, either before δέδοται as in codd. C H, or after δέδοται as in codd. 2105 and 2816, with א A B. Both of these readings receive other ms. support. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with cod. 1 and also 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G and most other mss. The question here is whether some scribes deleted αὐτῇ as a superfluous repetition, or whether the fluctuating position of αὐτῇ in some of the mss. is an

indication that the word was a scribal interpolation, prompted by the use of αὐτῇ in the previous clause. The Vulgate plural follows on from the previous choice of *capilli* for κόμη. Ambrosiaster (1492) had *data est ei*, Valla *Annot. data est illi*, Manetti *ei data est*, and Lefèvre just *data est*, omitting the pronoun.

16 *Caeterum si quis* Εἰ δέ τις ("Si quis autem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2.

16 *huiusmodi* τοιαύτην ("talem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 5,1.

16 *ecclesiae* αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ("ecclesia" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate use of the singular lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction.

17 *Illud* τοῦτο ("Hoc" Vg.). Erasmus understands τοῦτο as relating to what follows rather than to the preceding discussion of head-coverings: see *Annot.*, and for this usage of *illud*, see also on *Rom.* 6,6.

17 *tamen* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

17 *praecipiens, non laudo* παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ ("praecipio, non laudans" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having παραγγέλλω οὐκ ἐπαινῶν, as in codd. A C* and a few other mss. Other variants also exist. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with א Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G, as well as 1, 2816ᵛⁱᵈ and most other mss. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti anticipated this change, while Lefèvre put *admonens non laudo*.

18 *Nam* γάρ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission has little support from Greek mss. apart from Erasmus' cod. 2815. For similar omissions in translating μὲν γάρ, see on *Act.* 13,36. Ambrosiaster and Manetti began the sentence with *Primum enim*, omitting *quidem*.

18 *quum conuenitis* συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ("conuenientibus vobis" Vg.). The Vulgate gives a more literal rendering. Erasmus avoided the ablative absolute construction, because of the need to use either *vos* or *vobis* shortly afterwards in rendering ἐν ὑμῖν. Lefèvre put *cum vos conuenitis*.

18 *in ecclesia* ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ("in ecclesiam" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of the accusative has little Greek ms. support. Erasmus derived τῇ from cod. 2817, with support from a few other late mss. Although most mss. omit the article here, the *Textus Receptus* continued to include it. Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus.

ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν,
καὶ μέρος τι πιστεύω. ¹⁹ δεῖ γὰρ καὶ
αἱρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ἵνα οἱ δόκιμοι,
φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν.

²⁰ Συνερχομένων οὖν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ
αὐτό, οὐκ ἔστι κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φα-
γεῖν. ²¹ ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον δεῖ-
πνον προλαμβάνει ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν, καὶ
ὃς μὲν πεινᾷ, ὃς δὲ μεθύει. ²² μὴ γὰρ
οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ
πίνειν; ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ
καταφρονεῖτε, καὶ καταισχύνετε τοὺς
μὴ ἔχοντας; τί ὑμῖν εἴπω; ἐπαινέσω
ὑμᾶς; ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐπαινῶ. ²³ ἐγὼ
γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ
καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος
Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο,
ἔλαβεν ἄρτον· ²⁴ καὶ εὐχαριστήσας

audio dissidia in vobis esse, et aliqua
ex parte credo. ¹⁹ Oportet enim et
sectas in vobis esse, quo qui probati
sunt, manifesti fiant inter vos.

²⁰ Igitur quum conuenitis in eun-
dem locum, non licet dominicam
coenam edere, ²¹ quod vnusquisque
propriam coenam occupat in edendo.
Et hic quidem esurit, ille vero ebrius
est. ²² Num sane domos non habetis
ad edendum et bibendum? An eccle-
siam dei contemnitis, et pudefacitis
eos qui non habent? Quid vobis di-
cam? Laudabo vos? In hoc non laudo.
²³ Ego enim accepi a domino, quod et
tradidi vobis, quod dominus Iesus, in
ea nocte qua traditus est, accepit pa-
nem: ²⁴ et postquam gratias egisset,

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21 προλαμβανει *Aᶜ B-E*: προσλαμβανει *A** | 23 ιησους *B-E*: ιησους χριστος *A*

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20 coenam *B-E*: caenam *A* | 21 occupat *Aᶜ B-E*: occupet *A**

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18 *dissidia* σχίσματα ("scissuras" Vg.). See on
1 *Cor.* 1,10, and *Annot.* The versions of Ambro-
siaster and Manetti had *dissensiones*, and Lefèvre
schismata.

18 *in vobis esse* ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν ("esse inter
vos" late Vg.). The late Vulgate word-order
corresponds with ὑπάρχειν ἐν ὑμῖν in codd.
D* F G. The complete omission of *inter vos* in
the earlier Vulgate has no justification from
Greek mss. Cf. *Annot.* In Manetti and Lefèvre,
inter vos was placed after *audio*.

18 *aliqua* τι (Vg. omits). Again Erasmus is
more precise. See *Annot.* This change was an-
ticipated by Manetti.

19 *Oportet enim* δεῖ γάρ ("Nam oportet" Vg.).
See on 1 *Cor.* 9,10. Erasmus' wording is the
same as that of Ambrosiaster.

19 *sectas* αἱρέσεις ("haereses" Vg.). See on *Act.*
5,17, and *Annot.*

19 *in vobis* ἐν ὑμῖν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate
omission corresponds with the text of codd. D*

F G. The version of Lefèvre made the same
change as Erasmus. In Manetti's rendering,
inter vos was inserted after *Nam oportet*.

19 *quo* ἵνα ("vt et" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13 for
quo. The Vulgate insertion of *et* reflects the
addition of καί, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ B D* and
a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815
and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well
as ℵ A C Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and most other mss.
Cf. *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *vt*,
omitting *et*.

19 *inter vos* ἐν ὑμῖν ("in vobis" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 15,24. Erasmus' rendering agrees with that
of Ambrosiaster. Manetti placed *inter vos*, am-
biguously, before *manifesti*.

20 *Igitur quum conuenitis* Συνερχομένων οὖν
ὑμῶν ("Conuenientibus ergo vobis" Vg.). In
the Vulgate rendering, the connection between
conuenientibus and *est* (see below) is obscure. For
greater clarity, Erasmus converts this into a
temporal clause, as in vs. 18. For *igitur*, see on
Ioh. 6,62. Lefèvre put *Cum igitur conuenitis*.

20 *in eundem locum* ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό ("in vnum" Vg.). This change is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Act.* 2,1 (*in eodem loco*). Erasmus further replaces *in vnum* with *simul* at *Lc.* 17,35 (1519); 1 *Cor.* 14,23 (1522), but retains *in vnum* at *Mt.* 22,34; *Act.* 4,26. Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 7,5. Lefèvre put *simul* at the present passage.

20 *non licet* οὐκ ἔστι ("iam non est" Vg.). The Vulgate partly corresponds with οὐκ ἔτι in codd. D* F G, though ἔτι has the appearance of being a scribal error caused by leaving out the -σ- from ἔστι. Erasmus treats ἔστι as the equivalent of ἔξεστι. Manetti put *non contingit*, and Lefèvre *non est amplius*.

20 *edere* φαγεῖν ("manducare" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31.

21 *quod vnusquisque* ἕκαστος γάρ ("Vnusquisque enim" Vg.). Erasmus' use of *quod* ("because") gives a less accurate rendering of γάρ. Lefèvre put *Nam quisque.*

21 *propriam* τὸ ἴδιον ("suam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,11. This change produces agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

21 *occupat* προλαμβάνει ("praesumit" Vg.). The spelling προσλαμβάνει in 1516 was derived from cod. 2815, with support from cod. A and some later mss. The error was corrected in the 1516 errata. See on *Ioh.* 12,35 for Erasmus' use of *occupo*. Here he wishes to avoid the ambiguity of *praesumo*, which could mean either "eat beforehand" or "take for granted": see *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *preoccupat*, and Lefèvre *anticipat.*

21 *in edendo* ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν ("ad manducandum" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate in using the ablative. For his avoidance of *manduco*, see on *Ioh.* 4,31. See also *Annot.* In Ambrosiaster and Valla *Annot.*, the rendering was *in manducando*, while Lefèvre put *manducando* without a preposition.

21 *hic ... ille* ὃς ... ὃς ("alius ... alius" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,5. Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre. The version of Manetti was *aliquis ... aliquis.*

21 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

22 *Num* μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4, and *Annot.*

22 *sane* γάρ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is unsupported by Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *enim.*

22 *edendum* τὸ ἐσθίειν ("manducandum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31. Erasmus has the same wording as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

22 *An* ἤ ("Aut" Vg.). Similar substitutions, in questions expecting a negative reply, occur at *Mt.* 7,9; 1 *Cor.* 9,6 (1516 only); 14,36. This change was also proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

22 *pudefacitis* καταισχύνετε ("confunditis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,5, and *Annot.*

22 *vobis dicam* ὑμῖν εἴπω ("dicam vobis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having εἴπω ὑμῖν, as in (𝔓⁴⁶) א A B C D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. The same substitution was made by Manetti, while Lefèvre had *igitur dico*, apparently following a ms. which had the rare variant, οὖν εἴπω.

22 *Laudabo* ἐπαινέσω ("Laudo" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the present tense reflects the substitution of ἐπαινῶ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ B F G. See *Annot.*, where Erasmus also notes that Greek mss. place the question-mark after τούτῳ rather than after ὑμᾶς: this is true of codd. 1, 2815, 2816, 2817. The use of *Laudabo* was also advocated by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

23 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

23 *Iesus* Ἰησοῦς ("noster Iesus Christus" 1522-35 *Annot.*, lemma). The reading Ἰησοῦς Χριστός in 1516 was derived from cod. 2815, in company with only a few other late mss. The further addition of *noster* recorded by Erasmus is likewise lacking in Greek ms. support. His rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

23 *ea nocte qua* τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ ("qua nocte" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with ᾗ νυκτί in codd. D* F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

23 *traditus est* παρεδίδοτο ("tradebatur" Vg.). The Vulgate is more accurate on this occasion, in rendering the Greek imperfect tense. Erasmus' alteration disregarded the distinction between παρεδίδοτο and παρέδωκα (perfect tense), used earlier in the same sentence.

24 *postquam gratias egisset* εὐχαριστήσας ("gratias agens" Vg.). Greek aorist. See *Annot.* The suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was *cum gratias egisset.*

ἔκλασε, καὶ εἶπε, Λάβετε, φάγετε· τοῦ-
LB 717   τό μού ἐστι τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
κλώμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν |
ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ²⁵ ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ
ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων,
Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη
ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποι-
εῖτε, ὁσάκις ἂν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν
ἀνάμνησιν. ²⁶ ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε
τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον
τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρί-
ου καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθῃ.
²⁷ ὥστε ὃς ἂν ἐσθίῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον,

fregit, ac dixit: Accipite, edite. Hoc
meum est corpus, quod pro vo|bis   LB 718
frangitur, hoc facite in mei comme-
morationem. ²⁵ Ad eundem modum
et poculum, peracta coena, dicens:
Hoc poculum nouum testamentum
est in meo sanguine: hoc facite,
quotiescunque biberitis, in mei com-
memorationem.   ²⁶ Quotiescunque
enim comederitis panem hunc, et
de poculo hoc biberitis, mortem
domini annunciatis, donec venerit.
²⁷ Itaque quisquis ederit panem hunc,

24 εμην *B-E*: εμηνν *A* | 25 δειπνησαι *B-E*: δειπνεισαι *A* | 26 ελθη *B-E*: ελθην *A*

24 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 25 quotiescunque *B-E* (quotiescūque *E*): quotienscunque *A* | 26 Quoties-
cunque *B D E* (Quotiescūque *E*): Quotienscunque *A*, Quociescunque *C* | de poculo *B-E*:
poculum *A* | annunciatis *A C-E*: annunciate *B*

24 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 1,25.

24 *edite* φάγετε ("et manducate" late Vg.). For
manduco, see on *Ioh*. 4,31. As pointed out in
Annot., the added *et* of the late Vulgate has no
basis in Greek mss. In the earlier Vulgate, the
words *Accipite et manducate* were omitted, corre-
sponding with the omission of λάβετε φάγετε
in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C* D F G 0199 and (possibly)
about forty other mss. Erasmus follows codd.
2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and
also C^corr and about 530 later mss. (see Aland
Die Paulinischen Briefe vol. 2, pp. 267-70, though
since that work incorrectly states that codd.
1 and 2815 omit λάβετε φάγετε, the above
statistics require further verification). The words
λάβετε φάγετε have sometimes been explained
as a harmonisation with *Mt*. 26,26. On the
other hand, it can be observed that the pres-
ent passage has several features which resemble
the account given of the Lord's Supper in *Lc*.
22,19-20, but which differ from *Mt*. 26,26-8. In
particular, this applies to the phrases τὸ ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν and τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμ-
νησιν here in vs. 24, and also ὡσαύτως ...
αἵματι in vs. 25, none of which is used in
Matthew's account. This points to the possibi-
lity that an ancient editor might have excised
λάβετε φάγετε from this sentence in order to
achieve a closer correspondence with *Lc*. 22,19,
where these two words are not mentioned.

Another example of such harmonisation be-
tween the Gospel of Luke and the present pas-
sage can be seen in the replacement of ἐμῷ
αἵματι by αἵματί μου in 𝔓⁴⁶ A C and a few
later mss., in vs. 25. With regard to the Latin
translation, Valla *Annot.* substituted *comedite*,
whereas Manetti and Lefèvre had *manducate*, all
three of them omitting *et*.

24 *meum est corpus* μού ἐστι τὸ σῶμα ("est
corpus meum" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order
lacks Greek ms. support, except that 𝔓⁴⁶ has
ἐστίν μου τὸ σῶμα. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites
mss. which omit ἐστι, though all his Basle mss.
contain it. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre proposed
the same rendering as Erasmus.

24 *frangitur* κλώμενον ("tradetur" late Vg. and
many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; cod. Sangermanensis
omits, with Vg^st). The late Vulgate may reflect
a harmonisation with *Lc*. 22,19 (διδόμενον). A
few mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B C*,
omit κλώμενον. Erasmus follows codd. 2815
and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with
ℵ^corr C^corr D^corr F G and most other mss. It has
been alleged that the shorter text, which leaves
τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν without an accompanying par-
ticiple, has the merit of being a *lectio difficilior*,
and that the other variants are explanatory ad-
ditions. In *Annot.*, however, Erasmus suggested
that the Vulgate might represent a deliberate

alteration of the meaning by those who found it "absurd" to think of Christ's body as being literally broken ("quod absurdum videretur frangi corpus"). In his *Vbi Interpres Ausus Sit Aliquid Immutare*, Erasmus further claimed, quite plausibly, that the substitution of *tradetur* was designed to avoid the appearance of contradicting the words of *Ioh.* 19,36 (rendered by the Vulgate as *Os non comminuetis ex eo*): cf. also *Ex.* 12,46; *Ps.* 34,20. He also included this passage in the 1519-22 editions of the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. The same doctrinal considerations could also have motivated the omission of κλώμενον from a few mss. The rendering adopted by Erasmus had previously been used by Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

24 *mei* τὴν ἐμήν ("meam" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 25, and also at *Lc.* 22,19 (1519), for the sake of clarity. See *Annot.* Again Erasmus' rendering agreed with that of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

25 *Ad eundem modum* ὡσαύτως ("Similiter" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus occasionally substitutes *consimiliter* or *itidem*, in rendering the same Greek word. See on *Rom.* 8,26. However, in an identical context at *Lc.* 22,20, he retained *similiter*. Manetti put *Eodem modo*.

25 *poculum ... Hoc poculum* τὸ ποτήριον ... Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ("calicem ... Hic calix" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 18,11, and *Annot.* This change partly resembles the wording of Ambrosiaster, who had *calicem ... Hoc poculum*.

25 *peracta coena* μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι ("postquam coenauit" Vg.). At *Lc.* 22,20, translating the same Greek phrase, Erasmus retains the more literal Vulgate rendering. The spelling δειπνεῖσαι, in 1516, was a misprint. Lefèvre had *postea quam cenatum est*.

25 *biberitis* πίνητε ("bibetis" Vg.). Erasmus similarly substitutes the future perfect tense in vs. 26, in accordance with Vulgate usage in vs. 27. In 1516 *Annot.*, he suggested *bibitis* or *bibatis*. Valla *Annot.* attributed *biberitis* to the Vulgate in the present verse, and complained of Latin mss. which substituted *bibitis*, a reading which occurs in several mss. of the earlier Vulgate. Lefèvre likewise had *biberitis*.

25 *mei* τὴν ἐμήν ("meam" Vg.). See on vs. 24. Erasmus' wording was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

26 *comederitis* ἐσθίητε ("manducabitis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31, and also on *biberitis* in vs. 25,

above. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre both used *manducaueritis*.

26 *de poculo hoc* τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ("calicem" Vg.; "poculum hoc" 1516). For *poculum*, see on *Ioh.* 18,11. A similar substitution of *de poculo* occurs in vs. 27, ignoring the distinction between τὸ ποτήριον in vss. 26-7 and ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου in vs. 28. Elsewhere Erasmus is content to retain *poculum* as the direct object of *bibo*. The Vulgate reflects the omission of τοῦτο, as in codd. ℵ* A B C* D* F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ corr Ccorr Dcorr and most later mss. This textual divergence raises the issue of whether some scribes added τοῦτο here so as to harmonise with the presence of τοῦτον after ἄρτον, or whether other scribes deleted the word because they thought that it was repetitious. Cf. the omission of τοῦτον by a few mss. in vs. 27.

26 *biberitis* πίνητε ("bibetis" Vg.). See on vs. 25. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre made the same change.

26 *annunciatis* καταγγέλλετε ("annunciabitis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "annunciate" 1519 only). In *Annot.*, Erasmus acknowledges that the Greek verb can be understood either as indicative or imperative, and that *annunciabitis* is one way of conveying the latter sense.

26 *venerit* ἔλθῃ ("veniat" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,38, and also on vs. 25 above, for Erasmus' use of the future perfect tense.

27 *quisquis* ὃς ἄν ("quicunque" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,14. Elsewhere Erasmus generally treats *quisquis* and *quicunque* as interchangeable. At the present passage, having used *quotiescunque* in vs. 26, he prefers a word with a different suffix, for the sake of variety.

27 *ederit* ἐσθίῃ ("manduacauerit" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.

27 *hunc* τοῦτον (omitted in *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. mss.). The omission of this word by the earlier Vulgate, and also by Lefèvre's Vulgate column and the Froben Vulgate of 1491, receives support from 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also cod. Ivid and most later mss. See *Annot.* For a similar textual variation, see on vs. 26. The word *hunc* is added by the 1527 Vulgate column and the 1514 Froben Vulgate, as well as by the versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

ἢ πίνῃ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ κυρίου
ἀναξίως, ἔνοχος ἔσται τοῦ σώμα-
τος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου. ²⁸δοκι-
μαζέτω δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν, καὶ
οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἐσθιέτω, καὶ
ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου πινέτω. ²⁹ὁ γὰρ
ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων ἀναξίως, κρίμα
ἑαυτῷ ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει, μὴ διακρί-
νων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου.

³⁰Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν πολλοὶ
ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄρρωστοι, καὶ κοι-
μῶνται ἱκανοί. ³¹εἰ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς
διεκρίνομεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα.
³²κρινόμενοι δέ, ὑπὸ κυρίου παι-
δευόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ
κατακριθῶμεν.

³³Ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, συνερχό-
μενοι εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν, ἀλλήλους ἐκ-
δέχεσθε. ³⁴εἰ δέ τις πεινᾷ, ἐν οἴκῳ
ἐσθιέτω, ἵνα μὴ εἰς κρίμα συνέρ-
χησθε. τὰ δὲ λοιπά, ὡς ἂν ἔλθω,
διατάξομαι.

aut biberit de poculo domini in-
digne, reus erit corporis et san-
guinis domini. ²⁸Probet autem
homo se ipsum, et sic de pane
illo edat, et de poculo illo bi-
bat. ²⁹Nam qui edit et bibit
indigne, iudicium sibi ipsi edit
et bibit, non diiudicans corpus
domini.

³⁰Propter hoc inter vos multi
imbecilles et inualidi, et dormi-
unt multi. ³¹Etenim si nos ipsos
diiudicassemus, haudquaquam iudi-
cati fuissemus. ³²At quum iudica-
mur, a domino corripimur, ne cum
mundo condemnemur.

³³Itaque fratres mei, quum con-
uenitis ad comedendum, alius alium
expectate. ³⁴Quod si quis esurit,
domi edat, ne ad condemnationem
conueniatis. Caetera vero, quum
venero disponam.

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27 de poculo B-E: poculum A | 28 *prius* illo C-E: *om.* A B | poculo B-E: calice A |
alt. illo C-E: *om.* A B | 29 *prius* et D E: aut A-C | 34 condemnationem B-E: iudicium A |
Caetera B-E: Cetera A

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27 *aut* ἢ ("et" late Vg.; "vel" Vg. mss.). The late
Vulgate corresponds with the substitution of
καί, as in cod. A and a few later mss. See on
Ioh. 2,6. Erasmus has the same wording as
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

27 *de poculo* τὸ ποτήριον ("calicem" Vg.; "po-
culum" 1516). See on vs. 26. Cod. 2815 adds
τοῦτο, with little other ms. support.

27 *domini indigne* τοῦ κυρίου ἀναξίως.
Cod. 2815 has ἀναξίως τοῦ κυρίου, a variant
which is cited by Erasmus in *Annot.*, but in
such a way as to make it appear that it oc-
curs in vs. 29 rather than vs. 27. In cod. 2815,
this reading occurs only in vs. 27. In vs. 29, the
reading ἀναξίως τοῦ κυρίου occurs in only
three late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 2, pp. 270-3), none of which was consul-
ted by Erasmus. In vs. 27, in codd. ℵ Dᶜᵒʳʳ
and also cod. 1 and many other late mss., the

text is lengthened to read τοῦ κυρίου ἀναξίως
τοῦ κυρίου. Erasmus' text follows cod. 2817,
together with 2105, 2816 and most other mss.,
commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ A B C D*.

27 αἵματος. In omitting the article before this
word, Erasmus' text follows cod. 2817, together
with cod. 2105 and some other late mss. This
omission continued to be exhibited in the
Textus Receptus. Most mss. have τοῦ αἵματος,
as in codd. 1, 2815, 2816.

28 *homo se ipsum* ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν ("se ipsum
homo" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corre-
sponds with ἑαυτὸν ἄνθρωπος, as in codd.
C Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and a few other mss. Cod. 2815
and a few other late mss. insert πρῶτον before
ἄνθρωπος, possibly influenced by 1 *Tim.* 3,10
(δοκιμαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον). The reading of
cod. 2816 is ἕκαστος ἑαυτόν. Lefèvre made the
same change as Erasmus.

28 *pane illo ... poculo illo* τοῦ ἄρτου ... τοῦ ποτηρίου ("pane illo ... calice" Vg.; "pane ... calice" 1516; "pane ... poculo" 1519). For *poculum*, see on *Ioh.* 18,11. In 1516-19, Erasmus omitted *illo*, as being a too emphatic rendering of the Greek article. Then in 1522 he restored *illo* after *pane*, and also inserted it after *poculo*. The added pronoun makes clear that this sentence continues to speak of the same bread and cup as in vss. 23-7. See *Annot.* The versions of Manetti and Lefèvre had *pane ... calice*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition, while Ambrosiaster had the same rendering as Erasmus' edition of 1519.

29 *Nam qui* ὁ γάρ ("Qui enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

29 *edit* (twice) ἐσθίων ... ἐσθίει ("manducat" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

29 *et* (1st.) καί ("aut" 1516-22 Lat.). The use of *aut* in 1516-22 appears to be a harmonisation with vs. 27, unsupported by Greek mss.

29 *indigne* ἀναξίως. See on ἀναξίως in vs. 27.

29 *sibi ipsi* ἑαυτῷ ("sibi" Vg.). Erasmus prefers a more emphatic rendering of the Greek reflexive pronoun, consistent with the Vulgate use of *se ipsum* in the previous verse. See on *Ioh.* 11,55. His wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

30 *Propter hoc* Διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,6. Lefèvre made the same change.

30 *imbecilles et inualidi* ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄρρωστοι ("infirmi et imbecilles" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ). See on *Rom.* 8,3 for *imbecillis*. Elsewhere Erasmus renders ἄρρωστος by *male valeo* (*Mt.* 14,14), *infirmus* (*Mc.* 6,5), *aeger* (*Mc.* 6,13), or *aegrotus* (*Mc.* 16,18). At the present passage, Lefèvre put *debiles sunt et infirmi*.

31 *Etenim si* εἰ γάρ ("Quod si" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek variant, εἰ δέ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B D F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ C. See *Annot.*, where he also suggests *Si enim*, a rendering which had previously been used by Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*

31 *nos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("nosmet ipsos" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 14,17. Erasmus retains *nosmet ipsos*

only at 2 *Thess.* 3,9. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change here.

31 *diiudicassemus ... iudicati fuissemus* διεκρίνομεν ... ἐκρινόμεθα ("diiudicaremus ... diiudicaremur" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514. The Vulgate imperfect tense was more literally accurate, and more consistent with κρινόμενοι in vs. 32, though the late Vulgate obscured the distinction between διακρίνω and κρίνω. Lefèvre had *discuteremus ... iudicaremur*.

31 *haudquaquam* οὐκ ἄν ("non vtique" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 18,30. Lefèvre had *nequaquam*.

32 *At quum iudicamur* κρινόμενοι δέ ("Dum iudicamur autem" Vg.). Elsewhere, by contrast, Erasmus sometimes introduces *dum* in rendering the present participle: see on *Rom.* 1,20. For *at*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti put *Iudicati vero*, and Lefèvre *At iudicati*.

32 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20.

32 *mundo* τῷ κόσμῳ ("hoc mundo" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *hoc*, though not the word-order, corresponds with τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ in codd. (F) G. See on *Rom.* 3,6, and *Annot.* The versions of Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

32 *condemnemur* κατακριθῶμεν ("damnemur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,3. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

33 *ad comedendum* εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν ("ad manducandum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31.

33 *alius alium* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33. Lefèvre put *vos inuicem*.

34 *Quod si quis* εἰ δέ τις ("Si quis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of δέ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B C D* F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. The version of Manetti had *Si quis vero*, and Lefèvre *si quis autem*.

34 *edat* ἐσθιέτω ("manducet" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31. Lefèvre made the same change.

34 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20.

34 *ad condemnationem* εἰς κρίμα ("in iudicium" Vg.; "ad iudicium" 1516). See on *Rom.* 5,16 regarding *ad*, and for *condemnatio*, see on *Ioh.* 3,19, and *Annot.*

34 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

12 Περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν, ἀδελφοί, οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν. ²οἴδατε ὅτι ἔθνη ἦτε, πρὸς τὰ εἴδωλα τὰ ἄφωνα, ὡς ἂν ἤγεσθε ἀπαγόμενοι. ³διὸ γνωρίζω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλῶν, λέγει | ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦν· καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

⁴Διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσί, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα· ⁵καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσι, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος· ⁶καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ αὐτός ἐστι θεός, ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν. ⁷ἑκάστῳ δὲ δίδοται ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.

12 Porro de spiritualibus fratres, nolo vos ignorare. ²Scitis quod gentes fuistis, et ad simulacra muta vtcunque ducebamini sequentes. ³Quapropter notum vobis facio, quod nullus per spiritum dei lo|quens dicit anathema Iesum: et nemo potest dicere dominum Iesum, nisi per spiritum sanctum.

⁴Diuisiones autem donorum sunt, sed idem spiritus, ⁵et diuisiones ministeriorum sunt, et idem dominus: ⁶et diuisiones operationum sunt, sed idem est deus, efficiens omnia in omnibus. ⁷Vnicuique vero datur manifestatio spiritus ad id quod expedit.

12,2 οτι *A B E*: οτι οτε *C D*

12,1 spiritualibus *B-E*: spiritalibus *A* | 2 sequentes *B-E*: abducebamini *A* | 3 *prius* per spiritum *B-E*: in spiritu *A* | dominum *B-E*: domiuum *A* | per spiritum sanctum *B-E*: in spiritu sancto *A* | 6 efficiens *B-E*: operans *A*

12,1 *Porro de spiritualibus* Περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν ("De spiritualibus autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

1 *fratres, nolo vos ignorare* ἀδελφοί, οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν ("nolo vos ignorare, fratres" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with the transposition of ἀδελφοί after ἀγνοεῖν in codd. D* F G. The version of Manetti made the same change as Erasmus, while Lefèvre placed *fratres* after *nolo*.

2 *Scitis* οἴδατε ("Scitis autem" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *autem* has hardly any Greek ms. support. Erasmus' correction agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam cum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20 for the removal of *quoniam*. The Vulgate followed a text having ὅτι ὅτε, attested by most Greek mss., commencing with ℵ A B C D, and including codd. 2105 and 2816. In 1516-19, Erasmus followed his codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from F G and some other mss., in reading ὅτι, omitting ὅτε. In cod. 1 and a few other late mss., the wording is ὅτε, omitting ὅτι, and this was the text reflected by Manetti, who put

just *quando*. In 1522-7, Erasmus adopted the better supported reading, ὅτι ὅτε, partly influenced by the 1518 Aldine Bible, which here displays a degree of independence from Erasmus' earlier printed text. However, he did not revise his Latin translation. Then in 1535 he reverted to ὅτι, omitting ὅτε, and this was the reading which remained in the *Textus Receptus*. One reason for Erasmus' vacillation on this point is that, if ὅτι ὅτε is adopted, there appears to be no verb to accompany ὅτι: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *quod cum*.

2 *fuistis* ἦτε ("essetis" Vg.). The Vulgate renders the Greek imperfect tense more accurately. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *eratis*.

2 *et ad* πρός ("ad" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal here, as the Greek text does not contain a conjunction.

2 *vtcunque* ὡς ἂν ("prout" Vg.). Erasmus reserves *prout* for rendering καθώς and καθότι at six passages. Other instances of the removal of *prout* occur in vs. 11, below, and also at 2 *Cor.* 5,10; 9,7; *Eph.* 3,4; 6,20: see *ad locc.* Manetti had *quemadmodum*, and Lefèvre *quo pacto*, placed after *eratis* in both of these versions.

2 *sequentes* ἀπαγόμενοι ("euntes" Vg.; "ab-ducebamini" 1516). Erasmus' 1516 rendering was more literal. His substitution of *sequentes*, in 1519, was perhaps designed to avoid the repetitive sound of *ducebamini abducebamini*. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *allecti*, and Lefèvre *seducti*.

3 *Quapropter* διό ("Ideo" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. Lefèvre made the same change.

3 *nullus* οὐδείς ("nemo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,7. This change is aimed at varying the vocabulary, in view of the occurrence of *nemo* later in the verse.

3 *per spiritum ... per spiritum sanctum* ἐν πνεύ-ματι ... ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ("in spiritu ... in spiritu sancto" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Manetti had *spiritu ... in spiritu sancto*, omitting the first *in*.

3 *Iesum* (1st.) Ἰησοῦν ("Iesu" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering, which implies a Greek text having Ἰησοῦ, is supported by just two mss. (the bilinguals, codd. F and 629). Another variant is Ἰησοῦς, found in codd. ℵ A B C and seventeen later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ D G and about 560 later mss., among which were 1, 2105, 2816⁽ᶜᵒʳʳ⁾ (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 273-5). See *Annot.* The passage also appears in the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata.* An objection to the Vulgate wording was also raised by Valla *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *Ihesum.*

3 *dominum Iesum* κύριον Ἰησοῦν ("dominus Iesus" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having κύριος Ἰησοῦς, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C and twenty-seven later mss. Erasmus again follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and also D F G and about 550 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 276-8). See *Annot.* The Vulgate wording was again criticised by Valla *Annot.* The change made by Erasmus agreed with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Manetti, and similarly Lefèvre had *dominum Ihesum.*

4 *autem ... sed idem* δὲ ... τὸ δὲ αὐτό ("vero ... idem autem" Vg.). Erasmus preferred a stronger adversative sense for the first instance of δέ. His substitution of *autem* for *vero* in turn prompted the further change from *autem* to *sed*, in the second part of the sentence, for the sake of stylistic variety. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre used *autem ... idem autem*, and Manetti *autem ... idem vero.*

4 *donorum* χαρισμάτων ("gratiarum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,11, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

5 *ministeriorum* διακονιῶν ("ministrationum" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 3,7-8 (1516 only), in accordance with Vulgate usage at most other passages. At 2 *Cor.* 3,7-8 (1519), Erasmus substitutes *administratio*, but replaces *administratio* by *ministerium* at 2 *Cor.* 4,1. The word *ministratio* is comparatively rare in classical usage. The wording of Erasmus was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

5 *et idem* καὶ ὁ αὐτός ("idem autem" Vg.). The Vulgate implies a Greek text having ὁ δὲ αὐτός, but this is supported only by a few late mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre (text) made the same change as Erasmus; Lefèvre *Comm.* had just *idem.*

6 *sed idem* ὁ δὲ αὐτός ("idem vero" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is consistent with his use of *sed idem* in vs. 4. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *idem autem.*

6 *est* ἐστι (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A C D F G and about 110 other mss., including 2105. In cod. B, ἐστιν is placed after ἐνεργῶν. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2816 and also ℵᶜᵒʳʳ and about 460 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 278-81). Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *efficiens* ὁ ἐνεργῶν ("qui operatur" Vg.; "operans" 1516). A similar substitution of *efficio* occurs in vs. 11 (1519). See on *Rom.* 7,5, and *Annot.* In leaving ὁ untranslated, Erasmus is less precise than the Vulgate.

7 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). Since this instance of δέ marks a progression in the sequence of thought, rather than a strong contrast, Erasmus no doubt considered that *autem* was less appropriate. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

7 *id quod expedit* τὸ συμφέρον ("vtilitatem" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites Jerome as the source of his wording, referring to *Epist.* 120, *Ad Hedybiam* (*CSEL* 55, p. 493), and *Adv. Iouinianum* II, 23 (*PL* 23, 318 C). At several passages, Erasmus uses *vtilitas* in rendering ὄφελος, ὠφελέω, ὠφέλεια, ὠφέλιμος and χρή-σιμος. For his treatment of συμφέρω elsewhere, see on 1 *Cor.* 6,12; 7,35.

⁸ᾧ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δί-
δοται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλῳ δὲ λό-
γος γνώσεως, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα·
⁹ἑτέρῳ δὲ πίστις, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύ-
ματι· ἄλλῳ δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων,
ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι· ¹⁰ἄλλῳ δὲ
ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, ἄλλῳ δὲ προ-
φητεία, ἄλλῳ δὲ διακρίσεις πνευμά-
των, ἑτέρῳ δὲ γένη γλωσσῶν, ἄλλῳ
δὲ ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν. ¹¹πάντα δὲ
ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
πνεῦμα, διαιροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ καθὼς
βούλεται.

¹²Καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἕν ἐστι,
καὶ μέλη ἔχει πολλά, πάντα δὲ
τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἑνός,

⁸Nam huic quidem per spiritum da-
tur sermo sapientiae, alii vero sermo
scientiae, secundum eundem spiritum:
⁹alii vero fides per eundem spiritum:
alii vero dona sanationum per eun-
dem spiritum: ¹⁰alii vero efficaciae
potentiarum: alii vero prophetia, alii
vero discretiones spirituum, alii vero
genera linguarum, alii vero interpre-
tatio linguarum. ¹¹Sed omnia haec
efficit vnus ille et idem spiritus, di-
uidens peculiariter vnicuique sicuti
vult.

¹²Quemadmodum   enim   corpus
vnum est, et membra habet multa,
omnia vero membra corporis vnius,

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9 *prius* per eundem spiritum *B-E*: in eodem spiritu *A* | *alt.* per eundem spiritum *B-E*: in eodem
spiritu *A* | 11 efficit *B-E*: operatur *A*

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8 *Nam huic quidem* ᾧ μὲν γάρ ("Alii quidem"
Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here: see on
Act. 13,36. Manetti put *Alicui enim*, and Lefèvre
huic etenim.

8 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). In vss. 8-10, Erasmus
renders δέ by *vero* throughout. Cf. on 1 *Cor.*
1,12. However, in vss. 9-10, where the Vulgate
leaves δέ untranslated, this may have been at
least partly due to omission of this particle
from several Greek mss. This change was in
agreement with the rendering of Ambrosiaster.

9 *alii* (1st.) ἑτέρῳ ("alteri" Vg.). The Vulgate
seeks to distinguish between ἕτερος and ἄλλος
in this verse, but Erasmus generally regards
alter as more appropriate for referring to one
or other of just two possible alternatives: see
on *Ioh.* 18,16. Erasmus' wording is the same as
that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

9 *vero* (twice) δέ (Vg. omits). This double omis-
sion by the Vulgate corresponds with the text
of codd. D* F G. The first instance of δέ is
additionally omitted by codd. ℵ* B. Most
other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ^{corr} A C,
have δέ in both places. See also on vs. 8. Ma-
netti put *vero ... autem*, and Lefèvre *vero ... et.*

9 *per eundem spiritum* (1st.) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύ-
ματι ("in eodem spiritu" 1516 = Vg.). See on

Rom. 1,17. The article τῷ is omitted in 1516
Annot., without support from Erasmus' Basle
mss.

9 *dona* χαρίσματα ("gratia" Vg.). The Vulgate
use of the singular lacks Greek ms. support,
and is probably only a matter of translation:
cf. on *operatio* and *discretio* in vs. 10. See *Annot.*
For Erasmus' treatment of *gratia* elsewhere, see
on *Rom.* 1,11. In cod. 2815, the clause ἄλλῳ
δὲ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων (vs. 10) is placed
before ἄλλῳ δὲ χαρίσματα, contrary to the
word-order of most other mss. Here Lefèvre
had the same rendering as Erasmus.

9 *sanationum* ἰαμάτων ("sanitatum" Vg.). See
on *Act.* 4,22, and *Annot.*

9 *per eundem spiritum* (2nd.) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύ-
ματι ("in vno spiritu" Vg.; "in eodem spiritu"
1516). The Vulgate reflects the replacement of
αὐτῷ by ἑνί, as in codd. A B and a few later
mss. The reading of 𝔓⁴⁶ is just ἐν τῷ πνεύματι,
probably caused by accidental omission. The
main textual issue here is whether αὐτῷ was
a harmonisation with the occurrence of the
same phrase earlier in this verse, or whether
ἑνί (perhaps influenced by ἑνὶ πνεύματι in
vs. 13) arose from a misconceived attempt to
remedy the defective, shorter text of mss.

such as 𝔓⁴⁶. The variant ἑνί seems less applicable here, by comparison with vss. 12-14, which contain a series of contrasts between the one and the many. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, this time supported by ℵ Cᶜᵒʳʳ D 0201 as well as 1, 2105, 2816ᵐᵍ and most later mss. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

10 *vero* (five times) δέ (Vg. omits). As in vs. 9, these Vulgate omissions correspond with the text of cod. D*, with partial support from F G (1st.-4th. instances), 𝔓⁴⁶ B 0201 (2nd.-4th. instances), ℵ* (4th. instance only). Erasmus' Greek text follows cod. 2817, together with codd. 1, (2105), (2815), 2816, and also codd. A C, with partial support from 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ F G (i.e. apart from the exceptions already noted) and from cod. B (1st. instance only). In cod. 2105, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν is omitted through homoeoteleuton; for the different word-order of cod. 2815, see on vs. 9 (χαρίσματα). See also on vs. 8. Manetti had *vero* in the first instance, but otherwise made the same omissions as the Vulgate. Lefèvre had *et ... autem ... vero ... et ... et.*

10 *efficaciae* ἐνεργήματα ("operatio" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the singular corresponds with ἐνέργεια in codd. D F G, but see on *gratia* in vs. 9. A similar substitution of *efficacia* occurs in rendering ἐνέργεια at *Eph.* 1,19; 3,7; *Phil.* 3,21; *Col.* 1,29; 2 *Thess.* 2,11, though Erasmus retains *operatio* for ἐνέργημα in vs. 6 of the present chapter, and for ἐνέργεια at *Col.* 2,12; 2 *Thess.* 2,9. In rendering ἐνέργεια at *Eph.* 4,16, he replaces *operatio* by *actus.* See *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *opera,* and Lefèvre *operationes.*

10 *potentiarum* δυνάμεων ("virtutum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. Usually, where δύναμις is the equivalent of "miracle", Erasmus retains *virtus.* Exceptions occur at 2 *Cor.* 12,12, where Erasmus substitutes *potentibus factis,* and at 1 *Cor.* 12,28-9, where he has *potestates.* At the present passage, Lefèvre had *potestatum.*

10 *discretiones* διακρίσεις ("discretio" Vg.). Again the Vulgate substitutes singular for plural (see on *gratia* in vs. 9), this time supported by codd. ℵ C D* F G 0201 and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and also 𝔓⁴⁶ A B Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

10 *linguarum* (2nd.) γλωσσῶν ("sermonum" Vg.). In *Annot.,* following Valla *Annot.,* Erasmus criticises the inconsistency of the Vulgate in translating the same Greek word by *linguarum* and *sermonum* in this verse. Lefèvre again made the same change as Erasmus.

11 *Sed omnia haec* πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ("Haec autem omnia" Vg.). For *sed,* see on *Ioh.* 1,26. The Vulgate word-order corresponds with ταῦτα δὲ πάντα in codd. D F G. The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *omnia autem haec.*

11 *efficit* ἐνεργεῖ ("operatur" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,5, and *Annot.*

11 *vnus ille et idem* τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτό ("vnus atque idem" Vg.). Erasmus emphasises the meaning of the article τό, as designating uniquely the Holy Spirit: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *vnus et idem.*

11 *peculiariter vnicuique* ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ ("singulis" Vg.). The Vulgate seems to reflect the omission of ἰδίᾳ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ D* F G 0201ᵛⁱᵈ. In adding this word, Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ A B C Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.* In Erasmus' printed text, and also in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, (2816), the spelling is ἰδία, without subscript, but cod. 2817 has iota adscript. The version of Manetti had *propria vnicuique.* Lefèvre put *accommodata vnicuique* in his main text, but *singillatim vnicuique* in *Comm.*

11 *sicuti* καθώς ("prout" Vg.). Erasmus makes a similar substitution of *sicut* in rendering ὡς at *Eph.* 6,20. He retains *prout vultis* for καθὼς θέλετε at *Lc.* 6,31. See further on vs. 2, above. Manetti put *ceu,* and Lefèvre *quemadmodum.*

12 *Quemadmodum* Καθάπερ ("Sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,6. Lefèvre made the same change.

12 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre had *tamen.*

12 *vnius* τοῦ ἑνός (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ* A B C F G and some other mss., with cod. 2105 among them. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and 2816, as well as ℵᶜᵒʳʳ D and most later mss. It has been suggested that this was a scribal insertion. There is also the possibility that the words are authentic but were deleted by an ancient scribe or corrector who deemed them to be superfluous to the sense, because of the following phrase ἓν ἐστι σῶμα. Manetti and Lefèvre both added *vnius,* though Lefèvre positioned it before *corporis.*

πολλὰ ὄντα, ἓν ἐστι σῶμα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός. ¹³καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι, εἴτε Ἕλληνες, εἴτε δοῦλοι, εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι· καὶ πάντες εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν. ¹⁴καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν μέλος, ἀλλὰ πολλά. ¹⁵ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ πούς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ χείρ, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος· οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος; ¹⁶καὶ ἐὰν εἴπῃ τὸ οὖς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ὀφθαλμός, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος· οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος; ¹⁷εἰ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ὀφθαλμός, ποῦ ἡ ἀκοή; εἰ ὅλον ἀκοή, ποῦ ἡ ὄσφρησις; ¹⁸νυνὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο τὰ μέλη, ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι, καθὼς ἠθέλησεν. ¹⁹εἰ δὲ ἦν τὰ πάντα ἓν μέλος, ποῦ τὸ σῶμα; ²⁰νῦν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν μέλη, ἓν δὲ σῶμα. ²¹οὐ δύναται δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρί, Χρείαν σου οὐκ ἔχω· ἢ

multa quum sint, vnum sunt corpus, sic et Christus. ¹³Etenim per vnum spiritum nos omnes in vnum corpus baptizati sumus, siue Iudaei, siue Graeci, siue serui, siue liberi: et omnes vnum spiritum hausimus. ¹⁴Etenim corpus non est vnum membrum, sed multa. ¹⁵Si dicat pes, non sum manus, non sum de corpore: num idcirco non est de corpore? ¹⁶Et si dicat auris, non sum oculus, non sum de corpore: num ideo non est de corpore? ¹⁷Si totum corpus oculus, vbi auditus? Si totum auditus, vbi olfactus? ¹⁸Nunc autem deus posuit membra, vnumquodque singulatim in corpore, quemadmodum voluit. ¹⁹Quod si essent omnia vnum membrum, vbi corpus? ²⁰Nunc autem multa quidem membra, vnum vero corpus. ²¹At non potest oculus dicere manui, Non est mi|hi opus te: aut

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13 per vnum spiritum *B-E*: in vno spiritu *A* | *tert.* vnum *B-E*: in vnum *A* | hausimus *B-E*: poti sumus *A* | 18 singulatim *B-E*: singillatim *A*

12 *multa quum sint* πολλὰ ὄντα ("cum sint multa" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order. Lefèvre put *cum multa sint.*

12 *vnum* (2nd.) ἓν ("vnum tamen" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' correction agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *sunt corpus* ἐστι σῶμα ("corpus sunt" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order has little explicit support from Greek mss. The change made by Erasmus produces the same wording as that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti, while Lefèvre put *corpus est.*

12 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. Erasmus' wording is in agreement with that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *per vnum spiritum* ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ("in vno spiritu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

13 *nos omnes* ἡμεῖς πάντες ("omnes nos" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order, again, has little support from Greek mss. Once more Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *Graeci* Ἕλληνες ("gentiles" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 12,20, and *Annot.* The Vulgate inconsistency in rendering this word was also criticised in Valla *Annot.* The more literal translation adopted by Erasmus was also used by Ambrosiaster.

13 *vnum spiritum* (2nd.) εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ("in vno spiritu" late Vg.; "in vnum spiritum" 1516). Erasmus' 1516 edition gave a more literal rendering: see *Annot.* His omission of the preposition in his revised version of 1519 was in line with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster, though these older translations were probably based on Greek mss. which omitted εἰς, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ (A) B C* D* F G and some other mss., including cod. 2105. A possible theological objection to the shorter reading is that the idea of "drinking the Spirit" is not explicitly mentioned elsewhere in the N.T. In 1 *Cor.* 10,4, for example, the apostle connects the πόμα πνευματικόν ("spiritual drink") with Christ rather than the Holy Spirit. If the shorter reading were correct, it might be supposed that some scribes could have added εἰς in order to

remove this theological difficulty, and hence made use of the word-pattern offered by εἰς ἓν σῶμα in the first part of the verse. However, the inclusion of εἰς raises exegetical problems of its own, because of the unusual combination of εἰς with ποτίζω. Whereas the expression "baptize into Christ" is familiar from other passages, the concept of "drinking into the Spirit" may have appeared strange to some scribes, who consequently either deleted the preposition or converted the phrase into εἰς ἓν πόμα ("into one drink"), as in cod. 2815 and many other late mss. In this way, if εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα was authentic, it provides an explanation for the origin of the other variants. Erasmus' Greek text followed cod. 2817, supported by codd. 1 and 2816, with D^{corr} and most later mss. Both Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre recommended *in vnum spiritum.*

13 *hausimus* ἐποτίσθημεν ("potati sumus" Vg.; "poti sumus" 1516). A problem with the past participle of *poto* is that it can be understood in either a passive or an active sense. Further, in classical Latin, the participle tends to refer to excessive drinking, which would be inappropriate in the present context. The meaning of the Greek verb here is "we have been (or were) caused to drink" or "it has been (or was) granted to us that we may drink". The rendering adopted by Erasmus in 1519, *hausimus* ("we have drunk deeply"), does not express quite the same sense. In *Annot.*, he gives *irrigo* as an alternative verb: despite its unwanted ambiguities, Lefèvre had made use of this word, putting *irrigati sumus.*

14 *Etenim* καὶ γάρ ("Nam et" Vg.). This change produced consistency with the rendering of the same Greek phrase in vs. 13. A similar substitution occurs e.g. at 2 *Cor.* 5,4; 7,5; 1 *Thess.* 3,4; 2 *Thess.* 3,10. Elsewhere Erasmus sometimes replaces *etenim* with *nam et*, as at 1 *Cor.* 5,7; 1 *Thess.* 4,10. See further on *Rom.* 3,7. Manetti made the same change.

15 *dicat* εἴπῃ ("dixerit" Vg.). The same substitution occurs in vs. 16, influenced by the present tense of the following question, οὐκ ἔστιν. Elsewhere, by contrast, Erasmus tends to use the future perfect tense quite freely. This change was also made by Lefèvre, both here and in vs. 16.

15 *non sum* (1st.) ὅτι οὐκ εἰμί ("quoniam non sum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. In vss. 15-16, Erasmus understands ὅτι merely as introducing

speech, and not as having any causal function. In both verses, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *quia non sum*, and Manetti *quod non sum.*

15 *idcirco* παρὰ τοῦτο ("ideo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 9,41. This change is for stylistic variety, in view of Erasmus' retention of *ideo* for παρὰ τοῦτο in vs. 16. Lefèvre put *propter hoc* in both places.

16 *dicat* εἴπῃ ("dixerit" Vg.). See on vs. 15.

16 *non sum* (1st.) ὅτι οὐκ εἰμί ("quoniam non sum" late Vg.). See on vs. 15, and on *Ioh.* 1,20.

17 *olfactus* ἡ ὄσφρησις ("odoratus" Vg.). The Vulgate word, *odoratus*, has a double sense, as it can be either an adjective ("having an odour"), or a noun ("sense of smell"). By substituting *olfactus*, Erasmus eliminates this ambiguity. Lefèvre made the same change.

18 *deus posuit* ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο ("posuit deus" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with ἔθετο ὁ θεός in 𝔓⁴⁶. Erasmus' correction agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

18 *singulatim* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.). Erasmus is less accurate here. Elsewhere he generally reserves *singulatim* for rendering phrases such as καθ' εἷς and καθ' ἕνα.

18 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

20 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti had the same wording as Erasmus.

21 *At non potest* οὐ δύναται δέ ("non potest autem" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Some mss. of the earlier Vulgate omitted *autem*, corresponding with the omission of δέ in codd. A C F G and some other mss.

21 *Non est mihi opus te ... Non est mihi opus vobis* Χρείαν σου οὐκ ἔχω ... Χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω ("Opera tua non indigeo ... Non estis mihi necessarii" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more consistent rendering of these similar Greek phrases: see *Annot.* In vs. 24, however, he prefers to use *indigeo*. For the removal of this verb, see further on *Ioh.* 13,10. The use of ἡμῶν in 1516-22, in place of ὑμῶν, makes no sense in this context, and was undoubtedly a typesetter's error. Manetti put *te non indigeo ... vobis non indigeo*, and Lefèvre *non es michi vsui ... vobis non egeo.*

LB 721 πάλιν ἡ | κεφαλὴ τοῖς ποσί, Χρεί-
 αν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω. ²²ἀλλὰ πολλῷ
μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα μέλη τοῦ σώ-
ματος ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν, ἀν-
αγκαῖά ἐστι· ²³καὶ ἃ δοκοῦμεν
ἀτιμότερα εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, τού-
τοις τιμὴν περισσοτέραν περιτίθε-
μεν· καὶ τὰ ἀσχήμονα ἡμῶν εὐσχη-
μοσύνην περισσοτέραν ἔχει. ²⁴τὰ
δὲ εὐσχήμονα ἡμῶν, οὐ χρείαν ἔχει.
ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς συνεκέρασε τὸ σῶμα,
τῷ ὑστεροῦντι περισσοτέραν δοὺς
τιμήν, ²⁵ἵνα μὴ ᾖ σχίσμα ἐν τῷ
σώματι, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ ἀλλή-
λων μεριμνῶσι τὰ μέλη. ²⁶καὶ εἴτε
πάσχει ἓν μέλος, συμπάσχει πάντα
τὰ μέλη· εἴτε δοξάζεται ἓν μέλος,
συγχαίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη. ²⁷ὑμεῖς δέ

rursum caput pedibus, Non est mihi
opus vobis. ²²Imo multo potius, quae
videntur membra corporis imbecilli-
ora esse, necessaria sunt: ²³et quae
putamus minus honesta esse corpo-
ris, his honorem vberiorem apponi-
mus: et indecora nostri, copiosiorem
decorem habent. ²⁴Caeterum quae
decora sunt nostri, non indigent:
sed deus simul temperauit corpus,
ei cui deerat, copiosiorem addens
honorem, ²⁵ne sit dissidium in cor-
pore, sed inuicem alia pro aliis ean-
dem sollicitudinem gerant membra.
²⁶Et siue patitur vnum membrum,
simul patiuntur omnia membra: siue
glorificatur vnum membrum, simul
gaudent omnia membra. ²⁷Vos autem

21 υμων D E: ημων A-C | 26 prius ειτε Aᶜ B-E: ειται A*

24 Caeterum B-E: Ceterum A | 26 simul patiuntur C-E: compatiuntur A B | simul
gaudent B-E: congaudent A

21 *rursum* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
15,10. Lefèvre had *rursus*.

22 *Imo* ἀλλά ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2.

22 *potius* μᾶλλον ("magis" Vg.). See on *Act.*
20,35. In *Annot.*, Erasmus indicates that he
understands μᾶλλον as an intensification of
ἀλλά ("quite the contrary"), rather than con-
necting it with ἀναγκαῖα to give the sense
"more necessary".

22 *imbecilliora* ἀσθενέστερα ("infirmiora" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 8,3.

22 *necessaria* ἀναγκαῖα ("necessariora" Vg.). In
Annot., Erasmus objects that the Greek word
is not a comparative adjective. See also on
potius, above. Manetti and Lefèvre made the
same change.

23 *minus honesta* ἀτιμότερα ("ignobiliora
membra" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *membra*
corresponds with the addition of μέλη after
εἶναι in codd. D F G and a few later mss. In
substituting *minus honesta*, Erasmus wanted to
use a word which had a linguistic connection
with *honorem*, later in the sentence, so as to

preserve the balance between ἀτιμότερα and
τιμήν: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre, less
euphoniously, had *inhonorabiliora*.

23 *vberiorem* περισσοτέραν ("abundantiorem"
Vg.). This change was inconsistent with Erasmus'
use of *copiosiorem* later in this verse as well as
in vs. 24.

23 *apponimus* περιτίθεμεν ("circumdamus" Vg.).
The Vulgate is more literal here. Elsewhere
Erasmus uses *appono* mainly for παρατίθημι.
Manetti and Lefèvre had *circumponimus*.

23 *indecora* τὰ ἀσχήμονα ("quae inhonesta
sunt" Vg.). Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 7,36, and *Annot.* The
problem with *inhonestus* is that it could mean
disreputable or degrading, and was therefore
too strong a term for referring to aspects of the
human body. Manetti and Lefèvre both put
quae turpia sunt, except that Lefèvre positioned
sunt after *nostra*.

23 *nostri* ἡμῶν ("nostra" Vg.). Erasmus' use of
the genitive, *nostri*, parallel with the previous
references to *corporis*, helps to make clear that
the apostle was still speaking of parts of the

body. A similar change occurs in vs. 24. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites *nostri* as the Vulgate reading.

23 *copiosiorem* περισσοτέραν ("abundantiorem" Vg.). See on *vberiorem*, above. The same change occurs in vs. 24.

23 *decorem* εὐσχημοσύνην ("honestatem" Vg.). Codd. 2105 and 2815 substituted τιμήν, in company with a few other late mss. (In cod. 2105, τιμήν is placed after περισσοτέραν, corresponding with the Vulgate word-order). To avoid making the apostle appear to contradict himself, it is necessary for a translation to make clear that εὐσχημοσύνη, in the present context, relates to outward adornment or clothing, rather than physical appearance. Erasmus makes a comparable substitution of *decorus* for *honestus* in rendering εὐσχήμων in vs. 24. In his *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD* I, 4, p. 243, ll. 981-989, Erasmus defines *decor* as "quaedam decentia rerum, personarumque in locis et temporibus". In the *Elegantiae*, IV, 15, Valla adds that the word relates to speech or action. By applying this term to clothing, Erasmus here introduces a wider connotation. Lefèvre's solution was to replace *honestatem habent* with *ornantur venustate*.

24 *Caeterum quae decora sunt* τὰ δὲ εὐσχήμονα ("Honesta autem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2 for *caeterum*, and for *decorus*, see on 1 *Cor.* 7,35, and cf. also on *indecorus* in vs. 23, above. Ambrosiaster put *Quae autem honesta sunt*, Manetti *Quae autem honesta*, and Lefèvre *Venusta autem*.

24 *nostri* ἡμῶν ("nostra" Vg.). See on vs. 23.

24 *non indigent* οὐ χρείαν ἔχει ("nullius egent" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise here: cf. on vs. 21, and *Annot.* This change was anticipated by Manetti. The version of Lefèvre was *nequaquam egent*.

24 *simul temperauit* συνεκέρασε ("temperauit" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to convey the added force of the Greek prefix, συν-. See on *Rom.* 2,15. In *Annot.*, he gives the literal meaning as *contemperauit*, which had been adopted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

24 *copiosiorem* περισσοτέραν ("abundantiorem" Vg.). See on vs. 23. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre put *ampliorem*.

24 *addens* δούς ("tribuendo" Vg.). At *Rom.* 4,20 (1519), by contrast, Erasmus changes *do* to *tribuo*, in rendering δοὺς δόξαν. Manetti changed *tribuendo honorem* to *honorem tribuens*, while Lefèvre used *largiens*.

25 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20.

25 *dissidium* σχίσμα ("schisma" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 1,10, and *Annot.* The text adopted by Erasmus follows cod. 2817, supported by most other mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816ᵛⁱᵈ, the word is plural, σχίσματα, as in ℵ D* F G and many other mss. The version of Manetti put *dissensio*, and Lefèvre *discordia*.

25 *inuicem alia pro aliis eandem sollicitudinem gerant* τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων μεριμνῶσι ("in id ipsum pro inuicem sollicita sint" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *in* lacks Greek ms. support. See on *Ioh.* 4,33 for Erasmus' treatment of *inuicem*. His rendering of τὸ αὐτὸ ... μεριμνῶσι produces greater clarity. See *Annot.* In Valla *Annot.*, the proposed rendering was *idem mutuo curent*, which Lefèvre converted into *idem pro se inuicem curent*. Manetti put *ad id ipsum adinuicem sollicita sint*.

26 *siue* (1st.) εἴτε ("si quid" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek variant, εἴ τι, as in codd. B F G and a few other mss. The reading εἴται in the 1516 text was a misprint, corrected in the errata. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, but Manetti had *si quidem*.

26 *simul patiuntur* συμπάσχει ("compatiuntur" 1516-19 = Vg.). The revised rendering, *simul patiuntur*, was first published in the 1521 Latin N.T. For the use of *simul*, see on *Rom.* 2,15. In rendering the same Greek verb at *Hebr.* 10,34 (1519), Erasmus replaced *compatior* by *afflictionum particeps sum*, and he further removed *compatior* at *Hebr.* 4,15; 5,2 (both in 1519). The word *compatior* does not occur in classical usage. Manetti put *compatiantur*, probably based on the variant συμπάσχῃ, as exhibited e.g. by codd. 2815, 2817ᶜᵒʳʳ.

26 *glorificatur* δοξάζεται ("gloriatur" Vg.). The Vulgate expression, meaning "boasts", could have originated as a scribal alteration of *glorificatur*, as suggested in the margin of 1519-35 *Annot.* Hence Erasmus listed this passage among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. His adoption of *glorificatur* agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster and a suggestion of Lefèvre *Comm.* Alternatives offered by Valla *Annot.* were *clarificatur* or *honorificatur*, of which the latter was adopted in Lefèvre's translation. Manetti had *glorietur*.

26 *simul gaudent* συγχαίρει ("congaudent" 1516 = Vg.). Like *compatior*, *congaudeo* is not seen in classical authors, though Erasmus retains it at 1 *Cor.* 13,6, and also uses it at *Phil.* 2,17-18. His

ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέ
ρους. ²⁸καὶ οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύ
τερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους,
ἔπειτα δυνάμεις, εἶτα χαρίσματα ἰα
μάτων, ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις, γένη
γλωσσῶν. ²⁹μὴ πάντες ἀπόστολοι;
μὴ πάντες προφῆται; μὴ πάντες δι
δάσκαλοι; μὴ πάντες δυνάμεις; ³⁰μὴ
πάντες χαρίσματα ἔχουσιν ἰαμάτων;
μὴ πάντες γλώσσαις λαλοῦσι; μὴ πάν
τες διερμηνεύουσι; ³¹ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ
χαρίσματα τὰ κρείττονα. καὶ ἔτι καθ᾽
ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι.

13 Ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώ
πων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων,
ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς
LB 723   ἠχῶν, ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον. | ²καὶ

estis corpus Christi, et membra ex
parte. ²⁸Et alios quidem posuit deus
in ecclesia, primum apostolos, deinde prophetas, tertio doctores, deinde
potestates, deinde dona sanationum,
subsidia, gubernationes, genera linguarum. ²⁹Num omnes apostoli? Num
omnes prophetae? Num omnes doctores? Num omnes potestates? ³⁰Num
omnes dona habent sanationum? Num
omnes linguis loquuntur? Num omnes interpretantur? ³¹Sectemini vero
dona potiora. Et adhuc his excellentiorem viam vobis ostendo.

13 Si linguis hominum loquar et
angelorum, charitatem autem
non habeam, factus sum aes resonans, aut cymbalum | tinniens. ²Et   LB 724

29 alt. παντες B-E: πανετς A

28 primum B-E: primum quidem A | 31 his excellentiorem C-E: excellentem A B

substitution of *gaudeo* at the present passage
may be compared with his replacement of
congratulamini mihi by *gaudete mecum* at Lc.
15,6, 9 (both in 1519). For his use of *simul*, see
on Rom. 2,15. Manetti had the subjunctive,
congaudeant, reflecting the variant συγχαίρῃ,
as found in codd. 2815, 2817ᶜᵒʳʳ.
27 *ex parte* ἐκ μέρους ("de membro" Vg.). For
ex, see on Ioh. 2,15. The Vulgate corresponds
with the reading ἐκ μέλους, in cod. D*. See
Annot. The same change was advocated by Valla
Annot., Manetti and Lefèvre.
28 *alios quidem* οὓς μέν ("quosdam quidem"
Vg.). This substitution is not necessarily an
improvement, as it could be misunderstood
as introducing a contrast with *Vos* in vs. 27.
In *Annot.*, Erasmus objected to the inaccurate
rendering, *suos quidem*, proposed by Lefèvre.
28 *primum* πρῶτον ("primo" Vg. 1527; "primum quidem" 1516). The 1527 Vulgate column
followed the Froben edition of 1514. The
second *quidem*, used in 1516 only, was not
supported by Greek mss. In 1519, Erasmus

adopted the same wording as the earlier Vulgate,
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.
28 *deinde* (1st.) δεύτερον ("secundo" Vg.). For
other instances of the removal of *secundo*, see
on Act. 10,15.
28 *potestates* δυνάμεις ("virtutes" Vg.). See on
vs. 10, above, and also on Rom. 1,4. Lefèvre
made the same change.
28 *deinde* (3rd.) εἶτα ("exinde" late Vg. and
some Vg. mss.). This change is in accordance
with Vulgate usage at most other instances of
εἶτα. Erasmus makes no attempt to distinguish
between εἶτα and ἔπειτα in his rendering here.
His Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817,
together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late
mss. In a few mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ א
A B C, ἔπειτα is substituted for εἶτα. Manetti
anticipated the change which Erasmus made.
Lefèvre had *postea*.
28 *dona* χαρίσματα ("gratias" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,11. The same substitution was made by
Lefèvre.

28 *sanationum* ἰαμάτων ("curationum" Vg.). The same change occurs in vs. 30. Erasmus perhaps wished to avoid *curatio* because this could refer merely to medical treatment without implying a successful outcome. See further on *Act.* 4,22. Manetti and Lefèvre, following Vulgate usage in vs. 9, put *sanitatum*.

28 *subsidia* ἀντιλήψεις ("opitulationes" Vg.). The word *opitulatio* was comparatively rare in classical usage: cf. *Annot.*, where Erasmus also suggests *subuentiones*, this being the rendering offered by Lefèvre.

28 *linguarum* γλωσσῶν ("linguarum, interpretationes sermonum" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition, which has minimal support from Greek mss., looks like a harmonisation with vs. 10. See *Annot.* In his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, pp. 186-8, ll. 419-438, Erasmus challenged Stunica to produce manuscript evidence that the extra words were formerly part of the Greek text. The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

29-30 *Num* (seven times) μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4. In vs. 29, the 1527 Vulgate column incorrectly has *Nunquis* instead of the third *Nunquid*.

29 *potestates* δυνάμεις ("virtutes" Vg.). See on vs. 10, and also on *Rom.* 1,4. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

30 *dona* χαρίσματα ("gratiam" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the singular is unsupported by Greek mss. For *donum*, see on *Rom.* 1,11. Lefèvre again made the same change. Manetti put *gratias*.

30 *sanationum* ἰαμάτων ("curationum" Vg.). See on vs. 28. Lefèvre put *sanitatum*.

31 *Sectemini* ζηλοῦτε ("Aemulamini" Vg.). The verb *aemulor* was ambiguous, as it could be used in a good sense (e.g. "strive after") and also in a pejorative sense ("be jealous of"). At 1 *Cor.* 14,1, inconsistently, Erasmus retains *aemulor* in a similar context. At 1 *Cor.* 14,39, he substitutes *enitor* in rendering the same Greek verb. *Sector* is more commonly used in rendering διώκω. In *Annot.* on the present passage, he also suggests *nitamini*. At 2 *Cor.* 11,2, he prefers *zelotypus sum*: cf. *zelo commotus* at *Act.* 17,5. Other substitutions for *aemulor* are *inuideo* at 1 *Cor.* 13,4, *inuidia motus sum* at *Act.* 7,9 (1519), and *ambio* at *Gal.* 4,17 (1519). Cf. also on *Rom.* 10,2 for the removal of *aemulatio*. Lefèvre had *zelate* here.

31 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre omitted *autem*, apparently following a ms. in which δέ was lacking. This in turn led Erasmus to omit δέ in his citation of the passage in *Annot.*, contrary to his Basle mss.

31 *dona* τὰ χαρίσματα ("charismata" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,11, and *Annot.*, where Erasmus objects that the Vulgate has merely transliterated the Greek word. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change. For Lefèvre's word-order, see the following note.

31 *potiora* τὰ κρείττονα ("meliora" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). A similar substitution of *potior* occurs at *Hebr.* 7,19 (1519), 22; 9,23; 10,34; 11,35, though Erasmus elsewhere sometimes retains *melior*. Some mss. of the earlier Vulgate have *maiora*, reflecting the substitution of τὰ μείζονα, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C and twenty-nine other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D F G (which have κρείσσονα or κρίσσονα) and about 540 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 281-3). See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *potiora dona* for *charismata meliora*.

31 *his excellentiorem* καθ᾽ ὑπερβολήν ("excellentiorem" Vg.; "excellentem" 1516-19). In 1522, Erasmus restored the Vulgate use of the comparative adjective, but amplified the sense by adding *his*. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *secundum excessum*, and Lefèvre *per excellentiam*.

31 ὑμῖν. This word was omitted by cod. 2815, in conflict with the testimony of most other mss.

31 *ostendo* δείκνυμι ("demonstro" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 14,15, in accordance with Vulgate usage elsewhere, though Erasmus retains *demonstro* at *Ioh.* 5,20. Lefèvre put *monstro* at the present passage.

13,1 *aes* χαλκός ("velut aes" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *velut* is not supported by Greek mss. See *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.* The same correction was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

1 *resonans* ἠχῶν ("sonans" Vg.). Erasmus also uses *resono* to translate ἠχέω at *Lc.* 21,25. The verb *resono* better conveys the echoing sound of a brass gong when it is struck. Cf. *Annot.* This change agrees with the rendering of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν, καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν, καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν, ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστάνειν, ἀγάπην δὲ | μὴ ἔχω, οὐδέν εἰμι. ³καὶ ἐὰν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου, καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καυθήσωμαι, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι. ⁴ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ, χρηστεύεται· ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ ζηλοῖ· ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ φυσιοῦται, ⁵οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς, οὐ παροξύνεται, οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν, ⁶οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ

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si habeam prophetiam, et nouerim mysteria omnia, omnemque scientiam: et si habeam omnem fidem, adeo vt montes loco dimoueam, cha | ritatem autem non habeam, nihil sum. ³Et si insumam in alimoniam omnes facultates meas, et si tradam corpus meum vt comburar, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil vtilitatis capio. ⁴Charitas patiens est, benigna est: charitas non inuidet: charitas non est procax, non inflatur, ⁵non est fastidiosa, non quaerit quae sua sunt, non irritatur, non cogitat malum, ⁶non gaudet de

LB 726

13,2 ουδεν *B-E*: ουθεν *A*

13,2 omnemque *B-E*: et omnem *A* | omnem *C-E*: *om. A B* | 4 patiens *B-E*: longanimis *A* | 5 quaerit *B-E*: querit *A* | irritatur *A-C*: iritatur *D E*

2 *habeam* (three times) ἔχω ("habuero" Vg.). In substituting the present subjunctive for the future perfect tense, Erasmus is more literal, and more consistent with the use of *loquar* and *habeam* in vs. 1. He again has the same wording as Lefèvre. The version of Ambrosiaster used *habeam* twice, retaining *habuero* before *omnem fidem*.

2 *omnemque* καὶ πᾶσαν ("et omnem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,39.

2 *omnem* πᾶσαν (omitted in 1516-19 Lat.). The omission from the 1516-19 Latin rendering was probably inadvertent.

2 *adeo vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6. Lefèvre had just *vt*.

2 *loco dimoueam* μεθιστάνειν ("transferam" Vg.). Erasmus elsewhere uses *dimoueo* in rendering μετακινέω at *Col.* 1,23 (1519), and σαλεύω at 2 *Thess.* 2,2. He retains *transfero* in rendering μεθίστημι at *Col.* 1,13. Lefèvre put *transferre valeam*.

2 οὐδέν. This spelling, which was introduced in 1519, occurs in cod. 2105 and also D* F G and some other mss. It was further adopted in

the later printed editions of Beza and the Elzeviers. The reading οὐθέν in 1516 was supported by codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 3, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C Dᶜᵒʳʳ.

3 *insumam in alimoniam* ψωμίσω ("distribuero in cibos pauperum" Vg.). For the tense, see on *habeam* in vs. 2. In classical Latin, the word *alimonia* is comparatively rare, and has the meaning of food or nourishment, without the connotation of a charitable gift. If the latter were the desired sense, *alimenta* or *alimenta pauperum* might have conveyed this more appropriately. Cf. *Annot. In Valla Annot.*, ψωμίζω is taken as the equivalent of *conuerto* or "change". Lefèvre put *in cibos ... dispensem*.

3 *omnes facultates meas* πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the text as τὰ πάντα μου, contrary to the testimony of codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 and most other mss.

3 *tradam ... habeam* παραδῶ ... ἔχω ("tradidero ... habuero" Vg.). Erasmus continues his use of the present subjunctive: see on *habeam* in vs. 2. Lefèvre made the same change.

3 *vt* ἵνα ("ita vt" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *ita* is not based on Greek mss., and possibly arose as a harmonisation with the Vulgate use of *ita vt* in vs. 2. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

3 *comburar* καυθήσωμαι ("ardeam" Vg.). Erasmus prefers a verb which more closely matches the passive form of the Greek. In 1527 *Annot.*, he discusses the variant καυχήσωμαι ("[so that] I may glory"), cited in the margin of the Complutensian Polyglot and used in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B and five later mss. He took the view that this variant had arisen from the accidental change of a single letter, and that καυθήσωμαι ("[so that] I may be burned") was the genuine reading. A further potential souce of acciden-tal error is the fact that the verb καυχάομαι ("boast" or "glory") occurs frequently elsewhere in the Epistles, so that it was liable to be sub-stituted here by scribes who were familiar with Pauline usage. A theoretical objection to καυ-θήσωμαι (or -ομαι) is that it might have been the more easily substituted in an age when scribes were accustomed to incidents of Christian martyrdom through burning. Others, however, have argued that καυχήσωμαι stands self-condemned by its irrelevance to the context, while καυθήσωμαι (-ομαι) offers a fitting cli-max to the series of conditional statements in vss. 1-3. This may therefore be a further instance where the venerable antiquity of mss. such as 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B does not guarantee their reliability as a basis for reconstruction of the N.T. text. The spelling which Erasmus gave in 1516 *Annot.* was καυθήσομαι, attested by cod. 2817, together with Cᵛⁱᵈ D F G and about 300 other mss. The spelling καυθήσωμαι which he used in his text has support from more than 270 other mss., including codd. 2105, 2815, 2816 (cf. Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 284-6). Manetti put *ardeat*, which occurs in some Vulgate mss., corresponding with either καυθῇ (found in cod. 1 and four other late mss.) or καυθήσεται (found in six other late mss.).

3 *nihil vtilitatis capio* οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι ("nihil mihi prodest" Vg.). Erasmus tries to keep closer to the Greek wording by using the first person, *capio*. Manetti had *nihil proficio*, and Lefèvre *nichil iuuor*.

4 *patiens est* μακροθυμεῖ ("longanimis est" 1516). In 1516, a similar substitution of *longanimis (sum)* for *patiens sum* occurs at 1 *Thess.* 5,14;

Iac. 5,7; and also for *patientiam habeo* at *Mt.* 18,26, 29; *Lc.* 18,7; for *patienter ago* at 2 *Petr.* 3,9; and for *patienter fero* at *Iac.* 5,7, all in rendering the same Greek verb. In attemp-ting this more literal translation, Erasmus was using a word which did not exist in classical Latin literature. In 1519, he changed his mind, reverting to *patiens sum* at most of the above passages. An exception was at *Iac.* 5,7 (b), where he changed *longanimis* to *patienter expectans*; similarly *patienter expecto* was adopted in place of *longanimiter expecto* at *Hebr.* 6,15 (1519). The only passage where he kept *patiens sum* unchanged, from 1516 to 1535, was at *Iac.* 5,8. The use of *longanimis* at the present passage was suggested, with some diffidence, by Valla *Annot.* See also *Annot.*

4 *inuidet* ζηλοῖ ("aemulatur" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes a verb having a more clearly pejora-tive sense, appropriate to the present context. Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 12,31. Lefèvre made the same change.

4 *et procax* περπερεύεται ("agit perperam" Vg.). Although the Vulgate word *perperam* outwardly resembles the Greek verb, the meaning is some-what different, as *perperam ago* means "act wrongly" whereas περπερεύομαι has more to do with "boasting". In *Annot.*, Erasmus makes an etymological connection with the "Perperi fratres", or Cercopes, famed in mythology for their truculent or treacherous behaviour: see also *Adag.*, LB II, 422 D-423 C; *ASD* II, 1, pp. 292-3; *ASD* II, 4, pp. 110-11. Lefèvre tried *inconstanter agit*.

5 *est fastidiosa* ἀσχημονεῖ ("est ambitiosa" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus gives a more literal trans-lation, *agit inhoneste, siue indecore*, which was consistent with his use of *indecorus* in render-ing the same Greek verb at 1 *Cor.* 7,36. This connotation of "dishonourable" or "shameful" behaviour is also indicated by the contexts where the related words ἀσχήμων and ἀσχημο-σύνη are used. However, in choosing *fastidiosus*, or "disdainful", Erasmus gave preference to the interpretation offered by cod. 2817ᶜᵒᵐᵐ, which refers to an unwillingness to perform some lowly but beneficial task: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *non turpe operatur*.

6 *de* ἐπί ("super" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 12,17. For Erasmus' treatment of χαίρω ἐπί elsewhere, see on *Rom.* 16,19. At the present passage, he has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ·
⁷πάντα στέγει, πάντα πιστεύει, πάν-
τα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει. ⁸ἡ ἀγά-
πη οὐδέποτε ἐκπίπτει. εἴτε δὲ προφη-
τεῖαι καταργηθήσονται, εἴτε γλῶσσαι
παύσονται, εἴτε γνῶσις καταργηθήσε-
ται. ⁹ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν, καὶ
ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν. ¹⁰ὅταν δὲ
ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τότε τὸ ἐκ μέρους
καταργηθήσεται. ¹¹ὅτε ἤμην νήπιος,
ὡς νήπιος ἐλάλουν, ὡς νήπιος ἐφρό-
νουν, ὡς νήπιος ἐλογιζόμην. ὅτε δὲ
γέγονα ἀνήρ, κατήργη τὰ τοῦ νηπί-
ου. ¹²βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι᾽ ἐσόπ-
τρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσω-
πον πρὸς πρόσωπον· ἄρτι γινώσκω
ἐκ μέρους, τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι κα-
θὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην. ¹³νυνὶ δὲ μένει

iniustitia, sed congaudet veritati:
⁷omnia suffert, omnia credit, om-
nia sperat, omnia sustinet. ⁸Chari-
tas nunquam excidit: siue prophetiae
abolebuntur, siue linguae cessabunt,
siue scientia abolebitur. ⁹Ex parte
enim cognoscimus et ex parte pro-
phetamus. ¹⁰Ast vbi venerit quod
perfectum est, tunc quod ex parte
est, abolebitur. ¹¹Quum essem puer,
vt puer loquebar, vt puer sentiebam,
vt puer cogitabam. At vbi factus
sum vir, aboleui puerilia. ¹²Cerni-
mus enim nunc per speculum in
aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad fa-
ciem: nunc cognosco ex parte, tunc
vero cognoscam quemadmodum et
cognitus sum. ¹³Nunc autem manet

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9 γαρ *A^c B-E*: δε *A** | 11 κατηργη τα *C-E*: κατηργην κατα *A*, κατηργη κατα *B*

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9 enim *A^c B-E*: autem *A** | 12 facie *B-E*: faciem *A*

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6 *iniustitia* τῇ ἀδικίᾳ ("iniquitate" late Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 1,29. Lefèvre made the same
change. Manetti had *iniquitatem*, as in the
earlier Vulgate.

6 *sed congaudet* συγχαίρει δέ ("congaudet
autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

7 ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει. Cod. 2815* has
the word-order ὑπομένει, πάντα ἐλπίζει, with
little or no support from other Greek mss.

8 *siue* (1st.) εἴτε δέ. Erasmus follows the Vul-
gate in leaving δέ untranslated. However, the
Vulgate may reflect the omission of δέ, as in
𝔓⁴⁶ C* D* F G and a few other mss. The Greek
text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817,
together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ A B
C^corr D^corr 048 and most later mss. See *Annot.*
The versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and
Lefèvre put *siue autem*.

8 *abolebuntur ... abolebitur* καταργηθήσονται
... καταργηθήσεται ("euacuabuntur ... destru-
etur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6 for *aboleo*. The

Vulgate use of two different verbs was incon-
sistent. The adoption of *aboleo* was suggested,
among other alternative renderings, by Valla
Annot. The version of Lefèvre had *tollentur ...
auferetur*.

9 *enim* γάρ ("autem" 1516 text). In 1516,
Erasmus at first had δέ, following codd. 2815
and 2817, along with 1, 2816 and most other
late mss., and hence substituted *autem* for *enim*.
However, before publication, he decided to
change δέ to γάρ, and to reinstate *enim*,
through entries in the errata for his 1516
edition. The reading γάρ is supported by
𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F G and some other mss.,
including codd. 69 and 2105. See *Annot.* Both
Manetti and Lefèvre put *autem*.

10 *Ast vbi* ὅταν δέ ("Cum autem" Vg.). A
similar substitution occurs in rendering ὅτε
δέ at *Gal.* 1,15. The use of the less common
form, *ast*, rather than *at*, was for the sake of
stylistic variety, in view of the presence of

At vbi in vs. 11. Cf. on *Ioh.* 1,26 for the removal of *autem*. Other substitutions of *vbi* for *cum*, in rendering ὅταν, occur at *Mt.* 13,32; *Mc.* 8,38; 1 *Cor.* 16,3. See also on vs. 11, below. Manetti had *Cum vero*.

10 *tunc* τότε (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D^corr and most later mss. One suggested explanation of τότε is that it was a later insertion for the sake of emphasis, answering to the use of ὅταν earlier in the sentence. The use of ὅταν ... τότε (or τότε καί) is in fact a characteristic feature of the apostle's style. If the word was an authentic part of the text, some scribes might have deleted it on the grounds that it was superfluous to the sense, or it could have been accidentally omitted through an error of homoeoarcton (passing from τό- at the beginning of τότε to τό before ἐκ μέρους). Cf. the omission of τότε before τὸν ἐλάσσω by a few early mss. at *Ioh.* 2,10. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

10 *quod ex parte est, abolebitur* τὸ ἐκ μέρους καταργηθήσεται ("euacuabitur quod ex parte est" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the text of codd. D (F G), which place καταργηθήσεται before τό. For *aboleo*, see on vs. 8 and on *Rom.* 6,6. Lefèvre put *quod ex parte est, auferetur*.

11 *puer* (four times) νήπιος ("paruulus" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Gal.* 4,1, 3; *Eph.* 4,14. See on *Rom.* 2,20, and *Annot.*

11 *vt puer loquebar, vt puer sentiebam, vt puer cogitabam* ὡς νήπιος ἐλάλουν ... ἐλογιζόμην ("loquebar vt paruulus, sapiebam vt paruulus, cogitabam vt paruulus" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order reflects a Greek text having ἐλάλουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐφρόνουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐλογιζόμην ὡς νήπιος, as found in codd. ℵ A B 048 and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also 𝔓⁴⁶vid D (F G) and most other mss. For *puer*, see the previous note, and for *sentio*, see on *Rom.* 8,5. Lefèvre had *vt paruulus loquebar, vt paruulus sentiebam, vt paruulus cogitabam*.

11 *At vbi* ὅτε δέ ("Quando autem" late Vg.). For *at*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus does not elsewhere replace *quando* by *vbi* in rendering ὅτε, but more often substitutes *quum*, at nine

passages: see on *Ioh.* 9,14 for examples from the Gospels. At *Gal.* 1,15; 2,14, he substitutes *vbi* for *cum*, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Gal.* 4,4. Usually he retains *quum* (or *cum*). Manetti put *Cum autem*, and Lefèvre *cum vero*, at the present passage.

11 *aboleui puerilia* κατήργη τὰ τοῦ νηπίου ("euacuaui quae erant paruuli" Vg.). The reading κατήργην κατά, in 1516, seems to have been a misprint for κατήργηκα τά. The error could have arisen from the fact that, in cod. 2817, κατήργη comes at the end of one line, and κα τά at the beginning of the next (with no hyphens, but a space between κα and τά), which should have been read as κατήργηκα τά, as in all the other Basle mss. In 1519, Erasmus corrected the error of spelling, but retained the incorrect word-division, as κατήργη κατά. Then in 1522 he again found the reading κατήργην κατά in the Aldine Bible, and wrongly assumed that it had been derived from Greek mss., whereas it is more probable that the 1518 Aldine edition had simply imitated his own first edition of 1516. In 1522 *Annot.*, he suggested that the correct reading was either κατήργηκα τά (which had overwhelming support from Greek mss.) or κατήργην τά (a mere conjecture). The 1522 text adopted neither of these alternatives, but introduced a further error, κατήργη τά, which remained in Erasmus' subsequent editions without any justification from mss. For *aboleo*, see on vs. 8, and on *Rom.* 6,6. In using *puerilia*, Erasmus is slightly less literal than the Vulgate, but expresses the meaning more vigorously. Lefèvre put *abieci ea quae sunt paruuli*.

12 *Cernimus* βλέπομεν ("Videmus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,24.

12 *enim* γάρ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission corresponds with the text of codd. D* F G, with little other ms. support. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

12 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. This change agreed with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

12 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre also made this change.

13 *manet* μένει ("manent" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of the plural does not have explicit support from Greek mss. Erasmus in effect restores the earlier Vulgate reading. The same wording was adopted by Manetti.

LB 727

πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, τὰ τρία ταῦτα, μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη. |

14 Διώκετε τὴν ἀγάπην, ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ πνευματικά, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύητε. ²ὁ γὰρ λαλῶν γλώσσῃ, οὐκ ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀκούει, πνεύματι δὲ λαλεῖ μυστήρια. ³ὁ δὲ προφητεύων, ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ οἰκοδομὴν καὶ παράκλησιν καὶ παραμυθίαν. ⁴ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσῃ, ἑαυτὸν οἰκοδομεῖ· ὁ δὲ προφητεύων, ἐκκλησίαν οἰκοδομεῖ. ⁵θέλω δὲ πάντας ὑμᾶς λαλεῖν γλώσσαις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύητε. μείζων γὰρ ὁ προφητεύων, ἢ ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσαις, ἐκτὸς εἰ

LB 729

μὴ διερμηνεύῃ, ἵνα ἡ | ἐκκλησία οἰκοδομὴν λάβῃ. ⁶νυνὶ δέ, ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς γλώσσαις λαλῶν, τί ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσω; ἐὰν μὴ ὑμῖν λαλήσω ἢ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἢ ἐν γνώσει ἢ ἐν προφητείᾳ ἢ ἐν διδαχῇ; ⁷ὅμως τὰ ἄψυχα φωνὴν διδόντα,

fides, spes, charitas, tria haec, sed maxima in his charitas. |

LB 728

14 Sectemini charitatem, aemulemini spiritualia, magis tamen vt prophetetis. ²Nam qui loquitur lingua, non hominibus loquitur, sed deo: nullus enim audit: spiritu vero loquitur mysteria. ³Caeterum qui prophetat, hominibus loquitur aedificationem et exhortationem et consolationem. ⁴Qui loquitur lingua, se ipsum aedificat: at qui prophetat, congregationem aedificat. ⁵Volo autem omnes vos loqui linguis, magis tamen vt prophetetis. Maior enim qui prophetat, quam qui loquitur linguis, nisi interpretetur, vt ec|clesia aedificationem accipiat. ⁶Nunc autem fratres, si veniam ad vos linguis loquens, quid vobis prodero, nisi vobis loquar aut per reuelationem aut per scientiam aut per prophetiam aut per doctrinam? ⁷Quin et inanima, vocem reddentia

LB 730

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13 τούτων *Aᶜ B-E*: τουιων *A**
14,1 πνευματικα *B-E*: πνευματικα *A*

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13 haec *B-E*: hec *A* | maxima in his *B-E*: maior horum *A*
14,1 spiritualia *B-E*: spiritalia *A* | 3 Caeterum *B-E*: Ceterum *A* | aedificationem *B-E*: edificationem *A* | 4 *prius* aedificat *B-E*: edificat *A* | congregationem *B-E*: ecclesiam *A* | *alt.* aedificat *B-E*: edificat *A* | 5 tamen *B-E*: autem *A* | 6 per reuelationem *B-E*: in reuelatione *A* | per scientiam *B-E*: in scientia *A* | per prophetiam *B-E*: in prophetia *A* | per doctrinam *B-E*: in doctrina *A*

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13 *sed maxima* μείζων δέ ("maior autem" Vg.; "sed maior" 1516). For *sed*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Other substitutions of superlative for comparative adjectives occur e.g. at *Mt.* 13,32; 18,1, 4 (1519); 23,11 (1522). In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the text as ἀλλὰ μείζων, whereas codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2817 and most other mss. have μείζων δέ (cod. 2816 μεῖζον δέ). Lefèvre put *Maxima autem*.
13 *in his* τούτων ("horum" 1516 = late Vg.). In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus explains that this change avoids a clash of gender, as *horum*

(neuter) agrees with *tria haec* but conflicts with the feminine gender of *fides*, *spes* and *charitas*. He further objected to the earlier Vulgate reading, *his* (unaccompanied by a preposition), as this would naturally be interpreted as an ablative of comparison, giving rise to the paradox that *charitas* was "greater" than itself. Manetti, however, had adopted *his*.
13 *charitas* (2nd.) ἡ ἀγάπη ("est charitas" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of a verb is a legitimate clarification, though not explicitly supported

by Greek mss. The version of Lefèvre substituted *dilectio*, omitting *est*.

14,1 *Sectemini ... aemulemini* Διώκετε ... ζηλοῦτε δέ ("Sectamini ... aemulamini" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of the subjunctive here, see on *Ioh.* 6,27. He follows the Vulgate in leaving δέ (1st.) untranslated: cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *Prosequamini ... Zelate*, and both Manetti and Lefèvre added *autem* at this point.

1 *tamen* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus also adopts *magis tamen* at vs. 5 (1519). Lefèvre had *magis vero* for *magis autem* at the present passage.

2 *Nam qui* ὁ γάρ ("Qui enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre also made this change.

2 *nullus* οὐδείς ("nemo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,7. The same change was again made by Lefèvre.

2 *spiritu* πνεύματι ("Spiritus" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate use of the nominative corresponds with πνεῦμα in codd. F G. See *Annot.* The passage was assigned to the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. Erasmus' correction produces agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre put *sed spiritu* for *spiritus autem*.

3 *Caeterum* δέ ("Nam" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering receives only partial support from codd. F G, which substitute εἰ γάρ ὁ for ὁ δέ. See *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti replaced *Nam qui* by *Qui enim*, while Lefèvre had *qui autem*.

3 *loquitur* λαλεῖ ("loquitur ad" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks explicit support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The preposition was likewise omitted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

4 *se ipsum* ἑαυτόν ("semet ipsum" Vg.). Erasmus similarly removes *semet* e.g. at *Rom.* 1,24, 27; 14,22, though elsewhere he quite often retains the word. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

4 *at qui* ὁ δέ ("qui autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. In vs. 3, Erasmus preferred *caeterum qui*, for stylistic variety.

4 *congregationem* ἐκκλησίαν ("ecclesiam dei" late Vg.; "ecclesiam" 1516 = Vg. mss.). See on *Act.* 5,11 for *congregatio*. The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of θεοῦ in codd. F G. See *Annot.* The 1516 edition gave the same wording as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *tamen* δέ ("autem" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 1. Lefèvre put *sed magis* for *magis autem*.

5 *vt prophetetis* ἵνα προφητεύητε ("prophetare" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the infinitive corresponds with προφητεύειν in cod. D*, which in turn probably originated as a retranslation from the Latin, at this point. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *Maior enim* μείζων γάρ ("nam maior est" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 9,10 for the substitution of *enim*. The Vulgate insertion of *est* corresponds with the addition of ἐστιν by codd. F G, but once again the Latin reading probably arose just as a matter of translation and did not reflect any real difference of underlying Greek text. Ambrosiaster's version had *Maior est enim*.

5 *nisi* ἐκτὸς εἰ μή ("nisi forte" late Vg.; "nisi forte vt" some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "nisi si forte vt" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). As pointed out in *Annot.*, the Vulgate addition of *forte* lacks Greek ms. support. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus, while Manetti put *nisi extra*.

5 διερμηνεύῃ. Erasmus' text here follows cod. 2817, supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B Dᶜᵒʳʳ 048 0289ᵛⁱᵈ and some later mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other late mss., it is διερμηνεύει.

6 *veniam* ἔλθω ("venero" Vg.). Erasmus, more logically, makes the tense match that of *loquar* later in the sentence. Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *aut per reuelationem ... doctrinam* ἢ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ... διδαχῇ ("aut in reuelatione aut in scientia aut in prophetia aut in doctrina" 1516 = late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ ⁽ᵉᵈ ᵐᵃⁱᵒʳ⁾). For the use of *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre put *vel in reuelatione, vel in cognitione, vel in prophetia, vel in doctrina*.

7 *Quin et* ὅμως ("Tamen" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,17 for *quin*. See also *Annot.*, where Erasmus objects to Lefèvre's substitution of *Perinde ac*.

7 *inanima* τὰ ἄψυχα ("quae sine anima sunt" Vg.). For the avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7, and see also *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *quae inanimata sunt*, and Lefèvre just *inanimata*.

7 *reddentia* διδόντα ("dantia" Vg.). Possibly Erasmus wished to avoid the apparent strangeness of "giving" a voice. He retains *dederint* for the same Greek verb later in the sentence. In place of *vocem dantia*, Manetti had *et vocem dant*, and Lefèvre *vocem emittentia*.

εἴτε αὐλός, εἴτε κιθάρα, ἐὰν διαστο-
λὴν τοῖς φθόγγοις μὴ δῷ, πῶς γνω-
σθήσεται τὸ αὐλούμενον ἢ τὸ κιθαρι-
ζόμενον; ⁸καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἄδηλον φωνὴν
σάλπιγξ δῷ, τίς παρασκευάσεται εἰς
πόλεμον; ⁹οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς
γλώσσης ἐὰν μὴ εὔσημον λόγον δῶ-
τε, πῶς γνωσθήσεται τὸ λαλούμενον;
ἔσεσθε γὰρ εἰς ἀέρα λαλοῦντες. ¹⁰το-
σαῦτα, εἰ τύχοι, γένη φωνῶν ἐστιν
ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἄφωνον.
¹¹ἐὰν οὖν μὴ εἰδῶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς
φωνῆς, ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι βάρβα-
ρος, καὶ ὁ λαλῶν, ἐν ἐμοὶ βάρβαρος.
¹²οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ζηλωταί ἐστε
πνευμάτων, πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς
ἐκκλησίας ζητεῖτε, ἵνα περισσεύητε.
¹³διόπερ ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσῃ, προσ-
ευχέσθω ἵνα διερμηνεύῃ.   ¹⁴ἐὰν γὰρ

siue tibia siue cithara, nisi distin-
ctionem sonis dederint, quomodo
cognoscetur quod tibia canitur aut
cithara? ⁸Etenim si incertam vo-
cem tuba dederit, quis apparabitur
ad bellum? ⁹Sic et vos per linguam,
nisi significantem sermonem dederi-
tis, quomodo intelligetur quod dici-
tur? Eritis enim in aerem loquentes.
¹⁰Tam multa, verbi gratia, genera vo-
cum sunt in mundo, et nihil horum
mutum.   ¹¹Itaque si nesciero vim
vocis, ero ei qui loquitur barbarus,
et qui loquitur, apud me barbarus.
¹²Itaque et vos, quandoquidem secta-
tores estis spirituum, ad aedificatio-
nem ecclesiae quaerite, vt excellatis.
¹³Quapropter qui loquitur lingua,
oret vt interpretetur.   ¹⁴Nam si

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11 apud *B-E*: in *A* | 12 quaerite *B-E*: querite *A*

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7 *sonis* τοῖς φθόγγοις ("sonituum" Vg.). Eras-
mus is more literal here: see *Annot.* The ver-
sion of Ambrosiaster had *sonus*, Manetti *sonitibus*,
and Lefèvre *phthongis*.

7 δῷ. Erasmus' text follows cod. 2817, in
company with cod. 2816 and many other mss.,
commencing with ℵ A B D* F G. His codd.
1, 2105, 2815, along with 𝔓⁴⁶ Dᶜᵒʳʳ 0289 and
many later mss., had διδῷ.

7 *cognoscetur* γνωσθήσεται ("scietur" Vg.).
Other substitutions of *cognosco* for *scio* occur
at *Mt.* 16,8; 26,10; *Lc.* 1,18 (1519); 2 *Cor.* 2,4;
Eph. 3,19, usually in the sense of "learn" or
"recognise". Cf. also on *Ioh.* 1,33. In vs. 9, and
also at 2 *Cor.* 3,2, Erasmus replaces *scio* by *intel-*
ligo. The present change gives the same rendering
as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

7 *quod tibia canitur aut cithara* τὸ αὐλούμενον
ἢ τὸ κιθαριζόμενον ("id quod canitur aut
quod citharizatur" late Vg.). Erasmus gives a
more accurate rendering of αὐλέω, and also
has regard to the fact that *citharizo* is rarely
used by classical Latin authors. Cf. *Annot.* His

wording follows a suggestion of Valla *Annot.*
The same rendering was also adopted by Lefèvre,
except that he put *quid* for *quod*. Manetti (*Pal.*
Lat. 45) had *quod tybia aut cythara sonatur*.

8 *tuba dederit* σάλπιγξ δῷ ("det tuba" Vg.).
Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more
literally. His use of the future perfect tense is
consistent with *dederint* in vs. 7 and *dederitis* in
vs. 9. This change was anticipated by Manetti.
Ambrosiaster (1492) had *dederit tuba*.

8 *apparabitur* παρασκευάσεται ("parabit se"
Vg.). Erasmus prefers a passive sense, though
the Vulgate gives a more accurate rendering of
the Greek future middle tense. Cf. *Annot.* He
elsewhere occasionally uses *apparo* for κοσμέω,
ποιέω and κατασκευάζω. Manetti had *prepa-*
rabitur, and Lefèvre *se accinget*.

9 *Sic* οὕτως ("Ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21.
Lefèvre put *Hunc in modum*.

9 *significantem* εὔσημον ("manifestum" Vg.).
Erasmus drew his rendering from Ambrosiaster,
taking the Greek word as the equivalent of

"meaningful" rather than "clear": see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *aptum.*

9 *intelligetur* γνωσθήσεται ("scietur" Vg.). See on vs. 7. Manetti and Lefèvre put *cognoscetur.*

9 *quod* τό ("id quod" Vg.). This change is consistent with Erasmus' omission of *id* in vs. 7. The same alteration was made by Manetti, while Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre adopted *quid.*

9 *aerem* ἀέρα ("aera" Vg.). Both forms of the accusative exist in classical Latin. The Vulgate uses *aerem* at *Act.* 22,23; 1 *Cor.* 9,26; *Ap. Ioh.* 16,17.

10 *verbi gratia* εἰ τύχοι ("vt puta" Vg.). Cod. 2815 has εἰ τύχη (written as τύχη), along with a few other late mss. At 1 *Cor.* 15,37, Erasmus replaces *vt puta* by *exempli causa*, in rendering the same Greek expression. See *Annot.* At the present passage, Lefèvre had *vt contingit.*

10 *vocum* φωνῶν ("linguarum" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering lacks Greek ms. support: see *Annot.* The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, who further suggested that the Vulgate use of *linguarum* was designed to avoid the apparent tautology arising from "no voice was without a voice". Lefèvre had the same wording as Valla and Erasmus.

10 *mundo* κόσμῳ ("hoc mundo" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww). The addition of *hoc*, in many Vulgate copies, again lacks support from Greek mss. (but cf. τῷ κόσμῳ in codd. D* F G). See on *Rom.* 3,6, and *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

10 *nihil horum* οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ("nihil" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of αὐτῶν, accompanied by 𝔓^46 ℵ* A B D* F G 048^vid 0289 and thirty-six other mss. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, alongside ℵ^corr D^corr and about 540 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 289-92). In 1519-35 *Annot.*, Erasmus renders by *nullum horum.* However, in 1516 *Annot.*, he omitted αὐτῶν and offered just *nullum* as the translation. The shorter reading is undoubtedly a *lectio difficilior*, as the phrase which it creates, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄφωνον, could at first sight appear to mean "and nothing is without speech", which would be a demonstrably false statement. The question is whether the insertion of αὐτῶν was a typical correction by scribes who wished to produce an easier sense, or whether the

omission of this word was yet another example of scribal negligence. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre both put *nullum eorum.*

10 *mutum* ἄφωνον ("sine voce est" Vg.). For *mutus*, see on *Act.* 8,32, and *Annot.* The Vulgate insertion of *est* corresponds with the addition of ἐστιν in codd. D* F G. The suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was that *sine voce* should be replaced by *absonum* or *absurdum.* Lefèvre tried *ineloquibile est.*

11 *Itaque si* ἐὰν οὖν ("Si ergo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,10. Lefèvre put *Si igitur.*

11 *vim* τὴν δύναμιν ("virtutem" Vg.). Similar substitutions occur in rendering δύναμις at 2 *Cor.* 1,8; 8,3; *Eph.* 3,20 (1519); 2 *Tim.* 3,5; *Hebr.* 11,11. At the present passage, *vim* is the equivalent of "meaning" or "significance", whereas *virtutem*, in classical Latin, conveys the sense of "excellence" or moral rectitude, which is less appropriate to the context. Erasmus' wording was the same as that of Lefèvre.

11 *ei qui loquitur* τῷ λαλοῦντι ("ei cui loquor" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering is a mistranslation: see *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

11 *apud me* ἐν ἐμοί ("mihi" Vg.; "in me" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the omission of ἐν, as in 𝔓^46 D F G and a few other mss. See *Annot.* The change made by Erasmus' 1519 edition had already been proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

12 *Itaque* οὕτως ("Sic" Vg.). The only other place where Erasmus renders οὕτως by *itaque* is at *Ap. Ioh.* 3,16. Cf. *Annot.*

12 *quandoquidem* ἐπεί ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 2,29. A similar substitution occurs in rendering ἐπειδή in vs. 16.

12 *sectatores* ζηλωταί ("aemulatores" Vg.). See on *Act.* 21,20, and also on 1 *Cor.* 12,31. Lefèvre had *zelum habentes.*

12 πνευμάτων. Cod. 2815 erroneously substituted ἀνθρώπων (ἀνῶν).

12 *excellatis* περισσεύητε ("abundetis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

13 *Quapropter* διόπερ ("Et ideo" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. The Vulgate addition of *et* lacks Greek ms. support, though a few mss. substitute διό (as in 𝔓^46 ℵ* A B D^supp F G 048 0289). Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, while Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *Ideo*, all four omitting *et.*

προσεύχωμαι γλώσσῃ, τὸ πνεῦμά μου προσεύχεται, ὁ δὲ νοῦς μου ἄκαρπός ἐστι. ¹⁵ τί οὖν ἐστι; προσεύξομαι τῷ πνεύματι, προσεύξομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ νοΐ. ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι, ψαλῶ δὲ καὶ τῷ νοΐ. ¹⁶ ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογήσῃς τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου, πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμήν, ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ; ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις, οὐκ οἶδε. ¹⁷ σὺ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ οἰκοδομεῖται. ¹⁸ εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου, πάντων ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις | λαλῶν. ¹⁹ ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους διὰ τοῦ νοός μου λαλῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους κατηχήσω, ἢ μυρίους λόγους ἐν γλώσσῃ.

²⁰ Ἀδελφοί, μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε, ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶ τέλειοι γίνεσθε. ²¹ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ

orem lingua, spiritus meus orat, at mens mea fructu vacat. ¹⁵ Quid igitur est? Orabo spiritu, sed orabo et mente. Canam spiritu, sed canam et mente. ¹⁶ Alioqui si benedixeris spiritu, is qui implet locum indocti, quomodo dicturus est, Amen, ad tuam gratiarum actionem? Quandoquidem quid dicas, nescit. ¹⁷ Nam tu quidem bene gratias agis, verum alius non aedificatur. ¹⁸ Gratias ago deo meo, quod magis quam omnes vos, linguis loquor. | ¹⁹ Sed in ecclesia volo quinque verba mente mea loqui, vt et alios instituam, potius quam decem milia verborum lingua.

²⁰ Fratres, ne sitis pueri sensibus, sed malitia pueri sitis: sensibus vero perfecti sitis. ²¹ In lege

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16 τῷ πνεύματι B-E: om. A | 17 ἀλλ B-E: ἀλλα A

16 spiritu B-E: om. A | 19 mente mea B-E: per mentem meam A | lingua B-E: in lingua A

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14 *at mens* ὁ δὲ νοῦς ("mens autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

14 *fructu vacat* ἄκαρπός ἐστι ("sine fructu est" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus replaces *sine fructu* by the non-classical terms, *infrugifer* at *Mt.* 13,22 and *infructifer* at *Mc.* 4,19 (1519). At *2 Petr.* 1,8, he substituted *in irritum laborantes*. He further changed *infructuosus* to *infrugifer* at *Eph.* 5,11; *Tit.* 3,14; *Iud.* 12. For the avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7.

15 *igitur est* οὖν ἐστι ("est ergo" Vg. 1527). The word-order of the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben Vulgate of 1514, lacks Greek ms. support. For *igitur*, see on *Ioh.* 6,62. The same change was made by Manetti, while Lefèvre put *igitur faciendum est.*

15 *sed orabo* προσεύξομαι δέ ("orabo" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of δέ in codd. F G and a few other mss. Here

Manetti put *orabo autem*, and Lefèvre *orabo quidem.*

15 *Canam ... sed canam* ψαλῶ ... ψαλῶ δέ ("Psallam ... psallam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,9 regarding *cano*. The Vulgate again corresponds with the omission of δέ in a few mss., this time with support from codd. B F G. The version of Manetti had *psallam ... psallam autem*, and Lefèvre *psallam ... psallam quidem.*

16 *Alioqui* ἐπεί ("Caeterum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,22. More accurately, the rendering proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre was *quoniam.*

16 *spiritu* τῷ πνεύματι (1516 omits). This omission in 1516 was based on cod. 2817, apparently without other ms. support. In 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus misleadingly claims that the words were missing from most Greek mss. ("in plerisque Graecorum exemplaribus").

16 *is qui implet* ὁ ἀναπληρῶν ("quis supplet" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgᵂʷ). In *Annot.*, Erasmus observes that some Vulgate mss. more correctly have *qui supplet* (adopted by Vgˢᵗ). It is probable that *quis* was a later variation within the Latin tradition, influenced by the following *s-* of *supplet*. This passage was hence listed among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. Erasmus prevents recurrence of this error by substituting *implet*, adopting a recommendation of Valla *Annot.*, who pointed out that *supplet* could be understood as referring to a person who occupied a position which belonged to someone else. Manetti put *qui supplet*, and Lefèvre *is qui tenet*.

16 *indocti* τοῦ ἰδιώτου ("idiotae" Vg.). Erasmus makes the same change in vss. 23-4, no doubt disliking the word *idiota* because of its non-Latin origin, though he retained *idiotae* at *Act.* 4,13. See *Annot.*

16 *dicturus est* ἐρεῖ ("dicet" Vg.). By this change, Erasmus perhaps wished to convey the sense, "How will he be in a position to say?" For other uses of the future participle, see on *Rom.* 2,6. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *dicit*, and Lefèvre *respondebit*.

16 *ad* ἐπί ("super" Vg.). Erasmus occasionally substitutes *ad* for *super*, depending on the context. See e.g. on *Ioh.* 5,2, and see also *Annot.*

16 *gratiarum actionem* εὐχαριστίᾳ ("benedictionem" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise here: see *Annot.* In Valla *Annot.*, similarly, the proposed rendering was *gratiarum actione*, which was adopted by Lefèvre.

16 *Quandoquidem* ἐπειδή ("Quoniam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 2,29. A similar substitution occurs in rendering ἐπεί in vs. 12, above. Cod. 2817 had ἐπεί, in company with cod. B. The rendering of Lefèvre was *posteaquam*.

17 *verum* ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. The spelling ἀλλά in 1516 seems to have been an arbitrary correction, as it is unsupported by Erasmus' Basle mss.

17 *alius* ὁ ἕτερος ("alter" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *alter* in the present context is acceptable, as only two persons are mentioned. Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 12,9. Erasmus here has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

18 *quod magis quam omnes vos, linguis loquor* πάντων ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις λαλῶν ("quod omnium vestrum lingua loquor" Vg.).

The Vulgate mistranslates the passage by omitting to render μᾶλλον, though the singular *lingua* corresponds with γλώσσῃ in codd. ℵ A Dˢᵘᵖᵖ F G 0289 and a few other mss. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti was *quod omnium vestrum magis linguis loquor*, and Lefèvre *omnibus vobis magis linguis loquens*.

19 *mente mea* διὰ τοῦ νοός μου ("sensu meo" Vg.; "per mentem meam" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,28, and *Annot.* The Vulgate may reflect a Greek variant, τῷ νοΐ μου, found in codd. ℵ A B Dˢᵘᵖᵖ F G and about forty other mss. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and about 530 other mss., commencing with 048ᵛⁱᵈ (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 292-4). Lefèvre had *ex mea mente*, and Manetti *intellectu meo*.

19 *instituam* κατηχήσω ("instruam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 18,25, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

19 *potius quam* ἤ ("quam" Vg.). A similar addition of *potius*, to reinforce a comparison, occurs at *Mt.* 18,8-9; *Mc.* 9,43, 45, 47; *Lc.* 17,2 (1519). See *Annot.*

19 *lingua* ἐν γλώσσῃ ("in lingua" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti anticipated this change.

20 *ne sitis pueri* μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ("nolite pueri effici" Vg.). For *ne*, see on *Rom.* 11,18, and for the removal of *efficio*, see on 1 *Cor.* 10,7. See also *Annot.* The version of Manetti was *ne pueri estote*.

20 *pueri sitis* νηπιάζετε ("paruuli estote" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 13,11 for the related substitution of *puer* for *paruulus* in rendering νήπιος. See also *Annot.* At the end of this verse, Erasmus again replaces *estote* by *sitis*, in rendering γίνεσθε. Other such substitutions occur at 1 *Cor.* 15,58; *Eph.* 4,32; 5,1; *Col.* 3,15; 4,18; *Iac.* 1,22; 1 *Petr.* 4,7.

20 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. The same change was made by Manetti.

20 *sitis* (3rd.) γίνεσθε ("estote" Vg.). See above. Erasmus prefers to make the rendering of γίνεσθε consistent with the earlier part of this sentence. Manetti also had *sitis* at this point.

21 *lege* τῷ νόμῳ ("lege enim" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *enim* is unsupported by Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

γέγραπται ὅτι Ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέροις λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονταί μου, λέγει κύριος. ²²ὥστε αἱ γλῶσσαι εἰς σημεῖόν εἰσιν, οὐ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις· ἡ δὲ προφητεία, οὐ τοῖς ἀπίστοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. ²³ἐὰν οὖν συνέλθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, καὶ πάντες γλώσσαις λαλῶσιν, εἰσέλθωσι δὲ ἰδιῶται ἢ ἄπιστοι, οὐκ ἐροῦσιν ὅτι μαίνεσθε; ²⁴ἐὰν δὲ πάντες προφητεύωσιν, εἰσέλθῃ δέ τις ἄπιστος ἢ ἰδιώτης, ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ²⁵καὶ | οὕτως τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται, καὶ οὕτως πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκυνήσει τῷ θεῷ, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὄντως ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστι.

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scriptum est: Variis linguis et labiis variis loquar populo huic, et ne sic quidem audient me, dicit dominus. ²²Itaque linguae signi vice sunt, non iis qui credunt, sed incredulis: contra prophetia, non incredulis, sed credentibus. ²³Ergo si conuenerit ecclesia tota simul, et omnes linguis loquantur: ingrediantur autem indocti aut increduli, nonne dicent vos insanire? ²⁴Quod si omnes prophetetis, ingrediatur autem incredulus aut indoctus, coarguitur ab omnibus, diiudicatur ab omnibus: ²⁵et sic oc|culta cordis eius manifesta fiunt: atque ita procidens in faciem adorabit deum, renuncians quod deus re vera in vobis sit.

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21 Variis *B-E*: In variis *A* | labiis *B-E*: in labiis *A* | 22 signi vice *B-E*: in signum *A* | iis qui credunt *B-E*: credentibus *A* | 23 tota simul, *D E*: tota, in idem, *A*, tota in idem, *B*, tota, simul *C* | increduli *B-E*: infideles *A* | vos insanire *B-E*: quod insaniatis *A* | 24 incredulus *B-E*: infidelis *A* | 25 renuncians *B-E*: annuncians *A*

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21 *Variis linguis* ὅτι Ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις ("Quoniam in aliis linguis" Vg.; "In variis linguis" 1516). For the omission of *quoniam*, see on *Ioh.* 1,20, and for the omission of *in*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. It appears that Erasmus understood ἑτερόγλωσσος to refer primarily to the variety of existing human languages, e.g. as spoken by the apostles, rather than new languages which had never previously been heard. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *quod in linguis aliis*, and Lefèvre *quod in aliis linguis*.

21 *labiis variis* ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέροις ("in aliis labiis" Vg. 1527; "labiis aliis" Vg. mss.; "in labiis variis" 1516). See the previous note. Lefèvre's rendering was identical with Erasmus' 1527 Vulgate column and the Froben edition of 1514, though Lefèvre's own Vulgate text had *labiis aliis*. Manetti put *in labiis aliis*.

21 *ne sic quidem* οὐδ' οὕτως ("nec sic" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,5. Manetti had *non sic*, and Lefèvre *neque sic*.

21 *audient* εἰσακούσονται ("exaudient" Vg.). At the other four N.T. instances of εἰσακούω, Erasmus retains *exaudio* (*Mt.* 6,7; *Lc.* 1,13; *Act.* 10,31; *Hebr.* 5,7).

22 *signi vice* εἰς σημεῖον ("in signum" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,21.

22 *iis qui credunt ... credentibus* τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ... τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ("fidelibus ... fidelibus" Vg.; "credentibus ... credentibus" 1516). See on *Act.* 10,45 for another instance of the removal of *fidelis*. At the present passage, Erasmus' rendering is closer to the grammatical form of the Greek expression: see *Annot.* The version of Ambrosiaster had *his qui credunt* (twice).

22 *incredulis* (twice) τοῖς ἀπίστοις ("infidelibus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,31. Ambrosiaster put *non credentibus ... incredulis*.

22 *contra prophetia* ἡ δὲ προφητεία ("prophetiae autem" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "prophetia autem" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). See on *Ioh.* 16,20 for *contra*. The use of the

plural, *prophetiae*, which occurs in many Vulgate copies, has negligible Greek ms. support. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had *prophetia autem*.

23 *Ergo si* ἐὰν οὖν ("Si ergo" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal as to the word-order. See on *Rom.* 2,26 for Erasmus' change of emphasis. Lefèvre put *Si igitur*.

23 *conuenerit* συνέλθῃ ("conueniat" Vg.). Erasmus here prefers the future perfect tense, as giving a closer representation of the Greek aorist. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

23 *ecclesia tota* ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη ("vniuersa ecclesia" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,34 for *tota*. The Vulgate word-order corresponds with ὅλη ἡ ἐκκλησία in codd. D F G. The version of Manetti made the same change as Erasmus, while Lefèvre had *tota ecclesia*, which he positioned after *igitur*.

23 *simul* ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό ("in vnum" Vg.; "in idem" 1516-19). See on 1 *Cor.* 11,20. The substitution of *simul* first occurred in the Latin N.T. of 1521. Manetti put *in idem*, anticipating the wording which Erasmus used in 1516-19. Lefèvre had *pariter*, placed before *conueniat*.

23 *ingrediantur* εἰσέλθωσι ("intrent" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,27. Erasmus does not use the verb *intro* anywhere in the Epistles. At the present passage, he has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

23 *indocti* ἰδιῶται ("idiotae" Vg.). See on vs. 16.

23 *increduli* ἄπιστοι ("infideles" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,31.

23 *vos insanire* ὅτι μαίνεσθε ("quid insanitis" late Vg.; "quod insaniatis" 1516). The late Vulgate use of *quid* appears to be a scribal alteration of *quod* or *quia*: see *Annot.* By changing to the accusative and infinitive construction, Erasmus prevents a recurrence of the error. He placed this passage among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *quod insanitis*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

24 *Quod si* ἐὰν δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25.

24 *prophetetis* προφητεύωσιν ("prophetent" Vg.). By using the second person plural, Erasmus departs from the literal meaning, but makes a clearer link with *vos* in vs. 23 and *vobis* in vs. 25.

24 *ingrediatur* εἰσέλθῃ ("intret" Vg.). See on vs. 23. Lefèvre made the same change.

24 *incredulus* τις ἄπιστος ("quis infidelis" Vg.; "infidelis" 1516). For *incredulus*, see on *Rom.* 15,31. Erasmus leaves τις untranslated. Lefèvre put *quispiam infidelis*.

24 *aut* ἤ ("vel" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,6. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

24 *indoctus* ἰδιώτης ("idiota" Vg.). See on vs. 16.

24 *coarguitur* ἐλέγχεται ("conuincitur" Vg.). At *Tit.* 1,9, inconsistently, Erasmus substitutes *conuinco* for *arguo* in rendering the same Greek verb. Usually he retains *arguo*, and sometimes adopts *redarguo*, but nowhere else uses *coarguo*. The meaning is substantially the same. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre made use of *redarguitur* here.

25 *et sic occulta* καὶ οὕτως τὰ κρυπτά ("Occulta enim" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of *enim* lacks Greek support, whereas the earlier Vulgate, which had just *Occulta*, corresponds with the omission of καὶ οὕτως in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* F G 048 0201 and twenty-five later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also D^corr and about 550 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 294-6). See *Annot.* It has been suggested that καὶ οὕτως was a scribal addition, influenced by the use of this phrase later in the verse. Another possibility is that some scribes deleted these words because they considered them to be a needless repetition. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, while Manetti had *et sic abscondita*.

25 *atque* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. The same change was again made by Lefèvre.

25 *procidens* πεσών ("cadens" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 17,6; *Lc.* 17,16. See also on *Ioh.* 11,32. Erasmus once more adopts the rendering of Lefèvre.

25 *renuncians* ἀπαγγέλλων ("pronuncians" Vg.; "annuncians" 1516). In 1519, the use of *renuncians* was more literal. Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition, while Lefèvre had *profitens*.

25 *deus re vera* ὁ θεὸς ὄντως ("vere deus" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the word-order ὄντως ὁ θεός, as in codd. ℵ^corr A B D^corr, or ὄντως θεός as in ℵ D* F G. The word-order of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. He does not elsewhere use *re vera* in the N.T., but see on *Act.* 10,34 regarding *re ipsa*. Lefèvre put *deus vere*.

²⁶Τί οὖν ἐστιν, ἀδελφοί; ὅταν συνέρχησθε, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ψαλμὸν ἔχει, διδαχὴν ἔχει, γλῶσσαν ἔχει, ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει, ἑρμηνείαν ἔχει· πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γενέσθω. ²⁷εἴτε γλώσσῃ τις λαλεῖ, κατὰ δύο, ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον τρεῖς, καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος, καὶ εἷς διερμηνευέτω· ²⁸ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ διερμηνευτής, σιγάτω ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἑαυτῷ δὲ λαλείτω καὶ τῷ θεῷ.

²⁹Προφῆται δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς λαλείτωσαν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν. ³⁰ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀποκαλυφθῇ καθημένῳ, ὁ πρῶτος σιγάτω. ³¹δύνασθε γὰρ καθ' ἕνα πάντες προφητεύειν, ἵνα πάντες μανθάνωσι, καὶ πάντες παρακαλῶνται· ³²καὶ πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται. ³³οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεός,

²⁶Quid igitur est fratres? Quoties conuenitis, vnusquisque vestrum canticum habet, doctrinam habet, linguam habet, reuelationem habet, interpretationem habet: omnia ad aedificationem fiant: ²⁷siue lingua quis loquitur, fiat per binos, aut ad summum ternos, idque vicissim, et vnus interpretetur: ²⁸quod si non sit interpres, taceat in ecclesia: caeterum sibi ipsi loquatur et deo.

²⁹Prophetae vero duo aut tres loquantur, et caeteri diiudicent. ³⁰Porro si alii fuerit reuelatum assidenti, prior taceat. ³¹Potestis enim singulatim omnes prophetare, vt omnes discant, et omnes consolationem accipiant, ³²et spiritus prophetarum prophetis subiiciuntur. ³³Non enim est confusionis autor deus,

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26 γενεσθω *D E*: γινεσθω *A-C* | 27 πλειστον *A-C E*: πλεισσον *D*

26 canticum *B-E*: psalmum *A* | interpretationem habet *B-E*: om. *A* | 27 fiat per binos *B-E*: iuxta duos *A* | ad summum ternos *B-E*: vt plurimum tres *A* | 28 sibi ipsi *A-C E* (sibiipsi *A-C E*): subiipsi *D* | 31 singulatim *B-E*: singillatim *A* | 32 prophetarum *A B D E*: pcophetarum *C* | 33 autor *B-E*: om. *A*

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26 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Lefèvre made the same change.

26 *Quoties* ὅταν ("Cum" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Iac.* 1,2. Usually Erasmus retains *cum* (or *quum*) for ὅταν.

26 *canticum* ψαλμόν ("psalmum" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus preferred *canticum* because *psalmus* was not used in classical Latin: see *Annot.* In rendering ψαλμός at *Eph.* 5,19 and several other passages, he retains *psalmus*, while substituting *cantio* at *Col.* 3,16. Elsewhere he follows the Vulgate in using *canticum* for ᾠδή at *Ap. Ioh.* 5,9; 14,3; 15,3, though he renders ᾠδή by *cantio* at *Eph.* 5,19, and by *cantilena* at *Col.* 3,16.

26 *linguam ... reuelationem* γλῶσσαν ... ἀποκάλυψιν ("apocalypsim ... linguam" late Vg.). The Vulgate reversal of the word-order is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F G 0285 and some

other mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2816 and most other late mss. Some other late mss. omit either γλῶσσαν ἔχει or ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει, or both of these phrases. In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to *apocalypsis*, as being a non-Latin word and inconsistent with Vulgate usage of *reuelatio* at other passages. He makes a similar substitution in rendering the first word of the Apocalypse itself. However, unlike the verb *reuelo*, the noun *reuelatio* was not used by classical authors. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus. Ambrosiaster had *reuelationem ... linguam*.

26 *interpretationem habet* ἑρμηνείαν ἔχει (1516 Lat. omits). In the 1516 edition, as a result of changing the position of *linguam habet*, mentioned in the previous note, Erasmus or his printer accidentally deleted the following phrase, *interpretationem habet*, but without making any

corresponding change in the Greek text. This error was corrected in 1519.

26 γενέσθω. This spelling, adopted in 1527-35, seems to be an arbitrary change, possibly caused by a printer's error, though the same reading also appears in cod. 1 and a few other mss. Most mss. have γινέσθω, as used in 1516-22.

27 *fiat* (omitted in 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds a main verb, to complete the sense: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre inserted *loquatur* before *et vnus.*

27 *per binos, aut ... ternos* κατά δύο, ἤ ... τρεῖς ("secundum duos, aut ... tres" Vg.; "iuxta duos, aut ... tres" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus complains of the obscurity of the Vulgate expression. This substitution is comparable with the Vulgate use of *binos* to render ἀνά δύο at *Lc.* 10,1. Ambrosiaster put *per duos ... tres,* Manetti *secundum duos vel ... tres,* and Lefèvre *ad duos aut ... tres.*

27 *ad summum* τὸ πλεῖστον ("vt multum" Vg.; "vt plurimum" 1516). Erasmus is more accurate here: see *Annot.* The suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was to use either *ad summum* or just *plurimum.* The latter rendering was adopted by Manetti, while Lefèvre had *summum,* without *ad.*

27 *idque* καί ("et" Vg.). Erasmus uses *idque* to emphasise that the following phrase, ἀνά μέρος, is a modification of the preceding instruction.

27 *vicissim* ἀνά μέρος ("per partes" Vg.). In *Annot.,* Erasmus again criticises the obscurity of the Vulgate rendering. Lefèvre put *separatus.*

28 *quod si* ἐάν δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25. Erasmus had the same wording as Ambrosiaster.

28 *sit* ᾖ ("fuerit" Vg.). In vs. 30, Erasmus retains the sequence *si ... fuerit, ... taceat.* Either form of the verb, whether present subjunctive or future perfect, is suitable here. Lefèvre replaced *non fuerit* by *desit.*

28 σιγάτω ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. Cod. 2815 had the word-order ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ σιγάτω, with little or no other ms. support.

28 *caeterum sibi ipsi* ἑαυτῷ δέ ("sibi autem" Vg.). For *caeterum,* see on *Act.* 6,2. As elsewhere, Erasmus sometimes prefers the more intensive form of the reflexive pronoun. See on *Ioh.* 11,55. Lefèvre put *et sibi ipsi.*

29 *vero* δέ ("autem" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus' choice of a continuative sense for δέ was more appropriate to the context. In

many Vulgate mss., the word was omitted, as in 𝔓⁴⁶*.

29 *loquantur* λαλείτωσαν ("dicant" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,27. This change agreed with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

30 *Porro si* ἐάν δέ ("Quod si" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16 for Erasmus' use of *porro.* Manetti had *Si autem.*

30 *fuerit reuelatum* ἀποκαλυφθῇ ("reuelatum fuerit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,27 for Erasmus' occasional preference for an earlier position for the auxiliary verb. Lefèvre put *reuelatio facta est,* after *sedenti.*

30 *assidenti* καθημένῳ ("sedenti" Vg.). Erasmus generally retains *sedeo* for κάθημαι. However, in this context, he may have felt that the question of whether an individual was sitting or standing was not the main point, but rather that the person was present in the same congregation.

31 *singulatim omnes* καθ' ἕνα πάντες ("omnes per singulos" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with πάντες καθ' ἕνα in codd. D F G. For *singulatim,* see on *Rom.* 12,5. In 1516 *Annot.,* Erasmus replaces ἕνα by ἕν, without support from his Basle mss. The version of Manetti put *omnes singillatim,* and Lefèvre *omnes per singulum quemque.*

31 *consolationem accipiant* παρακαλῶνται ("exhortentur" Vg.). A reason for Erasmus' avoidance of *exhortor* is that this verb usually had an active rather than a passive sense in classical Latin. He also uses *consolationem accipio* to replace *consolor* at *Mt.* 5,4; 2 *Cor.* 1,6; 7,7, 13; *Col.* 2,2; 1 *Thess.* 3,7. Cf. also *consolationem capio* at *Rom.* 1,12, *consolationem admitto* at *Mt.* 2,18, and *consolationem habeo* at 2 *Cor.* 13,11.

32 *subiiciuntur* ὑποτάσσεται ("subiectus est" late Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot.,* the Greek verb is in the present tense and has a plural subject. The late Vulgate use of the singular corresponds with the substitution of πνεῦμα for πνεύματα by codd. D F G and a few other mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus (though Manetti used the spelling *subiciuntur*).

33 *est confusionis autor* ἐστιν ἀκαταστασίας ("dissensionis est" late Vg.; "est confusionis" 1516). Elsewhere Erasmus follows the Vulgate in rendering ἀκαταστασία by *inconstantia* at *Iac.* 3,16, and by *seditio* at *Lc.* 21,9; 2 *Cor.* 6,5; 12,20. See *Annot.* The addition of *autor* gives an easier sense, though it is less accurate: more

ἀλλ' εἰρήνης, ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλη-
σίαις τῶν ἁγίων.

³⁴ Αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησί-
αις σιγάτωσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται
αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθαι, κα-
θὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. ³⁵ εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν
θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας
ἐπερωτάτωσαν. αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστι γυ-
ναιξὶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαλεῖν. ³⁶ ἢ ἀφ' ὑμῶν
ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν; ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς
μόνους κατήντησεν; ³⁷ εἴ τις δοκεῖ προ-
φήτης εἶναι, ἢ πνευματικός, ἐπιγινω-
σκέτω ἃ γράφω ὑμῖν, ὅτι κυρίου εἰσὶν

sed pacis, vt in omnibus congregatio-
nibus sanctorum.

³⁴ Mulieres vestrae in ecclesiis si-
leant: nec enim permissum est illis
vt loquantur, sed vt subditae sint:.
quemadmodum et lex dicit. ³⁵ Quod
si quid discere volunt, domi suos
viros interrogent. Nam turpe est mu-
lieribus in coetu loqui. ³⁶ An a vobis
sermo dei profectus est? An in vos
solos incidit? ³⁷ Si quis videtur pro-
pheta esse, aut spiritualis, agnoscat
quae scribo vobis, quod domini sint

33 congregationibus *B-E*: ecclesiis *A* | sanctorum *Aᶜ B-E*: sanctis *A** | 34 permissum *B-E*:
mandatum *A* | 35 mulieribus *A B D E*: mulie/eribus *C* | coetu *D E*: ecclesia *A*, coetum *B C* |
37 spiritualis *B-E*: spiritalis *A* | quae *B-E*: que *A*

precisely, the meaning is "God is not the God
of confusion but the God of peace" (cf. ὁ θεὸς
τῆς εἰρήνης at *Rom.* 15,33; 16,20; 2 *Cor.* 13,11;
Phil. 4,9; 1 *Thess.* 5,23; *Hebr.* 13,20). The late
Vulgate word-order lacks explicit support from
Greek mss. The version of Lefèvre placed *est*
after *deus*.

33 ἀλλ'. This was the spelling of codd. 2105,
2816, 2817, with 𝔓⁴⁶ F G and some other mss.
The reading of codd. 1, 2815 and most other
mss., was ἀλλά.

33 *vt* ὡς ("sicut et" late Vg.). For *vt*, see on
Rom. 1,21. The late Vulgate addition of *et*
corresponds with the variant ὡς καί in a few
late mss. Erasmus has the same rendering as
Lefèvre. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and
Manetti had *sicut*.

33 *congregationibus* ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ("ecclesiis"
1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,11.

33 *sanctorum* τῶν ἁγίων ("sanctorum doceo"
late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "sanctis" 1516 text).
The inaccurate use of *sanctis* in the 1516 Latin
version ("holy churches" rather than "churches
of the saints") was corrected in the errata. The
addition of *doceo* in some Vulgate mss. cor-
responds with the addition of διδάσκω in
cod. 2815, in company with F G and some later
mss. In *Annot.*, however, Erasmus shows no
awareness of this Greek variant ("apud Graecos

non est"). He mentioned this passage in the
1527 edition of the *Quae Sint Addita*. Lefèvre
likewise omitted *doceo*.

34 *vestrae* ὑμῶν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-
sion is supported by codd. ℵ A B and some
other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and
2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as
(D F G) and most other mss. Although the
omission or addition of personal pronouns is
frequently the subject of variation among the
mss., the present instance involves an important
point of interpretation. The plural phrase ἐν
ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, placed immediately after ὑμῶν,
could be taken to suggest that the apostle is
giving a general command for women to keep
silent in all Christian churches, and not just
in the church of Corinth, for he elsewhere
addresses the Corinthian believers as if they
comprised a single church. However, the phrase
γυναῖκες ὑμῶν ("your women", or possibly
"your wives") might otherwise have been un-
derstood to refer primarily to the women who
belonged to the Corinthian church, in the
context of the present epistle. Fearing that
ὑμῶν could appear to negate the universal
application of the apostle's command, an
ancient scribe or corrector might have wished
to omit this word. Erasmus' rendering is the
same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and
Lefèvre.

34 *sileant* σιγάτωσαν ("taceant" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in rendering σιωπάω at *Mc.* 9,34. Erasmus retains *taceo* for most other N.T. instances of these verbs, including vss. 28 and 30 of the present chapter. Whereas *taceo* could sometimes mean "become silent", the implication of *sileo* was "remain silent". Erasmus again has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

34 *nec* οὐ ("non" Vg.). By using the more emphatic form of negative, Erasmus reinforces the accompanying verb. The change is partly for the sake of variety, in view of his retention of *non enim* in vs. 33.

34 *permissum est* ἐπιτέτραπται ("permittitur" Vg.; "mandatum est" 1516). The present tense of the Vulgate reflects a Greek variant, ἐπιτρέπεται, attested by codd. ℵ A B (D F G) and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105 and most other mss. (cod. 2816 had ἐπιτέτακται). In *Annot.*, he argued for the use of *mando* (or "command"), on the grounds that it fitted better with the following verb, ὑποτάσσεσθαι. In 1516 *Annot.*, the text is incorrectly cited as ἐπιτετράπεται. The version of Lefèvre had *concessum est*.

34 *illis* αὐταῖς ("eis" Vg.). Possibly Erasmus wished to use the more emphatic pronoun to convey the sense of "the former", i.e. referring back to *mulieres* rather than *ecclesiis*, though the meaning is plain enough from the context. This change agreed with the rendering of Ambrosiaster.

34 *vt loquantur ... vt subditae sint* λαλεῖν ... ὑποτάσσεσθαι ("loqui ... subditas esse" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive for expressing indirect commands. Manetti put *loqui ... vt subiciantur*, and Lefèvre *loqui ... vt subiectae sint*.

34 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

35 *Quod si quid* εἰ δέ τι ("Si quid autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25. The Vulgate word-order corresponds more closely with εἴ τι δέ in codd. D F G, though it is probably only a matter of translation: cf. the Vulgate use of *Si quis autem* for εἰ δέ τις in vs. 38, below. In cod. 2815, with little other support, it is εἰ δέ τινα. Lefèvre put *Si autem aliquid*.

35 *discere volunt* μαθεῖν θέλουσιν ("volunt discere" Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek word-order more literally, adopting the same rendering

as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. Manetti put *discere voluerint*.

35 *suos viros* τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ("viros suos" Vg.). Erasmus again follows the Greek word-order more closely. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *proprios viros*.

35 *Nam turpe est* αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστι ("Turpe est enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre put *Nam inhonestum est*.

35 *mulieribus* γυναιξίν ("mulieri" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text substituting γυναικί, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ (D F G) and most other mss. The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti had the same wording as Erasmus, but Lefèvre put *mulierem*.

35 *in coetu loqui* ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαλεῖν ("loqui in ecclesia" Vg.; "in ecclesia loqui" 1516; "in coetum loqui" 1519-22). The Vulgate word-order reproduces a Greek variant, λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as cod. (D) and most later mss. He elsewhere uses *coetus* for συναγωγή at *Act.* 13,42-3; *Iac.* 2,2. In *Annot.*, he also suggests *congregatione*: see on *Act.* 5,11. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

36 *sermo* ὁ λόγος ("verbum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

36 *profectus est* ἐξῆλθεν ("processit" Vg.). A similar substitution of *proficiscor* occurs at *Mt.* 15,18. Sometimes Erasmus retains *procedo* for this Greek verb. His translation resembles that of Ambrosiaster, who had *profectum est* (agreeing with *verbum*). Lefèvre had *prouenit*.

36 *An* (2nd.) ἤ ("aut" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 11,22.

36 *incidit* κατήντησεν ("peruenit" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 10,11. By making this alteration, Erasmus removes the symmetry of the Greek metaphor, which refers to the word as "setting out" and "arriving". Lefèvre put *descendit*.

37 *agnoscat* ἐπιγινωσκέτω ("cognoscat" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,43.

37 *quod ... sint* ὅτι ... εἰσίν ("quia ... sunt" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti put *quod ... sunt*, and Lefèvre *quoniam ... sunt*.

ἐντολαί· ³⁸εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, ἀγνο-
εἴτω. ³⁹ὥστε, ἀδελφοί, ζηλοῦτε τὸ
προφητεύειν, καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν γλώσ-
σαις μὴ κωλύετε. ⁴⁰πάντα εὐσχημό-
νως, καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω.

15 Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ
εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην
ὑμῖν, ὃ καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν ᾧ καὶ
ἑστήκατε, ²δι' οὗ καὶ σώσεσθε, τίνι
λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, εἰ κατέ-
χετε, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῇ ἐπιστεύσατε.
³παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ
καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέ-
θανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν,
κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· ⁴καὶ ὅτι ἐτά-
φη, καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ τρίτῃ
ἡμέρᾳ, κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· ⁵καὶ ὅτι
ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα· |

praecepta: ³⁸caeterum si quis ignorat,
ignoret. ³⁹Proinde fratres ad id enita-
mini, vt prophetetis, et loqui linguis
ne vetueritis. ⁴⁰Omnia decenter, et
secundum ordinem fiant.

15 Notum autem vobis facio fra-
tres, euangelium quod euange-
lizaui vobis, quod et accepistis, in quo
et statis, ²per quod et salutem con-
sequimini: quo pacto annunciarim
vobis, si tenetis, nisi frustra credidi-
stis. ³Tradidi enim vobis in primis,
quod et acceperam: quod Christus
mortuus fuerit pro peccatis nostris,
secundum scripturas: ⁴et quod sepul-
tus sit, et quod resurrexerit tertio die,
secundum scripturas: ⁵et quod visus
sit Cephae, deinde duodecim illis: |

15,2 σωσεσθε *D E*: σωζεσθε *A-C* | ει μη *Aᶜ B-E*: εμη *A**

39 vetueritis *B-E*: prohibeatis *A*
15,2 salutem consequimini *B-E*: salui estis *A* | 3 acceperam *B-E*: accepistis *A* | 5 illis *B-E*: om. *A*

37 *praecepta* ἐντολαί ("mandata" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 11,57.

38 *caeterum si quis* εἰ δέ τις ("Si quis autem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2.

38 *ignoret* ἀγνοείτω ("ignorabitur" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the future passive lacks support from Greek mss., though some mss. have ἀγνο-εῖται (present passive), as in codd. א* A*ᵛⁱᵈ (D*) 048 and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ אᶜᵒʳʳ Aᶜᵒʳʳ B Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.*, and also the *Apologia contra Iacobi Latomi dialogum, LB* IX, 88 D-E. It is evident that one or other of these two read-ings, which differ only in their suffix, could easily have been produced by an accidental al-teration of spelling. With regard to the apostle's style, it has been suggested that the transition from active to passive represented by ἀγνοεῖ ἀγνοεῖται resembles the use of ἔγνω (or ἔγνωκε) ... ἔγνωσται at 1 *Cor.* 8,2-3. However, at that passage there is no direct connection between the clauses which contain these verbs.

Comparison may also be made with ἐπιγνώ-σομαι ... ἐπεγνώσθην at 1 *Cor.* 13,12, and γνόντες ... γνωσθέντες at *Gal.* 4,9, but neither of these includes a conditional clause. From a stylistic point of view, the other reading (εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, ἀγνοείτω) has a more convincing precedent in Pauline usage, as it closely matches the pattern of 1 *Cor.* 7,15 (εἰ δὲ ὁ ἄπιστος χω-ρίζεται, χωριζέσθω), making use of the present tense indicative and imperative of the same verb in a tightly connected sequence. Further, the use of ἀγνοείτω seems better suited to the present context, and more symmetrical, in view of the similar sequence of a conditional clause and an imperative in the previous sentence (εἴ τις δοκεῖ ... ἐπιγινωσκέτω). Valla *Annot.* proposed the same change as Erasmus, while Lefèvre put *esto ignoret.*

39 *Proinde* ὥστε ("Itaque" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17. Lefèvre had *Quare.*

39 *ad id enitamini, vt prophetetis* ζηλοῦτε τὸ προφητεύειν ("aemulamini prophetare" Vg.). Cod. 2815, by an itacistic error, has ζηλοῦται.

Apart from the ambiguity of *aemulor*, another problem with the Vulgate use of this word is that, in classical authors, it is usually accompanied by a noun rather than a second verb. For Erasmus' removal of *aemulor* elsewhere, see on 1 *Cor.* 12,31. Lefèvre put *zelate prophetare*.

39 *ne vetueritis* μὴ κωλύετε ("nolite prohibere" Vg.; "ne prohibeatis" 1516). For *ne*, see on *Rom.* 11,18, and for *veto*, see on *Act.* 8,36. Manetti had *ne prohibete*.

40 *Omnia* πάντα ("Omnia autem" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of δέ, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B (D F G) 048 and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

40 *decenter* εὐσχημόνως ("honeste" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,13.

40 *fiant* γινέσθω ("fiant in vobis" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition is unsupported by Greek mss.: see *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

15,1 *euangelizaui* εὐηγγελισάμην ("praedicaui" Vg.). This substitution was the opposite of Erasmus' usual tendency, which was to replace *euangelizo* with *annuncio* or *praedico*: see on *Act.* 5,42. In this instance, his translation retained the character of the Greek expression τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην, in which the noun and verb share the same stem. Manetti and Lefèvre again made the same change.

2 *salutem consequimini* σώσεσθε ("saluamini" Vg.; "salui estis" 1516). See on 1 *Cor.* 1,18. The Greek future tense found in the 1527-35 editions may have been a printer's error, as it conflicts with the Latin rendering. The reading of virtually all mss. is σώζεσθε, in the present tense.

2 *quo pacto* τίνι λόγῳ ("qua ratione" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus uses *quo pacto* to render πῶς at 2 *Cor.* 9,4; 1 *Thess.* 3,5. This substitution, however, contributes little towards the clarification of this difficult passage. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *quo sermone*, placed after *si tenetis*.

2 *annunciarim* εὐηγγελισάμην ("praedicauerim" Vg.). See on vs. 1. It would have been more consistent if Erasmus had put *euangelizauerim*, as rendered by Manetti. The version of Lefèvre, similarly, was *euangelizaui*.

2 *si tenetis* εἰ κατέχετε. In *Annot.*, Erasmus deduces from the commentary of Ambrosiaster

that some Greek mss. had a different reading here. Ambrosiaster's use of *debetis tenere* (not *tenere debetis*, as cited by Erasmus) corresponds with ὀφείλετε κατέχειν in codd. D* (F G). Erasmus' Basle mss. all had εἰ κατέχετε here. Manetti put *si teneatis*.

3 *acceperam* παρέλαβον ("accepi" Vg.; "accepistis" 1516 Lat.). The use of the second person plural in the 1516 Latin rendering was perhaps caused by unconscious harmonisation with *accepistis* in vs. 1. The substitution of the pluperfect tense, in 1519, was more appropriate to the context.

3 *quod ... mortuus fuerit* ὅτι ... ἀπέθανεν ("quoniam ... mortuus est" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti put *quod ... mortuus est*. Lefèvre's version was *quod ... mortem subiit*, placing the last two words after *nostris*.

3 Χριστός. Cod. 2815 adds ὁ before Χριστός, with little other ms. support.

4 *quod sepultus sit* ὅτι ἐτάφη ("quia sepultus est" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti put *quod sepultus est*, and Lefèvre *quod sepultus fuit*.

4 *quod resurrexerit* ὅτι ἐγήγερται ("quia resurrexit" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). See again on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti had *quod surrexit*, and Lefèvre just *resurrexit*.

4 *tertio* τρίτῃ ("tertia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,29 for the gender of *dies*.

5 *quod visus sit* ὅτι ὤφθη ("quia visus est" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti put *quod apparuit*, and Lefèvre *quod visus est*.

5 *deinde* εἶτα ("et post hoc" late Vg.; "et post haec" Vg. mss.). The Vulgate wording corresponds with καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα in codd. D* F G. A few other mss., commencing with ℵ A, have ἔπειτα, perhaps influenced by the use of that word in vss. 6-7. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the text as καὶ εἶτα. Lefèvre made the same change of rendering as Erasmus, while Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *postea*.

5 *duodecim illis* τοῖς δώδεκα ("vndecim" Vg.; "duodecim" 1516). The Vulgate corresponds with τοῖς ἕνδεκα in codd. D* F G and thirteen other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 301-4), probably arising from a misguided rationalisation of the text, to take account of the fact that Judas, who was one of the "twelve", was not a witness of the Resurrection. In *Annot.*, citing Augustine *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* I, 117 (*CCSL* 33, pp. 43-4), Erasmus approves of the view that Paul's reference to the

⁶ἔπειτα ὤφθη ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις
ἀδελφοῖς ἐφάπαξ· ἐξ ὧν οἱ πλείους
μένουσιν ἕως ἄρτι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐκοι-
μήθησαν· ⁷ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ,
εἶτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν, ⁸ἔσχα-
τον δὲ πάντων ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώ-
ματι ὤφθη κἀμοί. ⁹ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ
ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὃς οὐκ
εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος, δι-
ότι ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ·
¹⁰χάριτι δὲ θεοῦ εἰμι ὅ εἰμι. καὶ ἡ
χάρις αὐτοῦ ἡ εἰς ἐμέ, οὐ κενὴ
ἐγενήθη, ἀλλὰ περισσότερον αὐτῶν
πάντων ἐκοπίασα· οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ,
ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοί.

⁶postea visus est plus quam quingen-
tis fratribus simul: ex quibus plures
manent ad hunc vsque diem, quidam
autem et obdormierunt: ⁷deinde visus
est Iacobo, post apostolis omnibus,
⁸postremo vero omnium velut abor-
tiuo visus est et mihi. ⁹Ego enim
sum minimus apostolorum: qui non
sum idoneus vt dicar apostolus, pro-
pterea quod persequutus sum ecclesi-
am dei: ¹⁰sed gratia dei sum id quod
sum. Et gratia eius quae profecta est
in me non fuit inanis, sed copiosius
quam illi omnes laboraui: non ego
tamen, sed gratia dei quae mihi adest.

6 και B-E: om. A | 9 ο B-E: om. A

6 simul C-E: semel A B | ad hunc vsque B-E: vsque ad hunc A | obdormierunt B-E:
dormierunt A | 9 alt. sum B-E: om. A | tert. sum D E: sim A-C

"twelve" was an example of synecdoche. In the 1519 rendering, he added *illis*, to convey the force of the Greek article, which marked out the "twelve" as uniquely referring to the apostles, rather than just a group of twelve unidentified witnesses. Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition. Ambrosiaster put *illis vndecim*.

6 *postea* ἔπειτα ("deinde" Vg.). This change is for stylistic variety. Usually Erasmus renders both ἔπειτα and εἶτα by *deinde*. His attempt to introduce a small distinction of meaning in this chapter was not carried out in a consistent manner, as he renders εἶτα by *post* in vs. 7 and *mox* in vs. 24 (1519), but has *deinde* for the same Greek word in vs. 5. Lefèvre had *praeterea* here.

6 *simul* ἐφάπαξ ("semel" 1516-19). The use of *semel* in 1516-19, and also in the version of Lefèvre, accorded with the Vulgate rendering of ἐφάπαξ at *Rom.* 6,10; *Hebr.* 7,27; 9,12; 10,10. However, *semel* was ambiguous as it could mean "once" as well as "simultaneously". In the 1522 edition, and also in the separate Latin edition of 1521, Erasmus restored *simul* ("together" or "at the same time"). See *Annot.*

6 *plures* οἱ πλείους ("multi" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here: see *Annot.* Some mss., commencing with א A B D F G 048ᵛⁱᵈ, have

οἱ πλείονες, but with no difference of meaning. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. This change agreed with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *ad hunc vsque diem* ἕως ἄρτι ("vsque adhuc" Vg.; "vsque ad hunc diem" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 2,10. Lefèvre put *hucusque*.

6 *autem et* δὲ καί ("autem" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of καί, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ א* Aᵛⁱᵈ B D* F G and a few later mss. In 1516, Erasmus' Greek text likewise omitted καί, in conflict with his accompanying Latin translation. Since his Basle mss. all contain καί, the 1516 omission may have been influenced by the Vulgate, or was possibly just an accident. The word is found in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817, as well as א ᶜᵒʳʳ Aᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ 048 and most later mss. The version of Lefèvre had *etiam*, omitting *autem*.

6 *obdormierunt* ἐκοιμήθησαν ("dormierunt" 1516 = Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 18 (1519); 1 *Thess.* 4,13-14 (1519); 2 *Petr.* 3,4 (1527), in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Act.* 7,60. In *Annot.*, Erasmus mentions the objection that the Vulgate use of the perfect tense, *dormierunt* ("have slept"), implied that those who had been asleep had now woken up. This point is also made in *Annot.* on 1 *Thess.* 4,15.

7 *post* εἶτα ("deinde" Vg.). See on vs. 6. In cod. 1 and some other mss., εἶτα is replaced by a repetition of ἔπειτα, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A F G 048. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 2105, 2816, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ B D and most later mss. Here Manetti used *tum ... deinceps* for ἔπειτα ... εἶτα, while Lefèvre put *insuper ... deinde*.

8 *postremo* ἔσχατον ("nouissime" Vg.). Erasmus may have disliked the expression *nouissime ... omnium* because of the combination of adverb and noun. Since *postremo* can be taken either as an adverb or as an adjective agreeing with *mihi*, it produces a more elegant turn of phrase. For the substitution of *postremus* for *nouissimus* at several other passages, see on 1 *Cor.* 4,9. However, Erasmus retains *nouissime omnium* in rendering ὕστερον πάντων at *Mt.* 22,27; *Lc.* 20,32. At the present passage, the change made by Erasmus was anticipated by Manetti.

8 *velut* ὡσπερεί ("tanquam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

9 ὁ ἐλάχιστος. The omission of ὁ in 1516 was not prompted by any of Erasmus' mss. at Basle, and was probably accidental.

9 *sum* (2nd.) εἰμί (omitted in 1516 Lat.). The 1516 omission, again, was probably unintentional.

9 *idoneus* ἱκανός ("dignus" Vg.). A similar substitution of *idoneus* ("fit" or "suitable") occurs in rendering ἱκανός at *Mt.* 3,11; 8,8; *Mc.* 1,7, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 2,16; 2 *Tim.* 2,2. Cf. also the replacement of *dignus* by *idoneus* in rendering ἱκανόω at *Col.* 1,12. Inconsistently Erasmus retains *dignus* for the same Greek word at *Lc.* 3,16; 7,6. Elsewhere he usually reserves *dignus* ("worthy") for ἄξιος. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti put *sufficiens*.

9 *vt dicar* καλεῖσθαι ("vocari" Vg.). Erasmus prefers *dignus* and *idoneus* to be followed by a consecutive clause (introduced by *vt* or *qui*) rather than an infinitive: other substitutions of this kind occur at *Mt.* 3,11; *Mc.* 1,7; *Act.* 5,41; 2 *Tim.* 2,2. However, he retains the infinitive after *dignus* at *Lc.* 15,19, 21; *Act.* 13,25. Both usages occur in classical Latin idiom. In *Annot.*, he suggested *qui vocer*. His substitution of *dico* here may have been intended to make clear that this referred to the name or title of apostle, rather than the heavenly "calling" by which Paul was designated for apostolic office.

9 *propterea quod persequutus sum* διότι ἐδίωξα ("quoniam persecutus sum" Vg.; "propterea quod persecutus sim" 1516-22). See on *Rom.* 1,19, and also on *Ioh.* 1,20.

10 *sed gratia* χάριτι δέ ("gratia autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti had *per gratiam autem*.

10 *quae profecta est in me* ἡ εἰς ἐμέ ("in me" Vg.). Erasmus' use of a verb of motion, *proficiscor*, is less suitable for application to abstract nouns such as *gratia*, though he elsewhere uses this verb with *gloria* at *Ioh.* 5,44 (1519: see *ad loc.*), and with *persuasio* at *Gal.* 5,8 (1519). More correctly, the prepositional phrase εἰς ἐμέ expresses relationship rather than physical movement. Accordingly, in *Annot.*, Erasmus renders as *gratia illius erga me* or *fauor quem in me praestitit.* Valla *Annot.* suggested *quae est in me*, and Lefèvre *quae in me est*.

10 *non fuit inanis* οὐ κενὴ ἐγενήθη ("vacua non fuit" Vg.). Erasmus' adoption of *inanis* is consistent with Vulgate usage e.g. in vss. 14 and 58. See also on *Rom.* 4,14, and *Annot.* The substitution of *inanis* was also recommended by Valla *Annot.*, and Lefèvre accordingly had *inanis non fuit*.

10 *copiosius* περισσότερον ("abundantius" Vg.). At 2 *Cor.* 11,23 (a), Erasmus uses *copiosius* to replace *plurimis*, in rendering περισσοτέρως. At other passages, he replaces *abundantius* by *vberius* at 2 *Cor.* 7,13; *Phil.* 1,14; by *vehementius* at 1 *Thess.* 2,17; *Hebr.* 2,1; by *vehementer* at *Gal.* 1,14; by *maiorem in modum* at 2 *Cor.* 7,15; and by other expressions at 1 *Thess.* 3,10; 5,13; *Hebr.* 6,17. Erasmus retains *abundantius* for περισσόν at *Ioh.* 10,10, and for περισσοτέρως at 2 *Cor.* 1,12; 2,4; 11,23 (b). See further on *vberior* and *copiosior* at 1 *Cor.* 12,23-4. For Erasmus' removal of *abundo* and *abundantia* at a number of passages, see on *Rom.* 3,7.

10 *quam illi omnes* αὐτῶν πάντων ("illis omnibus" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 1,25. Manetti put *his omnibus*.

10 *tamen* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre put *quidem*.

10 *quae mihi adest* ἡ σὺν ἐμοί ("mecum" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of ἡ, as in codd. ℵ * B D* F G 0270* and a few later mss. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ A D ᶜᵒʳʳ 0270 ᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. In 1516-22 *Annot.*, possibly by confusion with the earlier

¹¹ εἴτε οὖν ἐγώ, εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι, οὕτως κηρύσσομεν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε.

¹² Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται, πῶς λέγουσί τινες ἐν ὑμῖν ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν; ¹³ εἰ δὲ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται. ¹⁴ εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν. ¹⁵ εὑρισκόμεθα δὲ καὶ ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἤγειρε τὸν Χριστόν, ὃν οὐκ ἤγειρεν, εἴπερ ἄρα νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται. ¹⁶ εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται. ¹⁷ εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, ματαία ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν· ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν. ¹⁸ ἄρα καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀπώλοντο. ¹⁹ εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἠλπικότες ἐσμὲν ἐν Χριστῷ μόνον, ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν.

¹¹ Siue igitur ego, siue illi, sic praedicamus, et sic credidistis.

¹² Quod si Christus praedicatur a mortuis resurrexisse, quomodo dicunt quidam inter vos non esse resurrectionem mortuorum? ¹³ Porro si resurrectio mortuorum non est, ne Christus quidem resurrexit. ¹⁴ Quod si Christus non resurrexit, inanis videlicet est praedicatio nostra, inanis autem est et fides vestra. ¹⁵ Reperimur autem et falsi testes dei, quoniam testificati sumus de deo, quod excitauerit Christum, quem non excitauit, si videlicet mortui non resurgunt. ¹⁶ Etenim si mortui non resurgunt, ne Christus quidem resurrexit. ¹⁷ Quod si Christus non resurrexit, superuacanea est fides vestra: adhuc estis in peccatis vestris. ¹⁸ Igitur et qui obdormierunt in Christo, perierunt. ¹⁹ Si in vita hac spem in Christo tantum fixam habemus, maxime miserabiles omnium hominum sumus.

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12 non esse resurrectionem mortuorum *B-E*: quod resurrectio mortuorum non est *A* | 15 testificati *A C-E*: testati *B* | si videlicet *B-E*: siquidem *A* | 18 obdormierunt *B-E*: dormierunt *A* | 19 maxime miserabiles omnium hominum *B-E*: miserabiliores omnibus hominibus *A*

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part of the verse, Erasmus asserts that some mss. have ἡ εἰς ἐμέ. This reading was in fact exhibited by 𝔓⁴⁶. Valla *Annot.* proposed *quae est mecum*, and Lefèvre *quae mecum est.*

11 *igitur* οὖν ("enim" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' correction agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

11 *praedicamus* κηρύσσομεν ("praedicauimus" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The perfect tense of the late Vulgate has minimal support from Greek mss., and was perhaps influenced by the tense of the following verb, *credidistis*. Cf. *Annot.* The rendering adopted by Erasmus is the same as that of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

11 ἐπιστεύσατε. Cod. 2815 has πιστεύσατε, with ℵ* and a few later mss.

12 *Quod si* Εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25.

12 *a mortuis resurrexisse* ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται ("quod resurrexit a mortuis" Vg.). Erasmus adopts the accusative and infinitive construction, probably to prevent *quod* from being misunderstood as introducing a causal statement. Manetti put *quod resurrexerit a mortuis*, and Lefèvre *quod a mortuis surrexit.*

12 *dicunt quidam inter vos* λέγουσί τινες ἐν ὑμῖν ("quidam dicunt in vobis" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order lacks Greek ms. support, though some mss. place τινες after ἐν ὑμῖν. For *inter*, see on *Ioh.* 15,24. Erasmus has the same wording as Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *quidam inter vos dicunt*, and Lefèvre *asserunt quidam in vobis.*

12 *non esse resurrectionem mortuorum* ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ("quoniam resurrectio

mortuorum non est" Vg.; "quod resurrectio mortuorum non est" 1516). Erasmus again uses the accusative and infinitive, consistent with his change of construction in the first half of the sentence. Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

13 *Porro si* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16. Lefèvre had *Siquidem*.

13 *ne Christus quidem* οὐδὲ Χριστός ("neque Christus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,5. The same change occurs in vs. 16.

14 *Quod si* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25. Lefèvre put *Si vero*.

14 *videlicet est* ἄρα ("est" late Vg.; "ergo est" or "est ergo" Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate omission of *ergo* lacks Greek ms. support. Codd. 1 and 2815 add καί after ἄρα, supported by ℵ* A D F G and many other mss. Manetti had *est certe*, and Lefèvre *igitur est*.

14 *autem* δέ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* F G 0270 and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also D^corr and most later mss. The version of Manetti made the same change, while Lefèvre put *etiam*.

14 ὑμῶν. Cod. 2815 has ἡμῶν, with codd. B D* 0270* and some later mss.

15 *Reperimur* εὑρισκόμεθα ("Inuenimur" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,41.

15 *testificati sumus* ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν ("testimonium diximus" Vg.; "testati sumus" 1519). See on *Ioh.* 1,7. The wording *testificati sumus*, which Erasmus had originally adopted in 1516, reappeared in the separate Latin N.T. of 1521 and the later folio editions. The same rendering had previously been used by Manetti and Lefèvre.

15 *de deo* κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ("aduersus deum" Vg.). The use of *de* ("concerning") appears better suited to the context, though such a meaning would normally have been expressed in Greek by περί rather than κατά. Lefèvre had *contra deum*.

15 *excitauerit ... excitauit* ἤγειρε ... ἤγειρεν ("suscitauerit ... suscitauit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 17,31. Lefèvre put *suscitauit* (twice).

15 *si videlicet* εἴπερ ἄρα ("si" Vg.; "siquidem" 1516). The Vulgate omission is supported by just two late mss., which omit ἄρα (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 307-10). Lefèvre put *si nequaquam* for *si ... non*.

16 *Etenim si* εἰ γάρ ("Nam si" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *Si enim*, and Manetti *Si ergo*.

16 *ne Christus quidem* οὐδὲ Χριστός ("neque Christus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,5. Manetti put *nec Christus*.

17 *superuacanea* ματαία ("vana" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Tit.* 3,9 (1519). Erasmus retains *vanus* for μάταιος at *Act.* 14,15; 1 *Cor.* 3,20; *Iac.* 1,26; 1 *Petr.* 1,18.

17 *adhuc* ἔτι ("adhuc enim" Vg.). The Vulgate addition has little support from Greek mss. (though cf. the replacement of ἔτι by ὅτι in cod. 2105). See *Annot.* The passage is accordingly listed in the *Quae Sint Addita*. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus.

18 *Igitur* ἄρα ("Ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Lefèvre again made the same change.

18 *qui obdormierunt* οἱ κοιμηθέντες ("qui dormierunt" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 6.

19 *vita hac* τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ("hac vita" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order.

19 *spem in Christo tantum fixam habemus* ἠλπικότες ἐσμὲν ἐν Χριστῷ μόνον ("tantum in Christo sperantes sumus" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to convey more accurately the sense of the Greek perfect participle. For his avoidance of the present participle coupled with an auxiliary verb, cf. on *Ioh.* 1,28. Other instances of *spem fixam habeo* occur at 2 *Cor.* 1,10 (1519); 1 *Tim.* 4,10. By repositioning *tantum*, Erasmus restricts the meaning to "only in Christ" rather than "only in this life", whereas the latter sense is the one required by the context and which he favours in *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *qui in Christo sperauimus, sumus solum*.

19 *maxime miserabiles omnium hominum sumus* ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν ("miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus" Vg.; "miserabiliores omnibus hominibus sumus" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that the Greek comparative adjective is here the equivalent of a superlative. The Vulgate word-order corresponds with the transposition of ἐσμέν before πάντων in cod. D, but is probably only a matter of translation. Lefèvre put *miseriores omnibus hominibus sumus* (in Manetti's version, the scribe of *Urb. Lat.* 6 accidentally omitted *sumus* at this point).

²⁰ Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο. ²¹ ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου ὁ θάνατος, καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν. ²² ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται· ²³ ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι· ἀ | παρχὴ Χριστός, ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ· ²⁴ εἶτα τὸ τέλος, ὅταν παραδῷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί, ὅταν καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν· ²⁵ δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ· ²⁶ ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος. ²⁷ πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ ὅτι πάντα ὑποτέτακται, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

²⁰ Nunc autem Christus surrexit ex mortuis, primitiae eorum qui dormierant, fuit. ²¹ Postquam enim per hominem mors, etiam per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. ²² Quemadmodum enim per Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et per Christum omnes viuificabuntur: ²³ vnusquisque autem | in proprio ordine: primitiae Christus, deinde ii qui sunt Christi in aduentu ipsius: ²⁴ mox finis, quum tradiderit regnum deo et patri quum aboleuerit omnem principatum et omnem potestatem ac virtutem: ²⁵ nam oportet eum regnare, donec posuerit omnes inimicos sub pedes suos: ²⁶ nouissimus hostis aboletur mors. ²⁷ Nam omnia subiecit sub pedes illius. Atqui quum dicat, quod omnia subiecta sint, palam est, excipiendum eum qui subiecit illi omnia.

LB 737

LB 738

27 ὅτι A C-E: οἱ B

20 ex B-E: a A | dormierant B-E: dormierunt A | 22 prius per B-E: in A | per Christum B-E: in Christo A | 23 ipsius B-E: illius A | 24 mox B-E: deinde A | ac B-E: et A | 27 excipiendum B-E: quod praeter A | subiecit B-E: subiicit A

20 surrexit ἐγήγερται ("resurrexit" Vg.). See on Rom. 7,4. Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

20 ex ἐκ ("a" 1516 = Vg.). See on Ioh. 2,22.

20 eorum qui dormierant τῶν κεκοιμημένων ("dormientium" Vg.; "eorum qui dormierunt" 1516). Erasmus translates the Greek participle more accurately. Cf. on 1 Thess. 4,13.

20 fuit ἐγένετο (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* F G 0270ᵛⁱᵈ and thirty-one other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 550 later mss. (see Aland Die Paulinischen Briefe vol. 2, pp. 311-13). In Annot., however, he expresses the opinion that the word was a later addition. Another possibility is that a few early scribes took it upon themselves to delete this verb because

they deemed it superfluous to the sense. Manetti and Lefèvre both put factus est.

21 Postquam enim ἐπειδὴ γάρ ("Quoniam quidem" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "Quoniam enim" other Vg. mss.). See on 1 Cor. 1,21 for postquam. In restoring the more literal enim, Erasmus has support from some mss. of the earlier Vulgate. See Annot. The version of Manetti put quoniam certe, and Lefèvre quandoquidem.

21 etiam καί ("et" Vg.). See on Ioh. 6,36, and Annot., for Erasmus' more emphatic rendering.

22 Quemadmodum enim ὥσπερ γάρ ("Et sicut" Vg.). The Vulgate use of et has minimal support from Greek mss. For quemadmodum, see on Rom. 1,13. See also Annot. The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti had Sicut enim, and Lefèvre nam quemadmodum.

22 *per Adam ... per Christum* ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ ... ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ("in Adam ... in Christo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17, and *Annot.*

23 *proprio* ἰδίῳ ("suo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,11. Manetti and Lefèvre both made this change.

23 *ii* οἱ ("hi" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,12. The reading *ii* occurs in some late Vulgate editions, and also in both columns of Lefèvre.

23 *in aduentu ipsius* ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ("qui in aduentu eius crediderunt" 1516 *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. 1527; "qui in aduentum eius crediderunt" 1519-35 *Annot.*, lemma; "in aduentu illius" 1516). The late Vulgate wording corresponds with οἱ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίσαντες in codd. F G. See *Annot.* In Erasmus' rendering, the substitution of the reflexive *ipsius* was scarcely necessary. Manetti put *et in aduentum suum crediderunt.* Lefèvre had *in aduentum eius* in his main translation and accompanying Vulgate column, but *in aduentu eius* in *Comm.*, as in the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Valla *Annot.*

24 *mox* εἶτα ("deinde" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 6. Lefèvre had *Postea.*

24 *aboleuerit* καταργήσῃ ("euacuauerit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *sustulerit.*

24 *omnem* (2nd.) πᾶσαν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission has little support from Greek mss. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus.

24 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Lefèvre again made the same change.

25 *nam oportet* δεῖ γάρ ("Oportet autem" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering lacks Greek ms. support. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, while Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *Oportet enim.*

25 *eum* αὐτόν ("illum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,28. The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti preferred *ipsum.*

25 *posuerit* θῇ ("ponat" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,38 for Erasmus' use of the future perfect tense after *donec.*

25 *sub pedes suos* ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ("sub pedibus eius" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate in his use of the accusative after *sub*: see on *Rom.* 7,14. By replacing *eius* with the reflexive pronoun, *suos*, he seems to limit the subject of the verb to Christ, rather than the Father. Manetti put *sub pedibus suis.*

26 *nouissimus hostis* ἔσχατος ἐχθρός ("Nouissime autem inimica" late Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *autem* lacks Greek ms. support. Further, the incorrect substitution of *nouissime*, an adverb, is pointed out in *Annot.* and cited among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata.* In replacing *inimica* with *hostis*, Erasmus accepts the objection raised by Valla *Annot.*, on the grounds that death could not rightly be said to display personal hatred or enmity. Manetti put *vltima inimica*, and Lefèvre *nouissimus inimicus.*

26 *aboletur* καταργεῖται ("destruetur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6. Lefèvre had *tollitur.*

27 *Nam omnia* πάντα γάρ ("Omnia enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

27 *sub pedes* ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ("sub pedibus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,14. The same change occurs in vs. 25, above.

27 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). By contrast with vs. 25, the pronoun used by Erasmus clearly indicates that the subject of *subiecit* is the Father. Manetti, however, preferred *suis.*

27 *Atqui quum* ὅταν δέ ("Cum autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,26.

27 *quod omnia subiecta sint* ὅτι πάντα ὑποτέτακται ("Omnia subiecta sunt ei" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ). The Vulgate may reflect the omission of ὅτι, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ B and a few later mss. The insertion of *ei*, found in many Vulgate mss. (but not in cod. Sangermanensis or Vgˢᵗ), corresponds with the addition of αὐτῷ in codd. F G. The version of Manetti put *quod omnia subiecta sunt*, and Lefèvre *quod omnia subiecta sunt ei.*

27 *palam est* δῆλον ὅτι ("sine dubio" Vg.; "palam est quod" 1516). Erasmus is more accurate here: see *Annot.* For his avoidance of *sine*, see also on *Ioh.* 8,7. Erasmus also used *palam* to replace *manifestum* in rendering δῆλον at *Gal.* 3,11. At 1 *Tim.* 6,7, he renders δῆλον ὅτι by *videlicet*, replacing *haud dubium quia.* Manetti had *manifestum est quod*, and Lefèvre *dilucidum est quod.*

27 *excipiendum* ἐκτός ("praeter" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus substitutes a verb, for the sake of clarity: see *Annot.*

27 *qui subiecit* τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος ("qui subiicit" 1516 Lat.). The present tense of the 1516 Latin rendering was perhaps a printer's error.

27 *illi* αὐτῷ ("ei" Vg.). See on *illius*, earlier in this verse.

²⁸ ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἵνα ᾖ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

²⁹ Ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται; τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; ³⁰ τί καὶ ἡμεῖς κινδυνεύομεν πᾶσαν ὥραν; ³¹ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνῄσκω, νὴ τὴν ἡμετέραν καύχησιν, ἣν ἔχω ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. ³² εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος, εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται; φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνῄσκομεν. ³³ μὴ πλανᾶσθε. φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί. ³⁴ ἐκνήψατε δικαίως, καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε·

²⁸ Quum autem subiecta fuerint illi omnia, tunc et ipse filius subiicietur ei qui illi subiecit omnia, vt sit deus omnia in omnibus.

²⁹ Alioqui quid facient ii qui baptizantur pro mortuis, si omnino mortui non resurgunt? Cur et baptizantur pro mortuis? ³⁰ Quid et nos periclitamur omni tempore? ³¹ In dies morior per nostram gloriationem, quam habeo in Christo Iesu domino nostro. ³² Si secundum hominem cum bestiis depugnaui Ephesi, quae mihi vtilitas, si mortui non resurgunt? Edamus et bibamus, cras enim morimur. ³³ Ne decipiamini. Mores bonos colloquia corrumpunt mala. ³⁴ Expergiscimini iuste, et ne peccetis:

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29 Cur ... mortuis? *E: om. A**, Cur et baptizantur pro illis? *Aᶜ B-D*

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28 *subiicietur* ὑποταγήσεται ("subiectus erit" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the exact form of the Greek verb.

28 *ei qui illi subiecit* τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ ("illi qui subiecit sibi" late Vg.). Erasmus, again, is more consistent in his use of pronouns, using *illi* to refer to Christ. He has the same wording as Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *ei qui sibi subiecit*, and Lefèvre *illi qui subiecit ei*.

29 *Alioqui* Ἐπεί ("Alioquin" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,22. Lefèvre put *Caeterum*.

29 *ii qui* οἱ ("qui" Vg.). Erasmus adds a pronoun to complete the sense.

29 *Cur* τί ("vt quid" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,26. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put just *quid*, which was the rendering preferred by Erasmus in vs. 30, below.

29 *mortuis* (2nd.) τῶν νεκρῶν ("illis" 1516 errata and 1519-27 = Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of αὐτῶν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* F G and some other mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. In preparing the errata to the 1516 edition, it

was necessary to rectify the mistaken omission of the whole sentence from the Latin version. However, a further discrepancy was produced by inserting *illis* from the Vulgate, instead of *mortuis* as required by the accompanying Greek text. This error remained unnoticed in Erasmus' first four editions. The reading τῶν νεκρῶν has sometimes been explained as a harmonisation with the use of the same phrase in the previous sentence. If, however, this wording were a genuine repetition for the sake of emphasis, some scribes might have wished to emend it because they considered it to be an unnecessary duplication of words. Manetti and Lefèvre likewise adopted *mortuis*.

30 *Quid* τί ("Vt quid" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 7,26 for the removal of *vt quid*. This change was partly for stylistic variety, as in vs. 29 *vt quid* was replaced by *cur*. The wording of Erasmus is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

30 *tempore* ὥραν ("hora" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,35.

31 *In dies* καθ' ἡμέραν ("Cotidie" Vg.). Cf. Erasmus' use of *in dies singulos* for ἡμέρᾳ καὶ

ἡμέρᾳ at 2 *Cor.* 4,16, and *in singulos dies* for τὴν ἡμέραν at *Mt.* 20,2. Usually he retains *quotidie* (or *cotidie*).

31 *per* νή ("propter" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg*ww*). Erasmus explains in *Annot.*, that the Greek word relates to the swearing of an oath, and not to a statement of cause. He accordingly lists this passage among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. This substitution agrees with the wording of other Vulgate mss. (as also adopted by Vg*st*), Valla *Annot.* and Manetti. The rendering of Lefèvre, more intelligibly, replaced *propter* by *testor*.

31 *nostram* τὴν ἡμετέραν ("vestram" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek variant, τὴν ὑμετέραν, attested by codd. 1, 2105, 2815* and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B D F G. The text of Erasmus agrees with codd. 2815*corr*, 2816, 2817, along with cod. A and many later mss. See *Annot.* In favour of the Vulgate wording, it could be argued that ὑμετέραν has the advantage of being a *lectio difficilior*, as well as enjoying more widespread support among the mss. Some scribes may have substituted the first person pronoun, ἡμετέραν, to agree with the following verb, ἔχω, without taking account of the possible interpretation of τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν ἥν ἔχω as meaning "the boasting which I make about you" (cf. τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐλέει, "the mercy which has been shown to you", at *Rom.* 11,31). However, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre all advocated the same change as Erasmus.

31 *gloriationem* καύχησιν ("gloriam, fratres" Vg.). For *gloriatio*, see on *Rom.* 4,2, and *Annot.* The Vulgate addition of *fratres* reflects the insertion of ἀδελφοί after καύχησιν, found in codd. ℵ A B and more than forty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817 in omitting ἀδελφοί, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G and about 540 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 313-15). Interjections of ἀδελφοί are a characteristic feature of Pauline usage. However, the insertion of the word at this point interrupts the close connection between καύχησιν and the relative pronoun ἥν. A question therefore arises as to whether some scribes omitted the word because of this apparent awkwardness. An alternative explanation is that ἀδελφοί was not authentic, but was added later to reinforce ὑμετέραν. The use of *gloriatio* was already proposed by Valla *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was the

same as that of Erasmus, while Manetti had *gloriam*.

32 *cum bestiis depugnaui* ἐθηριομάχησα ("ad bestias pugnaui" Vg.). See on *Act.* 23,9 for another instance of *depugno*. With both *pugno* and *depugno*, the more idiomatic preposition is *cum*, as adopted by Erasmus. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *cum feris ... pugnaui*.

32 *quae mihi vtilitas* τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος ("quid mihi prodest" Vg.). Cod. 2815 incorrectly had ὠφελος for ὄφελος. A similar substitution of *vtilitas* occurs at *Iac.* 2,14, 16, consistent with the Vulgate rendering of τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια at *Rom.* 3,1. Cf. also on 1 *Cor.* 13,3. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre (except that Lefèvre had *michi* for *mihi*).

32 *Edamus* φάγωμεν ("Manducemus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31. Lefèvre again made the same change.

32 *morimur* ἀποθνήσκομεν ("moriemur" Vg.). Erasmus more accurately renders the Greek present tense. See *Annot.* The same correction was proposed by Valla *Annot.*

33 *Ne decipiamini* μὴ πλανᾶσθε ("Nolite seduci" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,11 for *decipio*. For *ne*, see on *Ioh.* 5,14. Manetti put *Ne seducamini*, and Lefèvre *Nolite errare*.

33 *Mores bonos colloquia corrumpunt mala* φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί ("Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala" Vg.). Erasmus changes the Latin word-order to obtain a metric rhythm (i.e. an iambic senarius) suited to this poetic quotation: see *Annot.* For another "poetic" rendering, see on *Act.* 17,28. The version of Manetti was *Corrumpunt bonos mores conuersationes malae*, and Lefèvre *corrumpunt probos mores alloquia praua*. Lefèvre's use of *alloquia* followed a suggestion of Valla *Annot.*

34 *Expergiscimini* ἐκνήψατε ("Euigilate" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in rendering διαγρηγορέω at *Lc.* 9,32. See also on *Act.* 16,27, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *resipiscite*.

34 *iuste* δικαίως ("iusti" late Vg.). The late Vulgate substitution of adjective for adverb is unsupported by Greek mss. Erasmus restores the earlier Vulgate rendering: see *Annot.* The same correction was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

34 *ne peccetis* μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε ("nolite peccare" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18. Manetti anticipated this change.

ἀγνωσίαν γὰρ θεοῦ τινες ἔχουσι. πρὸς
ἐντροπὴν ὑμῖν λέγω.

³⁵ Ἀλλ᾽ ἐρεῖ τις, Πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ
νεκροί; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται; |
³⁶ ἄφρον. σὺ ὃ σπείρεις, οὐ ζωοποιεῖ-
ται, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ. ³⁷ καὶ ὃ σπείρεις,
οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις,
ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κόκκον, εἰ τύχοι, σίτου,
ἤ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν. ³⁸ ὁ δὲ θεὸς
αὐτῷ δίδωσι σῶμα καθὼς ἠθέλησε,
καὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν σπερμάτων τὸ ἴδι-
ον σῶμα. ³⁹ οὐ πᾶσα σάρξ, ἡ αὐτὴ
σάρξ, ἀλλὰ ἄλλη μὲν σὰρξ ἀνθρώ-
πων, ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ κτηνῶν, ἄλλη
δὲ ἰχθύων, ἄλλη δὲ πτηνῶν. ⁴⁰ καὶ
σώματα ἐπουράνια, καὶ σώματα ἐπί-
γεια. ἀλλ᾽ ἑτέρα μὲν ἡ τῶν ἐπουρα-
νίων δόξα, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐπιγείων·

nam ignorationem dei nonnulli ha-
bent. Ad pudorem vobis loquor.
³⁵ At dicet aliquis: Quomodo resur-
gunt mor|tui? Quali autem corpore
venient? ³⁶ Stulte. Tu quod seminas,
non viuificatur, nisi mortuum fuerit.
³⁷ Et hoc quod seminas, non corpus
quod nascetur, seminas, sed nudum
granum, exempli causa, tritici aut ali-
cuius ex caeteris. ³⁸ Sed deus illi dat
corpus vt voluit, et vnicuique semi-
num suum corpus. ³⁹ Non omnis caro,
eadem caro: sed alia quidem caro ho-
minum, alia vero caro pecorum, alia
vero piscium, alia vero volucrium.
⁴⁰ Et sunt corpora coelestia et sunt cor-
pora terrestria. Verum alia quidem coe-
lestium gloria, alia vero terrestrium:

LB 739

LB 740

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36 ζωοποιειται *A E*: ζωοποιειται *B-D* | 39 *alt.* σαρξ *B-E*: σραξ *A* | πτηνων *A B C* D* E**:
πετεινων *C^{ms} D^{ms} E^{ms}*

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34 ignorationem *B-E*: ignorantiam *A* | 35 resurgunt *C-E*: resurgent *A B* | 36 fuerit. *B-E*:
fuerit? *A* | 38 illi *B-E*: illud *A* | 39 volucrium *B-E*: volucrum *A* | 40 coelestia *B-E*: celestia *A*

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34 *nam ignorationem* ἀγνωσίαν γάρ ("ignoran-
tiam enim" Vg.; "nam ignorantiam" 1516). For
nam, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. By substituting *ignoratio*
for *ignorantia*, Erasmus marks a small distinction
between ἀγνωσία and ἀγνόημα. This passage
is the only place where he uses *ignoratio* in the
N.T. He reserves *ignorantia* for ἄγνοια at *Act.*
3,17; 17,30; *Eph.* 4,18; and for ἀγνόημα at
Hebr. 9,7. Lefèvre had the same rendering as
Erasmus' 1516 edition.

34 *nonnulli* τινες ("quidam" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
11,14. With little other ms. support, cod. 2815
had the word-order τινες θεοῦ for θεοῦ τινες.

34 *pudorem* ἐντροπήν ("reuerentiam" Vg.). Eras-
mus is more accurate here: see *Annot.*, and see
also on 1 *Cor.* 6,5. The same change was pro-
posed by Valla *Annot.*, while Lefèvre offered
verecundiam, consistent with Vulgate usage at
1 *Cor.* 6,5.

35 *At* Ἀλλ᾽ ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

35 *resurgunt* ἐγείρονται ("resurgent" 1516-19
= late Vg.). Although Erasmus' substitution of
the present tense in his later editions is more
literal, it produces an inconsistency with his
retention of *venient* later in the sentence. See
Annot. This use of *resurgunt* was introduced
for the first time in the 1521 Latin N.T. The
version of Lefèvre had *resurgunt ... redeunt.*

36 *Stulte* ἄφρον ("Insipiens" Vg.). Erasmus' use
of *stultus* is consistent with the Vulgate transla-
tion of *Lc.* 11,40; 12,20, though he more often
retains *insipiens* for this Greek word. The point
here is that *stulte* more precisely renders the
Greek vocative case. Cf. *Annot.* Some mss.,
beginning with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F G, have the
nominative, ἄφρων. Erasmus follows codd.
2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and
most other late mss. His rendering is identical
with that of Ambrosiaster.

36 *mortuum fuerit* ἀποθάνῃ ("prius moriatur"
Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *prius* corresponds

with the addition of πρῶτον before ἀπο-
θάνῃ in codd. (F) G (cf. ἀποθάνῃ πρῶτον
in cod. D). Erasmus' rendering represents the
Greek aorist more accurately. See *Annot*. The
versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre
had *moriatur*, omitting *prius*.

37 *hoc quod* ὅ ("quid" Vg. 1527). The 1527
Vulgate, following the Froben Vulgates of 1491
and 1514, turns this clause into a question.
Erasmus adds *hoc*, to make a link with the use
of the same phrase, ὃ σπείρεις, in the previ-
ous sentence. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster,
Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns) had *quod*.

37 *quod nascetur* τὸ γενησόμενον ("quod futu-
rum est" Vg.). This substitution is consistent
with the Vulgate use of *nascor* for γίνομαι at
Mt. 21,19, referring to the growth of fruit: see
also on *Ioh*. 8,58.

37 *exempli causa* εἰ τύχοι ("vt puta" Vg.). See
on 1 *Cor*. 14,10, and *Annot*. The version of
Lefèvre had *forsitan*.

37 *ex caeteris* τῶν λοιπῶν ("caeterorum" Vg.).
Erasmus alleviates the sequence of genitives.
Elsewhere, at several passages, he is content to
use a genitive after *aliquis*. Lefèvre put *reliquorum*.

38 *Sed deus* ὁ δὲ θεός ("Deus autem" Vg.). See
on *Ioh*. 1,26.

38 *illi dat* αὐτῷ δίδωσι ("dat illi" Vg.; "illud
dat" 1516 Lat.). The Vulgate reflects the word-
order δίδωσιν αὐτῷ, found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B and
some other mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows
codd. 2815ᶜᵒʳʳ (the work of an early corrector),
alongside 1, 2105, 2816, and also D F G I and
most other mss. His substitution of *illud* in
the 1516 Latin version corresponds with αὐτὸ
δίδωσι in codd. 2815*ᵛⁱᵈ and 2817, apparently
having little or no other ms. support. The 1519
rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.
Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *dat ei*.

38 *vt* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). Usually Erasmus
prefers *quemadmodum* or *sicut* for καθώς. Other
exceptions can be seen at 2 *Cor*. 4,1; 2 *Thess*.
1,3; 1 *Petr*. 4,10, where *vt* replaces *iuxta quod*,
ita vt, and *sicut*, respectively. At the present pas-
sage, Erasmus adopts the rendering of Lefèvre.

38 *voluit* ἠθέλησε ("vult" late Vg. and some
Vg. mss.). The present tense of the late Vulgate
lacks Greek ms. support. In *Annot*., Erasmus
suggests *voluerit*. His adoption of *voluit* in his
continuous text agreed with some earlier mss.
of the Vulgate, and also with the wording of

Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot*., Manetti and Lefèvre
Comm., though Lefèvre's main rendering had
ordinauit.

38 *suum* τὸ ἴδιον ("proprium" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 1,11.

39 *quidem* μέν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate, as at
some other passages, leaves μέν untranslated.
Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

39 *caro* (3rd.) σάρξ (Vg. omits). Erasmus adds
σάρξ at this point, contrary to the testimony
of all his N.T. mss. at Basle. The claim of
Scholz and Tischendorf, that σάρξ is found
here in many mss., has not been substantia-
ted. The *Textus Receptus* retained this dubious
reading.

39 *vero* (1st.) δέ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-
sion does not enjoy Greek ms. support, and is
probably only a matter of translation. Ambro-
siaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had *autem*.

39 *caro* (4th.) σάρξ (Vg. omits). This time, the
Vulgate omission corresponds with the text of
codd. D* F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made
the same correction as Erasmus.

39 *alia vero piscium, alia vero volucrium* ἄλλη
δὲ ἰχθύων, ἄλλη δὲ πτηνῶν ("alia volucrum,
alia autem piscium" late Vg.). The Vulgate
word-order reflects the transposition of ἰχθύων
and πτηνῶν, as in (𝔓⁴⁶) ℵ A B (D) and a few
later mss. The Vulgate omission of *vero* before
volucrum has little ms. support other than
cod. D*, which reads ἄλλη σάρξ πετινῶν,
ἄλλη δὲ ἰχθύων. Erasmus follows cod. 2817,
accompanied by 1, 2816 and most other late
mss. In the margin of his 1522-35 editions, he
recorded the variant spelling, πετεινῶν, which
he probably derived from the Aldine Bible of
1518, though the same spelling occurs in his
cod. 2815. Regarding the substitution of *vero*
for *autem*, see on *Ioh*. 1,26. Manetti put *alia vero
piscium, alia autem volucrum*, following the same
Greek text as Erasmus. Lefèvre had *alia vero
volucrum et alia piscium*.

40 *Et sunt ... et sunt* καὶ ... καί ("Et ... et" Vg.).
Erasmus adds *sunt* to clarify the sentence struc-
ture. Lefèvre had the same wording, except that
he placed *sunt* after rather than before *corpora
coelestia*.

40 *Verum* ἀλλ' ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 4,2.

40 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 1,26.
Lefèvre had the word-order *et alia terrestrium*.

⁴¹ἄλλη δόξα ἡ ἡλίου, καὶ ἄλλη δό-
ξα σελήνης, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων.
ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ.
⁴²οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν.
σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφ-
θαρσίᾳ· ⁴³σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, ἐγεί-
ρεται ἐν δόξῃ· σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ,
ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει· ⁴⁴σπείρεται
σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευ-
ματικόν. ἔστι σῶμα ψυχικόν, καὶ
ἔστι σῶμα πνευματικόν· ⁴⁵οὕτως
καὶ γέγραπται, Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος
ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, ὁ
ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν.
⁴⁶ἀλλ’ οὐ πρῶτον, τὸ πνευματικόν,
ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικόν, ἔπειτα τὸ πνευμα-
τικόν. ⁴⁷ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς,
χοϊκός· ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ κύριος
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. ⁴⁸οἷος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦ-
τοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί· καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπου-
ράνιος, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι.

⁴¹alia gloria solis, et alia gloria lunae,
et alia gloria stellarum. Stella siqui-
dem a stella differt in gloria. ⁴²Sic
et resurrectio mortuorum. Seminatur
in corruptione, resurgit in incorrupti-
bilitate: ⁴³seminatur in ignominia,
resurgit in gloria: seminatur in infir-
mitate, resurgit in potentia: ⁴⁴semi-
natur corpus animale, resurgit corpus
spirituale. Est corpus animale, et est
corpus spirituale: ⁴⁵quemadmodum
et scriptum est: Factus est primus ho-
mo Adam in animam viuentem, extre-
mus Adam in spiritum viuificantem.
⁴⁶At non primum, quod spirituale, sed
quod animale, deinde quod spiritua-
le. ⁴⁷Primus homo de terra, terrenus:
secundus homo, ipse dominus de coe-
lo. ⁴⁸Qualis terrenus ille, tales et hi
qui terreni sunt: et qualis ille coe-
lestis, tales et ii qui coelestes sunt.

43 ασθενεια *D E*: ασθενια *A-C*

44 *prius* spirituale *B-E*: spiritale *A* | *alt.* spirituale *B-E*: spiritale *A* | 46 *prius* spirituale *B-E*:
spiritale *A* | *alt.* spirituale *B-E*: spiritale *A* | 47 coelo *B-E*: celo *A*

41 *gloria* (1st. to 3rd.) δόξα ("claritas" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 5,41, and *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.*
The same change was made by Lefèvre.

41 ἡ ἡλίου. The addition of ἡ was not drawn
from any of Erasmus' mss. at Basle, and may
have arisen from a dittographic misprint.

41 *et* (1st.) καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission
has little support other than 𝔓⁴⁶. Both Manet-
ti and Lefèvre made the same correction as
Erasmus.

41 *siquidem* γάρ ("enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34;
4,47. Lefèvre put *nam astrum* for *stella enim.*

41 *gloria* (4th.) δόξῃ ("claritate" Vg.). See on
gloria (1st. to 3rd.), above. Lefèvre again made
the same change.

42 *resurgit* ἐγείρεται ("surget" late Vg. and
some Vg. mss.). The same substitution occurs

in vss. 43-4. Erasmus is more accurate in ren-
dering the present tense: cf. on vs. 35. The same
correction was made by Lefèvre.

42 *incorruptibilitate* ἀφθαρσίᾳ ("incorruptione"
Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 53,
and also in replacing *incorruptela* in vs. 50. See
further on *Rom.* 2,7. At the present passage,
Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre (in
Manetti's version, the scribe of *Urb. Lat.* 6
carelessly substituted *corruptione*).

43 *ignominia* ἀτιμίᾳ ("ignobilitate" Vg.). A
similar change occurs at 2 *Cor.* 6,8. At *Rom.*
9,21, *ignominia* replaces *contumelia* (see on *Rom.*
1,24). See also on 1 *Cor.* 11,14. Erasmus here
adopts the rendering of Ambrosiaster: see *Annot.*
In classical usage, *ignobilitas* denotes obscurity
or low birth, rather than dishonour. Lefèvre
put *sine honore* for *in ignobilitate.*

43 *resurgit* (twice) ἐγείρεται ("surget" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). See on vs. 42. Lefèvre also made this change. Ambrosiaster (1492) had *resurget ... surget.*

43 ἀσθενείᾳ. The spelling ἀσθενίᾳ in 1516-22 was an itacism, not derived from any of Erasmus' Basle mss.

43 *potentia* δυνάμει ("virtute" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *potestate.*

44 *resurgit* ἐγείρεται ("surget" late Vg.). See on vs. 42. The same correction was again made by Lefèvre.

44 *Est corpus animale, et est corpus spirituale* ἔστι σῶμα ψυχικόν, καὶ ἔστι σῶμα πνευματικόν ("Si est corpus animale, est et spiritale" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of εἰ before ἔστι (1st.), the replacement of καὶ ἔστι by ἔστι καί, and the omission of σῶμα (4th.), as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, together with 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. Since εἰ creates a conditional clause in the middle of a long series of factual statements, it has been suggested that scribes might have deleted this word so as to harmonise with the predominant pattern of the whole passage. An alternative explanation is that an ancient editor added εἰ and deleted σῶμα because he considered this section to be repetitive after the previous references to σῶμα ψυχικόν and σῶμα πνευματικόν. In 1527 *Annot.*, arguing from the omission of all seven words by Ambrosiaster, Erasmus suggests that this sentence might have been a later scribal addition. The same words were also omitted by codd. 1 and 2815 and some other mss., but this could have arisen from a scribal error of homoeoteleuton, accidentally jumping from the first πνευματικόν to the second. Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus (except that the scribe of *Urb. Lat.* 6 incorrectly omitted *et*).

45 *quemadmodum et* οὕτως καί ("sicut" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "sic et" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). The late Vulgate omission of *et* corresponds with the omission of καί in codd. F G (which also substitute καθώς for οὕτως). For *quemadmodum*, see on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *sicut et.*

45 *homo* ἄνθρωπος. In *Annot.*, Erasmus appears to favour Lefèvre's omission of *homo* and ἄνθρωπος, in company with cod. B and a few later mss., though his Basle mss. all contained this word.

45 *extremus* ὁ ἔσχατος ("nouissimus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 12,48. Manetti had *vltimus est.*

46 *At* ἀλλ' ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

46 *primum* πρῶτον ("prius" Vg.). The Greek word can be construed as either adverb or adjective, though the latter is more suited to this context, in view of the adjective πρῶτος in vss. 45 and 47. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made this change.

46 *spirituale ... animale* πνευματικόν ... ψυχικόν ("spirituale est ... animale est" Vg.). The addition of verbs by the Vulgate was a legitimate expansion, though not explicitly supported by Greek mss. Ambrosiaster and some editions of the late Vulgate, including Lefèvre's Vulgate column, omitted *est* (2nd.). The translation of Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus, while Manetti put *spirituale ... animale est.*

47 *secundus* δεύτερος. In *Annot.*, Erasmus inserts δέ before δεύτερος, and *autem* after *secundus*. Cf. the use of ὁ δέ γε δεύτερος by cod. 2817ᶜᵒᵐᵐ.

47 *ipse dominus de coelo* ὁ κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ("de coelo, coelestis" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of ὁ κύριος in ℵ* B C D* F G and nine other mss., but the only support for the addition of *coelestis* is given by codd. F G, which add ὁ οὐράνιος. In 𝔓⁴⁶, πνευματικός is substituted for ὁ κύριος. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and 2816, as well as ℵᶜᵒʳʳ A Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 560 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 315-17). In *Annot.*, however, he argues in favour of the Vulgate reading, and considers ὁ κύριος to be an explanatory addition, an argument which has found favour with more recent textual critics. An alternative explanation of this discrepancy could be that ὁ κύριος (abbreviated as ὁ κ̅ς̅) was accidentally omitted. Cf. the omission of τὸν θεόν by 𝔓⁴⁶ at 1 *Cor.* 8,3, and of τοῦ θεοῦ by cod. 0270* in vs. 10 of the present chapter. Manetti put *dominus de coelo*, and Lefèvre *dominus e coelo.*

48 *terrenus ille ... ille coelestis* ὁ χοϊκός ... ὁ ἐπουράνιος ("terrenus ... coelestis" Vg.). Erasmus adds *ille* to make a clearer reference to Adam and Christ.

48 *hi qui terreni sunt ... ii qui coelestes sunt* οἱ χοϊκοί ... οἱ ἐπουράνιοι ("terreni ... coelestes" Vg.). Erasmus again expands the rendering, for the sake of clarity.

⁴⁹καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου.

⁵⁰Τοῦτο δὲ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύνανται· οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ. ⁵¹ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω. πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, | ⁵²ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι. σαλπίσει γάρ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἄφθαρτοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα. ⁵³δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν, καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν. ⁵⁴ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται ἀφθαρσίαν, καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται ἀθανασίαν, τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος, Κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος.

⁴⁹Et quemadmodum gestauimus imaginem terreni, gestabimus et imaginem coelestis.

⁵⁰Hoc autem dico fratres, quod caro et sanguis regni dei haereditatem consequi non possunt: neque corruptio incorruptibilitatis haereditatem accipit. ⁵¹Ecce mysterium vobis dico. Non omnes | quidem dormiemus, omnes tamen immutabimur, ⁵²in puncto temporis, in momento oculi, per extremam tubam. Canet enim, et mortui resurgent incorruptibiles, et nos immutabimur. ⁵³Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptibilitatem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. ⁵⁴Quum autem corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptibilitatem, et mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est: Absorpta est mors in victoriam.

LB 743

LB 744

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54 κατεπόθη *B D E*: κατεποτη *A*, καθεποθη *C*

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52 temporis *B-E*: *om. A* | per extremam tubam *B-E*: in extrema tuba *A* | enim *B-E*: enim tuba *A* | incorruptibiles *B-E*: incorrupti *A* | **53** incorruptibilitatem *A-C E*: corruptibilitatem *D* | **54** immortalitatem *B-E*: mortalitatem *A*

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49 *Et quemadmodum* καὶ καθώς ("Igitur sicut" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *igitur* corresponds with the replacement of καί by ἄρα in codd. F Gᵐᵍ. For *quemadmodum*, see on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, while Manetti had *Et sicut*.

49 *gestauimus* ἐφορέσαμεν ("portauimus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 19,5.

49 *gestabimus* φορέσομεν ("portemus" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek variant, φορέσωμεν, found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A C D F G and most other mss., including codd. 1 and 2815. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, along with 2105, 2816, and also codd. B I and some later mss. In *Annot.*, he argues that the future tense, φορέσομεν, is better suited to the context. Manetti and Lefèvre put *feremus* and *portabimus*, respectively.

50 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

50 *regni dei haereditatem consequi* βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομῆσαι ("regnum dei possidere" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to convey the sense of "inherit", contained in the Greek verb. See on 1 *Cor.* 6,9, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *regnum dei haereditare*.

50 *incorruptibilitatis haereditatem accipit* τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ ("incorruptelam possidebit" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the future tense corresponds with κληρονομήσει in codd. C* D* F G. For *incorruptibilitas*, see on vs. 42 and on *Rom.* 2,7. For *haereditas*, see the previous note. See also *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *incorruptibilitatem haereditat*.

51 *Non omnes quidem dormiemus* πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα ("Omnes quidem resurgemus" Vg.). The Vulgate has no Greek ms. support other than cod. D*, which has πάντες ἀναστησόμεθα. A few mss. have πάντες οὐ

κοιμηθησόμεθα (𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ B), πάντες μὲν κοιμη-
θησόμεθα (א Cᶜᵒʳʳ), or πάντες κοιμηθησόμεθα
(C*). Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817,
accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816, with Aᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ
and about 540 later mss. (see Aland *Die Pauli-
nischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 317-21). This passage
is discussed at great length in *Annot*. See also
Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD IX, 4, pp. 231-2,
ll. 768-823. In 1522, in the *Apologia de loco
'Omnes quidem resurgemus', LB* IX, 433 A, Erasmus
indicates that he has consulted "not a few"
Greek mss. at this passage ("vidi autem non
paucos"), and found that they all had the
same reading as his printed text ("in omnibus
Graecorum codicibus, quos ego sane vidi").
The text underlying the Vulgate in this passage
appears to embody a theologically motivated
alteration of the meaning. The version of
Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.
Valla *Annot*. rendered the Greek word-order
more literally by *omnes quidem non dormiemus*.
Both mss. of Manetti's version, strangely, con-
trived to combine both readings into the follow-
ing self-contradictory wording: *Omnes quidem
resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur. Omnes
quidem non dormiemus. Omnes autem immuta-
bimur*. Possibly it was Manetti's intention that
the first of these sentences should have been
omitted.

51 *omnes tamen immutabimur* πάντες δὲ ἀλ-
λαγησόμεθα ("sed non omnes immutabimur"
Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having
οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ א
Aᶜᵒʳʳ C D* F G and four later mss. Erasmus
follows codd. 2815, 2817, supported by 1, 2105,
2816, together with B Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 570 later
mss. (cf. Aland *Die Paulinische Briefe* vol. 2,
pp. 317-21). See also the previous note, and
Annot. The rendering proposed by Valla *Annot*.
was *sed omnes immutabimur*, and Lefèvre put
omnes autem immutabimur.

52 *puncto temporis* ἀτόμῳ ("momento" Vg.;
"puncto" 1516). A similar substitution occurs
in rendering στιγμὴ χρόνου at *Lc*. 4,5 (1519).
See *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre had *indiuisibili*,
as advocated by Valla *Annot*.

52 *momento* ῥιπῇ ("ictu" Vg.). In 1516 *Annot*.,
Erasmus inserts τῇ before ῥιπῇ, without sup-
port from his Basle mss. His substitution of
momento seems to have been partly influenced
by the existence of a Greek variant, ῥοπῇ,
which he cites from Jerome *Epist*. 119, *Ad
Mineruium* (*CSEL* 55, p. 450): see *Annot*. This

reading is also exhibited by 𝔓⁴⁶ D* F G and
a few later mss., including 2816*ᵛⁱᵈ. A sugges-
tion of Valla *Annot*. was that the original
Vulgate reading may have been *nictu*, mean-
ing "blink" (as *ictu*, less appropriately, has the
sense of a violent blow). Lefèvre preferred
iactu.

52 *per extremam tubam* ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλ-
πιγγι ("in nouissima tuba" Vg.; "in extrema
tuba" 1516). See on *Rom*. 1,17 for *per*, and on
Ioh. 12,48 for *extremus*. Manetti put *in vltima
tuba*.

52 *Canet enim* σαλπίσει γάρ ("Canet enim
tuba" 1516 = late Vg.). Either rendering is
legitimate. Erasmus restores the earlier Vulgate
reading: see *Annot*. The version of Manetti had
Tubicinabitur enim, and Lefèvre *clanget enim*.

52 *incorruptibiles* ἄφθαρτοι ("incorrupti" 1516
= Vg.). Cf. on *Rom*. 1,23, where Erasmus prefers
immortalis, and on 1 *Cor*. 9,25, where he uses
aeternus. At the present passage, in 1519, he
used the same rendering as Lefèvre.

53 *incorruptibilitatem* ἀφθαρσίαν ("incorrupti-
onem" late Vg.; "corruptibilitatem" 1527 Lat.).
See on vs. 42 and on *Rom*. 2,7. The omission
of two letters by the typesetters of the 1527
edition gave a completely opposite sense to
this word. In 1516, Erasmus adopted the same
wording as Lefèvre.

54 *corruptibile ... et* τὸ φθαρτὸν ... καί (Vg.
omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by
𝔓⁴⁶ א* C* 088 and a few later mss. Erasmus
follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with
1, 2105, 2816, and also א ᶜᵒʳʳ B Cᶜᵒʳʳ ᵛⁱᵈ (D) and
most later mss. The shorter reading seems to
have arisen from a scribal error of parablepsis,
passing from τό before φθαρτόν to τό before
θνητόν, omitting one or two complete lines of
text. In 1516 *Annot*., Erasmus omits τοῦτο
after φθαρτόν, and puts ἐνδύσεται for ἐνδύ-
σηται (1st.). The version of Lefèvre was again
the same as that of Erasmus, while Manetti had
incorruptionem (as in the late Vulgate rendering
of vs. 53) instead of *incorruptibilitatem*.

54 *immortalitatem* ἀθανασίαν ("mortalitatem"
1516 Lat.). The 1516 rendering, which conveys
the opposite of what is meant by the adjacent
Greek text, is probably a printer's error.

54 *in victoriam* εἰς νῖκος ("in victoria" Vg.).
Erasmus represents the Greek prepositional
phrase more accurately. Cf. *Annot*.

⁵⁵ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; ποῦ σου, ᾅδη, τὸ νῖκος; ⁵⁶τὸ δὲ κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου, ἡ ἁμαρτία· ἡ δὲ δύναμις τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὁ νόμος. ⁵⁷τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις, τῷ διδόντι ἡμῖν τὸ νῖκος, διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ⁵⁸ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί, ἑδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι, περισσεύοντες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ κυρίου πάντοτε, εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ κόπος ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστι κενὸς ἐν κυρίῳ.

16 Περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, ὥσπερ διέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε. ²κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω, θησαυρίζων ὅ τι ἂν εὐοδῶται, ἵνα μὴ ὅταν ἔλθω, τότε λογίαι γίνωνται.

⁵⁵Vbi tuus mors aculeus? Vbi tua inferne victoria? ⁵⁶Aculeus autem mortis, peccatum: potentia vero peccati, lex. ⁵⁷Sed deo gratia, qui dedit nobis victoriam, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. ⁵⁸Itaque fratres mei dilecti, stabiles sitis, immobiles, abundantes in opere domini semper, quum sciatis quod labor vester non est inanis in domino.

16 Caeterum de collatione in sanctos, quemadmodum ordinaui ecclesiis Galatiae, ita et vos facite. ²In vna sabbatorum vnusquisque vestrum apud se seponat, recondens quicquid commodum fuerit: ne quum venero, tunc collationes fiant.

16,2 γινωνται *A C-E*: γινονται *B*

58 immobiles *B-E*: et immobiles *A*
16,1 collatione in *B-E*: collecta, erga *A* | 2 se seponat *C-E*: sese ponat *A B* | collationes *B-E*: collectae *A*

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55 *Vbi tuus mors aculeus? Vbi tua inferne victoria?* ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; ποῦ σου, ᾅδη, τὸ νῖκος; ("Vbi est mors, victoria tua? Vbi est mors, stimulus tuus?" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering corresponds with a Greek text transposing κέντρον and νῖκος, and substituting θάνατε for ᾅδη, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ א * B C 088 and three later mss. Several of these mss. incorrectly change νῖκος to νεῖκος. It is sometimes alleged that ᾅδη ("Hades") is a harmonisation with the Septuagint rendering of *Hos.* 13,14. An alternative possibility is that the replacement of ᾅδη by θάνατε in a few mss. was a harmonisation with the immediate context, prompted by the use of θάνατε earlier in the present verse and by τὸ δὲ κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου in vs. 56. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, together with Aᶜᵒʳʳ and about 550 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 321-5). See *Annot.* The substitution of *aculeus* ("sting") for *stimulus* ("goad") occurs also in vs. 56, in accordance with the Vulgate rendering of *Ap. Ioh.* 9,10, though Erasmus

keeps *stimulus* at *Act.* 9,5; 26,14. The Greek word, κέντρον, can bear both meanings, depending on the context. In word-order, Erasmus closely follows Lefèvre, with the exception that the latter retained *stimulus*. Manetti had *Vbi est mors stimulus tuus? vbi est inferne victoria tua?* (though the scribe of *Pal. Lat.* 45 at first followed the Vulgate word-order).

56 *Aculeus* τὸ ... κέντρον ("Stimulus" Vg.). See the previous note.

57 *Sed deo* τῷ δὲ θεῷ ("Deo autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

57 *gratia* χάρις ("gratias" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,17, and *Annot.* The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

58 *sitis* γίνεσθε ("estote" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,20.

58 *immobiles* ἀμετακίνητοι ("et immobiles" 1516 Lat. = Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et* has little ms. support other than cod. A, which adds καί before ἀμετακίνητοι. See *Annot.* The

conjunction was likewise omitted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

58 *opere* τῷ ἔργῳ ("omni opere" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support, and seems to reflect a partial harmonisation with passages such as 2 *Cor.* 9,8; *Col.* 1,10. Erasmus' correction agreed with the wording of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

58 *quum sciatis* εἰδότες ("scientes" Vg.). Erasmus no doubt wished to ensure that the preceding word, πάντοτε (*semper*), was understood as belonging to περισσεύοντες rather than εἰδότες. Lefèvre sought to achieve the same result by positioning *semper* after *abundantes*.

16,1 *Caeterum de collatione* Περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας ("De collectis autem" Vg.; "Caeterum de collecta" 1516). For *caeterum*, see on *Act.* 6,2. A similar substitution of *collatio*, in 1519, occurs in rendering λογία in the following verse. In translating the related word, εὐλογία, Erasmus also puts *bona collatio* for *benedictio* at 2 *Cor.* 9,5 (1519), and uses *benigna collatio* at 2 *Cor.* 9,6 (1519 only). The term *collatio* was more widespread in classical usage, for referring to the collection of financial contributions. Further, the Vulgate use of the plural lacks support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was that *collectis* should be replaced by the singular, *collecta*, as adopted by Erasmus' 1516 edition. Lefèvre put *De collectione autem*.

1 *in sanctos* τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ("quae fiunt in sanctos" Vg.; "erga sanctos" 1516). Erasmus treated τῆς as superfluous for the purpose of translation. For the Vulgate use of the plural, *quae fiunt*, see on *collectis* in the previous note. For *erga*, used in 1516, see on *Act.* 3,25. Lefèvre put *quae fit in sanctos*, and the use of *quae fit* was also advocated in Valla *Annot.*

1 *quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

1 *ecclesiis* ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ("in ecclesiis" late Vg.). The late Vulgate preposition is unsupported by Greek mss. Erasmus' wording is the same as that of the earlier Vulgate, Manetti and Lefèvre. Ambrosiaster (1492) had *ecclesie* (dative singular).

2 *In vna* κατὰ μίαν ("Per vnam" Vg.). Erasmus adopts a more natural Latin turn of phrase, though without fully conveying the sense required by the context, which was "on the first day of each week".

2 *sabbatorum* σαββάτων ("sabbati" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the singular possibly reflects a Greek text having σαββάτου, as in codd. ℵ corr (1) A B C D F G Ivid 088 and a few other mss. However, since the Vulgate uses the singular in rendering σαββάτων at several other passages (cf. on *Ioh.* 20,1), its underlying Greek text here is uncertain. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ corr (2) and most later mss. See *Annot.* The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti (who spelled it as *sabatorum*) and Lefèvre.

2 *apud se seponat* παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω ("apud se reponat" late Vg.; "apud sese ponat" 1516-19). Cod. 2815 added τι after τιθέτω. Erasmus, in 1516-19, gave a more literal rendering of the Greek verb. For *sese*, see on *Ioh.* 7,35. The change to *se seponat* in 1522 could have been an arbitrary change of word-division by the printer, though *seponat* is appropriate to the context and found in some editions of the late Vulgate. Manetti had *apud semet ipsum ponat*, while Lefèvre put *apud se ponat*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

2 *quicquid commodum fuerit* ὅ τι ἂν εὐοδῶται ("quod ei bene placuerit" Vg.). Erasmus' use of *quicquid* is more accurate. The Vulgate rendering of εὐοδῶται appeared so wide of the mark that Erasmus speculated in *Annot.*, that the Vulgate had followed a Greek text having εὐδόκηται. However, his adoption of *commodum*, prompted by the use of *commode* in Lefèvre, still fell short of the required meaning. In *Annot.*, more aptly, he proposed *quicquid deo prospero contigerit*. Cf. the Vulgate use of *prospere ago* for the same Greek verb at 3 *Ioh.* 2. Valla *Annot.*, questionably, suggested that the Greek expression referred to a quantity which was *leuis* or *facile*. Manetti put *quodcunque sibi placuerit*, and Lefèvre *quodcunque commode potest*.

2 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20. Manetti had *vt cum non venero*, perhaps following a different Greek text.

2 τότε. This word was omitted in cod. 2815, contrary to the testimony of nearly all other mss.

2 *collationes* λογίαι ("collectae" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 1. Lefèvre put *collectiones*.

2 γίνωνται. The reading γίνονται, used in the 1519 edition, seems to have been an accidental change. It was not derived from cod. 3.

LB 745

³ὅταν δὲ παραγένωμαι, οὓς ἐὰν
δοκιμάζητε δι' ἐπιστολῶν, τούτους
πέμ|ψω ἀπενεγκεῖν τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν
εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ. ⁴ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ ἄξιον
τοῦ κἀμὲ πορεύεσθαι, σὺν ἐμοὶ
πορεύσονται. ⁵ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς
ὑμᾶς, ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω. Μα-
κεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι. ⁶πρὸς ὑμᾶς
δὲ τυχὸν παραμενῶ, ἢ καὶ παρα-
χειμάσω, ἵνα ὑμεῖς με προπέμ-
ψητε οὗ ἐὰν πορεύωμαι. ⁷οὐ
θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἄρτι ἐν παρόδῳ
ἰδεῖν, ἐλπίζω δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἐπι-
μεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν ὁ κύριος
ἐπιτρέπῃ. ⁸ἐπιμενῶ δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ

³Vbi venero autem, quoscunque pro-
baueritis per epistolas, hos mittam
vt | perferant munificentiam vestram
Hierosolymam. ⁴Quod si fuerit ope-
rae precium vt et ipse proficiscar, me-
cum proficiscentur. ⁵Veniam autem
ad vos, quum Macedoniam transiero.
Macedoniam enim pertransiturus sum.
⁶Apud vos autem forte permanebo,
aut etiam hybernabo, vt vos me de-
ducatis quocunque proficiscar. ⁷Nolo
enim vos nunc in transcursu videre,
sed spero tempus aliquantum man-
surum me apud vos, si dominus per-
miserit. ⁸Commorabor autem Ephesi,

LB 746

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3 autem *B-E*: autem ad vos *A* | munificentiam *B-E*: beneficentiam *A* | Hierosolymam *B-E*: in Hierusalem *A (compend.)* | 4 operae precium *D E*: opereprecium *A*, operaepretium *B C* | 5 pertransiturus *B-E*: aditurus *A* | 6 hybernabo *B-E*: hyemabo *A* | 7 in *A B D E*: om. *C* | 8 Commorabor *B-E*: Commoror *A*

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3 *Vbi venero autem* ὅταν δὲ παραγένωμαι ("Cum autem praesens fuero" Vg.; "Vbi venero autem ad vos" 1516). Erasmus' addition of *ad vos* in 1516 seems to have been for the sake of clarity, rather than reflecting a different Greek text, though a few late mss. add πρὸς ὑμᾶς. For *vbi*, see on 1 Cor. 13,10. Erasmus elsewhere retains *praesens* in rendering the different Greek verb, πάρειμι, at several passages. The verb παραγίνομαι is more commonly translated by *venio* or *aduenio*: cf. on *Act.* 21,18. Manetti had *Cum autem affuero*, and Lefèvre *Cum autem venero*.

3 *quoscunque* οὓς ἐὰν ("quos" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise here: cf. his use of *quicquid* for ὅ τι ἄν in the previous verse. This change produced agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 δοκιμάζητε. This substitution of the present subjunctive lacks ms. support, and could have been an arbitrary correction. Nearly all mss. have δοκιμάσητε, including those which Erasmus usually consulted.

3 *vt perferant* ἀπενεγκεῖν ("perferre" Vg.). Cod. 2815 has ἀνενεγκεῖν, with little or no other ms. support. Erasmus, as usual, avoids the infinitive of purpose. Manetti had *vt afferant*, and Lefèvre *ad perferendam*.

3 *munificentiam* τὴν χάριν ("gratiam" Vg.; "beneficentiam" 1516). As indicated in *Annot.*, χάρις here refers to charitable gifts rather than divine grace. For the same reason, Erasmus adopts *beneficentia* for χάρις at 2 *Cor.* 8,6, 7, 9, 19. He does not use the more emphatic word, *munificentia*, elsewhere in the N.T.

3 *Hierosolymam* εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ ("in Hierusalem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,8; 8,27.

4 *fuerit operae precium* ᾖ ἄξιον ("dignum fuerit" Vg.). Erasmus uses the expression *operae precium* just once elsewhere, in rendering ἀναγκαῖος at *Phil.* 2,25, in the sense of "worthwhile" or "important". See *Annot.* At 2 *Thess.* 1,3, he replaces *dignum est* with *par est*. The Vulgate reflects the word-order ἄξιον ᾖ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ A B C 088 and some later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2815, and also ℵ * D F G and most later mss.

4 *et ipse* κἀμέ ("ego" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "et ego" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). The late Vulgate omission of *et* lacks Greek ms. support. For *ipse*, see on 1 *Cor.* 7,40. Manetti had *et ego*.

4 *proficiscar ... proficiscentur* πορεύεσθαι ... πορεύσονται ("eam ... ibunt" Vg.). A similar substitution of *proficiscor* for *eo* occurs in vs. 6, and also at *Mt.* 2,8; 10,7; *Lc.* 14,31 (1519); *Act.* 27,3;

1 *Tim.* 1,3, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 15,24-5; 1 *Petr.* 3,22. See also on *Ioh.* 7,33. Lefèvre made the same change.

5 *transiero* διέλθω ("pertransiero" Vg.). See on *Act.* 8,4 for Erasmus' removal of *pertranseo* at several other passages. However, he retains *pertranseo* for διέρχομαι later in the present verse, and also at *Act.* 8,40; 15,3. At 2 *Cor.* 1,16, he even substitutes *pertranseo* for *transeo*. At the present passage, the change is mainly for stylistic variety. Manetti had the spelling *pertransiuero*.

5 *Macedoniam enim* Μακεδονίαν γάρ ("nam Macedoniam" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 9,10. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *pertransiturus sum* διέρχομαι ("pertransibo" Vg.; "aditurus sum" 1516). Erasmus' use of the future participle conveys the sense that the apostle's proposed journey through Macedonia would soon take place. For the occurrence of the future participle elsewhere, see on *Rom.* 2,6. That the present tense of the Greek verb did not need to be taken literally is indicated by the reference to Ephesus in vs. 8, from which it appears that the apostle was not yet in Macedonia at the time of writing this epistle. See *Annot.*, and cf. on *Ioh.* 4,25 (*venturus*). Lefèvre had *pertranseo*.

6 *forte* τυχόν ("forsitan" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus retains *forsitan* for ἴσως at *Lc.* 20,13, and for τάχα at *Rom.* 5,7; *Phm.* 15. Lefèvre made the same change here.

6 *permanebo* παραμενῶ ("manebo" Vg.). This change is consistent with Vulgate usage at the other two N.T. passages where this Greek verb occurs: at *Hebr.* 7,23; *Iac.* 1,25. The same substitution was made by Lefèvre.

6 *aut* ἤ ("vel" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,6. Cod. 2815 omits ἤ, contrary to the testimony of most other mss., apart from D^corr F G. Once more Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

6 *hybernabo* παραχειμάσω ("hyemabo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 27,12, and *Annot.*

6 *proficiscar* πορεύωμαι ("iero" Vg.). See on vs. 4. Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *nunc* ἄρτι ("modo" Vg.). Similar changes, in the Epistles, occur at *Gal.* 1,10; 4,20. See further on *Ioh.* 9,25. In the present context, the Vulgate expression is liable to be misunderstood as meaning "only" rather than "now". Erasmus' choice of wording agrees with that of Ambrosiaster (1492).

7 *in* ἐν (omitted in 1522 Lat.). Like many other variations of the 1522 edition, this omission was probably only a printer's error. The separate 1521 Latin N.T. retained *in*.

7 *transcursu* παρόδῳ ("transitu" Vg.). Although the Vulgate rendering is sufficiently accurate, Erasmus felt that, in this context, the Greek word implied a hasty visit: see *Annot.*

7 *sed spero* ἐλπίζω δέ ("spero enim" Vg.). The Vulgate is based on a Greek text having ἐλπίζω γάρ, as in 𝔓^46 ℵ A B C D F G 088 and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *spero autem*.

7 *tempus aliquantum mansurum me* χρόνον τινὰ ἐπιμεῖναι ("me aliquantulum temporis manere" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of *aliquantulum*, implying a very little time, is inconsistent with Paul's previous suggestion of remaining with the Corinthians for the whole winter. At two other passages (*Act.* 15,33; 18,23), Erasmus prefers *aliquantum temporis* rather than *aliquantum tempus*. Further examples of his use of the future participle following *spero* are seen at *Lc.* 6,34; 23,8 (both in 1519); *Act.* 26,7; 2 *Cor.* 13,6; *Phil.* 2,19, 23; 3 *Ioh.* 14, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Act.* 3,5. For other uses of the future participle, see on *Rom.* 2,6. The position of *me* is not affected by any difference of Greek text, as the latter does not here use a personal pronoun. Erasmus' rendering resembles that of Ambrosiaster (1492), *me aliquantum temporis mansurum*. Manetti had *per aliquantulum tempus permanere*, and Lefèvre *tempore quodam ... permanere*, placing *permanere* after *apud vos*.

8 *Commorabor* ἐπιμενῶ ("Permanebo" Vg.; "Commoror" 1516 Lat.). For Erasmus' use of *commoror*, see on *Act.* 18,18. In the previous verse, he was content to retain *maneo* for the same Greek verb. For the variety of renderings which he employed for ἐπιμένω, see on *Act.* 21,10. The use of the present tense in his 1516 Latin version was based on cod. 2817, which (like codd. 69 and 2816) is accented as ἐπιμένω. This was in conflict with the adjacent Greek column, which had the future tense, ἐπιμενῶ, as found in cod. 2815, and also in codd. 1, 3, 2105. The difference was further discussed in Erasmus' *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 190, ll. 460-463. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre put *Manebo*.

ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. ⁹θύρα γάρ
μοι ἀνέῳγε μεγάλη καὶ ἐνεργής, καὶ
ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί.

¹⁰Ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος, βλέπετε
ἵνα ἀφόβως γένηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς· τὸ
γὰρ ἔργον κυρίου ἐργάζεται, ὡς καὶ
ἐγώ. ¹¹μή τις οὖν αὐτὸν ἐξουθενή-
σῃ, προπέμψατε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ,
ἵνα ἔλθῃ πρός με. ἐκδέχομαι γὰρ αὐ-
τὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. ¹²περὶ δὲ
Ἀπολλὼ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, πολλὰ παρ-
εκάλεσα αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν· καὶ πάντως οὐκ
ἦν θέλημα ἵνα νῦν ἔλθῃ. ἐλεύσεται
δὲ ὅταν εὐκαιρήσῃ.

¹³Γρηγορεῖτε, στήκετε ἐν τῇ πί-
στει, ἀνδρίζεσθε, κραταιοῦσθε. ¹⁴πάν-
τα ὑμῶν ἐν ἀγάπῃ γινέσθω.

vsque ad diem quinquagesimum.
⁹Nam hostium mihi apertum est mag-
num et efficax et aduersarii multi.

¹⁰Quod si venerit Timotheus, vide-
te vt absque metu sit apud vos: opus
enim domini operatur, quemadmo-
dum et ego. ¹¹Ne quis igitur eum
spernat, sed prosequamini eum cum
pace, vt veniat ad me. Expecto enim
illum cum fratribus. ¹²Porro de Apol-
lo fratre: multum hortatus sum illum,
vt iret ad vos cum fratribus, et omnino
non erat voluntas nunc eundi. Ventu-
rus est autem quum opportunitatem
erit nactus.

¹³Vigilate, state in fide, viriliter
agite, estote fortes. ¹⁴Omnia vobis
cum charitate fiant.

10 enim *B-E*: *om. A* | 11 *prius* cum *B-E*: in *A* | 12 opportunitatem *B-E*: oportunitatem *A* |
14 cum *B-E*: in *A*

8 *diem quinquagesimum* τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ("Pen-
tecosten" Vg.). Erasmus argues in *Annot.*, that
Paul was not referring to the Jewish feast of
Pentecost, but that the apostle was stating the
actual length of time he would stay in Ephesus.
The same point reappears in the *Quae Per
Interpretem Commissa*, and is further discussed
in the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2,
p. 190, ll. 463-472. Manetti had *pentecostem*.

9 *Nam hostium* θύρα γάρ ("Ostium enim"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34 for *nam*. The use of *ho-
stium*, as an alternative spelling of *ostium* (neu-
ter singular), also occurs at *Mc.* 1,33 (1516-22
only). Despite the possibility of confusion with
the genitive plural of *hostis*, this spelling some-
times occurred in mss. of classical texts. Else-
where, at twenty-three other passages, Erasmus
has *ostium*. Lefèvre put *nam ianua*.

9 *efficax* ἐνεργής ("euidens" Vg.). A similar
substitution occurs at *Phm.* 6, in accordance
with the Vulgate rendering of *Hebr.* 4,12, these
being the only other N.T. passages where the
Greek word occurs. Erasmus further uses *efficax*
in rendering ἐνεργέω at *Gal.* 2,8; *Iac.* 5,16. In
Annot., he suggests that the Greek text underlying
the Vulgate may have been ἐναργής, a variant
which is found in cod. B at *Hebr.* 4,12 but does

not seem to enjoy ms. support at the present
passage. Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre all
made the same correction as Erasmus.

9 *et* (2nd.) καί. In *Annot.*, Erasmus hints that
a different Greek text is reflected by the use of
sed in Jerome's translation of this passage for
his commentary on *Ioel* 1,1 (*CCSL* 76, p. 161).
The same rendering was to be seen in Ambrosi-
aster (1492). In view of the uniformity of Greek
ms. support for καί, it seems more likely that
sed was just a different translation of the same
Greek word, understanding it in an adversative
sense: cf. on *Ioh.* 7,19.

10 *Quod si* Ἐὰν δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on
Rom. 2,25.

10 *absque metu* ἀφόβως ("sine timore" Vg.).
For *absque*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7; *Rom.* 3,21. Other
substitutions of *metus* for *timor* occur in ren-
dering φόβος at *Mt.* 14,26; *Hebr.* 2,15. However,
Erasmus retains *sine timore* at *Lc.* 1,74, and
generally prefers *timor* to *metus*. Cf. also *absque
vllius timore* for ἀφόβως at *Iud.* 12. At *Phil.*
1,14, he replaces *sine timore* with *impauide*. At
the present passage, Manetti put *intrepide*, and
Lefèvre *secure*.

10 *enim* γάρ (omitted in 1516 Lat.). The
1516 omission, which lacks ms. authority, was

probably inadvertent. Lefèvre began this clause with *Nam opus*.

10 *quemadmodum* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt.*

11 *eum* (twice) αὐτόν ("illum" Vg.). Seeing that Erasmus retains *illum* later in the verse, these changes appear to be mainly for the sake of stylistic variety. Manetti put *ipsum* (three times), and Lefèvre *illum ... eum ... eum.*

11 *sed prosequamini* προπέμψατε δέ ("deducite autem" Vg.). For *sed*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. A similar substitution of *prosequor* occurs in rendering καθίστημι at *Act.* 17,15 (1519): see *ad loc.* For Erasmus' treatment of *deduco* elsewhere, see on *Rom.* 15,24. Manetti had *Premittite autem*, and Lefèvre *sed conducentes, praemittite.*

11 *cum* (1st.) ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

12 *Porro de Apollo* περὶ δὲ Ἀπολλώ ("De Apollo autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

12 *fratre* τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ("fratre, vobis notum facio quoniam" late Vg.). The late Vulgate wording corresponds with the addition of δηλῶ ὑμῖν ὅτι in codd. ℵ* D* F G. In *Annot.*, Erasmus seems to indicate that some Greek mss. omit τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, though these two words are in all his Basle mss. This passage is assigned to the *Quae Per Interpretem Commissa.* Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

12 *hortatus sum* παρεκάλεσα ("rogaui" Vg.). See on *Act.* 27,22. Manetti put *exhortatus sum*, and Lefèvre *adhortatus sum.*

12 *illum* αὐτόν ("eum" Vg.). There was little need for this further change of pronoun. In vs. 11, as already seen, Erasmus twice changed *illum* to *eum*. Ambrosiaster also had *illum* (placed before *rogaui*, in the 1492 edition). Manetti substituted *ipsum*, which he positioned before *exhortatus sum.*

12 *iret ... nunc eundi* ἔλθη ... ἵνα νῦν ἔλθη ("veniret ... vt nunc veniret" Vg.). Since Erasmus retains *venio* in the final part of the verse, these substitutions of the verb *eo* seem to have been for the sake of varying the vocabulary. His use of a gerund, *eundi*, avoided the exact repetition of *iret*. Lefèvre had *proficisceretur ... vt nunc iret.*

12 *omnino* πάντως ("vtique" Vg.). See on *Act.* 21,22, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *erat* ἦν ("fuit" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more literal rendering of the Greek imperfect tense. See *Annot.*

12 *voluntas* θέλημα ("voluntas eius" late Vg. = Vg. 1527; "ei voluntas" *Annot.*, lemma). The 1527 Vulgate column had the same wording as the 1491 and 1514 Froben Vulgates and the Vulgate column of Lefèvre. Although the late Vulgate addition of *eius* (or *ei*) was a legitimate expansion of the meaning, it lacks explicit justification from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *Venturus est* ἐλεύσεται ("Veniet" Vg.). For Erasmus' more frequent use of the future participle, see on *Rom.* 2,6. Lefèvre put *ibit.*

12 *opportunitatem erit nactus* εὐκαιρήσῃ ("ei vacuum fuerit" Vg.). Erasmus uses this idiom in rendering καιρὸν μεταλαμβάνω at *Act.* 24,25: see *ad loc.* The Vulgate expression nevertheless has good classical precedent. At *Act.* 17,21, Erasmus retains *vaco* for εὐκαιρέω. Similarly, in rendering the same Greek verb at *Mc.* 6,31, having in 1516 replaced *spatium habeo* by *oportunitatem habeo*, he subsequently preferred to substitute *vaco*. In 1516 *Annot.*, he used the spelling εὐκαιρήσει. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre had *oportunum fuerit*, while Valla *Annot.* offered *oportunum erit*, and Manetti *oportunitas dabitur.*

13 *estote fortes* κραταιοῦσθε ("et confortamini" Vg.). Elsewhere, in rendering this verb, Erasmus substitutes *corroboro* at *Lc.* 1,80; 2,40 (both in 1519), following Vulgate usage at *Eph.* 3,16. For his removal of *conforto* from the N.T., see on *Act.* 9,19. The Vulgate addition of *et* corresponds with the reading καὶ κραταιοῦσθε in codd. A D and a few later mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *confortamini*, omitting *et.*

14 *omnia* πάντα ("omnia enim" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *enim* lacks Greek ms. support: see *Annot.* The correction which Erasmus made was in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *vobis* ὑμῶν ("vestra" Vg.). Erasmus perhaps wished to avoid the ambiguity of *vestra*, which could be misunderstood as an ablative, agreeing with *charitate*. In the Greek word-order, ὑμῶν connects more naturally with πάντα rather than ἀγάπη.

14 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. This change made use of the same word as Ambrosiaster (1492).

¹⁵ Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, οἴ-
δατε τὴν οἰκίαν Στεφανᾶ, ὅτι ἐστὶν
ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, καὶ εἰς διακονίαν
τοῖς ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς, ¹⁶ ἵνα καὶ
ὑμεῖς ὑποτάσσησθε τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ
παντὶ τῷ συνεργοῦντι καὶ κοπιῶντι.
¹⁷ χαίρω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ Στεφα-
νᾶ καὶ Φουρτουνάτου καὶ Ἀχαϊκοῦ, ὅτι
τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα, οὗτοι ἀνεπλήρω-
σαν· ¹⁸ ἀνέπαυσαν γὰρ τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦ-
μα καὶ τὸ ὑμῶν· ἐπιγινώσκετε οὖν τοὺς
τοιούτους.
    ¹⁹ Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς
Ἀσίας. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ πολ-
λὰ Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκιλλα, σὺν τῇ κατ᾽
οἴκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ. ²⁰ ἀσπάζονται
ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες. ἀσπάσασθε ἀλ-
λήλους ἐν φιλή | ματι ἁγίῳ. ²¹ Ὁ ἀσπα-
σμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου. ²² Εἴ τις οὐ

¹⁵ Obsecro autem vos fratres: no-
stis familiam Stephanae esse primiti-
as Achaiae, et quod in ministerium
sanctis ordinarunt se ipsos, ¹⁶ vt et
vos subditi sitis talibus, et omni
adiuuanti et laboranti. ¹⁷ Gaudeo
vero de aduentu Stephanae et For-
tunati et Achaici: quoniam id quod
mihi deerat vestri, hi suppleue-
runt: ¹⁸ refocillauerunt enim spiri-
tum meum ac vestrum: agnoscite
itaque huiusmodi.
    ¹⁹ Salutant vos ecclesiae Asiae.
Salutant vos in domino multum
Aquila et Priscilla, cum ea quae in
domo est ipsorum ecclesia. ²⁰ Salu-
tant vos fratres omnes. Sa | lutate
inuicem osculo sancto. ²¹ Salutatio
mea manu Pauli. ²² Si quis non

15 quod *B-E*: *om. A* | 16 subditi *B-E*: subditae *A* | 17 hi *B-E*: illi *A* | 18 ac *B-E*: et *A* |
20 osculo *B-E*: in osculo *A*

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15 *familiam* τὴν οἰκίαν ("domum" Vg.). See
on 1 *Cor.* 1,16, and *Annot.*

15 *Stephanae* Στεφανᾶ ("Stephanae et Fortunati
et Achaici" late Vg.). The late Vulgate corre-
sponds with the addition of καὶ Φορτουνάτου
καὶ Ἀχαϊκοῦ in codd. C*^{vid} F G and a few later
mss. In ℵ ^{corr} D and a few later mss., just καὶ
Φορτουνάτου is added, agreeing with the
earlier Vulgate reading, *Stephanae et Fortunati.*
These insertions probably arose by harmonisa-
tion with vs. 17. Erasmus follows codd. 2815
and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, as well
as 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B C^{corr} and most later mss. See
Annot. The same correction was made by Manetti
and Lefèvre.

15 *esse primitias* ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀπαρχή ("quoniam
sunt primitiae" Vg.). Erasmus' substitution of
the accusative and infinitive construction avoi-
ded the need to decide whether the subject was
plural or singular. Manetti put *quod est primaria,*
and Lefèvre *quod sunt primitiae.*

15 *et quod* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds
quod, to make clear that the following clause

is a continuation of what the Corinthians
"knew". Lefèvre made the same change.

15 *sanctis* τοῖς ἁγίοις ("sanctorum" Vg.). Eras-
mus is more literal here. The Vulgate use of
sanctorum could be misunderstood as a subjec-
tive genitive, referring to ministry exercised
"by" the saints, instead of "to" or "towards"
them. Lefèvre substituted *vt ministrent sanctis*
for *ministerium sanctorum.*

15 *ordinarunt* ἔταξαν ("ordinauerunt" Vg.).
For Erasmus' use of the abbreviated form of
the perfect tense, see on *Rom.* 1,25.

16 *subditi sitis* ὑποτάσσησθε ("subditae sitis"
1516). In 1516, the use of the feminine, *subditae,*
was presumably a typesetting error, as it does
not agree with *fratres* in vs. 15.

16 *talibus* τοῖς τοιούτοις ("eiusmodi" Vg.). See
on 1 *Cor.* 5,1. The same wording was used by
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *adiuuanti* τῷ συνεργοῦντι ("cooperanti"
Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,28.

16 κοπιῶντι. Cod. 2815 has the misspelling,
κοπιοῦντι.

17 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

17 *de aduentu* ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ ("in praesentia" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate. A similar substitution of *aduentus* occurs at 2 *Petr.* 1,16, in accordance with the usual Vulgate rendering of παρουσία elsewhere, though Erasmus retains *praesentia* at 2 *Cor.* 10,10; *Phil.* 2,12. At *Phil.* 1,26, he replaces *aduentus* with *reditus.* In *Annot.*, he cites the text as ἐν παρουσίᾳ, contrary to his Basle mss. (in cod. 2105, the whole clause was omitted). For his use of *de*, see on *Rom.* 16,19. Lefèvre put *in aduentu*.

17 *id quod mihi deerat vestri* τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα ("id quod vobis deerat" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, ὑμῶν is an objective genitive, implying that Paul missed the company of the Corinthians, rather than a subjective genitive, referring to something which the Corinthians lacked. The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of τὸ ὑμέτερον ὑστέρημα, as found in codd. B C D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816, and also 𝔓⁴⁶ א A and most later mss. Here Manetti put *defectum vestrum*, while Lefèvre had *indigentiam meam* (following a different Greek wording, τὸ ὑστέρημά μου).

17 *hi* οὗτοι ("ipsi" Vg.; "illi" 1516). The Vulgate reflects a Greek variant, αὐτοί, as in codd. A D F G and a few later mss. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre omitted the pronoun.

18 *refocillauerunt* ἀνέπαυσαν ("refecerunt" Vg.). See on *Act.* 20,12. Erasmus adopts the rendering of Lefèvre.

18 *spiritum meum* τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα ("et meum spiritum" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is less literal as to the word-order. The Vulgate insertion of *et* corresponds with the addition of καί before τό in codd. D* F G. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, while Manetti put *meum spiritum*.

18 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

18 *agnoscite* ἐπιγινώσκετε ("Cognoscite" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,43.

18 *itaque* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,10. Lefèvre had *igitur*.

18 *huiusmodi* τοὺς τοιούτους ("quae eiusmodi sunt" Vg. 1527; "qui eiusmodi sunt" Vg. mss.). A similar removal of *qui ... est* occurs at 2 *Cor.* 2,6-7. At a few other passages containing *huiusmodi* or *eiusmodi*, Erasmus prefers the longer

form of wording: see on *Rom.* 16,18. The use of *quae* in the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben edition of 1514, was a mistake for *qui*. The change made by Erasmus gave the same wording as Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *quod tales sunt*. Lefèvre had *qui huiusmodi sunt* in his main text, and *qui eiusmodi sunt* in *Comm.*

19 *Salutant* (2nd.) ἀσπάζονται ("Salutat" Vg. 1527). The singular verb which was used in the 1527 Vulgate column also occurred in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514, corresponding with the substitution of ἀσπάζεται in codd. א C D and a few later mss. Erasmus' adoption of a plural rendering agreed with the wording of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

19 *Priscilla* Πρίσκιλλα ("Prisca" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text substituting Πρίσκα, as in codd. א B and a few other mss. Although it has been suggested that Πρίσκιλλα is a scribal harmonisation with *Act.* 18,2, 26, it is also possible that Πρίσκα in the present passage is a harmonisation with *Rom.* 16,3; 2 *Tim.* 4,19. In 𝔓⁴⁶, it is Πρεισκας. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as C D F G and most other mss. See *Annot.* This change gave the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

19 *ea quae in domo est ipsorum* τῇ κατ᾽ οἶκον αὐτῶν ("domestica sua" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,5 for the removal of *domesticus*. Erasmus' translation resembled that of Ambrosiaster (1492), *ea que in domo eorum est.* See *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *domestica eorum.*

19 *ecclesia* ἐκκλησίᾳ ("ecclesia, apud quos et hospitor" late Vg.). The longer reading of the late Vulgate, corresponds with the addition of παρ᾽ οἷς καὶ ξενίζομαι in codd. D* (F G). Erasmus here restores the earlier Vulgate wording. See *Annot.* The same correction was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

20 *fratres omnes* οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες ("omnes fratres" late Vg.). Erasmus' rendering follows the Greek word-order more closely, as in the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

20 *osculo* ἐν φιλήματι ("in osculo" 1516 = Vg.). At other passages in the 1519 edition, a similar change occurs at 2 *Cor.* 13,12; 1 *Petr.* 5,14, though at *Rom.* 16,16 and 1 *Thess.* 5,26, Erasmus prefers *cum osculo*. See further on *Ioh.* 1,26 for the instrumental sense of ἐν.

φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, | diligit dominum Iesum Christum,
ἤτω ἀνάθεμα, μαραναθά. ²³ ἡ χάρις | sit anathema, maranatha. ²³ Gratia
τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν. | domini Iesu Christi sit vobiscum.
²⁴ ἡ ἀγάπη μου μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν | ²⁴ Dilectio mea cum omnibus vobis
ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ἀμήν. | in Christo Iesu. Amen.

Πρὸς Κορινθίους, πρώτη. | Ad Corinthios, prior.

ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππων διὰ Στεφανᾶ | Missa fuit e Philippis, per Stepha-
καὶ Φουρτουνάτου καὶ Ἀχαϊκοῦ καὶ | nam et Fortunatum et Achaicum et
Τιμοθέου. | Timotheum.

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22 Christum *A-C E: om. D*
Subscriptio Ad Corinthios, prior *B-E:* Finis *A*

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22 *diligit* φιλεῖ ("amat" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Tit.* 3,15, and also in rendering ἀγαπάω at 2 *Petr.* 2,15. Usually Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *amo* for φιλέω, and *diligo* for ἀγαπάω.

22 *dominum* τὸν κύριον ("dominum nostrum" late Vg.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of ἡμῶν in many later mss., including codd. 1, 2105, 2816. Erasmus' change of wording agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

22 *Christum* Χριστόν (omitted in 1527 Lat.). In 𝔓⁴⁶ א * A B C* and a few other mss., Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν is omitted. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also א ᶜᵒʳʳ Cᶜᵒʳʳ D F G and most other mss. Probably the omission in the 1527 Latin

rendering was inadvertent, as there was no such change in the Greek text which accompanied it.

23 *domini* τοῦ κυρίου ("domini nostri" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of ἡμῶν, as found in cod. A and many later mss.

23 Χριστοῦ. This word is omitted in cod. 2815, together with א * B and a few other mss., alongside some mss. of the earlier Vulgate. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with א ᶜᵒʳʳ A C D F G.

23 *sit vobiscum* μεθ' ὑμῶν ("vobiscum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,20 for the addition of *sit*.

24 *Dilectio* ἡ ἀγάπη ("Charitas" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,35. Lefèvre made the same substitution.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ
ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ

EPISTOLA PAVLI
AD CORINTHIOS
SECVNDA

1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφός, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ· ²χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
³Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν, καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, ⁴ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ

1 Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi per voluntatem dei, ac Timotheus frater, congregationi dei quae est Corinthi, vna cum sanctis omnibus qui sunt in tota Achaia: ²gratia vobis et pax a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo.
³Benedictus deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui est pater misericordiarum, et deus omnis consolationis, ⁴consolans nos in omni

Inscriptio τους *E: om. A-D* | **1,2** χριστου *B-E:* χστιστου *A*

Inscriptio EPISTOLA ... SECVNDA *E:* AD CORINTHIOS SECVNDA *A-C,* ERASMI VERSIO *D* | **1,1** ac *B-E:* et *A* | congregationi *B-E:* ecclesiae *A* | **3** omnis *B-E:* totius *A*

1,1 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

1 *congregationi* τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ("ecclesiae" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,11.

1 *vna cum* σύν ("cum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22.

1 *sanctis omnibus* τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσι ("omnibus sanctis" late Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek word-order more literally, in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

1 *tota* ὅλῃ ("vniuersa" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,34, and *Annot.* This change was anticipated by Manetti.

3 *qui est pater* ὁ πατήρ ("pater" Vg.). It is questionable whether Erasmus' addition of *qui*

est is an improvement, as it could be misunderstood as relating to the immediately preceding noun, *Christi.*

3 *omnis* πάσης ("totius" 1516 = Vg.). In this instance, Erasmus prefers *omnis*, as being better suited to the context, in the sense of "all" or "every" rather than "the whole". See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

4 *consolans* ὁ παρακαλῶν ("qui consolatur" Vg.). Although Erasmus' rendering accurately reproduces the participial form of the Greek verb, he leaves ὁ untranslated.

4 ἐπί. Cod. 2815 has ἐν, as in some other late mss.

τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει, διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἧς παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. ⁵ὅτι καθὼς περισσεύει τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς, οὕτως διὰ Χριστοῦ περισσεύει καὶ ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν. ⁶εἴτε δὲ θλιβόμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως, καὶ σωτηρίας τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ἐν ὑπομονῇ

afflictione nostra, in hoc vt possimus consolari eos qui sunt in quauis afflictione, per consolationem qua nos ipsos consolatur deus.   ⁵Quoniam sicut abundant afflictiones Christi in nobis, ita per Christum abundat et consolatio nostra.   ⁶Siue autem affligimur, id fit pro vestri consolatione ac salute quae operatur in tolerantia

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4 ημων *A B*: υμων *C-E*

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4 *prius* afflictione *B-E*: tribulatione *A* | quauis *B-E*: omni *A* | *alt.* afflictione *B-E*: tribulatione *A* | per *B-E*: propter *A* | 5 abundant *B-E*: abundauerunt *A* | nobis, ita *B-E*: nos, et *A* | 6 affligimur *B-E*: tribulamur *A* | id fit *D E*: *om. A-C* | *prius* vestri *B-E*: vestra *A*

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4 *afflictione* (1st.) τῇ θλίψει ("tribulatione" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,21. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *pressura*.

4 ἡμῶν. The spelling ὑμῶν in Erasmus' 1522-35 editions is probably a misprint, as it is in conflict with his Latin version and with the requirements of the context.

4 *in hoc vt* εἰς τό ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20.

4 *possimus* δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς ("possimus et ipsi" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et* lacks explicit support from Greek mss. Erasmus treats the Greek pronoun as being adequately rendered by the use of the first person plural Latin verb. In Manetti's version, ἡμᾶς was translated by *nos*, and in Lefèvre, by *et nos*.

4 *qui sunt in quauis afflictione* τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει ("qui in omni pressura sunt" Vg.; "qui sunt in omni tribulatione" 1516). The difference of word-order is unaffected by the Greek text, which lacks a verb. For Erasmus' preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. For *quauis*, see on *Act.* 10,35, and for *afflictio*, see again on *Ioh.* 16,21. Ambrosiaster (1492) put *qui sunt in omni angustia*, and Manetti *qui in omni tribulatione sunt*.

4 *per* διά ("propter" 1516). The use of *propter* in 1516 was less accurate, in view of the Greek genitive which followed, and hence Erasmus reverted to the Vulgate rendering in his 1519 edition.

4 *consolationem* τῆς παρακλήσεως ("exhortationem" Vg.). A similar correction occurs in vs. 6. In *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.*, Erasmus points out the inconsistency between the Vulgate

use of *exhortatio* here and *consolatio* in vs. 3, in rendering the same Greek word. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

4 *nos ipsos consolatur deus* παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ("exhortamur et ipsi a deo" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to maintain consistency between noun and verb, *consolatio* and *consolor*. He changes from passive to active because *consolor* more commonly has an active sense in classical Latin: cf. on *Act.* 20,12. The Vulgate insertion of *et* corresponds with the addition of καί before αὐτοί in codd. D* F G. In *Annot.*, Erasmus seems to approve of this addition. Manetti put *consolamur ipsi a deo*, and Lefèvre *ipsi consolamur a deo*.

5 *abundant* περισσεύει ("abundauerunt" 1516 Lat.). The inaccurate substitution of the perfect tense in 1516 was possibly based on the consideration that Christ's sufferings belonged to the past. In 1519, Erasmus restores the Vulgate rendering. Cf. *Annot.*

5 *afflictiones* τὰ παθήματα ("passiones" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,26; 8,18. A problem with this alteration is that Erasmus makes no distinction between θλίψις in vs. 4 and πάθημα here, as both are rendered by *afflictio*.

5 *in nobis* εἰς ἡμᾶς ("in nos" 1516). The more literal rendering offered by Erasmus' 1516 edition was anticipated by Manetti.

5 *ita* οὕτως ("ita et" Vg.; "et" 1516 Lat.). In 1516, it seems more likely that Erasmus would have wished to omit *et*, rather than *ita*, so as to conform more closely with the wording of his Greek mss. In his marked-up copy of the

Vulgate, now lost, either he or his amanuensis perhaps accidentally struck out *ita* instead of *et*. The Vulgate does not have explicit Greek authority for introducing *et* at this point, though the word may have been intended as a representation of καί later in the sentence (περισσεύει καί). Manetti had *sic et*, and Lefèvre *sic*.

5 Χριστοῦ (2nd.). The omission of τοῦ before Χριστοῦ in all of Erasmus' editions seems to have been caused by the fact that, in cod. 2817, the word was accidentally omitted at the turn of the page. Virtually all other mss., including codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, contain τοῦ. The *Textus Receptus* continued to reproduce the incorrect wording of Erasmus' text.

5 *et* καί (Vg. omits). For the Vulgate insertion of *et* at an earlier position in this sentence, see above. Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

6 *affligimur* θλιβόμεθα ("tribulamur" 1516 = Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Thess.* 1,6-7, in keeping with Vulgate usage at *Hebr.* 11,37. The verb *tribulo* does not occur in this sense in classical authors. Erasmus also uses *affligo* to replace *tribulationem patior* at 2 *Cor.* 4,8 (1516 only); 7,5. See further on *Ioh.* 16,21 for the substitution of *afflictio* for *tribulatio*. Lefèvre had *praemimur* (*premimur* in *Comm.*).

6 *id fit pro vestri consolatione* ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως ("pro vestra exhortatione" Vg.; "pro vestra consolatione" 1516; "pro vestri consolatione" 1519-22). Erasmus, in 1527, added *id fit*, to supply a main verb for the sentence. Cf. his addition of *quae fit* at *Rom.* 10,1; *Col.* 2,11. The substitution of *vestri*, an objective genitive, was probably intended to emphasise that the Corinthians would receive consolation rather than possess or bestow it. Comparable substitutions of *vestri* occur at 2 *Cor.* 2,9; 7,3, 13; 10,8; 12,19. For *consolatio*, see on vs. 4, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition, while Lefèvre put *pro consolatione vestra*.

6 *ac* (twice) καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

6-7 *quae ... vobis* τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ... βεβαία ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ("siue consolamur pro vestra consolatione, siue exhortamur pro vestra exhortatione et salute quae operatur tolerantiam earundem passionum quas et nos patimur, vt spes nostra firma sit pro vobis" late Vg.; "quae ... patimur, et spes nostra firma est pro vobis. Siue consolationem accipitis pro nostri consolatione ac salute" 1516 Lat.). The late

Vulgate combines two alternative renderings of εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως. The only Greek ms. to duplicate these words is the bilingual cod. 629, based on retranslation from the late Vulgate into Greek. Objections to this repetition of content were raised by Erasmus in *Annot.*, and it was similarly regarded as superfluous by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre. The Vulgate was further based on a Greek text which had the word-order τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ... πάσχομεν, preceded by εἴτε ... παρακλήσεως, as in codd. ℵ A C and twenty-seven later mss., though of these only three later mss. add καὶ σωτηρίας after παρακλήσεως (2nd.), as required by the late Vulgate's inclusion of *et salute*. Erasmus' 1516 edition had a different word-order, positioning εἴτε ... σωτηρίας in vs. 7, preceded by καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς ... ὑμῶν in vs. 6. Apart from minor variants, this was the reading of codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817, with support from D F G 0209 and about 500 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 626-39). In 1519, Erasmus transposed the two clauses just mentioned, so as to produce the word-order which remained in his subsequent editions, with support from hardly any mss. earlier than the 16th. century. It is probable that this was an arbitrary correction, based on contextual considerations rather than observation of ms. evidence. Cf. *Annot.* The resulting reading, poorly supported though it was, remained hereafter in the *Textus Receptus*. For the other differences between Erasmus and the Vulgate in these verses, see below. Manetti had the same basic word-order as Erasmus' 1516 edition. Lefèvre preferred the word-order of the earlier Vulgate, as well as omitting *et salute* (2nd.).

6 *quae operatur* τῆς ἐνεργουμένης. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the Greek text as τῆς ἐνεργούσης, contrary to his Basle mss. The fact that virtually all mss. have τῆς ἐνεργουμένης receives only half-hearted recognition in 1519 *Annot.*, which attributes this reading to "some" authorities ("vt quidam habent"). Lefèvre put *quae fit*.

6 *in tolerantia* ἐν ὑπομονῇ ("tolerantiam" late Vg.). The late Vulgate would seem to require the substitution of ὑπομονήν. Since there is no Greek ms. with such a reading, it is likely that the late Vulgate represents a scribal alteration of *in tolerantia*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the text as ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ, a reading which was available to him in cod. 1 (cf. also ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλοί in 2816^(corr)), in company

τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων, ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς
πάσχομεν, εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα ὑπὲρ
τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως καὶ σωτηρί-
ας, ⁷καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν βεβαία ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν, εἰδότες ὅτι ὥσπερ κοινωνοί
ἐστε τῶν παθημάτων, οὕτως καὶ τῆς
παρακλήσεως.

⁸Οὐ γὰρ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν,
ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν τῆς
γενομένης ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὅτι καθ'
ὑπερβολὴν ἐβαρήθημεν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν,
ὥστε ἐξαπορηθῆναι ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ ζῆν·
⁹ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, τὸ ἀπόκριμα
τοῦ θανάτου ἐσχήκαμεν, ἵνα μὴ πε-
ποιθότες ὦμεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ

earundem afflictionum, quas et nos
patimur, siue consolationem accipi-
mus pro vestri consolatione ac salu-
te, ⁷spes etiam nostra firma est pro
vobis, quum sciamus quod quemad-
modum participes estis afflictionum,
sic futuri sitis et consolationis.

⁸Non enim volumus vos ignora-
re fratres, de afflictione nostra quae
nobis accidit in Asia, quoniam su-
pra modum grauati fuimus supra vi-
res, adeo vt desperauerimus etiam
de vita. ⁹Quin ipsi in nobis ipsis,
sententiam mortis acceperamus, ne
confideremus in nobis ipsis, sed in

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6 παθηματων *A B D E*: ποθηματων *C* | 6-7 ειτε παρακαλουμεθα ... σωτηριας, και ...
υμων *B-E*: και ... υμων, ειτε παρακαλουμεθα ... σωτηριας *A*

6-7 siue consolationem ... vobis *B C E*: et spes nostra firma est pro vobis. Siue consolationem
accipitis pro nostri consolatione ac salute *A*, siue consolationem ... nobis *D* | 7 quum sci-
amus *B-E*: scientes *A* | futuri sitis *B-E*: om. *A* | 8 desperauerimus *B-E*: desperauerim *A* |
9 Quin *B-E*: Sed *A* | acceperamus *B-E*: acceperimus *A*

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with forty other late mss. (cf. Aland, *loc. cit.*,
where the spelling of cod. 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ is incorrectly
recorded as πολλη). The version of Lefèvre was
the same as that of Erasmus. Ambrosiaster and
Manetti had *patientiam*.

6 *afflictionum* παθημάτων ("passionum" Vg.).
See on vs. 5, and *Annot.*

6 *consolationem accipimus* παρακαλούμεθα
("consolamur ... exhortamur" late Vg.; "con-
solationem accipitis" 1516 Lat., in vs. 7). The
change from first to second person, in the
1516 rendering, conflicted with Erasmus' Greek
text. A similar problem arises from the 1516
substitution of *nostri* for *vestra* (see below).
Neither of these points was based on Greek
mss. In his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD*
IX, 2, p. 190, ll. 474-481, Erasmus said that
both changes arose from mistakes by the type-
setters of the 1516 edition ("a librariis erant
admissa duo errata"). For his use of *consolati-
onem accipio*, see on 1 *Cor.* 14,31. For the late
Vulgate doublet of *consolamur* and *exhortamur*,
see above (p. 339). Manetti and Lefèvre just had
consolamur.

6 *vestri* (2nd.) ὑμῶν ("vestra" Vg.; "nostri"
1516 Lat., in vs. 7). See above, on *id fit pro vestri
consolatione*. The change from second to first
person plural, in the 1516 rendering, was not
consistent with the accompanying Greek text:
see the previous note. There are a few late mss.,
however, which make a corresponding change
from ὑμῶν to ἡμῶν.

7 *spes etiam ... est* καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς ("vt spes ... sit"
late Vg.; "et spes ... est" 1516, in vs. 6). The late
Vulgate use of *vt ... sit* is unsupported by Greek
mss. For the transposition of this clause in the
1516 edition, see above (p. 339). Ambrosiaster
likewise had *et spes ... est* (but had *certa* instead
of *firma*). More literally, the earlier Vulgate,
and also Manetti, used *et spes* without a verb.
Lefèvre put *etiam spes ... est*.

7 *vobis* ὑμῶν ("nobis" 1527 Lat.). The spelling
adopted in Erasmus' 1527 Latin rendering was
probably only a printing error, as it was in
conflict with the adjacent Greek text.

7 *quum sciamus* εἰδότες ("scientes" 1516 = Vg.).
Erasmus changes the construction, to make
clear the subject of the verb, although the

Greek wording does not specify whether the apostle is referring to himself or the Corinthians. Other examples of the use of *quum*, to avoid the present participle, occur e.g. at 2 *Cor.* 3,12; 4,1, 13; 7,1, 7.

7 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Erasmus has the same word as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

7 *quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

7 *participes* κοινωνοί ("socii" Vg.). This change may be compared with Erasmus' substitution of *consors* for *socius* at 1 *Cor.* 10,20; *Phm.* 17; *Hebr.* 10,33. He follows the Vulgate in rendering κοινωνός by *particeps* at 1 *Cor.* 10,18, *consors* at 2 *Petr.* 1,4, and *socius* at *Mt.* 23,30; *Lc.* 5,10; 2 *Cor.* 8,23. At the present passage, the same change was again made by Lefèvre.

7 *estis afflictionum* ἐστε τῶν παθημάτων ("passionum estis" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with τῶν παθημάτων ἐστε in codd. D (F G). For *afflictio*, see on vs. 5. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *estis passionum*.

7 *futuri sitis et consolationis* καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως ("eritis et consolationis" Vg.; "et consolationis" 1516). Although Erasmus' omission of a verb in 1516 gave a more literal rendering, he decided in 1519 that it was, after all, preferable to include a verb. In *Annot.*, however, he proposed the use of *estis*, arguing that the sense required a present rather than a future tense. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

8 *vos ignorare* ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν ("ignorare vos" Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek word-order more literally, in agreement with Ambrosiaster (1492). Lefèvre put *vos latere*.

8 *afflictione* τῆς θλίψεως ("tribulatione" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,21. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *pr(a)essura*.

8 *quae nobis accidit* τῆς γενομένης ἡμῖν ("quae facta est" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of ἡμῖν, as in codd. ℵ* A B C D* F G and forty-four other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, (2105), 2816, and also ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ 0209 and about 530 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 639-42). If ἡμῖν was authentic, it is possible that some scribes may have deleted this word, on the grounds that it was rendered superfluous by the preceding ἡμῶν (cf. cod. 2105, which

omits ἡμῶν). A comparable change affecting the use of a double pronoun occurs at 2 *Cor.* 10,8 (ἐξουσίας ἡμῶν ἧς ἔδωκεν ... ἡμῖν). For *accido*, see on *Act.* 7,40. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *quae contigit nobis*. Manetti put *quae facta est nobis* (incorrectly copied as *vobis* in *Urb. Lat.* 6), and Lefèvre *quae illata est nobis*.

8 *grauati fuimus* ἐβαρήθημεν ("grauati sumus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

8 *vires* δύναμιν ("virtutem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,11. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

8 *adeo vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6, and *Annot.* The same change was again made by Lefèvre.

8 *desperauerimus etiam de vita* ἐξαπορηθῆναι ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ("taederet nos etiam viuere" Vg.; "desperauerim etiam de vita" 1516). Erasmus finds a more vigorous way to express the sense of ἐξαπορέομαι, prompted by Ambrosiaster, who had *desperaremus* in place of *taederet*: see *Annot.* The version of Manetti followed the Vulgate, except that he placed *nos* after *etiam*. Lefèvre had *nos tederet vitae*.

9 *Quin* ἀλλά ("Sed" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,17. Lefèvre put *quinimmo*.

9 *nobis ipsis* (twice) ἑαυτοῖς ("nobismet ipsis ... nobis" late Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 11,31. Erasmus gives a more consistent rendering. Ambrosiaster had *nobis* (twice), and Manetti *nobismet ipsis ... nobis ipsis*. Lefèvre put *ad nosipsos* for ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, but kept *in nobis* for ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς.

9 *sententiam* τὸ ἀπόκριμα ("responsum" Vg.). Erasmus provides a more intelligible rendering, though in classical usage the phrase *iudicium capitis* would have been more idiomatic than *sententia mortis*. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *denunciationem*, placed after *habuimus*.

9 *acceperamus* ἐσχήκαμεν ("habuimus" Vg.; "acceperimus" 1516). Erasmus finds a more suitable verb to accompany his chosen phrase, *sententiam mortis*. However, his substitution of the pluperfect tense is less accurate.

9 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20.

9 *confideremus* πεποιθότες ὦμεν ("simus fidentes" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the combination of auxiliary verb and present participle: see on *Ioh.* 1,28. The use of *confido*, in place of *fido*, is in accordance with Vulgate usage e.g. at *Rom.* 2,19; 2 *Cor.* 10,7; *Gal.* 5,10. Lefèvre made the same change, while Manetti had *simus confidentes*.

LB 753

τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἐγείροντι τοὺς νεκρούς,
¹⁰ὃς ἐκ τηλικούτου θα|νάτου ἐρρύ-
σατο ἡμᾶς, καὶ ῥύεται· εἰς ὃν ἠλπί-
καμεν ὅτι καὶ ἔτι ῥύσεται, ¹¹συν-
υπουργούντων καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
τῇ δεήσει, ἵνα ἐκ πολλῶν προσώ-
πων, τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα, διὰ
πολλῶν εὐχαριστηθῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
¹²ἡ γὰρ καύχησις ἡμῶν αὕτη
ἐστί, τὸ μαρτύριον τῆς συνειδήσεως
ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἐν ἁπλότητι καὶ εἰλικρι-
νείᾳ θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ σαρκικῇ,

deo, qui ad vitam suscitat mortuos,
¹⁰qui | ex tanta morte eripuit nos,
et eripit: in quo spem fixam habe-
mus, quod etiam posthac erepturus
sit, ¹¹simul adiuuantibus et vobis,
per deprecationem pro nobis, vt ex
multis personis, pro dono in nos
collato, per multos gratiae agantur
pro nobis: ¹²nam gloriatio nostra
haec est, testimonium conscientiae
nostrae: quod cum simplicitate et
synceritate dei, non sapientia carnali,

LB 754

11 *alt.* ημων *B-E:* υμων *A* | 12 *prius* ημων *B-E:* υμων *A*

10 tanta *B-E:* tali *A* | quo spem fixam habemus *B-E:* quem speramus *A* | etiam *B-E:* et *A* | posthac *Aᶜ B-E: om. A** | sit *B-E:* est *A* | 11 deprecationem *B-E:* orationem *A* | per mul- tos *Aᶜ B-E: om. A** | *alt.* pro nobis *B-E:* de vobis *A* | 12 cum *B-E:* in *A* | sapientia *B-E:* in sapientia *A*

9 *qui ad vitam suscitat* τῷ ἐγείροντι ("qui sus- citat" Vg.). Erasmus does not elsewhere feel the need to insert *ad vitam* alongside *suscito*. The Vulgate is more literally accurate. Cod. 2815 has the spelling ἐγείραντι, which also occurs in 𝔓⁴⁶ and a few other mss.

10 *ex* ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

10 *tanta morte* τηλικούτου θανάτου ("tantis periculis" Vg.; "tali morte" 1516). The Vulgate use of *periculis* (= κινδύνων: cf. 2 *Cor.* 11,26) lacks explicit Greek ms. support, though the plural phrase τηλικούτων θανάτων (correspon- ding with *tantis mortibus* in Ambrosiaster) occurs in 𝔓⁴⁶ and a few later mss. The substitution of *talis* for *tantus* in 1516 was in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ap. Ioh.* 16,18, but in 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus commented that τηλικοῦτος was an adjective of quantity rather than quality, and he therefore reverted to *tantus.* Manetti and Lefèvre both had the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

10 *eripuit nos* ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ("nos eripuit" late Vg.). Erasmus' rendering, together with the earlier Vulgate, follows the Greek word-order more literally. Manetti anticipated this change, but altered the word-order to read *et eripuit nos ex tali morte.* Lefèvre had *nos eruit.*

10 *eripit* ῥύεται ("eruit" late Vg.; "eruet" 1522-35 *Annot.*, lemma). In *Annot.*, Erasmus

objects to the Vulgate inconsistency in using both *eripio* and *eruo* to render the same Greek verb in this sentence. In *Annot.*, lemma, from 1522 onwards, the future tense, *eruet*, corre- sponds with the earlier Vulgate reading, together with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B C 0209 and a few later mss., which have ῥύσεται. In codd. A D*, the words καὶ ῥύεται are omitted. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and most other mss. The main question here is whether ῥύεται was a later substitution, designed to avoid repetition of ῥύσεται at the end of the verse, or whether the double use of ῥύσεται in a few mss. reflec- ted an accidental harmonisation of the two verbs. In *Annot.*, Erasmus favours ῥύεται, as being better suited to the context. The version of Lefèvre, inaccurately, put *liberauit.*

10 *in quo spem fixam habemus* εἰς ὃν ἠλπίκα- μεν ("in quem speramus" 1516 = Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 15,19 for Erasmus' use of *spem fixam habeo.* See also *Annot.* His substitution of *in quo* is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 5,45, and may be compared with his re- placement of *in deum* by *in deo* at 1 *Tim.* 5,5, after *spero.* Ambrosiaster put *in quo speramus,* Manetti *in quem sperauimus,* and Lefèvre *in quo sperauimus.*

10 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

10 *etiam* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,36. Manetti omitted the words *et adhuc*.

10 *posthac* ἔτι ("adhuc" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

10 *erepturus sit* ῥύσεται ("eripiet" Vg.; "erepturus est" 1516). For Erasmus' use of the future participle, see on *Rom.* 2,6. Manetti had *eruet*, and Lefèvre *liberabit* (cf. the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster, which had *liberauit*).

11 *simul adiuuantibus* συνυπουργούντων ("adiuuantibus" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to convey the force of the Greek prefix συν-. See on *Rom.* 2,15. For the same reason, Manetti tried *co-operantibus*, and Lefèvre *consupplicantibus*.

11 *per deprecationem* τῇ δεήσει ("in oratione" Vg.; "per orationem" 1516). For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17, and for *deprecatio*, see on *Act.* 1,14. In his rendering, Erasmus follows the Vulgate in placing this phrase before rather than after *pro nobis*, contrary to the Greek word-order.

11 *ex multis personis* ἐκ πολλῶν προσώπων ("ex multarum personis facierum" late Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the obscurity of the double rendering of προσώπων offered by the late Vulgate. The passage is accordingly assigned to the *Loca Obscura*. The original Vulgate reading is hard to discern among a range of conflicting variants: one possibility, cited by Erasmus as the reading of the first hand of his codex Constantiensis, was *ex multorum facie* (cf. *ex multorum faciae* in cod. Fuldensis). In 1527 *Annot.*, he further discusses the alternative reading, ἐν πολλῷ προσώπῳ, known to him from the homilies of Chrysostom, but also attested by 𝔓⁴⁶ F G and a few other mss. Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus, except that Valla placed this phrase after *de gratia in me*, and Lefèvre after *de dono* (see the following note).

11 *pro dono in nos collato* τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα ("eius quae in nobis est donationis" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the genitive with *gratias ago* is occasionally seen in classical authors, but the construction with *pro* is more idiomatic and more easily understood. Erasmus' use of *in nos*, combined with the participle *collato*, expresses the implied meaning of εἰς ἡμᾶς more accurately. See on *Rom.* 12,6, and *Annot.*, for the substitution of *donum* for *donatio*. Erasmus' rendering partly resembles that of Ambrosiaster (*donum quod in nos collatum est*) and Lefèvre (*de dono ... in me collato*). Valla *Annot.* proposed *de gratia in me ... collata*, and Manetti *donatio*

in nos. For the word-order of Valla and Lefèvre, see the previous note.

11 *pro nobis* (2nd.) ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ("de vobis" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus had ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (undoubtedly a *lectio difficilior*, in view of the preceding ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ... ἡμᾶς), as found in codd. 2815 and 2817, as well as in Valla *Annot.*, with support from cod. 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶* B Dᶜᵒʳʳ F. In 1519, he reverted to the Vulgate reading, based on ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, which occurs in codd. 1, 3, 2105, and also 𝔓⁴⁶ᶜᵒʳʳ ℵ A C D* G and many other mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus offers an exposition of both renderings. Manetti and Lefèvre had *pro vobis*.

12 *gloriatio* ἡ ... καύχησις ("gloria" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2, and *Annot.*. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *nostra* ἡμῶν. Erasmus' 1516 edition derives ὑμῶν from cod. 2815, in conflict with his Latin rendering.

12 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. For the sake of variety, Erasmus leaves the second instance of ἐν untranslated, and renders the third instance by *per*, in this verse.

12 *simplicitate* ἁπλότητι ("simplicitate cordis" late Vg.). There appears to be no Greek ms. authority for the late Vulgate addition of *cordis*: see *Annot.*. About thirty mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B C, substitute ἁγιότητι ("holiness"). Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵᶜᵒʳʳ D F G and about 550 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 642-4). The substitution of ἁγιότητι by some mss. appears to be the result of an ancient scribal error, arising from the similarity of spelling the two words. Cf. the confusion between ἁπλότητος and ἁγνότητος in a few mss. at 2 *Cor.* 11,3. The use of ἁπλότης is more in accordance with Pauline usage elsewhere in the Epistles. Erasmus' wording agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *non* οὐκ ("et non" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek variant, καὶ οὐκ, found in 𝔓⁴⁶ B and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ A C D F G and most other mss. The same rendering was used by Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *sapientia* ἐν σοφίᾳ ("in sapientia" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

ἀλλ' ἐν χάριτι θεοῦ ἀνεστράφημεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, περισσοτέρως δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

[13] Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα γράφομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἃ ἀναγινώσκετε, ἢ καὶ ἐπιγινώσκετε. ἐλπίζω δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἕως τέλους ἐπιγνώσεσθε, [14] καθὼς καὶ ἐπέγνωτε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ μέρους, ὅτι καύχημα ὑμῶν ἐσμεν, καθάπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.

[15] Καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πεποιθήσει ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρότερον, ἵνα δευτέραν χάριν ἔχητε, [16] καὶ δι' ὑμῶν διελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. [17] τοῦτο οὖν βουλευόμενος, μήτι ἄρα

sed per gratiam dei conuersati fuerimus in mundo, abundantius autem erga vos.

[13] Non enim alia scribimus vobis, quam quae legitis aut etiam agnoscitis. Spero autem quod vsque ad finem quoque agnoscetis, [14] quemadmodum et agnouistis nos ex parte, quoniam gloria vestra sumus, quemadmodum et vos nostra, in die domini Iesu.

[15] Et hac fiducia volebam ad vos venire prius, vt geminam apud vos inirem gratiam, [16] et per vos pertransire in Macedoniam, et rursum a Macedonia venire ad vos, ac a vobis deduci in Iudaeam. [17] Hoc igitur quum in animo versarem, nuncubi

15   προς υμας ελθειν B-E: ελθειν προς υμας A

12   per gratiam B-E: in gratia A | erga B-E: apud A | 15 geminam ... gratiam B-E: secundam gratiam haberetis A | 16 ac B-E: et A

12 *per gratiam* ἐν χάριτι ("in gratia" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

12 *conuersati fuerimus* ἀνεστράφημεν ("conuersati sumus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

12 *mundo* τῷ κόσμῳ ("hoc mundo" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *hoc* lacks Greek ms. support. See on *Rom.* 3,6. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

12 *erga* πρός ("ad" Vg.; "apud" 1516). See on *Act.* 3,25, and *Annot.* The 1516 rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Valla *Annot.*, while Lefèvre had *erga*.

13 *legitis* ἀναγινώσκετε ("legistis" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the perfect tense lacks Greek ms. support, as indicated in *Annot.* This passage was listed among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata.* Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

13 *aut etiam* ἢ καί ("et" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of ἤ in codd. F G. For *etiam*, see on *Ioh.* 6,36. In *Annot.*, Erasmus speculates that the original Greek reading was ἃ καί, though this does not enjoy ms. support. His rendering here follows that of Lefèvre.

13 *agnoscitis ... agnoscetis* ἐπιγινώσκετε ... ἐπιγνώσεσθε ("cognouistis ... cognoscetis" late

Vg.). Again the late Vulgate use of the perfect tense, *cognouistis*, lacks Greek ms. support, as mentioned in *Annot.* This point is also raised in the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata.* For *agnosco*, see on *Ioh.* 8,43, and *Annot.* The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *cognoscitis* in place of *cognouistis.*

13 *vsque ad finem* ἕως τέλους ("vsque in finem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,2. Erasmus has the same wording as that of Ambrosiaster (1492). Lefèvre put *ad finem vsque.*

13 *quoque* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓[46] ℵ A B C D* F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 2105, 2816, and also D^corr and most later mss. (cod. 1 has καί, but omits the preceding ὅτι). The version of Lefèvre, following the Greek word-order more literally, inserted *et* after *quod.*

14 *quemadmodum* (twice) καθώς ... καθάπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13; 4,6. Lefèvre had *vt* (twice).

14 *agnouistis* ἐπέγνωτε ("cognouistis"). See on *Ioh.* 8,43.

14 *quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,21. Lefèvre put *quod.*

14 *Iesu* Ἰησοῦ ("nostri Iesu Christi" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *nostri* corresponds with the insertion of ἡμῶν before Ἰησοῦ by codd. ℵ B F G and some other mss. The further addition of *Christi*, or Χριστοῦ, is supported by ℵ corr D* F G and a few other mss., including cod. 2815. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓46vid A C Dcorr. See *Annot.*, in which Erasmus seems to be unaware of the reading of his cod. 2815. Lefèvre made the same correction (but with the spelling *Ihesu*). Ambrosiaster put *Iesu Christi*.

15 *fiducia* τῇ πεποιθήσει ("confidentia" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 8,22; 10,2; *Eph.* 3,12 (and also in rendering παρρησία at *Hebr.* 10,35), in conformity with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 3,4. Erasmus adopted the same word as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *fiducia fretus*.

15 *volebam* ἐβουλόμην ("volui" Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek imperfect tense more correctly. A few late mss. have ἐβουλήθην, possibly under influence from the Vulgate wording.

15 *ad vos venire prius* πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρότερον ("prius venire ad vos" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with πρότερον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, as in codd. D F G and seven later mss. About forty others, commencing with 𝔓46vid ℵ corr A B C, have πρότερον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν. Erasmus' wording in 1516, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρότερον, does not exactly follow any of his usual mss., though there are twenty-five late mss. which have this reading. His codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2815, 2816 have ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ πρότερον, with about 340 other late mss., while his cod. 2817 joined thirteen other late mss. in putting πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρότερον. In more than 120 further late mss., it is πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν τὸ πρότερον. Other variants also exist. (See Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 644-7). Possibly the 1516 typesetter followed cod. 2815, and then a proof-reader deleted τό by reference to cod. 2817. In 1519, Erasmus conformed the rest of this phrase with cod. 2817, resulting in a poorly supported word-sequence, which persisted into the *Textus Receptus*. Manetti anticipated Erasmus' rendering of this passage.

15 *geminam apud vos inirem gratiam* δευτέραν χάριν ἔχητε ("secundam gratiam haberetis" 1516 = Vg.). By altering the construction, so that the apostle replaces the Corinthians as the subject of this clause, Erasmus strays in the direction of interpretative paraphrase. His use of *geminam* was no doubt intended to prevent confusion arising from the idea that Paul's "first" visit would bring a "second" benefit. Cf. *Annot.*, where he alternatively proposes *geminum beneficium*, in place of *secundam gratiam*. Lefèvre put *habeatis* for *haberetis*.

16 *pertransire ... venire* διελθεῖν ... ἐλθεῖν ("transirem ... venirem" late Vg.). The late Vulgate incorrectly connects these verbs with the preceding *vt* of vs. 15. A similar substitution of *pertranseo* occurs at *Act.* 16,6 (1516 only). Sometimes Erasmus retains *transeo* for διέρχομαι, e.g. at *Mt.* 19,24 (1519); *Mc.* 4,35; *Lc.* 2,15. See further on 1 *Cor.* 16,5. Lefèvre had *transire*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

16 *rursum* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,10. Lefèvre put *rursus*.

16 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

17 *Hoc igitur quum in animo versarem* τοῦτο οὖν βουλευόμενος ("Cum ergo hoc voluissem" late Vg. = Vg. 1527; "Cum autem hoc voluissem" *Annot.*, lemma). The Vulgate reading cited in *Annot.* corresponds with the substitution of δέ for οὖν in cod. A, and Erasmus commends this as being better suited to the context. For the replacement of *ergo* by *igitur*, see on *Ioh.* 6,62. The Vulgate use of *voluissem* further reflects the replacement of βουλευόμενος by βουλόμενος, as in 𝔓46 ℵ A B C F G Ivid and some other mss., including 2815mg, as well as Valla *Annot.*, whose rendering was *Hoc igitur volens*. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815* and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with cod. D and most later mss. The textual point at issue here is whether βουλευόμενος is a harmonisation with the two occurrences of βουλεύομαι later in this verse, or whether βουλόμενος is a harmonisation with ἐβουλόμην in vs. 15. Erasmus elsewhere uses *in animo verso* at *Mt.* 1,20, to replace *cogito* in rendering ἐνθυμέομαι. It would have been more consistent with the use of *cogito* later in this verse, if he had replaced *voluissem* by *cogitarem* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *Hoc ergo cogitans*). Manetti had the same wording as was attributed to the Vulgate in *Annot.*, lemma. Lefèvre put *Hoc igitur deliberans*.

17 *nuncubi* μήτι ἄρα ("nunquid" Vg.). This is the only N.T. passage where Erasmus uses *nuncubi*, and it is not entirely accurate here. See also on *sicubi* at 2 *Cor.* 13,5. Lefèvre inappropriately substituted *nonne*.

LB 755

τῇ ἐλαφρίᾳ ἐχρησάμην; ἢ ἃ βου-
λεύομαι, κατὰ σάρκα βουλεύο|μαι;
ἵνα ᾖ παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ ναί, ναί, καὶ
τὸ οὔ, οὔ. ¹⁸ πιστὸς δὲ ὁ θεός, ὅτι
ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ
ἐγένετο ναὶ καὶ οὔ. ¹⁹ ὁ γὰρ τοῦ
θεοῦ υἱὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ ἐν ὑμῖν
δι' ἡμῶν κηρυχθείς, δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ
Σιλουανοῦ καὶ Τιμοθέου, οὐκ ἐγένε-
το ναὶ καὶ οὔ, ἀλλὰ ναὶ ἐν αὐτῷ
γέγονεν. ²⁰ ὅσαι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαι θε-
οῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ναί, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ
τὸ ἀμήν, τῷ θεῷ πρὸς δόξαν δι'
ἡμῶν. ²¹ ὁ δὲ βεβαιῶν ἡμᾶς σὺν ὑμῖν

leuitate sum vsus? Aut num quae co-
gito, secundum carnem cogito? Vt sit
apud | me quod est, etiam, etiam, et   LB 756
quod est, non, non. ¹⁸ Imo fidelis deus
quod sermo noster erga vos, non fuit
etiam et non. ¹⁹ Nam dei filius Iesus
Christus, qui inter vos per nos prae-
dicatus est, per me et Syluanum ac
Timotheum, non fuit etiam et non,
sed etiam per ipsum fuit. ²⁰ Quot-
quot enim sunt promissiones dei,
per ipsum sunt etiam, et per ipsum
amen, deo ad gloriam per nos. ²¹ Por-
ro qui confirmat nos vna vobiscum

21 υμιν *A-D*: ημιν *E*

18 Imo fidelis *B-E*: Fidelis autem *A* | noster erga vos *B-E*: vester erga nos *A* | 19 ac *B-E*:
et *A* | per ipsum *B-E*: in ipso *A* | 20 *prius* per ipsum *B-E*: in ipso *A* | *alt.* per ipsum *B-E*: in
ipso *A* | 21 vobiscum *A-D*: nobiscum *E*

17 *sum vsus* ἐχρησάμην ("vsus sum" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 2,27. The same change was made by
Lefèvre.

17 *Aut num* ἦ ("Aut" Vg.). Erasmus adds *num*,
to make clear that a negative reply was expected
to this question. See *Annot.*

17 *quod est, etiam, etiam, et quod est, non, non* τὸ
ναί, ναί, καὶ τὸ οὔ, οὔ ("est et non" Vg.). The
Vulgate reflects a Greek text having τὸ ναὶ καὶ
τὸ οὔ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ and a few later mss. Erasmus
similarly substitutes *etiam* for *est* in rendering
ναί in vss. 18-19, but retains *est* at *Mt.* 5,37; *Iac.*
5,12. See *Annot.* The rendering suggested by
Valla *Annot.* was *etiam quod est etiam, et non quod
est non.* Manetti had *ita ita: non non*, and Lefèvre
etiam etiam, et non non.

18 *Imo fidelis* πιστὸς δέ ("Fidelis autem" 1516
= Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2, and *Annot.*

18 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The
same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.*,
Manetti and Lefèvre.

18 *noster erga vos* ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ("noster,
qui fuit apud vos" late Vg.; "vester erga nos"
1516 Lat.). The curious change of pronouns
in the 1516 rendering might conceivably have
been caused by a double error of the typesetter,
as it conflicts with Erasmus' Greek text and
mss. For *erga*, see on *Act.* 3,25. Valla *Annot.* had

apud vos, while Manetti and Lefèvre (text) put
ad vos, all of them omitting *qui fuit.*

18 *fuit* ἐγένετο ("est in illo" Vg.). The Vulgate
partly reflects the substitution of ἔστι, as in
𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B C D* F G 0223 and a few other
mss. However, the Vulgate addition of *in illo*,
which lacks Greek ms. support, looks like a
harmonisation with vs. 19. This also raises the
question of whether ἐγένετο itself could be a
harmonisation with the use of that verb in
vs. 19. Another possibility is that ἔστι was
substituted by an early corrector, who disliked
the repetition of ἐγένετο and considered that
the tense should conform with the present
tense of βουλεύομαι and ᾖ in vs. 17. Erasmus
follows his codd. 2815 and 2817, accompanied
by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later
mss. See *Annot.* The same change was made by
Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

18 *etiam* ναί ("est" Vg.). See on vs. 17, and
Annot. This change was also advocated by Valla
Annot. and Lefèvre, while Manetti put *ita.*

18 *non* (2nd.) οὔ ("non: sed est, in illo est" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate addition again lacks
Greek ms. support, and probably represents
a harmonisation with vs. 19. See above, and
see also *Annot.* This correction produced agree-
ment with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster,
Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

19 *Nam dei* γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ("Dei enim" Vg.). The Greek word-order underlying the Vulgate text is uncertain. A few mss., commencing with codd. א A B C 0223, have τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ, while 𝔓⁴⁶ had τοῦ γὰρ θεοῦ, and codd. F G just γὰρ θεοῦ. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, and also cod. D and most later mss. For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre made the same change.

19 *inter vos* ἐν ὑμῖν ("in vobis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24.

19 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

19 *fuit* (1st.) ἐγένετο ("fuit in illo" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support: see *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agreed with the wording of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

19 *etiam* (twice) ναί ("est" Vg.). See on vs. 17, and *Annot.* The same change was again made by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, while Manetti had *ita.*

19 *per ipsum* ἐν αὐτῷ ("in illo" Vg.; "in ipso" 1516). For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17, and *Annot.* The 1516 rendering was the same as that of Valla *Annot.* and Manetti, whereas Lefèvre preferred *in eo.*

20 *sunt promissiones dei, per ipsum sunt* ἐπαγγελίαι θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ ("promissiones dei sunt in illo" Vg.; "sunt promissiones dei, in ipso sunt" 1516). Erasmus follows Valla *Annot.* in inserting an additional *sunt*, for clarity. For *per*, see again on *Rom.* 1,17. See also *Annot.* The word-order of Valla was *promissiones dei sunt in ipso ... sunt* (placing *sunt* after *etiam*). Manetti had *promissiones dei in ipso sunt*, and Lefèvre *promissiones dei in eo: sunt.*

20 *etiam* τὸ ναί ("est" Vg.). See on vs. 17. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus' casual omission of τό happens to be supported by 𝔓⁴⁶. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre made the same change of rendering, while Manetti put *ita.* See the previous note for Valla's word-order.

20 *et* καί ("ideo et" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek variant, διὸ καί, as in codd. א A B C F G 0223 and thirty-six other mss. In omitting διό, Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also 𝔓⁴⁶ D and about 540 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 647-50). See *Annot.* This change followed the same wording as Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

20 *per ipsum* (2nd.) ἐν αὐτῷ ("in ipso" 1516). The Vulgate phrase, restored by Erasmus in 1519, may reflect a different Greek text, δι' αὐτοῦ, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ א A B C D* F G and forty-one other mss. Erasmus followed codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 540 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 647-50). Cf. *Annot.* A theoretical explanation of ἐν αὐτῷ might be that it resulted from a scribal harmonisation with the immediate context, influenced by the use of the same phrase a few words earlier. However, the more specific δι' αὐτοῦ ("through him") could easily have originated as an interpretative gloss. The change in 1516 was consistent with the use of *in ipso* by that edition in the previous clause, and agreed with the wording offered by Valla *Annot.* and Manetti. Lefèvre put *in eo.*

20 *amen* τὸ ἀμήν ("dicimus amen" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514. Valla *Annot.* cites the Vulgate as having *amen dico*, omitting *deo*. In either case, the late Vulgate insertion of *dico* or *dicimus* is unsupported by Greek mss. In omitting this verb, Erasmus' rendering agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Valla, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

20 *per nos* δι' ἡμῶν ("nostram" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of δι', as in codd. C 0285 and a few later mss. In Lefèvre's edition, the Vulgate is represented as reading *vestram*. The wording of Erasmus was the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre (in Lefèvre's version, this phrase was positioned after *amen*).

21 *Porro qui* ὁ δέ ("Qui autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

21 *vna vobiscum* σὺν ὑμῖν ("vobiscum" Vg.; "vna nobiscum" 1535). For Erasmus' addition of *vna*, see on *Act.* 1,22. In his 1535 edition, the spelling *nobiscum*, and the associated change from ὑμῖν to ἡμῖν, yields a nonsensical reading (*nos vna nobiscum* and ἡμᾶς σὺν ἡμῖν), which cannot possibly have been intended by Erasmus. Perhaps the typesetter had begun by mistakenly inverting the first *u-* of *uobiscum*, to produce *nobiscum* (a common hazard when handling movable types), and then compounded the first error by altering the Greek text to agree with the incorrect Latin text, instead of changing *nobiscum* back to *uobiscum* (i.e. *vobiscum*).

εἰς Χριστόν, καὶ χρίσας ἡμᾶς, θεός, ²²ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς, καὶ δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν.

²³Ἐγὼ δὲ μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν, ὅτι φειδόμενος ὑμῶν, οὐκέτι ἦλθον εἰς Κόρινθον· ²⁴οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλὰ συνεργοί ἐσμεν τῆς χαρᾶς ὑμῶν· τῇ γὰρ πίστει ἑστήκατε.

2 ¹Ἔκρινα δὲ ἐμαυτῷ τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ²εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ λυπῶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ εὐφραίνων με, εἰ μὴ ὁ λυπούμενος ἐξ ἐμοῦ; ³καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν τοῦτο αὐτό, ἵνα μὴ ἐλθών, λύπην σχῶ

in Christum: et qui vnxit nos, deus est: ²²qui etiam obsignauit nos, deditque arram spiritus in cordibus nostris.

²³Ego vero testem deum inuoco in animam meam, quod parcens vobis, nondum venerim Corinthum, ²⁴non quod dominemur vobis nomine fidei, sed adiutores sumus gaudii vestri, nam fide statis.

2 Sed decreui apud memet ipsum hoc, non iterum cum dolore ad vos venire. ²Nam si ego moerore vos afficiam, et quis est qui exhilaret me, nisi is qui moerore afficitur ex me? ³Et scripsi vobis hoc ipsum: ne si venissem ad vos, dolorem caperem

2,3 σχω D E: εχω A-C

22 deditque arram B-E: et dedit pignus A | 23 venerim B-E: veni A | 24 adiutores A B D E: adiutotes C
2,1 memet B-E: me A | cum B-E: in A | 2 moerore vos afficiam B-E: contristo vos A | exhilaret B-E: letificet A | moerore afficitur B-E: contristatur A | 3 caperem B-E: haberem A

21 in Christum εἰς Χριστόν ("in Christo" late Vg.). The late Vulgate rendering lacks explicit support from Greek mss. Erasmus has the same wording as the earlier Vulgate and Manetti.

21 deus est θεός ("deus" Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb for the sake of clarity. Lefèvre made the same change.

22 qui etiam ὁ καί ("et qui" Vg.). See on Ioh. 6,36 for etiam. Erasmus' rendering follows the Greek word-order more exactly (cf. qui et, in Ambrosiaster).

22 obsignauit σφραγισάμενος ("signauit" Vg.). See on Ioh. 3,33, and Annot. The version of Manetti had consignauit.

22 deditque καὶ δούς ("et dedit" 1516 = Vg.). See on Ioh. 1,39.

22 arram τὸν ἀρραβῶνα ("pignus" 1516 = Vg.). This is the only place where Erasmus uses arra. At 2 Cor. 5,5; Eph. 1,14, he prefers arrabo, as advocated by Valla Annot. and Lefèvre at the present passage. See Annot., and see also Valla

Elegantiae, VI, 57; Erasmus Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD I, 4, p. 296, ll. 435-443, for these expressions.

23 vero δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on Ioh. 1,26. Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

23 nondum venerim οὐκέτι ἦλθον ("non veni vltra" Vg.; "nondum veni" 1516). Erasmus translates according to the requirements of the context: see Annot. For his use of the subjunctive after quod, see on Ioh. 1,20. Lefèvre put non iterum veni, and Manetti non vltra veni.

24 non quod dominemur οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ("non quia dominamur" Vg.). Erasmus takes the sense as being "I do not mean that we have dominion" rather than "not because we have dominion". This substitution is consistent with the Vulgate use of non quod at 2 Cor. 3,5; Phil. 3,12. Similar changes also occur at Ioh. 6,46; Phil. 4,17. Cf. also non quod for non quasi at Phil. 4,11; 2 Thess. 3,9. Ambrosiaster and Manetti

had the same wording as Erasmus. Lefèvre put *non quod dominamur*.

24 *vobis nomine fidei* ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως ("fidei vestrae" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that ὑμῶν should be connected with the immediately preceding verb, κυριεύω (i.e. "have dominion over you because of, or with regard to, the faith"), rather than being taken as a possessive genitive (as in "have dominion over your faith"). He defended this viewpoint against objections by Stunica, in *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, pp. 190-2, ll. 483-493.

24 *statis* ἑστήκατε. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the text as ἑστήκαμεν ("we stand"), while acknowledging that the mss. varied on this point. The reading ἑστήκαμεν occurs in a few late mss., but not in any of those which Erasmus consulted at Basle.

2,1 *Sed decreui* Ἔκρινα δέ ("Statui autem" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Tit.* 3,12. See also on *Act.* 15,19. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *Decreui autem*.

1 *apud memet ipsum hoc* ἐμαυτῷ τοῦτο ("hoc ipsum apud me" late Vg.; "apud me ipsum hoc" 1516). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order. For the more emphatic *memet*, which occurs only here in the N.T., cf. on *vosmet, semet*, and *temet*, at *Rom.* 6,13; *Gal.* 2,20; 6,1. The 1516 rendering was the same as that of Lefèvre. Manetti had *in me ipso hoc*.

1 *non iterum ... ad vos venire* τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν ... πρὸς ὑμᾶς ("ne iterum ... venirem ad vos" Vg.). The Greek wording of Erasmus' text is taken from cod. 2815, but his Latin word-order is closer to cod. 2817, which has τὸ μὴ πάλιν ... πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, in company with 1, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A B C 0223. The Vulgate reflects a different variant, τὸ μὴ πάλιν ... ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς (placing ἐλθεῖν after λύπῃ), as in 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ D F G and a few later mss., including cod. 2105. The poorly supported reading adopted by Erasmus or his assistants remained in the *Textus Receptus*. His substitution of the infinitive, *venire*, resembled the version of Lefèvre, who had *non rursus ... ad vos venire*. Manetti put *ne iterum ... ad vos venirem*.

1 *cum dolore* ἐν λύπῃ ("in tristitia" Vg.; "in dolore" 1516). For *cum*, see on *Rom.* 1,4, and for *dolor*, see on *Ioh.* 16,6.

2 *Nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

2 *moerore vos afficiam ... moerore afficitur* λυπῶ ὑμᾶς ... λυπούμενος ("contristo vos ... contristatur" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,20, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *tristitia afficio vos ... tristitia afficitur*.

2 *qui exhilaret me* ὁ εὐφραίνων με ("qui me laetificet" Vg.; "qui letificet me" 1516). Erasmus' rendering follows the Greek word-order more closely. His chosen verb, *exhilaro*, was used by a wider range of classical authors than *laetifico*, in this sense. Lefèvre put *qui michi laeticiam (Comm.: letitiam) affert*.

2 *is qui* ὁ ("qui" Vg.). Erasmus inserts a pronoun to complete the sense, adopting the rendering of Lefèvre.

3 *scripsi vobis hoc ipsum* ἔγραψα ὑμῖν τοῦτο αὐτό ("hoc ipsum scripsi vobis" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgᵂᵂ; "hoc ipsum scripsi" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). The more common Vulgate reading, ending in *vobis*, corresponds with τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν in codd. D Fᶜᵒʳʳ G (cf. cod. 2105, ἔγραψα ὑμῖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο). The other Vulgate reading, omitting *vobis*, lacks Greek support, apart from those mss. which have ἔγραψα τοῦτο αὐτό, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B, or ἔγραψα αὐτὸ τοῦτο, as in codd. C* 0285. The reading adopted by Erasmus is supported by codd. 2815 and 2817, together with codd. 1 and 2816, as well as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss.

3 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus.

3 *si venissem ad vos* ἐλθών ("cum venero" Vg.). Erasmus' addition of *ad vos* is not based on Greek mss., but is inserted for the sake of clarity. Ambrosiaster had *cum venissem*, and Lefèvre *veniens*.

3 *dolorem caperem* λύπην σχῶ ("tristitiam super tristitiam habeam" Vg.; "dolorem haberem" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the addition of ἐπὶ λύπην after λύπην, as in codd. D F G and thirty other mss. Twenty-three others add ἐπὶ λύπῃ. As Erasmus suggests in *Annot.*, these additions may arise from harmonisation with *Phil.* 2,27. He includes this passage in the *Quae Sint Addita*. In omitting ἐπὶ λύπην, he follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C 0285 and about 530 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 650-2). In 1522 *Annot.*, he discusses Stunica's citation of λύπην ἐπὶ λύπης σχῶ from the "codex Rhodiensis", concluding with

ἀφ' ὧν ἔδει με χαίρειν· πεποι-
θὼς ἐπὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ἡ ἐμὴ
χαρὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐστιν.   ⁴ἐκ
γὰρ πολλῆς θλίψεως καὶ συνο-
χῆς καρδίας ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, διὰ
πολλῶν δακρύων, οὐχ ἵνα λυ-
πηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ἵνα
γνῶτε ἣν ἔχω περισσοτέρως εἰς
ὑμᾶς.
     ⁵Εἰ δέ τις λελύπηκεν, οὐκ ἐμὲ
λελύπηκεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μέρους, ἵνα
μὴ ἐπιβαρῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς.   ⁶ἱκα-
νὸν τῷ | τοιούτῳ ἡ ἐπιτιμία αὕ-
τη, ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων·   ⁷ὥστε
τοὐναντίον μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς χαρίσα-
σθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι, μή πως

ex his, ex quibus oportebat me cape-
re voluptatem: fiduciam hanc habens
erga vos omnes, quod meum gaudi-
um omnium vestrum sit. ⁴Nam ex
multa afflictione et anxietate cordis
scripsi vobis, per multas lachrymas,
non vt moerore afficeremini, sed vt
cognosceretis charitatem quam habeo
abundantius erga vos.
     ⁵Quod si quis dolore affecit,
non me dolore affecit, sed ex parte,
ne aggrauem omneis vos. ⁶Sufficit
istius|modi homini increpatio haec,
quae facta est a pluribus: ⁷adeo vt
e diuerso magis condonare debeatis
et consolari: ne quo modo fiat, vt

---

4 lachrymas *B-E*: lacrymas *A* | moerore afficeremini *B-E*: contristaremini *A* | 5 *prius* dolore
affecit *B-E*: vos contristauit *A* | *alt.* dolore affecit *B-E*: contristauit *A* | aggrauem *B-E*:
grauem *A* | 7 adeo vt *B-E*: Itaque *A* | condonare debeatis *B-E*: donate *A* | consolari *B-E*:
consolamini *A*

---

a robust condemnation of what appeared to be
a pro-Vulgate tendency in this ms. (now lost,
but possibly related to the group of mss. whose
characteristic readings are frequently adopted
in the text of the Acts and Epistles of the
Complutensian Polyglot). See also the *Apolog.
resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 192, ll. 495-
507. In 1527 *Annot.*, Erasmus altered his quota-
tion of Stunica's ms. to read λύπην ἐπὶ λύπῃ
σχῶ, which was actually the reading of the
Complutensian Polyglot. His Greek N.T. text
of 1527 adopted σχῶ, in agreement with Stunica
and the Complutensian, and also with codd.
2105 and 2816ᵛⁱᵈ, supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B
0285 and a few later mss. The 1516-22 editions
of his Greek text had ἔχω, as in codd. 2815
and 2817, as well as cod. 1 and most other mss.,
commencing with ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ C D F G. This form
of the verb was retained in Erasmus' main
citation of the text in all five editions of *Annot.*
For *dolorem*, see on *Ioh.* 16,6. For the use of
capio, cf. *capio consolationem* at *Rom.* 1,12, and
also *capio voluptatem* later in the present verse.
Manetti put *tristitiam habeam*, and Lefèvre *tristitia
afficiar*.

3 *ex his, ex quibus* ἀφ' ὧν ("de quibus" Vg.).
Erasmus expands the wording, to complete the

grammatical structure. For *ex*, see further on
Act. 9,8. Ambrosiaster put *a quibus*, and Lefèvre
ab iis, a quibus.

3 *oportebat* ἔδει ("oportuerat" Vg.). Erasmus is
more literal in rendering the Greek imperfect
tense here. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same
change, except that Lefèvre placed *oportebat*
after *gaudium percipere*.

3 *capere voluptatem* χαίρειν ("gaudere" Vg.).
This time the Vulgate gives a more exact trans-
lation. By substituting a phrase which matches
his use of *dolorem caperem* earlier in the verse,
Erasmus creates a parallelism which is absent
from the Greek text. As mentioned in the pre-
vious note, Lefèvre had *gaudium percipere*.

3 *fiduciam hanc habens* πεποιθώς ("confidens"
Vg.). A similar substitution of *fiduciam habeo*
occurs at *Mc.* 10,24; *Phil.* 3,4. Manetti put
confisus.

3 *erga vos omnes* ἐπὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ("in omnibus
vobis" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25 for *erga*. Erasmus'
rendering represents the Greek accusative more
exactly here, though he retains *confidit in deo*
for πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν at *Mt.* 27,43.

3 *quod ... sit* ὅτι ... ἐστιν ("quia ... est" Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti put *quod ... est*.

4 *afflictione* θλίψεως ("tribulatione" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,21. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *pressura*.

4 *anxietate* συνοχῆς ("angustia" Vg.). At *Lc.* 21,25 (1519), the only other N.T. passage where this Greek word occurs, Erasmus uses *anxietas* to replace *pressura*: see on *Ioh.* 16,21, and *Annot.*, where he complains that *angustia cordis* implies meanness of spirit. For *anxietas*, see also on *Rom.* 2,9.

4 *moerore afficeremini* λυπηθῆτε ("contristemini" Vg.; "contristaremini" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 16,20. Lefèvre had *tristemini*.

4 *cognosceretis* γνῶτε ("sciatis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,7. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *cognoscatis*: for Lefèvre's word-order, see the following note.

4 *charitatem quam* τὴν ἀγάπην ... ἥν ("quam charitatem" Vg.). Erasmus' version, which is here the same as that of Ambrosiaster, is closer to the Greek word-order. See *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre, still more literally, had the sequence *dilectionem cognoscatis, qua*.

4 *habeo* ἔχω ("habeam" late Vg.). Erasmus' literal rendering is in agreement with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre replaced *quam ... habeam* by *qua ... afficior*, placing *afficior* at the end of the sentence.

4 *erga vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" Vg.). Once again Erasmus is more accurate. See on *Act.* 3,25, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

5 *Quod si quis* Εἰ δέ τις ("Si quis autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25.

5 *dolore affecit* (twice) λελύπηκεν ("contristauit me ... contristauit" late Vg.; "vos contristauit ... contristauit" 1516). The late Vulgate addition of *me* is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. See *Annot.* This passage is listed in the 1519-22 editions of the *Quae Sint Addita*. For *dolore afficio*, see on *Ioh.* 16,20. Lefèvre had *tristitiam intulit ... tristitia affecit*.

5 ἀλλ'. This spelling came from cod. 2815, supported by 2816^vid, and also D F G and many other mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2817, it was ἀλλά.

5 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20. Lefèvre made the same change.

5 *aggrauem* ἐπιβαρῶ ("onerem" Vg.; "grauem" 1516). In rendering this Greek verb elsewhere, Erasmus replaces *grauo* by *sum oneri* at 1 *Thess.* 2,9; 2 *Thess.* 3,8. In *Annot.*, he explains that his aim is to convey the sense of the Greek

prefix, ἐπι-. Manetti's version incorrectly put *honorem*, while Lefèvre put *videar ... onerare*.

5 *omneis* πάντας ("omnes" Vg.). Erasmus introduces this archaic form of the accusative plural at seven other passages: *Mt.* 9,35 (1519 only); 24,39 (1516 only); 2 *Cor.* 9,13; 1 *Thess.* 5,14, 15, 26; *Iud.* 15. See also on *plureis* and *treis* at 1 *Cor.* 9,19; *Gal.* 1,18.

6 *istiusmodi homini* τῷ τοιούτῳ ("illi qui eiusmodi est" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 16,18. A similar substitution of the more pejorative *istiusmodi* also occurs at *Act.* 22,22 (1519); 2 *Cor.* 10,11; 11,13; 2 *Thess.* 3,12. By removing *qui ... est*, Erasmus produces a simpler rendering. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had *ei qui talis est*.

6 *increpatio* ἡ ἐπιτιμία ("obiurgatio" Vg.). Erasmus alleges in *Annot.*, that *increpatio* is the usual translation of this Greek word. What he perhaps meant was that *increpo* is the usual translation of the verb ἐπιτιμάω. The noun ἐπιτιμία occurs only here in the N.T., and the form *increpatio* does not exist in classical usage. Erasmus here imitated the rendering of Lefèvre.

6 *quae facta est* ἡ ("quae fit" Vg.). In view of the following ὑπό, Erasmus chooses a more suitable form of the verb. See *Annot.* The word-order of Lefèvre was *quae a pluribus illata est*.

7 *adeo vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.; "Itaque" 1516). See on *Rom.* 7,6, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *quare*.

7 *e diuerso* τοὐναντίον ("e contrario" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "e contra" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). In rendering the same Greek word elsewhere, Erasmus used *contra*, replacing *e contra* and *e contrario* at *Gal.* 2,7 and 1 *Petr.* 3,9, respectively. Cf. *Annot.*

7 *condonare debeatis et consolari* ὑμᾶς χαρίσασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι ("donetis et consolemini" Vg.; "donate et consolamini" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that this an instance of synecdoche, and that the verb δεῖ should be understood. The substitution of *condono* occurs in the 1516 edition at 2 *Cor.* 12,13; *Col.* 2,13; 3,13, and additionally in 1519 at *Lc.* 7,42, 43; 2 *Cor.* 2,10, emphasising the act of forgiveness. See also *Annot.* on vs. 10 and on 2 *Cor.* 12,13. Manetti contented himself with adding *vos* before *donetis*, while Lefèvre had *vos donate ei et consolamini eum*.

7 *quo modo fiat, vt* πως ("forte" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Cor.* 9,27. See further on *Rom.* 11,21 for the removal of

τῇ περισσοτέρᾳ λύπῃ καταποθῇ ὁ τοιοῦτος. ⁸διὸ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, κυρῶσαι εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην. ⁹εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἔγραψα, ἵνα γνῶ τὴν δοκιμὴν ὑμῶν, εἰ εἰς πάντα ὑπήκοοί ἐστε. ¹⁰ᾧ δέ τι χαρίζεσθε, καὶ ἐγώ. καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ εἴ τι κεχάρισμαι, ᾧ κεχάρισμαι, δι' ὑμᾶς ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ, ¹¹ἵνα μὴ πλεονεκτηθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ νοήματα ἀγνοοῦμεν.

¹²Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ θύρας μοι ἀνεῳγμένης ἐν κυρίῳ, ¹³οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἄνεσιν τῷ πνεύματί

immodico dolore absorbeatur huiusmodi. ⁸Quapropter obsecro vos, efficite vt valeat in illum charitas. ⁹Nam et in hoc scripseram vt cognoscerem probationem vestri, an ad omnia obedientes sitis. ¹⁰Cui vero condonatis aliquid, et ego condono. Nam et ego si quid condonaui, cui condonaui, propter vos condonaui in conspectu Christi, ¹¹ne occuparemur a satana. Non enim illius cogitationes ignoramus.

¹²Caeterum quum venissem Troadem in euangelium Christi, et ostium mihi esset apertum per dominum, ¹³non habui relaxationem spiritu

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9 υμων *A B*: ημων *C-E*

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9 scripseram *B-E*: scripsi *A* | cognoscerem *B-E*: cognoscam *A* | 10 condonatis *B-E*: donatis *A* | condono *B-E*: om. *A* | *prius* condonaui *B-E*: donaui *A* | *alt.* condonaui *B-E*: donaui *A* | *tert.* condonaui *B-E*: donaui *A* | 12 Caeterum *B-E*: Ceterum *A* | per dominum *B-E*: in domino *A* | 13 relaxationem *B-E*: remissionem *A*

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forte. Ambrosiaster put *quo modo*, Manetti *aliquatenus*, and Lefèvre *quo pacto*.

7 *immodico* τῇ περισσοτέρᾳ ("abundantiori" Vg.). Erasmus, taking his cue from the context, interprets the comparative adjective as signifying not merely "greater sorrow" but "excessive sorrow". Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *abundantiore*.

7 *dolore* λύπῃ ("tristitia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,6.

7 *huiusmodi* ὁ τοιοῦτος ("qui eiusmodi est" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 16,18. Lefèvre had *qui talis est*.

8 *Quapropter* διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. Manetti used *Idcirco*.

8 *efficite vt valeat ... charitas* κυρῶσαι ... ἀγάπην ("vt confirmetis ... charitatem" Vg.). Erasmus associates the literal meaning of κυρόω with the collective ratification of a decision at a public meeting, through the casting of votes. Applying this to the present context, he appears to treat the verb as a metaphor for the authority and effectiveness of united action: implying that the love shown by the Corinthians would only become effective (*valeat*) if they were

united in their forgiveness of the individual in question. See *Annot.* At *Gal.* 3,15, he uses *comprobo* to translate the same Greek verb. Lefèvre put *resumite dilectionem*.

9 *Nam et in hoc* εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καί ("Ideo enim et" Vg.). For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. Erasmus' use of *in hoc* is a more exact rendering, though his word-order is less literal. Manetti had *In hoc enim et*, and Lefèvre *Ad hoc enim etiam* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *Ad hoc enim et*).

9 *scripseram* ἔγραψα ("scripsi vobis" late Vg.; "scripsi" 1516). The late Vulgate insertion of *vobis* corresponds with the addition of ὑμῖν in a few late mss. (cf. also the ungrammatical ἔγραψα ὑμῶν in codd. F G). Erasmus' use of the pluperfect tense makes the apostle refer to his earlier epistle rather than the one which was now being sent. Erasmus' 1516 edition agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

9 *cognoscerem* γνῶ ("cognoscam" 1516 = Vg.). The imperfect tense was made necessary by Erasmus' substitution of *scripseram* earlier in the sentence. Lefèvre put *periculum vestri faciam* for *cognoscam experimentum vestrum*.

9 *probationem* τὴν δοκιμήν ("experimentum" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 8,2; *Phil.* 2,22, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 5,4; 2 *Cor.* 9,13, but Erasmus retains *experimentum* in rendering the same Greek word at 2 *Cor.* 13,3. Cf. *Annot.* on 2 *Cor.* 8,2, where Erasmus cites "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster) as an authority for the use of *probatio*. At the present passage, Ambrosiaster omits the word. For Lefèvre's version, see the previous note.

9 *vestri* ὑμῶν ("vestrum" Vg.). This change treats ὑμῶν as an objective genitive (i.e. "that I might know, or obtain, proof concerning you"). A similar substitution occurs at *Lc.* 11,39; 1 *Thess.* 2,7. The reading ἡμῶν in 1522-35 appears to be a misprint. Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus.

9 *ad omnia* εἰς πάντα ("in omnibus" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here.

10 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). Understandably Erasmus felt that a continuative sense was more appropriate in this context.

10 *condonatis aliquid* τι χαρίζεσθε ("aliquid donastis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "donatis aliquid" 1516). The perfect tense of the late Vulgate lacks support from Greek mss., though the Vulgate word-order is more literal. For *condono*, see on vs. 7, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *quippiam condonatis*.

10 *ego condono* ἐγώ ("ego" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus amplifies the sense by supplying a verb: see *Annot.*

10 *si quid condonaui, cui condonaui* εἴ τι κεχάρισμαι, ᾧ κεχάρισμαι ("quod donaui, si quid donaui" Vg.; "si quid donaui, cui donaui" 1516). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having ὅ κεχάρισμαι, εἴ τι κεχάρισμαι, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C (F G) 0285 and a few other mss. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816 and about 500 other late mss. His cod. 2815, together with about fifty other late mss., omitted ᾧ κεχάρισμαι (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 653-6). See *Annot.* For *condono*, see on vs. 7. The version suggested by Valla *Annot.* was identical with Erasmus' 1516 edition. Manetti put *aliquid donaui alicui donaui*, and Lefèvre *si quippiam alicui condonaui, ei condonaui*.

10 *propter vos condonaui* δι' ὑμᾶς ("propter vos" Vg.; "propter vos donaui" 1516 Lat.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that an additional verb

is required, to complete the sense. Regarding *condono*, see again on vs. 7.

10 *conspectu* προσώπῳ ("persona" Vg.). Either rendering is possible. In *Annot.*, Erasmus comments on the ambiguity of the Greek wording, as meaning either "in the sight of Christ" or "in the person of Christ".

11 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20, and *Annot.* The rendering adopted by Erasmus was the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

11 *occuparemur* πλεονεκτηθῶμεν ("circumueniamur" Vg.). Erasmus elsewhere replaces *circumuenio* with *fraudo* at 2 *Cor.* 7,2; 1 *Thess.* 4,6, and with *expilo* and *extorqueo* at 2 *Cor.* 12,17-18, all in rendering the same Greek verb. He retains *circumuenio* only at *Act.* 7,19, for κατασοφίζομαι. The Greek verb πλεονεκτέω signifies the obtaining of an unfair advantage, which may or may not be by means of deception, whereas *circumuenio* means to surround or to cheat: cf. *Annot.*

11 *illius cogitationes ignoramus* αὐτοῦ τὰ νοήματα ἀγνοοῦμεν ("ignoramus cogitationes eius" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering follows the Greek word-order more closely. Manetti put *intellectiones suas ignoramus*, and Lefèvre *mentis eius astutias ignoramus* (cf. the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster, which has *ignoramus astutias eius*).

12 *Caeterum quum venissem* Ἐλθὼν δέ ("Cum venissem autem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2 for *caeterum*. Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre. In Manetti's version, it was *Cum autem tandem venissem*.

12 *in* εἰς ("propter" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the replacement of εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον by διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον in codd. F G (cf. διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου in cod. D). Manetti and Lefèvre put *ad* and *ob*, respectively.

12 *esset apertum* ἀνεῳγμένης ("apertum esset" Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. Manetti's rendering of the whole phrase was *ianua aperta mihi esset*, while Lefèvre had *porta michi aperta esset*.

12 *per dominum* ἐν κυρίῳ ("in domino" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

13 *relaxationem* ἄνεσιν ("requiem" Vg.; "remissionem" 1516). See on *Act.* 24,23.

13 *spiritu* τῷ πνεύματι ("spiritui" Vg.). Erasmus commented in *Annot.*, to the effect that the Latin ablative case was the correct idiomatic equivalent for the Greek dative, when expressing

μου, τῷ μὴ εὑρεῖν με Τίτον τὸν ἀδελ-
φόν μου, ἀλλὰ ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοῖς,
ἐξῆλθον εἰς Μακεδονίαν. ¹⁴τῷ δὲ θεῷ
χάρις, τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς
ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ τὴν ὀσμὴν τῆς
γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δι' ἡμῶν
ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ· ¹⁵ὅτι Χριστοῦ εὐ-
ωδία ἐσμὲν τῷ θεῷ, ἐν τοῖς σωζομέ-
νοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ¹⁶οἷς
μὲν ὀσμὴ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον· οἷς δὲ
ὀσμὴ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν. καὶ πρὸς ταῦ-
τα τίς ἱκανός; ¹⁷οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν ὡς οἱ
πολλοὶ καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ
θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ εἰλικρινείας, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἐκ θεοῦ, κατενώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, | ἐν
Χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν.

meo, eo quod non inuenissem Titum
fratrem meum, sed dimissis illis abii
in Macedoniam.   ¹⁴Deo autem gra-
tia, qui semper triumphat per nos
in Christo, et odorem notitiae suae
manifestat per nos in omni loco.
¹⁵Quoniam Christi bona fragrantia
sumus deo, in his qui salui fiunt:
et in his qui pereunt, ¹⁶his quidem
odor mortis ad mortem: illis vero
odor vitae ad vitam. Et ad haec quis
idoneus? ¹⁷Non enim sumus vt ple-
rique cauponantes sermonem dei, sed
velut ex synceritate, sed velut ex deo
in conspectu | dei per Christum
loquimur.

LB 759 (left margin)   LB 760 (right margin)

13 αδελφον *A C-E*: αεδλφον *B* | 14 ημας *B-E*: υμας *A*

15 bona *B-E*: *om. A* | 16 *prius* ad *B-E*: in *A* | *alt.* ad *B-E*: in *A* | 17 *plerique B-E*: plaeri-
que *A* | sermonem *C-E*: verbum *A B* | per Christum *B-E*: in Christo *A*

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the instrument or manner of action. This
change was anticipated by Manetti. Ambrosi-
aster had *in spiritu.*

13 *inuenissem* εὑρεῖν ("inuenerim" Vg.). Eras-
mus, no doubt, wished to avoid the perfect
tense because it could be taken to imply that,
by the time Paul wrote this epistle, he had still
not found Titus. That he had met with Titus
in the meantime, is seen e.g. from 2 *Cor.* 7,6.
Lefèvre put *reperi.*

13 *dimissis illis* ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοῖς ("vale-
faciens eis" Vg.). See on *Act.* 18,18, and *Annot.*,
for *dimitto.* The substitution of *illis* for *eis*
(both of which pronouns refer, by implication,
to the Christians of Troas) was partly for the
sake of stylistic variety, in view of the use of
eo earlier in the verse. Manetti put *abiens ab
eis.*

13 *abii* ἐξῆλθον ("profectus sum" Vg.). Eras-
mus uses *abeo* for ἐξέρχομαι at only three
other passages (*Mt.* 9,31; *Mc.* 16,8; *Act.* 16,19),
each time as a substitute for *exeo.* More fre-
quently he retains *proficiscor* for this Greek
verb, particularly in Acts, though his usual

rendering is either *exeo* or *egredior.* He generally
reserves *abeo* for ἀπέρχομαι, πορεύομαι and
ὑπάγω.

14 *gratia* χάρις ("gratias" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
6,17. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests that *gratia*
was the original Vulgate reading ("ita, ni fal-
lor, vertit interpres"). However, in the light
of the Vulgate use of *gratias* at 1 *Cor.* 15,57;
2 *Cor.* 8,16; 9,15 (these last two in the earlier
Vulgate only), there is no need to suppose
that the present passage was worded any dif-
ferently. Lefèvre began the sentence with *Deo
autem gratia sit*, and Manetti *Gratia autem
deo.*

14 *per nos* (1st.) ἡμᾶς ("nos" Vg.). In 1516, Eras-
mus' text had ὑμᾶς, probably due to an error
of the typesetter, as it conflicts with his Basle
mss. and with his Latin rendering. He added
per because he wished to avoid the interpretation,
"God triumphs over us", and was conscious
that *triumpho* is normally intransitive in classical
usage. Cf. *Annot.* A more convincing rendering
was offered by Manetti, who put *semper trium-
phare nos facit*, and similarly Lefèvre had *nos
semper triumphare facit.*

14 *Christo* τῷ Χριστῷ ("Christo Iesu" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *Iesu* is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ and a few later mss., which add Ἰησοῦ. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

15 *Quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,21. The same substitution was again made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

15 *bona fragrantia* εὐωδία ("bonus odor" Vg.; "fragrantia" 1516). Erasmus also substitutes *bona fragrantia* for *suauitas* in rendering εὐωδία at *Eph.* 5,2; *Phil.* 4,18. In vss. 14 and 16 of this chapter, and elsewhere, *odor* is used to translate the different Greek word, ὀσμή. See *Annot.*

16 *his ... illis* οἷς ... οἷς ("aliis ... aliis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,5, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *In his ... in illis*, while Manetti put *Aliquibus ... Aliquibus*.

16 *ad* (twice) εἰς ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,16. Lefèvre made the same substitution. Ambrosiaster put *in ... ad*.

16 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *idoneus* ἱκανός ("tam idoneus" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *tam* lacks Greek ms. support. In *Annot.*, Erasmus speculates that the original Vulgate rendering of τίς was *quisnam*, later changed by scribes into *quis tam*. For another insertion of *tam* by the Vulgate, see on *Phil.* 2,20. Erasmus includes both passages in the *Quae Sint Addita*. The extra word was omitted by Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre. Of these, Manetti put *idoneus est*, and Lefèvre *sufficiens*.

17 *vt* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21. Lefèvre made the same change, while Manetti had *ceu*.

17 *plerique* οἱ πολλοί ("plurimi" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, as the Greek text does not explicitly warrant the use of a superlative. The word πολλοί was derived from cod. 2817, together with 2105, 2816 and about 280 other mss., commencing with ℵ A B C. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also cites mss. which replace πολλοί by λοιποί, as in codd. 1 and 2815, as well as 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G and about 310 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 657-9). In 1516 *Annot.*, he omits οἱ before λοιποί but not before πολλοί. The spelling *plaerique*, used here

by the 1516 edition, also occurs at *Act.* 19,32; 2 *Petr.* 2,2, and *plaeraque* at *Mc.* 12,37 (all in 1516 only). Lefèvre had *multi*, clearly following a Greek text having οἱ πολλοί, but Manetti put *reliqui*, reflecting the variant reading, οἱ λοιποί.

17 *cauponantes* καπηλεύοντες ("adulterantes" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that the Greek verb means to misuse something with a view to making a profit, rather than simply to corrupt. The rare Latin verb *cauponor*, found only in Ennius among classical authors, was also used here by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

17 *sermonem* τὸν λόγον ("verbum" 1516-19 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1.

17 *velut* (1st.) ὡς (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission has little support other than codd. F G. See *Annot.*, where Erasmus also suggests using *tanquam*, as had been proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre. Manetti had *velut*.

17 *sed* (2nd.) ἀλλ᾿ (late Vg. omits). The late Vulgate omission once more corresponds with the text of codd. F G. The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus. Manetti had *et*.

17 *velut* (2nd.) ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,36. In *Annot.*, Erasmus again gave *tanquam* as an alternative. Valla *Annot.* objected to the Vulgate use of *sicut*, on the grounds that the Greek wording did not convey a "similitude". As before, Lefèvre offered *tanquam*, and Manetti *velut*.

17 *in conspectu dei* κατενώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ("coram deo" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 12,19; *Col.* 1,22. At *Eph.* 1,4, however, a change is made in the opposite direction, from *in conspectu* to *coram*. See further on *Act.* 3,13. It is possible that the Vulgate might have been based on a text replacing κατενώπιον with κατέναντι, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B C and thirty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ (D) F G and about 550 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 659-62). Lefèvre made the same change.

17 *per Christum* ἐν Χριστῷ ("in Christo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Erasmus retains *veritatem dico in Christo* at *Rom.* 9,1, and *in Christo loquimur* at 2 *Cor.* 12,19 (where the Greek is identical to the present passage).

3 Ἀρχόμεθα πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς συνι-
στάνειν. εἰ μὴ χρῄζομεν ὡς τινες
συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
ἢ ἐξ ὑμῶν συστατικῶν; ²ἡ ἐπι-
στολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε, ἐγγεγραμ-
μένη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, γινω-
σκομένη καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένη ὑπὸ
πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ³φανερούμενοι
ὅτι ἐστὲ ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ, δια-
κονηθεῖσα, ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγγεγραμμένη,
οὐ μέλανι, ἀλλὰ πνεύματι θεοῦ
ζῶντος, οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίναις,
ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίας σαρκίναις.

⁴Πεποίθησιν δὲ τοιαύτην ἔχο-
μεν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὸν
θεόν, ⁵οὐχ ὅτι ἱκανοί ἐσμεν
ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν λογίζεσθαί τι ὡς ἐξ

3 Incipimus rursus nos ipsos com-
mendare. Num egemus vt non-
nulli commendatitiis epistolis apud
vos, aut a vobis commendatitiis?
²Epistola nostra vos estis, inscripta
in cordibus nostris: quae intelligi-
tur et legitur ab omnibus homi-
nibus, ³dum declaratis quod estis
epistola Christi, subministrata, a no-
bis inscripta, non atramento, sed
spiritu dei viuentis, non in tabu-
lis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis
carneis.

⁴Fiduciam autem huiusmodi ha-
bemus per Christum erga deum,
⁵non quod idonei simus, ex nobis
ipsis cogitare quicquam tanquam ex

3,4 χριστου B-E: χρισυτου A

3,1 a B-E: ex A | 3 declaratis B-E: manifestatis A

3,1 *rursus* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 9,9.
Lefèvre put *rursum*.

1 *nos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("nosmet ipsos" Vg.). See
on 1 *Cor.* 11,31.

1 συνιστάνειν. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus cited
the text as συνιστάναι (formed from συνίστημι
rather than συνιστάνω), a variant found in few
mss. other than codd. F G.

1 *Num* εἰ μή ("Aut nunquid" Vg.). The Vul-
gate reflects a Greek text having ἢ μή, as in
𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B C D F G and some other mss.,
including 2817ᶜᵒʳʳ ᵛⁱᵈ. Erasmus followed codd.
2815 and 2817*, supported by 1, 2105, 2816,
with cod. A and most later mss. See on *Ioh.*
3,4 for *num*. Manetti had *nisi*, and Lefèvre
Anne.

1 *vt* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21. Manetti
and Lefèvre both made the same change.

1 *nonnulli* τινες ("quidam" Vg.). See on
Rom. 11,14. The same change was made by
Lefèvre.

1 *apud* πρός ("ad" Vg.). Erasmus' choice
of preposition was affected by the adjective

συστατικῶν, referring to letters which might
commend the apostle for approval by the
Corinthians: see *Annot.* A comparable use of
apud after *commendo* occurs at 2 *Cor.* 4,2.

1 *a* ἐξ ("ex" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus considered
that the correct idiomatic usage was for a letter
to be sent "by" a person (*a* or *ab*), but "from"
a place (*e* or *ex*). Cf. *Annot.* The word-order of
Lefèvre was *commendaticiis a vobis*.

1 *commendatitiis* (2nd.) συστατικῶν (Vg. omits).
The Vulgate omission is supported by a few
mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C. As usual,
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, com-
bined with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late
mss.: cf. also συνστατικῶν in cod. Dᶜᵒʳʳ, and
συνστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν in codd. (F) G. See
Annot. The word has sometimes been con-
demned as a later explanatory addition. If,
however, the word was an authentic part of the
text, it is possible that a few scribes omitted it,
either accidentally or because they considered
it an unnecessary repetition. The word was
likewise added by Manetti and Lefèvre. For
Lefèvre's spelling, see the previous note.

2 *inscripta* ἐγγεγραμμένη ("scripta" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to convey the sense of the Greek prefix ἐγ- (or ἐν-). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 3.

2 *quae intelligitur* γινωσκομένη ("quae scitur" Vg.). Erasmus wanted to express, even if only imperfectly, the elegant association between γινωσκομένη and the following ἀναγινωσκομένη (*legitur*); see *Annot.* Cf. also on *Ioh.* 1,33 and 1 *Cor.* 14,7. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *quae cognoscitur*, while Manetti put *nota*.

3 *dum declaratis* φανερούμενοι ("manifestati" Vg.; "dum manifestatis" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues, in effect, that the Greek participle has a reflexive sense ("you show yourselves to be ..."), whereas the Vulgate renders it as a passive ("shown"). See on *Rom.* 1,20 for his use of *dum* elsewhere. Lefèvre put *qui manifestamini*.

3 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

3 *estis epistola* ἐστὲ ἐπιστολή ("epistola estis" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is more literal as to the word-order, agreeing with the versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *subministrata* διακονηθεῖσα ("ministrata" Vg.). See on *Act.* 24,23. Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

3 *inscripta* ἐγγεγραμμένη ("et scripta" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et* reflects the insertion of καί before the participle, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ B and a few later mss. For *inscripta*, see on vs. 2. See also *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had *scripta*, omitting *et*.

3 *viuentis* ζῶντος ("viui" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,3. Lefèvre made the same change.

3 καρδίας. Erasmus derived καρδίας from codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 2105, as well as cod. F and some other mss., along with Lefèvre *Comm.* In *Annot.*, Erasmus also records the reading καρδίαις ("hearts"), dative plural, attested by cod. 1 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A B C D G. The latter variant seemed capable of having been produced by scribal assimilation to the surrounding datives, and was condemned by Erasmus as a mistake. From another point of view, however, καρδίαις has the merit of being a *lectio difficilior*, as it must be understood as being in apposition to πλαξί.

3 *carneis* σαρκίναις ("carnalibus" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus distinguished σάρκινος ("made of, or having the substance of flesh") from σαρκικός ("having the quality, or characteristics of flesh"), a point which was of some importance in view of the pejorative connotations of *carnalis*. However, in classical usage, *carnalis* was rare, and *carneus* unknown, as the usual form of the adjective was *carnosus*. Lefèvre made an identical change.

4 *huiusmodi* τοιαύτην ("talem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 5,1.

4 *erga* πρός ("ad" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25.

5 *idonei simus* ἱκανοί ἐσμεν ("sufficientes simus" Vg.). This substitution is consistent with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 2,16; 2 *Tim.* 2,2. For Erasmus' occasional use of *idoneus* to replace *dignus*, see also on 1 *Cor.* 15,9. He retains *sufficio* in rendering ἱκανός at 2 *Cor.* 2,6. Depending on the context, he sometimes also retains *copiosus*, *dignus*, or more frequently, *multus*, in rendering the same Greek word. At the present passage, he no doubt wished to avoid the combination of auxiliary verb and present participle: see on *Ioh.* 1,28. One ms. of Manetti's version (*Urb. Lat.* 6) had *sufficientes sumus*, which may have been a scribal error, though it agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *sufficiamus*.

5 *ex nobis ipsis cogitare quicquam* ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν λογίζεσθαί τι ("cogitare aliquid a nobis" Vg.). The spelling λογίζεσθαι was derived from codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from C D F G and a few later mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A B, it is λογίσασθαι. The Vulgate reflects a different Greek word-order, λογίσασθαί (or λογίζεσθαί) τι ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, as in codd. A D F G and a few later mss. In ℵ B C and a few others, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν is transposed before ἱκανοί. Erasmus' word-order (i.e. apart from his choice of verb) is supported by most later mss. Regarding the use of *e* for ἀπό, see on *Act.* 9,8, 13. Cf. also 2 *Cor.* 10,7, where Erasmus replaces *cogito apud se* with *perpendo ex se ipso*. He adds *ipsis* to reinforce the reflexive sense of the Greek pronoun: cf. on *Ioh.* 11,55. For *quicquam*, see on *Rom.* 15,18. Manetti put *a nobis ipsis*, and Lefèvre *ex nobis ipsis*, both followed by *aliquid cogitare*.

5 *tanquam* ὡς ("quasi" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 9,32. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἱκανότης ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ
θεοῦ· ⁶ὃς καὶ ἱκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς διακόνους
καινῆς διαθήκης, οὐ γράμματος, ἀλλὰ
πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτεί-
νει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ. ⁷εἰ δὲ ἡ
διακονία τοῦ θανάτου ἐν γράμμασιν,
ἐντετυπομένη ἐν λίθοις, ἐγενήθη ἐν δό-
ξῃ, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἐνατενίσαι τοὺς
υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον Μω-
σέως, διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ προσώπου
αὐτοῦ, τὴν καταργουμένην· ⁸πῶς οὐ-
χὶ μᾶλλον ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος
ἔσται ἐν δόξῃ; ⁹εἰ γὰρ ἡ διακονία
τῆς κατακρίσεως δόξα, πολλῷ μᾶλλον
περισσεύει ἡ διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης
ἐν δόξῃ. ¹⁰καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ δεδόξασται
τὸ δεδοξασμένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει,

nobis ipsis: sed si ad aliquid idonei
sumus, id ex deo est, ⁶qui et ido-
neos fecit nos ministros noui testa-
menti, non literae, sed spiritus: nam
litera occidit, spiritus autem viuifi-
cat. ⁷Quod si administratio mortis
in literis, deformata in saxis, fuit in
gloria, adeo vt non possent oculos
intendere filii Israel in faciem Mosi,
propter gloriam vultus eius, quae abo-
letur: ⁸cur non potius administra-
tio spiritus erit in gloria? ⁹Nam
si administratio condemnationis glo-
ria, multo magis excellit administra-
tio iustitiae in gloria. ¹⁰Quandoqui-
dem ne glorificatum quidem fuit,
quod glorificatum est in hac parte,

---

5 alt. εαυτων B-E: εαντων A | 7 μωσεως E: μωυσεως A-D

---

5 si ... id C-E: omnis sufficientia nostra A, omnis idoneitas nostra B | 6 literae B-E: litterae A |
litera B-E: littera A | 7 administratio B-E: ministerium A | literis, deformata B-E: litteris,
formulis expressum A | Mosi E: Moysi A-D | 8 potius administratio B-E: magis ministeri-
um A | 10 ne glorificatum quidem B-E: nec glorificatum A

---

5 nobis ipsis (2nd.) ἑαυτῶν ("nobis" Vg.). Again
Erasmus prefers to render the reflexive pronoun
more emphatically, as he had done earlier in
the sentence. The same change was made by
Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 si ad aliquid idonei sumus, id ἡ ἱκανότης ἡμῶν
("sufficientia nostra" Vg.; "omnis sufficientia
nostra" 1516; "omnis idoneitas nostra" 1519).
Erasmus altered the construction in 1522, to
avoid the non-classical terms, sufficientia and
idoneitas, and also to produce consistency with
the use of idoneus in vs. 6 as well as in the earlier
part of the present verse. Cf. Annot. The addi-
tion of omnis in 1516-19, and of ad aliquid in
1522-35, was not explicitly warranted by the
Greek text.

6 idoneos fecit nos ἱκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς ("idoneos nos
fecit" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the
Greek word-order. Cf. Annot. The version of
Manetti put sufficientes nos fecit, and Lefèvre
suffecit nos.

6 literae, sed spiritus γράμματος, ἀλλὰ πνεύμα-
τος ("littera sed spiritu" late Vg. and some Vg.

mss.). The late Vulgate use of the ablative case
has little support from Greek mss. See Annot.
The substitution of the genitive was proposed
by Valla Annot., Manetti and Lefèvre, though
Valla considerably expands the meaning.

6 nam litera τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ("littera enim"
Vg.). See on Ioh. 3,34. Valla Annot. suggested
quia littera.

6 ἀποκτείνει. This spelling occurs in cod. B
and many later mss. The reading of codd.
1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 and many other mss.
is ἀποκτένει, with support from 𝔓⁴⁶* A C D.
Some mss. have ἀποκτέννει, as in 𝔓⁴⁶corr ℵ G.

7 administratio ἡ διακονία ("ministratio" Vg.;
"ministerium" 1516). A similar substitution
occurs in vss. 8-9, and Erasmus also replaces
ministerium by administratio at Eph. 4,12. Usually,
he preferred ministerium, as used here in his
first edition. See further on Rom. 12,7; 1 Cor.
12,5; 2 Cor. 4,1. The word administratio was also
used here by Ambrosiaster.

7 in literis ἐν γράμμασιν ("litteris" Vg.). On
this occasion, Erasmus renders ἐν more literally.

It does not appear that the Vulgate omission of *in* reflected any difference of Greek text. Valla *Annot.* and Manetti made the same change as Erasmus.

7 *deformata* ἐντετυπωμένη ("formulis expressum" 1516). The spelling -ομένη lacks ms. support. All Erasmus' Basle mss. have -ωμένη here. Possibly he was influenced by Valla *Annot.*, where the spelling was ἐντυπομένη. The changed rendering adopted by the 1516 edition was probably intended to prevent *deformata* ("shaped" or "outlined") from being misunderstood to mean literally "deformed": see *Annot.* The version proposed by Valla *Annot.* was *informata*. Manetti put *figurata*, and Lefèvre *efformata*.

7 *saxis* λίθοις ("lapidibus" Vg.). Usually Erasmus was content to retain *lapis*. In the present context, he no doubt wished to avoid the idea that these were small stones.

7 *adeo vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6. Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *possent oculos intendere* δύνασθαι ἐνατενίσαι ("possent intendere" Vg.). The spelling ἐνατενίσαι was drawn from cod. 2817, with little other ms. support. Cod. 2815 has the word-order ἀτενίσαι δύνασθαι, likewise found in few other mss. Most mss. have δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι, as in codd. 1, 2105, 2816. See on *Act.* 7,55 for *oculos intendo*. Manetti had *possint intendere*, and Lefèvre *valerent ... intendere*.

7 *Mosi* Μωσέως ("Moysi" 1516-27 = late Vg.). In 1516-27, Erasmus' Greek text followed cod. 2817 in putting Μωϋσέως, supported by cod. 1 and most other mss. In codd. 2105 and 2816, it is Μωϋσέος. The spelling adopted in the 1535 edition has support from cod. 2815, with codd. A D and many later mss.

7 *quae aboletur* τὴν καταργουμένην ("quae euacuatur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6.

8 *cur* πῶς ("quomodo" Vg.). Erasmus does not elsewhere make this substitution, and generally retains *quomodo*. Cf., however, *cur non potius* for διατί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον at 1 *Cor.* 6,7, and for οὐ μᾶλλον at 1 *Cor.* 9,12. Lefèvre put *quo pacto*.

8 *potius* μᾶλλον ("magis" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 20,35.

8 *administratio* ἡ διακονία ("ministratio" Vg.; "ministerium" 1516). See on vs. 7. Erasmus' 1519 rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

9 *administratio* (twice) ἡ διακονία ("ministratio ... ministerium" Vg.). See on vs. 7. Erasmus is

more consistent here: cf. Ambrosiaster, *in administratione ... administratio*. Lefèvre put *ministratio* (twice).

9 *condemnationis* τῆς κατακρίσεως ("damnationis" Vg.). This change conforms with Vulgate usage in rendering κατάκρισις at 2 *Cor.* 7,3. See also on *Ioh.* 3,19; *Rom.* 8,1. Lefèvre made the same change. The mss. of Manetti's translation substituted *spiritus*, representing a harmonisation with vs. 8.

9 *gloria* (1st.) δόξα ("in gloria est" late Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *est* corresponds with δόξα ἐστίν in codd. D* F G. However, the late Vulgate insertion of *in* lacks Greek ms. support, and may have been influenced by *in gloria* at the end of this verse. See *Annot.* Erasmus' wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

9 *excellit* περισσεύει ("abundat" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti put *abundabit*, future tense, with support from cod. D and a few later mss.

10 *Quandoquidem* καὶ γάρ ("Nam" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 2,29. Lefèvre had *etenim*, while Valla *Annot.*, began the sentence with *Neque enim* (cf. *Nec enim* in Ambrosiaster).

10 *ne glorificatum quidem fuit* οὐδὲ δεδόξασται ("nec glorificatum est" Vg.; "nec glorificatum fuit" 1516). For *ne ... quidem*, see on *Ioh.* 7,5, and for *fuit*, see on *Rom.* 4,2. The use of οὐδέ in Erasmus' text may have been influenced by Valla *Annot.*, who offered the reading οὐδὲ δόξασθαι with the translation *Neque ... glorificatum est*. In nearly all mss., including those at Basle, it is οὐ δεδόξασται, as correctly cited in Lefèvre *Comm.* and 1516 *Annot.* However, οὐδέ was substituted for οὐ in 1519-35 *Annot.* The incorrect οὐδέ was retained by the *Textus Receptus*. Manetti put *non glorificatur*. In Lefèvre's version, the word-order was *in hac parte glorificatum, non glorificatum est*.

10 *quod glorificatum est* τὸ δεδοξασμένον ("quod claruit" Vg.). Erasmus produces consistency with the use of *glorifico* earlier in the sentence. See *Annot.* The Vulgate does not elsewhere use *claresco* or *clareo*. For the removal of the related verb, *clarifico*, see on *Ioh.* 12,23. The change made by Erasmus agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Manetti. Lefèvre put just *glorificatum*: for his changed word-order, see the previous note. The text of Valla *Annot.* appears defective at this point, having just *id quod fuit*, without *glorificatum*.

ἕνεκεν τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης. ¹¹εἰ
γὰρ τὸ καταργούμενον, διὰ δόξης, πολ-
λῷ μᾶλλον τὸ μένον, ἐν δόξῃ.

¹²Ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα, πολ-
λῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμεθα, ¹³καὶ οὐ καθάπερ
Μωσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω-
πον ἑαυτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς
υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταρ-
γουμένου· ¹⁴ἀλλ' ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήμα-
τα αὐτῶν. ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον, τὸ
αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς
παλαιᾶς | διαθήκης μένει, μὴ ἀνακαλυ-
πτόμενον, ὅ τι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται·
¹⁵ἀλλ' ἕως σήμερον, ἡνίκα ἀναγινώσκεται

LB 761

propter eminentem gloriam. ¹¹Etenim
si quod aboletur fuit in gloria, multo
magis id quod manet, est in gloria.

¹²Itaque quum habeamus huiusmo-
di spem, multa libertate vtamur: ¹³et
non quemadmodum Moses ponebat
velamen in facie sua, ne intenderent
filii Israel in finem eius quod aboleba-
tur. ¹⁴Sed obcaecati sunt sensus illo-
rum. Nam vsque ad diem hodiernum,
idem velamen in lectione veteris |
testamenti manet, nec tollitur velum,
quod per Christum aboletur: ¹⁵sed
ad hunc vsque diem quum legitur

LB 762

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13 μωσης E: μωυσης A-D | 14 ο τι B-E: οτι A

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11 fuit in gloria B-E: in gloria est A | est in gloria B-E: om. A | 12 vtamur B-E: vtimur A |
13 Moses E: Moyses A-D | 14 per Christum B-E: in Christo A | 15 ad hunc vsque B-E: vsque
ad hunc A

---

10 ἕνεκεν. Cod. 2817 had the spelling εἵνεκεν, in company with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F^corr G and many other mss., together with Lefèvre *Comm.*

10 *eminentem* ὑπερβαλλούσης ("excellentem" Vg.). This substitution is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of 2 *Cor.* 9,14. At *Eph.* 2,7, translating the same Greek verb, Erasmus also used *eminens* to replace *abundans*. Inconsistently he substituted *excellens* for *supereminens* in rendering ὑπερβάλλω at *Eph.* 1,19. At *Eph.* 3,19, he replaced *supereminens* by *praeeminens*. See further on *Rom.* 13,1 for Erasmus' use of *excellens, prae-cellens* and *supereminens* in rendering ὑπερέχω. Manetti replaced *propter excellentem gloriam* with *gratia excellentis gloriae.*

11 *Etenim si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

11 *quod aboletur* τὸ καταργούμενον ("quod euacuatur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6. Manetti put *quod euacuatum est.*

11 *fuit in gloria* διὰ δόξης ("per gloriam est" Vg.; "in gloria est" 1516). The exact form and position of the Latin verb is not dependent upon the Greek text. For Erasmus' preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. He treats διὰ δόξης as being identical in meaning with ἐν δόξῃ later in the verse. See *Annot.* on vs. 9. His 1519 edition uses the same

wording as Ambrosiaster. Manetti had just *per gloriam.*

11 *id quod manet* τὸ μένον ("quod manet" Vg.). Erasmus marks the change of subject by inserting an additional pronoun.

11 *est in gloria* ἐν δόξῃ ("in gloria est" Vg.; omitted in 1516 Lat.). The 1516 omission may have arisen from an unclear instruction in Erasmus' marked-up copy of the Vulgate. For his preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1519 edition.

12 *Itaque quum habeamus* Ἔχοντες οὖν ("Habentes igitur" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 1,7 for Erasmus' avoidance of the present participle. A similar substitution of *itaque* for *igitur*, in rendering οὖν, occurs at 2 *Cor.* 5,6; *Eph.* 4,17; *Col.* 3,1. See also on *Rom.* 5,18; 13,10; 1 *Cor.* 7,38.

12 *huiusmodi* τοιαύτην ("talem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 5,1.

12 *libertate* παρρησίᾳ ("fiducia" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 6,19; *Phil.* 1,20; 1 *Tim.* 3,13; *Hebr.* 10,19. More frequently, at other passages, Erasmus retains *fiducia*. See *Annot.*, and see further on *Ioh.* 10,24; *Act.* 2,29. The version of Lefèvre had *confidentia.*

12 *vtamur* χρώμεθα ("vtimur" 1516 = Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus points out that the Greek verb

can be understood as either indicative or sub-
junctive. He preferred the latter, in a hortative
sense ("let us use"). His 1519 rendering adopted
the same wording as Ambrosiaster.

13 *quemadmodum* καθάπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 4,6. Lefèvre made the same change.

13 *Moses* Μωσῆς ("Moyses" 1516-27 = late
Vg.). In 1516-27, Erasmus had Μωϋσῆς from
codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105 and
most other mss. (though cod. 2816 had Μωσῆς).
For the change of spelling in 1535, see on *Act.*
3,22. Lefèvre again made the same change.

13 *in facie sua* ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ
("super faciem suam" Vg.). For Erasmus' avoid-
ance of *super*, which could mean "over" or
"above", see on *Ioh.* 7,44.

13 *ne* πρὸς τὸ μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 3,20. Ambrosiaster had the same word as
Erasmus. Lefèvre put *ob id quod non*.

13 *finem* τὸ τέλος ("faciem" Vg.). In 1519
Annot., Erasmus commented that he found
τὸ πρόσωπον in some mss. ("nonnullis Grae-
corum codicibus"), a reading which exists in
cod. A and a few later mss., but not in
cod. 3 or any of the mss. which he consulted
at Basle. In 1535 *Annot.*, and also in *Resp. ad
annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, pp. 233-4, ll. 844-
856, he voices a suspicion that πρόσωπον was
influenced by the (later) Vulgate reading. His
view was that *finem* was the original Vulgate
wording, later to be changed into *faciem* by
scribes. If such an alteration had occurred, it
could have been caused by harmonisation either
with the occurrence of *faciem* in the first part
of this verse, or with the earlier reference to
faciem in vs. 7. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre made
the same correction as Erasmus (cf. *vsque ad
finem* in Ambrosiaster).

13 *eius quod abolebatur* τοῦ καταργουμένου
("eius quod euacuatur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6,
and *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *eius
quod euacuabatur*.

14 *obcaecati sunt* ἐπωρώθη ("obtusi sunt" late
Vg.). This change was in accordance with Vul-
gate usage at *Mc.* 6,52. At *Mc.* 8,17, Erasmus
also replaces *caeco* with *obcaeco*. At *Ioh.* 12,40
and *Rom.* 11,7, he follows the Vulgate in using
induro and *excaeco* to render the same Greek
verb. In *Annot.* on the present passage, he
suggested *excaeco* rather than *obcaeco*. See also
Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD IX, 4, p. 234,
ll. 865-870. Lefèvre replaced *obtusi sunt sensus*

with *obcaecatae erant mentes*, while Manetti put
obtusi erant intellectus. Valla *Annot.* suggested
caecata sunt sensa.

14 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.). Erasmus also
preferred *illorum* in vs. 15, in both instances to
refer back, more remotely, to the children of
Israel who were mentioned in vs. 13. The use
of the rough breathing in the Greek text, intro-
duced here by the 1535 edition, was possibly
an error of the printer, as Erasmus does not
render the word as a reflexive: see on *Rom.*
1,27.

14 *Nam vsque ad diem hodiernum* ἄχρι γὰρ
τῆς σήμερον ("Vsque in hodiernum diem"
Vg. 1527). The omission of *enim* after *hodiernum*
by the 1527 Vulgate column, and also by the
Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514, has little
support from Greek mss. For *vsque ad*, see on
Act. 1,2. Manetti put *Vsque enim in hodiernum
diem*, and Lefèvre *Nam in hodiernum vsque diem*.

14 *idem* τὸ αὐτό ("id ipsum" Vg.). The Vulgate
expression was unduly emphatic. Manetti an-
ticipated the change made by Erasmus, while
Lefèvre put *ipsum*.

14 *nec tollitur velum* μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον
("non reuelatum" Vg.). Erasmus alters the con-
struction for the sake of clarity: see *Annot.* For
another change involving ἀνακαλύπτω, see
on vs. 18.

14 *quod* ὅ τι ("quoniam" Vg. mss.). The Vulgate
column of Lefèvre had *quoniam*, but in the
1527 Vulgate column and the Froben Vulgates
of 1491 and 1514, it is *quod*. The earlier Vulgate
rendering is based on the assumption that the
Greek is written as one word, ὅτι, as found in
Erasmus' 1516 edition and his Basle mss. The
1519-35 editions punctuate as ὅ, τι. The versions
of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *quia*.

14 *per Christum* ἐν Χριστῷ ("in Christo" 1516
= Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

14 *aboletur* καταργεῖται ("euacuatur" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 6,6. Lefèvre had *tollitur*.

15 *ad hunc vsque diem* ἕως σήμερον ("vsque in
hodiernum diem" Vg.; "vsque ad hunc diem"
1516). See on *Act.* 1,2. Lefèvre put *in hodiernum
vsque diem*.

15 ἀναγινώσκεται. Codd. 2816 and 2817 have
ἀναγινώσκηται, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D and a
few other mss. The text of Erasmus follows cod.
2815, with 1, 2105, and also F G and most
other mss.

Μωσῆς, κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐ-
τῶν κεῖται· ¹⁶ἡνίκα δ’ ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ
πρὸς κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμ-
μα. ¹⁷ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν.
οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, ἐκεῖ ἐλευθε-
ρία. ¹⁸ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμ-
μένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου
κατοπτριζόμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα
μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δό-
ξαν, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος.

4 Διὰ τοῦτο ἔχοντες τὴν διακο-
νίαν ταύτην, καθὼς ἠλεήθημεν,
οὐκ ἐκκακοῦμεν, ²ἀλλ’ ἀπειπάμεθα
τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης, μὴ περι-
πατοῦντες ἐν πανουργίᾳ, μηδὲ δο-
λοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ

Moses, velamen cordibus illorum
impositum est: ¹⁶at vbi conuersi
fuerint ad dominum, tolletur vela-
men. ¹⁷Dominus autem spiritus est.
Porro vbi spiritus domini, ibi liber-
tas. ¹⁸Nos autem omnes retecta
facie, gloriam domini in speculo
repraesentantes, ad eandem imagi-
nem transformamur a gloria in glo-
riam, tanquam a domini spiritu.

4 Propterea quum ministerium hoc
habeamus, vt nostri misertus
est deus, haud degeneramus, ²sed
reiecimus occultamenta dedecoris,
non versantes per astutiam, neque
dolo tractantes verbum dei, sed

15   μωσης *B-E*: μωυσης *A*

15   Moses *A-C E*: Moyses *D* | 18   repraesentantes *B-E*: representantes *A*
4,1   Propterea *B-E*: Ptopterea *A* | 2   occultamenta *B-E*: occulta *A* | dedecoris *Aᶜ B-E*:
pudoris *A** | versantes per astutiam *B-E*: ambulantes in astutia *A*

15   Μωσῆς. In 1516, Erasmus’ text had Μωϋ-
σῆς, from cod. 2815, supported by codd. 1, 3,
and most other mss. The spelling of codd.
2105, 2816, 2817, is Μωσῆς. Cf. on *Act.* 3,22.

15   *cordibus illorum impositum est* ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν
αὐτῶν κεῖται (“positum est super cor eorum”
late Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds
with the transposition of κεῖται before ἐπί,
as in codd. D* F G. In substituting *cordibus*,
plural, for *corde*, Erasmus is less literal. Elsewhere
he is often content to retain this word in the
singular: cf. *cor eorum* at *Rom.* 1,21. For the use
of *illorum*, see on vs. 14. Lefèvre put *super cor
eorum positum est*.

16   *at vbi* ἡνίκα δ’ ἂν (“Cum autem” Vg.). For
at, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. The substitution of *vbi* is
purely for variety, as Erasmus retained *quum*
(or *cum*) for ἡνίκα in the previous sentence. See
also on *Rom.* 15,28. Manetti put *Quando autem*,
and Lefèvre *quandocunque autem*.

16   *conuersi fuerint* ἐπιστρέψῃ (“conuersus fue-
rit” Vg.). In 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus attributes
conuersi fuerint to the Vulgate, though it seems

to occur in relatively few Vulgate mss. This
inaccurate use of the masculine plural, which
he adopted for his own translation from 1516
onwards, makes the children of Israel the subject
of the verb. In most Vulgate mss., the masculine
singular, *conuersus*, makes the reader look back
as far as vs. 13 to identify Israel as a possible
subject. Another interpretation of the Greek
singular verb would connect it with καρδίαν
in vs. 15. Lefèvre put *conuertentur*.

16   *dominum* κύριον (“deum” Vg.). The Vulgate
rendering lacks Greek ms. support. In *Annot.*,
Erasmus cites the Vulgate as having *dominum*,
which is found in some late Vulgate mss., but
the 1527 Vulgate column and the Froben Vul-
gates of 1491 and 1514 have *deum*. Ambrosiaster,
Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as
Erasmus.

16   *tolletur* περιαιρεῖται (“auferetur” late Vg.
and many Vg. mss., together with Vgʷʷ; “aufer-
tur” some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). At *Act.* 27,20;
Hebr. 10,11, Erasmus retains *aufero* for this
Greek verb. By using *tollo* here, he perhaps

wished to make a closer connection with vs. 14, where he rendered ἀνακαλύπτω by *tollo velum*.

17 *Porro vbi* οὗ δέ ("Vbi autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

18 *autem* δέ ("vero" Vg.). Erasmus understands the Greek particle as introducing a contrast with the earlier references to the children of Israel in vss. 13-16. His wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

18 *retecta* ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ ("reuelata" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 10,26; *Lc.* 2,35 (both in 1519), in rendering the related Greek verb, ἀποκαλύπτω, to avoid the literal sense of "reveal". See also on vs. 14, above.

18 *in speculo repraesentantes* κατοπτριζόμενοι ("speculantes" Vg.). The Vulgate word, which in classical usage would have meant little more than "observing", was inadequate. Erasmus, more accurately, tried to convey the sense of reflecting in a mirror: see *Annot.* Objections to *speculantes* were also raised by Valla *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *speculorum instar suscipientes*.

18 *ad eandem* τὴν αὐτήν ("in eandem" Vg.). Erasmus argues in *Annot.*, that the believer was to be transformed "in accordance with" the image, rather than into the image itself. His rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster. As noted in Valla *Annot.*, the Greek here lacks a preposition. Lefèvre put *eadem imagine* for *in eandem imaginem*.

18 *gloria in gloriam* δόξης εἰς δόξαν ("claritate in claritatem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,41, and *Annot.* The wording of Erasmus is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

4,1 *Propterea* Διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,6. Lefèvre put *Quapropter*.

1 *quum ministerium hoc habeamus* ἔχοντες τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην ("habentes hanc administrationem" late Vg.). This is a further instance of Erasmus' frequent avoidance of the present participle. See on *2 Cor.* 1,7. For his use of *ministerium*, see further on *1 Cor.* 12,5, and for his occasional preference for *administratio*, see on *2 Cor.* 3,7. Lefèvre put *hanc ministrationem habentes*.

1 *vt nostri misertus est deus* καθὼς ἠλεήθημεν ("iuxta quod misericordiam consecuti sumus" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus is usually content to retain *misericordiam consequor* for the passive of ἐλεέω (at *Mt.* 5,7; *Rom.* 11,30-1; *1 Cor.* 7,25;

1 Petr. 2,10), or substitutes *misericordiam adipiscor* (at *1 Tim.* 1,13, 16). His change of construction, and insertion of *deus*, at the present passage, is a step further in the direction of paraphrase. See on *1 Cor.* 15,38 for Erasmus' replacement of *iuxta quod* by *vt*. In *Annot.*, he suggests that the Vulgate reflects the substitution of καθ' ὅ for καθώς, though he does not cite any Greek mss. in support of this theory. Manetti had *sicut*, and Lefèvre *vt*, both followed by *misericordiam consecuti sumus*.

1 *haud* οὐκ ("non" Vg.). See on *Act.* 24,18.

1 *degeneramus* ἐκκακοῦμεν ("deficimus" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the Vulgate reading as *deficiemus*, future tense, though his 1527 Vulgate column and the 1491 and 1514 Froben Vulgates have *deficimus*. In vs. 16, and also at *Lc.* 18,1 (1519); *Gal.* 6,9 (1519); *2 Thess.* 3,13, he replaces *deficio* by the passive of *defatigo*. He retains *deficio* for this Greek verb at *Eph.* 3,13.

2 ἀλλ'. Erasmus' text derived this spelling from cod. 2817, supported by cod. 2816, and also F G and many other mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815 and most other mss., it is ἀλλά.

2 *reiecimus* ἀπειπάμεθα ("abdicamus" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate in using the perfect tense to represent the Greek aorist. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *abiicimus*.

2 *occultamenta* τὰ κρυπτά ("occulta" 1516 = Vg.). This substitution is not an improvement, as *occultamentum* is not found in classical authors. Erasmus retains *occulta* for κρυπτά at *Rom.* 2,16; *1 Cor.* 14,25. See on *1 Cor.* 4,5, and *Annot.*

2 *dedecoris* τῆς αἰσχύνης ("pudoris" 1516 text). By the time he came to finalise 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus argued against *pudoris*, on the grounds that this would be better suited for αἰδοῦς than for αἰσχύνης. For this reason, he reinstated *dedecoris* in the 1516 errata. In *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 234, ll. 872-877, Erasmus tries to give the impression that *pudoris* had been an accidental substitution.

2 *versantes* περιπατοῦντες ("ambulantes" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,1.

2 *per astutiam* ἐν πανουργίᾳ ("in astutia" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Manetti tried *in calliditate*.

2 *dolo tractantes* δολοῦντες ("adulterantes" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise here, conveying the sense of deceit, as implied by the Greek verb:

τῇ φανερώσει τῆς ἀληθείας, συνιστῶν-
τες ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς πᾶσαν συνείδησιν
ἀνθρώπων, ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

³ Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔστι κεκαλυμμένον τὸ εὐ-
αγγέλιον ἡμῶν, ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις
ἐστὶ κεκαλυμμένον, ⁴ ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ
αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσε τὰ νοήματα
τῶν ἀπίστων, εἰς τὸ μὴ αὐγάσαι αὐ-
τοῖς τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγ | γελίου τῆς
δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ
θεοῦ. ⁵ οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν, ἀλλὰ
Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κύριον, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ δού-
λους ὑμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦν. ⁶ ὅτι ὁ θεός, ὁ εἰ-
πὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψαι, ὃς ἔλαμψεν
ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, πρὸς φωτισμὸν

manifestatione veritatis, commendan-
tes nos ipsos apud omnem conscien-
tiam hominum, in conspectu dei.

³ Quod si adhuc velatum est euan-
gelium nostrum, in his qui pereunt
velatum est: ⁴ in quibus deus huius se-
culi excaecauit sensus incredulorum,
ne illucesceret illis lumen euan | gelii
gloriae Christi, qui est imago dei.
⁵ Non enim nos ipsos praedicamus,
sed Christum Iesum dominum: nos
autem seruos vestros propter Iesum.
⁶ Quoniam deus est, qui iussit e te-
nebris lucem illucescere, qui luxit in
cordibus nostris, ad illuminationem

LB 763

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4,2 συνιστωντες *A B D E*: συνιστουντες *C* | 3 κεκαλυμμενον *B-E*: κεκαλλυμενον *A*

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2 manifestatione *Aᶜ B-E*: in manifestatione *A** | apud *B-E*: apnd *A* | 4 seculi *C-E*:
saeculi *A B* | lumen *A B D E*: lumem *C* | 6 illucescere *B-E*: splendescere *A* | luxit *B-E*:
illuxit *A* | nostris *B-E*: vestris *A*

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see *Annot.* He follows Valla *Annot.* in distin-
guishing δολόω from καπηλεύω, for which
the Vulgate had used *adultero* in 2 *Cor.* 2,17.
Valla proposed *dolose vtentes*, and Lefèvre *dolose
tradentes*.

2 *manifestatione* τῇ φανερώσει ("in manifesta-
tione" 1516 Lat. text = Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus
objects to the addition of *in*, which is unsuppor-
ted by Greek mss., and he consequently used
the 1516 errata to remove the word.

2 *nos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("nosmet ipsos" Vg.).
See on 1 *Cor.* 11,31. Lefèvre made the same
change.

2 *apud* πρός ("ad" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 3,1.
Lefèvre used the dative *omni*, in place of *ad
omnem*.

2 *in conspectu dei* ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ("coram
deo" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,13. Lefèvre put *ante
deum*.

3 *adhuc* καί ("etiam" Vg.). Erasmus translates
καί as the equivalent of ἔτι here. However, at
1 *Cor.* 4,7, where the same Greek phrase εἰ δὲ
καί also occurs, he more accurately put *quod*

si etiam, as used by the Vulgate at the present
passage. Manetti left καί untranslated.

3 *velatum est* (twice) ἔστι κεκαλυμμένον ("oper-
tum est ... est opertum" Vg.). The use of *vela-
tum* makes a better connection with *velamen*,
which appeared several times in 2 *Cor.* 3,13-16:
cf. *Annot.* The Vulgate is also inconsistent as
to the word-order. Manetti put *est opertum ...
opertum est*, and Lefèvre *occultum est* (twice).

4 *sensus* τὰ νοήματα ("mentes" Vg.). This sub-
stitution is in accordance with Vulgate usage
at 2 *Cor.* 3,14; 11,3. Erasmus further replaces
intelligentia by *sensus* at *Phil.* 4,7. See also on
2 *Cor.* 10,5. His rendering was the same as that
of Ambrosiaster.

4 *incredulorum* τῶν ἀπίστων ("infidelium"
Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,31.

4 *ne* εἰς τὸ μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20.

4 *illucesceret illis* αὐγάσαι αὐτοῖς ("fulgeat"
Vg.). Erasmus similarly uses *illucesco* for δι-
αυγάζω at 2 *Petr.* 1,19, with reference to the
dawning of the sun. The Vulgate omission of
illis corresponds with the omission of αὐτοῖς

in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G H and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D^corr 0209 and most later mss. In *Annot.*, he discusses an alternative interpretation, "that they should not see the light", which is dependent on the omission of αὐτοῖς or on the replacement of αὐτοῖς by αὐτούς. Another possibility is that an early scribe, who thought that αὐγάζω should mean "see" rather than "shine", did not approve of the use of an indirect object (αὐτοῖς) to accompany this verb, and hence deleted the pronoun. Erasmus retains *fulgeo* for ἐκλάμπω at *Mt.* 13,43, which refers to the shining of the sun, and for λάμπω at *Lc.* 17,24, in connection with a flash of lightning. However, he obscures the distinction between αὐγάζω and λάμπω by using *illucesco* to render λάμπω in vs. 6 of the present chapter. He also uses *illucesco* occasionally to render other Greek verbs, such as ἐπιφαίνω, ἐπιφώσκω and ἐπιφαύω. Manetti had *fulgeat ipsis*, and Lefèvre *infulgeat ipsis*.

4 *lumen* τὸν φωτισμόν ("illuminatio" Vg.). Erasmus considered *lumen* a more suitable noun as the subject of *illucesco*. Although the word *illuminatio* is rare in classical usage, Erasmus retains it in rendering the same Greek word in vs. 6. Cf. *Annot.* The wording of Ambrosiaster was the same as that of Erasmus here.

4 *dei* τοῦ θεοῦ. In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus mentions the longer reading adopted by the 1518 Aldine Bible, τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ, which he condemns as an interpolation from *Col.* 1,15. An even closer imitation of *Col.* 1,15, τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, is found in codd. ℵ^corr 0209 at the present passage.

5 *nos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("nosmet ipsos" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 11,31. Lefèvre made the same change.

5 *Christum Iesum* Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ("Iesum Christum" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A C D and a few later mss. In codd. F G, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν is placed after κύριον. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with B H 0186 0209. Ambrosiaster (1492), Manetti and Lefèvre had the same word-order as Erasmus.

5 *dominum* κύριον ("dominum nostrum" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support: see *Annot.* and

Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD IX, 4, p. 234, ll. 879-881. The same correction was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *propter Iesum* διὰ Ἰησοῦν ("per Iesum" Vg.). The Vulgate seems to reflect a Greek text having διὰ Ἰησοῦ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A^corr C (0186) and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2816, and also A*vid B D F G H 0209 and most other mss. (cod. 2105 has διὰ Χριστόν). In *Annot.*, Erasmus inserted τόν before Ἰησοῦν. See also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 235, ll. 883-885. The use of *propter* was also adopted by Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *deus est* ὁ θεός ("deus" Vg.). Erasmus supplies a main verb for this sentence: see *Annot.* The same rendering was suggested by Valla *Annot.* The version of Manetti began this verse with *quem deus dixit*. The late Vulgate, followed by Lefèvre, solved the problem of the lack of a verb by using *ipse illuxit* (rather than *qui illuxit*), later in the sentence: see below.

6 *qui iussit* ὁ εἰπών ("qui dixit" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that *iubeo* is better suited to this context, as the accusative and infinitive construction would otherwise yield the misinterpretation, "God said that the light shone forth". A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 4,3; 16,12; 23,3; *Mc.* 3,9; 5,43, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mc.* 8,7; *Lc.* 19,15. At *Mc.* 10,49, Erasmus also has *iussit*, where the Vulgate had *praecepit*, in rendering εἶπεν. For Manetti's rendering, see the previous note.

6 *e* ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. Manetti anticipated this change.

6 *illucescere* λάμψαι ("splendescere" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 4.

6 *qui* (2nd.) ὅς ("ipse" late Vg.). See above, on *deus est*. The late Vulgate use of *ipse* coincides with the omission of ὅς in codd. D* F G, under influence from the Old Latin version. See *Annot.* The wording of Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Valla *Annot.* and Manetti.

6 *luxit* ἔλαμψεν ("illuxit" 1516 = Vg.). By using the related verbs *illucescere ... luxit*, Erasmus partly imitates the repetition of λάμπω in the Greek text, while retaining some variety of vocabulary. See *Annot.* The remedy of Lefèvre was to use *splendescere ... resplenduit*.

6 *nostris* ἡμῶν ("vestris" 1516 Lat.). The 1516 rendering is inconsistent with Erasmus' Greek text, but corresponds with ὑμῶν in cod. C.

τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν προσώπῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

⁷ Ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν, ἵνα ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ᾖ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἡμῶν, ⁸ ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι· ἀπορούμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι· ⁹ διωκόμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι· καταβαλλόμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπολλύμενοι· ¹⁰ πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ.

¹¹ Ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες, εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα διὰ Ἰησοῦν, ἵνα καὶ

cognitionis gloriae dei, in facie Iesu Christi.

⁷ Habemus autem thesaurum hunc in testaceis vasculis, vt virtutis eminentia sit dei, et non ex nobis, ⁸ dum in omnibus premimur, at non anxii reddimur: laboramus, at non destituimur: ⁹ persequutionem patimur, at non in ea deserimur: deiicimur, at non perimus: ¹⁰ semper mortificationem domini Iesu in corpore circunferentes, vt et vita Iesu in corpore nostro manifestetur.

¹¹ Semper enim nos qui viuimus, in mortem tradimur propter Iesum, vt et

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9 απολλυμενοι B-E: απολλουμενοι A

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6 Iesu Christi B-E: Christi Iesu A | 7 testaceis B-E: fictilibus A | virtutis eminentia B-E: eminentia potentiae A | 8 premimur B-E: affligimur A

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6 *cognitionis* τῆς γνώσεως ("scientiae" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,20, and *Annot.* The expression used by Erasmus was also in Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

6 *gloriae* τῆς δόξης ("claritatis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,41, and *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre again had the same wording as Erasmus. Similarly, in Valla *Annot.*, there is an allusion to the Vulgate's inconsistency in translating δόξα.

6 *Iesu Christi* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ("Christi Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with the text of codd. D F G and a few later mss. In codd. A B and a few others, Ἰησοῦ is wholly omitted. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ C H 0209. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had the same word-order as Erasmus.

7 *hunc* τοῦτον ("istum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,4. Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

7 *testaceis vasculis* ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν ("vasis fictilibus" Vg.; "fictilibus vasculis" 1516).

Erasmus' rendering follows the Greek word-order more precisely. A similar substitution of *testaceus* for *fictilis* occurs in rendering ὀστράκινος at 2 *Tim.* 2,20. In rendering κεράμιον, Erasmus also uses *vas testaceum* to replace *amphora* at *Lc.* 22,10 (1519), but at *Mc.* 14,13 (1527) he replaced *lagenam* by *hydriam fictilem*. In classical usage, *fictilis* was the usual adjective for earthenware; *testaceus* had a more technical application to brick or tile. See *Annot.* The adoption of the diminutive form, *vasculis*, was a needless alteration. At nearly all other passages containing σκεῦος, Erasmus retains *vas*: cf. on *Act.* 9,15. Lefèvre put *testaceis vasis*.

7 *virtutis eminentia sit* ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ᾖ ("sublimitas sit virtutis" Vg.; "eminentia potentiae sit" 1516). The 1516 rendering was more literal as to the word-order. See on 1 *Cor.* 2,1, and *Annot.*, concerning *eminentia*, and on *Rom.* 1,4 for *potentia*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the position of the verb in the Vulgate, which connects *virtutis* with the following *dei*, rather than with *sublimitas*. He accordingly listed this passage among the *Loca Obscura*.

In 1516 *Annot.*, his citation of this passage replaced ἵνα ἡ with ὡς, contrary to his mss. at Basle. Valla *Annot.* proposed *sublimitas* (or *excessus*, or *supergressio*) *virtutis sit*, and Lefèvre *superexcellentia potestatis sit*.

8 *dum in omnibus premimur* ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμε-νοι ("In omnibus tribulationem patimur" Vg.; "dum in omnibus affligimur" 1516). Erasmus tries to convey the temporal sense of the Greek present participle: see *Annot.* See also on *Rom.* 1,20 for his use of *dum*. In translating θλίβω elsewhere, he uses *premo* to replace *comprimo* at *Mc.* 3,9 (1519), and for *angustio* at *Hebr.* 11,37. For his avoidance of *tribulatio*, see also on *Ioh.* 16,21. Valla *Annot.* suggested *in omnibus tribulati*, Manetti *in omnibus tribulamur*, and Lefèvre *in re omni pressi*.

8 *at* (twice) ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

8 *anxii reddimur* στενοχωρούμενοι ("angustia-mur" Vg.). Erasmus looks for a clearer render-ing. At 2 *Cor.* 6,12, he replaces *angustiamini* by *angusti estis*. In classical usage, *angusto* ("restrict"), rather than *angustio*, is the correct form of the verb. See *Annot.* Cf. also on *Rom.* 2,9 for Erasmus' substitution of *anxietas* for *angustia*. Valla *Annot.* suggested *angustiati*, and Lefèvre *suffocati*.

8 *laboramus* ἀπορούμενοι ("aporiamur" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *aporior*, a verb which did not exist in classical Latin usage, evoked strong objections from Erasmus in his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 194, ll. 509-526. As he had already indicated in *Annot.*, an accurate rendering of the Greek word needed to convey the sense of mental perplexity as well as econo-mic hardship. However, the ambiguity of *laboro* makes it a questionable choice, as it elsewhere can often mean just "work hard". Erasmus uses *laboro*, in the sense of being afflicted, also at *Mt.* 9,20; *Mc.* 6,48 (cf. also on *Rom.* 15,30). At *Gal.* 4,20 (1522), he renders the same Greek verb by *consilii inops sum*. Valla *Annot.* proposed *aporiati* or *afflictati*, Manetti *deficimus*, and Lefèvre *indigentes*.

9 *at* (twice) ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

9 *in ea deserimur* ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι ("derelinqui-mur. Humiliamur, sed non confundimur" late Vg.). Erasmus' addition of *in ea* is an attempt to express the Greek prefix ἐγ- (or ἐν-), referring back to *persequutionem*: see *Annot.* A similar

substitution of *desero* occurs at *Mt.* 27,46 (1519); *Mc.* 15,34 (1519); 2 *Tim.* 4,16, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Hebr.* 10,25. Erasmus retains *derelinquo* for the same Greek verb at *Act.* 2,27, 31; *Hebr.* 13,5. The late Vulgate addition of *Humiliamur ... confundimur* lacks support from Greek mss.: see *Annot.*, and also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 236, ll. 899-906. The extra words were not in the earlier Vulgate or the Vulgate lemma of Valla *Annot.*, nor were they used by Ambrosiaster, Manetti or Lefèvre. In Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, *derelicti* was adopted in place of *derelinquimur*.

9 ἀπολλύμενοι. The spelling ἀπολλούμε-νοι in 1516 seems to have been affected by cod. 2817, where the writing of the middle syllable could be interpreted either as -υ- or -ου-.

10 *domini Iesu* τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ("Iesu Christi" late Vg.). The Vulgate omission of *domini* reflects the omission of κυρίου, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G and a few other mss. The late Vulgate addition of *Christi* partly corresponds with τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ in cod. Dᶜᵒʳʳ (in D* F G, just τοῦ Χριστοῦ). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues for the inclusion of κυρίου, from contextual and theological considerations. In *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, pp. 235-6, ll. 891-897, he expresses himself more moderately, noting that "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster) omitted *domini*. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also 0209 and most other mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change (the latter having the spelling *Ihesu*).

10 *corpore* (1st.) τῷ σώματι ("corpore nostro" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *nostro* corresponds with the insertion of ἡμῶν after σώματι in codd. D F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre again made the same correction as Erasmus.

10 *in corpore nostro manifestetur* ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ ("manifestetur in corporibus nostris" late Vg.). The late Vulgate word-order corresponds with the transposition of φανε-ρωθῇ before ἐν in cod. A. The Vulgate plural, *corporibus nostris*, may further reflect the re-placement of τῷ σώματι by τοῖς σώμασιν, as exhibited by codd. ℵ 0186ᵛⁱᵈ and a few later mss., though it is possibly no more than a matter of translation. See *Annot.* Erasmus' ren-dering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φανερωθῇ ἐν τῇ θνητῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν. ¹²ὥστε ὁ μὲν θάνατος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργεῖται, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ ἐν ὑμῖν. ¹³ἔχοντες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, Ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα· καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν, ¹⁴εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἡμᾶς διὰ Ἰησοῦ ἐγερεῖ, καὶ παραστήσει σὺν ὑμῖν. | ¹⁵τὰ γὰρ πάντα δι᾽ ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσασα, διὰ τῶν πλειόνων τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, περισσεύσῃ εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹⁶Διὸ οὐκ ἐκκακοῦμεν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἔσωθεν ἀνακαινοῦται

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vita Iesu manifestetur in mortali carne nostra. ¹²Itaque mors quidem in nobis agit, vita vero in vobis. ¹³Caeterum quum habeamus eundem spiritum fidei, iuxta illud quod scriptum est: Credidi, et ideo loquutus sum: et nos credimus, quapropter et loquimur, ¹⁴scientes quod qui suscitauit dominum Iesum, nos quoque per Iesum suscitabit, et constituet vobis|cum. ¹⁵Nam omnia propter vos, vt beneficium quod exundauit, pluribus gratias agentibus exuberet in gloriam dei.

¹⁶Propterea non defatigamur, sed quamuis externus homo noster corrumpitur, internus tamen renouatur

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13 spiritum *A-C E*: spiriritum *D* | et ideo *B-E*: propter quod *A* | 14 nos quoque *B-E*: et nos *A*

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11 *mortali carne nostra* τῇ θνητῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν ("carne nostra mortali" Vg.). Erasmus' version accurately reproduces the Greek word-order, again using the same rendering as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

12 *Itaque* ὥστε ("Ergo" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 7,38, and *Annot.* The expression chosen by Erasmus is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti, while Lefèvre preferred *Quare.*

12 *quidem* μέν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G 048 and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816, and also (0209) and most other mss. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made this correction.

12 *agit* ἐνεργεῖται ("operatur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,5, and *Annot.*

12 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

13 *Caeterum quum habeamus* ἔχοντες δέ ("Habentes autem" Vg.). For *caeterum*, see on *Act.* 6,2. For Erasmus' use of *quum*, see on 2 *Cor.* 1,7. Lefèvre put *Cum habeamus autem.*

13 *iuxta illud quod* κατὰ τό ("sicut" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *secundum quod*, though Lefèvre *Comm.* proposed *per quem* as an alternative: cf. Erasmus' objections in *Annot.*

13 *et ideo ... quapropter* διό ... διό ("propter quod ... propter quod" Vg.; "propter quod ... quapropter" 1516). Erasmus gives a clearer rendering, while acknowledging in *Annot.* that the Greek wording could be interpreted in two different ways. In vs. 16, he replaces *propter quod* by *propterea.* For *quapropter*, see on *Act.* 10,29.

14 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.* The change made by Erasmus agreed with the versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *dominum* τὸν κύριον (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. 𝔓⁴⁶ B and a few later mss. See *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus was the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *nos quoque* καὶ ἡμᾶς ("et nos" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,27, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *etiam nos.*

14 *per Iesum* διὰ Ἰησοῦ ("cum Iesu" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of σύν for διά, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2816, as well as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. (cod. 2105 omits the phrase). See *Annot.* An argument which has been thought to favour σύν is that scribes were more likely to replace it with διά, for theological reasons, to avoid any impression that Christ would be raised to life (again) in the future. However, if διά was the original reading, an early scribe might nevertheless have substituted σύν, to provide a closer symmetry with σὺν ὑμῖν at the end of the sentence. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus (though Lefèvre has the spelling *Ihesum*).

15 *Nam omnia* τὰ γὰρ πάντα ("Omnia enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

15 *beneficium* ἡ χάρις ("gratia" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 8,4; 9,8. Erasmus perhaps wished to avoid any confusion arising from the use of *gratia* in two different senses in the same sentence, as it is used shortly afterwards to express the giving of thanks, in rendering εὐχαριστίαν. For the same reason, Manetti replaced *gratiarum actione* with *benedictionem.*

15 *quod exundauit* πλεονάσασα ("abundans" Vg.). Greek aorist. A comparable substitution of *exundo* is found in the rendering of περισσεύω at 2 *Cor.* 8,2: see on *Rom.* 3,7. In the present verse, Erasmus has to make a distinction between πλεονάζω and περισσεύω, despite their similar meaning. At 1 *Thess.* 3,12, where the same two Greek verbs occur, he solves the problem differently, and is content to use *abundo* for πλεονάζω, replacing *multiplicet et abundare faciat* by *abundantes et exuberantes faciat.* Cf. *Annot.* The suggestion of Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre was *multiplicata.*

15 *pluribus gratias agentibus* διὰ τῶν πλειόνων τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ("per multos in gratiarum actione" late Vg.). Erasmus, less ambiguously, connects διά with εὐχαριστίαν rather than with τῶν πλειόνων, and in this respect he agrees with the interpretation of Valla *Annot.*, who put *propter plurium gratiarum actiones*, and

with Lefèvre, who had *propter multorum gratiarum actionem.* Another substitution of *gratias ago* for *gratiarum actio*, in rendering εὐχαριστία, occurs at 2 *Cor.* 9,11. In *Annot.* on the present passage, Erasmus also considers the possibility of connecting τὴν εὐχαριστίαν with περισσεύσῃ, and this was the preference of Manetti, who put *per multos benedictionem.*

15 *exuberet* περισσεύσῃ ("abundet" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7, and *Annot.* The reading of cod. 2815 is πλεονάσῃ, which appears to be a harmonisation with πλεονάσασα earlier in the verse. Manetti substituted *multiplicet*, and Lefèvre *redundet.*

16 *Propterea* Διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on vs. 13. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *Quapropter.*

16 *defatigamur* ἐκκακοῦμεν ("deficimus" Vg.). See on vs. 1, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *succumbimus.*

16 *quamuis ... corrumpitur* εἰ καὶ ... διαφθείρεται ("licet ... corrumpatur" late Vg.). Erasmus also uses *quamuis* to replace *etsi* in rendering εἰ καί at 2 *Cor.* 7,8 (1516-19 only); *Col.* 2,5, and also in rendering καὶ ... εἰ at 2 *Cor.* 13,4. In translating καὶ ἐάν at *Gal.* 1,8, *licet* is replaced by *etiam si.* The earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster had *licet ... corrumpitur*, Manetti *et si ... corrumpatur*, and Lefèvre *tametsi ... corrumpitur.*

16 *externus* ὁ ἔξω ("is qui foris est" Vg.). This substitution is comparable with the Vulgate use of *exteras* for τὰς ἔξω at *Act.* 26,11, and of *interior homo* for τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον at *Rom.* 7,22; *Eph.* 3,16. Cf. also Erasmus' substitution of *externus* for *extrinsecus* in rendering ὁ ἔξωθεν at 1 *Petr.* 3,3. At the present passage, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *exterior* (positioned by Lefèvre before *corrumpitur*), and Manetti *is qui extrinsecus est.*

16 *homo noster* ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος ("noster homo" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal as to the word-order. By contrast, in rendering ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος at *Rom.* 6,6, Erasmus replaced *vetus homo noster* with *vetus ille noster homo.* At the present passage, his wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

16 *internus tamen* ἀλλ' ὁ ἔσωθεν ("tamen is qui intus est" Vg.). This more concise rendering matches Erasmus' use of *externus* earlier in the verse: see above, and also on *Rom.* 7,22. Lefèvre put *interior tamen* (cf. *sed interior* in Ambrosiaster).

ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ. ¹⁷τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν, ¹⁸μὴ σκοπούντων ἡμῶν τὰ βλεπόμενα, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα. τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα, πρόσκαιρα· τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα, αἰώνια.

5 Οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους καταλυθῇ, οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ ἔχομεν, οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον, αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. ²καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ στενάζομεν,

in dies singulos. ¹⁷Nam momentanea leuitas afflictionis nostrae mire supra modum aeternum pondus gloriae parit nobis, ¹⁸dum non spectamus ea quae videntur, sed ea quae non videntur. Nam quae videntur, temporaria sunt: at quae non videntur, aeterna.

5 Scimus enim quod si terrenum nostrum domicilium huius tabernaculi destructum fuerit, aedificationem ex deo habemus, domicilium non manu factum, aeternum in coelis. ²Nam in hoc gemimus,

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17 θλίψεως B-E: θλυψεως A | ημων B-E: ημως A (compend.)

5,1 huius B-E: om. A

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16 *in dies singulos* ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ ("de die in diem" Vg.). In *Annot.* on vs. 17, commenting on the Hebraistic flavour of this Greek expression, Erasmus takes it to mean that the renewing of the "inner man" was not merely repeated each day, but was a renewal which daily increased. He also uses *in singulos dies* for τὴν ἡμέραν at *Mt.* 20,2, or just *in dies* for καθ᾽ ἡμέραν at 1 *Cor.* 15,31. Elsewhere he generally has *quotidie* (or *cotidie*) for καθ᾽ ἡμέραν, and also once for ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας at 2 *Petr.* 2,8 (replacing *diem de die*).

17 *Nam momentanea leuitas* τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρόν ("Id enim quod in praesenti est momentaneum et leue" Vg.). The doubled rendering of the Vulgate, which in effect renders παραυτίκα twice over, was perhaps the result of merging two different renderings within the Old Latin tradition, though it corresponds with the addition of πρόσκαιρον καί after παραυτίκα in codd. D* F G. Cf. *Annot.* Regarding *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. A problem with Erasmus' suggested use of *leuitas* is that this word can also mean "inconstancy", as at 2 *Cor.* 1,17. Valla *Annot.* objected to the Vulgate rendering, and proposed the deletion of

momentaneum. Manetti put *Quod enim momentaneum et leue*, and Lefèvre *nam quod obiter leue est.*

17 *afflictionis* τῆς θλίψεως ("tribulationis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,21, and *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre used *pressurae.*

17 *mire supra modum* καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολήν ("supra modum in sublimitate" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vg^ww (ed minor)). In *Annot.*, Erasmus indicates that the Hebraistic style of repetition was designed to convey emphasis and hence did not require a literal rendering. Manetti put *per excessum in sublimitatem*, and Lefèvre *per excellentiam in excellentia.*

17 *pondus gloriae* βάρος δόξης ("gloriae pondus" Vg.). Erasmus' version is more literal as to the word-order, agreeing with the version of Ambrosiaster.

17 *parit* κατεργάζεται ("operatur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,27, and *Annot.*

17 *nobis* ἡμῖν ("in nobis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate insertion of *in* lacks Greek ms. support. Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

18 *dum non spectamus* μὴ σκοπούντων ἡμῶν ("non contemplantibus nobis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20 for *dum*. Erasmus also substitutes *specto* for *considero* in rendering σκοπέω at *Phil.* 2,4, though he uses *considero* for the same Greek verb at three other passages: see on *Rom.* 16,17. Manetti put *cum nos non consideremus*, and Lefèvre *non consyderantibus nobis*.

18 *ea quae* (twice) τά ("quae" Vg.). Erasmus expands the rendering to complete the sense. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

18 *Nam quae* τὰ γάρ ("Quae enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre put *Nam ea quae*.

18 *temporaria* πρόσκαιρα ("temporalia" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 13,21; *Mc.* 4,17; *Hebr.* 11,25. See *Annot.* on the present passage and also on *Mt.* 13,21. Although there is a considerable overlap of meaning between the two words, *temporarius* is more appropriate for conveying the sense of "short in duration".

18 *at quae* τὰ δέ ("quae autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

18 *aeterna* αἰώνια ("aeterna sunt" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. The verb was similarly omitted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

5,1 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made this change.

1 *terrenum nostrum domicilium* ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία ("terrestris domus nostra" Vg.). The substitution of *terrenum* is consistent with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 3,12; *Phil.* 3,19; *Iac.* 3,15. However, Erasmus retains *terrestris* for ἐπίγειος at 1 *Cor.* 15,40; *Phil.* 2,10, and substitutes *terrestris* for *terrenus* at *Phil.* 3,19. In rendering τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς at *Col.* 3,2, 5, he substituted *terrestria* for *quae super terram.* Whereas *terrestris* means "upon earth", *terrenus* can also mean "of earth". Cf. *Annot.* The word-order of Erasmus is more literal. His substitution of *domicilium* treats οἰκία as the equivalent of οἰκητήριον (vs. 2) or of κατοίκησις. The same change occurs later in this verse, and was presumably intended to alleviate the apparent conflict between *domus* ("house") and the following reference to *tabernaculum* ("tent").

1 *huius* τοῦ (omitted in 1516 Lat.). The 1516 omission produces a more literal rendering, but Erasmus later restored the Vulgate wording: see *Annot.*

1 *tabernaculi* σκήνους ("habitationis" Vg.). This substitution is more accurate, and consistent with the Vulgate rendering of σκῆνος in vs. 4, and of most instances of σκηνή elsewhere. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *habitaculi*.

1 *destructum fuerit* καταλυθῇ ("dissoluatur" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the future perfect tense more precisely conveys the sense of the Greek aorist subjunctive here. In rendering καταλύω elsewhere, he substitutes *destruo* for *soluo* at *Mt.* 5,17; *diruo* for *dissoluo* at *Mc.* 14,58; *diruo* for *destruo* at *Mc.* 13,2; *Lc.* 21,6 (1519); and *demolior* for *destruo* at *Mc.* 15,29; *Act.* 6,14 (1519). His use of *destruo* in this passage is in accordance with Vulgate usage in rendering the same Greek verb e.g. at *Mt.* 24,2; 26,61; 27,40. However, Erasmus retains *dissoluo* at *Act.* 5,38-9. See further on *Ioh.* 2,19.

1 *aedificationem* οἰκοδομήν ("quod aedificationem" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *quod* corresponds with ὅτι οἰκοδομήν in (𝔓⁴⁶) D F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

1 *domicilium* (2nd.) οἰκίαν ("domum" Vg.). See above, on *nostrum domicilium*.

1 *non manu factum, aeternum* ἀχειροποίητον, αἰώνιον ("non manufactam, sed aeternam" Vg. 1527). Erasmus' use of the neuter gender follows from the previous substitution of *domicilium* for *domum*. The addition of *sed* in the 1527 Vulgate column, as in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514, lacks Greek ms. support. This word was not used here by the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti or by either column of Lefèvre.

2 *Nam* καὶ γάρ ("Nam et" Vg.). Usually Erasmus attempts to represent this Greek phrase by *nam et* or *etenim*. See on *Rom.* 3,7; 16,2. The Vulgate is more literally accurate here. In *Annot.* from 1519 onwards, Erasmus used *Etenim*, as in Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

2 *gemimus* στενάζομεν ("ingemiscimus" late Vg.). The same substitution occurs in vs. 4, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 8,23; *Hebr.* 13,17. The two Latin words are similar in meaning. Possibly Erasmus considered that, since the Greek verb lacked a prefix, there was no need for a compound verb in the Latin translation. However, at *Mc.* 7,34; *Iac.* 5,9, he retains *ingemisco* for στενάζω. Cf. *Annot.*

τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ,
ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες. ³εἴ γε καὶ
ἐνδυσάμενοι, οὐ γυμνοὶ εὑρεθησόμεθα.
⁴καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ σκήνει, στενά-
ζομεν βαρούμενοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐ θέλομεν ἐκ-
δύσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι, ἵνα κατα-
ποθῇ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς. ⁵ὁ δὲ
κατεργασάμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο,
θεός, ὁ καὶ δοὺς ἡμῖν τὸν ἀρραβῶνα
τοῦ πνεύματος. ⁶θαρροῦντες οὖν πάν-
τοτε, καὶ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ
σώματι, ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου.

domicilio nostro quod e coelo est,
superindui desiderantes. ³Si tamen
induti, non nudi reperiemur. ⁴Et-
enim qui sumus in hoc tabernaculo,
gemimus onerati: propterea quod no-
limus exui, sed superindui, vt absor-
beatur mortalitas a vita. ⁵Porro qui
parauit nos in hoc ipsum, deus est:
qui idem dedit nobis arrabonem spi-
ritus. ⁶Itaque bono animo sumus
semper, et scimus quod quum domi
sumus in corpore, peregrinamur a deo.

5,4 επειδη *A B C* D* E**: εφ ω *C^{ms} D^{ms} E^{ms}*

2 domicilio nostro *B-E*: domicilium nostrum *A* | desiderantes *C-E*: desyderantes *A B* |
4 hoc *B-E*: *om. A*

2 *domicilio nostro quod* τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν
τό ("habitationem nostram quae" Vg.; "domi-
cilium nostrum quod" 1516). This substitu-
tion is consistent with the Vulgate rendering
of οἰκητήριον at *Iud.* 6, the only other N.T.
passage where the Greek word occurs. See on
vs. 1, and *Annot.* Elsewhere Erasmus retains
habitatio for κατοικία at *Act.* 17,26, and for
κατοικητήριον at *Ap. Ioh.* 18,2. By using the
ablative, he probably hoped to make the sense
clearer: "desiring that we might be clothed *with*
our habitation". There remains some ambiguity,
however, as *domicilio nostro* could be misun-
derstood as being in apposition to the earlier
in hoc. Lefèvre made the same change as in
Erasmus' 1516 edition.

2 *e* ἐξ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. The same
change was made by Lefèvre.

2 *desiderantes* ἐπιποθοῦντες ("cupientes" Vg.).
A similar substitution occurs at *Phil.* 1,8, and
also in rendering ἐπιθυμέω at *Mt.* 13,17, con-
sistent with Vulgate usage at other passages.

3 *induti* ἐνδυσάμενοι ("vestiti" Vg.). This
change preserves the connection with ἐπεν-
δύσασθαι in vs. 2. A similar substitution oc-
curs at *Lc.* 12,22. In *Annot.*, Erasmus records
the variant ἐκδυσάμενοι, offered by the origi-
nal scribe of cod. 2817^{comm}. A later hand has
altered these scholia to read ἐνδυσάμενοι at
this point. The spelling ἐκδυσάμενοι also occurs
in cod. D*. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the

same rendering as Erasmus. In one of the mss.
of Manetti's version (*Urb. Lat.* 6), the scribe
mistakenly copied *vestiti* as *vestra*.

3 *non* οὐ ("et non" late Vg.). The late Vulgate
addition of *et* lacks explicit Greek support.
Erasmus' removal of this word produces ag-
reement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster
and Manetti.

3 *reperiemur* εὑρεθησόμεθα ("inueniamur" Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 1,41.

4 *Etenim* καὶ γάρ ("Nam et" Vg.). See on
1 *Cor.* 12,14.

4 *hoc tabernaculo* τῷ σκήνει ("tabernaculo"
1516 = some Vg. mss.). In 1519, Erasmus restored
the wording of the late Vulgate, which in turn
corresponds with the addition of τούτῳ after
σκήνει, as in codd. D F G and a few later mss.,
including cod. 2105. See *Annot.* The version of
Lefèvre put *hac habitatione*.

4 *gemimus* στενάζομεν ("ingemiscimus" late
Vg.). See on vs. 2.

4 *onerati* βαρούμενοι ("grauati" Vg.). A similar
substitution occurs at 1 *Tim.* 5,16. However,
Erasmus retains *grauo* for βαρέω at *Mt.* 26,43;
Mc. 14,40; *Lc.* 9,32 (which all refer to being
weighed down with sleep), and at 2 *Cor.* 1,8.
Manetti anticipated this change.

4 *propterea quod nolimus* ἐπειδὴ οὐ θέλομεν
("eo quod nolumus" Vg.). The reading ἐπειδή
was drawn from cod. 2817*, with little other

ms. support. In the margin of the 1522-35 editions, Erasmus cites ἐφ᾽ ᾧ, which was in the text of the 1518 Aldine Bible and of virtually all Greek mss. (the latter reading was adopted by Beza and the Elzeviers, but Robert Estienne retained ἐπειδή from Erasmus). Cf. on *Act.* 8,11 for Erasmus' use of *propterea quod*, and on *Ioh.* 1,20 for his preference for the subjunctive. Manetti had *in eo quod volumus.*

4 *exui* ἐκδύσασθαι ("expoliari" Vg.). The substitution of *exui*, which had more specific reference to the removal of clothing, is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 27,28, 31; *Mc.* 15,20. A similar change occurs in rendering ἀπεκδύομαι at *Col.* 2,15 (1516 only); 3,9, and Erasmus further replaces *expoliatio* by *exuo* in rendering ἀπέκδυσις at *Col.* 2,11. His wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

4 *superindui* ἐπενδύσασθαι ("superuestiri" Vg.). Erasmus produces consistency with the rendering of the same Greek verb in vs. 2. The verb *superuestior* did not exist in classical usage. This change again agreed with the wording offered by Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

4 *mortalitas* τὸ θνητόν ("quod mortale est" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that his rendering provides a better contrast with *vita.* Manetti put just *mortale.*

5 *Porro qui* ὁ δέ ("Qui autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16, and *Annot.*

5 *parauit* κατεργασάμενος ("efficit" Vg.). The present tense of the Vulgate corresponds with κατεργαζόμενος in codd. D F G. See further on *Rom.* 1,27. In *Annot.*, Erasmus criticised the version of Lefèvre, who had *afficit.*

5 *deus est* θεός ("deus" Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb, to complete the sense. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

5 *idem* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ corr Dcorr and most later mss. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *et* (shown as a later correction in *Pal. Lat.* 45, of which the original scribe had followed the Vulgate). Lefèvre put *et ad hoc ipsum.*

5 *arrabonem* τὸν ἀρραβῶνα ("pignus" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 1,14. At 2 *Cor.* 1,22 (1519), Erasmus preferred *arram*:

see *ad loc.* At the present passage, Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *Itaque bono animo sumus* θαρροῦντες οὖν ("Audentes igitur" Vg.). Erasmus changes the construction, so as to supply a main verb. For *itaque*, see on 2 *Cor.* 3,12. The substitution of *bono animo sumus* is recommended as a rendering of θαρρέω in *Annot.* on *Phil.* 2,19, and may be compared with Erasmus' use of the same phrase to translate θαρσέω at several passages: see on *Ioh.* 16,33. In rendering θαρρέω in vs. 8, he replaces *audeo* by *confido*, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 7,16. However, Erasmus retains *audeo* for this Greek verb at 2 *Cor.* 10,2, and replaces *confido* by *audax sum* at 2 *Cor.* 10,1. In *Annot.* on the present passage, he suggests using *confido* or *fido.* Manetti put *Confidentes igitur*, and Lefèvre *Qui igitur confidimus.*

6 *scimus* εἰδότες ("scientes" Vg.). See the previous note for the change of construction. Lefèvre made the same alteration.

6 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *quum domi sumus* ἐνδημοῦντες ("dum sumus" Vg.). Erasmus' addition of *domi* is more accurate. Other substitutions of *quum* for *dum* occur at *Hebr.* 9,17; 12,5. In vs. 8, he adopts *praesentes adesse*, and in vs. 9, *domi praesentes*, in rendering the same Greek verb. See *Annot.* More consistently, Lefèvre used *praesentes* here.

6 *corpore* τῷ σώματι ("hoc corpore" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks explicit support from Greek mss. Erasmus' correction agrees with the wording of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *deo* τοῦ κυρίου ("domino" Vg.). The substitution of *deo*, in conflict with Erasmus' Greek text, may have been caused by the common abbreviation of *domino* as *dño*, in his marked-up copy of the printed Vulgate, which could subsequently have been misunderstood by the typesetters of the 1516 edition (such an abbreviation occurs at this point in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514). As it happens, *deo* corresponds with τοῦ θεοῦ in codd. D* F G. Other such changes occur in vs. 8, below, and at *Eph.* 6,8. A similar error in the 1516 edition at 2 *Cor.* 8,5 was corrected in 1519. An opposite change, mistakenly substituting *domino* for *deo*, occurs at 1 *Thess.* 2,2.

⁷διὰ πίστεως γὰρ περιπατοῦμεν, οὐ διὰ εἴδους.

⁸Θαρροῦμεν δὲ καὶ εὐδοκοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον. | ⁹διὸ καὶ φιλοτιμούμεθα, εἴτε ἐνδημοῦντες, εἴτε ἐκδημοῦντες, εὐάρεστοι αὐτῷ εἶναι. ¹⁰τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς ὃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθόν, εἴτε κακόν.

¹¹Εἰδότες οὖν τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου, ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν, θεῷ δὲ πεφανερώμεθα. ἐλπίζω δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς συνειδήσεσιν ὑμῶν πεφανερῶσθαι. ¹²οὐ γὰρ πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστάνομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀφορμὴν διδόντες ὑμῖν καυχήματος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν,

⁷Per fidem enim ambulamus, non per speciem.

⁸Confidimus autem et probamus magis, peregre abesse a corpore, et praesentes adesse apud deum. | ⁹Quapropter contendimus, siue domi praesentes, siue foris peregre agentes, vt illi placeamus. ¹⁰Omnes enim nos manifestari oportet coram tribunali Christi, vt reportet vnusquisque ea quae fiunt per corpus, iuxta id quod fecit siue bonum siue malum.

¹¹Scientes igitur terrorem illum domini, suademus hominibus, deo vero manifesti sumus. Spero autem nos et in conscientiis vestris manifestos esse. ¹²Non enim iterum nos ipsos commendamus vobis, sed occasionem damus vobis gloriandi de nobis,

LB 767

LB 768

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12 ημων *A-D*: υμων *E*

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11 sumus *B-E*: fuimus *A* | 12 vobis *B-E*: vo- *A**, bis *A*ᵇ

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7 *non* οὐ ("et non" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et* corresponds with καὶ οὐ in codd. F G. The correction made by Erasmus produces the same wording as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

8 *Confidimus* Θαρροῦμεν ("Audemus" Vg.). See on vs. 6, and *Annot.* This change was also advocated by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

8 *probamus* εὐδοκοῦμεν ("bonam voluntatem habemus" Vg). See on *Rom.* 15,26, and *Annot.* A different rendering of this Greek verb occurs at 1 *Thess.* 2,8, where Erasmus replaces *cupide volebamus* by *animo cupiebamus* (*animo cupimus* in 1516). At the present passage, Valla *Annot.* suggested *peroptamus*, Manetti *expectamus*, and Lefèvre *volumus*.

8 *peregre abesse* ἐκδημῆσαι ("peregrinari" Vg.). This may be compared with vs. 9, where the Vulgate renders the same verb by *absentes*, and Erasmus by *foris peregre agentes*. In vs. 6, however, he retained the Vulgate verb.

Valla *Annot.* here proposed *foris esse*, and Lefèvre *absentes esse*.

8 *praesentes adesse* ἐνδημῆσαι ("praesentes esse" Vg.). See on vs. 6. The more elegant *praesens adsum* had good classical precedent, though Erasmus was content to use *praesens sum* for πάρειμι at 2 *Cor.* 13,2, 10; *Gal.* 4,18. Valla *Annot.* proposed using *domi esse*, and Manetti *assistere*, at this passage.

8 *apud* πρός ("ad" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 2,29. In such a context, *apud* is the preposition which would usually be expected, meaning "in the presence of". Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre also suggested this change.

8 *deum* τὸν κύριον ("dominum" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The substitution of *deum*, in conflict with Erasmus' Greek text, may again have been caused by the abbreviated form of *dominum* (d̄n̄m, as used by the 1491 and 1514 Froben Vulgates), or it could have been derived from Valla *Annot.*, who had *deum* both in his

Vulgate lemma and in his proposed rendering. It could also have been influenced by the use of *deum* here in Ambrosiaster's version, with some mss. of the earlier Vulgate, though supported by few Greek mss. other than cod. D*. A similar discrepancy between Erasmus' Greek and Latin texts occurs in vs. 6.

9 *Quapropter* διὸ καί ("Et ideo" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. Erasmus leaves καί untranslated. This word is also omitted by 𝔓⁴⁶ and a few later mss. Ambrosiaster had *Ideo*, and Lefèvre *Propter quod*, both omitting *et*.

9 *domi praesentes, siue foris peregre agentes* ἐνδημοῦντες, εἴτε ἐκδημοῦντες ("absentes, siue praesentes" Vg.). See on vss. 6 and 8. The Vulgate transposition of the word-order has little support from Greek mss. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Ambrosiaster was *presentes siue peregrinantes*, and Manetti *praesentes siue absentes*.

9 *vt illi placeamus* εὐάρεστοι αὐτῷ εἶναι ("placere illi" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. Manetti and Lefèvre put *beneplacere ei*.

10 *coram tribunali* ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος ("ante tribunal" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,46 for *coram*. Erasmus retains *ante tribunal* for this Greek phrase at *Act.* 18,17. Manetti partly anticipated this change, having the word-order *coram Christi tribunali*.

10 *reportet* κομίσηται ("referat" Vg.). This substitution is consistent with Vulgate usage at *Hebr.* 10,36; 1 *Petr.* 1,9. In rendering the same Greek verb elsewhere, Erasmus substitutes *reporto* for *percipio* at 1 *Petr.* 5,4; 2 *Petr.* 2,13, and for *recipio* at *Eph.* 6,8; *Col.* 3,25; at *Hebr.* 11,19, he replaces *accipio* with *reduco*. Manetti put *deferat*.

10 *ea quae fiunt per corpus* τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ("propria corporis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ἴδια for διά, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ and a few later mss. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *ea quae per corpus*, and Lefèvre *quae per corpus*.

10 *iuxta id quod* πρὸς ὅ ("prout" Vg.). The reading πρὸς ὅ was derived from cod. 2817. Nearly all other mss. have πρὸς ἅ. In *Annot.*, Erasmus gives πρὸς ἅ as his principal reading, accompanied by the rendering *ad ea quae*. He takes πρός here as the equivalent of κατά: cf. κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν at *Mt.* 16,27, and κατὰ τὰ ἔργα at e.g. *Rom.* 2,6; 2 *Cor.* 11,15. Lefèvre put *ad quae*, while Manetti left the Greek phrase untranslated.

10 *fecit* ἔπραξεν ("gessit" Vg.). Erasmus retains *gero* for πράσσω at *Lc.* 23,41; *Act.* 26,26. At 2 *Cor.* 12,21, he replaces *gero* by *patro*. See also on *Act.* 15,29, and *Annot.*

11 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

11 *terrorem illum* τὸν φόβον ("timorem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,3 for *terror*. Erasmus renders the Greek article by *illum*, possibly to connect φόβος with the reference to divine judgment in vs. 10.

11 *suademus hominibus* ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν ("hominibus suademus" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is more literal.

11 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

11 *manifesti sumus* πεφανερώμεθα ("manifesti fuimus" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus attempts a more literal rendering of the Greek perfect tense, though this may have been for stylistic variety, as he leaves *manifestos esse* untouched in the clause which immediately follows. In *Annot.*, he suggested *manifestati sumus*, which was the rendering of Valla *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *manifesti efficimur*.

11 *nos et ... manifestos esse* καὶ ... πεφανερῶσθαι ("et ... manifestos nos esse" Vg.). Erasmus moves forward the pronoun, for the sake of clarity. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *et ... nos manifestos esse*.

12 *enim* γάρ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D^corr 048 and most later mss. The same correction was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *nos ipsos commendamus* ἑαυτοὺς συνιστάνομεν ("commendamus nos" late Vg.). Erasmus gives a more emphatic rendering of the Greek reflexive pronoun. His word-order is also more literal than the late Vulgate. Manetti and Lefèvre again made the same change. The earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster had *nos commendamus*.

12 *de* ὑπέρ ("pro" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in rendering ὑπέρ after καυχάομαι at 2 *Cor.* 12,5; 2 *Thess.* 1,4, and after καύχησις at 2 *Cor.* 7,4; 8,24, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 7,14; 9,2-3. Other substitutions of *de* occur in rendering ὑπέρ after εὐχαριστέω at *Eph.* 5,20, and after φρονέω at *Phil.* 1,7.

ἵνα ἔχητε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν προσώ-
πῳ καυχωμένους, καὶ οὐ καρδίᾳ.
¹³ εἴτε γὰρ ἐξέστημεν, θεῷ· εἴτε σω-
φρονοῦμεν, ὑμῖν. ¹⁴ ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη
τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς, κρίναν-
τας τοῦτο, ὅτι εἰ εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων
ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθα-
νον· ¹⁵ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν,
ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες, μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶ-
σιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθα-
νόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι. ¹⁶ ὥστε ἡμεῖς
ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα οἴδαμεν κατὰ
σάρκα. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ
σάρκα Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι
γινώσκομεν.

¹⁷ Ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, και-
νὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν,
ἰδοὺ γέγονε καινὰ τὰ πάντα.

vt aliquid habeatis aduersus eos qui
in facie gloriantur, et non in corde.
¹³ Nam siue insanimus, deo insanimus:
siue sani sumus, vobis sani sumus.
¹⁴ Charitas enim Christi constringit
nos, iudicantes illud, quod si vnus
pro omnibus mortuus fuit, ergo om-
nes mortui fuerunt: ¹⁵ et pro omnibus
mortuus est, vt qui viuunt, posthac
non sibi viuant, sed ei qui pro ipsis
mortuus est et resurrexit. ¹⁶ Itaque nos
posthac neminem nouimus secundum
carnem. Porro etiam si cognouimus
Christum secundum carnem, nunc
tamen non amplius nouimus.

¹⁷ Proinde si quis est in Christo,
noua creatura est. Vetera praeterie-
runt, ecce noua facta sunt omnia.

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15 κρίναντας *A B D E*: κρίναννντας *C*

16 Porro etiam si cognouimus *B-E*: Quod si etiam nouimus *A* | 17 praeterierunt *B-E*:
preterierunt *A*

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12 *aliquid habeatis* ἔχητε ("habeatis" Vg.). Eras-
mus adds *aliquid* to complete the sense. Lefèvre
put *illam habeatis*, taking ἀφορμήν as the implied
object of the verb.

12 *aduersus* πρός ("ad" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
10,21, and *Annot.* The rendering adopted by
Erasmus gives a clearer sense. The same change
was made by Lefèvre.

13 *Nam siue* εἴτε γάρ ("Siue enim" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre left γάρ untranslated.

13 *insanimus, deo insanimus* ἐξέστημεν, θεῷ
("mente excedimus, deo" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Eras-
mus suggests that the Vulgate might originally
have had *excidimus* (which can be understood
as either present or perfect tense) rather than
excedimus, and accordingly he lists the passage
among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. He took
mente excedo to refer to ecstatic experience, but
mente excido as referring to insanity. He favoured
the latter interpretation, as it seemed to form
a better contrast with the following verb, σω-
φρονοῦμεν. To prevent any occurrence of the
(alleged) confusion between *excedo* and *excido*,
Erasmus substituted *insanio*, a word which he
uses elsewhere mainly to render μαίνομαι. He

further repeats this verb after *deo*, to complete
the implied sense of the elliptical Greek expres-
sion. Valla *Annot.* suggested using *desipimus, deo
desipimus*. Manetti put *mente excedamus deo*, and
Lefèvre *excellimus deo*.

13 *sani sumus, vobis sani sumus* σωφρονοῦμεν,
ὑμῖν ("sobrii sumus, vobis" Vg.). Again Erasmus
expands the rendering, for the sake of clarity.
At *Mc.* 5,15 and *Lc.* 8,35, he follows the Vulgate
in using *sanae mentis* and *sana mente* for the
same Greek verb. See *Annot.*, and for *sobrius* see
further on *Rom.* 12,3. Valla *Annot.* recommended
sapimus, vobis sapimus, while Manetti had *tempera-
ti simus vobis*, and Lefèvre *modeste sapimus vobis*
(cf. Ambrosiaster, *sanum sapimus*).

14 *constringit* συνέχει ("vrget" Vg.). Erasmus
wished to convey the sense of the Greek prefix,
συν-. He also introduces *constringo* for συνέχω
at several other passages, replacing *comprehendo,
comprimo* and *coartor*: at *Mt.* 4,24 (1535); *Lc.*
8,45 (1519); *Phil.* 1,23 (1516 only). See *Annot.*
The version of Manetti had *continet*.

14 *iudicantes* κρίναντας ("aestimantes" Vg.).
Erasmus is more accurate here: see *Annot.*
His rendering agrees with the wording of

Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Manetti, while Lefèvre put *discernentes*.

14 *illud* τοῦτο ("hoc" Vg.). Erasmus prefers *illud* for referring to a following statement: see on *Rom.* 6,6.

14 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. This change produced the same wording as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *si* εἰ. In *Annot.*, Erasmus mentions that some mss. omit this word, among which were his codd. 2105 and 2815, together with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B Cᶜᵒʳʳ D F G 0225 and many other mss. His text is here based on cod. 2817, supported by 1ᶜᵒʳʳ and 2816, with ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ C*ᵛⁱᵈ 048 and many other mss. The version of Lefèvre omitted *si*.

14 *mortuus fuit ... mortui fuerunt* ἀπέθανεν ... ἀπέθανον ("mortuus est ... mortui sunt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. Lefèvre put *mortem oppetiit ... oppetierunt*.

15 *mortuus est* ἀπέθανεν ("mortuus est Christus" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *Christus* corresponds with ἀπέθανεν Χριστός in codd. F G. In a few late mss., Χριστός is inserted before ὑπὲρ πάντων. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre all omitted *Christus*, and Lefèvre further substituted *mortem oppetiit*.

15 *vt* ἵνα ("vt et" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et* lacks Greek ms. support. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

15 *posthac non* μηκέτι ("iam non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,14. Manetti put *non amplius*.

16 *posthac* ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ("ex hoc" Vg.; omitted in some early Vg. mss.). See on *Act.* 18,6, and *Annot.* Apart from attaching *non* to *posthac* in vs. 15, Erasmus' version does not distinguish between the meaning of ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν here and μηκέτι in the previous verse. Valla *Annot.* likewise suggested *posthac*, whereas Manetti preferred *ex nunc*, and Lefèvre *a modo*.

16 *Porro etiam si* εἰ δὲ καί ("Et si" Vg.; "Quod si etiam" 1516). The Vulgate reflects a text omitting δέ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B D* (F G) 0225 and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Cᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See further on 1 *Cor.* 8,5 for *etiam si*. Lefèvre put *si autem et*.

16 *cognouimus* ἐγνώκαμεν ("nouimus" 1516). The use of *nouimus* in 1516 was perhaps an attempt to produce consistency with the use of *nouimus* for γινώσκομεν at the end of the verse,

though the Greek tenses differ. In 1519, Erasmus restored the Vulgate rendering. Lefèvre also put *nouimus*, having the word-order *secundum carnem nouimus Christum*.

16 *Christum secundum carnem* κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν ("secundum carnem Christum" Vg.). Erasmus places *Christum* immediately after the verb, for clarity. For Lefèvre's version, see the previous note.

17 *Proinde si quis est ... creatura est* Ὥστε εἴ τις ... κτίσις ("Si qua ergo ... creatura" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17 for *proinde*. By using the feminine gender, the Vulgate connects τις with the following κτίσις, or *creatura*. Erasmus' wording gives a more convincing interpretation of the passage, making clear that every Christian believer is, by definition, a "new creature". See *Annot.* This passage appears among the *Loca Obscura*. Manetti had *Itaque si quis ... creatura est*, and Lefèvre *Itaque si qua ... creatura*.

17 *praeterierunt* παρῆλθεν ("transierunt" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 5,18; 24,35 (1519); *Mc.* 13,30-1; *Iac.* 1,10. More often Erasmus retains *transeo* for this Greek verb.

17 *noua facta sunt omnia* γέγονε καινὰ τὰ πάντα ("facta sunt omnia noua" late Vg.). The late Vulgate reflects a different Greek word-order, γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινά, found in more than 230 late mss., including codd. 2815 and 2816. Erasmus' Greek text is based on cod. 2817, supported by 1, 2105, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 330 later mss. In fifteen mss., τὰ πάντα is omitted, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B C D* F G 048, together with the earlier Vulgate (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 667-70). It could be said that, without τὰ πάντα ("all things"), the apostle's phrase becomes less vivid and emphatic. The main textual question here is whether τὰ πάντα was a scribal embellishment (cf. the reading καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα, and its various permutations, at *Ap. Ioh.* 21,5), or whether a few scribes either accidentally or intentionally omitted these words. If the original word-order had been καινὰ τὰ πάντα, an accidental omission could have occurred through an error of parablepsis, passing from τά before πάντα to τά before δὲ πάντα in vs. 18. There is also a possibility that a deliberate shortening of the text could have been prompted by the Septuagint version of *Is.* 43,19 (a), ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ποιῶ καινά, of which the present passage appears to contain a reminiscence. The alternative word-order, τὰ πάντα καινά, could

¹⁸ Τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ κατ-
αλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, καὶ δόντος ἡμῖν τὴν διακο-
νίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς· ¹⁹ ὡς ὅτι θεὸς
ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ, κόσμον καταλλάσσων
ἑαυτῷ, μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ πα-
ραπτώματα αὐτῶν, καὶ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν
τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς.
²⁰ Ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ οὖν πρεσβεύομεν,
ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παρακαλοῦντος δι' ἡμῶν,
δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, καταλ | λάγητε
τῷ θεῷ· ²¹ τὸν γὰρ μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρ-
τίαν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν,
ἵνα ἡμεῖς γινώμεθα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν
αὐτῷ.

6 Συνεργοῦντες δὲ καὶ παρακαλοῦ-
μεν, μὴ εἰς κενὸν τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ
δέξασθαι ὑμᾶς. ² λέγει γάρ, Καιρῷ δεκ-
τῷ ἐπήκουσά σου, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτη-
ρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι. ἰδοὺ νῦν καιρὸς εὐ-
πρόσδεκτος, ἰδοὺ νῦν ἡμέρα σωτηρίας.

¹⁸ Omnia autem ex deo, qui reconci-
liauit nos sibi per Iesum Christum,
deditque nobis ministerium recon-
ciliationis: ¹⁹ quandoquidem deus
erat in Christo, mundum reconci-
lians sibi, non imputans eis peccata
sua, et posuit in nobis sermonem
reconciliationis.
²⁰ Itaque nomine Christi legatio-
ne fungimur: tanquam deo vos ob-
secrante per nos, rogamus pro |
Christo, reconciliemini deo: ²¹ eum
enim qui non nouit peccatum, pro
nobis peccatum fecit, vt nos effi-
ceremur iustitia dei per illum.

6 Quin et adiuuantes obsecramus,
ne in vacuum gratiam dei rece-
peritis. ² Dicit enim: In tempore
accepto exaudiui te, et in die salu-
tis succurri tibi. Ecce nunc tempus
acceptum, ecce nunc dies salutis.

19 λογιζομενος *B-E*: λογισομενος *A* | *alt.* εν *B-E*: *om. A*
6,1 του θεου *B-E*: *om. A*

18 deditque *B-E*: et dedit *A* | 19 posuit in *B-E*: ponens *A* | sermonem *B-E*: verbum *A* |
21 per illum *B-E*: in illo *A*
6,1 Quin et adiuuantes *B-E*: Sed adiuuantes etiam *A* | obsecramus *B-E*: exhortamur *A* |
dei *B-E*: *om. A*

have arisen through an accidental transposition
of words, this being a prolific source of error
among copyists of mss. Erasmus' rendering was
the same as that of Lefèvre.

18 *qui reconciliauit nos* τοῦ καταλλάξαντος
ἡμᾶς ("qui nos reconciliauit" late Vg.). Erasmus'
rendering is closer to the Greek word-order,
agreeing with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster
and Lefèvre.

18 *Iesum* Ἰησοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-
sion is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B C D* F G and
a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815
and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, as well as
D^corr and most later mss. This correction was
also made by Manetti and Lefèvre (the latter
having the spelling *Ibesum*).

18 *deditque* καὶ δόντος ("et dedit" 1516 = Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 1,39.

19 *quandoquidem* ὡς ὅτι ("quoniam quidem"
Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,30, and *Annot.* Both Manetti
and Lefèvre had *vt quod.*

19 *imputans* λογιζόμενος ("reputans" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 2,26, and *Annot.* The spelling λογισό-
μενος in 1516, which has no support from the
Basle mss., was probably a typesetting error.
The rendering adopted by Erasmus was previ-
ously proposed by Valla *Annot.*

19 *eis* αὐτοῖς ("illis" Vg.). Cod. 2815 omits
αὐτοῖς, but the word is attested by most other
mss. (cod. 1 has ἑαυτοῖς). Erasmus avoids the
added emphasis of *illis*. The immediate point
of reference appears to be κόσμον, or *mundum*,

here treated as a collective noun and hence a plural entity. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

19 *peccata* τὰ παραπτώματα ("delicta" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,25. By making this change, Erasmus removes any distinction between παράπτωμα here and ἁμαρτία in vs. 21.

19 *sua* αὐτῶν ("ipsorum" Vg.). Erasmus, who here adopts a proposal of Valla *Annot.*, probably regarded the emphasis of *ipsorum* as unnecessary, as it does not refer back to an earlier subject. However, *sua* has an undesirable ambiguity, as it could be misunderstood as meaning "his" rather than "their". Lefèvre put *eorum*.

19 *posuit* θέμενος ("ponens" 1516). The 1516 rendering, which is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, ignores the fact that the Greek participle is an aorist. Further, the preceding *non* was capable of being mistakenly applied to *ponens* and not just to *imputans*. It was presumably for these reasons that Erasmus in 1519 reverted to the Vulgate wording.

19 *in nobis* ἐν ἡμῖν ("nobis" 1516). In 1516, the omission of the preposition was based on codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by many other late mss. The same omission was made by Manetti.

19 *sermonem* τὸν λόγον ("verbum" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1. Lefèvre made the same change.

20 *Itaque nomine Christi* Ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ οὖν ("Pro Christo ergo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,10 for *itaque*, and on 1 *Cor.* 4,6 for *nomine*. Manetti put *Pro Christo igitur*.

20 *vos obsecrante* παρακαλοῦντος ("exhortante" Vg.). A similar substitution of *obsecro* occurs at 2 *Cor.* 6,1 (1519). Erasmus felt that this was more appropriate in view of the use of δεόμεθα shortly afterwards, though the change was likely to give rise to the objection that God does not "beseech": see *Annot.* He further added a pronoun, *vos*, to make the implied object of the verb more clear. Manetti had *cohortante*.

20 *rogamus* δεόμεθα ("obsecramus" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 8,4; *Gal.* 4,12, though Erasmus retains *obsecro* for δέομαι at *Lc.* 8,28; 9,38; *Act.* 8,34; 26,3. Lefèvre also made this change. Manetti put *deprecamur*.

20 *reconciliemini* καταλλάγητε ("reconciliamini" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,27 for Erasmus' use of the subjunctive.

21 *enim* γάρ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓[34] [46] ℵ * B C D* F G 048 and

a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ corr D corr and most later mss. The version of Lefèvre began the sentence with *nam eum*.

21 *nouit* γνόντα ("nouerat" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate. Erasmus has the same wording as Lefèvre.

21 γινώμεθα. This spelling appears to have been an arbitrary change, as virtually all mss., including those at Basle, have γενώμεθα. The incorrect spelling persisted into the *Textus Receptus*. Cf. on *Ioh.* 5,9; 12,42.

21 *per illum* ἐν αὐτῷ ("in ipso" Vg.; "in illo" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,17 for *per*, and on *Rom.* 1,20 for the removal of *ipse*. Lefèvre put *in eo*.

6,1 *Quin et adiuuantes* Συνεργοῦντες δὲ καί ("Adiuuantes autem" late Vg.; "Sed adiuuantes etiam" 1516). The late Vulgate omission of *et* corresponds with the omission of καί in some late mss., including cod. 2815. See *Annot.* For *quin*, see on *Ioh.* 8,17. Valla *Annot.* gave the meaning of συνεργοῦντες as *cooperantes*, and this was adopted by Lefèvre, who had *At vero cooperantes*. Manetti put *Cooperatores autem*.

1 *obsecramus* παρακαλοῦμεν ("exhortamur" 1516 = Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,20, and *Annot.* Erasmus' 1519 rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

1 *dei* τοῦ θεοῦ (omitted in 1516). The 1516 omission follows cod. 2817, with little or no other ms. support.

1 *receperitis* δέξασθαι ("recipiatis" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to render the Greek aorist more precisely. Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* put *suscipiatis*, while Lefèvre's main text had *vos suscipiatis*.

2 *Dicit* λέγει ("Ait" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,12. Lefèvre made the same change.

2 *In tempore* Καιρῷ ("Tempore" Vg.). Erasmus' insertion of *in* appears from *Annot.* to have been influenced by the Vulgate rendering of *Is.* 49,8.

2 *succurri tibi* ἐβοήθησά σοι ("adiuui te" late Vg.). See on *Act.* 16,9, and *Annot.*

2 *acceptum* εὐπρόσδεκτος ("acceptabile" Vg.). This change is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 15,16; 31; 2 *Cor.* 8,12. However, despite the fact that *acceptabilis* was not used by classical authors, Erasmus retains this word at 1 *Petr.* 2,5, and even substitutes it for *acceptus* at *Rom.* 15,16 (see *ad loc.*).

³μηδεμίαν ἐν μηδενὶ διδόντες προσκο-
πήν, ἵνα μὴ μωμηθῇ ἡ διακονία, ⁴ἀλλ᾽
ἐν παντὶ συνιστῶντες ἑαυτοὺς ὡς θεοῦ
διάκονοι, ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ, ἐν θλίψε-
σιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν στενοχωρίαις, ⁵ἐν
πληγαῖς, ἐν φυλακαῖς, ἐν ἀκαταστασίαις,
ἐν κόποις, ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις, ἐν νηστείαις,
⁶ἐν ἁγνότητι, ἐν γνώσει, ἐν μακροθυ-
μίᾳ, ἐν χρηστότητι, ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ,
ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀνυποκρίτῳ, ⁷ἐν λόγῳ ἀλη-
θείας, ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ, διὰ τῶν ὅπλων
τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀρι-
στερῶν, ⁸διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας, διὰ
δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας· ὡς πλάνοι, καὶ
ἀληθεῖς· ⁹ὡς ἀγνοούμενοι, καὶ ἐπι-
γινωσκόμενοι· ὡς ἀποθνῄσκοντες, καὶ
ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν· ὡς παιδευόμενοι, καὶ μὴ

³Ne quam vsquam demus offensio-
nem, ne reprehendatur ministerium,
⁴sed in omnibus commendemus nos
ipsos vt dei ministri, in tolerantia
multa, in afflictionibus, in necessita-
tibus, in anxietatibus, ⁵in plagis, in
carceribus, in seditionibus, in labori-
bus, in vigiliis, in ieiuniis, ⁶in puri-
tate, in scientia, in animi lenitate, in
benignitate, in spiritu sancto, in chari-
tate non simulata, ⁷in sermone verita-
tis, in potentia dei, per arma iustitiae
dextra ac sinistra, ⁸per gloriam et ig-
nominiam, per conuitia et laudes, qua-
si impostores, et tamen veraces: ⁹quasi
ignoti, et tamen noti: quasi morientes,
et ecce viuimus: quasi correpti, et non

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5 φυλακαις *B-E*: φυλασκαις *A* | 6 μακροθυμια *B-E*: μακροθυμιαις *A* | χρηστοτητι *A-C E*:
χριστοτητι *D*

3 vsquam *B-E*: vlli *A* | 5 in laboribus *B-E*: *om. A* | 6 animi lenitate *B-E*: longanimita-
tibus *A* | 7 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 8 quasi *B-E*: tanquam *A*

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3 *Ne quam vsquam demus* μηδεμίαν ἐν μηδενὶ
διδόντες ("Nemini dantes vllam" Vg.; "Ne
quam vlli demus" 1516). By substituting *ne ...
demus*, parallel with *commendemus* (or *exhibeamus*)
in vs. 4, Erasmus restores the symmetry of the
Greek sentence structure. In *Annot.*, he suggests
that the Vulgate followed a text omitting ἐν,
though such an omission lacks Greek ms. sup-
port. Lefèvre put *Nemini ne vllam quidem damus*.

3 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20.

3 *reprehendatur* μωμηθῇ ("vituperetur" Vg.). At
2 *Cor.* 8,20, rendering the same Greek verb,
Erasmus replaces *vitupero* by *carpo*. In rendering
μέμφομαι, he further replaces *vitupero* by *incuso*
at *Mc.* 7,2 (1519); *Hebr.* 8,8.

3 *ministerium* ἡ διακονία ("ministerium nos-
trum" most Vg. mss., with Vgᵂ). The Vulgate
addition of *nostrum* corresponds with the addi-
tion of ἡμῶν in codd. D F G and a few later
mss. See *Annot.* On the strength of the ninth-
century cod. Sangermanensis, Vgˢᵗ omits *nostrum*.
Lefèvre put *ministratio nostra*.

4 *commendemus* συνιστῶντες ("exhibeamus"
Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.*
7,11, in conformity with Vulgate usage elsewhere.

See *Annot.* The rendering of Ambrosiaster and
Valla *Annot.* was *commendantes*, while Lefèvre
had *commendabiles exhibemus*.

4 *nos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("nosmet ipsos" Vg.). See
on 1 *Cor.* 11,31, and *Annot.* The same change
was made by Lefèvre.

4 *vt* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21. Erasmus
adopts the same word as Ambrosiaster and
Lefèvre.

4 *ministri* διάκονοι ("ministros" Vg.). The Vul-
gate use of the accusative corresponds with δια-
κόνους in cod. D*. See *Annot.* The correction
made by Erasmus agrees with the rendering of
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

4 *tolerantia multa* ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ ("multa
patientia" Vg.). Erasmus' translation reproduces
the Greek word-order more literally. For *tole-
rantia*, see on *Rom.* 2,4. Lefèvre had *patientia
multa*.

4 *afflictionibus* θλίψεσιν ("tribulationibus" Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 16,21. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre
had *pressuris*.

4 *anxietatibus* στενοχωρίαις ("angustiis" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 2,9.

5 *in laboribus* ἐν κόποις (omitted in 1516 Lat.). The omission from the 1516 Latin version, in conflict with the accompanying Greek text, seems to have been an error of the typesetter.

6 *puritate* ἀγνότητι ("castitate" Vg.). A similar substitution of *puritas* occurs in rendering ἀγνεία at 1 *Tim.* 4,12. Cf. also the substitution of *purus* for *castus* at 1 *Tim.* 5,22; *Tit.* 2,5; for *incontaminatus* at 2 *Cor.* 7,11; for *pudicus* at *Phil.* 4,8; and for *sanctus* at 1 *Ioh.* 3,3 - all in rendering ἀγνός. In rendering ἀγνίζω, Erasmus further uses *purifico* to replace *castifico* at 1 *Petr.* 1,22, and to replace *sanctifico* at *Ioh.* 11,55 (1519); *Act.* 21,24 (1519); 1 *Ioh.* 3,3, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Act.* 21,26; 24,18; *Iac.* 4,8 (see on *Ioh.* 11,55). Another related change is the replacement of *sincere* by *pure* in rendering ἀγνῶς at *Phil.* 1,16. For Erasmus' replacement of *castitas* by *temperantia* in rendering ἐγκράτεια, see on *Act.* 24,25. He retains *castitas* for ἀγνεία at 1 *Tim.* 5,2, and also uses *castitas* to replace *sobrietas* in rendering σωφροσύνη at 1 *Tim.* 2,9, 15. In rendering ἀγνός, he also retains *castus* at 2 *Cor.* 11,2; 1 *Petr.* 3,2, and replaces *pudicus* by *castus* at *Iac.* 3,17.

6 *animi lenitate* μακροθυμίᾳ ("longanimitate" Vg.; "longanimitatibus" 1516). The use of the plural in 1516 corresponds with the reading μακροθυμίαις in cod. 2817, apparently without other ms. support. For Erasmus' use of *lenitas*, see on *Rom.* 2,4.

6 *benignitate* χρηστότητι ("suauitate" Vg.). Erasmus also uses *benignitas* for χρηστότης at *Gal.* 5,22; *Eph.* 2,7. See on *Rom.* 2,4 (*bonitas*), and *Annot.* In classical usage, *suauitas* denotes pleasantness or attractiveness rather than a moral virtue. Erasmus' wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

6 *non simulata* ἀνυποκρίτῳ ("non ficta" Vg.). From *Annot.*, it is seen that this substitution was, once again, modelled on the wording of Ambrosiaster. See further on *Rom.* 12,9.

7 *sermone* λόγῳ ("verbo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

7 *dextra ac sinistra* τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν ("a dextris et a sinistris" late Vg.; "dextra et sinistra" 1516). Erasmus follows the Greek wording more literally, omitting the prepositions. For *ac*, see on *Ioh.* 1,25. In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the degree of interpretative comment in the version of Lefèvre, who put *secundorum et aduersorum*.

8 *ignominiam* ἀτιμίας ("ignobilitatem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 15,43, and *Annot.* The rendering offered by Lefèvre was *inhonorationem*.

8 *conuitia et laudes* δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας ("infamiam et bonam famam" Vg.). Erasmus found a more succinct way of expressing the meaning, though he does not preserve the etymological connection between the Greek nouns, and converts singular to plural. In *Annot.*, he renders more literally by *maledicentiam et benedicentiam*. Lefèvre tried *diffamationem et bonam famam*.

8 *quasi* ὡς ("vt" Vg.; "tanquam" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the Vulgate inconsistency in rendering ὡς variously as *vt, quasi, sicut* and *tanquam*, in vss. 8-10. The same objection was raised by Valla *Annot.*, who proposed using *vt* throughout this passage, a suggestion which was adopted by Lefèvre.

8 *impostores* πλάνοι ("seductores" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 27,63 (1519), as well as in rendering γόης at 2 *Tim.* 3,13. Erasmus also uses *impostor* for πλάνος at 1 *Tim.* 4,1. He retains *seductor* for πλάνος at 2 *Ioh.* 7, and also in rendering φρεναπάτης at *Tit.* 1,10. See *Annot.* The word *seductor* does not occur in classical usage.

8 *et tamen* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,19. Lefèvre had *at*.

9 *quasi* (three times) ὡς ("sicut ... quasi ... vt" Vg.). See on vs. 8. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre both had *vt* throughout, while Manetti had *sicut ... tanquam ... tanquam*.

9 *ignoti* ἀγνοούμενοι ("qui ignoti" Vg.). The added *qui* of the Vulgate is redundant to the sense. Erasmus' wording agrees with that of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

9 *et tamen* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,19. Lefèvre put *sed*.

9 *noti* ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι ("cogniti" Vg.). The word *notus*, in the sense of "well known", provides a more straightforward antithesis for *ignotus*, whereas *cognitus* might be taken to mean "ascertained" or "recognised". See also on *Rom.* 1,32, and cf. *Annot.*

9 *correpti* παιδευόμενοι ("castigati" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Hebr.* 12,6, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Lc.* 23,22; 1 *Cor.* 11,32; 2 *Tim.* 2,25; *Hebr.* 12,7. While *corripio* could mean "rebuke" or "reprove", the verb *castigo* has the additional connotation of

LB 771   θανατούμενοι· ¹⁰ὡς | λυπούμενοι, ἀεὶ   occisi: ¹⁰quasi do|lentes, semper   LB 772
         δὲ χαίροντες· ὡς πτωχοί, πολλοὺς   tamen gaudentes: quasi pauperes,
         δὲ πλουτίζοντες· ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες,   multos tamen ditantes: vt nihil ha-
         καὶ πάντα κατέχοντες.   bentes, et tamen omnia possidentes.
              ¹¹Τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν ἀνέῳγε πρὸς   ¹¹Os nostrum apertum est erga
         ὑμᾶς, Κορίνθιοι· ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν   vos, Corinthii: cor nostrum dilata-
         πεπλάτυται· ¹²οὐ στενοχωρεῖσθε   tum est: ¹²non estis angusti in no-
         ἐν ἡμῖν, στενοχωρεῖσθε δὲ ἐν τοῖς   bis, sed angusti estis in visceribus
         σπλάγχνοις ὑμῶν. ¹³τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν   vestris.   ¹³Eandem autem remune-
         ἀντιμισθίαν ὡς τέκνοις λέγω. πλα-   rationem vt a filiis exigo. Dilate-
         τύνθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ¹⁴μὴ γίνεσθε   mini et vos,   ¹⁴ne ducatis iugum
         ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις. τίς γὰρ   cum incredulis. Quod enim consor-
         μετοχὴ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ; τίς   tium iustitiae cum iniustitia? Aut
         δὲ κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος;   quae communio luci cum tenebris?

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11 πεπλάτυται *C-E*: πεπλάτυνται *A B* | **13** πλατυνθῆτε *A-C*: πλαθυνθῆτε *D E*

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10 *tert.* tamen *B-E*: *om. A* | **11** Corinthii *A-C D* E*: Corintbii *Dᵇ* | **12** non estis *Aᶜ B-E*:
ne sitis *A** | sed angusti estis *B-E*: Sitis autem angusti *A**, sed estis angusti *Aᶜ* | **13** a filiis
exigo *D E*: filiis polliceor *A-C*

"chastise" or "punish". That Erasmus sometimes
regarded *castigo* as an equally valid rendering
of this Greek verb may be seen from his
substitution of *castigo* for *corripio* at *Lc.* 23,22;
Hebr. 12,7 (both in 1519), and in his retention
of *castigo* at *Ap. Ioh.* 3,19. See also *Annot.*

9 *occisi* θανατούμενοι ("mortificati" Vg.). Else-
where in the Epistles, at *Rom.* 7,4; 8,13; 1 *Petr.*
3,18, Erasmus retains *mortifico* for θανατόω,
even though it does not occur in classical Latin
usage.

10 *dolentes* λυπούμενοι ("tristes" Vg.). By using
a present participle, Erasmus gives a more li-
teral rendering. See *Annot.* He retains *tristis* for
λυπούμενος at *Mt.* 19,22. Manetti anticipa-
ted this change, while Lefèvre had *merentes*
(= *maerentes*).

10 *tamen* (1st. and 2nd.) δέ ("autem" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 1,26. Valla *Annot.* proposed *sed ... tamen*,
and Lefèvre *autem ... et.*

10 *quasi* (2nd.) ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on vs. 8.
Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre had
vt.

10 *pauperes* πτωχοί ("egentes" Vg.). In using
a noun, Erasmus' rendering is more literal.
Manetti and Lefèvre both put *inopes.*

10 *ditantes* πλουτίζοντες ("locupletantes" Vg.).
See on 1 *Cor.* 1,5. Erasmus uses the same verb
as Ambrosiaster.

10 *vt* ὡς ("tanquam" Vg.). Erasmus here departs
from his otherwise consistent rendering of ὡς
by *quasi* in vss. 8-10: see on vs. 8. His choice
of word is the same as that of Ambrosiaster,
Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

10 *et tamen* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on
Ioh. 7,19. Lefèvre put *sed.*

11 *apertum est* ἀνέῳγε ("patet" Vg.). The sub-
stitution of *aperio* is in accordance with Vulgate
usage in rendering this Greek verb elsewhere.
Erasmus' adoption of the perfect tense is more
accurate, and more consistent with the use of
dilatatum est shortly afterwards. The same change
was made by Lefèvre.

11 *erga* πρός ("ad" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25.

11 *Corinthii* Κορίνθιοι ("o Corinthii" Vg.).
The Vulgate addition of *o* was probably just
a matter of translation, making the vocative
case of *Corinthii* more explicit, though it also
corresponds with ὦ Κορίνθειοι in codd. F G.
See on *Act.* 1,1 for instances of several pas-
sages where Erasmus makes the same addition,
without support from Greek mss.

11 πεπλάτυται. The adoption of this spelling, in 1522-35, could have been influenced by the 1518 Aldine Bible, which had this reading in company with some late mss., including codd. 2105, 2815, 2816. In codd. 1, 2817 and most other mss., it is πεπλάτυνται, as printed in Erasmus' 1516-19 editions.

12 *non estis angusti ... sed angusti estis* οὐ στενοχωρεῖσθε ... στενοχωρεῖσθε δέ ("Non angustiamini ... angustiamini autem" Vg.; "ne sitis angusti ... sitis autem angusti" 1516 Lat. text; "non estis angusti ... sed estis angusti" 1516 Lat. errata). At first, Erasmus interpreted the Greek verb as an imperative, but by the time he came to finalise 1516 *Annot.*, he decided instead that it was a descriptive statement, on the grounds that a negative command would have required μή rather than οὐ. He accordingly altered his rendering in the 1516 errata. See *Annot.* For the change from *angustio* to *angusto*, see on 2 *Cor.* 4,8. Regarding *sed*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti had *Ne angustiamini ... sed angustiamini*, and Lefèvre *non constringimini ... sed constringimini*.

13 *remunerationem vt a filiis exigo* ἀντιμισθίαν ὡς τέκνοις λέγω ("habentes remunerationem, tanquam filiis dico" Vg.; "remunerationem vt filiis polliceor" 1516-22). In *Annot.*, lemma (but not in the 1527 Vulgate column), Erasmus cites *retributionem* as the Vulgate reading, in place of *remunerationem* (cf. *mercedis retributionem* in Ambrosiaster). The relationship of τὴν ... ἀντιμισθίαν with the following verbs, λέγω and πλατύνθητε, is partly dependent on the punctuation. Erasmus' decision to treat ἀντιμισθίαν as the object of λέγω leads him into a strange interpretation of that verb, in the sense of "promise" (1516-22) or "demand" (1527-35), instead of the usual "say" or "speak". Cf. *Annot.* By taking ὡς τέκνοις λέγω as a parenthesis, the Vulgate offered a more credible interpretation: comparable parenthetical statements are ὡς φρονίμοις λέγω (1 *Cor.* 10,15); κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω (*Rom.* 3,5; *Gal.* 3,15); παραφρονῶν λαλῶ (2 *Cor.* 11,23). However, the Vulgate addition of *habentes* is questionable. Since the context implies that the Corinthians are to give rather than receive the ἀντιμισθία (i.e. a recompense, or reciprocal gift), it would seem more appropriate for this to be accompanied by a different participle, such as *reddentes*. A more neutral rendering of τὴν αὐτὴν ἀντιμισθίαν, suggested in *Annot.*, was *iuxta eandem*

retributionem. Erasmus places this passage among the *Quae Sint Addita.* Lefèvre began the sentence with *Eadem autem repensione (tanquam filiis dico)*, though Lefèvre *Comm.* incorrectly replaced *repensione* with *reprehensione.*

13 *Dilatemini* πλατύνθητε ("dilatamini" Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for the subjunctive, see on *Ioh.* 6,27.

14 *ne ducatis iugum* μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ("nolite iugum ducere" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18 for Erasmus' removal of *nolo.* In *Annot.*, he indicates that *iugum duco* does not fully express the meaning of ἑτεροζυγέω. The version of Manetti had *ne coniungamini*, and Lefèvre *Nolite varie copulari.*

14 *incredulis* ἀπίστοις ("infidelibus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,31.

14 *Quod ... consortium* τίς ... μετοχή ("Quae ... participatio" Vg.). Erasmus uses *consortium* once elsewhere, in rendering κοινωνία at 1 *Cor.* 1,9, while using *participatio* for μερίς at *Col.* 1,12 (1519). The word *consortium* enjoys a better pedigree in classical usage.

14 *iniustitia* ἀνομίᾳ ("iniquitate" Vg.). This is an unsatisfactory change. Erasmus here produces an artificial pair of opposites in Latin, *iustitia* and *iniustitia*, as if the Greek text had ἀδικίᾳ (as in cod. D^corr) rather than ἀνομίᾳ. He is content to use *iniquitas* for all other N.T. instances of ἀνομία. Manetti and Lefèvre both substituted *iniustitiae* for *cum iniquitate.*

14 *Aut quae* τίς δέ. Erasmus' rendering follows the Vulgate, though this reflected a different Greek text, ἢ τίς, exhibited by 𝔓^46 ℵ B C D F G and some other mss. His own Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. The version of Manetti had *Que (= Quae) autem*, and Lefèvre *et quae.*

14 *communio* κοινωνία ("societas" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Phil.* 2,1; 3,10. Erasmus also suggested the possible use of *communio* for κοινωνία at e.g. *Rom.* 15,26; 1 *Cor.* 1,9: see *ad locc.* Here he has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

14 *cum tenebris* πρὸς σκότος ("ad tenebras" Vg.). The preposition *cum* is more natural in classical usage, following either *communio* or *societas*. A similar substitution of *cum* occurs in the next verse. Erasmus adopts the same phrase as Ambrosiaster.

¹⁵τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίαρ; ἢ τίς μερὶς πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου; ¹⁶τίς δὲ συγκατάθεσις ναῷ θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων; ὑμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε ζῶντος, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι Ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεός· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι λαός. ¹⁷διὸ ἐξέλθετε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀφορίσθητε, λέγει κύριος· καὶ ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἅπτεσθε, κἀγὼ εἰσδέξομαι ὑμᾶς, ¹⁸καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν εἰς πατέρα, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ.

7 Ταύτας οὖν ἔχοντες τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἀγαπητοί, καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ἐπιτελοῦντες ἁγιωσύνην ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ.

¹⁵Aut quae concordia Christo cum Belial? Aut quae pars fideli cum infideli? ¹⁶Aut quid conuenit templo dei cum simulacris? Nam vos templum estis dei viuentis, quemadmodum dixit deus: Inhabitabo in illis, et inambulabo, et ero illorum deus: et ipsi erunt mihi populus. ¹⁷Quapropter exite de medio illorum, et separemini ab illis, dicit dominus: et immundum ne tetigeritis, et ego suscipiam vos, ¹⁸et ero vobis loco patris, et vos eritis mihi vice filiorum ac filiarum: dicit dominus omnipotens.

7 Has igitur promissiones quum habeamus charissimi, mundemus nos ipsos ab omni inquinamento carnis ac spiritus, perficientes sanctimoniam cum timore dei.

16 εμπεριπατησω B-E: ενπεριπατησω A
7,1 αγαπητοι A C-E: αγα γαπητοι B

16 estis dei B-E: dei estis A | 18 loco patris B-E: in patrem A | vice filiorum ac filiarum B-E: in filios et filias A
7,1 Has B-E: Illas A | ac B-E: et A | cum B-E: in A

15 *Aut quae* (1st.) τίς δέ ("Quae autem" Vg.). The Vulgate is more accurate here. See on *Aut quae* in vs. 14. Lefèvre put *Quis etiam*.

15 *concordia* συμφώνησις ("conuentio" Vg.). This change may also be compared with the use of *concors* in rendering ἀσύμφωνος at *Act.* 28,25. The choice of *concordia* was more appropriate in the present context, expressing a general state of harmony rather than a specific contractual agreement. See *Annot.* Erasmus retains *conuentio* in rendering συμφωνέω at *Mt.* 20,2. Manetti put *consonantia*, and Lefèvre *consensus*.

15 *Christo* Χριστῷ ("Christi" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of Χριστοῦ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B C and a few other mss. Erasmus

follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D F G and most other mss. The textual issue here is whether the use of Χριστῷ was a scribal harmonisation with the series of other datives in vss. 14-16 (δικαιοσύνη, φωτί, πιστῷ, ναῷ), or whether Χριστοῦ was a scribal blunder which marred the symmetry and consistency of the apostle's wording. It may also be noted that sporadic substitutions of the genitive are found elsewhere in this passage in 𝔓⁴⁶* (δικαιοσύνης), B (πιστοῦ), and D* (φωτός). Manetti made the same change as Erasmus.

15 *cum* πρός ("ad" Vg.). In Latin idiom, *cum* is the more natural preposition with either *conuentio* or *concordia*. See on vs. 14. Ambrosiaster used *consensio ... cum*.

16 *Aut quid conuenit* τίς δὲ συγκατάθεσις ("Qui autem consensus" Vg.). In using a noun, the Vulgate is more literal. Manetti tried *Quae autem compositio*, and Lefèvre *quae autem conspiratio*.

16 *simulacris* εἰδώλων ("idolis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,22.

16 *Nam vos ὑμεῖς γάρ* ("Vos enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre put *Vos autem*.

16 *templum estis dei* ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε ("estis templum dei" Vg.; "templum dei estis" 1516). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with ἐστε ναὸς θεοῦ in cod. 0209. Ambrosiaster (1492) had the same wording as Erasmus' 1519 edition. Lefèvre placed *estis* after *viui*.

16 *viuentis* ζῶντος ("viui" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,3.

16 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *veluti*.

16 *dixit* εἶπεν ("dicit" Vg.). The present tense of the Vulgate corresponds with λέγει in codd. D* F G, but these mss. replace καθὼς εἶπεν with λέγει γάρ. In *Annot.*, lemma, Erasmus cites the Vulgate reading as *dixit*. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *dixit*, and Lefèvre *inquit*.

16 *Inhabitabo* ὅτι Ἐνοικήσω ("Quoniam inhabitabo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti had *quod inhabitabo*.

16 *inambulabo* ἐμπεριπατήσω ("inambulabo inter eos" late Vg., and cod. Fuldensis). The late Vulgate addition of *inter eos* lacks explicit support from Greek mss: see *Annot.*, and also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, p. 194, ll. 528-534. Erasmus considered that *inter eos* was merely an amplification of the meaning of the Greek verb by the Vulgate translator. It could also have been influenced by the text of *Lv.* 26,12, which has "I will walk among you". Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

17 *Quapropter* διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29.

17 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.). The use of *illorum* here was not strictly necessary, but was consistent with *illis* and *illorum* in vs. 16. Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

17 *separemini ab illis* ἀφορίσθητε ("separamini" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,27 for Erasmus' use of the subjunctive. He adds *ab illis* to complete the sense. A similar expansion occurs at *Gal.* 2,12.

17 *suscipiam* εἰσδέξομαι ("recipiam" Vg.). Appropriately for this context, the verb *suscipio* conveys the sense of "take into my care", and not merely "receive". Erasmus here has the same version as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

18 *loco patris* εἰς πατέρα ("in patrem" 1516 = Vg.). The same substitution occurs at *Hebr.* 1,5 (1516 only), though in 1519 at that passage Erasmus preferred to translate the Greek phrase by just *pater*. Cf. also his change at *Act.* 13,22, from *in regem* in 1516, to *vt esset rex* in 1519, rendering εἰς βασιλέα.

18 *vice filiorum ac filiarum* εἰς υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας ("in filios et filias" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,21, and also the previous note.

7,1 *Has* Ταύτας ("Illas" 1516). In 1519, Erasmus restores the more literal Vulgate rendering.

1 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change. For Lefèvre's word-order, see the following note.

1 *promissiones quum habeamus* ἔχοντες τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ("habentes promissiones" Vg.). For Erasmus' avoidance of the present participle, see on 2 *Cor.* 1,7. Lefèvre began the sentence with *Cum has igitur dilecti habeamus promissiones*.

1 *nos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("nos" Vg.). Erasmus renders the reflexive pronoun more emphatically. Manetti and Lefèvre also made this change. Ambrosiaster had *nosmet ipsos*.

1 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

1 *sanctimoniam* ἁγιωσύνην ("sanctificationem" Vg.). A similar substitution of *sanctimonia* ("holiness") occurs in rendering ἁγιότης at *Hebr.* 12,10. Erasmus also puts *sanctimonia* for ἁγιωσύνη at 1 *Thess.* 3,13, where the Vulgate has *sanctitas*. Generally he reserves *sanctificatio* for ἁγιασμός (at nine passages), but inconsistently he retains *sanctificatio* for ἁγιωσύνη at *Rom.* 1,4, and *sanctimonia* for ἁγιασμός at *Hebr.* 12,14. The word *sanctificatio* did not exist in classical usage.

1 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). Possibly Erasmus wished to convey the sense that sanctification was to be accompanied by, rather than consist in, the fear of God. Ambiguity remained, however, as *cum* could also be understood in an instrumental sense, as the means by which sanctification was to be achieved. See further on *Rom.* 1,4.

²Χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς· οὐδένα ἠδι-
κήσαμεν, οὐδένα ἐφθείραμεν, οὐδ-
ένα ἐπλεονεκτήσαμεν. ³οὐ πρὸς
LB 773   κατάκρισιν λέγω. προεί|ρηκα γὰρ
ὅτι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν
ἐστε εἰς τὸ συναποθανεῖν καὶ
συζῆν.
⁴Πολλή μοι παρρησία πρὸς
ὑμᾶς, πολλή μοι καύχησις ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν. πεπλήρωμαι τῇ παρακλή-
σει, ὑπερπερισσεύομαι τῇ χαρᾷ
ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν.
⁵Καὶ γὰρ ἐλθόντων ἡμῶν εἰς
Μακεδονίαν, οὐδεμίαν ἔσχηκεν ἄνε-
σιν ἡ σὰρξ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν παντὶ
θλιβόμενοι. ἔξωθεν μάχαι, ἔσωθεν
φόβοι. ⁶ἀλλ᾽ ὁ παρακαλῶν τοὺς
ταπεινούς, παρεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς
ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ Τίτου· ⁷οὐ μόνον
δὲ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει ᾗ παρ-
εκλήθη ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν, ἀναγγέλλων ἡμῖν

²Capaces estote nostri: neminem
laesimus, neminem corrupimus, ne-
minem fraudauimus. ³Non hoc
ad | condemnationem vestri dico.   LB 774
Siquidem iam ante dixi vobis, quod
in cordibus nostris estis ad com-
moriendum et conuiuendum.
⁴Multa mihi fiducia erga vos,
multa mihi gloriatio de vobis, im-
pletus sum consolatione, vehementer
exundo gaudio in omni afflictione
nostra.
⁵Etenim quum venissemus in
Macedoniam, nullam habuit relaxa-
tionem caro nostra, sed in omnibus
affligebamur. Foris pugnae, intus ter-
rores. ⁶Verum qui consolatur hu-
miles, consolatus est nos deus per
aduentum Titi: ⁷non solum autem
per aduentum illius, verum etiam
per consolationem quam ille accepit
de vobis, quum annunciaret nobis

4 υμων B-E: υμως A (compend.) | ημων B-E: ημως A (compend.) | 5 prius ημων A B E:
υμων C D

2 laesimus B-E: lesimus A | 6 per aduentum B-E: in aduentu A | 7 per aduentum B-E: in
aduentu A | per consolationem B-E: in consolatione A | nobis B-E: mihi A

2 *Capaces estote nostri* Χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς ("Capite
nos" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus indicates that his
rendering is drawn from "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambro-
siaster), to make clear that the sense is "make
room to receive us" or "open your minds to
receive what we are saying", rather than simply
"understand us". A similar substitution occurs
at *Mt.* 19,11. Erasmus retains *capio* for χωρέω
at *Mt.* 19,12; *Mc.* 2,2; *Ioh.* 2,6; 21,25.

2 *fraudauimus* ἐπλεονεκτήσαμεν ("circumue-
nimus" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at
1 *Thess.* 4,6. See further on 2 *Cor.* 2,11 for
Erasmus' removal of *circumuenio* elsewhere,
and see *Annot.* The version of Manetti had
defraudauimus.

3 *Non hoc* οὐ ("Non" Vg.). Erasmus adds *hoc*
to provide an object for *dico*. Lefèvre re-worded
the sentence as *Quod ad condemnationem nequa-
quam dictum velim*.

3 *condemnationem vestri* κατάκρισιν ("con-
demnationem vestram" late Vg.). Erasmus avoids
the ambiguity of the possessive pronoun. The
earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre, more
literally, had just *condemnationem*.

3 *Siquidem iam ante dixi vobis* προείρηκα
γάρ ("Praediximus enim" late Vg.). The late
Vulgate use of the plural, *praediximus*, lacks
Greek ms. support. For *siquidem*, see on *Ioh.*
3,34; 4,47. A similar substitution of *ante dico*
for *praedico* occurs at *Gal.* 1,9 (1519); 1 *Thess.*
4,6, conveying the sense of "say before" rather
than "predict" or "preach". See further on
Rom. 9,29 (*prius dixit*), and *Annot.* The addi-
tions of *iam* and *vobis*, in Erasmus' version,
are not explicitly required by the Greek text.
The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Ma-
netti had *Pr(a)edixi enim*, and Lefèvre *Nam
praedixi*.

3 συναποθανεῖν. In 1516-27 *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the text as ἀποθανεῖν, which was the reading of his cod. 2815 and a few other late mss.

3 *conuiuendum* συζῆν ("ad conuiuendum" Vg.). In omitting the preposition, Erasmus is more literal. Lefèvre replaced *ad commoriendum et ad conuiuendum* by *vt commoriar et conuiuam*.

4 *erga* πρός ("est apud" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of a verb is a legitimate clarification of the meaning. For *erga*, see on *Act.* 3,25. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *ad*.

4 *de* ὑπέρ ("pro" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,12, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *propter vos* for *pro vobis*.

4 *impletus sum* πεπλήρωμαι ("repletus sum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,13. Lefèvre put *repleor*.

4 *vehementer exundo* ὑπερπερισσεύομαι ("superabundo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,20 for Erasmus' removal of *superabundo*, and see also on *Rom.* 3,7; 2 *Cor.* 4,15, and *Annot.* A comparable use of *vehementer* occurs at 2 *Thess.* 1,3, where Erasmus replaces *supercrescit* with *vehementer augescit* in rendering ὑπεραυξάνω.

4 *afflictione* τῇ θλίψει ("tribulatione" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,21. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *pressura*.

4 *nostra* ἡμῶν ("vestra" late Vg.). The late Vulgate corresponds with ὑμῶν, found in cod. F, and also in cod. 2815 and a few other late mss. Erasmus' correction agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *Etenim quum* Καὶ γάρ ("Nam et cum" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 12,14. Erasmus again had the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre had just *Nam cum*, and Manetti *Cum enim*.

5 ἡμῶν (1st.). The use of ὑμῶν in 1522-7, in conflict with the Latin rendering and the context, is undoubtedly a misprint.

5 *habuit relaxationem* ἔσχηκεν ἄνεσιν ("requiem habuit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 24,23 for *relaxatio*. The Vulgate word-order is supported by cod. C and a few later mss., which have ἄνεσιν ἔσχηκεν (cf. ἄνεσιν ἔσχεν in 𝔓⁴⁶ F G). Manetti put *intermissionem habuit*, while Lefèvre changed the structure from active to passive, putting *carni nostrae nulla requies data est*.

5 *in omnibus affligebamur* ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι ("omnem tribulationem passi sumus" late Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. In 1516 *Annot.*, he cited the spelling as θλιβούμενοι, contrary

to his Basle mss. For the removal of *tribulatio*, see on *Ioh.* 16,21; 2 *Cor.* 1,6. Ambrosiaster had *in omnibus sumus afflicti*, Manetti *in omnibus tribulati sumus*, and Lefèvre *in omni re pressi sumus*.

5 *terrores* φόβοι ("timores" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,3. Lefèvre had *pauores*.

6 *Verum* ἀλλ' ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

6 *per aduentum* ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ ("in aduentu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

7 *per aduentum* ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ ("in aduentu" 1516 = Vg.). See *ibid.*

7 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). This change marks a more emphatic contrast with *vobis*, later in the sentence.

7 *verum* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. Lefèvre put *sed et*.

7 *per consolationem* ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει ("in consolatione" 1516 = late Vg.). See again on *Rom.* 1,17.

7 *quam ille accepit* ᾗ παρεκλήθη ("in qua consolatus est" Vg. 1527). The addition of *in* by the 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514. See on *Act.* 20,12; *Rom.* 1,12; 1 *Cor.* 14,31, for Erasmus' avoidance of *consolor* in a passive sense. See also *Annot.* The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had *qua consolatus est*.

7 *de vobis* ἐφ' ὑμῖν ("in vobis" Vg.). The Greek preposition is ambiguous in this context, meaning either "among" or "concerning". However, Erasmus' use of *de* after *accepit* was more likely to be understood as meaning "from", which would have been more appropriate to a different Greek phrase, ὑφ' ὑμῶν. At the similarly-worded passage at 1 *Thess.* 3,7, Erasmus tried *consolationem accepimus ... per vos* (παρεκλήθημεν ... ἐφ' ὑμῖν), and at 2 *Cor.* 7,13, *consolationem accepimus ex ...* (παρακεκλήμεθα ἐπί ...). At the present passage, Lefèvre put *a vobis*.

7 *quum annunciaret* ἀναγγέλλων ("referens" Vg.). For *quum*, see on 2 *Cor.* 1,7. The adoption of *annuncio* is in accordance with Vulgate usage at most other N.T. instances of ἀναγγέλλω. Erasmus retains *refero* at *Act.* 14,27. See also on *Ioh.* 4,25. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *annuncians*.

7 *nobis* ἡμῖν ("mihi" 1516). In 1519, Erasmus reverted to the more literal rendering used by the Vulgate. A comparable substitution of *me* for *nobis* occurs in vs. 9, again in 1516 only.

τὴν ὑμῶν ἐπιπόθησιν, τὸν ὑμῶν
ὀδυρμόν, τὸν ὑμῶν ζῆλον ὑπὲρ
ἐμοῦ, ὥστε με μᾶλλον χαρῆναι.
⁸ ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐλύπησα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ
ἐπιστολῇ, οὐ μεταμέλομαι, εἰ καὶ
μετεμελόμην. βλέπω γὰρ ὅτι ἡ
ἐπιστολὴ ἐκείνη, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὥραν,
ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς. ⁹ νῦν χαίρω, οὐχ
ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε, ἀλλ᾿ ὅτι ἐλυπή-
θητε εἰς μετάνοιαν. ἐλυπήθητε γὰρ
κατὰ θεόν, ἵνα ἐν μηδενὶ ζημι-
ωθῆτε ἐξ ἡμῶν. ¹⁰ ἡ γὰρ κατὰ
θεὸν λύπη, μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν
ἀμεταμέλητον κατεργάζεται· ἡ δὲ
τοῦ κόσμου λύπη θάνατον κατερ-
γάζεται. ¹¹ ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο,
τὸ κατὰ θεὸν λυπηθῆναι ὑμᾶς,
πόσην κατειργάσατο ὑμῖν σπουδήν,

vestrum desiderium, vestrum fletum,
vestrum pro me studium, adeo vt
magis gauisus fuerim. ⁸ Nam etiam si
contristaui vos per epistolam, non me
poenitet, etiam si poenituisset. Video
namque quod epistola illa, tametsi ad
tempus contristauit vos. ⁹ Nunc gau-
deo, non quod contristati fueritis, sed
quod contristati sitis ad poenitentiam.
Nam contristati estis secundum deum,
sic vt nulla in re detrimento sitis
affecti per nos. ¹⁰ Nam qui secun-
dum deum est dolor, is poenitentiam
ad salutem haud poenitendam parit:
contra mundi dolor mortem adfert.
¹¹ Ecce enim istuc ipsum, quod secun-
dum deum contristati fuistis, quan-
tam in vobis genuit solicitudinem,

9 ημων *B-E*: υμων *A* | 10 *prius* κατεργαζεται *A C-E*: κατεργαζετε *B*

7 desiderium *C-E*: desyderium *A B* | pro *B-E*: erga *A* | 8 per epistolam *B-E*: in epistola *A* |
me *B-E*: *om. A* | etiam si poenituisset *E*: quamuis poenitebat *A*, quamuis poenituisset *B*,
tametsi poenituerat *C D* | 9 nos *B-E*: me *A* | 10 is *B-E*: *om. A* | ad *B-E*: in *A* | 11 solici-
tudinem *D E*: sollicitudinem *A-C*

7 *vestrum pro me studium* τὸν ὑμῶν ζῆλον
ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ("vestram aemulationem pro me"
Vg.; "vestrum erga me studium" 1516). By
changing the Latin word-order, Erasmus is less
literal but avoids the possibility of ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
being understood to apply to ἐπιπόθησιν and
ὀδυρμόν as well as to ζῆλον. See on *Rom.* 10,2
for *studium*. For *erga*, used in 1516, see on *Act.*
3,25. Lefèvre put *vestrum zelum pro me*.

7 *adeo vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6.
Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *gauisus fuerim* χαρῆναι ("gauderem" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 4,2 for Erasmus' preference for *fui* in
representing the Greek aorist. The rendering of
Lefèvre was *gaudeam*.

8 *Nam* ὅτι ("Quoniam" Vg.). See on *Act.*
11,24. Manetti put *quod*.

8 *etiam si* (1st.) εἰ καὶ ("etsi" Vg.). See on
1 *Cor.* 8,5. Manetti had *si*.

8 *per epistolam* ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ("in epistola"
1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

8 *me poenitet* μεταμέλομαι ("poenitet" 1516
Lat.). The 1516 omission of a pronoun may
have been inadvertent. Codd. 2815 and 2816
had the incorrect spelling, μεταμέλλομαι. Lefèvre
put *ducor poenitudine*.

8 *etiam si poenituisset* εἰ καὶ μετεμελόμην ("etsi
poeniteret" Vg.; "quamuis poenitebat" 1516;
"quamuis poenituisset" 1519; "tametsi poeni-
tuerat" 1522-27). Cod. 2815 had a further mis-
spelling of the verb, as μετεμελλόμην, for
which cod. 1 put ἐμετεμελόμην. By the time
Erasmus came to prepare 1527 *Annot.*, he made
the questionable decision that Paul's reference
to "repenting" was only hypothetical, and this
changed view was reflected in the 1535 rendering.
For *etiam si*, see on 1 *Cor.* 8,5, and for *quamuis*,
see on 2 *Cor.* 4,16. The word *tametsi*, used here
in 1522-7 for εἰ καί, was also used in 1516 to
replace *etsi* in rendering the same Greek expres-
sion later in this verse, as well as in vs. 12, in
accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 12,11;
Hebr. 6,9. Erasmus made further use of *tametsi*

to translate καίπερ, replacing *et quidem* at *Hebr.* 5,8; 2 *Petr.* 1,12, and replacing *quamquam* at *Hebr.* 12,17. Manetti had *etsi penitet*, and Lefèvre *etsi me poenituit*.

8 *Video namque* βλέπω γάρ ("videns" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect a text having βλέπων, and omitting γάρ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶*. Cf. *Annot*. The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti had just *video*, and Lefèvre *Nam video*.

8 *tametsi* εἰ καί ("etsi" Vg.). See above (on εἰ καὶ μετεμελόμην). Lefèvre put *si et*.

8 *tempus* ὥραν ("horam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,35.

8 *contristauit vos* ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς ("vos contristauit" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with ὑμᾶς ἐλύπησεν in codd. (F) G. The version of Ambrosiaster also had *contristauit vos*, but placed this before *ad horam*. Manetti put *vos contristaui*, and Lefèvre *vos affecit tristitia*.

9 *quod contristati fueritis ... quod contristati sitis* ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε ... ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε ("quia contristati estis ... quia contristati estis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Erasmus' variation between *fueritis* and *sitis* appears to be mainly for stylistic reasons here. Manetti put *quod contristati estis* (twice), and Lefèvre *quod tristitia affecti fuistis* (twice).

9 *Nam contristati estis* ἐλυπήθητε γάρ ("Contristati enim estis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34 for *nam*. Lefèvre put *tristitiam enim habuistis*.

9 *sic vt* ἵνα ("vt" Vg.). Erasmus takes ἵνα as the equivalent of ὥστε here: see *Annot*.

9 *nulla in re* ἐν μηδενί ("in nullo" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 9,29; *Phil.* 1,20. See also on 1 *Cor.* 4,4, and *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre had *nichil*.

9 *detrimento sitis affecti* ζημιωθῆτε ("detrimentum patiamini" Vg.). For Erasmus' removal of *detrimentum patior* and *detrimentum facio* at several other passages, see on 1 *Cor.* 3,15. For this idiomatic use of *afficio*, see on *Ioh.* 8,49. Lefèvre put *detrimenti passi sitis*.

9 *per nos* ἐξ ἡμῶν ("ex nobis" Vg.; "per me" 1516). Erasmus produces a clearer sense. He rarely uses *per* for ἐκ, though another exception can be seen at 1 *Ioh.* 4,6 (1519), where he has *per hoc* for ἐκ τούτου. The substitution of singular for plural (in 1516 only) is comparable with the change from *nobis* to *mihi* in vs. 7. The use of ὑμῶν in 1516 was merely a misprint. Lefèvre put *a nobis*. Both mss. of Manetti's version had *ex vobis*.

10 *Nam qui ... est dolor ... dolor* ἡ γάρ ... λύπη ... λύπη ("Quae enim ... tristitia est ... tristitia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34 for *nam*, and on *Ioh.* 16,16 for *dolor*. Lefèvre had *Nam tristitia ... tristitia*, omitting *quae* and *est*.

10 *is* (omitted in 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds a pronoun, to complete the construction initiated by the preceding relative clause.

10 *ad* εἰς ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,16. Erasmus' substitution of *ad* is consistent with Vulgate usage in vs. 9, and agreed with the version of Ambrosiaster.

10 *haud poenitendam* ἀμεταμέλητον ("stabilem" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. Cf. the Vulgate use of *sine poenitentia* for this Greek expression at *Rom.* 11,29. However, Erasmus' use of *poenitentiam ... poenitendam* for μετάνοιαν ... ἀμεταμέλητον implies a closer etymological link between the two Greek words than is actually the case. See *Annot*. For *haud*, see on *Act.* 24,18. Valla *Annot.* proposed *impoenitibilem*, and Lefèvre *quae nullam habet poenitentiam*.

10 *parit ... adfert* κατεργάζεται ... κατεργάζεται ("operatur ... operatur" Vg.). Erasmus' preference for stylistic variety here, and also in the substitution of *genuit* for *operatur* in vs. 11, produces an inconsistency of rendering, of the same kind that he frequently censures in the Vulgate. See on *Rom.* 1,27 for the removal of *operor*.

10 *contra mundi* δὲ τοῦ κόσμου ("saeculi autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,20 for *contra*. A similar substitution of *mundus* for *saeculum* occurs at *Iac.* 1,27; 4,4 (both in 1519), consistent with the usual Vulgate practice elsewhere. Erasmus reserves *seculum* or *saeculum* for αἰών: see *Annot*. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *mundi autem*.

11 *istuc ipsum* αὐτὸ τοῦτο ("hoc ipsum" Vg.). Erasmus uses *istuc* only once elsewhere, at *Lc.* 1,18 (1519). Cf. also *isthinc*, used at *Lc.* 16,26 (1522-7 errata, and 1535); *isthic* at *Ap. Ioh.* 2,14 (1535); and *istac* at *Rom.* 15,24. Lefèvre put *haec ipsa*.

11 *quod ... contristati fuistis* τὸ ... λυπηθῆναι ὑμᾶς ("... contristari vos" Vg.). By using *quod* and the indicative, Erasmus finds a more idiomatic way of connecting this indirect statement with the preceding words. See *Annot*. The version of Manetti had *... vos contristari*, and Lefèvre *... tristitia vestra*.

11 *genuit* κατειργάσατο ("operatur" Vg.). Erasmus renders the aorist tense more accurately. In vs. 10, inconsistently, he used *pario* and

ἀλλὰ ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀγανάκτη-
σιν, ἀλλὰ φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐπιπόθη-
σιν, ἀλλὰ ζῆλον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκδίκησιν.
ἐν παντὶ συνεστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς ἁγ-
νοὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ πράγματι.   ¹²ἄρα
εἰ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, οὐχ εἴνε-
κεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος, οὐδὲ εἴνεκεν
τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος, ἀλλ᾽ εἴνεκεν τοῦ
LB 775   φα|νερωθῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν
τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνώπι-
ον τοῦ θεοῦ.   ¹³διὰ τοῦτο παρα-
κεκλήμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει ὑμῶν·

imo satisfactionem, imo indignatio-
nem, imo timorem, imo desiderium,
imo aemulationem, imo vindictam.
Siquidem vbique commendastis vos
ipsos, quod puri sitis in eo negocio.
¹²Proinde tametsi scripsi vobis, non
id feci eius causa qui laeserat, nec
eius | causa qui laesus fuerat, sed   LB 776
ob id vt palam fieret studium ve-
strum pro nobis apud vos in con-
spectu dei.   ¹³Idcirco consolationem
accepimus ex consolatione vestri:

12 εἰ *A-C E*: ι *D*

11 desiderium *A C-E*: desyderium *B* | imo aemulationem *E*: *om. A-D* | 12 laeserat *B-E*:
leserat *A* | laesus *B-E*: lesus *A* | pro *B-E*: de *A* | 13 Idcirco *B-E*: Propter hoc *A*

adfero to render the same Greek verb. See
further on *Rom.* 1,27. Lefèvre had *operata est*,
positioned before *in vobis*.

11 *imo* (1st. to 4th.) ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). For *imo*,
see on *Act.* 19,2, and *Annot.* Codd. 2105 and
2817 had ἀλλ᾽ for ἀλλά (4th.), with support
from codd. F^corr G and some other mss. The
translation of Lefèvre followed the Vulgate, ex-
cept that the first instance of *sed* became *sed et*.

11 *satisfactionem* ἀπολογίαν ("defensionem"
Vg.). In rendering ἀπολογία elsewhere, Eras-
mus retains *defensio* at several passages: see on
1 *Cor.* 9,3. In *Annot.*, he alternatively proposes
excusationem, which he cites from "Ambrose"
(i.e. Ambrosiaster), and *purgationem*, which he
tacitly borrows from Lefèvre.

11 *imo aemulationem* ἀλλὰ ζῆλον ("sed aemula-
tionem" Vg.; omitted in 1516-27 Lat.). For *imo*,
see above. The omission of this phrase in the
1516-27 Latin rendering was probably caused
by a typesetting error, as it led to a conflict with
the accompanying Greek text and *Annot.* The
version of Lefèvre put *sed zelum*.

11 *imo* (6th.) ἀλλ᾽ ("sed" Vg.). For *imo*, see
above. Erasmus' use of ἀλλ᾽ instead of ἀλλά
was supported by codd. 2815 and 2817, together
with cod. 2105, and also C D^corr and many later
mss. In codd. 1, 2816 and many other mss.,
commencing with ℵ B D*, it is ἀλλά, and this
was the spelling cited in 1522-35 *Annot.* The
phrase ἀλλὰ ἐκδίκησιν was accidentally omitted
by 1516-19 *Annot.*

11 *Siquidem vbique* ἐν παντί ("In omnibus"
Vg.). Erasmus' addition of *siquidem* is not justi-
fied by the Greek text. A similar substitution
of *vbique* occurs at 2 *Cor.* 8,7 (1519); 11,6, in
accordance with Vulgate usage at *Phil.* 4,12. See
Annot. The version of Lefèvre had *in omni re*.

11 *commendastis* συνεστήσατε ("exhibuistis"
Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 6,4, and *Annot.* The render-
ing of Lefèvre was *constituistis*.

11 *vos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("vos" Vg.). Erasmus once
again prefers a more emphatic rendering of the
reflexive pronoun. Manetti and Lefèvre made
the same change.

11 *quod puri sitis* ἁγνοὺς εἶναι ("incontamina-
tos esse" Vg.). As elsewhere, Erasmus avoids the
infinitive. For his use of *purus*, see on 2 *Cor.*
6,6 (*puritate*). He retains *incontaminatus* at
1 *Petr.* 1,19, and substitutes *incontaminatus* for
inuiolatus at 2 *Petr.* 3,14, in rendering ἄσπιλος
and ἀμώμητος. He further uses *incontaminatus*
to replace *immaculatus* in rendering ἄμωμος at
Iud. 24. Manetti (*Pal. Lat.* 45) had *esse incon-
taminatos* (copied incorrectly as *esse contaminatos*
in *Urb. Lat.* 6). Lefèvre had *vt puri essetis*.

11 *in eo negocio* ἐν τῷ πράγματι ("negocio"
Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of ἐν,
as in codd. ℵ B C D* F G and a few later mss.,
with cod. 2815 among them. Erasmus follows
cod. 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, as well
as D^corr and most later mss. Cf. ἐν ᾧ ...
πράγματι at *Rom.* 16,2, and ἐν τῷ πράγματι
at 1 *Thess.* 4,6. Erasmus further added *eo*, to

express more fully the sense of τῷ, which referred back to the subject matter of Paul's earlier epistle. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *in negocio.*

12 *Proinde* ἄρα ("Igitur" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17. At other passages, *proinde* usually represents ὥστε or ἄρα οὖν.

12 *tametsi* εἰ καί ("etsi" Vg.). See on vs. 8.

12 *non id feci* οὐχ ("non" Vg.). Erasmus adds *id feci* to complete the sense: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre substituted *non scripsi vobis* for *scripsi vobis, non.*

12 *eius causa qui* (twice) εἵνεκεν τοῦ ("propter eum qui" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,20. Lefèvre put *eius gratia qui ... gratia eius qui.*

12 *laeserat ... laesus fuerat* ἀδικήσαντος ... ἀδικηθέντος ("fecit iniuriam ... passus est" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering preserves the symmetry of the Greek wording, using both active and passive of the same verb: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *affecit iniuria ... iniuria affectus est.*

12 *ob id vt palam fieret* εἵνεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι ("ad manifestandam" Vg.). Erasmus uses the idiomatic construction *ob id vt* for διὰ τοῦτο ... ὅπως at *Hebr.* 9,15, and also *ob id ne* for πρὸς τὸ μή at 1 *Thess.* 2,9. His use of *palam fio* better expresses the passive of φανερόω: see on *Rom.* 1,18, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *gratia manifestationis.*

12 *studium vestrum* τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν ("sollicitudinem nostram" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,8 for *studium.* The Vulgate corresponds with the substitution of ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν in codd. D^corr G and a few later Greek mss., including cod. 2105. Cf. *Annot.* In Lefèvre's version, this was rendered *diligentiae vestrae.*

12 *pro nobis* τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ("quam habemus pro vobis" late Vg.; "de nobis" 1516). The Vulgate rendering takes more account of the Greek article. However, the Vulgate also reflects the substitution of ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν, with support from codd. ℵ D* F and a few other mss., again including cod. 2105. Cf. *Annot.* Another passage where Erasmus prefers to use *pro* after *studium* is at *Col.* 4,13. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *quam pro vobis habemus,* while Lefèvre had *quae pro nobis est.*

12 *apud vos* πρὸς ὑμᾶς (omitted in late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate omission is virtually unsupported among Greek mss. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

12 *in conspectu dei* ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ("coram deo" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,13, and cf. *Annot.* The same change was again made by Lefèvre.

13 *Idcirco* διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo quoque" Vg. 1527; "Propter hoc" 1516). The addition of *quoque* in the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben Vulgate of 1514, lacks support from Greek mss. See on *Ioh.* 9,41. In *Annot.,* Erasmus represents *Ideoque* as being the reading of Ambrosiaster and the Vulgate. However, the earlier Vulgate had just *Ideo,* as used by Manetti, while Ambrosiaster had *Ideo et.* Lefèvre put *ob quam rem.*

13 *consolationem accepimus* παρακεκλήμεθα ("consolati sumus" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,31.

13 *ex consolatione vestri* ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει ὑμῶν ("in consolatione autem nostra" Vg.). See on vs. 7 for Erasmus' alternative use of *de* or *per* in rendering ἐπί after παρακαλέομαι. The Vulgate, which makes these words start a new sentence, reflects the substitution of ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει ἡμῶν, as in codd. ℵ B C D G and some other mss., along with cod. 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by cod. 1 and most other late mss. In cod. 2816, it is ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει ὑμῶν, and in 𝔓^46 ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει ἡμῶν. See *Annot.* The text adopted by Erasmus is richer in meaning and more consistent with the typically Pauline usage of contrasting pairs of phrases (παρακεκλήμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει ... ἐχάρημεν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ). The words παρακλήσει ὑμῶν could be understood in the sense of "the comfort which you gave", i.e. the comfort or encouragement which the spiritual attitude of the Corinthian believers gave to Titus (and to Paul, through Titus), as indicated by παρακλήσει ᾗ παρεκλήθη in vs. 7. A comparable sentence structure, though without the use of cognate nouns and verbs, is found in vs. 4 (πεπλήρωμαι τῇ παρακλήσει, ὑπερπερισσεύομαι τῇ χαρᾷ). If the Greek text underlying the Vulgate were correct, the implication would be that later scribes accidentally or deliberately altered the wording in such a way as to arrive at a more "elegant" balance of clauses. If ὑμῶν was genuine, however, an early scribe (e.g. as in 𝔓^46) could easily have changed this by accident into ἡμῶν, whereupon it is understandable that a few subsequent copyists would have objected to the repetitiveness of "we were comforted by our comfort" and might have attempted to remove this problem by transposing δέ, so as to attach ἐπὶ ... παρακλήσει to the following clause.

περισσοτέρως δὲ μᾶλλον ἐχάρημεν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ Τίτου, ὅτι ἀναπέπαυται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν· ¹⁴ ὅτι εἴ τι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κεκαύχημαι, οὐ κατῃσχύνθην, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐλαλήσαμεν ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ καύχησις ἡμῶν ἡ ἐπὶ Τίτου, ἀλήθεια ἐγενήθη. ¹⁵ καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστιν, ἀναμιμνησκομένου τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακοήν, ὡς μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἐδέξασθε αὐτόν. ¹⁶ χαίρω ὅτι ἐν παντὶ θαρρῶ ἐν ὑμῖν.

8 Γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας, ² ὅτι

quin vberius insuper gauisi fuimus ob gaudium Titi, quod refocillatus sit spiritus illius ab omnibus vobis, ¹⁴ quod si quid apud illum de vobis gloriatus sum, non fuerim pudefactus, sed vt omnia cum veritate loquuti sumus vobis, ita et gloriatio nostra qua vsus eram apud Titum, veritas facta est. ¹⁵ Et viscera illius maiorem in modum erga vos affecta sunt, dum recolit omnium vestrum obedientiam, quemadmodum cum timore ac tremore exceperitis ipsum. ¹⁶ Gaudeo quod in omnibus confidam vobis.

8 Certiores autem vos facio fratres, de gratia dei quae data fuit in ecclesiis Macedoniae, ² quoniam

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14 ου *B-E*: ουκ *A* | εγενηθη *restitui*: εγεννηθη *A-E*

14 cum *B-E*: in *A* | **15** ac *B-E*: et *A* | ipsum *B-E*: se *A* | **16** confidam *B-E*: fidimus *A*

The version of Lefèvre, retaining the Vulgate punctuation, put *et in consolatione vestra*, while Manetti attached *in consolatione vestra* to the previous sentence.

13 *quin vberius insuper* περισσοτέρως δὲ μᾶλλον ("abundantius magis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of δέ at this point, supported by the same mss. as in the previous variant, together with 𝔓⁴⁶ F: see above. Erasmus' substitution of *insuper* for *magis* avoided the combination of two comparative adverbs: see *Annot.*, where he also recommends *potius*. The substitution of *vberius* for *abundantius*, in rendering περισσοτέρως, occurs elsewhere at *Phil.* 1,14, and Erasmus further uses *vberius* for the same Greek word at 2 *Cor.* 12,15. In vs. 15 of the present chapter, he replaces *abundantius* by *maiorem in modum*. For other instances of the removal of *abundantius*, see on 1 *Cor.* 15,10. For *quin*, see on *Ioh.* 8,17. Manetti put *Abundantius autem*, and Lefèvre *Comm.* had *multo abundantius*.

13 *ob gaudium* ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ ("super gaudio" late Vg.). For *ob*, see on *Ioh.* 10,33. Manetti put *in gaudio*, and Lefèvre (without any justification from Greek mss.) *quam in gaudio*.

13 *quod refocillatus sit* ὅτι ἀναπέπαυται ("quia refectus est" Vg.). For *quod ... sit*, see on *Ioh.* 1,20; *Rom.* 5,5, and for *refocillo*, see on *Act.* 20,12, and *Annot.* Erasmus partly follows Lefèvre, who put *quod refocillatus est*.

13 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). A similar substitution, with reference to Titus, occurs in vs. 15, consistent with the Vulgate use of *illum* in vs. 14. In each case, this tends to emphasise the contrast bewteen Titus and the Corinthians: *illius ... vobis* (vs. 13), *illum ... vobis* (vs. 14), and *illius ... vos* (vs. 15). Manetti had *suus ... ipsi ... eius* in these verses, and Lefèvre *eius ... eum ... eius*.

14 *quod* ὅτι ("et" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering lacks Greek ms. support. Manetti made the same change as Erasmus, while Lefèvre put *quia*.

14 *fuerim pudefactus* κατῃσχύνθην ("non sum confusus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,5, and *Annot.*, for *pudefacio*. The use of the perfect subjunctive follows on from the previous substitution of *quod*.

14 *vt* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

14 *cum* (*in*: 1516) *veritate loquuti sumus vobis* ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐλαλήσαμεν ὑμῖν ("vobis in veritate locuti sumus" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order reflects the transposition of ὑμῖν before ἐν, as in codd. C D and a few later mss. For *cum*, see on *Rom.* 1,4. Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

14 *qua vsus eram* ἥ ("quae fuit" Vg.). Erasmus, by using the first person and the pluperfect tense, achieves a more natural turn of phrase. Manetti replaced *nostra quae fuit* with *vestra*, apparently reflecting a Greek text which substituted ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν, as in codd. B F.

14 *apud Titum* ἐπὶ Τίτου ("ad Titum" Vg.). The Vulgate seems to follow a Greek text substituting πρὸς Τίτον, as in codd. D F G and a few other mss. The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus.

14 *facta est* ἐγενήθη. All Erasmus' editions, 1516-35, contained the incorrect spelling ἐγεννήθη, from γεννάω rather than γίνομαι, contrary to his Latin rendering, the surrounding context, and the evidence of nearly all mss., including those which he usually consulted. See on 1 *Cor.* 1,30, however, for an instance of ἐγεννήθη which was derived from mss.

15 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). See on vs. 13. Erasmus' wording is the same as that of Lefèvre.

15 *maiorem in modum* περισσοτέρως ("abundantius" Vg.). See on vs. 13 for Erasmus' removal of *abundantius*, and on *Rom.* 7,13 for *maiorem in modum*.

15 *erga vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., together with Vg^ww; "in vos" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). Erasmus remedies the inaccuracy of the late Vulgate rendering: see *Annot.* For *erga*, see on *Act.* 3,25. Lefèvre put *ad vos*.

15 *affecta sunt* ἐστιν ("sunt" Vg.). Whereas the Vulgate is more literal, Erasmus finds a more meaningful expression, suited to the subject, τὰ σπλάγχνα. Lefèvre had *feruntur*.

15 *dum recolit* ἀναμιμνησκομένου ("reminiscentis" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *dum* to avoid the participle, see on *Rom.* 1,20. He uses *recolo* at one other passage, 1 *Thess.* 1,3 (1516-19 only), to replace *memor* in rendering μνημονεύω. In *Annot.*, he also suggested *recordantis, commemorantis,* or *in memoriam reuocantis.* Lefèvre tried *quippe qui reminiscitur.* Both mss. of Manetti's version had *reminiscentes.*

15 *quemadmodum ... exceperitis* ὡς ... ἐδέξασθε ("quomodo ... excepistis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. One ms. of Manetti's version (*Pal. Lat.* 45) had *quemadmodum ... suscepistis,* and the other (*Urb. Lat.* 6) *quemadmodum ... suscipitis.* Lefèvre put *quo pacto ... excepistis.*

15 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

15 *ipsum* αὐτόν ("illum" late Vg.; "se" 1516). Erasmus uses the reflexive pronoun to refer back to the subject of *recolit,* i.e. Titus. This change was anticipated by Manetti. Lefèvre put *eum,* as in the earlier Vulgate.

16 *confidam* θαρρῶ ἐν ("confido in" Vg.; "fidimus" 1516 Lat.). Erasmus' use of the subjunctive seems to indicate that he considered this to be an indirect statement, serving as the object of *gaudeo,* rather than as a statement of cause. The omission of a preposition after *confido* is more in accordance with classical Latin usage, though Erasmus uses *confido in* at *Mt.* 27,43; *Mc.* 9,42 (1519); *Lc.* 11,22; 18,9; 2 *Cor.* 1,9; *Phil.* 2,24; 3,3, 4. At the present passage, he perhaps also wished to avoid the appearance of repetition, in view of the immediately preceding phrase, *in omnibus.* In *Annot.,* Erasmus' primary citation of the Greek text has the plural, θαρρῶμεν (omitting ἐν), though his codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2817 and most other mss. have θαρρῶ ἐν (in cod. 2816, it is just θαρρῶ). The version of Lefèvre put *confidere possim in.*

8,1 *Certiores ... vos facio* Γνωρίζομεν ... ὑμῖν ("Notam ... facimus vobis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Col.* 4,7 (1519). Erasmus also replaces *notum facio* by *certiorem reddo* at *Eph.* 6,21; *Col.* 4,7 (1516 only); by *patefacio* at *Eph.* 1,9; and by *expono* at *Col.* 4,9. More often he retains *notum facio.* See further on *Rom.* 9,23. In using the first person singular, *facio,* Erasmus may have been influenced by cod. 2815, which has γνωρίζω, as in 1, 2816 and many other late mss.

1 *de gratia* τὴν χάριν ("gratiam" Vg.). The use of *de* was dictated by Erasmus' previous change to *certiores ... facio.*

1 *quae data fuit* τὴν δεδομένην ("quae data est" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *fuit,* see on *Rom.* 4,2. Lefèvre had *quae donata est.*

2 *quoniam* ὅτι ("et quod" late Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot.,* the late Vulgate addition of *et* lacks Greek ms. support. For *quoniam,* cf. on *Rom.* 8,21. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster

ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ θλίψεως ἡ περισ-
σεία τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ κατὰ
βάθους πτωχεία αὐτῶν ἐπερίσσευσεν
εἰς τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐ-
τῶν. ³ ὅτι κατὰ δύναμιν, μαρτυρῶ,
καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν αὐθαίρετοι, ⁴ μετὰ
πολλῆς παρακλήσεως δεόμενοι ἡμῶν,
τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς δια-
κονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους δέξασθαι
ἡμᾶς. ⁵ καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἠλπίσαμεν, ἀλλ'
ἑαυτοὺς ἔδωκαν πρῶτον τῷ κυρίῳ,
καὶ ἡμῖν διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, ⁶ εἰς τὸ

per multam probationem afflictionis
exuberauit gaudium illorum, et pro-
funda paupertas illorum exundauit in
diuitias simplicitatis ipsorum. ³ Nam
pro viribus testor, etiam supra vires
prompti fuerunt, ⁴ multa cum obte-
statione rogantes nos, vt beneficium
et societatem ministerii susciperemus
in sanctos: ⁵ ac non quatenus spera-
bamus, quin etiam semet ipsos de-
diderunt primum domino, deinde et
nobis per voluntatem dei, ⁶ in hoc vt

8,2   per multam probationem B-E: in multa probatione A | 3   testor B-E: illis per-
hibeo testimonium A | 5   quatenus A-D: quatemus E | dediderunt B-E: tradiderunt A |
domino B-E: deo A

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and Manetti put *quod*, and Lefèvre *quia*, all
omitting *et*.

2 *per multam probationem* ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ
("in multo experimento" Vg.; "in multa proba-
tione" 1516). For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17, and for
probatio, see on 2 *Cor.* 2,9. The wording of the
1516 edition is that of Ambrosiaster, as men-
tioned in *Annot.*, and it is also the same as the
version of Lefèvre.

2 *afflictionis* θλίψεως ("tribulationis" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 16,21. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had
pressurae.

2 *exuberauit gaudium illorum ... illorum ... ipsorum*
ἡ περισσεία τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτῶν ... αὐτῶν ...
αὐτῶν ("abundantia gaudii ipsorum fuit ...
eorum ... eorum" late Vg.). Erasmus' use of *ex-
ubero*, like the late Vulgate addition of *fuit*, was
partly designed to avoid the repetitious sound
of "abundance ... has abounded". His conversion
of *gaudii* into the subject, *gaudium*, was influ-
enced by Ambrosiaster, who offered *abundat
gaudium*: see *Annot.* For Erasmus' avoidance of
abundo, see also on *Rom.* 3,7. In the Greek text,
the repeated pronoun, αὐτῶν, could be under-
stood to refer to the "churches of Macedonia",
mentioned in the previous verse. Although
Erasmus alters the sequence of pronouns, he
follows the Vulgate in using the masculine gen-
der, referring by implication to the Macedonian
Christians rather than to their *ecclesiae*, as the
latter would have required the pronouns to
be feminine. In cod. 2815, the final αὐτῶν is

replaced by αὐτοῦ, apparently without other
ms. support. Lefèvre put *superabundantia gaudii
eorum ... eorum ... eorum*, omitting *fuit*. Manetti
followed the Vulgate, except that he changed
the final *eorum* to *ipsorum*.

2 *profunda* ἡ κατὰ βάθους ("altissima" Vg.).
Erasmus prefers *profundus*, as expressing depth
rather than height: see on *Ioh.* 4,11, and *Annot.*,
where he again attributes his changed rendering
to "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster). Apart from
this, the Vulgate use of a superlative was less
accurate. Similar objections to the Vulgate
wording were raised by Valla *Annot.* Both Ma-
netti and Lefèvre made the same substitution
as Erasmus.

2 *exundauit* ἐπερίσσευσεν ("abundauit" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 3,7; 2 *Cor.* 4,15. Lefèvre put *super-
abundauit*.

3 *Nam* ὅτι ("Quia" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,24;
Rom. 5,5. Manetti had *quoniam*.

3 *pro viribus ... supra vires* κατὰ δύναμιν ...
ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ("secundum virtutem ... supra
virtutem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,11, and *Annot.*
This change was also proposed by Valla *Annot.*
The version of Ambrosiaster was *pro viribus ...
vltra vires*, and Lefèvre *secundum vires ... supra
vires*.

3 *testor* μαρτυρῶ ("testimonium illis reddo"
Vg.; "illis perhibeo testimonium" 1516). The
1535 Latin rendering, by removing the comma
before *testor*, makes it appear that this verb is

closely connected with the preceding *pro viribus*, whereas in the 1519-27 editions, *testor* is clearly in parenthesis. The 1535 Greek text, by contrast, retains the comma before μαρτυρῶ. Cf. *Annot.* For Erasmus' substitution of *testor*, see on *Ioh.* 1,7. The Vulgate pronoun, *illis*, lacks support from Greek mss. The version of Manetti put *testificor*, and Lefèvre *testor*.

3 *etiam* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,36. The same change was made by Lefèvre. Manetti had *vt ... fuerint* in place of *et ... fuerunt*.

3 *prompti* αὐθαίρετοι ("voluntarii" Vg.). Erasmus may have detected an incongruity in using *voluntarius* ("of one's own accord") with reference to an action that was beyond a person's ability (παρὰ δύναμιν). Elsewhere he follows the Vulgate in using *promptus* to render πρόθυμος at *Mt.* 26,41; *Mc.* 14,38, and also in rendering ἡ προθυμία τοῦ θέλειν in vs. 11, below. In translating αὐθαίρετος in vs. 17, he replaces *sua voluntate* with *suapte sponte*. Here in vs. 3, *sua sponte* was suggested by Valla *Annot.* Among other alternatives proposed by Valla was *spontanei*, which was adopted by Lefèvre and mentioned by Erasmus in *Annot.*

4 *multa cum* μετὰ πολλῆς ("cum multa" Vg.). This positioning of *cum* after the adjective to which it relates is a fairly common idiom in classical Latin, but occurs only here in Erasmus' N.T. translation. Cf. *Annot.* It is possible that this elegant phrase was prompted by the version of Lefèvre, whose wording was identical at this point.

4 *obtestatione* παρακλήσεως ("exhortatione" Vg.). Erasmus does not elsewhere use *obtestatio* in the N.T. At several other passages, he retains *exhortatio* for this Greek word. Cf. *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *obsecratione*.

4 *rogantes* δεόμενοι ("obsecrantes" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,20, and *Annot.* Erasmus again has the same rendering as Lefèvre. Manetti put *deprecantes*.

4 *vt ... susciperemus in sanctos* τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς ("... quod fit in sanctos" Vg.). Erasmus' addition of δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς is derived from cod. 2817, supported by some other late mss. The Vulgate reflects a more widespread tradition among the Greek mss., omitting these two words. See *Annot.*, where Erasmus alternatively proposes *vt ... quod est in sanctos susciperemus*. In 1519 *Annot.*, he further draws attention to the spurious reading of

cod. 3, which adds ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὕρηται after ἡμᾶς. Manetti had *vt ... quod fit in sanctos susciperemus*, and Lefèvre *vt ... in sanctos fieret*.

4 *beneficium* τὴν χάριν ("gratiam" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 4,15. Lefèvre used the nominative, *gratia*.

4 *societatem* τὴν κοινωνίαν ("communicationem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,26; 1 *Cor.* 1,9. At several other passages, Erasmus retains *communicatio* for this Greek word. In *Annot.*, he suggests *communionem*, which was the rendering of Ambrosiaster and Manetti. Lefèvre put *communio*.

5 *ac* καί ("Et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

5 *quatenus* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). More commonly, Erasmus replaces *sicut* by *quemadmodum*. In the present instance, he felt that the context required an adverb of degree rather than of manner, to indicate that the level of commitment displayed by the Macedonians had exceeded the apostle's hopes, but was not the complete opposite of what the apostle expected: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *vt*.

5 *sperabamus* ἠλπίσαμεν ("sperauimus" Vg.). In substituting the imperfect tense, which gave a less literal rendering, Erasmus no doubt reasoned that the apostle's hopes must have preceded the Macedonian actions. Cf. *Annot.* For a similar reason, Lefèvre used the pluperfect tense, *speraueramus*.

5 *quin etiam* ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,17 for *quin*. Erasmus here renders the Greek text as if it had read ἀλλὰ καί. Lefèvre had *seipsos tamen* for *sed semet ipsos*.

5 *dediderunt* ἔδωκαν ("dederunt" Vg.; "tradiderunt" 1516). Erasmus, in 1519, substitutes a verb which is well-suited to the required sense of self-dedication. He also used *dedo* in place of *trado* in rendering παραδίδωμι at *Eph.* 4,19.

5 *domino* τῷ κυρίῳ ("deo" 1516 Lat.). The 1516 rendering, which conflicts with the Greek text, could reflect a typesetter's misunderstanding of the common abbreviation of *domino* (i.e. *dño*, as used by the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,6, 8. The use of *deo* is also found in Ambrosiaster.

5 *deinde et* καί ("deinde" Vg.). Erasmus also uses *deinde et* for καί at *Act.* 26,20 (1519). Manetti and Lefèvre, more literally, had just *et*.

6 *in hoc vt* εἰς τό ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *quamobrem*.

παρακαλέσαι ἡμᾶς Τίτον, ἵνα κα-
θὼς προενήρξατο, οὕτως καὶ ἐπι-
τελέσῃ εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν χάριν
ταύτην.

⁷Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν παντὶ περισσεύ-

LB 777   ετε πίστει καὶ λόγῳ καὶ | γνώσει
καὶ πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν
ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπῃ, ἵνα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ
τῇ χάριτι περισσεύητε. ⁸οὐ κατ'
ἐπιταγὴν λέγω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἑτέ-
ρων σπουδῆς, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑμε-
τέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον δοκιμάζων.
⁹γινώσκετε γὰρ τὴν χάριν τοῦ κυ-
ρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι δι'
ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσε, πλούσιος ὤν, ἵνα
ὑμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ πλου-
τήσητε. ¹⁰καὶ γνώμην ἐν τούτῳ
δίδωμι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν συμφέρει,

adhortaremur Titum, vt quemad-
modum ante coepisset, ita et con-
summaret hanc quoque erga vos
beneficentiam.

⁷Imo quemadmodum vbique abun-
datis fide et | sermone et scientia   LB 778
et omni diligentia et in ea quae
ex vobis erga nos est charitate, fa-
cite vt in hac quoque beneficentia
abundetis. ⁸Non secundum imperi-
um loquor, sed per sollicitudinem erga
alios, etiam vestrae dilectionis synceri-
tatem approbans. ⁹Nostis enim bene-
ficentiam domini nostri Iesu Christi,
quod propter vos pauper factus sit,
quum esset diues, vt vos illius pau-
pertate ditesceretis. ¹⁰Et consilium
in hoc do, nam hoc vobis conducit:

8,7 ημιν *A B D E*: υμιν *C* | 8 κατ *A-C*: καθ *D E*

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6 quoque *A^c B-E*: *om. A** | 7 Imo *B-E*: Sed *A* | vbique *B-E*: in omni *A* | erga nos *C-E*:
in nobis *A B* | facite *B-E*: *om. A* | 8 sollicitudinem erga alios, *E*: aliorum officium *A*,
sollicitudinem, erga alios *B-D* | 9 *prius* vos *B-E*: nos *A*

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6 *adhortaremur* παρακαλέσαι
ἡμᾶς ("rogare-
mus" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,16, and *Annot.* The
rendering of Lefèvre was *rogauimus.*

6 *ante coepisset* προενήρξατο ("coepit" Vg.).
Possibly the Vulgate reflected the substitution
of ἐνήρξατο, as in cod. B and a few later mss.
In vs. 10, Erasmus renders the same verb by *iam
coepio.* At the present passage, he partly adopts
the version of Lefèvre, who had *ante coepit.*

6 *consummaret* ἐπιτελέσῃ ("perficiat" Vg.). This
change is in accordance with Vulgate usage
e.g. at *Gal.* 3,3, and seems to be for the sake
of stylistic variety, in view of the use of *per-
ficio* in vs. 11. Erasmus further retains *perficio*
for the same Greek verb at *Lc.* 13,32; 2 *Cor.* 7,1;
Phil. 1,6. See also on *Rom.* 9,28. His rendering
resembles that of Ambrosiaster, who had *con-
summet.* Lefèvre moved *perficiat* to the end of
the sentence.

6 *hanc quoque erga vos beneficentiam* εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ
τὴν χάριν ταύτην ("in vobis etiam gratiam
istam" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The Vulgate
is more literal as to the word-order, though the
late Vulgate substitution of *vobis* for *vos* lacks

Greek ms. support. For *erga*, see on *Act.* 3,25;
for *quoque*, see on *Ioh.* 5,27; and for *beneficentia*,
see on 1 *Cor.* 16,3. As elsewhere, Erasmus pre-
fers to avoid the added emphasis of *iste*, unless
required by the context: see on *Act.* 7,4. See also
Annot. The version of Lefèvre was *hanc gratiam
apud vos.*

7 *Imo* Ἀλλ' ("Sed" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.*
19,2. Lefèvre put *Verum.*

7 *quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13. Erasmus' wording is the same as that
of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre had *vt.*

7 *vbique* ἐν παντί ("in omnibus" Vg.; "in
omni" 1516). See on 2 *Cor.* 7,11. Erasmus' 1516
rendering was more literal. Lefèvre's version
put *in omni re.*

7 *fide* πίστει ("fide, spe" late Vg.). The late
Vulgate addition of *spe*, as in the 1527 Vulgate
column and the Froben Vulgate of 1514, lacks
Greek ms. support, and may be a reminiscence
of 1 *Cor.* 13,13. Erasmus' rendering agrees with
the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre
(both columns).

7 *diligentia* σπουδῇ ("sollicitudine insuper" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). See on *Rom.* 12,8 for *diligentia*. The late Vulgate addition of *insuper* does not appear to reflect any difference of Greek text. See *Annot.* Erasmus here adopts the rendering of Lefèvre. Manetti had *sollicitudine*, omitting *insuper*.

7 *in ea quae ex vobis erga nos est charitate* τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπῃ ("charitate vestra in nos" Vg.; "in ea quae ex vobis in nobis est charitate" 1516-19). Erasmus seeks to amplify the sense of τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν. The Vulgate leaves ἐξ untranslated: cf. *Annot.* For *erga*, see on *Act.* 3,25. Manetti put *ea que* (= *quae*) *est ex vobis in nos caritate*, and Lefèvre *ea quae ex vobis est erga nos dilectione*.

7 *facite vt* ἵνα ("vt" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds *facite*, to supply a main verb for the sentence: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre substituted *ita*, taking ἵνα as the equivalent of οὕτως.

7 *in hac quoque* καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ("et in hac" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,27 for *quoque*. Lefèvre put *etiam hac in*. One of the mss. of Manetti's version (*Pal. Lat.* 45) followed the Vulgate, but the other (*Urb. Lat.* 6), possibly through scribal error, omitted *et*.

7 *beneficentia* τῇ χάριτι ("gratia" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 16,3, and *Annot.*

8 *secundum imperium* κατ᾽ ἐπιταγήν ("quasi imperans" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 7,6. In *Annot.*, Erasmus attributes his translation to "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster). The substitution of καθ᾽ for κατ᾽ in 1527-35 appears to be a printer's error. Manetti had the same wording as Erasmus, while Lefèvre put *secundum praeceptum*.

8 *loquor* λέγω ("dico" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,27.

8 *sollicitudinem erga alios* τῆς ἑτέρων σπουδῆς ("aliorum sollicitudinem" Vg.; "aliorum officium" 1516). Erasmus, in 1519, prefers to understand ἑτέρων as an objective genitive: cf. *Annot.* In 1519-27, the punctuation wrongly connects *erga alios* with the following *dilectionis* or *approbans*, rather than with *sollicitudinem*. Lefèvre had *aliorum diligentiam*.

8 *dilectionis* ἀγάπης ("charitatis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,35. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same substitution, though in Lefèvre's version *dilectionis vestrae* replaces *etiam vestrae charitatis*.

8 *synceritatem* τὸ ... γνήσιον ("ingenium bonum" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "ingenitum bonum" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). Erasmus is more accurate here. In *Annot.*, he

follows Valla *Annot.* in suggesting that the original Vulgate reading was *ingenuum*. The passage therefore appears in the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. Lefèvre proposed *generositatem*.

8 *approbans* δοκιμάζων ("comprobans" Vg.). Elsewhere the Vulgate uniformly renders δοκιμάζω by *probo*, which Erasmus always retains. The word *comprobo* does not occur at any other N.T. passage. The Greek verb is ambiguous, meaning both "put to the test" and "approve". Lefèvre substituted *tento*.

9 *Nostis* γινώσκετε ("Scitis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,33. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *Cognoscitis*.

9 *beneficentiam* τὴν χάριν ("gratiam" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 16,3.

9 *quod ... pauper factus sit* ὅτι ... ἐπτώχευσε ("quoniam ... egenus factus est" Vg.). This is a further example of Erasmus' frequent preference for expressing indirect statements by using *quod* and the subjunctive: cf. on *Ioh.* 1,20. For *pauper*, see on *Ioh.* 12,6. By using *pauper* and *paupertas* in this verse, Erasmus preserves the linguistic connection between ἐπτώχευσε and πτωχείᾳ. See also *Annot.* His wording resembles that of Ambrosiaster, *quia ... pauper factus est*. The version of Lefèvre had *quia ... inops factus est*. Manetti just replaced *quoniam* by *qui*.

9 *vos* (1st.) ὑμᾶς ("nos" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to Lefèvre's use of the reading ἡμᾶς, found in cod. C^vid and many later mss., including codd. 2815*vid and 2816^corr, though this variant could have influenced the substitution of *nos* in his own first edition.

9 *vos illius paupertate* ὑμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ ("illius inopia vos" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. His substitution of *paupertas* is consistent with Vulgate usage in vs. 2, and at *Ap. Ioh.* 2,9: see also on *pauper*, above. Manetti put *vos eius paupertate*, and Lefèvre *nos illius inopia*.

9 *ditesceretis* πλουτήσητε ("diuites essetis" Vg.). A similar substitution of *ditesco* for *diues fio* occurs at 1 *Tim.* 6,9. See on 1 *Cor.* 1,5. Manetti had *ditaremini*, and Lefèvre *diuites simus*.

10 *nam hoc* τοῦτο γάρ ("hoc enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

10 *conducit* συμφέρει ("vtile est" Vg.). Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 6,12. Manetti had *confert*, and Lefèvre *conducibile est*.

οἵτινες οὐ μόνον τὸ ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ θέλειν προενήρξασθε ἀπὸ πέρυσι. ¹¹νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέσατε, ὅπως καθάπερ ἡ προθυμία τοῦ θέλειν, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐπιτελέσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἔχειν. ¹²εἰ γὰρ ἡ προθυμία πρόκειται, καθὸ ἐὰν ἔχῃ τις, εὐπρόσδεκτος, οὐ καθὸ οὐκ ἔχει. ¹³οὐ γὰρ ἵνα ἄλλοις ἄνεσις, ὑμῖν δὲ θλίψις, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰσότητος ¹⁴ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ τὸ ὑμῶν περίσσευμα εἰς τὸ ἐκείνων ὑστέρημα, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων περίσσευμα γένηται εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα, ὅπως γένηται ἰσότης, ¹⁵καθὼς γέγραπται, Ὁ τὸ πολύ, οὐκ ἐπλεόνασε· καὶ ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον, οὐκ ἠλαττόνησε.

qui quidem non solum facere, verum etiam velle iam coepistis anno superiore. ¹¹Nunc autem et illud quod facere coepistis, perficite: vt quemadmodum voluntas prompta fuit, ita et perficiatis ex eo quod potestis. ¹²Etenim si prius adsit animi promptitudo, ea iuxta quicquid illud est quod possidet aliquis, accepta est, non iuxta id quod non possidet. ¹³Non enim vt aliis relaxatio sit, vobis autem angustia, sed vt ex aequabilitate ¹⁴in praesenti tempore vestra copia illorum succurrat inopiae, et illorum copia vestrae succurrat inopiae, vt fiat aequabilitas, ¹⁵quemadmodum scriptum est: Qui multum habebat, huic nihil superfuit: et qui paulum habebat, is nihilominus habuit.

12 προθυμια *B-E*: τροθυμια *A* | εχη *B-E*: εχει *A*

14 praesenti *B-E*: hoc *A* | 15 nihilominus *B-E*: non minus *A*

10 *qui quidem* οἵτινες ("qui" Vg.). Erasmus' addition of *quidem* is not explicitly supported by the Greek text: see on *Rom.* 6,17 for other such additions.

10 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καὶ ("sed et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Manetti put *sed etiam*.

10 *iam coepistis* προενήρξασθε ("coepistis" Vg.). See on vs. 6. The Vulgate partly corresponds with ἐνήρξασθαι (for ἐνήρξασθε) in codd. D* F G. The version of Manetti put *antea cepistis*.

10 *anno superiore* ἀπὸ πέρυσι ("ab anno priore" Vg.). Erasmus perhaps wished to express the meaning as "last year" rather than "from the previous year onwards", because of the preceding *coepistis*. He treats the preposition as superfluous for the purpose of translation, while retaining *ab* in *Annot.* At 2 *Cor.* 9,2, where a different verb accompanies this Greek phrase, he uses *ab anno superiore* to replace *ab anno praeterito*. Lefèvre's rendering of the present passage was *a superioribus annis*.

11 *autem* δέ ("vero" Vg.). Erasmus decided that the context required a stronger adversative sense for the Greek particle. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

11 *illud quod facere coepistis* τὸ ποιῆσαι ("facto" Vg.). By this expansion of the wording, Erasmus makes a clearer link with *facere ... coepistis* in vs. 10. Ambrosiaster had *facere*, and Manetti *opere*.

11 *voluntas prompta fuit* ἡ προθυμία τοῦ θέλειν ("promptus est animus voluntatis" Vg.). Erasmus paraphrases the meaning, to avoid the obscurity of *animus voluntatis*. Cf. *Annot.* His wording partly resembles Ambrosiaster, *prompta est voluntas*. Manetti had *promptitudo volendi*, similar to a suggestion of Valla *Annot.* at vs. 19. Lefèvre put *est promptitudo voluntatis*.

11 *et perficiatis* καὶ τὸ ἐπιτελέσαι ("sit et perficiendi" Vg.). Again Erasmus simplifies the construction. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *et adimpletionis*.

11 *potestis* ἔχειν ("habetis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurrs at *Mc.* 14,8; *Lc.* 14,14; *Eph.* 4,28; *Hebr.* 6,13; 2 *Petr.* 1,15, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 8,6; *Act.* 4,14. See *Annot.*

12 *Etenim si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

12 *prius adsit animi promptitudo, ea* ἡ προθυμία πρόκειται ("voluntas prompta est" Vg.). Erasmus added *prius* ("beforehand") to express what

he considered to be the sense of the prefix προ-, in πρόκειται. See *Annot*. For his use of *animi promptitudo*, see on *Act*. 17,11. At the present passage, he deliberately varies the style, to avoid repetition of *voluntas prompta fuit* from vs. 11. However, the word *promptitudo* was not used by classical authors. The version of Manetti had *promptitudo proposita*, and Lefèvre *promptitudo adest*.

12 *iuxta* (twice) καθό ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act*. 13,23, and *Annot*.

12 *quicquid illud est quod* ἐάν ("id quod" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 4,14 for Erasmus' use of *quisquis*. See also *Annot*. By this change, he distinguishes between καθὸ ἐάν in the first clause, and καθό (without ἐάν) in the second clause. Lefèvre replaced *id quod habet* by *quod habet si quid habeat*.

12 *possidet* (twice) ἔχῃ ... ἔχει ("habet" Vg.). A similar substitution of *possideo* occurs at *Mt*. 13,46. Elsewhere Erasmus generally follows the Vulgate in reserving *possideo* for κτάομαι, κληρονομέω, κατέχω and ὑπάρχω. In *Annot*., he also suggests using *possit*: see also on *potestis* in vs. 11. The substitution of ἔχει for ἔχῃ in 1516 may have been a printer's error, though it is supported by cod. 2817comm and some other late mss.

12 *aliquis* τις (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. א B C* and a few other mss. In codd. D F G, τις is transposed after ἔχει at the end of the sentence. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also Ccorr and most later mss. If τις is not in the text, προθυμία becomes the subject of ἔχῃ ... ἔχει. The question is whether some scribes added τις in order to provide an easier subject for these verbs, or whether an early scribe accidentally omitted the word (cf. the omission of τις by 𝔓66 א * D* at *Ioh*. 15,13).

13 *relaxatio sit* ἄνεσις ("sit remissio" Vg.). See on *Act*. 24,23, and *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre put *requies sit*.

13 *angustia* θλίψις ("tribulatio" Vg.). More frequently Erasmus renders θλίψις by *afflictio*: see on *Ioh*. 16,21. At the present passage, as may be seen from *Annot*., he adopts the rendering of Ambrosiaster, in order to provide a better contrast with *relaxatio*. Lefèvre had *pressura*.

13 *vt ex* ἐξ ("ex" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to clarify the relevance of ἐξ ἰσότητος by inserting a second *vt*, parallel to the use of *vt ... sit* in the first part of the sentence. Lefèvre replaced *ex aequalitate* by *vt sit aequalitas*.

13 *aequabilitate* ἰσότητος ("aequalitate" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 14, and Erasmus further uses *aequabilitas* for the same Greek word at *Col*. 4,1. His chosen expression was a less common classical word, though hallowed by Ciceronian usage. For Lefèvre's version, see the previous note. Both mss. of Manetti's version, possibly by scribal error, had *qualitate*.

14 *praesenti* τῷ νῦν ("hoc" 1516). See on *Rom*. 3,26. The 1516 rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

14 *copia* (twice) περίσσευμα ("abundantia" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 3,7 for Erasmus' frequent removal of *abundantia* and *abundo*. He retains *abundantia* for περίσσευμα at *Mt*. 12,34; *Lc*. 6,45.

14 *illorum succurrat inopiae ... vestrae succurrat inopiae* εἰς τὸ ἐκείνων ὑστέρημα ... γένηται εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα ("illorum inopiam suppleat ... vestrae inopiae sit supplementum" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more consistent rendering, but follows the Vulgate in supplying a verb for the first clause. See *Annot*., and for Erasmus' use of *succurro* elsewhere, see on *Act*. 16,9. Manetti put *sit in ipsorum defectum ... fiat in defectum vestrum*, and Lefèvre *illorum indigentiam suppleat ... in vestrae indigentiae sit supplemento*.

14 *et* ἵνα καί ("vt et" Vg.). Having inserted *vt* after *sed* in vs. 13, Erasmus evidently regarded it as superfluous at this point in vs. 14. His rendering here agrees with that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti had *et vt*.

14 *aequabilitas* ἰσότης ("aequalitas" Vg.). See on vs. 13.

15 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 1,13.

15 *multum habebat ... paulum habebat* τὸ πολὺ ... τὸ ὀλίγον ("multum ... modicum" Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb in both places, for clarity. In *Annot*., he omits τό before πολύ. For *paulum*, see also on 1 *Cor*. 5,6. Manetti had *multum habet ... modicum*, and Lefèvre *multum ... paucum*.

15 *huic nihil superfuit* οὐκ ἐπλεόνασε ("non abundauit" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 3,7; 1 *Cor*. 8,8, for Erasmus' removal of *abundo*. He adds *huic*, to facilitate the connection with the earlier *qui*.

15 ὁ (2nd.). This word was omitted by codd. 1, 2105, 2815, and also by F G and some other mss. See *Annot*.

15 *is nihilominus habuit* οὐκ ἠλαττόνησε ("non minorauit" Vg.; "is non minus habuit" 1516). The verb *minoro*, used by the Vulgate, was rare in classical literature, where it has the sense

¹⁶ Χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ, τῷ διδόντι τὴν αὐτὴν σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Τίτου, ¹⁷ ὅτι τὴν μὲν παράκλησιν ἐδέξατο, σπουδαιότερος δὲ ὑπάρχων, αὐ | θαίρετος ἐξῆλθε πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ¹⁸ συνεπέμψαμεν δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· ¹⁹ οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, συνέκδημος ἡμῶν, σὺν τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ τῇ διακονουμένῃ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν, καὶ προθυμίαν ὑμῶν· ²⁰ στελλόμενοι τοῦτο, μή τις ἡμᾶς μωμήσηται ἐν τῇ ἁδρότητι ταύτῃ

¹⁶ Gratia autem deo, qui dedit eandem sollicitudinem pro vobis in corde Titi, ¹⁷ qui exhortationem | acceperit: quin potius quum esset diligentior, suapte sponte ad vos venerit. ¹⁸ Misimus autem vna cum illo fratrem eum, cuius laus est in euangelio per omnes ecclesias: ¹⁹ nec id solum, verum etiam delectus est ab ecclesiis, comes peregrinationis nostrae, cum hac beneficentia quae administratur a nobis ad eiusdem domini gloriam, et animi vestri promptitudinem: ²⁰ declinantes hoc, ne quis nos carpat in hac exuberantia

16 αυτην B-E: τοιαυτην A | 17 παρακλησιν B-E: παραρακλησιν A | 19 υμων B-E: ημων A

16 sollicitudinem B-E: sollicitu/nem A | 17 qui B-E: quia nostram A | quin potius quum esset B-E: per quam ita redditus est A | suapte B-E: vt tamen suapte A | 18 eum B-E: om. A | 19 eiusdem B-E: ipsius A | vestri B-E: nostri A

"make less" rather than "have less". See *Annot.* The Vulgate reading was listed among the *Soloecismi*, provoking objections from Stunica, to whom Erasmus replied in *Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.*, *LB* IX, 398 F-399 A. In Erasmus' version, the addition of *is* serves as a counterpoise to his earlier insertion of *huic.* Lefèvre put *non minoratus est.*

16 *Gratia autem* Χάρις δέ ("Gratias autem ago" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of *ago* is clearly a scribal addition, designed to remedy what appeared to be a grammatical deficiency in the earlier Vulgate reading, *Gratias autem.* A similar change occurs at 2 Cor. 9,15. See *Annot.*, and cf. on Rom. 6,17. The correction made by Erasmus was anticipated by Manetti, while Lefèvre had *Sit autem gratia.*

16 *eandem* αὐτήν. The reading τοιαύτην, in 1516, was derived from cod. 2815: see *Annot.* Other deviant readings of this ms., in the present verse, are the omission of ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν and the substitution of παρουσίᾳ for καρδίᾳ. None of these variants appears to enjoy other ms. support.

17 *qui ... acceperit* ὅτι ... ἐδέξατο ("quoniam ... suscepit" Vg.; "quia ... acceperit" 1516). Erasmus' adoption of the less literal *qui*, followed by the perfect subjunctive, makes it easier to

understand Titus' actions as a consequence rather than a cause of the work of God within his heart. For *accipio*, see on *Act.* 3,21. Ambrosiaster had *quoniam ... accepit.*

17 *exhortationem* τὴν μὲν παράκλησιν ("exhortationem quidem" Vg.; "nostram exhortationem" 1516). The Vulgate is more accurate here, in providing a translation of μέν. Erasmus' use of *nostram* in 1516 was an interpretative addition. Cf. *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *et exhortationis officium.*

17 *quin potius quum esset diligentior* σπουδαιότερος δὲ ὑπάρχων ("sed cum sollicitior esset" Vg.; "per quam ita redditus est diligentior, vt tamen" 1516). The 1516 rendering was a bold paraphrase, which considerably altered the sentence structure. For *quin potius*, see on *Rom.* 12,19. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests rendering δέ by *imo.* A similar substitution of *diligentior* occurs in vs. 22. However, to avoid losing the connection with σπουδῇ, rendered by *sollicitudo* in vs. 16, it would have been preferable to substitute *diligentia* at that passage: for Erasmus' use of *diligentia* elsewhere, see on *Rom.* 12,8. Manetti put *Sed cum studiosior existeret*, and Lefèvre *et diligentior factus.*

17 *suapte sponte* αὐθαίρετος ("sua voluntate" Vg.). See on Erasmus' rendering of the same

Greek word in vs. 3, above, and see also *Annot.* This emphatic form of the pronoun is found elsewhere only at *Iud.* 12 (*suopte ductu*). Manetti and Lefèvre both put *sponte sua.*

17 *ad vos venerit* ἐξῆλθε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ("profectus est ad vos" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal here. Erasmus does not often use *venio* for ἐξέρχομαι: for his treatment of this Greek word elsewhere, see on 2 *Cor.* 2,13. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *ad vos profectus est.*

18 *vna cum* μετ' ("cum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22, and *Annot.* In Lefèvre, this was rendered *et cum.*

18 *fratrem eum* τὸν ἀδελφόν ("fratrem nostrum" late Vg.; "fratrem" 1516). The late Vulgate addition of *nostrum* has little ms. support, and represents a harmonisation with vs. 22. Erasmus adds *eum*, to convey the sense of the Greek article: see *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *fratrem*, omitting *nostrum.*

18 ἐν. The reading ὁ ἐν, in cod. 2815, lacks support from other mss.

19 *nec id solum* οὐ μόνον δέ ("non solum autem" Vg.). By inserting *id*, Erasmus makes the connection with the previous clause more intelligible: see *Annot.*, and for his use of *nec*, see on *Ioh.* 2,16. Valla *Annot.* recommended *neque id solum*, and Lefèvre *Et non id solum.*

19 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Ambrosiaster had *sed etiam.*

19 *delectus est* χειροτονηθείς ("ordinatus est" late Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,41. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also offers *electus* or *suffragiis creatus*, and a similar suggestion had been made by Valla *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

19 *cum* σύν ("in" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text substituting ἐν, as in codd. B C 0225 and some later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ D F G. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

19 *hac beneficentia* τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ ("hanc gratiam" late Vg.). The late Vulgate substitution of the accusative case was probably a scribal alteration, influenced by the preceding preposition, *in.* For *beneficentia*, see on 1 *Cor.* 16,3, and *Annot.* In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus omits τῇ, in company with few mss. other than cod. C, but this may have been just a loosely worded citation. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *hac gratia.*

19 *quae administratur* τῇ διακονουμένῃ ("quae ministratur" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 20. Elsewhere Erasmus generally retains *ministro.* The change of verb was no doubt intended to reinforce the interpretation of χάρις, in this context, as a financial rather than a spiritual benefit.

19 *eiusdem* αὐτοῦ (Vg. omits; "ipsius" 1516). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. B C D* F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ D^corr and most later mss. See *Annot.* If αὐτοῦ was an authentic part of the text, it is possible that some scribes would have regarded it as superfluous to the sense of the passage and hence deleted the word. It seems less likely that a scribe would intentionally add αὐτοῦ, as the context itself does not provide any clear motive for such a change. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' first edition.

19 *animi vestri promptitudinem* προθυμίαν ὑμῶν ("destinatam voluntatem nostram" Vg.; "animi nostri promptitudinem" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites Theophylact and the "Greek scholia" as favouring ὑμῶν. This reading occurs in codd. 3 and 2105, and also in cod. F. The scholia of cod. 2817^comm do not directly cite ὑμῶν but lend support to that reading through the use of the second person plural in ἵνα ... προθυμότεροι μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν εἰσφορὰν γένησθε. However, most mss., including codd. 1, 2815, 2816, 2817 (text), have ἡμῶν, as adopted in the 1516 edition. For *animi promptitudo*, see on vs. 12, above, and also on *Act.* 17,11. The use of *promptitudo* was also recommended by Valla *Annot.*, and Erasmus followed Valla in criticising the Vulgate use of *destinatam*, which could be misinterpreted as meaning "predestined". The same objection is made in the *Loca Obscura.* Manetti had *promptitudinem vestram*, and Lefèvre *promptam voluntatem nostram.*

20 *declinantes* στελλόμενοι ("deuitantes" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus vividly interprets the Greek verb in terms of a sailor changing course to avoid hitting a rock. However, the Vulgate word is sufficiently accurate. Lefèvre replaced *deuitantes hoc* by *id cauentes.*

20 *carpat* μωμήσηται ("vituperet" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 6,3, where Erasmus prefers to substitute *reprehendo.* Lefèvre put *repraehendere qu(a)eat.*

20 *exuberantia* τῇ ἀδρότητι ("plenitudine" Vg.). At *Rom.* 5,17; 2 *Cor.* 10,15, Erasmus uses

τῇ διακονουμένῃ ὑφ' ἡμῶν,   ²¹ προ-
νοούμενοι καλά, οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον
κυρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώ-
πων.   ²² συνεπέμψαμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸν
ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν, ὃν ἐδοκιμάσαμεν ἐν
πολλοῖς πολλάκις σπουδαῖον ὄντα,
νυνὶ δὲ πολὺ σπουδαιότερον, πε-
ποιθήσει πολλῇ τῇ εἰς ὑμᾶς,   ²³ εἴτε
ὑπὲρ Τίτου, κοινωνὸς ἐμός, καὶ εἰς
ὑμᾶς συνεργός, εἴτε ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν
ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, δόξα Χρι-
στοῦ.   ²⁴ τὴν οὖν ἔνδειξιν τῆς ἀγά-
πης ὑμῶν, καὶ ἡμῶν καυχήσεως
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνδείξασθε
καὶ εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν.

quae administratur a nobis,   ²¹ pro-
curantes honesta, non tantum coram
domino, sed etiam coram hominibus.
²² Misimus autem vna cum illis fratrem
nostrum, quem probaueramus in mul-
tis saepenumero diligentem, nunc au-
tem multo diligentiorem, ob multam
fiduciam, quam habeo erga vos, ²³ siue
Titi nomine, qui socius meus est, et
erga vos adiutor, siue aliorum, qui
fratres nostri sunt et legati ecclesia-
rum, gloria Christi.   ²⁴ Proinde docu-
mentum charitatis vestrae et nostrae de
vobis gloriationis, in eos demonstretis
etiam in conspectu ecclesiarum.

21 honesta *B-E*: bona *A* | domino *B-E*: deo *A* | 22 saepenumero diligentem *B-E*: sepenumero,
quod diligens esset *A* | diligentiorem *B-E*: diligentior *A*

exuberantia to replace *abundantia*, in rendering
περισσεία. He reserves *plenitudo* for πλήρωμα.
See *Annot.*

20 *quae administratur* τῇ διακονουμένῃ ("quae
ministratur" Vg.). See on vs. 19. Both mss. of
Manetti's version omitted *quae ministratur ...
gloriam.*

20 *nobis* ἡμῶν ("nobis in domini gloriam" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms.
support, and represents a harmonisation with
vs. 19. See *Annot.* In making this correction,
Erasmus has the same wording as the earlier
Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. For Manetti's
rendering, see the previous note.

21 *procurantes* προνοούμενοι ("Prouidemus
enim" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the sub-
stitution of προνοοῦμεν γάρ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B
D F G and forty-seven other mss. In codd.
C 0225 and thirty others, it is προνοούμενοι
γάρ. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815
and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and
about 500 other late mss. (see Aland *Die Pauli-
nischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 670-2). See *Annot.* An
explanation which has been offered for προ-
νοούμενοι is that it arose from scribal har-
monisation with the pattern of στελλόμενοι
in vs. 20, or with προνοούμενοι καλά at *Rom.*
12,17. Alternatively, προνοοῦμεν γάρ, if it was
not an accidental change, could have been

substituted by scribes who wished to simplify
the meaning. For Erasmus' avoidance of *prouideo*,
see on *Rom.* 12,17. He does not use *procuro*
elsewhere in the N.T. Both Valla *Annot.* and
Manetti proposed *prouidentes.*

21 *honesta* καλά ("bona" 1516 = Vg.). See on
Rom. 12,17, and *Annot.*

21 *tantum* μόνον ("solum" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
4,16.

21 *domino* κυρίου ("deo" 1516 Lat. = late Vg.).
The late Vulgate corresponds with the substi-
tution of θεοῦ in 𝔓⁴⁶ and a few later mss. Eras-
mus' 1519 rendering was the same as that of
Manetti and Lefèvre, together with the earlier
Vulgate.

22 *Misimus ... vna cum* συνεπέμψαμεν ("Misi-
mus ... cum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22.

22 *fratrem* τὸν ἀδελφόν ("et fratrem" Vg.). The
Vulgate addition of *et* lacks explicit support
from Greek mss., and the word was accordingly
omitted by both Manetti and Lefèvre.

22 *probaueramus* ἐδοκιμάσαμεν ("probauimus"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,19 for Erasmus' preference
for the pluperfect.

22 *saepenumero* πολλάκις ("saepe" Vg.). Usually
Erasmus renders πολλάκις by *saepe* or *frequenter.*
He does not use *saepenumero* elsewhere in the
N.T. Here he attempts to convey something of

the flavour of πολλοῖς πολλάκις, but concedes in *Annot.* that the elegance of the Greek phrase is lost in translation.

22 *diligentem ... diligentiorem* σπουδαῖον ὄντα ... σπουδαιότερον ("sollicitum esse ... sollicitiorem" Vg.; "quod diligens esset ... diligentior" 1516). See on *Rom.* 12,8, and *Annot.* In 1519, Erasmus leaves ὄντα untranslated. Manetti put *sollicitum esse ... studiosiorem*, and Lefèvre *diligentem fuisse ... diligentiorem.*

22 *ob multam fiduciam, quam habeo* πεποιθήσει πολλῇ τῇ ("confidentia multa" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 1,15 for *fiducia.* The construction of *ob* with the accusative prevents *fiducia* (or *confidentia*) from being misunderstood as an ablative of comparison after *diligentiorem*: for *ob*, see further on *Ioh.* 10,33. Then Erasmus boldly adds *quam habeo*, without explicit justification from the Greek text, so as to identify Paul as the one who displayed this confidence, rather than the brother who accompanied Titus. In *Annot.*, Erasmus alternatively suggested *quam habent.* His rendering is an adaptation of the wording of Lefèvre, who put *ob fiduciam multam quam habet.* Ambrosiaster had *multa fiducia.*

22 *erga* εἰς ("in" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25. Lefèvre made the same change. Manetti, and also Lefèvre's Vulgate column, had *in vobis* for *in vos.*

23 *Titi nomine* ὑπὲρ Τίτου ("pro Tito" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,6. Lefèvre had *Titi loco.*

23 *qui socius meus est* κοινωνὸς ἐμός ("qui est socius meus" Vg.). The Latin word-order is unaffected by the Greek text, which lacks both relative pronoun and verb. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggested *socio meo*, to agree with *Tito.* Valla *Annot.* similarly had *socio nostro.* Lefèvre, however, understanding these words as relating to the "brother" who was mentioned in vs. 22, put *siue quod Titi loco familaris meus sit.*

23 *erga vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate rendering lacks Greek ms. support. For *erga*, see on *Act.* 3,25, and *Annot.*

23 *aliorum, qui fratres nostri sunt* ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ("fratres nostri" Vg.). Erasmus makes another questionable interpretative addition, to yield a more readily intelligible sense. See *Annot.* The solution of Lefèvre was *quod fratres mei sint.*

23 *et legati* ἀπόστολοι ("apostoli" Vg.). As explained in *Annot.*, Erasmus here takes the Greek word in its literal meaning of "sent",

rather than as designating the apostles: see also on *Ioh.* 13,16.

23 *gloria* δόξα ("gloriae" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering, whether taken as a nominative plural or a genitive singular, constitutes either a mistranslation or a scribal error. The Greek word is a nominative singular, in apposition to ἀδελφοί and ἀπόστολοι: see *Annot.* and Valla *Annot.* The passage is hence listed among the *Loca Obscura.* Manetti made the same correction as Erasmus, while Lefèvre put *qui sunt gloria.*

24 *Proinde documentum* τὴν οὖν ἔνδειξιν ("Ostensionem ergo" Vg.). Erasmus also uses *documentum* to replace *exemplum* in rendering ἔνδειγμα at 2 *Thess.* 1,5. In rendering ἔνδειξις at *Phil.* 1,28 (1516 only), he inconsistently replaces *causa* by *ostensio*, and retains *ostensio* for ἔνδειξις at *Rom.* 3,25, and for ἀπόδειξις at 1 *Cor.* 2,4. At the present passage, the Vulgate use of *ostensionem ... ostendite* has the advantage of preserving the linguistic link between ἔνδειξις and ἐνδείκνυμι. See further on *Rom.* 3,26, and for *proinde*, see on *Act.* 11,17. Lefèvre put *indicium igitur.*

24 *charitatis* τῆς ἀγάπης ("quae est charitatis" Vg.). Erasmus regarded the Vulgate addition of *quae est* as superfluous: see *Annot.* His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. The version of Lefèvre had *dilectionis.*

24 *de vobis gloriationis* καυχήσεως ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ("gloriae pro vobis" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is more literal. For *gloriatio*, see on *Rom.* 4,2, and for *de*, see on 2 *Cor.* 5,12. Lefèvre put *gloriationis nostrae propter vos.*

24 *eos* αὐτούς ("illos" Vg.). In view of Erasmus' frequent use of *ille* in this chapter, this change was presumably for stylistic variety, and follows the version of Lefèvre. Manetti put *ipsos.*

24 *demonstretis* ἐνδείξασθε ("ostendite" Vg.). Usually Erasmus retains *ostendo* for this Greek verb, though he substitutes *exhibeo* at *Tit.* 3,2; *Hebr.* 6,10. See on ἔνδειξις, above. Ambrosiaster had *demonstrate* (incorrectly printed as *demonstrare* in the 1492 edition).

24 *etiam* καί (Vg. omits). Erasmus' addition of καί is derived from cod. 2817, supported by only a few late mss. This inadequately attested reading remained in the *Textus Receptus.*

24 *in conspectu* εἰς πρόσωπον ("in faciem" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 3,13, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *in facie*, as in some Vulgate mss.

24 *ecclesiarum* τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ("ecclesiarum dei" *Annot.*, lemma). The late Vulgate reading

9 Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους περισσόν μοί ἐστι τὸ γράφειν ὑμῖν. ²οἶδα γὰρ τὴν προθυμίαν ὑμῶν, ἣν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καυχῶμαι Μακεδόσιν, ὅτι Ἀχαΐα παρεσκεύασται ἀπὸ πέ|ρυσι, καὶ ὁ ἐξ ὑμῶν ζῆλος ἠρέθισε τοὺς πλείονας. ³ἔπεμψα δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἵνα μὴ τὸ καύχημα ἡμῶν τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, κενωθῇ ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, ἵνα καθὼς ἔλεγον, παρεσκευασμένοι ἦτε· ⁴μή πως ἐὰν ἔλθωσι σὺν ἐμοὶ Μακεδόνες, καὶ εὕρωσιν ὑμᾶς ἀπαρασκευάστους, καταισχυνθῶμεν ἡμεῖς, ἵνα μὴ λέγωμεν ὑμεῖς, ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει ταύτῃ τῆς καυχήσεως.

LB 781

9 Nam de subministratione quidem quae fiat in sanctos, superuacuum est mihi scribere vobis. ²Noui enim promptitudinem animi vestri, | quam de vobis iacto apud Macedones, quod Achaia parata est ab anno superiore, et vestrum exemplum prouocauit complures. ³Misi tamen hos fratres, ne gloria nostra qua glorior de vobis, inanis fiat in hac parte, vt quemadmodum dicebam parati sitis, ⁴ne quo pacto fiat, vt si mecum venerint Macedones, et offenderint vos imparatos, nos pudore suffundamur, vt ne dicam vos in hoc argumento gloriationis.

LB 782

9,2 quod C-E: quoniam A B | 3 Misi B-E: Misimus A

cited by Erasmus in *Annot*. does not appear in the 1527 Vulgate column or in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514, though it occurs e.g. in the 1502 *Glossa Ordinaria*. The addition of *dei* lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' wording agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

9,1 *subministratione* τῆς διακονίας ("ministerio" Vg.). The non-classical word, *subministratio*, is used elsewhere, in both Erasmus and the Vulgate, for ἐπιχορηγία at *Eph.* 4,16; *Phil.* 1,19. Usually he is content with *ministerium* for διακονία: see on 1 *Cor.* 12,5. Lefèvre put *ministratione*.

1 *quidem* μέν (Vg. omits). Erasmus is more literal in providing a rendering for μέν: see on *Act.* 16,36. Manetti (*Pal. Lat.* 45) began this sentence with *De ministerio enim* (which, by a scribal error, became *De ministerio autem enim* in *Urb. Lat.* 6). Lefèvre put *De ministratione profecto*.

1 γάρ. This word was omitted by cod. 2815, in company with cod. C and a few later mss.

1 *quae fiat* τῆς ("quod fit" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of the subjunctive, cf. on *Ioh.* 1,20. Lefèvre had *quae fit*.

1 *superuacuum* περισσόν ("ex abundanti" Vg.). From *Annot.*, it is seen that, to avoid the Vulgate periphrasis, Erasmus adopts the rendering used by Ambrosiaster. In *Annot.*, he also suggests *superuacaneum*, which was the rendering

of Lefèvre: see also on 1 *Cor.* 15,17 for Erasmus' use of *superuacaneus* to render μάταιος. Manetti put *superfluum*.

2 *Noui* οἶδα ("Scio" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,33; *Rom.* 14,14. This change was anticipated by Manetti.

2 *promptitudinem animi vestri* τὴν προθυμίαν ὑμῶν ("promptum animum vestrum" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 8,12, and also on *Act.* 17,11, and *Annot.*, for Erasmus' use of *promptitudo animi*. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *promptitudinem vestram*.

2 *quam ... iacto* ἣν ... καυχῶμαι ("pro quo ... glorior" Vg.). The use of *iacto* avoids repetition of *glorior*, which Erasmus retains in vs. 3. He further uses *iacto* to replace *exalto* in rendering μεγαλαυχέω at *Iac.* 3,5. See *Annot*. The version of Manetti had *pro qua ... glorior*, and Lefèvre *qua ... glorior*.

2 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" 1516-19 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot*. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

2 *Achaia* Ἀχαΐα ("et Achaia" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *et* lacks Greek ms. support: see *Annot*. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *anno superiore* πέρυσι ("anno praeterito" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 8,10, and *Annot*. Erasmus may have considered *praeterito* less satisfactory as it

did not necessarily denote the immediately preceding year. Lefèvre had *a superioribus annis* at both passages.

2 *vestrum exemplum* ὁ ἐξ ὑμῶν ζῆλος ("vestra aemulatio" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the reading τὸ ὑμῶν ζῆλος, found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B, or ὁ ὑμῶν ζῆλος in cod. C, with a few later mss. The Greek text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also D F G (0209) and most other mss. Another instance where a few mss. treat ζῆλος as a neuter occurs at *Phil.* 3,5, though at several other passages the apostle clearly treats it as masculine. The absence of ἐξ from some mss. could have been caused by a scribe's attempt to simplify an unusual construction. This preposition is consistent with Pauline usage of τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν ... ἀγάπη at 2 *Cor.* 8,7. In trying to avoid the unwanted connotation of *aemulatio*, in the sense of "jealousy", Erasmus considerably changes the meaning. In 1535 *Annot.*, more appropriately, he suggested using *studium* or *feruor*. Lefèvre put *zelus qui est ex vobis*.

2 *complures* τοὺς πλείονας ("plurimos" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the Vulgate use of a superlative, as the Greek word is a comparative adjective. See on *Act.* 27,12. Lefèvre made the same change, while Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *plures*.

3 *Misi* ἔπεμψα ("Misimus" 1516 Lat. = late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of the plural has little ms. support other than codd. D 0209, which have ἐπέ(μ)ψαμεν. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

3 *tamen* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. In *Annot.*, Erasmus puts *vero*.

3 *hos fratres* τοὺς ἀδελφούς ("fratres" Vg.). Erasmus adds *hos*, to make clear that *fratres* is the object of the verb (referring back to those who were mentioned in ch. 8), and not to be misunderstood as a nominative (forming the subject of *Misimus*) or as a vocative (addressed to the whole Corinthian church): see *Annot.*

3 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt ne" Vg.). Erasmus here treats *vt* as redundant, though he introduces *vt ne* at a number of other passages: see on *Ioh.* 16,1. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus, while Manetti had *vt non*.

3 *gloria nostra qua glorior* τὸ καύχημα ἡμῶν ("quod gloriamur" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering more fully captures the meaning of the Greek expression. Cf. Ambrosiaster, *gloria nostra qua*

vos preferimus. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *gloriatio nostra*.

3 *inanis fiat* κενωθῇ ("euacuetur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,14. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *irrita cadat*, positioned after *hac in parte*.

3 *dicebam* ἔλεγον ("dixi" Vg.). Erasmus more accurately renders the Greek imperfect tense.

3 παρεσκευασμένοι. Cod. 2815 had the spelling παρασκευασμένοι, along with a few other late mss.

4 *ne quo pacto fiat, vt* μή πως ("ne" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of πως in cod. D*. Usually the Vulgate renders μή πως by *ne forte*. Erasmus again uses *ne quo pacto* to translate the same expression at 1 *Thess.* 3,5. Manetti put *ne aliquatenus*.

4 *si mecum venerint Macedones* ἐὰν ἔλθωσι σὺν ἐμοὶ Μακεδόνες ("cum venerint Macedones mecum" late Vg.). The Vulgate use of *cum venerint* lacks Greek ms. support, apart from codd. B D^corr which omit ἐάν. Manetti had *si Macedones mecum venerint*, and Lefèvre *si Macedones mecum veniant*.

4 *offenderint* εὕρωσιν ("inuenerint" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,27. Lefèvre put *inueniant*.

4 *nos pudore suffundamur* καταισχυνθῶμεν ἡμεῖς ("erubescamus nos" Vg.). Cod. 2815 added καί before καταισχυνθῶμεν, together with cod. D* and a few later mss. See on 1 *Cor.* 4,14 for *pudore suffundo*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests the use of *pudefacio* as an alternative. For his treatment of *erubesco* elsewhere, see on *Rom.* 1,16. The Vulgate is more literal as to the word-order.

4 *vt ne dicam* ἵνα μή λέγωμεν ("vt non dicamus" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *vt ne*, see on *Rom.* 11,25. In converting plural to singular, he is less precise: cf. Ambrosiaster, *vt non dicam*, cited in *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *vt eis dicamus*, omitting the negative. Lefèvre changed the construction to *quod ... dicere non possimus*.

4 *hoc argumento* τῇ ὑποστάσει ταύτῃ ("in hac substantia" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Cor.* 11,17. At *Hebr.* 11,1, however, Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *substantia* for ὑπόστασις, and *argumentum* for ἔλεγχος. See *Annot.*

4 *gloriationis* τῆς καυχήσεως (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B C D* F G 048 and fifteen later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105,

⁵ ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἡγησάμην παρα-
καλέσαι τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἵνα προ-
έλθωσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, καὶ προκα-
ταρτίσωσι τὴν προκατηγγελμένην
εὐλογίαν ὑμῶν, ταύτην ἑτοίμην
εἶναι, οὕτως ὡς εὐλογίαν, καὶ
μὴ ὥσπερ πλεονεξίαν.

⁶ Τοῦτο δέ, ὁ σπείρων φει-
δομένως, φειδομένως καὶ θερίσει.
καὶ ὁ σπείρων ἐπ' εὐλογίαις,
ἐπ' εὐλογίαις καὶ θερίσει. ⁷ ἕκα-
στος καθὼς προαιρεῖται τῇ καρ-
δίᾳ, μὴ ἐκ λύπης ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης·

⁵ Proinde necessarium arbitratus sum
adhortari fratres, vt prius accederent
ad vos, et praepararent iam ante
promissam bonam collationem ve-
stram, vt ea sit in promptu, sic tan-
quam bona collatio, et non tanquam
fraudatio.

⁶ Illud autem *dico*: Qui sementem
facit parce, is parce messurus est. Et
qui sementem facit, libenter ac beni-
gne largiendo, copiose messurus est:
⁷ vnusquisque secundum propositum
cordis, non ex molestia aut necessitate:

9,5 αναγκαιον *C-E*: ανακγαιον *A B* | προκατηγγελμενην *A-D*: προκατηγγηλμενην *E* |
6 φειδομενως φειδομενως *B-E*: φειδομενως *A* | *alt.* θερισει *B-E*: θερεισει *A*

5 collationem *B-E*: collectam *A* | collatio *B-E*: collecta *A* | fraudatio *B-E*: auaritia *A* |
6 dico *B-E (ital.)*: dico *A (rom.)* | sementem facit parce, is parce *C-E*: seminat parciter, parciter
et *A B* | *alt.* sementem facit *C-E*: seminat *A B* | libenter ... copiose *C-E*: in benedictionibus, in
benedictionibus et *A*, in benignis collationibus, in benignis collationibus et *B* | 7 necessitate *E*:
ex necessitate *A-D*

2816, and also ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ 0209 and about 560
later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinische Briefe*
vol. 2, pp. 673-6). See *Annot.* This textual dis-
crepancy invites the question of whether these
words were added later so as to harmonise with
2 *Cor.* 11,17, or whether they were originally
part of the text but were accidentally omitted
by a few scribes. The phrase could be seen as
appropriate to the present context, in view
of the use of καύχημα in vs. 3. Manetti and
Lefèvre both added *gloriationis* (Manetti placing
it before *substantia*).

5 *Proinde necessarium* ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ("necessa-
rium ergo" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17. Lefèvre put
Necessarium itaque.

5 *arbitratus sum* ἡγησάμην ("existimaui" Vg.).
See on 1 *Cor.* 7,26. The rendering of Lefèvre
was *duxi.*

5 *adhortari* παρακαλέσαι ("rogare" Vg.). See
on 1 *Cor.* 4,16. Lefèvre proposed *hortari.*

5 *prius accederent* προέλθωσιν ("praeueniant"
Vg.). Erasmus may have felt that *accedo* was
more generally applicable to the whole journey
which was to be undertaken, whereas *praeuenio*
related more narrowly to the moment of arrival,
sometimes having the sense of "forestall" or
"anticipate". He retains *praeuenio* for the same

Greek verb at *Mc.* 6,33. See *Annot.* Erasmus also
substitutes imperfect for present subjunctive,
to match the Greek aorist tense. Ambrosiaster
had *precederent.*

5 *praepararent* προκαταρτίσωσι ("praeparent"
Vg.). See the previous note, for Erasmus' use
of the imperfect subjunctive. His rendering was
the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

5 *iam ante promissam* προκατηγγελμένην ("re-
promissam" Vg.). Erasmus conveys the force of
the Greek prefix, προ-. See *Annot.* The version
of Lefèvre had *ante promissam.*

5 *bonam collationem ... bona collatio* εὐλογίαν ...
εὐλογίαν ("benedictionem ... benedictionem"
Vg.; "bonam collectam ... bona collecta" 1516).
See on 1 *Cor.* 16,1, and *Annot.* The use of *collecta*
in 1516 was in accordance with Vulgate usage
in rendering λογία at 1 *Cor.* 16,1-2.

5 *vestram* ὑμῶν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-
sion has little support other than cod. D*. See
Annot. Erasmus' rendering agrees with that of
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (except that
Lefèvre had the word-order *hanc vestram bene-
dictionem*).

5 *vt ea sit in promptu* ταύτην ἑτοίμην εἶναι
("hanc paratam esse" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the

infinitive of purpose. See *Annot.* The adoption of *in promptu* is in accord with the Vulgate rendering of ἐν ἑτοίμῳ at 2 *Cor.* 10,6. Manetti had *paratam esse*, omitting *hanc.* Lefèvre put *hanc ... in promptu fore.*

5 *tanquam* (twice) ὡς ... ὥσπερ ("quasi" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 9,32, and *Annot.* The adoption of ὥσπερ in the Erasmian text is supported by hardly any mss. apart from cod. 2815. This poorly attested reading remained in the *Textus Receptus.* Most mss. have ὡς (twice), and this is how Erasmus cited the text in 1516 *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *vt* (twice).

5 *et non* καὶ μή ("non" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of καί in 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ * F G. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti made the same correction as Erasmus.

5 *fraudatio* πλεονεξίαν ("auaritiam" Vg.; "auaritia" 1516). Erasmus usually retains *auaritia* from the Vulgate. In *Annot.*, he argues that the Greek word, in this context, refers to the recipients rather than the donors of the collected money.

6 *Illud* Τοῦτο ("Hoc" Vg.). Erasmus uses *illud* to refer to a following statement: see on *Rom.* 6,6.

6 *dico.* Erasmus retains this word from the late Vulgate, together with some Vulgate mss., in order to supply a main verb. As it is not explicitly supported by the Greek text, he places it in italics (or smaller letters) in his 1519-35 editions. See *Annot.* This passage was listed in the 1527 edition of the *Quae Sint Addita.* Lefèvre substituted *est.*

6 *qui sementem facit parce ... qui sementem facit* ὁ σπείρων φειδομένως ... ὁ σπείρων ("qui parce seminat ... qui seminat" Vg.; "qui seminat parciter ... qui seminat" 1516-19). A similar substitution of *sementem facio* occurs at *Lc.* 8,5 (1519). Usually Erasmus retains *semino.* Possibly he wished to recall to mind the proverbial *vt sementem feceris, ita metes,* as quoted by Cicero (*De Oratore* 2, 261): see also *Adag., ASD* II, 2, pp. 297-8. His rendering is closer to the Greek word-order. The word *parciter,* adopted in 1516, was rare in classical usage, by comparison with *parce.*

6 *is parce* φειδομένως καί ("parce et" Vg.; "parciter et" 1516-19). Erasmus is less literal here, though by using *is,* he is able to retain the chiastic structure of the sentence and at the same time avoid the doubled *parce, parce.* For

parciter, used in 1516, see the previous note. The 1516 omission of φειδομένως (once) is no more than a printer's error, not supported by Erasmus' Basle mss.

6 *messurus est* (twice) θερίσει ("metet" Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for the future participle, see on *Rom.* 2,6.

6 *libenter ac benigne largiendo, copiose* ἐπ' εὐλογίαις, ἐπ' εὐλογίαις καί ("in benedictionibus, de benedictionibus et" Vg.; "in benedictionibus, in benedictionibus et" 1516; "in benignis collationibus, in benignis collationibus et" 1519). Erasmus, in 1522, adopts a form of paraphrase, designed to elucidate the meaning of εὐλογία, and to provide a clearer contrast with φειδομένως, or *parce.* See *Annot.*, and for the use of *collatio* in 1519, see on 1 *Cor.* 16,1. In leaving καί untranslated, the 1522 rendering was less precise: to match his use of *parce* earlier in the verse, Erasmus might have been expected to put *is copiose* here. Lefèvre made the same change as in Erasmus' 1516 edition, changing *de* to *in,* so as to correct the Vulgate inconsistency of prepositions.

7 *secundum propositum cordis* καθὼς προαιρεῖται τῇ καρδίᾳ ("prout destinauit in corde suo" late Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.* (in which he incorrectly cites ὡς instead of καθὼς), Erasmus' more free rendering follows the wording of Ambrosiaster, changing verb to noun. The Vulgate possibly reflects a Greek text substituting προῄρηται for προαιρεῖται, as in codd. ℵ B C F G and a few other mss., though the Vulgate additions of *in* and *suo* lack explicit Greek ms. support. Erasmus' use of the present tense, in his Greek text, is based on codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D 048 and most later mss. The version of Manetti had *sicut preelegit in corde,* and Lefèvre *vt proponit in corde.*

7 *molestia* λύπης ("tristitia" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Petr.* 2,19, and Erasmus also has this rendering at *Hebr.* 12,11. For his complete removal of *tristitia,* see on *Ioh.* 16,6.

7 *necessitate* ἐξ ἀνάγκης ("ex necessitate" 1516-27 = Vg.). It is uncertain whether this omission of *ex* in 1535 was accidental, or whether Erasmus had decided that the repetition of *ex* was superfluous. Cf. *Annot.*, where he criticises the recommendation of *ex indigentia* given by Valla *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti similarly omitted *ex.*

ἱλαρὸν γὰρ δότην ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεός. ⁸δυ-
νατὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς πᾶσαν χάριν περισσεῦ-
σαι εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν παντὶ πᾶσαν αὐτάρ-
κειαν ἔχοντες, περισσεύητε εἰς πᾶν ἔργον
ἀγαθόν· ⁹καθὼς γέγραπται, Ἐσκόρπι-
σεν, ἔδωκε τοῖς πένησιν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη
αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. ¹⁰ὁ δὲ ἐπι-
χορηγῶν σπέρμα τῷ σπείροντι, καὶ
ἄρτον εἰς βρῶσιν χορηγῆσαι, καὶ πλη-
θῦναι τὸν σπόρον ὑμῶν, καὶ αὐξῆσαι
τὰ γεννήματα τῆς δι | καιοσύνης ὑμῶν,
¹¹ἐν παντὶ πλουτιζόμενοι, εἰς πᾶσαν
ἀπλότητα, ἥτις κατεργάζεται δι' ἡμῶν
εὐχαριστίαν τῷ θεῷ. ¹²ὅτι ἡ διακο-
νία τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης οὐ μόνον
ἐστὶ προσαναπληροῦσα τὰ ὑστερήμα-
τα τῶν ἁγίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ περισσεύουσα

LB 783

nam hilarem datorem diligit deus.
⁸Potens est autem deus efficere, vt to-
tum beneficium in vos exuberet: vt in
omnibus omnem sufficientiam haben-
tes, exuberetis in omne opus bonum,
⁹quemadmodum scriptum est: Disper-
sit, dedit pauperibus, iustitia eius ma-
net in seculum. ¹⁰Porro qui suppe-
ditat semen se | minanti, is et panem
in cibum suppeditet, et multiplicet
sementem vestram, et augeat prouen-
tus iustitiae vestrae, ¹¹vt in omnibus
locupletemini, in omnem simplicita-
tem, quae per nos efficit, vt gratiae
agantur deo. ¹²Nam functio huius
ministerii non solum supplet ea quae
desunt sanctis, verum etiam exuberat

LB 784

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9 δικαιοσυνη *A C-E*: διακαιοσυνη *B*

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9 seculum *C-E*: saeculum *A B* | 10 semen *B-E*: *om. A* | is *B-E*: *om. A* | prouentus *B-E*:
prouentum *A* | 11 nos *B-E*: vos *A*

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7 *nam hilarem* ἱλαρὸν γὰρ ("hilarem enim"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

8 *efficere, vt totum beneficium in vos exuberet ...
exuberetis* πᾶσαν χάριν περισσεῦσαι εἰς ὑμᾶς
... περισσεύητε ("omnem gratiam abundare
facere in vobis ... abundetis" Vg.). Erasmus
avoids the double infinitive by changing the
construction. In substituting *vos* for *vobis*, he
is more accurate: see *Annot.* See further on *Act.*
3,12 for *efficio; Ioh.* 8,2 for *totus; 2 Cor.* 4,15 for
beneficium; and on *Rom.* 3,7 for *exubero.* Valla
Annot. suggested replacing *abundare facere* by
suppeditare. Manetti had *vt omnem gratiam abun-
dare faciat in vobis ... abundetis.*

8 *omnem* πᾶσαν ("semper omnem" Vg.). The
Vulgate reflects the addition of πάντοτε before
πᾶσαν (2nd.), as found in codd. 1, 2815, 2816
and nearly all other mss. Erasmus' omission of
πάντοτε is based on cod. 2817, supported by
cod. 2105, but by few other mss. apart from
F G. See *Annot.*

9 *quemadmodum* καθὼς ("sicut" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt.*

9 *seculum* τὸν αἰῶνα ("saeculum saeculi" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the

addition of τοῦ αἰῶνος in codd. F G and some
other mss. See *Annot.* The same change was
made by Manetti. The earlier Vulgate, Ambro-
siaster and Lefèvre put *aeternum.*

10 *Porro qui* ὁ δέ ("Qui autem" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 8,16.

10 *suppeditat ... suppeditet* ἐπιχορηγῶν ... χορη-
γῆσαι ("administrat ... praestabit" Vg.). Cod.
2815 had χωρηγῶν ... χωρηγῆσαι, with little
other ms. support. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus
cited the text as χορηγῶν ... χορηγῆσαι. The
Vulgate future tense may reflect the replacement
of χορηγῆσαι by χορηγήσει, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* B
C D* and about twenty other mss. In using
χορηγῆσαι (or -ήσαι), Erasmus follows cod.
2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as
ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ ᵛⁱᵈ Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and about 540 other mss. (see
Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 676-80).
A similar substitution of *suppedito* for *administro*
occurs in rendering χορηγέω at 1 *Petr.* 4,11.
See further on *Act.* 20,34, and *Annot.* For the
accentuation of χορηγῆσαι, see on πληθῦναι,
below. The rendering of Erasmus is the same
as that of Lefèvre. Valla *Annot.* suggested *ministrat
... ministret.*

10 *semen* σπέρμα (omitted in 1516 Lat.). The omission of *semen* from the 1516 rendering, in conflict with the adjacent Greek text, was probably caused by a typesetting error.

10 *is et* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). By inserting *is*, Erasmus ensures that the verb χορηγῆσαι is applied to ἄρτον rather than the following σπόρον.

10 *in cibum* εἰς βρῶσιν ("ad manducandum" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. For his avoidance of *manduco*, see also on *Ioh.* 4,31, and *Annot.* The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, while Manetti put *ad cibum.*

10 *multiplicet ... augeat* πληθῦναι ... αὐξῆσαι ("multiplicabit ... augebit" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of πληθυνεῖ ... αὐξήσει, with support from codd. ℵ* B C D* (cf. also πληθυνεῖ ... αὐξῆσαι in 𝔓⁴⁶, and πληθῦναι ... αὐξήσει in F G): see above on χορηγῆσαι, and *Annot.* It can also be observed that Erasmus accentuates the three Greek verbs as infinitives rather than as optatives, though the meaning is the same in this context. The original reading of the 1516 text was, inconsistently, χορηγῆσαι ... πληθῦναι ... αὐξῆσαι (optative, infinitive, optative), exactly as in cod. 2817. In the 1516 errata, Erasmus, or an assistant, chose to accentuate the first and last of these as infinitives, χορηγῆσαι and αὐξῆσαι, to conform with πληθῦναι: thereby coinciding with cod. 2816. In codd. 1 and 2815ᶜᵒʳʳ ᵛⁱᵈ, it is -ῆσαι ... -ῦναι ... -ῆσαι, and in cod. 2105 -ῆσαι ... -ῦναι ... -ῆσαι. The same change of rendering was adopted by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

10 *sementem* τὸν σπόρον ("semen" Vg.). This change is consistent with the Vulgate translation of σπόρος at *Mc.* 4,26, though Erasmus uses *semen* at that passage from 1522 onwards, and he also retains *semen* for σπόρος at *Lc.* 8,5, 11. At *Mc.* 4,27, he substitutes *seges.* At the present passage, the reason for the change is the need to distinguish σπόρος from σπέρμα, which occurs earlier in the verse. It is possible that the Vulgate followed a text which had σπόρον in both parts of this verse.

10 *prouentus* τὰ γεννήματα ("incrementa frugum" Vg.; "prouentum" 1516 Lat.). The Vulgate use of *incrementum* as well as *augeo* constitutes a redundant double rendering of αὐξάνω. The spelling γεννήματα was derived from cod. 2815, in company with cod. 2816. In codd. 1, 2105, 2817 and most other mss., it is γενήματα, as correctly cited in Valla *Annot.*, Lefèvre

and 1516 *Annot.* Elsewhere Erasmus sometimes prefers to use *fructus* for γέ(ν)νημα, replacing *genimen* at *Mt.* 26,29 (1519); *Mc.* 14,25, and replacing *generatio* at *Lc.* 22,18. See *Annot.* The rendering proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre was *genimina.*

11 *locupletemini* πλουτιζόμενοι ("locupletati abundetis" Vg.). Again the Vulgate offers a redundant double rendering. For Erasmus' treatment of πλουτίζω elsewhere, see on 1 *Cor.* 1,5, and for his removal of *abundo*, see on *Rom.* 3,7. See also *Annot.* Erasmus' wording agrees with that of Ambrosiaster (1492). In Valla *Annot.*, the suggested rendering was *locupletati* or *ditescentes*, omitting *abundetis*, and the first of these alternatives was adopted by Manetti. Lefèvre put *diuites sitis.*

11 *per nos efficit* κατεργάζεται δι' ἡμῶν ("operatur per nos" Vg.; "per vos efficit" 1516 Lat.). The Vulgate is more literal as to the word-order. The substitution of *efficio* for *operor* in rendering this Greek verb also occurs at *Iac.* 1,20. For Erasmus' removal of *operor*, see also on *Rom.* 1,27; 7,5. The substitution of *vos* for *nos* in 1516 may have been influenced by the presence of ὑμῶν in cod. 2815, together with cod. 2105, and also Cᶜᵒʳʳ and a few later mss.

11 *vt gratiae agantur* εὐχαριστίαν ("gratiarum actionem" Vg.). Erasmus achieves greater clarity by changing the construction. A comparable substitution of verb for noun occurs at 2 *Cor.* 4,15.

12 *Nam* ὅτι ("Quoniam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,24. Lefèvre had *quia.*

12 *functio huius ministerii* ἡ διακονία τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης ("ministerium huius officii" Vg.). Erasmus retains *officium* for λειτουργία at *Lc.* 1,23, and also substitutes *officium* for *obsequium* in rendering the same Greek word at *Phil.* 2,30. By using *ministerium* for λειτουργία here, and retaining *ministerium* for διακονία in vs. 13, he obscures the difference of meaning between the two. That he regarded these words as being virtually indistinguishable is also shown by his suggested rendering in *Annot.*, where he has *administratio huius ministerii.* Lefèvre put *ministratio huius obsequii.*

12 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed etiam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *sed et.*

12 *exuberat* περισσεύουσα ("abundat" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. Lefèvre had *redundat.* One ms.

διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ, [13] διὰ τῆς δοκιμῆς διακονίας ταύτης, δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἀπλότητι τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς πάντας, [14] καὶ αὐτῶν δεήσει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἐπιποθούντων ὑμᾶς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφ' ὑμῖν. [15] χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ αὐτοῦ δωρεᾷ.

10 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τῆς πρᾳότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπὼν δὲ θαρρῶ εἰς ὑμᾶς. [2] δέομαι δὲ τὸ μὴ παρὼν θαρρῆσαι

in hoc, quod per multos agantur gratiae deo, [13] qui per probationem ministerii huius, glorificant deum super obedientia consensus vestri in euangelium Christi, et de simplicitate communicationis in ipsos, et in omneis, [14] et in illorum oratione pro vobis, qui desiderant vos propter eminentem gratiam dei in vobis. [15] Gratia autem deo super inenarrabili suo munere.

10 Caeterum ipse ego Paulus obsecro vos per lenitatem et mansuetudinem Christi, qui iuxta faciem quidem humilis sum inter vos, absens tamen audax sum erga vos. [2] Rogo autem vos, ne praesens audeam

12 ευχαριστειν *A B C* D* E**: ευχαριστιων *C^{mg} D^{mg} E^{mg}*

13 super *B-E*: in *A* | de *B-E*: *om. A* | ipsos *B-E*: illos *A* | 14 desiderant *C-E*: desyderant videre *A*, desyderant *B* | 15 inenarrabili *B-E*: inerrabili *A*

of Manetti's version (*Pal. Lat.* 45) put *supplet*; the other ms. (*Urb. Lat.* 6) omitted the words *actionem deo … gratiarum* in vss. 11-12, through an error of homoeoteleuton at the start of a new page.

12 *in hoc, quod per multos agantur gratiae* διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστεῖν ("per multas gratiarum actiones" Vg.). Erasmus derives εὐχαριστεῖν from cod. 2817, with little other ms. support. The Vulgate follows a text replacing εὐχαριστεῖν with εὐχαριστιῶν, as found in nearly all mss. Erasmus acknowledged the existence of this other reading in 1519 *Annot.*, and when he also saw that it was used by the 1518 Aldine Bible, he elevated εὐχαριστιῶν to the margin of his 1522-35 editions of the Greek text.

12 *deo* τῷ θεῷ ("in domino" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti made the same change as Erasmus, while Ambrosiaster put *in deo*, and Lefèvre *in deum*.

13 *qui … glorificant* δοξάζοντες ("… glorificantes" Vg.). Erasmus clarifies the meaning by connecting δοξάζοντες with those who, in vs. 12, gave thanks to God. In the Vulgate, the subject of

glorificantes, less intelligibly, would appear to be *gratiarum actiones*. Lefèvre also put *glorificant*, but did not insert *qui*.

13 διακονίας. The omission of τῆς before διακονίας, in all of Erasmus' editions, seems to have no ms. support, and was possibly caused by a printer's error.

13 *super* ἐπί ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,10.

13 *consensus vestri* τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν ("confessionis vestrae" Vg.). Erasmus retains *confessio* at *Hebr.* 3,1; 10,23, while substituting *professio* in rendering the same Greek word at 1 *Tim.* 6,12-13; *Hebr.* 4,14 (all in 1519). In the present context, which has more to do with practical Christian charity than statements of belief, Erasmus felt that *consensu* was more appropriate. In *Annot.*, he interprets ὑποταγὴ τῆς ὁμολογίας as the equivalent of "unanimous obedience", and raises objections to Lefèvre's transposition of *obedientia confessionis* into *confessione subiectionis*.

13 *in euangelium* εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ("in euangelio" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of the

ablative lacks explicit Greek ms. support. Ma-
netti made the same correction as Erasmus.

13 *de simplicitate* ἁπλότητι ("simplicitate" 1516
= Vg.). By adding *de*, Erasmus makes clear the
connection of ἁπλότητι with the earlier ἐπί.
Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *in simplicitate*.
Manetti's version incorrectly put *simplicitatem*,
which would correspond with ἁπλότητα.

13 *communicationis* τῆς κοινωνίας ("commu-
nicationis vestrae" late Vg.). The late Vulgate
addition lacks Greek ms. support. In omitting
vestrae, Erasmus agreed with the earlier Vulgate,
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre. In Lefèvre's
rendering, *communionis* was further substituted
for *communicationis*.

13 *ipsos* αὑτούς ("illos" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus
substitutes a reflexive pronoun to show that
it refers back to the subject of *glorificant*. Ma-
netti anticipated this change, while Lefèvre put
eos.

13 *omneis* πάντας ("omnes" Vg.). See on
2 *Cor.* 2,5.

14 *illorum ... qui desiderant* αὐτῶν ... ἐπι-
ποθούντων ("ipsorum ... desiderantium" Vg.;
"illorum ... qui desyderant videre" 1516). For
the removal of *ipse*, see on *Rom.* 1,20. In 1519,
Erasmus reintroduces *ipse* at an earlier point,
by substituting *ipsos* for *illos* in vs. 13. His
addition of *videre* in 1516 was prompted by
Ambrosiaster, who inserted *videre* after *desideran-
tium vos* (not after *desiderantium*, as incorrectly
quoted by Erasmus in *Annot.*). Lefèvre put
eorum ... bene affectorum ad.

14 *oratione* δεήσει ("obsecratione" Vg.). A simi-
lar change, in 1516 only, occurs at 1 *Tim.* 5,5,
in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 1,11;
Phil. 1,19; 2 *Tim.* 1,3. In rendering δέησις at
other passages in 1516, Erasmus sometimes
replaced *obsecratio* by *deprecatio* (see on *Rom.*
10,1). In 1519, this was one of only two pas-
sages where Erasmus allowed *oratio* to remain
in the translation, in the sense of "prayer", as
he usually replaced it by *precatio* or *deprecatio*:
see on *Act.* 1,14. Ambrosiaster had *orationes*,
Manetti *deprecatione*, and Lefèvre *supplicatione*
(placed after *pro vobis*).

14 ὑμῶν. Codd. 2815 and 2816 read ἡμῶν,
together with ℵ * B and a few later mss.

15 *Gratia* χάρις ("Gratias ago" late Vg.). See
on 2 *Cor.* 8,16, and *Annot.* The same change
was made by Manetti, while Lefèvre began the
sentence with *Sit autem gratia*.

15 *autem* δέ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission
is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B C* D* F G 048 and
a few later mss. In 1516 *Annot.*, in a note which
was misplaced in ch. 10, Erasmus omitted δέ
from his citation of this passage. His continu-
ous Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817,
alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Cᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ
Iᵛⁱᵈ 0209 and most later mss. Both Manetti and
Lefèvre added *autem* (see the previous note for
Lefèvre's word-order).

15 *suo munere* αὐτοῦ δωρεᾷ ("dono eius" Vg.).
Usually Erasmus puts *donum* for δωρεά, except
at one passage where he prefers *donatio* (*Eph.*
4,7). For the distinction of meaning between
donum and *munus*, see Valla *Elegantiae*, VI, 39;
Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD*
I, 4, p. 278, ll. 976-979.

10,1 *Caeterum ipse* Αὐτὸς δέ ("Ipse autem"
Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2. Lefèvre began the sentence
with *Ego autem ipse*.

1 *lenitatem* τῆς πραότητος ("mansuetudinem"
Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,21.

1 *mansuetudinem* ἐπιεικείας ("modestiam" Vg.).
See on *Act.* 24,4. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also
suggests *comitatem*, *facilitatem* and *humanita-
tem*. Lefèvre substituted *clementiam*.

1 *iuxta faciem* κατὰ πρόσωπον ("in facie"
Vg.). Erasmus similarly uses *iuxta faciem* instead
of *in faciem* at *Gal.* 2,11 (1516 only). He follows
the Vulgate in rendering this Greek phrase by
ante faciem at *Lc.* 2,31, and by *praesentes* at *Act.*
25,16, but uses *in conspectu* at *Act.* 3,13 (see *ad
loc.*); 2 *Cor.* 10,7; and *palam* at *Gal.* 2,11 (1519).
See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *secundum
faciem*, consistent with the Vulgate rendering of
κατὰ πρόσωπον in vs. 7.

1 *tamen* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

1 *audax sum* θαρρῶ ("confido" Vg.). Since
Erasmus also uses *audax sum* for τολμάω in
vs. 2, he in effect removes any difference of
meaning between τολμάω and θαρρέω. See on
2 *Cor.* 5,6, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre
replaced *humilis ... confido* with *humilis videor ...
audere*.

1 *erga vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" Vg.). Erasmus
is more accurate. See on *Act.* 3,25, and *Annot.*
The rendering of Lefèvre was *in vos*.

2 *autem vos* δέ. Erasmus follows the late Vulgate
in adding *vos*, as an object for *rogo*. Cf. *Annot.*
The added pronoun was deleted by Manetti
and Lefèvre. In Lefèvre's version, *inquam* was
further substituted for *autem*.

τῇ πεποιθήσει, ᾗ λογίζομαι τολμῆ-
σαι ἐπί τινας τοὺς λογιζομένους ἡμᾶς
ὡς κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντας· ³ἐν
σαρκὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦντες, οὐ κατὰ
σάρκα στρατευόμεθα. ⁴τὰ γὰρ ὅπ-
λα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν οὐ σαρκικά,
ἀλλὰ δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ πρὸς καθαί-
ρεσιν ὀχυρωμάτων, λογισμοὺς καθ-
αιροῦντες, ⁵καὶ πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρό-
μενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ,
καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νόημα εἰς
LB 785 τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, | ⁶καὶ
ἐν ἑτοίμῳ ἔχοντες ἐκδικῆσαι πᾶσαν
παρακοήν, ὅταν πληρωθῇ ὑμῶν ἡ
ὑπακοή.

ea fiducia, qua cogito audax fuisse in
quosdam, qui putant nos veluti secun-
dum carnem ambulare: ³nam in carne
ambulantes, non secundum carnem
militamus. ⁴Siquidem arma militiae
nostrae non carnalia sunt, sed potentia
deo, ad demolitionem munitionum,
quibus consilia demolimur, ⁵et om-
nem celsitudinem quae extollitur ad-
uersus cognitionem dei, et captiuam
ducimus | omnem cogitationem ad   LB 786
obediendum Christo, ⁶et in promptu
habemus vindictam aduersus omnem
inobedientiam, quum impleta fuerit
vestra obedientia.

10,3 ου *B-E*: ουκ *A*

10,2 cogito *E*: existimor *A-D* | 4 sunt *B-E*: *om. A* | consilia *B-E*: munitiones *A* | 5 extol-
litur *B-E*: sustollitur *A* | cognitionem *B-E*: scientiam *A* | ducimus *A B D E*: dicimus *C* |
ad obediendum Christo *B-E*: in obedientiam Christi *A* | 6 aduersus *B-E*: in *A* | inobedien-
tiam *Aᶜ B-E*: obedientiam *A**

2 *ea fiducia* τῇ πεποιθήσει ("per eam confiden-
tiam" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 1,15 for *fiducia*. By
removing *per*, Erasmus gives a more literal ren-
dering. Cf. Ambrosiaster, *per fiduciam*. Lefèvre
put *ea confidentia*.

2 *cogito* λογίζομαι ("existimor" 1516-27 = late
Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "existimo"
some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). See on *Rom.* 2,3, and
Annot. The late Vulgate rendering creates an
inconsistency between λογίζομαι, here treated
as a passive, and λογιζομένους, only a few
words later, treated as being in the middle
voice. Manetti put *existimo*, and Lefèvre *putor*.

2 *audax fuisse* τολμῆσαι ("audere" Vg.). Usually
Erasmus retains *audeo* for τολμάω: see on vs. 1
for the removal of any distinction here between
τολμάω and θαρρέω. One way of indicating
a small difference of meaning would have been
to leave *audere* unchanged at this point, but to
replace *audeam* by *audax sim* in rendering θαρ-
ρῆσαι earlier in the verse. A further problem
affecting the 1535 translation of the passage
is that, after the replacement of *existimor* by
cogito, Erasmus' use of the perfect infinitive,
fuisse, is inconsistent with his exposition in

Annot., where he understands Paul as warning
of the "boldness" which he would use in the
future, and not merely as speaking of the past.

2 *qui putant* τοὺς λογιζομένους ("qui arbi-
trantur" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests
using *cogitant* or *aestimant*. He does not elsewhere
use *puto* for λογίζομαι, though he sometimes
has *reputo*: cf. on *Rom.* 2,3, and see on *cogito*,
above. Lefèvre put *qui arbitrati sunt*.

2 *veluti* ὡς ("tanquam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.
In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests *quasi*. Lefèvre had
perinde ac.

2 *ambulare* περιπατοῦντας ("ambulemus" Vg.).
By substituting the infinitive, Erasmus adopts
a more elegant construction, which was offered
by Ambrosiaster. A more literal translation,
using a present participle, results in ambiguity,
though this did not deter Manetti and Lefèvre
from putting *ambulantes*.

3 *nam in carne* ἐν σαρκὶ γὰρ ("In carne enim"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Erasmus again has the
same wording as Ambrosiaster.

3 *non* οὐ ("non tamen" Vg. 1527). The addi-
tion of *tamen* in the 1527 Vulgate column,

following the Froben Vulgate of 1514, lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

4 *Siquidem* γάρ ("Nam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34; 4,47. Ambrosiaster and Manetti began the sentence with *Arma enim*.

4 *non carnalia sunt* ού σαρκικά ("non carnalia" 1516 = Vg. mss.). In 1516, Erasmus was more literal in omitting the verb, in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

4 *demolitionem ... demolimur* καθαίρεσιν ... καθαιροῦντες ("destructionem ... destruentes" Vg.). The substitution of *demolitio*, which was prompted by Valla *Annot.*, has a more specific application to the present context, referring to the pulling down of something which has been built up. Erasmus is content with *destructio* in vs. 8, and also at 2 *Cor.* 13,10. For *demolior*, see on *Act.* 6,14. By using the present indicative, first person plural, Erasmus clarifies the meaning, as the masculine participle (both in Greek and in Latin) here lacks an explicit subject. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *euersionem ... subuertimus*.

4 *quibus* (Vg. omits). Erasmus' addition is designed to connect *arma* with *demolimur*, though it results in some ambiguity as the reader is likely, at first, to misunderstand *quibus* as relating to the immediately preceding noun, *munitionum*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus is more explicit, putting *quibus armis*.

4 *consilia* λογισμούς ("munitiones" 1516 Lat.). The 1516 rendering was undoubtedly a misprint, influenced by the proximity of *munitionum*. From *Annot.*, it appears that what Erasmus intended in 1516 was *cogitationes*, used by Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre. In 1519, Erasmus restored the Vulgate reading, *consilia*, possibly so as to preserve a distinction between λογισμός and νόημα, which is rendered by *cogitatio* in vs. 5.

5 *celsitudinem* ύψωμα ("altitudinem" Vg.). The more emphatic term *celsitudo* does not occur elsewhere in Erasmus' N.T. It was relatively uncommon in classical authors, but was used in later Latin to refer to persons of high rank. The adoption of this word contributed to an elegant alliterative sequence: *cogitationes* (in 1516 *Annot.*) ... *celsitudinem ... captiuam ... cogitationem ... Christo*, enhanced in 1519 by the substitution of *cognitionem* for *scientiam*.

5 *quae extollitur* ἐπαιρόμενον ("extollentem se" Vg.; "quae sustollitur" 1516). Erasmus here preserves the ambiguity of the Greek participle, which can be understood in either a passive or a reflexive sense. However, at 2 *Cor.* 11,20, rendering ἐπαίρεται, he substitutes *attollit sese* for *extollitur*. In *Annot.* on the present passage, he suggests using *insurgentem* or *qui attollitur*. In 1516, *sustollitur* was perhaps adopted for alliterative effect, in conjunction with *scientiam*. Erasmus elsewhere uses *sustollo* for ἐπαίρω at 1 *Tim.* 2,8, and for ἐξαίρω at 1 *Cor.* 5,13 (1516 only). Lefèvre put *eleuatam*.

5 *cognitionem* τῆς γνώσεως ("scientiam" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,20. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

5 *captiuam ducimus* αἰχμαλωτίζοντες ("in captiuitatem redigentes" Vg.). This substitution avoids the more cumbersome prepositional phrase, and is consistent with Vulgate usage in rendering αἰχμαλωτίζω at *Lc.* 21,24, and αἰχμαλωτεύω at *Eph.* 4,8; 2 *Tim.* 3,6. Erasmus retains *in captiuitatem duco* for αἰχμαλωσίαν συνάγω at *Ap. Ioh.* 13,10. See also on *Rom.* 7,23 for his use of *captiuum reddo.* Manetti adopted the non-classical word, *captiuantes*, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 7,23, while Lefèvre had *in captiuitatem redigimus*.

5 *cogitationem* νόημα ("intellectum" Vg.). This change is consistent with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 2,11, though in rendering the same Greek word at 2 *Cor.* 4,4; *Phil.* 4,7, Erasmus prefers *sensus*. See on 2 *Cor.* 4,4, and see also *Annot.* Elsewhere he occasionally uses *intellectus* for νοῦς and σύνεσις. Lefèvre put *intelligentiam*.

5 *ad obediendum Christo* εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("in obsequium Christi" Vg.; "in obedientiam Christi" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus omits τήν, contrary to his Basle mss. His rendering is more literal here, but clearer, as he prevents *Christi* from being misunderstood as a subjective genitive. See on *Rom.* 1,5. The version of Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition (cf. Ambrosiaster, *ad obedientiam Christi*).

6 *habemus* ἔχοντες ("habentes" Vg.). See on *demolimur* in vs. 4. Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *vindictam aduersus* ἐκδικῆσαι ("vlcisci" Vg.; "vindictam in" 1516). Erasmus is less literal, in substituting noun for verb. He perhaps considered *vindicta* more suitable, as implying punishment and not only revenge. This

⁷Τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον βλέπετε; εἴ
τις πέποιθεν ἑαυτῷ, Χριστοῦ εἶναι,
τοῦτο λογιζέσθω πάλιν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ,
ὅτι καθὼς αὐτὸς Χριστοῦ, οὕτως
καὶ ἡμεῖς Χριστοῦ.   ⁸ἐάν τε γὰρ
καὶ περισσότερόν τι καυχήσωμαι
περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἡμῶν, ἧς ἔδωκεν
ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν εἰς οἰκοδομήν, καὶ
οὐκ εἰς καθαίρεσιν ὑμῶν, οὐ κατ-
αισχυνθήσομαι,   ⁹ἵνα μὴ δόξω ὡς
ἂν ἐκφοβεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶν ἐπιστο-
λῶν·   ¹⁰ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἐπιστολαί, φησί,

⁷Quae in conspectu sunt, videtis?
Si quis de se ipso confidit, quod
Christi sit, illud rursum perpendat
ex se ipso, quod quemadmodum
ipse Christi est, ita et nos Christi
sumus.   ⁸Nam si et amplius quip-
piam glorier de potestate nostra,
quam dedit dominus nobis in aedi-
ficationem, et non in destructionem
vestri, non pudefiam,   ⁹ne videar
ceu perterrefacere vos per episto-
las.   ¹⁰Nam epistolae quidem, inquit,

7 *alt.* χριστου *B-E:* χρρστου *A* | ημεις *B-E:* υμεις *A* | 8 ου *B-E:* ουκ *A*

7 Quae *A** *B-E:* Quae fuit *Aᶜ* | videtis? *B-E:* videte. *A*

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establishes a clearer link with 2 *Cor.* 7,11, where
Erasmus followed the Vulgate in using *vindicta*
for ἐκδίκησις. Ambrosiaster put *vindicare*, and
Lefèvre *vlcisci posse.*

7 *Quae* Τά ("Quae fuit" 1516 Lat., errata). The
correction proposed in the 1516 errata is gram-
matically impossible, unless the following *sunt*
is omitted. This error seems to have arisen from
the fact that the 1516 Latin text has a comma
rather than a full-stop after *obedientia* at the end
of vs. 6 (*obedientia, quae ...*). The insertion of
fuit presupposes that *quae* is a feminine singular,
whereas the accompanying Greek text shows
that it should be a neuter plural. Whether this
mistake was made by Erasmus or an assistant
cannot be ascertained.

7 *in conspectu* κατὰ πρόσωπον ("secundum
faciem" Vg.). See on vs. 1, and *Annot.*

7 *videtis?* βλέπετε; ("videte." 1516 = Vg.). The
choice between indicative and imperative is
dependent on the presence or absence of a
question-mark in the Greek text: in *Annot.*,
relying on the text and scholia of cod. 2817,
Erasmus asserts that the Greek mss. present the
text as a question. Valla *Annot.*, more cautiously,
said that this was true of "most of the Greeks"
("plaerique graecorum"). There was further dis-
cussion of this point in Erasmus' *Apolog. resp.
Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, pp. 194-6, ll. 536-
543. Among the Basle mss., only cod. 2817
clearly reads a question-mark here: in codd. 1
and 2815, it is a colon, in cod. 2105ᵛⁱᵈ a comma,

and in cod. 2816 a full-stop. Lefèvre had *videtis*
with a full-stop.

7 *de se ipso confidit* πέποιθεν ἑαυτῷ ("confidit"
Vg. 1527; "confidit sibi" Vg. mss.). The 1527
Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgates of
1491 and 1514 in omitting *sibi*. Erasmus' use
of *de* ("concerning") gives a more neutral in-
terpretation of this Greek expression, which
might otherwise have been thought to refer
to an arrogant or self-confident form of belief.
Cf. 2 *Cor.* 1,9, πεποιθότες ... ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς. By
adding *ipso*, he renders the reflexive pronoun
more emphatically. Manetti put *confidit sibi ipsi*,
and Lefèvre *sibiipsi suasit.*

7 *quod Christi sit* Χριστοῦ εἶναι ("Christi se
esse" Vg.). By this change, Erasmus avoids the
need for a repetition of *se*. Lefèvre similarly put
quod sit Christi. Manetti had *se Christi esse.*

7 *illud* τοῦτο ("hoc" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of
illud to refer to a following statement, see on
Rom. 6,6. Lefèvre omitted the word.

7 *rursum perpendat* λογιζέσθω πάλιν ("cogitet
iterum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,10 for *rursum*, and
on *Ioh.* 11,50 for *perpendo*. Erasmus again avoids
cogito at vs. 11, where he substitutes *reputo*. The
Vulgate is more literal as to the word-order.
Lefèvre put *cogitet rursus.*

7 *ex se ipso* ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ("apud se" Vg.). Cf.
on 2 *Cor.* 3,5, where Erasmus replaces *cogitare
a nobis* with *ex nobis ipsis cogitare*. See also *Annot.*
The phrase *apud se* would have been more
suitable for ἐν ἑαυτῷ (cf. *Ioh.* 6,61). Possibly

the Vulgate reflects the substitution of ἐφ᾽ for ἀφ᾽, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B and a few later mss. The version of Manetti had *a se ipso*, and Lefèvre *apud seipsum*.

7 *quod* (2nd.) ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt*.

7 ἡμεῖς. The reading ὑμεῖς, in 1516, was derived from cod. 2815, with little or no other ms. support, and in disagreement with Erasmus' Latin version.

7 *Christi sumus* Χριστοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B C D* F G and some other mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2816, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ 0209 and most later mss. In 1519 *Annot.*, he suggested that Χριστοῦ could have been an explanatory addition (i.e. by scribes). This would, in some respects, be comparable with *Col.* 3,13 (καθώς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς), where codd. D* F G add ποιεῖτε after ὑμεῖς, to expand the implied meaning. However, it remains possible that some scribes deleted Χριστοῦ because they thought it was superfluous after καθώς αὐτὸς Χριστοῦ in the previous clause. The rendering of Manetti had just *Christi*.

8 *Nam si et* ἐάν τε γὰρ καί ("Nam et si" Vg.). The Vulgate may correspond with ἐάν τε γάρ (omitting καί) in ℵ * C D* and some later mss., or ἐὰν γὰρ καί in cod. H, and also in cod. 2105. In 𝔓⁴⁶ B F G, it is just ἐὰν γάρ, while cod. 2816 has ἐάν τι γάρ, and cod. 0209 ἐάν τι γὰρ καί. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with cod. 1, as well as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. If authentic, this would be the only instance of ἐάν τε γὰρ καί in the whole N.T., though an example of ἐάν τε γάρ (without καί) is found at *Rom.* 14,8. The version of Manetti put *Siue enim*, and Lefèvre *Tametsi enim*.

8 *quippiam* τι ("aliquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,7. Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

8 *glorier* καυχήσωμαι ("gloriatus fuero" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal, though either rendering is legitimate. He again adopts the same wording as Lefèvre.

8 *dominus nobis* ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν ("nobis dominus" late Vg.). The word-order of the late Vulgate has little Greek ms. support. A few mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B C D* H, omit

ἡμῖν (cod. D* has ὁ θεός), in company with the early Vulgate. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2816, with ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. (cod. 2105 has μοι ὁ κύριος). For another textual variation involving the removal of a doubled pronoun, see on 2 *Cor.* 1,8 (θλίψεως ἡμῶν τῆς γενομένης ἡμῖν). Manetti placed *nobis* before *dedit*.

8 *vestri* ὑμῶν ("vestram" Vg.). This substitution makes clear that the Greek word is an objective genitive. Ambrosiaster had the same rendering as Erasmus.

8 *non pudefiam* οὐ καταισχυνθήσομαι ("non erubescam" Vg.). Erasmus' Greek text here follows cod. 2817, supported by 2105, 2816 and a few other mss. The 1516 edition has an incorrect spelling, οὐκ καταισχυνθήσομαι. In codd. 1ᶜᵒʳʳ, 2815 and most other mss., it is οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσομαι. For *pudefiam*, see on *Rom.* 5,5. Lefèvre put *non confundar*.

9 *ne videar* ἵνα μὴ δόξω ("vt autem non existimer" Vg.). Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 8,2 for *video*, and see on *Ioh.* 3,20 for *ne*. The Vulgate addition of *autem* corresponds with the insertion of δέ after ἵνα in cod. H and some later mss. The version of Manetti had *vt non videar*, and Lefèvre *vt non existimer* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *vt non existimemur*).

9 *ceu* ὡς ἄν ("tanquam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,5.

9 *perterrefacere* ἐκφοβεῖν ("terrere" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to convey the added force of the Greek prefix, ἐκ-. His chosen verb, *perterrefacio*, is rare in classical usage; a better alternative might have been *perterreo*. In translating ἔκφοβος at *Mc.* 9,6; *Hebr.* 12,21, he uses *expauefactus*. Lefèvre put *deterrens*.

10 *Nam* ὅτι ("Quoniam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,24. Lefèvre put *quandoquidem* for *Quoniam quidem*.

10 *epistolae quidem* αἱ μὲν ἐπιστολαί ("quidem epistolae" Vg.). Erasmus' word-order gives the emphasis of the Greek particle, μέν, more precisely. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti's version omitted *quidem*, while Lefèvre transposed *epistolae* after *inquiunt*.

10 *inquit* φησί ("inquiunt" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with φασίν, as in cod. B. As pointed out in *Annot.*, the unexpected singular, φησί, can be explained by reference to τις ... λογιζέσθω and λογιζέσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος in vss. 7 and 11.

βαρεῖαι καὶ ἰσχυραί, ἡ δὲ παρουσία
τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενής, καὶ ὁ λόγος
ἐξουθενημένος. ¹¹τοῦτο λογιζέσθω ὁ
τοιοῦτος, ὅτι οἷοί ἐσμεν τῷ λόγῳ
δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἀπόντες, τοιοῦτοι καὶ
παρόντες τῷ ἔργῳ. ¹²οὐ γὰρ τολ-
μῶμεν ἐγκρῖναι ἢ συγκρῖναι ἑαυτούς
τισι τῶν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστανόντων·
ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς με-
τροῦντες, καὶ συγκρίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς
ἑαυτοῖς, οὐ συνιοῦσιν. ¹³ἡμεῖς δὲ
οὐχὶ εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα καυχησόμεθα,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανό-
νος οὗ ἐμέρισεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός, μέτρου
ἐφικέσθαι ἄχρι καὶ ὑμῶν. ¹⁴οὐ γὰρ
ὡς μὴ ἐφικνούμενοι εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὑπερ-
εκτείνομεν ἑαυτούς· ἄχρι γὰρ καὶ
ὑμῶν ἐφθάσαμεν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ¹⁵οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα

graues sunt et robustae, at praesentia
corporis infirma, et sermo contem-
ptus. ¹¹Hoc reputet qui istiusmodi
est, quod quales sumus sermone per
epistolas, quum absumus, tales sumus
et quum adsumus, facto. ¹²Non enim
sustinemus inserere, aut conferre nos
ipsos cum quibusdam, qui se ipsos
commendant. Sed isti non intelligunt,
quod ipsi inter sese se ipsos metiuntur,
et comparant semet sibi. ¹³At nos non
in immensum gloriabimur, verum iu-
xta mensuram regulae, qua partitus est
nobis deus, mensura pertingendi etiam
vsque vos. ¹⁴Non enim quasi non
pertingamus vsque ad vos, extendimus
nos ipsos supra modum. Nam vsque
ad vos quoque peruenimus in euan-
gelio Christi, ¹⁵non in immensum

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13 ημεις *B-E*: υμεις *A* | ημιν ο θεος *B-E*: ο θεος ημιν *A* | 14 εφικνουμενοι *B-E*: φικνουμενοι *A*

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12 sustinemus *B-E*: audemus *A* | isti non intelligunt, quod *B-E*: om. *A* | metiuntur, et com-
parant *B-E* (metiuntur, et cōparant *B D E*, metiuntur, et conparant *C)*: metientes, et comparan-
tes *A* | sibi *B-E*: sibi, non intelligunt *A*

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10 *robustae* ἰσχυραί ("fortes" Vg.). See on
1 *Cor.* 1,25.

10 *at praesentia* ἡ δὲ παρουσία ("praesentia
autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

10 *contemptus* ἐξουθενημένος ("contemptibilis"
Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 1,28, and *Annot.*

11 *reputet* λογιζέσθω ("cogitet" Vg.). See on
Act. 19,27; *Rom.* 8,18, for *reputo.* In vs. 7, above,
Erasmus replaced *cogito* by *perpendo.* Ambrosi-
aster and the main text of Lefèvre put *estimet.*
In Lefèvre *Comm.*, it was *existimet.*

11 *qui istiusmodi est* ὁ τοιοῦτος ("qui eius-
modi est" Vg.). This change was, no doubt,
intended to inject a more pejorative tone. See
on 2 *Cor.* 2,6. Manetti put *qui talis est.*

11 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20.
Lefèvre made the same change.

11 *sermone* τῷ λόγῳ ("verbo" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 1,1. Erasmus again has the same rendering
as Lefèvre.

11 *quum absumus* ἀπόντες ("absentes" Vg.).
This change of construction gives a clearer
sense. See on 2 *Cor.* 1,7. Lefèvre changed the
word-order to *per epistolas sumus absentes.*

11 *tales sumus* τοιοῦτοι ("tales" Vg.). Erasmus
adds a verb, again for the sake of clarity. His
wording was the same as that of Ambrosiaster
and Manetti.

11 *quum adsumus* παρόντες ("praesentes" Vg.).
This substitution balances the adoption of
quum absumus earlier in the sentence: see above.
However, the sequence *sumus ... absumus ...
sumus ... adsumus* appears unduly repetitious.

11 *facto* τῷ ἔργῳ ("in facto" Vg.). The Vulgate
addition of *in* lacks explicit support from
Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *opere*
(cf. Ambrosiaster, *in opere*).

12 *sustinemus* τολμῶμεν ("audemus" 1516
= Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,7, and *Annot.*

12 *conferre* συγκρῖναι ("comparare" Vg.). This
change seems to be partly for the sake of

stylistic variety, in view of the use of *comparo* to render the same Greek verb later in the verse. Cf. *Annot.*

12 *nos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("nos" Vg.). Erasmus renders the reflexive pronoun more emphatically. Lefèvre made the same change, but placed *nos ipsos* after *audemus*. Ambrosiaster put *nosmet ipsos*.

12 *cum quibusdam* τισι ("quibusdam" Vg.). Erasmus' addition of *cum* is questionable, as it makes *quibusdam* an ablative, whereas the previous verb, *inserere*, requires a dative.

12 ἀλλά. Codd. 2105, 2816, 2817 had the elided form, ἀλλ', as in D* H 0209 and some later mss.

12 *isti non intelligunt, quod ipsi ... metiuntur, et comparant semet sibi* αὐτοὶ ... μετροῦντες, καὶ συγκρίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς, οὐ συνιοῦσιν ("ipsi ... metientes, et comparantes nosmet ipsos nobis" Vg.; "ipsi ... metientes, et comparantes semet sibi, non intelligunt" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the omission of οὐ συνιοῦσιν, as in codd. D* F G. See *Annot.* In his 1519 rendering, Erasmus brings the verb forward and creates a new clause, for greater clarity. He further listed the passage among the *Loca Obscura*. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre both added *non intelligunt*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition, though they replaced *nosmet ipsos nobis* by *seipsos secum* and *nosipsos seipsis*, respectively. Both mss. of Manetti's version replaced *nosmet ipsos* by *vosmet ipsos*.

12 *inter sese se ipsos* ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑαυτούς ("in nobis nosmet ipsos" Vg.). The change into the third person is dictated by the presence of συνιοῦσιν: see the previous note. For *inter*, see on *Ioh.* 15,24, and see on *Ioh.* 7,35 for *sese*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also gives the rendering *in seipsis seipsos*. Valla *Annot.* proposed *se apud se*, while Lefèvre put *in seipsis nosipsos*.

13 *At nos* ἡμεῖς δέ ("Nos autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

13 *verum* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

13 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

13 *partitus est* ἐμέρισεν ("mensus est" Vg.). The Vulgate incorrectly takes ἐμέρισεν as the equivalent of ἐμέτρησεν, a reading which occurs in a few late mss. See *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus was the same as that of Ambrosiaster. The version of Lefèvre had *diuisit*.

13 *nobis deus* ἡμῖν ὁ θεός. In 1516, Erasmus' Greek text had ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν, from cod. 2815, with little other ms. support, and contrary to the word-order of his Latin translation.

13 *mensura* μέτρου ("mensuram" Vg.). Erasmus connects μέτρου closely with the preceding οὗ, as if to say "with which measure", whereas the Vulgate seems to treat μέτρου as the object of ἐμέρισεν. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti made the same substitution.

13 *etiam vsque* ἄχρι καί ("vsque ad" Vg.). As mentioned in *Annot.*, the Vulgate leaves καί untranslated (as also occurs in the Vulgate rendering of vs. 14). Usually Erasmus prefers *vsque ad* rather than just *vsque*. In vs. 14, he twice has *vsque ad vos*. Manetti put *ad*, while Lefèvre finished the sentence with *ad vos vsque pertingendi*.

14 *pertingamus* ἐφικνούμενοι ("pertingentes" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus retains the participle after *quasi*, e.g. at 2 *Cor.* 6,9-10. Codd. 2105 and 2815 had ἀφικνούμενοι, with little other ms. support. The spelling φικνούμενοι in 1516 was a typesetting error. Manetti had *pertingendi*, and Lefèvre *pertigerimus* (placed after *vos*).

14 *vsque ad* (1st.) εἰς ("ad" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal. Erasmus, who uses the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, makes no distinction here between ἄχρι and εἰς.

14 *extendimus ... supra modum* ὑπερεκτείνομεν ("superextendimus" Vg.). The Vulgate verb, *superextendo*, does not exist in classical literature. Erasmus elsewhere uses *supra modum* in rendering several other Greek expressions: λίαν at *Mt.* 8,28; ὑπεραίρομαι at 2 *Cor.* 12,7; περίλυπος at *Mt.* 26,38 (1516 only); περισσῶς at *Mc.* 10,26; λίαν ἐκ περισσοῦ at *Mc.* 6,51; ὑπερπερίσσως at *Mc.* 7,37; ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ at 1 *Thess.* 3,10; ὑπερπλεονάζω at 1 *Tim.* 1,14, in accordance with Vulgate usage in rendering ὑπερβαλλόντως at 2 *Cor.* 11,23; and καθ' ὑπερβολήν at 2 *Cor.* 1,8; 4,17; *Gal.* 1,13.

14 *nos ipsos* ἑαυτούς ("nos" Vg.). As elsewhere, Erasmus gives a more emphatic rendering of the reflexive pronoun. Lefèvre made the same change.

14 *Nam vsque ad vos quoque* ἄχρι γὰρ καὶ ὑμῶν ("Vsque ad vos enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34 for *nam*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus has ὑμᾶς for ὑμῶν. The Vulgate leaves καί untranslated, as in the previous verse: see *Annot.* The version of Ambrosiaster had *Nam vsque ad vos* (without *quoque*), and Lefèvre *Nam et ad vos vsque*.

καυχώμενοι ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις κόποις, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες, αὐξανομένης τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ἐν ὑμῖν, μεγαλυνθῆναι κατὰ τὸν κανόνα ἡμῶν εἰς περισσείαν, | ¹⁶εἰς τὰ ὑπερέκεινα ὑμῶν εὐαγγελίσασθαι, οὐκ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κανόνι εἰς τὰ ἕτοιμα καυχήσασθαι. ¹⁷ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος, ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω. ¹⁸οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἑαυτὸν συνιστῶν, ἐκεῖνός ἐστι δόκιμος, ἀλλ' ὃν ὁ κύριος συνίστησιν.

11 ”Οφελον ἀνείχεσθέ μου μικρὸν τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνέχεσθέ μου· ²ζηλῶ γὰρ

gloriantes super alienis laboribus: sperantes futurum, vt subolescente fide vestra in vobis, magnificemur iuxta re|gulam nostram in exuberantiam: ¹⁶vt iis quoque regionibus quae vltra vos sunt, euangelizem, non per alienam regulam, vt de his quae parata sunt gloriemur: ¹⁷sed qui gloriatur, in domino glorietur. ¹⁸Non enim qui se ipsum commendat, ille probatus est, sed is quem dominus commendat.

11 Vtinam tolerassetis me paulisper in insipientia mea: imo et suffertis me: ²nam zelotypus sum erga

16 υπερεκεινα *A C-E*: υτερεκεινα *B*
11,1 οφελον *A C-E*: ωφελον *B*

15 super *B-E*: in *A* | vestra *B-E*: om. *A* | 16 per alienam regulam *B-E*: in aliena regula *A*
11,2 zelotypus *B-E*: zelotipus *A*

15 *super* ἐν ("in" 1516 = *Vg.*). See on *Rom.* 5,3. Although Erasmus retains *in* with *glorior* in vs. 17, he makes a further change from *in* to *de* in vs. 16. These alterations are for the sake of stylistic variety.

15 *sperantes* ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες ("Spem autem habentes" *Vg.*). The Vulgate addition of *autem* reflects the insertion of δέ after ἐλπίδα, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B D Hᵛⁱᵈ 0209 and most later mss., including codd. 1 and 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 2816 and some other late mss. In *Annot.*, he more accurately puts *spem habentes* rather than *sperantes*, and similarly retains *spem habeo* at *Act.* 24,15; *Rom.* 15,4; 2 *Cor.* 3,12; *Eph.* 2,12; 1 *Thess.* 4,13; 1 *Ioh.* 3,3. Lefèvre had *Spem habemus*, omitting *autem*.

15 *futurum, vt ... magnificemur* μεγαλυνθῆναι ("... magnificari" *Vg.*). For Erasmus' use of *futurum vt*, see on *Act.* 2,21. In *Annot.*, he also proposes *fore vt ... amplier*. Manetti had *vt ... magnificetur*, referring to *fides*.

15 *subolescente fide vestra* αὐξανομένης τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ("crescentis fidei vestrae" *Vg.*; "subolescente fide" 1516 Lat.). The 1516 omission of *vestra*, in conflict with the Greek text, was probably inadvertent. Erasmus correctly understands the Greek construction as a genitive

absolute. A similar substitution of *subolesco* (rare in classical usage) occurs at 1 *Petr.* 2,2, in the sense of "grow up" or "mature". In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *augescente*. Lefèvre put *crescente fide vestra*.

15 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" *Vg.*). See on *Act.* 13,23, and *Annot.*

15 *in exuberantiam* εἰς περισσείαν ("in abundantia" late *Vg.*). Erasmus is more precise in using the accusative. See also on *Rom.* 3,7. Lefèvre put *abundantius*, while Manetti had *in abundantiam*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

16 *vt ... euangelizem, ...vt ... gloriemur* εὐαγγελίσασθαι, ... καυχήσασθαι ("euangelizare ... gloriari" *Vg.*). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. In *Annot.*, he also suggests using *ad euangelizandum*. Manetti had *vt euangelizentur, ... vt glorientur*, and Lefèvre *euangelizando ... gloriando*.

16 *iis quoque regionibus* εἰς τά ("etiam in illa" *Vg.*). The use of *quoque* in Erasmus, and of *etiam* in the Vulgate, lacks explicit support from Greek mss. His removal of the preposition *in* was probably designed to avoid the apparent strangeness of *euangelizo in*, as it was more common for this verb to be followed by the dative. Another instance of εὐαγγελίζω εἰς is seen at

1 *Petr.* 1,25, where Erasmus adopts the periphrasis, *per euangelium delatum est ad.* His insertion of *regionibus* at the present passage is a helpful clarification, probably prompted by Ambrosiaster's use of *in regionibus:* see on *Rom.* 15,19 for other such additions. Lefèvre put just *ea.*

16 *per alienam regulam* ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κανόνι ("in aliena regula" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

16 *de* εἰς ("in" Vg.). Other instances of *de* for εἰς occur at *Act.* 2,25; 19,4 (1519); 2 *Cor.* 12,6 (1519); *Gal.* 5,10; *Eph.* 5,32. See *Annot.* on 2 *Cor.* 12,6; *Eph.* 5,32.

16 *quae parata sunt* τὰ ἕτοιμα ("quae praeparata sunt" Vg.). This substitution of *parata,* in the sense of "ready to hand", fits the context better. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *quae prompta sunt.*

17 *sed qui* ὁ δέ ("Qui autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

18 *is quem* ὅν ("quem" Vg.). Erasmus adds a pronoun to complete the sense. Manetti anticipated this change.

18 *dominus* ὁ κύριος ("deus" late Vg.). The late Vulgate reading lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' version agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

11,1 Ὄφελον. The spelling ὤφελον in the 1519 edition was possibly a misprint, though it is found in cod. 2817, together with D^corr F G H^corr and some other mss., as well as in Lefèvre *Comm.* See on 1 *Cor.* 4,8 for another such substitution in 1519.

1 *tolerassetis* ἀνείχεσθε ("sustineretis" Vg.). In 1516 *Annot.,* Erasmus incorrectly cited the text as ἀνείχεσθαι. He uses *tolero* for the same Greek verb at *Eph.* 4,2, replacing *supporto.* For variety, he substitutes *suffero* for *supporto* later in the present verse and at *Col.* 3,13, and also in place of *sustineo* in vs. 20, below, in accordance with Vulgate usage in vs. 19 and at *Hebr.* 13,22. Elsewhere he retains *patior* at *Mt.* 17,17; *Mc.* 9,19; *Lc.* 9,41, and *sustineo* at *Act.* 18,14; 1 *Cor.* 4,12; 2 *Thess.* 1,4; 2 *Tim.* 4,3, while substituting *sustineo* for *patior* in vs. 4, below. Although, in *Annot.,* Erasmus considered the possibility of using *sustinuissetis* here, he seems to have decided to reject this verb because it could mean "support" as well as "endure". Further, he could not employ *suffero* at this point, because he wanted to use a pluperfect subjunctive: the problem with *sustulissetis* is that it can belong to *tollo* as

well as to *suffero.* He therefore made use of *tolero,* with assistance from Lefèvre, who had *toleraretis.* Valla *Annot.* proposed *susciperetis,* against which Erasmus raised objections in *Annot.*

1 *me paulisper in insipientia mea* μου μικρὸν τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ ("modicum quid insipientiae meae" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text replacing τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ with τι ἀφροσύνης, as in 𝔓^46vid א B D and a few later mss. Cf. also τῆς ἀφροσύνης in codd. F G. If ἀφροσύνης (preceded by either τι or τῆς) were the correct reading, it would be possible to suppose that the use of μου ... τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ was a scribal attempt to avoid the use of a double genitive. A different explanation could be that τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ was genuine, but that an early corrector wished to alter the phrase because, if connected too closely with ἀνείχεσθε, it could be misunderstood to mean that the apostle was asking the Corinthians themselves to act "with folly" or foolishly (cf. ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ at *Eph.* 4,2). The replacement of τῇ by τι could further be seen as a harmonisation with μικρόν τι in vs. 16. The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also cod. H and most later mss. By using *me* and *mea* he renders μου twice over. For *paulisper,* see on *Ioh.* 13,33, and *Annot.* The suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was *parumper insipientiam meam* or *parumper propter insipientiam meam.* Manetti had *me modicum in insipientia,* and Lefèvre *me parum ... in insipientia* (placing *me parum* before *toleraretis*).

1 *imo* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2.

1 *suffertis* ἀνέχεσθε ("supportate" Vg.). See on *tolerassetis,* above. It would have been more consistent if Erasmus had put *toleratis* here. The Vulgate word *supporto* means to "transport" rather than "endure", in classical usage. In *Annot.,* Erasmus also suggests *sustinetis.* While accepting that the Greek verb could be interpreted either as an imperative (as in the Vulgate) or as an indicative, he argued that the latter was better suited to the context. He further debated this point with Stunica in *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, p. 196, ll. 545-557. Lefèvre used the imperative, *tolerate.*

2 *nam zelotypus sum erga* ζηλῶ γάρ ("Aemulor enim" Vg.). Erasmus avoids *aemulor,* no doubt because of its unwanted connotations of rivalry or imitation: cf. *Annot.,* and see further on 1 *Cor.* 12,31. For *nam,* see on *Ioh.* 3,34, and for *erga,* see on *Act.* 3,25. Lefèvre put *Zelo enim.*

ὑμᾶς θεοῦ ζήλῳ. ἡρμοσάμην γὰρ ὑμᾶς
ἑνὶ ἀνδρί, παρθένον ἀγνὴν παραστῆ-
σαι τῷ Χριστῷ· ³φοβοῦμαι δὲ μή
πως, ὡς ὁ ὄφις Εὔαν ἐξηπάτησεν
ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως
φθαρῇ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς
ἁπλότητος τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν.

⁴Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἄλλον
Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσει ὃν οὐκ ἐκηρύ-
ξαμεν, ἢ πνεῦμα ἕτερον λαμβάνετε
ὃ οὐκ ἐλάβετε, ἢ εὐαγγέλιον ἕτε-
ρον ὃ οὐκ ἐδέξασθε, καλῶς ἠνείχε-
σθε. ⁵λογίζομαι γὰρ μηδὲν ὑστε-
ρηκέναι τῶν ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀποστόλων.

vos, dei zelo. Adiunxi enim vos vni
viro, vt virginem castam exhiberetis
Christo: ³sed metuo, ne qua fiat, vt
quemadmodum serpens Euam decepit
versutia sua, ita corrumpantur sensus
vestri a simplicitate, quae erat erga
Christum.

⁴Nam si is qui venit, alium Iesum
praedicat, quem non praedicauimus:
aut si spiritum alium accipitis, quem
non accepistis, aut euangelium aliud
quod non accepistis, recte sustinu-
issetis. ⁵Arbitror enim me nihilo
inferiorem fuisse eximiis apostolis.

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4 λαμβανετε *Aᶜ B-E*: λαμβανεται *A**

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3 versutia *B-E*: in versutia *A* | simplicitate *B-E*: castitate *A*

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2 *zelo* ζήλῳ ("aemulatione" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
10,2. Erasmus adopts the same rendering as
Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre.

2 *Adiunxi* ἡρμοσάμην ("Despondi" Vg.). Eras-
mus attempts greater precision, in the sense
of "join" rather than "betroth", though the
Vulgate gives a legitimate rendering of the
Greek word, well-suited to the context. See
Annot., and also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.,*
ASD IX, 2, pp. 196-8, ll. 559-576. The version
of Lefèvre had *aptaui.*

2 *vt ... exhiberetis* παραστῆσαι ("exhibere" Vg.).
Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. How-
ever, it might have been preferable to use the
first person, *exhiberem*: cf. *vt ... exhibeam* in
Lefèvre's translation of the passage, and cf. also
ἵνα παραστήσωμεν at *Col.* 1,28. Manetti anti-
cipated the change made by Erasmus.

3 *sed metuo* φοβοῦμαι δέ ("Timeo autem" Vg.).
For *sed*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. A similar substitu-
tion of *metuo* occurs at thirteen other passages,
in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mc.* 6,20.
More often Erasmus retains *timeo*. These changes
are aimed at achieving greater variety of style.
Lefèvre put *Sed timeo.*

3 *ne qua fiat, vt* μή πως ("ne" Vg.). The Vul-
gate rendering corresponds with the omission
of πως in cod. D*. See *Annot.* The version of
Manetti put *ne aliquatenus*, and Lefèvre *ne
quoquopacto.*

3 *quemadmodum* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
1,13. Lefèvre had *vt.*

3 *decepit* ἐξηπάτησεν ("seduxit" Vg.). See on
Rom. 7,11.

3 *versutia* ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ ("astutia" Vg.; "in
versutia" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,29. Erasmus
retains *astutia* for πανουργίᾳ at 1 *Cor.* 3,19;
2 *Cor.* 4,2; *Eph.* 4,14, and uses it to replace
nequitia in rendering πονηρία at *Eph.* 6,12. In
1516, his addition of *in* was more literal, but
he later argued in *Annot.* that it was better to
omit the preposition, understanding the phrase
in an instrumental sense. Lefèvre had *in astutia.*

3 φθαρῇ. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the
text as φθαρεῖ, in company with some late mss.

3 *a* ἀπό (et excidant a" Vg.). The Vulgate ad-
dition lacks explicit support from Greek mss.,
but was probably intended to prevent the mis-
interpretation of *a* as meaning "by" rather than
"from" or "away from". See *Annot.* and Valla
Annot. This passage is mentioned in the *Quae
Sint Addita.* Erasmus' correction agrees with
the version of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre solved the
problem by removing *et excidant* and substituting
corrumpat for *corrumpantur*, making *serpens* the
subject of the verb.

3 *simplicitate* τῆς ἁπλότητος ("castitate" 1516).
It seems that in 1516 Erasmus borrowed *casti-
tate* from Ambrosiaster, but decided in 1519
that this patristic source must have followed a

different Greek text, having τῆς ἁγνότητος: see *Annot.* Twenty-two mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B F G, have τῆς ἁπλότητος καὶ τῆς ἁγνότητος. Erasmus' text followed codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ H and about 560 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 687-90). If the longer reading were genuine, it would be possible to account for subsequent omissions of καὶ τῆς ἁγνότητος or τῆς ἁπλότητος καί as being scribal errors caused by homoeoteleuton or homoeoarcton, respectively. An alternative explanation would be that τῆς ἁπλότητος was the original reading, which an early scribe accidentally changed to τῆς ἁγνότητος, influenced by the close resemblance between the two nouns and also by the proximity of ἁγνήν in vs. 2 (cf. the substitution of ἁγιότητι for ἁπλότητι in a few mss. at 2 *Cor.* 1,12); another copyist who was aware of both readings then wove or "conflated" these together, thus creating the longer text of this passage, as exhibited by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B and their later descendants. Although the process of conflation has been alleged to be a characteristic feature of later mss., there is no reason to suppose that early scribes were immune from this form of error.

3 *quae erat* τῆς ("quae est" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate.

3 *erga Christum* εἰς τὸν Χριστόν ("in Christo Iesu" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus is more accurate here: see *Annot.* Further, the late Vulgate addition of *Iesu* lacks Greek ms. support, and was not used by Manetti or in either column of Lefèvre.

4 *Iesum* Ἰησοῦν ("Christum" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the substitution of Χριστόν in codd. F G. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti made the same change as Erasmus.

4 *aut si* ἤ ("aut" Vg.). Erasmus repeats *si* from earlier in the sentence, for the sake of clarity. Lefèvre put *vel.*

4 *spiritum alium* πνεῦμα ἕτερον ("alium spiritum" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order has little Greek ms. support. Manetti put *spiritum alterum.*

4 λαμβάνετε. The reading λαμβάνεται in 1516 is an itacistic printing error, in conflict with Erasmus' Basle mss. and Latin rendering. It was corrected in the 1516 errata.

4 *euangelium aliud* εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον ("aliud euangelium" Vg.). As with *alium spiritum*, the

Vulgate word-order has minimal support from Greek mss. The version of Manetti had *euangelium alterum.*

4 *accepistis* (2nd.) ἐδέξασθε ("recepistis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 10,15, in accordance with frequent Vulgate usage elsewhere. At the present passage, more accurately, the Vulgate makes a distinction between λαμβάνω, translated twice by *accipio* earlier in the verse, and δέχομαι.

4 *sustinuissetis* ἠνείχεσθε ("pateremini" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus criticises the inconsistency of the Vulgate in rendering this Greek verb, though he himself displays a similar variety of style: see on vs. 1, above. Cod. 1 and most other mss. have ἀνείχεσθε, commencing with 𝔓³⁴ ℵ Dᶜᵒʳʳ (G) H. The Greek text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 2105, 2816 and many other late mss. A few mss., including 𝔓⁴⁶ B D*, have ἀνέχεσθε as in Lefèvre *Comm.*, corresponding with *toleratis* in Lefèvre's translation.

5 *Arbitror* λογίζομαι ("Existimo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,3 for Erasmus' removal of *existimo* elsewhere. This change is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 3,28; *Phil.* 3,13; 1 *Petr.* 5,12. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *Puto.*

5 *me nihilo inferiorem fuisse* μηδὲν ὑστερηκέναι ("nihil me minus fecisse a" late Vg.). It is possible that the Vulgate originally had *fuisse*, and that this was later altered into *fecisse* by scribal error: cf. the Vulgate rendering at 2 *Cor.* 12,11, *nihil minus fui*, changed into *nihil minus feci* by the late Vulgate. At the latter passage, Erasmus replaced *nihil minus* by *nulla in re inferior*. Shortly afterwards, in rendering ἡττάομαι at 2 *Cor.* 12,13, he used *inferior sum* to replace *minus habeo*. For his removal of *nihil* elsewhere, see on 1 *Cor.* 4,4. See also *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus was very close to that of Valla *Annot.*, who had *nihilo me inferiorem fuisse* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *me in nullo inferiorem fuisse*). Manetti put *me nihil defecisse ab*, and Lefèvre *nichil minus habuisse quam.*

5 *eximiis* τῶν ὑπὲρ λίαν ("magnis" Vg.). Erasmus perceives that ὑπὲρ λίαν requires a stronger adjective. In rendering the same Greek expression at 2 *Cor.* 12,11, he substitutes *summis* for *his qui sunt supra modum*. See *Annot.* The rendering of Valla *Annot.* was *praecellentibus*, while Manetti and Lefèvre finished the sentence with *apostolis excellentibus* and *excellentes apostoli* respectively.

LB 789

⁶εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ᾽
οὐ τῇ γνώσει. ἀλλ᾽ ἐν παντὶ φα-
νερωθέντες ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς. | ⁷ἢ
ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησα ἐμαυτὸν ταπει-
νῶν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς ὑψωθῆτε, ὅτι δωρε-
ὰν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγέλιον εὐηγγε-
λισάμην ὑμῖν; ⁸ἄλλας ἐκκλησίας
ἐσύλησα, λαβὼν ὀψώνιον πρὸς τὴν
ὑμῶν διακονίαν. ⁹καὶ παρὼν πρὸς
ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑστερηθείς, οὐ κατενάρκη-
σα οὐδενός. τὸ γὰρ ὑστέρημά μου
προσανεπλήρωσαν οἱ ἀδελφοί, ἐλθόν-
τες ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας· καὶ ἐν παντὶ
ἀβαρῆ ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐτήρησα, καὶ
τηρήσω. ¹⁰ἔστιν ἀλήθεια Χριστοῦ

⁶Caeterum licet imperitus sim sermo-
ne, non tamen scientia. Verum | vbi-   LB 790
que manifesti fuimus in omnibus erga
vos. ⁷Num illud peccaui, quod me
ipsum humiliarim, vt vos exaltaremi-
ni, quod gratuito euangelium dei prae-
dicauerim vobis? ⁸Caeteras ecclesias
depraedatus sum accepto ab illis sti-
pendio, quo vobis inseruirem. ⁹Et
quum apud vos essem et egerem, non
onerosus fui cuiquam. Nam quod mi-
hi deerat, suppleuerunt fratres qui ve-
nerant a Macedonia: et in omnibus sic
me seruabam, ne cui essem onerosus,
atque ita seruabo. ¹⁰Est veritas Christi

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9 quod mihi deerat *B-E*: indigentiam meam *A*

---

6 *Caeterum licet* εἰ δὲ καί ("Nam et si" late Vg.).
The late Vulgate wording lacks explicit Greeek
ms. support. In *Annot.*, Erasmus views *nam* as
a rendering of δέ. See on *Rom.* 1,13 for *licet*,
and on *Act.* 6,2 for *caeterum*. Manetti put *Si
autem*, and Lefèvre *qui tametsi*.

6 *imperitus sim* ἰδιώτης ("imperitus" Vg.). Eras-
mus adds a verb to complete the grammatical
construction. Lefèvre put *rudis sum*.

6 *non tamen* ἀλλ᾽ οὐ ("sed non" Vg.). Erasmus
avoids the jarring sequence of *et si ... sed non*,
adopting a more elegant turn of phrase: see
Annot. He also has the idiomatic sequence *licet
... tamen* at *Gal.* 3,15. His use of *non tamen* here
may have been prompted by Valla *Annot.*, who
cites this wording in his Vulgate lemma. The
same words were used by Lefèvre. Manetti put
et non.

6 *Verum vbique manifesti fuimus in omnibus* ἀλλ᾽
ἐν παντὶ φανερωθέντες ἐν πᾶσιν ("In omni-
bus autem manifestus sum" late Vg.). Whereas
the Vulgate treated ἐν παντὶ ... ἐν πᾶσιν as
a superfluous repetition, there is little ms. sup-
port for deleting ἐν πᾶσιν from the text apart
from codd. F G. For the rendering of παντί
by *omnibus* in the Vulgate, see 2 *Cor.* 7,11; 8,7.
The present tense of the late Vulgate, *manifestus
sum*, was less correct than the earlier Vulgate
mss., which had *manifestatus sum*, representing

the Greek aorist. The Vulgate use of the singu-
lar was probably no more than a matter of
translation, though it corresponds with φανερω-
θείς in cod. D*. In twenty-three other mss.,
commencing with ℵ * B F G, φανερωθέντες is
replaced by φανερώσαντες. In cod. 1, φανερω-
θέντες is replaced by φανερωθέντι. Erasmus'
text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported
by 2105, 2816, with 𝔓³⁴ ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about
560 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 2, pp. 690-3). The variant φανερώσαντες
("having manifested"), though sometimes com-
mended as a *lectio difficilior*, does not seem to
yield a satisfactory sense, by reason of its lack
of a clear direct object (e.g. whether ἑαυτούς,
or τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, or πάντα). In *Annot.*, Eras-
mus proposes *in omni re* instead of *vbique*, to
render ἐν παντί: for his use of *vbique*, see on
2 *Cor.* 7,11. See on *Rom.* 4,2 for *verum*. Manetti
put *In cunctis autem manifestatus sum omnibus*,
incorrectly taking ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς as the
equivalent of εἰς πάντας ὑμᾶς. Lefèvre had
Omnino autem in omnibus manifesti sumus.

6 *erga vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("vobis" Vg.). Erasmus gives
a more precise rendering of the Greek prepo-
sition. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had
in vobis.

7 *Num* ἢ ("Aut nunquid" Vg.). The Vulgate
corresponds with ἢ μή in codd. F G. For

Erasmus' preference for *num*, see on *Ioh.* 3,4, and *Annot.* The version proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre was *an*, while Manetti had *aut*, all three omitting *numquid*.

7 *illud ... quod ... humiliarim* ταπεινῶν ("humilians" Vg.). Erasmus makes the sense more explicit by changing the construction.

7 *peccaui* ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησα ("peccatum feci" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal. Erasmus retains *facio peccatum* at *Ioh.* 8,34; 1 *Petr.* 2,22, but prefers *committo peccatum* at *Iac.* 2,9; 1 *Ioh.* 3,4, 8, 9 (these last three in 1519). Lefèvre had *peccatum admisi*.

7 *exaltaremini* ὑψωθῆτε ("exaltemini" Vg.). This substitution of the imperfect subjunctive follows from Erasmus' adoption of *humiliarim* earlier in the verse.

7 *quod ... praedicauerim* ὅτι ... εὐηγγελισάμην ("quoniam ... euangelizaui" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20 for *quod* with the subjunctive. For *praedico*, see on *Act.* 5,42. Ambrosiaster had *quoniam ... predicaui*, and Lefèvre *quod ... euangelizaui*.

7 *gratuito* δωρεάν ("gratis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 10,8. At five other passages, Erasmus retains *gratis*.

7 θεοῦ. Cod. 2815 has Χριστοῦ, with little or no other ms. support. The same ms. similarly changes τοῦ θεοῦ to τοῦ Χριστοῦ, after εὐαγγέλιον, at 1 *Thess.* 2,8-9.

8 *Caeteras* ἄλλας ("Alias" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 9,2.

8 *depraedatus sum* ἐσύλησα ("expoliaui" Vg.). At *Col.* 2,8, Erasmus similarly uses *depraedor* for συλαγωγέω, replacing *decipio*. At *Col.* 2,15 (1519), he retains *expolio* for ἀπεκδύομαι. The Vulgate verb, in fact, has a better pedigree in classical usage, and has a similar meaning. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *spoliaui*, and Lefèvre *exhausi*.

8 *accepto ab illis stipendio* λαβὼν ὀψώνιον ("accipiens stipendium" Vg.). In substituting *accepto*, Erasmus gives a more precise translation of the Greek aorist, at the expense of converting active to passive. In this respect, his rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, who had *accepto stipendio*. Erasmus' addition of *ab illis* makes a more explicit connection with *ecclesias*, earlier in the sentence. Lefèvre put *stipendium capiens*.

8 *quo vobis inseruirem* πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν διακονίαν ("ad ministerium vestrum" Vg.). This change of

construction ensures that ὑμῶν is understood as an objective genitive. See on *Act.* 13,36 for *inseruio*. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus cited εἰς rather than πρός, as the Greek text, though εἰς is not found in any of his Basle mss. or in Lefèvre *Comm.* The version of Manetti had *per ministerium vestrum*, while Lefèvre put *ad vestram administrationem*.

9 *quum apud vos essem* παρὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ("cum essem apud vos" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is more literal. Erasmus' rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *cum praesens apud vos essem*.

9 *non onerosus fui cuiquam* οὐ κατενάρκησα οὐδενός ("nulli onerosus fui" Vg.). Erasmus' more emphatic rendering was designed to convey the added force of the Greek double negative οὐ ... οὐδενός. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was *nullum grauaui*.

9 *quod mihi deerat* τὸ ... ὑστέρημά μου ("indigentiam meam" 1516). Erasmus' more literal rendering in 1516 was identical with that of Ambrosiaster, while Lefèvre began the sentence with *meam enim indigentiam*. In 1519 he returned to the Vulgate rendering, in accordance with Vulgate usage also at *Lc.* 21,4; 1 *Cor.* 16,17; 2 *Cor.* 9,12; *Phil.* 2,30; *Col.* 1,24; 1 *Thess.* 3,10.

9 *qui venerant* ἐλθόντες ("qui venerunt" Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for the pluperfect, see on *Ioh.* 1,19. Manetti anticipated this change, but placed *venerant* after *Macedonia*.

9 *a* ἀπό ("de" Vg. 1527). The use of *de* in the 1527 Vulgate column followed the Froben edition of 1514. Erasmus' version agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

9 *sic me seruabam, ne cui essem onerosus, atque ita* ἀβαρῆ ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐτήρησα, καί ("sine onere me vobis seruaui, et" Vg.). Erasmus finds an elegant construction to convey the sense of ἀβαρῆ ... ἐτήρησα, though he incorrectly represents ὑμῖν by *cui* instead of *vobis*. At 1 *Thess.* 2,9 and 2 *Thess.* 3,8, rendering πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν, he put *ne cui vestrum essemus oneri*. His substitution of the imperfect tense, *seruabam*, even if appropriate to the context, is less literal than *seruaui* as a rendering of the Greek aorist. For his removal of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti followed the Vulgate, except that he added *ipsum* after *me*. Lefèvre put *sine grauamine meipsum vobis seruaui, atque.*

ἐν ἐμοί, ὅτι ἡ καύχησις αὕτη οὐ φραγήσεται εἰς ἐμὲ ἐν τοῖς κλίμασι τῆς Ἀχαΐας. ¹¹διατί; ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς; ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν. ¹²ὃ δὲ ποιῶ, καὶ ποιήσω, ἵνα ἐκκόψω τὴν ἀφορμὴν τῶν θελόντων ἀφορμήν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καυχῶνται, εὑρεθῶσι καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς.

¹³Οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ψευδαπόστολοι, ἐργάται δόλιοι, μετασχηματιζόμενοι εἰς ἀποστόλους Χριστοῦ· ¹⁴καὶ οὐ θαυμαστόν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός. ¹⁵οὐ μέγα οὖν, εἰ καὶ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ μετασχηματίζονται, ὡς διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης, ὧν τὸ τέλος ἔσται κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.

¹⁶Πάλιν λέγω, μή τίς με δόξῃ ἄφρονα εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή γε, κἂν ὡς

in me, quod haec gloriatio non interrumpetur contra me in regionibus Achaiae. ¹¹Quapropter? An quod non diligam vos? Deus nouit. ¹²Verum quod facio, idem et faciam, vt amputem occasionem iis qui cupiunt occasionem: vt in eo de quo glorientur, reperiantur, quemadmodum et nos.

¹³Siquidem istiusmodi pseudapostoli, operarii dolosi sunt, sumpta persona apostolorum Christi: ¹⁴atque haud mirum, quandoquidem ipse satanas transfiguratur in angelum lucis. ¹⁵Non magnum est igitur, si et ministri illius personam in se transferunt, quasi sint ministri iustitiae, quorum finis erit iuxta opera eorum.

¹⁶Iterum dico, ne quis me putet insipientem esse, alioquin et iam vt

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10 contra B-E: in A | 13 pseudapostoli B-E: pseudo apostoli A | 14 transfiguratur B-E: transformatur A | 16 alioquin B-E: alioqui A | iam B-E: om. A

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10 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 1,20. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus.

10 *interrumpetur* φραγήσεται ("infringetur" Vg.). Erasmus' choice of verb seems more appropriate, in view of the subject, *gloriatio*: see *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre had *excludetur*.

10 *contra me* εἰς ἐμέ ("in me" 1516 = Vg.). Codd. 2815 and 2816 substituted ἐν ἐμοί, with support from F G and a few other mss. By using *contra*, Erasmus sought to prevent the following *me* from being misunderstood as an ablative: see *Annot*. Less accurately, Lefèvre replaced *in me* by *a me*.

11 *Quapropter* διατί ("Quare" Vg.). See on *Act*. 10,29.

11 *An quod non diligam* ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαπῶ ("Quia non diligo" Vg.). Erasmus prefers the subjunctive, to convey what is only a hypothetical causal statement (used here as part of a direct question, which could be more fully expressed as *An hoc facio propterea quod non diligam vos?*).

The Vulgate indicative, *diligo*, misleadingly makes the apostle appear to agree that he does not love the Corinthians. See *Annot*. For *an*, see on 1 *Cor*. 3,16, and for the use of *quod*, see on *Rom*. 5,5.

11 *nouit* οἶδεν ("scit" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 14,14.

12 *Verum quod* ὃ δέ ("Quod autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 1,26. In *Annot*., Erasmus recommends *Sed quod*. Cod. 2815 had ὃ καί, apparently without other ms. support.

12 *idem et* καί ("et" Vg.). Erasmus adds *idem*, to make clear that καὶ ποιήσω is the main clause, and that the meaning of *et* here is "also" rather than "and": see *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre had *etiam*.

12 *iis qui* τῶν ("eorum qui" Vg.). Erasmus, in effect, treats τῶν θελόντων as the indirect object of the verb ἐκκόψω, rather than as a possessive genitive.

12 *cupiunt* θελόντων ("volunt" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt*. 5,42; *Gal*. 3,2; *Hebr*. 13,18.

12 *in eo de quo* ἐν ᾧ ("in quo" Vg.). Erasmus amplifies the sense of this Greek construction: cf. *Annot.* The wording of Ambrosiaster was *in eo quod.*

12 *reperiantur* εὑρεθῶσι ("inueniantur" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,41. In *Annot.*, Erasmus misleadingly attributes *reperiantur* to "Ambrose": the Ambrosiaster commentary in fact had the same verb as the Vulgate.

12 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre put *similes inueniantur nobis* for εὑρεθῶσι ... ἡμεῖς.

13 *Siquidem* γάρ ("Nam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34; 4,47. Manetti began the sentence with *Tales enim* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *Huiusmodi enim*).

13 *istiusmodi* τοιοῦτοι ("eiusmodi" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 2,6. Lefèvre put *huiusmodi.* For Manetti's version, see the previous note.

13 *pseudapostoli* ψευδαπόστολοι ("pseudo apostoli" 1516 = Vg.). The Vulgate spelling corresponds with ψευδοαπόστολοι in cod. D*, which in turn was probably influenced by the Old Latin version. See *Annot.* The same alteration was proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, while Manetti put *falsi apostoli.*

13 *operarii dolosi sunt* ἐργάται δόλιοι ("sunt operarii subdoli" late Vg.). In cod. 2817*, the original scribe had ἐργάται δόκιμοι, later changed (probably by Erasmus or an assistant) to read ἐργάται δόλιοι. There is little difference of meaning between *dolosus* and *subdolus*, but the former has a closer outward resemblance to the Greek word, δόλιος. Erasmus adopts the rendering of Lefèvre.

13 *sumpta persona apostolorum* μετασχηματιζό-μενοι εἰς ἀποστόλους ("transfigurantes se in apostolos" Vg.). In vs. 14 (1516 only), Erasmus renders the same verb by *transformatur*, and in vs. 15 by *personam in se transferunt.* These changes were partly for the sake of stylistic variety, but also helped to express more fully the connotations of the compound Greek verb. However, in vs. 14, he returned to *transfiguratur* in 1519. Manetti had *transfigurati in apostolos.*

14 *atque* καί ("Et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti replaced *Et non* by *Nec* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *Nec vtique*).

14 *haud* οὐ ("non" Vg.). See on *Act.* 24,18. For Manetti's rendering, see the previous note.

14 *quandoquidem ipse* αὐτὸς γάρ ("ipse enim" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,30.

14 *transfiguratur* μετασχηματίζεται ("transfigurat se" Vg.; "transformatur" 1516). See on vs. 13, and *Annot.* The Greek verb can be translated in either a passive or a reflexive sense. Erasmus' 1519 rendering agreed with that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

15 *magnum est igitur* μέγα οὖν ("ergo est magnum" Vg. 1527). The word-order of the 1527 Vulgate column followed the Froben Vulgate of 1514. See on *Ioh.* 6,62 for *igitur.* Lefèvre, more literally, put just *magnum igitur*, and Manetti *est ergo magnum* (as in the earlier Vulgate).

15 *et* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate leaves καί untranslated: see *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus.

15 διάκονοι (1st.). The omission of οἱ before διάκονοι may have been caused by an error of the typesetter, as all the Basle mss. had οἱ διάκονοι, and the article is also cited in *Annot.*

15 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus prefers the more emphatic pronoun for referring back to *satanas* in vs. 14.

15 *personam in se transferunt* μετασχηματίζονται ("transfigurentur" Vg.). See on vss. 13-14, and *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *transfigurantur.*

15 *quasi sint* ὡς ("velut" Vg.). Erasmus conveys more clearly the idea that this was a mere pretence. Lefèvre had *perinde atque sint.*

15 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

15 *eorum* αὐτῶν ("ipsorum" Vg.). The reflexive pronoun of the Vulgate was unnecessary in this context. See on *Rom.* 1,20. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

16 *me putet* με δόξῃ ("putet me" Vg. 1527). Once again the 1527 Vulgate column reproduces the wording of the 1514 Froben edition. Erasmus renders the word-order more exactly, in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *alioquin et iam vt* εἰ δὲ μή γε, κἂν ὡς ("alioquin velut" Vg.; "alioqui et vt" 1516). Erasmus provides a more adequate rendering of this string of Greek particles. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *Alioquin et velut*, and Lefèvre *Sin vero secus: vt.*

ἄφρονα δέξασθέ με, ἵνα μικρόν
τι κἀγὼ καυχήσωμαι. ¹⁷ὃ λα-
λῶ, οὐ λαλῶ κατὰ κύριον, ἀλλ᾽
ὡς ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
ὑποστάσει τῆς καυχήσεως. ¹⁸ἐπεὶ
πολλοὶ καυχῶνται κατὰ τὴν σάρ-
κα, κἀγὼ καυχήσομαι. ¹⁹ἡδέως
γὰρ ἀνέχεσθε τῶν ἀφρόνων, φρόνι-
μοι ὄντες. ²⁰ἀνέχεσθε γὰρ εἴ τις
ὑμᾶς καταδουλοῖ, εἴ τις κατεσθίει,
εἴ τις λαμβάνει, εἴ τις ἐπαίρεται,
εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εἰς πρόσωπον δέρει·
²¹κατὰ ἀτιμίαν λέγω, ὡς ὅτι ἡμεῖς
ἠσθενήσαμεν. ἐν ᾧ δ᾽ ἄν τις
τολμᾷ, ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ λέγω, τολ-
μῶ κἀγώ. ²²Ἑβραῖοί εἰσι, κἀγώ.
Ἰσραηλῖταί εἰσι, κἀγώ. σπέρμα
Ἀβραάμ εἰσι, κἀγώ. ²³διάκονοι
Χριστοῦ εἰσι, παραφρονῶν λαλῶ,
ὑπὲρ ἐγώ· ἐν κόποις πε|ρισσοτέρως,

insipientem accipite me, vt paululum
quiddam et ego glorier. ¹⁷Quod dico,
non dico secundum dominum, sed
velut per insipientiam, in hoc argu-
mento gloriationis. ¹⁸Quandoquidem
multi gloriantur secundum carnem, et
ego gloriabor. ¹⁹Libenter enim suffer-
tis insipientes, quum sitis sapientes.
²⁰Suffertis enim, si quis vos in seruitu-
tem adigit, si quis exedit, si quis acci-
pit, si quis attollit sese, si quis vos in
faciem caedit: ²¹iuxta contumeliam lo-
quor: perinde quasi nos infirmi fueri-
mus. Imo in quocunque audet aliquis,
per insipientiam loquor, audeo et ego.
²²Hebraei sunt, sum et ego. Israeli-
tae sunt, sum et ego. Semen Abrahae
sunt, sum et ego. ²³Ministri Christi
sunt, desipiens loquor, excellen|tius
sum ego: in laboribus copiosius,

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17 per insipientiam B-E: in insipientia A | 20 caedit B-E: cedit A | 21 Imo B-E (imo B-D):
sed A | per insipientiam B-E: in insipientia A | 22 prius sum B-E: om. A | Israelitae B-E:
Israhelitae A | alt. sum B-E: om. A | tert. sum B-E: om. A | 23 desipiens C-E: delirans A B |
excellentius sum B-E: plus A

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16 paululum quiddam et ego μικρόν τι κἀγώ
("et ego modicum quid" Vg.). The Vulgate
word-order corresponds with κἀγὼ μικρόν τι,
attested by nearly all mss. Erasmus followed the
text of his codd. 2815 and 2817, with little
other ms. support. For his removal of modicum,
see on Ioh. 6,7; 13,33. In Annot., he also suggests
using paulisper or aliquantisper, of which the
latter was also recommended by Valla Annot.
Another suggestion of Valla was aliquantulum,
which was adopted in Lefèvre's rendering, et ego
aliquantulum.

17 dico (twice) λαλῶ ("loquor" Vg.). This change
is affected by the presence of an object, ὅ.
Erasmus prefers dico for particular statements:
see on Ioh. 8,27.

17 dominum κύριον ("deum" late Vg. and
some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate reading has
little support from Greek mss. See Annot. The
same correction was made by Manetti and
Lefèvre.

17 velut ὡς ("quasi" Vg.). See on Ioh. 1,14.
Lefèvre also made this change.

17 per insipientiam ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ ("in insipien-
tia" 1516 = Vg.). See on Rom. 1,17. The same
change occurs in vs. 21. Both mss. of Manetti's
version had in insipientiam.

17 hoc argumento ταύτῃ τῇ ὑποστάσει ("hac
substantia" Vg.). See on 2 Cor. 9,4. In Annot.,
Erasmus alternatively suggests using hac parte
or hac materia, of which the latter had been
adopted by Lefèvre.

17 gloriationis τῆς καυχήσεως ("gloriae" Vg.).
See on Rom. 4,2, and Annot. The rendering of
Erasmus is the same as that of Ambrosiaster
and Lefèvre.

18 Quandoquidem ἐπεί ("quoniam" Vg.). See
on Rom. 3,30.

18 τήν. This word was omitted by cod. 2815,
in company with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* D* F G H 098 and
some other mss. Erasmus follows cod. 2817,

together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also אּ ᶜᵒʳʳ B Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most other mss.

19 *sapientes* φρόνιμοι ("ipsi sapientes" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *ipsi* lacks explicit Greek ms. support.

20 *Suffertis* ἀνέχεσθε ("Sustinetis" Vg.). Erasmus produces consistency with the rendering of the same Greek verb in vs. 19. See on vs. 1. Lefèvre used *toleratis* in both vss. 19 and 20.

20 *in seruitutem adigit* καταδουλοῖ ("in seruitutem redigit" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Gal.* 2,4. Possibly Erasmus wished to avoid the sense "bring back into slavery again", though the Vulgate expression has good classical precedent in the sense of "reduce into slavery" (Plautus *Aulularia* 169; Caesar *De Bello Gallico* 2, 14, 2). Erasmus also used *in seruitutem adacti* for δεδουλωμένοι at *Gal.* 4,3. He retains *in seruitutem redigo* for δουλαγωγέω at 1 *Cor.* 9,27.

20 *exedit* κατεσθίει ("deuorat" Vg.). Cf. on *Ioh.* 2,17. More often Erasmus is content with *deuoro* for this Greek verb.

20 *attollit sese* ἐπαίρεται ("extollitur" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 10,5. Manetti put *extollit*.

20 *vos in faciem* ὑμᾶς εἰς πρόσωπον ("in faciem vos" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different Greek word-order, εἰς πρόσωπον ὑμᾶς, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ אּ B D* F G H Iᵛⁱᵈ and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2105, as well as Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. (cod. 2816 has ὑμᾶς κατὰ πρόσωπον). The same change was made by Lefèvre.

21 *iuxta* κατά ("Secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre substituted *Quod ad.*

21 *contumeliam* ἀτιμίαν ("ignobilitatem" Vg.). This change is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Rom.* 9,21; 2 *Tim.* 2,20. See on 1 *Cor.* 11,14; 15,43, and *Annot.* In Lefèvre's version, the Greek word was rendered by *dedecus.*

21 *loquor* (twice) λέγω ("dico" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,27.

21 *perinde quasi* ὡς ὅτι ("quasi" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,18. Lefèvre put *quasi quia.*

21 *infirmi fuerimus* ἠσθενήσαμεν ("infirmi fuerimus in hac parte" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει in cod. D. See *Annot.* The extra words, which appear to have

been borrowed from 2 *Cor.* 3,10, were deleted by both Manetti and Lefèvre.

21 *Imo in quocunque* ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν ("In quo" Vg.; "sed in quocunque" 1516). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of δ' in cod. D*. Erasmus' use of *quocunque* gives a more precise rendering of ᾧ ἂν. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *In quo autem.*

21 *audet aliquis* τις τολμᾷ ("quis audet" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,4, and *Annot.*, for *aliquis.* The Vulgate is more literal as to the word-order. Manetti had *si quis audet*, and Lefèvre *quispiam audet.*

21 *per insipientiam* ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ ("in insipientia" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 17.

22 *sum et ego* (three times) κἀγώ ("et ego" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus provides a verb, to complete each clause.

23 *sunt* εἰσι ("sunt et ego" late Vg.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of κἀγώ in cod. H. In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that this insertion is inconsistent with the use of ὑπὲρ ἐγώ shortly afterwards. His rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

23 *desipiens* παραφρονῶν ("vt minus sapiens" most Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "minus sapiens" cod. Sangermanensis, with Vgˢᵗ; "delirans" 1516-19). Erasmus is more accurate here. The Vulgate endeavours to mitigate the extreme nature of the apostle's language. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre likewise had *desipiens*, while Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *insipiens.*

23 *loquor* λαλῶ ("dico" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,27. Manetti anticipated this change.

23 *excellentius* ὑπέρ ("plus" 1516 = Vg.). This may be compared with the substitution of *excellentior* for *plus* in rendering περισσότερον at *Mt.* 11,9. At the present passage, according to Erasmus' interpretation, the apostle says, not that he is "more than" a minister, but that he goes far beyond others in fulfilling that ministry.

23 *sum ego* ἐγώ ("ego" 1516 = Vg.). As before, Erasmus adds a verb to complete the sentence structure.

23 *copiosius* περισσοτέρως ("plurimis" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, in rendering the Greek comparative adverb. See *Annot.* He preferred *copiosius* rather than *abundantius*, so as to avoid repetition, seeing that *abundantius* is used

ἐν πληγαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως, ἐν φυλα-
καῖς περισσοτέρως, ἐν θανάτοις πολλάκις·
²⁴ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πεντάκις τεσσαράκον-
τα παρὰ μίαν ἔλαβον· ²⁵ τρὶς ἐρραβ-
δίσθην· ἅπαξ ἐλιθάσθην· τρὶς ἐναυάγη-
σα· νυχθήμερον ἐν τῷ βυθῷ πεποίηκα·
²⁶ ὁδοιπορίαις πολλάκις, κινδύνοις πο-
ταμῶν, κινδύνοις λῃστῶν, κινδύνοις ἐκ
γένους, κινδύνοις ἐξ ἐθνῶν, κινδύνοις
ἐν πόλει, κινδύνοις ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, κινδύνοις
ἐν θαλάσσῃ, κινδύνοις ἐν ψευδαδέλ-
φοις· ²⁷ ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ, ἐν ἀγρυ-
πνίαις πολλάκις, ἐν λιμῷ καὶ δίψῃ, ἐν
νηστείαις πολλάκις, ἐν ψύχει καὶ γυμ-
νότητι· ²⁸ χωρὶς τῶν παρεκτός, ἡ ἐπι-
σύστασίς μου ἡ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν, ἡ μέριμνα
πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. ²⁹ τίς ἀσθενεῖ,
καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται,

in verberibus supra modum, in carceri-
bus abundantius, in mortibus frequen-
ter: ²⁴ a Iudaeis quinquies quadragenas
plagas, vna minus, accepi: ²⁵ ter vir-
gis caesus fui: semel fui lapidatus: ter
naufragium feci: noctem ac diem in
profundo egi: ²⁶ in itineribus saepe,
in periculis fluminum, periculis latro-
num, periculis ex genere, periculis ex
gentibus, periculis in ciuitate, periculis
in deserto, periculis in mari, periculis
inter falsos fratres: ²⁷ in labore et mo-
lestia, in vigiliis saepe, in fame et siti,
in ieiuniis saepe, in frigore et nuditate:
²⁸ praeter ea quae extrinsecus accidunt,
incumbens mihi quotidiana cura om-
nium ecclesiarum. ²⁹ Quis infirmatur,
et ego non infirmor? Quis offenditur,

27 διψη *Aᶜ B-E*: διψει *A**

24 plagas *B-E (ital.)*: plagas *A (rom.)* | 25 caesus *B-E*: cesus *A* | 26 inter falsos fratres *B-E*:
in falsis fratribus *A* | 28 incumbens ... ecclesiarum *B-E*: conspiratio in me quotidiana.
Sollicitudo de omnibus ecclesiis *A*

to render the same Greek word later in the sen-
tence. It was the same desire for stylistic variety,
perhaps, which led to the Vulgate adoption of
plurimis in the first instance. Manetti put *abun-
dantius ... copiosius*, and Lefèvre *abundantius ...
crebrius*.

23 *in verberibus supra modum, in carceribus abun-
dantius* ἐν πληγαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως, ἐν φυλα-
καῖς περισσοτέρως ("in carceribus abundantius,
in plagis supra modum" Vg.). The Vulgate re-
flects a Greek text in which these two phrases
are transposed, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ B D* and seven later
mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817,
alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ H and
about 560 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen
Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 693-6). See *Annot.* In rendering
πληγή elsewhere, Erasmus usually retains *plaga*.
A possible reason why he substituted *verberibus*
here was that he wished to avoid repetition, as
he intended to use *plaga* in the following verse.
Manetti put *in plagis excellenter, in carceribus co-
piosius*, and Lefèvre *in plagis excessius, in carceribus
crebrius*.

24 *quinquies quadragenas plagas* πεντάκις τεσσα-
ράκοντα ("quinquies quadragenas" Vg.). Eras-
mus' addition of *plagas* was a helpful clarifica-
tion, linking the passage with *Dt.* 25,2-3. See
Annot., and also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD*
IX, 4, pp. 236-7, ll. 923-937. In 1519-27, *pla-
gas* was placed in smaller type, and in 1535 in
italics, to show that it was an interpretative
addition. Valla *Annot.* proposed *quinquies vnde-
quadraginta* for πεντάκις τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ
μίαν, adding "vt subaudiatur plagas". Lefèvre
put *quinquies quadragenas (vna dempta) plagas*.

25 *virgis caesus fui* ἐρραβδίσθην ("virgis cae-
sus sum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2 for Erasmus'
preference for *fui*. The spelling of his Greek
text was derived from cod. 2817, supported by
cod. 2105 and many other late mss. In codd.
1, 2815, 2816 and many other mss., commencing
with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B D F G H, it is ἐραβδίσθην.

25 *fui lapidatus* ἐλιθάσθην ("lapidatus sum"
Vg.). For *fui*, see again on *Rom.* 4,2. Erasmus'
variation of the word-order creates an elegant
partial chiasmus.

25 *noctem ac diem ... egi* νυχθήμερον ... πεποίη-κα ("nocte et die ... fui" Vg.). In rendering the similar expression νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, Erasmus always uses the ablative, as in the Vulgate: *nocte ac die* (*Mc.* 4,27; *Lc.* 2,37); *nocte et die* (*Act.* 20,31; 26,7); *nocte dieque* (2 *Thess.* 3,8). His rendering of the present passage, using *egi* with the accusative, more accurately preserves the relationship of verb and object, as expressed by the Greek text. He may also have wished to convey more precisely the sense of νυχθήμερον as meaning one day and one night, though ambiguity still remains. Cf. *Annot.* For *ac*, see on *Ioh.* 1,25. The version of Manetti had *nocte dieque ... fui*, and Lefèvre *nocte dieque ... laboraui*.

25 *profundo* τῷ βυθῷ ("profundo maris" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the Vulgate addition of *maris*, arguing somewhat implausibly that βυθός might also here refer to the depths of a prison. At *Mt.* 18,6, he retains *profundum maris* for τῷ πελάγει τῆς θαλάσσης. Lefèvre substituted *alto*, omitting *maris*.

26 *in periculis* κινδύνοις ("periculis" Vg.). Erasmus inserts *in* to mark the beginning of a new category of difficulties experienced by the apostle. Lefèvre made the same change.

26 *deserto* ἐρημίᾳ ("solitudine" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Hebr.* 11,38, in accordance with the usual rendering of ἔρημος. Erasmus here prefers the less ambiguous word, as *solitudo* can also mean "loneliness". However, he retains *solitudo* for ἐρημία at *Mc.* 8,4, and for ἔρημος at *Act.* 7,38; *Ap. Ioh.* 12,6. At *Mt.* 15,33, rendering ἐρημία, he replaces *desertum* by *solitudo*. At the present passage, he has the same word as Ambrosiaster.

26 *inter falsos fratres* ἐν ψευδαδέλφοις ("in falsis fratribus" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24 for *inter*. Lefèvre, less accurately, had *a falsis fratribus*.

27 *molestia* μόχθῳ ("aerumna" Vg.). At the two other passages where μόχθος is coupled with κόπος (1 *Thess.* 2,9; 2 *Thess.* 3,8), Erasmus renders μόχθος by *sudor*, in place of *fatigatio*. See on vs. 28 for his replacement of *aerumna* by *sollicitudo* in rendering μέριμνα at *Mc.* 4,19. In *Annot.*, he indicates that he has borrowed *molestia* from "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster). Erasmus also uses *molestia* to render κόπος at *Gal.* 6,17 (1522), and occasionally for λυπέω and λύπη.

27 *saepe* (twice) πολλάκις ("multis" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering corresponds with πολλαῖς in cod. D*, though it was perhaps only a matter of translation, avoiding repetition of *saepe* from vs. 26: cf. the Vulgate use of *plurimis* instead of *abundantius* in vs. 23, above, and see also *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *crebro ... sepe*, and Lefèvre *frequenter ... saepe*.

27 δίψῃ. This incorrect spelling, also found in cod. B*, was first introduced in the 1516 errata. Most mss., including codd. 1, 2815, 2816, 2817, have δίψει, as in the 1516 text (in cod. 2105, ἐν λιμῷ καὶ δίψει was omitted).

28 *ea* τῶν ("illa" Vg.). Erasmus dispenses with the added emphasis of *illa*. Cf. *Annot.*

28 *quae extrinsecus accidunt* παρεκτός ("quae intrinsecus sunt" Vg. 1527; "quae extrinsecus sunt" *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. mss.). Erasmus finds a more vigorous verb, well suited to the context: see *Annot.* The erroneous spelling of the 1527 Vulgate column, *intrinsecus*, followed the Froben Vulgate of 1514. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *quae extrinsecus sunt*. Lefèvre had *quae forinsecus sunt*.

28 *incumbens mihi* ἡ ἐπισύστασίς μου ("instantia mea" Vg.; "conspiratio in me" 1516). Erasmus' use of *conspiratio* in 1516 (cf. *concursus* at *Act.* 24,12) was prompted by the Greek "scholia" of cod. 2817ᶜᵒᵐᵐ: see *Annot.* In 1519, however, he treated ἐπισύστασις and μέριμνα as being in apposition to one another. See on *Act.* 6,4 for *incumbo*. A few mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ א* B F G H*, read ἡ ἐπίστασίς μοι, while א ᶜᵒʳʳ D have ἡ ἐπίστασίς μου. A similar substitution of ἐπίστασις occurs in a few early mss. at *Act.* 24,12. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss.

28 *cura* ἡ μέριμνα ("Sollicitudo" 1516 = Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 13,22; 1 *Petr.* 5,7, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Lc.* 21,34. Erasmus retains *sollicitudo* at *Lc.* 8,14, and uses *sollicitudo* to replace *aerumna* at *Mc.* 4,19, both rendering the same Greek word (see also on *molestia* in vs. 27, above). In 1516, *Sollicitudo* begins a new sentence, arising from the substitution of *conspiratio* earlier in the verse. The 1519 wording follows the version of Lefèvre.

28 *omnium ecclesiarum* πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ("de omnibus ecclesiis" 1516). The change in 1519 was, no doubt, designed to ensure that the Greek was understood as an objective genitive.

29 *offenditur* σκανδαλίζεται ("scandalizatur" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,61. Erasmus again has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ πυροῦμαι; ³⁰ εἰ καυχᾶ-
σθαι δεῖ, τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας μου καυχή-
σομαι.

³¹ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οἶδεν, ὁ ὢν εὐλογη-
τὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι.
³² ἐν Δαμασκῷ ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ἀρέτα τοῦ
βασιλέως ἐφρούρει τὴν Δαμασκηνῶν
πόλιν, πιάσαι με θέλων, ³³ καὶ διὰ
θυρίδος ἐν σαργάνῃ ἐχαλάσθην διὰ
τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ἐξέφυγον τὰς χεῖρας
αὐτοῦ.

et ego non vror? ³⁰ Si gloriari oporteat,
de his quae infirmitatis meae sunt,
gloriabor.

³¹ Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu
Christi qui est laudandus in secula,
nouit quod non mentiar. ³² In Da-
masci ciuitate, gentis praefectus no-
mine Aretae regis excubias posuerat
in Damascenorum vrbe, cupiens me
comprehendere, ³³ ac per fenestram in
sporta demissus fui per moenia, effugi-
que manus eius.

LB 793

12 Καυχᾶσθαι δὴ οὐ συμφέρει μοι,
ἐλεύσομαι γὰρ εἰς ὀπτασίας καὶ
ἀποκαλύψεις | κυρίου. ² οἶδα ἄνθρωπον

12 Gloriari sane non expedit mihi,
veniam enim ad visiones et re-
uelationes | domini. ² Noui hominem

LB 794

31 ημων B-E: om. A

31 nostri B-E: om. A | laudandus B-E: benedictus A | secula C-E: saecula A B | 32 gen-
tis B-E: plebis A | nomine B-E: om. A | 33 ac B-E: et A | effugique B-E: et effugi A
12,1 mihi B-E: om. A | 2 Noui B-E: Scio A

30 *oporteat* δεῖ ("oportet" Vg.). Erasmus' substi-
tution of the subjunctive conveys the sense that
this is only a hypothetical condition, and that
the apostle was not actually saying that it is
right to "boast".

30 *de his quae ... sunt* τά ("quae ... sunt" Vg.).
Erasmus adds *de his*, preferring not to use a
direct object with *glorior*, though the Vulgate
is more literal. Ambrosiaster put *in his que ...
sunt*, and Lefèvre *in iis quae ... sunt*.

31 *nostri* ἡμῶν (omitted in 1516 = some Vg.
mss.). The omission of this pronoun in 1516
was prompted by cod. 2817, with support from
cod. 1, as well as ℵ B F G H and most other
mss. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus suggested that
the word was not found in Greek mss. ("redun-
dat iuxta graecos"), though consultation of his
Basle mss. should have alerted him to the fact
that it was contained in codd. 2105, 2815, 2816.
It is also in cod. 3 and many other late mss.,
together with cod. D, Ambrosiaster and the late
Vulgate. Erasmus accordingly reinstated ἡμῶν
in 1519, and modified the wording of *Annot.*
to "in nonnullis Graecorum exemplaribus non
apponitur". Manetti omitted this word.

31 *qui ... secula, nouit* οἶδεν, ὁ ... αἰῶνας ("scit,
qui ... secula" Vg.). For clarity, Erasmus moves

the verb so that it immediately precedes the
subordinate clause which relates to it. For his
use of *nouit*, see on *Rom.* 14,14. Both Manetti
and Lefèvre made the same transposition of the
verb, but retained *scit*.

31 *laudandus* εὐλογητός ("benedictus" 1516
= Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,25.

31 *mentiar* ψεύδομαι ("mentior" Vg.). For Eras-
mus' use of the subjunctive after *quod*, see on
Ioh. 1,20.

32 *In Damasci ciuitate* ἐν Δαμασκῷ ("Damasci"
Vg.). Erasmus expanded the wording, to pre-
vent *Damasci* from being connected too closely
with *praepositus* (or *praefectus*): see *Annot.* For
other additions of *ciuitas*, see on *Act.* 8,26. An
unfortunate consequence of this insertion is
that it duplicates the use of πόλιν later in the
sentence.

32 *gentis praefectus* ὁ ἐθνάρχης ("praepositus
gentis" Vg.; "plebis praefectus" 1516). See on
Act. 7,10, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had
praefectus gentis.

32 *nomine Aretae* Ἀρέτα ("Aretae" 1516 = Vg.).
Erasmus adds *nomine*, to avoid *gentis ... Aretae*
being misunderstood to mean the "nation of
Aretas". Cf. *Annot.*

32 *excubias posuerat in Damascenorum vrbe* ἐφρού-
ρει τὴν Δαμασκηνῶν πόλιν ("custodiebat ci-
uitatem Damascenorum" Vg.). The Vulgate is
more literal here, though it probably reflects
the transposition of πόλιν and Δαμασκηνῶν,
as in codd. ℵ B D* F G H and a few other
mss. The Greek text of Erasmus follows codd.
2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and
also D^corr and most other mss. He retains *cu-
stodio* at the three other N.T. passages where
φρουρέω occurs. At the present passage, having
regard to the ethnarch's intention of arresting
Paul, the more colourful expression chosen by
Erasmus was well suited to the context. He
could, however, have reproduced the Greek
grammatical structure more accurately by put-
ting *excubiis custodiebat Damascenorum vrbem*.
The change to *vrbem* was designed to avoid
repetition of *ciuitas*, which Erasmus had inserted
earlier in the sentence (cf. *ciuitas ... vrbe* at *Act.*
16,12). Lefèvre put *obseruabat Damascenorum
ciuitatem*.

32 *cupiens me comprehendere* πιάσαι με θέλων
("vt me comprehenderet" Vg.). The Vulgate re-
flects the omission of θέλων, as in codd. B D*.
The text of Erasmus is supported by nearly all
other mss., commencing with ℵ D^corr H. See
Annot. The version of Manetti put *comprehendere
me volens*, and Lefèvre *appraehendere me volens*.

33 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.
Lefèvre put *sed*.

33 *demissus fui* ἐχαλάσθην ("dimissus sum"
Vg.). At *Act.* 9,25, Erasmus followed the Vulgate
in using *summitto* for χαλάζω. See *ad loc.* for
demitto, and on *Rom.* 4,2 for *fui*. Ambrosiaster
(1492) and Lefèvre put *demissus sum*.

33 *moenia* τοῦ τείχους ("murum" Vg.). The
Vulgate is more literal in using the singular.
Erasmus probably considered that the Greek
word, in this context, meant the fortified wall
of the city, and not just the wall of a house.
A similar substitution of *moenia* for *murus*
occurs at *Hebr.* 11,30, though Erasmus retains
murus at *Act.* 9,25 and at several passages of
Ap. Ioh. ch. 21, in rendering the same Greek
word.

33 *effugique* καί ἐξέφυγον ("et sic effugi" late
Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "et effugi" 1516 = Vg.
mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *sic* is unsup-
ported by Greek mss. For *-que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39.
See also *Annot.* The earlier Vulgate, Ambro-
siaster and Manetti had *et effugi*, as in Erasmus'
1516 edition, while Lefèvre had *atque effugi*.

12,1 *Gloriari* Καυχᾶσθαι ("Si gloriari" Vg.).
The Vulgate corresponds with the insertion of
εἰ before καυχᾶσθαι, as in codd. ℵ^corr H and
a few later mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus plausibly
suggests that the replacement of καυχᾶσθαι δή
by εἰ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ was influenced by the use
of the same phrase at 2 *Cor.* 11,30. Erasmus'
correction agreed with the wording of Ambro-
siaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

1 *sane* δή ("oportet" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects
the substitution of δεῖ, as in 𝔓^46 B D^corr F
G H and many other mss., including cod. 1,
and this was also how Erasmus cited the Greek
text at the beginning of his note on this passage
in *Annot.* However, he discusses both readings
and concludes that δεῖ was either a harmonisa-
tion with 2 *Cor.* 11,30 or an accidental change
by scribes (see the previous note). His N.T. text
followed codd. 2815 and 2817, together with
2105, 2816 and many other late mss. Another
variant, δέ, was adopted by codd. ℵ D*. The
first two readings were both mentioned in Valla
Annot. and Lefèvre *Comm.* The version of
Manetti had *ergo*, and Lefèvre *certe*.

1 *mihi* μοι ("quidem" Vg.; 1516 omits). The
Vulgate followed a Greek text substituting μέν,
as in 𝔓^46 ℵ B F G and ten other mss. Eras-
mus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with
1, 2105, 2816^vid, as well as D^corr and about
570 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 2, pp. 697-700). In *Annot.*, he took the view
that μέν was an accidental scribal substitution.
His 1519 rendering was the same as that of
Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre
(except that Lefèvre had the spelling *michi*).

1 *enim* γάρ ("autem" Vg.). The Vulgate corre-
sponds with the substitution of δέ, as found
in 𝔓^46 ℵ (B) F G H and a few other mss.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1,
2105, 2816, and also cod. D and most later mss.
See *Annot.* The use of μέν ... δέ in the text
under-lying the Vulgate has the appearance of
being an artificial antithesis that was created by
an early corrector of the text. If such a corrector
found that μέν already stood in place of μοι
in his exemplar (see the previous note), this
could have prompted him to make the con-
struction symmetrical by the use of δέ. Both
Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as
Erasmus.

2 *Noui* οἶδα ("Scio" 1516 = Vg.). See on
Ioh. 1,33; *Rom.* 14,14. Manetti anticipated this
change.

ἐν Χριστῷ πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων,
εἴτε ἐν σώματι, οὐκ οἶδα· εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ
σώματος, οὐκ οἶδα· ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν· ἁρπα-
γέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἕως τρίτου οὐρα-
νοῦ· ³ καὶ οἶδα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον,
εἴτε ἐν σώματι, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος,
οὐκ οἶδα· ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν· ⁴ ὅτι ἡρπάγη εἰς
τὸν παράδεισον, καὶ ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα
ῥήματα, ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι.
⁵ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιούτου καυχήσομαι, ὑπὲρ
δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ οὐ καυχήσομαι, εἰ μὴ ἐν
ταῖς ἀσθενείαις μου. ⁶ ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσω
καυχήσασθαι, οὐκ ἔσομαι ἄφρων, ἀλή-
θειαν γὰρ ἐρῶ· φείδομαι δὲ μή τις εἰς ἐμὲ
λογίσηται ὑπὲρ ὃ βλέπει με, ἢ ἀκούει τι
ἐξ ἐμοῦ. ⁷ καὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀποκα-
λύψεων ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι, ἐδόθη μοι
σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, ἄγγελος σατᾶν, ἵνα

in Christo ante annos quatuordecim,
an in corpore, nescio: an extra corpus,
nescio, deus nouit: raptum huiusmodi
in tertium vsque coelum: ³ et scio hu-
iusmodi hominem: an in corpore, an
extra corpus, nescio, deus nouit: ⁴ ra-
ptum fuisse in paradisum, et audisse
arcana verba, quae fas non sit homini
loqui. ⁵ Super huiusmodi homine glo-
riabor, de me ipso vero non gloriabor,
nisi super infirmitatibus meis. ⁶ Nam
si voluero gloriari, non ero insipiens,
veritatem enim dicam: sed parco *vobis*,
ne quis de me cogitet, supra id quod
videt esse me, aut quod audit ex me.
⁷ Et ne excellentia reuelationum supra
modum efferrer, datus fuit mihi sti-
mulus per carnem, nuncius satanae, vt

12,4 οὐκ *A B D E*: αυκ *C* | 5 ου *B-E*: οὐκ *A*

2 in tertium vsque *B-E*: vsque in tertium *A* | 4 raptum fuisse *B-E*: quod raptus fuerit *A* |
audisse *B-E*: audierit *A* | 5 super infirmitatibus *B-E*: in infirmitatibus *A* | 6 vobis *B-E (ital.)*:
vobis *A (rom.)* | de *B-E*: in *A*

2 *an* (twice) εἴτε ("siue" Vg.). A similar sub-
stitution occurs in vs. 3, though Erasmus ren-
ders all other instances of εἴτε by *siue*. The
reason for this change is that he understood
these clauses as indirect questions, coupled
with *nescio*. See *Annot.*

2 *nescio* (1st.) οὐκ οἶδα (late Vg. omits). The
late Vulgate omission has little support from
Greek mss. See *Annot.* The correction made by
Erasmus produces agreement with the earlier
Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *nouit* οἶδεν ("scit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,14.

2 *huiusmodi* τὸν τοιοῦτον ("huiuscemodi"
Vg. 1527). Some mss. of the Vulgate had *eius-
modi*, others *huiusmodi* (as in Ambrosiaster).
The 1527 Vulgate column, which has *huiusce-
modi* in vss. 2, 3 and 5, follows the Froben Vul-
gate of 1514. See on *Rom.* 16,18. Manetti had
talem, and Lefèvre *eum ipsum*.

2 *in tertium vsque* ἕως τρίτου ("vsque ad ter-
tium" Vg.; "vsque in tertium" 1516). See on

Act. 1,2; 17,15, for the position of *vsque*. Lefèvre
had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516
edition.

3 *huiusmodi* τὸν τοιοῦτον ("huiuscemodi" Vg.
1527). See on vs. 2. Ambrosiaster and Manetti
had *talem*, and Lefèvre *eum ipsum*.

3 *an* (twice) εἴτε ("siue" Vg.). See on vs. 2.

3 σώματι. Cod. 2815 adds οὐκ οἶδα, from
harmonisation with vs. 2, in company with a
few other late mss.

3 *nouit* οἶδεν ("scit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,14.

4 *raptum fuisse ... audisse* ὅτι ἡρπάγη ... ἤκουσεν
("quoniam raptus est ... audiuit" Vg.; "quod
raptus fuerit ... audierit" 1516). Erasmus shifts
to the accusative and infinitive construction, in
artificial conformity with the use of *raptum* in
vs. 2. Manetti put *quod raptus est*, and Lefèvre
quod raptus fuit, both followed shortly afterwards
by *audiuit*.

4 *fas non sit* οὐκ ἐξόν ("non licet" Vg.). Erasmus
uses a similar expression to render ἀθέμιτον

at *Act.* 10,28 (1519) and οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσί-
αν at *Hebr.* 13,10. Elsewhere he almost always
retains *licet* for ἔξεστι. Lefèvre had *non liceret.*

5 *Super ... de ... super* ὑπὲρ ... ὑπὲρ ... ἐν ("Pro
... pro ... in" Vg.; "Super ... de ... in" 1516). See
on *Rom.* 5,3; *2 Cor.* 5,12. Erasmus does not
match the consistency of the Vulgate here. A
sequence of *de ... de ... super* would have preserved
some distinction between ὑπέρ and ἐν.

5 *huiusmodi homine* τοῦ τοιούτου ("huiusce-
modi" Vg. 1527). See on vs. 2. Other late Vul-
gate editions have *huiusmodi* (the rendering of
Ambrosiaster), while some earlier Vulgate mss.
had *eiusmodi*. Erasmus adds *homine*, to prevent
huiusmodi from being understood as meaning
"such a thing": see *Annot.* The version of Ma-
netti had *hoc tali*, and Lefèvre *re tali.*

5 *me ipso* ἐμαυτοῦ ("me" Vg.). Erasmus renders
the reflexive pronoun more emphatically. See
Annot. The same change was made by Lefèvre,
while Manetti had the word-order *me autem
ipso.*

5 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.
Lefèvre began the sentence with *Equidem pro
meipso.*

5 *non gloriabor* οὐ καυχήσομαι ("nihil" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate omission of *gloriabor* is
unsupported by Greek mss. Further, the Vulgate
use of *nihil* corresponds more closely with
οὐδέν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶. See *Annot.* The wording of
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre was the
same as that of Erasmus.

6 *si* ἐάν ("etsi" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of
et has little support from Greek mss. The ver-
sion of Manetti began the sentence with *Si
enim*, and Lefèvre with *Qui tametsi.*

6 *sed parco vobis* φείδομαι δέ ("parco autem"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus adds *vobis*, to
provide an object for *parco*: in 1519-27, he
placed this pronoun in smaller type, and in
1535 in italics, to show that the word does not
explicitly correspond with the Greek text. Lefèvre
put *Abstineo tamen.*

6 *de* εἰς (omitted in late Vg. and some Vg. mss.;
"in" 1516 = some Vg. mss.). See on *2 Cor.* 10,16,
and *Annot.* The late Vulgate omission has little
support other than 𝔓⁴⁶. Manetti and Lefèvre
both had *in.*

6 *cogitet* λογίσηται ("existimet" Vg.). See on
Rom. 2,3, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre
had *reputet.*

6 *esse me* με ("in me" late Vg.). The late Vulgate
addition of *in* lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus
adds *esse*, for clarification. The earlier Vulgate,
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put just *me*,
omitting *in.*

6 *quod audit* ἀκούει τι ("audit aliquid" late
Vg.). Erasmus changes the meaning slightly, to
remove the apparent clash between *id quod* and
aliquid. The earlier Vulgate omitted *aliquid*, cor-
responding with the omission of τι in codd.
א * B Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G I and a few later mss. Erasmus'
Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with
support from 1, 2105, 2816, as well as 𝔓⁴⁶ אᶜᵒʳʳ
D* and most later mss. The pronoun τι has
the merit of being a *lectio difficilior* as it compli-
cates the connection between ἀκούει and the
earlier ὑπέρ ὅ. Lefèvre put *quicquam audit.*

7 *ne excellentia reuelationum supra modum effer-
rer* τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων ἵνα μὴ
ὑπεραίρωμαι ("ne magnitudo reuelationum
extollat me" Vg.). Erasmus more accurately
reproduces the passive sense of the Greek verb.
He uses *excellentia* to convey more fully the
meaning of ὑπερβολή, as something which
goes beyond or surpasses. At *Phil.* 3,8, he also
uses *excellentia* in rendering τὸ ὑπερέχον. See
on *Rom.* 11,20 for *effero.* For Erasmus' use of
supra modum, see on *2 Cor.* 10,14. See also
Annot. A suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was *excellentia
reuelationum ne extollar*, which Lefèvre transposed
into *ne excellentia reuelationum extollar* (cf. Am-
brosiaster, *ne sublimitate reuelationum extollar*).
Manetti put *ne excessu reuelationum extollar.*

7 *datus fuit* ἐδόθη ("datus est" Vg.). See on
Rom. 4,2. Lefèvre replaced *datus est ... stimulus*
by *datum est ... flagellum.*

7 *per carnem* τῇ σαρκί ("carnis meae" Vg.).
Erasmus here seems to prefer an instrumental
sense for the Greek dative. In *Annot.*, however,
he follows Valla *Annot.* in proposing *carni* or
in carne. Lefèvre adopted *carni.*

7 *nuncius* ἄγγελος ("angelus" Vg.). Either
rendering is legitimate. A similar substitution
occurs at *Mt.* 11,10; *Mc.* 1,2, but not in the
parallel passage at *Lc.* 7,27.

7 *vt* ἵνα ("qui" late Vg.). Erasmus gives a more
literal rendering, though the use of *qui* to intro-
duce a purpose clause is a common classical
idiom. See *Annot.* The change made by Eras-
mus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosi-
aster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre (both
columns).

με κολαφίζῃ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι.
⁸ὑπὲρ τούτου τρὶς τὸν κύριον παρε-
κάλεσα, ἵνα ἀποστῇ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ⁹καὶ
εἴρηκέ μοι, Ἀρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις μου·
ἡ γὰρ δύναμίς μου ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τε-
λειοῦται. ἥδιστα οὖν μᾶλλον καυ-
χήσομαι ἐν ταῖς ἀσθενείαις μου, ἵνα
ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ
Χριστοῦ. ¹⁰διὸ εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθε-
νείαις, ἐν ὕβρεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν
διωγμοῖς, ἐν στενοχωρίαις ὑπὲρ Χρι-
στοῦ. ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυ-
νατός εἰμι.

¹¹Γέγονα ἄφρων καυχώμενος. ὑμεῖς
με ἠναγκάσατε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὤφειλον ὑφ'
ὑμῶν συνίστασθαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑστέ-
ρησα τῶν ὑπὲρ | λίαν ἀποστόλων·
εἰ καὶ οὐδέν εἰμι. ¹²τὰ μὲν σημεῖα

me colaphis caederet, ne supra mo-
dum efferret. ⁸Super hoc ter domi-
num rogaui, vt discederet a me, ⁹et
dixit mihi: Sufficit tibi gratia mea:
nam virtus mea per infirmitatem per-
ficitur. Libentissime igitur gloriabor
potius super infirmitatibus meis, vt in-
habitet in me virtus Christi. ¹⁰Quam-
obrem placeo mihi in infirmitatibus,
in contumeliis, in necessitatibus, in
persequutionibus, in anxietatibus pro
Christo. Quum enim infirmus sum,
tunc robustus sum.

¹¹Factus sum insipiens gloriando.
Vos me coegistis: nam ego debueram
a vobis commendari. Nulla enim in
re inferior fui summis apostolis: |
tametsi nihil sum. ¹²Signa quidem

LB 795

LB 796

7 *alt.* υπεραιρωμαι *A B D E*: ηπεραιρωμαι *C* | 9 γαρ *Aᶜ B-E*: *om. A**

7 caederet *B-E*: cederet *A* | 9 *prius* virtus *B-E*: fortitudo *A* | *alt.* mea *Aᶜ B-E*: tua *A** |
per infirmitatem *B-E*: in infirmitate *A* | gloriabor potius super *B-E*: potius gloriabor in *A* |
alt. virtus *B-E*: fortitudo *A* | 11 debueram *B-E*: debui *A*

7 *colaphis caederet* κολαφίζῃ ("colaphizet" Vg.).
The Vulgate verb, *colaphizo*, did not exist in
classical Latin usage, and was no more than a
transliteration of the Greek word. Lefèvre had
cedat (= *caedat*).

7 *ne supra modum efferret* ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι
(Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission was supported
by codd. ℵ* A D F G and five later mss.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside
1, 2105, 2816, with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵᶜᵒʳʳ B Iᵛⁱᵈ and about
550 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 2, pp. 700-2). See *Annot.* This second in-
stance of ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι could perhaps
be explained as a deliberate repetition by the
apostle, for the sake of emphasis. If these words
were not already present in the text, a copyist
would have had little reason to think of repeat-
ing them here. Correspondingly it is understand-
able that a few scribes, who considered the
repetition of this phrase to be superfluous,
decided to delete it. The rendering of Ambrosi-
aster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre was *ne
extollar.*

8 *Super hoc* ὑπὲρ τούτου ("Propter quod" Vg.).
Erasmus is more accurate here. In *Annot.*, he
also suggested *de hoc* (cf. 2 *Cor.* 1,8) or *pro hoc.*
Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *propter hoc.*

9 γάρ. This word was omitted from all editions
of *Annot.* and also from the 1516 Greek text,
contrary to the accompanying Latin version as
well as Erasmus' Greek mss. at Basle. It was
reinstated by the 1516 errata.

9 *virtus* (twice) δύναμις ("fortitudo" 1516). A
similar substitution of *fortitudo* occurs at *Eph.*
1,19; 3,16, in accordance with Vulgate usage at
Act. 6,8: see on *Rom.* 1,4, and *Annot.* In 1519,
Erasmus returned to the Vulgate rendering.
Lefèvre had *potestas.*

9 *mea* (2nd.) μου (Vg. omits; "tua" 1516 Lat.
text). The Vulgate omission is supported by
𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ* A* B D* F G and a few later mss.
Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and
2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also
ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Aᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.*
The inclusion of this pronoun is of some

importance as it makes clear that δύναμις is a reference to the power of the Lord (cf. ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ at the end of this verse) rather than a philosophical comment on the nature of power itself. If μου were not genuine, it might be supposed that a corrector added this word as an attempted doctrinal "improvement". An alternative explanation is that it was part of the apostolic wording, but that a few scribes accidentally omitted it or mistakenly thought that it was redundant to the sense. Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre likewise all had *mea* here.

9 *per infirmitatem* ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ("in infirmitate" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

9 *Libentissime* ἥδιστα ("Libenter" Vg.). Erasmus more accurately renders the Greek superlative. See *Annot.* His wording was the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

9 *gloriabor potius* μᾶλλον καυχήσομαι ("gloriabor" Vg.; "potius gloriabor" 1516). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of μᾶλλον in a few late mss. Erasmus' 1516 edition is more literal as to the Latin word-order; his change in 1519 was designed to avoid *potius* being misunderstood as relating to *libentissime*. See *Annot.* The rendering of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre was *magis gloriabor*.

9 *super* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,3.

10 *Quamobrem* διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,26. Manetti put *Idcirco*.

10 *placeo mihi* εὐδοκῶ ("placebo" *Annot.*, lemma). In using the more accurate present tense, Erasmus (and also the 1527 Vulgate column) had the same rendering as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre substituted *bono sum animo*.

10 *infirmitatibus* ἀσθενείαις ("infirmitatibus meis" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *meis* corresponds with the addition of μου in codd. F^corr G. See *Annot.* The same correction was made by Manetti and Lefèvre (except that the first hand of *Urb. Lat.* 6 mistakenly added *meis. Si enim voluero gloriari* after *infirmitatibus*, as the scribe lost his place in the text and jumped back to vss. 5-6).

10 *anxietatibus* στενοχωρίαις ("angustiis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,9.

10 *infirmus sum* ἀσθενῶ ("infirmor" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 11,1.

10 *robustus* δυνατός ("potens" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *robustus* elsewhere, see on 1 *Cor.* 1,27. At 2 *Cor.* 13,9, he prefers to contrast *infirmus* with *validus*, in rendering the same Greek word. Usually he retains *potens*.

11 *gloriando* καυχώμενος (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓^46 ℵ A B D F G and more than fifty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and about 500 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 702-4). See *Annot.* If καυχώμενος were not authentic, it would be necessary to imagine that it was an explanatory addition by scribes. However, it is well suited to the context, and consistent with Pauline syntax at *Gal.* 4,16 (ἐχθρὸς ... γέγονα ἀληθεύων). It remains possible that some scribes accidentally or deliberately omitted the word. The version of Manetti had *gloriosus*, and Lefèvre *glorians*.

11 *nam ego* ἐγὼ γάρ ("Ego enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre replaced *ego enim debui* with *quia par fuerat me*.

11 *debueram a vobis* ὤφειλον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ("a vobis debui" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "debui a vobis" 1516 = some Vg. mss.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order, by comparison with the late Vulgate. For his preference for the pluperfect, see on *Ioh.* 1,19. Lefèvre also used the pluperfect tense here, but changed to an impersonal construction, *par fuerat me a vobis* (see the previous note). Ambrosiaster and Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

11 *Nulla ... in re inferior fui* οὐδὲν ... ὑστέρησα ("Nihil ... minus feci" late Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,4 for the removal of *nihil*, and on 2 *Cor.* 11,5 for *inferior sum*. In *Annot.*, lemma, Erasmus cites the Vulgate wording as if it omitted *enim*, though it appears in his 1527 Vulgate column. Manetti put *Nihil enim defeci*, and Lefèvre *nichilo enim minus habui*.

11 *summis apostolis* τῶν ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀποστόλων ("ab his qui sunt supra modum apostoli" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 11,5, and *Annot.*, where Erasmus also renders by *excellentissimis apostolis*. Lefèvre had *quam praecellentes apostoli*. Manetti's version had *ab his quae supra modum sunt apostoli* (*sic*).

11 οὐδέν (2nd.). Cod. 2815 substituted μηδέν, apparently without other ms. support.

12 *quidem* μέν ("tamen" Vg.). A few later Greek mss. replace τὰ μέν with ἀλλὰ τά, or ἀλλὰ

τοῦ ἀποστόλου κατειργάσθη ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν πάσῃ ὑπομονῇ, ἐν σημείοις καὶ τέρασι καὶ δυνάμεσι. ¹³τί γάρ ἐστιν ὃ ἡττήθητε ὑπὲρ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν; χαρίσασθέ μοι τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην.

¹⁴Ἰδοὺ τρίτον ἑτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐ καταναρκήσω ὑμῶν. οὐ γὰρ ζητῶ τὰ ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς. οὐ γὰρ ὀφείλει τὰ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσι θησαυρίζειν, ἀλλ' οἱ γονεῖς τοῖς τέκνοις. ¹⁵ἐγὼ δὲ ἥδιστα δαπανήσω, καὶ ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, εἰ καὶ περισσοτέρως ὑμᾶς ἀγαπῶν, ἧττον ἀγαπῶμαι. ¹⁶ἔστω δέ, ἐγὼ οὐ κατεβάρησα ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑπάρχων πανοῦργος, δόλῳ ὑμᾶς ἔλαβον. ¹⁷μή τινα ὧν ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δι' αὐτοῦ ἐπλεονέκτησα

apostoli peracta fuerunt inter vos cum omni patientia et signis et prodigiis et potentibus factis. ¹³Nam quid est in quo fuistis inferiores caeteris ecclesiis, nisi quod ipse ego non fuerim vobis onerosus? Condonate mihi hanc iniuriam.

¹⁴Ecce tertio propensus animo sum, vt veniam ad vos, nec ero vobis onerosus. Non enim quaero quae vestra sunt, sed vos. Non enim debent filii parentibus recondere, sed filiis parentes. ¹⁵Ego vero libentissime impendam, et expendar pro animabus vestris: licet vberius vos diligens, minus diligar. ¹⁶Sed esto, ipse non grauaui vos: verum quum essem astutus, dolo vos cepi. ¹⁷Num per quenquam eorum quos misi ad vos, expilaui

13 ου E: ουκ A-D

12 cum B-E: in A | 13 quid est B-E: om. A | 14 nec B-E: et non A | recondere B-E: reponere A | 16 cepi B-E: coepi A

τὰ μέν (cf. codd. F G, ἄλλε τὰ μέν), or τὰ μέντοι, all of which may have been caused by retranslation from the Vulgate. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggested using *certe*. Manetti put *autem*.

12 *apostoli* τοῦ ἀποστόλου ("apostolatus mei" late Vg.). The late Vulgate lacks explicit Greek ms. support: see *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *peracta fuerunt* κατειργάσθη ("facta sunt" Vg.). Erasmus aims to convey the meaning of the Greek prefix κατ-. For *fuerunt*, see on *Rom.* 4,2. Lefèvre had *peracta sunt.*

12 *inter vos* ἐν ὑμῖν ("super vos" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests that the Vulgate represents a different text, ἐφ' ὑμῖν, though this lacks Greek ms. support. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *in vobis.*

12 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

12 *et signis* ἐν σημείοις ("in signis" late Vg.). The late Vulgate is more literal here. The earlier Vulgate, which omits *in*, is supported by

𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B D* and a few later mss. Erasmus' rendering is closer to καὶ σημείοις in codd. F G, though his Greek text conforms with codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss.

12 *potentibus factis* δυνάμεσι ("virtutibus" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 12,10, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *potestatibus.*

13 *Nam quid est in quo* τί γάρ ἐστιν ὃ ("Quid est enim quod" Vg.; "Nam in quo" 1516). For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. The omission of *quid est* in 1516 was possibly inadvertent. Manetti put *Quid est enim quo.*

13 *fuistis inferiores* ἡττήθητε ("minus habuistis prae" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 11,5, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *minorati estis pre*, and Lefèvre *minus habuistis quam.*

13 *ipse ego* αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ("ego ipse" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with ἐγὼ αὐτός in codd. F G.

13 *fuerim vobis onerosus* κατενάρκησα ("grauaui vos" Vg.). A similar substitution of *onerosus*

sum for *grauis sum* occurs in vs. 14, consistent with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 11,9, where the same Greek verb occurs. Erasmus generally retains *grauo* for βαρέω, βαρύνω and καταβαρέω (but see on 2 *Cor.* 5,4). Lefèvre put *non onerosus fui vobis.* Manetti's version had *generaui vos,* apparently an error of transcription for *oneraui vos* (cf. vs. 16).

13 *Condonate* χαρίσασθε ("Donate" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 2,7, and *Annot.*

14 *tertio* τρίτον ("tertio hoc" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of τοῦτο, found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B F G and many other mss., including codd. 2105 and 2816. In cod. D and a few others, it is τοῦτο τρίτον. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with cod. 1 and most other late mss. See *Annot.,* especially on 2 *Cor.* 13,1, where Erasmus plausibly explains that the word τοῦτο at vs. 14 was derived from that passage, i.e. through a scribal harmonisation. Valla *Annot.* similarly argued that *hoc* should be omitted here. The same correction was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *propensus animo sum* ἑτοίμως ἔχω ("paratus sum" Vg.). Erasmus retains the more literal *paratus sum* for this Greek idiom at *Act.* 21,13; 1 *Petr.* 4,5. For his use of *propensus* elsewhere, see on *Rom.* 10,1.

14 *vt veniam* ἐλθεῖν ("venire" Vg.). Erasmus prefers to avoid the infinitive. Manetti anticipated this change.

14 *nec* καὶ οὐ ("et non" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,16.

14 *ero vobis onerosus* καταναρκήσω ὑμῶν ("ero grauis vobis" Vg.). For *onerosus,* see on vs. 13. The change of word-order ensured that *onerosus* was preceded, more euphoniously, by a consonant. Erasmus here follows Lefèvre.

14 γάρ (1st.). This word was omitted in cod. 2815, with little or no other ms. support.

14 ἀλλ' (1st.). This spelling was derived from cod. 2817, supported by codd. 2105 and 2816. Most mss. have ἀλλά, as in codd. 1 and 2815.

14 *Non* (2nd.) οὐ ("Nec" Vg.). Erasmus provides consistency with the beginning of the previous sentence, as both sentences start with οὐ γάρ. Manetti made the same change, while Lefèvre began this sentence with *Nam non,* a combination which Erasmus avoids elsewhere in the N.T.

14 *recondere* θησαυρίζειν ("thesaurizare" Vg.; "reponere" 1516). See on *Rom.* 2,5.

14 *filiis parentes* οἱ γονεῖς τοῖς τέκνοις ("parentes filiis" Vg.). Erasmus inverts the word-order, for literary effect.

15 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus used the same word as Ambrosiaster.

15 *expendar* ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι ("superimpendar ego ipse" late Vg.). Neither the earlier Vulgate reading, *superimpendar ipse,* nor the late Vulgate addition of *ego,* appears to enjoy Greek ms. support, though in *Annot.,* Erasmus speculates that the Vulgate might have followed a different Greek text. Quite apart from this, *superimpendo* does not exist in classical usage. Lefèvre tried the equally non-classical *superexpendar.* Manetti anticipated the change made by Erasmus.

15 *vberius* περισσοτέρως ("plus" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 7,13. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *abundantius,* in accordance with Vulgate usage elsewhere.

16 *ipse* ἐγώ ("ego" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal. See on 1 *Cor.* 7,40. In *Annot.,* Erasmus argues that *ipse* makes a clearer (or more emphatic) distinction between Paul and the false apostles. Cod. 2815 omitted ἐγώ.

16 *non grauaui vos* οὐ κατεβάρησα ὑμᾶς ("vos non grauaui" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is more literal as to the word-order. In *Annot.,* he refers to the Vulgate as omitting *non.* This omission was made e.g. by the Froben Vulgate of 1491. For this reason, the passage is cited in the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata.* See also the *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 314, ll. 890-896. The 1527 Vulgate column and the 1514 Froben edition have *non* in the text. Manetti put *vos non oneraui,* and Lefèvre *vobis onerosus non fui.*

16 *verum* ἀλλ' ("sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

17 *Num* μή ("Nunquid" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,4, and *Annot.* The 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster had *Nun.*

17 *per quenquam* τινα ... δι' αὐτοῦ ("per aliquem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,18, and cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti replaced *per aliquem ... ad vos* by *aliquem eorum misi ad vos, et per ipsum.* Lefèvre had *quempiam ad vos misi: et per eum.*

17 *expilaui* ἐπλεονέκτησα ("circumueni" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 2,11. In *Annot.,* Erasmus also suggests the use of *fraudaui.* Inconsistently, in rendering the same Greek verb in vs. 18, he uses

ὑμᾶς;   ¹⁸παρεκάλεσα Τίτον, καὶ
συναπέστειλα τὸν ἀδελφόν. μή τι
ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὑμᾶς Τίτος; οὐ τῷ
αὐτῷ πνεύματι περιεπατήσαμεν; οὐ
τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἴχνεσι;

¹⁹Πάλιν δοκεῖτε ὅτι ὑμῖν ἀπο-
λογούμεθα; κατενώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐν Χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν· τὰ δὲ πάν-
τα, ἀγαπητοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν
οἰκοδομῆς.   ²⁰φοβοῦμαι γὰρ μή
πως ἐλθών, οὐχ οἴους θέλω εὕρω
ὑμᾶς, κἀγὼ εὑρεθῶ ὑμῖν οἷον
οὐ θέλετε· μή πως ἔρεις, ζῆλοι,
θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, καταλαλιαί, ψι-
θυρισμοί, φυσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι.
²¹μὴ πάλιν ἐλθόντα με ταπεινώσῃ

vos?   ¹⁸Rogaui Titum, et vna cum
illo misi fratrem. Num quid a vobis
extorsit Titus? An non eodem spi-
ritu ambulauimus? An non iisdem
vestigiis?

¹⁹Rursum arbitramini quod nos vo-
bis excusemus? In conspectu dei, in
Christo loquimur, sed omnia charissi-
mi pro vestri aedificatione.   ²⁰Nam
metuo ne qua fiat vt si venero, non
quales velim, reperiam vos, et ego re-
periar vobis qualem nolitis, ne quo
modo sint contentiones, aemulationes,
irae, concertationes, obtrectationes, su-
surri, tumores, seditiones.   ²¹Ne ite-
rum vbi venero, humilem faciat me

20 ερεις *B-E*: ερις *A*

20 obtrectationes, susurri *B-E*: oblocutiones, susurrationes *A* | 21 humilem faciat *C-E*:
humiliet *A B*

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extorqueo. Neither *expilo* nor *extorqueo* is used
elsewhere in his N.T. The Greek spelling in
Annot. is ἐκπλεονέκτησα: a similar error occurs
in vs. 18.

18 *vna cum illo misi* συναπέστειλα ("misi cum
illo" Vg.). For *vna*, see on *Act.* 1,22. This
reversal of the Latin word-order is independent
of the Greek text. Manetti put *misi cum ipso*,
and Lefèvre *cum eo misi*.

18 *a vobis extorsit Titus* ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὑμᾶς
Τίτος ("Titus vos circumuenit" Vg.). For *ex-
torqueo*, see on *expilaui* in the previous verse,
and see also *Annot.* The spelling of the Greek
word in *Annot.* is ἐκπλεονέκτησε: see on vs. 17
for a similar incorrect addition of -κ-. By
placing *Titus* at the end of the sentence, Erasmus
retains the emphasis of the Greek wording,
which makes a contrast between the actions of
Paul and Titus. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put
circumuenit vos Titus.

18 *An non* (twice) οὐ ("Nonne" Vg.). For
Erasmus' more emphatic rendering, cf. on *Ioh.*
18,11; 1 *Cor.* 9,1. Lefèvre, in his main text,
dropped the negative but replaced the following
eodem ... eisdem by *hocipso ... hisipsis*; in Lefèvre
Comm., this became *Nonne hoc ... Nonne his*.

18 *iisdem* αὐτοῖς ("eisdem" Vg. 1527). The
spelling of the 1527 Vulgate column followed
the Froben editions of 1491 and 1514. See the
previous note for the rendering of Lefèvre.

19 *Rursum* Πάλιν ("Olim" Vg.). The Vul-
gate reflects the substitution of Πάλαι, as
in (𝔓⁴⁶) ℵ* A B F G and nineteen later mss.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with
support from 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ^corr D
and about 570 later mss. (see Aland *Die Pau-
linischen Briefe* vol. 2, pp. 707-9). See *Annot.*
An explanation sometimes offered for πάλιν
is that it was a scribal correction, influenced
by 2 *Cor.* 3,1; 5,12 (ἀρχόμεθα πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς
συνιστάνειν, and οὐ γὰρ πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς
συνιστάνομεν ὑμῖν), whereas πάλαι ("for a
long time") is said to be a *lectio difficilior*.
However, if πάλιν were the original reading,
πάλαι could easily have been substituted by
an accidental change of just two letters, owing
to the similarity of spelling. The lemma of
Ambrosiaster (1492), and also Valla *Annot.*,
made use of *iterum*, while Manetti put *Rursus*,
and Lefèvre *Insuper*.

19 *arbitramini* δοκεῖτε ("putatis" Vg.). See on
1 *Cor.* 4,9. Lefèvre put *existimatis*.

19 *nos vobis excusemus* ὑμῖν ἀπολογούμεθα ("excusemus nos apud vos" Vg.). Erasmus is closer to the Greek word-order. Lefèvre *Comm.* made the same change, while Manetti put *excusemur apud vos*.

19 *In conspectu dei* κατενώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ("Coram deo" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 2,17. Erasmus again has the same wording as Lefèvre.

19 *sed omnia* τὰ δὲ πάντα ("Omnia enim" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26 for *sed.* In *Annot.*, Erasmus follows Lefèvre in citing *Omnia enim* as the Vulgate reading, which was also used by the Froben Vulgate of 1491. The use of *enim* lacks support from Greek mss. The 1527 Vulgate column and the Froben edition of 1514 follow the earlier Vulgate in putting *Omnia autem*, and this was also the wording of Ambrosiaster and Manetti. Lefèvre's version had *Omnia quidem.*

19 *pro vestri aedificatione* ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν οἰκοδομῆς ("propter aedificationem vestram" late Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. Further, by using *vestri*, he makes clear that the Greek pronoun is an objective genitive. Ambrosiaster put *pro vestra edificatione*, and Manetti *pro edificatione vestra.*

20 *Nam metuo* φοβοῦμαι γάρ ("Timeo enim" Vg.). For *metuo*, see on 2 *Cor.* 11,3, and for *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34.

20 *ne qua fiat vt ... ne quo modo* μή πως ... μή πως ("ne forte ... ne forte" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,21, and *Annot.* Erasmus is here more interested in stylistic variety than consistency. Manetti put *ne aliquatenus* (twice), and Lefèvre *ne quo pacto* (twice).

20 *si venero* ἐλθών ("cum venero" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate. Lefèvre had *cum veniam.*

20 *velim ... nolitis* θέλω ... οὐ θέλετε ("volo ... non vultis" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the subjunctive conveys the sense that this is a hypothetical situation, following from his earlier substitution of *si* for *cum*. Another substitution of *nolo* for *non volo* occurs at 2 *Thess.* 3,10, in accordance with classical Latin idiom.

20 *reperiam ... reperiar* εὕρω ... εὑρεθῶ ("inueniam ... inueniar" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,41.

20 *vobis* ὑμῖν ("a vobis" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here: see *Annot.*

20 *sint contentiones ... seditiones* ἔρεις ... ἀκαταστασίαι ("contentiones ... seditiones sint inter vos" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *sint inter vos* lacks explicit Greek support, but helps to make the

sense of the passage. Erasmus achieved greater clarity by moving the verb to an earlier position. See *Annot.* He referred to this passage in the 1527 edition of the *Quae Sint Addita.* In 1516, the reading ἔρις (if deliberate) was derived from cod. 2815, supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ א A and some later mss., including codd. 3 and 2105, in conflict with Erasmus' Latin translation. The plural, ἔρεις, is supported by codd. 1, 2816, 2817 and most other mss., commencing with B D F G. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus. Manetti followed the Vulgate in retaining *inter vos*, but omitted *sint.*

20 *irae* θυμοί ("animositates" Vg.). This change is consistent with Vulgate usage at most other instances of θυμός. See *Annot.* At *Hebr.* 11,27, Erasmus replaces *animositas* with *ferocia.* The word *animositas* does not occur in classical authors. Lefèvre put *furores*, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ap. Ioh.* 19,15.

20 *concertationes* ἐριθεῖαι ("dissensiones" Vg.). Erasmus uses the Ciceronian term, *concertatio*, in rendering the same Greek word at *Gal.* 5,20, in place of *rixa.* At five other passages, the Vulgate renders ἐριθεία by *contentio*, which Erasmus usually retains. See *Annot.*

20 *obtrectationes* καταλαλιαί ("detractiones" Vg.; "oblocutiones" 1516). A similar substitution occurs in rendering this Greek word at 1 *Petr.* 2,1, where Erasmus again uses *oblocutio* in 1516, and *obtrectatio* in 1519. In classical usage, *detractio* means "removal" or "withdrawal" rather than the utterance of disparaging remarks. Erasmus' choice of *obtrectatio*, which implies the making of malicious criticisms, is well-suited to the context. *Oblocutio*, however, which he tried in 1516, is absent from classical authors.

20 *susurri* ψιθυρισμοί ("susurrationes" 1516 = Vg.). The Vulgate word *susurratio* does not occur in classical usage. Lefèvre put *murmurationes.*

20 *tumores* φυσιώσεις ("inflationes" Vg.). In classical usage, *inflatio* (unlike the verb *inflo*) does not appear to have the required sense of "conceit". However, *tumor* is ambiguous. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.

21 *vbi venero* ἐλθόντα ("cum venero" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,28. In vs. 20, inconsistently, Erasmus translated the participle in a conditional sense, *si venero.* Lefèvre put *cum veniam.*

21 *humilem faciat me* με ταπεινώσῃ ("humiliet me" 1516-19 = Vg.). Comparable substitutions

ὁ θεός μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πενθήσω
πολλοὺς τῶν προημαρτηκότων, καὶ
μὴ μετανοησάντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαθαρ-
σίᾳ καὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ ᾗ
ἔπραξαν.

13 Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς
ὑμᾶς. ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρ-
τύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν
ῥῆμα. ²προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω, ὡς
παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ ἀπὼν νῦν
γράφω τοῖς προημαρτηκόσι, καὶ
τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐὰν ἔλθω
εἰς τὸ πάλιν, οὐ φείσομαι. ³ἐπεὶ

deus meus apud vos, et lugeam
multos eorum qui ante peccauerunt:
nec eos poenituit immundiciae libi-
dinisque et impudicitiae quam pat-
rarunt.

13 Hic tertius erit aduentus meus
ad vos. In ore duorum testi-
um aut trium constituetur omne ver-
bum. ²Praedixi et praedico, vt prae-
sens quum essem iterum, ita et absens
nunc scribo iis qui ante peccauerunt,
et reliquis omnibus: quod si venero
denuo, non parcam. ³Quandoquidem

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21 peccauerunt: nec C-E: peccauerint, et non A B | eos poenituit C-E: egerint poenitentiam A,
poenituerint B | immundiciae ... impudicitiae C-E: super immundicia et fornicatione, et
impudicicia A, super immundicia et libidine, et impudicicia B
13,2 Praedixi B-E: Praedixi vobis A

of *humilem reddo* occur at *Lc.* 3,5; *Iac.* 4,10; *humi-
lem praebeo* at *Phil.* 2,8; *humilis esse* at *Phil.* 4,12;
cf. also the replacement of *humilio* by *demitto*
at *Mt.* 18,4; and by *deiicio* at *Lc.* 14,11. All these
changes were made in 1522 (or, in some in-
stances, in the separate 1521 Latin N.T.). Eras-
mus retained *humilio* at *Mt.* 23,12; *Lc.* 18,14;
2 *Cor.* 11,7; 1 *Petr.* 5,6. The verb did not occur
in classical authors: see 1522 *Annot.* on *Phil.*
2,8. The Vulgate word-order possibly reflects a
Greek text replacing ἐλθόντα με ταπεινώσῃ
by ἐλθόντος μου ταπεινώσῃ με, as in codd.
ℵ* A, or by ἐλθόντος μου ταπεινώσει με, as
in 𝔓⁴⁶ B (F G) and seven other mss. Erasmus'
Greek text, ἐλθόντα με ταπεινώσῃ, follows
codd. 2105, 2815, 2816ᵛⁱᵈ, 2817, together with
about 280 other late mss., while cod. 1 and
almost 290 other late mss. have ἐλθόντα με
ταπεινώσει. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 2, pp. 710-12). Erasmus' Latin word-order
follows the Vulgate, in conflict with his ac-
companying Greek text.

21 *meus* μου (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission
is virtually unsupported by Greek mss. The
version of Lefèvre made the same correction as
Erasmus.

21 *eorum qui* τῶν ("ex his qui" Vg.). Erasmus
is more literal here. Manetti and Lefèvre both
made this change.

21 *peccauerunt: nec eos poenituit* προημαρτηκό-
των, καὶ μὴ μετανοησάντων ("peccauerunt,
et non egerunt poenitentiam" Vg.; "peccauerint,
et non egerint poenitentiam" 1516; "peccaue-
rint, et non poenituerint" 1519). The use of
the subjunctive in 1516-19 was influenced by
the preceding subjunctives, *faciat ... lugeam.* For
nec, see on *Ioh.* 2,16, and for *poeniteo,* see on
Act. 2,38; 3,19, and *Annot.*

21 *immundiciae libidinisque et impudicitiae* ἐπὶ
τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ
("super immundicia et fornicatione, et impudi-
cicia" 1516 = Vg.; "super immundicia et libidine,
et impudicicia" 1519). For Erasmus' preference
for the genitive after *poeniteo,* see on *Act.* 3,19,
and *Annot.* The Vulgate is more literal in using
a preposition. Another substitution of *libido*
for *fornicatio* occurs at *Ap. Ioh.* 17,4 (1519). For
the removal of *fornicatio* elsewhere, see on *Ioh.*
8,41. Manetti and Lefèvre followed the Vulgate,
except that Manetti put *de* for *super,* and Lefèvre
impudentia for *impudicicia.*

21 *patrarunt* ἔπραξαν ("gesserunt" Vg.). See on
1 *Cor.* 5,3. Erasmus finds a verb with a more
suitably pejorative tone. Manetti put *egerunt,*
and Lefèvre *admiserunt.*

13,1 *Hic tertius erit aduentus meus* Τρίτον τοῦτο
ἔρχομαι ("Ecce tertio hoc venio" Vg.). The Vul-
gate reflects the addition of ἰδού before τρίτον,

as in codd. ℵ^{corr} A and many later mss., inclu-
ding cod. 2816^{corr}. In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues
that this word was a scribal interpolation ("de-
portatum fuit") from 2 *Cor.* 12,14. His text
follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1 and
2105, and also 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B D F G and most
other mss. However, his Latin rendering is a
paraphrase, completely altering the grammatical
construction. In *Annot.*, more literally, Erasmus
offers *Hac tertia vice venio*, though he may have
been deterred from adopting this rendering by
Valla *Annot.* (on 2 *Cor.* 12,14), who objected
that *vice* did not occur in this sense in "the
most elegant authors". On the other hand,
Erasmus was content to ignore this objection
at *Ioh.* 21,14, where *Hac iam tertia vice* was used
in his published translation from 1519 onwards,
though even at that passage, in 1535 *Annot.*, he
conceded that *tertium* was "more Latin". Manet-
ti put *Hoc tertio venio*, and Lefèvre *Ecce tertio
venio* (the latter, following a Greek text which
substituted ἰδοὺ τρίτον ἔρχομαι).

1 *In* ἐπί ("vt in" late Vg.). The late Vulgate ad-
dition of *vt* would require the insertion of ἵνα
before ἐπί, as found in cod. ℵ * and a few later
mss. See *Annot.* The longer reading looks like
a harmonisation with *Mt.* 18,16. Erasmus' correc-
tion agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster
and Lefèvre.

1 *testium aut trium* μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν
("vel trium testium" Vg.). The Vulgate word-
order corresponds with ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων
in cod. I^{vid}, or with καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων
in a few other mss. For *aut*, see on *Ioh.* 2,6.
Lefèvre, over-literally, rendered by *testium et
trium*.

1 *constituetur* σταθήσεται ("stabit" Vg.). Eras-
mus seeks a more meaningful rendering, in the
sense of "shall be established". At *Mt.* 18,16
(1519), he similarly replaces *stet* with *consistat*,
in rendering σταθῇ. See also on *Rom.* 10,3,
where *constituo* replaces *statuo*. At the present
passage, Manetti put *stet*.

2 *Praedixi* προείρηκα ("Praedixi enim" late
Vg.; "Praedixi vobis" 1516 Lat.). The late Vul-
gate corresponds with the addition of γάρ in
cod. D* and a few later mss. See *Annot.* The
substitution of *vobis* for *enim* in 1516 was
perhaps a typesetting error, connected with
Erasmus' deletion of *vobis* later in the sentence.
His 1519 rendering agreed with the earlier Vul-
gate, Manetti and Lefèvre (spelled *Predixi* in
Manetti's version).

2 *praesens quum essem iterum, ita et* παρὼν
τὸ δεύτερον, καί ("praesens vobis et" late Vg.
and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate reading,
vobis, appears to be a mistaken substitution
for *bis*. Erasmus inserts *ita* here, to strengthen
the comparison which was introduced by
vt earlier in the sentence. Cf. *Annot.* The
rendering of Manetti was *presens secundum et*.
In Lefèvre's translation, the word-order was
changed to *praedico secundo, tanquam praesens
et*.

2 *absens nunc* ἀπὼν νῦν ("nunc absens" Vg.).
Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more
literally, adopting the same rendering as Am-
brosiaster and Manetti. See *Annot.*

2 *scribo* γράφω (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-
sion is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* F G I
and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd.
2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and
also D^{corr} and most later mss. See *Annot.* If
γράφω were not genuine, it might be thought
that scribes borrowed the word from vs. 10
(ταῦτα ἀπὼν γράφω). In the present context,
however, it is possible that an early corrector
who had a tendency to abbreviate the text
deleted γράφω, because he considered that the
preceding verb, προλέγω, made it redundant.
Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as
Erasmus.

2 *iis* τοῖς ("his" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate
here, though some editions of the late Vulgate
already contained *iis*. See on *Rom.* 4,12. Lefèvre
had *iis* in both his Latin translation and his
parallel Vulgate text.

2 *reliquis* τοῖς λοιποῖς ("ceteris" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13.

2 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.*
1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same
change.

2 *denuo* εἰς τὸ πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). This sub-
stitution was no doubt intended to mark a
distinction between πάλιν and τὸ δεύτερον,
which was rendered by *iterum* earlier in the
verse. Lefèvre put *in futuro*.

3 *Quandoquidem* ἐπεί ("An" Vg.). The Vulgate
reading, which would correspond with the sub-
stitution of ἤ, lacks Greek ms. support. See
Annot., and also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD*
IX, 4, pp. 237-8, ll. 939-943. The rendering ad-
vocated by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre,
was *Quoniam*.

LB 797

δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ λα-
λοῦντος Χριστοῦ, ὃς εἰς ὑμᾶς οὐκ
ἀσθενεῖ, ἀλλὰ δυνατεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. ⁴καὶ
γὰρ εἰ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ
ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς
ἀσθενοῦμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλ|λὰ ζησόμεθα
σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς.
⁵ἑαυτοὺς πειράζετε, εἰ ἐστὲ ἐν τῇ πί-
στει. ἑαυτοὺς δοκιμάζετε. ἢ οὐκ ἐπι-
γινώσκετε ἑαυτούς, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς Χρι-
στὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν; εἰ μή τι ἀδόκιμοί
ἐστε. ⁶ἐλπίζω δὲ ὅτι γνώσεσθε ὅτι
ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἀδόκιμοι. ⁷εὔχομαι
δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μὴ ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς
κακὸν μηδέν· οὐχ ἵνα ἡμεῖς δόκιμοι
φανῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὑμεῖς τὸ καλὸν
ποιῆτε, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἀδόκιμοι ὦμεν.

experimentum quaeritis in me loquen-
tis Christi, qui erga vos non est in-
firmus, sed potens est in vobis. ⁴Nam
quamuis crucifixus fuit ex infirmitate,
viuit tamen ex virtute dei. Siquidem
et nos infir|mi sumus in illo, sed   LB 798
viuemus cum illo ex virtute dei erga
vos. ⁵Vos ipsos tentate, num sitis
in fide. Vos ipsos probate. An non
cognoscitis vosmet ipsos, quod Iesus
Christus in vobis est? Nisi sicubi
reprobi estis. ⁶At spero vos cognituros
quod nos non simus reprobi. ⁷Opto
autem apud deum, ne quid mali facia-
tis: non quo nos probati appareamus,
sed vt vos quod honestum est, faci-
atis, nos vero veluti reprobi simus.

---

3 erga *B-E*: in *A* | 4 Siquidem *B-E*: Nam *A* | 6 simus *A** *B-E*: sumus *Aᵇ* | 7 ne *B-E*: vt ne *A*

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3 *in me loquentis Christi* τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντος
Χριστοῦ ("eius qui in me loquitur Christus"
late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "eius
qui in me loquitur Christi" some Vg. mss., with
Vgˢᵗ). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that the ad-
dition of *eius* was superfluous, and that the
use of the nominative, *Christus*, produces a
grammatical solecism. He further maintained
this objection in *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD*
IX, 4, pp. 237-8, ll. 940-943. The same correction
was proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

3 *erga vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" late Vg.; "in vos"
1516 = Vg. mss.). See on *Act.* 3,25 for *erga*. The
1516 rendering in effect restored the wording
of the earlier Vulgate. See *Annot.* The version
of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus'
1519 edition.

3 *est infirmus* ἀσθενεῖ ("infirmatur" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 11,1. This change is consistent with
Vulgate usage in the following verse.

4 *Nam quamuis* καὶ γὰρ εἰ ("Nam etsi" Vg.).
The Vulgate is more literal. Erasmus removes
any possibility that the apostle might be mis-
understood as doubting the physical "weak-
ness" of Christ at the time of the crucifixion.
The same doctrinal scruple might conceivably

explain the omission of εἰ in cod. 2815, in
company with א* B D* F G and some other
mss. Such an omission, unless merely accidental,
could also have arisen as a scribal harmonisation
with καὶ γὰρ at the beginning of the next
sentence. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, supported
by 1, 2105, 2816, as well as אᶜᵒʳʳ A Dᶜᵒʳʳ and
most later mss. The version of Manetti put
Etenim si.

4 *crucifixus fuit* ἐσταυρώθη ("crucifixus est"
Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

4 *viuit tamen* ἀλλὰ ζῇ ("sed viuit" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 4,2. Erasmus removes the inelegant
sequence of *etsi ... sed*, and adopts the rendering
of Lefèvre.

4 *Siquidem et* καὶ γὰρ ("Nam et" 1516 = Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 3,34; 4,47. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre
had *etenim nos*, and Manetti *Nos nanque*, in
place of *Nam et nos.*

4 *illo* (2nd.) αὐτῷ ("eo" Vg.). Erasmus produces
consistency with the use of *illo* in the previous
clause. Manetti had *ipso ... eo*, and Lefèvre *eo ...
eo.*

4 *erga vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" Vg.). Erasmus
is more accurate here. A similar substitution

occurred in the previous verse. See *Annot.* The rendering of Ambrosiaster was the same as that of Erasmus. Lefèvre put *ad vos*, though he also gave *erga vos* as an alternative in *Comm.*

5 *Vos ipsos ... Vos ipsos ... vosmet ipsos* ἑαυτοὺς ... ἑαυτούς ... ἑαυτούς ("Vosmet ipsos ... ipsi vos ... vosmet ipsos" late Vg.). Erasmus is no more consistent than the Vulgate here. Lefèvre put *vosmetipsos ... vosmetipsos ... vosipsos.*

5 *num sitis* εἰ ἐστέ ("si estis" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering could be misunderstood as a conditional clause, whereas what is required is an indirect question. Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 1,16, and also on *Act.* 1,6.

5 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The change made by Erasmus agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *Iesus Christus* Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ("Christus Iesus" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is supported by codd. ℵ A F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also B D and most later mss. The same correction was made by Lefèvre.

5 *sicubi* τι ("forte" Vg.). The use of *sicubi*, in the sense of "if anywhere", does not seem appropriate in this context, and is not used elsewhere in Erasmus' N.T. In *Annot.*, he approves of leaving the word τι untranslated. See also on *nuncubi* at 2 *Cor.* 1,17, and see further on 1 *Cor.* 7,5. Manetti put *in aliquo*, and Lefèvre *aliquo pacto.*

6 *At spero* ἐλπίζω δέ ("Spero autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

6 *vos cognituros* ὅτι γνώσεσθε ("quod cognoscitis" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of the present tense is unsupported by Greek mss., and is no doubt a mistaken substitution for *cognoscetis*, which was used by the earlier Vulgate. To prevent a recurrence of this error, Erasmus preferred to make use of the wording of Ambrosiaster, who had *cognituros vos*: see *Annot.* For other instances of the future participle after *spero*, see on 1 *Cor.* 16,7.

6 *quod ... simus* ὅτι ... ἐσμέν ("quia ... sumus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre had *quod ... sumus*, and this was also the reading implied by the use of *sumus* for the 1516 catchword.

7 *Opto* εὔχομαι ("Oramus" Vg.). The Vulgate plural reflects the substitution of εὐχόμεθα, as

in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D^corr and most later mss. See *Annot.* If εὔχομαι were not the original wording, it might be thought to have been influenced by the singular verb, ἐλπίζω, in the previous verse. An alternative explanation of the discrepancy is that εὐχόμεθα itself resulted from harmonistic influences, affected by the immediately preceding plurals (ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἀδόκιμοι) and by the proximity of another instance of εὐχόμεθα in vs. 9. Erasmus similarly changes *oro* to *opto* in vs. 9, and puts *opto* in place of *orationem facio* at 3 *Ioh.* 2, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Act.* 26,29; 27,29; *Rom.* 9,3. At *Iac.* 5,16, he retains *oro* for the same Greek verb. Valla *Annot.* proposed the same change as Erasmus, while Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *Oro.*

7 *apud deum* πρὸς τὸν θεόν ("deum" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more precise rendering of the Greek preposition, which the Vulgate left untranslated. See *Annot.* The suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was to use either *apud deum* or *ad deum*, the latter alternative being preferred by Manetti and Lefèvre. Valla further added *viuum* after *deum*, in his citation of the Vulgate reading.

7 *ne quid* μὴ ... μηδέν ("vt nihil" Vg.; "vt ne quid" 1516). Cf. on *Ioh.* 3,20; 16,1. Often Erasmus avoids placing a negative after *vt*. For *vt ne*, see on *Rom.* 11,25. Lefèvre rendered this clause by *vt nullum admittatis malum.*

7 *quo* ἵνα ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. By making this change, Erasmus avoids repetition of *vt.*

7 *appareamus* φανῶμεν ("pareamus" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 23,27-8 (1519); 24,27, 30; *Iac.* 4,14, and also in rendering ἄδηλος at *Lc.* 11,44. Erasmus retains *pareo* only in the sense of "obey". His choice of verb was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre (both columns), in agreement with some editions of the late Vulgate. Manetti put *videamur.*

7 *honestum* καλόν ("bonum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,17.

7 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

7 *veluti* ὡς ("vt" Vg.). Cf. on *Rom.* 8,36. Erasmus wishes to prevent *vt* from being misunderstood to mean "in order that". Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *quasi.*

⁸οὐ γὰρ δυνάμεθά τι κατὰ τῆς
ἀληθείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας.
⁹χαίρομεν γὰρ ὅταν ἡμεῖς ἀσθενῶ-
μεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ δυνατοὶ ἦτε. τοῦτο
δὲ καὶ εὐχόμεθα, τὴν ὑμῶν κατάρ-
τισιν. ¹⁰διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἀπὼν
γράφω, ἵνα μὴ παρὼν μὴ ἀπο-
τόμως χρήσωμαι κατὰ τὴν ἐξου-
σίαν, ἣν ἔδωκέ μοι ὁ κύριος εἰς
οἰκοδομὴν καὶ οὐκ εἰς καθαίρεσιν.

¹¹Λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί, χαίρετε, κατ-
αρτίζεσθε, παρακαλεῖσθε, τὸ αὐτὸ
φρονεῖτε, εἰρηνεύετε, καὶ ὁ θεὸς
τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης ἔσται
μεθ' ὑμῶν. ¹²ἀσπάζεσθε ἀλλήλους

⁸Non enim possumus quicquam ad-
uersus veritatem, sed pro veritate.
⁹Gaudemus enim quum nos infirmi
fuerimus, vos autem validi fueritis.
Hoc autem insuper optamus, vestram
integritatem. ¹⁰Propterea haec absens
scribo, ne quum praesens fuero, ri-
gidus sim iuxta potestatem quam
dedit mihi dominus in extructio-
nem et non in destructionem.

¹¹Quod superest fratres, valete,
integri estote, consolationem ha-
bete, vnanimes sitis, in pace agite,
et deus charitatis ac pacis erit
vobiscum. ¹²Salutate vos mutuo

13,11 παρακαλεισθε B-E: περακαλεισθε A | 12 ασπαζεσθε E: ασπαζασθε A-D

9 vestram B-E: nempe vestram A

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8 *enim possumus* γὰρ δυνάμεθα ("possumus
enim" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column
follows the Froben editions of 1491 and 1514.
Erasmus' rendering is more literal as to the
word-order, agreeing with the earlier Vulgate,
Manetti and Lefèvre (cf. Ambrosiaster, *enim
possimus*).

8 *quicquam* τι ("aliquid" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
15,18. Lefèvre made the same change.

9 *quum* ὅταν ("quoniam" late Vg.). As pointed
out in *Annot.*, the earlier Vulgate reading was
quando, later altered into *quoniam*. Erasmus
here adopts the rendering of Ambrosiaster,
consistent with the usual Vulgate rendering
of ὅταν at other passages. Manetti's version
incorrectly substituted *quod* (which would cor-
respond with ὅτι rather than ὅταν), while
Lefèvre put *quandocunque*.

9 *infirmi fuerimus ... fueritis* ἀσθενῶμεν ...
ἦτε ("infirmi sumus ... estis" Vg.). Erasmus
uses the future perfect tense to convey the
less definite statement implied by the Greek
subjunctive: see *Annot.*

9 *validi* δυνατοί ("potentes" Vg.). Erasmus
tries to find a better word to contrast with
infirmi. At 2 *Cor.* 12,10, in a similar context,
he preferred *robustus*. In *Annot.*, he offers the
alternative rendering, *fortes*, which had been

used by Ambrosiaster. The substitution of *validi*
was anticipated by Manetti.

9 *autem insuper* δὲ καί ("et" Vg.). The Vulgate
reflects the omission of δέ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B
D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816,
with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. By using
insuper, Erasmus draws attention to the fact
that this prayer of the apostle was additional
to the prayer described in vs. 7. In *Annot.*, he
suggests *etiam* rather than *insuper*. Manetti and
Lefèvre both had *autem et*.

9 *optamus* εὐχόμεθα ("oramus" Vg.). See on
vs. 7, and *Annot.* The same change was proposed
by Valla *Annot.* The version of Manetti had
deprecamur.

9 *vestram* τὴν ὑμῶν ("nempe vestram" 1516).
For *nempe*, see on *Rom.* 1,32. Lefèvre ends this
sentence with *ad vestrae perfectionis consumati-
onem*.

9 *integritatem* κατάρτισιν ("consummationem"
Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 1,10, and also *Annot.* on
vs. 11 of the present chapter, regarding κατ-
αρτίζω. Erasmus understands the word to refer
to the repair of something which has been torn
apart, or the restoration of unity among rival
factions, rather than "perfection". Manetti put
refectionem.

10 *Propterea* διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo enim" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,6 for *propterea*. The late Vulgate addition of *enim* lacks Greek support. Manetti had *Ideo*, and Lefèvre *quapropter*, both omitting *enim*.

10 *ne quum praesens fuero* ἵνα μὴ παρὼν μή ("vt non praesens" Vg.). This duplication of μή, in Erasmus' text, is also found in cod. 69, which he could theoretically have consulted at this passage when he was living in England. However, since this reading is not discussed in *Annot.*, it remains possible that the 1516 text represents the typesetter's misunderstanding of an instruction from a proof-reader to correct μὴ παρὼν into παρὼν μή. The reading ἵνα μὴ παρὼν occurs in cod. 2817, with D F G and a few later mss., whereas ἵνα παρὼν μή is attested by codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B. For the sake of clarity, Erasmus expands the translation by using *quum ... fuero*. For *ne*, see on *Ioh.* 3,20. Valla *Annot.* suggested *ne praesens*, while Manetti had *vt presens ne*, and Lefèvre *vt praesens non*.

10 *rigidus sim* ἀποτόμως χρήσωμαι ("durius agam" Vg.). The comparative adverb used by the Vulgate is inaccurate. At *Tit.* 1,13, Erasmus renders ἀποτόμως by *seueriter*, replacing *dure*. In *Annot.* on the present passage, he also suggests *rigide vtar* or *seuere me geram*. Valla *Annot.* gave *abscisse vtar* as a literal rendering. Manetti put *dure agar*, and Lefèvre *seuere vtar*.

10 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23. Lefèvre omitted the word, having *vtar potestate* for χρήσωμαι κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

10 *dedit mihi dominus* ἔδωκέ μοι ὁ κύριος ("dominus dedit mihi" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with ὁ κύριος ἔδωκέ μοι, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with cod. 2105 and most other late mss. (in cod. 1, θεός is substituted for κύριος, while cod. 2816 replaces ἔδωκε by δέδωκε). Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change (except that Lefèvre had *michi* for *mihi*, and placed this phrase at the end of the sentence).

10 *extructionem* οἰκοδομήν ("aedificationem" Vg.). Erasmus finds an exact antithesis for *destructionem*, which occurs later in the sentence. However, *extructio* was comparatively uncommon in classical usage, and since the Greek words themselves (οἰκοδομὴ ... καθαίρεσις)

are not exact opposites, there was no need to change the translation. Cf. on the use of *extruo* to replace *aedifico* in rendering οἰκοδομέω at *Ioh.* 2,20 (1519).

11 *Quod superest* λοιπόν ("De caetero autem" Vg. 1527). The addition of *autem* in the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben edition of 1514, has little Greek ms. support. See on 1 *Cor.* 4,2, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *Quod reliquum est*. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *De cetero*, omitting *autem*.

11 *valete* χαίρετε ("gaudete" Vg.). It is debatable whether Erasmus was correct to take χαίρετε as a salutation, in this instance. He also offers *valete* as a possible alternative rendering for χαίρετε at *Phil.* 3,1. See *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

11 *integri estote* καταρτίζεσθε ("perfecti estote" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 1,10, and also on vs. 9, above. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cited the text as καταρτίσεσθε, contrary to his Basle mss.

11 *consolationem habete* παρακαλεῖσθε ("exhortamini" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,31, and *Annot.* The version of Ambrosiaster had *consolationem percipite*, and Lefèvre *consolamini*.

11 *vnanimes sitis* τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖτε ("id ipsum sapite" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,16, and *Annot.* For the removal of *sapio*, see also on *Rom.* 8,5. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *idem sapite*, and Lefèvre *idem sentite*.

11 *in pace agite* εἰρηνεύετε ("pacem habete" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,18. Erasmus drew this rendering from Ambrosiaster: see *Annot.*

11 *charitatis ac pacis* τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης ("pacis et dilectionis" late Vg.). This change produces consistency with *charitas* in vs. 13: see on *Ioh.* 13,35. For *ac*, see on *Ioh.* 1,25. The late Vulgate word-order corresponds with τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης in cod. D and a few later mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *dilectionis et pacis*.

12 ἀσπάζεσθε. This reading of the 1535 edition (having little ms. support, apart from cod. 2816) was an arbitrary correction of a printer's error, ἀσπάζασθε, which occurred in the 1516-27 editions. What Erasmus should have written, in 1535, was ἀσπάσασθε, as found in nearly all mss.

12 *vos mutuo* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,34. Ambrosiaster had *vos inuicem*.

ἐν ἁγίῳ φιλήματι. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς
οἱ ἅγιοι πάντες. ¹³ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρί-
ου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ
θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύ-
ματος, μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. ἀμήν.

      Πρὸς Κορινθίους, δευτέρα.

ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππων τῆς Μακεδονίας
      διὰ Τίτου καὶ Λουκᾶ.

sancto osculo. Salutant vos sancti om-
nes. ¹³Gratia domini Iesu Christi,
et charitas dei, et communicatio spi-
ritus sancti sit cum omnibus vobis.
Amen.

      Ad Corinthios, secunda.

Missa fuit a Philippis Macedoniae
      per Titum et Lucam.

Subscriptio προς *A-C E*: πος *D* | της μακεδονιας *B-E*: *om. A*

12 sancto *B-E*: in sancto *A*
Subscriptio Ad Corinthios, secunda *B-E*: Finis. Epistolae ad Corinthios secundae *A* | Macedo-
niae *B-E*: *om. A*

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12 *sancto osculo* ἐν ἁγίῳ φιλήματι ("in osculo
sancto" Vg.; "in sancto osculo" 1516). The
Vulgate word-order corresponds with ἐν φιλή-
ματι ἁγίῳ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ A F G and some other
mss., among which were codd. 1, 2105, 2816.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, sup-
ported by ℵ B D and most later mss. He
takes ἐν in an instrumental sense. By omitting
the preposition from his 1519 rendering, he
leaves it uncertain as to whether *mutuo* is to
be understood adverbially, or as an adjective
with *sancto osculo*, but the difference of mean-
ing is slight. A similar point arises at 1 *Petr.*
5,14 (*Salutate vos mutuo charitatis osculo*). See
Annot.

12 *sancti omnes* οἱ ἅγιοι πάντες ("omnes
sancti" late Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek
word-order more literally, in agreement with

the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and
Lefèvre.

13 *domini* τοῦ κυρίου ("domini nostri" Vg.).
The Vulgate has support from some later Greek
mss., including codd. 2105 and 2816, which
add ἡμῶν. In codd. 1, 2815, 2817 and most
other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D
F G, ἡμῶν is omitted. Lefèvre made the same
correction as Erasmus.

13 *spiritus sancti* τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ("sancti
spiritus" Vg.). This time the Vulgate word-order
is more literal. Erasmus retains *sanctus spiritus*
at *Act.* 9,31. At the present passage, he has the
same rendering as Ambrosiaster (1492) and
Lefèvre.

Subscriptio *Macedoniae* τῆς Μακεδονίας (1516
omits). The 1516 omission corresponds with
the wording of this subscription in cod. 2817.

ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΛΑΤΑΣ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ
ΠΑΥΛΟΥ

EPISTOLA
PAVLI APOSTOLI
AD GALATAS

1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος, οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ²καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί, ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας· ³χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρός, καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ⁴τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος

1 Paulus apostolus, non ab hominibus, neque per hominem, sed per Iesum Christum ac deum patrem, qui suscitauit illum ex mortuis, ²quique mecum sunt omnes fratres, ecclesiis Galatiae: ³gratia vobis et pax a deo patre et domino nostro Iesu Christo, ⁴qui dedit se ipsum pro peccatis nostris, vt eriperet nos ex praesenti seculo

1,4 εαυτον *A C-E*: εαντον *B*

Inscriptio EPISTOLA ... GALATAS *A E*: EPISTOLA PAVLI AD GALATAS *B C*, ERASMI VERSIO *D* | **1,1** ac *B-E*: et *A* | ex *B-E*: a *A* | **2** quique *B-E*: et qui *A* | **4** seculo *C-E*: saeculo *A B*

1,1 ἀπό. Most mss., including those which Erasmus consulted at Basle, have ἀπ'.

1 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti's version (both mss.) put *ad*, probably a transcriptional error for *ac*.

1 *illum* αὐτόν ("eum" Vg.). Erasmus uses the more emphatic form of the pronoun here to refer to Christ, though this change was scarcely necessary as the context leaves little room for ambiguity.

1 *ex* ἐκ ("a" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,22. Lefèvre made the same substitution.

2 *quique* καὶ οἱ ("et qui" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,39.

3 *patre et domino nostro* πατρός, καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν ("et patre nostro et domino" Vg. 1527 and some Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514. In the Vulgate lemma of *Annot.*, and the Froben Vulgate

of 1491 and other late Vulgate editions, *et* is omitted before *patre*, corresponding with πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου in codd. ℵ A and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ, with 𝔓⁴⁶ ⁵¹ᵛⁱᵈ B D F G H and most other Greek mss. (cod. 2816* omits ἡμῶν). His rendering agrees with some earlier Vulgate mss., Jerome and Lefèvre. Manetti's version had *et domine nostro*, omitting *patre*.

4 *se ipsum* ἑαυτόν ("semet ipsum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 14,17. Erasmus' wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster (1492).

4 ὑπέρ. Erasmus here follows codd. 2815 and 2817ᶜᵒʳʳ, along with 𝔓⁵¹ ℵᶜᵒʳʳ B H and many later mss. In codd. 1, 2105*, 2816, 2817*ᵛⁱᵈ and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A D F G, it is περί.

4 *ex* ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

πονηροῦ, κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ⁵ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς
τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

⁶ Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετα-
τίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν
χάριτι Χριστοῦ, εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέ-
λιον, ⁷ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, εἰ μή τι-
νές εἰσιν οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς, καὶ
θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ⁸ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς
ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελί-
ζηται ὑμῖν, παρ᾽ ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα
ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. ⁹ὡς προειρή-
καμεν, καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω, εἴ τις
ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται, παρ᾽ ὃ παρε-
λάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. ¹⁰ἄρτι γὰρ
ἀνθρώπους πείθω, ἢ τὸν | θεόν;

malo, iuxta voluntatem dei et patris
nostri, ⁵cui gloria in secula seculo-
rum, Amen.

⁶Miror quod a Christo qui voca-
uit vos per gratiam, adeo cito trans-
feramini in aliud euangelium, ⁷quod
non est aliud, nisi quod quidam sunt
qui turbant vos, et volunt inuertere
euangelium Christi. ⁸Caeterum eti-
am si nos aut angelus e coelo prae-
dicauerit vobis euangelium, praeter id
quod praedicauimus vobis, anathema
sit. ⁹Quemadmodum ante diximus, et
nunc iterum dico: si quis vobis prae-
dicauerit euangelium praeter id quod
accepistis, anathema sit. ¹⁰Nunc enim
vtrum hominibus suadeo, an | deo?

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6 χριστου *B C* D* E**: θεου *A Cᵐᵍ Dᵐᵍ Eᵐᵍ*

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5 secula seculorum *C-E*: saecula saeculorum *A B* | 6 a ... transferamini *B-E*: adeo cito trans-
feramini, ab eo qui vocauit vos in gratia dei *A* | 7 inuertere *B-E*: subuertere *A* | 8 Cae-
terum *C-E*: Verum *A B* | 9 ante diximus *B-E*: praediximus *A* | euangelium *A-C D (exc.) E*:
euaogelium *D (exc.)* | 10 *prius* hominibus *C-E*: homines *A B* | deo *C-E*: deum *A B*

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4 *malo* πονηροῦ ("nequam" Vg.). See on *Act.*
19,12. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that
of Jerome (as cited in *Annot.*) and Lefèvre. The
versions of Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti
had *maligno*.

4 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.*
13,23. Lefèvre had *per*.

5 *cui* ᾧ ("cui est" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal
here. In *Annot.*, he further objects to the Vulgate
use of the present indicative, on the grounds
that the apostle was expressing a prayer or a
wish ("vt sit optantis"). A similar point is made
in *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 238,
ll. 946-951. Both Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had
the same wording as Erasmus.

6 *a Christo qui vocauit vos per gratiam, adeo cito
transferamini* οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ
τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ ("sic
tam cito transferimini ab eo qui vos vocauit in
gratiam Christi" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.,
with Vgʷʷ ⁽ᵉᵈ ᵐᵃⁱᵒʳ⁾ ˢᵗ; "adeo cito transferamini, ab
eo qui vocauit vos in gratia dei" 1516). Some

mss. of the earlier Vulgate have *transferemini* for
transferimini, with Vgʷʷ ⁽ᵉᵈ ᵐⁱⁿᵒʳ⁾. In 1516, Erasmus
followed cod. 2817, in company with a few
other late mss., in reading θεοῦ in place of
Χριστοῦ. A few other mss., notably 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ F*
G Hᵛⁱᵈ, omit this word, while cod. D expands
it to Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. In codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2815,
2816, with 𝔓⁵¹ ℵ A B Fᶜᵒʳʳ and most other
mss., the word is Χριστοῦ, as adopted in the
1519 edition. Later, no doubt after noticing
that the Aldine Bible of 1518 had θεοῦ (which
was derived in turn from the 1516 edition),
Erasmus conferred an undeserved authority
upon this variant by introducing it into the
margin of his 1522-35 editions. He changed the
Latin word-order in 1519, partly to reinforce
his preferred interpretation that the subject of
τοῦ καλέσαντος is Christ: see *Annot.* How-
ever, on the basis of the Greek word-order, and
also taking account of other passages which
refer to the Father as the one who calls, others
have argued that Χριστοῦ is to be connected
with the immediately preceding word, χάριτι.

Another reason for changing the Latin word-order was to make clear that the following phrase, εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, is connected with μετατίθεσθε rather than with καλέσαντος, and thereby to avoid the misunderstanding of the sentence as meaning "called you ... into another gospel": see *Annot.* on this point. Erasmus followed Valla *Annot.* in objecting to the Vulgate's double rendering of οὗτως by both *sic* and *tam*, and plausibly suggests that the combined reading, *sic tam*, must have been a scribal alteration. (Manetti and Lefèvre both put *tam*, omitting *sic*). In rendering ἐν χάριτι, Erasmus prefers to understand ἐν in an instrumental sense, *per gratiam*, avoiding the mistranslation "into grace", which was used by the Vulgate. More literally, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre all had *in gratia*.

7 *quod quidam sunt* τινές εἰσιν ("sunt aliqui" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. By adding *quod*, he presumably wished to ensure that the preceding *nisi* is understood to mean "except" rather than "unless": cf. *Annot.* For his removal of *aliquis* and *aliquid*, see also on *Rom.* 15,18. A similar substitution of *quidam* occurs at *Lc.* 9,27 (1519). Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *aliqui sunt* (printed as *aliqni sunt* in the 1492 Ambrosiaster edition), while Valla *Annot.* had *quidam sunt*, and Lefèvre replaced *nisi sunt aliqui* by *quam quod quidam sunt*.

7 *qui turbant vos* οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς ("qui vos conturbant" Vg.). Erasmus is again more literal as to the Latin word-order. A similar substitution of *turbo* occurs at 1 *Petr.* 3,14, in accordance with the usual Vulgate rendering of ταράσσω at other passages. However, Erasmus retains *conturbo* at *Mc.* 6,50; *Gal.* 5,10, in rendering the same Greek verb. Elsewhere he occasionally uses the more emphatic *conturbo* for rendering the compound verbs ἐκταράσσω, συγχέω, συγχύνω and ἀναστατόω. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *qui conturbant vos*.

7 *inuertere* μεταστρέψαι ("conuertere" Vg.; "subuertere" 1516). Erasmus looks for a more pejorative expression, to suit the context. Cf. on *Act.* 13,10, and *Annot.* He generally retains *conuerto* for ἐπιστρέφω, at passages which refer to a sinner's conversion from his former ways. Lefèvre had *euertere*.

8 *Caeterum* ἀλλά ("Sed" Vg.; "Verum" 1516-19). See on *Act.* 6,2; *Rom.* 4,2.

8 *etiam si* καὶ ἐάν ("licet" Vg.). Cf. on the removal of *licet* in rendering εἰ καί at 2 *Cor.* 4,16. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *etsi*, and Manetti *si*.

8 *e* ἐξ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. Lefèvre made the same change.

8 *praedicauerit vobis euangelium ... praedicauimus* εὐαγγελίζηται ὑμῖν ... εὐηγγελισάμεθα ("euangelizet vobis ... euangelizauimus" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,42 for the removal of *euangelizo*. For Erasmus' use of the future perfect tense, cf. on *Rom.* 2,25.

8 *praeter id quod* παρ' ὅ ("praeterquam quod" Vg.). The Vulgate construction, in classical Latin, would be understood to mean "apart from the fact that we have preached the gospel". Erasmus more accurately gives the sense as "apart from that gospel which we have preached", consistent with the rendering of the same expression in vs. 9. See *Annot.* Erasmus' rendering also occurs in the Jerome 1516 text (the lemma of that edition reproduces the Vulgate), and in Manetti. The version of Lefèvre put *contra id quod*.

9 *Quemadmodum* ὡς ("Sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt*.

9 *ante diximus* προειρήκαμεν ("praediximus" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus naturally wishes to distinguish between "preach" and "tell before". See on 2 *Cor.* 7,3.

9 *praedicauerit euangelium* εὐαγγελίζεται ("euangelizauerit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,42. Manetti put *euangelizet*, and Lefèvre *euangelizat*.

10 *Nunc* ἄρτι ("Modo" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 16,7, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

10 *vtrum hominibus ... deo* ἀνθρώπους ... τὸν θεόν ("hominibus ... deo" Vg.; "vtrum homines ... deum" 1516-19). Other additions of *vtrum*, as a means of expressing a choice between two alternatives, occur in 1516 at *Mt.* 9,5; *Mc.* 2,9; *Lc.* 5,23; *Gal.* 3,5, and in 1519 at eight further passages, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 7,17. At *Gal.* 3,2, the word was added in 1519-27, but omitted again in 1535. The use of the accusative, *homines ... deum*, in 1516-19, followed a suggestion of Valla *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre, inaccurately, was *deo ne an hominibus confido*, which (as Erasmus points out in *Annot.*) would require the substitution of ἀνθρώποις and τῷ θεῷ.

ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; εἰ γὰρ
ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, Χριστοῦ δοῦ-
λος οὐκ ἂν ἤμην.

¹¹ Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐ-
αγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι
οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. ¹² οὐδὲ γὰρ
ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτό,
οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι’ ἀποκαλύψε-
ως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ¹³ ἠκούσατε γὰρ
τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφήν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰου-
δαϊσμῷ, ὅτι καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπόρθουν
αὐτήν, ¹⁴ καὶ προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰου-
δαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας
ἐν τῷ γένει μου, περισσοτέρως ζηλω-
τὴς ὑπάρχων τῶν πατρικῶν μου πα-
ραδόσεων. ¹⁵ ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός,
ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου,

Aut quaero hominibus placere? Nam
si hactenus hominibus placuissem,
Christi seruus haudquaquam essem.
¹¹ Notum autem vobis facio fratres,
euangelium quod praedicatum est a
me, non esse secundum hominem.
¹² Neque enim ego ab homine accepi
illud, neque didici, sed per reuelati-
onem Iesu Christi. ¹³ Audistis enim
meam conuersationem quondam in
Iudaismo, quod supra modum perse-
quebar ecclesiam dei, ac depopulabar
illam, ¹⁴ et proficiebam in Iudaismo
supra multos aequales in genere meo,
quum vehementer essem studiosus a
maioribus meis traditorum institu-
torum. ¹⁵ Ast vbi deo, qui segre-
gauerat me ab vtero matris meae,

---

10 quaero *B-E*: quero *A* | haudquaquam essem *B-E*: non fuissem *A* | **13** ac depopula-
bar *B-E*: et expugnabam *A* | **14** aequales *B-E*: aequales meos *A* | a ... institutorum *B-E*:
paternarum mearum traditionum *A* | **15** vbi *B-E*: vbi visum fuit *A* | segregauerat *B-E*:
segregauit *A*

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10 *Aut* ἤ ("An" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,4.
Erasmus has the same rendering as the earlier
Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text,
and Manetti.

10 *Nam* γάρ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission
is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* F G and some
other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and
2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as
Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.* In Manetti's
version, the sentence began with *Si enim*, and
in Lefèvre, with *Enimuero*.

10 *hactenus ... placuissem* ἔτι ... ἤρεσκον ("adhuc
... placerem" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the plu-
perfect to represent the Greek imperfect tense
appears less accurate. The apostle's meaning
could be expanded as "If I were now still
continuing to please men". Lefèvre put *amplius
... placerem*.

10 *haudquaquam* οὐκ ἄν ("non" 1516 = Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 18,30 for Erasmus' incorrect use

of *haudquaquam*. Manetti's substitution of *non
vtique* was equally unsatisfactory.

10 *essem* ἤμην ("fuissem" 1516). See on
placuissem, above. The required meaning is
"I would now be" rather than "I would have
been".

11 *autem* δέ ("enim" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects
the substitution of γάρ, as in codd. ℵᶜᵒʳʳ B
D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816,
with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. In
Lefèvre's version, the word was omitted.

11 *praedicatum* εὐαγγελισθέν ("euangelizatum"
Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,42. Erasmus' rendering is the
same as that of Ambrosiaster.

11 *non esse* ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ("quia non est" Vg.).
Erasmus changes the construction, to prevent
the clause from being misunderstood in a cau-
sal sense. In doing so, he adopts the rendering
of Lefèvre. Manetti had *quod non est*.

12 *Iesu* Ἰησοῦ. This word was omitted in cod. 2817, in company with many other late mss. Accordingly, Manetti omitted *Iesu*.

13 *meam conuersationem* τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφήν ("conuersationem meam" Vg.). The word-order of Erasmus' rendering is more literal.

13 *quondam* ποτε ("aliquando" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,9.

13 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Lefèvre put *quia*.

13 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

13 *depopulabar* ἐπόρθουν ("expugnabam" 1516 = Vg.). The substitution of *depopulor*, meaning "ravage" or "lay waste", was a partial concession to Valla *Annot.*, who had complained that *expugno* incorrectly implied that the Christian church could be vanquished or taken captive. Valla proposed using *oppugno*, in the sense of "attack", and Lefèvre likewise adopted *oppugnabam*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus argued that the Greek word was more emphatic than this, and that even if Paul was unable to destroy the church, that had certainly been his intention. Erasmus retains *expugno* in vs. 23, below, and also at *Act.* 9,21.

14 *aequales* συνηλικιώτας ("coaetaneos meos" late Vg.; "aequales meos" 1516). The late Vulgate addition of *meos* has little explicit support from Greek mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus queries whether *coaetaneus* existed in classical usage ("receptum apud Latinos"). Although an instance of the word can be seen in Apuleius, it is otherwise absent from classical literature. A problem with *aequales*, however, as Erasmus further admits in *Annot.*, is that it is ambiguous, not necessarily denoting equality of age. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had *coaetaneos*, omitting *meos*.

14 *quum vehementer essem studiosus* περισσοτέρως ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων ("abundantius aemulator existens" Vg.). To avoid using *existo* in the sense of "be", Erasmus changes the construction into a subordinate clause. His use of *vehementer* may be compared with his adoption of *vehementius* for περισσοτέρως at *Mc.* 15,14; 1 *Thess.* 2,17; *Hebr.* 2,1, and for ἐκ περισσοῦ at *Mc.* 14,31 (1519). For his removal of *abundantius* elsewhere, see on 2 *Cor.* 7,13. Technically he is less accurate in putting *vehementer* rather than the comparative adverb,

vehementius, at the present passage. Usually he reserves *vehementer* for λίαν and σφόδρα, and also to intensify the rendering of certain words having the prefix ὑπερ-, as in ὑπέρογκα, ὑπεραυξάνω, ὑπερπερισσεύομαι. For *studiosus*, see on *Act.* 21,20, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *cum abundantius zelator essem*.

14 *a maioribus meis traditorum institutorum* τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων ("paternarum mearum traditionum" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 22,3; 28,17, for Erasmus' removal of *paternus*, and on *Act.* 6,14 for the use of *instituta*. See also *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *traditionum patrum meorum*.

15 *Ast vbi* ὅτε δέ ("Cum autem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 13,10.

15-16 *deo ... visum est* εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός ("placuit ei" Vg.; "visum fuit deo" 1516). See on *Rom.* 15,26, and *Annot.*, for Erasmus' use of *visum est*. The Vulgate reflects the omission of ὁ θεός, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ B F G and a few other mss. The textual question raised here is whether ὁ θεός was a later explanatory addition, or whether a scribe accidentally passed over from ὁ before θεός to ὁ before ἀφορίσας. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ A D and most later mss. His revised Latin word-order, which in effect connects εὐδόκησεν with ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι, is unsatisfactory, as the Greek word-order would lead the reader to expect a different connection, between εὐδόκησεν and ἀποκαλύψαι. Furthermore, there are no other N.T. examples of εὐδοκέω being followed by ἵνα, but there are seven other instances of εὐδοκέω with an infinitive (*Lc.* 12,32; *Rom.* 15,26; 1 *Cor.* 1,21; 2 *Cor.* 5,8; *Col.* 1,19; 1 *Thess.* 2,8; 3,1). Manetti and Lefèvre both had *placuit deo*.

15 *qui segregauerat me* ὁ ἀφορίσας με ("qui me segregauit" Vg.; "qui segregauit me" 1516). Erasmus' rendering this time is more literal as to the word-order. For his preference for the pluperfect, see on *Ioh.* 1,19. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

15 *ab* ἐκ ("ex" late Vg.). Cf. on *Ioh.* 8,23. Erasmus perhaps felt that *a* or *ab* was more idiomatic in Latin usage, following *segrego*, though *segrego ex* is found in some Latin authors of the classical period. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and also Lefèvre, put *de*.

καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ¹⁶ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εὐθέως, οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, ¹⁷οὐδὲ ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν, καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν. ¹⁸Ἔπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι Πέτρον, καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε. ¹⁹ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου. ²⁰ἃ δὲ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι. ²¹ἔπειτα ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας. ²²ἤμην δὲ ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ. ²³μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν | ὅτι Ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτε, νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτε

LB 805

et vocauit per gratiam suam in hoc, ¹⁶vt reuelaret filium suum per me, visum est vt praedicarem ipsum inter gentes, continuo, non contuli cum carne et sanguine, ¹⁷neque redii Hierosolymam, ad eos qui ante me fuerant apostoli: sed abii in Arabiam, ac denuo reuersus sum Damascum. ¹⁸Deinde post annos treis redii Hierosolymam vt viderem Petrum, et mansi apud illum dies quindecim. ¹⁹Alium autem ex apostolis non vidi quenquam, nisi Iacobum fratrem domini. ²⁰Porro quae scribo vobis, ecce coram deo non mentior. ²¹Deinde veni in regiones Syriae Ciliciaeque. ²²Eram autem ignotus iuxta faciem ecclesiis Iudaeae, quae erant in Christo. ²³Sed tantum hic rumor apud illos erat: Qui persequeba|tur nos aliquando, nunc praedicat fidem, quam quondam

LB 806

16 προσανεθεμην *A B D E*: πρασανεθεμην *C*

15 in hoc *B-E*: om. *A* | 16 per *B-E*: in *A* | visum est *B-E*: om. *A* | ipsum inter gentes *B-E*: illum in gentibus *A* | 17 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 18 treis *B-E*: tres *A* | 21 Ciliciaeque *B-E*: et Ciliciae *A*

15-16 *vocauit ... in hoc, vt reuelaret* καλέσας ... ἀποκαλύψαι ("vocauit ... vt reuelaret" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds *in hoc*, to reinforce his interpretation that ἀποκαλύψαι is connected with καλέσας rather than with εὐδόκησεν. See above, on *visum est*, for this questionable opinion. Lefèvre put *vocauit ... reuelando.*

16 *per me* ἐν ἐμοί ("in me" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

16 *visum est.* See on εὐδόκησεν in vs. 15, above (p. 451).

16 *praedicarem* εὐαγγελίζωμαι ("euangelizarem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,42.

16 *ipsum* αὐτόν ("illum" 1516 = Vg.). This substitution was presumably intended to make clear that the pronoun refers to Christ, though some ambiguity remains. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *inter gentes* ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ("in gentibus" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Manetti anticipated this change.

16 *contuli* προσανεθέμην ("acquieui" Vg.). This change is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of the same Greek verb at *Gal.* 2,6. In *Annot.*, Erasmus indicates that he has followed Jerome *Comm.*, though the same rendering was also used by Lefèvre. Erasmus further records the variant, προανεθέμην, which occurs in cod. 2817. He objects in *Annot.*, and again in the *Loca Obscura*, that the Vulgate version gives rise to the misinterpretation, *acquieui vitiis carnalibus*. See also *Annot.* on *Gal.* 2,2. Manetti had the surprising rendering, *fui addictus*.

16 *cum carne et sanguine* σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι ("carni et sanguini" Vg.). Erasmus adds a preposition to prevent ambiguity arising from his

adoption of *contuli*. The same wording had been used by Jerome *Comm.*: see *Annot.*

17 *redii* ἀνῆλθον ("veni" Vg.). The Vulgate appears to correspond with ἦλθον in 𝔓⁴⁶, though since the Vulgate also uses *veni* in vs. 18 (where 𝔓⁴⁶ retains ἀνῆλθον), this may be just a matter of translation. See *Annot.* The same correction was made by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, of whom the latter placed this verb after *Hierosolymam*.

17 *eos qui ante me fuerant apostoli* τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους ("antecessores meos apostolos" Vg.). Erasmus adopts a simpler rendering, perhaps wishing to avoid the ambiguity of *antecessor*, which might have been taken to imply that the other apostles no longer held that office. See *Annot.* In Valla *Annot.*, the proposed rendering was *eos qui fuerant ante me apostoli*, and in Lefèvre's version, *eos qui ante me fuerunt apostoli*.

17 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

17 *denuo* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,23. Lefèvre had *rursum*.

18 *treis* τρία ("tres" 1516 = Vg.). This archaic form of the accusative plural also occurs at *Hebr.* 11,23. See further on *plureis* and *omneis* at 1 *Cor.* 9,19; 2 *Cor.* 2,5.

18 *redii* ἀνῆλθον ("veni" Vg.). See on vs. 17. Lefèvre made the same change, while Manetti put *remeaui*.

18 *vt viderem* ἱστορῆσαι ("videre" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. In *Annot.*, he gives a more precise definition of the Greek verb, as meaning to see for the purpose of asking or learning something. This was directly opposed to the view of Jerome *Comm.*, which claimed that the purpose of Paul's visit was to bestow honour on the apostle Peter ("non discendi studio ... sed honoris priori apostolo deferendi"). Manetti had *vt ... cognoscerem*, and Lefèvre *vt alloquerer*.

18 *illum* αὐτόν ("eum" Vg.). This change was perhaps intended to heighten the contrast with *alium* at the beginning of the next sentence.

18 *dies* ἡμέρας ("diebus" Vg.). Erasmus reproduces the Greek idiom more literally, following the version of Lefèvre (text, not *Comm.*).

19 *ex apostolis* τῶν ἀποστόλων ("apostolorum" Vg.). Erasmus probably wished to avoid the use of a genitive after *alius*, though this does occur in classical authors.

19 *non vidi quenquam* οὐκ εἶδον ("vidi neminem" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with εἶδον οὐδένα in codd. D* F G, or οὐκ εἶδον οὐδένα in 𝔓⁵¹ᵛⁱᵈ. Although the combination of *alium* with *neminem* has classical precedent, Erasmus may have disliked this usage. For his removal of *nemo*, cf. on *Ioh.* 8,33. More literally, Manetti put just *non vidi*, while Lefèvre had *vidi nullum*.

20 *Porro quae* ἃ δέ ("Quae autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

20 *non* ὅτι οὐ ("quia non" Vg.). Erasmus regarded ὅτι as redundant for the purpose of translation: see *Annot.* Cf. also on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti put *quod non*, and Lefèvre *testor quod non*.

21 *regiones* τὰ κλίματα ("partes" Vg.). This substitution was consistent with the Vulgate rendering of the same Greek word at *Rom.* 15,23; 2 *Cor.* 11,10. In *Annot.*, Erasmus gave *plagas* as an alternative. His use of *regiones* was identical with the version of Lefèvre. The rendering of Ambrosiaster (1492) offered *regionem*.

21 *Ciliciaeque* καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας ("et Ciliciae" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,39.

22 *iuxta faciem* τῷ προσώπῳ ("facie" Vg.). Erasmus adds a preposition, for clarity.

23 *Sed tantum* μόνον δέ ("Tantum autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti put *Tantummodo autem*, and Lefèvre *et solum*.

23 *hic rumor apud illos erat* ἀκούοντες ἦσαν ("auditum habebant" Vg.). Erasmus resorts to paraphrase, to convey the sense of the Greek participle: see *Annot.* The version of Valla *Annot.* and Manetti was *audierant*, and Lefèvre *audiuerant*.

23 *Qui* ὅτι Ὁ ("Quoniam qui" Vg.). Erasmus again treats ὅτι as redundant for translation purposes. See on vs. 20, above, and also on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *quod qui*.

23 *praedicat* εὐαγγελίζεται ("euangelizat" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,42. Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

23 *quondam* ποτε ("aliquando" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,9. This second instance of ποτε, in the present verse, was omitted by cod. 2815, apparently without other ms. support. Erasmus' wording agrees with the Jerome 1516 text (contrary to Jerome *Comm.*).

ἐπόρθει,   24 καὶ ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ
τὸν θεόν.

2 Ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν
πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
μετὰ Βαρνάβα, συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ
Τίτον·   2 ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀπο-
κάλυψιν, καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ
εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς
ἔθνεσι, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦ-
σι, μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω, ἢ
ἔδραμον.   3 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ
σὺν ἐμοί, Ἕλλην ὤν, ἠναγκάσθη
περιτμηθῆναι,   4 διὰ τοὺς παρ-
εισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους, οἵτινες
παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπῆσαι τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν
Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς κατα-
δουλώσωνται.   5 οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς
ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα

expugnabat, 24 et glorificabant in me
deum.

2 Deinde post annos quatuor-
decim rursum ascendi Hieroso-
lymam vna cum Barnaba, assumpto
simul et Tito: 2 ascendi autem iu-
xta reuelationem, et contuli cum illis
euangelium quod praedico inter gen-
tes, sed priuatim cum iis qui erant in
precio, ne quo modo in vanum cur-
rerem aut cucurrissem. 3 Sed neque
Titus qui mecum erat, quum esset
Graecus, compulsus fuit circuncidi,
4 propter obiter ingressos falsos fratres,
qui subintroierant ad explorandum li-
bertatem nostram, quam habemus in
Christo Iesu, quo nos in seruitutem
adigerent. 5 Quibus ne ad tempus
quidem cessimus per subiectionem, vt

24 εδοξαζον *A^c B-E*: εδοξασον *A**
2,4 δια *D E*: δια δε *A-C* | ημας *A B*: υμας *C-E*

2,2 *alt.* cum *B-E*: *om. A* | cucurrissem *B-E*: cucurissem *A*

24 *glorificabant in me* ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοί ("in
me clarificabant" Vg.). The spelling ἐδόξα-
σον in the 1516 edition was a typesetting
error, duly corrected in the errata. The Vulgate
word-order corresponds with ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐδόξα-
ζον in codd. D F^corr G. For *glorifico*, see on
Ioh. 12,23. The Jerome 1516 text (see *Annot.*),
together with Manetti and Lefèvre, has *in me
glorificabant*.
2,1 *rursum* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
15,10. Erasmus' rendering is the same as the
Jerome 1516 text. Lefèvre had *rursus*, positioned
after *ascendi*.
1 *vna cum* μετά ("cum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22.
1 *assumpto simul* συμπαραλαβών ("assumpto"
Vg.). Erasmus seeks to convey the meaning of
συμ-. See on *Rom.* 2,15. He did not trouble to
add *simul* in rendering the same Greek verb at
Act. 12,25; 15,37-8. Manetti put *coassumens*, and
Lefèvre *pariter assumens*.

2 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.*
13,23. Lefèvre had *per*.
2 *inter gentes* ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι ("in gentibus" Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 15,24.
2 *sed priuatim* κατ' ἰδίαν δέ ("seorsum autem"
Vg.). For *sed*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Elsewhere Erasmus
usually renders κατ' ἰδίαν by *seorsim* or *seorsum*,
and occasionally by *secreto* or *solus*. Here he
finds a word more particularly suited to the
context. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *secreto
autem*.
2 *cum iis qui* τοῖς ("iis qui" 1516 = late Vg.;
"his qui" Vg. 1527 = Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vul-
gate column follows the Froben Vulgates of
1491 and 1514. Erasmus adds *cum* at this point,
making clear that τοῖς δοκοῦσι is connected
with ἀνεθέμην rather than with κηρύσσω. For
iis, see on *Rom.* 4,12. Lefèvre had *iis qui* both
in his translation and in his Vulgate text.
Manetti put *his qui*.

2 *erant in precio* δοκοῦσι ("videbantur aliquid esse" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *aliquid esse* may reflect a harmonisation with vs. 6 (a). Cf. Valla *Annot.* In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues, in effect, that the Vulgate rendering wrongly implies that the importance of these individuals was only apparent rather than real. In vs. 6 (b), however, he put *videbantur esse in precio*. Lefèvre put *estimantur* at the present passage. The earlier Vulgate, together with the Jerome 1516 text and Manetti, had just *videbantur*.

2 *quo modo* πως ("forte" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,21. Manetti put *aliquatenus*, and Lefèvre *aliquopacto*.

2 *in vanum* εἰς κενόν ("in vacuum" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Phil.* 2,16. However, Erasmus retains *in vacuum* for the same Greek phrase at *2 Cor.* 6,1. Lefèvre had *in vanum* at all three passages, in accordance with classical Latin usage.

3 *Graecus* Ἕλλην ("gentilis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 12,20, and *Annot.*

3 *compulsus fuit* ἠναγκάσθη ("compulsus est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. Manetti put *coactus est*.

4 *propter* διά ("sed propter" Vg.). In 1516-22, Erasmus had διὰ δέ, in accordance with the text of virtually all Greek mss., including those which were available to him at Basle. His Latin translation, in apparent conflict with the accompanying Greek text, omitted *sed*, following the opinion of Jerome *Comm.* that this word (or rather, *autem*) was superfluous in this context: see *Annot.* The difficulty here was how to render δέ without making it appear that Titus was, after all, circumcised. Then in 1527, Erasmus' Greek text was made consistent with his Latin translation, omitting δέ, even though he was unable to cite Greek ms. authority for this deletion. Lefèvre put *propter quidem*.

4 *obiter ingressos* τοὺς παρεισάκτους ("subintroductos" Vg.). It might be thought that Erasmus' reason for avoiding *subintroduco* was that this verb was not used by classical authors. However, he shortly afterwards retains the equally non-classical *subintroeo*. His use of *ingressos* does not adequately convey the passive sense of παρεισάκτους. This change may be compared with Erasmus' substitution of *obiter subeo* for *subintroeo* in rendering παρεισδύνω

at *Iud.* 4, and of *clam induco* for *introduco* in rendering παρεισάγω at *2 Petr.* 2,1. On analogy with this, he might have been expected to put *clam inductos* for *subintroductos* at the present passage, and then *obiter subierant* or *obiter ingressi fuerant* (or even *occulte irrepserant*) for *subintroierunt*: cf. *Annot.*

4 *subintroierant* παρεισῆλθον ("subintroierunt" Vg.). Erasmus attempts a better sequence of tenses by substituting the pluperfect. See also the previous note, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre made the same change. In Manetti's version, one ms. (*Pal. Lat.* 45) put *subintrarunt*, while the other (*Urb. Lat.* 6) joined Ambrosiaster in putting *subintrauerunt*.

4 *ad explorandum* κατασκοπῆσαι ("explorare" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. Manetti, for the same reason, had *vt explorarent* (though the first hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45 followed the Vulgate).

4 *quo* ἵνα ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

4 *nos* ἡμᾶς. The change from ἡμᾶς to ὑμᾶς in 1522-35 disagrees with the accompanying Latin translation, and probably arose as a misprint, as ὑμᾶς does not appear to have any significant support from Greek mss. and is inconsistent with the first person plural of ἡμῶν ... ἔχομεν.

4 *in seruitutem adigerent* καταδουλώσωνται ("in seruitutem redigerent" Vg.). See on *2 Cor.* 11,20. Lefèvre put *seruituti subiicerent* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *in seruitutem subiicerent*).

5 *ne ... quidem* οὐδέ ("neque" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,5. In *Annot.*, Erasmus discusses the evidence of Jerome *Comm.* and Ambrosiaster regarding the omission of *neque* in some Latin mss. However, the only Greek ms. omitting οὐδέ seems to be cod. D*. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

5 *tempus* ὥραν ("horam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,35.

5 *per subiectionem* τῇ ὑποταγῇ ("subiectioni" Vg.). The original Vulgate reading could have been the ablative, *subiectione*, which Erasmus cites as a variant in *Annot.* To make clear that the Greek dative here has an instrumental sense, he uses *per* with the accusative, thus avoiding any possibility that *subiectione* might again be altered in transmission. The rendering *subiectione* was preferred by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre, while Manetti put *in subiectione*.

ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνη
πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ⁶ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούν-
των εἶναί τι, ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν,
οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει. πρόσωπον ἀν-
θρώπου θεὸς οὐ λαμβάνει. ἐμοὶ γὰρ
LB 807   οἱ δοκοῦντες, οὐδὲν προσανέ|θεντο,
⁷ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον, ἰδόντες ὅτι πε-
πίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκρο-
βυστίας, καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτο-
μῆς. ⁸ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς
ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς, ἐνήργησε
καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. ⁹καὶ γνόν-
τες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι,
Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ
δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδω-
καν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ κοινωνίας, ἵνα
ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν
περιτομήν, ¹⁰μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν
ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν. ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα
αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

veritas euangelii permaneret apud vos.
⁶Ab iis autem qui videbantur aliquid
esse, quales aliquando fuerint, nihil
mea refert. Personam hominis deus
non accipit. Nam mihi qui videban-
tur esse in precio, nihil con|tulerunt.   LB 808
⁷Imo contra, quum vidissent mihi
concreditum fuisse euangelium prae-
putii, quemadmodum Petro circunci-
sionis. ⁸Nam qui efficax fuit in Petro
ad apostolatum circuncisionis, efficax
fuit et in me erga gentes. ⁹Quumque
cognouissent gratiam mihi datam Iaco-
bus et Cephas et Ioannes, qui videban-
tur esse columnae, dextras dederunt
mihi ac Barnabae societatis, vt nos in
gentes, ipsi vero in circuncisionem
apostolatu fungeremur, ¹⁰tantum vt
pauperum memores essemus. In quo et
diligens fui, vt hoc ipsum facerem.

6 οποιοι *Aᶜ B-E*: οποιει *A**

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7 concreditum *B-E*: creditum *A* | 8 erga *B-E*: in *A* | 9 Ioannes *B-E*: Iohannes *A* |
dederunt *B-E*: dederuut *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* | apostolatu fungeremur *B-E*: *om. A*

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5 *permaneret* διαμείνη ("permaneat" Vg.). Eras-
mus achieves a more appropriate sequence of
tenses, in view of the Greek aorists εἴξαμεν ...
διαμείνη. The present tense of the Vulgate
might conceivably reflect a Greek variant, δια-
μένη, found in codd. A F G and a few later
mss., including cod. 1. Manetti put *maneat*.

6 *iis* τῶν ("his" Vg. 1527 = Vg. mss.). The 1527
Vulgate column follows the Froben editions
of 1491 and 1514. However, other editions of
the late Vulgate, and also *Annot.*, lemma, had
iis. The latter reading is more in accordance
with the sense of the Greek word. See on *Rom.*
4,12. Lefèvre had *iis* in his Vulgate text as well
as in his own rendering, while Manetti put
his.

6 *aliquid esse* εἶναί τι ("esse aliquid" Vg.). The
Vulgate follows the Greek word-order more
literally. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that

of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre replaced *videbantur
esse aliquid* with *aliqua in estimatione sunt*.

6 *refert* διαφέρει ("interest" Vg.). There is little
difference of meaning between the two idioms,
mea interest and *mea refert*, which can both mean
"it is important to me", but *mea interest* also
has the unwanted connotation of "it is ad-
vantageous to me". Cf. *Annot.* The versions of
Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change,
except that Manetti further substituted *mihi* for
mea.

6 *Personam hominis deus* πρόσωπον ἀνθρώ-
που θεός ("Deus enim personam hominis" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *enim* lacks
Greek ms. support. The rest of the Vulgate
wording reflects a different Greek word-order,
possibly πρόσωπον θεὸς ἀνθρώπου, as in
codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 and most other
mss., commencing with B C Dᶜᵒʳʳ, or πρόσωπον

ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπου, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A and a few later mss. The wording adopted by Erasmus is found in few mss. other than cod. 69, which might be thought to have been his source here, unless he made a fresh conjectural change to the text. For another possible use of cod. 69, see on 2 *Cor.* 13,10 (and also the Introduction). One argument in favour of the genuineness of πρόσωπον θεὸς ἀνθρώπου (with or without ὁ before θεός) is that it is a *lectio difficilior*, as this wording could at first sight be misunderstood to refer to the "God of man". In Lefèvre's version, the sentence was *personam deus non accipit hominis*.

6 *Nam mihi* ἐμοὶ γάρ ("Mihi autem" 1535 *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. 1527; "Mihi enim" 1516-27 *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column followed the Froben Vulgate of 1514. For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. The use of *autem* at this point lacks Greek ms. support. Manetti put *Mihi enim*, and Lefèvre *Michi certe*.

6 *qui videbantur esse in precio* οἱ δοκοῦντες ("qui videbantur esse aliquid" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). See on vs. 2, above, and *Annot.* The late Vulgate addition does not necessarily reflect a different Greek text, but may represent a harmonisation with the same expression earlier in the present verse. Lefèvre put *qui estimantur*.

7 *Imo contra* ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ("Sed e contra" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^{ww st}; "Sed e contrario" some early Vg. mss.). For *imo*, see on *Act.* 19,2. The expression *e contra*, found in many Vulgate copies, is mainly a late Latin usage. The Jerome 1516 text and Lefèvre put *sed contra*. Manetti's version (probably by a scribal error) put *sed ei contra*.

7 *mihi concreditum fuisse* ὅτι πεπίστευμαι ("quod creditum est mihi" Vg. 1527 = Vg. mss.; "quia creditum est mihi" *Annot.*, lemma; "mihi creditum fuisse" 1516). Erasmus here preferred the accusative and infinitive construction, for clarity. Cf. *Annot.* For *concredo*, see on *Rom.* 3,2 (*commissa*). Manetti put *quod mihi creditum erat*, and Lefèvre *quod creditus sum*.

7 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut et" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13 for *quemadmodum*. The late Vulgate addition of *et* lacks Greek ms. support. Lefèvre had *vt*, omitting *et*.

8 *Nam qui* ὁ γάρ ("Qui enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

8 *efficax fuit in ... efficax fuit ... in me* ἐνεργήσας ... ἐνήργησε ... ἐμοί ("operatus est ... operatus est ... mihi" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,5, and *Annot.*

8 *ad ... erga* εἰς ... εἰς ("in ... inter" Vg.; "ad ... in" 1516). Erasmus' choice of prepositions is more accurate, though no more consistent than the Vulgate. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *ad ... ad* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *in ... ad*).

9 *Quumque cognouissent* καὶ γνόντες ("Et cum cognouissent" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,39. Lefèvre put *et cognoscentes*.

9 *mihi datam* τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ("quae data est mihi" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering is more precise, as Erasmus' version could also be understood to mean "When they knew that grace was given to me". Lefèvre put *quae indulta est michi*.

9 *esse columnae* στύλοι εἶναι ("columnae esse" Vg.). For Erasmus' occasional preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. The Vulgate word-order is more literal.

9 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Lefèvre put *atque*.

9 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus' wording agrees with that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

9 *apostolatu fungeremur* (omitted in 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus added these words, to complete the elliptical Greek sentence, based on the reference to *apostolatum* in vs. 8. See *Annot.* After *vt nos*, Manetti added *quidem*, and Lefèvre *essemus*.

10 *In quo* ὅ ("Quod" Vg.). Erasmus presumably wished to avoid the appearance of repetition, as *quod* and *hoc ipsum* provided a double object for the verb. Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 7,33.

10 *et* καί ("etiam" Vg.). Possibly Erasmus regarded *etiam* as too emphatic here, as the required sense is "also" rather than "even". His rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

10 *diligens fui* ἐσπούδασα ("sollicitus fui" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,8. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *studui*, the latter having the word-order *hoc ipsum studui*.

10 *vt hoc ipsum facerem* αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ("hoc ipsum facere" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive. Manetti put *hoc idem facere*, and Lefèvre *hoc ipsum ... efficere*.

¹¹ Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε Πέτρος εἰς Ἀν-
τιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐ | τῷ
ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν.
¹² πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινας ἀπὸ
Ἰακώβου, μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθι-
εν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ὑπέστελλε καὶ
ἀφώρισεν ἑαυτόν, φοβούμενος τοὺς
ἐκ περιτομῆς· ¹³ καὶ συνυπεκρίθη-
σαν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖ-
οι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρνάβας συναπήχθη
αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει. ¹⁴ ἀλλ' ὅτε
εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσι πρὸς

¹¹ Quum autem venisset Petrus An-
tiochiam, | palam illi restiti, eo quod
reprehensus esset. ¹² Nam antequam
venissent quidam a Iacobo, vna cum
gentibus sumebat cibum: quum autem
venissent, subduxit ac separauit se ab
illis, metuens eos qui erant ex circun-
cisione: ¹³ ac simulabant vna cum illo
caeteri quoque Iudaei, adeo vt Bar-
nabas simul abduceretur in illorum
simulationem. ¹⁴ Verum vbi vidissem
quod non recto pede incederent ad

11 αυτω *A-C E*: αυτο *D*

11 Antiochiam, palam *B-E*: Anthiochiam, iuxta faciem *A* | eo *B-E*: om. *A* | 12 ac *B-E*: et *A* |
separauit *A B D E*: seperauit *C* | 13 illorum *B-E*: om. *A*

11 *Petrus* Πέτρος ("Cephas" Vg.). The Vulgate
reflects the substitution of Κηφᾶς, as in codd.
ℵ A B C H and thirty-three other mss. Erasmus
follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with
1, 2105, 2816, and also D F G and more than
550 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 3, pp. 128-30). A similar divergence of text
occurs in vs. 14, and also at *Gal.* 1,18 (cf. also
vs. 9, above). The question here is whether later
scribes substituted the name of Peter because
it was more familiar to them, or whether an
ancient editor deliberately changed Peter to
Cephas in a pious attempt to avoid the con-
clusion that Peter had fallen into error. Cf. Eu-
sebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* I, 12, 2 (*GCS* 9, i,
pp. 82-3), citing Clement's identification of
this Cephas, not as Peter the apostle, but as one
of the "seventy" disciples mentioned in *Lc.*
10,1. See also Erasmus' lengthy comment on
the present passage in *Annot.* His rendering is
the same as that of Ambrosiaster, the Jerome
1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre.

11 *palam* κατὰ πρόσωπον ("in faciem" Vg.;
"iuxta faciem" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus ob-
jected that *in faciem* sounded too "insulting"
("contumeliosius"). See also on 2 *Cor.* 10,1.
Lefèvre put *in persona*.

11 *illi* αὐτῷ ("ei" Vg.). Erasmus uses the more
emphatic pronoun, as referring back to Peter
rather than to Antioch, though this sense was
already sufficiently clear from the context.

Cf. *Annot.* The version of Erasmus agrees with
that of Ambrosiaster.

11 *eo quod ... esset* ὅτι ... ἦν ("quia ... erat" Vg.;
"quod ... esset" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,20; *Rom.*
5,5; 1 *Cor.* 11,15. In *Annot.*, Erasmus sugges-
ted *quoniam ... erat*, which happened to be the
rendering of Manetti.

11 *reprehensus* κατεγνωσμένος ("reprehensibilis"
Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. In *Annot.*,
more strongly, he suggested *damnatus*, in line
with his substitution of *condemno* for *reprehen-
do* in rendering the same Greek verb at 1 *Ioh.*
3,20-1. The passage is further discussed in his
Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, *ASD* IX, 4, pp. 239-40,
ll. 987-993; pp. 314-15, ll. 898-905. He placed
the Vulgate use of *reprehensibilis* among the *Loca
Manifeste Deprauata*. Erasmus' rendering was
the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put
depraehensus.

12 *Nam antequam* πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ("Prius enim
quam" Vg.). The word γὰρ was omitted in cod.
2815, with little other ms. support. For *nam*,
see on *Ioh.* 3,34. A similar substitution of
antequam occurs at *Gal.* 3,23. Lefèvre put *Nam
priusquam*.

12 *venissent* (1st.) ἐλθεῖν ("venirent" Vg.). Eras-
mus produces a better sequence of tenses. For
his use of the pluperfect, see also on *Ioh.* 1,19.
Once again Ambrosiaster offered the same
rendering.

12 *vna cum* μετά ("cum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22.

12 τῶν. This article was omitted in cod. 2817, apparently without other ms. support.

12 *sumebat cibum* συνήσθιεν ("edebat" Vg.). This change is comparable with Erasmus' replacement of *manduco* by *sumo cibum* in rendering ἐσθίω at *Mt.* 9,11. Elsewhere *sumo cibum* corresponds with μεταλαμβάνω τροφῆς or προσλαμβάνω τροφῆς.

12 *subduxit* ὑπέστελλε ("subtrahebat" Vg.). A similar substitution of *subduco* occurs at *Hebr.* 10,38, and also in rendering στέλλομαι at 2 *Thess.* 3,6. For Erasmus' avoidance of *subtraho*, see also on *Act.* 20,20. However, in using the perfect tense, he was less accurate. Lefèvre, more satisfactorily, had *subducebat*.

12 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

12 *separauit ... ab illis* ἀφώρισεν ("segregabat" Vg.). The Vulgate was based on a Greek text having ἀφώριζεν, found in most mss., including those at Basle (except that cod. 1 omits ὅτε ... ἑαυτόν). Possibly Erasmus or one of his assistants misread the script of cod. 2817 at this point. More often he prefers *segrego* for this Greek verb: retaining *segrego* at *Mt.* 25,32 (b); *Act.* 13,2; 19,9; *Rom.* 1,1; *Gal.* 1,15, and substituting *segrego* for *separo* at *Mt.* 13,49. He retains *separo* at *Mt.* 25,32 (a); *Lc.* 6,22; 2 *Cor.* 6,17. For Erasmus' addition of *ab illis*, see on 2 *Cor.* 6,17. Lefèvre had *separabat*.

12 *metuens* φοβούμενος ("timens" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 11,3.

12 *eos qui erant ex circuncisione* τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς ("eos qui ex circuncisione erant" Vg.). The position of *erant* is unaffected by the Greek text. For Erasmus' preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. His wording was the same as that of Ambrosiaster. The version of Lefèvre had *eis qui erant ex circuncisione*.

13 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

13 *simulabant vna cum illo* συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ ("simulationi eius consenserunt" Vg.). Erasmus' use of *simulo* is comparable with Vulgate usage in rendering ὑποκρίνομαι at *Lc.* 20,20. Cf. also on *Rom.* 12,9. For *vna cum*, see on *Act.* 1,22. In *Annot.*, Erasmus offered the alternative rendering, *vna cum illo simulauerunt*, which he ascribed to "Ambrose", though the latter (i.e. Ambrosiaster) had *simulauerunt cum*

illo, without *vna*. Erasmus' adoption of the less accurate imperfect tense, *simulabant*, may have been prompted by Lefèvre, who put *cum eo simulabant*. Manetti had *ei ... in hac simulatione consenserunt* (placing *ei* before *ceteri Iudei*).

13 *caeteri quoque* καὶ οἱ λοιποί ("caeteri" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of καί, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ B and a few other mss. Erasmus followed codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as א A C D F G H and most other mss. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *et reliqui* (cf. Ambrosiaster and the Jerome 1516 text, translating as *et ceteri*).

13 *adeo vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6. Lefèvre made the same change.

13 *Barnabas simul abduceretur* καὶ Βαρνάβας συναπήχθη ("et Barnabas duceretur ab eis" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to convey the sense of the Greek prefix συν- more precisely: see on *Rom.* 2,15. In *Annot.*, he questions the genuineness of an alternative reading, συναπεχθῆναι (from συναπέχω), quoted in Lefèvre *Comm.* This variant was responsible for Lefèvre's rendering, *et Barnabas ... simul abstineret*. Another variant, συναπαχθῆναι (aorist passive infinitive from συναπάγω), also occurs in a few late mss., which by a change of just one letter, could have given rise to the spelling cited by Lefèvre. Manetti had just *Barnabas duceretur*, omitting *et* and *ab eis*.

13 *in illorum simulationem* αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει ("in illam simulationem" late Vg.; "in simulationem" 1516). Earlier Vulgate mss. had *in illa simulatione*. Erasmus renders αὐτῶν more accurately: see *Annot.* In 1516, the omission of *illorum* may have been a typesetting error. Quite apart from this, however, Erasmus' retention of *in ... simulationem* was unsatisfactory, as the Greek dative is here more naturally understood as expressing the agency or means by which Barnabas was led astray. For example, at 2 *Petr.* 3,17, where συναπάγω again occurs with a dative, Erasmus has the rendering *nefariorum errore abducti*. Manetti put *in simulationem eorum*, and Lefèvre *eorum simulatione*.

14 *Verum* ἀλλ' ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. Lefèvre put *At vero*.

14 *vbi* ὅτε ("cum" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 13,10. Lefèvre put *quando*.

14 *recto pede incederent* ὀρθοποδοῦσι ("recte ambularent" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering was an adaptation of *recto pede incedunt* in Jerome

τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, εἶπον τῷ Πέτρῳ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων, Εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων, ἐθνικῶς ζῆς, καὶ οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς, τί τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαΐζειν; ¹⁵ ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί· ¹⁶ εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ | Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου· διότι οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου πᾶσα σάρξ. ¹⁷ εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ, εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἄρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος; μὴ γένοιτο. ¹⁸ εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσα, ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἐμαυτὸν συνίστημι. ¹⁹ ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω, Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι. ²⁰ ζῶ δέ, οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ

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veritatem euangelii, dixi Petro coram omnibus: Si tu quum sis Iudaeus, gentiliter viuis, ac non Iudaice, cur gentes cogis Iudaisare? ¹⁵ Nos natura Iudaei, et non ex gentibus peccatores: ¹⁶ quoniam scimus non iustificari hominem ex operibus legis, nisi per fidem | Iesu Christi et nos in Christum Iesum credidimus, vt iustificaremur ex fide Christi, et non ex operibus legis: propterea quod non iustificabitur ex operibus legis omnis caro. ¹⁷ Quod si dum quaerimus iustificari per Christum, reperimur et ipsi peccatores, num ergo Christus peccati minister est? Absit. ¹⁸ Nam si quae destruxi, ea rursum aedifico, transgressorem me ipsum constituo. ¹⁹ Ego enim per legem legi mortuus fui, vt deo viuerem, vna cum Christo crucifixus sum. ²⁰ Viuo tamen, non iam ego, sed viuit in me

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14 ac B-E: et A | Iudaisare E: iudaissare A-C, Iudaissare D | 16 propterea B-E: propter A | 17 quaerimus B-E: querimus A | per Christum B-E: in Christo A | 19 deo D E: Christo A-C

Comm., and recto pede incesserit in Jerome Adv. Pelagianos I, 23 (CCSL 80, p. 29): see Annot.

14 Petro τῷ Πέτρῳ ("Cephae" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having τῷ Κηφᾷ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C H and twenty-three other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also D F G and about 550 other mss. (see Aland Die Paulinischen Briefe vol. 3, pp. 130-3). See on vs. 11, and Annot. The rendering of Erasmus agrees with that of Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 quum sis Iudaeus Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ("cum Iudaeus sis" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal as to the word-order. For Erasmus' transposition of the verb, see on Rom. 2,27. His wording is again the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

14 ac καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on Ioh. 1,25.

14 cur τί ("quomodo" Vg.). The Vulgate follows a Greek text substituting πῶς, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G H and some other mss. This textual discrepancy may have been influenced in some way by the resemblance between πῶς and the ending of the preceding word, Ἰουδαϊκῶς. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same change, while Manetti put quid.

16 quoniam scimus εἰδότες ("scientes autem" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of δέ, as in codd. ℵ B C D* F G H and a few other mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2816, and also

𝔓⁴⁶ A D^corr and most other mss. See *Annot.* As happens commonly elsewhere, Erasmus avoids the participle in his rendering of this passage. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *scientes*, omitting *autem*.

16 *non iustificari hominem* ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ("quod non iustificatur homo" Vg.). Erasmus' substitution of the accusative and infinitive construction is less literal, though the meaning is the same.

16 *in Christum Iesum* εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ("in Christo Iesu" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. The same wording was also offered by Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre (except that Lefèvre had *Ihesum* for *Iesum*).

16 *credidimus* ἐπιστεύσαμεν ("credimus" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww). The late Vulgate use of the present tense is unsupported by Greek mss. The rendering preferred by Erasmus also appeared in some Vulgate mss. (with Vg^st), the Jerome 1516 text (as cited in *Annot.*), Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *iustificaremur* δικαιωθῶμεν ("iustificemur" Vg.). Erasmus' change of tense was prompted by the sequence of two Greek aorists.

16 *propterea quod* διότι ("propter quod" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 8,11, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *Quapropter.*

16 *non iustificabitur ex operibus legis* οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ("ex operibus legis non iustificabitur" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different Greek word-order, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G H I^vid and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

17 *dum quaerimus* ζητοῦντες ("quaerentes" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20.

17 *per Christum* ἐν Χριστῷ ("in Christo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

17 *reperimur* εὑρέθημεν ("inuenti sumus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,41.

17 *num ergo* ἆρα ("nunquid" Vg.). Erasmus' codd. 1, 2815, 2816^corr, 2817^vid accentuate the word as ἆρα here, and codd. 2105, 2816* have ἄρα. At some other passages where ἄρα occurs within a question (e.g. *Mt.* 18,1; *Act.* 7,1; 21,38), and also at passages where it is

accentuated as an interrogative particle, ἆρα (as at *Lc.* 18,8; *Act.* 8,30), Erasmus does not add *ergo* or *igitur*. Ambrosiaster put just *ergo*, and Manetti *an.*

18 *Nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre made the same change.

18 *ea rursum* ταῦτα πάλιν ("iterum haec" late Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. Other substitutions of *is* for *hic* occur e.g. at *Gal.* 3,7 (resuming from an earlier *qui*); and 6,12 (resuming from an earlier *quicunque*). For *rursum*, see on *Rom.* 15,10. Lefèvre put *eadem rursus.*

18 *aedifico* οἰκοδομῶ ("reaedifico" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). As pointed out in *Annot.*, the prefix *re-* is redundant as πάλιν has already been translated by *iterum*, in the late Vulgate. Manetti, together with the earlier Vulgate, had the same rendering as Erasmus, while Lefèvre put *extruo.*

18 *transgressorem* παραβάτην ("praeuaricatorem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,23, 25.

18 *me ipsum* ἐμαυτόν ("me" Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek reflexive pronoun more emphatically. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

19 *mortuus fui* ἀπέθανον ("mortuus sum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2, and *Annot.*

19 *deo* θεῷ ("Christo" 1516-22 Lat.). Erasmus' Latin rendering, in 1516-22, was in conflict with his accompanying Greek text.

19 *viuerem* ζήσω ("viuam" Vg.). Erasmus' change of tense follows from his substitution of *fui* for *sum* in the main clause.

19 *vna cum Christo crucifixus sum* Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι ("Christo confixus sum cruci" Vg.). Erasmus provides a clearer rendering. For his use of *vna cum*, see on *Act.* 1,22. See also *Annot.*, where he cites the rendering of Lefèvre (*Christo concrucifixus sum*) and of Valla *Annot.* (*cum Christo crucifixus sum*) as possible alternatives, though without naming his sources.

20 *tamen* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

20 *non iam* οὐκέτι ("iam non" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,17. Lefèvre put *non amplius.*

20 *sed viuit* ζῇ δέ ("viuit vero" Vg.). Erasmus sensed that a more emphatic contrast was required by the context. He used the same wording as Ambrosiaster.

Χριστός. ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πί-
στει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ ἀγα-
πήσαντός με, καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν
ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. ²¹οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν
τοῦ θεοῦ. εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύ-
νη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.

3 Ὦ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβά-
σκηνε, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι,
οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
προεγράφη, ἐν ὑμῖν ἐσταυ | ρωμένος;
²τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν,
ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε,

Christus. Vitam autem quam nunc
viuo in carne, per fidem viuo filii dei,
qui dilexit me, et tradidit semet ipsum
pro me. ²¹Non aspernor gratiam dei.
Nam si per legem est iustitia, igitur
Christus frustra mortuus est.

3 O stulti Galatae, quis vos fasci-
nauit, vt non crederetis veritati,
quibus prae oculis Iesus | Christus
ante fuit depictus, inter vos crucifixus?
²Hoc solum cupio discere a vobis,
ex operibus legis spiritum accepistis,

LB 813 (left margin)
LB 814 (right margin)

3,1 υμιν *A-D*: ημιν *E*

20 per fidem *B-E*: in fide *A*
3,2 *prius* ex *A E (Ex E)*: vtrum ex *B-D*

20 *Vitam ... quam ... viuo* ὃ ... ζῶ ("Quod ...
viuo" Vg.). Erasmus here makes the meaning
of ὃ more explicit. At *Rom.* 6,10, however,
he retains *quod ... viuit* in rendering ὃ ... ζῇ:
cf. *Annot.*

20 *per fidem* ἐν πίστει ("in fide" 1516 = Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre put *in ea fide*.

20 *semet ipsum* ἑαυτόν ("se ipsum" Vg. 1527
and some Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column
followed the Froben editions of 1491 and 1514.
Erasmus here uses the more emphatic form of
the reflexive pronoun. The same rendering oc-
curred in some Vulgate mss., the Jerome 1516
text and lemma (contrary to Jerome *Comm.*),
Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

21 *aspernor* ἀθετῶ ("abiicio" Vg.). Erasmus is
more precise at this point. He adopts the same
verb at *Hebr.* 10,28, replacing *irritum facio*. Else-
where he renders ἀθετέω by *sperno* and *reiicio*:
see on *Ioh.* 12,48, and *Annot.* The version of
Lefèvre had *irritam facio*.

21 *Nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.*
3,34. Lefèvre made the same change. Manetti's
version omitted *Si enim ... mortuus est.*

21 *est iustitia* δικαιοσύνη ("iustitia" Vg.). Eras-
mus adds a verb, for clarity.

21 *igitur* ἄρα ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

21 *Christus frustra* Χριστὸς δωρεάν ("gratis
Christus" late Vg., with Vg^(ww (ed minor))). Erasmus
is more literal as to the word-order. By substi-
tuting *frustra* for *gratis*, he makes plain that the
sense of δωρεάν is "in vain" rather than
"freely". Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre was
Christus nequicquam.

3,1 *stulti* ἀνόητοι ("insensati" Vg.). This change
produces consistency with vs. 3. The Vulgate
word is absent from classical literature. In
Annot., Erasmus follows Valla *Annot.* in descri-
bing *insensatus* as too harsh an expression. For
his rendering of ἀνόητος elsewhere, see on
Rom. 1,14. Manetti made the same change,
while Lefèvre had *amentes*.

1 ἐβάσκηνε. This spelling corresponds with
the text of codd. 2815 and 2817, together with
1, 2816 and many other late mss. In codd.
א A B C D F G and many other mss., inclu-
ding cod. 2105, it is ἐβάσκανε(ν), as cited in
Lefèvre *Comm.*

1 *vt non crederetis* μὴ πείθεσθαι ("non obedire"
late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus avoids the
infinitive. A similar substitution occurs at *Gal.*
5,7. In codd. א A B D* F G and thirteen later

Greek mss., the words τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι are omitted, with support from some mss. of the Vulgate. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as C D^corr and about 550 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 136-9). In cod. 2816, the verb-ending is represented by a compendium which the scribe elsewhere uses for a variety of syllables, including -θε, -θαι, -θα, and -θεια, so that the interpretation of the script has to depend on the context: in this instance it is therefore better to assume that the scribe intended πείθεσθαι rather than πείθεσθε (contrary to Aland, *loc. cit.*). In *Annot.*, and also in the *Quae Sint Addita*, Erasmus noted the rejection of this passage by Jerome *Comm.* It is commonly suggested that the extra four Greek words are a scribal interpolation from *Gal.* 5,7 (τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι). An alternative possibility is that an ancient scribe, by parablepsis, accidentally omitted one complete line of text, and that his error was consequently reproduced by several other scribes who relied upon his defective copy. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus follows Valla *Annot.* in proposing *ne obtemperetis*, changed to *ne obtemperaretis* in later editions of *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *vt non obediatis*. Lefèvre, however, replaced *non obedire veritati* with *non suaderi veritate*, taking the Greek verb in a passive sense.

1 *quibus prae oculis* οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμούς ("ante quorum oculos" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more literal rendering of οἷς. His use of *prae oculis*, in the sense of "before their eyes", lacks classical precedent, though an example of this phrase occurs in Augustine *De Ciuitate Dei* XI, 3 (*CSEL* 40, i, p. 514). Elsewhere Erasmus tends to use *prae* to mean "under the influence of" or "by comparison with". In *Annot.*, he also suggests *in oculis* (1516) or *sub oculis* (1519 onwards). He did not wish to use *ante* in a positional sense here, as he planned to use the same word as a temporal adverb in rendering προεγράφη (*ante fuit depictus*) later in the sentence. Lefèvre put *quibus ante oculos*.

1 *Iesus Christus* Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ("Christus Iesus" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514. Erasmus renders the Greek word-order more literally. In *Annot.*, he inserts ὁ before Ἰησοῦς. The earlier Vulgate, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns) had the same wording as Erasmus.

1 *ante fuit depictus* προεγράφη ("proscriptus est" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vg^st; "praescriptus est" some Vg. mss., with Vg^ww). Erasmus' use of *ante ... depingo*, as appears from *Annot.*, was prompted by the Greek "scholia" (= cod. 2817^comm, τὸ μὲν κήρυγμα ἐζωγράφησεν ὑμῖν τὸν σταυρόν) and Theophylact (= cod. 2105^comm, ἐζωγράφθη διὰ τοῦ κηρύγματος). Manetti had *prescriptus est*, and Lefèvre *descriptus est*.

1 *inter vos* ἐν ὑμῖν ("et in vobis" late Vg.). The addition of *et*, found in some late Vulgate editions, is unsupported by Greek mss. In some mss. of the Vulgate, the whole phrase is omitted, with support from codd. א A B C and over fifty other mss. If the words were originally part of the text, it is possible that they were deleted by a scribe who, connecting ἐν ὑμῖν with the following ἐσταυρωμένος, objected that Christ had not literally been crucified among the Galatian believers. Other copyists, who linked ἐν ὑμῖν with the earlier οἷς, may have omitted the phrase simply because they thought that it was superfluous to the sense. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also D F G and about 540 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 139-41). See *Annot.*, and for *inter*, see on *Ioh.* 15,24. The insertion of *et* is listed among the *Quae Sint Addita*. The reading ἐν ἡμῖν in 1535 seems to have been a misprint, as it conflicts with the Latin rendering. The Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre had *in vobis*, omitting *et*.

2 *cupio discere a vobis* θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν ("a vobis volo discere" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate word-order lacks Greek ms. support. For *cupio*, see on 2 *Cor.* 11,12. Ambrosiaster put *volo discere a vobis*, and Lefèvre *a vobis discere velim*.

2 *ex* (1st.) ἐξ ("an ex" 1516-27 *Annot.*, lemma; "vtrum ex" 1519-27 Lat.). The reading attributed to the Vulgate in the lemma of 1516-27 *Annot.* is identical with the wording of Lefèvre's translation. The use of *vtrum* here in 1519-27 produced consistency with the insertion of that word in a similar pair of alternative questions in vs. 5: see further on *Gal.* 1,10. In 1535, Erasmus restored the earlier Vulgate reading. See *Annot.* This was also the wording of Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti, the Vulgate column of Lefèvre, the 1527 Vulgate column, and the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514.

ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; ³οὕτως ἀνό-
ητοί ἐστε, ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι, νῦν
σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε; ⁴τοσαῦτα ἐπά-
θετε εἰκῇ; εἴ γε καὶ εἰκῇ. ⁵ὁ οὖν
ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ
ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐξ ἔρ-
γων νόμου, ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως;
⁶καθὼς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ,
καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύ-
νην. ⁷γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ
πίστεως, οὗτοί εἰσιν υἱοὶ Ἀβρα-
άμ. ⁸προϊδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι
ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοῖ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ
θεός, προευηγγελίσατο τῷ Ἀβραὰμ
ὅτι Εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα
τὰ ἔθνη. ⁹ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστε-
ως εὐλογοῦνται σὺν τῷ πιστῷ
Ἀβραάμ. ¹⁰ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων

an ex praedicatione fidei? ³Adeo
stulti estis, quum spiritu coeperitis,
nunc carne consummamini? ⁴Tam
multa passi estis frustra, si tamen et
frustra. ⁵Qui igitur subministrat vo-
bis spiritum, et operatur virtutes in
vobis, vtrum ex operibus legis, an ex
praedicatione fidei id facit? ⁶Quem-
admodum Abraham credidit deo, et
imputatum est illi ad iustitiam. ⁷Sci-
tis igitur quod qui ex fide sunt, ii
sint filii Abrahae. ⁸Praeuidens autem
scriptura, quod ex fide iustificet gentes
deus, prius rem laetam nunciauit Ab-
rahae: Benedicentur, inquiens, in te
omnes gentes. ⁹Itaque qui ex fide
sunt, benedicuntur cum fideli Abra-
ham. ¹⁰Nam quotquot ex operibus

6 δικαιοσυνην *B-E*: δικαιωσυνην *A*

2 praedicatione *B-E*: auditu *A* | 3 spiritu *B-E*: in spiritu *A* | carne *B-E*: in carne *A* | 4 si
tamen et *B-E*: at si tamen *A* | 5 praedicatione *B-E*: auditu *A* | 7 qui *B-E*: ii qui *A* | sint *B-E*:
sunt *A* | 8 laetam *B-E*: letam *A*

2 *praedicatione* ἀκοῆς ("auditu" 1516 = Vg.). A
similar substitution occurs in vs. 5. In *Annot.*,
Erasmus objected to the expression *ex auditu
fidei*, as being contrary to classical usage, and
also because *auditus* tends to mean the act or
faculty of hearing rather than the content of
what is heard. See further on *Ioh.* 12,38; *Act.*
28,26.

3 *Adeo* οὕτως ("Sic" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 6,5.
Lefèvre put *Sicine*, following Valla *Annot.*

3 *estis* ἐστε ("estis, vt" late Vg. and many Vg.
mss., with Vg^{ww}). As pointed out in *Annot.*,
the late Vulgate addition of *vt* lacks explicit
Greek ms. support. In omitting this word,
Erasmus' rendering agrees with a few Vul-
gate mss. (with Vg^{st}), Ambrosiaster and Valla
Annot.

3 *spiritu ... carne* πνεύματι ... σαρκί ("in
spiritu ... in carne" 1516). By adding *in*, Eras-
mus' 1516 rendering prevents *cum* from being

misunderstood as a preposition. In 1519, he
reverted to the more accurate Vulgate wording.
In 1535, the frequent substitution of *quum* for
cum (not included in the apparatus to the pres-
ent edition) removed ambiguities of this kind.

4 *Tam multa* τοσαῦτα ("Tanta" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 6,9.

4 *frustra* (twice) εἰκῇ ("sine causa" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 13,4, and *Annot.* The same substitu-
tion was made by Jerome *Comm.*, Manetti and
Lefèvre.

4 *si tamen et* εἴ γε καί ("si tamen" Vg.; "at si
tamen" 1516). Possibly, in 1516, Erasmus had
intended to put *et si tamen*. In 1519, by adding
et, he provides a rendering for καί. The word
καί was omitted by 𝔓⁴⁶. Manetti had the same
translation as Erasmus' 1519 edition.

5 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.
Lefèvre made the same change, but Manetti
had *enim*.

5 *subministrat* ἐπιχορηγῶν ("tribuit" Vg.). This substitution is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Col.* 2,19. Erasmus further uses *subministro* to replace *ministro* in rendering the same Greek verb at 2 *Petr.* 1,5, 11. For his occasional use of *tribuo* for δίδωμι, see on *Rom.* 4,20. In 1516 *Annot.*, without support from his Basle mss., he twice substitutes χορηγῶν for ἐπιχορηγῶν. Both forms of this verb appear in cod. 2817^comm. The version of Lefèvre had *suppeditat*.

5 *vtrum ex* ἐξ ("ex" Vg.). See on vs. 2, above, and also on *Gal.* 1,10. Lefèvre put *an id ex*.

5 *praedicatione* ἀκοῆς ("auditu" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 2.

5 *id facit* (Vg. omits). Erasmus makes this addition, to supply a main verb for the sentence. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre produced a similar effect by expanding the previous clause to read *an id ex operibus legis sit.*

6 *Quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut scriptum est" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *scriptum est* has little Greek ms. support: see *Annot.* For *quemadmodum*, see on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt*, omitting *scriptum est.*

6 *imputatum est* ἐλογίσθη ("reputatum est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,26.

7 *Scitis* γινώσκετε ("Cognoscite" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "Cognoscitis" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). The substitution of *scio* for *cognosco* also occurs at *Mc.* 12,12; 13,28; *Hebr.* 10,34; 13,23. Erasmus follows Jerome (whose 1516 text and lemma have *Cognoscitis*) in preferring to render the verb as indicative rather than imperative, though in *Annot.* he acknowledges the ambiguity of the Greek word.

7 *igitur* ἄρα ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

7 *quod ... sint* ὅτι ... εἰσιν ("quia ... sunt" Vg.; "quod ... sunt" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

7 *qui* οἱ ("ii qui" 1516). In 1519, Erasmus reverted to the shorter Vulgate rendering. His 1516 addition of *ii* again followed the version of Lefèvre.

7 *ii* οὗτοι ("hi" Vg. 1527; "hii" Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben editions of 1491 and 1514. The reading *ii* is also found in some late Vulgate editions. For the substitution of *is* for *hic*, see on *Gal.* 2,18. Manetti put *hi*, and Lefèvre *illi*.

8 *Praeuidens* προϊδοῦσα ("Prouidens" Vg.). Both renderings are legitimate, though *prouideo*, which was more widespread in classical usage, could also mean "provide" and not only "foresee". Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

8 *quod ... iustificet* ὅτι ... δικαιοῖ ("quia ... iustificat" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre had *quod ... iustificat*.

8 *prius rem laetam nunciauit* προευηγγελίσατο ("praenunciauit" Vg.). This change is comparable with Erasmus' use of *laeta nuncio* at *Lc.* 1,19 (1519), and *laetum accipio euangelii nuncium* at *Mt.* 11,5 (1519), for εὐαγγελίζομαι. He retains *praenuncio* for προκαταγγέλλω at *Act.* 3,18; 7,52. See *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *praeeuangelizauit.*

8 *Benedicentur, inquiens* ὅτι Εὐλογηθήσονται ("Quia benedicentur" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20 for the omission of *quia*. Erasmus adds *inquiens* to make a smoother connection with the preceding *nunciauit*, which already had a direct object in *rem laetam*. The reading εὐλογηθήσονται has little ms. support other than cod. 2105 (which has a different word-order, ὅτι ἐν σοὶ εὐλογηθήσονται), and codd. F G: see on *Act.* 3,25. Most mss. have ἐνευλογηθήσονται. Lefèvre put *quod benedicentur*, while Manetti changed the word-order to *quod in te benedicentur.*

9 *Itaque* ὥστε ("Igitur" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 7,38. Manetti anticipated this change. In Lefèvre's version, it was *Quare*.

9 *benedicuntur* εὐλογοῦνται ("benedicentur" Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, the Greek verb is in the present tense. Erasmus was also aware that this treatment of *benedico* as a transitive verb did not conform with classical usage ("Scio parum esse Latinum"). Lefèvre put *benedicti sunt.*

10 *Nam quotquot* ὅσοι γάρ ("Quicunque enim" Vg.). For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. A similar substitution of *quotquot* for *quicunque* occurs at *Mt.* 14,36; *Phil.* 3,15; *Col.* 2,1. More often Erasmus retains *quicunque*. Lefèvre had *Quicunque vero.*

νόμου εἰσίν, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσί. γέγρα-
πται γάρ, Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ
ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ
βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά.
¹¹ ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιοῦται παρὰ
τῷ θεῷ, δῆλον, ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως
ζήσεται, ¹² ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πί-
στεως, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος,
ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. ¹³ Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξη-
γόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου, γε-
νόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κατάρα. γέγραπται
γάρ, Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος
ἐπὶ ξύλου· ¹⁴ ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία
τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένηται | ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰη-
σοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος
λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

legis sunt, execrationi sunt obnoxii.
Scriptum est enim: Execrabilis omnis,
qui non manserit in omnibus, quae
scripta sunt in libro legis, vt faciat ea.
¹¹ Quod autem in lege nullus iustifi-
cetur apud deum, palam est. Siquidem
iustus ex fide viuet, ¹² lex autem non
est ex fide: sed qui fecerit ea homo,
viuet in ipsis. ¹³ Christus vos redemit
ab execratione legis, dum pro vobis
factus est execratio. Scriptum est enim,
Execrabilis omnis qui pendet in ligno:
¹⁴ vt in gentes benedictio Abrahae ve-
niret per Christum Iesum, vt pro-
missio|nem spiritus acciperemus per
fidem.

LB 815 (left margin) LB 816 (right margin)

10 κατάραν A C-E: καθαραν B | 13 υμας C-E: ημας A B

10 execrationi B-E: maledictioni A | Execrabilis B-E: Maledictus est A | 11 iustificetur B-E: iustificatur A | 13 vos E: nos A-D | ab execratione B-E: a maledictione A | execratio B-E: maledictum A | Execrabilis B-E: maledictus A | 14 per Christum Iesum B-E: in Christo Iesu A

10 *execrationi sunt obnoxii* ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσί ("sub maledicto sunt" Vg.; "maledictioni sunt obnoxii" 1516). For *execratio*, see on *Rom.* 3,14, and for *obnoxius*, see on *Rom.* 3,9. See also *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *sub maledictione sunt* (with the spelling *maladictione* in *Urb. Lat.* 6).

10 *Execrabilis* Ἐπικατάρατος ("Maledictus" Vg.; "Maledictus est" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 7,49, and cf. also *Annot.*

10 *manserit* ἐμμένει ("permanserit" Vg.). At *Act.* 14,22 (1519), *permaneo* is replaced by *perseuero*, and at *Hebr.* 8,9 by *persisto*, both rendering the same Greek verb. For Erasmus' treatment of *permaneo* elsewhere, see on *Act.* 11,23. See also *Annot.*, where he cites *permanet* as a more literal translation: this was the wording of Lefèvre.

11 *Quod ... iustificetur* ὅτι ... δικαιοῦται ("Quoniam ... iustificatur" Vg.; "Quod ... iustificatur" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

11 νόμῳ. Cod. 2815 has τῷ νόμῳ, in company with a few other late mss.

11 *nullus* οὐδείς ("nemo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,7. Lefèvre made the same change.

11 *palam est* δῆλον ("manifestum est" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 15,27. Lefèvre put *dilucidum*, omitting *est*.

11 *Siquidem* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). Erasmus does not elsewhere render ὅτι by *siquidem*. More often he uses *siquidem* to replace *enim*, in rendering γάρ.

11 *viuet* ζήσεται ("viuit" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, as the Greek verb is in the future tense: see *Annot.* His rendering agrees with the Jerome 1516 text (contrary to *Comm.*), Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

12 *homo* ἄνθρωπος (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ Aᵛⁱᵈ B C D* F G and thirty-three other mss., including cod. 2815. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 560 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 142-4). If ἄνθρωπος were not an authentic

part of the text, it might be thought to reflect a harmonisation with ὁ ποιήσας αὐτά ἄνθρωπος at *Rom.* 10,5 (cf. also *Lv.* 18,5). Another explanation is that the word was genuine but was deleted by a corrector who deemed it to be superfluous to the sense: cf. the omission of ἄνθρωπος by cod. B at 1 *Cor.* 15,45. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus, except that Lefèvre positioned *homo* after *sed.*

13 *ipsis* αὐτοῖς ("illis" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *illis* appeared to make an unwanted contrast with the preceding *ea*. Manetti anticipated the change made by Erasmus, while Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre put *eis*.

13 *vos* ὑμᾶς ("nos" 1516-27 = Vg.). In the 1516-19 editions, the Latin rendering, *nos*, was matched by the equivalent Greek text, ἡμᾶς, found in all of Erasmus' mss. at Basle. In 1522-7, the Greek text was changed to ὑμᾶς, while the Latin rendering inconsistently retained *nos*. In view of the lack of Greek ms. support for ὑμᾶς, it is possible that this originated as a typesetting error in the 1522 edition, and that the Latin was changed in 1535 solely to produce agreement with the previously altered Greek text. The substitution of ὑμᾶς could have been influenced by the presence of ὑμῶν (in Erasmus' printed text) later in this sentence. Both mss. of Manetti's version replaced *nos* by *non*, presumably through a scribal error.

13 *ab* ἐκ ("de" Vg.; "a" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 8,23. In *Annot.*, Erasmus translates more literally by *ex*, which was also the rendering of Manetti.

13 *execratione* τῆς κατάρας ("maledicto" Vg.; "maledictione" 1516). See on *Rom.* 3,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus prefers *maledictione*, citing Jerome *Adv. Pelagianos* II, 9 (*CCSL* 80, p. 66). Manetti likewise had *maledictione* (spelled *maladictione* in *Urb. Lat.* 6).

13 *dum pro vobis factus est* γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ("factus pro nobis" Vg.). The reading ὑμῶν is not supported by Erasmus' Basle mss. Since the Latin rendering and Greek text are consistent, this might appear to have been a conjecture by Erasmus. Another possibility is that the typesetter of the 1516 Latin column accidentally substituted *uobis* for *nobis* (by turning a letter upside-down), and Erasmus or his assistants then compounded the error by altering the Greek text to match the Latin. For *dum*, see on *Rom.* 1,20.

13 *execratio* κατάρα ("maledictus" *Annot.*, lemma = late Vg.; "maledictum" 1516 = Vg. 1527 and Vg. mss.). See on *Rom.* 3,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *maledictio*, but argues that *maledictum* meant an "insult" ("conuicium"), whereas the required meaning was "curse". The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben editions of 1491 and 1514. Manetti preferred *maledictio*, and Lefèvre *maledictum*.

13 *Scriptum est enim* γέγραπται γάρ ("quia scriptum est" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ὅτι γέγραπται, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ A B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ D^corr and most later mss. The usual formula in the Pauline epistles is καθὼς γέγραπται or γέγραπται γάρ, but nowhere else does Paul write ὅτι γέγραπται. In the present verse, therefore, γέγραπται γάρ is more consistent with Pauline style. Manetti made the same change as Erasmus, while Lefèvre had *nam scriptum est*.

13 *Execrabilis* Ἐπικατάρατος ("maledictus" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,49, and cf. *Annot.*

13 κρεμάμενος. Cod. 2815 has the spelling κρεμμάμενος.

14 *in gentes* εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ("in gentibus" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. Manetti also made this change.

14 *veniret* γένηται ("fieret" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering, though less literal, is appropriate to the context.

14 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

14 *promissionem* τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ("pollicitationem" Vg.). In this chapter, Erasmus consistently renders ἐπαγγελία by *promissio*, whereas the Vulgate uses *pollicitatio, promissio, repromissio* and *promissum*. A similar substitution of *promissio* occurs at *Hebr.* 4,1; 6,17. On the other hand, in rendering the same Greek word at 2 *Petr.* 3,4, Erasmus replaces *promissio* with *pollicitatio*. See also on *Act.* 1,4; *Rom.* 4,20; 9,4. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *promissionem* here.

14 *acciperemus* λάβωμεν ("accipiamus" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the imperfect subjunctive was consistent with his adoption of *veniret* earlier in the sentence, and was more in keeping with the sequence of Greek aorists, ἐξηγόρασεν ... γενόμενος ... γένηται ... λάβωμεν. Lefèvre put *capiamus*.

¹⁵ Ἀδελφοί, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω. ὅμως ἀνθρώπου κεκυρωμένην διαθή- κην, οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ, ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεται. ¹⁶ τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπ- αγγελίαι, καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ. οὐ λέγει, Καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολ- λῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἑνός, Καὶ τῷ σπέρ- ματί σου, ὅς ἐστι Χριστός. ¹⁷ τοῦτο δὲ λέγω, διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Χριστόν, ὁ μετὰ ἔτη τε- τρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς νό- μος, οὐκ ἀκυροῖ, εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. ¹⁸ εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κλη- ρονομία, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας. τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ δι' ἐπαγγελίας κεχάρισται ὁ θεός. ¹⁹ τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσε- ων χάριν προσετέθη, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται, διαταγεὶς δι'

¹⁵ Fratres, secundum hominem di- co. Hominis licet testamentum, tamen si sit comprobatum, nemo reiicit, aut addit aliquid. ¹⁶ Porro Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini eius. Non dicit, Et seminibus: tanquam de mul- tis, sed tanquam de vno: Et in semine tuo, qui est Christus. ¹⁷ Hoc autem dico, testamentum ante comprobatum a deo erga Christum, lex quae post annos quadringentos et triginta coepit, non facit irritum, vt abroget promissi- onem. ¹⁸ Nam si ex lege est haereditas, non iam ex promissione. Atqui Abra- hae per promissionem donauit deus. ¹⁹ Quid igitur lex? Propter transgressio- nes addita fuit, donec veniret semen cui promissum fuerat, ordinata per

19 ω B-E: ο A

18 iam D E: iam est A-C

15 *Hominis licet testamentum, tamen si sit compro- batum* ὅμως ἀνθρώπου κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην ("tamen hominis confirmatum testamentum" Vg.). The meaning implied by Erasmus' render- ing is that "No one rejects a testament, even if it was made only by a man (and not by God), provided that it has been ratified". In this way, Erasmus attaches a concessive sense to ὅμως, rather than understanding it as making a con- trast with the preceding words (κατὰ ἄνθρω- πον λέγω), and further attributes a conditional sense to the participle, κεκυρωμένην. In 1519 *Annot.*, however, he acknowledges that ὅμως can be interpreted differently. For the idiomatic use of *licet ... tamen*, see also on 2 *Cor.* 11,6. A similar substitution of *comprobatum* for *confir- matum* occurs in vs. 17, below. Lefèvre changed the word-order to *nullus tamen testamentum hominis authoratum*.

15 *reiicit* ἀθετεῖ ("spernit" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 12,48; *Gal.* 2,21. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus dis- tinguishes between ἀθετέω and ἀκυρόω, trans- lating the latter by *irritum facio* or *rescindo*. By doing so, he implicitly criticised Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre, who had *irritum facit* for ἀθετέω here. However, in 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus blurred

the distinction of meaning by adding *rescindo* as a possible translation of ἀθετέω.

15 *addit aliquid* ἐπιδιατάσσεται ("superordi- nat" Vg.). Erasmus provides a simpler alterna- tive to the non-classical expression used by the Vulgate. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *superaddit*.

16 *Porro Abrahae* τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ("Abrahae" Vg.). The Vulgate seems to reflect the omission of δέ, as in codd. C* D* F G. The version of Lefèvre put *Abrahae autem*, while Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti had just *Abrae*.

16 ἐρρέθησαν. This was the spelling of codd. 1, 2815, 2816, 2817 and many other mss., com- mencing with א A B* C D* G I. In many other mss., including B^corr D^corr, it was ἐρρήθησαν. In cod. 2105* it was ἐδόθησαν (2105^corr has ἐρρή- θησαν in a sixteenth-century hand).

16 *tanquam* (twice) ὡς ("quasi" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 9,32, and *Annot.* The same change was advocated by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre. Valla also suggested using *velut*, as an alternative. The version of Manetti had *vt*.

16 *de* (twice) ἐπὶ ... ἐφ' ("in" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,21. The preposition *de* yields a clearer sense.

16 *in semine* τῷ σπέρματι ("semini" Vg.). This change is a departure from the plain meaning of the Greek dative ("to your seed"); it produces a discrepancy with the Old Testament passages which the apostle is here quoting (*Gn.* 13,15; 17,8); it is also inconsistent with the rendering of τῷ σπέρματι by *semini* earlier in the present verse. Cf. *Annot.*

17 *ante comprobatum* προκεκυρωμένην ("confirmatum" Vg.). Erasmus conveys the added force of the Greek prefix προ-. The Vulgate corresponds more closely with κεκυρωμένην in codd. F G and a few later mss., though this Greek variant may in turn have been influenced by the Latin wording. See *Annot.*, and see also on vs. 15 for *comprobatum*. Manetti had *preconfirmatum*, and Lefèvre *preauthoratum*.

17 ὑπό. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus substitutes ἀπό.

17 *erga Christum* εἰς Χριστόν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with D F G I 0176 and most other mss. See *Annot.* The passage is also listed in the *Ad Placandos*. In the opinion of some, this phrase was a later interpretative doctrinal comment that found its way into the text. If, on the other hand, the words were genuine, it is possible that they were accidentally omitted by scribes (cf. the omission of εἰς Χριστόν by cod. 2817 in vs. 27, below), or even intentionally deleted by an ancient objector to the theological concept of a pre-existent Christ (cf. the absence of τὸν Χριστόν from codd. ℵ A B C at 1 *Cor.* 10,9). Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *in Christo*, while Valla *Annot.* and Manetti proposed *in Christum*.

17 *lex quae ... coepit* ὁ ... γεγονὼς νόμος ("quae ... facta est lex" Vg.). Erasmus moves *lex* to an earlier position, for the sake of clarity. For his use of *coepio*, see on *Ioh.* 1,15; *Rom.* 7,3. Lefèvre put *lex quae ... facta est.*

17 *annos quadringentos et triginta* ἔτη τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ("quadringentos et triginta annos" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the transposition of ἔτη after τριάκοντα, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D (F G) and some other mss. The reading of cod. 2105*ᵛⁱᵈ was τριακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2816, and also 0176ᵛⁱᵈ and most later mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

17 *facit irritum* ἀκυροῖ ("irritum facit" late Vg., with Vgʷʷ; "irritam facit" Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). The Latin word-order is unaffected by the Greek text. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *irritat*, and Lefèvre *abrogat*.

17 *vt abroget* εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι ("ad euacuandam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6 for the removal of *euacuo*. Lefèvre put *ad tollendam.*

18 *est haereditas* ἡ κληρονομία ("haereditas" Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb, for clarity.

18 *non iam* οὐκέτι ("iam non" Vg.; "non iam est" 1516-22). See on *Rom.* 7,17 for the word-order. The added verb of 1516-22 was a clarification, not arising from any difference of Greek text. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *non amplius.*

18 *Atqui Abrahae* τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ ("Abrahae autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,26. Lefèvre had the word-order *atqui per promissionem Abrahae.*

18 *promissionem* ἐπαγγελίας ("repromissionem" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ). See on vs. 14, above, and also on *Act.* 1,4; *Rom.* 4,20; 9,4. Erasmus' rendering agrees with some mss. of the earlier Vulgate (with Vgˢᵗ), Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre.

19 *transgressiones* τῶν παραβάσεων ("transgressionem" late Vg.). In *Annot.*, lemma, Erasmus cites *transgressiones* as the Vulgate reading. This was also the word used by Jerome *Comm.* The 1527 Vulgate column and the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514 have *transgressionem*. This late Vulgate use of the singular lacks Greek support. Manetti had *transgressionum gratia* for τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν, and Lefèvre similarly put *gratia transgressionum.*

19 *addita fuit* προσετέθη ("posita est" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with ἐτέθη in codd. D* F G. In *Annot.*, Erasmus gives *apposita est* as an alternative: this was in fact the rendering offered by Lefèvre.

19 *cui* ᾧ. In 1516, Erasmus' Greek text had ὅ, derived from cod. 2815, with support from codd. 1 and 2816, but in conflict with his accompanying Latin translation. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *quod.*

19 *promissum fuerat* ἐπήγγελται ("promiserat" Vg.). The Greek verb can be interpreted either as middle or passive. Cf. *Annot.* This change was anticipated by Manetti. Ambrosiaster had *promissum est*, and the Jerome 1516 text *promissum erat*, while Lefèvre put *promissio facta est.*

ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου. ²⁰ ὁ δὲ μεσί-
της, ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστιν.
²¹ ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν
τοῦ θεοῦ; μὴ γένοιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νό-
μος, ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὄντως
ἂν ἐκ νόμου ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη. ²² ἀλλὰ
συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφὴ τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ
ἁμαρτίαν, ἵνα ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθῇ τοῖς πιστεύουσι.

²³ Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν,
ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα, συγκεκλει-
σμένοι εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀπο-
καλυφθῆναι. ²⁴ ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδα-
γωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν, ἵνα
ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῶμεν. ²⁵ ἐλθούσης
δὲ τῆς πίστεως, οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγω-
γόν ἐσμεν. ²⁶ πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ
ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰη-
σοῦ. ²⁷ ὅσοι γὰρ ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χρι-
στὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. ²⁸ οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος
οὐδὲ Ἕλλην. οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ
ἐλεύθερος. οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ.
πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ
Ἰησοῦ. ²⁹ εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα

angelos in manu intercessoris. ²⁰ Inter-
cessor autem vnius non est, at deus
vnus est. ²¹ Lex igitur num est aduer-
sus promissiones dei? Absit. Etenim si
data fuisset lex, quae possit viuificare,
vere ex lege esset iustitia. ²² Sed con-
clusit scriptura omnia sub peccatum,
vt promissio ex fide Iesu Christi dare-
tur credentibus.

²³ Caeterum antequam venisset fi-
des, sub lege custodiebamur, conclusi
in eam fidem quae erat reuelanda.
²⁴ Itaque lex paedagogus noster fuit ad
Christum, vt ex fide iustificaremur.
²⁵ At postquam venit fides, non ampli-
us sub paedagogo sumus. ²⁶ Omnes
enim filii dei estis, eo quod credidi-
stis Christo Iesu. ²⁷ Nam quicunque
baptizati estis, Christum induistis.
²⁸ Non est Iudaeus neque Graecus.
Non est seruus neque liber. Non est
masculus ac foemina. Omnes enim
vos vnus estis in Christo Iesu.
²⁹ Quod si vos estis Christi, igitur

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26 υιοι B-E: οι A

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19 intercessoris B-E: mediatoris A | 20 Intercessor B-E: Mediator A | 21 fuisset B-E:
esset A | 26 eo quod credidistis B-E: per fidem in A | 28 ac B-E: aut A

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19 *intercessoris* μεσίτου ("mediatoris" 1516
= Vg.). A similar change occurs in vs. 20 and
also at *Hebr.* 8,6 (both in 1519). At the three
remaining N.T. instances of μεσίτης, Erasmus
replaces *mediator* by *conciliator:* 1 *Tim.* 2,5; *Hebr.*
9,15; 12,24 (all in 1519). The only classical
precedent for *mediator* is found in Apuleius. In
Annot., Erasmus alludes to the difficulty of
finding a satisfactory literary alternative for
this word, which was so familiar to readers of
the Latin Bible.

20 *Intercessor* ὁ ... μεσίτης ("Mediator" 1516
= Vg.). See the previous note.

20 *at deus* ὁ δὲ θεός ("deus autem" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre put *sed deus*.

21 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Am-
brosiaster and Lefèvre had the same rendering
as Erasmus.

21 *num est aduersus* κατά ("aduersus" Vg.).
Erasmus expands the wording, to complete the
grammatical structure. Lefèvre had the word-
order *Nunquid igitur lex pro promissis dei est.*

21 *promissiones* τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ("promissa"
Vg.). See on vs. 14, above, and also on *Act.* 1,4;
Rom. 4,20; 9,4. Manetti anticipated this change.
For Lefèvre's rendering, see the previous note.

21 *Etenim si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on
Rom. 3,7. Lefèvre put *Nam si.*

21 *data fuisset* ἐδόθη ("data esset" 1516 = Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 4,2.

21 *possit* δυνάμενος ("posset" Vg.). The imperfect subjunctive of the Vulgate fits better with the sequence of tenses used for the surrounding verbs. Erasmus' rendering is the same as in Ambrosiaster (1492).

21 ἄν. This word was omitted in codd. 2815 and 2816*vid, together with D* F G and about twenty later mss. It is inserted before ἦν in codd. A B C and seven later mss., or after ἦν in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ and twenty-four later mss. In placing the word after ὄντως, Erasmus follows cod. 2817, with support from 1, 2105, 2816⁽ᶜᵒʳʳ⁾ and more than 520 other mss., commencing with Dᶜᵒʳʳ 0176 (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 146-9). In cod. 2816, the word is written above the line of text. Although the scribe of this ms. habitually compressed the text by writing the last part of a word immediately above the first part, it was not normal for a complete word to be to be written above the line of text unless it was a later correction: in this instance it seems best to assume that the scribe of cod. 2816 originally omitted ἄν (this omission is not noted in Aland, *loc. cit.*).

22 *sub peccatum* ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν ("sub peccato" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,14.

23 *Caeterum antequam venisset* Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν ("Prius autem quam veniret" Vg.). See on *Gal.* 2,12 for *antequam venisset*, and on *Act.* 6,2 for *caeterum*. Lefèvre had *priusquam autem veniret*.

23 *quae erat reuelanda* τὴν μέλλουσαν ... ἀπο-καλυφθῆναι ("quae reuelanda erat" Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27.

24 *ad Christum* εἰς Χριστόν ("in Christo" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. In *Annot.*, he cites Jerome *Adv. Pelagianos* II, 9, in support of his rendering. Some mss. of this work have *in Christum* (as adopted by CCSL 80, p. 66), others *in Christo* (as printed in the 1516 edition of Jerome). Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus, while Manetti put *in Christum*.

24 *iustificaremur* δικαιωθῶμεν ("iustificemur" Vg.). Erasmus' adoption of the imperfect subjunctive produces a more satisfactory sequence of tenses, in agreement with Ambrosiaster (1492): see *Annot.* The same wording appears in the Jerome 1516 text (though the Jerome 1516 lemma has *iustificemur*), and also in Manetti.

25 *postquam venit* ἐλθούσης ("vbi venit" Vg.). By this change, Erasmus makes clear that the sense is "after faith has come" rather than "when faith comes", as the tense of the Greek participle is aorist.

25 *non amplius* οὐκέτι ("iam non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,66. The same substitution was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

25 *sub paedagogo sumus* ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν ("sumus sub paedagogo" Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more literally, having the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and also Manetti.

26 *filii* υἱοί. The 1516 Greek text substituted οἱ, in conflict with the Latin rendering, and contrary to the testimony of virtually all mss. This was probably a misprint.

26 *eo quod credidistis* διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ("per fidem quae est in" late Vg.; "per fidem in" 1516). Erasmus somewhat paraphrases the meaning, by converting noun to verb and removing the preposition. The late Vulgate addition of *quae est* is not explicitly supported by the Greek mss. The version of Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition, together with the earlier Vulgate text. Lefèvre, with little Greek support, had just *per fidem*, omitting *in Christo Iesu*.

27 *Nam quicunque* ὅσοι γάρ ("Quicunque enim in Christo Iesu" Vg. 1527; "Quicunque enim in Christo" Vg. mss.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34 for *nam*. Nearly all mss. add εἰς Χριστόν after γάρ. In omitting this phrase, Erasmus follows cod. 2817. The addition of *Iesu* in the 1527 Vulgate column follows the 1514 Froben edition, with little support from Greek mss. Both Valla *Annot.* and Manetti proposed *in Christum* in place of *in Christo*.

28 *ac* καί ("neque" Vg.; "aut" 1516). Erasmus' use of *ac* is more literal: see *Annot.*

28 *vnus* εἷς ("vnum" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the neuter gender corresponds with ἕν in codd. F G. See *Annot.* The change to *vnus* was likewise advocated by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

29 *Quod si* εἰ δέ ("Si autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,25, and *Annot.*

29 *vos estis* ὑμεῖς ("vos" Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb, to complete the grammatical structure. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti had the word-order *vos Christi estis*.

29 *igitur* ἄρα ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Lefèvre made the same change.

LB 817 τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, καὶ | κατ᾽
ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.

4 Λέγω δέ, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον χρόνον ὁ κλη-
ρονόμος νήπιός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν διαφέ-
ρει δούλου, κύριος πάντων ὤν, ²ἀλλὰ
ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκονόμους
ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρός. ³οὕ-
τως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ
στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἦμεν δεδουλωμέ-
νοι. ⁴ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρό-
νου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐ-
τοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον
ὑπὸ νόμον, ⁵ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξα-
γοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν.
⁶ὅτι δέ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ
πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας
ἡμῶν, κρᾶζον, Ἀββᾶ, ὁ πατήρ. ⁷ὥστε
οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος, ἀλλ᾽ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός,
καὶ κληρονόμος θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ.

Abrahae semen | estis, et iuxta promis- LB 818
sionem haeredes.

4 Dico autem, quamdiu haeres puer
est, nihil differt a seruo, quum sit
dominus omnium, ²sed sub tutoribus
et actoribus est vsque ad tempus quod
pater praescripserit. ³Sic et nos quum
essemus pueri, sub elementis mundi
eramus, in seruitutem adacti. ⁴At vbi
venit plenitudo temporis, emisit deus
filium suum, factum ex muliere, fa-
ctum legi obnoxium: ⁵vt eos qui legi
erant obnoxii, redimeret: vt adoptione
ius filiorum acciperemus. ⁶Quoniam
autem estis filii, emisit deus spiritum
filii sui in corda nostra clamantem,
Abba pater. ⁷Itaque iam non es
seruus, sed filius: quod si filius, et
haeres dei per Christum.

4,6 ημων B-D: υμων A E | 7 ουκετι ει B-E (ουκ ετι ει B-E): ουκ ει ετι A

4,2 actoribus B-E: autoribus A | 4 legi obnoxium B-E: sub lege A | 5 legi erant obnoxii B-E:
sub lege erant A | adoptione B-E: adoptionem in A | 6 nostra B-E: vestra A

29 *Abrahae semen* τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ("semen
Abrahae" late Vg., with Vgʷʷ ⁽ᵉᵈ ᵐⁱⁿᵒʳ⁾). The late
Vulgate word-order does not seem to have ex-
plicit support from Greek mss. Erasmus' word-
ing agrees with the earlier Vulgate, the Jerome
1516 text and lemma, and the version of
Lefèvre. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti had
Abrae semen.

29 *et* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is
supported by codd. ℵ A B C D and a few other
mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817,
along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also F G and
most other mss. The same change was made by
Manetti and Lefèvre.

29 *iuxta* κατ᾽ ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.*
13,23.

4,1 *quamdiu* ἐφ᾽ ὅσον χρόνον ("quanto tem-
pore" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,1. Erasmus has the
same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Manetti inser-
ted *quod* before *quanto*.

1 *puer* νήπιος ("paruulus" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
2,20; 1 *Cor.* 13,11, and *Annot.*

1 κύριος. By an absurd error, the scribe of cod.
2815 (or his exemplar) substituted νήπιος, in-
fluenced by the occurrence of that word earlier
in the sentence.

2 *actoribus* οἰκονόμους ("autoribus" 1516). In
1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus seems to be under the
impression that *autoribus* was the original Vulgate
reading. The version of Manetti had *procura-
toribus*, while Lefèvre merely transliterated the
word as *oeconomis*.

2 *tempus quod pater praescripserit* τῆς προθεσμί-
ας τοῦ πατρός ("praefinitum tempus a patre"
Vg.). Erasmus possibly wanted to reserve *praefinio*
for ὁρίζω and προορίζω, in the sense of mark-
ing out a boundary of time or purpose, and
hence preferred *praescribo*, with the slightly dif-
ferent meaning of "appoint": cf. *Annot.*, and
see also on *Rom.* 8,29. The rendering of Manetti

was *preordinationem patris*, and of Lefèvre, *tempus ... praefinitum a patre* (placing *tempus* before *vsque*).

3 *Sic* οὕτως ("Ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. Lefèvre put *simili pacto*.

3 *pueri* νήπιοι ("paruuli" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,20; 1 *Cor.* 13,11, and *Annot.*

3 *in seruitutem adacti* δεδουλωμένοι ("seruientes" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering represents the Greek perfect participle more accurately. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *seruituti addicti*, and Lefèvre *seruitute astricti*.

4 *emisit* ἐξαπέστειλεν ("misit" Vg.). Erasmus conveys the sense of the Greek prefix ἐξαπ-: see *Annot.*, and see further on *Act.* 11,13.

4 γενόμενον (1st.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus refers to an alternative reading, γεννώμενον, which appears in codd. 1, 2815, 2816 and many other late mss. See also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 240, ll. 995-998.

4 *legi obnoxium* ὑπὸ νόμον ("sub lege" 1516 = Vg.). A similar change occurs in vs. 5. See on *Rom.* 3,9.

5 *eos qui legi erant obnoxii* τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ("eos qui sub lege erant" 1516 = Vg.). See the previous note. The Latin word-order is unaffected by the Greek text.

5 *adoptione ius filiorum* τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ("adoptionem filiorum" Vg.; "adoptionem in ius filiorum" 1516). See on *Rom.* 8,15, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had just *adoptionem*, while Manetti expanded the translation to read *adoptionem filiorum dei* (as used in the late Vulgate at *Rom.* 8,15, 23).

5 *acciperemus* ἀπολάβωμεν ("reciperemus" Vg.). Cf. on *Ioh.* 5,43, and see also *Annot.*

6 *filii* (1st.) υἱοί ("filii dei" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of θεοῦ in codd. D F G. See *Annot.* The same correction was made by Lefèvre.

6 *emisit* ἐξαπέστειλεν ("misit" Vg.). See on vs. 4. Manetti put *immisit*.

6 *nostra* ἡμῶν ("vestra" 1516 = late Vg.). Erasmus' advocacy of ἡμῶν and *nostra* in *Annot.*, from 1516 onwards, is supported by cod. 2105, together with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss., as well as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Jerome *Comm.* In 1527 *Annot.*, Erasmus expressed his opinion that the reading *vestra* (and ὑμῶν) arose from unintentional harmonisation with the second-person plural

verb, *estis* (ἐστέ), earlier in the sentence. Possibly he had not reached this conclusion at the time when he prepared his 1516 translation, for this left the late-Vulgate use of *vestra* unchanged, and the Greek text of the 1516 edition likewise had ὑμῶν, as in codd. 1, 3, 2815, 2816, 2817, along with D^corr and most later mss. In 1519, Erasmus corrected the Latin translation and Greek text to conform with the wording recommended in *Annot.* Then in 1535, the Greek wording was changed back to ὑμῶν, producing an inconsistency with the accompanying Latin translation. Since there was no corresponding change in *Annot.*, it seems probable that the substitution of ὑμῶν in 1535 was an unauthorised change by the typesetter. Whether Erasmus was correct to prefer ἡμῶν may be questioned. Although sudden changes of subject are fairly frequent in the Pauline epistles, the particular problem of ἡμῶν here is that it places in the mouth of the apostle a seemingly illogical inference: that because *you* (the Galatians) are sons, therefore God has sent the spirit of his son into *our* hearts. By adopting this reading, Erasmus in effect embraces the principle of *difficilior potior*, i.e. that the harder reading is more likely to be genuine. On the other hand, if ὑμῶν had been the original wording, it could easily have been altered into ἡμῶν by scribal error, through the accidental change of a single letter.

7 *es* εἶ ("est" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vg^ww). The late Vulgate use of the third person, *est*, corresponds with the omission of εἶ in codd. F G and a few other mss., including cod. 3: see 1519 *Annot.* The word-order οὐκ εἶ ἔτι δοῦλος in 1516 lacks ms. support and may have arisen from a typesetting error (though cf. οὐκ εἶ δοῦλος ἔτι in cod. 2105). The reading *es* occurs in some Vulgate mss. (with Vg^st).

7 *dei per Christum* θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ ("per deum" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text substituting διὰ θεοῦ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B C* and one later ms. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2816, with ℵ^corr C^corr D and about 440 later mss. Several other variants also exist. His ms. of Theophylact, cod. 2105, had a longer reading, μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμος δὲ Χριστοῦ, with thirty-seven other late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 150-3). In 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus expressed a preference for the rendering used by the Jerome 1516 text, *per Christum*, and suggested that *dei* (θεοῦ) was an interpretative

⁸Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεόν, ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὖσι θεοῖς. ⁹νῦν δὲ γνόντες θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα, οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε; ¹⁰ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς. ¹¹φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, μή πως εἰκῇ κεκοπίακα εἰς ὑμᾶς.

¹²Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, δέομαι ὑμῶν. οὐδέν με ἠδικήσατε. ¹³οἴδατε δὲ ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον· ¹⁴καὶ τὸν πειρασμόν

⁸Sed tum quidem quum ignoraretis deum, seruiebatis iis qui natura non sunt dii. ⁹At nunc posteaquam cognouistis deum, quin potius cogniti estis a deo, quomodo conuertimini denuo ad infirma et egena elementa, quibus iterum ab integro seruire vultis? ¹⁰Dies obseruatis et menses et tempora et annos. ¹¹Metuo de vobis, ne frustra laborauerim erga vos.

¹²Estote vt ego sum, quandoquidem et ego sum vt vos, fratres, rogo vos. Nihil me laesistis. ¹³Nostis quod per infirmitatem carnis euangelizauerim vobis prius, ¹⁴et experimentum

9 posteaquam cognouistis B-E: cognoscentes A | estis B-E: om. A | 11 ne B-E: ne quo modo A | 12 vos, fratres, rogo vos. Nihil B-E: vos. Fratres, rogo vos, nihil A | laesistis B-E: lesistis A

addition. The corresponding Greek variant, διὰ Χριστοῦ, omitting θεοῦ, is now found in only seven late mss. (cf. Aland, loc. cit.), though the Sahidic version supplies corroborative evidence that this reading existed at an early date. Others have viewed διὰ θεοῦ as genuine, and θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ as a theologically motivated textual alteration. An alternative explanation is that θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ was the original reading, and that θεοῦ was omitted accidentally by a careless scribe, thus producing the text which Erasmus attributed to Jerome. Further, if an early corrector wrote the missing word, θεοῦ, in the margin of a ms. which had the defective shorter text, διὰ Χριστοῦ, a subsequent copyist could have misunderstood this as an instruction to replace Χριστοῦ by θεοῦ, thereby turning the phrase into διὰ θεοῦ, which became the basis of the Vulgate rendering. The existence of several variations of wording makes it evident that scribes were afflicted by more than one kind of error in their transmission of this passage. The rendering which Erasmus adopted in his continuous text was the same as that of Manetti and Lefèvre.

8 tum τότε ("tunc" Vg.). See on Ioh. 11,6.

8 quum ignoraretis οὐκ εἰδότες ("ignorantes" Vg.). See on 2 Cor. 1,7. The Jerome 1516 text

and lemma, and also the version of Lefèvre, put nescientes.

8 seruiebatis iis ... dii ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς ... θεοῖς ("his ... dii, seruiebatis" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the transposition of ἐδουλεύσατε after θεοῖς, as in codd. D* F G. For iis, see on Rom. 4,12. Some late Vulgate editions replace his by iis, which Lefèvre adopted in his Vulgate column as well as in his own translation, though he made the same change as Erasmus in moving seruiebatis to the beginning. Manetti had his ... dii, seruiuistis.

9 At nunc νῦν δέ ("Nunc autem" Vg.). See on Ioh. 1,26. Jerome Comm. and Valla Annot. had Nunc vero.

9 posteaquam cognouistis γνόντες ("cum cognoueritis" Vg.; "cognoscentes" 1516). Erasmus' imprecise use of the present participle to translate the Greek aorist, in 1516, reproduced the rendering of Ambrosiaster (1492), Jerome Comm. and Lefèvre. In 1516 Annot., however, he recommended the wording which he eventually adopted for the 1519 edition of his Latin translation. Another substitution of posteaquam for cum occurs at Iac. 1,15. Erasmus used posteaquam more often than the Vulgate, as it offered a convenient means of converting an inaccurate present participle into a temporal clause

referring to a past action. One ms. of Manetti's version (*Urb. Lat.* 6), apparently through scribal error, put *cum ignoraueritis.*

9 *quin potius cogniti estis* μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ("immo cogniti sitis" Vg.; "quin potius cogniti" 1516). See on *Rom.* 12,19 for *quin potius.* Erasmus' rendering of the participle in 1516 was more literal. Although he gave the impression in *Annot.* that he approved of an alternative rendering, *magis autem* (offered by Jerome *Comm.*), the wording adopted in his 1516 Latin translation was closer to that of Lefèvre, who had *potius vero cogniti.* Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *immo vero cogniti,* while Valla *Annot.* had *potius autem cum cogniti sitis.*

9 *denuo ... iterum ab integro* πάλιν ... πάλιν ἄνωθεν ("iterum ... denuo" Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot.*, the Vulgate leaves ἄνωθεν untranslated. Erasmus also uses *ab integro* in rendering ἀνασταυρόω at *Hebr.* 6,6, replacing *rursum* (before *crucifigo*). At *Lc.* 1,3 (1516 only), he renders ἄνωθεν by *de integro.* See also on *Ioh.* 3,3. Since *denuo ab integro* would have appeared unduly repetitive, he replaced *denuo* (= *de nouo*) by *iterum,* and consequently needed to substitute *denuo* for *iterum* earlier in the sentence. Manetti put *iterum ... rursus,* and Lefèvre *rursus ... e sursum, iterum.*

11 *Metuo* φοβοῦμαι ("Timeo" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 11,3.

11 *de vobis* ὑμᾶς (late Vg. omits). The late Vulgate omission is supported by a few late Greek mss., among which were codd. 2105 and 2815. Erasmus prefers to convey the sense suggested by the context, avoiding the literal rendering (*vos* in the earlier Vulgate, or "I am afraid of you"). See *Annot.* The phrase *de vobis* was also used by Jerome *Comm.* (though the continuous text of the Jerome 1516 edition had *vos*). The version of Manetti put *autem vos,* and Lefèvre *vobis.*

11 *ne* μή πως ("ne forte" Vg.; "ne quo modo" 1516). Elsewhere Erasmus usually attempts to represent πως by *quo modo, qua* or *quo pacto*: see on *Rom.* 11,21. However, he leaves πως untranslated at *Act.* 27,29. At the present passage, his 1519 edition has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Manetti had *ne aliquatenus,* and Lefèvre *ne aliquo modo.*

11 *frustra* εἰκῇ ("sine causa" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,4. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus.

11 *erga vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. For *erga,* see on *Act.* 3,25.

12 *vt* (twice) ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21, and *Annot.* The same change was advocated by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

12 *ego sum ... et ego sum* ἐγὼ ... κἀγώ ("ego ... et ego" Vg.). Erasmus adds verbs, for the sake of clarity. Lefèvre moved *et* to a later position, having *vt ego, quia ego vt et vos.*

12 *quandoquidem* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). Cf. on *Rom.* 3,30 for Erasmus' use of *quandoquidem* elsewhere. Manetti put *quoniam.*

12 *vos, fratres, rogo vos. Nihil* ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, δέομαι ὑμῶν. οὐδέν ("vos. Fratres, obsecro vos: nihil" Vg.; "vos. Fratres, rogo vos, nihil" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the support of Jerome *Comm.* (which conflicts with the Jerome 1516 continuous text) for this changed division of the sentence. The punctuation of his Greek mss. at Basle tends to favour the Vulgate. For the replacement of *obsecro* by *rogo,* see on 2 *Cor.* 5,20. Lefèvre followed the Vulgate, except that he replaced *nihil me laesistis* by *nulla me iniuria affecistis.* Manetti put *vos fratres deprecor vos in nihilo mihi iniuriati estis,* without any break of punctuation.

13 *Nostis* οἴδατε δέ ("Scitis autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,14 for the use of *nosco.* In omitting *autem,* Erasmus was less accurate, possibly influenced by cod. 2817*, in which δέ was originally omitted (in common with D* F G and a few later mss.). The word was added to this ms. in a different, smaller script, earlier than the time of Erasmus. Another influence may have been Ambrosiaster, who had just *scitis.* This inconsistency between Erasmus' Greek and Latin texts remained through all five folio editions.

13 *quod ... euangelizauerim* ὅτι ... εὐηγγελισάμην ("quia ... euangelizaui" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *quod ... euangelizaui,* and the same wording appeared in the Vulgate lemma of Valla *Annot.*

13 *prius* τὸ πρότερον ("iam pridem" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, giving the sense "formerly" or "previously", rather than "long ago". This substitution was consistent with Vulgate usage at most other instances of πρότερον. See *Annot.* The same correction was offered by Valla *Annot.,* Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *experimentum* τὸν πειρασμόν ("tentationem" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at

μου τὸν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου, οὐκ ἐξ-
ουθενήσατε, οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε, ἀλλ᾽
ὡς ἄγγελον | θεοῦ ἐδέξασθέ με,
ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. ¹⁵τίς οὖν ἦν
ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν; μαρτυρῶ γὰρ
ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες ἂν ἐδώκατέ μοι.
¹⁶ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύ-
ων ὑμῖν; ¹⁷ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ κα-
λῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐκκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν,
ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε. ¹⁸καλὸν δὲ
τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε, καὶ
μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρεῖναί με πρὸς
ὑμᾶς. ¹⁹τεκνία μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδί-
νω, ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν
ὑμῖν. ²⁰ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς

mei quod erat in carne mea non estis
aspernati, | neque respuistis, sed me
velut angelum dei suscepistis, velut
Christum Iesum. ¹⁵Quae est igitur
beatitudo vestra? Testimonium enim
reddo vobis quod si fieri potuisset,
oculos vestros effossos dedissetis mihi.
¹⁶Igitur inimicus factus sum vobis,
vera loquendo vobis? ¹⁷Ambiunt vos
non bene, imo excludere vos volunt,
vt ipsos aemulemini. ¹⁸Bonum autem
est aemulari in re bona semper, et
non solum quum praesens sum apud
vos, ¹⁹filioli mei, quos iterum par-
turio, donec formetur Christus in vo-
bis. ²⁰Vellem autem adesse apud vos

14 mei *B-E*: meum *A* | mea *E*: *om. A-D* | 15 reddo *B-E*: perhibeo *A* | 17 Ambiunt *B-E*:
Emulantur *A*

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1 *Petr.* 1,6; 4,12. Usually Erasmus retains *tenta-*
tio because of its well-established meaning in
Christian usage. Here, *experimentum* conveys
the sense of "trial", rather than a temptation
to sin.

14 *mei* μου ("vestram" Vg.; "meum" 1516). The
Vulgate reflects the substitution of ὑμῶν, as in
codd. ℵ* A B C^corr D* F G and five later mss.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported
by 1, 2105, 2816, with 𝔓⁴⁶ C*^vid D^corr and about
520 later mss. In cod. 2105, together with ℵ^corr
and about seventy other mss., the pronoun was
altogether omitted (see Aland *Die Paulinischen*
Briefe vol. 3, pp. 153-6). The textual issue here
is whether μου (1st.) was a scribal alteration,
influenced by the presence of μου after σαρκί,
or whether ὑμῶν originated as an explanatory
comment, designed to ensure that μου was
understood as a subjective genitive ("the trial
by which I put you to the test"). In 1519, Eras-
mus preferred the rendering *mei*, in accordance
with his later interpretation of the Greek word
as an objective genitive (i.e. "the trial by which
I am tested"), though he acknowledged that the
Greek was ambiguous: see *Annot.* The rendering
proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre,
was *meam*, agreeing with *tentationem*.

14 *quod erat* τόν (Vg. omits). Possibly the
Vulgate reflects the omission of τόν (2nd.),

in company with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B D* F G and
six later mss. The text of Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105,
2816, with ℵ^corr C^vid D^corr and about 590 later
mss. (cf. Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3,
pp. 153-6). Manetti put *que* (= *quae*) *est*.

14 τῇ. This word was omitted in cod. 2815,
along with six other late mss. (see Aland *Die*
Paulinischen Briefe vol. 3, p. 155).

14 *mea* μου (omitted in 1516-27 Lat.). In
1516-27, it would seem, Erasmus treated the
possessive pronoun as superfluous to the sense,
unless this omission was merely accidental.

14 *estis aspernati* ἐξουθενήσατε ("spreuistis" Vg.).
A similar substitution of *aspernor* occurs at
1 *Thess.* 5,20, in accordance with Vulgate usage
at *Lc.* 18,9. Erasmus retains *sperno* for the same
Greek verb at *Lc.* 23,11; 1 *Cor.* 16,11.

14 *sed me ... suscepistis* ἀλλ᾽ ... ἐδέξασθέ με ("sed
... excepistis me" Vg.). Erasmus moves the pro-
noun to an earlier position, to make the connec-
tion with *angelum* more obvious. In rendering
δέχομαι elsewhere, he substitutes *excipio* for *re-*
cipio at *Mt.* 10,14, and for *suscipio* (late Vulgate)
at *Col.* 4,10, and retains *excipio* at *Lc.* 9,11; *Ioh.*
4,45; *Act.* 21,17; 2 *Cor.* 7,15; *Hebr.* 11,31. See
further on *Act.* 17,7, 11. In using *suscipio* here,
he may have been influenced by Lefèvre, who

rendered by *sed ... me suscepistis*. Manetti, using the same verb, put *sed ... suscepistis me*. Valla *Annot.* placed *sed excepistis me* at the beginning of the clause.

14 *velut* (twice) ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,36; 2 *Cor.* 2,17. Valla *Annot.* objected that *sicut* made it appear that the Galatians had at one time actually received a visitation by an angel of God, or by Christ, and he therefore proposed *velut* or *tanquam*. Manetti had *tanquam ... sicut*, and Lefèvre *quasi ... quasi*.

15 *Quae* τίς ("Vbi" Vg.). The Vulgate followed a Greek text substituting ποῦ, attested by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C F G and a few other mss. Erasmus followed codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also cod. D and most other mss. See *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus was the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

15 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. The same change was made by Lefèvre. In retaining *est* for ἦν, Erasmus follows the Vulgate, though the latter may reflect a text in which ἦν was omitted. Cf. *Annot.*

15 μακαρισμός. Cod. 2815 had the incorrect spelling, μακρυσμός.

15 *Testimonium ... reddo* μαρτυρῶ ("Testimonium ... perhibeo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,33. Manetti put *Testificor*, and Lefèvre *Testor*.

15 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre also made this change.

15 *fieri potuisset* δυνατόν ("fieri posset" Vg. mss.). Erasmus' use of the pluperfect is more consistent with the tense of *dedissetis*. His choice of wording is also found in a few Vulgate mss., the Froben Vulgate of 1514, the 1527 Vulgate column, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text (contrary to Jerome *Comm.*), and Lefèvre. The version of Manetti put *possibile fuisset*.

15 *effossos* ἐξορύξαντες ("eruissetis et" Vg.). Erasmus wanted to simulate the Greek aorist participle, but had to convert active to passive in order to do so. His use of *effodio* was a closer equivalent to the Greek verb, meaning "dig out" rather than "tear out". Lefèvre put *eruentes*.

16 *Igitur* ὥστε ("Ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Manetti had *Itaque*, and Lefèvre *Quo pacto*.

16 *factus sum vobis* ὑμῶν γέγονα ("vobis factus sum" Vg.). Erasmus is on this occasion less literal in his Latin word-order. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *vester factus sum*.

16 *vera loquendo* ἀληθεύων ("verum dicens" Vg.). By using the plural, *vera*, Erasmus prevents confusion as to whether *verum* is a noun or a conjunction. Further, his use of the gerund, *loquendo*, provided an elegant means of avoiding the present participle. For his preference for *loquor*, see on *Ioh.* 8,27. The Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre had *veritatem* in place of *verum* (Lefèvre having the word-order *veritatem vobis dicens*).

17 *Ambiunt* ζηλοῦσιν ("Emulantur" 1516 = Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that a pejorative sense is required here (i.e. "they curry favour with you"), though this produces an inconsistency with the retention of *aemulemini* for the same Greek verb at the end of the sentence. Lefèvre put *Zelum habent ... zelum habeatis*.

17 *imo* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2.

17 *excludere* ἐκκλεῖσαι. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the text as ἐγκλεῖσαι, a variant which occurs in a few late mss.

17 *ipsos* αὐτούς ("illos" Vg.). Erasmus uses the reflexive pronoun to refer back to the subject of the sentence. See *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *eos*.

18 *est aemulari* τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι ("aemulamini" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ζηλοῦσθε, as in codd. ℵ B and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D F G and most other mss. A few others, commencing with A C 062, have ζηλοῦσθαι without τό. See *Annot.* This passage is included in the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. The same change was recommended by Valla *Annot.*, together with *est aemulatio* as an alternative. Lefèvre put *est zelatio*, while offering *est autem emulari* and *est emulatio* in *Comm.* The rendering of Manetti was *est emulari*.

18 *re bona* καλῷ ("bono" Vg.). Erasmus adds *re* for the sake of clarity. A comparable change occurs in rendering φιλάγαθον at *Tit.* 1,8, where *bonarum rerum studiosum* replaces *benignum*. See *Annot.*

18 *solum* μόνον ("tantum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,16, and *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

20 *adesse* παρεῖναι ("esse" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to convey more literally the sense of the Greek prefix, παρ-. See *Annot.* This change was anticipated by Manetti. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre had *praesens esse*.

ἄρτι, καὶ ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου, ὅτι ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν.

²¹ Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε; ²² γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἕνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης, καὶ ἕνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. ²³ ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης, κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται· ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας, διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. ²⁴ ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα. αὗται γάρ εἰσι δύο διαθῆκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ, εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἄγαρ· ²⁵ τὸ γὰρ Ἄγαρ, Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἰερουσαλήμ, δουλεύει δὲ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐ | τῆς. ²⁶ ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν.

LB 821

nunc, et mutare vocem meam, quoniam consilii inops sum in vobis.

²¹ Dicite mihi qui sub lege vultis esse, legem ipsam non auditis? ²² Scriptum est enim quod Abraham duos filios habebat, vnum ex ancilla, et vnum ex libera. ²³ Verum is qui ex ancilla natus est, secundum carnem natus est: qui vero ex libera per repromissionem, ²⁴ quae per allegoriam dicuntur. Nam haec sunt duo testamenta, vnum quidem a monte Sina, in seruitutem generans, qui est Agar: ²⁵ nam Agar, Sina mons est in Arabia, confinis est autem ei, quae nunc vocatur | Hierusalem: seruit autem cum filiis suis. ²⁶ At quae sursum est Hierusalem, libera est, quae est mater omnium nostrum.

LB 822

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24 γεννωσα A (Bᶜ) C-E: γυνεωσα B* (exx.) | 26 ημων B-E: υμων A

20 consilii inops sum C-E: inopiam patior A B | 23 repromissionem B-E: promissionem A

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20 *nunc* ἄρτι ("modo" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 16,7, and *Annot.* The use of *nunc* also occurred in Ambrosiaster (1492), with the word-order *nunc apud vos.*

20 *consilii inops sum* ἀποροῦμαι ("confundor" Vg.; "inopiam patior" 1516-19). The rendering of 1516-19 was influenced by Jerome *Comm.* ("non tam confusionem ... quam indigentiam et inopiam sonat"). In 1522, Erasmus decided that the Greek verb had more to do with mental perplexity than financial distress: see *Annot.* The expression *inops consilii* was used by Livy and Tacitus. See also on 2 *Cor.* 4,8. Lefèvre put *indigeo esse.*

21 *legem ipsam* τὸν νόμον ("legem" Vg.). Erasmus adds the reflexive pronoun, to mark the additional emphasis implied by the repetition of νόμος.

21 *auditis* ἀκούετε ("legistis" Vg.). The Vulgate partly corresponds with ἀναγινώσκετε in codd. D (F G) and a few later mss., though the perfect tense of the Vulgate would appear to require ἀνέγνωτε (as at *Mt.* 12,3, 5; 19,4 and elsewhere). The Vulgate reading (and its Old Latin source)

may reflect assimilation of the verb to the preceding mention of *legem*, in which case the variant ἀναγινώσκετε could have originated as an attempt to retranslate from the Latin. Cf. *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

22 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The same change, again, was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

22 *habebat* ἔσχεν ("habuit" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate, though the Vulgate gives a more literal rendering of the Greek aorist at this point.

22 *ex* (twice) ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. Lefèvre made the same change (cf. Ambrosiaster, *ex ... de*).

23 *Verum* ἀλλ᾽ ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

23 *is qui* ὁ μέν ("qui" Vg.). Erasmus' insertion of *is* provides an antecedent for *qui*. In leaving μέν untranslated, he follows the Vulgate, though the latter may reflect the omission of this particle, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ B. The version of Lefèvre added *quidem* after *ancilla* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *Sed quidem qui*).

23 *ex* (twice) ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. Lefèvre also made this change.

23 *natus est* (1st.) (Vg. omits). Erasmus adds these words to complete the sense.

23 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

23 *repromissionem* τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ("promissionem" 1516). See on *Gal.* 3,18. In 1519, Erasmus restores the Vulgate wording. Manetti anticipated the change made by Erasmus' 1516 edition.

24 *per allegoriam dicuntur* ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα ("sunt per allegoriam dicta" Vg.). Erasmus attempts to convey the meaning of the Greek present participle more precisely. See *Annot.*

24 *Nam haec* αὗται γάρ ("Haec enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Manetti put *Ipsa enim.*

24 *a* ἀπό ("in" late Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, agreeing with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and also Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *ex.*

24 γεννῶσα. Some copies of the 1519 edition (p. 409, line 6) have γυνεῶσα, a misprint. However, the errata list of the same edition cites the correction γεννῶσα for line 6 of p. 429, where it would form an ungrammatical substitute for γενέσθαι at *Phil.* 3,21. This confusion in turn led to the insertion of the false reading γεννῶσαι in the margins of the 1522-35 editions at the latter passage, without any ms. support.

24 *qui* ἥτις ("quae" Vg.). Erasmus' Latin version, questionably, makes the relative pronoun agree with the masculine gender of *monte Sina* (ὄρους Σινᾶ). In the Greek text, however, the pronoun is feminine in gender, and agrees either with μία (διαθήκη understood) or with δουλεία. The Vulgate takes the pronoun as applying only to *seruitutem* (δουλεία). See *Annot.* The rendering adopted by Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre was *quod*, linking ἥτις with μία (and referring back to *testamentum*).

25 *nam Agar, Sina* τὸ γὰρ Ἄγαρ, Σινᾶ ("Sina enim" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ, omitting Ἄγαρ, as in codd. ℵ C F G and eleven later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with cod. 062 and about 540 later mss. A further variant, τὸ δὲ Ἄγαρ Σινᾶ, is found in thirty-one other mss., commencing with codd. A B D, and also τὸ δὲ Σεινᾶ in 𝔓⁴⁶ (cf. Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*

vol. 3, pp. 159-61). See *Annot.* It would appear that the resemblance of γάρ and Ἄγαρ led to the omission of the latter word, through the scribal error of homoeoteleuton. For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. Valla *Annot.* and Manetti made the same change as Erasmus. Lefèvre put *hoc enim est Agar (Sina ...).*

25 *confinis est autem* συστοιχεῖ δέ ("qui coniunctus est" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering is partly supported by συνστοιχοῦσα in cod. D*, and ἡ συνστοιχοῦσα in codd. F G, all three omitting δέ, but most other mss. agree with Erasmus' text. In 1535 *Annot.*, he indicates that he has drawn *confinis* from Jerome *Comm.* The wording of Valla *Annot.* was *qui coniunctum est*, in conflict with his accompanying citation of the Greek text. Manetti had *Coniungitur autem* (cf. the 1492 Ambrosiaster edition, *qui coniungitur*), and Lefèvre *et diuergit.*

25 *quae nunc vocatur* τῇ νῦν ("quae nunc est" Vg.). Either rendering is legitimate, though the Vulgate is more consistent with the parallel clause in vs. 26, *quae sursum est.*

25 *seruit autem* δουλεύει δέ ("et seruit" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *et* lacks explicit Greek ms. support. In many mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G 0261, δέ is replaced by γάρ. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D^corr 062 and most later mss. The same change was made by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

26 *At quae* ἡ δέ ("Illa autem quae" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *illa*, though not strictly necessary, provided a more pointed contrast with *ei quae* in vs. 25. For *at*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Valla *Annot.* put *alterum vero*, and Lefèvre *alterum autem.*

26 *omnium nostrum* πάντων ἡμῶν ("nostra" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of πάντων, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* B C* D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ^corr A C^corr 0261^vid and most later mss. Although the word πάντων has sometimes been condemned as a scribal insertion, it could be argued that it has the merit of being a *lectio difficilior.* Since the apostle has been describing two distinct groups of people, i.e. those who are in bondage to the law and those who believe the gospel, the word πάντων ("all") is capable of being misunderstood to apply to both of these categories jointly. An ancient corrector of the text might therefore have wished to delete πάντων, to make it clearer that ἡμῶν relates only to

²⁷ γέγραπται γάρ, Εὐφράνθητι στεῖ-
ρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον
ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκ-
να τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης
τὸν ἄνδρα. ²⁸ ἡμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ
Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐσμέν. ²⁹ ἀλλ'
ὥσπερ τότε ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθείς,
ἐδίωκε τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, οὕτως καὶ
νῦν. ³⁰ ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; Ἔκβα-
λε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς·
οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς
παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέ-
ρας. ³¹ ἄρα, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παι-
δίσκης τέκνα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.

5 Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ οὖν ᾗ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς
ἠλευθέρωσε, στήκετε, καὶ μὴ πάλιν
ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε. ² ἴδε ἐγὼ Παῦ-
λος λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε,
Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει. ³ μαρ-
τύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ

²⁷ Scriptum est enim: Laetare sterilis
quae non paris, erumpe et clama quae
non parturis, quoniam multi liberi
desertae, magis quam eius quae habet
virum. ²⁸ Nos autem fratres secundum
Isaac promissionis filii sumus. ²⁹ Sed
quemadmodum tunc is qui secundum
carnem natus erat persequebatur eum,
qui natus erat secundum spiritum, ita
et nunc. ³⁰ At quid dicit scriptura?
Eiice ancillam et filium illius: non
enim haeres erit filius ancillae cum
filio liberae. ³¹ Itaque fratres, non
sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae.

5 In libertate igitur qua Christus nos
liberauit, state, et ne rursus iugo
seruitutis implicemini. ² Ecce ego Pau-
lus dico vobis, quod si circuncida-
mini, Christus nihil vobis proderit.
³ Contestor autem omnem hominem

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30 κληρονομηση *B-E*: κληρονομησει *A*
5,1 ηλευθερωσε *B-E*: ελευθερωσεν *A*

27 Laetare *B-E*: Letare *A*

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believers, and that they alone have access to
the heavenly Jerusalem. The reading πάντων
ὑμῶν in 1516 is probably a printer's error, as
it is in conflict with Erasmus' usual mss. and
with his Latin translation, which had the same
wording as Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

27 *Scriptum est enim* γέγραπται γάρ ("sicut
scriptum est" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate
column, which follows the wording of the 1514
Froben Vulgate, lacks Greek ms. support. Eras-
mus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate,
Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti
and Lefèvre (both columns).

27 *quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,21.
Manetti anticipated this change.

27 *liberi* τὰ τέκνα ("filii" Vg.). A similar sub-
stitution occurs at *Mt.* 18,25; *Mc.* 10,29-30;
12,19; *Lc.* 18,29; *Eph.* 6,4; *Col.* 3,21; 1 *Tim.*
3,4, 12; 5,4; *Tit.* 1,6, and also in rendering

ἄτεκνος at *Lc.* 20,29-30, τεκνογονία at 1 *Tim.*
2,15, τεκνογονέω at 1 *Tim.* 5,14, and φιλότεκνος
at *Tit.* 2,4. The only N.T. passage where the
Vulgate (or rather the late Vulgate) uses *liberi*
for "children" is at *Lc.* 20,28, though the word
is frequent in the Vulgate O.T. The advantage
of this word is that it included both male
and female, whereas *filii* was more likely to be
understood as meaning "sons".

29 *quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("quomodo" Vg.).
Erasmus similarly replaces *quomodo* with *quem-
admodum* at *Rom.* 6,4. See further on *Rom.* 1,13.
Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

29 *natus erat* (1st.) γεννηθείς ("natus fuerat"
Vg.). In his treatment of *nascor*, Erasmus tends
not to follow his otherwise frequent preference
for constructing perfect and pluperfect tenses
from *fui* and *fueram*. Cf. *Mt.* 2,2, where he at
first changes *natus est* to *natus fuit* in 1516-19,

and then in 1522 reverts to the Vulgate rendering.

29 *eum, qui natus erat* τόν ("eum qui" Vg.). Erasmus repeats the verb, to complete the sense.

30 *At* ἀλλά ("Sed" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2.

30 *illius* αὐτῆς ("eius" Vg.). The change of pronoun was scarcely necessary, except for stylistic variety after *eum* in vs. 29. Manetti put *suum*.

30 κληρονομήσῃ. The spelling κληρονομήσει, adopted in 1516, has support from 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B D H 0261ᵛⁱᵈ and some later mss., including codd. 3, 69, 2105. Whether it was deliberately chosen by Erasmus, or was an alteration made by the typesetter, is impossible to determine. In 1519, he corrected it to κληρονομήσῃ, as in codd. 1, 2815, 2816, 2817 and most other mss., commencing with A C F G 062.

30 *liberae* τῆς ἐλευθέρας. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites an alternative reading, *meo Isaac*, from Ambrosiaster and the Jerome 1516 text, corresponding with μου Ἰσαάκ in codd. D* F G. In 1519 *Annot.*, he further voices a suspicion that his Greek mss., together with the Vulgate, were incorrect on this point, because of an apparent discrepancy with *Gn.* 21,10. Then in 1535, he decided that the apostle must have chosen to paraphrase the sense of the O.T. passage ("contentus suis verbis scripturae sensum reddere"). In view of the paucity of ms. support for μου Ἰσαάκ, it seems probable that this reading arose from harmonisation with the parallel passage from Genesis.

5,1 *In libertate igitur qua* Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ οὖν ᾗ ("qua libertate" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of οὖν, as in cod. D and about twenty later mss. About forty other mss., commencing with ℵ A B C F G (H 062), place οὖν after στήκετε. Others have οὖν in both places. In ℵ A B C D* H 062 and more than eighty later mss., including cod. 2815, ᾗ is also omitted. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, along with 1ᶜᵒʳʳ, 2105, 2816 and about 480 other late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 161-9). See *Annot.* The addition of *in*, though not strictly required by the Greek text, was appropriate to the following verb, *state*. Valla *Annot.* and Manetti proposed *Libertate ergo qua*, and Lefèvre *Ea ergo in libertate qua*.

1 *Christus nos* Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ("nos Christus" Vg. mss.). The earlier Vulgate word-order, *nos*

Christus, is supported by codd. ℵ* A B D* F G 062 and five other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵᶜᵒʳʳ C Dᶜᵒʳʳ H and about 530 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 161-9). See *Annot.* Erasmus' rendering agrees with Jerome *Comm.*, Valla *Annot.*, Lefèvre (both columns), and the 1491 Froben Vulgate. It would also appear that *Christus nos* was the intended wording of Manetti, though both mss. of his version exhibit corrections at this point.

1 ἠλευθέρωσε. The spelling ἐλευθέρωσεν, printed in the 1516 Greek text, was also found in Valla *Annot.*, with support from codd. C* H and a few later mss., including codd. 1 and 69, but was not adopted in *Annot.*

1 *ne ... implicemini* μὴ ... ἐνέχεσθε ("nolite ... contineri" Vg.). Erasmus finds a verb with a more pejorative connotation ("do not entangle yourselves"). See *Annot.* For the avoidance of *nolo*, see on *Rom.* 11,18. Manetti put *ne ... contineamini*, and Lefèvre *ne ... detinemini*.

1 *rursus* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 9,9. Lefèvre made the same change. Manetti retained *iterum*, but transposed it after *seruitutis*.

2 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same substitution.

2 *nihil vobis* ὑμᾶς οὐδέν ("vobis nihil" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal as to the word-order. Manetti and Lefèvre again made the same change as Erasmus, except that Lefèvre put *nichil* for *nihil*.

3 *Contestor ... omnem hominem* μαρτύρομαι ... παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ("Testificor ... omni homini" Vg.). This change is consistent with Vulgate usage at *Act.* 20,26, and agrees with the Jerome 1516 text and lemma (differently worded in *Comm.*). Erasmus also substitutes *contestor* in rendering the compound form of the verb, διαμαρτύρομαι, at 2 *Tim.* 2,14. See further on *Ioh.* 1,7. Lefèvre replaced *testificor* with *testor*.

3 *autem* δὲ πάλιν ("autem rursus" late Vg.). Erasmus leaves πάλιν untranslated, possibly influenced by the omission of that word in cod. 2105, in company with D* F G and a few later mss. It was similarly omitted by Ambrosiaster and Jerome *Comm.*, whereas the early Vulgate had *autem rursum*. There is no reference to this point in *Annot.* The discrepancy between the Greek and Latin columns remained through all five folio editions.

περιτεμνομένῳ, ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστίν, ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι. ⁴κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσετε. ⁵ἡμεῖς γὰρ πνεύματι ἐκ πίστεως ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα. ⁶ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει, οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ πίστις δι’ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη. ⁷ἐτρέχετε καλῶς· τίς ὑμᾶς ἀνέκοψε, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι; _{LB 823} ⁸ἡ πεισμονὴ οὐκ | ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς. ⁹μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ. ¹⁰ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φρονήσετε. ὁ δὲ ταράσσων ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ. ¹¹ἐγὼ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω, τί ἔτι διώκομαι; ἄρα κατήργηται τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ. ¹²ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς.

qui circunciditur, quod debitor est totius legis seruandae. ⁴Christus vobis factus est ociosus, quicunque per legem iustificamini, a gratia excidistis. ⁵Nos enim spiritu ex fide, spem iustitiae expectamus. ⁶Nam in Christo Iesu, neque circuncisio quicquam valet, neque praeputium, sed fides per dilectionem operans. ⁷Currebatis bene: quis vos impediuit, vt non crederetis veritati? ⁸Nempe persuasio non ex eo profecta, qui vocat | vos. ⁹Paulum _{LB 824} fermenti totam conspersionem fermentat. ¹⁰Ego confido de vobis in domino, quod nihil aliud sensuri sitis. Caeterum qui conturbat vos, portabit iudicium, quisquis fuerit. ¹¹Ego autem fratres, si circuncisionem adhuc praedico, quid adhuc persequutionem patior? Abolitum est igitur offendiculum crucis. ¹²Vtinam et abscindantur qui vos labefactant.

5,3 qui circunciditur *B-E* (qui circūciditur *B-E*): circūcidentem se *A* | 4 per legem *B-E*: in lege *A* | 8 profecta *B-E*: om. *A* | 9 conspersionem *C-E*: massam *A B* | 11 offendiculum *B-E*: scandalum *A*

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3 *qui circunciditur* περιτεμνομένῳ ("circuncidenti se" Vg.; "circuncidentem se" 1516). Erasmus prefers to take the Greek participle in a passive sense: see *Annot*. The 1516 rendering is the same as that of Jerome *Comm*. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *circunciso*.

3 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 1,20. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *totius* ὅλον ("vniuersae" Vg.). See on *Act*. 5,34. Manetti replaced *vniuersae legis faciendae* with *totam legem seruare*.

3 *seruandae* ποιῆσαι ("faciendae" Vg.). For Erasmus’ avoidance of *facio*, see on *Ioh*. 3,21; 7,19. Lefèvre put *adimplendae*. For Manetti’s rendering, see the previous note.

4 *Christus vobis factus est ociosus* κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("Euacuati estis a Christo" Vg.). Erasmus paraphrases the meaning, to

produce a more intelligible wording. The Vulgate expression was seriously misleading, as it was liable to be misunderstood as saying, "you have been emptied by Christ". See *Annot*., and see further on *Rom*. 6,6. Manetti’s version had *Euacuati estis*, omitting *a Christo*. Lefèvre replaced *euacuati* with *soluti*.

4 *quicunque* οἵτινες ("qui" Vg.). Where ὅστις means "whoever", Erasmus elsewhere generally prefers *quisquis* rather than *quicunque*, though he regarded these pronouns as interchangeable: see on *Ioh*. 4,14; 14,13.

4 *per legem* ἐν νόμῳ ("in lege" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom*. 1,17.

4 ἐξεπέσετε. This spelling comes from cod. 2817, along with cod. 2105, and also D^{corr} and many later mss. In codd. 1, 2815, 2816 and many other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D*, it is ἐξεπέσατε.

6 *quicquam* τι ("aliquid" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,18. Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *per dilectionem operans* δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνερ-γουμένη ("quae per charitatem operatur" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal in rendering the Greek participle. Cf. *Annot.* For *dilectio*, see on *Ioh.* 13,35. Lefèvre put *quae per dilectionem operatur.*

7 *impediuit* ἀνέκοψε ("fascinauit" *Annot.*, lemma). The reading *fascinauit* occurs in a few Vulgate mss., though not in the 1527 Vulgate column or the 1491 and 1514 Froben Vulgates. It has little support from Greek mss., and was indubitably a harmonisation with *Gal.* 3,1, where *fascinauit* represented a different Greek verb, ἐβάσκανε. See *Annot.* The spelling ἀνέ-κοψε(ν) was derived from cod. 2817, with virtually no other ms. support. Nearly all mss. have ἐνέκοψε(ν), as correctly cited by Erasmus in *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, p. 198, ll. 595-604. This word was also spelled ἐνέκοψεν in the 1522-35 editions of *Annot.*, in Erasmus' note on *Gal.* 3,1. However, ἀνέκοψε remained in his N.T. text, and became part of the *Textus Receptus.*

7 *vt non crederetis veritati* τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθε-σθαι ("veritati non obedire" Vg.). Erasmus' ren-dering avoids the infinitive, and is less literal as to the word-order. For the substitution of *credo*, see on *Gal.* 3,1. The late Vulgate further adds *Nemini consenseritis*, with little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* This passage is accordingly listed in the *Quae Sint Addita.* The extra two words were deleted by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre. Valla proposed either *veritati obedire* (treating *non* as superfluous after *impediuit*) or *quo minus veritati obediretis*, and also suggested replacing *obedire* with *persuaderi.* Lefèvre put *non suaderi veritate*, as at *Gal.* 3,1, while Manetti had *ne veritati obediretis* (which in *Urb. Lat.* 6 became *ne veritati impediretis obediretis*).

8 *Nempe persuasio* ἡ πεισμονή ("Persuasio haec" late Vg. and a few Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *haec* is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. For Erasmus' use of *nempe*, see on *Rom.* 1,32, and *Annot.* This passage is listed in the *Quae Sint Addita.* The earlier Vulgate and Manetti had *Persuasio*, and Lefèvre *suasio*, all omitting *haec* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *suasio vestra*).

8 *ex eo profecta, qui* ἐκ τοῦ ("est ex eo qui" Vg.; "ex eo qui" 1516). For Erasmus' use of *proficiscor* with abstract nouns, see on 1 *Cor.* 15,10. See also *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre replaced *est* with *fuit.*

9 *Paulum fermenti* μικρὰ ζύμη ("Modicum fermentum" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 5,6.

9 *conspersionem* τὸ φύραμα ("massam" 1516-19 = Vg.). See *ibid.* In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites Jerome *Comm.* as his source for *conspersionem*, though this rendering was also used by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre *Comm.*

9 *fermentat* ζυμοῖ ("corrumpit" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with δολοῖ in cod. D*. Erasmus again follows Jerome *Comm.*, as at 1 *Cor.* 5,6: see *ad loc.*, and see also *Annot.* The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.*

10 *de vobis* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 10,16. This change was anticipated by Manetti.

10 *sensuri sitis* φρονήσετε ("sapietis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,5. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites *sentietis* from "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster); this was also the rendering of Lefèvre.

10 *Caeterum qui* ὁ δέ ("Qui autem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2. Lefèvre put *Quicunque*, leaving δέ untranslated.

10 *quisquis* ὅστις ἄν ("quicunque" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 14,13.

10 *fuerit* ᾖ ("est ille" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more accurate translation of the Greek subjunc-tive, having the same wording as Ambrosiaster. In *Annot.*, he mentions *sit* as an alternative. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *is sit.*

11 *Abolitum est igitur* ἄρα κατήργηται ("Ergo euacuatum est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6 for *aboleo*, and on *Ioh.* 6,62 for *igitur.* In *Annot.*, Erasmus also recommends *Ergo cessauit*, which he cites from Jerome. The wording of the Jerome 1516 text is "Ergo euacuatum est (siue vt in graeco melius habet, cessauit)", interrupting the con-tinuous text by a comment. Lefèvre put *Ergo sublatum est.*

11 *offendiculum* τὸ σκάνδαλον ("scandalum" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 9,33.

12 *et* καί (omitted in Vg. 1527 and *Annot.*, lemma). The late Vulgate omission, also seen in the Froben editions of 1491 and 1514, has little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster (1492), the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, the Vulgate lem-ma of Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

12 *qui ... labefactant* οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ("qui ... conturbant" Vg.). Erasmus distinguishes more

¹³ Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίαν ἐκλή-
θητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευ-
θερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ
διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλή-
λοις. ¹⁴ ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἑνὶ
λόγῳ πληροῦται, ἐν τῷ, Ἀγαπή-
σεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν.
¹⁵ εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατ-
εσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων
ἀναλωθῆτε. ¹⁶ λέγω δέ, πνεύματι
περιπατεῖτε, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς
οὐ μὴ τελέσητε. ¹⁷ ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ
ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ
δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός. ταῦ-
τα δὲ ἀντίκειται ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα μὴ
ἃ ἂν θέλητε, ταῦτα ποιῆτε. ¹⁸ εἰ
δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ
νόμον. ¹⁹ φανερὰ δέ ἐστι τὰ ἔργα

¹³ Vos enim in libertatem vocati
fuistis fratres, tantum ne libertatem in
occasionem *detis* carni, sed per charita-
tem seruite vobis inuicem. ¹⁴ Nam tota
lex in vno verbo completur, nempe
hoc: Diliges proximum tuum vt te
ipsum. ¹⁵ Quod si alius alium vicis-
sim mordetis et deuoratis, videte ne
vicissim alius ab alio consumamini.
¹⁶ Dico autem, spiritu ambulate, et
concupiscentiam carnis non perficie-
tis. ¹⁷ Nam caro concupiscit aduer-
sus spiritum, spiritus autem aduersus
carnem. Haec autem inter se mu-
tuo aduersantur, vt non quaecunque
volueritis, eadem faciatis. ¹⁸ Quod
si spiritu ducimini, non estis sub
lege. ¹⁹ Porro manifesta sunt opera

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13 *prius* ελευθεριαν *A C-E*: ελευθερια *B*

13 detis *B-E (ital.)*: detis *A (rom.)* | **14** completur *B-E*: impletur *A* | tuum *A (exc.) B-E*:
tunm *A (exc.)* | **17** mutuo *B-E*: om. *A*

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clearly between ἀναστατόω and ταράσσω,
which was rendered by *conturbo* in vs. 10. See
Annot., where Erasmus also gives *a statu demouent*
as a literal rendering. For his use of *labefacto*
("undermine", or "unsettle"), see further on
Act. 15,24. Valla *Annot.* proposed *qui ... com-
mouent* or *de statu submouent*, while Lefèvre had
ii qui disturbant.

13 *libertatem* (1st.) ἐλευθερίαν. This Greek spel-
ling, which forms an accusative rather than
a dative, was derived from cod. 2817, sup-
ported by only a few other late mss., though
these may reflect the influence of the Vul-
gate. Erasmus temporarily corrected it in 1519,
into the better attested ἐλευθερίᾳ, suppor-
ted by codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most
other mss., but he reverted once more to
ἐλευθερίαν in 1522. Valla *Annot.* and Manetti
both recommended *libertate*, corresponding with
ἐλευθερίᾳ.

13 *vocati fuistis* ἐκλήθητε ("vocati estis" Vg.).
See on *Rom.* 4,2.

13 *detis*. The Vulgate rendering (though not
the word-order) corresponds with the addition
of δῶτε after σαρκί in codd. F G. It seems
probable that this Greek variant owed its origin
to the influence of an Old Latin source, ampli-
fying the meaning of a typical ellipsis in the
Greek wording. While retaining the Vulgate in-
terpretation of this point, Erasmus placed the
word in smaller type in the 1519 edition of his
Latin translation, to show that it was not ex-
plicitly supported by his Greek text. As else-
where, the smaller type was changed into italics
in 1535. In *Annot.*, Erasmus objected to the
proposal of Valla *Annot.* to replace the verb by
seruiatis. This passage is mentioned in the *Quae
Sint Addita.*

13 *carni* τῇ σαρκί ("carnis" Vg.). The Vul-
gate genitive corresponds with τῆς σαρκός in
cod. D*. See *Annot.* The correction made by
Erasmus agrees with the Jerome 1516 text and
lemma, and also Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and
Lefèvre.

13 *charitatem* τῆς ἀγάπης ("charitatem spi-
ritus" late Vg.). The 1527 Vulgate column
further substituted *seruire* for *seruite*, following
the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514. The late
Vulgate addition of *spiritus*, influenced by Old
Latin sources, corresponds with the addition
of τοῦ πνεύματος in codd. D* F G (though
these mss. also substituted τῇ ἀγάπῃ for διὰ
τῆς ἀγάπης). See *Annot*. In omitting *spiritus*,
Erasmus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vul-
gate, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, the
Vulgate lemma of Valla *Annot*., and the ver-
sions of Manetti and Lefèvre. In Ambrosias-
ter and Lefèvre, *charitatem* was replaced by
dilectionem.

13 *vobis inuicem* ἀλλήλοις ("inuicem" Vg.). See
on *Ioh*. 4,33. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the
same wording as Erasmus.

14 *Nam tota* ὁ γὰρ πᾶς ("Omnis enim" Vg.).
See on *Ioh*. 3,34 for *nam*, and on *Ioh*. 8,2 for
totus. Lefèvre put *Nam omnis*.

14 *verbo* λόγῳ ("sermone" Vg.). See on *Ioh*.
1,1. Erasmus uses the same rendering as Am-
brosiaster.

14 *completur* πληροῦται ("impletur" 1516
= Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 15,25. The same change
was made by Lefèvre.

14 *nempe hoc* ἐν τῷ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate
corresponds with the omission of ἐν τῷ in
codd. D* F G. See *Annot*., and for *nempe*, see
further on *Rom*. 1,32. Manetti put *In hoc*, and
Lefèvre *scilicet*.

14 *vt* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 1,21.
Manetti put *tanquam* (though the first hand
of *Pal. Lat.* 45 seems to have followed the
Vulgate).

15 *alius alium vicissim ... vicissim alius ab alio*
ἀλλήλους ... ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων ("inuicem ... ab
inuicem" Vg.). A similar substitution involving
vicissim occurs at *Eph*. 5,21; 1 *Petr*. 5,5. See
further on *Ioh*. 4,33. Lefèvre had *vos inuicem ...
ab inuicem*.

15 *deuoratis* κατεσθίετε ("comeditis" Vg.). Ano-
ther such substitution occurs at *Mt*. 13,4, in
accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mc*. 12,40;
Lc. 15,30; 20,47; *Ap. Ioh*. 10,9-10; 11,5; 12,4;
20,9. See also on *Ioh*. 2,17. Lefèvre put *corro-
ditis*.

16 *autem* δέ ("autem in Christo" late Vg.). The
late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support.
See *Annot*. In omitting *in Christo*, Erasmus

agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster,
the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and also
Manetti and Lefèvre. In Lefèvre, *autem* was
replaced by *equidem*.

16 *concupiscentiam* ἐπιθυμίαν ("desideria" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate use of the plural lacks
support from Greek mss. For *concupiscentia*, see
on *Rom*. 13,14. In 1519 *Annot*., Erasmus cites
concupiscentiam from "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosias-
ter), though the same change was also made by
Manetti and Lefèvre.

17 *Nam caro* ἡ γὰρ σάρξ ("Caro enim" Vg.).
See on *Ioh*. 3,34. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre
again had the same wording as Erasmus.

17 *autem* (2nd.) δέ ("enim" Vg.). The Vulgate
reflects the substitution of γάρ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ *
B D* F G 0254. Erasmus follows codd. 2815
and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well
as ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ A C Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See
Annot. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the
same change.

17 *inter se mutuo aduersantur* ἀντίκειται ἀλλή-
λοις ("sibi inuicem aduersantur" late Vg.; "inter
se aduersantur" 1516). For *mutuo* and *inter*, see
on *Ioh*. 13,34; 15,24. Erasmus' rendering retains
the Vulgate word-order, though this may re-
flect the transposition of ἀντίκειται after ἀλ-
λήλοις, as in codd. A B C D F G and a few
later mss. The wording of Erasmus' Greek text
follows cod. 2817, along with cod. 1, and also
𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ and most later mss. His codd. 2105,
2815, 2816 had ἀντίκεινται ἀλλήλοις, in com-
pany with some other late mss. The version of
Manetti had *sibi ipsis aduersantur*, and Lefèvre
aduersantur ad inuicem.

17 *volueritis* θέλητε ("vultis" Vg.). Erasmus'
idiomatic use of the future perfect tense more
accurately conveys the nuance of the Greek
subjunctive.

17 *eadem* ταῦτα ("illa" Vg.). Erasmus ren-
ders the Greek word as if it were τὰ αὐτά
(cf. 1 *Thess*. 2,14). Manetti put *hec* (= *haec*).

19 *Porro manifesta sunt* φανερὰ δέ ἐστι ("Ma-
nifesta sunt autem" late Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 8,16
for *porro*. The position of the verb in the late
Vulgate does not seem to reflect any differ-
ence of Greek text. The earlier Vulgate, Am-
brosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, and Lefèvre,
had *Manifesta autem sunt*. In Manetti's ver-
sion, one ms. (*Pal. Lat.* 45) had *Manifesta vero
sunt*, and the other (*Urb. Lat.* 6) *Manifesta enim
sunt*.

τῆς σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστι μοιχεία, πορ-
νεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, ²⁰ εἰδω-
λολατρία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρις,
ζῆλοι, θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, διχοστασίαι,
αἱρέσεις, ²¹ φθόνοι, φόνοι, μέθαι, κῶ-
μοι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἃ προ-
λέγω ὑμῖν, καθὼς καὶ προεῖπον, ὅτι
οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες, βασιλεί-
αν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. ²² ὁ δὲ
καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἀγάπη,
χαρά, εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, χρηστό-
της, ἀγαθοσύνη, πίστις, ²³ πρᾳότης,

carnis, quae sunt haec: adulterium,
scortatio, immundicia, lasciuia, ²⁰ si-
mulacrorum cultus, veneficium, inimi-
citiae, lis, aemulationes, irae, concer-
tationes, seditiones, sectae, ²¹ inuidiae,
caedes, ebrietates, comessationes, et
his similia: de quibus praedico vobis
quemadmodum et praedixi, quod qui
talia agunt, regni dei haeredes non
erunt. ²² Contra, fructus spiritus est
charitas, gaudium, pax, lenitas, beni-
gnitas, bonitas, fides, ²³ mansuetudo,

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22 χαρα *Aᶜ B-E*: χαραι *A** | χρηστοτης *B-E*: χρησθοτης *A*

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19 scortatio *B-E*: fornicatio *A* | **21** caedes *B-E*: cedes *A* | **22** Contra, fructus *B-E*: Fructus
vero *A* | lenitas *B-E*: longanimitas *A*

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19 *sunt haec* ἐστι ("sunt" Vg.). Erasmus adds
haec, to provide a smoother link with the list
which follows.

19 *adulterium* μοιχεία (Vg. omits). The Vulgate
omission corresponds with the text of codd.
‭א‬ * A B C and a few later mss. Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, (2105),
2816, and also ‭א‬ ᶜᵒʳʳ D and most later mss. (in
cod. 2105, μοιχεία is placed after πορνεία).
One approach to this textual variation has
been to explain μοιχεία as a later addition,
influenced by μοιχεῖαι πορνεῖαι at *Mt.* 15,19
(cf. also *Mc.* 7,21). It is also possible that a
scribe accidentally omitted the word. As pointed
out in *Annot.*, textual discrepancies in lists of
this kind were often due to scribal carelessness.
The same correction was made by Manetti and
Lefèvre.

19 *scortatio* πορνεία ("fornicatio" 1516 = Vg.).
See on *Ioh.* 8,41.

19 *lasciuia* ἀσέλγεια ("impudicitia, luxuria"
late Vg.). The earlier Vulgate had just *luxuria*,
which is used elsewhere in the Vulgate to
render ἀσέλγεια at 1 *Petr.* 4,3; 2 *Petr.* 2,18;
Iud. 4, and for ἀσωτία at *Eph.* 5,18; *Tit.*
1,6; 1 *Petr.* 4,4. The Vulgate uses *impudicitia*
to render ἀσέλγεια at *Mc.* 7,22; *Rom.* 13,13;

2 *Cor.* 12,21; *Eph.* 4,19. The late Vulgate, in
effect, gives a double rendering of ἀσέλγεια at
the present passage. There does not appear to
be any Greek ms. support for a longer reading
here, such as ἀσέλγεια ἀσωτία. See *Annot.*
The version of Lefèvre had just *impudicitia*,
omitting *luxuria*.

20 *simulacrorum cultus* εἰδωλολατρία ("idolo-
rum seruitus" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 10,14. The
spelling εἰδωλολατρία is used by codd. 2815
and 2817ᶜᵒʳʳ, along with cod. 1, as well as C D*
and many later mss. In cod. 2105, it is εἰ-
δωλολατρίαι. In cod. 2816 and many other
mss., commencing with ‭א‬ A B Dᶜᵒʳʳ, it is
εἰδωλολατρεία, and this is the spelling which
Erasmus gives in *Annot.* In Jerome *Comm.*
and Lefèvre, the rendering was *idololatria*, and
Manetti had *idolorum cultus*.

20 *veneficium* φαρμακεία ("veneficia" Vg.). The
Vulgate plural corresponds with φαρμακεῖαι in
codd. F G. See *Annot.* The same correction was
made by Lefèvre.

20 *lis* ἔρις ("contentiones" Vg.). The singular
ἔρις was found in codd. 2815 and 2817ᶜᵒʳʳ,
alongside cod. 2105, with ‭א‬ A B D* and some
other mss. In codd. 1 and 2816, together with
C Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G and most other mss., it is ἔρεις,

plural, supporting the Vulgate text. Cf. *Annot.* At the eight other N.T. instances of ἔρις, Erasmus retains *contentio.* He elsewhere uses *lis* for κρίμα at 1 *Cor.* 6,7, and μάχη at *Iac.* 4,1. Probably he was influenced here by the rendering of Lefèvre, who had *lites*: the only other N.T. passage where Lefèvre used *lis* for ἔρις was at *Rom.* 13,13.

20 *concertationes* ἐριθεῖαι ("rixae" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 12,20.

20 *seditiones* διχοστασίαι ("dissensiones" Vg.). At the other two N.T. occurrences of διχοστασία, Erasmus prefers *dissidium* at *Rom.* 16,17, and *factio* at 1 *Cor.* 3,3 (see *ad locc.*). Elsewhere he uses *seditio* in rendering στάσις, ἀκαταστασία, and συστασιαστής. Here he follows Lefèvre.

21 *caedes* φόνοι ("homicidia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,29. Erasmus' use of *caedes*, both at the present passage and at *Mt.* 15,19, is less precise, as it can be understood as either singular or plural. In 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B and a few other mss., the word is omitted. While some have attributed φόνοι to scribal harmonisation with φθόνου φόνου at *Rom.* 1,29, it is possible that a few scribes accidentally omitted this word through an error of homoeoteleuton, caused by the resemblance to φθόνοι, which immediately preceded it. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also A C D F G and most other mss. Cf. *Annot.* Again Lefèvre made the same change.

21 *de quibus* ἃ ("quae" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the apparent clash of grammatical structure, caused by προλέγω being linked with both a direct object, ἃ, and an indirect statement, commencing with ὅτι. Cf. his use of *de vobis* at *Gal.* 4,11. Another substitution of *de quibus*, for *quos*, occurs at *Phil.* 3,18.

21 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

21 *et* (2nd.) καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* B F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ corr A C D and most later mss. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, and the version of Lefèvre.

21 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

21 *regni dei haeredes non erunt* βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν ("regnum dei non consequentur" Vg.). Erasmus more accurately conveys the connotation of receiving an inheritance, following Vulgate usage at *Gal.* 4,30. See further on 1 *Cor.* 6,9, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *regnum dei non haereditabunt.*

22 *Contra, fructus* ὁ δὲ καρπός ("Fructus autem" Vg.; "Fructus vero" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 16,20. The 1516 rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre had *At vero fructus.*

22 χαρά. The spelling χαραί in 1516, being plural in form, conflicted with Erasmus' translation and mss. It was probably caused by a typesetting error, and was corrected in the errata.

22 *lenitas, benignitas, bonitas* μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθοσύνη ("patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas, mansuetudo" late Vg.; "longanimitas, bonitas, benignitas" Vg. mss.; "longanimitas, benignitas, bonitas" 1516). The spelling χρησθότης in 1516 was probably only another error by the typesetter, as it is not supported by Erasmus' Basle mss. The spelling ἀγαθοσύνη, on the other hand, which appears in all of Erasmus' editions, looks more deliberate, especially as the same spelling occurs at *Rom.* 15,14 (in 1516-22) and at *Eph.* 5,9. It is found in cod. 69 and also D F G, but not in Erasmus' mss. at Basle, which all have ἀγαθωσύνη. At 2 *Thess.* 1,11, Erasmus has ἀγαθωσύνης, as in most mss. He also has ἀγαθωσύνη in 1516-22 *Annot.* on the present passage. There does not appear to be Greek ms. support for the late Vulgate use of *patientia*, which seems to duplicate *longanimitas* as a rendering of μακροθυμία (though elsewhere *patientia* sometimes also represents ὑπομονή), nor is there ms. support for the late Vulgate use of *mansuetudo*, which seems to duplicate *modestia* as a rendering of πραότης in vs. 23. For Erasmus' use of *lenitas*, see on *Rom.* 2,4. See also *Annot.* The Jerome 1516 text, with Manetti and Lefèvre, had the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 translation.

23 *mansuetudo* πραότης ("modestia" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Col.* 3,12 (1519); 2 *Tim.* 2,25; 1 *Petr.* 3,16, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Eph.* 4,2; 1 *Tim.* 6,11; *Tit.* 3,2; *Iac.* 1,21; 3,13, in rendering πραότης and πραΰτης. Erasmus' choice of expression agrees with Jerome *Comm.* and Lefèvre. Manetti put *humilitas.*

LB 825   ἐγκράτεια. κατὰ τῶν | τοιούτων οὐκ   temperantia. Ad | uersus huiusmodi   LB 826
          ἔστι νόμος. ²⁴ οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν   non est lex. ²⁴ Qui vero sunt Christi,
          σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασι   carnem crucifixerunt cum affectibus et
          καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. ²⁵ εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι,   concupiscentiis. ²⁵ Si viuimus spiritu,
          πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν. ²⁶ μὴ γινώμεθα   spiritu et incedamus. ²⁶ Ne efficiamur
          κενόδοξοι, ἀλλήλους προκαλούμενοι, ἀλ-   inanis gloriae cupidi, inuicem nos pro-
          λήλους φθονοῦντες.   uocantes, inuicem inuidentes.

          6 Ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν καὶ προληφθῇ ἄνθρω-   **6** Fratres, etiam si occupatus fuerit
             πος ἔν τινι παραπτώματι, ὑμεῖς οἱ   homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui
          πνευματικοί, καταρτίζετε τὸν τοιοῦτον   spirituales estis, instaurate huiusmodi
          ἐν πνεύματι πρᾳότητος, σκοπῶν σεαυ-   spiritu mansuetudinis, considerans te-
          τόν, μὴ καὶ σὺ πειρασθῇς. ² ἀλλήλων τὰ   met ipsum, ne et tu tenteris. ² Inui-
          βάρη βαστάζετε, καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώ-   cem alii aliorum onera portate, et sic
          σατε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ³ εἰ γὰρ   complete legem Christi. ³ Nam si

          6,1 τινι *B-E*: τιινι *A*

          24 affectibus *B-E*: morbis *A*
          6,1 spirituales *B-E*: spiritales *A* | spiritu *B-E*: in spiritu *A* | considerans *C-E*: consyde-
          rans *A B* | 2 alii aliorum onera *B-E*: onera vestra *A* | complete *B-E*: reimplete *A*

          23 *temperantia* ἐγκράτεια ("continentia, casti-   the doctrinally controversial interpretation that
          tas" late Vg.). See on *Act.* 24,25. The late Vul-   σάρκα here refers to the flesh of Christ rather
          gate addition of *castitas* reflects the influence   than the former sinful nature of the believer.
          of the Old Latin version, and corresponds   Cf. *Annot.*, regarding the views of Origen. Eras-
          with the addition of ἁγνεία in codd. D* F G.   mus' rendering agrees with some mss. of the
          The extra word may have originated as an ex-   Vulgate (followed by Vg^ww ᵗˡ), Jerome *Comm.*,
          planatory comment. Lefèvre made the same   Manetti and Lefèvre.
          change as Erasmus. The earlier Vulgate, Jerome   **24** *affectibus* τοῖς παθήμασι ("vitiis" Vg.; "mor-
          Comm. and Manetti put *continentia*, omitting   bis" 1516). See on *Rom.* 7,5, and *Annot.* The
          castitas.   version of Lefèvre likewise had *affectibus*, and
          23 *huiusmodi* τῶν τοιούτων ("huiuscemodi"   Manetti *perturbationibus*: in 1516 *Annot.*, Eras-
          Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows   mus attributed *affectus* to Augustine, though
          the Froben Vulgate of 1514. See on *Rom.* 16,18.   the 1506 edition of Augustine's *Epistolae ad*
          Erasmus has the same rendering as the earlier   *Galatas Expositio* had *passionibus* at this passage
          Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Jerome *Comm.* The   (edited as *perturbationibus*, in *CSEL* 84, p. 128).
          version of Manetti put *talia*, and Lefèvre *qualia*.   In a different context, Augustine mentions
          24 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. In   *affectus* and *affectiones* as possible renderings of
          Annot., Erasmus discusses the apparent omission   πάθη: in *De Ciuitate Dei* IX, 4 (*CSEL* 40, i,
          of δέ by Origen, based on the quotation from   p. 410).
          Origen given by Jerome *Comm.*   **25** *viuimus spiritu* ζῶμεν πνεύματι ("spiritu vi-
          24 *carnem* τὴν σάρκα ("carnem suam" late Vg.   uimus" late Vg.). The late Vulgate word-order
          and many Vg. mss.). The addition of *suam* has   corresponds with πνεύματι ζῶμεν in codd.
          little support from Greek mss. Possibly the   D F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the
          added pronoun was intended to guard against   same correction as Erasmus.

25 *incedamus* στοιχῶμεν ("ambulemus" Vg.). Erasmus also uses *incedo* for στοιχέω at *Gal.* 6,16. At *Rom.* 4,12, he prefers *ingredior*, and at *Phil.* 3,16 *procedo*, though he retains *ambulo* for στοιχέω at *Act.* 21,24. In *Annot.*, Erasmus explains the phrase as meaning that a believer should control his actions in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel rather than by legal observance. His rendering was the same as that of Lefèvre (though Lefèvre *Comm.* had *procedamus*). Valla *Annot.* proposed to render the whole phrase by *spiritu contenti simus*, while Manetti had *cum spiritu congruamus*.

26 *Ne* μή ("Non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,7. Manetti anticipated this change.

26 γινώμεθα. Codd. 2815, 2816, 2817*vid had γενώμεθα, in company with cod. G* and some other mss. Here Erasmus' text follows cod. 2817corr, together with 1, 2105 and most other mss.

26 *inuicem nos* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33. Lefèvre put *nos inuicem*.

26 ἀλλήλους (2nd.). This use of the accusative case was based on cod. 2817, with support from 1, 2105, 2816, and also 𝔓46 B G* and many other mss. In cod. 2815 and many other mss., commencing with ℵ A C D F Gcorr, the word is in the dative case, ἀλλήλοις.

6,1 *etiam si* ἐὰν καί ("etsi" Vg.). See on *1 Cor.* 8,5. Lefèvre put *si et*.

1 *occupatus fuerit homo* προληφθῇ ἄνθρωπος ("praeoccupatus homo fuerit" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the 1514 Froben edition. Although there is some ambiguity in the explanation given in *Annot.*, it appears that Erasmus understood the passage to refer to someone who is unexpectedly discovered and prevented, when on the point of committing a wrongful act. The Vulgate use of *praeoccupatus*, so Erasmus hinted, could be misunderstood to imply premeditated wickedness or a desire to sin. There is in fact a considerable overlap of meaning between the two Latin verbs, though *occupo* is the more common in classical usage. See further on *Ioh.* 12,35. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm.*, one ms. of Manetti (*Pal. Lat.* 45), and Lefèvre (both columns), had *praeoccupatus fuerit homo*. The other ms. of Manetti (*Urb. Lat.* 6) had the same wording as Erasmus.

1 *instaurate huiusmodi* καταρτίζετε τὸν τοιοῦτον ("huiusmodi instruite" *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. mss.; "huiuscemodi instruite" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column once again follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514. See on *Rom.* 16,18, concerning *huiuscemodi*. Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. In *Annot.*, he plausibly argues that *instruite* (which would mean "equip" or "instruct") could have been a scribal alteration, and that the original Vulgate had *instaurate* ("restore"). Manetti put *talem instruite*, and Lefèvre *reparate eum qui talis est*.

1 *spiritu* ἐν πνεύματι ("in spiritu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

1 *mansuetudinis* πρᾳότητος ("lenitatis" Vg.). For Erasmus' inconsistency in rendering this Greek word, see on *1 Cor.* 4,21. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, and Lefèvre. Manetti put *humilitatis*.

1 *temet ipsum* σεαυτόν ("te ipsum" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *1 Tim.* 4,7; 5,22; *Tit.* 2,7. Cf. on *Rom.* 6,13 (*vosmet*), *2 Cor.* 2,1 (*memet*), and *Gal.* 2,20 (*semet*). Erasmus again has the same wording as Ambrosiaster.

2 *Inuicem alii aliorum onera* ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη ("Alter alterius onera" Vg.; "Inuicem onera vestra" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 13,14. In *Annot.* on the present passage, following Valla *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that *alter alterius* was suitable only for referring to two people. As an alternative rendering, he offers *Alii vicissim aliorum onera*. His 1516 translation imitated that of Ambrosiaster, who had exactly the same wording: cf. also Augustine *Sermo* 164 (*PL* 38, 896). Valla *Annot.* proposed *mutua onera*, Manetti *Vicissitudinaria onera* (a ponderous, non-classical turn of phrase), and Lefèvre *Vestra inuicem onera*.

2 *complete* ἀναπληρώσατε ("adimplebitis" Vg.; "reimplete" 1516). The Vulgate use of the future tense corresponds with ἀναπληρώσετε, as found in codd. B (F G) and a few later mss. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ A C D and most later mss. See *Annot.*, where Erasmus further asserts that the Greek compound verb means, more literally, "fulfil again". Based on this questionable interpretation, he introduced the non-classical verb *reimpleo* into his 1516 rendering. This provoked criticism from Stunica in 1520: by that time, Erasmus had already replaced *reimpleo* by *compleo* in the 1519 edition of his N.T., but his alternative interpretation, *denuo adimpleo*, remained in *Annot.* See *Apolog.*

δοκεῖ τις εἶναί τι, μηδὲν ὤν, ἑαυτὸν φρεναπατᾷ. ⁴τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω ἕκαστος, καὶ τότε εἰς ἑαυτὸν μόνον τὸ καύχημα ἕξει, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἕτερον. ⁵ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον βαστάσει.

⁶Κοινωνείτω δὲ ὁ κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον τῷ κατηχοῦντι ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς. ⁷μὴ πλανᾶσθε, θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται. ὁ γὰρ ἐὰν σπείρῃ ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτο καὶ θερίσει. ⁸ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς θερίσει φθο | ράν· ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον. ⁹τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν. καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι. ¹⁰ἄρα οὖν ὡς

quis sibi videtur aliquid esse, quum nihil sit, suum ipse fallit animum. ⁴Opus autem suum probet vnusquisque, et tunc in semet ipso tantum gloriationem habebit, et non in alio. ⁵Vnusquisque enim propriam sarcinam baiulabit.

⁶Communicet autem qui catechizatur sermone, ei qui se catechizat in omnibus bonis. ⁷Ne erretis, deus non irridetur. Quicquid enim seminauerit homo, hoc et metet. ⁸Nam qui seminat per carnem suam, de carne metet | corruptionem: sed qui seminat per spiritum, de spiritu metet vitam aeternam. ⁹Bonum autem faciendo ne defatigemur. Tempore enim suo metemus non defatigati. ¹⁰Itaque dum

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3 τι *B-E*: *om. A* | **4** μονον *B-E*: *om. A* | **6** κοινωνειτω *A B D E*: οινωνειτω *C*

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4 vnusquisque *B-E*: vunsquisque *A* | tantum *B-E*: *om. A* | **5** sarcinam *A B D E*: sercinam *C* | **6** catechizatur *B-E*: cathechizatur *A* | catechizat *B-E*: cathechizat *A* | **8** per carnem suam *B-E*: in carne sua *A* | corruptionem *B-E*: coruptelam *A* | per spiritum *B-E*: in spiritu *A* | **9** defatigemur *B-E*: cessemus *A*

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resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD IX, 2, pp. 200-2, ll. 626-651. For *compleo*, see on *Ioh.* 15,25. Valla *Annot.* recommended *adimplete.*

3 *sibi videtur* δοκεῖ ("existimat se" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 8,2, and *Annot.* The version of Erasmus resembles that of Ambrosiaster (1492), *videtur sibi.* Manetti had *se existimat.* Lefèvre altered the word-order to *existimat quispiam se.*

3 *aliquid esse* εἶναί τι. In 1516, Erasmus' Greek text omitted τι, following cod. 2817, with support from cod. B* and a few later mss. His cod. 2815 placed εἶναί τι after ὤν. In his Greek text of 1519, Erasmus restored τι, which was already cited in 1516 *Annot.*

3 *suum ipse fallit animum* ἑαυτὸν φρεναπατᾷ ("ipse se seducit" Vg.). Erasmus renders more accurately, having regard to the root meaning of the Greek verb. In *Annot.,* he cites *mentem*

suam decipit as an alternative rendering supplied by Jerome *Comm.* The version of Lefèvre put *seipsum mente decipit,* and Manetti *ipse sese seducit.*

4 *tunc* τότε ("sic" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agreed with the versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

4 *tantum* μόνον (1516 omits). The 1516 omission is based on cod. 2817, with little or no other ms. support. See *Annot.* The word was also omitted from the lemma of Valla *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *solum.*

4 *gloriationem* τὸ καύχημα ("gloriam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. Lefèvre put *vnde glorietur.*

4 *alio* τὸν ἕτερον ("altero" Vg.). Erasmus tends to avoid *alter* unless the context clearly

shows that it refers to one of a pair of individuals or items. See *Annot.*, and see also on vs. 2, above. The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Valla *Annot.* and Manetti preferred *alterum.*

5 *propriam sarcinam* τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον ("onus suum" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus indicates that he has drawn *sarcinam* from "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster, whose text had *sarcinam suam* in the 1492 edition). By this change, he distinguishes φορτίον from βάρος, which was already rendered by *onus* in vs. 2. For *proprius*, see further on *Ioh.* 1,11. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *proprium onus.*

5 *baiulabit* βαστάσει ("portabit" Vg.). This change is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mc.* 14,13; *Lc.* 14,27; *Ioh.* 19,17; *Act.* 3,2. However, Erasmus' use of *baiulo* is inconsistent with the use of *porto* for βαστάζω in vs. 2, above. See *Annot.*

6 *qui* ὁ ("is qui" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here, though elsewhere he often adds *is* before *qui.* Possibly he disliked the repetitive sound of *is qui ... ei qui.* Lefèvre began the sentence with *Is autem qui.*

6 *sermone* τὸν λόγον ("verbo" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1. In 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus alternatively suggests *ratione.* His choice of *sermone* was the same as the rendering of Lefèvre.

7 *Ne erretis* μὴ πλανᾶσθε ("Nolite errare" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,14. Manetti anticipated this change.

7 *Quicquid ... hoc* ὃ ... τοῦτο ("Quae ... haec" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of ἅ ... ταῦτα, as in 𝔓⁴⁶. For *quicquid*, see further on *Ioh.* 4,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus renders by *Quod ... hoc*, citing "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster) and also Augustine *Epistolae ad Galatas Expositio* (*CSEL* 84, p. 136): this wording was used by Valla *Annot.* and Manetti (*Pal. Lat.* 45). The other ms. of Manetti's version (*Urb. Lat.* 6) incorrectly substituted *Quod ... haec:* cf. ὃ ... ταῦτα in codd. D* F G. The version of Lefèvre had *quodcunque ... illud.*

8 *Nam* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,24. Lefèvre put *quia.*

8 *per carnem suam ... per spiritum* εἰς τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ ... εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ("in carne sua ... in spiritu" 1516 = Vg.). The use of αὐτοῦ is derived from codd. 2815 and 2817, together with cod. 2105, and also D* F G and a few other mss. In codd. 1, 2816 and most other

mss., ἑαυτοῦ replaces αὐτοῦ. In *Annot.* (where he incorrectly omits τήν before σάρκα), Erasmus renders more literally by *in carnem ... in spiritum*, following the interpretation of Valla *Annot.* Other instances of Erasmus' use of *per* for εἰς, in an instrumental sense, can be seen at *Act.* 7,53 (*per dispositiones angelorum*); *Hebr.* 6,6 (1519: *per poenitentiam*).

8 *metet* (twice) θερίσει ("et metet" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et*, in both places, is a matter of translation, not explicitly supported by Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

8 *corruptionem* φθοράν ("coruptelam" 1516, sic). Erasmus' use of *cor(r)uptela* in 1516 was less suitable, as it meant a source of corruption, or the act of corrupting, rather than a state of corruption. In 1519, he reverted to the Vulgate rendering. Elsewhere he usually retains *corruptio* for φθορά and διαφθορά. Cf. *Annot.*

8 *sed qui* ὁ δέ ("qui autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

9 *faciendo* ποιοῦντες ("facientes" Vg.). By using the gerund, Erasmus makes a stronger connection with the main verb: "let us not tire of (or be made tired by) doing good". In translating καλοποιοῦντες at 2 *Thess.* 3,13, he similarly changed *benefacientes* to *in benefaciendo.* Cf. also *quid faciendo vitam aeternam possidebo* at *Lc.* 10,25 (= Vulgate). Manetti put *operantes.*

9 *ne defatigemur ... defatigati* μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν ... ἐκλυόμενοι ("non deficiamus ... deficientes" Vg.; "ne cessemus ... defatigati" 1516). For *ne*, see on *Ioh.* 3,7. In his 1516 version, Erasmus seeks to preserve a distinction of meaning between the two Greek verbs: see *Annot.* However, his use of *cesso* ("cease", "be slow" or "idle") did not adequately convey the sense of ἐκκακέω, which tends to mean "lose heart". Elsewhere he uses *cesso* mainly for παύομαι. For the substitution of *defatigo* for *deficio* in rendering ἐκκακέω, see on 2 *Cor.* 4,1. In translating ἐκλύω, Erasmus retains *deficio* at *Mt.* 15,32; *Mc.* 8,3; *Hebr.* 12,3, and substitutes *deficio* for *fatigo* at *Hebr.* 12,5. Valla *Annot.*, more logically, was content to substitute *defatigemur* for *deficiamus* at the present passage, without making any change to *deficientes.* Manetti put *ne deficiamus ... deficientes.*

10 *Itaque* ἄρα οὖν ("Ergo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,18. Lefèvre had *Eia igitur.*

καιρὸν ἔχομεν, ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγα-
θὸν πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς
οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως.

¹¹Ἴδετε πηλίκοις ὑμῖν γράμμασιν
ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί. ¹²ὅσοι θέλου-
σιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί, οὗτοι
ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, μό-
νον ἵνα μὴ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
διώκωνται. ¹³οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτεμνό-
μενοι αὐτοὶ νόμον φυλάσσουσιν, ἀλ-
λὰ θέλουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, ἵνα
ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκὶ καυχήσωνται.
¹⁴ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι, εἰ
μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος
ἐσταύρωται, κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ. ¹⁵ἐν
γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή
τι ἰσχύει, οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ
καινὴ κτίσις· ¹⁶καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανό-
νι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν, εἰρήνη ἐπ'
αὐτούς, καὶ ἔλεος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν
Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ.

tempus habemus, operemur bonum,
quum erga omnes, tum vero maxi-
me erga domesticos fidei.

¹¹Videtis quanta vobis epistola
scripserim mea manu. ¹²Quicun-
que volunt iuxta faciem placere in
carne, ii cogunt vos circuncidi,
tantum ne ob crucem Christi per-
sequutionem patiantur. ¹³Nam qui
circunciduntur ne ipsi quidem le-
gem seruant: sed volunt vos circun-
cidi, vt in vestra carne glorientur.
¹⁴Ego vero, absit vt glorier, nisi
in cruce domini nostri Iesu Chris-
ti, per quem mihi mundus cruci-
fixus est, et ego mundo. ¹⁵Nam
in Christo Iesu neque circuncisio
quicquam valet, neque praeputium,
sed noua creatura. ¹⁶Et quicunque
iuxta regulam hanc incedunt, pax
super eos, et misericordia, et super
Israelem dei.

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10 *alt.* προς *D E*: προς τους *A-C* | **11** υμιν *B-E*: ημιν *A* | **12** διωκωνται *B-E*: διω-
κονται *A*

10 habemus *A (exx.) B-E*: habemns *A (exx.)* | quum ... maxime *B-E*: erga omnes. maxime
vero *A* | **15** quicquam *B-E*: *om. A* | praeputium *B-E*: preputium *A* | **16** Israelem *B-E*:
Israel *A*

10 ἐργαζώμεθα. Codd. 2105*, 2816, 2817*ᵛⁱᵈ
had ἐργαζόμεθα, in company with codd.
A Bᶜᵒʳʳ and many later mss.

10 *quum erga omnes, tum vero maxime erga* πρὸς
πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρός ("ad omnes, maxime
autem ad" Vg.; "erga omnes. maxime vero erga"
1516). For the construction *quum ... tum*, see on
Rom. 16,2; for *erga*, see on *Act.* 3,25, and *Annot.*;
for *vero*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre put *ad omnes;
maximopere autem ad.*

10 οἰκείους. The omission of τούς before οἰκεί-
ους in 1527-35 may have been the result of a

typesetting error, as virtually all mss. include
the word.

11 *Videtis* Ἴδετε ("Videte" Vg.). Either ren-
dering is legitimate, whether as indicative or
imperative.

11 *quanta vobis epistola scripserim* πηλίκοις ὑμῖν
γράμμασιν ἔγραψα ("qualibus litteris scripsi
vobis" Vg.). Cod. 2815 had the word-order
πηλίκοις ὑμῖν ἔγραψα γράμμασι: cf. codd.
D (F G), which have πηλίκοις γράμμασιν ὑμῖν
ἔγραψα. Erasmus is more literal as to the Latin
word-order. In *Annot.*, he argues that πηλίκοις

γράμμασιν refers to the size or length of the whole epistle rather than the size or shape of the script with which it was written. The reading ἡμῖν in 1516 seems to have been no more than a typesetting error, though it occurs in some late mss. The version of Manetti followed the Vulgate (except that in *Urb. Lat.* 6, *quibus* is substituted for *qualibus*), while Lefèvre contented himself with transposing *scripsi vobis* after *mea manu*.

12 *Quicunque* ὅσοι ("Quicunque enim" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *enim* lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' wording agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *iuxta faciem placere* εὐπροσωπῆσαι ("placere" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more accurate rendering of the compound Greek verb. See *Annot.* An objection to the Vulgate rendering was also raised in Valla *Annot.*, but in such a manner as to make it appear that the words ἐν σαρκί were missing from Valla's Greek mss. ("graece non legitur *in carne*"). What Valla perhaps actually wrote, or meant to write, was "graece non legitur *placere*". The earlier version of Valla's annotations (*Collatio Noui Testamenti*, ed. A Perosa, Florence 1970, p. 230) stated "Non est grece vtique 'placere'".

12 *ii* οὗτοι ("hi" Vg.). Cf. on *Gal.* 2,18. Lefèvre put *illi*.

12 *ne ... persequutionem patiantur* ἵνα μὴ ... διώκωνται ("vt ... persecutionem non patiantur" Vg.). For *ne*, see on *Ioh.* 3,20, and *Annot.* The 1516 edition had the spelling διώκονται, which is also found in cod. 1, along with 𝔓⁴⁶ A C F G and many other mss. In 1519, Erasmus restored διώκωνται, as in codd. 3, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 and many other mss., commencing with ℵ B D: this was also the spelling used in 1516 *Annot.* His translation was the same as that of Ambrosiaster (1492).

12 *ob crucem* τῷ σταυρῷ ("crucis" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more intelligible sense to the passage, tacitly adopting the rendering of Lefèvre. In *Annot.*, he gives a more literal translation, *cruce*.

13 *Nam qui circunciduntur ne ipsi quidem* οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι αὐτοί ("Neque enim qui circunciduntur" Vg.). Erasmus alters the word-order for the sake of a more elegant and emphatic turn of phrase. For *nam*, see

on *Ioh.* 3,34, and for *ne ... quidem*, see on *Ioh.* 7,5. The Vulgate leaves αὐτοί untranslated. See *Annot.* The spelling περιτεμνόμενοι is in accordance with cod. 2817, along with cod. 2105, and also ℵ A C D and many later mss. In codd. 1, 2815, 2816 and many other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ B, the perfect participle, περιτετμημένοι, is used. Manetti added *ipsi* after *circunciduntur* (though the first hand of *Urb. Lat.* 6 replaced *circunciduntur* by *circunciditur* and transposed *ipsi* after *legem*), while Lefèvre substituted *neque enim ipsi circuncisi*.

13 *seruant* φυλάσσουσιν ("custodiunt" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,53.

13 *vestra carne* τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκί ("carne vestra" Vg.). Erasmus renders the word-order more literally, using the same wording as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

14 *Ego vero, absit vt glorier* ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι ("Mihi autem absit gloriari" Vg.). Erasmus regarded the literal Vulgate rendering as inelegant, and preferred to remove the infinitive after *absit*: see *Annot.*

15 *Nam in Christo* ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ ("In Christo enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre also made this change.

15 *quicquam* τι ("aliquid" Vg.; omitted in 1516 Lat.). The same substitution of *quicquam* occurs in the parallel passage at *Gal.* 5,6. See further on *Rom.* 15,18. In 1519, Erasmus adopts the same rendering as Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre.

16 *iuxta regulam hanc incedunt* τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν ("hanc regulam secuti fuerint" Vg.). See on *Gal.* 5,25 for στοιχέω. Erasmus' use of the present tense, *incedunt*, corresponds with στοιχοῦσιν in cod. 2816, together with A C* D F G and a few later mss. In *Annot.*, he proposes the use of the future tense, *incedent*, which would have been more consistent with his printed Greek text. Ambrosiaster and the Jerome 1516 text (contrary to *Comm.*) have the present tense, *sequuntur*. Manetti put *cum hac regula congruunt*, and Lefèvre *huic innixi fuerint regulae*.

16 *eos* αὐτούς ("illos" Vg.). Erasmus prefers the less emphatic form of the pronoun, in resuming from the earlier *quicunque*. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

16 *Israelem* τὸν Ἰσραήλ ("Israel" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,31, and cf. also *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

¹⁷Τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω. ¹⁸ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί. ἀμήν.

<p align="center">Πρὸς Γαλάτας.</p>

<p align="center">ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.</p>

¹⁷De caetero ne quis mihi molestias exhibeat, ego enim stigmata domini Iesu in corpore meo porto. ¹⁸Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi cum spiritu vestro fratres. Amen.

<p align="center">Ad Galatas.</p>

<p align="center">Missa fuit e Roma.</p>

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17 molestias *C-E*: labores *A B*
Subscriptio Ad Galatas *B-E*: Finis *A* | e *B-E*: a *A* | Roma *E*: Rhoma *B-D*

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17 *ne quis* μηδείς ("nemo" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,18. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *nullus*, appearing to attribute this to Jerome *Comm.* This alternative rendering, however, was not in Jerome, but in the version of Lefèvre.

17 *molestias exhibeat* κόπους ... παρεχέτω ("molestus sit" Vg.; "labores exhibeat" 1516-19). Erasmus gives a more accurate rendering. However, he retains *molestus sum* for similar Greek expressions at *Mt.* 26,10; *Mc.* 14,6; *Lc.* 11,7; 18,5. As indicated in *Annot.*, the 1516 rendering was modelled on Jerome *Comm.* In 1522, he adopted a more classical turn of phrase (cf. *exhibeant molestiam* in Plautus *Captiui* 817). Manetti put *molestias prebeat* (= *praebeat*), and Lefèvre *labores afferat*.

ΠΡΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥΣ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ
ΠΑΥΛΟΥ

EPISTOLA
PAVLI APOSTOLI
AD EPHESIOS

1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ²χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
³Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις Χριστῷ. ⁴καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου,

1 Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi per voluntatem dei, sanctis qui agunt Ephesi, et fidelibus in Christo Iesu: ²gratia vobis et pax a deo patre nostro, et domino Iesu Christo.
³Benedictus deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui benedixit nos omni benedictione spirituali in coelestibus Christo. ⁴Quemadmodum elegit nos in ipso, antequam iacerentur fundamenta mundi,

Inscriptio παυλου *E: om. A-D*

Inscriptio EPISTOLA ... EPHESIOS *E:* AD EPHESIOS EPISTOLA *A-C,* ERASMI VERSIO *D* |
1,1 agunt *B-E:* agitis *A* | 3 omni *B-E:* in omni *A* | spirituali *B-E:* spiritali *A*

1,1 *sanctis* τοῖς ἁγίοις ("omnibus sanctis" late Vg.). The earlier Vulgate had *sanctis omnibus,* corresponding with the addition of πᾶσιν in codd. א ᶜᵒʳʳ A and thirteen later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 356-8). Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

1 *qui agunt* τοῖς οὖσιν ("qui sunt" Vg.; "qui agitis" 1516). This substitution of *ago* is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Lc.* 14,32. Erasmus replaced *qui sunt* by *qui ... estis* at *Rom.* 1,7, in rendering the same Greek phrase: see *ad loc.,* and see also *Annot.* His use of the second person plural in 1516 may have been influenced by Lefèvre, who put *qui estis* both at the present passage and at *Rom.* 1,7.

1 *fidelibus* πιστοῖς ("fidelibus omnibus" Vg. 1527). The addition of *omnibus* in the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben edition of 1514, lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus'

rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm.,* Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

3 *omni* ἐν πάσῃ ("in omni" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *Christo* Χριστῷ ("in Christo" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text adding ἐν before Χριστῷ, as in virtually all mss., including codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 (in 2105 and 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ, Ἰησοῦ is further added after Χριστῷ). Erasmus here follows cod. 2817. See *Annot.* This omission consequently also occurred in the editions of R. Estienne.

4 *Quemadmodum* καθὼς ("Sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vtpote.*

4 *antequam iacerentur fundamenta mundi* πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ("ante mundi constitutionem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 17,24, and *Annot.* The

εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατ-
ενώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ· ⁵προορίσας
ἡμᾶς εἰς υἱοθεσίαν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
εἰς αὐτόν, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελή-
ματος αὐτοῦ, ⁶εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης τῆς
χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾗ ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς
ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ. ⁷ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν
ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ,
τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων, κα-
τὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ,
⁸ἧς ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ σο-
φίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει, | ⁹γνωρίσας ἡμῖν
τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ,

vt essemus sancti et irreprehensibi-
les coram illo per charitatem: ⁵qui
praedestinauit nos vt adoptaret in fi-
lios per Iesum Christum in sese, iuxta
beneplacitum voluntatis suae, ⁶vt lau-
detur gloria gratiae suae, qua charos
reddidit nos per illum dilectum. ⁷Per
quem habemus redemptionem per san-
guinem ipsius, remissionem peccato-
rum, iuxta diuitias gratiae suae: ⁸de
qua vbertim nobis impartiuit in om-
ni sapientia et prudentia, | ⁹pate-
facto nobis arcano voluntatis suae,

1,9 το B-E: τον A

4 irreprehensibiles B-E: irrepraehensibiles A | per charitatem B-E: in charitate A | 5 prae-
destinauit B-E: predestinauit A | vt adoptaret in filios B-E: in adoptionem filiorum A | 6 qua
charos reddidit B-E: in qua gratificauit A | per illum dilectum E: in dilecto A, per dilec-
tum B-D | 7 Per quem B-E: In quo A

rendering of Erasmus was influenced by the use
of the phrase *iaciunt fundamenta* in Jerome
Comm. The Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and
the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre, put *ante
constitutionem mundi*.

4 *irreprehensibiles* ἀμώμους ("immaculati" Vg.).
A similar substitution occurs in rendering ἀμώ-
μος at *Eph.* 5,27; *Col.* 1,22. Erasmus retains
immaculatus for the same Greek word at *Hebr.*
9,14; 1 *Petr.* 1,19, and *sine macula* at *Ap. Ioh.*
14,5, but substitutes *incontaminatus* at *Iud.* 24.
He further retains *immaculatus* for ἀμώμητος
at 2 *Petr.* 3,14. Although *immaculatus* was rare
in classical usage, this was not the reason why
Erasmus removed the word here, as it could
have been objected even more strongly that
irreprehensibilis (unlike *reprehensus*) was completely
absent from classical Latin authors. He preferred
irreprehensibilis ("not able or deserving to be
blamed") because he considered that it conveyed
the meaning of the Greek word more accurately
in the present context. See *Annot.*, where he
also suggests the use of *inculpatus*. He defended
his change of rendering against Stunica in
Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD IX, 2, p. 202,
ll. 653-664. For Erasmus' use of *irreprehensibilis*
for ἄμεμπτος and ἀμώμητος, see also on *Phil.*
2,15.

4 *coram illo* κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ ("in conspectu
eius" Vg.). For a similar substitution of *coram*,
in rendering ἐνώπιον, see on *Act.* 7,10; 10,4.
In rendering κατενώπιον at 2 *Cor.* 2,17; 12,19;
Col. 1,22, Erasmus made a change in the op-
posite direction, from *coram* to *in conspectu*: see
on 2 *Cor.* 2,17. By using the more emphatic
pronoun, *illo*, Erasmus perhaps wished to make
it clearer that this referred to Christ rather
than the Father, though a degree of ambiguity
remains. Ambrosiaster and Jerome *Comm.* put
coram ipso, and Manetti *coram eo*.

4 *per charitatem* ἐν ἀγάπῃ ("in charitate" 1516
= Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. In *Annot.*, he follows
Jerome *Comm.* in suggesting that this phrase
could also be attached to προορίσας in the
following verse, but noted that this was not in
accordance with the punctuation of his Greek
mss. This is true of codd. 1, 2815, 2816, 2817,
but Erasmus evidently did not consult his copy
of Theophylact here, as cod. 2105 (both text
and commentary) clearly links ἐν ἀγάπῃ with
προορίσας. Lefèvre put *in dilectione*.

5 *vt adoptaret in filios* εἰς υἱοθεσίαν ("in adopti-
onem filiorum" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,15,
and *Annot.* By changing the construction, Eras-
mus makes the meaning considerably clearer.
Lefèvre put *in adoptionem*, omitting *filiorum*.

5 *in sese* εἰς αὐτόν ("in ipsum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.*
7,35. Erasmus wished to restrict the pronoun,
so that it referred to the Father, and not to
Christ: see *Annot.* In 1519, he reinforced this
interpretation by changing αὐτόν to αὑτόν.
See his *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4,
p. 240, ll. 1-9. For the introduction of rough
breathings on reflexive pronouns in the 1519
edition, see on *Ioh.* 2,21; *Rom.* 1,27. The render-
ing of Lefèvre was *in eodem.*

5 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.*
13,23.

5 *beneplacitum* τὴν εὐδοκίαν ("propositum"
Vg.). This change produces consistency with
the late Vulgate rendering of εὐδοκία in vs. 9,
and distinguishes it from πρόθεσις in vs. 11.
See also *Annot.* However, the noun *beneplacitum*
does not occur in classical usage. At *Phil.* 2,13,
by contrast, Erasmus substitutes *bonum animi
propositum* for *bona voluntas* in rendering the
same Greek word, and at 2 *Thess.* 1,11, *bonum
propositum* for *voluntas*, but at *Mt.* 11,26, *bona
voluntas* for *placitum*. At *Lc.* 10,21 (1519), he
replaces *placuit* with *complacitum est*, in rendering
ἐγένετο εὐδοκία. Erasmus' version agrees with
that of Jerome *Comm.*, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti
and Lefèvre (cf. *placitum* in Ambrosiaster and
the Jerome 1516 text and lemma).

6 *vt laudetur gloria* εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης ("in lau-
dem gloriae" Vg.). By altering the construction,
Erasmus achieves greater clarity, as he had done
in vs. 5 with εἰς υἱοθεσίαν. In vss. 12 and 14,
however, he retains *in laudem*, as also at 1 *Petr.*
1,7. Cf. also *Phil.* 1,11 (1519), where he replaces
in ... laudem with *ad ... laudem.*

6 *qua* ἐν ᾗ ("in qua" 1516 = Vg.). See on
Ioh. 1,26. Erasmus has the same wording as
Ambrosiaster.

6 *charos reddidit nos* ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ("gratifica-
uit nos" 1516 = Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus points
out that *gratifico*, as an active verb, did not exist
in classical usage, where the correct form was
gratificor. His proposed substitution conveys
the sense of "made us the object of his love".
Manetti put *gratiosos nos fecit*, and Lefèvre *impleuit
nos gratia.*

6 *per illum dilectum* ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ
("in dilecto filio suo" late Vg. and many Vg.
mss.; "in dilecto" 1516 = some Vg. mss., with
Vgʷʷ ˢᵗ; "per dilectum" 1519-27). The addition
of *filio suo* in many Vulgate mss., under influence
from the Old Latin version, corresponds with

the addition of υἱῷ αὐτοῦ in codd. D* F G.
See *Annot.* For Erasmus' use of *per*, see on *Rom.*
1,17. By adding *illum* in 1535, he makes a more
definite connection with Christ in vs. 5. Lefèvre
had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516
edition, while Manetti put *in eo qui dilectus est*,
both omitting *filio suo.*

7 *Per quem* ἐν ᾧ ("In quo" 1516 = Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 1,17.

7 *ipsius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus uses the
reflexive pronoun to emphasise that this refers
to the same person as *quem*. His rendering is
the same as that of Ambrosiaster and the
Jerome 1516 text and lemma. Manetti put
suum.

7 *remissionem* τὴν ἄφεσιν ("in remissionem"
Vg. 1527 and *Annot.*, lemma = late Vg.). The
late Vulgate insertion of *in*, also occurring in
the Froben 1514 edition, lacks Greek ms. sup-
port. See *Annot.* This passage is among the *Quae
Sint Addita*. Erasmus' rendering agrees with the
earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516
text and lemma, and also Manetti. The version
of Lefèvre put *quae est remissio.*

7 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.*
13,23.

7 *suae* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Presumably this
change was intended to connect the pronoun
with God the Father, as in *voluntatis suae* (vs. 5)
and *gratiae suae* (vs. 6), though some ambiguity
remains. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that
of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

8 *de qua* ἧς ("quae" Vg.). The Vulgate takes ἧς,
questionably, as the equivalent of ἥ. More
straightforwardly, Lefèvre understood ἧς as the
equivalent of ἥν, *quam*, forming a direct object
for ἐπερίσσευσεν.

8 *vbertim nobis impartiuit* ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς ἡμᾶς
("superabundauit in nobis" Vg.). For Erasmus'
treatment of περισσεύω elsewhere, see on *Rom.*
3,7. His deletion of the preposition *in* is more
accurate: see *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre
was *abunde effudit in nos.*

9 *patefacto nobis arcano* γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ
μυστήριον ("vt notum faceret nobis sacra-
mentum" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests
that the Vulgate may reflect a different Greek
text, which replaced γνωρίσας by γνωρίσαι
(cf. γνωρίσαι τὸ μυστήριον at *Eph.* 6,19), with
support from cod. 2105; cf. also γνωρεῖσαι
in codd. F G. For his treatment of γνωρίζω

κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ, προ-
έθετο ἐν αὐτῷ ¹⁰εἰς οἰκονομί-
αν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν,
ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν
τῷ Χριστῷ, τά τε ἐν τοῖς οὐ-
ρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν
αὐτῷ· ¹¹ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐκληρώθη-
μεν, προορισθέντες κατὰ πρόθεσιν
τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργοῦντος κατὰ
τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ,

iuxta beneplacitum suum: quod pro-
posuerat in se ipso, ¹⁰vsque ad
dispensationem plenitudinis tempo-
rum, vt summatim instauraret om-
nia per Christum et quae in coelis
sunt et quae in terra per eundem:
¹¹per quem et in sortem asciti su-
mus, praedestinati secundum propo-
situm ipsius: cuius vi fiunt vniuer-
sa iuxta decretum voluntatis ipsius,

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10 ἀνακεφαλαιωσασθαι *A-C E*: ανεκεφαλαιωσασθαι *D* | τε *B-E*: *om. A* | 11 ενεργουν-
τος *A B D E*: εεργουντος *C*

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10 vsque ad *B-E*: in *A* | per Christum *B-E*: in Christo *A* | *prius* et *B-E*: *om. A* | *alt.* quae *B-E*:
om. A | per eundem *B-E*: in ipso *A* | 11 per quem *B-E*: in quo *A* | in sortem asciti *B-E*: sorte
delecti *A* | praedestinati *B-E*: predestinati *A* | *prius* ipsius *B-E*: illius *A*

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at other passages, see on 2 *Cor.* 8,1. This is
the only instance where Erasmus uses *arca-
num* for μυστήριον, but in several places he
substitutes *mysterium* for *sacramentum*, as at *Eph.*
3,3, 9; 5,32; *Col.* 1,27; 1 *Tim.* 3,16; *Ap. Ioh.* 17,7
(1522), in accordance with Vulgate usage else-
where. Inconsistently he retains *sacramentum* at
Ap. Ioh. 1,20. In classical authors, the usual
meaning of *sacramentum* was an "oath", and
hence the word was unsuitable as a rendering
of μυστήριον. In the 1516 edition, the spelling
τόν, for τό, was a typesetting error rather than
a variant drawn from mss. The suggestion of
Valla *Annot.* was that *vt notum faceret nobis* be
replaced by *faciens nobis notum* (cf. the Jerome
1516 text and lemma, *notum nobis faciens*), while
Manetti put *cum notum fecisset nobis*, and Lefèvre
cum nobis patefecit. The substitution of *arcanum*
for *sacramentum* was proposed by Valla and
Lefèvre, whereas Ambrosiaster (1492), the Jerome
1516 text and lemma, and Manetti, put *myste-
rium*. Cf. Valla *Elegantiae*, IV, 50, defining
mysterium as "arcana quaedam res" (see also
Erasmus *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, ASD
I, 4, p. 278, l. 952).

9 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.*
13,23.

9 *suum* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). This second instance
of αὐτοῦ in this verse acquired its rough
breathing in 1519; the first instance did not

become αὐτοῦ until 1522: see on *Ioh.* 2,21;
Rom. 1,27. Erasmus, as usual, prefers a reflexive
pronoun for referring back to the subject, in
his Latin rendering. The pronoun *eius* might
otherwise be taken to refer to Christ. His ren-
dering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster, Jerome
Comm. (cited in *Annot.*), and also Valla *Annot.*,
Manetti and Lefèvre.

9 *quod proposuerat* προέθετο ("quod proposuit"
Vg.). The omission of ἦν before προέθετο, in
conflict with all Erasmus' Basle mss., and with
his Latin rendering, was probably just another
error of the 1516 typesetters, which remained
uncorrected in the four later folio editions. For
Erasmus' preference for the pluperfect tense,
see on *Ioh.* 1,19. Cf. also *Annot.* The rendering
of Lefèvre was *quod praestatuit*.

9 *se ipso* αὐτῷ ("eo" Vg.). Erasmus preferred
to interpret this pronoun in a reflexive sense,
as referring to the Father, whereas the Vulgate
relates it to Christ (or to *sacramentum*). See
Annot. This interpretation was further empha-
sised in 1519 by the insertion of a rough
breathing in the Greek text: see on αὐτοῦ,
above, and also on *Ioh.* 2,21; *Rom.* 1,27. At this
point, cod. 2815 adds ὁ θεός, with little other
ms. support. Lefèvre made the same change as
Erasmus.

10 *vsque ad dispensationem* εἰς οἰκονομίαν ("in
dispensatione" late Vg.; "in dispensationem"

1516 = some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate use of the ablative represents a scribal alteration within the Latin tradition, unsupported by Greek mss. To prevent a recurrence of this error, Erasmus in 1519 replaced *in* by *vsque ad*, which could only be accompanied by an accusative. See also on *Ioh.* 13,1, and *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

10 *vt summatim instauraret* ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι ("instaurare" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. For his rendering of the Greek verb, see on *Rom.* 13,9. As mentioned in *Annot.*, Jerome *Comm.* advocated the use of *recapitulo*, a word which did not occur in classical literature. Valla *Annot.* suggested using *in summam* (or *ad caput*, or *ad capita*) *redigere*, and Manetti *vt instauraret*. Lefèvre rendered this part of the sentence by *ad omnia summatim in Christo colligenda.*

10 *per Christum* ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ("in Christo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Manetti put *que* (= *quae*) *in Christo*, possibly using a text which inserted τά after πάντα: cf. Erasmus *Annot.* For the word-order of Lefèvre, see the previous note.

10 *et quae* (1st.) τά τε ("quae" 1516 = Vg.). In 1516, Erasmus omitted τε, both in his Greek text and in *Annot.*, in accordance with codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss. In 1519, his addition of τε was drawn from cod. 3, with support from few mss. other than א^corr and cod. 69. This weakly attested variant passed into the *Textus Receptus.*

10 ἐν (2nd.). This word came from cod. 2815, in agreement with 2105, 2816^corr, and also א^corr A and many later mss. The reading of codd. 1, 2816*, 2817 and many other mss., commencing with 𝔓^46 א* B D, is ἐπί, which was the reading cited in 1516 *Annot.*

10 *sunt et quae in terra* καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ("et quae in terra sunt" Vg.; "sunt et in terra" 1516 Lat.). The position of *sunt* is not affected by the Greek text, which lacks a verb. For Erasmus' preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. His 1519 edition has the same wording as Ambrosiaster.

10 *per eundem* ἐν αὐτῷ ("in ipso" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17 for *per*. By substituting *eundem*, Erasmus relates the pronoun more clearly to Christ. See *Annot.*, and also *Resp. ad annot.*

Ed. Lei, ASD IX, 4, p. 240, ll. 11-19. The version of Lefèvre put *in ipso sunt*.

11 *per quem* ἐν ᾧ ("in quo" 1516 = Vg.). See again on *Rom.* 1,17.

11 *et* καί ("etiam nos" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben editions of 1491 and 1514. Other late Vulgate editions, including the Vulgate column of Lefèvre, had *etiam et nos*. The Vulgate lemma of Valla *Annot.* had *et nos*. The word *nos* lacks explicit Greek ms. support, and its omission was proposed by Valla and Lefèvre. Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of the Jerome 1516 text and lemma. The earlier Vulgate and the version of Lefèvre had *etiam*.

11 *in sortem asciti sumus* ἐκληρώθημεν ("sorte vocati sumus" Vg.; "sorte delecti sumus" 1516). The Vulgate wording seems to combine the sense of two distinct Greek verbs, ἐκληρώθημεν and ἐκλήθημεν. The reading ἐκλήθημεν is found in codd. A D F^corr G. The use of *in sortem* was also suggested by Valla *Annot.* As indicated by Erasmus in *Annot.*, Ambrosiaster had *sortiti sumus*. The rendering of Lefèvre was *in haereditatis consortium vocati sumus.*

11 *ipsius* (1st.) τοῦ ("eius" Vg.; "illius" 1516). Erasmus substitutes the reflexive pronoun in 1519, to refer more clearly to the Father.

11 *cuius vi fiunt vniuersa* τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργοῦντος ("qui operatur omnia" late Vg.). For Erasmus' avoidance of *operor*, see on *Rom.* 7,5, and *Annot.* At 1 *Cor.* 12,6 (1519), he renders ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα by *efficiens omnia*. At the present passage, by comparison, he adopts an elaborate periphrasis. For *vniuersus*, see on *Ioh.* 8,2; *Act.* 5,34. Erasmus' replacement of *omnia* by *vniuersa* corresponds with the Jerome 1516 text and lemma. Lefèvre put *qui omnia operatur*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

11 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23. Manetti anticipated this change, while Lefèvre put *per*.

11 *decretum* τὴν βουλήν ("consilium" Vg.). At all other N.T. instances of βουλή, Erasmus uses *consilium*, which was also the normal usage of the Vulgate. Further, *decretum* was elsewhere reserved for rendering δόγμα and δογματίζομαι.

11 *ipsius* (2nd.) αὐτοῦ ("suae" Vg.). Once again the use of *ipse* refers back, more remotely, to the subject of *instauro* in vs. 10, i.e. to God the Father.

¹²εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δό-
ξης αὐτοῦ, τοὺς προηλπικότας ἐν τῷ
Χριστῷ, ¹³ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες
τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύ-
σαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς
ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ, ¹⁴ὅς ἐστιν ἀρρα-
βὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν, εἰς ἀπολύ-
τρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως, εἰς ἔπαινον
τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.

¹⁵Διὰ τοῦτο κἀγὼ ἀκούσας τὴν καθ᾽
ὑμᾶς | πίστιν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ
τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγί-
ους, ¹⁶οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν, μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν
προσευχῶν μου, ¹⁷ἵνα ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυ-
ρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ
τῆς δόξης δώῃ ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας
καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως, ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ,

¹²vt simus nos in laudem gloriae illi-
us: qui priores sperauimus in Chris-
to, ¹³in quo speratis et vos, audi-
to verbo veritatis, euangelio salutis
vestrae: in quo etiam posteaquam cre-
didistis, obsignati estis spiritu pro-
missionis sancto, ¹⁴qui est arrabo
haereditatis nostrae, in redemptio-
nem acquisitae possessionis, in lau-
dem gloriae ipsius.

¹⁵Quapropter et ego quum audis-
sem eam | quae in vobis est fidem
in domino Iesu, et charitatem in om-
nes sanctos, ¹⁶non desino gratias
agere pro vobis: mentionem vestri
faciens in precibus meis, ¹⁷vt deus
domini nostri Iesu Christi, pater
gloriae det vobis spiritum sapientiae
et reuelationis, per agnitionem sui,

LB 835

LB 836

13 υμεις *D E*: ημεις *A-C*

13 speratis et vos *A D E*: speramus et nos *B C* | 14 ipsius *B-E*: suae *A* | 16 precibus *B-E*:
orationibus *A* | 17 per agnitionem *B-E*: in cognitione *A*

12 *vt simus nos ... qui* εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ... τούς
("vt simus ... nos qui" late Vg.). Erasmus is
more literal as to the word-order. Lefèvre had
vt nos simus ... qui.

12 *gloriae* τῆς δόξης. The addition of τῆς was
in accordance with codd. 2815 and 2817, to-
gether with cod. A and a few later mss. This
reading hereafter remained in the *Textus Receptus.*
In codd. 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss.,
commencing with 𝔓⁹² ℵ B D F G, τῆς is
omitted.

12 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus uses *illius*
to provide a more emphatic contrast with the
preceding *nos.* Manetti put *suae.*

12 *qui priores sperauimus* τοὺς προηλπικότας
("qui ante sperauimus" Vg.). Erasmus wishes,
no doubt, to prevent the phrase from being
misinterpreted as meaning "who previously

believed", which might have implied that they
used to believe but no longer did so. Cf. *Annot.*
The version of Lefèvre made the same change
as Erasmus.

13 *speratis et vos ... vestrae* καὶ ὑμεῖς ... ὑμῶν
("et vos ... vestrae" Vg.; "speramus et nos ...
vestrae" 1519-22). By adding a verb, Erasmus
aims to produce a clearer sense. His Greek text
of 1516-22, καὶ ἡμεῖς ... ὑμῶν, was derived
from cod. 2817, supported by cod. 2816, with
ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ A and some later mss. The 1516 Greek
text conflicted with the accompanying Latin
version, in which the use of *vos* and *vestrae*
(following the Vulgate) corresponds with καὶ
ὑμεῖς ... ὑμῶν in codd. 2105 and 2815, together
with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ ⁽*⁾ B D F G and most other mss.
In 1516-22 *Annot.*, Erasmus deals with this pas-
sage in a confusing manner. After citing *vos* in
the lemma, and ὑμεῖς as the corresponding

Greek text, he announces "apud Graecos primum esse personam, non secundam, nos et nostrae". The latter statement implied that, instead of καὶ ὑμεῖς ... ὑμῶν, his Greek mss. had καὶ ἡμεῖς ... ἡμῶν, a reading which was offered by cod. 1 and Lefèvre Comm. In 1527, Erasmus removed the confusion by adding "in nonnullis codicibus" after "Graecos" in Annot., and by restoring ὑμεῖς and vos to his Greek and Latin texts. This change may have been partly influenced by the Complutensian Polyglot, whose testimony is cited in 1527 Annot. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had et nos ... vestrae, without adding speramus.

13 audito verbo ... euangelio ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον ... τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ("cum audissetis verbum ... euangelium" Vg.). Erasmus alters the construction from active to passive, and thereby avoids having to decide whether to use the first or second person in the verb. His translation resembles Jerome Comm., which had audito verbo ... euangelii. Manetti put cum audissemus verbum ... euangelium, and Lefèvre audiuimus sermonem ... quod est euangelium.

13 etiam καί ("et" Vg.). See on Ioh. 6,36.

13 posteaquam credidistis πιστεύσαντες ("credentes" Vg.). Greek aorist. See Annot.

13 obsignati estis ἐσφραγίσθητε ("signati estis" Vg.). See on Ioh. 3,33, and Annot.

13 spiritu τῷ πνεύματι. Cod. 2815* omitted these words. Another hand, not that of Erasmus, added ἐν τῷ in 2815^ms (probably followed by the shortened form of πνεύματι, though this word was later cut off when the ms. was rebound).

14 arrabo ἀρραβών ("pignus" Vg.). See on 2 Cor. 5,5. In Annot., Erasmus ascribes his revised rendering to Jerome Comm. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

14 acquisitae possessionis τῆς περιποιήσεως ("acquisitionis" Vg.). The Vulgate noun acquisitio was relatively uncommon in classical usage, and could be understood as referring to the act of acquiring something, rather than denoting the thing which had been acquired. Cf. Annot. The use of possessio was suggested by Jerome Comm.

14 ipsius αὐτοῦ ("suae" 1516). In 1519, Erasmus reverted to the Vulgate wording. The pronoun suae might not otherwise have been understood to refer to the glory of the Father. Manetti's version omitted in laudem gloriae ipsius.

15 Quapropter Διὰ τοῦτο ("Propterea" Vg.). See on Act. 10,29. Lefèvre had Propter quod in his translation, though in Lefèvre Comm., Propter quod was cited as the Vulgate lemma, and Propter hoc was proposed as the revised rendering.

15 quum audissem ἀκούσας ("audiens" Vg.). Greek aorist. See Annot. A similar change was made by Manetti, who put cum ego audissem for et ego, audiens.

15 eam quae in vobis est fidem τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν ("fidem vestram quae est" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to convey the sense of the Greek prepositional phrase more precisely. The Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and also Lefèvre, put fidem vestram, omitting quae est.

15 domino τῷ κυρίῳ ("Christo" late Vg.). The late Vulgate substitution has little Greek ms. support, except that cod. D* adds Χριστοῦ and codd. F G add Χριστῷ, after κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ. Erasmus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Jerome Comm. and Lefèvre.

15 charitatem τὴν ἀγάπην ("dilectionem" Vg.). See on Ioh. 13,35.

16 desino gratias agere παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν ("cesso gratias agens" Vg.). A similar substitution of desino occurs at Col. 1,9; Hebr. 10,2. More often Erasmus retains cesso. In Latin usage, it is more natural for either desino or cesso to be followed by an infinitive than by a participle: see on Act. 5,42, and see also Annot. The use of cesso gratias agere was mentioned as an alternative by Jerome Comm., and was adopted by Lefèvre.

16 mentionem μνείαν ("memoriam" Vg.). See on Rom. 1,9, and Annot.

16 precibus τῶν προσευχῶν ("orationibus" 1516 = Vg.). See on Rom. 1,10.

17 per agnitionem ἐν ἐπιγνώσει ("in agnitionem" late Vg.; "in cognitione" 1516). See on Rom. 1,17. The late Vulgate rendering, which would imply a Greek text having εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν, is unsupported by Greek mss., and represents a scribal alteration of the earlier Vulgate wording, in agnitione. See Annot. The rendering of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

17 sui αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). By using the reflexive pronoun, Erasmus makes clear that it refers to the Father, rather than to Christ. Lefèvre again made the same change. Manetti had suam.

¹⁸ πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν, εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις, ¹⁹ καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς, τοὺς πιστεύοντας κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ²⁰ ἣν ἐνέργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, ²¹ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος, καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. ²² καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ· καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκε κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ

¹⁸ illuminatos oculos mentis vestrae: vt sciatis quae sit spes ad quam ille vocauit, et quam opulenta gloria haereditatis illius in sanctis, ¹⁹ et quae sit excellens magnitudo potentiae illius in nos, qui credimus secundum efficaciam roboris fortitudinis eius, ²⁰ quam exercuit in Christo, quum suscitaret eum ex mortuis, et sedere fecit ad dextram suam in coelestibus, ²¹ supra omnem principatum ac potestatem et virtutem et dominium et omne nomen quod nominatur, non solum in seculo hoc, verum etiam in futuro. ²² Et omnia subiecit sub pedes illius, et eum dedit caput super

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18 πεφωτισμενους *A-C*: πεφοτισμενους *D E* | 20 ενεργησεν *C-E*: ενηργησεν *A B* | νεκρων *B-E*: των νεκρων *A*

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18 ad quam ille vocauit *B-E*: vocationis eius *A* | 19 nos, qui credimus *B-E*: vos qui creditis *A* | efficaciam *A B D E*: efficatiam *C* | 20 ex *B-E*: a *A* | ad dextram suam *B-E*: in dextra sua *A* | 21 seculo *C-E*: saeculo *A B* | 22 eum *B-E*: ipsum *A*

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18 *mentis vestrae* τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν ("cordis vestri" Vg.). In adopting διανοίας, Erasmus follows cod. 2817, together with a few other late mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F G, διανοίας is replaced by καρδίας, agreeing with the Vulgate (cod. 1 has τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν). See *Annot.* The weakly attested variant used by Erasmus passed into the *Textus Receptus.*

18 *ad quam ille vocauit* τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ ("vocationis eius" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus simplifies the meaning for the sake of intelligibility. In rendering ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν at *Eph.* 4,4, he left *spe vocationis vestrae* unaltered. Manetti put *vocationis suae* at the present passage.

18 *quam opulenta gloria* τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης ("quae diuitiae gloriae" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes a clearer expression, alleviating the sequence of genitives, though no longer

conveying the parallelism of the Greek sentence structure. In cod. 2815, τῆς δόξης is omitted.

18 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus once again prefers the more emphatic form of the pronoun, to refer to God the Father. Manetti put *suae.*

19 *excellens* ὑπερβάλλον ("superueniens" Vg. 1527; "supereminens" *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514. Cf. on *Rom.* 13,1; 2 *Cor.* 3,10, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *superexcellens*, and Manetti *supereminens.*

19 *potentiae* τῆς δυνάμεως ("virtutis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. Lefèvre had *potestatis.*

19 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). The same change occurred in vs. 18. Here, the more emphatic pronoun heightens the contrast with the following *nos.* Manetti again substituted *suae.*

19 *nos, qui credimus* ἡμᾶς, τοὺς πιστεύοντας ("vos qui creditis" 1516 Lat.). The 1516 rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster, reflecting the substitution of ὑμᾶς for ἡμᾶς, as in codd. D* F G and a few other mss., including cod. 69. Lefèvre had *nobis qui credimus*.

19 *efficaciam* τὴν ἐνέργειαν ("operationem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 12,10, and *Annot.*

19 *roboris fortitudinis* τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος ("potentiae virtutis" Vg.). In rendering κράτος elsewhere, a similar substitution of *robur* for *potentia* occurs at *Lc.* 1,51 (1519); *Col.* 1,11 (1516 only). Erasmus also uses *robur* for ἰσχύς at *Eph.* 6,10; *2 Petr.* 2,11. In rendering ἰσχύς elsewhere, he replaces *virtus* by *fortitudo* at *2 Thess.* 1,9. See *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *potentiae fortitudinis*.

20 *exercuit* ἐνέργησεν ("operatus est" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,5, and *Annot.* The spelling ἐνέργησεν, used in 1522-35, also appeared in 1516 *Annot.* and possibly in cod. 2817*. In 1519-35 *Annot.*, and in the 1516-19 Greek text, the word was spelled more correctly as ἐνήργησεν, as found in most mss. In codd. A B and a few later mss., it is ἐνήργηκεν.

20 *Christo* τῷ Χριστῷ ("Christo Iesu" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *Iesu* lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus has the same rendering as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre.

20 *quum suscitaret* ἐγείρας ("suscitans" Vg.). Greek aorist. See *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *is, qui suscitauit*.

20 *eum* αὐτόν ("illum" Vg.). Whereas Erasmus had used *ille ... illius ... illius* in vss. 18-19 to refer to the Father, he now uses the less emphatic pronoun to refer to Christ. The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti had *ipsum*.

20 *ex* ἐκ ("a" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,22.

20 νεκρῶν. In 1516, Erasmus had τῶν νεκρῶν from codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2816, with 𝔓⁴⁶ and many later mss. In 1519, he omitted τῶν, in company with codd. 3 and 2105, and also ℵ A B D F G and many other mss.

20 *sedere fecit* ἐκάθισεν ("constituens" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of καθίσας, as in 𝔓⁹²ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A B and about fifty later mss., including some which have καθήσας and some which add αὐτόν (as in ℵ A). Erasmus

follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and about 500 other mss., commencing with D F G (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 363-6). His rendering was identical with a suggestion offered by Lefèvre *Comm.*, though the continuous text of Lefèvre's translation had *sedere eum fecit*. In *Annot.*, typically, Erasmus made no mention of Lefèvre at this point, but cited *sedere eum faciens* from Jerome *Comm.* The version of Manetti had *constituit*.

20 *ad dextram suam* ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ("in dextra sua" 1516). The version of 1516 attempted to be more literally accurate, but in 1519 Erasmus reverted to the Vulgate wording: see on *Rom.* 8,34. For the rough breathing on αὐτοῦ, introduced in 1519, see on *Ioh.* 2,21; *Rom.* 1,27. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition, though in *Comm.* he had *dextera* in place of *dextra*.

21 *supra* ὑπεράνω ("super" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column followed the Froben Vulgate of 1514. Lefèvre had *supra* both in his Vulgate text and in his own Latin translation, while Manetti put *super*. See on *Ioh.* 3,31.

21 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti made the same change.

21 *dominium* κυριότητος ("dominationem" Vg.). Erasmus considered that *dominium* better conveyed the sense of authority and "ius possidentis", whereas *dominatio* had an unsuitably pejorative sense, referring to a tyrannical or despotic exercise of power: see his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 204, ll. 666-672, and also 1522 *Annot.*, both responding to the objections of Stunica. Cf. his substitution of *dominium exerceo* for *dominor* in rendering κατακυριεύω at *Mc.* 10,42; 1 *Petr.* 5,3 (1519).

21 *seculo hoc* τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ("hoc saeculo" Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more literally.

21 *verum* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24.

22 *pedes* τοὺς πόδας ("pedibus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,14, and *Annot.*

22 *illius ... eum* αὐτοῦ ... αὐτόν ("eius ... ipsum" Vg.; "illius ... ipsum" 1516). Erasmus no doubt wished to make clear that these pronouns refer to Christ rather than to the Father, and that the Father is the subject of *subiecit* and *dedit*. For the removal of *ipse*, see also on *Rom.* 1,20. Manetti put *suis ... ipsum*, and Lefèvre *eius ... eum*.

πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ²³ἥτις ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

2 Καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις, ²ἐν αἷς ποτε περιεπατήσατε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας | τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας, ³ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν, καὶ ἦμεν τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί.

omnia ipsi ecclesiae, ²³quae est corpus illius, complementum eius qui omnia in omnibus adimplet.

2 Et vos quum essetis mortui delictis ac peccatis, ²in quibus aliquando ambulastis iuxta seculum mundi huius, iuxta principem cui po|testas est aeris, et spiritus nunc agentis in filiis contumacibus: ³inter quos et nos omnes conuersabamur aliquando in concupiscentiis carnis nostrae, facientes quae carni ac menti libebant, et eramus natura filii irae, quemadmodum et caeteri.

LB 837

LB 838

2,3 ἐπιθυμίαις *B-E*: ἐπιθυμίας *A*

22 ipsi *B-E*: *om. A* | 23 complementum *B-E*: plenitudo *A*
2,1 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 2 seculum *C-E*: saeculum *A B* | cui potestas est *B-E*: potestatis *A* | et spiritus nunc agentis *E*: qui est spiritus, nunc agens *A-D* | contumacibus *B-E*: inobedientiae *A* | 3 quae ... libebant *B-E*: voluntates carnis, et mentium *A*

22 *omnia ipsi ecclesiae* πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ("omnem ecclesiam" late Vg.; "omnia ecclesiae" 1516 = Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate rendering is unsupported by Greek mss. and probably represents a scribal alteration within the Latin tradition. In 1519, Erasmus added *ipsi*, to indicate that *ecclesiae* was a dative and not a genitive. See *Annot.* This passage was placed among the *Loca Obscura*. The word-order of Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre was *super omnia caput dedit ecclesiae*.

23 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("ipsius" Vg.). Erasmus again wanted the pronoun to be understood as referring to Christ. See on vs. 22, and on *Rom.* 1,20. Manetti put *suum*, and Lefèvre *eius*.

23 *complementum* τὸ πλήρωμα ("et plenitudo" late Vg.; "plenitudo" 1516 = Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *et* lacks support from Greek mss. For Erasmus' treatment of πλήρωμα elsewhere, see on *Rom.* 13,10. By using the neuter noun, *complementum*, he retains the ambiguity of the Greek wording, as to whether

it is nominative (referring to the church or the body of Christ), or accusative (referring, more remotely, to Christ himself). In *Annot.*, Erasmus prefers the latter interpretation. Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition, along with the earlier Vulgate.

23 πάντα. In omitting τά before πάντα, Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817. Virtually all other mss., together with Lefèvre *Comm.*, have τὰ πάντα. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites both readings, without discussion of the discrepancy. Hereafter the *Textus Receptus* never reinstated the missing word.

23 *adimplet* πληρουμένου ("adimpletur" Vg.). The Greek participle can be interpreted in either an active or a passive sense. Erasmus prefers the former: see *Annot.* This change was anticipated by Manetti, while Lefèvre put *impletur*.

2,1 *vos* ὑμᾶς ("vos conuiuificauit" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms.

support, and was taken from vs. 5 in order to explain the accusative pronoun. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests that *vos* could alternatively be taken as the object of *dedit* in *Eph.* 1,22, an interpretation which was favoured by Lefèvre. This passage is also listed in the *Quae Sint Addita*. In omitting *conuiuificauit*, Erasmus agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

1 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

1 *peccatis* ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ("peccatis vestris" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of ὑμῶν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ (B) D F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. In *Annot.*, he argues from the context that ὑμῶν is redundant here. This is one of several passages in the present chapter where the text of some early mss. may have suffered from interpretative additions by scribes: cf. the repetition of εἰρήνην in vs. 17, and of ἐστέ in vs. 19. Manetti made the same change as Erasmus.

2 *iuxta* (twice) κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23. Manetti had *iuxta ... secundum*.

2 *cui potestas est* τῆς ἐξουσίας ("potestatis" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus seeks to provide a more intelligible meaning. See *Annot.* The passage is listed among the *Loca Obscura*.

2 *aeris, et spiritus nunc agentis* τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ("aeris huius spiritus qui nunc operatur" Vg.; "aeris, qui est spiritus, nunc agens" 1516-27). The Vulgate addition of *huius* corresponds with the substitution of τούτου for τοῦ before πνεύματος in codd. F G, but probably arose from a desire to prevent *spiritus* from being mistaken here as a reference to the Holy Spirit. Erasmus' additions of *qui est* in 1516, and *et* in 1535, were similarly designed to clarify the connection between ἄρχοντα, ἀέρος and πνεύματος. A problem with *qui est* is that it could refer either to *principem* or to *aeris*. See *Annot.* For the removal of *operor*, see on *Rom.* 7,5. The word *huius* was omitted by the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre. Inaccurately, Lefèvre also changed *aeris* into an adjective, *aerei*.

2 *filiis* τοῖς υἱοῖς ("filios" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. See *Annot.* His wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, and Lefèvre.

2 *contumacibus* τῆς ἀπειθείας ("diffidentiae" Vg.; "inobedientiae" 1516). A similar substitution of *inobedientiae* occurs at *Eph.* 5,6 (1516 only), though at that passage Erasmus prefers *inobedientes* in 1519. In rendering the similar phrase τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας at *Col.* 3,6, he replaces *filios incredulitatis* with *filios intractabiles*. One problem with the Vulgate word, *diffidentia*, is that it meant a lack of confidence rather than a lack of belief. At *Rom.* 11,30, 32; *Hebr.* 4,6, 11, Erasmus retains *incredulitas* for the same Greek word. His substitution of adjective for noun was intended to produce a clearer sense. In vs. 3, by contrast, he left *filii irae* unaltered. In *Annot.* on the present passage, he attributes *contumacibus* to Cyprian (apparently a loose reference to Cyprian's use of *contumaciae* for ἀπειθείας at *Eph.* 5,6: see *Annot. ad loc.*). In classical usage, the more common meaning of *contumax* was "stubborn" rather than "disobedient". Valla *Annot.* proposed that *diffidentia* should be replaced by *incredulitas, inobedientia* or *obstinatio*.

3 *inter quos* ἐν οἷς ("in quibus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Lefèvre made the same change.

3 *conuersabamur aliquando* ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε ("aliquando conuersati sumus" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise as to the word-order, though his use of the imperfect tense had regard to the context rather than the literal sense of the Greek aorist. The Jerome 1516 text and Lefèvre put *conuersati sumus aliquando*.

3 *concupiscentiis* ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ("desideriis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,14. Lefèvre made the same change.

3 *quae carni ac menti libebant* τὰ θελήματα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν ("voluntatem carnis et cogitationum" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "voluntates carnis, et mentium" 1516). Erasmus is more accurate in giving a plural rendering of θελήματα. As indicated in *Annot.*, his use of *mentium* in 1516 was prompted by Jerome *Comm.* In 1519, probably disliking the apparent strangeness of *voluntates ... mentium*, he changed the grammatical structure, so as to achieve a more elegant phrase. Some Vulgate mss. (with Vg^ci), the Jerome 1516 text, and Manetti and Lefèvre, had *voluntates* in place of *voluntatem*.

3 *quemadmodum* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

⁴ ὁ δὲ θεὸς πλούσιος ὢν ἐν ἐλέει, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ ἣν ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς, ⁵ καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι, συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ· χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι· ⁶ καὶ συνήγειρε, καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ⁷ ἵνα ἐνδείξηται ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσι τοῖς ἐπερχομένοις τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλοῦτον τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἐν χρηστότητι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ⁸ τῇ γὰρ χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι διὰ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν. θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, ⁹ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἵνα μή τις καυχήσηται. ¹⁰ αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς, οἷς προητοίμασεν ὁ θεός, ἵνα ἐν αὐτοῖς περιπατήσωμεν.

⁴ Sed deus qui diues est in misericordia, propter multam charitatem suam qua dilexit nos, ⁵ etiam quum essemus mortui per delicta, conuiuificauit nos vna cum Christo: per gratiam estis seruati, ⁶ simulque cum eo resuscitauit, et simul cum eo sedere fecit inter coelestes, in Christo Iesu, ⁷ vt ostenderet in seculis superuenientibus eminentem opulentiam gratiae suae, benignitate erga nos per Christum Iesum. ⁸ Gratia enim estis seruati per fidem, idque non ex vobis. Dei donum est, ⁹ non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur. ¹⁰ Nam ipsius sumus opus, conditi in Christo Iesu ad opera bona quae praeparauit deus, vt in eis ambularemus.

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5 seruati *B-E*: saluati *A* | 7 in seculis superuenientibus *B-E*: om. *A* | benignitate *B-E*: in benignitate *A* | per Christum Iesum *B-E*: in Christo Iesu *A* | 8 seruati *B-E*: saluati *A* | 10 opus *C-E*: figmentum *A B*

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4 *Sed deus* ὁ δὲ θεός ("deus autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

4 *multam* πολλήν ("nimiam" Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot.*, *nimiam* implies something which is immoderate or excessive. Erasmus' adoption of *multam* agreed with Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 *etiam* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,36, and *Annot.* In the present context, the required meaning is "even when" rather than "also when". Lefèvre began the sentence with *Cum etiam*, whereas Manetti left καί untranslated.

5 *per delicta* τοῖς παραπτώμασι ("peccatis" Vg.). By using *per*, Erasmus seeks to avoid the possibility that *mortui peccatis* might be taken to mean "dead unto sins" rather than "dead through sins". In the different context of vs. 1, the same Greek expression could, in Erasmus' opinion, be legitimately interpreted in either sense. See *Annot.* on vss. 1 and 5. Further, the use of *delicta* produces consistency with the

rendering of παράπτωμα in vs. 1. There is no need to suppose that the Vulgate is here based on a different Greek text, such as ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις (offered by cod. D*), for there are other passages where the Vulgate translates παράπτωμα by *peccatum*: at *Mt.* 6,14-15; *Mc.* 11,25-6; *Eph.* 1,7. See also on *Rom.* 4,25. Lefèvre put *delictis*.

5 *vna cum Christo* τῷ Χριστῷ ("in Christo" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *in* corresponds with the insertion of ἐν before τῷ in 𝔓⁴⁶ B. For Erasmus' use of *vna cum*, see on *Act.* 1,22. See also *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *cum Christo*. The earlier Vulgate, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti, and Lefèvre's Vulgate column, had just *Christo*.

5 *per gratiam* χάριτι ("cuius gratia" late Vg. and many Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the reading of οὗ τῇ χάριτι in cod. D* or οὗ χάριτι in codd. F G, though it is probably no more than a matter of translation, with a view to connecting χάριτι with the preceding words. Cf. *Annot.* Again Erasmus seeks to clarify the instrumental sense

of the Greek dative by using *per*. The earlier Vulgate, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre had *Gratia*, omitting *cuius*.

5 *seruati* σεσωσμένοι ("saluati" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,17. Manetti and Lefèvre both had the word-order *saluati estis*.

6 *simulque cum eo resuscitauit* καὶ συνήγειρε ("et conresuscitauit" Vg.). The Vulgate verb does not exist in classical usage. For Erasmus' use of *simul*, see on *Rom.* 2,15. In *Annot.*, he suggests *pariter cum illo suscitauit* (cf. the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster, *et simul suscitauit*).

6 *simul cum eo sedere fecit* συνεκάθισεν ("consedere fecit" Vg.). The verb *consedeo* is not found in classical authors. See *Annot.* For *simul*, see again on *Rom.* 2,15. Erasmus' rendering resembles the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, which had *simulque fecit sedere* (cf. also Ambrosiaster, *simul sedere collocauit*). In Lefèvre's version (but not in *Comm.*), *considere* replaced *consedere*.

6 *inter coelestes* ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ("in coelestibus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24.

7 *in seculis superuenientibus* ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσι τοῖς ἐπερχομένοις (1516 Lat. omits). The 1516 omission, in conflict with the accompanying Greek text, does not seem to have been prompted by ms. authority, and was probably not intended by Erasmus.

7 *eminentem opulentiam* τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλοῦτον ("abundantes diuitias" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 3,10 for *eminens*. Erasmus further substitutes *opulentia* for *diuitiae* at *Col.* 2,2 (1519). Usually he retains *diuitiae* for πλοῦτος. In Lefèvre *Comm.*, the rendering was *supereminentes diuitias* (in his main text, *supereminentes* was mistakenly omitted).

7 *benignitate* ἐν χρηστότητι ("in bonitate" Vg.; "in benignitate" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus' use of *in benignitate* in 1516 is identical with the rendering of Lefèvre, though in 1522 *Annot.* this wording is attributed solely to Augustine *Contra Faustum* XI, 8 (*CSEL* 25, p. 327).

7 *erga* ἐφ' ("super" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25, and *Annot.*

7 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

8 *enim* γάρ. In *Annot.*, Erasmus implies that some Greek mss. omit γάρ, though it is present in all his Basle mss. The version of Lefèvre began the sentence with *Nam gratia*.

8 *seruati* σεσωσμένοι ("saluati" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,17.

8 *idque* καὶ τοῦτο ("et hoc" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 6,6.

8 *Dei* θεοῦ ("Dei enim" Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot.*, the Vulgate addition of *enim* lacks support from Greek mss. The version of Lefèvre (and also the first hand of Manetti's *Pal. Lat.* 45) made the same correction as Erasmus.

9 *ne quis* ἵνα μή τις ("vt ne quis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20 for Erasmus' use of *ne*. Sometimes, however, he preferred *vt ne*: see on *Rom.* 11,25. Manetti made the same change, while Lefèvre put *ne quisquam*.

10 *Nam ipsius* αὐτοῦ γάρ ("Ipsius enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre put *Nam eius*.

10 *opus* ποίημα ("factura" Vg.; "figmentum" 1516-19). In adopting *figmentum* in 1516, Erasmus followed the rendering of Ambrosiaster: see *Annot.* In 1522, according to *Annot.*, his further substitution of *opus* was based on the advice of "learned friends". The term *figmentum* also occurs at *Rom.* 9,20 (following the Vulgate), as a rendering of πλάσμα. At the present passage, *opus* is not entirely satisfactory as it does not distinguish from ἔργοις, rendered by *opera* later in the sentence. Cf. on *Rom.* 1,20. The substitution of *opus* first occurred in the separate Latin N.T. of 1521.

10 *conditi* κτισθέντες ("creati" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,25. Manetti had the word-order *factura creati sumus*.

10 *ad opera bona* ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς ("in operibus bonis" Vg.). The Vulgate probably represents an inaccurate rendering of ἐπί, rather than reflecting a text which replaced ἐπί by ἐν, in view of the paucity of ms. support for the latter reading. See *Annot.* The wording of Erasmus coincides with a suggestion of Lefèvre *Comm.*, though Lefèvre's main text put *ad ea opera bona* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *in opera bona*).

10 *eis* αὐτοῖς ("illis" Vg.). Erasmus evidently felt that there was no need for the more emphatic pronoun of the Vulgate at this point. The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti put *ipsis*.

10 *ambularemus* περιπατήσωμεν ("ambulemus" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the imperfect subjunctive is more appropriate to the sequence of Greek aorists in this clause.

¹¹ Διὸ μνημονεύετε ὅτι ὑμεῖς ποτε τὰ ἔθνη ἐν σαρκί, οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκρο-βυστία, ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης περιτο-μῆς ἐν σαρκὶ χειροποιήτου· ¹² ὅτι ἦτε ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, χωρὶς Χρι-στοῦ, ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτεί-ας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ξένοι τῶν δια-θηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες, καὶ ἄ|θεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. ¹³ νυνὶ δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὑμεῖς, οἵ ποτε ὄντες μακράν, ἐγγὺς ἐγενήθητε ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ¹⁴ αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, ὁ ποιή-σας τὰ ἀμφότερα ἕν, καὶ τὸ μεσότοι-χον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας, τὴν ἔχθραν

¹¹ Quapropter mementote quod vos quondam gentes in carne, vocabami-ni praeputium, ab ea quae vocatur circuncisio in carne, quae circuncisio manibus fit: ¹² quod, inquam, eratis in tempore illo, sine Christo: abalienati a re publica Israelis, et extranei a testa-mentis promissionis, spem non ha-bentes, deoque | carentes in mundo. ¹³ Nunc autem per Christum Iesum, vos qui quondam eratis longinqui, propinqui facti estis per sanguinem Christi. ¹⁴ Ipse enim est pax nostra, qui fecit ex vtrisque vnum, et inter-stitium maceriae diruit, simultatem

LB 839

LB 840

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11 praeputium *B-E*: preputium *A* | circuncisio *B-E* (circumcisio *B C*, circūcisio *D E*): om. *A* |
12 Israelis *B-E*: Israhel *A* | deoque *B-E*: et deo *A* | 13 per Christum Iesum *B-E*: in Christo
Iesu *A* | per sanguinem *B-E*: in sanguine *A*

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11 *Quapropter* Διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. Lefèvre again made the same change. Manetti put *ideo*.

11 *mementote* μνημονεύετε ("memores estote" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Thess.* 2,9; 2 *Tim.* 2,8. At several other passages, Eras-mus retains *memor sum* for this Greek verb: *Lc.* 17,32; *Gal.* 2,10; *Col.* 4,18; *Ap. Ioh.* 2,5. At *Hebr.* 11,15; 13,7, he even substitutes *memor sum* for *memini.* Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus at the present passage.

11 *vos quondam gentes* ὑμεῖς ποτε τὰ ἔθνη ("aliquando vos qui gentes eratis" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514 in adding *qui* and *eratis,* with little Greek ms. support. The Vulgate may reflect a different Greek word-order, ποτὲ ὑμεῖς ..., as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B D* and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ^corr D^corr and most later mss. For *quondam,* see on *Rom.* 7,9. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti put *vos qui aliquando eratis gentes* (corresponding more closely with the insertion of οἱ before ποτε in codd. F G). Lefèvre had *vos aliquando gentes* in his translation, and *aliquando vos qui eratis gentes* in his Vulgate text.

11 *vocabimini ... vocatur* οἱ λεγόμενοι ... λε-γομένης ("qui dicebamini ... dicitur" late Vg.). Having deleted *eratis,* Erasmus felt the need also to omit *qui* here, so as to provide a verb for the clause commencing with *quod vos.* For *voco,* see on *Act.* 24,14. Manetti had *et diceba-mini ... dicitur.*

11 *quae circuncisio manibus fit* χειροποιήτου ("manufacta" Vg.; "quae manibus fit" 1516). Erasmus repeats *circuncisio,* to make clear that the antecedent is not *carne:* see *Annot.* A com-parable replacement of *manufactus* by *manibus fit* occurs in rendering ἀχειροποίητος at *Col.* 2,11. Lefèvre's solution was to change the word-order to *ab ea quae in carne circuncisio manufacta dicitur.* Manetti's version simply omitted *in carne* at this point.

12 *quod, inquam* ὅτι ("qui" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate seems to represent a scribal alteration of *quia,* the reading of most Vulgate mss. See *Annot.* The addition of *inquam,* in Erasmus' version, marks a resumption from the earlier *quod* in vs. 11, and may have been prompted by Lefèvre's use of *mementote inquam quod.* Manetti had *quia.*

12 *in tempore illo* ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ("illo in tempore" Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek

word-order more literally. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

12 *abalienati* ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι ("alienati" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 4,18; *Col.* 1,21, conveying the added force of the Greek prefix ἀπ-. Lefèvre put *alieni facti*.

12 *re publica* τῆς πολιτείας ("conuersatione" Vg.). The Vulgate mistranslated the Greek word. However, Erasmus' chosen expression might be misunderstood as favouring one particular system of government. In *Annot.*, he further suggested *ciuilitate*, which had been proposed by Valla *Annot.* The word *ciuilitas* was used by the late Vulgate for πολιτεία at *Act.* 22,28: see *ad loc.* See also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, pp. 240-1, ll. 21-25. The version of Manetti put *ciuitate*, and Lefèvre *legali gubernatione*. In *Comm.*, Lefèvre also made use of *res publica*.

12 *Israelis* τοῦ Ἰσραήλ ("Israhel" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,31. Valla *Annot.* also proposed this change.

12 *extranei* ξένοι ("hospites" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering makes a more meaningful connection with the use of ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι earlier in the sentence. In *Annot.*, he also suggests *peregrini* (as in the Jerome 1516 text, and Valla *Annot.*), or *extrarii*. In adopting *extranei*, he made the same change as Lefèvre. Manetti offered *aduene* (= *aduenae*).

12 *a testamentis* τῶν διαθηκῶν ("testamentorum" Vg.). Again Erasmus' rendering makes better sense of the passage. In *Annot.*, he gives *a pactis* as an alternative, which may be compared with the use of *pactorum* in Valla *Annot.*

12 *deoque carentes* καὶ ἄθεοι ("et sine deo" Vg.; "et deo carentes" 1516). For Erasmus' avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7, and for -*que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39. See also *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was *et impii*.

12 *mundo* τῷ κόσμῳ ("hoc mundo" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *hoc* has little explicit support from Greek mss.: see on *Rom.* 3,6, and *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Jerome *Comm.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *per Christum Iesum ... per sanguinem* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ... ἐν τῷ αἵματι ("in Christo Iesu ... in sanguine" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

13 *quondam* ποτε ("aliquando" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,9.

13 *longinqui* μακράν ("longe" Vg.). Erasmus perhaps felt that *longinquus* and *propinquus*, or *procul* and *prope*, provided a more exact antithesis. For this reason, he substituted *procul* for *longe* in vs. 17, below. For his removal of *longe* elsewhere, see on *Act.* 22,21. At *Act.* 2,39, however, he retained *qui longe sunt* for τοῖς εἰς μακράν. Manetti had *procul*, while Lefèvre replaced *eratis longe* with *eminus fuistis*.

13 *propinqui facti estis* ἐγγὺς ἐγενήθητε ("facti estis prope" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different Greek word-order, ἐγενήθητε ἐγγύς, used by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with D F G and most other mss. For *propinquus*, see the previous note. Lefèvre put *cominus facti estis*.

14 *ex vtrisque* τὰ ἀμφότερα ("vtraque in" Vg. 1527). Erasmus may have wished to avoid the ambiguity of *vtraque*, which could have been misunderstood as an adverb ("on both sides"), though he was content to retain this word at *Mt.* 9,17; 13,30; *Lc.* 5,38; *Act.* 23,8. The addition of *in* by the 1527 Vulgate column represents a departure from the Froben Vulgate of 1514, and does not have explicit support from Greek mss.

14 *interstitium* τὸ μεσότοιχον ("medium parietem" Vg.). In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, p. 204, ll. 674-680, Erasmus objected that *parietem maceriae* was repetitive, meaning the "wall of the wall". In 1522 *Annot.*, he further criticised *medium* on the grounds of ambiguity, as it could be taken to refer the middle of the wall, rather than the wall in the middle or in between. However, his chosen term, *interstitium*, which was rare in classical usage, would signify a space or interval rather than a partition or dividing wall.

14 *diruit* λύσας ("soluens" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus complains of the Vulgate inconsistency in rendering λύσας as a participle, when the preceding ποιήσας was rendered as an indicative. The Vulgate use of the present tense was also inaccurate as a translation of the Greek aorist. Lefèvre placed *soluens* after *in sua carne*.

14 *simultatem* τὴν ἔχθραν ("inimicitias" late Vg.). In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, p. 204, ll. 681-690, Erasmus suggests that *simultas* more aptly expressed the idea of mutual ill-will or hatred, whereas *inimicitia* (or rather, *inimicitiae*, plural) might refer to a public form of hostility that did not involve personal hatred.

ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, ¹⁵ τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι καταργήσας, ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ποιῶν εἰρήνην, ¹⁶ καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν αὐτῷ· ¹⁷ καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην ὑμῖν, τοῖς μακράν, καὶ τοῖς ἐγγύς. ¹⁸ ὅτι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν τὴν προσαγωγὴν οἱ ἀμφότεροι ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ¹⁹ ἄρα οὖν οὐκέτι ἐστὲ ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι, ἀλλὰ

per carnem suam, ¹⁵ legem mandatorum in decretis sitam abrogans, vt duos conderet in semet ipso in vnum nouum hominem, faciens pacem: ¹⁶ et vt reconciliaret ambos in vno corpore deo per crucem, perempta inimicitia per eam: ¹⁷ et veniens euangelizauit pacem vobis, qui procul aberatis, et iis qui prope. ¹⁸ Quoniam autem per illum habemus aditum vtrique in vno spiritu ad patrem. ¹⁹ Iam igitur non estis hospites et incolae, sed

19 πάροικοι *A C-E*: παρικοι *B*

14 per carnem suam *B-E*: in carne sua *A* | 16 per eam *B-E*: in ea *A* | 17 *prius* qui *B-E*: iis qui *A* | 19 Iam igitur *B-E*: Itaque iam *A*

He also made use of *simultas* to render ἔχθρα at *Lc.* 23,12 (1519), replacing *inimici*. However, there is some overlap of meaning between the alternative renderings. Erasmus is content with *inimicitia* for ἔχθρα in vs. 16, and further retains *inimicitia* at *Rom.* 8,7 and *Gal.* 5,20. Some Vulgate mss., the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the version of Manetti, had the singular *inimicitiam* at the present passage. In *Annot.*, Erasmus alleged that "the Greeks" punctuated the sentence in such a way as to connect τὴν ἔχθραν with καταργήσας rather than with the preceding λύσας. In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, pp. 204-206, ll. 691-699, Erasmus explicitly bases this statement on the "Graecorum ... scholia", which is one of his stock phrases for referring to the text and commentary of cod. 2817. In the text of this ms., the ambiguous placing of a colon after both λύσας and αὐτοῦ gives a semblance of support to Erasmus' claim, but the accompanying scholia of cod. 2817ᶜᵒᵐᵐ make a definite link between μεσότοιχον and ἔχθραν.

14 *per carnem suam* ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ ("in carne sua" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre had *in sua carne*.

15 *in decretis sitam* ἐν δόγμασι ("decretis" Vg.). On this occasion, having regard to the context, Erasmus prefers to understand ἐν in a positional sense, preventing the passage from being taken to mean "abolishing by decrees":

see *Annot.*, and also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 206, ll. 700-710. This passage is listed among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. Other additions of *situs* occur at *Mt.* 4,25 (1519); *Eph.* 5,9 (1519); 1 *Petr.* 3,3. Ambrosiaster put *in decretis*, and Lefèvre *in edictis*.

15 *abrogans* καταργήσας ("euacuans" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *soluit*.

15 *conderet* κτίσῃ ("condat" Vg.). The imperfect subjunctive used by Erasmus gives a more appropriate sequence of tenses, in view of the preceding series of aorist participles. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *crearet* or *pararet*. His adoption of *conderet* gives the same wording as Ambrosiaster and the Jerome 1516 text. Lefèvre substituted *creet*.

15 *vnum nouum hominem* ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον ("vno nouo homine" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of the ablative lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *et vt reconciliaret* καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ ("vt reconciliet" late Vg.). Erasmus uses the imperfect subjunctive, continuing from his change of tense in the previous verse. Ambrosiaster had *vt exhiberet et reconciliaret*, and the Jerome 1516 text *vt reconciliaret*. Manetti and Lefèvre had *et reconciliet*, in company with the earlier Vulgate.

16 *per crucem* διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ. In some late Vulgate editions, together with earlier Vulgate mss., this phrase is attached to the following clause, as in the 1527 Vulgate column and Lefèvre. Erasmus prefers to join the phrase to the preceding clause: "that he might reconcile ... through the cross".

16 *perempta inimicitia* ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἔχθραν ("interficiens inimicitias" late Vg.). Greek aorist. For *inimicitia*, see on vs. 14. Erasmus softens the Greek metaphor of "slaying the hostility", by finding a verb which can mean, more neutrally, "destroy". The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and Manetti had *interficiens inimicitiam*, while Lefèvre put *inimicitias interficiens*.

16 *per eam* ἐν αὐτῷ ("in semet ipso" Vg.; "in ea" 1516). The Greek masculine pronoun can, in theory, be taken either with σταυροῦ or reflexively (cf. ἐν ἑαυτῷ in a few later mss.). Having regard to the context, Erasmus prefers the first interpretation. In *Annot.*, he further indicates that his 1516 rendering, *in ea*, is based on Jerome *Comm.* For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *in se ipso*. Lefèvre *Comm.* also considered *in eo* and *in ea*.

17 *qui* (1st.) τοῖς ("iis qui" 1516). By adding *iis* in 1516, Erasmus makes it appear that *qui procul* and *qui prope* both refer to the preceding *vobis*. In the immediate context, this interpretation is made possible by the omission of εἰρήνην before τοῖς ἐγγύς (see below). However, in the context of the whole passage, it remains preferable to explain *qui procul* as referring to the Ephesians (who were "far off" because they were Gentiles) and *qui prope* as referring to the Jews. Erasmus had second thoughts in his 1519 edition, and reverted to the Vulgate wording at this point.

17 *procul aberatis* μακράν ("longe fuistis" Vg.). See on vs. 13, above, for *procul*, and on *Ioh.* 21,8 for *absum*. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had just *longe*.

17 *et iis* καὶ τοῖς ("et pacem iis" *Annot.*, lemma = late Vg.). The earlier Vulgate, as well as the 1527 Vulgate column and the 1491 and 1514 Froben Vulgates, had *his* for *iis*. For *iis*, see on *Rom.* 4,12. The Vulgate addition of *pacem* reflects the insertion of εἰρήνην after καί, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B (D F G) and about thirty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and more than 540 other late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen*

Briefe vol. 3, pp. 368-71). See *Annot.* The addition of εἰρήνην and *pacem* conveniently prevents τοῖς ἐγγύς from being misunderstood to refer to ὑμῖν. It has been suggested that εἰρήνην was considered by later scribes as a superfluous repetition, which they therefore deleted. However, since the insertion produces a *lectio facilior* (from an exegetical viewpoint), it could be also argued that this in itself constitutes a reason why the word might be less likely to be genuine. For other possibly extraneous additions in this chapter, see on vs. 1, above. Manetti and Lefèvre omitted *pacem*, and Manetti further omitted *iis*.

18 *Quoniam autem* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). Erasmus' addition of *autem* has no basis in the Greek text. Besides this, his sentence structure, with a full-stop after *patrem*, makes little sense, as there is no main clause. Seeing that there is a comma after *patrem* in the 1516-19 editions, perhaps it was his intention to link this clause with vs. 19, but the following words *Itaque iam* (in 1516) scarcely support this supposition. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *quia*.

18 *illum* αὐτοῦ ("ipsum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20.

18 *aditum* τὴν προσαγωγήν ("accessum" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 3,12. See on *Rom.* 5,2, and *Annot.* The word *aditus* is more widespread than *accessus* in classical usage, to express the possibility of approaching a person.

18 *vtrique* οἱ ἀμφότεροι ("ambo" Vg.). Erasmus probably regarded *vtrique* as better suited for referring to two groups of people, as *ambo* more commonly meant a pair of individuals. In vs. 16, *ambos* was considered acceptable because of the preceding reference to *duos* in vs. 15. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

19 *Iam igitur* ἄρα οὖν ("Ergo iam" Vg.; "Itaque iam" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Manetti and Lefèvre both replaced *Ergo iam non* by *Ergo non amplius*.

19 *incolae* πάροικοι ("aduenae" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,6. In *Annot.*, Erasmus gives *accolae* (used by the Jerome 1516 text and lemma) and *inquilini* as further alternatives. His adoption of *incolae* agreed with the version of Ambrosiaster.

19 *sed* ἀλλά ("sed estis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of ἐστέ, as in codd. ℵ A B C D* F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows

συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκεῖοι
τοῦ θεοῦ, ²⁰ ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ
θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προ-
φητῶν, ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ²¹ ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα οἰ-
κοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη, αὔξει εἰς
ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν κυρίῳ, ²² ἐν ᾧ καὶ
ὑμεῖς συνοικοδομεῖσθε εἰς κατοικητή-
ριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι.

3 Τούτου χάριν ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ
δέσμιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν. ² εἴ γε ἠκούσατε
τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ
θεοῦ τῆς δοθείσης μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς,
³ ὅτι κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐγνώρισέ μοι
τὸ μυστήριον, καθὼς | προέγραψα

conciues   sanctorum   ac   domestici
dei, ²⁰ superstructi super fundamen-
tum apostolorum ac prophetarum,
summo angulari lapide ipso Iesu
Christo, ²¹ in quo quaecunque stru-
ctura coagmentatur, ea crescit in tem-
plum sanctum in domino, ²² in quo
et vos coaedificamini in habitacu-
lum dei per spiritum.

3 Huius rei gratia ego Paulus vin-
ctus sum Christi Iesu pro vobis
gentibus. ² Siquidem audistis dispen-
sationem gratiae dei, quae data est
mihi in vos, ³ quod secundum re-
uelationem notum mihi fecit myste-
rium, | quemadmodum ante scripsi

3,2 δοθεισης B-E: δοδεισης A

19 ac B-E: et A | 20 apostolorum ac B-E: apostolum et A | 21 ea B-E: om. A | 22 per spiri-
tum B-E: in spiritu A

codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816,
and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. If this verb
had been a genuine part of the text, some
scribes might have wished to delete it, consider-
ing it to be an unnecessary repetition after the
use of ἐστέ earlier in the sentence. A different
explanation of the discrepancy, however, is that
this second ἐστέ was another instance of an
early scribal elaboration of the text: cf. the
addition of ὑμῶν in vs. 1, and the repetition
of εἰρήνην in vs. 17, above. The Jerome 1516
text and lemma, and also Lefèvre, had the same
rendering as Erasmus.

19 conciues συμπολῖται ("ciues" Vg.). The
purpose of this substitution was to render the
Greek prefix συμ- more literally. See Annot.
Since conciuis (though recommended by Valla
Elegantiae IV, 83) does not occur among clas-
sical authors, Erasmus' use of this word laid
him open to criticism from Stunica: see Apolog.
resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD IX, 2, p. 206, ll. 712-
720. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same
change.

19 ac καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on Ioh. 1,25.

20 superstructi ἐποικοδομηθέντες ("superaedifi-
cati" Vg.). See on 1 Cor. 3,10.

20 apostolorum τῶν ἀποστόλων ("apostolum"
1516 Lat.). The 1516 Latin spelling is probably
no more than a misprint, as the accusative
singular is in conflict with the accompanying
Greek text.

20 ac καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on Ioh. 1,25.

20 summo angulari lapide ipso ὄντος ἀκρογω-
νιαίου αὐτοῦ ("ipso summo angulari lapide"
Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order
more literally, though like the Vulgate, he does
not attempt to render ὄντος. The Vulgate use
of lapide corresponds with the addition of
λίθου after ἀκρογωνιαίου in codd. D* F G,
but this may have been a matter of translation
rather than deliberate harmonisation with λίθον
ἀκρογωνιαῖον at 1 Petr. 2,6. Lefèvre, omitting
lapide, rendered this phrase by ipso summo angu-
lari existente in his main text, but by ipso sane
summo angulari in Comm., where he cites the
Greek text as having ὄντως instead of ὄντος.
Manetti changed the word-order to ipso Christo
Iesu existente angulari lapide. Erasmus' objection

to the use of *existente* is expressed in 1519 *Annot.*, where he criticised Augustine's addition of this word as being "dilucide magis quam Latine": cf. Augustine *Contra Faustum* XII, 24 (*CSEL* 25, p. 352); *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, on *Ps.* 81 (*CCSL* 39, p. 1139).

20 *Iesu Christo* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ("Christo Iesu" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the Greek variant, Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, attested by codd. ℵ corr A B and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from 1, 2105, 2816, as well as C D F G and most other mss. Cf. *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre, except for his usual substitution of *Ihesu* for *Iesu*.

21 *quaecunque* πᾶσα ("omnis" Vg.). By this change, Erasmus wishes to make clear that the sense is "every" rather than "the whole". In 1522 *Annot.*, however, he concedes that the latter interpretation is possible. Cf. on *Ioh.* 4,14 (*quisquis*).

21 *structura* οἰκοδομή ("aedificatio" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 24,1 (1519), consistent with Vulgate usage at *Mc.* 13,1. However, at the latter passage, and also at *Mc.* 13,2, Erasmus preferred *substructio.* Cf. also on 1 *Cor.* 3,10 for his use of *superstruo* in place of *superaedifico.* The change to *structura* removes the etymological link between οἰκοδομή in vs. 21 and συνοικοδομέω in vs. 22. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster (1492).

21 *coagmentatur, ea* συναρμολογουμένη ("constructa" Vg.; "coagmentatur" 1516). In rendering the same Greek verb at *Eph.* 4,16, Erasmus substitutes *si coagmentetur* for *compactum.* At the present passage, he wanted to distinguish between συναρμολογέω ("join together") and οἰκοδομέω ("build"). His further insertion of *ea* in 1519 improved the flow of the sentence. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *commissa* or *coaptata*, of which the latter had been used by Lefèvre.

22 *habitaculum* κατοικητήριον ("tabernaculum" Vg. 1527). The use of *tabernaculum* in the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514, looks like an alteration within the Vulgate tradition, rather than reflecting any difference of underlying text. Both words occur in Jerome *Comm.* The rendering of Erasmus also agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

22 *per spiritum* ἐν πνεύματι ("in spiritu sancto" late Vg.; "in spiritu" 1516). For Erasmus' use of *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17. The late Vulgate addition of *sancto* has little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* This passage is listed among the *Quae Sint Addita.* The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm.*, and the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre, had the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

3,1 *vinctus sum* ὁ δέσμιος ("vinctus" Vg.). Erasmus supplies a verb, for the sake of clarity. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

2 *Siquidem* εἴ γε ("si tamen" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Eph.* 4,21; *Col.* 1,23. Erasmus wished to use a word which expressed confirmation rather than doubt: see *Annot.* on *Eph.* 4,21. Lefèvre began the sentence with *audiuistis vtique.*

2 *in vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. See *Annot.* His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *ad vos.*

3 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). By this change, Erasmus makes it possible to understand this clause as an explanation of *dispensationem* in vs. 2, rather than as a causal statement. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *quia.*

3 *notum mihi fecit* ἐγνώρισέ μοι ("notum factum mihi est" Vg. 1527; "notum mihi factum est" *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. mss.). The word-order of the 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben 1514 edition. The Vulgate reflects the replacement of ἐγνώρισε by ἐγνωρίσθη, as found in 𝔓46 ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, and also D corr and most later mss. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *innotuit mihi*, and Lefèvre *innotuit michi.*

3 *mysterium* τὸ μυστήριον ("sacramentum" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 1,9, and *Annot.* The change made by Erasmus agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre also made this change.

3 *ante scripsi* προέγραψα ("supra scripsi" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. At *Rom.* 15,4, he also used *praescribo* in translating this Greek verb. In *Annot.*, he cites *ante scripsi* from "Ambrose", this being the rendering of Ambrosiaster (1492). Lefèvre made the same change, though

ἐν ὀλίγῳ, ⁴πρὸς ὃ δύνασθε ἀναγινώ-
σκοντες νοῆσαι τὴν σύνεσίν μου ἐν τῷ
μυστηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ⁵ὃ ἐν ἑτέραις
γενεαῖς οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν
ἀνθρώπων, ὡς νῦν ἀπεκαλύφθη τοῖς ἁγί-
οις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις ἐν
πνεύματι, ⁶εἶναι τὰ ἔθνη συγκληρονόμα,
καὶ σύσσωμα, καὶ συμμέτοχα τῆς ἐπ-
αγγελίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, διὰ τοῦ
εὐαγγελίου, ⁷οὗ ἐγενόμην διάκονος κατὰ
τὴν δωρεὰν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν
δοθεῖσάν μοι κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς δυ-
νάμεως αὐτοῦ. ⁸ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέ-
ρῳ πάντων ἁγίων ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις αὕτη,

paucis, ⁴ex quibus potestis legentes in-
telligere cognitionem meam in myste-
rio Christi, ⁵quod in aliis aetatibus
non innotuit filiis hominum, quem-
admodum nunc reuelatum est sanctis
apostolis eius et prophetis per spiri-
tum, ⁶vt sint gentes cohaeredes, et
eiusdem corporis, consortesque pro-
missionis eius in Christo, per euan-
gelium ⁷cuius factus sum minister,
secundum donum gratiae dei, quod
datum est mihi secundum efficaciam
potentiae illius. ⁸Mihi minimo om-
nium sanctorum data est gratia haec,

5 ο *A C-E: om. B* | *prius* εν *C-E: om. A B* | 7 ενεργειαν *B-E:* ενεργιαν *A*

3,5 innotuit *B-E:* fuit notum factum *A* | per spiritum *B-E:* in spiritu *A* | 6 consortesque *B-E:*
et consortes *A*

with the word-order *paucis ante scripsi.* Manetti
put *antea breuiter scripsi.*

3 *paucis* ἐν ὀλίγῳ ("in breui" Vg.). Erasmus
used *paucis scripsi* instead of *perpaucis scripsi*
in rendering διὰ βραχέων ἐπέστειλα at *Hebr.*
13,22, and again instead of *breuiter scripsi* in
rendering δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα at 1 *Petr.* 5,12.
Cf. on *Act.* 24,4. In *Annot.,* he gives *paulo ante*
as an alternative. As mentioned in the previous
note, Lefèvre likewise had *paucis,* while Manetti
put *breuiter.*

4 *ex quibus* πρὸς ὃ ("prout" Vg.). Erasmus'
rendering is better suited to the context. Manetti
tried *in quo,* and Lefèvre *quae.*

4 *cognitionem* τὴν σύνεσιν ("prudentiam" Vg.).
Elsewhere Erasmus renders σύνεσις by *intelligen-
tia* at *Mc.* 12,33; *Lc.* 2,47; 1 *Cor.* 1,19; *Col.* 2,2,
and by *intellectus* at 2 *Tim.* 2,7, but substitutes
prudentia for *intellectus* at *Col.* 1,9: see further
on 1 *Cor.* 1,19. More often he uses *cognitio* for
γνῶσις, mostly replacing *scientia*: see on *Rom.*
2,20. He also has *cognitio* for ἐπίγνωσις at
Rom. 1,28; *Eph.* 1,17 (both in 1516 only); 2 *Tim.*
3,7; *Hebr.* 10,26; 2 *Petr.* 1,8. Lefèvre put *intelli-
gentiam.*

4 *mysterio* τῷ μυστηρίῳ ("ministerio" late
Vg.). The late Vulgate reading clearly arose as
a scribal alteration of *mysterio.* Cf. *Annot.* The
correction made by Erasmus agrees with the

earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm.,*
Manetti and Lefèvre.

5 ὅ. The omission of ὅ in 1519, in conflict
with the Latin rendering and most Greek mss.,
was possibly due to an error of the typesetter,
though the same omission occurs in cod. 2105*.

5 *in* ἐν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is
supported by most Greek mss., commencing
with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G, and the word was
similarly omitted in Erasmus' 1516-19 editions.
The insertion of ἐν in 1522 may have been
influenced by the 1518 Aldine Bible, which
was the first printed edition to include this
word. It also occurs in cod. 3, but not in any
of the mss. which Erasmus consulted at Basle.
Through Erasmus, this reading passed into the
Textus Receptus. In the 1516 Latin translation,
the insertion of *in* was perhaps partly intended
to prevent *aliis aetatibus ... notum* from being
taken to mean "known to other ages". Lefèvre
made the same change.

5 *aetatibus* γενεαῖς ("generationibus" Vg.). Eras-
mus wished to ensure that this word was under-
stood as a reference to time rather than nations:
see *Annot.,* and see further on *Act.* 13,36.

5 *innotuit* ἐγνωρίσθη ("est agnitum" Vg.; "fuit
notum factum" 1516). Erasmus is more accurate
here, and consistent with the Vulgate use of
innotesco in vs. 10. He keeps *agnosco* mainly for

ἐπιγινώσκω. See also on *Act.* 1,19. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggested using *notificatum* or *referatum*. Ambrosiaster and Jerome *Comm.* had *fuit notum*, Lefèvre *est notum factum*, and Manetti *est cognitum*.

5 *quemadmodum* ὡς ("sicuti" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm.* and Manetti had *sicut*, and Lefèvre *vt*.

5 *per spiritum* ἐν πνεύματι ("in spiritu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. In *Annot.*, Erasmus refers to the addition of ἁγίῳ by the "Greeks" ("Graecis additum est *sancto*"). Although he implied that this longer reading was in all his mss., it may have been known to him only from codd. 2815 and 2816(corr), as codd. 1, 2105, 2816*vid, 2817 had just ἐν πνεύματι. The word ἁγίῳ is added by cod. D and a few later mss.

6 *vt sint* εἶναι ("esse" Vg.). This substitution of a purpose clause was a questionable change, as the sequence ἀπεκαλύφθη ... εἶναι has the appearance of introducing an indirect statement. In *Annot.*, Erasmus repeats this substitution of *vt sint*, and yet in his immediately preceding note, he seems to approve of the use of *esse*. Manetti had *vt essent*. Lefèvre began this verse with *gentes esse*.

6 *cohaeredes* συγκληρονόμα. Erasmus' cod. 2815 had κληρονόμα, with little other ms. support.

6 *eiusdem corporis* σύσσωμα ("concorporales" Vg.). The Vulgate expression did not exist in classical usage. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *vnius corporis*. Lefèvre put *concorpores*.

6 *consortesque* καὶ συμμέτοχα ("et compartici-pes" Vg.; "et consortes" 1516). Erasmus similarly substitutes *consortes* for *participes* at *Eph.* 5,7. The word *comparticeps* does not occur in classical literature. As Erasmus indicates in *Annot.* (citing Jerome *Comm.* on *Eph.* 5,7), this word had a pejorative sense, i.e. meaning an "accomplice" rather than a "fellow partaker". For *-que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39.

6 *eius* αὐτοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓46 ℵ A B C D* and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as Dcorr F G and most other mss. It is possible that differences of interpretation, as to whether this pronoun refers to the Father or the Spirit, prompted an early scribe to omit the word. Cf. *Annot.* In Erasmus' translation, the inclusion of *eius* agreed with some copies of the later

Vulgate, and also Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre (both columns). Manetti put *suae.*

6 *Christo* τῷ Χριστῷ ("Christo Iesu" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the addition of Ἰησοῦ, found in 𝔓46 ℵ A B C and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with D F G and most other mss. The correction made by Erasmus produces agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text (contrary to *Comm.*), and the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre.

7 *minister* διάκονος ("ego minister" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *ego* has little support from Greek mss. The wording of Erasmus is the same as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

7 *quod datum est* τὴν δοθεῖσαν ("quae data est" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of τῆς δοθείσης (to connect with τῆς χάριτος instead of τὴν δωρεάν), as in 𝔓46 ℵ A B C D* F G I and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as Dcorr and most later mss. The same change was made by Manetti.

7 *efficaciam* τὴν ἐνέργειαν ("operationem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 12,10. The spelling ἐνέργιαν in 1516 was probably just a typesetting error, as it is not derived from Erasmus' Basle mss.

7 *potentiae* τῆς δυνάμεως ("virtutis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. Lefèvre had *potestatis.*

7 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). This change seems to be partly for the sake of stylistic variety, in view of Erasmus' use of *eius* twice in vss. 5-6, and it also has the effect of heightening the contrast with *mihi.* Manetti put *suae.*

8 *Mihi* ἐμοί ("Mihi enim" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre (though Lefèvre had the spelling *Michi*).

8 *minimo omnium sanctorum* τῷ ἐλαχιστο-τέρῳ πάντων ἁγίων ("omnium sanctorum minimo" Vg.). In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus reported the existence of a Greek variant, ἀνθρώπων ("Legitur apud Graecos etiam ἀνθρώπων). What he probably meant, more precisely, was that some mss. replace ἁγίων by ἀνθρώπων, as exhibited by codd. 2105* and 2816. However, his changed wording in 1519 *Annot.* incorrect-ly implied that these mss. *added* ἀνθρώπων

ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὸν ἀν-
εξιχνίαστον πλοῦτον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ⁹καὶ
φωτίσαι πάντας τίς ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ μυ-
στηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν
αἰώνων ἐν τῷ θεῷ, τῷ τὰ πάντα κτί-
σαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ¹⁰ἵνα γνω-
ρισθῇ νῦν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ἐν
τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἡ
πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ, ¹¹κατὰ
πρόθεσιν τῶν αἰώνων, ἣν ἐποίησεν ἐν
Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ¹²ἐν ᾧ
ἔχομεν τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν προσ-
αγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει, τῇ διὰ τῆς πί-
στεως αὐτοῦ. ¹³διὸ αἰτοῦμαι, μὴ ἐκ-
κακεῖν ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσί μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν,
ἥτις ἐστὶ δόξα ὑμῶν.

vt inter gentes euangelizem imperuesti-
gabiles diuitias Christi, ⁹et in lucem
proferam omnibus quae sit communio
mysterii quod erat absconditum a se-
culis in deo, qui vniuersa condidit per
Iesum Christum: ¹⁰vt nota fiat nunc
principatibus ac potestatibus in coeles-
tibus per ecclesiam, vehementer varia
sapientia dei, ¹¹secundum praefinitio-
nem seculorum, quam fecit in Christo
Iesu domino nostro, ¹²per quem habe-
mus audaciam et aditum cum fiducia,
quae est per fidem illius. ¹³Quapro-
pter peto, ne deficiatis ob afflictiones
meas quas pro vobis tolero, quae est
gloria vestra.

8 ανεξιχνιαστον *A D E*: ανεξιχνιασθον *B C* | 10 εξουσιαις *B-E*: εξουσιας *A* | 13 εστι *B-E*:
εσται *A*

9 seculis *C-E*: saeculis *A B* | 10 nota *D E*: notum *A-C* | nunc *B-E*: om. *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* |
11 seculorum *C-E*: saeculorum *A B* | 12 per quem *B-E*: in quo *A* | cum *B-E*: in *A* |
13 peto *C-E*: postulo *A B* | ob ... tolero *B-E*: in afflictionibus meis pro vobis *A* | est *B-E*: erit *A*

after ἁγίων ("In nonnullis Graecis addebatur").
Erasmus' rendering is more literal as to the
word-order, in agreement with the versions of
Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

8 *vt inter gentes euangelizem* ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐ-
αγγελίσασθαι ("in gentibus euangelizare" Vg.).
Erasmus avoids the infinitive, as elsewhere. For
inter, see on *Ioh.* 15,24. Ambrosiaster had *vt in
nationibus euangelizem*. Manetti came nearer to
the literal meaning by using a gerund, *euange-
lizandi in gentibus*.

8 *imperuestigabiles* ἀνεξιχνίαστον ("inuestigabi-
les" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ). See
on *Rom.* 11,33, and *Annot.* The rendering of
some Vulgate mss. (with Vgˢᵗ), Jerome *Comm.*,
and also of Manetti and Lefèvre, was *ininuesti-
gabiles*.

9 *in lucem proferam omnibus* φωτίσαι πάντας
("illuminare omnes" Vg.). A comparable change
occurs at 2 *Tim.* 1,10, where Erasmus replaces
illumino by *in lucem produco*, in rendering the
same Greek verb. At 1 *Cor.* 4,5, he prefers
illustro. However, he more often retains *illumino*.

At the present passage, as appears from *Annot.*,
Erasmus considered that to "illuminate" was
the prerogative of God rather than of the
apostle, and that the apostle's task was simply
to lead others into the light which God gave.
Manetti put *illuminandi omnes*, continuing this
construction from *euangelizandi* in vs. 8.

9 *communio* ἡ κοινωνία ("dispensatio" Vg.).
The Vulgate reflects a different Greek text, ἡ
οἰκονομία, found in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816
and nearly all other mss. Erasmus here fol-
lows cod. 2817. This poorly supported variant
hereafter remained unchanged in the *Textus
Receptus*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the reading
ὁ πλοῦτος, though this is not attested by any
of his known mss.

9 *mysterii* τοῦ μυστηρίου ("sacramenti" Vg.).
See on *Eph.* 1,9, and *Annot.* The change made
by Erasmus agrees with the wording of Am-
brosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti (*Pal.
Lat.* 45), and Lefèvre. By a scribal error, one of
the mss. of Manetti's version (*Urb. Lat.* 6) had
ministerii: cf. vs. 4, above.

9 *quod erat absconditum* τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ("absconditi" Vg.). Erasmus aims to convey the sense of τοῦ more precisely.

9 *vniuersa* τὰ πάντα ("omnia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,2; *Act.* 5,34. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster and the Jerome 1516 text.

9 *condidit* κτίσαντι ("creauit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,25. Lefèvre had the word-order *creauit omnia*.

9 *per Iesum Christum* διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.* The textual question here is whether a pious corrector gratuitously inserted this reference to the role of Christ in creation, or whether these doctrinally significant words were a genuine part of the text but were negligently omitted by an early copyist (cf., for example, the accidental omission of the identical phrase, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, by cod. ℵ* at *Rom.* 1,8). Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus (except that Lefèvre, as usual, had *Ihesum* for *Iesum*).

10 *nota fiat* γνωρισθῇ ("innotescat" Vg.; "notum fiat" 1516-22). This change is mainly for stylistic variety, in view of Erasmus' adoption of *innotesco* in vs. 5. In 1527, the substitution of *nota* agrees better with *sapientia* later in the sentence, and produces the same wording as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *nota sit*.

10 *nunc* νῦν (omitted in 1516 Lat. = Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of νῦν in codd. F G. See *Annot.* The 1519 rendering of Erasmus is the same as the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, as well as Manetti and Lefèvre (in Lefèvre, the word was placed before *nota sit*).

10 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

10 ἐξουσίαις. The omission of ταῖς before ἐξουσίαις may have been inadvertent, as the article is used here by most mss., including those which were available to Erasmus at Basle. Similarly, the spelling ἐξουσίας in 1516 arose from a typesetting error.

10 *vehementer varia* πολυποίκιλος ("multiformis" Vg.). Erasmus prefers a more emphatic rendering. His reference to παμποίκιλος in *Annot.* may have arisen through misunderstanding the script of cod. 2817, in which the letters -ολυ- could, at a quick glance, be misread as -αμ-. Elsewhere Erasmus uses *vehementer* in

rendering λίαν, σφόδρα, πολλά, εὐτόνως and περισσοτέρως (see on *Gal.* 1,14), and *varius* for all instances of ποικίλος. Lefèvre put *multimoda*.

12 *per quem* ἐν ᾧ ("in quo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

12 *audaciam* τὴν παρρησίαν ("fiduciam" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 2,29; 4,13. Erasmus usually either retains *fiducia* or substitutes *libertas*: see on 2 *Cor.* 3,12. Since *audacia* can sometimes have a more pejorative sense, "rashness" rather than "boldness", its use is questionable here. However, Erasmus wanted to use *fiducia* for πεποίθησις later in the sentence, and hence needed a different rendering for παρρησία. In *Annot.*, he expands the meaning as *audacia libere loquendi*. Lefèvre put *ausum*.

12 *aditum* τὴν προσαγωγήν ("accessum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,2; *Eph.* 2,18.

12 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

12 *fiducia* πεποιθήσει ("confidentia" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 1,15. Lefèvre made the same change.

12 *quae est per* τῇ διά ("per" Vg.). The addition of τῇ is derived from cod. 2817, with little or no other ms. support.

12 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus uses the more emphatic pronoun to refer back to Christ. Manetti put *suam*.

13 *Quapropter* διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

13 *peto* αἰτοῦμαι ("postulo" 1516-19). See on *Act.* 3,14 for *postulo*. The reinstatement of the Vulgate reading, *peto*, first appears in Erasmus' separate Latin edition of 1521. His 1516 rendering was anticipated by Manetti.

13 *ob afflictiones meas* ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσί μου ("in tribulationibus meis" Vg.; "in afflictionibus meis" 1516). Erasmus uses *ob* to clarify the causal sense of ἐν here. See *Annot.* For *afflictio*, see on *Ioh.* 16,21. Lefèvre put *in pressuris meis*.

13 *quas pro vobis tolero* ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ("pro vobis" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus amplifies the rendering, making a clearer connection with *afflictiones* and also alleviating the abruptness of the transition to the following clause.

13 *est* ἐστί ("erit" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus took ἔσται from cod. 2817, apparently without other ms. support. See *Annot.*

¹⁴Τούτου χάριν κάμπτω τὰ γόνατά μου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ¹⁵ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται, ¹⁶ἵνα δώῃ ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, δυνάμει κρα|ταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, ¹⁷κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, ¹⁸ἵνα ἐξισχύσητε καταλαβέσθαι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις, τί τὸ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος καὶ βάθος καὶ ὕψος, ¹⁹γνῶναί τε τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως

¹⁴Huius rei gratia flecto genua mea ad patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi, ¹⁵ex quo omnis a communi patre cognatio in coelis et in terra nominatur, ¹⁶vt det vobis iuxta | diuitias gloriae suae, vt fortitudine corroboremini per spiritum suum in internum hominem, ¹⁷vt inhabitet Christus per fidem in cordibus vestris, fixis in charitate radicibus, et fundamento iacto: ¹⁸vt valeatis assequi cum omnibus sanctis, quae sit latitudo et longitudo et profunditas et sublimitas, ¹⁹cognoscereque praeeminentem cognitioni

16 υμιν *A B E*: ημιν *C D*

15 a communi patre cognatio *C-E*: parentela *A B* | coelis *B-E*: coelo *A* | 16 corroboremini *B-E*: coroboremini *A* | 19 cognoscereque *B-E*: et cognoscere *A* | cognitioni *A B D E*: cognitionis *C*

14 *domini nostri Iesu Christi* τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus seems to favour the omission of these words, relying on Jerome *Comm.* He also raised this point in the *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 242, ll. 38-44, and inserted this passage into the 1522-27 editions of the *Quae Sint Addita.* From an exegetical point of view, however, this reading is a *lectio difficilior*, as the juxtaposition of Χριστοῦ with ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ (at the beginning of vs. 15) interrupts the logical connection between the latter phrase and the earlier τὸν πατέρα. An early scribe who was offended by this apparent difficulty might therefore have decided to remove the intervening words. In support of such an omission are 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * A B C and a few other mss. In his Greek text, Erasmus retains these five words, which are attested by codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ D F G and most other mss.

15 *a communi patre cognatio* πατριά ("paternitas" Vg.; "parentela" 1516-19). The wording of the 1522-35 folio editions was anticipated by the separate Latin N.T. of 1521. Elsewhere, at three passages, Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *cognatio* for συγγένεια. At *Lc.* 2,4 and *Act.* 3,25, πατριά is rendered by *familia*, and

Valla *Annot.* proposed to use this rendering at the present passage. Erasmus attempts greater precision. In replacing *paternitas* by *parentela* in 1516-19, however, he was exchanging one nonclassical expression for another. In 1519 *Annot.*, he seems to accept that *parentela* is not a "verbum probum", and the same point formed the subject of a criticism by Stunica in 1520. Cf. also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, pp. 241-2, ll. 27-57. In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, pp. 206-8, ll. 722-729, and also in 1535 *Annot.*, Erasmus incorrectly alleged that *parentela* was used here by Jerome.

15 *coelis* οὐρανοῖς ("coelo" 1516 Lat.). The adoption of the singular in the 1516 Latin rendering reflects a different Greek text, οὐρανῷ, as in codd. 2105, 2817ᶜᵒᵐᵐ and some other late mss. Possibly Erasmus was influenced here by Lefèvre *Comm.*, which stated "Sunt codices graeci qui singulariter habent ἐν οὐρανῷ, in coelo. sunt et qui habent pluratiue ἐν οὐρανοῖς". Lefèvre's main Latin version had *coelo*, but in the revised version which was printed in *Comm.*, he reverted to *coelis*. Valla *Annot.* cited *coelo* in his Vulgate lemma.

16 ὑμῖν. The substitution of ἡμῖν in 1522-7 was probably inadvertent, as it conflicted with the accompanying Latin rendering.

16 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

16 *vt fortitudine corroboremini* δυνάμει κραται-ωθῆναι ("virtutem corroborari" late Vg. and many Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate use of *virtutem* probably arose from a scribal alteration of *vir-tute*. See on *Rom.* 1,4; *Eph.* 1,19, for Erasmus' removal of *virtus*. As usual, he avoids the infinitive of purpose. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *virtutem corroborandi*, and Lefèvre *potestate corroborari*.

16 *suum* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus' adoption of a reflexive pronoun was consistent with the use of *suae* earlier in the sentence. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

16 *in internum hominem* εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρω-πον ("in interiori homine" Vg. 1527 = some Vg. mss., with Vg^ww (ed minor)). Erasmus' use of the accusative gives a more literal rendering. For *internus*, see on *Rom.* 7,22. Some late Vulgate copies had *in interiorem hominem*, which was also the wording of Jerome *Comm.* and Manetti. Other Vulgate copies, as well as Ambrosiaster, had *in interiore homine* (with Vg^ww (ed maior) st).

17 *vt inhabitet Christus* κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χρι-στόν ("Christum habitare" late Vg.). Erasmus again avoids the infinitive of purpose. For *in-habito*, see on *Rom.* 7,17. Manetti had *Christum habitandi*. Lefèvre put *habitet Christus*, having inserted *vt* before *in interiori* in the previous verse.

17 *fixis in charitate radicibus* ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζω-μένοι ("in charitate radicati" Vg.). A comparable change occurs in rendering ἐρριζωμένοι at *Col.* 2,7 (1519), where Erasmus replaces *radicati* by *sic vt radices habeatis in illo fixas*. Possibly he regarded *radicor* as being insufficiently classical, though it was used by Pliny and Columella. By substituting the ablative absolute construction, he neatly remedied the lack of a grammatical antecedent for *radicati*. Lefèvre had *vt in dilectione radicati*, bringing forward *vt* from the beginning of the following clause. In one of the mss. of Manetti's version (*Urb. Lat.* 6), the copyist at first wrote *per caritatem radicati*, later corrected to agree with the Vulgate.

17 *fundamento iacto* τεθεμελιωμένοι ("fundati" Vg.). For this substitution of the ablative ab-solute, see the previous note. Another change from *fundo* to *fundamentum iacio* occurs at

Hebr. 1,10, though at three other passages Erasmus retains *fundo*.

18 *valeatis* ἐξισχύσητε ("possitis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,14. Lefèvre made the same change.

18 *assequi* καταλαβέσθαι ("comprehendere" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Phil.* 3,13. The meanings of the two Latin verbs over-lap, in the sense of "understand", though *as-sequor* has the nuance of "attain" rather than "grasp".

18 *profunditas et sublimitas* βάθος καὶ ὕψος ("sublimitas et profundum" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a different Greek word-order, ὕψος καὶ βάθος, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ B C D F G I 0285 and twenty-four other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ A and about 550 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 371-3). For *profunditas*, see on *Rom.* 8,39, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti had *profunditas atque altitudo*.

19 *cognoscereque* γνῶναί τε ("scire etiam" Vg.; "et cognoscere" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus ob-jected to the use of *etiam*, as it seemed to imply that a new subject was being introduced. For *cognosco*, see on 1 *Cor.* 14,7, and for *-que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39. Lefèvre put *ac cognoscere*, and Manetti *et sciendi etiam*.

19 *praeeminentem* τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ("super-eminentem" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 3,10. Erasmus uses *superemineo* in rendering ὑπερέχω at *Rom.* 13,1.

19 *cognitioni* τῆς γνώσεως ("scientiae" Vg.; "cognitionis" 1522). See on *Rom.* 2,20 for the substitution of *cognitio*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus dis-cusses the ambiguity of *scientiae*, which can be taken either as an objective genitive (with *dilecti-onem* or *charitatem*, as recommended by Jerome) or as a dative (with *praeeminentem* or *superemi-nentem*, as advocated by Ambrosiaster). In the latter sense, the implied meaning is "the love which is so great that it cannot be fully known". Valla *Annot.* likewise raised objections to the obscurity of the Vulgate rendering. However, in Erasmus' 1522 edition, and also in his sepa-rate Latin N.T. of 1521, he temporarily reverted to the use of the genitive, as a partial concession to criticisms raised by Stunica: see *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, p. 208, ll. 731-756. The use of *cognitionis* was also proposed by Lefèvre.

ἀγάπην τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα πληρωθῆ-
τε εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ.
 20 Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑπὲρ πάντα ποι-
ῆσαι ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ὧν αἰτούμεθα ἢ
νοοῦμεν, κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐνεργου-
μένην ἐν ἡμῖν, 21 αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ ἐκ-
κλησίᾳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, εἰς πάσας τὰς
γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

4 Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ὁ δέ-
σμιος ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀξίως περιπατῆ-
σαι τῆς κλήσεως ἧς ἐκλήθητε, 2 μετὰ
πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ πρᾳό-
τητος, μετὰ μακροθυμίας, ἀνεχόμενοι
ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ, 3 σπουδάζον-
τες τηρεῖν τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ πνεύ-
ματος ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης.
4 ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα, καθὼς καὶ
ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως
ὑμῶν. 5 εἷς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βά-
πτισμα, 6 εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων,
LB 845   ὁ ἐπὶ | πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ
ἐν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. 7 ἑνὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν

dilectionem Christi, vt impleamini in
omnem plenitudinem dei.
 20 Ei vero qui potest cumulate face-
re vltra omnia quae petimus aut co-
gitamus, iuxta vim agentem in nobis,
21 sit gloria in ecclesia per Christum
Iesum, in omnes aetates seculi secu-
lorum, Amen.

4 Hortor itaque vos ego vinctus in
domino vt ambuletis, ita vt di-
gnum est vocatione qua vocati estis,
2 cum omni submissione ac mansue-
tudine, cum animi lenitate, tolerantes
vos inuicem per charitatem, 3 studen-
tes seruare vnitatem spiritus per vin-
culum pacis. 4 Vnum corpus et vnus
spiritus, quemadmodum et vocati estis
in vna spe vocationis vestrae. 5 Vnus
dominus, vna fides, vnum baptisma,
6 vnus deus et pater omnium | qui est   LB 846
super omnia et per omnia, et in omni-
bus vobis. 7 Verum vnicuique nostrum

20 vim B-E: potentiam A | 21 sit B-E: ipsi A | per Christum Iesum B-E: in Christo Iesu A |
seculi seculorum C-E: saeculi saeculorum A B
4,2 ac B-E: et A | animi lenitate B-E: longanimitate A | per charitatem B-E: in charitate A |
3 per vinculum B-E: in vinculo A

19 dilectionem ἀγάπην ("charitatem" Vg.).
See on Ioh. 13,35. Lefèvre made the same
change.

20 vero δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on Ioh. 1,26.
Erasmus no doubt considered that the con-
tinuative sense of vero was more appropriate to
the present context.

20 potest cumulate facere vltra omnia quae δυνα-
μένῳ ὑπὲρ πάντα ποιῆσαι ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ
ὧν ("potens est omnia facere superabundan-
ter quam" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omis-
sion of ὑπέρ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G. Cf. Annot.
It would seem that a few scribes deleted this
word because they considered it to be repeti-
tious. For the removal of potens, see on Rom.
11,23. The word superabundanter does not occur
in classical usage, or in any other passage of

the Vulgate. Valla Annot. advocated the same
change from quam to quae. Manetti put potens
est super omnia facere superabundanter super ea
quae, and Lefèvre superpotens est omnia facere
superabundantius quam.

20 cogitamus νοοῦμεν ("intelligimus" Vg.). A
similar substitution occurs at 2 Tim. 2,7. Cf.
also on Rom. 2,3, and Annot.

20 iuxta κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on Act.
13,23.

20 vim τὴν δύναμιν ("virtutem" Vg.; "poten-
tiam" 1516). See on 1 Cor. 14,11 for vim, and
on Rom. 1,4 for potentia. Lefèvre had the same
rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

20 agentem τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ("quae operatur"
Vg.). See on Rom. 7,5.

21 *sit gloria* αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ("ipsi gloria" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus treats the pronoun as superfluous, in view of the use of *Ei* at the beginning of vs. 20. Lefèvre, for the same reason, put just *gloria*.

21 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("et in Christo Iesu" Vg.; "in Christo Iesu" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the insertion of καί before ἐν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C and some later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17. See also *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 edition, omitting *et* (and Lefèvre, as usual, had *Ihesu* for *Iesu*).

21 *aetates* τὰς γενεάς ("generationes" Vg.). See on vs. 5.

4,1 *Hortor* Παρακαλῶ ("Obsecro" Vg.). For a comparable substitution of *adhortor*, see on *Rom.* 12,1. More often Erasmus prefers *obsecro*. Manetti put *Deprecor*.

1 *vt ambuletis, ita vt dignum est* ἀξίως περιπατῆσαι ("vt digne ambuletis" Vg.). Erasmus disliked the combination of the adverb, *digne*, with *vocatione*. See on *Rom.* 16,2, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *vt pro dignitate ambuletis*. Manetti followed the Vulgate, except that he substituted *vti* for *vt*.

2 *submissione* ταπεινοφροσύνης ("humilitate" Vg.). Sometimes Erasmus prefers *humilitas animi*. In *Annot.*, he indicates that ταπεινοφροσύνη means a humble attitude of mind, rather than a low position brought to pass by outward circumstances. See further on *Act.* 20,19. Valla *Annot.* suggested adding either *sensus* or *animi*. Lefèvre accordingly put *humilitate sensus*.

2 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti made the same change.

2 *animi lenitate* μακροθυμίας ("patientia" Vg.; "longanimitate" 1516). See on *Rom.* 2,4, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was identical with Erasmus' 1516 edition.

2 *tolerantes* ἀνεχόμενοι ("supportantes" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 11,1. Manetti's version anticipated this change (though spelling the word as *tollerantes*).

2 *vos inuicem* ἀλλήλων ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33. Lefèvre made the same change, but placed *vos inuicem* before *supportantes*.

2 *per charitatem* ἐν ἀγάπῃ ("in charitate" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre put *in dilectione*.

3 *studentes* σπουδάζοντες ("solliciti" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,8. In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus cited Augustine *Contra Litteras Petiliani* II, 78 (*CSEL* 52, p. 108) as having this rendering. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

3 *per vinculum* ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ ("in vinculo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17, and *Annot.*

4 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre also made this change.

4 *et* (2nd.) καί (Vg. omits). The omission of *et* in most Vulgate mss. is supported by cod. B and a few later Greek mss. The rendering of Erasmus is the same as the Jerome 1516 text, and the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *qui est super omnia* ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων ("qui super omnes" Vg.). Contrary to the testimony of most other mss., cod. 2815 wholly omitted these words. Erasmus adds *est*, to supply a verb for this clause. In *Annot.*, he points out that *omnia* is more consistent with the following use of *per omnia*, while acknowledging that in both places πάντων could be either masculine or neuter. Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre preferred to alter *per omnia* to *per omnes*, and Lefèvre further inserted *est* after *super omnes*.

6 *vobis* ὑμῖν ("nobis" Vg.). Erasmus derived this reading from cod. 2817, with support from cod. 2105 (both text and commentary) but few other mss. The Vulgate reflects a different Greek text, ἡμῖν, as found in codd. 1, 2815, 2816, together with D F G and most other mss. In 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C 082 and a few other mss., the word was altogether omitted. See *Annot.* It has been suggested that both ἡμῖν and ὑμῖν are explanatory insertions by scribes. If, however, the genuine reading was ἡμῖν (or ὑμῖν), an early scribe might have attempted a rhetorical "improvement" by deleting the word, so as to conform with the absence of a pronoun after the three preceding instances of πάντων. Another possibility is accidental omission through homoeoteleuton, passing from -ιν at the end of πᾶσιν to -ιν at the end of ἡμῖν (cf. the omission of ἁγίων after πάντων in 𝔓⁴⁶ at *Eph.* 3,8). The *Textus Receptus*, in retaining the variant ὑμῖν from Erasmus, has the least well attested reading.

7 *Verum vnicuique* ἑνὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ ("Vnicuique autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ⁸διὸ λέγει, Ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος, ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, καὶ ἔδωκε δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ⁹τὸ δέ, ἀνέβη, τί ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη πρῶτον εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς; ¹⁰ὁ καταβάς, αὐτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα. ¹¹καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε, τοὺς μὲν ἀποστόλους, τοὺς δὲ προφήτας, τοὺς δὲ εὐαγγελιστάς, τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, ¹²πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ἔργον διακονίας, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ¹³μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ¹⁴ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν νήπιοι, κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ἐν τῇ κυ | βείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν πανουργίᾳ, πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν τῆς πλάνης·

LB 847

data est gratia iuxta mensuram donationis Christi. ⁸Quapropter dicit: Quum ascendisset in altum, captiuam duxit captiuitatem et dedit dona hominibus. ⁹Caeterum illud ascendit, quid est, nisi quod etiam descenderat prius in infimas partes terrae? ¹⁰Qui descendit, idem ille est, qui etiam ascendit supra omnes coelos, vt impleret omnia. ¹¹Et idem dedit, alios quidem apostolos, alios vero prophetas, alios autem euangelistas, alios autem pastores ac doctores, ¹²ad instaurationem sanctorum in opus administrationis, in aedificationem corporis Christi, ¹³donec perueniamus omnes in vnitatem fidei et agnitionis filii dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plene adultae Christi, ¹⁴vt non amplius simus pueri, qui fluctuemus et circunferamur quouis vento doctrinae, per versutiam ho | minum, per astutiam, qua nos adoriuntur, vt imponant nobis,

LB 848

4,8 ηχμαλωτευσεν ... τοις B-E: ηχμαλωτευσσεν ... τοι A

7 mensuram donationis C-E: modum doni A B | 11 ac B-E: et A | 13 perueniamus B-E: occurrerimus A | plene adultae B-E: quae est plenitudo A | 14 fluctuemus B-E: fluctuant A | circunferamur B-E (circumferamur B C, circūferamur E): circumferuntur A | per versutiam B-E: in versutia A | per astutiam ... nobis B-E: in astutia, ad aggressionem imposturae A

7 iuxta κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on Act. 13,23. Erasmus' rendering also occurs in Jerome Comm. (though the Jerome 1516 N.T. text and lemma have secundum).

7 mensuram donationis τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς ("modum doni" 1516-19). The substitution of modum in 1516-19 introduced an inconsistency with mensura in vss. 13 and 16, rendering the same Greek word. For donum, see on Rom. 5,17. The restoration of mensuram donationis was first made in the separate Latin edition of 1521.

8 Quapropter διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on Act. 10,29. Lefèvre made the same change.

8 Quum ascendisset Ἀναβάς ("Ascendens" Vg.). Greek aorist. See Annot.

8 ἠχμαλώτευσεν. Codd. 1 and 2815 had ἠχμαλώτευσας, as in cod. A and a few later mss. (cf. cod. 2816 αἰχμαλώτευσας), perhaps influenced by the occurrence of Ἀναβάς earlier in the sentence, or by the Septuagint's use of ἠχμαλώτευσας at Ps. 68,18 (67,19): cf. the following note.

8 et καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A C^{corr} D* F G and a few later mss. While additions and deletions of καί, whether deliberate or accidental, are not uncommon among the mss., in this instance it seems possible that a few scribes omitted the word under the influence of the Septuagint version of Ps. 68,18 (67,19), ἠχμαλώτευσας αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔλαβες δόματα. Erasmus follows

codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ^{corr} B C* D^{corr} and most later mss. The same change was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti had *atque*.

8 τοῖς. Cod. 2815 substitutes ἐν, in company with F G and several later mss., representing a further harmonisation with the parallel passage of the Septuagint.

9 *Caeterum illud* τὸ δέ ("Quod autem" Vg.). Erasmus renders τό more literally. For *caeterum*, see on *Act*. 6,2. See also *Annot*.

9 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 1,20. The same change was made by Manetti.

9 *etiam* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 6,36. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

9 *descenderat* κατέβη ("descendit" Vg.). Erasmus uses the pluperfect tense, which seemed better suited to the context. See on *Ioh*. 1,19.

9 *prius* πρῶτον ("primum" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 15,24.

9 *infimas* τὰ κατώτερα ("inferiores" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literally correct in using the comparative form of the adjective. Cod. 2817 omitted τά, with 𝔓⁴⁶ and five other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 374-7).

10 *idem ille est, qui etiam* αὐτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ("ipse est et qui" Vg.). Erasmus is less literal as to the word-order, but conveys the sense in more elegant Latin. Lefèvre put *ille est qui et* (though in *Comm.*, he omitted *et*).

10 *supra* ὑπεράνω ("super" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 3,31.

10 *impleret* πληρώσῃ ("adimpleret" late Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 15,25. Erasmus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the version of Manetti, while Lefèvre put *impleat*.

11 *idem* αὐτός ("ipse" Vg.). This change was consistent with Erasmus' substitution of *idem* in the previous verse, and makes more sense, as the emphatic pronoun of the Vulgate is not required by the context.

11 *alios* (four times) τούς ("quosdam ... quosdam ... alios ... alios" Vg.). Erasmus is more consistent. Manetti put *quosdam* in all four places. Lefèvre had *quosdam ... quosdam ... hos ... illos*.

11 *vero ... autem ... autem* δὲ ... δὲ ... δέ ("autem ... vero ... autem" Vg.). This change made little difference to the sense. Lefèvre used stylistic

variety to greater effect by putting *autem ... vero ... porro*.

11 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 1,25.

12 *instaurationem* τὸν καταρτισμόν ("consummationem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor*. 1,10; 2 *Cor*. 13,9, and *Annot*. on the present pasage. Manetti put *confirmationem*.

13 *perueniamus* καταντήσωμεν ("occurramus" Vg.; "occurrerimus" 1516). This substitution is in accordance with Vulgate usage in rendering the same Greek verb at *Act*. 16,1; 1 *Cor*. 14,36. At *Phil*. 3,11, Erasmus replaces *occurro* with *pertingo*. However, he uses *occurro* elsewhere for rendering ἀπαντάω, συναντάω and ὑπαντάω. Codd. 2105 and 2817 had καταντήσομεν, together with many other late mss. In cod. 2815, the whole verse was originally omitted, through the error of homoeoteleuton, but was restored in the lower margin by a later hand (not that of Erasmus). Lefèvre put *concurramus*.

13 *plene adultae* τοῦ πληρώματος ("plenitudinis" Vg.; "quae est plenitudo" 1516). Erasmus' 1519 rendering is a questionable change, treating πληρώματος as if it were a feminine participle agreeing with ἡλικίας.

14 *non amplius* μηκέτι ("iam non" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 6,66. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

14 *pueri* νήπιοι ("paruuli" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 2,20; 1 *Cor*. 13,11, and *Annot*.

14 *qui fluctuemus et circunferamur* κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι ("fluctuantes et circunferamur" Vg.; "qui fluctuant et circumferuntur" 1516). Erasmus provides a more consistent rendering. Cf. *Annot*. Cod. 2815 has an incorrect spelling, κλυδονιζόμενοι. Lefèvre put *fluctuantes et qui circunferamur*.

14 *quouis* παντί ("omni" Vg.). See on *Act*. 10,35, and *Annot*.

14 *per versutiam* ἐν τῇ κυβείᾳ ("in nequitia" Vg.; "in versutia" 1516). For *per*, see on *Rom*. 1,17, and for *versutia*, see on *Rom*. 1,29, and *Annot*. The version of Manetti had *in illusione*, and Lefèvre *in turbatione*.

14 *per astutiam* ἐν πανουργίᾳ ("in astutia" 1516 = Vg.). See again on *Rom*. 1,17.

14 *qua nos adoriuntur, vt imponant nobis* πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν τῆς πλάνης ("ad circumuentionem erroris" Vg.; "ad aggressionem imposturae" 1516). For the sake of clarity, Erasmus here resorts to paraphrase: see *Annot.*, where he

¹⁵ ἀληθεύοντες δὲ ἐν ἀγάπῃ, αὐξήσω-
μεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ
κεφαλή, ὁ Χριστός, ¹⁶ ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶ-
μα συναρμολογούμενον, καὶ συμβιβα-
ζόμενον διὰ πάσης ἁφῆς τῆς ἐπιχο-
ρηγίας, κατ᾽ ἐνέργειαν ἐν μέτρῳ ἑνὸς
ἑκάστου μέρους, τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ σώ-
ματος ποιεῖται, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν
ἀγάπῃ.

¹⁷ Τοῦτο οὖν λέγω καὶ μαρτύρομαι ἐν
κυρίῳ, μηκέτι ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν, καθὼς
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη περιπατεῖ ἐν μαται-
ότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν, ¹⁸ ἐσκοτισμέ-
νοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ὄντες ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι

¹⁵ sed veritatem sectantes in charita-
te, adolescamus in illum per omnia,
qui est caput, nempe Christus: ¹⁶ in
quo totum corpus, si coagmentetur, et
compingatur per omnem commissu-
ram subministrationis, iuxta actum in
mensura vniuscuiusque partis, incre-
mentum corporis facit, in aedificatio-
nem sui ipsius per charitatem.

¹⁷ Hoc itaque dico, et testor per do-
minum, ne posthac ambuletis, quem-
admodum et reliquae gentes ambulant
in vanitate mentis suae, ¹⁸ dum men-
tem habent obtenebratam, abalienati

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16 vniuscuiusque *B-E*: vnicuiusque *A* | per charitatem *B-E*: in charitate *A* | **17** testor per dominum *B-E*: testificor in domino *A* | mentis *B-E*: intellectus *A* | suae *C-E*: sui *A B*

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argues that, in Latin usage, *error* is manifested by the person who is deceived rather than the deceiver, whereas πλάνη can attach to both individuals. A similar point is made in *Annot.* on 1 *Thess.* 2,3. In rendering μεθοδείας at *Eph.* 6,11, Erasmus substitutes *assultus* for *insidias*. He elsewhere uses *impono* to replace *decipio* in rendering παραλογίζομαι at *Col.* 2,4. The 1516 substitution of *imposturae* for *erroris* (τῆς πλάνης) has a parallel at 1 *Thess.* 2,3, and is also recommended in *Annot.* on 2 *Thess.* 2,11. In Erasmus' translation of the latter passage, *error* is replaced by *illusio*. At *Iud.* 11, in rendering the same Greek word, *error* is changed to *deceptio*. However, *impostura* and *illusio* are comparatively rare, and *deceptio* non-existent, in classical literature. Manetti put *ad transgressionem erroris*, and Lefèvre *ad insidias erroris*.

15 *sed veritatem sectantes* ἀληθεύοντες δέ ("veritatem autem facientes" Vg.). Erasmus preferred the more emphatic *sed*, as the apostle was now prescribing a remedy to correct the problems which had just been mentioned: see *Annot.* For other substitutions for *autem*, see also on *Ioh.* 1,26. For the avoidance of *facio*, see on *Ioh.* 3,21. In *Annot.*, Erasmus alternatively suggests rendering ἀληθεύω by *vera loquor*, a turn of phrase which he had adopted at *Gal.* 4,16. His use of *veritatem sectantes* followed a proposal of Valla *Annot.* Likewise Lefèvre had *veritatem autem sectantes*, while Manetti put *Veritatem autem dicentes*.

15 *adolescamus* αὐξήσωμεν ("crescamus" Vg.). Erasmus wished to make the meaning more explicit, to include growth towards maturity and not merely increase of size: see *Annot.* At *Col.* 2,19, he replaces *crescit* with *augescit*. Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre had *augeamus* at the present passage.

15 *in illum* εἰς αὐτόν ("in illo" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here: see *Annot.* The same change was advocated by Valla *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *in ipsum*, and Lefèvre *in eo*.

15 *nempe Christus* ὁ Χριστός ("Christus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,32.

16 *in* (1st.) ἐξ ("ex" Vg.). Erasmus is less accurate on this point. In the closely comparable passage at *Col.* 2,19, he retains *caput ex quo*.

16 *si coagmentetur, et compingatur* συναρμολογούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον ("compactum et connexum" Vg.). Erasmus evidently regarded the two Greek words as virtually synonymous, as in *Annot.* he suggests rendering συμβιβαζόμενον by *coagmentatum*. See on *Eph.* 2,21. However, his choice of *compingatur* is consistent with his use of *compingo* in rendering συμβιβάζω at *Col.* 2,2, 19. Manetti tried *constructum et coniunctum*, and Lefèvre *coalescit et conspirat*.

16 *commissuram* ἁφῆς ("iuncturam" Vg.). At *Col.* 2,19, Erasmus similarly replaces *nexus* by *commissuras* in translating the same Greek word.

In 1519 *Annot.*, he also commends the use of *tactum* by Augustine *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, on *Ps.* 10 (*CCSL* 38, p. 79). Manetti likewise adopted *tactum* here and at *Col.* 2,19.

16 *iuxta* κατ᾽ ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

16 *actum* ἐνέργειαν ("operationem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 12,10, and *Annot.* At *Rom.* 12,4, again referring to parts of the body, *actus* is used to render πρᾶξις, by both Erasmus and the Vulgate. The rendering of Lefèvre was *functionem*.

16 *in mensura* ἐν μέτρῳ ("in mensuram" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre. In the lemma of Valla *Annot.* and 1516 *Annot.*, *in mensura* was attributed to the Vulgate.

16 *partis* μέρους ("membri" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of μέλους, as in codd. A C and a few later mss. See *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

16 *incrementum* τὴν αὔξησιν ("augmentum" Vg.). In the similar passage at *Col.* 2,19, Erasmus retains *augmentum* for αὔξησις. His choice of expression is again identical with the version of Ambrosiaster. Both mss. of Manetti's version had *argumentum*, probably as a result of scribal error.

16 *sui ipsius* ἑαυτοῦ ("sui" Vg.). Erasmus emphasises the reflexive sense of the pronoun: see *Annot.* A few mss., commencing with ℵ D* F G, substitute αὐτοῦ. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same addition as Erasmus.

16 *per charitatem* ἐν ἀγάπῃ ("in charitate" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre had *in dilectione*.

17 *itaque* οὖν ("igitur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,10. Jerome *Comm.* and Manetti put *ergo*.

17 *testor* μαρτύρομαι ("testificor" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,7. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus.

17 *per dominum* ἐν κυρίῳ ("in domino" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. In *Annot.*, Erasmus states that some mss. have ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, a reading which is not in any of the N.T. mss. which he consulted at Basle. There may, however, be a connection between this variant and the interpretation offered by cod. 2817^comm, τουτέστι μάρτυρα τὸν κύριον καλῶ.

17 *ne posthac* μηκέτι ("vt iam non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,14. The Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and

also Lefèvre, had *non amplius*. Manetti put *ne amplius*.

17 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre also made this change.

17 *reliquae* λοιπά (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓^46 49vid ℵ * A B D* F G 082 and twenty-five later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ^corr D^corr and about 540 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 377-80), together with mss. cited by Valla *Annot.* See also *Annot.* In Pauline usage, τὰ ἔθνη frequently occurs without any qualifying adjective. At the present passage, λοιπά ("the rest of") has been thought by some to be an interpretative gloss, inserted by scribes to make clear that the believers at Ephesus were also Gentiles. A different explanation of this textual discrepancy is that λοιπά was originally present, but that an early scribe accidentally omitted the word. That the apostle was, when necessary, capable of using λοιπός in such a context, is demonstrated by the phrase καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν at *Rom.* 1,13. The rendering of Valla and Lefèvre was *caeterae*, or in Manetti's version, *ceterae*.

17 *mentis suae* τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν ("sensus sui" Vg.; "intellectus sui" 1516; "mentis sui" 1519). The substitution of *mentis* is consistent with Vulgate usage in vs. 23. See on *Rom.* 1,28, and *Annot.* In adopting this word, Erasmus agrees with the translation offered by Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, and Lefèvre. The 1519 edition's incorrect use of the masculine (or neuter) pronoun, *sui*, was remedied by the substitution of *suae* in Erasmus' separate Latin edition of 1521, again in agreement with the versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

18 *dum mentem habent obtenebratam* ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ ("tenebris obscuratum habentes intellectum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21 for *obtenebro*, and on *Rom.* 1,20 for *dum*. By adopting *mens* for both διάνοια and νοῦς in vss. 17-23, Erasmus removes any distinction of meaning between the two words. The Jerome 1516 text and lemma have *obscurati mente*, a rendering which Erasmus cites in *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *tenebris obtenebrati mente*, and Lefèvre *obtenebratae intelligentia*.

18 *abalienati* ὄντες ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι ("alienati" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 2,12. As indicated in *Annot.*, the use of *abalienati* also occurs in

τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὴν πώρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, ¹⁹οἵτινες ἀπηλγηκότες, ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ, εἰς ἐργασίαν ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ. ²⁰ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἐμάθετε τὸν Χριστόν, ²¹εἴ γε αὐτὸν ἠκούσατε, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐδιδάχθητε, καθώς ἐστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ²²ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφὴν τὸν πα|λαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν φθειρόμενον κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης, ²³ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν, ²⁴καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ θεὸν κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας.

²⁵Διὸ ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος, λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων

a vita dei, propter ignorantiam quae est in illis, et excaecationem cordis eorum, ¹⁹qui posteaquam peruenerunt eo vt dolere desierint, semet ipsos dediderunt lasciuiae, ad patrandum immundiciam omnem cum auiditate. ²⁰Vos autem non sic didicistis Christum: ²¹siquidem illum audistis, et in eo docti fuistis, quemadmodum est veritas in Iesu, ²²deponere iuxta priorem conuersatio|nem veterem hominem, qui corrumpitur iuxta concupiscentias erroris: ²³renouari vero spiritu mentis vestrae, ²⁴et induere nouum hominem, qui iuxta deum conditus est per iustitiam et sanctitatem veritatis.

²⁵Quapropter deposito mendacio, loquamini veritatem quisque proximo suo, quoniam sumus inuicem

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18 in B-E: om. A | 19 eo vt dolere desierint B-E: ad indolentiam A | cum auiditate B-E: in auaritia A | 21 Iesu B-E: Christo Iesu A | 23 vero B-E: autem A | 24 per iustitiam et sanctitatem B-E (exc. iusticiam pro iustitiam B): in iusticia, et sanctitate A

Jerome Comm. The version of Lefèvre had vt quae sunt alienae factae.

18 propter διά ("per" Vg.). In view of the following accusative, Erasmus is more accurate here: see Annot. His translation agrees with the wording adopted by the Jerome 1516 text, Valla Annot., Manetti and Lefèvre. Both renderings occur in Ambrosiaster (1492).

18 in ἐν (omitted in 1516 Lat.). The omission in 1516 was possibly inadvertent, as it conflicts with the accompanying Greek text and with Erasmus' Basle mss.

18 et διά ("propter" Vg.). Erasmus is less literal at this point, evidently wishing to avoid the interpretation that the previously-mentioned ignorance was caused by blindness of heart. Lefèvre put ob.

18 excaecationem τὴν πώρωσιν ("caecitatem" Vg.). See on Rom. 11,25, and Annot. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put obstinationem.

18 eorum αὐτῶν ("ipsorum" Vg.). See on Rom. 1,20. Erasmus has the same rendering as the Jerome 1516 text. Valla Annot. and Manetti suggested sui, and Lefèvre earum.

19 posteaquam peruenerunt eo vt dolere desierint ἀπηλγηκότες ("desperantes" Vg.; "posteaquam peruenerunt ad indolentiam" 1516). In 1519 Annot., Erasmus speculates that the Vulgate reflects the substitution of ἀπηλπικότες, a reading which is found in cod. D and a few later mss. (cf. ἀφηλπικότες in codd. F G). Among various suggestions made by Valla Annot. was secordia (i.e. socordia) retenti. Lefèvre had nil pertesae.

19 dediderunt παρέδωκαν ("tradiderunt" Vg.). See on 2 Cor. 8,5. In Manetti's version, this verb was omitted.

19 lasciuiae τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ ("impudicitiae" Vg.). See on Rom. 13,13.

19 ad patrandum immundiciam omnem ἐργασίαν ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης ("in operationem

immundiciae omnis" Vg.). For Erasmus' removal of *operor* and *operatio*, see on *Rom.* 1,27; 1 *Cor.* 12,10, and for his use of *patro*, see further on 1 *Cor.* 5,3. Lefèvre had *in operatione omnis immunditiae*.

19 *cum auiditate* ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ ("in auariciam" late Vg.; "in auaritia" 1516 = Vg. mss.). In 1519 *Annot.*, prompted by Jerome *Comm.*, Erasmus argues that *auaricia* meant financial greed, whereas the present context seemed to require a word which could refer to other kinds of greedy desire. For *cum*, see on *Rom.* 1,4. Erasmus' 1516 edition had the same rendering as the earlier Vulgate, the Jerome 1516 text, and Manetti. Lefèvre put *in abundantia*.

20 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. Lefèvre put *hoc pacto*.

21 *siquidem* εἴ γε ("si tamen" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 3,2, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre began the sentence with *eum vtique*.

21 *eo* αὐτῷ ("ipso" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

21 *docti fuistis* ἐδιδάχθητε ("edocti estis" Vg.). Erasmus was content to use *edocti estis* in rendering exactly the same Greek word at *Col.* 2,7. For his use of *fui*, see on *Rom.* 4,2. The Jerome 1516 text had *docti estis*.

21 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt*.

21 *Iesu* τῷ Ἰησοῦ ("Christo Iesu" 1516 Lat.). The 1516 addition of *Christo* was in conflict with Erasmus' accompanying Greek text, and had little support from Greek mss.

22 *deponere* ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς ("Deponite vos" late Vg.). Erasmus gives a literal rendering of the Greek infinitive, but regarded ὑμᾶς as superfluous to the sense. See *Annot.* He similarly removes the imperative in vss. 23 and 24, below. The earlier Vulgate and Jerome *Comm.* had *deponere vos*. Lefèvre put *vobis deponendum esse*.

22 *iuxta* (twice) κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23. Jerome *Comm.* had *secundum ... iuxta*. Lefèvre substituted *prioris conuersationis* for *secundum pristinam conuersationem*, but retained the second instance of *secundum*.

22 *priorem* προτέραν ("pristinam" Vg.). In rendering πρότερον, Erasmus made an opposite change at 1 *Petr.* 1,14, from *prioribus* to *pristinis*, and replaced *pristinos* by *superiores* at *Hebr.* 10,32. At the present passage, Erasmus' wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Jerome

Comm. and Manetti. See *Annot.* For Lefèvre's version, see the previous note.

22 *concupiscentias* τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ("desideria" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,14. Manetti anticipated this change, and further substituted *deceptionis* for *erroris*. Lefèvre replaced *desideria erroris* by *concupiscentiarum illecebras*.

23 *renouari* ἀνανεοῦσθαι ("renouamini" Vg.). See on vs. 22 (*deponere*), and *Annot.* In Lefèvre's version, *renouamini autem* became *vt et renouemini*.

23 *vero* δέ ("autem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre had *et*: see the previous note.

24 *induere* ἐνδύσασθαι ("induite" Vg.). See on vs. 22 (*deponere*). Lefèvre put *induamini* (cf. *induimini*, in the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster).

24 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

24 *conditus* κτισθέντα ("creatus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,25. The use of *conditus* also occurs in Jerome *Comm.*

24 *per iustitiam et sanctitatem* ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι ("in iusticia, et sanctitate" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. In *Annot.*, Erasmus' loose citation of this Greek phrase as ἐν ὁσιότητι probably did not reflect any manuscript variant. Lefèvre, questionably, substituted *sanctitatis veritate* for *sanctitate veritatis*.

25 *Quapropter* Διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29.

25 *deposito mendacio* ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος ("deponentes mendacium" Vg.). Erasmus makes use of the ablative absolute construction, to preserve the sense of the Greek aorist. He has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *deponentes falsitatem*.

25 *loquamini* λαλεῖτε ("loquimini" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,27.

25 *quisque* ἕκαστος ("vnusquisque" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,3.

25 *proximo* μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον ("cum proximo" Vg.). Erasmus is less literal here. Possibly he was concerned that *cum* might be misunderstood to imply speaking in unison with another person. However, the construction *loquor ... cum* occurred in classical usage with reference to two or more persons conversing with one another, and in *Annot.* he accepted that the Vulgate rendering was satisfactory. Erasmus retains *loquor cum* at thirteen other passages.

μέλη. ²⁶ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτά-
νετε. ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ τῷ
παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν, ²⁷μήτε δίδοτε
τόπον τῷ διαβόλῳ. ²⁸ὁ κλέπτων
μηκέτι κλεπτέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ κοπιά-
τω ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ταῖς χερ-
σίν, ἵνα ἔχῃ μεταδιδόναι τῷ χρείαν
ἔχοντι. ²⁹πᾶς λόγος σαπρὸς ἐκ τοῦ
στόματος ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκπορευέσθω, ἀλλ'
εἴ τις ἀγαθὸς πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς
χρείας, ἵνα δῷ χάριν τοῖς ἀκούουσι.
³⁰καὶ μὴ λυπεῖτε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον
τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε εἰς ἡμέ-
ραν ἀπολυτρόσεως. ³¹πᾶσα πικρία
καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ κραυγὴ καὶ

membra. ²⁶Irascimini et non peccetis.
Sol ne occidat super iram vestram,
²⁷neque detis locum calumniatori.
²⁸Qui furabatur, non amplius fure-
tur: magis autem laboret operando
manibus quod bonum est, vt possit
impartiri ei qui opus habuerit. ²⁹Om-
nis sermo spurcus ex ore vestro ne
procedat: sed si quis est bonus ad
aedificationem, quoties opus est, vt
det gratiam audientibus. ³⁰Et ne
contristetis spiritum sanctum dei,
per quem obsignati estis in diem
redemptionis. ³¹Omnis amarulentia
et tumor et ira et vociferatio et

26 οργιζεσθε *C-E*: οργισεσθε *A B* | 27 μητε *B-E*: μη δε *A*

29 quoties opus est *B-E*: vtilitatis *A* | 30 per quem *B-E*: in quo *A*

26 ὀργίζεσθε. The reading ὀργίσεσθε in
1516-19 is not derived from Erasmus' mss. at
Basle, and probably arose from a typesetting
error.

26 *non peccetis* μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε ("nolite peccare"
Vg.). Usually Erasmus has *ne* rather than *non*,
to express a negative command: cf. on *Rom*.
11,18. Manetti put *ne peccetis*.

26 *ne* μή ("non" Vg.). See the previous note,
and also on *Ioh*. 3,7.

26 *iram* τῷ παροργισμῷ ("iracundiam" Vg.).
In *Annot*., Erasmus argues that *iracundia* has
a pejorative connotation, meaning a habitual
tendency to lose one's temper. However, he was
content to attribute *iracundia*, rather than *ira*,
to Jesus at *Mc*. 3,5 (for ὀργή), and to God at
Ap. Ioh. 15,7 (for θυμός). Cf. Erasmus' substi-
tution of *ad iram prouoco* for *ad iracundiam
prouoco* in rendering παροργίζω at *Eph*. 6,4.

27 *neque detis locum* μήτε δίδοτε τόπον ("nolite
dare locum" Vg. 1527). The word-order of the
1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgate
of 1514. The Vulgate rendering would corre-
spond more closely with μή than with μήτε.
In 1516, Erasmus had μὴ δέ in his text, and
μήδε (*sic*) in *Annot*. His codd. 1, 2815, 2816,
2817 all had μὴ δέ (codd. 3 and 2105 had μή,
omitting δέ). The spelling μήτε is supported
by a minority of mss., and may represent an

arbitrary correction by Erasmus in 1519. This
variant remained hereafter in the *Textus Receptus*.
For the removal of *nolo*, see on *Rom*. 11,18.
Ambrosiaster, and the Jerome 1516 text and
lemma, had *neque locum detis*. Manetti put *ne
autem locum detis*. The earlier Vulgate, and also
Lefèvre (both columns), had *nolite locum dare*.

27 *calumniatori* τῷ διαβόλῳ ("diabolo" Vg.).
A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Tim*. 3,6-7
(cf. the Vulgate use of *detrahens* at 1 *Tim*. 3,11,
criminator at 2 *Tim*. 3,3, and *criminatrix* at *Tit*.
2,3), leaving it an open question as to whether
this was to be treated as a name for Satan or
as a description of every kind of false accuser.
See 1516 *Annot*. In his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop.
Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 210, ll. 758-771, Erasmus
further defended his rendering against objections
by Stunica.

28 *non amplius* μηκέτι ("iam non" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 6,66. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same
change.

28 *manibus* ταῖς χερσίν ("manibus suis" late
Vg. and many Vg. mss.). In more than 140 mss.,
commencing with ℵ * A D F G, and including
cod. 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ, ἰδίαις is added before χερσίν, cor-
responding with the late Vulgate addition of
suis. If ἰδίαις had genuinely belonged to the text
of the present passage, it could be thought that
some scribes deleted it because they considered

it redundant to the sense, or through an accidental error of homoeoteleuton, passing over from -αις in ταῖς to -αις in ἰδίαις. However, it is also possible that scribes incorrectly inserted ἰδίαις under the influence of 1 *Thess.* 4,11 (where most mss., commencing with ℵ * A D^corr, have ἐργάζεσθαι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ὑμῶν) or of 1 *Cor.* 4,12 (κοπιῶμεν, ἐργαζό-μενοι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσί). In omitting ἰδίαις, Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816*, as well as 𝔓^46 49vid ℵ^corr B and about 440 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 380-3). See *Annot.* In placing *quod bonum est* after *manibus*, he is influenced by the Vulgate word-order, which in turn reflects the transposition of τὸ ἀγαθόν after χερσίν, as in 𝔓^46 49 ℵ A B D F G and about forty other mss. (see Aland, *loc. cit.*). Ambrosiaster and Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus.

28 *possit* ἔχῃ ("habeat" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 8,11, and *Annot.*

28 *impartiri* μεταδιδόναι ("vnde tribuat" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering adheres to the grammatical form of the Greek word. For *impertio* and *impartior*, see further on *Rom.* 12,8. In *Annot.*, he suggested *impartire*. Lefèvre put *quod contribuere possit*.

28 *ei qui opus habuerit* τῷ χρείαν ἔχοντι ("necessitatem patienti" Vg.). This change produces a clearer rendering, as *necessitatem* could be mistaken for a direct object of *tribuo*. More importantly, Erasmus wished to prevent the supposition that *necessitas* meant that Christians are not obliged to help anyone unless the lack of such help would lead to that person's death: see *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *egestatem habenti*, and Lefèvre *indigentiam patienti*.

29 *spurcus* σαπρός ("malus" Vg.). Erasmus does not use *spurcus* elsewhere in the N.T. In the sense of "foul" or "obscene", it places a somewhat narrow restriction on the meaning of the Greek word. In 1519 *Annot.*, he also suggests *vitiosus*, which he adopts in rendering σαπρός at *Mt.* 12,33. He retains *malus* at *Mt.* 7,17-18; 13,48; *Lc.* 6,43. Manetti tried *fetidus*, and Lefèvre *marcidus*.

29 *ne* μή ("non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,7. Manetti made the same change.

29 *est bonus* ἀγαθός ("bonus est" Vg. 1527). The position of the verb is unaffected by the Greek text. The rendering *bonus est*, used by the 1527 Vulgate column and the Froben edition

of 1514, was also adopted by the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the Vulgate column of Lefèvre, had just *bonus*.

29 *quoties opus est* τῆς χρείας ("fidei" late Vg.; "oportunitatis" some Vg. mss.; "vtilitatis" 1516). The late Vulgate reading, which originated in the Old Latin version, corresponds with τῆς πίστεως in codd. D* F G and a few later mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that χρεία has more to do with usefulness than with opportunity. His use of *opus* here was no doubt intended to preserve a link with χρείαν in vs. 28, which he also rendered by *opus*. Manetti had exactly the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition. Lefèvre replaced *aedificationem fidei* with *aedificationis vtilitatem*.

30 *ne contristetis* μὴ λυπεῖτε ("nolite contristare" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18. Manetti made the same change.

30 τοῦ θεοῦ. These words were omitted in cod. 2815, in company with a few other late mss.

30 *per quem* ἐν ᾧ ("in quo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

30 *obsignati estis* ἐσφραγίσθητε ("signati estis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,33.

30 *in diem* εἰς ἡμέραν ("in die" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. See *Annot.* Some Vulgate mss. also have *in diem*.

30 ἀπολυτρόσεως. This spelling seems to have been an arbitrary change, or a misprint, as all Erasmus' Basle mss. had ἀπολυτρώσεως.

31 *amarulentia* πικρία ("amaritudo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,14.

31 *tumor et ira* θυμὸς καὶ ὀργή ("ira et indignatio" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds more closely with ὀργὴ καὶ θυμός, as in codd. D F G and a few other mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests rendering θυμός by *ferocitas* (1516-22), or *ferocia* (1527-35). He uses *indignatio et ira* for θυμὸς καὶ ὀργή at *Rom.* 2,8, where the Vulgate has a similar transposition of *ira* and *indignatio*: see further on 2 *Cor.* 12,20. Jerome *Comm.*, Manetti and Lefèvre put *furor et ira*.

31 *vociferatio* κραυγή ("clamor" Vg.). This is the only N.T. passage where Erasmus uses *vociferatio*. At *Mt.* 25,6; *Act.* 23,9; *Hebr.* 5,7; *Ap. Ioh.* 21,4, he retains *clamor* from the Vulgate, in rendering the same Greek word. At the present passage, he wanted a word which had a more pejorative connotation.

βλασφημία ἀρθήτω ἀφ' ὑμῶν, σὺν
πάσῃ κακίᾳ.   ³²γίνεσθε δὲ εἰς ἀλλή-
λους χρηστοί, εὔσπλαγχνοι, χαριζό-
μενοι ἑαυτοῖς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐν
Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν.

5 Γίνεσθε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ,
ὡς τέκνα ἀγαπητά,   ²καὶ περι-
πατεῖτε ἐν ἀγάπῃ, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χρι-
στὸς ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ παρέδωκεν
ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προσφορὰν καὶ
θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας.
³πορνεία δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἀκαθαρσία ἢ
πλεονεξία μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ἐν ὑμῖν,
καθὼς πρέπει ἁγίοις,   ⁴καὶ αἰσχρό-
της, καὶ μωρολογία, ἢ εὐτραπελία, τὰ
LB 851   οὐκ ἀνήκοντα, ἀλλὰ | μᾶλλον εὐχα-
ριστία.   ⁵τοῦτο γάρ ἐστε γινώσκοντες,

maledicentia tollatur a vobis, cum om-
ni malicia. ³²Sitis autem inuicem alius
in alium comes, misericordes, largien-
tes vobis inuicem, quemadmodum et
deus per Christum largitus est vobis.

5 Sitis igitur imitatores dei, tanquam
filii dilecti,   ²et ambuletis in dile-
ctione, quemadmodum et Christus di-
lexit nos, et tradidit semet ipsum pro
nobis oblationem ac victimam deo in
odorem bonae fragrantiae.   ³Caeterum
scortatio et omnis immundicia aut
auaricia ne nominetur quidem inter
vos: sicut decet sanctos: ⁴aut obscoe-
nitas, aut stultiloquium, aut vrbani-
tas, | quae non conueniunt, sed magis   LB 852
gratiarum actio.   ⁵Nam hoc scitis,

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32 εν χριστω εχαρισατο υμιν B-E: εχαρισατο υμιν εν χριστω A

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32 vobis inuicem B-E: vobismet ipsis A | per Christum B-E: in Christo A
5,1 tanquam B-E: vt A | 2 ac B-E: et A | 3 scortatio B-E: fornicatio A | 4 prius aut B-E:
et A | alt. aut B-E: et A | tert. aut B-E: et A | non conueniunt B-E: ad rem non pertinent A

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31 maledicentia βλασφημία ("blasphemia" Vg.).
A similar substitution occurs at Col. 3,8; 1 Tim.
6,4; Ap. Ioh. 17,3 (1519). See further on Act.
6,11.
32 Sitis γίνεσθε ("Estote" Vg.). See on 1 Cor.
14,20.
32 inuicem alius in alium εἰς ἀλλήλους ("inui-
cem" Vg.). See on Ioh. 13,14.
32 comes χρηστοί ("benigni" Vg.). Cf. the sub-
stitution of comitas for benignitas in rendering
χρηστότης at Col. 3,12: see on Rom. 2,4. In
rendering χρηστός elsewhere, Erasmus retains
benignus at Lc. 6,35, and substitutes benignus
for dulcis at 1 Petr. 2,3. In Annot., he suggests
that benignitas specifically denotes generosity in
giving, and not just kindness in general. Lefèvre
put dulces.
32 largientes ... largitus est χαριζόμενοι ... ἐχα-
ρίσατο ("donantes ... donauit" Vg.). In 1516
Annot., Erasmus contends that χαρίζομαι here
refers to giving rather than to forgiving. In a
change of view in 1519 Annot., he concedes

that forgiving is the primary sense. Lefèvre put
condonantes ... condonauit.
32 vobis inuicem ἑαυτοῖς ("inuicem" Vg.; "vo-
bismet ipsis" 1516). Erasmus' more literal ren-
dering in 1516 was influenced by Jerome Comm.:
see Annot. In 1519, he adopts the same render-
ing as Lefèvre, which was closer to that of the
Vulgate.
32 quemadmodum καθὼς ("sicut" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.
32 per Christum ἐν Χριστῷ ("in Christo" 1516
= Vg.). See on Rom. 1,17. In the 1516 Greek
text, this phrase is placed after ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν,
partly following cod. 2815, which has ἐχαρίσατο
ἡμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ, a word-order which has little
ms. support (cf. cod. 2105, ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν ἐν
Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ).
32 vobis (2nd.) ὑμῖν. In Annot., Erasmus cites
the Greek text as ἡμῖν, but says that his mss.
vary on this point. The reading ἡμῖν is attes-
ted by his codd. 1, 2105, 2815, along with
𝔓⁴⁹ᵛⁱᵈ B D and most other mss., supporting

the reading *nobis* in the earlier Vulgate. The reading ὑμῖν is found in codd. 2816 and 2817, as well as 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A F G and some other mss. Since ὑμῖν is what the earlier γίνεσθε would lead the reader to expect, it could be argued that ἡμῖν has the advantage of being a *lectio difficilior* in this context. A similar combination of first and second person plurals occurs (in many mss.) at *Col.* 2,13. Confusion between ἡμῖν and ὑμῖν, etc., is a frequent source of scribal error.

5,1 *Sitis* Γίνεσθε ("Estote" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,20.

1 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. The same substitution was made by Lefèvre.

1 *tanquam* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.; "vt" 1516). See on *Rom.* 13,13. Lefèvre likewise had *tanquam*.

1 *dilecti* ἀγαπητά ("charissimi" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,25. Manetti and Lefèvre both made this change, though Manetti had the word-order *dilecti filii*.

2 *ambuletis* περιπατεῖτε ("ambulate" Vg.). This change is consistent with Erasmus' substitution of *sitis* in vs. 1.

2 *quemadmodum* καθὼς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt*.

2 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

2 *victimam* θυσίαν ("hostiam" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 10,18.

2 *bonae fragrantiae* εὐωδίας ("suauitatis" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 2,15. In *Annot.*, Erasmus attributes his rendering to Jerome, who used this phrase in the preface to the second book of his commentary on Zechariah (*CCSL* 76A, p. 795). Valla *Annot.* gave *odorem fragrantiae* as the literal meaning of ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας, but also recommended *odorem suauem* or *suauitatem odoris*. The latter was preferred by Lefèvre.

3 *Caeterum scortatio* πορνεία δέ ("Fornicatio autem" Vg.; "Caeterum fornicatio" 1516). For *scortatio*, see on *Ioh.* 8,41, and for *caeterum*, see on *Act.* 6,2.

3 *ne nominetur quidem* μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ("nec nominetur" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,5, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *ne quidem nominetur*. By a scribal error, Manetti's version had *nullatenus dominetur*.

3 *inter vos* ἐν ὑμῖν ("in vobis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.

4 *aut* (three times) καὶ ... καὶ ... ἤ ("et" 1516 Lat.). The Vulgate repetition of *aut* may reflect the replacement of καὶ ... καί by ἤ ... ἤ, as found in codd. A D* F G and a few later mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and 2816, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ B Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. (cod. 2105 omits the first καί). In cod. ℵ *, it is καὶ ... ἤ ... ἤ, and in 𝔓⁴⁶ καὶ ... καὶ ... καί. In 1519, regardless of the Greek text, Erasmus reverted to the Vulgate rendering, for the sake of what he considered to be better style ("commodior est oratio"): see *Annot.* The Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the version of Manetti, put *et ... et ... aut*.

4 *obscoenitas* αἰσχρότης ("turpitudo" Vg.). Erasmus retains *turpitudo* for ἀσχημοσύνη at *Ap. Ioh.* 16,15: cf. on *Rom.* 1,27. The reason for the present change, no doubt, is that the context seemed to call for a reference to obscenity of speech rather than of conduct.

4 *vrbanitas* εὐτραπελία ("scurrilitas" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that the Greek word can sometimes have a good sense. Valla *Annot.* tentatively offered *facetia* as an alternative, and Lefèvre put *facetiae*.

4 *quae non conueniunt* τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα ("quae ad rem non pertinet" late Vg. and many Vg. mss.; "quae ad rem non pertinent" 1516 = some Vg. mss.). The substitution of *conueniunt* conforms with Vulgate usage in rendering τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα at *Rom.* 1,28. The context clearly requires a word meaning "unfitting" or "unsuitable", rather than "irrelevant". See *Annot.* At *Col.* 3,18, Erasmus replaces *oportet* with *conuenit* in rendering ἀνῆκεν, while at *Phm.* 8 (1519) he substitutes *id quod officii tui erat* for *quod ad rem pertinet* in rendering τὸ ἀνῆκον. The late Vulgate use of the singular could have originated as a scribal alteration, by the omission of a single letter, though the same wording is used by Ambrosiaster. A few mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ⁽⁴⁹ᵛⁱᵈ⁾ ℵ A B, have ἃ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν. Manetti anticipated Erasmus' 1519 rendering. Valla *Annot.* proposed *quae non sunt conuenientia* (or *decentia*), while Lefèvre *Comm.* had *quae nequaquam res sunt decentes* (misspelled as *dicentes* in his continuous text).

5 *Nam hoc* τοῦτο γάρ ("Hoc enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

5 *scitis* ἐστε γινώσκοντες ("scitote intelligentes" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the replacement of ἐστε by ἴστε, as in codd. ℵ A B D* F G (cf. εἰστε in 𝔓⁴⁹ᵛⁱᵈ) and some other mss., including

ὅτι πᾶς πόρνος, ἢ ἀκάθαρτος, ἢ
πλεονέκτης, ὅς ἐστιν εἰδωλολάτρης,
οὐκ ἔχει κληρονομίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ. ⁶μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς
ἀπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις. διὰ ταῦτα
γὰρ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ
τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας. ⁷μὴ οὖν
γίνεσθε συμμέτοχοι αὐτῶν. ⁸ἦτε γάρ
ποτε σκότος, νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν κυρίῳ.
ὡς τέκνα φωτὸς περιπατεῖτε· ⁹ὁ
γὰρ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν πάσῃ
ἀγαθοσύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀλη-
θείᾳ, ¹⁰δοκιμάζοντες τί ἐστιν εὐάρε-
στον τῷ κυρίῳ. ¹¹καὶ μὴ συγκοινω-
νεῖτε τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀκάρποις τοῦ
σκότους, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐλέγχετε.

quod omnis scortator, aut immun-
dus, aut auarus, qui est simulacro-
rum cultor, non habet haereditatem
in regno Christi et dei. ⁶Ne quis-
quam vos decipiat inanibus sermo-
nibus. Propter haec enim venire solet
ira dei in filios inobedientes. ⁷Ne
sitis igitur consortes illorum. ⁸Era-
tis quondam tenebrae, nunc autem
lux in domino. Vt filii lucis ambula-
te: ⁹nam fructus spiritus situs est in
omni bonitate et iustitia et veritate,
¹⁰probantes quid sit acceptum domi-
no. ¹¹Et ne commercium habueri-
tis cum operibus infrugiferis tene-
brarum, quin ea potius etiam arguite.

5 scortator *B-E*: fornicator *A* | aut immundus *B-E*: *om. A* | 6 inobedientes *B-E*: inobedien-
tiae *A* | 8 Eratis *E*: Eratis enim *A-D* | 9 situs est *B-E*: *om. A*

cod. 2817. Erasmus follows cod. 2815, along
with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D^corr and most
other mss. See *Annot.* The rendering of Ambro-
siaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and
also Valla *Annot.*, had *scitote*, omitting *intelligentes*.
Lefèvre put *cognoscite*. Manetti's version seems
to have begun as *scitote cognoscentes* (in the first
hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45), later corrupted into *scite
et cognoscentes* (as in *Urb. Lat.* 6).

5 *scortator* πόρνος ("fornicator" 1516 = Vg.).
See on 1 *Cor.* 5,9.

5 *aut immundus* ἢ ἀκάθαρτος (omitted in 1516
Lat.). The 1516 omission was probably inadver-
tent, as it was in conflict with the accompanying
Greek text and unsupported by any of Erasmus'
mss. at Basle.

5 *qui est simulacrorum cultor* ὅς ἐστιν εἰδωλο-
λάτρης ("quod est idolorum seruitus" Vg.).
The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of ὅ
for ὅς, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B F G and some other mss.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside
1, 2105, 2816, with codd. A D and most later
mss. For *simulacrorum cultor*, see on 1 *Cor.* 5,10,
and *Annot.* The proposed rendering of Valla
Annot. was *qui est idolorum seruus*, whereas Ma-
netti had *qui est idolorum cultor*, and Lefèvre *qui
est idololatra*.

6 *Ne quisquam* μηδείς ("Nemo" Vg.). See on
1 *Cor.* 3,18.

6 *decipiat* ἀπατάτω ("seducat" Vg.). See on
Rom. 7,11. Erasmus has the same rendering as
Jerome *Comm.*

6 *sermonibus* λόγοις ("verbis" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 1,1. Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *venire solet* ἔρχεται ("venit" Vg.). A similar
expansion is seen at *Col.* 3,6. As explained
in *Annot.*, Erasmus wished to make clear that
the verb was in the present tense, as the tense
of *venit* can be taken as either present or
perfect. Other additions of *soleo*, to denote
repeated action, occur at *Mt.* 17,24; *Lc.* 1,11
(1519); *Hebr.* 7,9; 2 *Petr.* 2,22.

6 *inobedientes* τῆς ἀπειθείας ("diffidentiae" Vg.;
"inobedientiae" 1516). See on *Eph.* 2,2, and
Annot. The rendering of Lefèvre was *dissuaden-
tiae*.

7 *Ne sitis ... consortes* μὴ ... γίνεσθε συμμέτοχοι
("Nolite ... effici participes" Vg.). See on *Ioh.*
5,14 for the removal of *nolo*, and on *Eph.* 3,6
for *consortes*. See also *Annot.* The version of Ma-
netti put *Ne efficiamini ... participes*, while Lefèvre
had *nolite ... comparticipes ... fieri* (cf. *Nolite ...
effici comparticipes* in the Jerome 1516 text and
lemma).

7 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.
Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("eorum" Vg.). Erasmus
on this occasion prefers the more emphatic

pronoun, connecting with *filios* in vs. 6 and contrasting with *in domino* in vs. 8. Valla *Annot.* preferred *eis*. Lefèvre placed *eorum* after *comparticipes*.

8 *Eratis* ἦτε γάρ ("Eratis enim" 1516-27 = Vg.). The omission of *enim* in 1535 may have been unintentional, as γάρ was retained in the accompanying Greek text, though the same omission was made by Ambrosiaster.

8 *quondam* ποτε ("aliquando" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,9.

9 *nam fructus* ὁ γὰρ καρπός ("fructus enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Erasmus has the same wording as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

9 *spiritus* τοῦ πνεύματος ("lucis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of φωτός for πνεύματος, as in 𝔓⁴⁹ ℵ A B D* F G and twenty-five other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also 𝔓⁴⁶ D^corr and about 560 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 383-5). In *Annot.*, he speaks favourably of the Vulgate reading, on the basis of the context and of patristic commentaries. The question which arises from this textual variation is whether πνεύματος might have been caused by scribal harmonisation with *Gal.* 5,22, or whether φωτός could, more simply, represent a harmonisation with the immediate context, under influence from φωτός in vs. 8 and from the series of references to light and darkness in vss. 7-14. It is noteworthy that, before the discovery of 𝔓⁴⁶, the earliest Greek N.T. mss. known to read πνεύματος belonged to the ninth century A.D. (among which was the ninth-century corrector of cod. D), though fourth-century corroborative evidence was available from Chrysostom. The testimony of 𝔓⁴⁶, thought to date from about A.D. 200 and therefore earlier than any other N.T. mss. which contain this verse, has established that the reading πνεύματος is of great antiquity. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

9 *situs est in* ἐν ("est in" Vg.; "in" 1516). The shorter 1516 rendering, which agreed with the version of Ambrosiaster, was more literal, but less clear. For other additions of *situs*, see on *Eph.* 2,15.

9 ἀγαθωσύνῃ. This spelling was not derived from Erasmus' mss. at Basle, and was probably an arbitrary change, though it is found in cod. 69, along with 𝔓⁴⁹ D F^corr G and some

other mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B I, it is ἀγαθωσύνῃ. See on *Rom.* 15,14 for other such changes.

10 *acceptum* εὐάρεστον ("beneplacitum" Vg.). The Vulgate expression does not occur in classical usage. Erasmus was nevertheless content to introduce *beneplacitum* at *Eph.* 1,5, 9: see *ad locc.*

10 *domino* τῷ κυρίῳ ("deo" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the substitution of θεῷ for κυρίῳ in codd. D* F G and a few later mss. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus was also proposed by Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*

11 *ne commercium habueritis cum* μὴ συγκοινωνεῖτε ("nolite communicare" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in rendering κοινωνέω at *Hebr.* 2,14. Erasmus also uses *commercium habeo* for συγχράομαι at *Ioh.* 4,9, and for συναναμίγνυμι at 2 *Thess.* 3,14. However, he retains *communico* for συγκοινωνέω at *Phil.* 4,14, and for κοινωνέω at several further passages: see on *Rom.* 15,27. For the use of *ne*, see on *Rom.* 11,18. Manetti put *ne communicetis*.

11 *infrugiferis* ἀκάρποις ("infructuosis" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Tit.* 3,14; *Iud.* 12. As it happens, the Vulgate word has good classical precedent, whereas the substitute offered by Erasmus was not used by classical authors.

11 *quin ea potius* μᾶλλον δέ ("magis autem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,19 for *quin potius*. Erasmus adds *ea*, to form a closer link with the preceding *operibus*. Lefèvre had *at potius*.

11 *etiam* καί (omitted in late Vg.). The late Vulgate omission has little explicit support from Greek mss. other than 𝔓⁴⁶. See *Annot.* The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, with Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*, had *et*.

11 *arguite* ἐλέγχετε ("redarguite" Vg.). The verb *redarguo* has the more specific meaning, "prove something to be untrue", whereas *arguo* has a wider range of connotation, including "condemn", "prove guilty", "expose", etc. See *Annot.* This change was in accordance with Vulgate usage in vs. 13, below (see *ad loc.*), as well as at *Ioh.* 3,20; 8,46; 16,8; 1 *Tim.* 5,20; *Tit.* 2,15; *Hebr.* 12,5; *Ap. Ioh.* 3,19. However, Erasmus retained *redarguo* for ἐλέγχω at *Tit.* 1,13; *Iac.* 2,9, and substituted *redarguo* for *arguo* in rendering ἐξελέγχω at *Iud.* 15. His rendering of the

¹²Τὰ γὰρ κρυφῇ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, αἰσχρόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν. ¹³Τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐλεγχόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς φανεροῦνται. πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φανερούμενον, φῶς ἐστι. ¹⁴διὸ λέγει, Ἔγειραι ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

¹⁵Βλέπετε οὖν πῶς ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖτε, μὴ ὡς ἄσοφοι, ἀλλὰ ὡς | σοφοί, ¹⁶ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρόν, ὅτι αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραί εἰσι. ¹⁷διὰ τοῦτο μὴ γίνεσθε ἄφρονες, ἀλλὰ συνιέντες τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου. ¹⁸καὶ μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἀσωτία, ἀλλὰ πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι, ¹⁹λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ᾄδοντες καὶ

¹²Nam quae secreto fiunt ab istis, turpe est vel dicere: ¹³sed omnia dum produntur a luce manifesta fiunt. Nam quicquid manifestum redditur, lumen est. ¹⁴Quapropter dicit: Expergiscere qui dormis, et surge a mortuis, et illucescet tibi Christus.

¹⁵Videte igitur quomodo circunspecte ambuletis, non vt insipien|tes, sed vt sapientes, ¹⁶redimentes occasionem, quod dies mali sint. ¹⁷Propterea ne sitis imprudentes, sed intelligentes quae sit voluntas domini. ¹⁸Et ne inebriemini vino, in quo luxus est, sed impleamini spiritu, ¹⁹loquentes vobis ipsis per psalmos et hymnos et cantiones spirituales, canentes ac

5,14 εγειραι *A C-E*: εγειρα *B* | 18 ασωτια *B-E*: ασωτεια *A*

13 dum produntur *B-E*: prodita *A* | manifestum redditur *B-E*: manifestatur *A* | 18 spiritu *B-E*: in spiritu *A* | 19 vobis ipsis *E* (vobisipsis *E*): vobismetipsis *A-D* | per ... spirituales *B-E*: psalmis, et hymnis, et cantionibus spiritalibus *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A*

present passage is the same as the Jerome 1516 text and lemma.

12 *Nam quae* τὰ γὰρ ("Quae enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

12 *secreto* κρυφῇ ("in occulto" Vg.). Erasmus retains *in occulto* for ἐν κρυπτῷ at *Ioh.* 7,4, 10; 18,20, and further introduces *in occulto* for ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ at *Mt.* 6,4, 6, 18; *Rom.* 2,29 (each time replacing *in abscondito*). Elsewhere he uses *secreto* twice for κατ' ἰδίαν, at *Mt.* 24,3 (= Vulgate); *Mc.* 13,3. Manetti put *latenter*.

12 *istis* αὐτῶν ("ipsis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,18 for Erasmus' use of *iste* to convey disapproval.

12 *vel* καί ("et" Vg.). This idiomatic use of *vel*, in the sense of "even", also occurs at *Mc.* 3,20; *Lc.* 13,7 (1519);*Act.* 5,15; *Hebr.* 11,19, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mc.* 5,28; 6,56.

13 *sed omnia* τὰ δὲ πάντα ("Omnia autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

13 *dum produntur* ἐλεγχόμενα ("quae arguuntur" Vg.; "prodita" 1516). Having introduced *arguo* in vs. 11, Erasmus varies the vocabulary by using a different verb, to convey the idea of public exposure of wrongdoing. See *Annot.*

on vs. 11. For *dum*, see on *Rom.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *quae redarguuntur*, consistent with Vulgate usage in vs. 11.

13 *luce* τοῦ φωτός ("lumine" Vg.). This change was for the sake of stylistic variety, in view of Erasmus' retention of *lumen* later in this verse. Cf. on *Ioh.* 1,7. He uses the same rendering as Jerome *Comm.*

13 *manifesta fiunt ... manifestum redditur* φανεροῦνται ... φανερούμενον ("manifestantur ... manifestatur" Vg.; "manifesta fiunt ... manifestatur" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,31 for Erasmus' removal of *manifesto*. The spelling φανεροῦνται, plural, was used by codd. 2815 and 2817, along with cod. 2105, and also cod. A and a few later mss., including cod. 69. In codd. 1, 2816 and most other mss., it is φανεροῦται, singular, though the meaning is the same.

13 *Nam quicquid* πᾶν γὰρ τό ("omne enim quod" Vg.). For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34, and for *quicquid*, see on *Ioh.* 4,14. Lefèvre put *Nam omne quod*.

14 *Quapropter* διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. Lefèvre made the same change. (In N²⁷, this verse begins with πᾶν γάρ.)

14 *Expergiscere* Ἔγειραι ("Surge" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,11. The spelling ἔγειραι is drawn from codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by cod. 2105 and some other late mss. In codd. 1, 2816 and most other mss. it is ἔγειρε.

14 *surge* ἀνάστα ("exurge" Vg.). Erasmus retains *exurgo* for ἀνίστημι at several passages in Acts, but in the context of rising from the dead *surgo* or *resurgo* are the more usual verbs. Lefèvre put *resurge* here.

14 *illucescet tibi* ἐπιφαύσει σοι ("illuminabit te" late Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in rendering ἐπιφαίνω at *Lc.* 1,79. Erasmus wanted to use *illucesco* because it referred more directly to the light of dawn: see *Annot.*, and see further on *2 Cor.* 4,4.

15 *igitur* οὖν ("itaque fratres" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,1 for *igitur*. The Vulgate use of *fratres* corresponds with the addition of ἀδελφοί in codd. א corr A and a few later mss. See *Annot.* In Ambrosiaster (1492), the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the version of Manetti, the rendering was *ergo*, omitting *fratres*. Lefèvre omitted *itaque* as well as *fratres*.

15 *circunspecte* ἀκριβῶς ("caute" Vg.). Erasmus evidently considered that *circunspecte* ("carefully looking round them") was more appropriate to the context, referring to those who were walking in the light, whereas *caute* ("warily" or "cautiously") would be suitable for those who looked for a path through the darkness: cf. *Annot.*, where he gives *diligenter* and *accurate* as alternatives. The last of these was the rendering of Lefèvre.

15 *vt* (1st.) ὡς ("quasi" Vg.). See on *1 Cor.* 3,1. This change produced consistency with *vt* later in the sentence. Erasmus used the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the version of Lefèvre. Manetti had *tanquam*.

15 ἀλλά. This spelling was an arbitrary change, though it is exhibited by 𝔓⁴⁶ 048. Erasmus' mss. at Basle, together with most other mss., have ἀλλ'.

16 *occasionem* τὸν καιρόν ("tempus" Vg.). Erasmus here tries to express the sense of an "opportune" time or moment: see *Annot.* At *Col.* 4,5, where a similar Greek expression occurs, he substitutes *opportunitatem*.

16 *quod ... sint* ὅτι ... εἰσι ("quoniam ... sunt" Vg.). Cf. on *Ioh.* 1,20.

17 *ne sitis* μὴ γίνεσθε ("nolite fieri" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18. Manetti put *ne estote*.

17 *domini* τοῦ κυρίου ("dei" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with τοῦ θεοῦ in cod. A and a few later mss., including codd. 2105 and 2815. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

18 *ne inebriemini* μὴ μεθύσκεσθε ("nolite inebriari" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18. Manetti also anticipated this change.

18 *luxus est* ἐστιν ἀσωτία ("est luxuria" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal as to the word-order. In 1516, Erasmus' text had ἐστιν ἀσωτεία, as in cod. 2815, but in few other mss. A similar substitution of *luxus* occurs at *Tit.* 1,6; *1 Petr.* 4,4, these being the only other N.T. instances of ἀσωτία. As indicated in *Annot.*, *luxuria* can have the connotation of "lust", whereas Erasmus considered that the principal meaning of the Greek word was "extravagance" or "excessive behaviour". He objected to Lefèvre's replacement of *luxuria* by *insalubritas*. Valla *Annot.* tentatively proposed *vecordia*.

18 *spiritu* ἐν πνεύματι ("spiritu sancto" late Vg.; "in spiritu" 1516). The late Vulgate addition of *sancto* lacks support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The passage appears among the *Quae Sint Addita*. The 1516 addition of *in*, which followed the rendering of Lefèvre, was unduly literal. In 1519, Erasmus reverted to the wording of the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and Manetti (*Pal. Lat.* 45).

19 *vobis ipsis* ἑαυτοῖς ("vobismetipsis" 1516-27 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 14,17. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

19 *per psalmos et hymnos et cantiones spirituales* ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ("in psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus" Vg.; "psalmis, et hymnis, et cantionibus spiritalibus" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the insertion of ἐν before ψαλμοῖς, as found in a few mss., notably 𝔓⁴⁶ B (though these two omit πνευματικαῖς). Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with א A D F G. See *Annot.* For *cantio*, see on *1 Cor.* 14,26. Manetti's version incorrectly had *hinnis* for *hymnis*.

19 *canentes* ᾄδοντες ("cantantes" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,38.

19 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

ψάλλοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ κυ- | psallentes in corde vestro domino, | | |
ρίῳ, ²⁰ εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπὲρ | ²⁰ gratias agentes semper de omni-
πάντων, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν | bus, in nomine domini nostri Iesu
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί. ²¹ ὑπο- | Christi, deo et patri. ²¹ Subditi vi-
τασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ. | cissim alius alii cum timore dei.

²² Αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν | ²² Vxores propriis viris subditae
ὑποτάσσεσθε, ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ, ²³ ὅτι ἀνήρ | sitis, veluti domino: ²³ quoniam vir
ἐστι κεφαλὴ τῆς γυναικός, ὡς καὶ ὁ | est caput vxoris, quemadmodum et
Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ αὐ- | Christus est caput ecclesiae: et idem
τός ἐστι σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος. ²⁴ ἀλλ' | est, qui salutem dat corpori. ²⁴ Ita-
ὥσπερ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεται τῷ | que quemadmodum ecclesia subdita
Χριστῷ, οὕτως καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς | est Christo, sic et vxores suis viris
ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ἐν παντί. ²⁵ οἱ ἄνδρες, | subditae sint in omnibus. ²⁵ Viri,

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20 ημων *A B D E*: υμων *C* | 24 αι *A B D E*: οι *C*

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21 cum *B-E*: in *A*

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19 *corde vestro* τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν ("cordibus vestris" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, as in codd. ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ A D F G and twenty-four other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B and about 560 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 385-8). Lefèvre *Comm.*, however, argued that *vestro* might be misunderstood as applying to *domino*.

20 *de* ὑπέρ ("pro" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,12. Sometimes, in the same context of thanksgiving, Erasmus retains *pro*, as at 2 *Cor.* 1,11 (1519); *Eph.* 1,16.

20 τοῦ. This word was omitted in cod. 2815*, but was restored by a later hand (not that of Erasmus).

21 *Subditi* ὑποτασσόμενοι ("Subiecti" Vg.). This substitution produces consistency with *subditae* in vs. 22. See on *Rom.* 8,7. Lefèvre made the same change.

21 *vicissim alius alii* ἀλλήλοις ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33; *Gal.* 5,15.

21 *cum timore* ἐν φόβῳ ("in timore" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4, and *Annot.*

21 *dei* θεοῦ ("Christi" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text substituting Χριστοῦ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B and many later mss., including cod. 2816. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together

with 1, 2105 and many other late mss. The same change was made by Manetti.

22 *Vxores* Αἱ γυναῖκες ("Mulieres" Vg.). This substitution was consistent with Vulgate usage in vss. 25, 28. See on 1 *Cor.* 7,1. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre proposed the same change.

22 *propriis viris subditae sitis* τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε ("viris suis subditae sint" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ὑποτασσέσθωσαν for ὑποτάσσεσθε, as in codd. ℵ A I and about fifty later mss. In codd. D F G, ὑποτάσσεσθε (ὑποτάσσεσθαι in D* G, and ὑποτάσεσθαι in cod. F) is placed before τοῖς, while in 𝔓⁴⁶ B the verb is wholly omitted. Cod. 2817 has the spelling ὑποτάσεσθε in place of ὑποτάσσεσθε. Erasmus follows codd. 2815, with 1, 2105, 2816ᵛⁱᵈ and about 500 other late mss. (cf. Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 388-91). In 1522 *Annot.*, relying on Jerome *Comm.*, Erasmus expressed the opinion that the verb was a later addition to produce a clearer sense. An alternative explanation of the discrepancy could be that the verb was omitted by an ancient scribe, either by accident or by deliberate harmonisation with vs. 24, where the identical sequence αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν is repeated without an accompanying verb (though in vs. 24, a few mss. omit ἰδίοις). For *propriis*, see also on *Ioh.* 1,11. Valla *Annot.* suggested *viris* (or *maritis*) *propriis subditae sitis*, and Manetti

propriis viris subditae sint. Lefèvre had *propriis viris subiectae estote.*

22 *veluti* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,36; 2 *Cor.* 2,17. The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *tanquam.*

23 ἀνήρ. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815 and some other late mss., it is ὁ ἀνήρ. In omitting the article, Erasmus follows his cod. 2817, alongside cod. 2816 and most other mss.

23 *est caput* (1st.) ἐστι κεφαλή ("caput est" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with κε-φαλή ἐστι in cod. B and a few later mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

23 *vxoris* τῆς γυναικός ("mulieris" Vg.). See on vs. 22, above, and on 1 *Cor.* 7,1. The same change was offered by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

23 *quemadmodum* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt.*

23 *et* (1st.) καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission lacks support from Greek mss. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre.

23 *est caput* (2nd.) κεφαλή ("caput est" Vg.). Erasmus makes the Latin word-order conform with the use of ἐστι κεφαλή earlier in the verse (see above). The Jerome 1516 text and the version of Lefèvre, more literally, had just *caput.*

23 *et idem est* καί αὐτός ἐστι ("ipse" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text omitting καί and ἐστι, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B D* F G Iᵛⁱᵈ 048 and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.* For *idem*, see e.g. on *Eph.* 4,11. The Jerome 1516 text and lemma, with Manetti and Lefèvre, put *et ipse est.* Valla *Annot.* changed *ipse saluator* to *et ipse saluator est.*

23 *qui salutem dat corpori* σωτήρ τοῦ σώμα-τος ("saluator corporis eius" late Vg.). In 1516, except in the General Epistles, Erasmus usually retained *saluator*, and in 1519 replaced all remaining instances of *saluator* by *seruator:* see on *Ioh.* 4,42. The late Vulgate addition of *eius* lacks support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The rendering proposed by Valla *Annot.* was *saluator est corporis* (see the previous note). The earlier

Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre, had *saluator corporis.*

24 *Itaque* ἀλλ' ("Sed" Vg.). Erasmus is less accurate here. The only other instance where he puts *itaque* for ἀλλά is at *Act.* 10,20, following the Vulgate. At the present passage, he may have been influenced partly by the context, and partly by Lefèvre's substitution of *Quemadmodum igitur* for *Sed sicut.*

24 *quemadmodum* ὥσπερ ("sicut" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgᵂʷ). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change: for his word-order, see the previous note. Jerome *Comm.* and Valla *Annot.* had *vt*, as in many Vulgate mss. (with Vgˢᵗ).

24 *subdita est* ὑποτάσσεται ("subiecta est" Vg.). See on vs. 21, above, and on *Rom.* 8,7. Lefèvre put *subditur.*

24 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. Lefèvre put *hunc in modum.*

24 *vxores* αἱ γυναῖκες ("mulieres" Vg.). See on vs. 22, above, and on 1 *Cor.* 7,1. Erasmus used the same rendering as Jerome *Comm.* (contrary to the Jerome 1516 N.T. text and lemma), Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

24 *suis viris* τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ("viris suis" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. A few mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B D* F G 048, omit ἰδίοις. On this point, Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as A Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. One explanation of ἰδίοις is that it represents a scribal harmonisation with the same phrase in vs. 22. Alternatively, a few scribes left out this word through an error of homoeoteleuton, passing over from -οις in τοῖς to the same three letters at the end of ἰδίοις, or it could have been deleted intentionally by a scribe who deemed it to be an unnecessary repetition, in the light of vs. 22. The omission of ἑαυτῶν by a few early mss. in vs. 25 could also have been prompted by such a considera-tion. Cf. on ἰδίαις at *Eph.* 4,28. Other variants involving ἴδιος occur at *Col.* 3,18; 1 *Thess.* 2,15; 4,11. The proposed rendering of Valla *Annot.* was *maritis suis*, while Manetti and Lefèvre had *propriis viris.*

24 *subditae sint* (Vg. omits). Erasmus adds a verb, on analogy with vs. 22, for the sake of clarity.

ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας ἑαυτῶν, καθὼς
καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,
καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ²⁶ ἵνα
αὐτὴν ἁγιάσῃ, καθαρίσας τῷ λουτρῷ
τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι, ²⁷ ἵνα παραστήσῃ
αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ ἔνδοξον, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,
μὴ ἔχουσαν σπῖλον ἢ ῥυτίδα, ἤ τι τῶν
τοιούτων, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία καὶ ἄμωμος.
²⁸ οὕτως ὀφείλουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀγαπᾶν
τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας, ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώ-
ματα. ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα,
ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ. ²⁹ οὐδεὶς γάρ ποτε τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἐμίσησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκτρέφει
καὶ θάλπει αὐτήν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ κύριος
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ³⁰ ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν τοῦ
σώματος αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ. ³¹ ἀντὶ τούτου

diligite vxores vestras, sicut et
Christus dilexit ecclesiam, et semet
ipsum exposuit pro ea, ²⁶ vt illam
sanctificaret, mundatam lauacro aquae
per verbum, ²⁷ vt adhiberet eam sibi
ipsi gloriosam, ecclesiam, non haben-
tem maculam aut rugam, aut quic-
quam eiusmodi, sed vt esset sancta
et irreprehensibilis. ²⁸ Sic debent viri
diligere suas vxores, vt sua ipsorum
corpora. Qui diligit suam vxorem, se
ipsum diligit. ²⁹ Nullus enim vnquam
suam ipsius carnem odio habuit, imo
enutrit ac fouet eam, sicut et domi-
nus ecclesiam. ³⁰ Quoniam membra
sumus corporis eiusdem, ex carne eius
et ex ossibus eius. ³¹ Huius rei gratia,

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25 exposuit B-E: tradidit A | 26 per verbum B-E: in verbo A | 27 irreprehensibilis B-E:
irrepraehensibilis A | 29 ac B-E: et A

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25 *semet ipsum* ἑαυτόν ("se ipsum" Vg.). Cf. on
Gal. 2,20. Erasmus' rendering agrees with that
of Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and
Manetti.

25 *exposuit* παρέδωκεν ("tradidit" 1516 = Vg.).
See on *Act.* 15,26. In a similar context, Erasmus
was content to use *tradidit semet ipsum* in vs. 2
of the present chapter, and also at *Gal.* 2,20.
Lefèvre put *obtulit* here.

26 *mundatam* καθαρίσας ("mundans eam" late
Vg.). To convey the sense of the Greek aorist,
Erasmus changed active to passive. The late
Vulgate addition of *eam* has little support from
Greek mss. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster,
the Jerome 1516 text and Manetti had just
mundans, and Lefèvre *purificans*, all omitting
eam.

26 *per verbum* ἐν ῥήματι ("in verbo vitae"
late Vg.; "in verbo" 1516 = Vg. mss.). See on
Rom. 1,17 for *per*. The late Vulgate addition
of *vitae* lacks support from Greek mss.: see
Annot. This passage is mentioned among the
Quae Sint Addita. Erasmus' 1516 rendering
was in agreement with the earlier Vulgate,

Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti
and Lefèvre.

27 *adhiberet* παραστήσῃ ("exhiberet" Vg.). In
Annot., Erasmus takes the Greek verb as the
equivalent of *adiungo*, probably to avoid the
apparent strangeness of "presenting", "showing"
or "exhibiting" something to oneself. Cf. his
substitution of *adiungo* for *exhibeo* in rendering
παρίστημι at *Col.* 1,22, 28 (both in 1516 only).
He retains *exhibeo* for the same Greek verb at
several other passages. See further on *Act.* 1,3.
Lefèvre put *constitueret*.

27 *eam* αὐτήν ("ipse" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects
the substitution of αὐτός, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D*
F G and some other mss. In cod. 2105, αὐτὴν
ἑαυτῷ is replaced by ἑαυτῷ αὐτός. Erasmus
follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1 and
2816, as well as Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See
Annot. If αὐτός were the original wording, it
might be thought that later scribes substituted
αὐτήν under the influence of ἵνα αὐτὴν ἁγι-
άσῃ in vs. 26. However, exegetically, the use of
αὐτήν in the present verse has the merit of
being a *lectio difficilior*, as it provides the verb

with a double object, both αὐτήν and τὴν ἐκ-
κλησίαν. An ancient corrector might therefore
have substituted αὐτός as a means of simplifying
the construction. Erasmus' rendering was also
proposed by Jerome *Comm.* (contrary to the
Jerome 1516 continuous N.T. text) and by
Lefèvre, while Manetti had *eam ipsam.*

27 *sibi ipsi* ἑαυτῷ ("sibi" Vg.). Erasmus renders
the reflexive pronoun more emphatically: see
Annot. The version of Lefèvre again made the
same change.

27 *quicquam* τι ("aliquid" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
15,18. Lefèvre also made this substitution.

27 *eiusmodi* τῶν τοιούτων ("huiusmodi" late
Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,18. Erasmus here restores
the earlier Vulgate rendering, also used in the
Jerome 1516 text. Manetti put *tale.*

27 *esset* ᾖ ("sit" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the
imperfect subjunctive forms a more appropri-
ate sequence of tenses after *sanctificaret* and *ad-*
hiberet in vss. 26-7. In Manetti's version, *sed ...*
immaculata has been accidentally omitted.

27 *irreprehensibilis* ἄμωμος ("immaculata" Vg.).
See on *Eph.* 1,4, and *Annot.*

28 *Sic* οὕτως ("Ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21.
Lefèvre put *hunc in modum.*

28 *debent viri* ὀφείλουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες ("et viri
debent" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with
καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὀφείλουσιν, found in codd.
A D (F G) 048^vid 0285^vid and a few other mss.
A few mss., commencing with 𝔓^46 B, also have
ὀφείλουσιν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες. Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816, and
also ℵ and most later mss. See *Annot.* The same
change was made by Lefèvre.

28 *suas vxores* τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ("vxores
suas" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the
word-order. The version of Lefèvre again made
the same change.

28 *sua ipsorum corpora* τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα
("corpora sua" Vg.). Here too, Erasmus' ren-
dering follows the Greek word-order more
literally. He adds *ipsorum*, to give the additio-
nal emphasis required by the context ("their
wives ... their own bodies"). See *Annot.* The
rendering used by the Jerome 1516 text and
lemma, and by the version of Lefèvre, was *sua*
corpora.

28 *Qui diligit suam vxorem* ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ("Qui suam vxorem diligit"
Vg.). The Vulgate word-order, though possibly

only a matter of translation, corresponds with
ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀγαπῶν in cod. D.
The version of Lefèvre made the same change
as Erasmus.

29 *Nullus* οὐδείς ("Nemo" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
14,7. Lefèvre again made the same substitution.

29 *suam ipsius carnem* τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ("car-
nem suam" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with
τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ in cod. ℵ*. For Erasmus'
addition of *ipsius*, cf. on *ipsorum* in vs. 28.
Lefèvre put *suam carnem.*

29 *imo* ἀλλ᾽ ("sed" Vg.). See on *Act.* 19,2. The
reading of codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817
was ἀλλά, as in many other mss., commen-
cing with 𝔓^46 A B D^corr 0285. The correction
made by Erasmus or his assistants has support
from codd. ℵ D* F G 048 and many further
mss.

29 *enutrit* ἐκτρέφει ("nutrit" Vg.). Erasmus seeks
to represent the Greek prefix ἐκ- more exactly
in his rendering.

29 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

29 *dominus* ὁ κύριος ("Christus" Vg.). The
Vulgate reflects the replacement of κύριος by
Χριστός, as in 𝔓^46 ℵ A B D* F G 048 0285
and some other mss., including cod. 2105.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together
with 1 and 2816, as well as D^corr and most other
mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same
correction.

30 *Quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
8,21. The wording of Erasmus is the same as
that of Ambrosiaster, and the Jerome 1516
continuous N.T. text and lemma (contrary to
Jerome *Comm.*).

30 *eiusdem* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). This changed
rendering creates an inconsistency with the
following *eius ... eius*: cf. *Annot.* The version of
Manetti had *sui.*

30 *ex* (twice) ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15.
Erasmus has the same rendering as the Jerome
1516 text and lemma, and the versions of
Manetti and Lefèvre.

31 *Huius rei gratia* ἀντὶ τούτου ("Propter
hoc" Vg.). Erasmus renders this phrase in
exactly the same way as τούτου χάριν at *Eph.*
3,1, 14; *Tit.* 1,5. In *Annot.,* partly following
Jerome, he distinguishes ἀντὶ τούτου from
ἕνεκεν τούτου, which occurs in the parallel
passages at *Gn.* 2,24 (Septuagint); *Mt.* 19,5; *Mc.*
10,7.

LB 855

κατάλειψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ
τὴν μη|τέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται
πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται
οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. ³²τὸ μυστήριον
τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χρι-
στόν, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ³³πλὴν καὶ
ὑμεῖς οἱ καθ᾿ ἕνα, ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
γυναῖκα οὕτως ἀγαπάτω ὡς ἑαυτόν· ἡ
δὲ γυνή, ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα.

6 Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν
ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι δί-
καιον. ²τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν
μητέρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπ-
αγγελίᾳ, ³ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται, καὶ ἔσῃ
μακροχρόνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ⁴οἱ πατέρες,
μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ᾿

relinquet homo patrem ac matrem, et
adiunge|tur vxori suae, atque e duo-
bus fiet vna caro. ³²Mysterium hoc
magnum est, verum ego loquor de
Christo et de ecclesia. ³³Quanquam
et vos singulatim hoc praestate, vt
suam quisque vxorem diligat tan-
quam se ipsum: vxor autem vt re-
uereatur virum.

LB 856

6 Filii, obedite parentibus vestris
in domino, nam id est iustum.
²Honora patrem tuum et matrem:
quod est praeceptum primum in pro-
missione, ³vt bene tibi sit, et sis
longaeuus in terra. ⁴Patres, ne pro-
uocetis ad iram liberos vestros, sed

31 πατερα B-E: πατερα αυτου A

31 ac B-E: et A | atque ... caro B-E: et erunt duo in carnem vnam A | 33 singulatim hoc
praestate, vt B-E: singillatim A | tanquam B-E: vt A
6,3 longaeuus B-E: longeuus A

31 *patrem ac matrem* τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μη-
τέρα ("patrem et matrem suam" Vg.; "patrem
et matrem" 1516). The Vulgate corresponds
with the addition of αὐτοῦ after μητέρα in
a few late mss. In 1516, Erasmus' Greek text
followed codd. 2815 and 2817 in adding αὐτοῦ
after πατέρα, as in codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2816ᵛⁱᵈ,
along with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ A Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss.
The Septuagint version of *Gn.* 2,24 has αὐτοῦ
after both πατέρα and μητέρα. Erasmus'
omission of the pronoun in his Latin render-
ing from 1516 onwards, and in his Greek text
from 1519, was in agreement with the word-
ing of Ambrosiaster and the Jerome 1516 text
and lemma, with support from 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ * B D*
F G and a few later mss. See *Annot.* For *ac*,
see on *Ioh.* 1,25. Lefèvre had *patrem suum et
matrem*.

31 *adiungetur* προσκολληθήσεται ("adhaerebit"
Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests *adglutinabitur*,
which he adopted in the parallel passage at *Mt.*
19,5 (1519). However, he was content with *ad-
haereo* at the other two N.T. instances of the

Greek verb, at *Mc.* 10,7 (= Vulgate); *Act.* 5,36
(1519).

31 *vxori suae* πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. The
Vulgate may here reflect a Greek variant, τῇ
γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ ⁽¹⁾ A D* F G
0285 and a few later mss. Since the Septua-
gint text of cod. A also has τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ
at *Gn.* 2,24, it is possible that the mss. which
have that reading at the present passage reflect
a scribal harmonisation with the Septuagint
version. However, the Septuagint mss. are at
variance with one another on this point. Eras-
mus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817,
together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ ⁽²⁾
B Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. Cf. *Annot.*

31 *atque* καὶ ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

31 *e duobus fiet vna caro* ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς
σάρκα μίαν ("erunt duo in carne vna" Vg.;
"erunt duo in carnem vnam" 1516). Cf. the
substitution of *fient duo caro vna* at *Mc.* 10,8
(1519), rendering the same Greek expression.
In the present verse, Erasmus deviates further

from the literal meaning. See *Annot.* here, and also *Annot.* on *Mt.* 19,5; *Mc.* 10,8.

32 *Mysterium* τὸ μυστήριον ("Sacramentum" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 1,9. This change had doctrinal implications, as Erasmus wished to question the use of this passage as a proof-text for the Roman Catholic view of marriage as a "sacrament": see *Annot.* The ensuing doctrinal controversy led Erasmus to defend his interpretation against several different opponents, e.g. in his *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, pp. 242-8, ll. 59-248; *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD* IX, 2, pp. 210-12, ll. 773-795; *Apologia contra Sanctium Caranzam, LB* IX, 429 A-432 E. His rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre, though the word-order of Lefèvre was *hoc mysterium*.

32 *verum ego* ἐγὼ δέ ("ego autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

32 *loquor* λέγω ("dico" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,27.

32 *de* (twice) εἰς ("in" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 10,16, and *Annot.* The second *in* was omitted by Lefèvre.

33 *Quanquam* πλήν ("Veruntamen" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 11,11. Lefèvre put *attamen*.

33 *singulatim hoc praestate, vt* οἱ καθ᾽ ἕνα ("singuli" Vg.; "singillatim" 1516). See on *Rom.* 12,5 for *singulatim*. Erasmus introduces *praestate* to alleviate the transition from *vos* (second person plural) to *diligat* (third person singular): see *Annot.* The solution of Lefèvre was to substitute *vestrum* for *vos*, and to follow this with *ad vnum vsque*.

33 *suam quisque vxorem* ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ("vnusquisque vxorem suam" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,3. and *Annot.* A similar change was made by Lefèvre, but he had the word-order *sic suam quisque diligat vxorem tanquam se ipsum*.

33 *diligat tanquam se ipsum* οὕτως ἀγαπάτω ὡς ἑαυτόν ("sicut se ipsum diligat" Vg.; "diligat vt se ipsum" 1516). In leaving οὕτως untranslated, Erasmus follows the Vulgate, but the latter corresponds with the substitution of ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπάτω in codd. Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G, omitting οὕτως. For *tanquam*, see on *Rom.* 13,13. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *sic diligat vt se ipsum*. For Lefèvre's rendering, see the previous note.

33 *vt reuereatur virum* ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα ("timeat virum suum" late Vg.). The late

Vulgate omission of *vt*, and addition of *suum*, lacks support from Greek mss. As indicated in *Annot.*, the use of *reuereatur* had been proposed by Jerome *Comm.* Elsewhere Erasmus reserves *reuereor* for ἐντρέπομαι. Lefèvre ended the sentence with *ita vt et vxor reuereatur virum*. Manetti had *Vxor autem vt timeat virum*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

6,1 *nam id* τοῦτο γάρ ("Hoc enim" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal in using *hoc*. For *nam*, see on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre put *Nam hoc*.

1 *est iustum* ἐστι δίκαιον ("iustum est" late Vg.). Erasmus' rendering adopts a more literal word-order, as used by some mss. of the earlier Vulgate, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the version of Manetti.

2 *matrem* τὴν μητέρα ("matrem tuam" late Vg.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of σου in codd. F G and a few other mss. Erasmus' wording agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *praeceptum* ἐντολή ("mandatum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 11,57.

2 ἐπαγγελίᾳ. Cod. 2815 has ἐπαγγελίαις, with little other ms. support.

3 *tibi sit* σοι γένηται ("sit tibi" Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more literally. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

3 *in terra* ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ("super terram" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 9,28. Manetti anticipated this change.

4 *Patres* οἱ πατέρες ("Et vos patres" late Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et* corresponds with the insertion of καί before οἱ in most Greek mss., including codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816. Erasmus' omission of καί was derived from cod. 2817, in company with a few other late mss. However, the late Vulgate addition of *vos* lacks explicit Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and lemma, and the version of Lefèvre, had *Et patres*.

4 *ne prouocetis ad iram* μὴ παροργίζετε ("nolite ad iracundiam prouocare" Vg.). For the removal of *nolo*, see on *Rom.* 11,18, and for the substitution of *ira* for *iracundia*, see on *Eph.* 4,26. Lefèvre put *nolite ad iram prouocare*, and Manetti *ne irritetis*.

4 *liberos* τὰ τέκνα ("filios" Vg.). See on *Gal.* 4,27.

LB 857 ἐκτρέ|φετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νου-
θεσίᾳ κυρίου.

⁵ Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κυρί-
οις κατὰ σάρκα, μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρό-
μου, ἐν ἁπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν,
ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ, ⁶ μὴ κατ' ὀφθαλμο-
δουλείαν ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ὡς
δοῦλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποιοῦντες τὸ θέ-
λημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ ψυχῆς, ⁷ μετ' εὐ-
νοίας, δουλεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐκ
ἀνθρώποις, ⁸ εἰδότες ὅτι ὃ ἐάν τι
ἕκαστος ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομι-
εῖται παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, εἴτε δοῦλος,
εἴτε ἐλεύθερος. ⁹ καὶ οἱ κύριοι, τὰ αὐ-
τὰ ποιεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀνιέντες τὴν
ἀπειλήν, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν

educetis eos per eruditio|nem et cor-   LB 858
reptionem domini.

⁵ Serui obedite iis qui domini sunt
iuxta carnem, cum timore ac tremo-
re, cum simplicitate cordis vestri,
tanquam Christo, ⁶ non ad oculum
seruientes, velut hominibus placere
studentes: sed tanquam serui Chris-
ti, facientes quae vult deus ex animo,
⁷ cum beneuolentia, seruientes domi-
no, et non hominibus: ⁸ illud sci-
entes quod vnusquisque quod fecerit
boni, hoc reportabit a deo, siue ser-
uus fuerit, siue liber. ⁹ Et vos domi-
ni eadem facite erga illos, remittentes
minas, scientes quod et vester ipsorum

6,4 ἐκτρεφετε Aᶜ B-E: ἐκτρεφεται A*

4 per eruditionem et correptionem B-E: in eruditione, et correptione A | 5 iis qui domi-
ni sunt iuxta carnem B-E: dominis carnalibus A | ac B-E: et A | alt. cum B-E: in A |
6 velut B-E: veluti A | Christi B-E: Iesu Christi A | quae vult deus B-E: voluntatem dei A |
9 ipsorum B-E: om. A

4 *educetis* ἐκτρέφετε ("educate" Vg.). Erasmus
uses a subjunctive, for consistency with his use
of *ne prouoces* earlier in the sentence. The
spelling ἐκτρέφεται in 1516 was an error of the
typesetter, not derived from Erasmus' Basle
mss. It was corrected in the 1516 errata. Manetti
put *enutrite*.

4 *eos* αὐτά ("illos" Vg.). Erasmus perhaps con-
sidered the Vulgate pronoun to be unduly em-
phatic. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *ipsos*.

4 *per eruditionem et correptionem* ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ
νουθεσίᾳ ("in disciplina et correptione" *Annot.*,
lemma = Vg.; "in disciplina et correctione" Vg.
1527; "in eruditione, et correptione" 1516).
The 1527 Vulgate column follows the 1514
Froben edition. For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17. The
substitution of *eruditio* for *disciplina* was in
accordance with Erasmus' advocacy of a more
gentle and humane approach to the upbringing
of children. In the same vein, in *Annot.*, he also
commended the replacement of *correptio* by
admonitio, in accordance with Jerome *Comm.*
(though the Jerome 1516 continuous N.T. text
and lemma have in *disciplina et conuersatione*).
At the same time, he acknowledged that the

Greek word could sometimes have a harsher
connotation. At 2 *Tim.* 2,25, he substituted
erudio for *corripio*, as a translation of the cognate
Greek verb, παιδεύω. In rendering παιδεία at
2 *Tim.* 3,16, however, he replaces *erudio* by *insti-
tutio*. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *in disciplina
et admonitione*.

5 *iis qui domini sunt iuxta carnem* τοῖς κυρίοις
κατὰ σάρκα ("dominis carnalibus" 1516 = Vg.).
A similar substitution occurs at *Col.* 3,22. Eras-
mus seeks to render κατὰ σάρκα more accu-
rately. See *Annot.*

5 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

5 *cum* (2nd.) ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.*
1,4. This change removes any distinction of
meaning between ἐν and μετά.

5 *tanquam* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,13.
Lefèvre made the same change.

6 ὀφθαλμοδουλείαν. Codd. 2105⁽*⁾, 2815, 2816,
2817ᶜᵒʳʳ have the spelling ὀφθαλμοδουλίαν.
Erasmus' text agrees with cod. 2817*. Both rea-
dings have widespread ms. support. In cod. 1,
it is ὀφθαλμοδουλείας. At *Col.* 3,22, Erasmus'
text retains ὀφθαλμοδουλίαις from cod. 2815.

6 *velut* ὡς ("quasi" Vg.; "veluti" 1516). At the parallel passage, *Col.* 3,22, Erasmus replaces *quasi* with *tanquam*. See further on *Ioh.* 1,14. Jerome *Comm.* (contrary to the Jerome 1516 continuous N.T. text), together with Manetti and Lefèvre, used *vt*.

6 *hominibus placere studentes* ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι ("hominibus placentes" Vg.). The same substitution occurs at *Col.* 3,22. Erasmus' expression seems preferable, referring to the intention rather than the result. See *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was *hominibus placeatis*, as in some Vulgate mss.

6 *tanquam* ὡς ("vt" Vg.). A comparable change occurs in rendering ὡς δοῦλοι at 1 *Petr.* 2,16, replacing *sicut serui* with *tanquam serui*. For other substitutions of *tanquam* for *vt*, see on 1 *Cor.* 5,3.

6 *Christi* τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("Iesu Christi" 1516 Lat.). The addition of *Iesu* in the 1516 Latin version lacks Greek ms. support.

6 *quae vult deus* τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ("voluntatem dei" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,34.

7 *beneuolentia* εὐνοίας ("bona voluntate" Vg.). Erasmus also uses *beneuolentia* to render the same Greek word at 1 *Cor.* 7,3, and in rendering εὐνοέω at *Mt.* 5,25. He reserves *bona voluntas* for εὐδοκία at *Mt.* 11,26; *Lc.* 2,14; *Phil.* 1,15. See *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus agrees with Jerome *Comm.*, Manetti and Lefèvre, except that these had the spelling *beniuolentia*.

7 *domino* τῷ κυρίῳ ("sicut domino" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the insertion of ὡς before τῷ, as in codd. א A B D* F G 048ᵛⁱᵈ and most other mss., among which were codd. 1 and 2816. The shorter reading adopted by Erasmus has support from his codd. 2815, 2817, together with cod. 2105, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and many later mss. See *Annot.* His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti. Lefèvre put *tanquam domino*.

8 *illud scientes* εἰδότες ("scientes" Vg.). A similar addition of *illud*, before *scientes*, occurs at *Iac.* 1,3, without explicit justification from the Greek text. Lefèvre put *id non ignorantes*.

8 *quod* (1st.) ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus.

8 *vnusquisque quod* ὃ ἐάν τι ἕκαστος ("vnusquisque quodcunque" Vg.). Probably Erasmus

considered the sequence *vnusquisque quodcunque* unduly repetitive. He retains the word-order of the Vulgate, though the latter may reflect a different Greek text, having ἕκαστος ὃ ἐάν as in cod. A, or ἕκαστος ὃ ἄν as in codd. D* F G, or ἕκαστος ὃ ἐάν τι as in cod. Dᶜᵒʳʳ. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Jerome *Comm.* The version of Manetti put *quodcunque vnusquisque*, and Lefèvre *quodcunque quisque*.

8 *boni* ἀγαθόν ("bonum" Vg.). A comparable substitution occurs at *Tit.* 2,8, *nihil habens, quod de vobis dicat mali*, putting *mali* for *malum*. Cf. also *aliquid de te mali* at *Act.* 28,21 (1519). This use of the partitive genitive is also found at several passages of the Vulgate, in such expressions as *quid boni faciam (Mt.* 19,16) and *quid enim mali fecit (Mt.* 27,23; *Mc.* 15,14; *Lc.* 23,22). Erasmus again uses the same wording as Jerome *Comm.*

8 *reportabit* κομιεῖται ("recipiet" late Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,10. Manetti put *feret*, and Lefèvre *referet*.

8 *deo* τοῦ κυρίου ("domino" Vg.). The substitution of *deo* from 1516 onwards, in conflict with the accompanying Greek text and Erasmus' Basle mss., was a mistake which was allowed to remain uncorrected in all five folio editions. For other errors of this kind, see on 2 *Cor.* 5,6.

8 *seruus fuerit* δοῦλος ("seruus" Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb, for the sake of clarity. Lefèvre put *seruus sit*.

9 *erga illos* πρὸς αὐτούς ("illis" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. See on *Act.* 3,25. Ambrosiaster and the Jerome 1516 text and lemma put *ad illos*. Lefèvre put *erga eos*, and Manetti *ipsis*.

9 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. The change made by Erasmus agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

9 *et vester ipsorum* καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ("et illorum et vester" Vg.; "et vester" 1516 Lat.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑμῶν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ אᶜᵒʳʳ A B D* and a few later mss. Several other variants also exist. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. See *Annot.* If καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑμῶν had been the original wording, it would be possible to argue that an accidental transposition could have produced καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αὐτῶν (a reading which has some patristic support), and that by a further scribal error this was shortened to καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. A different explanation would

ὁ κύριός ἐστιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ προσω-
ποληψία οὐκ ἔστι παρ' αὐτῷ.

¹⁰ Τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί μου, ἐνδυνα-
μοῦσθε ἐν κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῆς
ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ. ¹¹ ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπ-
λίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς
στῆναι πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου.
¹² ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα
καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς
τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτο-
ρας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου,

dominus est in coelis, nec personae
respectus est apud illum.

¹⁰ Quod superest fratres mei, sitis
fortes per dominum, perque potenti-
am roboris illius. ¹¹ Induite totam ar-
maturam dei, vt possitis stare aduersus
assultus diaboli. ¹² Quoniam non est
nobis lucta aduersus sanguinem et car-
nem, sed aduersus principatus, aduer-
sus potestates, aduersus mundi domi-
nos rectores tenebrarum seculi huius,

9 nec personae respectus *B-E*: et personae respectus non *A* | 10 mei *B-E*: om. *A* | per dominum,
perque potentiam *B-E*: in domino, et in potentia *A* | 12 rectores *B-E*: om. *A* | seculi *C-E*:
saeculi *A B*

be that καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν was authentic, but
that an early corrector took it upon himself to
"improve" the text by inserting καί before αὐ-
τῶν, as he imagined that αὐτῶν would other-
wise be superfluous to the sense of the pas-
sage. By a simple transposition of words, other
scribes would subsequently have changed this
into καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑμῶν. That the apostle's
use of the word sequence ὑμῶν αὐτῶν could
be subject to alteration by an early scribe is de-
monstrable from 1 *Cor.* 7,35 (τὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
συμφέρον), where 𝔓¹⁵ shortens the text by
omitting αὐτῶν. Cf. also Paul's usage of ἐξ
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν at 1 *Cor.* 5,13, and ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς
at 1 *Cor.* 11,13. The rendering of Manetti was
et eorum et vester, while Lefèvre had *et vestri
ipsorum*.

9 *nec ... est* καὶ ... οὐκ ἔστι ("et ... non est"
1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,16 for Erasmus' use
of *nec*.

9 *personae respectus* προσωποληψία ("perso-
narum acceptio" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,34. This
rendering was also recommended in *Annot.* on
Col. 3,25. At the other N.T. instances of προσω-
ποληψία, together with προσωπολήπτης and
ἀπροσωπολήπτως, Erasmus has the plural,
personarum respectus.

9 *apud illum* παρ' αὐτῷ ("apud deum" late
Vg.; "apud eum" Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate,
which here agrees with several Old Latin sources,
corresponds with the substitution of παρὰ θεῷ
in cod. D*, or παρὰ τῷ θεῷ in codd. F G.
However, this variant probably arose as a scri-
bal error within the Latin tradition, in which

apud deum could easily have been mistakenly
substituted for *apud eum*. The reading of codd.
D* F G may therefore have arisen as a retrans-
lation from the Old Latin. Partly to avoid a
recurrence of this error, Erasmus prefers *illum*
to *eum* here. Manetti put *apud ipsum*. In Lefèvre,
the word-order was *et apud eum non est perso-
narum acceptio*.

10 *Quod superest* Τὸ λοιπόν ("De caetero" Vg.).
See on 1 *Cor.* 4,2, and *Annot.* The version of
Lefèvre substituted *Caeterum*.

10 *mei* μου (omitted in 1516 Lat. = Vg.). The
Vulgate omission of the pronoun is supported
by codd. (A) F G and more than forty other
mss. In 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* B D I and sixteen later mss.,
there is a longer omission, of ἀδελφοί μου.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported
by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ and about 530 later
mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3,
pp. 394-6). See *Annot.* A hypothesis which has
been thought to account for the insertion of
ἀδελφοί (with or without μου) is that this was
a scribal change, influenced by the combination
of τὸ λοιπόν with ἀδελφοί at 2 *Cor.* 13,11;
Phil. 3,1; 4,8; 1 *Thess.* 4,1; 2 *Thess.* 3,1. An alterna-
tive explanation is that ἀδελφοί μου was acci-
dentally omitted by an early scribe, an error
which would have been facilitated by the previ-
ous replacement of τὸ λοιπόν by τοῦ λοιποῦ
(as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* B I), as the eye of the copyist
could easily pass over from -οιπου to -οιμου,
omitting the intervening letters. Both Manet-
ti and Lefèvre made the same correction as
Erasmus.

10 *sitis fortes* ἐνδυναμοῦσθε ("confortamini" Vg.). See on *Act.* 9,19. Lefèvre put *inualescite.*

10 *per dominum, perque potentiam* ἐν κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ κράτει ("in domino, et in potentia" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17 for *per,* and on *Ioh.* 1,39 for *-que.*

10 *roboris* τῆς ἰσχύος ("virtutis" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 1,19. Lefèvre put *fortitudinis.*

10 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus again uses the more emphatic pronoun, consistent with his use of *illum* in vs. 9. Manetti put *suae.*

11 *Induite* ἐνδύσασθε ("Induite vos" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *vos,* which also occurs in some Old Latin sources, corresponds with the addition of ὑμᾶς in codd. F G. The Vulgate pronoun is probably only a matter of translation, however, as the same Greek verb is rendered by the Vulgate in exactly this way at *Col.* 3,12 without any comparable addition occurring among the early Greek mss. At that passage, Erasmus has *sitis ... induti.* In the present verse, his rendering agrees with the Jerome 1516 text and lemma (contrary to Jerome *Comm.*), and also with the version of Lefèvre. Manetti put *Induimini.*

11 *totam armaturam* τὴν πανοπλίαν ("armaturam" late Vg.). A comparable addition of *vniuersa* before *armatura* occurs in vs. 13: Erasmus seeks to convey the root meaning of the Greek word more fully. In *Annot.,* he attributes *vniuersa arma* to Jerome *Comm.,* though Jerome's wording, both here and at vs. 13, was *omnia arma.* In rendering πανοπλία at *Lc.* 11,22, Erasmus retains *vniuersa arma* from the Vulgate. Lefèvre had *omnem armaturam,* both here and in vs. 13, below.

11 *assultus* τὰς μεθοδείας ("insidias" Vg.). Erasmus' choice of expression does not adequately convey the required connotation of craft or tactical scheming. Cf. on *Eph.* 4,14. In *Annot.,* he gives the meaning of μεθοδεία, more correctly, as an attack which arises "ex insidiis".

12 *lucta* ἡ πάλη ("colluctatio" Vg.). Erasmus probably considered that the compound form of *colluctatio* was not in keeping with the simplicity of the Greek noun. See *Annot.* Among classical authors, *luctatio* was used more often than *lucta.* Erasmus may have been influenced here by Lefèvre, who had exactly this rendering.

12 *sanguinem et carnem* αἷμα καὶ σάρκα ("carnem et sanguinem" Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more precisely, having the same rendering as the Jerome 1516 text.

12 *principatus* τὰς ἀρχάς ("principes" Vg.). This change is prompted by the consideration that ἀρχή is an abstract noun. A similar substitution occurs at *Tit.* 3,1, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Lc.* 20,20; *Rom.* 8,38; 1 *Cor.* 15,24; *Eph.* 1,21, etc. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster (1492), Jerome *Comm.,* Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *aduersus potestates* πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας ("et potestates" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the substitution of καί for πρός in cod. D, though this reading may have arisen as a matter of translation. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the Jerome 1516 text (contrary to Jerome *Comm.*), and with the version of Lefèvre.

12 *mundi dominos rectores* τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας ("mundi rectores" Vg.; "mundi dominos" 1516). In the Vulgate, the function of *rectores* is unclear, as it can relate equally to *mundi* or *tenebrarum,* so Erasmus (in 1519) amplifies the sense. Cf. *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre simply transliterated the Greek word, as *cosmocratoras.*

12 *seculi huius* τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ("harum" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of τοῦ αἰῶνος, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ א* A B D* F G and eleven other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also א ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 580 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 396-8). See *Annot.* In the shorter form of text, the effect of omitting τοῦ αἰῶνος is to attach τούτου to τοῦ σκότους, constituting a *lectio difficilior* as the phrase "of this darkness" does not have a clearly identifiable point of reference. The question therefore arises whether some scribes might have added τοῦ αἰῶνος in order to remove the obscurity of τούτου. At other passages, however, the apostle always uses σκότος and σκότους, etc., without adding τοῦτο (see especially *Rom.* 13,12; 1 *Cor.* 4,5; *Eph.* 5,11; *Col.* 1,13), whereas the phrases τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου and τοῦ κόσμου τούτου are used quite frequently. From this point of view, the longer reading at the present passage has the merit of greater consistency with Pauline usage. It is also relevant to note that 𝔓⁴⁶, the earliest ms. to omit τοῦ αἰῶνος here, exhibits other serious deficiencies in this verse, substituting μεθοδίας for ἀρχάς, and deleting πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας and ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις. The same scribal attitudes which were responsible for these abbreviations of the text, either by deliberate excision or through mere negligence, could equally account for the

πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν
τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις. ¹³διὰ τοῦτο ἀναλά-
βετε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα δυ-
νηθῆτε ἀντιστῆναι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πονη-
ρᾷ, καὶ ἅπαντα κατεργασάμενοι στῆναι.
¹⁴στῆτε οὖν, περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν
ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν
θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ¹⁵καὶ ὑποδη-
σάμενοι τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἑτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ
εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης, ¹⁶ἐπὶ πᾶσιν
ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν
ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονη-
ροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι. ¹⁷καὶ τὴν
περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ | σωτηρίου δέξασθε,

aduersus   spirituales   astutias   in
coelestibus.   ¹³Quapropter   assu-
mite   vniuersam   armaturam   dei,
vt   possitis   resistere   in   die
mala,   et   omnibus   peractis   stare.
¹⁴State   igitur,   lumbis   circuncin-
ctis   baltheo   per   veritatem,   et
induti   thoracem   iustitiae,   ¹⁵et
calciati   pedibus,   vt   parati   sitis
ad   euangelium   pacis,   ¹⁶super
omnia   assumpto   scuto   fidei,
quo   possitis   omnia   iacula
mali   illius   ignita   extinguere.
¹⁷Galeamque   salutaris   accipite,

---

13 θεου *B-E*: θου *A* | 16 πασιν *A C-E*: πασαν *B* | 17 δεξασθε *B-E*: δεξασθαι *A**, δεζασθε *A^c*

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12 spirituales *B-E*: spiritales *A* | 13 mala *E*: malo *A-D* | 14 per veritatem *B-E*: in veritate *A* |
15 vt parati sitis ad euangelium *B-E*: in praeparatione euangelii *A* | 16 quo *B-E*: in quo *A* |
illius *B-E*: om. *A* | 17 Galeamque salutaris *B-E*: et galeam salutis *A*

---

loss of τοῦ αἰῶνος. Lefèvre made the same
change as Erasmus, while Manetti put *huius
seculi.*

12 *aduersus* (5th.) πρός ("contra" Vg.). Erasmus
is more consistent with the earlier part of the
sentence. The same wording was used by Am-
brosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text, Manetti and
Lefèvre.

12 *spiritales astutias* τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πο-
νηρίας ("spiritalia nequitiae" Vg.). Partly based
on an idea of Lefèvre, Erasmus makes the sense
more intelligible by converting genitive singular
to accusative plural. See further on *Act.* 3,26;
Rom. 1,29, for his removal of *nequitia.* See also
Annot. The version of Lefèvre had *spirituales
nequitias.*

13 *Quapropter* διὰ τοῦτο ("Propterea" Vg.). See
on *Act.* 10,29. Lefèvre made the same change.

13 *assumite* ἀναλάβετε ("accipite" Vg.). This
substitution was in accordance with Vulgate
usage in rendering ἀναλαμβάνω at eight other
passages. The verb *accipio* was less appropriate
here, as the context requires the sense of "take
up" or "put on", and not merely "receive". In
vs. 16, Erasmus uses *assumo* to replace *sumo*
in rendering the same Greek verb. See also on
Ioh. 14,3. Lefèvre again made the same change,
while Manetti put *suscipite.*

13 *vniuersam armaturam* τὴν πανοπλίαν ("ar-
maturam" late Vg., with Vg^st; "arma" some Vg.
mss., with Vg^ww). See on vs. 11. Lefèvre put
omnem armaturam.

13 *mala* τῇ πονηρᾷ ("malo" 1516-27 = Vg.).
Since Erasmus usually treats *dies* as masculine,
it is possible that this change in 1535 was an
error of the printer. For other exceptions, see
on *Ioh.* 1,29. Lefèvre likewise had *mala.*

13 *omnibus peractis* ἅπαντα κατεργασάμενοι
("in omnibus perfecti" late Vg. and most Vg.
mss., with Vg^ww). In *Annot.*, Erasmus plausibly
suggests that the original Vulgate reading was
omnibus perfectis (as in cod. Sangermanensis and
Vg^st). Accordingly, he placed the passage among
the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata.* By substituting
the verb *perago*, he avoided the ambiguity of
perfectis, which might be understood to mean
"perfect" or "perfected". Manetti put *vbi operati
fueritis omnia*, and Lefèvre *per omnia perfecti*
(placed after *stare*).

14 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

14 *lumbis circuncinctis baltheo* περιζωσάμενοι
τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ("succincti lumbos vestros"
Vg.). Erasmus similarly avoids *succincti lum-
bos* in rendering ἀναζώννυμι τὰς ὀσφύας at
1 *Petr.* 1,13. Other instances of removing an
internal accusative occur in vs. 15, below, and

at *Ioh.* 11,44. At the present passage, he seeks to render the Greek prefix περι- more precisely, and to make the meaning more explicit by adding *baltheo* ("a belt"): cf. *Annot.*, in which he cites *baltheus* from Jerome *Comm.* The possessive pronoun ὑμῶν was treated as redundant for the purpose of translation. At six other passages, Erasmus follows the Vulgate in rendering περιζώννυμι by *praecingo*. Lefèvre here put *praecincti lumbos vestros*.

14 *per veritatem* ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ("in veritate" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

14 *thoracem* τὸν θώρακα ("loricam" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Thess.* 5,8; *Ap. Ioh.* 9,17 (1519): cf. *Annot.* on these two passages. At *Ap. Ioh.* 9,9, however, *lorica* is retained. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus here.

15 *pedibus* τοὺς πόδας ("pedes" Vg.). As in the previous verse, Erasmus removes the internal accusative.

15 *vt parati sitis ad euangelium* ἐν ἑτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ("in praeparationem euangelii" late Vg.; "in praeparatione euangelii" 1516 = Vg. mss.). Erasmus changes the construction in 1519, for the sake of producing a more intelligible sense. Lefèvre tried *in expeditione euangelii*. Erasmus' 1516 rendering agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster (1492), Jerome *Comm.* and Manetti.

16 *super omnia* ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ("in omnibus" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of ἐν for ἐπί, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ א B and a few other mss. Here Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as A D F G and most other mss. His rendering is the same as the Jerome 1516 text and lemma.

16 *assumpto scuto* ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεόν ("sumentes scutum" Vg.). Greek aorist. See on vs. 13 for *assumo*. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *assumentes scutum*.

16 *quo ἐν* ᾧ ("in quo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

16 *iacula* τὰ βέλη ("tela" Vg.). The term preferred by Erasmus denotes, more explicitly, weapons which are thrown, such as spears or javelins. However, if βέλος be taken to mean an arrow, *iaculum* does not appear quite satisfactory. On the other hand, the Vulgate word, *telum*, has a wider range of meaning, referring to almost any kind of weapon. Erasmus' rendering agrees with the Jerome 1516 text (Jerome

Comm. mentioned both *iacula* and *tela*), and the same substitution of *iacula* was also made by Manetti.

16 *mali illius* τοῦ πονηροῦ ("nequissimi" Vg.; "mali" 1516). The Vulgate use of a superlative is imprecise. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *scelesti*. In 1519, he conveys the sense of the Greek article by adding *illius*, referring more clearly to Satan, the evil one, and not merely an abstract concept of evil. Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm.*, Manetti and Lefèvre put *maligni*.

16 *ignita* τὰ πεπυρωμένα ("ignea" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to render the participle more accurately, though *ignitus* is less common than *igneus* in classical usage. His rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster, the Jerome 1516 text and Manetti.

17 *Galeamque* καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν ("et galeam" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,39.

17 *salutaris* τοῦ σωτηρίου ("salutis" 1516 = Vg.). This substitution is in accordance with Vulgate usage in rendering σωτήριον at *Lc.* 2,30; 3,6; *Act.* 28,28. Elsewhere Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *salus* for σωτηρία. As indicated in 1522 *Annot.*, *salutaris* was used by Jerome *Comm.* (though the Jerome 1516 continuous N.T. text and lemma agree with the Vulgate). This word was also adopted by Manetti and Lefèvre.

17 *accipite* δέξασθε ("assumite" Vg.). In his 1516 Greek text, Erasmus had δέξασθαι, as in codd. 2815, 2817 and most other mss., commencing with A Dᶜᵒʳʳ. In the 1516 errata, this became δέζασθε (*sic*), which Erasmus probably intended to read as δέξασθε: the latter spelling is found in cod. 2105, together with 𝔓⁴⁶ א B and a few other mss. Possibly he assumed that δέξασθαι was an itacistic error or a harmonisation with the preceding infinitive, σβέσαι. From another point of view, however, δέξασθαι might be considered a *lectio difficilior* and hence possessing a greater claim to authenticity, since a literal rendering of this aorist infinitive would seem to make the helmet and the sword unexpectedly dependent on the shield ("taking up the shield of faith, whereby you will be able ... *to receive* the helmet of salvation and the sword of the spirit"). In order to avoid this apparent difficulty, a few scribes may have preferred to substitute the imperative δέξασθε, while others solved the problem by altogether omitting the word (as in codd. D* F G). Erasmus prefers to reserve *assumo* for the various compound

καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅ
ἐστι ῥῆμα θεοῦ, [18] διὰ πάσης προσ-
ευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως προσευχόμενοι ἐν
παντὶ καιρῷ, ἐν πνεύματι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ
τοῦτο ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐν πάσῃ προσ-
καρτερήσει καὶ δεήσει περὶ πάντων
τῶν ἁγίων, [19] καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα μοι
δοθείη λόγος ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόμα-
τός μου ἐν παρρησίᾳ, γνωρίσαι τὸ
μυστήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, [20] ὑπὲρ
οὗ πρεσβεύω ἐν ἁλύσει, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ
παρρησιάσωμαι, ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι.

[21] Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ κατ᾽
ἐμέ, τί πράσσω, πάντα ὑμῖν γνωρί-
σει Τυχικὸς ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ
πιστὸς διάκονος ἐν κυρίῳ, [22] ὃν ἔπεμ-
ψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἵνα

et | gladium spiritus, qui est verbum   LB 860
dei, [18] in omni deprecatione et ob-
secratione, orantes in omni tempore,
in spiritu, et ad hoc ipsum vigilan-
tes cum omni sedulitate et depreca-
tione pro omnibus sanctis, [19] et pro
me: vt mihi detur sermo in apertione
oris mei cum libertate, vt notum faci-
am mysterium euangelii mei, [20] super
quo legatione fungor in catena, vt in
eo libere loquar, sicut oportet me
loqui.

[21] Vt autem sciatis et vos quae ad
me pertinent, quid agam, de omnibus
vos certiores reddet Tychicus dilectus
frater et fidus minister in domino,
[22] quem misi ad vos in hoc ipsum, vt

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17 μαχαιραν *A B D E*: μαχαιρας *C (compend.)* | 22 ον *A^c B-E*: ου *A**

---

18 deprecatione et obsecratione, orantes *E*: oratione, et deprecatione orantes, *A*, deprecatione et
obsecratione orantes *B-D* | cum *B-E*: in *A* | sedulitate *B-E*: instantia *A* | 19 cum *B-E*: in *A* |
20 eo *B-E*: illo *A*

---

forms of λαμβάνω, including ἀναλαμβάνω,
ἐπιλαμβάνω, παραλαμβάνω, προσλαμβάνω
and συμπαραλαμβάνω. In *Annot.*, he proposed
capite. Cf. also on *Ioh.* 14,3. His adoption of
accipite produced the same wording as the
Jerome 1516 text and lemma. Manetti put
suscipite, and Lefèvre *suscipere* (following δέξα-
σθαι as his Greek text).

17 *qui* ὅ ("quod" Vg.). This change was, no
doubt, designed to produce agreement with the
antecedent, *gladium*, though *qui* might also be
misunderstood to refer to *spiritus*. In the Greek
text, which the Vulgate renders quite literally,
the neuter gender of ὅ can be understood as
arising from the following ῥῆμα rather than
from the preceding πνεύματος. Manetti made
the same change as Erasmus.

18 *in omni deprecatione et obsecratione* διὰ πάσης
προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως ("per omnem oratio-
nem et obsecrationem" Vg.; "in omni oratione,
et deprecatione" 1516). Erasmus' substitution
of *in* for *per* is less literal. Possibly he wished
to avoid the apparent strangeness of "praying
by means of prayer". For the substitution of
deprecatio for *obsecratio* in rendering δέησις in

1516, see on *Rom.* 10,1. However, in 1519, Eras-
mus more often preferred to use *deprecatio* to
replace *oratio*: see on *Act.* 1,14. The insertion
of a comma after *obsecratione* in 1535 obscures
the meaning, as it severs the prepositional
phrase from the following verb. Manetti had
per omnem orationem ac deprecationem.

18 *in* (2nd.) ἐν (Vg. omits). At this point,
Erasmus is more literal. His rendering is the
same as that of Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm.*
and Manetti.

18 *ad hoc ipsum* εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ("in ipso" Vg.).
The Vulgate reflects the omission of τοῦτο, as
in codd. א A B D* F G and a few other mss.
The text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and
2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with D^corr
and most later mss. The phrase εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο
was a typically Pauline usage, of which other
examples can be seen in vs. 22, below, and at
Rom. 9,17; 13,6; 2 *Cor.* 5,5; *Col.* 4,8. It has been
suggested that τοῦτο was a scribal addition.
However, if this word was genuine, it is possible
that an early scribe might have omitted the
word through an error of homoeoteleuton, pas-
sing over from -υτο in αὐτό to the same letters

at the end of τοῦτο. The Vulgate's inaccurate use of the ablative, *ipso*, was liable to cause the reader to link this pronoun with the preceding mention of the Spirit, rather than with the activity of prayer. See *Annot*. The rendering of Manetti had *in hoc ipsum*, and Lefèvre *in hoc ipso*.

18 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). This change is partly for the sake of variety, in view of the preceding repetition of *in*. See on *Rom*. 1,4.

18 *sedulitate* προσκαρτερήσει ("instantia" 1516 = Vg.). Possibly Erasmus felt that *instantia*, which could mean "insistence" rather than "persistence", would show an inappropriate lack of humility in the manner of prayer. Cf. *Annot*. on *Rom*. 12,12; 13,6, regarding προσ-καρτερέω. Lefèvre put *seruitio*.

18 *deprecatione* δεήσει ("obsecratione" Vg.). In 1519, Erasmus' adoption of *obsecratione* for δεήσεως earlier in this verse produces an inconsistency with his use of *deprecatione* here. See above. This change was anticipated by Manetti, while Lefèvre put *intercessione*.

19 *mihi detur* μοι δοθείη ("detur mihi" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order lacks Greek ms. support other than cod. א*, which has δοθῇ μοι. Most mss. have μοι δοθῇ, as in codd. 1, 2105ᵛⁱᵈ, 2815, 2816. Erasmus' use of δοθείη was derived from cod. 2817, with virtually no other ms. support, yet this reading remained in the *Textus Receptus*. His rendering was the same as the Jerome 1516 text and lemma (contrary to Jerome *Comm*.), and Lefèvre similarly put *michi detur*.

19 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus seeks a more literal rendering. Cf. on *cum* in vs. 18. In 1519, he restores the Vulgate wording. Lefèvre put *ad audendum* for *cum fiducia*.

19 *libertate* παρρησίᾳ ("fiducia" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor*. 3,12, and *Annot*.

19 *vt notum faciam* γνωρίσαι ("notum facere" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose: see *Annot*. The rendering of Manetti substituted *ad notificandum*, placing this before *cum fiducia*.

19 *euangelii mei* τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ("euangelii" Vg.). Erasmus' addition of *mei* seems to have no Greek ms. support, and looks like a harmonisation with εὐαγγέλιόν μου in *Rom*. 2,16; 16,25; 2 *Tim*. 2,8. The change may also have been influenced by the proximity of *oris mei* earlier in this verse. Another possibly relevant factor is that, in cod. 2817, the last four letters of εὐαγγελίου (-λιου) look very similar to μου.

20 *super* ὑπέρ ("pro" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 1,5.

20 *catena* ἁλύσει ("catena ista" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *ista* lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot*. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm*., Manetti and Lefèvre.

20 *vt* ἵνα ("ita vt" Vg.). The Vulgate rendering would correspond with ὥστε rather than ἵνα. See *Annot*. The rendering of Erasmus is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

20 *eo* αὐτῷ ("ipso" Vg.; "illo" 1516). Erasmus perhaps wished to make it clearer that this pronoun refers to *euangelii* in vs. 19, whereas the Vulgate use of *ipso* might lead the reader to understand this as a further reference to the Spirit: cf. the removal of *ipso* in vs. 18, and see further on *Rom*. 1,20. Lefèvre likewise put *eo*.

20 *libere loquar* παρρησιάσωμαι ("audeam" Vg.). See on *Act*. 2,29, and *Annot*. The rendering of Manetti was *audacter agam*.

20 *sicut* ὡς ("prout" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor*. 12,11. Manetti made the same change, while Lefèvre put *quemadmodum*.

21 *sciatis et vos* εἰδῆτε καὶ ὑμεῖς ("et vos sciatis" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰδῆτε, as in codd. א A D F G I and more than forty other mss., including cod. 2816. Some mss. also have καὶ ὑμεῖς ἰδῆτε. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105 and about 480 other mss., commencing with cod. B (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 400-4). Lefèvre made the same change.

21 *quae ad me pertinent* τὰ κατ' ἐμέ ("quae circa me sunt" Vg.). This alteration produces a clearer sense. In rendering the same Greek expression elsewhere, Erasmus substitutes *quae mihi acci-derunt* at *Phil*. 1,12, and *de ... rebus meis* at *Col*. 4,7. Cf. on τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν in vs. 22, below. Lefèvre put *quae apud me geruntur*.

21 *de omnibus vos certiores reddet* πάντα ὑμῖν γνωρίσει ("omnia vobis nota faciet" late Vg.). See on 2 *Cor*. 8,1. Lefèvre put *omnia vobis patefaciet*.

21 *dilectus* ὁ ἀγαπητός ("charissimus" Vg.). See on *Act*. 15,25. The word *dilectus* occurs here in the Jerome 1516 text and lemma: see *Annot*. This rendering was also adopted by Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

21 *fidus* πιστός ("fidelis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor*. 4,2.

γνῶτε τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ παρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

²³ Εἰρήνη τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἀγάπη μετὰ πίστεως ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ²⁴ ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ. ἀμήν.

Ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης πρὸς Ἐφεσίους διὰ Τυχικοῦ.

cognosceretis de rebus nostris, et con-solaretur corda vestra.

²³ Pax fratribus, et charitas cum fide, a deo patre, et domino Iesu Christo. ²⁴ Gratia sit cum omnibus diligentibus dominum nostrum Iesum Christum cum synceritate. Amen.

Missa fuit e Roma ad Ephesios per Tychicum.

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22 consolaretur *A B D E*: consolaretut *C* | 24 cum synceritate *B-E*: in incorruptione *A*
Subscriptio Roma *A E*: Rhoma *B-D* | ad Ephesios *B-E*: *om. A*

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22 *cognosceretis ... consolaretur* γνῶτε ... παρα-καλέσῃ ("cognoscatis ... consoletur" Vg.). Eras-mus evidently felt that the imperfect subjunc-tive gave a closer equivalent to the sequence of Greek aorists here. Manetti had *consolentur* in place of *consoletur*.

22 *de rebus nostris* τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν ("quae circa nos sunt" Vg.). By this change, Erasmus marks a small distinction of meaning between τὰ περί and τὰ κατά in vs. 21. However, since he uses *de rebus meis* for τὰ κατ' ἐμέ in *Col.* 4,7, he does not appear to regard this distinction as having any real significance. The main object was to clarify the vague expression, *quae circa*, which was used by the Vulgate. Cf. his adoption of *de rebus vestris* and *res vestras* for τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν at *Phil.* 1,27; 2,20. In rendering the same Greek expression, *quae circa vos sunt* is replaced by *statu vestro* at *Phil.* 2,19, and with *quid agatis* at *Col.* 4,8. At *Phil.* 2,23, in rendering τὰ περὶ ἐμέ, *quae circa me sunt* is replaced by *mea nego-cia.* In *Annot.* on the present passage, Erasmus suggests *res nostras* or *statum nostrum.* Manetti put *ea que* in place of *quae.*

23 *patre* πατρός ("patre nostro" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *nostro* lacks Greek

ms. support. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus is in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Jerome *Comm.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

24 *Gratia sit* ἡ χάρις ("Gratia" Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb, for clarity: see on *Rom.* 16,20.

24 *diligentibus* τῶν ἀγαπώντων ("qui diligunt" Vg.). Erasmus, on this occasion, is more literal in his rendering of the present participle. Else-where he often prefers to convert the participle into a relative clause.

24 *cum synceritate* ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ ("in incorru-ptione" 1516 = Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues from the context that ἀφθαρσία here refers to integrity and purity of mind rather than immor-tality: cf. his retention of *integritas* for ἀφθαρσία at *Tit.* 2,7. For his removal of *incorruptio* else-where, see on *Rom.* 2,7. For *cum*, see on *Rom.* 1,4, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *in incorruptibilitate.*

Subscriptio The word-order of the subscription in cod. 2817 is πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης διὰ Τυχικοῦ.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

EPISTOLA PAVLI APOSTOLI AD PHILIPPENSES

1 Παῦλος καὶ Τιμόθεος δοῦλοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις, σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις· ²χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

³Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ὑμῶν, ⁴πάντοτε ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν, μετὰ χαρᾶς τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος,

1 Paulus ac Timotheus serui Iesu Christi, omnibus sanctis in Christo Iesu qui sunt Philippis, vna cum episcopis ac diaconis: ²gratia vobis et pax a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo.

³Gratias ago deo meo in omni memoria vestri, ⁴semper in omni precatione mea pro omnibus vobis, cum gaudio precationem faciens:

Inscriptio EPISTOLA ... PHILIPPENSES *E*: AD PHILIPPENSES EPISTOLA *A-C*, ERASMI VERSIO *D* | 1,1 *prius* ac *B-E*: et *A* | *alt.* ac *B-E*: et *A* | 3 vestri *B-E*: vestra *A* | 4 precatione *B-E*: oratione *A* | precationem *B-E*: deprecationem *A*

1,1 *ac* (twice) καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

1 *vna cum* σύν ("cum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22. In *Annot.*, Erasmus states that some mss. have the reading συνεπισκόποις as an alternative for σὺν ἐπισκόποις. Among his Basle mss., this is true only of cod. 2105. The same point reappears in *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, pp. 212-14, ll. 809-813.

1 *diaconis* διακόνοις ("diaconibus" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vgᵂᵂ). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that the second-declension form of the Latin noun is closer to the form of the Greek word. A similar point was made by Valla *Annot.* However, since neither *diaconus* nor *diacon* occurs in classical usage, Erasmus also suggested *ministris* here. Thus he substitutes *minister* for *diaconus* at 1 *Tim.* 3,8, though inconsistently not at 1 *Tim.* 3,12. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus at the present passage, in company with a few Vulgate mss. (and Vgˢᵗ).

3 *vestri* ὑμῶν ("vestra" 1516). In 1516, the use of *vestra*, treating ὑμῶν as a possessive genitive, follows the version of Ambrosiaster: see *Annot.*

4 *omni precatione mea* πάσῃ δεήσει μου ("cunctis orationibus meis" Vg.; "omni oratione mea" 1516). In cod. 2817, the words πάντοτε ... ὑμῶν were omitted through homoeoteleuton; in cod. 1, δεήσει was incorrectly replaced by διηγήσει. In using the singular, Erasmus' version is more literal. He prefers *omnis* to the singular of *cunctus*, as the latter would tend to be understood as meaning "the whole" rather than "every". For *precatio*, see on *Act.* 1,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests replacing *orationibus* with *obsecratione*. His 1516 rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre, while Manetti put *omni deprecatione mea.*

4 *precationem* τὴν δέησιν ("deprecationem" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus renders δέησις more consistently than the Vulgate, in view of his use of *precatione* earlier in the sentence.

⁵ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλι-
ον, ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν,
⁶πεποιθὼς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ ἐναρξά-
μενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθόν, ἐπιτελέσει
ἄχρις ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ⁷καθὼς
ἐστι δίκαιον ἐμοί, τοῦτο φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ
πάντων ὑμῶν, διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ
καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς, ἔν τε τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου καὶ
τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ καὶ βεβαιώσει τοῦ εὐ-
αγγελίου, συγκοινωνούς μου τῆς χά-
ριτος πάντας ὑμᾶς ὄντας. ⁸μάρτυς
γάρ μού ἐστιν ὁ θεός, ὡς ἐπιπο-
θῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν σπλάγχνοις Ἰη-
σοῦ Χριστοῦ. ⁹καὶ τοῦτο προσεύχο-
μαι, ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ὑμῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον
καὶ μᾶλλον περισσεύῃ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει
καὶ πάσῃ αἰσθήσει, ¹⁰εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν
ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα, ἵνα ἦτε εἰλικρινεῖς,
καὶ ἀπρόσκοποι εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ,

⁵quod veneritis in communionem
euangelii, a primo die vsque ad
hoc tempus: ⁶persuasum habens hoc
ipsum, quod is qui coepit in vobis
opus bonum, perficiet vsque ad diem
Iesu Christi: ⁷sicut iustum est mihi,
vt hoc sentiam de omnibus vobis:
propterea quod habeam vos in corde
et in vinculis meis et in defensione
et confirmatione euangelii, quum
sitis omnes mihi consortes gratiae.
⁸Testis enim mihi est deus, quam de-
siderem vos omnes in visceribus Iesu
Christi. ⁹Et illud oro, vt charitas
vestra adhuc magis ac magis exuberet
in agnitione omnique intelligentia,
¹⁰vt probetis quae sunt praestantia,
vt sitis synceri: ac tales, vt nemi-
ni sitis offendiculo in diem Christi:

1,7 δεσμοις A-C: δεσμιοις D E | alt. τη B-E: εν τη A | βεβαιωσει A C-E: βεβεωσει B

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7 quum sitis omnes B-E: qui omnes estis A | 8 desiderem C-E: desyderem A B | 9 omni-
que B-E: et omni A

---

5 *quod veneritis in communionem euangelii* ἐπὶ
τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ("super
communicatione vestra in euangelio Christi"
late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *Christi*
lacks Greek ms. support. For *communio*, see on
2 *Cor.* 6,14. Erasmus sensed that, after *communio*,
εἰς was best represented by a Latin genitive, to
denote the object of such "participation". This
in turn led him to convert the pronoun, ὑμῶν,
into a subordinate clause, *quod veneritis in*,
resulting in a paraphrase rather than a literal
translation. Manetti put *super communicatio-
nem vestram in euangelium*, and Lefèvre *super
communione vestra in euangelio*, both omitting
Christi.

5 *primo* πρώτης ("prima" Vg.). See on *Ioh.*
1,29.

5 *vsque ad hoc tempus* ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν ("vsque
nunc" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,10. Lefèvre put *huc-
usque*.

6 *persuasum habens* πεποιθὼς ("confidens in"
Annot., lemma = Vg. 1527 and some Vg. mss.).
The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Fro-
ben edition of 1514. See on *Rom.* 8,38, and
Annot. In Lefèvre's version, the clause began
with *hoc ipsum suasum habens*, omitting *in*. The
earlier Vulgate, together with the Froben Vul-
gate of 1491 and the Vulgate column of Lefèvre,
and also the version of Manetti, had just
confidens.

6 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Eras-
mus has the same wording as Ambrosiaster,
Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *is qui* ὁ ("qui" Vg.). As elsewhere, Erasmus
adds a pronoun to provide an antecedent for
qui.

6 *vsque ad* ἄχρις ("vsque in" Vg.). See on
Act. 1,2. Erasmus' wording is the same as that
of Ambrosiaster.

6 *Iesu Christi* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ("Christi Iesu" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, as in most mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ B D, and including codd. 1 and 2816. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside cod. 2105, with ℵ A F G and many other mss. The same change was made by Manetti.

7 *iustum est mihi* ἐστι δίκαιον ἐμοί ("est mihi iustum" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is no closer to the Greek word-order than the Vulgate. Lefèvre put *par michi est*.

7 *vt hoc sentiam* τοῦτο φρονεῖν ("hoc sentire" Vg.). Erasmus, as usual, avoids the infinitive. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *de* ὑπέρ ("pro" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,12. This change was also made by Lefèvre.

7 *propterea quod* διὰ τό ("eo quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 8,11. Lefèvre put *ob idipsum quod*.

7 δεσμοῖς. The spelling δεσμιοῖς in 1527-35, which would mean "prisoners" rather than "bonds", cannot have been intended by Erasmus, and does not seem to have been prompted by any consideration of ms. evidence.

7 *in defensione* τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ. The reading ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ in 1516 is more in harmony with the Latin translation, and is also in accord with the text of codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 3, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B Dᶜᵒʳʳ. The omission of ἐν in 1519-35, supported by cod. 2105, with A D* F G and a few other mss., accounted for the continuing omission of this preposition in the *Textus Receptus*. Cod. 2105* also omitted the preceding καί.

7 *quum sitis omnes mihi consortes gratiae* συγκοινωνούς μου τῆς χάριτος πάντας ὑμᾶς ὄντας ("socios gaudii mei omnes vos esse" Vg.; "qui omnes estis mihi consortes gratiae" 1516). Erasmus understands the Greek participle in a causal sense, and not as expressing the content of φρονεῖν. See *Annot.*, where he further suggests that the Vulgate use of *gaudii* may reflect confusion between χάριτος and χαρᾶς. He connects μου with συγκοινωνούς rather than with χάριτος, whereas the Vulgate word-order corresponds with the replacement of μου τῆς χάριτος by τῆς χάριτός μου in codd. D F G. In cod. 2815 and a few other late mss., μου (2nd.) is replaced by μοι. For *consors*, see on *Rom.* 11,17, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *socios meos gratiae omnes vos esse*, and Lefèvre *cum vos omnes comparticipes mei in gratia sitis*.

8 *quam desiderem* ὡς ἐπιποθῶ ("quomodo cupiam" Vg.). Erasmus here prefers *quam*, as expressing the intensity rather than the manner of the apostle's love. However, he retains *quomodo amabat* for πῶς ἐφίλει at *Ioh.* 11,36. See on 2 *Cor.* 5,2 for *desidero*. Ambrosiaster had *quemadmodum desiderem*, and Lefèvre *quo pacto desydero*.

8 *vos omnes* πάντας ὑμᾶς ("omnes vos esse" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *esse* lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* In transposing the Latin word-order, Erasmus may have been influenced by Lefèvre, who made exactly this change. More literally, the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *omnes vos*.

9 *illud* τοῦτο ("hoc" Vg.). Erasmus prefers *illud* for referring to something which follows: see on *Rom.* 6,6.

9 *adhuc* ἔτι (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission has little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The same correction was made by Manetti, while Lefèvre put *etiam*.

9 *exuberet* περισσεύῃ ("abundet" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

9 *agnitione* ἐπιγνώσει ("scientia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,20. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *cognitione*.

9 *omnique* καὶ πάσῃ ("et in omni" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "et omni" 1516 = some Vg. mss.). The repetition of *in*, which occurs in some copies of the Vulgate, lacks Greek ms. support. For *-que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39. Erasmus' 1516 rendering, also found in some Vulgate mss., gives the same wording as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

10 *quae sunt praestantia* τὰ διαφέροντα ("potiora" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,18, and *Annot.* The version of Ambrosiaster had *quae sunt vtilia*, and Lefèvre *ea quae potiora sunt*.

10 *synceri* εἰλικρινεῖς ("sinceres" Vg.). The usual classical form of this adjective was *sincerus* rather than *sinceris*. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *sinceri*, and Lefèvre *syncaeri*.

10 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

10 *tales, vt nemini sitis offendiculo* ἀπρόσκοποι ("sine offensa" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 10,32, and *Annot.* For the use of the predicative dative, see further on *Rom.* 8,28; 1 *Cor.* 8,9. The rendering of Manetti had *sine offendiculo*, and Lefèvre *irrepraehensibiles*.

¹¹πεπληρωμένοι καρπῶν δικαιοσύνης, τῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον θεοῦ.

¹²Γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, μᾶλλον εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλήλυθεν, ¹³ὥστε τοὺς δεσμούς μου φανεροὺς ἐν Χριστῷ γενέσθαι ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσι, ¹⁴καὶ τοὺς πλείονας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν κυρίῳ, πεποιθότας τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου, περισσοτέρως τολμᾶν ἀφόβως τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν. ¹⁵τινὲς μὲν καὶ διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ δι' εὐδοκίαν τὸν Χριστὸν κηρύσσουσιν.

¹¹impleti fructu iustitiae, qui contingit per Iesum Christum ad gloriam et laudem dei.

¹²Scire autem vos volo fratres, quod quae mihi acciderunt, magis ad profectum euangelii euenerunt: ¹³ita vt vincula mea manifesta facta sint in Christo in toto praetorio ac caeteris omnibus: ¹⁴vtque plures ex fratribus in domino, freti vinculis meis, vberius auderent, impauide sermonem loqui. ¹⁵Nonnulli quidem per inuidiam et contentionem, nonnulli vero et propter bonam voluntatem Christum praedicant.

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11 τῶν *A D E*: τον *B C*

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11 contingit *B-E*: est *A* | ad *B-E*: in *A* | 13 in Christo *B-E*: om. *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* |
14 vtque *B-E*: et vt *A* | in domino *B-E*: om. *A* | sermonem *B-E*: verbum *A*

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11 *impleti* πεπληρωμένοι ("repleti" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,13.

11 *fructu iustitiae, qui contingit* καρπῶν δικαιοσύνης, τῶν ("fructu iustitiae" Vg.; "fructu iusticiae, qui est" 1516 Lat.). Erasmus seeks to convey more fully the sense of τῶν. In using the singular for *fructu* and the accompanying relative clause, he is closer to the text of cod. 2817, which has καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης τόν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A D F G I 048ᵛⁱᵈ and about 150 other mss., along with the Vulgate. The reading of cod. B is καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης, omitting τόν. Erasmus' Greek text is supported by more than 380 late mss., including codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2815, 2816 (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 568-71). However, the fact that he had τόν rather than τῶν in *Annot.* may indicate that it was his original intention to put καρπὸν ... τόν in his continuous text. The reading καρπῶν ... τόν in 1519-22 is grammatically impossible, though it occurs in nine mss. (see Aland *loc. cit.*).

11 *ad* εἰς ("in" 1516 = Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus is generally content with *in gloriam* for εἰς δόξαν, e.g. at *Rom.* 3,7; 9,23; 15,7.

12 *vos volo* ὑμᾶς βούλομαι ("volo vos" late Vg.). The late Vulgate word-order has little Greek ms. support. Erasmus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *vos velim*.

12 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

12 *quae mihi acciderunt* τὰ κατ' ἐμέ ("quae circa me sunt" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 6,21. Manetti put *ea quae circa me sunt*.

12 *euangelii euenerunt* τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλήλυθεν ("venerunt euangelii" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order lacks Greek ms. support. See on *Act.* 8,24 for *euenio*. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *euangelii venerunt*, and Lefèvre *euangelii successerunt*.

13 *facta sint* γενέσθαι ("fierent" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes the perfect tense, to follow the

previous sequence of *acciderunt ... euenerunt*. His Latin word-order follows the Vulgate. Ambrosiaster, more literally, placed *facta sint* after *Christo*. Lefèvre put *fuerint*.

13 *in Christo* ἐν Χριστῷ (omitted in 1516 Lat.). The omission of *in Christo* in 1516, in conflict with the accompanying Greek text and nearly all mss., was probably not intended by Erasmus. One of his assistants perhaps misunderstood an instruction to place this phrase before the verb (see the previous note), and mistakenly deleted the words instead of transposing them. A further accidental omission of *in domino* occurs in the following verse.

13 *toto* ὅλῳ ("omni" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,2. In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that *omnis* might be misunderstood to mean "every". The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti also made this change.

13 *caeteris* τοῖς λοιποῖς ("in caeteris" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *in* lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The preposition was similarly omitted by Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *vtque* καί ("vt" late Vg.; "et vt" 1516). Erasmus' rendering makes clear that this clause is parallel with vs. 13, rather than dependent upon it. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had just *et*.

14 *ex fratribus* τῶν ἀδελφῶν ("e fratribus" Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for *ex*, even before consonants, see on *Rom.* 1,4. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *fratrum*.

14 *in domino* ἐν κυρίῳ (omitted in 1516 Lat.). Again the 1516 omission seems to have been accidental, as it produces an inconsistency with the parallel Greek text. See on the omission of *in Christo*, in the previous verse.

14 *freti* πεποιθότας ("confidentes" Vg.). Erasmus aims at a more exact rendering of the Greek perfect participle. He may also have had in mind that *confidens* might be misunderstood in the sense of "over confident". He nowhere uses *confidens* in his N.T. translation. Cf. his replacement of *confidens* by *persuasum habens* in vs. 6, above, and by *certo* in vs. 25, below.

14 *vinculis* τοῖς δεσμοῖς ("in vinculis" late Vg.). The late Vulgate preposition is not explicitly

supported by Greek mss. In omitting this word, Erasmus' version agrees with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre replaced *in vinculis meis* by *ob vincula mea*.

14 *vberius* περισσοτέρως ("abundantius" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 7,13, and *Annot.*

14 *impauide* ἀφόβως ("sine timore" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,7 for the removal of *sine*. Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *intrepide*.

14 *sermonem* τὸν λόγον ("verbum dei" Vg.; "verbum" 1516). The Vulgate addition of *dei* corresponds with the addition of τοῦ θεοῦ in codd. ℵ A B (D*) 048^vid and about 100 later mss. Twenty-four other mss. have the word-order τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by cod. 1 and about 470 other mss., commencing with 𝔓^46vid D^corr. Among these, cod. 2105 and about thirty other mss. place τὸν λόγον after λαλεῖν. (See Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 574-7). It may be noted that, influenced by the joint testimony of codd. ℵ A B and several ancient versions, 19th-century editors tended to adopt τοῦ θεοῦ. However, some recent editions (notably, N^27) have reinstated the shorter wording of Erasmus at this passage, in effect accepting that the form of text preserved by most of the later mss. was, after all, correct at this point. For *sermo*, see on *Ioh.* 1,1. Manetti had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition, while Lefèvre put *sermonem dei*.

15 *Nonnulli ... nonnulli* τινὲς ... τινές ("Quidam ... quidam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,14. In vss. 16-17, for the sake of variety, Erasmus replaces *quidam* with *alii ... alii*.

15 *per* καί διά ("et propter" Vg.). Erasmus leaves καί untranslated. This use of *per*, if intentional, seems to be designed to avoid repetition of *propter*. Normally *per* would be used when διά is followed by a genitive, but *propter* when διά is followed by an accusative (as here). At *Mt.* 27,18 and *Mc.* 15,10, for example, in rendering διὰ φθόνον, Erasmus replaces *per inuidiam* by *propter inuidiam*. However, he retains *per infirmitatem* for δι' ἀσθένειαν at *Gal.* 4,13 (= Vulgate).

15 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus.

15 δι'. Cod. 2817 has διά at this point, contrary to the other Basle mss.

LB 865

¹⁶ οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐριθείας τὸν Χριστὸν καταγγέλλουσιν οὐχ ἁγνῶς, οἰόμενοι θλίψιν ἐπιφέρειν | τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου· ¹⁷ οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀγάπης, εἰδότες ὅτι εἰς ἀπολογίαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κεῖμαι. ¹⁸ τί γάρ; πλὴν παντὶ τρόπῳ, εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρήσομαι. ¹⁹ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν δεήσεως καὶ ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ²⁰ κατὰ τὴν ἀποκαραδοκίαν καὶ ἐλπίδα μου, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ αἰσχυνθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσῃ παρρησίᾳ, ὡς πάντοτε, καὶ νῦν μεγαλυνθήσεται Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σώματί μου, εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς, εἴτε διὰ θανάτου. ²¹ ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστός, καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος. ²² εἰ δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκί, τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου, καὶ τί αἱρήσομαι οὐ γνωρίζω. ²³ συνέχομαι γὰρ ἐκ τῶν δύο,

¹⁶ Alii quidem ex contentione Christum annun | ciant non pure, existimantes sese afflictionem addere vinculis meis: ¹⁷ alii rursus ex charitate, scientes quod in defensionem euangelii constitutus sim. ¹⁸ Quid enim? Attamen quouis modo siue per occasionem, siue per veritatem, Christus tamen annunciatur: et in hoc gaudeo, quin etiam gaudebo. ¹⁹ Noui enim quod hoc mihi cedet in salutem per vestram deprecationem et subministrationem spiritus Iesu Christi, ²⁰ secundum expectationem et spem meam, quod nulla in re pudefiam: sed cum omni libertate, vt semper, ita nunc quoque magnificabitur Christus in corpore meo, siue per vitam siue per mortem. ²¹ Nam mihi vita Christus est, et mors lucrum. ²² Quod si contingat viuere in carne, ea res mihi fructus est operis, et quid eligam, ignoro. ²³ Coartor enim ex his duobus,

LB 866

17 constitutus B-E: positus A | 18 tamen B-E: om. A | 19 deprecationem B-E: orationem A | 20 cum B-E: in A | 22 ea A* B-E: eaque Aᶜ | 23 Coartor B-E: Constringor A | ex his B-E: e A

16-17 Alii quidem ... alii rursus οἱ μὲν ... οἱ δέ ("Quidam ... Quidam autem" Vg.). The Vulgate leaves μέν untranslated. For alii ... alii, see on vs. 15, and Annot. Another such substitution occurs at Act. 17,32: see ad loc. For rursus, see on Ioh. 9,9. Ambrosiaster (1492) had Alii quidem ... Aliqui vero, Manetti Qui profecto ... Qui autem, and Lefèvre Qui autem ... qui vero.

16-17 ex ... meis: ... ex ... sim ἐξ ... μου· ... ἐξ ... κεῖμαι ("ex ... sum: ... ex ... meis" Vg.). The Vulgate transposition of the substance of these two verses is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D* F G 048 and about fifty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 520 later mss. (see Aland Die Paulinischen Briefe vol. 3, pp. 577-80). See Annot. A similar change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre, apart from several differences on smaller points, which are noted below (in Manetti's version, the first

hand of Pal. Lat. 45 followed the Vulgate wording of vs. 16, which was subsequently corrected).

16 pure ἁγνῶς ("sincere" Vg., in vs. 17). See on 2 Cor. 6,6 (puritate), and Annot. The rendering of Lefèvre was caste.

16 sese afflictionem θλίψιν ("pressuram se" Vg., in vs. 17). For sese, see on Ioh. 7,35, and Annot., and for afflictio, see on Ioh. 16,21. Manetti put tribulationem, omitting se, while Lefèvre had se pressuram.

16 addere ἐπιφέρειν ("suscitare" Vg., in vs. 17). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having ἐγείρειν, as in codd. ℵ A B D* F G and twenty-two later mss. In cod. Dᶜᵒʳʳ ⁽²⁾ and nine later mss., it is ἐπεγείρειν. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1 and 2816, as well as Dᶜᵒʳʳ ⁽¹⁾ and about 550 later mss. His cod. 2105 has προσφέρειν. (See Aland Die Paulinischen Briefe vol. 3, pp. 580-4.) Cf. Annot. It would seem that the

superficial resemblance between ἐπιφέρειν and ἐγείρειν led some early scribes to confuse these two words. Manetti put *inferre*, and Lefèvre *afferre* (the latter being positioned after *meis*).

17 *quod ... constitutus sim* ὅτι ... κεῖμαι ("quoniam ... positus sum" Vg., in vs. 16; "quod ... positus sim" 1516). For *quod* and the subjunctive, see on *Ioh.* 1,20. A similar substitution of *constituo* occurs at 1 *Ioh.* 5,19 (1519), though Erasmus is usually content with *pono* for κεῖμαι. See further on *Ioh.* 15,16, and *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *quod ... positus sum.*

17 *in defensionem* εἰς ἀπολογίαν ("in defensione" late Vg., in vs. 16). Erasmus is more accurate here, using the same rendering as the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. See *Annot.* The wording of Lefèvre was *ad defensionem.*

18 *Attamen ... annunciatur* πλὴν ... καταγγέλλεται ("Dum ... annuncietur" Vg. 1527 and many Vg. mss. = "Dum ... adnuntietur" in Vg^ww; "Dum ... adnuntiatur" a few Vg. mss., with Vg^st). For Erasmus' use of *attamen*, see on 1 *Cor.* 7,2, and *Annot.* He includes the passage among the *Loca Obscura.* Lefèvre had *nisi quod ... annunciatur.*

18 *quouis* παντί ("omni" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,35, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *quoquo.*

18 *Christus tamen* Χριστός ("Christus" 1516 = Vg.). In 1519, Erasmus' addition of *tamen* reinforces the earlier *attamen*, and separates *Christus* more clearly from *siue per veritatem.*

18 *quin etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,17. Lefèvre put *et etiam.*

19 *Noui* οἶδα ("Scio" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,14.

19 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

19 *cedet in* ἀποβήσεται εἰς ("proueniet ad" late Vg.). Cf. on *Rom.* 7,10. The same substitution was made by Lefèvre (*Comm.*).

19 *deprecationem* δεήσεως ("orationem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,14. Manetti anticipated this change.

20 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.* Once again the same substitution was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

20 *nulla in re* ἐν οὐδενί ("in nullo" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 7,9.

20 *pudefiam* αἰσχυνθήσομαι ("confundar" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,5.

20 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

20 *libertate* παρρησίᾳ ("fiducia" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 3,12, and *Annot.*

20 *vt* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21. Lefèvre made the same change.

20 *ita nunc quoque* καὶ νῦν ("nunc" *Annot.*, lemma). In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests putting *et nunc*, which was the reading of the earlier Vulgate as well as the 1527 Vulgate column, Ambrosiaster and Manetti. Lefèvre put *etiam nunc.*

21 *Nam mihi* ἐμοὶ γάρ ("Mihi enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

21 *vita ... mors* τὸ ζῆν ... τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ("viuere ... mori" Vg.). Erasmus follows the less literal rendering offered by Lefèvre, avoiding the infinitives.

22 *contingat viuere* τὸ ζῆν ("viuere" Vg.). Erasmus adds a second verb, for clarity. See *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *michi fuerit vita.*

22 *ea res* τοῦτο ("hic" Vg.; "eaque res" 1516 errata). The Vulgate use of the masculine pronoun, by attraction to *fructus*, is less accurate. Nor does the reading *eaque* in the 1516 errata correspond with Erasmus' Greek mss. at Basle. Manetti put *hoc*, and Lefèvre *haec* (agreeing with his earlier substitution of *vita*).

22 *est operis* ἔργου ("operis est" Vg.). The word-order is unaffected by the Greek text, which lacks a verb (except in codd. F G, which have ἔργου ἐστίν).

23 *Coartor* συνέχομαι ("Constringor" 1516). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,14, and *Annot.* In 1519, Erasmus restored the Vulgate rendering. Lefèvre had *comprimor.*

23 *enim* γάρ ("autem" Vg.). In *Annot.*, lemma, the Vulgate is credited with Erasmus' own rendering, *enim*, contrary to the wording of most Vulgate mss. His Greek text here follows cod. 2817, supported by few other mss. The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having δέ, as found in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and nearly all other mss. The poorly-attested reading adopted by Erasmus survived in the *Textus Receptus.* Manetti omitted the word.

23 *ex his duobus* ἐκ τῶν δύο ("e duobus" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus wishes to express the sense of the article more fully. As indicated in *Annot.*, Ambrosiaster had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1519 edition.

τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι, καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον. ²⁴τὸ δὲ ἐπιμένειν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ἀναγκαιότερον δι᾽ ὑμᾶς. ²⁵καὶ τοῦτο πεποιθὼς οἶδα ὅτι μενῶ, καὶ συμπαραμενῶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως, ²⁶ἵνα τὸ καύχημα ὑμῶν περισσεύῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς παρουσίας πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ²⁷μόνον ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύεσθε, ἵνα εἴτε ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν ὑμᾶς, εἴτε ἀπών, ἀκούσω τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅτι στήκετε ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι, μιᾷ ψυχῇ, συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ²⁸καὶ μὴ πτυρόμενοι ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων, ἥτις αὐτοῖς μέν ἐστιν

desiderans dissolui, et esse cum Christo, multo longeque melius est. ²⁴Caeterum manere in carne, magis necessarium propter vos. ²⁵Et hoc certo scio quod mansurus sim, et cum omnibus vobis permansurus sim, in vestrum profectum et gaudium fidei, ²⁶vt gloriatio vestra exuberet per Christum Iesum in me, per meum ad vos reditum. ²⁷Tantum vt dignum est euangelio Christi, conuersemini, vt siue quum venero et videro vos, siue absens sim, audiam de rebus vestris: quod stetis in vno spiritu, vna anima, adiuuantes decertantem fidem euangelii, ²⁸nec in vllo terreamini ab aduersariis, quae illis quidem est

24 υμας *A B D E*: υμεις *C*

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23 desiderans *C-E*: desyderans *A B* | 25 certo *A C-E*: certus *B (compend.)* | mansurus sim *B-E*: maneam *A* | 26 per Christum Iesum *B-E*: in Christo Iesu *A* | 27 adiuuantes decertantem fidem *B-E*: collaborantes fidei *A*

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23 *desiderans* τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων ("desiderium habens" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal here. At *Rom.* 15,23, Erasmus uses *desiderium habeo* for ἐπιποθίαν ἔχω, but at that passage *desiderium* is accompanied by a genitive, *veniendi*. In the present instance, he wanted to avoid the construction of *desiderium* with an infinitive, i.e. with *dissolui* and *esse*. Manetti's remedy was to change these infinitives to *dissolutionis* and *commorationis*, while Lefèvre followed *desyderium habens* with *vt dissoluar et sim*.

23 *multo longeque melius est* πολλῷ μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον ("multo magis melius" Vg.). Erasmus describes the apostle's use of a double comparative as a Hebraism: see *Annot.* However, his addition of *est* does not entirely succeed in clarifying the relationship of κρεῖσσον to the earlier part of the sentence. Manetti had *multo magis et melius*, and Lefèvre *longe multo melius*.

24 *magis necessarium* ἀναγκαιότερον ("necessarium" late Vg.; "necessarium est" some Vg. mss., with Vgᵂᵂ). Erasmus is more accurate here: see *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *magis necessarium est*, as in some Vulgate mss. (with Vgˢᵗ).

25 *certo* πεποιθὼς ("confidens" Vg.; "certus" 1519). See on vs. 14, above. In 1516-22 *Annot.*, Erasmus proposes *certus* or *persuasus* (in 1527-35 *Annot.*, *certus* becomes *certum*), the first of which was adopted in his 1519 Latin version. Soon afterwards, in his separate Latin N.T. of 1521, and the folio edition of 1522, he reverted to *certo*, as used in the first edition of his translation. Lefèvre put *exploratum habens*.

25 *quod mansurus sim* ὅτι μενῶ ("quia manebo" Vg.; "quod maneam" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,20 for *quod* and the subjunctive, and on *Rom.* 2,6 for the use of the future participle. In *Annot.*, Erasmus comments that some mss. accentuate the verb as μένω, in the present tense: this was the reading of his cod. 2817, but codd. 1, 2105, 2815 have μενῶ. Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre advocated *quod manebo*.

25 *cum omnibus vobis permansurus sim* συμπαραμενῶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ("permanebo omnibus vobis" Vg.). By changing the word-order, Erasmus ensures that *omnibus vobis* is understood as relating solely to *permansurus* and not to *mansurus* as well. In *Annot.*, he gives the literal rendering as *permanebo simul cum omnibus vobis*. The

Vulgate omission of *cum* may reflect the substitution of παραμενῶ for συμπαραμενῶ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D^corr and most later mss. Another passage where a few early mss. simplify the doubled prefix, συμπαρα-, occurs at 2 *Tim.* 4,16, where codd. ℵ* A C have παρεγένετο instead of συμπαρεγένετο. For Erasmus' use of the subjunctive, see again on *Ioh.* 1,20, and for the future participle, see on *Rom.* 2,6. Valla *Annot.* proposed *apud vos omnes vna manebo* or *permanebo cum omnibus vobis*, of which the latter was adopted by Manetti. Lefèvre put *cum omnibus vobis permanebo*.

25 *in vestrum profectum* εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπήν ("ad profectum vestrum" Vg.). In this instance, Erasmus' version is closer to the Greek word-order. In vs. 12, above, he retained *ad profectum* for εἰς προκοπήν, whereas he now alters the preposition. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *ad vtilitatem vestram*, and Lefèvre *ad promotionem vestram*.

26 *gloriatio* τὸ καύχημα ("gratulatio" Vg.). Usually the Vulgate has *gloria* or *glorior* when rendering this Greek word: see *Annot.* In Valla *Annot.*, it was suggested that the original Vulgate reading here was *gloriatio*, and that this was later changed to *gratulatio* by careless scribes. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

26 *exuberet* περισσεύῃ ("abundet" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

26 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. By a scribal error, cod. 2817 adds a further Χριστοῦ after Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

26 *ad vos reditum* παρουσίας πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ("aduentum iterum ad vos" Vg.). This substitution is not necessarily an improvement, as παρουσία may here literally refer to "presence" rather than "arrival" or "return": cf. *Phil.* 2,12, where Erasmus and the Vulgate render παρουσία by *praesentia*. Lefèvre accordingly rendered the present passage by *per meam rursus praesentiam ad vos*.

27 *vt dignum est* ἀξίως ("digne" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,2. Lefèvre put *pro dignitate*.

27 *conuersemini* πολιτεύεσθε ("conuersamini" Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for the subjunctive, see on *Ioh.* 6,27. Lefèvre put *res gerite*.

27 *absens sim* ἀπών ("absens" Vg.). Erasmus adds a second verb, clarifying the connection between *audiam* and the preceding *vt*. Lefèvre put *sim absens*.

27 *de rebus vestris* τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ("de vobis" Vg.). The Vulgate leaves τά untranslated. In *Annot.*, Erasmus gives a more literal rendering, *ea quae sunt de vobis*. See further on *Eph.* 6,22. Manetti had *ea quae circa vos sunt*, and Lefèvre *quae erga vos*.

27 *quod stetis* ὅτι στήκετε ("quia statis" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "quia stetistis" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *quod estis*, and Lefèvre *quod statis*.

27 ἑνί. This word is omitted in cod. 2815, contrary to the evidence of nearly all other mss.

27 *vna anima* μιᾷ ψυχῇ ("vnanimes" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is more consistent with *vno spiritu* (ἑνὶ πνεύματι), which immediately precedes: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *vno animo*.

27 *adiuuantes decertantem fidem* συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει ("collaborantes fidei" 1516 = late Vg., with Vg^ww; "collaborantes fide" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). Erasmus' expansion of the meaning involves a personification of the "faith of the gospel". The verb συναθλέω could be understood differently, as referring to the Philippians unitedly striving alongside the apostle, and also alongside one another, sharing the same faith and having the same desire for the furtherance of the gospel. The latter interpretation would be more in keeping with *Phil.* 4,3, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι, which Erasmus renders in 1519 by *in euangelio decertarunt mecum*. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *concertantes fidei*.

28 *nec in vllo* καὶ μὴ ... ἐν μηδενί ("et in nullo" Vg.). A comparable change from *et nullum* to *nec vllum* occurs at *Ioh.* 16,29 (1519). See also on *Ioh.* 2,16. Lefèvre put just *in nullo*.

28 *illis quidem est* αὐτοῖς μέν ἐστιν ("est illis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text substituting ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, and omitting μέν, as in codd. ℵ A B C D* F G and thirty-four other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2816, with about 490 other late mss. The reading of cod. 2105 and fifty-five other mss., including D^corr, is ἐστιν αὐτοῖς μέν (see Aland *Die Paulinischen*

ἔνδειξις ἀπωλείας, ὑμῖν δὲ σωτηρίας, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ θεοῦ, ²⁹ὅτι ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν, ³⁰τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες οἷον ἴδετε ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί. |

causa perditionis, vobis autem salutis: et hoc a deo: ²⁹quia vobis donatum est pro Christo, non solum vt in eum credatis, verum etiam vt pro illo patiamini, ³⁰idem certamen habentes quale vidistis in me et | nunc auditis in me.

LB 867

LB 868

2 Εἴ τις οὖν παράκλησις ἐν Χριστῷ, εἴ τι παραμύθιον ἀγάπης, εἴ τις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί, ²πληρώσατέ μου τὴν χαράν, ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ φρονῆτε, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην ἔχοντες, σύμψυχοι, τὸ ἓν φρονοῦντες, ³μηδὲν κατὰ ἐρίθειαν ἢ κενοδοξίαν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν· ⁴μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος σκοπεῖτε, ἀλλὰ

2 Si qua igitur consolatio in Christo, si quod solatium dilectionis, si qua communio spiritus, si qua viscera ac miserationes, ²complete meum gaudium, vt similiter affecti sitis: eandem charitatem habentes, vnanimes, idem sentientes, ³ne quid fiat per contentionem aut per inanem gloriam, sed per humilitatem animi, alium quisque se praestantiorem existimet: ⁴ne sua quisque spectetis, sed

28 απωλειας *A-C*: απολειας *D E* | 30 ιδετε *B-E*: ειδετε *A*

28 causa *B-E*: ostensio *A*
2,1 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 2 complete *B-E*: implete *A* | 3 fiat *B-E*: *om. A* | existimet *B-E*: iudicantes *A*

Briefe vol. 3, pp. 584-6). Manetti put *profecto ipsis est*, and Lefèvre *illis autem*.

28 *causa* ἔνδειξις ("ostensio" 1516). See on 2 *Cor.* 8,24, and *Annot.* In Lefèvre *Comm.*, *indicium* was adopted in the translation, with *ostensio* given as an alternative. The version of Ambrosiaster (1492) had *ostentatio*.

28 ἀπωλείας. The spelling ἀπολείας in 1527-35 was probably a misprint: for another such error, see on *Act.* 25,16. At other N.T. instances of this word, the same editions always have ἀπω-.

29 *non solum vt* οὐ μόνον τό ("vt non solum" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514. Erasmus' version is closer to the Greek word-order, in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti. Lefèvre had *non solum vt* in his Vulgate column, but *non solum* (followed by *in ipsum credere*) in his rendering.

29 *verum etiam vt* ἀλλὰ καὶ τό ("sed vt etiam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Ambrosiaster (1492)

and Manetti put *sed etiam vt*. Lefèvre had *sed etiam*, followed by *pro ipso pati*.

30 *vidistis* ἴδετε ("et vidistis" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et* corresponds with the reading καὶ εἴδετε in cod. D* (cf. καὶ ἴδεται in codd. F G). The reading of the 1516 edition, which has εἴδετε without καί, is found in codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss. The change to ἴδετε in 1519 was supported by cod. 2817, along with Bᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and some later mss. The rendering of Lefèvre was the same as that of Erasmus, while Manetti put *videtis*, all omitting *et*.

30 *auditis* ἀκούετε ("audistis" Vg.). The perfect tense of the Vulgate lacks support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

30 *in me* (2nd.) ἐν ἐμοί ("de me" Vg.). The Vulgate version was less literal, but suited the context, in view of the preceding ἀκούετε. In *Annot.*, Erasmus is non-committal as to which

rendering is to be preferred. The same change was made by Manetti.

2,1 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Lefèvre made the same substitution.

1 *dilectionis* ἀγάπης ("charitatis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,35. Erasmus retained *charitatem* for ἀγάπην in the following verse. More consistently, Lefèvre put *dilectionis* here, and *dilectionem* in vs. 2.

1 *communio* κοινωνία ("societas" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 6,14. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

1 *ac miserationes* καὶ οἰκτιρμοί ("miserationis" late Vg.; "et miserationes" 1516 = Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate genitive has negligible support from Greek mss. See *Annot.*, and for *ac*, see on *Ioh.* 1,25. Erasmus' 1516 rendering agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *complete* πληρώσατε ("implete" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,25.

2 *meum gaudium* μου τὴν χαράν ("gaudium meum" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order.

2 *similiter affecti sitis* τὸ αὐτὸ φρονῆτε ("idem sapiatis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,16. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests putting *sentiatis* for *sapiatis*, taking account of the objection in Valla *Annot.* regarding the Vulgate's use of *sapio* and *sentio* to render the same Greek verb. By replacing *idem* with *similiter*, he makes a clearer distinction between the meaning of τὸ αὐτό and τὸ ἕν. Lefèvre put *idem sentiatis*.

2 *idem* τὸ ἕν ("id ipsum" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the replacement of ἕν by αὐτό, as in codd. ℵ* A C I and a few later mss. In *Annot.*, more literally, Erasmus gives *vnum* as an alternative rendering: this had been used by Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

3 *ne quid fiat* μηδέν ("nihil" Vg.; "ne quid" 1516). As this part of the sentence lacks a verb, Erasmus converts it into a purpose clause, though *nihil sentientes*, or possibly *nihil facientes*, would have been more in tune with the preceding φρονοῦντες.

3 *aut* ἤ ("neque" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of μηδέ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with D F G and most other mss. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

3 *per inanem gloriam* κενοδοξίαν. The Vulgate use of *per* corresponds with κατὰ κενοδοξίαν in codd. ℵ* A B C and a few other mss., including cod. 2817. Although Erasmus' translation retains *per*, his Greek text follows cod. 2815 in omitting κατά, in company with 1, 2105, 2816, and also 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ D F G and most other mss.

3 *per humilitatem animi* τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ("in humilitate" Vg.). Erasmus artificially makes the construction conform with the earlier sequence of *per contentionem ... per gloriam*. In *Annot.*, he renders more literally by *humilitate*, without any preposition. For his addition of *animi*, see further on *Act.* 20,19. Lefèvre put *in humilitate sensus*.

3 *alium quisque se praestantiorem* ἀλλήλους ... ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν ("superiores sibi inuicem" Vg.). For the removal of *inuicem*, see on *Ioh.* 4,33. By using *praestantior*, Erasmus perhaps wished to reproduce the participial form of ὑπερέχοντας. In *Annot.*, his translation was *alii alios existimantes superiores seipsis*. Manetti rendered this part of the sentence by *sibi inuicem existimantes superiores ipsis*, and Lefèvre by *arbitramini vobisipsis inuicem praeeminere*.

3 *existimet* ἡγούμενοι ("arbitrantes" Vg.; "iudicantes" 1516). Erasmus is content to retain *arbitror* for the same Greek verb in vs. 6. In the present context, however, *existimo* suitably conveys the sense of "esteem". In *Annot.*, he rendered by *existimantes*, which had previously been used by Ambrosiaster and Manetti. For the version of Lefèvre, see the previous note.

4 *ne sua quisque spectetis* μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος σκοπεῖτε ("non quae sua sunt singuli considerantes" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect a Greek text replacing ἕκαστος σκοπεῖτε with ἕκαστοι σκοποῦντες, as in codd. A B F G, or ἕκαστος σκοποῦντες, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ C D, both of which readings have additional support from a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. There would seem to be a possibility that the reading σκοποῦντες arose from scribal harmonisation with the preceding participles, ἔχοντες ... φρονοῦντες ... ἡγούμενοι, and that ἕκαστοι (either here or at the end of the sentence) was substituted by scribes who wished to produce conformity with the accompanying plural verb (whether σκοπεῖτε or σκοποῦντες). Erasmus' use of *quisque* produces a stronger parallelism with the previous clause,

καὶ τὰ ἑτέρων ἕκαστος. ⁵τοῦτο γὰρ φρονείσθω ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ⁶ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ⁷ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ⁸ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θα|νάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. ⁹διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε, καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, ¹⁰ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ, ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, ¹¹καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός.

vnusquisque quae sunt aliorum. ⁵Is enim affectus sit in vobis, qui fuit et in Christo Iesu: ⁶qui quum esset in forma dei, non rapinam arbitratus est, vt esset aequalis deo, ⁷sed semet ipsum inaniuit, forma serui sumpta in similitudine hominum constitutus, et figura repertus vt homo, ⁸humilem praebuit semet ipsum, | factus obediens vsque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. ⁹Quapropter et deus illum in summam extulit sublimitatem, ac donauit illi nomen, quod est supra omne nomen: ¹⁰vt in nomine Iesu omne genu se flectat, coelestium ac terrestrium et infernorum, ¹¹omnisque lingua confiteatur quod dominus sit Iesus Christus ad gloriam dei patris.

LB 869

LB 870

2,11 εξομολογησηται C-E: εξομολογησεται A B

5 Is enim affectus sit B-E: Hoc enim sentiatur A | qui fuit B-E: quod A | 7 inaniuit B-E: exinaniuit A | constitutus B-E: factus A | 8 humilem praebuit C-E: humiliauit A B | 9 ac B-E: et A | 10 se B-E: om. A | ac B-E: et A | 11 omnisque B-E: et omnis A | ad B-E: in A

and avoids the needless alliteration of *sua sunt singuli*. For *specto*, see on 2 *Cor.* 4,18, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *ne considerate singuli quae sua sunt*, and Lefèvre *non quae vestra sunt quisque consyderate*. The use of *considerate* was likewise preferred by Valla *Annot.*

4 *vnusquisque quae sunt aliorum* καὶ τὰ ἑτέρων ἕκαστος ("et ea quae aliorum" Vg.). From *Annot.*, it appears that Erasmus at first consulted Vulgate copies which omitted *et*, such as the Froben 1491 edition, or that he relied upon the Vulgate lemma of Valla *Annot.*, which made the same omission (as did the version of Manetti). Correspondingly, καί is omitted in cod. 2816 and D* F G, with a few other mss. The word *et* is present in the 1527 Vulgate column, and also the 1502 *Glossa Ordinaria* and the Froben edition of 1514, as well as the Vulgate text of Lefèvre. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggested that ἀλλὰ καί was here the equivalent of *imo magis*. The Vulgate and some Old Latin sources leave

ἕκαστος untranslated at this point, perhaps treating it as a superfluous repetition. This word was also omitted by codd. F G. In 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D and a few later mss., it is ἕκαστοι: for this substitution of the plural, see the previous note. In codd. 1, 2815, 2817, Erasmus would have found τό in place of τά, together with cod. Dᶜᵒʳʳ and many later mss. In adopting τά, his text has the support of codd. 2105 and 2816, with most other mss. The version of Lefèvre put *et quisque quod aliorum*.

5 *Is enim affectus sit in vobis, qui fuit* τοῦτο γὰρ φρονείσθω ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃ ("Hoc enim sentite in vobis, quod" Vg.; "Hoc enim sentiatur in vobis, quod" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of φρονεῖτε, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C* D F G and a few later mss. Although it has sometimes been thought that φρονείσθω was a scribal alteration, the fact that there are no other N.T. instances of the passive (or middle voice) of this verb may have influenced a few

early scribes to substitute the active imperative, φρονεῖτε. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also C^corr and most later mss. See *Annot.* The difference of verb was likewise discussed in Valla *Annot.* See also on *Rom.* 12,16.

6 *quum esset in forma dei* ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων ("cum in forma dei esset" Vg.). For Erasmus' occasional preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27.

6 *vt esset aequalis* τὸ εἶναι ἴσα ("esse se aequalem" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive: see *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *esse aequalem*, omitting *se* and thereby inviting the possibility of a mistaken connection being made between *aequalem* and *rapinam*.

7 *inaniuit* ἐκένωσε ("exinaniuit" 1516 = Vg.). In 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that *exinanio* might be taken as the equivalent of *exhaurio* ("exhaust" or "weaken"), and argues for the interpretation that Christ brought himself down to the position of lowest esteem ("fecit humillimum et nihili"). In his opinion, *inanio* ("make empty") gave a more exact equivalent of the Greek verb.

7 *forma serui sumpta* μορφὴν δούλου λαβών ("formam serui accipiens" Vg.). Greek aorist. The use of *sumo* implies that Christ did not merely "receive" but actively took upon himself the form of a servant.

7 *in similitudine* ἐν ὁμοιώματι ("in similitudinem" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *constitutus* γενόμενος ("factus" 1516 = Vg.). For Erasmus' avoidance of *facio*, see on *Ioh.* 1,15. The change is mainly for the sake of variety, in view of the retention of *factus* in vs. 8.

7 *figura* σχήματι ("habitu" Vg.). Erasmus disliked the ambiguity of *habitus*, which could refer not only to physical appearance but also to clothing or character. Cf. *Annot.* In rendering the same Greek word at 1 *Cor.* 7,31, he made an opposite change from *figura* to *habitus*. See *ad loc.* At the present passage, Lefèvre made the same substitution as Erasmus.

7 *repertus* εὑρεθείς ("inuentus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,41.

8 *humilem praebuit* ἐταπείνωσεν ("humiliauit" 1516-19 = Vg.). In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus concedes that *humilio* did not occur in classical usage. See further on 2 *Cor.* 12,21. In the

separate Latin N.T. of 1521, the wording is *humilem prebuit.*

9 *Quapropter* διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29.

9 *illum in summam extulit sublimitatem* αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε ("exaltauit illum" late Vg.). Erasmus elsewhere retains *exalto* for ὑψόω, but in rendering the compound form of the Greek verb he looks for a stronger expression. See *Annot.* In placing *illum* first, he partly restores the earlier Vulgate word-order (*illum exaltauit*), closer to the Greek text. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *ipsum exaltauit.*

9 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

9 *supra* ὑπέρ ("super" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,31.

10 *se flectat* κάμψῃ ("flectatur" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "flectat" 1516 = some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). See on *Rom.* 14,11, and *Annot.*, together with *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 214, ll. 815-823.

10 *ac* καί (late Vg. omits; "et" 1516 = Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate omission lacks Greek ms. support. For *ac*, see also on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

11 *omnisque* καὶ πᾶσα ("et omnis" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,39.

11 ἐξομολογήσηται. The spelling ἐξομολογήσεται in the 1516-19 editions was drawn from cod. 2817, along with 1, 2105*, 2816, and also A C D (F) G and many other mss. In cod. 2815 and many other mss., commencing with 𝔓^46 ℵ B, the ending of this word is -ήσηται.

11 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

11 *dominus sit Iesus Christus ad* (*in*: 1516) *gloriam* κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν ("dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est" Vg.). Although the Greek has no verb, the word-order offered by Erasmus gives a more probable interpretation, and he is also more accurate in rendering εἰς δόξαν. This passage does not refer to the doctrine that Jesus Christ dwells in the glory of the Father, but affirms that the Father will be glorified through a future universal acknowledgment that Jesus Christ is "the Lord". See *Annot.* A similar point was made by Valla *Annot.*, though Valla added *noster* after *dominus*, both in his Vulgate lemma and in his accompanying comment. Lefèvre put *dominus est Ihesus Christus: ad gloriam.*

¹²Ὥστε, ἀγαπητοί μου, καθὼς πάντοτε ὑπηκούσατε, μὴ ὡς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ μου μόνον, ἀλλὰ νῦν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ μου, μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε· ¹³ὁ θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας. ¹⁴πάντα ποιεῖτε χωρὶς γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν, ¹⁵ἵνα γένησθε ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι, τέκνα θεοῦ ἀμώμητα ἐν μέσῳ γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης, ἐν οἷς φαίνεσθε ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ, ¹⁶λόγον ζωῆς

¹²Proinde dilecti mei, quemadmodum semper obedistis, non tanquam in praesentia mea solum, sed nunc multo magis in absentia mea, cum timore ac tremore vestram ipsorum salutem operemini: ¹³nam deus est is qui agit in vobis, et vt velitis et vt efficiatis pro bono animi proposito. ¹⁴Omnia facite sine murmurationibus ac disceptationibus, ¹⁵tales vt nemo de vobis queri possit syncerique, filii dei irreprehensibiles in medio nationis prauae ac tortuosae, inter quos lucete tanquam luminaria in mundo, ¹⁶sermonem vitae

13 υμιν *B-E*: ημιν *A*

12 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 14 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 15 queri *A D E*: quaeri *B C* | lucete *B-E*: apparetis *A* | 16 sermonem *B-E*: verbum *A*

12 *Proinde* Ὥστε ("Itaque" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17. Lefèvre put *Quare.*

12 *dilecti* ἀγαπητοί ("charissimi" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,25. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change (cf. Ambrosiaster, *dilectissimi*).

12 *quemadmodum* καθὼς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt.*

12 *tanquam* ὡς (omitted in Vg. 1527; "vt" Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben editions of 1491 and 1514. See on 1 *Cor.* 5,3. Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns) had *vt*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

12 *mea* (1st.) μου ("mei" Vg.). This change produces consistency with *absentia mea* later in the sentence. The same substitution was made by Lefèvre, but Manetti's version omitted this word.

12 *solum* μόνον ("tantum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,16. Manetti and Lefèvre both made this change.

12 *nunc multo magis* νῦν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ("multo magis nunc" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with πολλῷ μᾶλλον νῦν in codd. D F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

12 *timore* φόβου ("metu" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 16,10. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

12 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. The same substitution was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *vestram ipsorum* τὴν ἑαυτῶν ("vestram" Vg.). Erasmus conveys the sense of the reflexive pronoun. See *Annot.* He has the same wording as Ambrosiaster.

12 *operemini* κατεργάζεσθε ("operamini" Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for the subjunctive, see on *Ioh.* 6,27.

13 *nam deus est* ὁ θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ("deus est enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre also made this change.

13 *is qui* ὁ ("qui" Vg.). As elsewhere, Erasmus provides an antecedent for *qui.*

13 *agit* ἐνεργῶν ("operatur" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to distinguish ἐνεργέω from κατεργάζομαι, which was rendered by *operor* in vs. 12. See on *Rom.* 7,5, and *Annot.*

13 *vobis* ὑμῖν. In 1516, Erasmus' Greek text followed cod. 2815 in putting ἡμῖν, in company with a few other late mss., conflicting with his adjacent Latin translation. See *Annot.*

13 *vt velitis et vt efficiatis* τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ("velle et perficere" Vg.). The 1527 Vulgate column and also the 1491 and 1514 Froben Vulgates incorrectly have *proficere* for *perficere* (through confusion between the abbreviations for *per-* and *pro-*). Erasmus avoids the infinitive. For his use of *efficio*, see on *Rom.* 7,5. However, he was content that there should remain an inconsistency, or variety of style, in the rendering of ἐνεργέω in this sentence, as he translates this verb by both *ago* and *efficio*. Valla *Annot.* had commented on the inconsistency in the Vulgate use of *operor* and *perficio*. Erasmus, in *Annot.*, accepted Valla's objection that the reader might misunderstand *perficere* to mean "carry through to the end" rather than simply "perform". This point is also made in the *Loca Obscura*. Manetti put *velle atque operari* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *velle et operari*), and Lefèvre *voluntatem et operationem*.

13 *bono animi proposito* τῆς εὐδοκίας ("bona voluntate" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 1,5. The addition of *animi* could lead the reader to suppose that the phrase refers to a disposition of the human mind rather than the will of God. In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus concedes that the latter sense is possible.

14 *Omnia* πάντα ("Omnia autem" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *autem* has little support from Greek mss. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the rendering of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *murmurationibus* γογγυσμῶν. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites an alternative reading, ὀργῆς, which is found in a few late mss.: cf. ὀργῆς γογγυσμῶν in cod. 1. The use of ὀργῆς possibly arose from harmonisation with 1 *Tim.* 2,8.

14 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

14 *disceptationibus* διαλογισμῶν ("haesitationibus" Vg.). This substitution was in accordance with the Vulgate rendering of 1 *Tim.* 2,8. See on *Act.* 15,7, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

15 *tales vt* ἵνα ("vt" Vg.). The insertion of *tales* makes a stronger connection with the subject of *facite*.

15 *nemo de vobis queri possit* γένησθε ἄμεμπτοι ("sitis sine querela" Vg.). For Erasmus' frequent avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7. In using *possit*, he more accurately conveys the sense "unblameable", rather than "without blame" or "without complaining": see *Annot.* At *Lc.* 1,6; *Phil.* 3,6;

1 *Thess.* 3,13, he replaces *sine querela* with *irreprehensibilis*, an option which he declined in the present instance, as he wanted to use *irreprehensibilis* for ἀμώμητος later in the sentence. Cf. also the substitution of *inculpate* for *sine querela* in rendering ἀμέμπτως at 1 *Thess.* 2,10. In *Annot.* on that passage, he suggested putting *ita vt nemo de nobis queri potuerit*. In translating ἀμέμπτως at 1 *Thess.* 5,23, he further replaces *sine querela* with *ita vt in nullo possitis culpari*. At the present passage, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *sitis irrepr(a)ehensibiles*, and Manetti *efficiamini sine querela*.

15 *syncerique* καὶ ἀκέραιοι ("et simplices" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,19, and *Annot.*, for *syncerus*, and on *Ioh.* 1,39 for *-que.* Manetti put *ac simplices*.

15 *irreprehensibiles* ἀμώμητα ("sine reprehensione" Vg.). For the removal of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7, and *Annot.* See further on ἄμεμπτοι, earlier in the present verse, and also on the use of *irreprehensibilis* at *Eph.* 1,4. This substitution was anticipated by Manetti, while Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *immaculati* (as also used by the Vulgate at 2 *Petr.* 3,14).

15 *ac* καί ("atque" Vg. 1527; "et" Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514. See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti made the same change.

15 *tortuosae* διεστραμμένης ("peruersae" Vg.). In *Annot.* on the present passage, Erasmus gives *distortae* ("deformed" or "warped") as an alternative rendering, and in the same way, he replaces *peruersa* with *distorta* at *Mt.* 17,17. However, in translating the same Greek word at *Lc.* 9,41 and *Act.* 20,30, he retains *peruersa*. Compared with *distortus*, the word *tortuosus* ("twisting" or "winding") does not so strongly convey the required pejorative sense.

15 *lucete* φαίνεσθε ("lucetis" Vg.; "apparetis" 1516). Another substitution of *appareo* for *luceo* occurs at 2 *Petr.* 1,19. Elsewhere Erasmus often follows the Vulgate in rendering φαίνω by *luceo* or *appareo*, according to context. His adoption of the imperative, *lucete*, as mentioned in 1519 *Annot.*, corresponds with the rendering offered by Cyprian *Epist.* 13 (*CSEL* 3, ii, p. 506). The use of *apparetis* in the 1516 edition was anticipated by Manetti.

15 *tanquam* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,13. Lefèvre had *vt.*

16 *sermonem* λόγον ("verbum" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1. Lefèvre made the same change.

ἐπέχοντες, εἰς καύχημα ἐμοὶ εἰς
ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν
ἔδραμον, οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα.
¹⁷ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ
θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως
ὑμῶν, χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν
ὑμῖν.   ¹⁸τὸ   δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ὑμεῖς
χαίρετε καὶ συγχαίρετέ μοι.

    ¹⁹ Ἐλπίζω δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ,
Τιμόθεον   ταχέως   πέμψαι   ὑμῖν,
ἵνα   κἀγὼ   εὐψυχῶ,   γνοὺς   τὰ
περὶ ὑμῶν.   ²⁰οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχω
ἰσόψυχον,   ὅστις   γνησίως   τὰ
περὶ   ὑμῶν   μεριμνήσει.   ²¹οἱ
πάντες γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ζητοῦ-
σιν, οὐ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

sustinentes, vt gloriari possim in diem
Christi, quod non in vanum cucur-
rerim, nec in vanum laborauerim.
¹⁷Quin etiam si immolor super hostia
sacrificioque fidei vestrae, gaudeo et
congaudeo omnibus vobis.   ¹⁸Ob id
ipsum autem et vos gaudetis, et con-
gaudetis mihi.

    ¹⁹Spero autem in domino Iesu, me
Timotheum breui missurum vobis
vt et ego laeto sim animo, cogni-
to statu vestro.   ²⁰Neminem enim
habeo pari mecum animo praeditum,
qui germane res vestras curaturus
sit. ²¹Nam omnes quae sua ipsorum
sunt, quaerunt, non quae Christi Iesu.

18 δε *D E*: δ *A-C*

17 hostia sacrificioque *B-E*: immolatione, et sacrificio *A* | **18** Ob id ipsum *B-E* (Ob idipsum *E*):
Idem *A* | **19** laeto *B-E*: bono *A* | **20** vestras *A B D E*: vestram *C* | **21** quaerunt *B-E*:
qnaerunt *A*

16 *sustinentes* ἐπέχοντες ("continentes" Vg.).
Erasmus interpreted this Greek verb in the
sense of "holding aloft", because of the previ-
ous reference to φωστῆρες: see *Annot.* The ren-
dering of Lefèvre, *retinentes*, or "keeping hold
of", was more consistent with the meaning of
ἐπέχω at other N.T. passages.

16 *vt gloriari possim* εἰς καύχημα ἐμοί ("ad
gloriam meam" Vg.). In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus
cited the noun as both καύχημα and δόξαν.
The latter variant, however, has the appearance
of being a back-translation into Greek from
gloriam. By using *glorior* ("boast"), he hoped to
prevent the misunderstanding that the Philip-
pians' actions would be for the apostle's own
"glory". The version of Lefèvre, for a similar
reason, put *ad gloriationem meam*.

16 *in diem* εἰς ἡμέραν ("in die" Vg.). Erasmus
is more accurate here, in rendering the Greek
accusative. See *Annot.* His translation is the
same as that of Ambrosiaster.

16 *quod ... cucurrerim ... laborauerim* ὅτι ...
ἔδραμον ... ἐκοπίασα ("quia ... cucurri ...
laboraui" Vg.). Erasmus understands this clause
as giving the content of the apostle's "boasting",

whereas the Vulgate rendering permits the words
to be taken in a causal sense. See *Annot.* The
version of Manetti replaced *laboraui* by *elaboraui*.

16 *in vanum* (twice) εἰς κενόν ("in vacuum"
Vg.). See on *Gal.* 2,2. Lefèvre made the same
change, while Manetti put *in vacuum ... inaniter*.

16 *nec* οὐδέ ("neque" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,28.
Erasmus uses the same word as Ambrosiaster.

17 *Quin etiam si* ἀλλ' εἰ καί ("Sed et si" Vg.).
See on 1 *Cor.* 7,21.

17 *immolor* σπένδομαι ("aemulor" late Vg.).
The late Vulgate represents a scribal alteration
of the original spelling. Lefèvre made the same
change as Erasmus, while Manetti had *imolor*.

17 *super* ἐπί ("supra" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,31,
and *Annot.*, where Erasmus mentions that the
Vulgate word was sometimes misunderstood as
the equivalent of *vltra*. He lists the passage
among the *Loca Obscura*. His rendering is the
same as that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre substituted
in.

17 *hostia sacrificioque* τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ
("sacrificium et obsequium" Vg.; "immolatione,
et sacrificio" 1516). See on 1 *Cor.* 10,18, and

Annot., for *hostia*. Erasmus' substitution of *sacrificium* for *obsequium* here is inconsistent with his preference for *officium* in rendering λειτουργία at vs. 30, below: see further on 2 *Cor.* 9,12. For his use of *-que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39. Lefèvre put *sacrificio et obsequio*.

17 *congaudeo* συγχαίρω ("congratulor" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in vs. 18: see *Annot.*, and see also on 1 *Cor.* 12,26. Erasmus seems to have felt that *congratulor* did not adequately convey the sense of "join together in rejoicing".

18 *Ob id ipsum autem* τὸ δὲ αὐτό ("Id ipsum autem" Vg.; "Idem autem" 1516). Most mss., including all those at Basle, have τὸ δ' αὐτό, as adopted in 1516-22. The substitution of δέ for δ' is found e.g. in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ B. Here Erasmus avoids using a direct object with *gaudeo*, though such a construction sometimes occurs in classical authors. Manetti put *id autem ipsum*, and Lefèvre *Itidem autem*.

18 *gaudetis, et congaudetis* χαίρετε καὶ συγχαίρετε ("gaudete et congratulamini" Vg.). The Greek can be interpreted as either imperative or indicative. Erasmus prefers the latter: see *Annot.* For *congaudeo*, see on vs. 17.

19 *me Timotheum breui missurum* Τιμόθεον ταχέως πέμψαι ("Timotheum me cito mittere" late Vg.). For Erasmus' use of the future participle after *spero*, see on 1 *Cor.* 16,7. For *breui*, see on *Rom.* 16,20. His use of *breui missurum* closely resembled the version of Lefèvre, who had the word-order *me breui missurum ad vos Timotheum*. Ambrosiaster had *Timotheum in breui mittere me ad vos*, and Manetti *quod Timotheum cito mittam ad vos*.

19 *vobis* ὑμῖν ("ad vos" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal at this point, in deleting the preposition. For the word-order of Lefèvre, see the previous note.

19 *laeto sim animo* εὐψυχῶ ("bono animo sim" Vg.; "bono sim animo" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus comments that *bono animo sum* is better suited to θαρρέω: see further on 2 *Cor.* 5,6. Lefèvre had exactly the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

19 *cognito statu vestro* γνοὺς τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ("cognitis quae circa vos sunt" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 6,22. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *vbi cognouero de rebus vestris*. In 1516 *Annot.*, he incorrectly inserted δέ after γνοὺς in his citation of the text. Manetti put *cum cognouero ea*

que (= *quae*) *circa vos sunt*, and Lefèvre *certior factus eorum quae circa vos geruntur* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *certior de vobis factus*).

20 *pari mecum animo praeditum* ἰσόψυχον ("tam vnanimem" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus plausibly suggests that *tam* was added by the Vulgate to soften Paul's apparent criticism of everyone else apart from Timothy. This passage is placed among the *Quae Sint Addita*. For another Vulgate addition of *tam*, see on 2 *Cor.* 2,16. Erasmus adds *mecum*, to provide an answer to the implied question, "equal to whom?". Manetti had *aequalis animi*, and Lefèvre *aequiore animo*.

20 *germane* γνησίως ("sincere affectione" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to render the Greek adverb compatibly with γνήσιος, which is translated by *germanus* at *Phil.* 4,3; 1 *Tim.* 1,2; *Tit.* 1,4. In *Annot.*, he cites *germane* from Augustine *Epist.* 78 (CSEL 34, p. 344; formerly this was *Epist.* 137). However, he uses *synceritatem* to translate τὸ γνήσιον at 2 *Cor.* 8,8: see *ad loc.* Manetti anticipated this change, while Lefèvre put *ingenue* (a rendering which Erasmus, in *Annot.*, seems to attribute mistakenly to the Vulgate).

20 *res vestras* τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ("pro vobis" Vg.). See again on *Eph.* 6,22, and *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was *de vobis* (placed after *curet*). Lefèvre put *ea quae circa vos sunt* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *circa vos*).

20 *curaturus sit* μεριμνήσει ("sollicitus sit" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 7,32. In *Annot.*, Erasmus proposes *curabit*. His adoption of *curaturus sit* in his continuous text follows the version of Lefèvre. The rendering of Manetti was *curet* (see the previous note for his word-order).

21 *Nam omnes* οἱ πάντες γάρ ("Omnes enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus.

21 *quae sua ipsorum sunt* τὰ ἑαυτῶν ("quae sua sunt" late Vg.). Erasmus renders the reflexive pronoun more emphatically. Lefèvre put *quae sua sint*.

21 *Christi Iesu* τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ("Iesu Christi" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ). Erasmus' Latin word-order is also seen in many Vulgate mss. (with Vgˢᵗ). The late Vulgate corresponds with Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A C D F G and a few other mss., including cod. 2816. The text of codd. 1, 2105, 2817 and most other mss., commencing with cod. B, has Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, omitting τοῦ, and this was

²²τὴν δὲ δοκιμὴν αὐτοῦ γινώ-
σκετε, ὅτι ὡς πατρὶ τέκνον σὺν
ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ | εὐαγγέ-
λιον. ²³τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἐλπίζω
πέμψαι, ὡς ἂν ἀπίδω τὰ περὶ
ἐμὲ ἐξαυτῆς. ²⁴πέποιθα δὲ ἐν κυ-
ρίῳ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύ-
σομαι. ²⁵ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγησάμην,
Ἐπαφρόδιτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συν-
εργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου, ὑμῶν
δὲ ἀπόστολον, καὶ λειτουργὸν τῆς
χρείας μου, πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
²⁶ἐπειδὴ ἐπιποθῶν ἦν πάντας ὑμᾶς,
καὶ ἀδημονῶν, διότι ἠκούσατε
ὅτι ἠσθένησε. ²⁷καὶ γὰρ ἠσθένησε

²²Porro probationem eius nostis, quod
vt filius mecum veluti cum patre ser-
uierit in euangelium. | ²³Hunc igitur
spero me missurum, mox vbi videro
mea negocia. ²⁴Confido autem in
domino, quod et ipse breui venturus
sim. ²⁵Sed operae pretium arbitratus
sum, Epaphroditum fratrem et colle-
gam et commilitonem meum, vestrum
autem apostolum, quique mihi sub-
ministrat in necessitate mea, mittere
ad vos. ²⁶Quandoquidem desidera-
bat omnes vos anxius animi, pro-
pterea quod audissetis eum infirma-
tum fuisse. ²⁷Et certe fuit infirmus,

25 ηγησαμην *A-C*: ηγισαμην *D E*

25 operae pretium *B-E*: opereprecium *A* | Epaphroditum *B-E*: Aphroditum *A* | collegam *B-E*:
cooperarium *A* | quique ... mea *B-E*: et ministrum necessitatis meae *A* | 26 desiderabat *C-E*:
desyderabat *A B* | animi *B-E*: om. *A* | eum *B-E*: se *A*

the reading cited in Lefèvre *Comm*. In Erasmus'
text, the addition of the article was derived
from cod. 2815, supported by some other late
mss. This variant persisted into the *Textus Re-
ceptus*. Erasmus' rendering was the same as that
of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre's version had *Christi
Ihesu*.

22 *Porro probationem* τὴν δὲ δοκιμήν ("Experi-
mentum autem" Vg.). For *porro*, see on *Ioh.*
8,16, and for *probatio*, see on 2 *Cor.* 2,9. Am-
brosiaster had *Probationem autem*.

22 *nostis* γινώσκετε ("cognoscite" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,32 for the substitution of *nosco*. Eras-
mus uses the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.
Whereas the Vulgate uses an imperative, Erasmus
argues in *Annot.* that the indicative is better
suited to the context. A similar point was made
by Valla *Annot.*, who preferred *cognoscitis*. Lefèvre
put *cognouistis* in his main text, and *cognoscitis*
in *Comm*.

22 *quod ... seruierit* ὅτι ... ἐδούλευσεν ("quoniam
... seruiuit" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and cf. *Annot.*
Some late Vulgate copies had *quia ... seruiuit*, as

in Lefèvre's translation and Vulgate text. Ambro-
siaster and Manetti put *quod ... seruiuit* (though
the first hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45 seems to have had
qui in place of *quod*).

22 *vt filius mecum veluti cum patre* ὡς πατρὶ
τέκνον σὺν ἐμοί ("sicut patri filius mecum"
Vg.). Erasmus expands the translation, for the
sake of accuracy and grammatical precision,
though the Vulgate word-order is more literal.
See *Annot.* Similarly Valla *Annot.* proposed
veluti patre in place of *sicut* (or *sicuti*) *patri*.
Ambrosiaster had *vt filius cum patre mecum*, and
Lefèvre *tanquam cum patre filius, mecum*.

22 *in euangelium* εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ("in euan-
gelio" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ).
Erasmus is more accurate here. His rendering
is also found in some Vulgate mss. (with Vgˢᵗ).

23 *me missurum* πέμψαι ("me mittere ad vos"
late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *ad vos*
lacks Greek ms. support. See on 1 *Cor.* 16,7,
and *Annot.*, for *missurum*. Ambrosiaster and
Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus,
while Manetti had *quod mittam ad vos*.

23 *vbi* ὡς ἄν ("vt" Vg.). Erasmus probably disliked the combination of *vt* (in the sense of "when") with the future perfect tense. For ὡς ἄν, cf. *Rom.* 15,24; 1 *Cor.* 11,34.

23 *mea negocia* τὰ περὶ ἐμέ ("quae circa me sunt" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 6,22. Lefèvre put *quae circa me erunt.*

24 *quod ... breui venturus sim* ὅτι ... ταχέως ἐλεύσομαι ("quoniam ... veniam ad vos cito" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *ad vos* reflects the addition of πρὸς ὑμᾶς, as in codd. ℵ* A C 0282 and a few other mss., including cod. 2105. The additional phrase was perhaps an explanatory scribal gloss. In omitting these two extra words, Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and 2816, as well as 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ B D F G and most other mss. See *Annot.* He is also more accurate as to the Latin word-order (though cf. ὅτι ... ἐλεύσομαι ταχαίως in codd. F G). For *quod*, see on *Ioh.* 1,20, and for *breui*, see on *Rom.* 16,20. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *quod ... cito veniam* (though the scribe of *Pal. Lat.* 45 originally followed the Vulgate in retaining *ad vos* after *veniam*).

25 *Sed operae pretium* ἀναγκαῖον δέ ("Necessarium autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26 for *sed.* Usually Erasmus retains *necessarius* for ἀναγκαῖος. The substitution of *operae pretium*, "worthwhile" rather than "necessary", was less accurate. Possibly he wished to avoid the partial repetition involved in *necessarium ... necessitate* in this verse, in rendering two unrelated Greek words. For *operae pretium*, see further on 1 *Cor.* 16,4.

25 *arbitratus sum* ἡγησάμην ("existimaui" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,3. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. The spelling ἡγισάμην, in 1527-35, was a misprint.

25 *Epaphroditum* Ἐπαφρόδιτον ("Aphroditum" 1516 Lat.). Erasmus again refers to *Aphroditus* in 1516 *Annot.* on vs. 30. This spelling was not supported by any of his Basle mss.

25 *collegam* συνεργόν ("cooperatorem" Vg.; "cooperarium" 1516). See on *Rom.* 16,21.

25 *quique mihi subministrat in necessitate mea* καὶ λειτουργὸν τῆς χρείας μου ("et ministrum necessitatis meae" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus alters the construction, to produce a clearer meaning. For *-que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39. Manetti put *et ministrum egestatis meae*, and Lefèvre *et ministrum indigentiae meae.*

26 *Quandoquidem* ἐπειδή ("quoniam quidem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,30. This word was absent from cod. 2815, contrary to the testimony of most other mss. The version of Manetti put *quoniam*, and Lefèvre *quoniam certe.*

26 *desiderabat omnes vos* ἐπιποθῶν ἦν πάντας ὑμᾶς ("omnes vos desiderabat" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order lacks explicit Greek ms. support. Codd. 2105, 2815, 2816 added ἰδεῖν after ὑμᾶς, as in ℵ* A C D Iᵛⁱᵈ and many other mss. The Greek text adopted by Erasmus follows cod. 2817, supported by cod. 1, and also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ F G and most other mss. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster (1492). Lefèvre put *desyderio omnium vestrum afficiebatur.*

26 *anxius animi* καὶ ἀδημονῶν ("et moestus erat" Vg.; "anxius" 1516 Lat.). Elsewhere Erasmus renders ἀδημονέω by *affici ... moestitudine* at *Mt.* 26,37 (1519), and by *angi* at *Mc.* 14,33. In *Annot.* on the present passage, he observes that the Greek verb means to become exhausted or faint through sorrow. However, in omitting the conjunction and converting the participle into an adjective, he is less precise. Manetti had *ac mestus erat*, and Lefèvre *et moleste ferebat.*

26 *audissetis* ἠκούσατε ("audieratis" Vg.). For this causal statement, which was subordinate to another causal clause, Erasmus naturally considered the use of the subjunctive to be more appropriate. Manetti put *audistis.*

26 *eum infirmatum fuisse* ὅτι ἠσθένησε ("illum infirmatum" Vg.; "se infirmatum fuisse" 1516). The Vulgate rendering appears closer to αὐτὸν ἠσθενηκέναι in codd. D* F G, though it is probably only a matter of translation. By adding *fuisse*, Erasmus makes clear that the illness was in the past. His rendering resembles that of Ambrosiaster, *illum infirmatum fuisse.* Manetti put *quod egrotauit*, and Lefèvre *eum aduersa valitudine laborasse.*

27 *Et certe* καὶ γάρ ("Nam et" Vg.). Erasmus elsewhere uses *certe* to render ναί at five passages. Here he uses it to convey a strong note of affirmation, that what the Philippians had heard was indeed true. More often he renders καὶ γάρ by *nam et* or *etenim*: see on *Rom.* 3,7; 2 *Cor.* 5,4. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *etenim*, and Lefèvre *enimuero.*

27 *fuit infirmus* ἠσθένησε ("infirmatus est" Vg.). This change was for the sake of variety, to avoid repetition of *infirmatus* from vs. 26. Manetti put *egrotauit*, and Lefèvre *laborauit* (placed after *mortem*).

παραπλήσιον θανάτω, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς
αὐτὸν ἠλέησεν, οὐκ αὐτὸν δὲ
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμέ, ἵνα μὴ λύπην
ἐπὶ λύπῃ σχῶ. ²⁸ σπουδαιοτέρως
οὖν ἔπεμψα αὐτόν, ἵνα ἰδόντες
αὐτόν, πάλιν χαρῆτε, κἀγὼ ἀλυ-
πότερος ὦ. ²⁹ προσδέχεσθε οὖν
αὐτὸν ἐν κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης χα-
ρᾶς, καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐντίμους
ἔχετε, ³⁰ ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ
Χριστοῦ μέχρι θανάτου ἤγγισε,
παραβουλευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ, ἵνα
πληρώσῃ τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς
πρός με λειτουργίας.

ita vt esset vicinus morti, sed deus
misertus est illius: at non illius tan-
tum, sed et mei, ne dolorem haberem
super dolorem. ²⁸ Studiosius itaque
misi illum, vt quum videretis illum,
denuo gaudeatis, et ego magis vacem
dolore. ²⁹ Excipite igitur illum in
domino cum omni gaudio, et qui
huiusmodi sunt eos in precio habete:
³⁰ quoniam propter opus Christi eo
accessit, vt morti proximus fuerit, non
habita ratione vitae, vt suppleret id
quod in vestro erga me officio fuit
diminutum.

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28 videretis *E*: videritis *A-D*

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27 *ita vt esset vicinus morti* παραπλήσιον θανά-
τῳ ("vsque ad mortem" Vg.). Erasmus conveys
the sense more accurately. The phrase *vsque ad
mortem* is more appropriate for rendering ἕως
θανάτου (as at *Mt.* 26,38; *Mc.* 14,34), or ἄχρι
θανάτου (as at *Act.* 22,4; *Ap. Ioh.* 2,10; 12,11),
or μέχρι θανάτου (as at *Phil.* 2,8). See *Annot.*,
and see further on vs. 30, below. Ambrosiaster
and Manetti had *prope mortem.* Valla *Annot.*
suggested *proxime mortem* or *prope ad mortem*,
and Lefèvre *proxime ad mortem.*

27 *illius: at non illius tantum* αὐτὸν ... οὐκ
αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον ("eius. Non solum autem
eius" Vg.). The substitution of *illius* provides a
stronger contrast with *mei.* For *at*, see on *Ioh.*
1,26, and for *tantum*, see on *Rom.* 4,16. Erasmus
is more literal as to the word-order. Ambrosiaster
had *illius: non solum autem eius*, and Lefèvre *eius:
et non modo eius.*

27 *sed* ἀλλά ("verum" Vg.). Cf. on *Rom.* 4,2.
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre used the
same word as Erasmus.

27 *ne dolorem haberem super dolorem* ἵνα μὴ
λύπην ἐπὶ λύπῃ σχῶ ("ne tristitiam super
tristitiam haberem" Vg.). For *dolor*, see on *Ioh.*
16,6. The Vulgate word-order is more literal.
Lefèvre had *vt tristitiam super tristitiam non
sustinerem.* The reading λύπῃ was derived from
codd. 2815 and 2817, together with cod. 2105
and some other late mss. However, cod. 1 and

most other mss., commencing with ℵ A B C
D F G, have λύπην twice.

28 *Studiosius* σπουδαιοτέρως ("Festinantius"
Vg.). Cod. 2815 added πρὸς ὑμᾶς after σπου-
δαιοτέρως, with little other ms. support. In
rendering σπουδαιότερον at 2 *Tim.* 1,17, *stu-
diosius* is substituted for *sollicite.* Similarly, in
rendering σπουδαίως at *Lc.* 7,4 (1519); *Tit.*
3,13, *sollicite* is replaced by *studiose.* Cf. also on
1 *Thess.* 2,17 for the replacement of *festino* by
studeo in rendering σπουδάζω. In 1519 *Annot.*
on the present passage, Erasmus concedes that
festinantius is an acceptable translation ("mihi
... non displicet"). Lefèvre put *Diligentius.*

28 *itaque* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,10.
Erasmus uses the same rendering as Ambrosi-
aster. Lefèvre had *igitur.*

28 *quum videretis illum* ἰδόντες αὐτόν ("viso
illo" Vg. 1527; "viso eo" Vg. mss.; "cum videri-
tis illum" 1516-27). The 1527 Vulgate column
agrees with the Froben editions of 1491 and
1514. The substitution of the imperfect sub-
junctive in 1535 was probably a printer's error,
as it produces an unsatisfactory sequence of
tenses. In using the active rather than the
passive, Erasmus' version is more literal. His
1516-27 rendering resembled that of Ambro-
siaster, *cum illum videritis.* Lefèvre put *videntes
eum.* Manetti had *viso eo*, as in the earlier
Vulgate.

28 *denuo* πάλιν ("iterum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,23. Lefèvre had *rursus*.

28 *magis vacem dolore* ἀλυπότερος ὦ ("sine tristitia sim" Vg.). Erasmus renders the comparative adjective more accurately: see *Annot.* For his avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.* 8,7, and for *dolor*, see on *Ioh.* 16,6. Lefèvre put *minus sim tristis*.

29 *igitur* οὖν ("itaque" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,1. Having substituted *itaque* for *ergo* in vs. 28, Erasmus now wanted to vary the vocabulary. Lefèvre made the same change, while Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *ergo*.

29 *in domino cum omni gaudio* ἐν κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς ("cum omni gaudio in domino" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order lacks support from Greek mss. The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti had the same wording as Erasmus. Lefèvre put *in domino, omni cum gaudio*.

29 *qui huiusmodi sunt eos* τοὺς τοιούτους ("eiusmodi" Vg.). Erasmus expands the translation, for clarity: see on *Rom.* 16,18; 1 *Cor.* 16,18. As pointed out in Valla *Annot.*, without this expansion, *huiusmodi* (or *eiusmodi*) could be misunderstood as referring solely to Epaphroditus, whereas the Greek is plural. Lefèvre made a similar change, having *eos qui huiusmodi sunt*. Ambrosiaster had just *huiusmodi*, and Manetti *tales*.

29 *in precio* ἐντίμους ("cum honore" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,34, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *honoratos*, and Lefèvre *honorabiles*.

29 *habete* ἔχετε ("habetote" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 12,27 for Erasmus' treatment of these different forms of the imperative. See also *Annot.* His rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (though the first hand of Manetti's *Pal. Lat.* 45 appears to have followed the Vulgate).

30 *eo accessit, vt morti proximus fuerit* μέχρι θανάτου ἤγγισε ("vsque ad mortem accessit" Vg.). Erasmus wished to convey the sense less ambiguously, that Epaphroditus came close to dying without actually reaching the point of death. Cf. on vs. 27. Valla *Annot.* proposed *proxime ad mortem accessit*. Manetti put *vsque ad mortem appropinquauit*, and Lefèvre *ad mortem vsque appropinquauit*.

30 *non habita ratione vitae* παραβουλευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ ("tradens animam suam" Vg.). Conceivably the Vulgate may reflect an attempt to render the participle of a slightly different

Greek verb, παραβολευσάμενος, attested by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D F G and a few other mss. However, *tradens* again gives the incorrect impression that Epaphroditus gave up his life. Cf. *Annot.* Here Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with cod. C and most later mss. The rendering proposed by Manetti was *consulens in anima*, while Lefèvre had *Ex deliberatione positurus est animam* (but omitting *est* in *Comm.*).

30 *suppleret* πληρώσῃ ("impleret" Vg.). Erasmus' choice of Latin verb is more appropriate in the context, referring to the supply of something which was lacking. A similar substitution of *suppleo* occurs at *Phil.* 4,19 (1519), comparable with Vulgate usage in rendering ἀναπληρόω at 1 *Cor.* 16,17 and προσαναπληρόω at 2 *Cor.* 9,12; 11,9. At *Col.* 1,24, rendering ἀνταναπληρόω, *suppleo* replaces *adimpleo*. In a similar context of remedying a deficiency, *suppleo* replaces *compleo* in rendering καταρτίζω at 1 *Thess.* 3,10. In preparing his *Annot.*, Erasmus at first followed (or thought he was following) a Greek text which had πληρώσητε. The reading πληρώσῃ, which he cites as being in "nonnulli codices", was found in his codd. 2105 and 2817, together with cod. B and many later mss. In codd. 1, 2815, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ A C D F G, it is ἀναπληρώσῃ, and this is the reading for which Erasmus expresses preference in 1535 *Annot.* His Latin translation has the same wording as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*, while Lefèvre's continuous text put *suppleat*.

30 *id quod in vestro erga me officio fuit diminutum* τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς πρός με λειτουργίας ("id quod ex vobis deerat erga meum obsequium" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *meum* seems to be a mistranslation of με. Erasmus suggests in *Annot.* that the original Vulgate translator could have written *me*, later altered to *meum* through the influence of the following word, *obsequium*. If such an alteration occurred, however, it was more likely to have happened within the underlying Old Latin tradition, which already exhibited *meum*. Erasmus retains *desum* in rendering ὑστέρημα at 1 *Cor.* 16,17; 2 *Cor.* 9,12; *Col.* 1,24; 1 *Thess.* 3,10. For his removal of *obsequium*, see on vs. 17, above. Manetti put *defectum vestrum erga meum obsequium*. Lefèvre had *quod vobis deest officii mei* in his main text, but *erga me id quod deerat officii vestri* in *Comm.* The use of *officium*, instead of *obsequium*, was also to be seen in Ambrosiaster.

3 Τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί μου, χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ. τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ ἀσφαλές. ²βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν. ³ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή, οἱ πνεύματι θεῷ λατρεύοντες, καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες, ⁴καίπερ ἐγὼ ἔχων πεποίθησιν καὶ ἐν σαρκί. εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄλλος πεποιθέναι ἐν σαρκί, ἐγὼ μᾶλλον, ⁵περιτομὴ | ὀκταήμερος, ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ, φυλῆς Βενιαμίν, Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων, κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαῖος, ⁶κατὰ ζῆλον διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ, γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος. ⁷ἀλλ' ἅτινά μοι ἦν κέρδη, ταῦτα ἥγημαι διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ζημίαν. ⁸ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ

LB 873

3 Quod superest fratres, gaudete in domino. Eadem scribere vobis, me quidem haud piget, vobis autem tutum est. ²Cauete canes, cauete malos operarios, cauete concisionem. ³Nos enim sumus circuncisio, qui spiritu deum colimus, et gloriamur in Christo Iesu, et non confidimus in carne, ⁴quanquam ego confidam etiam in carne. Si quisquam alius videtur fiduciam habere in carne, ego magis habeo, ⁵circuncisus | octauo die, Israel ex genere, tribus Beniamin, Hebraeus ex Hebraeis, iuxta legem Pharisaeus, ⁶iuxta studium persequens ecclesiam, iuxta iustitiam quae est in lege, factus irreprehensibilis. ⁷Sed quae mihi erant lucra, ea arbitratus sum propter Christum damnum esse. ⁸Quin etiam

LB 874

3,2 Cauete ... cauete ... cauete *B-E*: Videte ... videte ... videte *A* | 4 etiam *B-E*: et *A* | habere *B-E*: habuisse *A* | habeo *B-E*: habui *A* | 5 Israel *B-E*: Israhel *A*

3,1 *Quod superest* Τὸ λοιπόν ("De caetero" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,2, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *Quod reliquum est* (cf. Ambrosiaster, who had just *Reliquum*).

1 *fratres* ἀδελφοί μου ("fratres mei" Vg.). Erasmus' omission of *mei* is inaccurate, but happens to coincide with the omission of μου in 𝔓⁴⁶.

1 *scribere vobis* γράφειν ὑμῖν ("vobis scribere" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order, adopting the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.

1 *me ... haud piget* ἐμοὶ ... οὐκ ὀκνηρόν ("mihi ... non pigrum" Vg.). This substitution produces a more natural Latin turn of phrase: see *Annot.*

1 *tutum est* τὸ ἀσφαλές ("necessarium" Vg.). In using *tutum* ("safe"), Erasmus is more accurate: see *Annot.* He further adds a verb, for clarity. The rendering of Manetti had *securum*, and Lefèvre *securum est*.

2 *Cauete* βλέπετε ("Videte" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus' rendering ("beware" rather than "see") is less literal, but makes better sense in this context: see *Annot.* A similar change occurs

at *Mc.* 13,9, 23 (1519), 33, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mc.* 8,15; 12,38. More frequently Erasmus retains *videte* for βλέπετε. Lefèvre put *aduertite*.

2 *cauete* (twice) βλέπετε ("videte" 1516 = Vg.). See the previous note.

3 *spiritu deum colimus* πνεύματι θεῷ λατρεύοντες ("spiritu seruimus deo" late Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,42, and *Annot.*, for *colo*. Erasmus' adoption of θεῷ seems to have been influenced by the interpretation πνευματικῶς τῷ θεῷ λατρεύοντες in cod. 2817ᶜᵒᵐᵐ. The use of θεῷ is also supported by codd. א ᶜᵒʳʳ D* and some later mss. However, the reading of codd. 1, 3, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817 (text) and most other mss., commencing with א* A B C Dᶜᵒʳʳ F G, is πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες. In 𝔓⁴⁶, θεοῦ was omitted. The citation of this passage in 1516 *Annot.* offered πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύομεν, and 1519 *Annot.* further attributed θεῷ λατρεύομεν to "nonnullis". Erasmus' sources for these last two readings are unknown. Whether or not λατρεύομεν is discovered to possess any ms. support, this verb has the appearance of

being the result of retranslation from the Latin, exactly reproducing the first-person plural indicative of *seruimus*. The earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster had *spiritu deo seruimus*, Manetti *spiritu dei deseruimus*, and Lefèvre *spiritu, dei cultum habemus*.

3 *confidimus in carne* ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες ("in carne fiduciam habentes" Vg.). Erasmus is less literal as to the word-order, but achieves greater consistency with the earlier part of the sentence by converting the participle into an indicative. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *in carne fiduciam habemus*, and Manetti *in carne confidimus*.

4 *ego ... etiam in carne* ἐγὼ ... καὶ ἐν σαρκί ("et ego ... in carne" late Vg.; "ego ... et in carne" 1516 = Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate transposition of *et* has little Greek ms. support, though καί is completely omitted in codd. D* F G and a few later mss. See *Annot*. For the use of *etiam*, see also on *Ioh*. 6,36. Erasmus' 1516 rendering agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti (though the first hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45 omitted *et in*). Lefèvre put *et ego in carne* (placed before *fiduciam*: see the next note).

4 *confidam* ἔχων πεποίθησιν ("habeam confidentiam" Vg.). In making this change, Erasmus obscures the distinction between πείθω, used in the previous and following clauses, and ἔχω πεποίθησιν. Lefèvre put *fiduciam habere posse videor* (placed after *in carne*).

4 *quisquam* τις ("quis" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 2,25.

4 *fiduciam habere* πεποιθέναι ("confidere" Vg.; "fiduciam habuisse" 1516). Erasmus' substitution of *fiduciam habeo* would have been more appropriate for πεποίθησιν ἔχω than for πείθω: see above. In 1519, he decided that the Vulgate use of the present tense offered a satisfactory rendering of the Greek perfect infinitive, and hence changed *habuisse* to *habere*: see *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre had *confidere posse*.

4 *magis habeo* μᾶλλον ("magis" Vg.; "magis habui" 1516 Lat.). Erasmus added a verb, for the sake of clarity. See the previous note, and *Annot.*, for his change of tense in 1519.

5 *Israel ex genere* ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ ("ex genere Israel" Vg.). Erasmus' transposition of word-order was designed to accommodate his (questionable) view that Ἰσραήλ should here be treated as a nominative rather than a genitive: see *Annot.*, and also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 214, ll. 825-843.

5 *tribus* φυλῆς ("de tribu" Vg.). This change was undesirable, as *tribus* could be taken as either nominative or genitive, whereas φυλῆς was indisputably a genitive.

5 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

6 *iuxta* (twice) κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See *ibid.* Lefèvre had *per ... secundum*.

6 *studium* ζῆλον ("aemulationem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 10,2. Lefèvre put *zelum*.

6 *ecclesiam* τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ("ecclesiam dei" Vg.). The Vulgate addition corresponds with the addition of θεοῦ in codd. F G, or of τοῦ θεοῦ in cod. 0282. Erasmus gives the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *quae est in lege* τὴν ἐν νόμῳ ("quae in lege est" Vg.). The position of *est* is unaffected by the Greek text. For Erasmus' preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. Manetti put *quae erat in lege*.

6 *factus* γενόμενος ("conuersatus" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here: see *Annot*. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *irreprehensibilis* ἄμεμπτος ("sine querela" Vg.). See on *Phil.* 2,15, and *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre, similarly, had *irrepraehensibilis*.

7 *mihi erant* μοι ἦν ("mihi fuerunt" Vg.). Erasmus conveys the sense of the Greek imperfect tense more precisely. His Greek word-order was derived from cod. 2817, in company with cod. B but few other mss. Most mss. have ἦν μοι. Manetti anticipated this change. Lefèvre put *michi videbantur*.

7 *ea* ταῦτα ("haec" Vg.). Cf. on *Gal.* 2,18, for the use of *is* when resuming from an earlier *qui*.

7 *damnum esse* ζημίαν ("detrimenta" Vg.). A similar substitution of *damnum* occurs in vs. 8, though Erasmus retains *detrimentum* in rendering ζημιόω at 2 *Cor.* 7,9. He adds *esse* to complete the grammatical construction. The Vulgate use of the plural was inaccurate: see *Annot*. The version of Ambrosiaster had *damna*, and Lefèvre *damnum*, both without *esse*.

8 *Quin etiam* ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν καί ("Veruntamen" Vg. 1527 = some Vg. mss., with Vg^ww st; "Veruntamen et" other Vg. mss.). The use of *Veruntamen*, without *et* (in some Vulgate mss.), reflects the omission of καί, as in 𝔓^46vid ℵ* and a few later mss. See on *Ioh.* 8,17 for *quin*. Lefèvre put *Verum enimuero*.

ἡγοῦμαι πάντα ζημίαν εἶναι διὰ τὸ
ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰη-
σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου, δι' ὃν τὰ πάν-
τα ἐζημιώθην, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι σκύβαλα
εἶναι, ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω, ⁹καὶ εὑ-
ρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ, μὴ ἔχων ἐμὴν δικαιο-
σύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου, ἀλλὰ τὴν διὰ
πίστεως Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιο-
σύνην ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει, ¹⁰τοῦ γνῶναι
αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσε-
ως αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πα-
θημάτων αὐτοῦ, συμμορφούμενος τῷ
θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ, ¹¹εἴπως καταντήσω
εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν· ¹²οὐχ

arbitror omnia damnum esse pro-
pter excellentiam cognitionis Christi
Iesu domini mei, propter quem om-
nia pro damnis duxi, habeoque pro
reiectamentis, vt Christum lucri faci-
am: ⁹vtque reperiar in illo non ha-
bens meam iustitiam ex lege, sed eam
quae per fidem est Christi, quae est
ex deo iustitiam super fide: ¹⁰vt
cognoscam illum, et potentiam resur-
rectionis illius, et communionem af-
flictionum illius, dum conformis fio
morti eius, ¹¹si quo modo pertingam
ad resurrectionem mortuorum: ¹²non

3,9 *prius* την *B-E: om. A*

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8   omnia pro ... habeoque *B-E*: omnium damnum feci, et duco *A* | reiectamentis *C-E*:
ruderibus *A B* | 9   vtque *B-E*: et vt *A*

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8 *arbitror* ἡγοῦμαι ("existimo" Vg.). See on
Rom. 2,3. Erasmus had the same rendering as
Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

8 *damnum* ζημίαν ("detrimentum" Vg.). See
on vs. 7. Once again Erasmus' choice of ex-
pression was the same as that of Ambrosiaster
(1492) and Lefèvre.

8 *excellentiam cognitionis* τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώ-
σεως ("eminentem scientiam" Vg.). Erasmus'
rendering is closer to the grammatical structure
of the Greek text: see *Annot.* See also on 2 *Cor.*
12,7 for *excellentia*, and on *Rom.* 2,20 for *cognitio*.
Manetti put *excessum cognitionis*, and Lefèvre
eminentiam cognitionis.

8 *Christi Iesu* Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ("Iesu Christi"
Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, as found in cod. A and many later
mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and
2816, and also ℵ D F G and most other mss.
In 𝔓⁴⁶ ⁶¹ B, the wording is τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰη-
σοῦ. Erasmus' wording was the same as that of
Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *Christi Ihesu*.

8 *omnia pro damnis duxi* τὰ πάντα ἐζημιώ-
θην ("omnia detrimentum feci" Vg.; "omnium
damnum feci" 1516). In *Annot.*, Erasmus offers
in omnibus detrimento sum affectus as an alterna-
tive rendering. His change in 1519, less literally,
suggests that the sense of "loss" was primarily

a mental or spiritual attitude, rather than re-
flecting an actual loss of material possessions.
See further on 1 *Cor.* 3,15. Cod. 2817 omitted
τά, contrary to the evidence of nearly all other
mss. The version of Ambrosiaster had *omnia
damna duxi*, and Lefèvre *omnia floccifeci*.

8 *habeoque* καὶ ἡγοῦμαι ("et arbitror" Vg.; "et
duco" 1516). Erasmus disliked the combination
of *arbitror* and *vt*: see *Annot.* For *-que*, see on
Ioh. 1,39. Lefèvre put *et existimo*.

8 *pro reiectamentis* σκύβαλα εἶναι ("vt stercora"
Vg.; "pro ruderibus" 1516-19). Erasmus follows
the Vulgate in leaving εἶναι untranslated, though
probably the Vulgate reflects a Greek text in
which this verb is omitted, as in codd. ℵ* B
D* F G and a few later mss. The inclusion of
εἶναι in Erasmus' Greek text is supported by
codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105,
2816, as well as 𝔓⁶¹ᵛⁱᵈ ℵᶜᵒʳʳ A Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most
later mss. Although the use of εἶναι has been
thought by some to be a scribal addition, an
alternative explanation may be that the word
was authentic but was deleted by an early cor-
rector who considered that it was redundant to
the sense. For the non-classical term, *reiectamen-
tum*, see on 1 *Cor.* 4,13. The word *rudus* was not
so suitable, as it meant "rubble" rather than
"dung" or "refuse". In 1522 *Annot.*, Erasmus
gives the meaning as equivalent to dog-food, or
offal. His expression *pro reiectamentis* first appears

in the separate Latin N.T. of 1521. Manetti put *tanquam stercora*, and Lefèvre *sterquilinia esse*.

9 *vtque* καί ("vt et" late Vg.; "et vt" 1516 Lat.). Erasmus improves on the unnatural word-order of the late Vulgate. For *-que*, see on *Ioh.* 1,39. Manetti made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had just *et*.

9 *reperiar* εὑρεθῶ ("inueniar" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,41.

9 *ex lege* τὴν ἐκ νόμου ("quae ex lege est" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering was influenced by the omission of τήν in cod. 2817, making the same omission in his 1516 Greek text. Most other mss. contained this word. Despite reinstating τήν in 1519, he neglected to make a corresponding change in his Latin translation. Manetti had *que* (= *quae*) *est ex lege*.

9 *eam* τήν ("illam" Vg.). Erasmus no doubt considered that *is*, rather than *ille*, was the more usual antecedent for a relative clause, in classical usage. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

9 *per fidem* διὰ πίστεως ("ex fide" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *ex* has little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* In making this correction, Erasmus uses the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre. For Lefèvre's word-order, see below.

9 *Christi* Χριστοῦ ("Christi Iesu" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition has minimal support from Greek mss. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

9 *est ex deo iustitiam* ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ("ex deo est iusticia" Vg.; "est ex deo" *Annot.*, lemma). By substituting the accusative case, Erasmus avoids making it appear that faith is identical with righteousness. In *Annot.*, he gives the impression that the Vulgate wholly omits *iustitia*. Ambrosiaster had *ex deo est iusticiam*, and Manetti *ex deo iustitia est*. For the sake of clarity, Lefèvre compressed and rearranged the second part of the verse, to read *eam iustitiam quae ex deo est per fidem Christi*.

9 *super fide* ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει ("in fide" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to give a more accurate rendering of ἐπί. Ambrosiaster had *super fidem*. Lefèvre linked this phrase more strongly with the following verse, by using the word-order *vt in fide cognoscam*. Cf. *Annot.*

10 *vt cognoscam* τοῦ γνῶναι ("ad cognoscendum" late Vg.). In one respect, the impersonal gerund construction used by the Vulgate is more literal, but Erasmus' use of the first person singular makes a clearer connection with the following συμμορφούμενος. Manetti put *ad agnoscendum*, as in the earlier Vulgate. For Lefèvre's word-order, see the previous note.

10 *potentiam* τὴν δύναμιν ("virtutem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. Lefèvre had *potestatem*.

10 *illius* (1st.) αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). This change produces consistency with the preceding *illum* and the following *illius*, though Erasmus retains *eius* after *morti*. Manetti had *eum ... suae ... suarum*, and Lefèvre *eum ... eius ... eius*.

10 *communionem* τὴν κοινωνίαν ("societatem" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 6,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus mentions Ambrosiaster's use of *communicationem*, and this was also the word adopted by Lefèvre's first Latin version. However, Erasmus' preference for *communionem* was identical with the revised translation offered by Lefèvre *Comm.*

10 *afflictionum* τῶν παθημάτων ("passionis" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,26; 8,18, and *Annot.* The late Vulgate singular lacks Greek ms. support. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns) had *passionum*.

10 *dum conformis fio* συμμορφούμενος ("configuratus" Vg.). This change is consistent with the Vulgate use of *conformis* for σύμμορφος at *Rom.* 8,29. Cf. also Erasmus' substitution of *vt conforme fiat* for *configuratum* in rendering σύμμορφον in vs. 21, below (1516 only). For his use of *dum*, see on *Rom.* 1,20. Ambrosiaster had *conformans me*, and Lefèvre *conformatus*.

11 *pertingam* καταντήσω ("occurram" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus follows the Vulgate in using *pertingo* for ἐφικνέομαι and διϊκνέομαι at 2 *Cor.* 10,13-14; *Hebr.* 4,12. See further on *Eph.* 4,13.

11 *mortuorum* τῶν νεκρῶν ("quae est ex mortuis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of τὴν ἐκ for τῶν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B D and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. See *Annot.* The phrase ἀνάστασις (τῶν) νεκρῶν ("resurrection of the dead") is more consistent with Pauline usage at several other passages, though ἀνάστασις ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν ("resurrection from the dead") occurs at *Lc.* 20,35; *Act.* 4,2. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον ἢ ἤδη τετελεί-
ωμαι, διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ κατα-
λάβω, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατελήφθην
ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. ¹³ἀδελ-
φοί, ἐγὼ ἐμαυτὸν οὔπω λογίζο-
μαι κατειληφέναι. ἓν δέ, τὰ μὲν
ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς δὲ
ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος, ¹⁴κατὰ
σκοπὸν διώκω, ἐπὶ τὸ βραβεῖον
τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν
Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ¹⁵ὅσοι οὖν τέλει-
οι, τοῦτο φρονῶμεν· καὶ εἴ τι ἑτέ-
ρως φρονεῖτε, καὶ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς
ὑμῖν ἀποκαλύψει. ¹⁶πλὴν εἰς ὃ

quod apprehenderim aut iam per-
fectus sim, sed sector si etiam ap-
prehendam, quatenus et apprehensus
sum a Christo Iesu. ¹³Fratres, ego me
ipsum nondum arbitror assequutum
esse. Vnum autem illud ago, ea qui-
dem quae a tergo sunt obliuiscens, ad
ea vero quae a fronte sunt, enitens:
¹⁴iuxta praefixum signum insequor ad
palmam supernae vocationis dei, per
Christum Iesum. ¹⁵Quotquot itaque
perfecti sumus, hoc sentiamus: et si
quid aliter sentitis, hoc quoque vobis
deus reuelabit. ¹⁶Attamen ad id quod

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12 etiam B-E: et A | quatenus B-E: in eo in quo A | 13 illud ago B-E: om. A | 14 per Christum
Iesum B-E: in Christo Iesu A | 15 hoc quoque B-E: et hoc A | 16 ad id B-E: om. A

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12 *quod* ὅτι ἤδη ("quod iam" Vg.). Erasmus
is less accurate here. Possibly this omission of
iam was unintentional.

12 *apprehenderim* ἔλαβον ("acceperim" Vg.).
Erasmus in effect removes the distinction be-
tween λαμβάνω and καταλαμβάνω, used later
in the verse. A comparable disregard for this
difference of verb was shown by Lefèvre, who
put *compraehenderim ... compraehendam ... com-
praehensus sum.*

12 *sed sector* διώκω δέ ("sequor autem" Vg.).
A similar substitution of *sector* occurs at *Hebr.*
12,14, in accordance with Vulgate usage at
Rom. 9,30, 31, etc. In *Annot.*, Erasmus comments
on the distinction of meaning between these
two verbs. At 1 *Petr.* 3,11, by contrast, he re-
places *sequatur* by *persequatur*, in the context of
seeking peace. For *sed*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Manetti
had *Persequor autem*, and Lefèvre *sed prosequor.*

12 *si etiam* εἰ καί ("si quo modo" late Vg.; "si
et" 1516). The late Vulgate lacks Greek ms.
support. The earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster
had just *si*, corresponding with the omission of
καί in codd. ℵ* D* F G and a few later mss.
See *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *et si*, and
Lefèvre *si et id.*

12 *apprehendam ... apprehensus sum* καταλάβω
... κατελήφθην ("comprehendam ... comprehen-
sus sum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,5.

12 *quatenus* ἐφ' ᾧ ("in quo" Vg.; "in eo in quo"
1516). The Vulgate is ambiguous as to whether

the pronoun is masculine ("in whom"), or neu-
ter ("in which"), though only the latter gives
an acceptable sense in this context. A similar
substitution of *quatenus* occurs at *Rom.* 5,12
(1519). See *Annot.* Lefèvre's solution was to
insert *id* before *compraehendam.*

13 *me ipsum* ἐμαυτόν ("me" Vg.). Erasmus ren-
ders the reflexive pronoun more emphatically.
Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction
(Lefèvre placing *me ipsum* after *nondum*).

13 *nondum* οὔπω ("non" Vg.). Erasmus derived
οὔπω from cod. 2817, with support from
1 and 2105, as well as ℵ A D* and many later
mss., and also Valla *Annot.* The Vulgate reflected
a Greek text having οὐ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ B D^corr F G
and many other mss., including codd. 69, 2815,
2816*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus says that "his" manu-
script ("codex ... meus") had οὐ, but that most
mss. ("plures habent") had οὔπω. Since the
phrase *codex meus* seems to relate to a time when
he only had one ms. available for consultation,
which is more applicable to the period when
he was working in England, this statement
could belong to the early stages of his labours
on the Annotations. Cf. his use of *exemplar ...
meum* to refer to a reading at *Mc.* 8,11 (ἤρξαντο
συζητοῦντες παρ' αὐτοῦ), found in few mss.
other than cod. 69, which Erasmus may have
been in a position to consult when he was in
England. However, as the reading οὔπω occurs
in many other mss. at the present passage, it
is not necessary to assume that cod. 69 was the

particular ms. to which *codex meus* here refers. Manetti and Lefèvre both made the same change as Erasmus.

13 *assequutum esse* κατειληφέναι ("comprehendisse" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 3,18. This change is partly for the sake of variety, as Erasmus preferred to substitute *apprehendo* in vs. 12.

13 *Vnum autem illud ago* ἐν δέ ("Vnum autem" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds *illud ago*, to complete the sense: see *Annot*. The rendering of Manetti had *Vnum vero*, and Lefèvre *vnum tamen est*.

13 *ea quidem quae a tergo sunt* τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ("quae quidem retro sunt" Vg.). Similar substitutions of *a tergo* occur in rendering ὀπίσω at *Mc.* 13,16; *Lc.* 7,38; 9,62 (1519), and also in rendering ὄπισθεν at *Mt.* 9,20; *Mc.* 5,27. At *Mc.* 8,33 (ὀπίσω), *retro* is replaced by *post*. However, Erasmus retains *retro* at *Lc.* 8,44; *Ap. Ioh.* 4,6. See also on *Ioh.* 6,66, and *Annot*. The addition of *ea* helped to complete the grammatical construction, answering to *ea vero* later in the sentence. Cod. 2815 had τῶν for τά, in company with a few other late mss. (cf. τῶν μὲν ὄπισθεν in cod. 2105). The version of Manetti had *ea quidem que* (= *quae*) *retro sunt*, and Lefèvre just *quae retro sunt*.

13 *a fronte sunt* ἔμπροσθεν ("sunt priora" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "sunt in priora" a few Vg. mss., with Vg^st). This change avoids the ambiguity of *priora*, which was likely to be misunderstood as referring to the past, quite opposite to the sense required by the context. See *Annot*. The version of Manetti had *sunt prius*, and Lefèvre *ante sunt* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *ante me sunt*).

13 *enitens* ἐπεκτεινόμενος ("extendens me ipsum" late Vg.). At 2 *Cor.* 10,14, Erasmus is content to use *extendimus nos ipsos* in rendering ὑπερεκτείνομεν ἑαυτούς. The verb *enitor* is not such a close equivalent. Manetti put *me ipsum extendens*, and Lefèvre *me extendens*.

14 *iuxta praefixum signum* κατὰ σκοπόν ("ad destinatum" Vg.). In *Annot*., citing Jerome *Adv. Pelagianos* I, 15 (*CCSL* 80, p. 18), Erasmus treats σκοπόν as a metaphor from an archery contest, with reference to the fixed target at which an archer would shoot. The present context, however, seems to have more to do with running in a race than using a weapon. The phrase which Jerome had suggested as a rendering was *iuxta propositum*. Ambrosiaster offered *secundum*

destinatum. Valla *Annot*. explained the meaning as *ad terminum quem mihi proposui*. Manetti put *secundum propositum*, and Lefèvre *secundum scopum*.

14 *insequor* διώκω ("persequor" Vg.). Erasmus no doubt wished to avoid any possible misunderstanding of *persequor* in the sense of "persecute", at this passage. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *sequor*, and Lefèvre *prosequor*.

14 *palmam* τὸ βραβεῖον ("brauium" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 9,24. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.

14 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

15 *Quotquot* ὅσοι ("Quicunque" Vg.). See on *Gal.* 3,10. Erasmus' wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

15 *itaque* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,10. Lefèvre put *igitur*.

15 *sentitis* φρονεῖτε ("sapitis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,5, and *Annot*. Similarly Valla *Annot*. objected to the Vulgate inconsistency in using *sentiamus ... sapitis*. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus (cf. Ambrosiaster, *sentietis*).

15 *hoc quoque* καὶ τοῦτο ("et hoc" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,27 for *quoque*. Ambrosiaster's version put *id quoque*. In this part of the sentence, Manetti had the word-order *et deus hoc vobis reuelabit*, and Lefèvre *et hoc deus vobis reuelabit*.

15 *vobis deus reuelabit* ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀποκαλύψει ("vobis reuelabit deus" Vg. 1527). In placing *deus* after *reuelabit*, the 1527 Vulgate column followed the Froben edition of 1514. Erasmus follows the Vulgate in putting *vobis* first, contrary to the word-order of the Greek text. In *Annot*., he expresses the opinion that the verb might originally have been ἀπεκάλυψε, corresponding with *reuelauit* in some Vulgate mss. The latter spelling is found, for example, in the lemma of Valla *Annot*. and also in the lemma of Lefèvre *Comm*. For the word-order of Manetti and Lefèvre, see the previous note.

16 *Attamen* πλήν ("Veruntamen" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 7,2. In *Annot*., Erasmus uses *Verum*.

16 *ad id quod* εἰς ὅ ("ad quod" Vg.; "quod" 1516 Lat.). Erasmus inserts *id*, to complete the grammatical construction. In *Annot*., he further proposes *in eo ad quod*. The omission of *ad* in 1516 could have been accidental.

ἐφθάσαμεν, τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν | κανό-
νι, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν.

¹⁷ Συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, ἀδελφοί,
καὶ σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὕτως περιπατοῦν-
τας, καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς. ¹⁸ πολ-
λοὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦσιν, οὓς πολλάκις
ἔλεγον ὑμῖν, νῦν δὲ καὶ κλαίων λέγω,
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χρι-
στοῦ, ¹⁹ ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια, ὧν ὁ
θεὸς ἡ κοιλία, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύ-
νῃ αὐτῶν, οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες.
²⁰ ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς
ὑπάρχει, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχό-
μεθα, κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ²¹ ὃς μετα-
σχηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως
ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸ σύμμορφον

assequuti sumus, eadem proceda|mus
regula, vt simus concordes.

¹⁷ Pariter estote imitatores mei, fra-
tres, et considerate eos qui sic ambu-
lant, quemadmodum habetis nos pro
exemplari. ¹⁸ Nam complures ambu-
lant, de quibus saepe dixi vobis:
nunc autem et flens dico, inimici
crucis Christi, ¹⁹ quorum finis perdi-
tio est, quorum deus venter et gloria,
in dedecore ipsorum qui terrestria
curant. ²⁰ Nam nostra conuersatio
in coelis est, ex quo et seruatorem
expectamus, dominum Iesum Chris-
tum: ²¹ qui transfigurabit corpus no-
strum humile, vt conforme reddat

21 γενεσθαι *A B* C* D* E**: (γεννωσα *Bᶜ*), γεννωσαι *Cᵐᵍ Dᵐᵍ Eᵐᵍ*

16 simus concordes *B-E*: idem sapiamus *A* | 17 Pariter estote imitatores mei *B-E*: coimitatores
mei estote *A* | considerate *C-E*: consyderate *A B* | nos pro exemplari *B-E*: formam nos *A* |
19 dedecore ipsorum *B-E*: suffusione illorum *A* | 20 seruatorem *B-E*: saluatorem *A* |
21 nostrum humile *B-E*: humilitatis nostrae *A* | reddat *B-E*: fiat *A*

16 *assequuti sumus* ἐφθάσαμεν ("peruenimus"
Vg.). At several other passages, Erasmus retains
peruenio for φθάνω. His use of *assequor* here is
questionable, in view of the adoption of the
same verb to render καταλαμβάνω in vs. 13,
though he may have considered that *peruenimus*
was likely to be misunderstood to mean "we
attain" instead of "we have attained".

16 *eadem procedamus regula, vt simus concordes*
τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν κανόνι, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν
("vt idem sapiamus, et in eadem permanea-
mus regula" Vg.; "eadem procedamus regula, vt
idem sapiamus" 1516). The Vulgate corresponds
with a different Greek word-order, τὸ αὐτὸ
φρονεῖν, τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν κανόνι in cod.
D¹⁶ ⁴⁶ and seven later mss. In 𝔓¹⁶ ⁴⁶ ℵ* A B Iᵛⁱᵈ
and five later mss., κανόνι and τὸ αὐτὸ φρο-
νεῖν are wholly omitted. Erasmus follows codd.
2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and
also ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ and about 480 later mss. (see Aland
Die Paulinischen Briefe vol. 3, pp. 589-94). See
Annot. Those who favour a shorter text have
speculated that κανόνι and τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν
represent separate scribal amplifications of the
meaning of τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν. An alternative

explanation would be that these words were all
authentic, but that an early copyist omitted
κανόνι τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν by an error of homoeo-
teleuton, jumping from -ειν of στοιχεῖν to the
same three letters at the end of φρονεῖν, and
so leaving out approximately one line of text.
Some scribes, who concluded that the shorter
form of text was defective, evidently attempted
to remedy this problem in different ways, resul-
ting in several variations of word-order among
the surviving mss. For the use of *procedo* in
rendering στοιχέω, see on *Gal.* 5,25, and for
concordes, see on *Rom.* 12,16. Manetti had *vt
idem sapiamus et eidem regulae congruamus*, and
Lefèvre *eidem regulae innitamur, idem sentiamus*.

17 *Pariter estote imitatores mei* Συμμιμηταί μου
γίνεσθε ("Imitatores mei estote" Vg.; "coimita-
tores mei estote" 1516). Erasmus seeks to convey
the meaning of the Greek prefix, συμ-. See
Annot. The rendering of Manetti was exactly
as in Erasmus' 1516 edition, using the non-
classical *coimitatores*. Lefèvre put *Imitatores mecum
estote*.

17 *considerate* σκοπεῖτε ("obseruate" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 16,17. In *Annot.*, Erasmus credits his

rendering to "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster). Lefèvre had also made this change, putting *consyderate*.

17 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre again used the same word as Erasmus.

17 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt*.

17 *nos pro exemplari* τύπον ἡμᾶς ("formam nostram" late Vg. and most Vg. mss.; "formam nos" 1516 = some Vg. mss., with Vg^ww st). A similar substitution of *exemplar* occurs at 1 *Petr.* 5,3, consistent with Vulgate usage at *Hebr.* 8,5. See further on *Rom.* 5,14, and cf. also the replacement of *forma* by *exemplum* at 1 *Thess.* 1,7. The late Vulgate use of *nostram* probably originated as a scribal alteration of *nos*. Cf. *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *nos exemplum*, except that Lefèvre placed *nos* before *habetis*.

18 *Nam complures* πολλοὶ γάρ ("Multi enim" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,3 for *complures*, and on *Ioh.* 3,34 for *nam*. Lefèvre put *Nam multi*.

18 *de quibus ... inimici* οὓς ... τοὺς ἐχθρούς ("quos ... inimicos" Vg.). Erasmus aims here at a less literal, but more elegant construction, avoiding the use of *quos* as an apparent direct object of *dico*. Cf. on *Gal.* 5,21.

18 *dixi* ἔλεγον ("dicebam" Vg.). The Vulgate use of the imperfect tense is more accurate. Cf. *Annot.*

19 *perditio est ... venter* ἀπώλεια ... ἡ κοιλία ("interitus ... venter est" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The substitution of *perditio* is consistent with Vulgate usage at several other passages. However, Erasmus retains *interitus* at *Rom.* 9,22; *Ap. Ioh.* 17,8, 11, and even replaces *perditio* with *interitus* at 1 *Tim.* 6,9; 2 *Petr.* 2,1. At *Mt.* 7,13, he replaces *perditio* with *exitium*, and with *pernicies* at 2 *Petr.* 3,16. He moves *est* to a more prominent position, for the sake of clarity: see on *Rom.* 2,27.

19 *dedecore* τῇ αἰσχύνῃ ("confusione" Vg.; "suffusione" 1516). A similar substitution occurs at *Iud.* 13; *Ap. Ioh.* 3,18 (1519), in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 4,2. At *Hebr.* 12,2, Erasmus replaces *confusio* with *ignominia*. The point is that *confusio* was liable to be misunderstood as indicating uncertainty rather than shame.

19 *ipsorum* αὐτῶν ("illorum" 1516). The rendering which Erasmus adopted in 1516 was

the same as that of Ambrosiaster. In 1519, Erasmus restores the Vulgate pronoun. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *eorum*.

19 *terrestria* τὰ ἐπίγεια ("terrena" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,1, and *Annot.*

19 *curant* φρονοῦντες ("sapiunt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,5. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *sentiunt*, which was the rendering of Lefèvre.

20 *Nam nostra* ἡμῶν γάρ ("Nostra autem" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *autem* corresponds with the substitution of δέ for γάρ in a few later Greek mss., probably arising from the observation that this clause seems to contain a contrast rather than an explanation of the previous sentence. For the same reason, δέ was substituted by several patristic sources. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *Nostra enim*.

20 *ex quo* ἐξ οὗ ("vnde" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to *vnde*, apparently on the grounds that this Latin word could mean "for which reason", and not only "from where". In 1516-27 *Annot.*, his preferred interpretation was "from which heaven", but in 1535 *Annot.*, he suggested that it could also mean "from which time".

20 *et* καί ("etiam" Vg.). Erasmus gives a less emphatic rendering, as the context requires the sense "also" rather than "even". Ambrosiaster and Manetti used the same word as Erasmus.

20 *seruatorem* σωτῆρα ("saluatorem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,42.

20 *dominum* κύριον ("dominum nostrum" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support. Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

21 *transfigurabit* μετασχηματίσει ("reformabit" Vg.). This substitution is in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 11,14. See further on 2 *Cor.* 11,13. The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre (cf. *transfigurauit* in the 1492 edition of Ambrosiaster).

21 *nostrum humile* τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν ("humilitatis nostrae" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus wished to remove the Hebraism, for the sake of clarity: see *Annot.*

21 *vt conforme reddat* εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸ σύμμορφον ("configuratum" Vg.; "vt conforme fiat" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the omission of εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτό, as in codd. ℵ A B D* F G and nine other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817^(corr), with 1, 2105, 2816,

τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι ἑαυτῷ τὰ πάντα.

4 Ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι, χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου, οὕτως στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ ἀγαπητοί.

² Εὐοδίαν παρακαλῶ, καὶ Συντύχην παρακαλῶ, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν κυρίῳ. ³ ναὶ ἐρωτῶ καί σε, σύζυγε γνήσιε, συλλαμβάνου αὐταῖς αἵτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι, μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς.

⁴ Χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ πάντοτε, καὶ πάλιν ἐρῶ, χαίρετε. ⁵ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν γνωσθήτω πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς. ⁶ μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ

corpori suo glorioso, secundum efficaciam, qua potest etiam subiicere sibi omnia.

4 Proinde fratres mei dilecti ac desiderati, gaudium et corona mea, sic state in domino dilecti.

² Euodiam obsecro, et Syntychen obsecro, vt sint concordes in domino. ³ Sane rogo et te compar germana, adiuua eas quae in euangelio decertarunt mecum, vna cum Clemente quoque et reliquis cooperariis meis, quorum nomina sunt in libro vitae.

⁴ Gaudete in domino semper, et iterum dico, gaudete. ⁵ Modestia vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus. Dominus prope est. ⁶ De nulla re solliciti sitis, sed in omni precatione et

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21 suo glorioso *B-E*: gloriae suae *A*
4,1 desiderati *C-E*: desyderati *A B* | **2** *prius* obsecro *B-E*: rogo *A* | Syntychen *B-E* (Syntychē *D E*): synthycham *A* | *alt.* obsecro *B-E*: rogo *A* | sint concordes *B-E*: idem sentiant *A* | **3** decertarunt *B-E*: conuenerunt *A* | **6** omni *A E*: omni, *B-D* | precatione *B-E*: oratione *A*

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as well as D^corr and about 540 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 3, pp. 594-7). See *Annot*. If the extra four words were not genuine, it might be supposed that they were inserted by scribes to make a smoother connection between μετασχηματίσει and σύμμορφον. If this phrase was originally in the text, however, it is possible that a scribe might have regarded the words as superfluous and therefore deleted them. The phrase itself is entirely consistent with Pauline usage, as the combination of εἰς τό with a verb occurs about forty times in Romans to 2 Thessalonians, including two instances of εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι at *Rom.* 4,18; 7,4. The margins of Erasmus' 1522-35 editions offer γεννῶσαι as an alternative to γενέσθαι. However, γεννῶσαι has no ms. support here, but relates to *Gal.* 4,24 (where the correct spelling is γεννῶσα). This error arose from a mistake in the errata to Erasmus' 1519 edition: see *ad loc.* For the removal of *configuratum*, see on vs. 10, above. Valla *Annot.* and Manetti proposed

vt sit configuratum, and Lefèvre *vt ipsum conforme fiat* (cf. Ambrosiaster, who had just *conforme*).

21 *suo glorioso* τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ("claritatis suae" Vg.; "gloriae suae" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 5,41 for the removal of *claritas*. See also on *nostrum humile*, earlier in the present verse, for the removal of the Hebraic idiom. Valla *Annot.* suggested the word-order *gloriae corporis eius*. Erasmus' 1516 rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

21 *efficaciam* τὴν ἐνέργειαν ("operationem virtutis suae" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *virtutis suae* lacks Greek ms. support, and looks like a harmonisation with *Eph.* 3,7. See on 1 *Cor.* 12,10, and *Annot.*, for *efficacia*. Manetti had *operationem eius*, and Lefèvre *operationem potentiae*.

21 *qua potest etiam* τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ("qua etiam possit" late Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate as to the word-order. Cf. *Annot.* In using the indicative, he partly follows Lefèvre,

who had *qua ipse potest etiam*. Manetti had *quod potest*, omitting *etiam*. Ambrosiaster and the earlier Vulgate had *qua possit etiam*.

4,1 *Proinde* "Ὥστε ("Itaque" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17. Lefèvre put *Quare*.

1 *dilecti* (twice) ἀγαπητοί ("charissimi" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,25, and *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

1 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

1 *desiderati* ἐπιπόθητοι ("desideratissimi" late Vg.). The Vulgate use of the superlative is inaccurate: cf. *Annot.* The same correction was made by Lefèvre (who used the spelling *desyderati*, as in Erasmus' 1516-19 editions). Manetti put *concupiti*.

1 *gaudium* χαρά ("gaudium meum" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *meum* lacks explicit support from Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

2 *obsecro* (twice) παρακαλῶ ("rogo ... deprecor" Vg.; "rogo ... rogo" 1516). See on *Rom.* 16,17. In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the Vulgate inconsistency of rendering. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition. Ambrosiaster had *rogo ... obsecro*.

2 *vt sint concordes* τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ("id ipsum sapere" Vg.; "vt idem sentiant" 1516). Erasmus prefers to avoid the infinitive, for expressing an indirect command. See on *Rom.* 8,5, and *Annot.*, for the removal of *sapio*. Manetti had *vt id ipsum sapiant*, and Lefèvre *idem sentire* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *idem sapere*).

3 *Sane* ναί ("Etiam" Vg.). At several other passages, Erasmus is content to use *etiam* for ναί. Here, he wishes to avoid the possibility that *etiam* might be understood in the sense of "even" or "also". See *Annot.*, following Valla *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was *vtique*.

3 *compar germana* σύζυγε γνήσιε ("germane compar" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with γνήσιε σύζυγε, found in 𝔓[16 46] ℵ A B D and some later mss., including cod. 2105 (except that 𝔓[46] ℵ[corr] A D* have the spelling σύνζυγε). Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2816 and most other late mss. In *Annot.*, he comments favourably on the view that the Greek phrase can be understood as either masculine or feminine in form, and that it was therefore probably addressed to the apostle's own wife, whereas the Vulgate uses the masculine gender. This argument was further elaborated in the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*,

ASD IX, 2, pp. 214-16, ll. 845-864. The rendering of Lefèvre, more explicitly, was *ingenua coniunx*.

3 *eas* αὐταῖς ("illas" Vg.). Erasmus prefers *is* rather than *ille*, when followed by a relative pronoun. See on *Phil.* 3,9. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *in euangelio decertarunt mecum* ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι ("mecum laborauerunt in euangelio" Vg.; "in euangelio conuenerunt mecum" 1516). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more literally. See on *Phil.* 1,27 for *decerto*. In *Annot.*, Erasmus gave the meaning of συνήθλησαν, more fully, as *simul mecum decertarunt*. Without the addition of *simul*, the phrase *decerto cum* could be understood to mean "fight against" rather than "fight alongside". Valla *Annot.* similarly interpreted this verb by *certauerunt vna*. Manetti put *mecum in euangelio collaborauerunt*, and Lefèvre *certauerunt mecum in euangelio*.

3 *vna cum* μετά ("cum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22.

3 *Clemente quoque* καὶ Κλήμεντος ("Clemente" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the omission of καί in codd. D* F G and a few later mss. The version of Lefèvre had *et Clemente*.

3 *reliquis* τῶν λοιπῶν ("caeteris" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13.

3 *cooperariis* συνεργῶν ("adiutoribus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,21. Manetti put *coadiutoribus*, and Lefèvre *cooperatoribus*.

4 *et* καί (Vg. omits). Erasmus derived this reading from cod. 2817, in company with a few other late mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss., the word is omitted.

5 *Dominus* ὁ κύριος ("Dominus enim" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *enim* lacks support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *De nulla re* μηδέν ("Nihil" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 7,33.

6 *omni* παντί. In 1519-27, Erasmus has a comma after *omni*, limiting the sense to "in everything by prayer and entreaty", and this is the interpretation favoured in *Annot.* Without this punctuation, the meaning could be misunderstood as "in every prayer and entreaty", though in the Greek text παντί is neuter while προσευχῇ and δεήσει are feminine nouns.

6 *precatione* τῇ προσευχῇ ("oratione" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,14.

τῇ δεήσει μετὰ εὐχαριστίας τὰ αἰ-
τήματα ὑμῶν γνωριζέσθω πρὸς τὸν
θεόν· ⁷καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ
ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν, φρου-
ρήσει τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ
νοήματα ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.
⁸Τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί, ὅσα ἐστὶν
ἀληθῆ, ὅσα σεμνά, | ὅσα δί-
καια, ὅσα ἀγνά, ὅσα προσφιλῆ,
ὅσα εὔφημα, εἴ τις ἀρετή, καὶ
εἴ τις ἔπαινος, ταῦτα λογίζεσθε,
⁹ἃ καὶ ἐμάθετε καὶ παρελάβετε
καὶ ἠκούσατε καὶ εἴδετε ἐν ἐμοί·
ταῦτα πράσσετε, καὶ ὁ θεὸς
τῆς εἰρήνης ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν.
¹⁰Ἐχάρην δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ
μεγάλως, ὅτι ἤδη ποτὲ ἀνε-
θάλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρο-
νεῖν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐφρονεῖτε,
ἠκαιρεῖσθε δέ· ¹¹οὐχ ὅτι

obsecratione cum gratiarum actione
petitiones vestrae innotescant apud
deum: ⁷et pax dei quae superat
omnem intellectum, custodiet corda
vestra et sensus vestros per Christum
Iesum.
⁸Quod reliquum est fratres, quae-
cunque sunt vera, quaecun|que ho-
nesta, quaecunque iusta, quaecun-
que pura, quaecunque accommoda,
quaecunque boni ominis, si qua vir-
tus, et si qua laus: haec cogitate,
⁹quae et didicistis et accepistis et
audistis et vidistis in me: haec fa-
cite, et deus pacis erit vobiscum.
¹⁰Gauius sum autem in domi-
no magnopere, quod iam tandem
reuiguit vestra pro me sollicitudo,
in eo in quo et soliciti eratis, ve-
rum deerat oportunitas: ¹¹non quod

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6   obsecratione *B-E*: obsecriatone *A* | 7   per Christum Iesum *B-E*: in Christo Iesu *A* |
8   sunt *B-E*: om. *A* | boni ominis *E*: bene ominata *A*, boni nominis *B-D* | et *C-E*: om. *A B* |
10   soliciti *D E*: solliciti *A-C* | oportunitas *A D E*: opportunitas *B C*

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7 *quae superat* ἡ ὑπερέχουσα ("quae exuperat"
Vg.). Erasmus here gives preference to the more
common, and less emphatic, form of the Latin
verb. Manetti anticipated this change (though
the first hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45 had *que super*).

7 *intellectum* νοῦν ("sensum" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
1,28, and *Annot.*, where Erasmus gives *mentem*
as an alternative. Valla *Annot.* likewise advocated
intellectum or *mentem*. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre
had *mentem*, and Manetti *intellectum*.

7 *custodiet* φρουρήσει ("custodiat" Vg.). Eras-
mus' use of the future indicative, in place of
the present subjunctive, is more accurate. See
Annot. The same change was made by Manetti's
version (*Pal. Lat.* 45 only).

7 *sensus vestros* τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ("intelligentias
vestras" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 4,4.

7 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in
Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

8 *Quod reliquum est* Τὸ λοιπόν ("De caetero"
Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,2, and also *Annot.* Elsewhere

Erasmus tends to prefer *quod superest*, which was
the rendering of Lefèvre at the present passage.
Ambrosiaster had just *Reliquum*.

8 *sunt* ἐστίν (1516 Lat. omits). The 1516 omis-
sion was perhaps unintentional, though the
same omission was made by cod. 2105.

8 *honesta* σεμνά ("pudica" Vg.). In *Annot.*,
Erasmus gives several alternative renderings. As
usual, he saw no need to acknowledge that his
preferred wording was also that of Lefèvre. At
1 *Tim.* 3,8, Erasmus replaces *pudicus* by *compositus*,
and by *modestus* at 1 *Tim.* 3,11, and also by
grauis at *Tit.* 2,2 (1519). He may have felt that
pudicus was more likely to be understood as
referring to chastity, which was not the meaning
required here. Manetti put *clara*.

8 *pura* ἀγνά ("sancta" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 6,6.
In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *casta*, which
was the rendering of Lefèvre. Manetti had
pudica.

8 *accommoda* προσφιλῆ ("amabilia" Vg.). In
the present context, the Greek word seems

to refer to thoughts and actions which are spiritually or morally "attractive". The rare classical word, *accommodus*, in the sense of "suitable" or "convenient", is less appropriate here. Cf. *Annot.*

8 *boni ominis* εὔφημα ("bonae famae" Vg.; "bene ominata" 1516; "boni nominis" 1519-27). The rendering which Erasmus finally adopted in 1535 had been advocated as an alternative in *Annot.* from 1522 onwards. It might be supposed, from the close similarity of *ominis* and *nominis*, that the latter was mistakenly substituted by the printer of the 1519 edition, especially as *boni ominis* ("auspicious" or "well-omened") is strictly in accordance with the meaning of εὔφημος in classical Greek usage. However, this connotation of the Greek word is of doubtful relevance to the present context, whereas *boni nominis* ("of good reputation") is more in tune with the accompanying references to virtuous or praiseworthy characteristics. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *laudabilia*.

8 *et* καί (omitted in 1516-19 Lat. = Vg.). The Vulgate omission lacks support from Greek mss. The addition of *et* appeared first in the separate Latin N.T. of 1521. Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

8 *laus* ἔπαινος ("laus disciplinae" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate loosely corresponds with the addition of ἐπιστήμης in codd. D* F G, but most other mss. have just ἔπαινος. See *Annot.* In omitting *disciplinae*, Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

9 *facite* πράσσετε ("cogitate et agite" *Annot.*, lemma; "agite" Vg. 1527 and Vg. mss.). See on *Act.* 15,29 for the substitution of *facio*. The reading *cogitate et agite* was found in some copies of the late Vulgate, including the *Glossa Ordinaria*, as reported in *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 216, ll. 866-878, as well as in 1522 *Annot.* The addition of *cogitate et* here, apparently influenced by *cogitate* at the end of vs. 8, lacks Greek ms. support. Manetti and Lefèvre had just *agite*, as in most Vulgate mss.

10 *magnopere* μεγάλως ("vehementer" Vg.). Erasmus gives a more literal rendering. Elsewhere he uses *vehementer* e.g. for λίαν and σφόδρα. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *magnifice*.

10 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Manetti, while Lefèvre had *quia*.

10 *iam tandem* ἤδη ποτέ ("tandem aliquando" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to render ἤδη more literally. However, at *Rom.* 1,10, he retained *tandem aliquando* in rendering the identical Greek expression. In *Annot.*, he proposed *iam aliquando*, which had previously been used by Manetti. Lefèvre put just *tandem*.

10 *reuiguit vestra pro me sollicitudo* ἀνεθάλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν ("refloruistis pro me sentire" Vg.). Erasmus paraphrases the sense, for the sake of clarity: see *Annot.* He lists the Vulgate rendering among the *Soloecismi*. For his reply to Stunica's objections, see *Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.*, LB IX, 399 A-B. The version of Manetti had *refloruistis vt pro me prudentes essetis*, and Lefèvre *reuiruistis, vt pro me sentiretis*.

10 *in eo in quo et soliciti eratis* ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ ἐφρονεῖτε ("sicut et sentiebatis" Vg.). Erasmus also adopted *in eo in quo* for ἐφ᾽ ᾧ at *Phil.* 3,12 (1516 only). At that passage, in 1519, he substitutes *quatenus*, a solution which he also adopts at *Rom.* 5,12 (1519). See *Annot.* In using *soliciti*, Erasmus continues the interpretation suggested by his use of *sollicitudo* earlier in the sentence. His spelling of *solicitus* is not consistent. In 1516, he always spelled the word as *sollicitus*, but introduced *solicitus* at five passages in 1519, mostly in the Gospel of Luke. The present passage was the only such change in 1527. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *in quo et sentiebatis*, and Manetti *in eo in quo et sapiebatis*.

10 *verum deerat oportunitas* ἠκαιρεῖσθε δέ ("occupati autem eratis" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering of ἀκαιρέομαι is comparable with his translation of εὐκαιρέω by *oportunitatem habeo* at *Mc.* 6,31 (1516 only), and by *oportunitatem nanciscor* at *1 Cor.* 16,12, and may further be compared with the Vulgate use of *oportunitas* for εὐκαιρία at *Mt.* 26,16; *Lc.* 22,6. See *Annot.* This word was consistently spelled *oportunitas* in 1516, but was changed to *opportunitas* at seven passages in 1519, and then reverted to *oportunitas* again at three places in the 1527 edition, including the present passage. For *verum*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre likewise made use of *oportunitas*, having *at oportunitatem nondum habebatis*, while Manetti put *Impediti autem fuistis*.

11 *quod* ὅτι ("quasi" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. See *Annot.*, and see also on *2 Cor.* 1,24. The same substitution was made

καθ' ὑστέρησιν λέγω· ἐγὼ γὰρ
ἔμαθον, ἐν οἷς εἰμι, αὐτάρκης εἶ-
ναι. ¹²οἶδα καὶ ταπεινοῦσθαι, οἶδα
καὶ περισσεύειν· ἐν παντὶ καὶ ἐν
πᾶσι μεμύημαι, καὶ χορτάζεσθαι καὶ
πεινᾶν καὶ περισσεύειν καὶ ὑστε-
ρεῖσθαι. ¹³πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ
ἐνδυναμοῦντί με Χριστῷ. ¹⁴πλὴν
καλῶς ἐποιήσατε, συγκοινωνήσαν-
τές μου τῇ θλίψει. ¹⁵οἴδατε δὲ
καὶ ὑμεῖς, Φιλιππήσιοι, ὅτι ἐν
ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξ-
ῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, οὐδεμία
μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινώνησεν εἰς λόγον
δόσεως καὶ λήψεως, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς
μόνοι· ¹⁶ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ,

iuxta penuriam loquar: nam ego di-
dici, in quibus sum his contentus
esse. ¹²Noui et humilis esse, noui
et excellere: vbique et in omnibus
institutus sum, et saturari et esu-
rire et abundare et penuriam pati.
¹³Omnia possum per Christum, qui
me corroborat. ¹⁴Attamen recte
fecistis, quod simul communicastis
meae afflictioni. ¹⁵Nostis autem
et vos Philippenses, quod in prin-
cipio euangelii quum proficiscerer
a Macedonia, nulla mihi ecclesia
communicauerit in rationem dandi
et accipiendi, nisi vos soli: ¹⁶nam
et in Thessalonica quum essem,

4,13 ισχυω *A-C*: ιχυω *D E* | ενδυναμουντι *B-E*: δυναμουντι *A* | 15 δοσεως *A-C*:
δωσεως *D E*

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11 his *B-E*: in his *A* | 12 humilis esse *C-E*: humiliari *A B* | 13 per ... corroborat *B-E*: in eo qui
me potentem facit Christo *A* | 14 afflictioni *C-E*: tribulationi *A B* | 15 autem *B-E*: enim *A* |
rationem *B-E*: ratione *A* | 16 in Thessalonica *B-E*: Thessalonicae *A*

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by Manetti, but Lefèvre replaced *quasi propter
penuriam* by *quia indigerem.*

11 *iuxta* καθ' ("propter" Vg.). Erasmus gives a
more literal rendering. See *Annot.* The version
of Manetti had *secundum.* For Lefèvre's wording,
see the previous note.

11 *loquar* λέγω ("dico" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,27
for *loquor.* Erasmus uses the subjunctive, as this
is only a hypothetical statement.

11 *nam ego* ἐγὼ γὰρ ("ego enim" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 3,34.

11 *his contentus esse* αὐτάρκης εἶναι ("sufficiens
esse" Vg.; "in his contentus esse" 1516). Erasmus
adds a pronoun, for the sake of completeness,
and also to prevent the reader from attaching
sum to *contentus.* The Vulgate word, *sufficiens,*
does not adequately convey the meaning here:
see *Annot.,* and. cf. Erasmus' replacement of *suf-
ficientia* by *animus sua sorte contentus* in rendering
αὐτάρκεια at 1 *Tim.* 6,6. However, he retains

sufficientia for αὐτάρκεια at 2 *Cor.* 9,8. Lefèvre
put *sufficientiam habere.*

12 *Noui ... noui* οἶδα ... οἶδα ("Scio ... scio"
Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,14.

12 *humilis esse* ταπεινοῦσθαι ("humiliari"
1516-19 = Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 12,21. The ren-
dering *humilis esse* was first introduced in the
separate Latin N.T. of 1521.

12 *excellere* περισσεύειν ("abundare" Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 3,7. In *Annot.,* Erasmus argues that
abundare does not provide a satisfactory contrast
with the preceding use of *humiliari.* However,
he is content to retain *abundo* later in the verse,
where it forms a more natural antithesis to
penuriam patior.

12 *saturari* χορτάζεσθαι ("satiari" Vg.). This
substitution is in accord with Vulgate usage at
all other N.T. instances of χορτάζω (except
that the 1527 Vulgate column and the Froben
Vulgate of 1514 have *satiare* at *Mc.* 8,4). Valla

commented in *Elegantiae* V, 78, "Satiare ad omnes sensus attinet. Saturare ad vnum, gustum". Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre used the same verb as Erasmus.

13 *per Christum* ἐν ... Χριστῷ ("in eo" Vg.; "in eo ... Christo" 1516). The Vulgate reflects the omission of Χριστῷ, as in codd. א * A B D* I and a few later mss. In cod. 2817, the word could originally have been omitted, as it looks as if it has been squeezed in at the end of a line of text. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817(corr), supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with א corr D corr and most later mss. The insertion of Χριστῷ has been thought by some to be an explanatory scribal gloss, possibly influenced by 1 *Tim.* 1,12 (τῷ ἐνδυναμώσαντί με Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν). However, scribes who were seeking to harmonise the two passages could perhaps have been expected to add Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν rather than just Χριστῷ. A different possibility is that a scribe accidentally omitted two letters (χω̄): cf. the omission of τοῦ Χριστοῦ by cod. א * at *Phil.* 1,27, and by cod. C at *Phil.* 2,30, and the omission of θεοῦ by 𝔓46 at *Phil.* 3,3. For the use of *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17. Manetti made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition. Lefèvre put *in Christo*.

13 *qui me corroborat* τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με ("qui me confortat" Vg.; "qui me potentem facit" 1516). See on *Act.* 9,19, and *Annot.* The spelling in 1516, δυναμοῦντι, is the same as in cod. 69, though it could also have arisen from a typesetting error, as it conflicts with the text cited in 1516 *Annot.* The rendering proposed by Valla *Annot.* was *qui me fortem facit* or *qui me validum reddit.* Lefèvre's variation on this theme was *qui me validum facit.*

14 *Attamen* πλήν ("Veruntamen" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 7,2. Erasmus here follows Lefèvre. Both mss. of Manetti's version omit this verse.

14 *recte* καλῶς ("bene" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mt.* 15,7; 1 *Tim.* 3,12; *Iac.* 2,19; 2 *Petr.* 1,19, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 11,4. More often Erasmus retains *bene.* Lefèvre had *probe.*

14 *quod simul communicastis* συγκοινωνήσαντες ("communicantes" Vg.). Greek aorist. Erasmus understands the participle as having an explanatory sense: "by the fact of your having shared with me" rather than "while you were sharing with me". He further provides a more precise rendering of the Greek prefix, συγ-,

distinguishing the verb from κοινωνέω in the following verse. See on *Rom.* 2,15 for *simul.*

14 *meae afflictioni* μου τῇ θλίψει ("tribulationi meae" Vg.; "meae tribulationi" 1516-19). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with τῇ θλίψει μου in codd. D (F G). For *afflictio*, see on *Ioh.* 16,21. The use of *meae afflictioni* first appeared in the separate Latin N.T. of 1521. Lefèvre put *pressurae meae.*

15 *Nostis* οἴδατε ("Scitis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,14.

15 *autem* δέ ("enim" 1516). Erasmus' substitution of *enim* in 1516 was probably influenced by the context rather than any difference of Greek wording.

15 *quum proficiscerer* ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ("quando profectus sum" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes the imperfect tense, possibly on the grounds that the Philippians assisted the apostle before he left Macedonia, as he received help from them while in Thessalonica (see vs. 16, below), which was part of the Macedonian province. Ambrosiaster had *cum profectus sum*, and Manetti *quando veni.*

15 *communicauerit* ἐκοινώνησεν ("communicauit" Vg.). Erasmus often preferred the subjunctive in indirect statements: cf. on *Ioh.* 1,20.

15 *in rationem* εἰς λόγον ("in ratione" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. The same change occurs in vs. 17.

15 *dandi et accipiendi* δόσεως καὶ λήψεως ("dati et accepti" Vg.). The Vulgate interprets this phrase, in accountants' terminology, as referring to receipts and expenditure, whereas Erasmus understands it in a more general sense, to refer to the act of giving and receiving. The spelling δώσεως in 1527-35 probably arose as a misprint. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *dationis atque acceptionis*, and Lefèvre similarly *dationis et acceptionis.*

16 *nam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,24.

16 *in Thessalonica quum essem* ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ("Thessalonicam" Vg.; "Thessalonicae cum essem" 1516). Erasmus' interpretation is more accurate here: see *Annot.* In *Annot.*, lemma, he cites the Vulgate reading as *in Thessalonicam*, which was the rendering of Manetti. Ambrosiaster had *in Thessalonica*. Lefèvre put *Thessalonice* in his main text, but *Thessalonicen* in *Comm.*

ἄπαξ καὶ δὶς εἰς τὴν χρείαν μοι ἐπέμψατε· ¹⁷οὐχ ὅτι ἐπιζητῶ τὸ δόμα, ἀλλ' ἐπιζητῶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν πλεονάζοντα εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν. ¹⁸ἀπέχω δὲ πάντα καὶ περισσεύω. πεπλήρωμαι, δεξάμενος παρὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου, τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν, ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας, θυσίαν δεκτήν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ. ¹⁹ὁ δὲ θεός μου πληρώσει πᾶσαν χρείαν ὑμῶν, κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ, ἐν δόξῃ, ἐν | Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ²⁰τῷ δὲ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἡμῶν ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

²¹Ἀσπάσασθε πάντα ἅγιον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί. ²²ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες ἅγιοι, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας. ²³ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου

semel et iterum quod opus erat mihi misistis: ¹⁷non quod requiram munus, sed requiro fructum exuberantem in rationem vestram. ¹⁸Recepi tamen omnia, et abundo. Expletus sum posteaquam accepi ab Epaphrodito, quae a vobis missa fuerant, odorem bonae fragrantiae, hostiam acceptam gratamque deo. ¹⁹Deus autem meus supplebit quicquid opus fuerit vobis, | secundum diuitias suas, cum gloria, per Christum Iesum. ²⁰Deo autem et patri nostro gloria in secula seculorum, Amen.

²¹Salutate omnem sanctum in Christo Iesu. Salutant vos qui mecum sunt fratres. ²²Salutant vos omnes sancti, maxime vero qui sunt ex Caesaris familia. ²³Gratia domini

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17 requiram B-E: reqiuram A | 18 Expletus B-E (expletus B): impletus A | gratamque B-E: et gratam A | 19 supplebit B-E: implebit A | cum B-E: in A | per Christum Iesum B-E: in Christo Iesu A | 20 autem B-E: vero A | secula seculorum C-E: saecula saeculorum A B

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16 *semel* ἄπαξ. Erasmus here follows cod. 2817, in company with the late Vulgate and many Vulgate mss. (and Vgʷʷ). Nearly all Greek mss., including codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, have καὶ ἄπαξ, corresponding with *et semel* in the versions of Manetti and Lefèvre, together with some Vulgate mss. (and Vgˢᵗ).

16 *iterum* δίς ("bis" Vg.). This substitution was consistent with Vulgate usage in rendering ἄπαξ καὶ δίς at 1 *Thess.* 2,18. In *Annot.*, Erasmus argued that *semel et bis* would mean "three times". His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

16 *quod opus erat mihi* εἰς τὴν χρείαν μοι ("in vsum mihi" Vg.). Erasmus, more precisely, interpreted χρεία as referring to "need" or "necessity", not merely usefulness: see *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti had *in vtilitatem ad me*, and Lefèvre *ad necessitatem meam michi*.

17 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 1,24, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

17 *requiram* ἐπιζητῶ ("quaero" Vg.). This substitution produces consistency with the use of *requiro* later in the sentence to render the same Greek verb: see *Annot.* For Erasmus' preference for the subjunctive after *quod*, see on *Ioh.* 1,20. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *quaeram* (positioned at the end of this clause).

17 *munus* τὸ δόμα ("datum" Vg.). The Vulgate choice of *datum* at the present passage makes no distinction between δόμα and δόσις, used in vs. 15. Elsewhere Erasmus replaces *datum* by *donum* in rendering δόμα at *Mt.* 7,11; *Lc.* 11,13 (1519), consistent with Vulgate usage at *Eph.* 4,8. In *Annot.*, he cites "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster) as the source of his rendering. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *donum* here.

17 *exuberantem* τὸν πλεονάζοντα ("abundantem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7. In *Annot.*, Erasmus proposed *qui redundet*. Lefèvre had *copiosiorem*, placed before *fructum*.

17 *in rationem vestram* εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν ("in ratione vestra" late Vg.). See on vs. 15. In *Annot.*, lemma, in accordance with earlier Vulgate mss.,

Erasmus cites the Vulgate as having *rationem* rather than *ratione*.

18 *Recepi* ἀπέχω ("Habeo" Vg.). The Vulgate renders the Greek verb as if it were merely ἔχω. The substitution of *recepi*, perfect tense, is in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 6,2, 5, 16, though at these three passages Erasmus inconsistently substitutes *habeo*, and likewise retains *habeo* for ἀπέχω at *Lc.* 6,24. See *Annot.* The version of Ambrosiaster had *Percepi* and Lefèvre *recipio*.

18 *tamen* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

18 *Expletus sum* πεπλήρωμαι ("Repletus sum" Vg.; "impletus sum" 1516). Erasmus more often uses *expleo* in the sense of "fulfil" or "complete", and *repleo* for "fill". Possibly his reason for avoiding *repletus* here was that the word might be understood to mean "filled to excess" or "satiated". Cf. his substitution of *completi* for *repleti* at *Col.* 2,10. See also *Annot.*

18 *posteaquam accepi* δεξάμενος ("acceptis" *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. mss.; "exceptis" Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514. Erasmus retains the active sense of the Greek participle. See *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti put *cum susceperim*, and Lefèvre *suscipiens*.

18 *quae a vobis missa fuerant* τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ("quae misistis" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *misistis* could have arisen from the need to produce an intelligible translation, rather than because of any difference of Greek text. The same could also apply to the Old Latin version, *quae a vobis missa sunt*, which was reproduced by Ambrosiaster. If that was the case, the reading τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν πεμφθέντα in codd. F G (and possibly also τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν πενφθέν in cod. D*) could be viewed as representing an attempt to make the Greek wording agree more closely with the Old Latin. Nearly all other Greek mss. have the same text as Erasmus. By using *a vobis*, he gives a more precise rendering of παρ' ὑμῶν than the Vulgate. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre, still more literally, put *ea quae a vobis sunt*.

18 *odorem* ὀσμήν ("in odorem" late Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, arguing in *Annot.* that ὀσμήν is in apposition to τά. He adopts the same rendering as the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

18 *bonae fragrantiae* εὐωδίας ("suauitatis" Vg.). See on *2 Cor.* 2,15; *Eph.* 5,2, and *Annot.*

18 *gratamque* εὐάρεστον ("placentem" Vg.; "et gratam" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,21. Erasmus also uses *gratus* for ἀρεστός at *Act.* 12,3 (1519), and offers it as an alternative to *placitum* in *Annot.* on *Act.* 6,2. Cf. also *Annot.* on the present passage. Erasmus' addition of *et* or *-que* does not reflect any difference of Greek text, but presumably arose from a desire to avoid asyndeton between two adjacent adjectives. Lefèvre had *beneplacentem*.

19 *supplebit* πληρώσει ("impleat" Vg.; "implebit" 1516). For *suppleo*, see on *Phil.* 2,30. The Vulgate subjunctive corresponds with πληρώσαι in codd. D* F G and some other mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus further cites one of his mss. ("codex vnus") as having that reading. It is found in cod. 2105 and also in cod. 69, while codd. 1, 2815, 2816, 2817 all have πληρώσει. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre both advocated *implebit*, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

19 *quicquid opus fuerit vobis* πᾶσαν χρείαν ὑμῶν ("omne desiderium vestrum" Vg.). For *quicquid*, see on *Ioh.* 4,14. The Vulgate word *desiderium* was liable to be understood as meaning "longing" or "desire", whereas the required sense was "need" or "necessity". In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites *indigentiam* or *necessitatem* as alternatives to *desiderium*. These other renderings were proposed, respectively, by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre. In Lefèvre, the whole phrase became *omnem necessitatem vestram*. Manetti put *omnem egestatem vestram*.

19 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

19 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

20 *autem* δέ ("vero" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Erasmus may have felt that this particle did not mark a strong contrast with what preceded, but rather a culmination. However, he restored the Vulgate wording in 1519.

22 ἅγιοι. This reading is derived from cod. 2815, together with a few other late mss. Most mss. have οἱ ἅγιοι, as in codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817.

22 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

22 *qui sunt ex Caesaris familia* οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας ("qui de Caesaris domo sunt" Vg.). For the substitution of *ex*, see on *Ioh.* 2,15. For *familia*, see on *1 Cor.* 1,16. Lefèvre put *qui ex Caesaris domo sunt*.

ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων
ὑμῶν. ἀμήν.

      Ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης
        δι᾽ Ἐπαφροδίτου.

nostri Iesu Christi cum omnibus vo-
bis. Amen.

      Scripta est e Roma
        per Epaphroditum.

Subscriptio Roma *A E*: Rhoma *B-D*

23 *nostri* ἡμῶν. Erasmus here follows his cod. 2817, together with 2105 and 2816, and also 𝔓⁴⁶ D and some later mss., as well as most mss. of the Vulgate (with Vgʷʷ). Codd. 1, 2815 and most other mss. omit ἡμῶν, for which reason *nostri* was omitted by Lefèvre, in company with a few Vulgate mss. (and Vgˢᵗ).

23 *omnibus vobis* πάντων ὑμῶν ("spiritu vestro" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of τοῦ πνεύματος for πάντων, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B D F G and about fifty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ and 530 later mss. (see Aland

Die Paulinischen Briefe vol. 3, pp. 597-9). See *Annot.* The textual question here is whether some scribes substituted πάντων for τοῦ πνεύματος under the influence of a passage such as 2 *Thess.* 3,18 (cf. also 1 *Cor.* 16,24; 2 *Cor.* 13,13; *Tit.* 3,15), or whether πάντων was authentic and some scribes replaced it by importing τοῦ πνεύματος from *Phm.* 25 (cf. also *Gal.* 6,18; 2 *Tim.* 4,22). Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

Subscriptio Erasmus' omission of πρὸς Φιλιππησίους, at the beginning of the subscription, is not supported by cod. 2817.

ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΛΑΣΣΑΕΙΣ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ

EPISTOLA PAVLI
AD COLOSSENSES

1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφός, ²τοῖς ἐν Κολασσαῖς ἁγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ· χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

³Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι, ⁴ἀκούσαντες τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,

1 Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi per voluntatem dei, et Timotheus frater, ²iis qui sunt Colossis sanctis ac fidelibus fratribus in Christo: gratia vobis et pax a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo.

³Gratias agimus deo et patri domini nostri Iesu Christi, semper de vobis, quum oramus: ⁴quoniam audiuimus fidem vestram in Christo Iesu,

Inscriptio EPISTOLA ... COLOSSENSES *E*: AD COLLOSSENSES EPISTOLA PAVLI *A*, AD COLOSSENSES EPISTOLA PAVLI *B C*, ERASMI VERSIO *D* | 1,2 ac *B-E*: et *A*

1,2 *iis* τοῖς ("his" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate. See on *Rom.* 4,12. Lefèvre, with equal justification, omitted *his*, using the word-order *sanctis qui Colossis estis*.

2 Κολασσαῖς. This was the spelling found in cod. 2815, together with codd. 1 and 2816, and also cod. I and most later mss. In codd. 2105 and 2817, with ℵ B D F G and some other mss., it is Κολοσσαῖς. Cf. *Annot.*

2 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti made the same change.

2 *Christo* (1st.) Χριστῷ ("Christo Iesu" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of Ἰησοῦ, as in codd. A D* F G and a few later mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

2 *et domino Iesu Christo* καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. B D and some other mss., including codd. 2105 and 2816*. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ, as well as ℵ A C F G I and most other mss. In 1522 *Annot.*, he favoured omission of these words, partly because of the evidence of Theophylact, and partly because he viewed it as a scribal harmonisation influenced by

similar expressions in other epistles. He further commented, in 1527 *Annot.*, that copies of the Vulgate were at variance with one another on this point. Another possible interpretation of the evidence is that a few early Greek scribes deliberately omitted this phrase because it appeared repetitious, in view of the similar wording in vs. 3. Similar considerations may have prompted the even longer omission of ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ from the text transmitted by codd. B F G at 1 *Thess.* 1,1. The missing words were added by Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* (with Lefèvre's usual spelling, *Ihesu*).

3 *de* περί ("pro" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of ὑπέρ, as in codd. B D* and a few later mss. However, the Vulgate elsewhere sometimes uses *pro* for περί (e.g. at *Mc.* 1,44; *Lc.* 2,27; *Ioh.* 17,9). See further on *Rom.* 14,12.

3 *quum oramus* προσευχόμενοι ("orantes" Vg.). By this change of construction, Erasmus ensures that πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν is connected with Εὐχαριστοῦμεν rather than with προσευχόμενοι. In cod. 2815, πάντοτε is transposed after ὑμῶν, with little other ms. support.

4 *quoniam audiuimus* ἀκούσαντες ("audientes" Vg.). Erasmus again avoids the participle, this

καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς
ἁγίους, ⁵διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀποκειμέ-
νην ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἣν προηκού-
σατε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐ-
αγγελίου, ⁶τοῦ παρόντος εἰς ὑμᾶς, καθὼς
καὶ ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἔστι καρπο-
φορούμενον, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀφ' ἧς
ἡμέρας ἠκούσατε καὶ ἔγνωτε τὴν χάριν
τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. ⁷καθὼς καὶ ἐμάθε-
τε παρὰ Ἐπαφρᾶ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ συν-
δούλου ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστι πιστὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ⁸ὁ καὶ δηλώσας
ἡμῖν τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην ἐν πνεύματι.

et charitatem erga omnes sanctos,
⁵propter spem repositam vobis in
coelis: de qua prius audieratis per
sermonem veracem euangelii, ⁶quod
peruenit ad vos, quemadmodum et
in toto mundo etiam fructificat, sicut
et in vobis, ex eo die quo audistis
et cognouistis gratiam dei per verita-
tem. ⁷Quemadmodum et didicistis ex
Epaphra dilecto conseruo nostro, qui
est fidus pro vobis minister Christi,
⁸qui et exposuit nobis vestram dile-
ctionem in spiritu.

1,7 παρα *B-E*: απο *A*

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5 per sermonem veracem *B-E*: in verbo veritatis *A* | 6 etiam *B-E*: et *A* | per veritatem *B-E*:
in veritate *A*

---

time interpreting it in a causal rather than a
temporal sense. In using the perfect tense, he
gives a more accurate rendering of the Greek
aorist. Manetti put *cum audiuerimus*, and Lefèvre
cum audiuimus.

4 *charitatem* τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν ("dilectionem
quam habetis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,35 for
charitas. The Vulgate addition of *quam habetis*
corresponds with the reading τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν
ἔχετε in 𝔓⁶¹ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A C D* (F G) and more than
sixty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815
and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also
Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 500 other mss. The reading of
cod. B is just τὴν ἀγάπην (see Aland *Die Pau-
linischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 104-6). Lefèvre had
dilectionem, omitting *quam habetis*. Both mss. of
Manetti's version incorrectly had *dilectione* for
dilectionem.

4 *erga* εἰς ("in" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25. Lefèvre
made the same substitution.

4 *omnes sanctos* πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους ("sanctos
omnes" Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-
order more literally. His rendering is the same
as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

5 *repositam* τὴν ἀποκειμένην ("quae reposita
est" Vg.). On this occasion, Erasmus shortens

the wording, possibly to avoid a succession of
subordinate clauses. In doing so, he follows the
version of Lefèvre.

5 *de qua* ἣν ("quam" Vg.). Erasmus is elsewhere
generally content to retain a direct object after
audio.

5 *prius audieratis* προηκούσατε ("audistis" Vg.).
Erasmus seeks to convey the nuance of the
Greek prefix, προ-. For his preference for the
pluperfect tense, see e.g. on *Ioh.* 1,19. Manetti
put *antea audistis*, and Lefèvre *ante audiuistis*
(cf. Ambrosiaster, *ante audistis*).

5 *per sermonem* ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ("in verbo" 1516
= Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *per*, see on *Rom.*
1,17, and for *sermo*, see on *Ioh.* 1,1. Both Ma-
netti and Lefèvre put *in sermone*.

5 *veracem* τῆς ἀληθείας ("veritatis" 1516 = Vg.).
This change is questionable, as the phrase
"word of truth" is an established N.T. idiom,
occurring elsewhere at 2 *Cor.* 6,7; *Eph.* 1,13;
2 *Tim.* 2,15; *Iac.* 1,18, at all of which passages
Erasmus has *sermo* (or *verbum*) *veritatis*. The
phrase signifies not only that the word itself
is "true" but that the subject matter of the word
is the greatest of all truths, with reference to
the Gospel.

6 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *vt.*

6 *toto* παντί ("vniuerso" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,34, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre replaced *in vniuerso mundo* by *in totum mundum* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *in vniuersum mundum*).

6 *etiam fructificat* καὶ ἔστι καρποφορούμενον ("est et fructificat et crescit" Vg.; " et fructificat" 1516). The Vulgate appears to make ἔστι do service as two separate verbs, the first standing alone, as *est*, and the second in combination with καρποφορούμενον, as *fructificat*. The Vulgate insertion of *et crescit* corresponds with the addition of καὶ αὐξανόμενον, found in about 290 mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 106-8), including codd. 3 and 2105, as well as mss. which were mentioned in Lefèvre *Comm.* Evidently Erasmus had not yet inspected cod. 2105 at this passage when he compiled 1516 *Annot.*, as at that time the only Greek testimony which he was able to cite in support of the longer reading was drawn from Lefèvre. In 𝔓⁴⁶ ⁶¹ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A B C D* and a few later mss., the words καὶ αὐξανόμενον are added here, but καί omitted before ἔστι. In 1519 *Annot.*, Erasmus argues for the inclusion of this instance of καί, though he was aware of mss. which omitted it (cf. cod. 3, which substitutes ὅ for καί). In omitting καὶ αὐξανόμενον, Erasmus has support from codd. 1, 2815, 2816, 2817, along with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 300 later mss. (see Aland, *loc. cit.*). Lefèvre had *et fructificat atque augetur.*

6 *et* (2nd.) καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus gives the same wording as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *eo die quo* ἧς ἡμέρας ("ea die qua" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,29. Lefèvre put *die qua*, omitting *ea* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *qua die*).

6 ἔγνωτε. This reading was derived from cod. 2817, supported by cod. 2816* but few other mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ and most other mss., it was ἐπέγνωτε.

6 *per veritatem* ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ("in veritate" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

7 *Quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *et* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ⁶¹ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. The version of Lefèvre again made the same change as Erasmus.

7 *ex* παρά ("ab" Vg.). The reading παρά, adopted in 1519, is attested by cod. 3 and a few other late mss. Most mss. have ἀπό, as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

7 *dilecto* ἀγαπητοῦ ("charissimo" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,25. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (though in Manetti's version, *Urb. Lat.* 6 omits *dilecto ... Christi* at the turn of a page, representing exactly one line of text in *Pal. Lat.* 45).

7 *nostro* ἡμῶν. In *Annot.*, Erasmus' citation of this passage offers only ὑμῶν, but he acknowledges that the mss. are at variance with one another. The word ὑμῶν occurs here in cod. 69* and a few other late mss. The reading printed in Erasmus' Greek text, ἡμῶν, is supported by codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss.

7 *fidus* πιστός ("fidelis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,2.

7 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διάκονος. The word-order of cod. 2815 is διάκονος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, along with a few other late mss.

7 *Christi* τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("Christi Iesu" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *Iesu* lacks Greek ms. support. The correction made by Erasmus produces the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, Manetti (*Pal. Lat.* 45), and Lefèvre.

8 *et* καί ("etiam" Vg.). The less emphatic word, *et*, has the meaning of "also" rather than "even". Manetti made the same change.

8 *exposuit* δηλώσας ("manifestauit" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus uses *expono* for rendering such verbs as ἐπιλύω, ἐκτίθημι and γνωρίζω. The point here is that the context requires the sense "make clear" or "explain" instead of "reveal". At several passages, Erasmus follows the Vulgate in rendering δηλόω by *significo*, at 1 *Cor.* 1,11; *Hebr.* 9,8; 1 *Petr.* 1,11; 2 *Petr.* 1,14. For his frequent removal of *manifesto*, see also on *Ioh.* 1,31. Lefèvre put *indicauit.*

8 *vestram dilectionem* τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην ("dilectionem vestram" Vg.). In placing *vestram* first, Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more literally, giving the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. In cod. 2815, ὑμῶν is omitted.

⁹Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέ-
ρας ἠκούσαμεν, οὐ παυόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
προσευχόμενοι καὶ αἰτούμενοι, ἵνα πλη-
ρωθῆτε τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ θελήματος
αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ συνέσει πνευ-
ματικῇ, ¹⁰περιπατῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀξίως τοῦ
κυρίου, εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρέσκειαν, ἐν παντὶ
ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ καρποφοροῦντες, καὶ αὐ-
ξανόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ,
¹¹ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι, κατὰ
τὸ κράτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, εἰς πᾶσαν
ὑπομονὴν καὶ μακροθυμίαν μετὰ χαρᾶς,
¹²εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρί, τῷ ἱκανώ-
σαντι ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου
τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί, ¹³ὃς ἐρρύσατο
ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους, καὶ
μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ
τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, ¹⁴ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν
ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ,

⁹Propterea et nos, ex quo die
audiuimus, non desinimus pro vo-
bis orare et poscere vt impleamini
agnitione voluntatis eius, in omni
sapientia et prudentia spirituali:
¹⁰vt ambuletis digne domino, vt
per omnia placeatis, in omni ope-
re bono fructificantes, et crescen-
tes in agnitionem dei, ¹¹omni
robore corroborati, iuxta potentiam
gloriae illius, ad omnem toleran-
tiam ac patientiam cum gaudio:
¹²gratias agentes patri, qui idoneos
nos fecit ad participationem sortis
sanctorum in lumine, ¹³qui eri-
puit nos a potestate tenebrarum,
ac transtulit in regnum filii sibi
dilecti, ¹⁴per quem habemus re-
demptionem per sanguinem ipsius,

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10 αρεσκειαν *A B D E*: αρεσκειας *C (compend.)*

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9 desinimus *E*: desiuimus *A-D* | 11 omni robore corroborati *B-E*: in omni potentia facti potentes *A* | potentiam *B-E*: robur *A* | ad *B-E*: in *A* | tolerantiam ac patientiam *B-E*: patientiam et longanimitatem *A* | 12 ad participationem *B-E*: in partem *A* | 13 a *B-E*: de *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* | sibi dilecti *B-E*: charitatis suae *A* | 14 per quem *B-E*: in quo *A*

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9 *Propterea* Διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,6. Manetti had *Propter hoc*, and Lefèvre *Quamobrem.*

9 *quo die* ἧς ἡμέρας ("qua die" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,29. Lefèvre put *die qua.*

9 *desinimus* (*desiuimus*: 1516-27) ... *orare et poscere* παυόμεθα ... προσευχόμενοι καὶ αἰτούμενοι ("cessauimus ... orantes, et postulantes" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 1,16, and *Annot.*, for Erasmus' use of *desino* with an accompanying infinitive. His substitution of the present tense in the 1535 Latin rendering is more strictly in accordance with the tense of παυόμεθα. In replacing *postulo* with *posco*, Erasmus may have wished to make this prayer of the apostle sound less like a demand, though the usual rendering of αἰτέω in such a context is *peto*. He retains *postulo* at *Iac.* 1,5-6; 4,2; 1 *Ioh.* 5,15, and even substitutes it for *peto* at *Mt.* 7,11, all in the context of prayer to God. Cf. on *Act.* 3,14. Ambrosiaster

and Manetti put *cessamus ... orantes et postulantes*, and Lefèvre *cessauimus* (*cessamus* in *Comm.*) ... *orare et postulare.*

9 *prudentia* συνέσει ("intellectu" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering of σοφία καὶ σύνεσις by *sapientia et prudentia* is identical with the Vulgate translation of σοφία καὶ φρόνησις at *Eph.* 1,8. For his inconsistent treatment of σύνεσις, see on 1 *Cor.* 1,19. Lefèvre put *intelligentia*. Both mss. of Manetti's version omitted *et intellectu.*

10 *domino* τοῦ κυρίου ("deo" Vg.). The Vulgate has little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti. In Lefèvre's version, *deo per omnia placentes* was replaced by *ad omne placitum domini.*

10 *vt per omnia placeatis* εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρέσκειαν ("per omnia placentes" Vg.). At this point, to some extent, both versions offer a paraphrase. Erasmus prefers to avoid using the present participle. In *Annot.*, he gives *in omnem*

placentiam as a more literal rendering, which is comparable with Manetti's use of *ad omnem complacentiam*. Erasmus further cites "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster) as having *ad omne placitum*, which was also the wording adopted by Lefèvre.

10 *in agnitionem* εἰς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν ("in scientia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,20 for *agnitio*. The Vulgate corresponds more closely with ἐν τῇ ἐπιγνώσει, as in cod. ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ and twenty-three later mss. The reading of 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B C D* F G I and eighteen other mss. is τῇ ἐπιγνώσει (omitting ἐν). However, as the Vulgate sometimes deliberately renders εἰς and the accusative by *in* and the ablative (see, for example, *in omni patientia* in vs. 11), its underlying Greek text here remains uncertain. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 540 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 109-11). Ambrosiaster had *in agnitione*, and Lefèvre *in cognitione*.

11 *omni* ἐν πάσῃ ("in omni" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

11 *robore corroborati* δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι ("virtute confortati" Vg.; "potentia facti potentes" 1516). For *corroboro*, see on *Act.* 9,19. Erasmus tries to preserve the close linguistic connection between noun and verb: see *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *potestate valentes*.

11 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

11 *potentiam* τὸ κράτος ("robur" 1516). This substitution in 1516 was a consequence of Erasmus' change from *virtus* to *potentia* in rendering δύναμις earlier in the sentence. In 1519, he restored the Vulgate word.

11 *gloriae* τῆς δόξης ("claritatis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,41, and *Annot.* The rendering adopted by Erasmus is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

11 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus uses the more emphatic pronoun to refer back to *dei* in vs. 10. Manetti put *suae*.

11 *ad omnem tolerantiam ac patientiam* εἰς πᾶσαν ὑπομονὴν καὶ μακροθυμίαν ("in omni patientia et longanimitate" Vg.; "in omnem patientiam et longanimitatem" 1516). Erasmus is more literal in using the accusative here. See on *Rom.* 2,4 for *tolerantia* and *patientia*, and on *Ioh.* 1,25 for *ac*. Erasmus' 1516 edition has the same wording as Ambrosiaster.

12 *patri* τῷ πατρί ("deo et patri" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with the reading τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί in cod. Cᶜᵒʳʳ and some later mss., among which are codd. 1, 2815, 2816ᶜᵒʳʳ ᵛⁱᵈ. In cod. ℵ and a few other mss., it is τῷ θεῷ πατρί, and in codd. F G θεῷ τῷ πατρί (cf. *deo patri* in many Vulgate mss.). Erasmus' text is supported by cod. 2817, with 2105, 2816* and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ⁶¹ A B D. See *Annot.* The change made by Erasmus agrees with some mss. of the earlier Vulgate, and with the versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre, while Manetti had *deo patri*.

12 *qui idoneos nos fecit* τῷ ἱκανώσαντι ἡμᾶς ("qui dignos nos fecit" Vg.). This substitution is consistent with the Vulgate rendering of ἱκανόω at *2 Cor.* 3,6. See on *1 Cor.* 15,9 for comparable changes in rendering ἱκανός. See also *Annot.* The version of Manetti substituted *quia* for *qui*, and Lefèvre had *qui nos suffecit*.

12 *ad participationem* εἰς τὴν μερίδα ("in partem" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus finds a clearer way of rendering the Greek expression, though *participatio* is comparatively rare in classical usage. At the other N.T. instances of μερίς, he retains *pars*.

13 *a* ἐκ ("de" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,23. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *ex*.

13 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

13 *sibi dilecti* τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ ("dilectionis suae" Vg.; "charitatis suae" 1516). Erasmus wishes to eliminate the Hebraistic mode of expression: see *Annot.* Cf. on *Ioh.* 17,12 (*filius perditus* for *filius perditionis*). For the substitution of *charitatis* in 1516, see on *Ioh.* 13,35. The 1516 rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

14 *per quem* ἐν ᾧ ("in quo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

14 *per sanguinem ipsius* διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by most mss., commencing with codd. ℵ A B C D F G, and including codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816*. Erasmus added this phrase from cod. 2817, with support from cod. 2816ᵐᵍ and many other late mss. In *Annot.*, he simply says that "Graeci codices" contain these words, without acknowledging that some of his mss. favour omission. It is possible that some scribes borrowed this phrase from *Eph.* 1,7. Manetti had *per sanguinem suum*.

τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ¹⁵ ὅς ἐστιν
εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, | πρωτό-
τοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ¹⁶ ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ
ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς
καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ
ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε
ἀρχαί, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι. τὰ πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ
καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται, ¹⁷ καὶ αὐτός ἐστι
πρὸ πάντων, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ
συνέστηκε· ¹⁸ καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ
τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅς ἐστιν ἀρ-
χή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένη-
ται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων, ¹⁹ ὅτι ἐν
αὐτῷ εὐδόκησε πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατ-
οικῆσαι, ²⁰ καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλά-
ξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν, εἰρηνοποιήσας
διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ,

remissionem peccatorum: ¹⁵ qui est
imago dei inconspicui, | primogenitus
vniuersae creaturae, ¹⁶ quod per illum
creata sint omnia quae in coelis sunt
et quae in terra, visibilia et inuisi-
bilia, siue throni, siue dominationes,
siue principatus, siue potestates. Om-
nia per illum et in illum creata sunt,
¹⁷ et ipse est ante omnia, et omnia per
illum consistunt: ¹⁸ et ipse est caput
corporis ecclesiae, qui est principium,
primogenitus ex mortuis, vt sit in om-
nibus ipse primas tenens: ¹⁹ quoniam
in illo complacitum est patri vni-
uersam plenitudinem inhabitare, ²⁰ et
per eum reconciliare cuncta erga se,
pacificatis per sanguinem crucis eius,

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20 ειρηνοποιησας *A C-E*: ειρινοποιησας *B*

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15 inconspicui *B-E*: inuisibilis *A* | **16** *prius* per illum *B-E*: in illo *A* | **17** per illum *B-E*: in illo *A*

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14 *remissionem* τὴν ἄφεσιν ("et remissionem"
late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of a con-
junction corresponds with καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν in
cod. 2816. See *Annot*. The correction made by
Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Manetti
and Lefèvre *Comm*. (the 1492 edition of Ambro-
siaster had *remissione*, omitting *et*).

15 *inconspicui* τοῦ ἀοράτου ("inuisibilis" 1516
= Vg.). Erasmus wished to avoid the possibility
that *inuisibilis*, which could equally be under-
stood as a nominative or a genitive, might be
taken to apply to *imago*, and he therefore chose
a different word. See *Annot*., and also *Resp. ad
annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 250, ll. 303-309,
on this point. A disadvantage of this change
is that the reader might suppose that *inconspicui*
in vs. 15 represented a different Greek word
from that which is translated by *inuisibilia* in
vs. 16, though it is ἀόρατος in both places.
Further, *inconspicuus* could have an unwanted
pejorative sense, "undistinguished", and not
merely "unable to be seen". Both words are rare
in classical Latin usage. At the other instances
of ἀόρατος (*Rom*. 1,20; 1 *Tim*. 1,17; *Hebr*.
11,27), Erasmus is content to retain *inuisibilis*.

15 *vniuersae* πάσης ("omnis" Vg.). See on *Ioh*.
8,2; *Act*. 5,34. Erasmus uses the same rendering
as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *omni creatura* for
omnis creaturae.

16 *quod ... creata sint* ὅτι ... ἐκτίσθη ("quoniam
... condita sunt" late Vg.). The substitution of
creata was intended to preserve the link between
ἐκτίσθη and κτίσεως in vs. 15, and also to
provide consistency with the use of *creo* to
render ἔκτισται at the end of vs. 16. See *Annot*.
By further changing *quoniam* to *quod*, Erasmus
perhaps wished ὅτι to be understood here as
meaning "by virtue of the fact that", rather
than giving it a strictly causal sense. Valla
Annot. similarly objected to the Vulgate use of
condo. Manetti put *quoniam ... creata sunt*, and
Lefèvre *quia ... creata sunt*.

16 *per illum* (1st.) ἐν αὐτῷ ("in ipso" Vg.; "in
illo" 1516). See on *Rom*. 1,17, and *Annot*., for
the substitution of *per*. See also *Resp. ad annot.
Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, pp. 249-50, ll. 292-301. It
could be argued, however, that Erasmus obscures
the distinction between ἐν αὐτῷ and δι’ αὐτοῦ,
used near the end of this verse. For the removal
of *ipse*, see on *Rom*. 1,20.

16 *omnia* (1st.) τὰ πάντα ("vniuersa" Vg.). Having just used *vniuersus* to mean "the whole of" in vs. 15, Erasmus now changes to *omnis* in the sense of "all". This alteration is consistent with the Vulgate use of *omnia* for τὰ πάντα later in the present verse, and agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster Manetti and Lefèvre.

16 *quae in coelis sunt et quae* τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ("in coelis et" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect a text omitting both instances of τὰ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* B and a few later mss. In codd. D* F G, only the first τὰ was omitted. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ^corr A (C) D^corr and most later mss. See *Annot*. The rendering of Manetti had *que sunt in caelis: et que*, and Lefèvre *quae in coelis et quae*.

16 *per illum et in illum* δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν ("per ipsum et in ipso" Vg.). For the removal of *ipse*, see again on *Rom*. 1,20. Erasmus' use of *in illum* to render εἰς αὐτόν is more accurate: see *Annot*., where he also suggests *in ipsum*. The latter rendering was previously proposed by Valla *Annot*.

17 *omnia* (1st.) πάντων ("omnes" Vg.). In *Annot*., Erasmus argues that the genitive should be interpreted as a neuter, in view of the adjacent references to τὰ πάντα. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

17 *per illum* ἐν αὐτῷ ("in ipso" Vg.; "in illo" 1516). See on *Rom*. 1,17 for Erasmus' use of *per*, and on *Rom*. 1,20 for his avoidance of *ipse*. See also *Annot*.

17 *consistunt* συνέστηκε ("constant" Vg.). Erasmus wanted a word which would convey the sense "come into existence" rather than "be preserved", though there is a considerable overlap of meaning between the two Latin verbs: see *Annot*. The rendering of Manetti had *constitere*, and Lefèvre *constiterunt*.

18 *primas tenens* πρωτεύων ("primatum tenens" Vg.). Possibly Erasmus wished to avoid *primatus* because of its ecclesiastical sense of episcopal supremacy, and because it was not widely used by classical authors. However, he retains *primatum gero* in rendering φιλοπρωτεύω at 3 *Ioh*. 9. Cf. *Annot*. The version of Manetti had *presidens*, and Lefèvre *primatum gerens*.

19 *quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Rom*. 8,21. Manetti made the same change.

19 *illo* αὐτῷ ("ipso" Vg.). See again on *Rom*. 1,20 for Erasmus' avoidance of the unnecessary

reflexive pronoun. Here he wanted to make clear that αὐτῷ referred to the Son rather than the Father. Cf. *Annot*. In Lefèvre, the first part of this clause was rendered by *quia beneplacuit in se*.

19 *complacitum est patri* εὐδόκησε ("complacuit" Vg.). Erasmus adds *patri* to reinforce his interpretation of the passage, as meaning that it was the will of the Father that all the fullness should dwell in the Son. See *Annot*., and also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, p. 250, ll. 311-323. For Lefèvre's rendering, see the previous note.

19 *vniuersam* πᾶν ("omnem" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 8,2; *Act*. 5,34. Manetti translated this part of the sentence by *vt omnis plenitudo inhabitaret*.

19 *plenitudinem* τὸ πλήρωμα ("plenitudinem diuinitatis" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition has little support from Greek mss., and as pointed out in *Annot*., looks like a harmonisation with *Col*. 2,9. Erasmus mentioned this passage in the *Quae Sint Addita*. See also *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD* IX, 4, pp. 250-1, ll. 325-332. His rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster (1492), and Lefèvre (both columns). For Manetti's wording, see the previous note.

20 *reconciliare* ἀποκαταλλάξαι ("reconciliari" late Vg.). As indicated in *Annot*., the Greek verb has an active sense. Erasmus' correction gives the same wording as the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. Manetti had *vt ... reconcilientur*.

20 *cuncta* τὰ πάντα ("omnia" Vg.). This change was for the sake of variety, as Erasmus retained *omnia* in vss. 16-17. See also on *Ioh*. 8,2.

20 *erga se* εἰς αὐτόν ("in ipsum" Vg.). As before, Erasmus wishes to avoid excessive use of *ipse*: cf. *Annot*. For *erga*, see on *Act*. 3,25. Lefèvre put *in se*.

20 *pacificatis* εἰρηνοποιήσας ("pacificans" Vg.). In *Annot*., Erasmus objected to the combination of the present participle with the impersonal verb, *complacuit*. Nor was the present participle an accurate representation of the Greek aorist. However, Erasmus' use of the ablative absolute construction required an ablative noun or pronoun, such as *iis*, to be inserted (or understood) so as to form a satisfactory link with the following *quae*. In *Annot*., he accordingly suggested *pacificatis et iis quae*. Lefèvre put *pacificando omnia*.

δι' αὐτοῦ, εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. ²¹καὶ ὑμᾶς ποτε ὄντας ἀπηλλοτριωμένους, καὶ ἐχθροὺς τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς πονηροῖς, ²²νυνὶ δὲ ἀποκατήλλαξεν ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου, παραστῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους καὶ ἀνεγκλήτους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ. ²³εἴ γε ἐπιμένετε τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἑδραῖοι, καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὗ ἠκούσατε, τοῦ κηρυχθέντος ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν, οὗ ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ Παῦλος διάκονος.

²⁴Νῦν χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμασί μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος αὐ | τοῦ, ὅ ἐστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ²⁵ἧς ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ

per eundem, siue quae in terra sunt, siue quae in coelis. ²¹Et vos qui quondam eratis abalienati, et inimici mente in operibus malis: ²²nunc tamen reconciliauit in corpore carnis suae per mortem, vt exhiberet vos sanctos et irreprehensibiles et inculpatos in conspectu suo. ²³Siquidem permanetis in fide fundati ac stabiles, nec dimouemini a spe euangelii, quod audistis, quod praedicatum est apud vniuersam creaturam quae sub coelo est, cuius factus sum ego Paulus minister.

²⁴Nunc gaudeo super afflictionibus meis pro vobis, et suppleo quod deerat afflictionum Christi in carne mea, pro corpore ipsius, | quod est ecclesia: ²⁵cuius ecclesiae factus sum ego

LB 887

LB 888

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22 exhiberet *B-E*: adiungeret *A* | irreprehensibiles *B-E*: irrepraehensibiles *A* | 23 nec dimouemini *D E*: et immobiles *A*, nec dimoueamini *B C* | apud vniuersam creaturam *B-E*: vniuersae creaturae *A* | 24 super *B-E*: in *A* | afflictionum *C-E*: afflictionibus *A B* | 25 ecclesiae *B-E*: om. *A*

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20 *per eundem* δι' αὐτοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. B D* F G I and some other mss., including 2105*. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A C Dᶜᵒʳʳ 048ᵛⁱᵈ. See *Annot.* In view of the use of the same words earlier in the sentence, it does not seem likely that a scribe would have deliberately added this phrase here, if it were missing from his exemplar. Correspondingly, if the phrase were originally part of the text, it is understandable that some scribes might have considered it to be superfluous and hence deleted it. However, the words can be interpreted as contributing an important emphasis to the apostle's statement. In Valla *Annot.*, the suggested wording was *per ipsum*.

20 *quae in terra sunt, siue quae in coelis* τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ("quae in coelis, siue quae in terris sunt" Vg. 1527; "quae in terris, siue quae in coelis sunt" Vg. mss.). The transposition of *coelis* and *terris* by the 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514 (cf. Ambrosiaster, *que in celis*

sunt: siue que in terra). For Erasmus' use of an earlier position for *sunt*, see on *Rom. 2,27*. The Vulgate plural, *terris*, lacks explicit Greek ms. support. In cod. 2815, ἐπὶ τοῖς was replaced by ἐν τοῖς, as in many other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D (F) G. The text of Erasmus followed cod. 2817, supported by 1, 2105, (2816) and many other late mss. (cod. 2816 omits τῆς). Manetti and Lefèvre both made the same change from *terris* to *terra*, but otherwise followed the word-order of the earlier Vulgate.

21 *vos qui quondam eratis* ὑμᾶς ποτε ὄντας ("vos cum essetis aliquando" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the possibility that *cum* might be understood in a causal rather than a temporal sense. Further, his word-order is nearer to the Greek text. See on *Rom. 7,9* for *quondam*. Ambrosiaster had *vos quondam*, Manetti *cum vos essetis aliquando*, and Lefèvre *vos cum aliquando essetis*.

21 *abalienati* ἀπηλλοτριωμένους ("alienati" Vg.). See on *Eph. 2,12*. Lefèvre had *facti alieni*.

21 *mente* τῇ διανοίᾳ ("sensu" Vg.). See on *Rom. 1,28*, and *Annot.*, partly following Valla

Annot. The same change was made by Manetti, whereas Lefèvre put *intelligentiae.*

22 *tamen* δέ ("autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26. Lefèvre put *certe.*

22 ἐν. This word was omitted by cod. 2817, together with 𝔓⁴⁶.

22 *suae* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). The reflexive pronoun is required here, if Christ is understood as the subject of *reconciliauit:* see *Annot.* However, if the Father is the implied subject of the verb, then *eius* is more appropriate, with reference to the flesh of Christ. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

22 θανάτου. The text cited by Lefèvre *Comm.* adds αὐτοῦ, as in codd. ℵ A and some later mss.

22 *vt exhiberet* παραστῆσαι ("exhibere" Vg.; "vt adiungeret" 1516). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. The change to *adiungo* in 1516 is also found at vs. 28. Manetti had *vt constitueret,* and Lefèvre *vt constituat.*

22 *irreprehensibiles et inculpatos* ἀμώμους καὶ ἀνεγκλήτους ("immaculatos et irreprehensibiles" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 1,4 and 1 *Cor.* 1,8, together with *Annot.*

22 *in conspectu suo* κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ ("coram ipso" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 2,17. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. Manetti put *coram deo.*

23 *Siquidem* εἴ γε ("Si tamen" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 3,2. Ambrosiaster had the same rendering as Erasmus.

23 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Erasmus' version was again the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti omitted the word.

23 *nec dimouemini* καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι ("et immobiles" 1516 = Vg.; "nec dimoueamini" 1519-22). Erasmus sought to remedy the inaccuracy of *immobilis,* as the Greek participle meant "not moving" rather than "not able to be moved". For *nec,* see on *Ioh.* 2,16. Lefèvre had *et immoti.*

23 *apud vniuersam creaturam* ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει ("in vniuersa creatura" Vg.; "vniuersae creaturae" 1516). Erasmus prefers *apud,* referring to the audience rather than the location. In *Annot.,* he omits τῇ from his citation of this passage, in company with cod. 69, and also 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B C D* F G and a few later mss. However, as Erasmus sometimes displays a lack of precision in his treatment of the Greek article elsewhere

in *Annot.,* it is uncertain whether this instance of omission was directly caused by his use of a particular ms. His continuous text followed codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ corr D corr and most later mss. The version of Lefèvre put *in omni creatura.*

24 *Nunc* Νῦν ("qui nunc" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the reading ὃς νῦν in codd. D* F G. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

24 *super* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,10.

24 *afflictionibus meis ... afflictionum* τοῖς παθήμασί μου ... τῶν θλίψεων ("passionibus ... passionum" Vg.; "afflictionibus meis ... afflictionibus" 1516-19). The Vulgate reflects the omission of μου, together with most mss., commencing with codd. ℵ* A B C D F G, and including codd. 1, 2815, 2816*. Erasmus' text here follows cod. 2817, with 2816 corr as well as ℵ corr and some later mss. In cod. 2105, μου is retained, but τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων is replaced by τὰ στίγματα. See on *Rom.* 1,26; 8,18, for *passio* and *afflictio.* Erasmus follows the Vulgate in treating πάθημα as identical in meaning with θλίψις at this passage. The substitution of *afflictionum* first appeared in the separate Latin N.T. of 1521. Manetti put *passionibus meis ... tribulationum,* and Lefèvre *passionibus meis ... pressurae* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *passionibus ... pressurarum*).

24 *suppleo* ἀνταναπληρῶ ("adimpleo" Vg.). Cf. on *Phil.* 2,30, and *Annot.* The substitution made by Erasmus agrees with the version of Ambrosiaster. The rendering of Lefèvre was *vice eius impleo.*

24 *quod deerat* τὰ ὑστερήματα ("ea quae desunt" Vg.). At 2 *Cor.* 9,12 and 1 *Thess.* 3,10, Erasmus was content to retain a plural rendering for ὑστερήματα. See *Annot.* Similar omissions of the antecedent pronoun occur at 1 *Thess.* 3,10; *Tit.* 1,5, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Cor.* 11,9. The rendering of Manetti was *defectus,* while Lefèvre had *quae desunt* (omitting *ea*).

24 *ipsius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus this time prefers a more emphatic pronoun, referring back to Christ and also making a heightened contrast with *mea.* Manetti put *suo.*

25 *cuius ecclesiae* ἧς ("cuius" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus adds *ecclesiae,* to prevent *cuius* from being misunderstood to refer to the preceding *corpore:* see *Annot.*

διάκονος κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς πληρῶσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ²⁶ τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν. νυνὶ δὲ ἐφανερώ-θη τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ, ²⁷ οἷς ἠθέλησεν ὁ θεὸς γνωρίσαι τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἡ ἐλ-πὶς τῆς δόξης, ²⁸ ὃν ἡμεῖς καταγγέλ-λομεν, νουθετοῦντες πάντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ διδάσκοντες πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ, ἵνα παραστήσωμεν πάν-τα ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰη-σοῦ· ²⁹ εἰς ὃ καὶ κοπιῶ, ἀγωνιζόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἐνερ-γουμένην ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν δυνάμει.

minister iuxta dispensationem dei, quae data est mihi in vos implendi sermonem dei, ²⁶ mysterium quod re-conditum fuit a seculis et a genera-tionibus. Nunc autem patefactum est sanctis illius, ²⁷ quibus voluit deus notum facere quae sint diuitiae glo-riae mysterii huius inter gentes, qui est Christus in vobis, spes gloriae: ²⁸ quem nos annunciamus, admonen-tes omnem hominem, et docentes omnem hominem in omni sapi-entia, vt exhibeamus omnem homi-nem perfectum in Christo Iesu: ²⁹ ad quod etiam enitor, decertans secun-dum efficaciam eius, agentem in me per virtutem.

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26 εφανερωθη *A B D E*: αφανερωθη *C*

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25 sermonem *B-E*: verbum *A* | 26 seculis *B-E*: saeculis *A* | patefactum *B-E*: manifestatum *A* | 27 inter gentes *B-E*: in gentibus *A* | 28 exhibeamus *B-E*: adiungamus *A* | 29 etiam enitor, decertans *B-E*: laboro, periclitans *A* | per virtutem *B-E*: in virtute *A*

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25 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

25 *in vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" late Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, restoring the earlier Vulgate reading. See *Annot.*, where he cites *in vos* from "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster). In the 1516-27 editions of *Annot.*, Erasmus' note on this point is misplaced after his comment on vs. 26 (*mysterium*). In 1535, instead of being moved back to its correct place, this note was moved forward to vs. 27, apparently in the mistaken belief that εἰς ὑμᾶς was a variant reading for ἐν ὑμῖν in that verse. Lefèvre put *ad vos*.

25 *implendi* πληρῶσαι ("vt impleam" Vg.). For Erasmus' occasional use of the gerund con-struction, see on *Ioh.* 1,33; 1 *Cor.* 7,36. Ambro-siaster offered *ad implendum*.

25 *sermonem* τὸν λόγον ("verbum" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1. Lefèvre made the same change.

26 *reconditum* ἀποκεκρυμμένον ("absconditum" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 2,7. Lefèvre put *occultum*.

26 *a* (2nd.) ἀπό (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-sion lacks explicit support from Greek mss. Erasmus' correction agrees with the rendering of Ambrosiaster.

26 *patefactum est* ἐφανερώθη ("manifestatum est" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Manetti put *manifestum est*, and Lefèvre *manifestum factum est*.

26 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). The changed pro-noun was perhaps intended to refer back, more remotely, to Christ in vs. 24 (cf. 1 *Thess.* 3,13; 2 *Thess.* 1,10). Manetti put *suis*.

27 *notum facere quae sint diuitiae* γνωρίσαι τίς ὁ πλοῦτος ("notas facere diuitias" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the replacement of τίς ὁ πλοῦτος by τὸν πλοῦτον in cod. D*, or by τὸ πλοῦτος in codd. F G. Most mss.

have γνωρίσαι τί τό πλοῦτος, as in codd. 1, 2105*, 2815, 2816, together with 𝔓⁴⁶ A B Dᶜᵒʳʳ H, and this was the reading cited in 1516 *Annot.* and Lefèvre *Comm.* In a further note (on ὅς ἐστι), Erasmus seems to contradict his previous mention of τί τό by asserting that πλοῦτος is masculine "to the Greeks". In his continuous Greek text, he follows cod. 2817, with support from א C and some later mss. From other passages, it appears that the apostle treated πλοῦτος sometimes as masculine, and sometimes as neuter, a phenomenon which has led to manuscript variation at 2 *Cor.* 8,2; *Eph.* 1,7; 2,7; 3,8, 16; *Phil.* 4,19; *Col.* 2,2. In *Annot.*, Erasmus attributes his rendering to "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster), though the latter had used a different verb, *demonstrare quae sint diuitiae*. Valla *Annot.* likewise had τίς ὁ for τί τό here, and offered the rendering *notum facere quae diuitiae.* Lefèvre put *notum facere quae sunt diuitiae,* closely resembling the version of Erasmus.

27 *mysterii* τοῦ μυστηρίου ("sacramenti" Vg.). This change produces consistency with vs. 26. See on *Eph.* 1,9, and *Annot.* The substitution made by Erasmus was in agreement with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

27 *inter gentes* ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ("in gentibus" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24.

27 *qui est* ὅς ἐστι ("quod est" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ὅ for ὅς, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ A B F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, and also א C D H I and most later mss. See *Annot.* In Valla *Annot.*, it was suggested that ὅς ἐστι should be rendered by *quae sunt* (connecting with *diuitiae*), based on the supposition that πλοῦτος was masculine in gender in this passage. Manetti and Lefèvre both had the same rendering as Erasmus.

27 *in vobis* ἐν ὑμῖν. See on vs. 25 (*in vos*), regarding a confused reference in *Annot.* to a variant reading.

28 *admonentes* νουθετοῦντες ("corripientes" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also gives *monentes* as an alternative, cited from Ambrosiaster. Valla *Annot.* suggested either *monentes* or *commonefacientes.* The rendering adopted by Erasmus was the same as that of Manetti and Lefèvre.

28 *omnem hominem* (2nd.) πάντα ἄνθρωπον (omitted in late Vg. and some Vg. mss.).

The late Vulgate omission is supported by codd. D* F G and a few other mss. See *Annot.* In cod. 2815, the whole phrase καὶ διδάσκον-τες πάντα ἄνθρωπον was omitted through homoeoteleuton, in company with a few other late mss. The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus. The word-order of Manetti was *omnemque hominem docentes.*

28 *exhibeamus* παραστήσωμεν ("adiungamus" 1516). See on vs. 22, above. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *constituamus.*

29 *ad quod* εἰς ὅ ("in quo" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, adopting the same wording as Lefèvre. Valla *Annot.* proposed *in quod,* which Erasmus gives as an alternative rendering in *Annot.*

29 *etiam* καί ("et" Vg.; omitted in 1516 Lat.). In omitting this word, the 1516 Latin version conflicted with Erasmus' Greek text, but agreed with the rendering of Ambrosiaster and the Froben Vulgate of 1491, as well as cod. 2816. For *etiam,* see on *Ioh.* 6,36.

29 *enitor* κοπιῶ ("laboro" 1516 = Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus usually retains *laboro* for this Greek verb. In the present passage, since ἀγω-νιζόμενος immediately followed, he wanted a word which better suited the theme of striving in a contest. See *Annot.*

29 *decertans* ἀγωνιζόμενος ("certando" Vg.; "periclitans" 1516). Erasmus' rendering reproduces the participial form of the Greek word. A similar substitution of *decerto* occurs at 2 *Tim.* 4,7, in accordance with Vulgate usage in rendering ἀγωνίζομαι at *Ioh.* 18,36. Sometimes he retains *certo.* See on 1 *Cor.* 9,25, and *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *certans.*

29 *efficaciam* τὴν ἐνέργειαν ("operationem" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 12,10. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests using *vim,* a word which he adopts elsewhere in rendering δύναμις (see on 1 *Cor.* 14,11).

29 *agentem* τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ("quam operatur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,5, and *Annot.* By substituting *efficaciam* and *agentem,* Erasmus abandons any attempt to reproduce the affinity which exists between ἐνέργεια and ἐνεργέω. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre *Comm.* put *quae operatur.*

29 *per virtutem* ἐν δυνάμει ("in virtute" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre had *in pote-state.*

2 Θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, ἡλίκον ἀγῶνα ἔχω περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, καὶ ὅσοι οὐχ ἑωράκασι τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐν σαρκί, ²ἵνα παρακληθῶσιν αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν, συμβιβασθέντων ἐν ἀγάπῃ, καὶ εἰς πάντα πλοῦτον τῆς πληροφορίας τῆς συνέσεως, εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ³ἐν ᾧ εἰσι πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι. ⁴τοῦτο δὲ λέγω, ἵνα μή τις ὑμᾶς παραλογίζηται ἐν πιθανολογίᾳ. ⁵εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ

2 Nam volo vos scire, quantam sollicitudinem habeam de vobis et his qui sunt Laodiciae, et quotquot non viderunt faciem meam in carne, ²vt consolationem accipiant corda illorum, quum fuerint compacti in charitate et in omnem opulentiam certae persuasionis intelligentiae, in agnitionem mysterii dei et patris et Christi, ³in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae ac scientiae reconditi. ⁴Hoc autem dico, ne quis vobis imponat probabilitate sermonis. ⁵Etenim quamuis carne

2,1 υμας *A B D E*: ημας *C*

2,1 quantam sollicitudinem *B-E*: quantum certamen *A* | 2 omnem opulentiam *B-E*: omnes diuitias *A* | certae *A D E*: certe *B C* | 3 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 4 probabilitate *B-E*: in probabilitate *A*

2,1 *Nam volo* Θέλω γὰρ ("Volo enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Lefèvre began the sentence with *Vos autem scire vellem.*

1 *quantam sollicitudinem* ἡλίκον ἀγῶνα ("qualem sollicitudinem" Vg.; "quantum certamen" 1516). The Greek adjective, ἡλίκος, means "how much" or "how great" rather than "what kind of": see *Annot.* The 1516 substitution of the more literal *certamen* ("struggle" or "contest") is matched by a similar change at 1 *Thess.* 2,2, consistent with Vulgate usage at *Phil.* 1,30; 1 *Tim.* 6,12; 2 *Tim.* 4,7; *Hebr.* 12,1. See *Annot.* At the present passage, in 1519, Erasmus had second thoughts as to the appropriateness of *certamen*, and restored the Vulgate word. Ambrosiaster (1492) had the word-order *quantam pro vobis et pro his sollicitudinem.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *quale certamen.*

1 *de* περί ("pro" Vg.). The Vulgate possibly reflects the substitution of ὑπέρ, found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D^corr H and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with D* F G 0208 and most other mss. See on *Rom.* 14,12, and *Annot.*, and see also on *Col.* 1,3 for the occasional Vulgate practice of rendering περί by *pro.*

1 *his* τῶν ("pro his" Vg.). The Vulgate repetition of *pro* lacks explicit Greek ms. support. Lefèvre put *iis* in his translation, and *pro iis* in his Vulgate text.

1 *quotquot* ὅσοι ("quicunque" Vg.). See on *Gal.* 3,10. Erasmus uses the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *iis quicunque* in his main text, and *iis qui* in *Comm.*

2 *consolationem accipiant* παρακληθῶσιν ("consolentur" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,31. Erasmus' version is again identical with that of Ambrosiaster.

2 *illorum* αὐτῶν ("ipsorum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *eorum.*

2 *quum fuerint compacti* συμβιβασθέντων ("instructi" Vg. 1527 and Vg. mss.; "constructi" *Annot.*, lemma). The Vulgate may reflect the substitution of συμβιβασθέντες (or συνβιβασθέντες), as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B C D* H and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ^corr D^corr and most later mss. The question here is whether συμβιβασθέντων was a scribal alteration, to produce agreement with the immediately preceding αὐτῶν, or whether an early corrector changed συμβιβασθέντων to συμβιβασθέντες (masculine nominative) so as to agree with ὅσοι in vs. 1. Erasmus similarly replaces *constructum* by *compactum* in vs. 19. See also on *Eph.* 4,16, and *Annot.* The version of Ambrosiaster had *cum fuerint instructi*, Manetti *qui instructi sunt*, and Lefèvre *instructorum.*

2 *omnem opulentiam* πάντα πλοῦτον ("omnes diuitias" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Eph.* 2,7. Lefèvre put *omnibus diuitiis.*

2 *certae persuasionis* τῆς πληροφορίας ("plenitu-dinis" Vg.). At 1 *Thess.* 1,5; *Hebr.* 10,22, Erasmus replaces *plenitudo* by *certitudo*, and at *Hebr.* 6,11 he puts *plena certitudo* for *expletio*, in rendering the same Greek word. See further on πληροφορέω at *Rom.* 4,21, and *Annot.* This passage was assigned to the *Loca Obscura*. Lefèvre had *plenariae certitudinis*.

2 *intelligentiae* τῆς συνέσεως ("intellectus" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 1,19. Erasmus retains *intellectus* at 2 *Tim.* 2,7. Lefèvre made the same change at the present passage.

2 *in agnitionem* εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ("in agnitione" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vg^ww). Erasmus is more accurate in adopting the accusative, which was also used in some Vulgate mss. (with Vg^st). Ambrosiaster put *ad agnitionem*, and Lefèvre *in cognitione*. Manetti's version omitted this phrase.

2 *et patris* καὶ πατρός ("patris" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with πατρός (omitting καὶ), as in codd. ℵ* A C 048^vid 0208 and thirteen later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ^corr D^corr and more than 550 later mss. More than seventy of these, including codd. 2105 and 2816, omit καί after πατρός. (See Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 111-15). See *Annot.* The wording of this part of the sentence, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, has been subject to a multitude of variants among the mss. The reading which appears the most strange among these, and which might be thought to be a *lectio difficilior*, is τοῦ θεοῦ Χριστοῦ ("of God Christ" or "of God, of Christ"), as exhibited by 𝔓^46 B and still favoured by some editors. If the original text contained καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ after θεοῦ, however, it would not be particularly surprising if the scribe of 𝔓^46 (or one of his precursors) accidentally managed to omit the four words in question, as this manuscript is characterised by numerous careless omissions, some of them quite extensive. It is understandable that scribes who were offended by τοῦ θεοῦ Χριστοῦ would have tried a variety of expedients to remedy what they considered to be a defective wording. On the other hand, the presence of καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ between θεοῦ and Χριστοῦ might also have posed difficulties for a few copyists, as the apostle more commonly referred to "God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ" or "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus

Christ" rather than "the God and Father and Christ". The familiarity of the other expressions could therefore have led some scribes to delete καὶ before πατρός or before τοῦ Χριστοῦ (as occurred in codd. 2105 and 2816). In *Annot.*, Erasmus understands the longer reading to mean "of him who is God and Father, and of him who is the Anointed". An alternative interpretation could be "of their God and Father and of Christ" (cf. 1 *Thess.* 3,11). Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, in adding *et* before *patris*.

2 *Christi* τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("Christi Iesu" Vg.). The Vulgate addition lacks Greek ms. support, other than the bilingual cod. 629 (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, p. 113). Manetti and Lefèvre omitted *Iesu* (cf. Ambrosiaster, whose version replaced *patris Christi Iesu* by *in Christo*).

3 *ac* καὶ ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

3 *reconditi* ἀπόκρυφοι ("absconditi" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 2,7, and *Annot.* The same change was proposed by Lefèvre.

4 *ne quis* ἵνα μή τις ("vt nemo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20 for Erasmus' avoidance of *vt* when followed by a negative. Manetti anticipated this change, while Lefèvre had *vt nullus*.

4 *imponat* παραλογίζηται ("decipiat" Vg.). For this use of *impono*, cf. on *Eph.* 4,14. Lefèvre had the non-Latin *paralogizet*.

4 *probabilitate sermonis* ἐν πιθανολογίᾳ ("in sublimitate sermonum" late Vg.; "in probabilitate sermonis" 1516). Erasmus strives for greater accuracy, though the Ciceronian word *probabilitas* is rare in classical usage and does not have quite the same pejorative sense as πιθανολογία. His choice of *blandiloquentia* at *Rom.* 16,18 (for χρηστολογία) was more apt. See *Annot.*, where the spelling of the Greek word is πειθανολογίᾳ, as in cod. 1. For Erasmus' later omission of *in*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. The earlier Vulgate put *subtilitate* instead of *sublimitate*. Ambrosiaster had *in subtilitate sermonis*, and Lefèvre *in persuasione eloquentiae*.

5 *Etenim quamuis* εἰ γὰρ καὶ ("Nam etsi" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7 for *etenim*, and on 2 *Cor.* 4,16 for *quamuis*. Manetti had *Etsi enim*.

5 *carne* τῇ σαρκί ("corpore" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise on this point: see *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

ἄπειμι, ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι σὺν ὑμῖν
εἰμι, χαίρων καὶ βλέπων ὑμῶν τὴν
τάξιν, καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τῆς εἰς
Χριστὸν πίστεως ὑμῶν.
    ⁶Ὡς οὖν παρελάβετε τὸν Χρι-
στὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον, ἐν αὐτῷ
περιπατεῖτε, ⁷ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ ἐπ-
οικοδομούμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ βεβαι-
ούμενοι ἐν τῇ πίστει, καθὼς ἐδι-
δάχθητε, περισσεύοντες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν
εὐχαριστίᾳ.
    ⁸Βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς ἔσται ὁ
συλαγωγῶν διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ
κενῆς ἀπάτης, κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα
τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ οὐ κατὰ Χρι-
στόν. ⁹ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν

sim absens, tamen spiritu vobiscum
sum, gaudens ac videns vestrum
ordinem et soliditatem vestrae in
Christum fidei.
    ⁶Quemadmodum igitur accepistis
Christum Iesum dominum, ita in
eo ambulate, ⁷sic vt radices habe-
atis in illo fixas, et in illo super-
struamini confirmeminique per fi-
dem, sicut edocti estis, exuberantes
in ea cum gratiarum actione.
    ⁸Videte ne quis sit qui vos
depraedetur per philosophiam et
inanem deceptionem, iuxta consti-
tutionem hominum, iuxta elemen-
ta mundi, et non iuxta Christum.
    ⁹Quoniam in illo inhabitat omnis

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8 συλαγωγων B-E: συλλαγωγων A

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5 ac B-E: et A | 7 sic ... fidem B-E: radicati, et superstructi in ipso et confirmati in fide A |
cum B-E: in A | 8 depraedetur C-E: depredetur A B | constitutionem B-E: traditionem A

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5 *sim absens* ἄπειμι ("absens sum" Vg.). For
Erasmus' preference for moving *sum* to an
earlier position, see on *Rom.* 2,27. In using the
subjunctive, he follows Lefèvre, who had *absens
sim*. Manetti put *absum*.

5 *tamen* ἀλλά ("sed" Vg.). Erasmus wished to
soften the harshness of the literal Vulgate ren-
dering of the Greek sentence structure, as the
preceding conditional clause would lead the
reader to expect this to be followed by the
equivalent of "nevertheless" rather than "but".
Manetti and Lefèvre, for the same reason,
replaced *sed spiritu* by *spiritu tamen*.

5 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

5 *vestrum ordinem* ὑμῶν τὴν τάξιν ("ordinem
vestrum" Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek word-
order more literally.

5 *soliditatem* τὸ στερέωμα ("firmamentum"
Vg.). In classical usage, *firmamentum* tended to
mean a "support" rather than strength or dura-
bility. Erasmus similarly uses *solidus* to render
στερεός, replacing *firmus* at 2 *Tim.* 2,19, and
also replacing *fortis* at 1 *Petr.* 5,9, consistent
with Vulgate usage at *Hebr.* 5,12, 14. He reserves
firmus mainly for rendering βέβαιος.

5 *vestrae in Christum fidei* τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν
πίστεως ὑμῶν ("eius quae in Christo est fidei
vestrae" Vg.). In using the accusative, *Christum*,
Erasmus is more accurate, and his change of
word-order produces a clearer rendering. As
pointed out in *Annot.* and Valla *Annot.*, the
Vulgate addition of *eius* was superfluous. Valla
proposed *vestrae quae in Christo est fidei*, which
was adopted by Lefèvre.

6 *Quemadmodum* Ὡς ("Sicut" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13. Erasmus has the same rendering as
Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre had *vt*.

6 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.
Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *Christum Iesum* τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ("Iesum
Christum" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late
Vulgate word-order lacks Greek ms. support.
A different word-order is found in cod. D and
a few later mss., which have τὸν κύριον Ἰη-
σοῦν Χριστόν. Erasmus' correction agrees with
the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and
Lefèvre (apart from Lefèvre's usual spelling,
Ihesum).

6 *dominum* τὸν κύριον ("dominum nostrum"
late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *nostrum*

has little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* In his citation of the passage in 1527-35 *Annot.*, Erasmus follows Lefèvre *Comm.* in omitting τόν, though it was present in nearly all mss. His rendering is that of the earlier Vulgate, Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *ita.* Erasmus adds this word, to make a smoother connection with the earlier *quemadmodum.*

6 *eo* αὐτῷ ("ipso" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20. Lefèvre made the same change. Both mss. of Manetti's version had *ipsum.*

7 *sic vt radices habeatis in illo fixas* ἐρριζωμένοι ("radicati" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Eph.* 3,17. Erasmus repeats *in illo* for the sake of clarity.

7 *in illo superstruamini confirmeminique* ἐποικοδομούμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ βεβαιούμενοι ("superaedificati in ipso, et confirmati" Vg.; "superstructi in ipso et confirmati" 1516). In cod. 2817, the words ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ βεβαιούμενοι were omitted, through homoeoteleuton. The replacement of participles by subjunctives follows on from Erasmus' use of *sic vt* earlier in the sentence, and takes account of the fact that the Greek participles are present tense rather than aorist: see *Annot.* His word-order is less literal than the Vulgate. See on 1 *Cor.* 3,10 for *superstruo,* and on *Ioh.* 1,39 for *-que.* As before, Erasmus removes the Vulgate's overemphatic *ipso:* see on *Rom.* 1,20. Lefèvre put *aedificati in eo, et firmati* (cf. Ambrosiaster, who also uses *edificati,* but otherwise agrees with the Vulgate).

7 *per fidem* ἐν τῇ πίστει ("in fide" 1516 = late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. The earlier Vulgate omits *in,* corresponding with the omission of ἐν in codd. B D* H 0208 and a few later mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and 2816, and also ℵ D^corr and most later mss. (cf. also codd. A C I, which have just ἐν πίστει).

7 *sicut* καθώς ("sicut et" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et* has little support other than cod. D*, which adds καί. Manetti made the same change as Erasmus. Lefèvre had *vt* (placed after *in ea*).

7 *edocti estis* ἐδιδάχθητε ("didicistis" Vg.). Erasmus conveys the passive sense of the Greek verb more accurately. The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre (cf. Ambrosiaster, *docti estis*).

7 *exuberantes* περισσεύοντες ("abundantes" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 3,7.

7 *in ea* ἐν αὐτῇ ("in illo" late Vg.). The late Vulgate corresponds with ἐν αὐτῷ, as in codd. ℵ^corr D*, and also cod. 1. In the earlier Vulgate, together with codd. ℵ* A C H* I^vid 0208 and a few later mss., the phrase is altogether omitted. Erasmus' text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 2105 and 2816, with B D^corr H^corr and most later mss. The main textual question here is whether scribes added ἐν αὐτῇ from *Col.* 4,2, or whether these words are authentic but were accidentally omitted through an error of parablepsis (or homoeoarcton) passing over from ἐν before αὐτῇ to ἐν before εὐχαριστίᾳ. The phrase ἐν αὐτῇ was again omitted by cod. ℵ* at *Col.* 4,2. The version of Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, but positioned *in ea* after *fide.* Manetti put *in ipsa.*

7 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. Erasmus' wording was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

8 *sit qui vos depraedetur* ὑμᾶς ἔσται ὁ συλαγωγῶν ("vos decipiat" Vg.). The spelling συλλαγωγῶν in 1516 follows cod. 2815, with support from codd. 1 and 2105. Most mss. spell the word as συλαγωγῶν. Erasmus' rendering is more accurate. This passage is listed among the *Loca Obscura.* The phrase *vos depr(a)edetur* was also used by Ambrosiaster (1492), by Jerome's commentary on *Hos.* 12,1 (1516 edition; printed as *deprehendat* in CCSL 76, p. 132), and by Jerome's commentary on *Gal.* 4,3 (as indicated in *Annot.*), and their wording was in turn adopted by Lefèvre.

8 *deceptionem* ἀπάτης ("fallaciam" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Mc.* 13,22, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mc.* 4,19. At 2 *Thess.* 2,10, *deceptio* replaces *seductio.* By contrast, at *Hebr.* 3,13, Erasmus puts *seductio* in place of *fallacia,* rendering the same Greek word. See further on *decipio* at *Rom.* 7,11.

8 *iuxta* (three times) κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23. Manetti had *secundum ... iuxta ... secundum.*

8 *constitutionem* τὴν παράδοσιν ("traditionem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,14.

9 *Quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,21. This change was anticipated by Manetti.

9 *illo* αὐτῷ ("ipso" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20. Lefèvre had *eo.*

τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς,
¹⁰καί ἐστε ἐν | αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι, ὅς
ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξου-
σίας, ¹¹ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτο-
μῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ
σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός,
ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ¹²συν-
ταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ἐν
ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως
τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ ἐγείραν-
τος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. ¹³καὶ ὑμᾶς
νεκροὺς ὄντας τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ
τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν, συν-
εζωοποίησε σὺν αὐτῷ, χαρισάμενος
ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα, ¹⁴ἐξ-
αλείψας τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον,
τοῖς δόγμασιν ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν,

plenitudo deitatis corporaliter, ¹⁰et
estis in il|lo completi, qui est ca-
put omnis principatus ac potestatis,
¹¹per quem et circuncisi estis circun-
cisione quae fit sine manibus, dum
exuistis corpus peccatorum carnis per
circuncisionem Christi, ¹²consepul-
ti simul cum illo per baptismum,
in quo simul etiam cum illo resur-
rexistis per fidem operationis dei,
qui excitauit illum ex mortuis. ¹³Et
vos quum essetis mortui per delicta
et per praeputium carnis vestrae, si-
mul cum illo viuificauit, condonans
nobis omnia delicta, ¹⁴deleto quod
aduersus nos erat, chirographo, quod
erat contrarium nobis per decreta,

13 συνεζωοποιησε *A^c B-D (exc. -σεν A^c B-D)*: συνεζωοποιησεν ημας *A**, συνεζωποιησεν *E*

11 per quem *B-E*: in quo *A* | per circuncisionem *B-E* (per circumcisionem *B-D*, per circūcisio-
nem *E*): in circumcisione *A* | 12 per baptismum *B-E*: in baptismo *A*

9 *deitatis* τῆς θεότητος ("diuinitatis" Vg.). Eras-
mus is content to retain *diuinitas* for θειότης
at *Rom.* 1,20. Moreover, *deitas* did not occur
in classical usage. Cf. *Annot.*

10 *completi* πεπληρωμένοι ("repleti" Vg.). See
on *Phil.* 4,18. Other substitutions of *completus*
for *plenus* occur at *Col.* 4,12; 2 *Ioh.* 12.

10 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti
also made this change.

11 *per quem* ἐν ᾧ ("in quo" 1516 = Vg.). See
on *Rom.* 1,17.

11 *quae fit sine manibus* ἀχειροποιήτῳ ("non
manu facta" Vg.). Erasmus similarly uses *sine
manibus factum* for *non manu factum* at *Mc.*
14,58, but retains *non manu factum* at 2 *Cor.* 5,1.
For his frequent avoidance of *sine*, see on *Ioh.*
8,7. Cf. also *Annot.*

11 *dum exuistis corpus* ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ
σώματος ("in expoliatione corporis" Vg.). A
comparable replacement of *expolio* by *exuo* occurs
in rendering ἀπεκδύομαι in vs. 15, below (in
1516 only), and at *Col.* 3,9. The Vulgate word
ex(s)poliatio, which was not used by classical
authors, could be taken to imply a violent act
of despoilment, whereas the Greek metaphor

depicts the body or "the flesh" as a garment
which the believer voluntarily removes from
himself (meaning that he renounces his former
sinful nature). In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*,
ASD IX, 2, p. 218, ll. 894-899, Erasmus similarly
criticises the use of *ex(s)polio* at *Col.* 3,9, on the
grounds that it suggested an act of force.

11 *peccatorum* τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν (Vg. omits). The
Vulgate omission is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A
B C D* F G and thirty-four other mss. Eras-
mus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with
1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ^corr D^corr and about
550 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 4, pp. 115-17). See *Annot.* These words have
sometimes been considered to be an explanatory
scribal addition, perhaps prompted by *Rom.*
6,6 (ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας).
An alternative possibility is that the words are
genuine, but that they were omitted through
the influence of *Col.* 1,22 (τῷ σώματι τῆς
σαρκός). Manetti made the same correction as
Erasmus. Lefèvre put *a peccatis*.

11 *per circuncisionem* ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ ("sed in
circucisione" late Vg.; "in circumcisione" 1516
= Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate addition of *sed*
lacks support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* For

per, see on *Rom.* 1,17. The 1516 rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (apart from minor spelling variations among these versions, in respect of *circu(n)cisione*).

11 *Christi* τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("Iesu Christi" Vg. 1527). The addition of *Iesu* in the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben edition of 1514, lacks support from Greek mss. The rendering of Erasmus is in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns).

12 *consepulti simul cum illo* συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ("consepulti ei" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the prepositional phrase *cum illo*, in place of the dative *ei*, was more in accordance with classical Latin idiom, though *consepelio* did not exist in classical literature: see on *Rom.* 6,4. The substitution of *illo* produces consistency with *illum* later in the verse. See on *Rom.* 2,15 for *simul*. Ambrosiaster had *vna cum illo sepulti*, and Lefèvre *sepulti cum eo*.

12 *per baptismum* ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι ("in baptismo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre had *in baptismate*.

12 *simul etiam cum illo resurrexistis* καὶ συνηγέρθητε ("et resurrexistis" Vg.). Erasmus aimed to convey the added force of the prefix συν-. See again on *Rom.* 2,15 for *simul*, and on *Ioh.* 6,36 for *etiam*. In *Annot.*, he attributed *simul resurrexistis* to "Ambrose", though the actual wording of Ambrosiaster (1492) was *et simul surrexistis*. Lefèvre put *et consurrexistis*.

12 *qui excitauit* τοῦ ἐγείραντος ("qui suscitauit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 17,31.

12 *ex* ἐκ ("a" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,22. Erasmus had the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.

13 *vos quum essetis mortui* ὑμᾶς νεκροὺς ὄντας ("vos cum mortui essetis" Vg.). For the changed position of *essetis*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. In codd. 2105* and 2815, ἡμᾶς is substituted for ὑμᾶς, and shortly afterwards ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *cum mortui essetis* and transposed *vos* after *conuiuificauit*. Lefèvre had *cum essetis mortui* in the main text, but *cum vos essetis mortui* in *Comm.*; later in the sentence, he positioned *vos* after *viuificauit*.

13 *per delicta et per praeputium* τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ ("in delictis et praeputio" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the addition of ἐν before τοῖς, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ^{corr} A C D F G 048 and many other mss., including

codd. 2815 and 2816. In cod. 1, and also D* F G, a further ἐν is added before τῇ. Erasmus' text follows cod. 2817, supported by cod. 2105, with ℵ * B and many other mss. The rendering of Manetti was *in delictis et in preputio*.

13 *simul cum illo viuificauit* συνεζωοποίησε σὺν αὐτῷ ("conuiuificauit cum illo" Vg.). The 1516 Greek text inserted ἡμᾶς after the verb, following cod. 2815, together with cod. 1, as well as 𝔓⁴⁶ B and many later mss. Since this produced an apparent clash with ὑμᾶς earlier in the sentence, Erasmus used the 1516 errata list to delete ἡμᾶς, with support from cod. 2105, along with ℵ^{corr} D F G 0208 and some other mss. However, in codd. ℵ * A C and many later mss., among which were codd. 2816 and 2817, ἡμᾶς is replaced by ὑμᾶς at this point. Cf. *Annot.* Further, the spelling which was introduced in 1535, συνεζωποίησεν (omitting the first -o-), seems to have little ms. support and may not have been intentional, seeing that Erasmus made no change to συνεζωοποίησε at *Eph.* 2,5, and also had ζωοποιέω rather than ζωποιέω at several other passages. In the present verse, the shortened form, συνεζωποίησε, passed into some editions of the *Textus Receptus.* At *Eph.* 2,5, Erasmus retained *conuiuifico*, though neither this nor *uiuifico* was found in classical Latin. Cf. on *Rom.* 4,17, and for *simul*, see on *Rom.* 2,15. Ambrosiaster (1492) had *conuiuificauit simul cum illo*, Lefèvre *uiuificauit vos pariter cum eo*, and Manetti *conuiuificauit vos cum ipso*.

13 *condonans* χαρισάμενος ("donans" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 2,7. Lefèvre made the same change.

13 *nobis* ἡμῖν ("vobis" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ὑμῖν, as in cod. ℵ^{corr} and some later mss. See *Annot.* The change made by Erasmus gave the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.

14 *deleto ... chirographo* ἐξαλείψας τὸ ... χειρόγραφον ("delens ... chirographum" Vg.). In order to convey the Greek aorist tense more accurately, Erasmus substitutes the ablative absolute construction. In *Annot.*, he ascribes his rendering to "Ambrose" (though Ambrosiaster's word-order, in the 1492 edition, was *deleto chirographo quod aduersum nos erat decreti*).

14 *quod erat contrarium nobis per decreta* τοῖς δόγμασιν ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν ("decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate genitive, *decreti*, lacks support from Greek mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus

καὶ αὐτὸ ἦρκεν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, προσ-
ηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ, ¹⁵ ἀπ-
εκδυσάμενος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξ-
ουσίας ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παρρησίᾳ,
θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ.
¹⁶ Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν
βρώσει ἢ ἐν πόσει, ἢ ἐν μέρει
ἑορτῆς, ἢ νουμηνίας, ἢ σαββάτων,
¹⁷ ἅ ἐστι | σκιὰ τῶν μελλόν-
των, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
¹⁸ μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβευέτω θέ-
λων ἐν ταπεινοφοσύνῃ καὶ θρη-
σκείᾳ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἃ μὴ ἑώρα-
κεν ἐμβατεύων, εἰκῇ φυσιούμενος
ὑπὸ τοῦ νοὸς τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ,

et illud sustulit e medio, affi-
xum cruci: ¹⁵ expoliatosque princi-
patus ac potestates ostentauit pa-
lam, triumphans de illis per semet
ipsum.
¹⁶ Ne quis igitur vos iudicet in
cibo aut potu, aut in parte diei
festi, aut nouilunii, aut sabbatorum,
¹⁷ quae sunt vmbra re|rum futura-
rum, corpus autem Christi. ¹⁸ Ne
quis vobis palmam interuertat data
opera per humilitatem et super-
stitionem angelorum, in iis quae
non vidit fastuosus incedens, fru-
stra inflatus a mente carnis suae,

LB 891

LB 892

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16 βρωσει *B-E*: ρβωσει *A*

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15 expoliatosque ... potestates *B-E*: exutis principatibus, ac potestatibus *A* | de illis *C-E*:
illos *A B* | per semet ipsum *B-E* (per semetipsum *B-E)*: in semetipso *A* | 18 data ...
superstitionem *B-E*: volens in humilitate, et superstitione *A*

---

further claims that the punctuation of the
Greek mss. favours the connection of δόγμασιν
with ὑπεναντίον rather than with χειρόγραφον,
and so he places a comma after χειρόγραφον.
This was partly supported by cod. 2817 (which
has a full-stop after χειρόγραφον instead of
after δόγμασιν), but not by his other mss. The
passage appears among the *Loca Obscura*. Valla
Annot. and Lefèvre advocated replacing *decreti*
by *decretis*, as also found in some Vulgate mss.
The word-order proposed by Lefèvre was *delens
chirographum e decretis, quod aduersum nos erat,
quod erat nobis contrarium.* In *Comm.*, he further
added *et* before *quod erat.* Manetti contented
himself with replacing *decreti* by *decretorum.*

14 *illud* αὐτό ("ipsum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20.
Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosi-
aster.

14 *sustulit* ἦρκεν ("tulit" Vg.). Codd. 2815 and
2816 had ἦρεν, as in D* F G and some later
mss. See on *Ioh.* 8,59 for *tollo.* Lefèvre put
detraxit.

14 *e* ἐκ ("de" Vg.). A similar substitution of
e medio for *de medio* occurs at *Act.* 17,33 (1519);
2 *Thess.* 2,7. See further on *Ioh.* 2,15. How-
ever, Erasmus retains *de medio* at *Mt.* 13,49;

Act. 23,10; 1 *Cor.* 5,2; 2 *Cor.* 6,17. Lefèvre made
the same change here.

14 *affixum* προσηλώσας αὐτό ("affigens illud"
Vg.). Greek aorist. Erasmus treated the repeti-
tion of αὐτό as superfluous for the purpose
of translation. Manetti put *affigens ipsum.*

15 *expoliatosque principatus ac potestates* ἀπεκ-
δυσάμενος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ("et
expolians principatus et potestates" late Vg.;
"exutis principatibus, ac potestatibus" 1516).
As indicated in *Annot.*, the Greek aorist needed
to be translated by a past participle. For *exuo*,
used in 1516, see on vs. 11, above. See also on
Ioh. 1,39 for *-que*, and on *Ioh.* 1,25 for *ac.*
Manetti and Lefèvre both omitted *et* before
expolians, in accordance with the earlier Vulgate
reading as well as the Greek text.

15 *ostentauit* ἐδειγμάτισεν ("traduxit" Vg.). Eras-
mus wished to convey more clearly the sense
"publicly display" or "make a spectacle of",
avoiding the ambiguity of *traduco*, which had
given rise to fanciful interpretations: see *Annot.*
and Valla *Annot.* For similar reasons, in ren-
dering παραδειγματίζω at *Mt.* 1,19, Erasmus
replaces *traduco* by *diffamo* in 1516, and by
infamo in 1519. At *Hebr.* 6,6, again translating

παραδειγματίζω, he replaces *ostentui habentes* by *ludibrio exponentes*. In *Annot.*, he cites *ostentauit* from "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster). See also *Annot.* on *Mt.* 1,19; *Hebr.* 6,6. The Vulgate rendering is listed among the *Loca Obscura*.

15 *palam* ἐν παρρησίᾳ ("confidenter, palam" Vg.). The curious double rendering of the Vulgate was clearly in need of modification, to remove one of the two words. Cf. *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti had *confidenter*, and Lefèvre *in fiducia*, both omitting *palam*.

15 *de illis* αὐτούς ("illos" 1516-19 = Vg.). Although *triumpho* can take a direct object in classical Latin, Erasmus considered that *triumpho de* was the more usual expression. Cf. *Annot.* This change was first introduced in the separate Latin edition of 1521. The rendering offered by Manetti was *triumphare eos faciens*, which gave a completely opposite meaning ("caused them to triumph" rather than "triumphed over them").

15 *per semet ipsum* ἐν αὐτῷ ("in seipso" late Vg.; "in semetipso" 1516 = Vg. mss.). See on *Rom.* 1,17, and *Annot.*, for Erasmus' use of *per*. For the rough breathing on αὐτῷ, introduced in 1519, see on *Ioh.* 2,21; *Rom.* 1,27. The 1516 rendering agreed with the earlier Vulgate and the version of Manetti. Lefèvre put *in eo*.

16 *Ne quis igitur* Μὴ οὖν τις ("Nemo ergo" Vg.). See on *1 Cor.* 3,18 for *ne quis*, and on *Ioh.* 6,62 for *igitur*. Manetti put *Nullus igitur*, and Lefèvre *Non igitur quisquam*.

16 *potu* ἐν πόσει ("in potu" Vg.). Erasmus treats the repetition of *in* as redundant, for the purpose of translation. Cf. *Annot.*

16 *nouilunii* νουμηνίας ("neomeniae" Vg.). Neither the Vulgate word nor that proposed by Erasmus occurred in classical Latin usage: more strictly, it should have been *lunae nouae*. Cf. *Annot.*

17 *rerum futurarum* τῶν μελλόντων ("futurorum" Vg.). Erasmus adds *rerum* for clarity.

17 τοῦ Χριστοῦ. The article τοῦ was derived from cod. 2817, with support from ℵ* A B C and a few later mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ D F G, τοῦ is omitted.

18 *Ne quis* μηδείς ("Nemo" Vg.). See on *1 Cor.* 3,18. Manetti and Lefèvre put *Nullus*.

18 *vobis palmam interuertat* ὑμᾶς καταβραβευέτω ("vos seducat" Vg.). Erasmus saw that the

Greek verb meant "cheat or rob someone of the victor's prize". See on *1 Cor.* 9,24. The present passage is placed among the *Loca Obscura*. Two suggestions of Valla *Annot.* were *vos ad brabium euocet* and *vobis brabium ostentet ad prouocandum cursum*, of which the first influenced the version of Lefèvre, *vos ad brauium vocet*: these renderings were criticised by Erasmus in *Annot.*

18 *data opera* θέλων ("volens" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus preferred the sense "deliberately", rather than "willingly": cf. *Annot.*

18 *per humilitatem et superstitionem* ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ ("in humilitate et religione" Vg.; "in humilitate, et superstitione" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,17 for *per*. As pointed out in *Annot.*, θρησκεία has a pejorative sense in the present context. Erasmus treats it as identical in meaning with ἐθελοθρησκεία in vs. 23. His use of *superstitio* is comparable with Ambrosiaster's version, which had *in humilitate animi et superstitione*. Valla *Annot.* cites the Vulgate as adding *sensus* after *humilitate*, and this was the rendering adopted by Lefèvre, though *sensus* was absent from Lefèvre's Vulgate text. Manetti put *in humilitate et in religione*.

18 *in iis ... fastuosus incedens* ἃ ... ἐμβατεύων ("quae ... ambulans" Vg.). The substitution of *in iis* was designed to alleviate the Vulgate syntax, which appears to assign a direct object to the intransitive verb, *ambulo*. In using *fastuosus incedo* ("proudly tread, or strut"), Erasmus follows the interpretation offered by Jerome *Epist.* 121, *Ad Algasiam* (*CSEL* 56/1, p. 43), in which ἐμβατεύων is said to relate to someone who displays his proud attitude by the way that he walks, "cum tumens ambulet et incedat inflatus mentisque superbiam et gestu corporis praeferat": cf. *Annot.* Once again the Vulgate rendering was listed among the *Loca Obscura*. The rendering of Manetti had *que* (= *quae*) ... *inambulans*, and Lefèvre *ea quae ... ingrediens*.

18 *a mente* ὑπὸ τοῦ νοός ("sensu" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,28 for *mens*. In adding *a* for ὑπό, Erasmus was more literal. In 1516 *Annot.*, he put ἀπό instead of ὑπό, in company with a few later mss. The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had just *mente*, and Manetti *ab intellectu*.

18 *carnis suae* τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ("suae carnis" *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. 1527). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514. The more literal word-order of Erasmus' version agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and both columns of Lefèvre.

¹⁹καὶ οὐ κρατῶν τὴν κεφαλήν, ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἀφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων ἐπιχορηγούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον, αὔξει τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ θεοῦ. ²⁰Εἰ οὖν ἀπεθάνετε σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κόσμου, τί ὡς ζῶντες ἐν κόσμῳ δογματίζεσθε; ²¹Μὴ ἅψῃ, μηδὲ γεύσῃ, μηδὲ θίγῃς· ²²ἅ ἐστι πάντα εἰς φθορὰν τῇ ἀποχρήσει, κατὰ τὰ ἐντάλ|ματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ²³ἅτινά ἐστι λόγον μὲν ἔχοντα σοφίας ἐν ἐθελοθρησκείᾳ καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀφειδίᾳ σώματος, οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ τινι πρὸς πλησμονὴν τῆς σαρκός.

¹⁹nec obtinens caput, ex quo totum corpus per commissuras et compagines subministratum et compactum, augescit augmento dei. ²⁰Itaque si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis mundi, quid quasi viuentes in mundo, decretis tenemini? ²¹Ne tetigeris, ne gustaris, neque contrectaris, ²²quae omnia ipso pereunt abusu, iuxta praecepta et doctrinas ho|minum, ²³quae verbo tenus quidem habent speciem sapientiae per superstitionem ac humilitatem animi et laesionem corporis, non per honorem aliquem ad expletionem carnis.

LB 893

LB 894

20 τω χριστω B-E: χριστω A | 22 αποχρησει B-E: αποκρησει A

19 nec B-E: ac non A | 21 contrectaris B-E: tontrectaris A | 23 verbo tenus B-E: rationem A | speciem B-E: om. A | per superstitionem ac humilitatem B-E: in superstitione, et humilitate A | laesionem B-E: lesione A | corporis B-E: corporis sui A | per honorem aliquem B-E: in honore quopiam A

19 *nec* καὶ οὐ ("et non" Vg.; "ac non" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 2,16 for *nec*, and on *Ioh.* 1,25 for *ac*. Manetti began the clause with *non tenens caput*, while Lefèvre had *et caput non tenens*.

19 *obtinens* κρατῶν ("tenens" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus frequently attempts to find a more vigorous word than *teneo* in rendering this Greek verb, substituting e.g. *apprehendo, capio, comprehendo, corripio* and *iniicio manus*.

19 *commissuras* τῶν ἀφῶν ("nexus" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 4,16. The word *commissuras* was used by Lefèvre to translate συνδέσμων, below, but in this place he put *iuncturas*. Manetti had *tactus*.

19 *compagines* συνδέσμων ("coniunctiones" Vg.). Erasmus probably felt that *compago* (literally, "the binding together") gave a closer representation of the Greek word, in referring to the physical structure of the human body. The word *compagines* was used by Ambrosiaster (1492) to translate ἀφῶν, above. Lefèvre put *commissuras*.

19 *compactum* συμβιβαζόμενον ("constructum" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 4,16. Lefèvre had *conspirans*.

19 *augescit augmento* αὔξει τὴν αὔξησιν ("crescit in augmentum" Vg.). Erasmus wanted to preserve the connection between αὔξει and αὔξησιν. See *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre, similarly, was *augescit in augmento*.

20 *Itaque si* Εἰ οὖν ("Si ergo" late Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,10. The word οὖν was attested by codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from 1 and 2816, and also ℵ corr ⁽²⁾ and many later mss. In cod. ℵ* the wording was εἰ ἀπεθάνετε οὖν. However, in cod. 2105 and many other mss., including ℵ corr ⁽¹⁾ A B C D F G, οὖν was omitted, corresponding with the omission of *ergo* from both columns of Lefèvre, and also from the earlier Vulgate.

20 τῷ Χριστῷ. In 1516, Erasmus' text omitted τῷ, following codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and nearly all other mss. His insertion of τῷ in 1519 was supported by few mss. other than cod. 3, but

the word was retained thereafter in the *Textus Receptus*.

20 *mundi* τοῦ κόσμου ("huius mundi" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus is more accurate here. See on *Rom.* 3,6, and *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made this correction.

20 *quid* τί ("quid adhuc" Vg.). The Vulgate receives doubtful support from the addition of πάλιν in codd. D* F G. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

20 *quasi* ὡς ("tanquam" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 9,20.

20 *in mundo* ἐν κόσμῳ ("mundo" *Annot.*, lemma = Vg. 1527). The late Vulgate omission of *in* lacks support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus is the same as that of the earlier Vulgate and Lefèvre (both columns).

20 *decretis tenemini* δογματίζεσθε ("decernitis" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects that the Greek verb is passive in meaning. He assigns the Vulgate reading to the *Loca Obscura*. Lefèvre put *dogmata quaeritis*.

21 *tetigeris ... gustaris ... contrectaris* ἅψῃ ... γεύσῃ ... θίγῃς ("tetigeritis ... gustaueritis ... contrectaueritis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus is more accurate in adhering to the singular. See *Annot.* An objection to the late Vulgate rendering was similarly raised by Valla *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *tactu ... gustu ... attrectatione*, and Lefèvre *tetigeris ... gustaueris ... palpaueris*.

21 *ne* (2nd.) μηδέ ("neque" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal here. Erasmus probably felt that *ne ... ne ... neque* offered a more elegant sequence. His substitution of *ne* agreed with the rendering of Ambrosiaster.

22 *omnia ipso pereunt abusu* ἐστι πάντα εἰς φθορὰν τῇ ἀποχρήσει ("sunt omnia in interitu ipso vsu" Vg.). Erasmus finds a more idiomatic and meaningful turn of phrase. His substitution of *abusu* was designed to express the added sense of the Greek prefix ἀπο- (in ἀποχρήσει). This word, which is rare in classical Latin, can signify "consumption", though its relationship to the verb *abutor* would also suggest a connotation of "misuse" or "wastage". In *Annot.*, instead of mentioning Lefèvre's similar phrase, *per abusum*, Erasmus cites the less suitable *per abusionem* from "Ambrose"

(i.e. Ambrosiaster). He offered a further justification of *abusu* in *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 218, ll. 885-892. It may also be questioned whether *pereunt* adequately covers the meaning of εἰς, which here suggests an outcome that is appointed or destined. At *Act.* 8,20, rendering the comparable phrase εἴη εἰς ἀπώλειαν, Erasmus retains *sit in perditionem*, and for γεγενημένα εἰς ... φθοράν at 2 *Petr.* 2,12, he puts *genita in ... perniciem*. Manetti tried *sunt omnia in corruptionem ipso ab vsu*, and Lefèvre *omnia ... sunt ad corruptionem per abusum* (cf. Ambrosiaster's rendering of εἰς φθοράν by *in interitum et corruptionem*).

22 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 13,23.

23 *verbo tenus quidem habent speciem* ἐστι λόγον μὲν ἔχοντα ("sunt rationem quidem habentia" Vg.; "rationem quidem habent" 1516). Erasmus aims to capture the precise nuance of λόγος here: see *Annot.* For his avoidance of the combination of *sunt* and the present participle, cf. on *Ioh.* 1,28. Manetti put *sunt quidem rationem habentia*, and Lefèvre *sermonem quidem habent* (placed after *in superstitione*).

23 *per superstitionem ac humilitatem animi* ἐν ἐθελοθρησκείᾳ καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ("in superstitione, et humilitate" Vg.; "in superstitione, et humilitate animi" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,17 for *per*, and on *Ioh.* 1,25 for *ac*. For Erasmus' addition of *animi*, see on *Act.* 20,19. See also *Annot.* The version of Ambrosiaster had *simulatione religionis et humilitate animi*, Manetti *in religione atque humilitate*, and Lefèvre *in superstitione ... et in humilitate sensus*.

23 *laesionem corporis* ἀφειδίᾳ σώματος ("non ad parcendum corpori" late Vg.; "lesione corporis sui" 1516). Erasmus more correctly links ἀφειδίᾳ with ἐν earlier in the sentence. However, his choice of *laesio* seems too strong, implying self-inflicted injury. In this context, ἀφειδία could just refer to an ascetic neglect of the body, e.g. through excessive fasting, rather than deliberate self-harm. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre had *in afficiendo corpore*.

23 *per honorem aliquem* ἐν τιμῇ τινι ("in honore aliquo" Vg.; "in honore quopiam" 1516). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

23 *expletionem* πλησμονήν ("saturitatem" Vg.). As *saturitas* was capable of being understood in a pejorative sense, Erasmus finds a more neutral expression, meaning satisfaction or fulfilment

3 Εἰ οὖν συνηγέρθητε τῷ Χριστῷ, τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε, οὗ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενος. ²τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε, μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ³ἀπεθάνετε γάρ, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν κέκρυπται σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ. ⁴ὅταν ὁ Χριστὸς φανερωθῇ, ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φανερωθήσεσθε ἐν δόξῃ.

⁵Νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, πορνείαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν, πάθος, ἐπιθυμίαν κακήν, καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρία, ⁶δι' ἃ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας, ⁷ἐν οἷς καὶ ὑμεῖς περιεπατήσατέ ποτε, ὅτε ἐζῆτε ἐν

3 Itaque si resurrexistis vna cum Christo, superna quaerite, vbi Christus est ad dexteram dei sedens. ²Superna curate, non terrestria: ³siquidem emortui estis, et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in deo. ⁴Quandocunque Christus manifestatus fuerit, vita nostra, tunc et vos cum illo manifestabimini in gloria.

⁵Mortificate igitur membra vestra terrestria, stuprum, immundiciam, molliciem, concupiscentiam malam, et auaritiam, quae est simulacrorum cultus, ⁶ob quae venire solet ira dei in filios intractabiles: ⁷inter quos ambulabatis quondam, quum viueretis in

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3,6 ερχεται B-E: ερχετε A

3,5 stuprum B-E: fornicationem A

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rather than satiety, though *expletio* was rare in classical usage. Lefèvre put *satietatem*.

3,1 *Itaque* οὖν ("Igitur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,10. Manetti and Lefèvre both began this sentence with *Si igitur*.

1 *resurrexistis vna cum* συνηγέρθητε ("consurrexistis cum" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "consurrexistis" some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "conresurrexistis" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). Erasmus perhaps felt that *consurgo* might not be so readily understood as referring to resurrection from death. In classical usage, however, neither *resurgo* nor *consurgo* had this sense. For *vna*, see on *Act.* 1,22. Lefèvre put *surrexistis cum*.

1 *superna* τὰ ἄνω ("quae sursum sunt" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in the following verse. At *Gal.* 4,26, Erasmus retains *quae sursum est Hierusalem* for ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ. See *Annot.*, and cf. also on *Ioh.* 3,3.

1 *ad dexteram* ἐν δεξιᾷ ("in dextera" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,34. Erasmus had the same wording as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *in dextra*.

2 *Superna* τὰ ἄνω ("quae sursum sunt" Vg.). See on vs. 1, above.

2 *curate* φρονεῖτε ("sapite" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,5, and *Annot.* The reading of Lefèvre was *sentite*.

2 *terrestria* τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ("quae super terram" late Vg. and some Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "quae supra terram" some Vg. mss., with Vgˢᵗ). This substitution of *terrestria* corresponds with Erasmus' use of *superna* for τὰ ἄνω in vss. 1-2, and may be compared with his adoption of *terrestria* for τὰ ἐπίγεια at *Phil.* 3,19. Cf. also on *2 Cor.* 5,1. A similar change occurs in vs. 5, below. Cod. 2815 omits τῆς, together with a few other late mss.

3 *siquidem emortui estis* ἀπεθάνετε γάρ ("Mortui enim estis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34; 4,47, for *siquidem*. Another substitution of *emortuus* is found at *Iud.* 12. Erasmus also follows the Vulgate in using this word to render νεκρόω and νέκρωσις at *Rom.* 4,19. Possibly he felt that *emortui estis* less ambiguously conveys the sense "you have died" rather than "you are dead". The same consideration motivated Lefèvre's substitution of *fuistis* for *estis*.

3 τῷ θεῷ. Codd. 1, 2815 and many other late mss. omit τῷ.

4 *Quandocunque* ὅταν ("Cum autem" late Vg.). More often Erasmus retains *cum* (or *quum*) for ὅταν: cf. on *Rom.* 15,24. The late Vulgate addition of *autem* lacks support from Greek mss. The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *Cum*, omitting *autem*.

4 *manifestatus fuerit* φανερωθῇ ("apparuerit" Vg.). A similar substitution of the passive of *manifesto* for *appareo* occurs in the following clause, and also at *Mc.* 16,14 (1516 only). Erasmus retains *appareo* for φανερόω at *Hebr.* 9,26; 1 *Petr.* 5,4; 1 *Ioh.* 2,28; 3,2, 5, 8; 4,9; *Ap. Ioh.* 3,18; 12,1. See also on *Ioh.* 1,31.

4 *nostra* ἡμῶν ("vestra" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ὑμῶν, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ C D* F G and a few other mss., including codd. 2105 and 2816. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by cod. 1, along with B^corr D^corr H and most later mss. See *Annot.* The reading ὑμῶν has the appearance of being a scribal harmonisation with ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν in vs. 3. A further impetus for the substitution of ὑμῶν was provided by the following ὑμεῖς ... φανερωθήσεσθε. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

4 *cum illo manifestabimini* σὺν αὐτῷ φανερωθήσεσθε ("apparebitis cum ipso" Vg.). For *manifesto*, see above. The Vulgate word-order lacks support from Greek mss. For the removal of *ipse*, see on *Rom.* 1,20. Ambrosiaster had *apparebitis cum illo*, Manetti *apparebitis cum eo*, and Lefèvre *cum eo apparebitis*.

5 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62.

5 *terrestria* τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ("quae sunt super terram" Vg.). See on vs. 2, above.

5 *stuprum* πορνείαν ("fornicationem" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,41.

5 *molliciem* πάθος ("libidinem" Vg.). Erasmus looks for a stronger word, expressing not merely "lust", but homosexual effeminacy: see *Annot.* For his treatment of πάθος at other passages, see also on *Rom.* 1,26. Manetti and Lefèvre both substituted *perturbationem*.

5 *simulacrorum cultus* εἰδωλολατρία ("simulacrorum seruitus" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 10,14. The spelling εἰδωλολατρία comes from cod. 2815, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with 𝔓⁴⁶ B^corr C D* H and many later mss. In cod. 2817, together with ℵ A B* D^corr and many others, it is εἰδωλολατρεία. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *idolorum seruitus*, and Lefèvre *idolorum cultus*.

6 *ob quae* δι' ἃ ("propter quae" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 10,33. In the parallel passage at *Eph.* 5,6, Erasmus retains *propter*. Manetti put *Quapropter* here.

6 *venire solet* ἔρχεται ("venit" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 5,6, and *Annot.* In 1516, the itacistic spelling, ἔρχετε, is taken from cod. 2815.

6 *in* ἐπί ("super" Vg.). This substitution was consistent with Vulgate usage in the parallel passage at *Eph.* 5,6. A similar change occurs at 1 *Thess.* 2,16. The required sense is "against" rather than "over". Erasmus had the same rendering as Lefèvre, together with a few Vulgate mss.

6 *intractabiles* τῆς ἀπειθείας ("incredulitatis" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 2,2, and *Annot.* Elsewhere Erasmus also uses *intractabilis* for ἀνυπότακτος, at *Tit.* 1,6, 10. Manetti put *diffidentiae*, and Lefèvre *discredentiae*.

7 *inter quos* ἐν οἷς καὶ ὑμεῖς ("in quibus et vos" Vg.). Erasmus' Latin rendering, in omitting *et vos*, leaves καὶ ὑμεῖς untranslated. Possibly this error was caused by taking as the starting point for his translation a Vulgate edition in which this phrase was missing, as exemplified by the Froben edition of 1491. Another contributory factor may have been an imprecision in *Annot.*, where the Vulgate lemma *in quibus et vos* is accompanied only by ἐν οἷς. If this note originated during Erasmus' time in England, it could have later misled him into thinking that he must have consulted a ms. in which καὶ ὑμεῖς was omitted, and consequently he decided to omit the phrase from his Latin rendering. All of Erasmus' Basle mss. contained καὶ ὑμεῖς in their text. In translating ἐν οἷς by *inter quos*, he prefers the sense "among whom", but indicates in *Annot.* that this Greek phrase could also mean "in which", referring to the various evils listed in vs. 5. See further on *Ioh.* 15,24. Manetti put *in quibus et*, omitting *vos*.

7 *ambulabatis* περιεπατήσατε ("ambulastis" Vg.). By substituting the imperfect tense, Erasmus has regard for the context, which implies that such conduct continued over a long period. Cf. the use of *ambulabat* for περιεπάτησε in both Erasmus and the Vulgate at *Mt.* 14,29. However, in a similar passage at *Eph.* 2,2, he retained the more literal *ambulastis*.

7 *quondam* ποτε ("aliquando" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,9.

αὐτοῖς. ⁸νυνὶ δὲ ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς
τὰ πάντα, ὀργήν, θυμόν, κακίαν,
βλασφημίαν, αἰσχρολογίαν, ἐκ τοῦ
στόματος ὑμῶν. ⁹μὴ ψεύδεσθε εἰς
ἀλλήλους, ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν πα-
λαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν
αὐτοῦ, ¹⁰καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον,
τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν
κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν,
¹¹ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος,
περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβα-
ρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλὰ
τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι Χριστός.

¹²Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν ὡς ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ
θεοῦ, ἅγιοι καὶ ἠγαπημένοι, σπλάγχ-
να οἰκτιρμῶν, χρηστότητα, ταπει-
νοφροσύνην, πρᾳότητα, μακροθυ-
μίαν, ¹³ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων, καὶ

his. ⁸Nunc autem deponite et vos
omnia, iram, indignationem, mali-
ciam, maledicentiam, turpiloquenti-
am, ab ore vestro. ⁹Ne mentiamini
alius aduersus alium, posteaquam
exuistis veterem hominem cum fa-
ctis suis, ¹⁰et induistis nouum, qui
renouatur ad agnitionem et ima-
ginem eius qui condidit illum,
¹¹vbi non est Graecus et Iudaeus,
circuncisio et praeputium, barba-
rus, Scytha, seruus, liber: sed om-
nia in omnibus Christus.

¹²Sitis igitur induti tanquam
electi dei, sancti ac dilecti,
viscera miserationum, comitatem,
modestiam, mansuetudinem, lenita-
tem, ¹³sufferentes vos inuicem, et

11 τα παντα *A C-E*: παντα *B*

10 ad *B-E*: in *A* | 12 mansuetudinem, lenitatem *B-E*: lenitatem, longanimitatem *A*

7 *his* αὐτοῖς ("illis" Vg.). By using *his*, Erasmus
seems to connect this pronoun with *filios* in
vs. 6, as in *Annot.* he indicates that *illis* (i.e. the
word used by the Vulgate) would relate to
the matters itemised in vs. 5. A few mss.,
commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* H I,
substitute τούτοις. Erasmus' Greek text follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816, as
well as D^corr G 048 and most later mss. The
version of Manetti put *ipsis*, and Lefèvre *eis*.

8 *maledicentiam* βλασφημίαν ("blasphemiam"
Vg.). See on *Eph.* 4,31.

8 *turpiloquentiam* αἰσχρολογίαν ("turpem ser-
monem" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also offered
turpiloquium, which had been used by Ambro-
siaster, Manetti and Lefèvre. However, neither
turpiloquium nor *turpiloquentia* existed in classical
usage.

8 *ab* ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,23. Lefèvre
put *ex*.

9 *Ne mentiamini* μὴ ψεύδεσθε ("Nolite mentiri"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,14, and *Annot.* The same
change was made by Manetti.

9 *alius aduersus alium* εἰς ἀλλήλους ("inuicem"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33; 13,14, and *Annot.* The
rendering of Lefèvre was *adinuicem*, placed
before *mentiri*.

9 *posteaquam exuistis* ἀπεκδυσάμενοι ("expoli-
antes vos" Vg.). Greek aorist. For *exuo*, see on
Col. 2,11. See also *Annot.*, and *Apolog. resp. Iac.
Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 218, ll. 894-899. The
verb *exuo* was likewise preferred by Valla *Annot.*
The version of Lefèvre had the imperative,
exuite (cf. Ambrosiaster, *exuite vos*).

9 *factis* ταῖς πράξεσιν ("actibus" Vg.). See
on *Act.* 19,18. Manetti put *operationibus*.

10 *induistis* ἐνδυσάμενοι ("induentes" Vg.).
Greek aorist. The change of construction fol-
lows on from *posteaquam* in vs. 9. Corresponding
with their use of *exuite* in that verse, Ambrosiaster
and Lefèvre here adopted *induite*.

10 *qui* (1st.) τόν ("eum qui" Vg.). In view
of the preceding *nouum*, Erasmus treated *eum*
as redundant to the sense, giving the same
rendering as Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and
Lefèvre.

10 *ad agnitionem* εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ("in agnitione dei" Vg. 1527; "in agnitionem dei" *Annot.*, lemma = late Vg.; "in agnitionem" 1516 = Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514. The use of *ad* prevents the incorrect conversion of *agnitionem* into *agnitione*; it was also the more natural preposition after *renouo*. The late Vulgate addition of *dei* lacks support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The 1516 rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre had *in cognitione*.

10 *et* (2nd.) κατ᾽ ("secundum" Vg.). The Vulgate is more accurate here. Erasmus᾽ rendering may reflect a conjecture, or misapprehension, that κατ᾽ should have been καί. Lefèvre put *ad*.

10 *qui condidit* τοῦ κτίσαντος ("qui creauit" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,25. Erasmus has the same wording as Ambrosiaster.

10 *illum* αὐτόν ("eum" Vg.). The more emphatic pronoun adopted by Erasmus makes a suitable contrast with *eius*, which occurred a few words earlier. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. Manetti put *ipsum*.

11 *est* ἔνι ("est masculus et femina" late Vg.). The late Vulgate, under influence from the Old Latin rendering, corresponds with the addition of ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ in codd. D* F G, probably from harmonisation with *Gal.* 3,28. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, and Lefèvre (*Comm.*).

11 *Graecus* Ἕλλην ("gentilis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 12,20, and *Annot.* Once again Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.

11 *Scytha* Σκύθης ("et Scytha" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the addition of καί before Σκύθης in codd. D* F G. See *Annot.* The same correction was made by Lefèvre.

11 *liber* ἐλεύθερος ("et liber" Vg.). Here too there is little support for the Vulgate addition of *et*, apart from codd. A D* F G which insert καί before ἐλεύθερος. Lefèvre again made the same change as Erasmus.

11 τὰ πάντα. In 1516, Erasmus᾽ text drew this wording from cod. 2815, accompanied by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ corr B D F G. The omission of the article τά in 1519 was supported by codd. 3 and 2817, together with ℵ * A C and a few other mss. In 1522, Erasmus reverted to his first reading, the more widely attested τὰ πάντα.

11 *in* καὶ ἐν ("et in" Vg.). The Vulgate is more accurate here. Manetti made the same omission as Erasmus.

12 *Sitis igitur induti* Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν ("Induite vos ergo" Vg.). Erasmus treats the Greek verb as a passive, though at *Eph.* 6,11 he was content to retain *induite* for the same Greek word: see *ad loc.* For *igitur*, see on *Ioh.* 6,62. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *Induimini ergo*, and Manetti *Induite ergo vos*.

12 *tanquam* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,13. This change was anticipated by Manetti, while Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *vt*.

12 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti also made this change.

12 *miserationum* οἰκτιρμῶν ("misericordiae" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,1, and *Annot.* The Vulgate possibly reflects the substitution of οἰκτιρμοῦ, as in codd. ℵ A B C D corr (F G) and many other mss., including codd. 1 and 2816, though since at *Rom.* 12,1 the Vulgate used the singular without any Greek ms. support, it is uncertain which Greek reading the Vulgate follows at the present passage. Erasmus adheres to his codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by cod. 2105 and many other late mss. The rendering of Lefèvre was *miserationis*.

12 *comitatem* χρηστότητα ("benignitatem" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,4.

12 *modestiam* ταπεινοφροσύνην ("humilitatem" Vg.). For Erasmus᾽ treatment of this Greek word elsewhere, see on *Act.* 20,19; *Eph.* 4,2. See also *Annot.* He follows the Vulgate in using *modestia* for τὸ ἐπιεικές at *Phil.* 4,5. Lefèvre put *humilitatem sentiendi* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *humilitatem sensus*).

12 *mansuetudinem* πρᾳότητα ("modestiam" Vg.; "lenitatem" 1516). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,21, and *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre used the same word as Erasmus᾽ 1519 edition.

12 *lenitatem* μακροθυμίαν ("patientiam" Vg.; "longanimitatem" 1516). See on *Rom.* 2,4, and *Annot.* The 1516 rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *sufferentes* ἀνεχόμενοι ("supportantes" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 11,1.

13 *vos inuicem* ἀλλήλων ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33. Lefèvre made the same change. Ambrosiaster had *vobis inuicem*.

χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, ἐάν τις πρός τινα ἔχῃ μομφήν· καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς. ¹⁴ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις, τὴν ἀγάπην, ἥτις ἐστὶ σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος, ¹⁵καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ βραβευέτω ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐκλήθη|τε ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι, καὶ εὐχάριστοι γίνεσθε. ¹⁶ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνοικείτω ἐν ὑμῖν πλουσίως ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ. διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτούς, ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ.

condonantes vobis mutuo, si quis aduersus aliquem habuerit querelam: quemadmodum et Christus condonauit vobis, ita et vos. ¹⁴Super omnia autem haec, charitatem, quae est vinculum perfectionis, ¹⁵et pax dei palmam ferat in cordibus vestris, | in quam et vocati estis in vno corpore, et grati sitis. ¹⁶Sermo Christi inhabitet in vobis opulente cum omni sapientia. Doceteque et commonete vos inuicem, cantionibus et laudibus et cantilenis spiritualibus cum gratia canentes in corde vestro domino.

LB 895

LB 896

15 εκληθητε *D E*: εκκληθητε *A-C*

14 autem *A-C E*: antem *D* | 16 Sermo *B-E*: Verbum *A* | cum *B-E*: in *A* | Doceteque et commonete *B-E*: docentes et admonentes *A* | spiritualibus cum *B-E*: spiritalibus in *A*

13 *condonantes ... condonauit* χαριζόμενοι ... ἐχαρίσατο ("donantes ... donauit" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 2,7. The same alteration was again made by Lefèvre.

13 *vobis mutuo* ἑαυτοῖς ("vobismetipsis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). A comparable substitution occurs at *Rom.* 1,24 (1519). See also on *Ioh.* 13,34. Lefèvre put *vobisipsis*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

13 *habuerit* ἔχῃ ("habet" Vg.). The present indicative of the Vulgate corresponds with ἔχει in codd. F G and a few other mss., though it is probably only a matter of translation.

13 *quemadmodum* καθὼς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

13 *Christus* ὁ Χριστός ("dominus" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of κύριος for Χριστός, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ A B D* (F) G and a few later mss. In cod. ℵ*, it is ὁ θεός. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵᶜᵒʳʳ C Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *charitatem* τὴν ἀγάπην ("charitatem habete" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *habete* lacks support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus is the same as that of the

early Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *induimini dilectionem*, making a more explicit connection with ἐνδύσασθε in vs. 12.

14 *quae* ἥτις ("quod" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ὅ, as in codd. A B C F G 048 and a few other mss. In codd. ℵ* D*, it is ὅς. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

15 *dei* τοῦ θεοῦ ("Christi" Vg.). The Vulgate follows a text substituting Χριστοῦ for θεοῦ, as found in codd. ℵ* A B C* D* F G and about twenty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Cᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 560 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 122-3). See *Annot.* A similar substitution of εἰρήνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ for εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ occurs in cod. A at *Phil.* 4,7. Erasmus has the same wording as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

15 *palmam ferat* βραβευέτω ("exultet" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 9,24, and *Annot.* The Vulgate rendering appears among the *Loca Obscura.* Valla *Annot.* proposed *brabiet*, and Lefèvre *palmam obtineat.*

15 *in quam* εἰς ἣν ("in qua" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. See *Annot.*

15 ἐκλήθητε. The spelling ἐκκλήθητε in 1516-22 was probably a printer's error, as it was not derived from Erasmus' mss. at Basle.

15 *sitis* γίνεσθε ("estote" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,20.

16 *Sermo* ὁ λόγος ("Verbum" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1. Lefèvre made the same change.

16 Χριστοῦ. Cod. 2815 has θεοῦ, as in codd. A C* and some later mss.

16 *inhabitet* ἐνοικείτω ("habitet" Vg.). Erasmus aims to render the Greek prefix ἐν- more precisely. See also on *Rom.* 7,17. The Vulgate happens to correspond more closely with οἰκείτω in 𝔓⁴⁶.

16 *opulente* πλουσίως ("abundanter" Vg.). Erasmus similarly puts *opulente* in place of *abunde* at *Tit.* 3,6 (1519). He further replaces *abunde* by *affatim* at 1 *Tim.* 6,17. However, in rendering πλουσίως at 2 *Petr.* 1,11, he is content to use *abunde* as a replacement for *abundanter*. His choice of *opulente*, though quite rare in classical Latin usage, was nearer to the sense of the Greek word. See *Annot.* This change was anticipated by Manetti, while Lefèvre put *copiose*.

16 *cum* (twice) ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

16 *Doceteque et commonete* διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες ("docentes et commonentes" Vg.; "docentes et admonentes" 1516). In the Vulgate (as also in the Greek text), these participles lack a nominative plural antecedent, and hence in 1519 Erasmus changes the construction. See *Annot.* The 1516 substitution of *admoneo* for *commoneo* has a parallel at 2 *Tim.* 2,14, where a similar change occurs in translating ὑπομιμνήσκω, consistent with Vulgate usage at *Tit.* 3,1. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition here. Manetti's version, possibly by a scribal error, had *commouentes* for *commonentes*.

16 *vos inuicem* ἑαυτούς ("vosmetipsos" Vg.). Erasmus here treats ἑαυτούς as equivalent to ἀλλήλους. See *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *vosipsos*.

16 *cantionibus* ψαλμοῖς ("in psalmis" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *in* has little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* For *cantio*, see on 1 *Cor.* 14,26. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *psalmis*, omitting *in*, but in Lefèvre *Comm.* the Greek text was cited as ἐν ψαλμοῖς.

16 *et* (2nd.) καί (Vg. omits). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514 in placing *et* here. In most Vulgate mss., *et* is omitted at this point, with support from 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C* D* F G and a few later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816, and also Cᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. The insertion of καί in most mss., both before and after ὕμνοις, has been alleged to be the result of scribal harmonisation with the parallel passage at *Eph.* 5,19. Another explanation could be that an early corrector decided to abbreviate the present passage by omitting καί, influenced by the absence of καί from the longer sequence of nouns in vs. 12, above. The versions of Manetti and Lefèvre both have *et* (omitted in Lefèvre's Vulgate column).

16 *laudibus* ὕμνοις ("hymnis" Vg.). The word *hymnus* did not occur in classical Latin usage, though Erasmus retains it at *Eph.* 5,19 for ὕμνος, and in rendering ὑμνέω at *Mt.* 26,30; *Mc.* 14,26.

16 *cantilenis* ᾠδαῖς ("canticis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,26.

16 *canentes* ᾄδοντες ("cantantes" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,38. Lefèvre made the same substitution.

16 *corde vestro* τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν ("cordibus vestris" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the substitution of ταῖς καρδίαις for τῇ καρδίᾳ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as Dᶜᵒʳʳ I and most later mss. See *Annot.* A similar substitution of ταῖς καρδίαις occurs in codd. ℵ ᶜᵒʳʳ A D F G at *Eph.* 5,19. The same change was again made by Lefèvre.

16 *domino* τῷ κυρίῳ ("deo" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites *deo* as the Vulgate reading, but the 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514 in putting *domino*. The earlier Vulgate use of *deo* reflected the substitution of θεῷ for κυρίῳ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A B C* D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also Cᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. See *Annot.* Once again, the adoption of κυρίῳ has been alleged to be a harmonisation with *Eph.* 5,19. An alternative explanation of this discrepancy is that the substitution of θεῷ was an interpretative change, influenced by εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ in vs. 17. However, an accidental alteration of a single letter (θω̅ for κω̅) was capable of producing the same

¹⁷καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ποιῆτε ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν
ἔργῳ, πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ,
εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ δι'
αὐτοῦ.
    ¹⁸ Αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς ἰδί-
οις ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ἀνῆκεν ἐν κυρίῳ. ¹⁹ οἱ
ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ μὴ
πικραίνεσθε πρὸς αὐτάς. ²⁰ τὰ τέκνα,
ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσι κατὰ πάντα·
τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν εὐάρεστον τῷ κυρίῳ.
²¹ οἱ πατέρες, μὴ ἐρεθίζετε τὰ τέκνα
ὑμῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀθυμῶσιν. ²² οἱ δοῦ-
λοι, ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς κατὰ
σάρκα κυρίοις, μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλίαις

¹⁷Et quicquid egeritis sermone aut
facto, omnia in nomine domini Iesu
facite, gratias agentes deo et patri per
illum.
    ¹⁸Vxores, subditae estote propriis
viris, sicuti conuenit, in domino.
¹⁹Viri, diligite vxores, et ne sitis ama-
rulenti aduersus illas. ²⁰Filii, obedite
parentibus in omnibus: hoc enim bene
placet domino. ²¹Patres, ne prouocetis
liberos vestros, ne despondeant ani-
mum. ²²Serui, obedite per omnia iis
qui domini sunt secundum carnem,
non obsequiis ad oculum exhibitis

19 πικραινεσθε *Aᵇ B-E*: πικραινε *A**

17 sermone aut facto *B-E*: in sermone aut in facto *A* | 22 iis ... carnem *B-E*: carnalibus
dominis *A* | obsequiis *B-E*: in obsequiis *A*

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result. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the
same correction as Erasmus.

17 *Et* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate corresponds
with the omission of καί in codd. D* F G. See
Annot. The version of Lefèvre again made the
same change.

17 *quicquid* πᾶν ὃ ἂν ("Omne quodcunque"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 14,13 for *quicquid*. Erasmus
considered that the use of this word made *omne*
superfluous: see on vs. 23, below, and also on
Rom. 10,13. His Greek text is here based on
cod. 2817. In cod. 2105, it is πᾶν ὃ ἐάν. Most
other mss. add τι after ὅ.

17 *egeritis ... facite, gratias agentes* ποιῆτε ... εὐ-
χαριστοῦντες ("facitis ... gratias agentes" Vg.).
Some editions of the late Vulgate, e.g. the 1502
Glossa Ordinaria, already added *facite* before *gra-
tias*, though the extra verb was not added by
the 1527 Vulgate column or the Froben editions
of 1491 and 1514. Erasmus retained *facite* from
the late Vulgate for the sake of clarity, but sub-
stituted *egeritis* for *facitis*, to avoid repetition.
Lefèvre replaced *facitis* with *sit: faciatis*, but did
not insert *facite* before *gratias agentes* in either
his translation or his accompanying Vulgate
text.

17 *sermone aut facto* ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ ("in
verbo aut in opere" Vg.; "in sermone aut in
facto" 1516). For the omission of *in*, see on

Ioh. 1,26. For *sermo*, see on *Ioh.* 1,1, and for
factum, see on *Ioh.* 3,21. Lefèvre put *in sermone
aut in opere*.

17 *Iesu* Ἰησοῦ ("nostri Iesu Christi" late Vg.).
The late Vulgate insertion of *nostri* lacks Greek
ms. support, but in adding *Christi*, the late
Vulgate corresponds with the reading Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ in cod. ℵ and a few later mss. In
codd. A C D* F G, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is substitu-
ted for κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. Erasmus follows codd.
2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with
𝔓⁴⁶ B Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. His rendering
agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster,
Manetti and Lefèvre.

17 *illum* αὐτοῦ ("ipsum" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
1,20.

18 *Vxores* Αἱ γυναῖκες ("Mulieres" Vg.). This
substitution produces consistency with Vulgate
usage in vs. 19. See on 1 *Cor.* 7,1. Valla *Annot.*
and Lefèvre also proposed this change.

18 *propriis viris* τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ("viris
vestris" Vg. 1527; "viris" Vg. mss.). The addition
of *vestris* by the 1527 Vulgate column, following
the Froben edition of 1514, corresponds with
τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑμῶν in codd. D* F G, and also
cod. 2105. In most Vulgate mss., the reading
viris reflects a text having just τοῖς ἀνδράσιν,
as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C Dᶜᵒʳʳ and many later mss.,
including cod. 1. Erasmus follows codd. 2815

and 2817, with cod. 2816 and many other late mss. In this instance, there are grounds for suspecting that ἰδίοις might represent a harmonisation with *Eph.* 5,22. For other textual variants involving ἴδιος, see on *Eph.* 4,28; 5,24. Manetti made the same change as Erasmus. Lefèvre (both columns) had just *viris*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

18 *sicuti* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre had *vt*.

18 *conuenit* ἀνῆκεν ("oportet" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 5,4. The Greek word signifies appropriateness rather than necessity. Manetti put *decet*, and Lefèvre *par est*.

19 *vxores* τὰς γυναῖκας ("vxores vestras" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate, under influence from the Old Latin, corresponds with the addition of ὑμῶν in codd. C^corr D* F G. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

19 *ne sitis amarulenti* μὴ πικραίνεσθε ("nolite amari esse" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18 for the removal of *nolo*. However, *amarulentus* was rare in classical usage by comparison with *amarus*. Manetti put *ne amari sitis*.

19 *aduersus* πρός ("ad" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *erga*, which was the rendering of Lefèvre. See further on *Rom.* 10,21.

20 *in omnibus* κατὰ πάντα ("per omnia" Vg.). This change is for the sake of variety, in view of Erasmus' retention of *per omnia* for the same Greek phrase in vs. 22. Elsewhere he is content to use *per omnia* at *Act.* 17,22, 25; *Hebr.* 2,17; 4,15.

20 *bene placet* ἐστιν εὐάρεστον ("placitum est" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to convey the meaning of the Greek prefix εὐ-. In *Annot.*, he also suggests *gratum* or *acceptum*. See further on *Rom.* 12,1. The Vulgate may reflect the word-order εὐάρεστόν ἐστιν, as found in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D 048 and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also F G 0198^vid and most other mss. The version of Ambrosiaster had *placet*, Manetti *est beneplacitum* (*Pal. Lat.* 45), and Lefèvre *beneplacens est*.

20 *domino* τῷ κυρίῳ ("in domino" Vg.). Erasmus here follows cod. 2817, with support from cod. 1, along with cod. 0198 and some later mss. The Vulgate reflects the reading ἐν κυρίῳ, as in codd. 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D F G.

See *Annot.* The version of Manetti was the same as that of Erasmus, while Lefèvre put *apud dominum*.

21 *ne prouocetis* μὴ ἐρεθίζετε ("nolite ad indignationem prouocare" Vg.). For *ne*, see on *Rom.* 11,18. The Vulgate insertion of *ad indignationem* may reflect the substitution of μὴ παροργί-ζετε, as in codd. A D* 0198 and more than 100 later mss., including cod. 2105, possibly arising from harmonisation with *Eph.* 6,4 (rendered by the Vulgate as *nolite ad iracundiam prouocare*). Cf. also the itacism, μὴ παρογγίζεται, in codd. ℵ C F G and six other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2816 and about 480 other mss., commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶vid B D^corr (for the statistics, see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 124-6). In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggested that *ad indignationem* was a later interpretative addition to the original Vulgate wording. Manetti put *ne irritetis*, and Lefèvre *nolite irritare*.

21 *liberos* τὰ τέκνα ("filios" Vg.). See on *Gal.* 4,27.

21 *ne despondeant animum* ἵνα μὴ ἀθυμῶσιν ("vt non pusillo animo fiant" Vg.). In classical usage, *pusillus animus* generally referred to petty-mindedness or meanness, whereas ἀθυμέω has more to do with despair or discouragement. See *Annot.* Concerning the avoidance of *vt non*, see on *Ioh.* 3,20. Manetti put *ne pusillanimes efficiantur*, and Lefèvre *ne tristitia conficiantur*.

22 *iis qui domini sunt secundum carnem* τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις ("dominis carnalibus" Vg.; "carnalibus dominis" 1516). From 1519 onwards, Erasmus conveys the sense of κατὰ σάρκα more accurately. See on *Eph.* 6,5. The Vulgate word-order corresponds more closely with τοῖς κυρίοις κατὰ σάρκα in codd. F G, but is probably only a matter of translation.

22 *obsequiis ad oculum exhibitis* ἐν ὀφθαλμο-δουλίαις ("ad oculum seruientes" Vg.; "in obsequiis ad oculum exhibitis" 1516). At *Eph.* 6,6, rendering κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοδουλείαν, Erasmus was content to retain *ad oculum seruientes*. The spelling -ίαις comes from cod. 2815, supported by cod. 2816, with ℵ C and some later mss., and this is how the text is cited in *Annot.* In codd. 1 and 2817, with many other late mss., it is -είαις. Others, commencing with 𝔓⁴⁶ A B D F G, have -ίᾳ (as in cod. 2105) or -είᾳ, in the singular. Manetti put *ad oculos seruientes*, and Lefèvre *seruitiis ad oculum* (but in *Comm.*, *seruitio ad oculum* and ὀφθαλμοδουλεία).

ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁπλό-
τητι καρδίας, φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν.
²³ καὶ πᾶν ὅ τε ἐὰν ποιῆτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς
ἐργάζεσθε, ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀν-
θρώποις,   ²⁴ εἰδότες ὅτι ἀπὸ κυρίου
ἀπολήψεσθε τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς
κληρονομίας· τῷ γὰρ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ
δουλεύετε.   ²⁵ ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν κομιεῖται
ὃ ἠδίκησε, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι προσωπο-
ληψία.

4 Οἱ κύριοι, τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν
   ἰσότητα τοῖς δούλοις παρέχεσθε,
εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔχετε κύριον ἐν
οὐρανοῖς.

tanquam hominibus placere studentes,
sed cum simplicitate cordis, timentes
deum.   ²³ Et quicquid feceritis, ex ani-
mo facite, tanquam domino et non
hominibus,   ²⁴ scientes quod a domi-
no recipietis mercedem haereditatis,
nam domino Christo seruitis.   ²⁵ Cae-
terum qui peccarit, reportabit pecca-
tum suum, et non est personarum
respectus.

4 Vos domini, aequitatem et aequa-
   bilitatem seruis exhibete, scientes
quod et vos habeatis dominum in
coelis.

22 cum *B-E*: in *A*
4,1 aequitatem *B-E*: quod iustum est *A*

22 *tanquam* ὡς ("quasi" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 9,32;
Eph. 6,6. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same
change.

22 *hominibus placere studentes* ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι
("hominibus placentes" Vg.). See again on *Eph.*
6,6.

22 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

22 *deum* τὸν θεόν ("dominum" Vg.). The Vul-
gate reflects the substitution of κύριον for θεόν,
as in codd. ℵ* A B C D* F G 048 and some
other mss., with cod. 2105 among them. Eras-
mus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with support
from 1 and 2816, with 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ as well
as most later mss. See *Annot*. Both Manetti and
Lefèvre put *deum*, as did Lefèvre's Vulgate text,
along with some other late Vulgate copies.

23 *Et* καὶ πᾶν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-
sion is supported by 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ* A B C D* F G
and twenty later mss. Erasmus' Greek text
follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with
1, 2105, 2816, as well as Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 540
later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 4, pp. 126-31). It has been suggested that
καὶ πᾶν was added by scribes from vs. 17
(where most mss. have καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ἄν).
However, at the earlier passage, καί is omitted
by codd. D* F G. Casual omissions of πᾶς
by early mss. occur e.g. at *Rom.* 16,15 (𝔓⁴⁶);
1 *Cor.* 10,11 (A B); 2 *Cor.* 3,18 (𝔓⁴⁶); 7,15 (ℵ*);
Eph. 3,9 (ℵ* A); 6,21 (D* F G); see also on
Gal. 4,26. It remains possible that καὶ πᾶν was

accidentally or intentionally omitted by a few
early scribes at the present passage. In leaving
πᾶν untranslated here, Erasmus was not necessa-
rily influenced by the Vulgate, but regarded
omne as superfluous when accompanied by *quic-
quid*: in vs. 17, above, where virtually all mss.
have πᾶν, he omitted *omne* even though the
Vulgate included it. See further on *Rom.* 10,13.
Manetti and Lefèvre both put *et omne*.

23 *quicquid* ὅ τε ἐάν ("Quodcunque" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 14,13 for *quicquid*. The adoption of τε
in Erasmus' text has very little ms. support, and
appears to have arisen from a printer's error.
The reading of codd. 1, 2815, 2816, 2817 and
most other mss. is ὅ τι ἐάν. In cod. 2105 and
almost 100 other mss., commencing with ℵ A
B C, it is just ὃ ἐάν. Other variants also exist,
principally ὅ τι ἄν in cod. Dᶜᵒʳʳ, and ὃ ἄν in
𝔓⁴⁶ D* F G. (See Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe*
vol. 4, pp. 126-31). Erasmus' rendering is the
same as that of Ambrosiaster.

23 *feceritis* ποιῆτε ("facitis" Vg.). As in vs. 17,
Erasmus prefers the future perfect tense as a
means of representing the Greek subjunctive.
Lefèvre put *faciatis*.

23 *facite* ἐργάζεσθε ("operamini" Vg.). Cf. on
1 *Cor.* 9,6. Erasmus here treats ποιέω and
ἐργάζομαι as synonymous. However, in this
context of an exhortation to servants, whether
serving God or a human master, the Vulgate
rendering of ἐργάζομαι by *operor* ("work")
seems more accurate and appropriate.

23 *tanquam* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,13, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre made the same substitution.

24 *recipietis* ἀπολήψεσθε ("accipietis" Vg.). Cf. on *Ioh.* 5,43. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with cod. 1, supported (with minor variations of spelling) by ℵ* B C*vid D F G and a few other mss. In codd. 2105, 2816 and most other mss., it is λήψεσθε, corresponding with λήμψεσθε in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ corr A Ccorr. As indicated in *Annot.*, Erasmus' rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster: the same change was also made by Lefèvre.

24 *mercedem* τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ("retributionem" Vg.). The word *retributio* did not occur in classical usage. Cf. on *Rom.* 11,9.

24 *nam domino* τῷ γὰρ κυρίῳ ("domino" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of γάρ, as in 𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ A B C D* (F G) and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from 1, 2105, 2816, and also Dcorr and most later mss. In 1516 *Annot.*, Erasmus incorrectly cites the text as τῷ κυρίῳ γάρ. His rendering was the same as that of Lefèvre (*Comm.*), while Manetti put *Domino enim*.

24 *seruitis* δουλεύετε ("seruite" Vg.). The Vulgate treatment of δουλεύετε as an imperative is partly dependent on the omission of γάρ: see the previous note. If γάρ is included, it is preferable to take the verb as a present indicative. See *Annot.* Both Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus.

25 *Caeterum qui* ὁ δέ ("Qui enim" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ὁ γάρ, attested by codd. ℵ A B C D* F G 048 and some later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as Dcorr and most later mss. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre put *Qui autem*.

25 *peccarit ... peccatum suum* ἀδικῶν ... ὃ ἠδίκησε ("iniuriam facit ... id quod inique gessit" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to render these two instances of ἀδικέω more consistently. Elsewhere he retains *iniuriam facio* for ἀδικέω at *Mt.* 20,13; *Act.* 7,27; 1 *Cor.* 6,8, and reserves *pecco* chiefly for ἁμαρτάνω. See *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *iniuriam facit ... quod iniuria affecit.* Manetti followed the Vulgate, except that he omitted *id.*

25 *reportabit* κομιεῖται ("recipiet" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,10. Manetti anticipated this change. Lefèvre had *portabit.*

25 *personarum respectus* προσωποληψία ("personarum acceptio apud deum" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate, under influence from the Old Latin, corresponds with the addition of παρὰ τῷ θεῷ in codd. F G I, possibly representing a harmonisation with *Rom.* 2,11. For the substitution of *respectus*, see further on *Act.* 10,34; *Eph.* 6,9. See also *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre omitted *apud deum* but retained *acceptio.*

4,1 *Vos domini* Οἱ κύριοι ("Domini" Vg.). Erasmus' addition of *vos* was consistent with Vulgate usage at *Eph.* 6,9, making clear that *domini* is a vocative and not a genitive. In *Annot.*, he attributes *vos* to the Vulgate at the present passage, though it does not appear in the 1527 Vulgate column or in the Froben Vulgates of 1491 and 1514.

1 *aequitatem* τὸ δίκαιον ("quod iustum est" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus sensed that an abstract noun was required here, seeing that the Greek word is paired with ἰσότητα. Lefèvre put *iustitiam.* Manetti's version replaced *quod iustum est et aequum* with *quod iustum et equum est.*

1 *aequabilitatem* τὴν ἰσότητα ("aequum" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggested *aequalitatem.* See further on 2 *Cor.* 8,13. Lefèvre put *aequitatem.*

1 *exhibete* παρέχεσθε ("praestate" Vg.). In codd. 2105 and 2815, together with cod. C and many later mss., παρέχετε is substituted for παρέχεσθε. Erasmus retains *praesto* for παρέχω at *Lc.* 7,4; *Act.* 16,16; 19,24; 22,2; 28,2: usually this had the sense of "provide", but at *Act.* 28,2 he was content to follow the Vulgate in using *praesto* for the display of an abstract quality (*praestabant ... humanitatem*). For his use of *exhibeo* elsewhere, cf. on *Act.* 1,3. At the present passage, he adopts the rendering of Lefèvre. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *pr(a)ebete.*

1 *quod ... habeatis dominum* ὅτι ... ἔχετε κύριον ("quoniam ... dominum habetis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20 for *quod* and the subjunctive. The Vulgate does not appear to have explicit Greek ms. support for placing *dominum* before the verb. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti had *quod ... habetis dominum*, and Lefèvre *quod ... dominum habetis.*

1 *coelis* οὐρανοῖς ("coelo" Vg.). The Vulgate singular reflects the substitution of οὐρανῷ, as in codd. ℵ* A B C I and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817,

² Τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερεῖτε, γρηγοροῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ, ³ προσευχόμενοι ἅμα καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου, λαλῆσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὸ καὶ δέδεμαι, ⁴ ἵνα φανερώσω αὐτό, ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι. ⁵ ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω, τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι. ⁶ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἅλατι ἠρτυμένος, εἰδέναι πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

⁷ Τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα γνωρίσει ὑμῖν Τυχικός, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος καὶ σύνδουλος ἐν κυρίῳ, ⁸ ὃν ἔπεμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἵνα γνῷ τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ παρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ⁹ σὺν Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ πιστῷ καὶ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ, ὅς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν· πάντα ὑμῖν γνωριοῦσι τὰ ὧδε.

¹⁰ Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ συναιχμάλωτός μου, καὶ Μάρκος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς Βαρναβᾶ, περὶ οὗ ἐλάβετε ἐντολάς. ἐὰν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δέξα|σθε αὐτόν, ¹¹ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰοῦστος. οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς, οὗτοι

² Obsecrationi instate, vigilantes in ea cum gratiarum actione, ³ orantes simul et pro nobis, vt deus aperiat nobis ostium sermonis, vt loquamur mysterium Christi, propter quod et vinctus sum, ⁴ vt manifestem illud, sicut oportet me loqui. ⁵ Sapienter ambulate erga extraneos, opportunitatem redimentes. ⁶ Sermo vester semper cum gratia, sit sale conditus, vt sciatis quomodo oporteat vos vnicuique respondere.

⁷ De omnibus rebus meis certiores vos faciet Tychicus dilectus frater et fidus minister et conseruus in domino, ⁸ quem misi ad vos, in hoc ipsum vt cognoscat quid agatis et consoletur corda vestra, ⁹ vna cum Onesimo fido et dilecto fratre, qui est ex vobis: de omnibus, vobis exponent, quae hic agantur.

¹⁰ Salutat vos Aristarchus concaptiuus meus, et Marcus consobrinus Barnabae, de quo accepistis mandata. | Si venerit ad vos, excipite eum, ¹¹ et Iesus qui vocatur Iustus, qui sunt ex circuncisione. Hi

LB 897

LB 898

4,4 αυτο A-D: αντο E

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2 Obsecrationi B-E: orationi A | cum B-E: et A | 5 Sapienter B-E: In sapientia A | opportunitatem B-E: oportunitatem A | 6 cum B-E: in A | 7 faciet B-E: reddet A | 10 mandata. Si B-E: mandata, si A | 11 Iesus Aᶜ B-E: Iesu A*

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alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵᶜᵒʳʳ D F G and most other mss. His rendering agreed with that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

2 *Obsecrationi* Τῇ προσευχῇ ("orationi" 1516 = Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Tim.* 2,1 (1519). Usually Erasmus prefers *precatio* or *deprecatio* for προσευχή, and reserves *obsecratio* for δέησις. For his removal of *oratio*, see further on *Act.* 1,14.

2 *cum* ἐν ("in" Vg.; "et" 1516 Lat.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. In 1516, possibly Erasmus had intended *et in*.

3 *vt loquamur* λαλῆσαι ("ad loquendum" Vg.). In rendering λαλῆσαι at 1 *Thess.* 2,2, Erasmus was content to use *ad loquendum ... euangelium*.

3 *et* (2nd.) καὶ ("etiam" Vg.). Erasmus wanted the less emphatic sense, "also", rather than "even". Lefèvre made the same change.

4 *sicut* ὡς ("ita vt" Vg.). Erasmus similarly prefers *sicut oportet* to *prout oportet* at *Eph.* 6,20. Generally, though not with entire consistency, he reserved *ita vt* for ὥστε. Manetti anticipated this change, while Lefèvre put *quemadmodum*.

5 *Sapienter* ἐν σοφίᾳ ("In sapientia" 1516 = Vg.). By using an adverb, Erasmus gives a clearer but less literal rendering. The word *sapienter* does not occur elsewhere in his N.T. translation.

5 *erga* πρός ("ad" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25. Lefèvre also made this change.

5 *extraneos* τοὺς ἔξω ("eos qui foris sunt" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Thess.* 4,12 (1516 only), and also in rendering τῶν ἔξωθεν at 1 *Tim.* 3,7. Erasmus retains *qui foris sunt* at *Mc.* 4,11; 1 *Cor.* 5,12-13.

5 *opportunitatem* τὸν καιρόν ("tempus" Vg.). Another such substitution occurs at *Hebr.* 11,15. At *Eph.* 5,16, Erasmus preferred *redimentes occasionem*: see *ad loc.*

6 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

6 *sit sale conditus* ἅλατι ἠρτυμένος ("sale sit conditus" Vg.). The position of *sit* is a matter of interpretation, as the Greek text lacks a main verb: see *Annot.* The word-order adopted by Lefèvre was *sale conditus sit.*

7 *De omnibus rebus meis* Τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα ("Quae circa me sunt omnia" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 6,22. Lefèvre put *Quae penes me sunt ... omnium.*

7 *certiores vos faciet* γνωρίσει ὑμῖν ("vobis nota faciet" Vg.; "certiores vos reddet" 1516). See on 2 *Cor.* 8,1. Manetti put *nota vobis faciet,* and Lefèvre *certiores ... vos efficiet.*

7 *dilectus* ἀγαπητός ("charissimus" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,25. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

7 *fidus* πιστός ("fidelis" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,2.

8 *in* εἰς ("ad" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs in rendering εἰς τοῦτο at *Mc.* 1,38, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Ioh.* 18,37 (a); *Rom.* 9,17; *Eph.* 6,22; 1 *Tim.* 4,10. Inconsistently Erasmus changed *in* to *ad* in rendering εἰς τοῦτο at 1 *Ioh.* 3,8 (1519).

8 *quid agatis* τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ("quae circa vos sunt" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 6,22. Lefèvre put *quae apud vos sunt.*

9 *vna cum* σύν ("cum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,22.

9 *fido et dilecto* πιστῷ καὶ ἀγαπητῷ ("charissimo et fideli" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with ἀγαπητῷ καὶ πιστῷ in codd. D F G and a few later mss. For *fidus* and *dilectus,* see on 1 *Cor.* 4,2 and *Act.* 15,25,

respectively. Manetti put *fideli ac dilecto,* and Lefèvre *Comm.* had *fideli et dilecto.*

9 *est ex vobis* ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν ("ex vobis est" late Vg.). The late Vulgate word-order has little explicit support from Greek mss. Erasmus' rendering was in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti, while Lefèvre put *vestras est.*

9 *de omnibus ... quae hic agantur* πάντα ... τὰ ὧδε ("qui omnia quae hic aguntur" late Vg.). Cf. on *Eph.* 6,22 for *de omnibus.* Erasmus uses the subjunctive, *agantur,* as the verb is part of an indirect statement. The insertion of *qui* by the late Vulgate corresponds with the addition of οἱ before πάντα in cod. D*. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *omnia ... quecunque hic aguntur,* and Lefèvre *omnia ... quae hic sunt* (cf. Ambrosiaster, who placed *omnia quae hic sunt* before *nota*).

9 *exponent* γνωριοῦσι ("nota facient" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 8,1 for Erasmus' occasional avoidance of *notum facio.* Here, for the sake of variety, he chooses not to repeat *certiores facio de,* which he had used in vs. 7. In *Annot.,* he cites the Vulgate as having *nota faciet,* singular, for γνωριοῦσι, and this was also the reading of the 1492 edition of *Ambrosiaster.*

10 *excipite* δέξασθε ("suscipite" late Vg.). This substitution is comparable with the Vulgate use of *excipio* for προσδέχομαι at *Phil.* 2,29. See also on *Act.* 17,7; *Gal.* 4,14. Erasmus restores the earlier Vulgate wording. Lefèvre had *vt suscipiatis* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *vt ... excipiatis*).

10 *eum* αὐτόν ("illum" Vg.). It would seem that Erasmus originally made this change with the intention that the pronoun should be understood as applying to Barnabas rather than Mark. However, in 1522 *Annot.,* he concedes that the preceding οὗ could relate to either person. The insertion of a full-stop after *mandata* in 1519-35 did not resolve this ambiguity, and if anything, caused confusion by disconnecting *Iesus qui vocatur Iustus* in vs. 11 from *Salutat* in vs. 10. The same change of pronoun was made by Lefèvre, while Manetti put *ipsum.*

11 *qui vocatur* ὁ λεγόμενος ("qui dicitur" Vg.). See on *Act.* 24,14. The insertion of a full-stop after Ἰοῦστος, from 1522 onwards, alters the sense and creates a discrepancy from the Latin text: possibly the typesetter misread an instruction to substitute a full-stop after περιτομῆς. Lefèvre had *cognomento.*

μόνοι συνεργοί εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ
θεοῦ, οἵτινες ἐγενήθησάν μοι παρηγο-
ρία. ¹²ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἐπαφρᾶς ὁ ἐξ
ὑμῶν δοῦλος Χριστοῦ, πάντοτε ἀγωνι-
ζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς,
ἵνα στῆτε τέλειοι καὶ πεπληρωμένοι ἐν
παντὶ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ. ¹³μαρτυρῶ
γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἔχει ζῆλον πολὺν ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐν
Ἱεραπόλει. ¹⁴ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λουκᾶς ὁ
ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, καὶ Δημᾶς. ¹⁵ἀσπά-
σασθε τοὺς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀδελφούς, καὶ
Νυμφᾶν, καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐκ-
κλησίαν. ¹⁶καὶ ὅταν ἀναγνωσθῇ παρ᾽
ὑμῶν ἡ ἐπιστολή, ποιήσατε ἵνα καὶ ἐν
τῇ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγνωσθῇ, καὶ
τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνα-
γνῶτε. ¹⁷καὶ εἴπατε Ἀρχίππῳ, Βλέπε
τὴν διακονίαν ἣν παρέλαβες ἐν κυρίῳ,
ἵνα αὐτὴν πληροῖς.

soli cooperarii sunt ad regnum dei,
qui fuere mihi solatio. ¹²Salutat vos
Epaphras, qui ex vobis est seruus
Christi, semper anxie laborans pro
vobis in precationibus, vt stetis per-
fecti et completi in omni voluntate
dei. ¹³Testimonium enim illi perhi-
beo, quod habeat multum studium
pro vobis et his qui sunt Laodiceae
et his qui Hierapoli. ¹⁴Salutat vos
Lucas medicus dilectus et Demas.
¹⁵Salutate fratres qui sunt Laodiceae,
et Nympham, et quae in domo illius
est congregationem: ¹⁶et quum reci-
tata fuerit a vobis epistola, facite vt
et in Laodicensium ecclesia recitetur,
et eam quae scripta est ex Laodicea,
vt vos quoque legatis. ¹⁷Et dicite
Archippo: Vide ministerium quod ac-
cepisti in domino, vt illud impleas.

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13 πολυν *Aᶜ B-E*: πολην *A** | 14 ασπαζεται *Aᶜ B-E*: ασπαζετε *A**

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12 anxie *C-E*: enixe *A B* | precationibus *B-E*: orationibus *A* | 14 et Demas *Aᶜ B-E*: om. *A** |
16 recitata *B-E*: lecta *A* | recitetur *B-E*: legatur *A* | vos quoque *B-E*: et vos *A*

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11 *cooperarii sunt* συνεργοί ("sunt adiutores
mei" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The addi-
tion of *mei*, in some copies of the Vulgate,
corresponds with the reading συνεργοί μού
εἰσιν in codd. D* F G. See on *Rom.* 16,21 for
cooperarius. Lefèvre put just *cooperatores*.

11 *ad regnum* εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ("in regno"
Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. Lefèvre
made the same change.

11 *fuere mihi solatio* ἐγενήθησάν μοι παρηγορία
("mihi fuerunt solatio" Vg.). The Vulgate word-
order lacks explicit support from Greek mss.
Erasmus does not elsewhere use the shortened
form, *fuere*, except at *Mt.* 14,21. Manetti put
facti sunt mihi solatium, and Lefèvre *michi con-
solationi fuerunt*.

12 *Christi* Χριστοῦ ("Christi Iesu" Vg.). The
Vulgate reflects the addition of Ἰησοῦ, as in
codd. א A B C I and some other mss. Erasmus
follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by
1 and 2816, with 𝔓⁴⁶ D F G and most other
mss. In cod. 2105*, the words δοῦλος Χριστοῦ

were omitted. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made
the same correction as Erasmus.

12 *anxie laborans* ἀγωνιζόμενος ("sollicitus"
Vg.; "enixe laborans" 1516-19). The change
from *enixe* ("strenuously") to *anxie* ("anxiously")
was first introduced in the separate Latin N.T.
of 1521. However, in *Annot.* from 1519 onwards,
Erasmus continued to recommend *enixe*. Manetti
and Lefèvre both put *certans*.

12 *precationibus* ταῖς προσευχαῖς ("orationibus"
1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,14.

12 *stetis* στῆτε. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites the
Greek as having ἦτε, a reading which is
found in cod. I and a few later mss. In codd.
א* B, it is σταθῆτε. However, he retained *stetis*
and στῆτε in his Latin and Greek texts from
1516-35, following codd. 2815 and 2817, sup-
ported by 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss.,
commencing with א^cᵒʳʳ A C D F G. The
version of Lefèvre had *persistatis*.

12 *completi* πεπληρωμένοι ("pleni" Vg.). A
similar substitution occurs at 2 *Ioh.* 12, but

Erasmus retains *plenus* for πεπληρωμένος at 1 *Ioh.* 1,4; *Ap. Ioh.* 3,2. Cf. on *Phil.* 4,18; *Col.* 2,10. Manetti and Lefèvre put *repleti*.

13 *multum studium* ζῆλον πολύν ("multum laborem" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with πολὺν κόπον in codd. D* F G. In a few other mss., including codd. א A B C, it is πολὺν πόνον. Although Erasmus' translation retains the Vulgate word-order, his Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most later mss. (cf. also πολὺν ζῆλον in cod. D^corr). The spelling πολήν in the 1516 edition was a typesetting error, corrected in the errata. Some textual critics have argued in favour of πόνον, on the grounds that it is a *lectio difficilior*. Although this word can have the sense of "toil", its other meanings of "pain" or "distress" (found at *Ap. Ioh.* 16,10-11; 21,4) are less applicable to the present context, hence providing a theoretical motive for scribes to replace πόνον with a variety of other expressions. However, whereas πόνος occurs nowhere else in the Epistles, ζῆλος is consistent with Pauline usage (e.g. ζῆλον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ at 2 *Cor.* 7,7). If ζῆλον was genuine, it is possible that κόπον and πόνον originated as comments in the margin, by an early annotator who wished to elucidate the connection between ζῆλον and ἀγωνιζόμενος (vs. 12), and to make clear that ζῆλον did not here convey the sense of fanaticism or jealousy (as at *Rom.* 10,2; *Gal.* 5,20). In *Annot.*, Erasmus offers *multam aemulationem* and *multum zelum* as alternatives. The rendering of Manetti had *multam emulationem*, and Lefèvre *zelum multum*. In *Comm.*, Lefèvre also noted the variant πόθον, which replaces ζῆλον in a few late mss.

13 *his qui sunt ... his qui* τῶν ... τῶν ("pro his qui sunt ... qui" Vg.). The Vulgate probably does not reflect any difference of Greek text. Erasmus regarded the repetition of *pro* as superfluous here, after the preceding use of *pro vobis*. Manetti put *pro his qui sunt* (twice), and Lefèvre *pro iis qui sunt ... iis qui*.

14 ἀσπάζεται. The spelling ἀσπάζετε in the 1516 text was an itacistic printer's error, not derived from Erasmus' mss. He corrected this in the errata. A similar error occurred in cod. 2815 in vs. 10.

14 *dilectus* ὁ ἀγαπητός ("charissimus" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,25. In cod. 2817, ὁ was omitted. Manetti and Lefèvre both made the same change as Erasmus.

15 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). The changed pronoun refers back more pointedly to Nymphas, as distinct from the *congregatio* which formed the subject of this clause. Manetti put *sua*.

15 *congregationem* ἐκκλησίαν ("ecclesiam" late Vg. and some earlier Vg. mss., with Vg^st; "ecclesia" other Vg. mss., with Vg^ww). See on *Act.* 5,11. In *Annot.*, Erasmus distinguished between a *congregatio*, drawn from the members of a single Christian household (i.e. that of Nymphas), and the *ecclesia* which comprised all the Christians in a particular district (in this instance, Laodicea). Hence he retains *ecclesia* in vs. 16.

16 *recitata fuerit ... recitetur* ἀναγνωσθῇ ... ἀναγνωσθῇ ("lecta fuerit ... legatur" 1516 = Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Thess.* 5,27 (1519). The verb *recito* more clearly refers to an audible, public reading. However, these changes are partly for the sake of variety, as Erasmus retains *lego* at the end of this verse. He further retains the passive of *lego* at several other passages.

16 *a vobis* παρ' ὑμῶν ("apud vos" Vg.). Erasmus here follows cod. 2817, supported by only a few other late mss. The Vulgate corresponds more closely with παρ' ὑμῖν, which is found in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816 and most other mss.

16 *epistola* ἡ ἐπιστολή ("epistola haec" late Vg.). The late Vulgate insertion of *haec* corresponds with the addition of αὕτη in a few late Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

16 Λαοδικέων. Erasmus' text here follows cod. 2815, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also B D^corr and many later mss. The spelling of cod. 2817 and many other mss., commencing with א A C D* F G, was Λαοδικαίων.

16 *eam ... vt vos quoque legatis* τὴν ... ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε ("ea ... vobis legatur" late Vg.; "eam ... vt et vos legatis" 1516). The Vulgate, in effect, leaves ἵνα καί untranslated. There is little support for the omission of καί other than cod. D*. The late Vulgate change from active to passive similarly lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti had the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 edition. Lefèvre had *vt vos eam ... legatis*.

16 *quae scripta est ex Laodicea* ἐκ Λαοδικείας ("quae Laodicensium est" Vg.). The Vulgate repetition of *Laodicensium* has little support

¹⁸ Ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου. μνημονεύετέ μου τῶν δεσμῶν. ἡ χάρις μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν. ἀμήν.

Ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης
διὰ Τυχικοῦ καὶ Ὀνησίμου.

¹⁸ Salutatio mea manu Pauli. Memores sitis vinculorum meorum. Gratia vobiscum. Amen.

Missa e Roma
per Tychicum et Onesimum.

Subscriptio εγραφη ... ονησιμου *B-E: om. A*

Subscriptio Missa e Roma ... Onesimum *E: om. A*, Missa e Rhoma ... Onesimum *B-D*

from Greek mss. apart from the improbable reading ἐν Λαοδικίας in codd. F G. The version of Manetti put *que* (= *quae*) *est Laodicensium.*

18 *Memores sitis* μνημονεύετε ("Memores estote" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,20. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *Mementote.*

18 *Gratia* ἡ χάρις ("Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition has little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* Both

Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

Subscriptio The 1516 omission of this subscription may have been caused by the fact that, in cod. 2817, the subscription is placed beneath the last line of commentary instead of occupying the usual position beneath the last line of scripture text, so that it was overlooked by the typesetter.

ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΗ

EPISTOLA PAVLI AD THESSALONICENSES PRIMA

1 Παῦλος καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων, ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. **2** Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν, μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν ἡμῶν, ἀδιαλείπτως **3** μνημονεύοντες

1 Paulus et Siluanus et Timotheus ecclesiae Thessalonicensium, in deo patre et domino Iesu Christo: gratia vobis et pax a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo. **2** Gratias agimus deo semper de omnibus vobis, mentionem vestri facientes in precibus nostris, indesinenter **3** memores

Inscriptio προς *A B D E*: πτος *C* | 1,2 ημων *A B E*: υμων *C D*

Inscriptio EPISTOLA ... PRIMA *E*: AD THESSALONICENSES EPISTOLA PAVLI PRIMA *A-C*, ERASMI VERSIO *D* | 1,1 Siluanus *B-E*: Syluanus *A* | 2 precibus *B-E*: orationibus *A* | 3 memores *C-E*: recolentes *A B*

1,1 *patre* (1st.) πατρί ("patre nostro" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *nostro* is supported by cod. A and a few later mss. Erasmus' correction agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

1 *a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo* ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by cod. B F G and forty-two other mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1 and 2816, as well as ℵ A (D) I and about 500 later mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 298-300). See on *Col.* 1,2 for a similar variation among the mss., and see also *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change (though in Lefèvre *Comm.*, *patre* was accidentally omitted).

2 *de* περί ("pro" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,12.

2 *mentionem* μνείαν ("memoriam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,9. Manetti put *commemorationem*.

2 *vestri* ὑμῶν. The reading ἡμῶν in cod. 2817 appears to be an itacistic error, as it is inappropriate to the context. In cod. 2816, together with ℵ * A B I and a few later mss., accompanied by some Vulgate mss. (and Vg^st), the word is altogether omitted. Erasmus' text here follows cod. 2815, along with 1 and 2105, and also ℵ^corr C D F G and most other mss.

2 *precibus* τῶν προσευχῶν ("orationibus" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,10.

2 *indesinenter* ἀδιαλείπτως ("sine intermissione" Vg.). See *ibid.* By placing a comma before this word, Erasmus links *indesinenter* with the following verse. Lefèvre put *assidue*.

3 *memores* μνημονεύοντες ("recolentes" 1516-19). Erasmus, in 1516-19, seeks to preserve the participial form of the Greek word in his rendering, but reverts to the Vulgate wording in his separate Latin N.T. of 1521, and in the subsequent folio editions. For *recolo*, see also on *2 Cor.* 7,15.

ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως καὶ τοῦ
κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ τῆς ὑπομο-
νῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰη-
σοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ⁴εἰδότες, ἀδελφοὶ ἠγα-
πημένοι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν,
⁵ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγε-
νήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐν δυνάμει, καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ,
καὶ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ, καθὼς οἴ-
δατε οἷοι ἐγενήθημεν ἐν ὑμῖν δι᾽ ὑμᾶς.
⁶καὶ ὑμεῖς μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε, καὶ
τοῦ κυρίου, δεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον ἐν
θλίψει πολλῇ, μετὰ χαρᾶς πνεύματος
ἁγίου, ⁷ὥστε γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς τύπους
πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ
καὶ Ἀχαΐᾳ. ⁸ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν γὰρ ἐξήχηται

vestri propter opus fidei ac laborem
charitatis, et quod permansistis in spe
domini nostri Iesu Christi, coram
deo et patre nostro, ⁴scientes fratres
dilecti a deo, electionem vestram:
⁵quoniam euangelium nostrum fuit
erga vos non per sermonem solum,
verum etiam per virtutem et per spi-
ritum sanctum, perque certitudinem
multam, quemadmodum nostis qua-
les fuerimus inter vos, vestra causa.
⁶Et vos imitatores nostri facti fuistis,
et domini, recipientes sermonem cum
afflictione multa, cum gaudio spiri-
tus sancti: ⁷adeo vt fueritis exemplo
omnibus credentibus in Macedonia
et Achaia. ⁸A vobis enim pertonuit

5 εν πνευματι *B-E*: πνευματι *A* | 6 κυριου, *B-E*: κυριου *A*

3 ac *B-E*: et *A* | nostri *B-E*: vostri *A* | 4 deo, *B-E*: deo *A* | electionem *B-E*: eletionem *A* |
5 nostrum *B-E*: meum *A* | per sermonem *B-E*: in sermone *A* | per virtutem *B-E*: in vir-
tute *A* | per ... multam *B-E*: in spiritu sancto et in certitudine multa *A* | 6 domini, *B-E*:
domini *A* | recipientes *Aᶜ B-E*: recepistis *A** | sermonem cum *B-E*: verbum, in *A*

3 *vestri propter opus fidei* ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς
πίστεως ("operis fidei vestrae" Vg.). The Vulgate
corresponds with the transposition of ὑμῶν
after πίστεως, as in codd. D (F G). The version
of Erasmus treats ὑμῶν as an objective genitive
after μνημονεύοντες rather than as a possessive.
See *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was *operis
vestri fidei*.

3 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.
Manetti also made this change.

3 *laborem* τοῦ κόπου ("laboris" Vg.). Erasmus
continues his change of construction, which
began with *propter opus*.

3 *charitatis* τῆς ἀγάπης ("et charitatis" Vg.).
The Vulgate insertion of *et* lacks support from
Greek mss. Erasmus has the same rendering as
Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre substituted *dilectionis*. In
both mss. of Manetti's version, *et charitatis* is
omitted.

3 *quod permansistis in spe* τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλ-
πίδος ("sustinentiae spei" Vg.). Erasmus resorts
to paraphrase, to clarify the meaning. The Vul-
gate word, *sustinentia*, did not occur in classical
usage. In *Annot.*, Erasmus further expands the

phrase into *quod patienter perseuerastis in spe*.
Valla *Annot.* proposed that *sustinentiae* be re-
placed by *tolerantiae* or *patientiae*. Manetti simi-
larly had *patientie spei*, and Lefèvre *expectationis
spei* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *expectationis*, omitting
spei).

3 *coram deo et patre nostro* ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ("ante deum et patrem
nostrum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,46, and *Annot.* The
rendering of Erasmus is the same as that of
Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

4 *deo* θεοῦ. The insertion of a comma after *deo*,
from 1519 onwards (though not after θεοῦ in
the Greek text), links *a deo* with *dilecti* rather
than with *electionem*. This change produced
consistency with *fratres dilecti a domino* at
2 *Thess.* 2,13.

5 *quoniam* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,21.
This change was anticipated by Manetti.

5 *nostrum* ἡμῶν ("meum" 1516 Lat.). The
change from plural to singular in the 1516
rendering does not appear to have been promp-
ted by any Greek ms. variant. Erasmus restores
the Vulgate pronoun in 1519.

5 *fuit erga vos non* οὐκ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς ("non fuit ad vos" Vg.). The Vulgate follows the Greek word-order more literally. For *erga*, see on *Act.* 3,25.

5 *per sermonem ... per virtutem ... per spiritum sanctum* ἐν λόγῳ ... ἐν δυνάμει ... ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ("in sermone ... in virtute ... in spiritu sancto" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. The omission of ἐν before πνεύματι in 1516 was in agreement with cod. 2815, as well as 1, 2816 and a few other late mss. The rendering of Lefèvre had *potestate* for *virtute*.

5 *solum* μόνον ("tantum" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,16. Erasmus uses the same expression as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

5 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed et" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vgst; "sed" some Vg. mss., with Vg^{ww}). See on *Ioh.* 15,24.

5 *perque certitudinem multam* καὶ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ ("et in plenitudine multa" Vg.; "et in certitudine multa" 1516). For *per* and *-que*, see on *Rom.* 1,17 and *Ioh.* 1,39, respectively. For *certitudo*, see on *Col.* 2,2, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *in certitudinis plenitudine multa*.

5 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

5 *nostis* οἴδατε ("scitis" Vg.). Cf. on *Ioh.* 1,33; *Rom.* 14,14.

5 *inter vos* ἐν ὑμῖν ("in vobis" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^{ww}; "vobis" a few Vg. mss., with Vgst). See on *Ioh.* 15,24.

5 *vestra causa* δι' ὑμᾶς ("propter vos" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,20. Ambrosiaster had *vestri causa*.

6 *facti fuistis* ἐγενήθητε ("facti estis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. Lefèvre put just *fuistis*.

6 *recipientes* δεξάμενοι ("excipientes" Vg.; "recepistis" 1516 Lat. text). Erasmus' adoption of *recipio* is consistent with Vulgate usage, in the context of "receiving the word", at *Act.* 8,14; 11,1. However, he retains *excipio* for δέχομαι at *Lc.* 9,11; *Ioh.* 4,45; *Act.* 21,17; *2 Cor.* 7,15; *Hebr.* 11,31, all in the context of receiving a person. Cf. on Erasmus' substitution of *recipio* for *suscipio* at *Act.* 17,11 (1519). In 1516, his first inclination was to connect *domini* with *sermonem* rather than with *imitatores*, and this in turn led to the conversion of the participle into a main verb, *recepistis*. In the 1516 errata, he reverted to the use of the present participle. From 1519

onwards, a comma was placed after κυρίου and *domini*, to permit the interpretation "imitators ... of the Lord" (i.e. of Christ). See *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *suscipientes*.

6 *sermonem* τὸν λόγον ("verbum" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre.

6 *cum afflictione* ἐν θλίψει ("in tribulatione" Vg.; "in afflictione" 1516). For *cum*, see on *Rom.* 1,4, and for *afflictio*, see on *Ioh.* 16,21. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *in pressura*.

7 *adeo vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6.

7 *fueritis* γενέσθαι ("facti sitis" Vg.). For Erasmus' frequent removal of *facio*, see on *Ioh.* 1,15. This change agreed with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

7 *exemplo* τύπους ("forma" Vg.). See on *Phil.* 3,17. For Erasmus' use of the predicative dative, see on *Rom.* 8,28. He retains the Vulgate singular, though the latter may reflect the substitution of τύπον, as in codd. B D*. His Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with א A C F G (cod. 2105 has τύπος). Since it does not conform with the surrounding plurals, τύπον could seem to be a *lectio difficilior*, but it could also have arisen as a clarification by an ancient editor, who wished to interpret τύπους as referring to the collective example set by the whole Thessalonian church. Cf. the substitution of τύπος for τύποι by a few late mss. at *1 Petr.* 5,3. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites *exemplum* from "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster): this was also the rendering of Lefèvre. Manetti put *figura*.

7 *Achaia* Ἀχαΐᾳ ("in Achaia" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek text having ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, as in 𝔓^{65} א A B C D (F) G and many other mss. Cod. 2105 and many other late mss. also have τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, in company with another large section of the later mss. See on vs. 8 for another variant of this kind. The readings of codd. 1 and 2816*, respectively, are Ἀχαΐᾳ and τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, but they both omit the following clause in vs. 8, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ... Ἀχαΐᾳ, through errors of homoeoteleuton. Both Manetti and Lefèvre omitted *in*, and so did Lefèvre's Vulgate column.

8 *pertonuit* ἐξήχηται ("diffamatus est" Vg.). One reason for avoiding *diffamo* was that it

ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ Ἀχαΐᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐξελήλυθεν, ὥστε μὴ χρείαν ἡμᾶς ἔχειν λαλεῖν τι. ⁹αὐτοὶ γὰρ περὶ ὑμῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὁποίαν εἴσοδον ἔσχομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων, δουλεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ, ¹⁰καὶ ἀναμένειν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦν τὸν ῥυόμενον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης.

2 Αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε, ἀδελφοί, τὴν εἴσοδον ἡμῶν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅτι οὐ κενὴ γέγονεν, ²ἀλλὰ καὶ προπαθόντες

sermo domini, non solum in Macedonia et Achaia, verum etiam in omni loco fides vestra quae est in deum, dimanauit, vt non sit nobis necesse loqui quicquam. ⁹Siquidem ipsi de vobis annunciant, qualem ingressum habuerimus ad vos, et quomodo conuersi fueritis ad deum a simulacris, vt seruiretis deo viuenti et veraci, ¹⁰et expectaretis filium eius de coelis, quem excitauit a mortuis Iesum, qui liberat nos ab ira ventura.

2 Nam ipsi nostis fratres, introitum nostrum ad vos, quod non fuerit inanis, ²sed quod ante malis afflicti

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8 ημας *B-E*: υμας *A* | **10** νεκρων *B-E*: των νεκρων *A*

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8 sermo *B-E*: verbum *A* | nobis *B-E*: vobis *A* | **9** ingressum *B-E*: aditum *A*
2,2 quod *B-E*: om. *A*

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might be understood to mean "defame" or "slander". Cf. Erasmus' replacement of *diffamo* by *diuulgo famam* at *Mt.* 9,31, and by *diuulgo* at *Mc.* 1.45, in rendering διαφημίζω. However, the verb *pertono* is a dubious classical usage. An alternative choice might have been *personuit*: cf. *resono* for ἠχέω at 1 *Cor.* 13,1. See also *Annot.* The suggestion of Valla *Annot.* was *exonuit* or *ebuccinatus est*. Lefèvre preferred *diuulgatus est* (cf. the Vulgate rendering of ἐξεπορεύετο ἦχος by *diuulgabatur fama* at *Lc.* 4,37), and Manetti *celebratus est*.

8 *sermo* ὁ λόγος ("verbum" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus wanted to create consistency with *verbum* in vs. 6. In 1519, he changed to *sermo* at both passages, restoring the Vulgate rendering in the present verse.

8 *Achaia* Ἀχαΐᾳ ("in Achaia" Vg.). Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with cod. 2105, and also cod. B and some later mss. The Vulgate reflects the addition of ἐν τῇ before Ἀχαΐᾳ, as in codd. ℵ C D (F) G and many other mss. In cod. 2816ᵐˢ and some other late mss., it is τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ. See further on vs. 7, above. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

8 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed et" late Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Lefèvre again made the same change. Manetti put *sed etiam*.

8 *in deum* πρὸς τὸν θεόν ("ad deum" Vg.). At two other passages which speak of faith "towards" God, Erasmus renders πρός by *erga*: at *Phm.* 5, he uses *fidem quam habes erga dominum* for τὴν πίστιν ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν κύριον, and at 2 *Cor.* 3,4, *fiduciam ... habemus ... erga deum* for πεποίθησιν ... ἔχομεν ... πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Valla *Annot.* here recommended *apud deum*, and Lefèvre *erga deum*.

8 *dimanauit* ἐξελήλυθεν ("profecta est" Vg.). As pointed out in *Annot., proficiscor* is an unsuitable verb, as *in omni loco* does not express a point of departure or arrival. Similarly in rendering ἀπῆλθεν ἡ ἀκοή at *Mt.* 4,24, Erasmus replaces *abiit opinio* by *dimanauit fama*. Valla *Annot.* proposed *emanauit, diuulgata est* or *euulgata est*. Manetti put *exiuit*, and Lefèvre *perlata est*.

8 *vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6. This change was partly for the sake of variety, as Erasmus replaced *ita vt* by *adeo vt* in the previous verse.

8 *nobis* ἡμᾶς ("vobis" 1516). The reading ὑμᾶς, in 1516, was derived from cod. 2817, with

support from 2105* and a few other late mss. (cf. also cod. B*, which has the word-order ἔχειν ὑμᾶς).

8 *loqui quicquam* λαλεῖν τι ("quicquam loqui" Vg.). Erasmus follows the Greek word-order more literally.

9 *Siquidem ipsi* αὐτοὶ γάρ ("Ipsi enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34; 4,47.

9 *vobis* ὑμῶν ("nobis" Vg.). Erasmus here follows cod. 2817, together with cod. 2816, and also cod. B and some later mss. The Vulgate reflects the reading ἡμῶν, found in most other mss., including codd. 1, 2105, 2815. Manetti made the same change as Erasmus.

9 *annunciant* ἀπαγγέλλουσιν. The spelling of cod. 2815 was ἀπαγγελοῦσιν, as in D F G and some other mss.

9 *ingressum* εἴσοδον ("introitum" Vg.; "aditum" 1516). Erasmus was content to retain *introitus* for the same Greek word at 1 *Thess.* 2,1; 2 *Petr.* 1,11. See on *Act.* 13,24. For *aditus*, which Erasmus elsewhere uses twice for προσαγωγή, see on *Eph.* 2,18. His use of *ingressum* here in 1519 was identical with the version of Lefèvre.

9 *conuersi fueritis* ἐπεστρέψατε ("conuersi estis" Vg.). This substitution produces consistency with *habuerimus* earlier in the sentence. Cod. 2815 had the incorrect spelling ἐπιστρέψατε. Lefèvre again made the same change as Erasmus.

9 πρός (2nd.). Cod. 2815 had ἐπί, with little other ms. support.

9 *vt seruiretis* δουλεύειν ("seruire" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *ad seruiendum*, and Manetti *vt seruiatis*.

9 *viuenti* ζῶντι ("viuo" Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,3.

9 *veraci* ἀληθινῷ ("vero" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,28.

10 *expectaretis* ἀναμένειν ("expectare" Vg.). Erasmus again avoids the infinitive of purpose, as in vs. 9. Manetti had *vt expectaretis*, and Lefèvre *expectandum* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *ad expectandum*).

10 *excitauit* ἤγειρεν ("suscitauit" Vg.). See on *Act.* 17,31.

10 *a* ἐκ ("ex" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Rom.* 6,9. See on *Ioh.* 2,22. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti.

10 νεκρῶν. In 1516, Erasmus had τῶν νε-κρῶν, as in codd. 2815 and 2817, together

with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ B D (F) G I and most other mss. The omission of τῶν in 1519 is supported by cod. 3, along with 𝔓⁴⁶ᵛⁱᵈ A C and some other mss.

10 *qui liberat* τὸν ῥυόμενον ("qui eripuit" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate in using the present tense. For *libero*, see on *Rom.* 7,24. In *Annot.*, he proposes *qui eripit*, which was the rendering of Lefèvre.

2,1 *Nam* γάρ ("Nam et" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *et* lacks Greek ms. support. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre began the sentence with *Ipsi enim scitis*, and Manetti *Scitis nanque*.

1 *nostis* οἴδατε ("scitis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,33; *Rom.* 14,14.

1 *quod non fuerit inanis* ὅτι οὐ κενὴ γέγονεν ("quia non inanis fuit" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20 for *quod* and the subjunctive. For Erasmus' different positioning of the verb, see on *Rom.* 2,27. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *quod non inanis fuit*.

2 *sed quod ... audacter egerimus* ἀλλὰ καὶ ... ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα ("sed ... fiduciam habuimus" Vg.; "sed ... audacter egerimus" 1516). Erasmus' Greek text derived καί from cod. 2817. Although the word (despite the claims of J. M. A. Scholz and Tischendorf) seems to have little other ms. support, it subsequently remained in the *Textus Receptus*. Erasmus did not attempt to provide a translation of καί. Instead, in 1519, he inserted *quod*, to link this clause with ὅτι in vs. 1. This is the only N.T. passage where he uses *audacter*. In rendering παρρησιάζομαι elsewhere, he has *libere loquor* at *Act.* 18,26; 19,8; 26,26; *Eph.* 6,20; *fortiter ago* at *Act.* 9,27; 14,3 (both in 1519); *cum fiducia loquor* at *Act.* 9,28 (1522); and *sumo fiduciam* at *Act.* 13,46. See further on *Act.* 2,29; 9,27-8, and see also *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti put *sed ... confisi sumus*, and Lefèvre *sed ... fiducia ... freti sumus*.

2 *ante malis afflicti* προπαθόντες ("ante passi multa" late Vg.). Erasmus similarly replaces *patior* with the passive of *affligo* in rendering πάσχω at *Mt.* 17,15; 1 *Petr.* 2,21; 4,15, 19; 5,10. He further uses *malis afficior* for πάσχω at 1 *Petr.* 2,19, 20, 23; 3,17. More often he retains *patior*. The late Vulgate addition of *multa* lacks support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *ante passi*, and Lefèvre *ante perpessi*, all omitting *multa*.

LB 903

καὶ ὑβρισθέντες, καθὼς οἴδατε ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα | ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν λαλῆσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι. ³ἡ γὰρ παράκλησις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐκ πλάνης, οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀκαθαρσί-ας, οὔτε ἐν δόλῳ, ⁴ἀλλὰ καθὼς δεδοκιμάσμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πιστευ-θῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, οὕτως λαλοῦ-μεν, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκοντες, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τῷ δοκιμάζοντι τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν. ⁵οὔτε γάρ ποτε ἐν λόγῳ κολακίας ἐγενήθημεν, καθὼς οἴδατε, οὔτε ἐν προφάσει πλεονε-ξίας, θεὸς μάρτυς· ⁶οὔτε ζητοῦν-τες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δόξαν, οὔτε ἀφ' ὑμῶν, οὔτε ἀπ' ἄλλων, ⁷δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει εἶναι, ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστο-λοι, ἀλλ' ἐγενήθημεν ἤπιοι ἐν μέσῳ

et contumeliis affecti, quemadmodum scitis Philippis, audacter egerimus in domino nostro ad loquendum apud vos euangelium dei, in multo | cer-tamine. ³Siquidem exhortatio no-stra non fuit ex impostura, neque ex immundicia, neque cum dolo, ⁴sed quemadmodum probati fueramus a deo, vt nobis committeretur euange-lium: ita loquimur, non vt hominibus placentes, sed deo, qui probat corda nostra. ⁵Neque enim vnquam per sermonem adulationis versati sumus, quemadmodum nostis: nec per occasi-onem auaritiae, deus est testis: ⁶neque quaerentes ex hominibus gloriam, nec a vobis, nec ab aliis: ⁷quum possemus in autoritate esse, tanquam apostoli Christi: sed fuimus placidi in medio

LB 904

2,4 δεδοκιμασμεθα *A B D E*: διδοκιμασμεθα *C* | 6 ζητουντες *A^c B-E*: ξητουντες *A** | απ *B-E*: απο *A*

2 Philippis *B-E*: in Philippis *A* | 3 cum *B-E*: in *A* | 4 hominibus *A B D E*: honibus *C* | 5 per sermonem *B-E*: in sermone *A* | per occasionem *B-E*: in occasione *A* | 6 quaerentes *B-E*: querentes *A* | 7 Christi *B-E*: om. *A*

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2 *quemadmodum* καθὼς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same substitution.

2 *Philippis* ἐν Φιλίπποις ("in Philippis" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,21 for Erasmus' use of the locative. The lack of punctuation in his Greek text, at this point, makes it uncertain whether this phrase should be connected with the pre-ceding verbs (as in the Latin rendering), or with the following ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα. The word *in* was likewise removed by Lefèvre. (On ἐπαρρη-σιασάμεθα and *audacter egerimus*, see p. 629).

2 *domino* τῷ θεῷ ("deo" Vg.). For Erasmus' incorrect substitution of *domino*, see on 2 *Cor.* 5,6.

2 *ad loquendum* λαλῆσαι ("loqui" Vg.). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 10,7. Ambrosiaster had *loquendo*, and Manetti *vt loqueremur*.

2 *apud vos* πρὸς ὑμᾶς ("ad vos" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 2,29. Manetti put *vobis*.

2 *multo certamine* πολλῷ ἀγῶνι ("multa sol-licitudine" Vg.). See on *Col.* 2,1. In *Annot.*,

Erasmus cites *certamen* from "Ambrose". How-ever, Ambrosiaster had a slightly different word-ing, *magno certamine*, whereas Erasmus' version is identical with that of Valla *Annot.* The ren-dering of Manetti was *vehementi certamine*, and Lefèvre *multo studio*.

3 *Siquidem exhortatio* ἡ γὰρ παράκλησις ("Ex-hortatio enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34; 4,47. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *Nam exhortatio*.

3 *non fuit* οὐκ ("non" Vg.). Erasmus adds a verb, for clarity.

3 *ex* (twice) ἐκ ... ἐξ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. Erasmus uses the same word as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *impostura* πλάνης ("errore" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 4,14, and *Annot.*

3 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

4 *quemadmodum* καθὼς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. The same substitution was made by Lefèvre.

4 *probati fueramus* δεδοκιμάσμεθα ("probati sumus" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the pluperfect tense is less literal.

4 *vt nobis committeretur* πιστευθῆναι ("vt crederetur a nobis" late Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, the late Vulgate addition of *a* is redundant. For this reason, it is listed in the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. See on *Rom.* 3,2 for *committo*. The earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns) had *vt crederetur nobis*.

4 *vt* (2nd.) ὡς ("quasi" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,1. Erasmus' rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

5-6 *Neque ... nec ... neque ... nec ... nec* οὔτε (five times) ("Neque ... neque ... neque ... neque ... neque" Vg. 1527). In the 1527 Vulgate column, following the Froben Vulgate of 1514, the fourth instance of *neque* (before *quaerentes* in vs. 6) is a replacement for the earlier Vulgate *nec*. Erasmus' alteration of the sequence uses *neque* to accentuate the contrast between *versati* and *quaerentes*, while using *nec* to mark the subordinate contrasts between *sermonem* and *occasionem* in vs. 5 and between *vobis* and *aliis* in vs. 6. Elsewhere he does not often combine *neque* and *nec*, except at *Ioh.* 10,28 (1519); *Hebr.* 7,3; *Ap. Ioh.* 7,16; 20,4 (these last two following the Vulgate).

5 *vnquam* ποτε ("aliquando" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,9. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

5 *per sermonem adulationis versati sumus* ἐν λόγῳ κολακίας ἐγενήθημεν ("fuimus in sermone adulationis" Vg.; "in sermone adulationis versati sumus" 1516). The Vulgate word-order lacks explicit support from Greek mss. The spelling κολακίας was taken from cod. 2817, with support from cod. 2816, and also ℵ A C D* F G and some other mss. The spelling of codd. 1, 2105, 2815 and most other mss., commencing with B Dᶜᵒʳʳ, is κολακείας. For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17, and for *versor*, see on *Ioh.* 7,1. Erasmus' choice of verb resembles that of Ambrosiaster, who had *conuersati sumus*. Lefèvre put *in sermone assentationis fuimus*.

5 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt*.

5 *nostis* οἴδατε ("scitis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,14.

5 *per occasionem* ἐν προφάσει ("in occasione" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre put *in proposito*.

5 *est testis* μάρτυς ("testis est" Vg.). The position of the verb is unaffected by the Greek text. For Erasmus' preference for an earlier position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27.

6 *ex* ἐξ ("ab" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering, which is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, distinguishes between ἐξ and the following use of ἀφ' ... ἀπ'.

6 ἀπ'. In 1516, Erasmus had ἀπό, as in codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, as well as D F G and most other mss. The substitution of ἀπ' in 1519 has support from codd. 3 and 2816, with ℵ A B C 0208 and some later mss.

7 *in autoritate* ἐν βάρει ("vobis oneri" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *vobis* lacks Greek ms. support. In *Annot.*, Erasmus expresses his preference for the view, based on consideration of the context, that βάρος here refers to the burdensome imposition of apostolic authority rather than the burden of providing for the apostle's financial or practical needs. See also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 220, ll. 916-929. Manetti and Lefèvre both put just *oneri*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

7 *tanquam* ὡς ("vt" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 5,3. Manetti had *sicut*.

7 *apostoli Christi* Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι ("Christi apostoli" Vg.; "apostoli" 1516 Lat.). The omission of *Christi* in 1516 perhaps arose from a typesetter's misreading of Erasmus' handwritten alteration of the word-order. In placing *apostoli* first, he no doubt wished to avoid any possible confusion between the nominative plural and genitive singular.

7 *fuimus* ἐγενήθημεν ("facti sumus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,15. Erasmus used the same word as Ambrosiaster.

7 *placidi* ἤπιοι ("paruuli" Vg.). The adoption of *lenes* by Vgˢᵗ lacks support from Vulgate mss., apart from the double rendering, *lenes paruuli*, offered by cod. Sangermanensis. The predominant Vulgate reading, *paruuli*, reflects the substitution of νήπιοι, as in 𝔓⁶⁵ ℵ* B C* D* Fᶜᵒʳʳ G I and more than sixty other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵᶜᵒʳʳ A Cᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and more than 510 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 301-3). See *Annot.*, and also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 220, ll. 931-935. From the point of view of scribal error, an accidental change could have

ὑμῶν, ὡς ἂν τροφὸς θάλ|πη τὰ ἑαυ-
τῆς τέκνα, ⁸οὕτως ἱμειρόμενοι ὑμῶν,
εὐδοκοῦμεν μεταδοῦναι ὑμῖν, οὐ μό-
νον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, διότι ἀγα-
πητοὶ ἡμῖν γεγένησθε. ⁹μνημονεύετε
γάρ, ἀδελφοί, τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν, καὶ
τὸν μόχθον· νυκτὸς γὰρ καὶ ἡμέρας
ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί
τινα ὑμῶν, ἐκηρύξαμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς τὸ
εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ. ¹⁰ὑμεῖς μάρ-
τυρες καὶ ὁ θεός, ὡς ὁσίως καὶ δικαί-
ως καὶ ἀμέμπτως ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύου-
σιν ἐγενήθημεν· ¹¹καθάπερ οἴδατε, ὡς

vestri, perinde ac si | nutrix foueat su-
os filios, ⁸sic affectu propensi in vos,
animo cupiebamus impertire vobis,
non solum euangelium dei, verum eti-
am nostras ipsorum animas, propterea
quod chari nobis facti estis. ⁹Memi-
nistis enim fratres laboris nostri, ac
sudoris: nocte enim ac die opus faci-
entes, ob id ne cui vestrum essemus
oneri, praedicauimus apud vos euan-
gelium dei. ¹⁰Vos autem testes estis et
deus, quam sancte et iuste et inculpa-
te vobiscum qui credebatis versati fu-
erimus: ¹¹quemadmodum nostis, vt

8 ἱμειρόμενοι *Aᶜ B-E*: ὁμειρόμενοι *A**

8 cupiebamus *B-E*: cupimus *A* | facti estis *B-E*: esse coeperitis *A*

easily occurred in either direction, owing to
the resemblance of the two words. However, in
the present context, ἤπιοι ("gentle": cf. 2 *Tim.*
2,24) yields a far more satisfactory sense, as it
supplies a suitable antithesis for the preceding
ἐν βάρει and is consistent with the attitude of
a nurse or τροφός, mentioned in the following
clause. At 1 *Cor.* 13,11, the apostle says that he
has ceased to be νήπιος ("little child"), and in
several places he exhorts his readers to seek for
maturity in the faith, so that it does not seem
probable that he would have wished to give the
impression here that he himself had reverted
to being "immature". The substitution of νήπιοι
may have been influenced by scribal familiarity
with the more frequent Pauline usage of this
word. The rendering proposed by Lefèvre *Comm.*
was *quieti*.

7 *vestri* ὑμῶν ("vestrum" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.*
2,9. This change is in accordance with the
Vulgate use of *in medio vestri* at *Act.* 2,22,
though Erasmus retains *de medio vestrum* at
1 *Cor.* 5,2. Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre advocated
the same change at the present passage.

7 *perinde ac si* ὡς ἂν ("tanquam si" Vg.). See
on 1 *Cor.* 4,18.

7 *suos filios* τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα ("filios suos" Vg.).
Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order.
Lefèvre put *eos (qui suiipsius essent) filios*.

8 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21.
Lefèvre had *tali pacto*.

8 *affectu propensi in vos* ἱμειρόμενοι ὑμῶν ("de-
siderantes vos [cupide]" Vg.). The 1516 Greek
text had the spelling ὁμειρόμενοι, as in cod.
2817, supported by 1, 2105 and most other
mss., commencing with 𝔓⁶⁵ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A B C D
F G. In the 1516 errata, Erasmus altered this
to ἱμειρόμενοι, as found in codd. 2815, 2816
and some other late mss. See *Annot.* For Eras-
mus' use of *propensus*, see on *Rom.* 10,1, and
Annot. In the Vulgate rendering, it is not en-
tirely clear whether *cupide* was originally meant
to attach to *desiderantes vos* (as indicated by a
comma after *cupide* in the 1527 Vulgate column,
and as assumed by Erasmus in *Annot.*) or to
volebamus (i.e. *cupide volebamus* for ηὐδοκοῦμεν).
Manetti put *cupidi vestri*, and Lefèvre *affecti ad
vos*.

8 *animo cupiebamus* εὐδοκοῦμεν ("[cupide] vo-
lebamus" Vg.; "animo cupimus" 1516). For the
late Vulgate punctuation after *cupide*, see the
previous note. The Vulgate use of the imperfect
tense possibly reflects the substitution of ηὐδο-
κοῦμεν, as in cod. B. In 1516, Erasmus aimed
to render the Greek present tense more literally.
Elsewhere he reserves *cupio* for θέλω, ἐπιθυμέω
and βούλομαι. Cf. *Annot.* The version of Ambro-
siaster had just *cupimus*, Manetti *volebamus*, and
Lefèvre *bonam voluntatem habemus*.

8 *impertire* μεταδοῦναι ("tradere" Vg.). See on
Rom. 12,8. Ambrosiaster (1492) and Lefèvre
used *impartiri*.

8 θεοῦ. Cod. 2815 has Χριστοῦ, together with a few other late mss. A similar change occurs in cod. 2815 in vs. 9 and also at 2 *Cor.* 11,7. In each case, these substitutions seem to have been influenced by the presence of εὐαγγέλιον.

8 *verum etiam* ἀλλὰ καί ("sed etiam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,24. Lefèvre put *sed et.*

8 *nostras ipsorum animas* τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς ("animas nostras" Vg.). Erasmus wishes to convey the reflexive emphasis of ἑαυτῶν.

8 *propterea quod* διότι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,19, and *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *quia.*

8 *chari* ἀγαπητοί ("charissimi" Vg.). Erasmus removes the inaccurate Vulgate superlative. Usually he substitutes *dilectus* for *charissimus*: cf. on *Act.* 15,25. In *Annot.*, he accordingly recommends *dilecti* here, and this was also the rendering of Manetti and Lefèvre.

8 *facti estis* γεγένησθε ("esse coeperitis" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,15 for *coepio esse.* In 1519, Erasmus reverted to the Vulgate wording. Manetti put *fuistis.*

9 *Meministis enim* μνημονεύετε γάρ ("Memores enim facti estis" late Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus attributes his rendering to "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster): the same wording was also used by Lefèvre. Manetti treated the verb as an imperative, *Mementote enim.*

9 *ac* (twice) καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Ambrosiaster had *et ... ac*, and Manetti *ac ... et.*

9 *sudoris* τὸν μόχθον ("fatigationis" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). See on 2 *Cor.* 11,27, and *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti was *defatigationis.*

9 *nocte enim* νυκτὸς γάρ ("nocte" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of γάρ, with support from codd. א A B D* F G H and a few other mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and 2816, as well as D^corr and most later mss. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti put *nocte nanque*, and Lefèvre *Nam nocte.*

9 *opus facientes* ἐργαζόμενοι ("operantes" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 9,6. In the parallel passage at 2 *Thess.* 3,8, Erasmus substitutes *facientes opus.*

9 *ob id ne cui vestrum essemus oneri* πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν ("ne quenquam vestrum grauaremus" Vg. 1527). The use of *quenquam* by the 1527 Vulgate column follows

the Froben Vulgate of 1514. See on 2 *Cor.* 7,12 for *ob id ne*, and on 1 *Cor.* 8,9 for the use of the predicative dative. In rendering the same Greek phrase at 2 *Thess.* 3,8, Erasmus makes a similar substitution of *ne cui vestrum essemus oneri*, but has *ad hoc* rather than *ob id*. In both passages he is seeking a more precise rendering, which distinguishes πρὸς τό from ἵνα μή. For his treatment of ἐπιβαρῆσαι, see on 2 *Cor.* 2,5. Manetti had *vt aliquem vestrum non grauaremus*, and Lefèvre *ne cuique vestrum grauamini essemus.*

9 *apud vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" Vg.). A comparable use of *apud* for εἰς occurs at *Mc.* 13,10. At *Mc.* 14,9, εἰς (after κηρύσσω) is rendered by *in* and the accusative: this was also Manetti's choice at the present passage, where he put *in vos.*

9 θεοῦ. Cod. 2815 again substitutes Χριστοῦ, with little other support. See on vs. 8.

10 *Vos autem* ὑμεῖς ("Vos" Vg.). The addition of *autem* was not supported by any of Erasmus' mss. at Basle.

10 *inculpate* ἀμέμπτως ("sine querela" Vg.). For Erasmus' avoidance of *sine querela*, see on *Phil.* 2,15, and *Annot.* The word *inculpate* does not occur in classical authors, and the adjective, *inculpatus*, is rare. Lefèvre, with even less regard for classical authority, put *irreprehensibiliter.*

10 *vobiscum ... versati fuerimus* ὑμῖν ... ἐγενήθημεν ("vobis ... affuimus" late Vg.). Erasmus finds a more suitable verb: see on *Ioh.* 7,1. In *Annot.*, he suggested replacing *affuimus* by *fuimus*, as in the earlier Vulgate. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *vobis ... facti sumus.*

10 *qui credebatis* τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ("qui credidistis" Vg.). The only Greek support for the perfect tense of the Vulgate seems to come from 𝔓^65vid, in which the only letters which survive from this word are -σασιν (perhaps from the aorist participle, πιστεύσασιν). Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *qui creditis.*

11 *quemadmodum* καθάπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,6. Lefèvre made the same change.

11 *nostis* οἴδατε ("scitis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,14.

11 *vt* ὡς ("qualiter" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Lc.* 24,6 (1519). Cf. on *Act.* 20,18. Cod. 2815 replaced ὡς (1st.) by εἰς, apparently without other ms. support. Lefèvre put *quam.*

ἕνα ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, ὡς πατὴρ τέκνα ἑαυ-
τοῦ, ¹²παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς καὶ παρα-
μυθούμενοι καὶ μαρτυρούμενοι, εἰς τὸ
περιπατῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ
καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασι-
λείαν καὶ δόξαν.

¹³Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦ-
μεν τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως, ὅτι παραλα-
βόντες λόγον ἀκοῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ
θεοῦ, ἐδέξασθε οὐ λόγον ἀνθρώπων, ἀλ-
λὰ καθώς ἐστιν ἀληθῶς λόγον θεοῦ, ὃς
καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.
¹⁴ὑμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε, ἀδελφοί,
τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν
ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι
ταὐτὰ ἐπάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδί-
ων συμφυλετῶν, καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ
τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ¹⁵τῶν καὶ τὸν κύριον
ἀποκτεινάντων Ἰησοῦν, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους
προφήτας, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκδιωξάντων, καὶ

erga vnumquenque vestrum, tanquam
pater erga filios suos, fuerimus affe-
cti, ¹²obsecrantes vos et consolantes et
obtestantes, vt ambularetis digne deo,
qui vocasset vos in suum regnum ac
gloriam.

¹³Quapropter et nos gratias agimus
deo indesinenter, quod quum accipe-
retis sermonem a nobis, quo deum
discebatis, accepistis non sermonem
hominum, sed sicut erat vere ser-
monem dei, qui et agit in vobis
credentibus. ¹⁴Vos enim imitatores
facti estis fratres ecclesiarum dei quae
sunt in Iudaea, in Christo Iesu, quod
eadem passi sitis et vos a propriis
contribulibus: quemadmodum et ipsi
nos a Iudaeis, ¹⁵qui vt et dominum
occiderunt Iesum, et proprios pro-
phetas, ita et nos persequuti sunt, et

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12 μαρτυρουμενοι *D E*: μαρτυρομενοι *A-C* | 14 *prius* υμεις *A B D E*: ημεις *C*

13 *prius* sermonem *B-E*: sermonem auditus *A* | quo deum discebatis *B-E*: dei *A*

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11 *erga vnumquenque ... erga filios suos, fueri-
mus affecti* ἕνα ἕκαστον ... τέκνα ἑαυτοῦ
("vnumquenque ... filios suos" Vg.). Erasmus
adds *erga* and *fuerimus affecti*, to complete the
implied sense of the passage. See *Annot.* The
version of Lefèvre had *quenque ... filios suos*.

12 *obsecrantes* παρακαλοῦντες ("deprecantes"
Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Phil.* 4,2
(1519); *Hebr.* 13,19; *Iud.* 3. Cf. on *Rom.* 16,17.
Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.
Lefèvre put *hortati sumus*.

12 *et obtestantes* καὶ μαρτυρούμενοι ("testificati
sumus" Vg.). A similar substitution of *obtestor*
occurs at 2 *Tim.* 4,1, and also *obtestor* for *testor*
at 1 *Tim.* 5,21 (both in 1519), rendering δια-
μαρτύρομαι. Cf. on *Ioh.* 1,7, and *Annot.* The
spelling μαρτυρούμενοι, used in 1516 *Annot.*
and introduced into the 1527 Greek text,
has support from codd. 1, 2105, 2816, to-
gether with D* F G and some other mss. In
the 1516-22 editions of the N.T. and in 1535
Annot., the spelling was μαρτυρόμενοι, as found
in codd. 2815, 2817 and most other mss. The
substitution of -ούμενοι may have been designed

to conform with N.T. usage at other passages:
see on *Act.* 26,22. This variant remained in the
Textus Receptus. Lefèvre put *et protestati*.

12 *qui vocasset* τοῦ καλοῦντος ("qui vocauit"
Vg.). The perfect tense of the Vulgate seems to
reflect the replacement of καλοῦντος by καλέ-
σαντος, as in codd. ℵ A and a few later mss.
In rendering the Greek present participle, Eras-
mus was less accurate than Ambrosiaster, who
put *qui vocat*. Lefèvre had the word-order *qui
vos vocat*.

12 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

13 *Quapropter* Διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo" Vg.). See on
Act. 10,29. Lefèvre made the same change.

13 *indesinenter* ἀδιαλείπτως ("sine intermissio-
ne" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,9. Lefèvre put *assidue*.

13 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.*
1,20. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that
of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

13 *quum acciperetis* παραλαβόντες ("cum ac-
cepissetis" Vg.). Erasmus seems to have con-
cluded that παραλαβόντες and δέξασθε refer
to the same action of receiving the word. See

Annot. However, the Greek aorists imply a sequence of two actions, first (παραλαβόντες) the outward hearing of the apostle's words, and secondly (ἐδέξασθε) the inward step of faith in believing that those words were from God himself. Lefèvre inaccurately substituted the present participle, *suscipientes.*

13 *sermonem a nobis, quo deum discebatis* λόγον ἀκοῆς παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ("a nobis verbum auditus dei" Vg.; "sermonem auditus a nobis, dei" 1516). Erasmus gives a clearer sense, but *quo ... discebatis* ("by which you were learning") is an inaccurate representation of ἀκοῆς. See *Annot.* For *sermo,* see on *Ioh.* 1,1. Manetti put *verbum auditus a nobis dei,* and Lefèvre *sermonem auditionis dei a nobis.*

13 *accepistis* ἐδέξασθε ("accepistis illud" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *illud* lacks explicit Greek ms. support. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre put *suscepistis,* omitting *illud.*

13 *non* οὐ ("non vt" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *vt* has little support from Greek mss., though the scholia of cod. 2817comm offer οὐχ ὡς. The text of cod. 2817, as in Erasmus' other mss. at Basle, has just οὐ, without ὡς. Cf. *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre likewise deleted *vt* here.

13 *sermonem* (2nd. and 3rd.) λόγον ("verbum" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1, and *Annot.* The same substitution was made by Lefèvre.

13 *erat* ἐστιν ("est" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal in retaining the present tense.

13 *et* (2nd.) καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

13 *agit* ἐνεργεῖται ("operatur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,5.

13 *credentibus* τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ("qui credidistis" Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek present participle more accurately. See *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *qui creditis.*

14 γάρ. Cod. 2815 adds καί, with little other ms. support.

14 *quod ... passi sitis* ὅτι ... ἐπάθετε ("quia ... passi estis" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20.

14 ταὐτά. This reading seems to have been prompted by ταῦτα in cod. 2815, in company with cod. A and a few later mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817, it is τὰ αὐτά, as in ℵ B D F G and most other mss. The

less authoritative spelling adopted by Erasmus passed into the *Textus Receptus.*

14 *propriis contribulibus* τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν ("contribulibus vestris" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,11 for *propriis.* Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. See *Annot.* The same change was made by Lefèvre. Manetti put *contribulibus propriis.*

14 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt.*

14 *ipsi nos* αὐτοί ("ipsi" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal here. Erasmus regarded *nos* as being implied by the context: see *Annot.* However, this prevents a legitimate alternative interpretation, that αὐτοί refers to the Christians of Judaea, in view of the earlier part of this verse. Manetti put *nos ipsi.*

15 *vt et dominum ... ita et nos* καὶ τὸν κύριον ... καὶ ἡμᾶς ("et dominum ... et nos" Vg.). The Vulgate is more strictly literal here. Erasmus uses *vt ... ita* to emphasise the parallelism of the two clauses. Lefèvre began the verse with *et iis qui dominum ... et nos.*

15 *proprios* ἰδίους (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. ℵ A B D* F G I 0208 and twenty-three other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with Dcorr and about 550 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 304-6). See *Annot.* That the reading ἰδίους (or its Latin equivalent, *suos*) existed at least as early as the 2nd. century A.D. can be deduced from Tertullian *Adv. Marcionem* V, 15 (*CSEL* 47, p. 627), who alleges that it was a heretical addition to the text. If the word were not genuine, a more charitable explanation could perhaps have been that scribes added ἰδίους so as to provide a balancing phrase for the earlier τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν (vs. 14). However, it remains possible that the word was authentic, but was deleted by a pious scribe who was offended by ἰδίους προφήτας ("their own prophets"), mistakenly imagining this to imply that the O.T. prophets had no divine authority: cf. *Tit.* 1,12, where the apostle uses ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης to refer, with a touch of irony, to one of the Greek poets. From that aspect, ἰδίους has the advantage of being a *lectio difficilior* here. At other passages, the usual phrase is οἱ προφῆται ("the prophets"), or occasionally οἱ προφῆται αὐτοῦ ("his prophets", i.e. prophets whom God had appointed), or οἱ ἅγιοι προφῆται αὐτοῦ ("his holy prophets").

θεῷ μὴ ἀρεσκόντων, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐναντίων, ¹⁶κωλυόντων ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἔθνεσι λαλῆσαι, ἵνα σωθῶσιν, εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας πάντοτε. ἔφθασε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος.

¹⁷Ἡμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, ἀπορφανισθέντες ἀφ' ὑμῶν πρὸς καιρὸν ὥρας, προσώπῳ, οὐ καρδίᾳ, περισσοτέρως ἐσπουδάσαμεν τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν ἐν πολλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ. ¹⁸διὸ ἠθελήσαμεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος, καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δίς, καὶ ἐνέκοψεν ἡμᾶς ὁ σατανᾶς. ¹⁹τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐλπὶς ἢ χαρὰ ἢ στέφα|νος καυχήσεως, ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ; ²⁰ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε ἡ δόξα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ χαρά.

deo non placent, et omnibus homini-bus aduersantur: ¹⁶qui obsistunt no-bis, ne loquamur gentibus, quo salui fiant, vt expleant sua peccata semper: peruenit autem in illos ira in finem.

¹⁷Caeterum nos fratres, orbati vo-bis ad spatium temporis, aspectu, non corde, vehementius studuimus videre faciem vestram, cum multo desiderio. ¹⁸Quapropter voluimus venire ad vos, ego quidem Paulus, et semel et iterum, et obstitit nobis satanas. ¹⁹Nam quae est nostra spes aut gaudium aut co-rona | gloriationis, an non et vos in conspectu domini nostri Iesu Christi, in eius aduentu? ²⁰Vos enim estis gloria nostra et gaudium.

LB 907 (left margin)
LB 908 (right margin)

15 εναντιων *A E*: εναντιον *B-D*

16 loquamur *B-E*: loquamnr *A* | quo salui fiant *B-E*: vt saluentur *A* | ira *B-E*: ira dei *A* |
17 cum *B-E*: in *A* | desiderio *C-E*: desyderio *A B*

For other variants involving ἴδιος, see on *Eph.* 5,24. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

15 ἐναντίων. In 1519-27, Erasmus had the variant spelling ἐναντίον, found in cod. 2817, and also in D* and a few later mss., including cod. 69. The 1518 Aldine Bible, which also has this reading, is known to have been used as a source for corrections by Erasmus' assistants when compiling the errata to his 1519 edition. However, during his preparation of the 1519 text, Erasmus himself did not yet have a copy of the Aldine available for consultation. Unless ἐναντίον was merely an arbitrary correction, it is likely that he drew this reading from cod. 2817 or one of the other mss. which he examined in the years 1516-18.

16 *qui obsistunt nobis* κωλυόντων ἡμᾶς ("pro-hibentes nos" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17 for *obsisto*. By using this verb here and in vs. 18, Erasmus treats κωλύω and ἐγκόπτω as being identical in meaning. Lefèvre had *et nos ... prohibent*.

16 *ne loquamur gentibus* τοῖς ἔθνεσι λαλῆσαι ("gentibus loqui" Vg.). The change of construc-tion is partly consequent upon the earlier use of *obsisto*. However, the Vulgate word-order is

more literal. Manetti put *ne gentibus loquamur*, while retaining *prohibentes*.

16 *quo salui fiant* ἵνα σωθῶσιν ("vt salui fiant" late Vg.; "vt saluentur" 1516). For *quo*, see on *Rom.* 1,13, and for Erasmus' avoidance of the verb *saluo* in 1519, see on *Ioh.* 3,17. The use of *salui* was not strictly in agreement with the feminine gender of *gentes*. However, in both Erasmus and the late Vulgate, the use of the masculine was appropriate to the context, and implied that the apostle did not refer to the salvation of whole nations, in the sense of poli-tical or cultural entities, but meant the salva-tion of many people who belonged to those nations. In the same way, at *Mt.* 28,19-20, there is a shift from πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (neuter) to αὐτούς (masculine), rendered by both Erasmus and the Vulgate as *docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos ... docentes eos*. Similarly at *Act.* 28,28, Eras-mus and the Vulgate have *gentibus missum est hoc salutare dei, et ipsi audient* (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ... αὐτοί). Further examples occur at *Rom.* 2,14; *Ap. Ioh.* 20,8. At the present passage, Am-brosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

16 *vt expleant* εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι ("vt imple-ant" Vg.). The difference of meaning between

the two Latin verbs is only slight. Cf. on *Ioh.* 15,25. Manetti put *ad implendum*, and Lefèvre *in augmentum* (followed by *peccatorum suorum*).

16 *autem* δέ ("enim" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vg^ww). In *Annot.*, Erasmus attributes *autem* to the Vulgate, this being the wording of a few Vulgate mss. as well as the Old Latin (along with Vg^st). The use of *enim* by other Vulgate copies lacks support from Greek mss. The version of Manetti began this clause with *Peruenit autem*, and Lefèvre *et superuenit*.

16 *in illos ira* ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργή ("ira dei super illos" Vg.; "in illos ira dei" 1516 Lat.). See on *Col.* 3,6 for the substitution of *in* for *super*. The Vulgate insertion of *dei* corresponds with the addition of τοῦ θεοῦ in codd. D F G. There is little support for the Vulgate word-order other than cod. B, which has ἡ ὀργὴ ἐπ' αὐτούς (without τοῦ θεοῦ). See *Annot.* The retention of *dei* in the 1516 Latin text, in conflict with the accompanying Greek text, was no doubt an oversight. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *ira dei super eos*, and Lefèvre *in eos ira*.

16 *in finem* εἰς τέλος ("vsque in finem" Vg.). Elsewhere Erasmus more often uses *vsque ad finem* for phrases such as εἰς τέλος and ἕως τέλος. In *Annot.*, he interprets the Greek expression as referring to the "extreme" or "implacable" nature of the wrath of God. Manetti anticipated this change.

17 *Caeterum nos* Ἡμεῖς δέ ("Nos autem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 6,2.

17 *orbati* ἀπορφανισθέντες ἀφ' ("desolati a" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise here: "bereaved" (or literally "orphaned"), rather than "forsaken". See *Annot.* Exactly this change was made by Lefèvre.

17 *spatium temporis* καιρὸν ὥρας ("tempus horae" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 5,35 for Erasmus' avoidance of a literal rendering of ὥρα. See also *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *horam temporis*.

17 *vehementius* περισσοτέρως ("abundantius" Vg.). See on *Gal.* 1,14, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *vrgentius*.

17 *studuimus* ἐσπουδάσαμεν ("festinauimus" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at *Hebr.* 4,11. In rendering σπουδάζω elsewhere, Erasmus replaces *festino* with *do operam* at 2 *Tim.* 4,9, 21; *Tit.* 3,12. See *Annot.*, and cf. also on *studiosius* at *Phil.* 2,28. An identical change was made by Lefèvre.

17 *videre faciem vestram* τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν ("faciem vestram videre" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is more literal. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *vt faciem vestram videremus*.

17 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus gave a more literal rendering, which had also been used by Ambrosiaster. He reverted in 1519 to the wording of the Vulgate. Cf. on *Rom.* 1,4.

18 *Quapropter* διό ("Quoniam" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. Erasmus' choice of expression is again the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *propter quod*, and Lefèvre *quia*.

18 *et* (3rd.) καί ("sed" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. (The use of *et* is attributed to the Vulgate by Vg^st, without support from Vulgate mss., apart from the reading *sed et* in cod. Sangermanensis).

18 *obstitit nobis* ἐνέκοψεν ἡμᾶς ("impediuit nos" Vg.). See on vs. 16, and also on *Rom.* 15,22.

19 *Nam quae est* τίς γάρ ("Quae est enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

19 *gloriationis* καυχήσεως ("gloriae" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,2. Lefèvre made the same change.

19 *an non* οὐχί ("Nonne" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 18,11; 2 *Cor.* 9,1.

19 *et* καί (Vg. omits). Erasmus is more precise here. See *Annot.* The same correction was made by Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*

19 *in conspectu domini nostri Iesu Christi* ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ("ante dominum nostrum Iesum Christum" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "ante dominum nostrum Iesum" some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). A similar substitution of *in conspectu* for *ante* occurs at 1 *Thess.* 3,9, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 1 *Ioh.* 3,19. See further on *Act.* 3,13; 7,46, and *Annot.* The word Χριστοῦ was omitted by codd. א A B D and many other mss. In adding this word, Erasmus followed codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with F G and many other mss. The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *coram domino nostro Iesu*, and Lefèvre *in conspectu domini nostri Ihesu*.

19 *eius aduentu* τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ ("aduentu eius" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order lacks support from Greek mss. The version of Manetti put *aduentu suo*.

3 Διὸ μηκέτι στέγοντες, εὐδοκή-
σαμεν καταλειφθῆναι ἐν Ἀθήναις
μόνοι, ²καὶ ἐπέμψαμεν Τιμόθεον τὸν
ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ διάκονον τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ συνεργὸν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμᾶς καὶ
παρακαλέσαι ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς πίστεως
ἡμῶν, ³τῷ μηδένα σαίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς
θλίψεσι ταύταις. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε
ὅτι εἰς τοῦτο κείμεθα. ⁴καὶ γὰρ ὅτε

3 Proinde quum non amplius ferre-
mus, visum est nobis, vt Athenis
resideremus soli, ²ac misimus Timo-
theum fratrem nostrum ac ministrum
dei et adiutorem operis nostri in euan-
gelio Christi, vt confirmaret vos et
consolaretur vos de fide nostra, ³ne
quisquam turbaretur in afflictionibus
his. Nam ipsi nostis, nos in hunc
vsum positos esse. ⁴Etenim quum

3,1 καταλειφθῆναι C-E: κατειληφεναι A B

3,2 alt. ac D E: et A-C | 3 afflictionibus B-E: pressuris A

3,1 *Proinde* Διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17 for Erasmus' use of *proinde* elsewhere in the Epistles, usually to render οὖν or ὥστε. Lefèvre put *Quapropter.*

1 *quum non amplius ferremus* μηκέτι στέγοντες ("non sustinentes amplius" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. A similar substitution of *fero* for *sustineo* occurs in vs. 5. See also on 1 *Cor.* 9,12, and *Annot.* By turning this into a subordinate clause, Erasmus corrects a solecism of the Vulgate, which suddenly shifts from the first person plural to the third person singular, *placuit.* The solution adopted by Manetti and Lefèvre was to replace *placuit* with a first-person plural verb (see the following note). Here Manetti put *non amplius sustinentes*, and Lefèvre *non amplius ferentes.*

1 *visum est nobis* εὐδοκήσαμεν ("placuit nobis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,26, and *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti had *comprobauimus*, and Lefèvre *voluimus.*

1 *vt Athenis resideremus soli* καταλειφθῆναι ἐν Ἀθήναις μόνοι ("remanere Athenis solis" Vg.). In 1516-19, Erasmus' Greek text had κατειληφέναι (from καταλαμβάνω rather than καταλείπω), following cod. 2817. In *Annot.*, he incorrectly cited the text as having ἀπολειφθῆναι (from ἀπολείπω). Most mss. have καταλειφθῆναι, as in codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816. In the Vulgate, potential confusion arises from the fact that *solis* agrees with both *nobis* and *Athenis*, a problem which Erasmus resolves by using *vt* and the subjunctive. As indicated in

Annot., this change of construction was assisted by the wording of Ambrosiaster (1492), *vt Athenis soli relinqueremur.* Erasmus substitutes *resideo* for *remaneo* because the Vulgate verb could be misunderstood to imply that Paul was already alone before sending Timothy. For a similar reason, in rendering κατελείφθη μόνος at *Ioh.* 8,9 (1519), Erasmus replaces *remansit* with *relictus est solus.* Manetti put *soli Athenis remanere*, and Lefèvre *relinqui soli Athenis.*

2 *ac* (1st.) καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

2 *ac* (2nd.) καί ("et" 1516-22 = Vg.). See *ibid.*

2 *et adiutorem operis nostri* καὶ συνεργὸν ἡμῶν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. ℵ A and seventeen later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 550 later mss. Other variants also exist, notably καὶ συνεργόν in cod. B, and καὶ συνεργόν τοῦ θεοῦ in cod. D*, both omitting the preceding phrase καὶ διάκονον τοῦ θεοῦ (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 306-10). Although the longer reading, found in most mss., has sometimes been dismissed as a later compilation (or "conflation") based on the various shorter forms of text, there are other possible explanations of the evidence. In themselves, the phrases διάκονον θεοῦ (cf. 2 *Cor.* 6,4; *Col.* 1,7) and συνεργὸν ἡμῶν (cf. *Rom.* 16,3, 9, 21; *Phm.* 1, etc.) are suitable descriptions of Timothy and consistent with Pauline usage elsewhere. This kind of accumulation of epithets in praising his fellow-workers was characteristic of the

apostle: cf. his description of Epaphroditus as τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου at *Phil.* 2,25, and of Tychicus as ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος καὶ σύνδουλος ἐν κυρίῳ at *Col.* 4,7. If the phrase καὶ συνεργὸν ἡμῶν was part of the original text, it could easily have been omitted by a careless scribe: cf. the omission of καὶ συνεργόν by cod. D* at *Phil.* 2,25, and of καὶ σύνδουλος by cod. ℵ* at *Col.* 4,7. Subsequently, if a corrector added a marginal note to record the missing word, συνεργόν, this might have been misunderstood by some copyists as a direction to substitute συνεργόν for the preceding διάκονον τοῦ θεοῦ or for διάκονον, thereby creating the divergent and poorly attested readings of codd. B D*. Furthermore, the phrase used by cod. D*, συνεργὸν θεοῦ, may have been partly influenced by scribal familiarity with the words θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί at 1 *Cor.* 3,9. In *Annot.*, Erasmus renders by *cooperarium nostrum*. He mentioned the passage in his *Ad Placandos*. Manetti put *et coadiutorem nostrum*, and Lefèvre *et cooperatorem nostrum*.

2 *vt confirmaret vos et consolaretur* εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλέσαι ("ad confirmandos vos et exhortandos" Vg.). Erasmus evidently disliked the Vulgate sequence of gerundives. However, his substitution of *consolor* for *exhorto(r)* is questionable in the present context, and seems to have been influenced by Lefèvre, who had exactly the same wording as Erasmus here. Ambrosiaster's version was different in several respects, having *ad hoc vt et vos confirmet et deprecetur*. Manetti put *ad confirmandum vos et exhortandum*.

2 *vos* (2nd.) ὑμᾶς (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. ℵ A B D* F G I and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as D^corr and most later mss. The question here is whether scribes added ὑμᾶς under the influence of the preceding phrase, στηρίξαι ὑμᾶς, or whether a scribe deleted the second pronoun because he considered it superfluous to the sense. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

2 *de* περί ("pro" Vg.). The Vulgate possibly reflects the substitution of ὑπέρ, as in codd. ℵ A B D* F G I and a few other mss. Erasmus again follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2816, with D^corr and most later mss. (cod. 2105 has διά). However, since the Vulgate

sometimes renders περί by *pro*, it is not possible to be certain which Greek text the Vulgate follows at the present passage. See further on *Rom.* 14,12; *Col.* 1,3. Manetti anticipated this change, while Lefèvre had *in*.

2 *nostra* ἡμῶν ("vestra" Vg.). Erasmus follows cod. 2817, with little other ms. support. Most mss. have ὑμῶν.

3 *ne quisquam* τῷ μηδένα ("vt nemo" Vg.). In rendering the similar Greek expression, ἵνα μηδείς, the same substitution occurs at *Mc.* 5,43 (1519), but *vt nemo* is inconsistently retained at *Ap. Ioh.* 3,11. For Erasmus' dislike of *vt* when followed by a negative, in purpose clauses, see on *Ioh.* 3,20. His use of τῷ here is not supported by his usual mss., and may be a conjecture. Most mss., including codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817 (and also Lefèvre *Comm.*), have τό, while cod. 2815 has τοῦ. The word τῷ nevertheless remained in the *Textus Receptus*. The version of Ambrosiaster had *ne quis*.

3 *turbaretur* σαίνεσθαι ("moueatur" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus attributes his interpretation to the "Graeca scholia" and Theophylact (i.e. codd. 2817^comm and 2105^comm, respectively). Lefèvre (*Comm.*) tried *adulationi cederet*.

3 *afflictionibus* ταῖς θλίψεσι ("tribulationibus" Vg.; "pressuris" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 16,21. Erasmus' 1516 rendering was the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

3 *his* ταύταις ("istis" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,4. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre used the same word as Erasmus, but positioned it before *pressuris*.

3 *Nam ipsi* αὐτοὶ γάρ ("Ipsi enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34.

3 *nostis* οἴδατε ("scitis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,14.

3 *nos ... positos esse* ὅτι ... κείμεθα ("quod ... positi sumus" Vg.). The Vulgate construction is more literal.

3 *in hunc vsum* εἰς τοῦτο ("in hoc" Vg.). By this change, Erasmus makes clear that the Greek phrase expresses purpose rather than location, as the Vulgate use of *hoc* could be understood as either accusative or ablative. For the same reason, the versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *ad hoc*.

4 *Etenim* καὶ γάρ ("Nam et" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 12,14. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦμεν, προελέγομεν ὑμῖν
ὅτι μέλλομεν θλίβεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ
ἐγένετο καὶ οἴδατε. ⁵διὰ τοῦτο
κἀγὼ μηκέτι στέγων, ἔπεμψα εἰς τὸ
γνῶναι τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν, μή πως
ἐπείρασεν ὑμᾶς ὁ πειράζων, καὶ
εἰς κενὸν γένηται ὁ κόπος ἡμῶν.
⁶ἄρτι δὲ ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου πρὸς
ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐαγγελισα-
μένου ἡμῖν τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν
ἀγάπην ὑμῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἔχετε μνεί-
αν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὴν πάντοτε, ἐπι-
ποθοῦντες ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν, καθάπερ καὶ
ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς. ⁷διὰ τοῦτο παρεκλή-
θημεν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐπὶ πάσῃ
τῇ θλίψει καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἡμῶν, διὰ
τῆς ὑμῶν πίστεως. ⁸ὅτι νῦν ζῶ-
μεν, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ.
⁹τίνα γὰρ εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα τῷ
θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι περὶ ὑμῶν, ἐπὶ
πάσῃ τῇ χαρᾷ, ᾗ χαίρομεν δι' ὑμᾶς

apud vos essemus, praedicebamus vo-
bis fore, vt afflictionem pateremur,
quemadmodum et euenit, et nostis.
⁵Quapropter et ego non amplius fe-
rens, misi ad hoc, vt cognoscerem
fidem vestram, ne quo pacto tentasset
vos ille qui tentat, et inanis factus esset
labor noster. ⁶Nuper autem quum
venisset Timotheus ad nos a vobis, et
annunciasset nobis fidem ac dilecti-
onem vestram, et quod habeatis me-
moriam nostri bonam semper, deside-
rantes nos videre, quemadmodum nos
quoque vos. ⁷Idcirco consolationem
accepimus fratres per vos super omni
afflictione et necessitate nostra, per
vestram fidem. ⁸Quoniam nunc viui-
mus, si vos statis in domino. ⁹Quam
enim gratiarum actionem possumus
deo rependere de vobis super omni
gaudio, quod gaudemus propter vos

4 afflictionem *B-E*: pressuram *A* | 5 vos *B-E*: om. *A* | 6 desiderantes *C-E*: desyderantes *A B* |
nos quoque *B-E*: et nos *A* | 7 per vos super *B-E*: nomine vestro, in *A* | afflictione *B-E*:
pressura *A* | 9 super *B-E*: in *A*

4 *fore, vt afflictionem pateremur* ὅτι μέλλομεν
θλίβεσθαι ("passuros nos tribulationes" Vg.;
"fore, vt pressuram pateremur" 1516). See on
Act. 14,9 for the construction *fore, vt*, and on
Ioh. 16,21 for *afflictio*. Cod. 2817 incorrectly
put ὅτε for ὅτι. Manetti had *quod tribularemur*,
and Lefèvre *quod debebamus pressuras pati*.

4 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on
Rom. 1,13. The same change was made by
Lefèvre.

4 *euenit* ἐγένετο ("factum est" Vg.). For Eras-
mus' avoidance of *facio*, see on *Ioh.* 1,15.

4 *nostis* οἴδατε ("scitis" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
14,14.

5 *Quapropter* διὰ τοῦτο ("Propterea" Vg.). See
on *Act.* 10,29. Manetti put *propter hoc*, and
Lefèvre *Hanc ob rem*.

5 *non amplius* μηκέτι ("amplius non" Vg.).
Erasmus' choice of word-order is more in
accordance with classical Latin usage. Cf. on
Ioh. 6,66. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same

change (Ambrosiaster's word-order was *non
tolerans amplius*).

5 *ferens* στέγων ("sustinens" Vg.). See on vs. 1.
Erasmus has the same rendering as Lefèvre.

5 *ad hoc, vt cognoscerem* εἰς τὸ γνῶναι ("ad
cognoscendum" Vg. 1527; "ad cognoscendam"
Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate, following the Fro-
ben editions of 1491 and 1514, has the form
of the gerund, the earlier Vulgate that of the
gerundive. Other instances of Erasmus' removal
of gerundives occur in vss. 2 and 13 of this
chapter. For other examples of his insertion of
in hoc or *ad hoc*, see further on *Rom.* 1,20. His
wording was the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

5 *quo pacto* πως ("forte" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
11,21; 2 *Cor.* 9,4. Lefèvre made the same change,
while Manetti substituted *aliquatenus*.

5 *tentasset ... factus esset* ἐπείρασεν ... γένη-
ται ("tentauerit ... fiat" Vg.). Erasmus' render-
ing takes more account of the aorist tense of
γένηται. Manetti put *tentaret ... fieret*, and
Lefèvre *tentauerit ... fuerit*.

5 *vos* ὑμᾶς (omitted in 1516 Lat.). The 1516 omission, in conflict with the accompanying Greek text, could have been accidental, but it agrees with the rendering of Ambrosiaster (1492).

5 *ille qui tentat* ὁ πειράζων ("is qui tentat" Vg.). At *Mt.* 4,3, Erasmus uses *ille qui tentat* to replace *tentator*, in rendering the same Greek expression. By substituting *ille*, he attaches greater emphasis to the Greek article. Ambrosiaster had *ille temptator*, and Lefèvre *tentator*.

6 *Nuper* ἄρτι ("Nunc" Vg.). This change was influenced by the aorist tense of the following participle, ἐλθόντος. The same substitution was made by Lefèvre, who began the sentence with *Cum autem nuper venisset a vobis Timotheus ad nos*. Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *Modo*.

6 *quum venisset Timotheus ... annunciasset* ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου ... εὐαγγελισαμένου ("veniente Timotheo ... annunciante" Vg.). Erasmus renders the Greek aorists more accurately. In *Annot.*, he attributes his rendering to "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster). Lefèvre used the same words, but assembled them in a different order: see the previous note. Manetti had *cum Timotheus a vobis ad nos veniret atque euangelizaret*.

6 ἡμᾶς ἀφ’ ὑμῶν. The reading of cod. 2815 is ὑμᾶς ἀφ’ ἡμῶν, which is unsuited to the context, and probably arose from itacistic errors (cf. ὑμᾶς ἀφ’ ὑμῶν in cod. 2105*).

6 *ac* καί ("et" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

6 *dilectionem* τὴν ἀγάπην ("charitatem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,35. Lefèvre made the same change.

6 *quod habeatis memoriam nostri bonam* ὅτι ἔχετε μνείαν ἡμῶν ἀγαθήν ("quia memoriam nostri habetis bonam" Vg.). For *quod* and the subjunctive, see on *Ioh.* 1,20. The Vulgate word-order has little explicit Greek ms. support. Manetti put *quod habetis commemorationem nostri bonam* (though the first hand of *Pal. Lat.* 45 had *quoniam* for *quod*). Lefèvre's version was *quod bonam nostri habetis memoriam*.

6 *quemadmodum* καθάπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,6. The same substitution was made by Lefèvre.

6 *nos quoque* καὶ ἡμεῖς ("et nos quoque et" Vg. 1527; "et nos" 1516). In adding *et* after *quoque*, the 1527 Vulgate column followed the Froben edition of 1514. As indicated in *Annot.*, either *et* or *quoque* is redundant in the late

Vulgate rendering. Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre had the same wording as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

7 *Idcirco* διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 9,41. Lefèvre put *hac de re*.

7 *consolationem accepimus* παρεκλήθημεν ("consolati sumus" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 14,31. Ambrosiaster had *consolationem sumus adepti*.

7 *per vos* ἐν ὑμῖν ("in vobis" Vg.; "nomine vestro" 1516 Lat.). Erasmus' mss. at Basle, together with nearly all other mss. apart from F^{corr} G, had ἐφ’ for ἐν. The use of ἐφ’ also seems to be reflected by the word *nomine* in Erasmus' 1516 rendering.

7 *super* ἐπί ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,10. Erasmus' rendering of 1519 uses the same word as Ambrosiaster.

7 *afflictione et necessitate* τῇ θλίψει καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ("necessitate et tribulatione" Vg.; "pressura et necessitate" 1516). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with τῇ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ θλίψει, as found in codd. ℵ A B D F G 0183 and some later mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. For *afflictio*, see on *Ioh.* 16,21. Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition (cf. Ambrosiaster, *necessitate et pressura*). Manetti put *tribulatione et necessitate*.

7 *vestram fidem* τῆς ὑμῶν πίστεως ("fidem vestram" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate word-order has little Greek ms. support other than cod. A and cod. 2105, which have τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν. Cod. 2815 omits ὑμῶν altogether. Erasmus' wording agrees with some mss. of the earlier Vulgate, and the version of Ambrosiaster.

9 *rependere* ἀνταποδοῦναι ("retribuere" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,35. Lefèvre made the same change.

9 *de* περί ("pro" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,12. Erasmus had the same word as Ambrosiaster.

9 *super* ἐπί ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,10. Erasmus' 1519 rendering again agreed with Ambrosiaster's version.

9 *quod gaudemus* ᾗ χαίρομεν ("quo gaudemus" Vg.). Erasmus perhaps considered that an internal accusative, as in *gaudium gaudemus*, was more in accordance with classical Latin usage. However, he was content to retain *gauisi sunt gaudio* at *Mt.* 2,10, and *gaudio gaudet* at *Ioh.* 3,29. Lefèvre had *quo exultamus*.

ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ¹⁰νυκτὸς καὶ
ἡμέρας ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ δεόμενοι, εἰς τὸ
ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ καταρτίσαι
τὰ ὑστερήματα τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν;

¹¹Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ ἡμῶν
καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κατ-
ευθύναι τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ¹²ὑμᾶς
δὲ ὁ κύριος πλεονάσαι καὶ περισσεύσαι
τῇ ἀγάπῃ εἰς ἀλλήλους, καὶ εἰς πάντας,
καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς, ¹³εἰς τὸ στη-
ρίξαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀμέμπτους ἐν
ἁγιωσύνῃ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πα-
τρὸς ἡμῶν, ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μετὰ πάντων τῶν
ἁγίων αὐτοῦ.

4 Τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐρωτῶμεν
ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ
Ἰησοῦ, καθὼς παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν,
τὸ πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέ-
σκειν θεῷ, ἵνα περισσεύητε μᾶλλον.

in conspectu dei nostri, ¹⁰nocte ac die
supra modum orantes, vt videamus
vestram faciem, et suppleamus quae
desunt fidei vestrae?

¹¹Ipse vero deus et pater noster et
dominus noster Iesus Christus dirigat
viam nostram ad vos. ¹²Vos autem
dominus abundantes et exuberantes
faciat mutua inter vos charitate, et in
omnes, quemadmodum et nos in vos,
¹³vt confirmet corda vestra, irreprehen-
sibilia in sanctimonia coram deo et
patre nostro, in aduentu domini nostri
Iesu Christi, cum omnibus sanctis
eius.

4 Quod superest igitur fratres, roga-
mus vos et adhortamur per domi-
num Iesum, quemadmodum accepistis
a nobis, quomodo oporteat vos versari
et placere deo, vt abundetis magis.

13 corda vestra *C-E*: vestra corda *A B* | irreprehensibilia *B-E*: irrepraehensibilia *A*
4,1 per dominum Iesum *B-E*: in domino Iesu *A* | versari *B-E*: ambulare *A*

9 *in conspectu dei nostri* ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ
ἡμῶν ("ante dominum deum nostrum" Vg.
1527). See on 1 *Thess.* 2,19 for *in conspectu*. The
reading *dominum deum* in the 1527 Vulgate,
which follows the Froben Vulgate of 1514,
lacks support from Greek mss. Erasmus had
the same rendering as Lefèvre. Ambrosiaster
and Manetti put *coram deo nostro*.

10 *supra modum* ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ("abundan-
tius" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 7,13; 10,14, and
Annot. Both Manetti and Lefèvre used *super-
abundanter*.

10 *vestram faciem* ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον ("faciem
vestram" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the
word-order.

10 *suppleamus* καταρτίσαι ("compleamus" Vg.).
See on *Phil.* 2,30. Cod. 2817 has the itacistic
spelling, καταρτήσαι. Erasmus' rendering was
the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti and
Lefèvre both put *perficiamus*.

10 *quae desunt* τὰ ὑστερήματα ("ea quae de-
sunt" Vg.). See on *Col.* 1,24. Erasmus again has
the same wording as Ambrosiaster. Manetti put
defectus.

10 *vestrae* ὑμῶν. In the present edition, a
question-mark is placed after these words in
the Greek and Latin texts, as required by τίνα
at the beginning of vs. 9, though Erasmus had
only a full-stop here.

11 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). Erasmus gives a con-
tinuative sense to the Greek particle, as there
is no contrast between this clause and the
apostle's prayer in the previous sentence.

11 *dominus noster* ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ("dominus"
Vg.). The Vulgate omission of *noster* has little
support from Greek mss. Erasmus' correction
agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Ma-
netti and Lefèvre.

12 *Vos ... abundantes et exuberantes faciat mutua
inter vos charitate* ὑμᾶς ... πλεονάσαι καὶ

περισσεῦσαι τῇ ἀγάπῃ εἰς ἀλλήλους ("Vos ... multiplicet et abundare faciat charitatem vestram in inuicem" late Vg.). The Vulgate, in effect, makes ὑμᾶς the object of πλεονάσαι alone, and converts τῇ ἀγάπῃ into a second object for περισσεῦσαι. This corresponds with the replacement of τῇ ἀγάπῃ by τὴν ἀγάπην in cod. I. By substituting participles for infinitives in his rendering, Erasmus makes clear that ὑμᾶς is the object of both the Greek verbs. His use of *abundo* instead of *multiplico*, in rendering πλεονάζω, is consistent with his practice of reserving *multiplico* for πληθύνω at other passages. For *exubero*, see further on *Rom.* 3,7; *2 Cor.* 4,15. See also *Annot.* For the use of *mutuus inter vos*, see on *Ioh.* 4,33; 13,34. Lefèvre put *vos ... plus habere faciat, et faciat abundare dilectione mutua.* Manetti followed the late Vulgate, except that he placed *vos* immediately before *multiplicet*, and omitted *in* before *inuicem.*

12 *in vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in vobis" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. See *Annot.* His wording is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *ad vos.*

13 *vt confirmet* εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ("ad confirmanda" Vg.). See on vss. 2 and 5 for other instances of Erasmus' removal of gerundives. Manetti put *ad confirmandum.*

13 *corda vestra* ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας ("vestra corda" 1516-19). The word-order of 1516-19 was more literal, and this was also retained in the separate Latin N.T. of 1521. In 1522, Erasmus' Latin text reverted to the Vulgate rendering.

13 *irreprehensibilia* ἀμέμπτους ("sine querela" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 1,4; *Phil.* 2,15. Erasmus here follows Lefèvre in using the non-classical *irreprehensibilia*. In *Annot.*, instead of crediting Lefèvre with this wording, he cites "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster) as authority for the slightly different rendering, *irreprehensa.*

13 *sanctimonia* ἁγιωσύνη ("sanctitate" Vg.). Erasmus reserves *sanctitas* for ὁσιότης. For his use of *sanctimonia* elsewhere, see on *2 Cor.* 7,1. His rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

13 *coram deo et patre nostro* ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ("ante deum et patrem nostrum" Vg.). See on *Act.* 7,46. Erasmus has the same wording as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *Christi* Χριστοῦ (omitted by some Vg. mss., with Vg^st). In retaining this word, which was

present in many copies of the Vulgate (with Vg^ww) and also used by Ambrosiaster (1492), Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, along with F G and many other mss. The version of Lefèvre omitted *Christi*, in company with some mss. of the Vulgate and also many Greek mss., commencing with ℵ A B D.

13 *eius* αὐτοῦ ("eius. Amen" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the addition of ἀμήν in codd. ℵ * A D* and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also ℵ^corr B D^corr F G and most other mss. The same correction was made by Lefèvre, but Ambrosiaster and Manetti substituted *suis.*

4,1 *Quod superest* Τὸ λοιπόν ("De caetero" Vg.). See on *1 Cor.* 4,2. The article τό is omitted by codd. 1, 2105, 2815, together with ℵ A B* D F G and many other mss. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, with support from cod. 2816, and also B^corr and many later mss. His rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *Deinceps.*

1 *igitur* οὖν ("ergo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,62. Lefèvre made the same substitution.

1 *adhortamur* παρακαλοῦμεν ("obsecramus" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,32.

1 *per dominum Iesum* ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ ("in domino Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

1 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("vt quemadmodum" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *vt* corresponds with the insertion of ἵνα before καθώς by codd. B D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus commented in *Annot.* that *vt* is redundant here, in view of the use of the same word later in the sentence. In omitting ἵνα at this point, he follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵ A D^corr and most later mss. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

1 *versari* περιπατεῖν ("ambulare" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 7,1.

1 *deo* θεῷ ("deo, sic et ambuletis" late Vg.). The earlier Vulgate rendering was *deo, sicut et ambulatis*, reflecting the addition of καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε, attested by codd. ℵ A B D* F G 0183^vid and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also D^corr and most later mss. In *Annot.*, he condemned the extra phrase as being an explanatory addition.

² οἴδατε γὰρ τίνας παραγγελίας ἐδώ-
καμεν ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.
³ τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ
ἁγιασμὸς ὑμῶν, ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ
τῆς πορνείας, ⁴ εἰδέναι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν
τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος κτᾶσθαι ἐν ἁγι-
ασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ, ⁵ μὴ ἐν πάθει ἐπι-
θυμίας, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ
εἰδότα τὸν θεόν, ⁶ τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαί-
νειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι
τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, διότι ἔκδικος ὁ
κύριος περὶ πάντων τούτων, καθὼς
καὶ προείπαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ διεμαρτυ-
ράμεθα. ⁷ οὐ γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς
ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγι-
ασμῷ. ⁸ τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀθετῶν, οὐκ
ἄνθρωπον ἀθετεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεόν, |

² Nostis enim quae praecepta dede-
rimus vobis per dominum Iesum.
³ Haec enim est voluntas dei, sancti-
ficatio vestra, vt abstineatis a scorta-
tione, ⁴ et sciat vnusquisque vestrum
suum vas possidere, cum sanctificatio-
ne et honore, ⁵ non cum affectu con-
cupiscentiae, quemadmodum et gen-
tes quae non nouerunt deum, ⁶ ne
quis opprimat ac fraudet in negocio
fratrem suum: propterea quod vltor
est dominus de omnibus his, quem-
admodum et ante diximus vobis, ac
testati sumus. ⁷ Non enim vocauit
nos deus immundiciae causa, sed ad
sanctificationem. ⁸ Proinde qui reiicit,
non reiicit ho|minem, sed deum,

LB 909

LB 910

4,6 διεμαρτυραμεθα B-E: μαρτυρομεθα A

2 dominum E: dominum nostrum A-D | 3 scortatione B-E: fornicatione A | 4 cum B-E:
in A | 5 cum B-E: in A | 6 ac testati B-E: et testificati A | 7 immundiciae C-E:
immnnditiae A, immunditiae B | ad sanctificationem B-E: in sanctificatione A

2 *Nostis* οἴδατε ("Scitis" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
14,14.

2 *dederimus* ἐδώκαμεν ("dederim" late Vg.).
The late Vulgate singular lacks explicit sup-
port from Greek mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre
made the same correction as Erasmus.

2 *dominum* τοῦ κυρίου ("dominum nostrum"
1516-27 Lat.). The addition of *nostrum* in the
1516-27 editions was in conflict with the ac-
companying Greek text. This longer reading,
which was also used by Ambrosiaster, corre-
sponds with the addition of ἡμῶν in cod. 2105,
with support from D* F G. Most other mss.
omit ἡμῶν.

2 Ἰησοῦ. Codd. 2105 and 2817 add Χριστοῦ,
as in codd. F G and a few other mss.

3 *enim est* γάρ ἐστι ("est enim" Vg.). Erasmus'
word-order is more literal. Lefèvre made the
same change. Manetti's version omitted *enim*
altogether.

3 *vt abstineatis* ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ("vt abstineatis
vos" Vg.). No doubt Erasmus considered that

the pronoun ὑμᾶς was adequately represented
by the use of the second person plural of the
verb. Manetti anticipated this change, while
Lefèvre had *vt vos abstineatis.*

3 *scortatione* τῆς πορνείας ("fornicatione" 1516
= Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,41.

4 *et sciat* εἰδέναι ("vt sciat" Vg.). Erasmus gives
a more suitable rendering. Equally satisfactory
would have been *et vt sciat.* The Vulgate makes
it appear that this clause is subordinate to *ab-
stineatis* ("abstain ... so that each of you may
know").

4 *suum vas* τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος ("vas suum" late
Vg.). Erasmus' word-order is more literal, agree-
ing with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster.

4 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

5 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See *ibid.*

5 *affectu* πάθει ("passione" Vg.). See on *Rom.*
1,26. Lefèvre used *perturbatione,* but also men-
tioned *affectio* and *affectus* as alternatives in
Comm.

5 *concupiscentiae* ἐπιθυμίας ("desiderii" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,14. Lefèvre made the same change. Manetti put *ignominiae*, corresponding with the substitution of ἀτιμίας in a few late mss., from harmonisation with *Rom.* 1,26.

5 *quemadmodum* καθάπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,6. Lefèvre had *vt*.

5 *quae non nouerunt* τὰ μὴ εἰδότα ("quae ignorant" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here, following a suggestion of Jerome: see *Annot.* on *Eph.* 4,19. Lefèvre put *quae nesciunt*.

6 *ne quis* τὸ μή ("Et ne quis" late Vg.). The late Vulgate rendering lacks Greek ms. support, and probably arose from scribal alteration of the words *vt ne quis*, which were used by the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *opprimat* ὑπερβαίνειν ("supergrediatur" Vg.). Erasmus tries to make better sense of the passage, but leaves an ambiguity as to whether *opprimo* was to be understood as meaning literally "oppress" or alternatively "take by surprise" (cf. his use of *opprimo* for καταλαμβάνω at 1 *Thess.* 5,4). The Vulgate verb, *supergredior*, is superficially more literal, but has the unwanted connotation of "surpass". The mss. of Manetti's version put *supergradiatur*, and Lefèvre *supplantet*.

6 *ac* (1st.) καί ("neque" Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here. Manetti and Lefèvre put *et*.

6 *fraudet* πλεονεκτεῖν ("circunueniat" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 7,2. In *Annot.*, Erasmus attributes his more explicit wording to Jerome, who used the phrase *auarus fraudet in negocio* to explain the meaning of this word, in his commentary on *Eph.* 4,19. Manetti had *plus habeat ... quam.*

6 *propterea quod* διότι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,19, and *Annot.* The version of Lefèvre put *quia*.

6 *vltor* ἔκδικος ("vindex" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 13,4, and *Annot.* In Manetti's version, one ms. (*Pal. Lat.* 45) had *index*, which could be viewed as a scribal error for either *vindex* or *iudex*; his other ms. (*Urb. Lat.* 6) adopted *iudex*.

6 *omnibus his* πάντων τούτων ("his omnibus" Vg.). Erasmus' word-order is more literal. Manetti made the same change.

6 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre had *vt.*

6 *et* καί (omitted in most Vg. mss., with Vg^{ww}). The Vulgate omission is supported by few

Greek mss. other than cod. A. The word *et* occurs here in cod. Sangermanensis (with Vg^{st}), and also in Ambrosiaster. See *Annot.*

6 *ante diximus* προείπαμεν ("praediximus" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 7,3. This Greek spelling follows cod. 2815, together with 2816*, as well as ℵ B D F G and many other mss. In codd. 1, 2105, 2816^{corr}, 2817, with cod. A and most later mss., it is προείπομεν.

6 *ac* (2nd.) καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Erasmus' Greek text follows cod. 2815, with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss. His cod. 2817 omits the word.

6 *testati sumus* διεμαρτυράμεθα ("testificati sumus" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,7. The reading of the 1516 edition, μαρτυρόμεθα, is not supported by Erasmus' mss. at Basle, but may have been partly influenced by cod. 2817, which has διεμαρτυρόμεθα, also found in cod. 1, with D^{corr} and many later mss. The version of Lefèvre put *protestati sumus.*

7 *immundiciae causa* ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ ("in immundiciam" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus does not use *causa* for ἐπί elsewhere in the N.T. In *Annot.*, he explains the phrase as the equivalent of *hac lege, vt essemus immundi.* Lefèvre put *ad immundiciam.*

7 *ad sanctificationem* ἐν ἁγιασμῷ ("in sanctificationem" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "in sanctificatione" 1516 = some Vg. mss.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that ἐν is here the equivalent of ἐπί. Lefèvre put *ad sanctitatem.*

8 *Proinde* τοιγαροῦν ("Itaque" Vg.). See on *Act.* 11,17. Manetti put *Ergo*, and Lefèvre *Igitur.*

8 *reiicit, non reiicit hominem* ἀθετῶν, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀθετεῖ ("haec spernit, non hominem spernit" most Vg. mss., with Vg^{ww}; "spernit, non hominem spernit" cod. Sangermanensis, with Vg^{st}). The Vulgate pronoun, *haec*, lacks Greek ms. support, and was probably added by way of explanation, as suggested in *Annot.* In Erasmus' translation, the position of *hominem* is changed, so as to make a more pointed contrast with *deum*. For the substitution of *reiicio* for *sperno*, see on *Ioh.* 12,48. Valla *Annot.* commented that *haec* was replaced by *me* in some Vulgate copies. Manetti rendered this whole clause by *quicunque spernit non hominem sed deum spernit*, while Lefèvre had *qui contemnit: non hominem contemnit sed deum.*

τὸν διδόντα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον αὐ-
τοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς.

⁹ Περὶ δὲ τῆς φιλαδελφίας οὐ χρεί-
αν ἔχετε γράφειν ὑμῖν. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς
θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε εἰς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλή-
λους. ¹⁰ καὶ γὰρ ποιεῖτε αὐτὸ εἰς πάντας
τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Μακεδο-
νίᾳ. παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί,
περισσεύειν μᾶλλον, ¹¹ καὶ φιλοτιμεῖ-
σθαι, ἡσυχάζειν καὶ πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια,
καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ὑμῶν,
καθὼς ὑμῖν παρηγγείλαμεν, ¹² ἵνα περι-
πατῆτε εὐσχημόνως πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω, καὶ
μηδενὸς χρείαν ἔχητε.

qui dedit spiritum suum sanctum in
vos.

⁹ Caeterum de fraterna charitate
non necesse habetis, vt scribam vo-
bis. Ipsi namque diuinitus docti estis,
vt diligatis vos inuicem. ¹⁰ Nam et fa-
citis hoc erga cunctos fratres qui sunt
in tota Macedonia. Obsecramus autem
vos fratres, vt abundetis magis, ¹¹ et in
hoc incumbatis, vt quieti sitis, et agatis
res proprias, et operemini propriis ma-
nibus vestris, sicuti vobis praecepimus,
¹² vt vos geratis honeste erga extrarios,
et nulla re vobis sit opus.

9 θεοδίδακτοι *A^c B-E*: δεοδιδακτοι *A**

12 vos geratis *B-E*: ambuletis *A* | extrarios *B-E*: extraneos *A*

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8 *qui dedit* τὸν διδόντα ("qui etiam dedit"
Vg.). Erasmus' Greek text follows cod. 2817,
along with codd. B D^corr I and a few later mss.
In codd. ℵ* D* F G and a few others, it is τὸν
καὶ διδόντα. However, cod. ℵ^corr and most
later mss., including codd. 1, 2815, 2816, have
τὸν καὶ δόντα, which is the nearest to the
Vulgate wording. Cod. 2105 has τὸν δόντα. In
Annot., Erasmus shows awareness only of the
reading τὸν διδόντα, for which the Latin
equivalent should be *qui dat* rather than *qui
dedit*. His rendering is the same as that of
Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *qui et dedit*.

8 *suum sanctum* τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ. Erasmus'
Greek text here follows cod. 2815, together
with 1 and 2816, and also cod. I and a few later
mss. His Latin word-order, which follows the
Vulgate, corresponds more closely with αὐτοῦ
τὸ ἅγιον, as in codd. 2105, 2817 and most
other mss., commencing with ℵ B D (F) G H.
The version of Manetti had *sanctum suum*.

8 *in vos* εἰς ὑμᾶς ("in nobis" late Vg.). The late
Vulgate corresponds with εἰς ἡμᾶς, which is the
reading of cod. A and a few later mss. Under
the influence of the Complutensian Polyglot
and R. Estienne, εἰς ἡμᾶς was adopted by the
later *Textus Receptus*. As well as following a more
widely attested Greek text, Erasmus' rendering
was more accurate in substituting accusative
for ablative. See *Annot.* He used the same

wording as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre had *in vobis*,
as in the earlier Vulgate.

9 *Caeterum de fraterna charitate* Περὶ δὲ τῆς φι-
λαδελφίας ("De charitate autem fraternitatis"
Vg.). For *caeterum*, see on *Act.* 6,2, and for *frater-
na charitas*, see on *Rom.* 12,10, and *Annot.* The
rendering of Manetti put *De caritate vero fraterni-
tatis*, and Lefèvre *De dilectione autem fraterna*.

9 *habetis* ἔχετε ("habuimus" late Vg.). The late
Vulgate corresponds more closely with the sub-
stitution of εἴχομεν, as in codd. B I. The earlier
Vulgate had *habemus*, reflecting the variant ἔχο-
μεν, as found in codd. ℵ^corr D* F G and a few
other mss. In cod. 2105, οὐ χρεία νῦν is sub-
stituted for οὐ χρείαν ἔχετε. Erasmus follows
codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2816,
with ℵ* A D^corr H and most later mss. See
Annot. A point which could be said to favour
the authenticity of ἔχετε is that it is a *lectio
difficilior*, because of the apparent strangeness
of its literal meaning in the present context
("you do not need to write to you"). To grasp
the meaning, it is necessary to add "me" or
"anyone" after "need": see the following note.
Manetti and Lefèvre both replaced *necesse habu-
imus* by *indigetis*.

9 *vt scribam* γράφειν ("scribere" Vg.). To yield
good sense, after the previous substitution of
habetis, the simple infinitive no longer gives a
satisfactory rendering of γράφειν. By using the

first person, *scribam*, Erasmus makes plain that the apostle is the subject. See *Annot.* However, it could equally have been written in the third person, *vt quisquam scribat* (cf. *Ioh.* 2,25; 16,30; 1 *Ioh.* 2,27). A similar point arises at 1 *Thess.* 5,1. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus, while Manetti had *vt scribatur.*

9 *Ipsi namque* αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ("Ipsi enim vos" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 3,21 for *namque*. Erasmus leaves ὑμεῖς untranslated. Manetti likewise omitted *vos*, having just *ipsi enim.* Lefèvre put *Nam vosipsi.*

9 *diuinitus docti estis* θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε ("a deo didicistis" Vg.). Erasmus provides a more literal rendering. See *Annot.* The version of Ambrosiaster had *a deo docti estis*, while Manetti and Lefèvre put *a deo edocti estis.*

9 *vos inuicem* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33. Ambrosiaster had the same phrase as Erasmus, but placed it before *diligatis.*

10 *Nam et* καὶ γὰρ ("Etenim" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 5,7. Erasmus' rendering was again the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

10 *facitis hoc* ποιεῖτε αὐτό ("illud facitis" late Vg.). Erasmus' rendering adheres more closely to the Greek word-order. In substituting *hoc* for *illud*, he follows Lefèvre, who put *hoc facitis.* Manetti's rendering was *id facitis.* The earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster had *facitis illud.*

10 *erga* εἰς ("in" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25. Lefèvre put *ad.*

10 *cunctos* πάντας ("omnes" Vg.). Cf. on *Col.* 1,20.

10 *qui sunt in* τοὺς ἐν ("in" Vg.). The Vulgate may reflect the omission of τούς, as in codd. ℵ* A D* F G. Here Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ^corr B D^corr H and most later mss. The same change was made by Lefèvre.

10 *tota* ὅλῃ ("vniuersa" Vg.). See on *Act.* 5,34. Manetti anticipated this change, but Lefèvre omitted the word.

10 *Obsecramus* παρακαλοῦμεν ("Rogamus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,17. Lefèvre made the same substitution.

11 *in hoc incumbatis* φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ("operam detis" Vg.). Erasmus finds a more vigorous rendering for this Greek verb. In *Annot.*, he gives the meaning as *ambitiose conari.* See also on *Act.* 6,4. Manetti put *operemini*, and Lefèvre *pro honore ducatis.*

11 *agatis res proprias* πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια ("vt vestrum negocium agatis" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^st). Erasmus is more precise here. For *proprias*, see on *Ioh.* 1,11; 1 *Cor.* 6,18. See also *Annot.* Among several suggestions of Valla *Annot.* was *res proprias agatis.* Manetti put *propria agatis*, and Lefèvre *agere propria* (giving *res proprias* as an alternative in *Comm.*).

11 *propriis manibus vestris* ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ὑμῶν ("manibus vestris" Vg.). The Vulgate perhaps reflects the omission of ἰδίαις, as in codd. ℵ^corr B D* F G and a few other mss. In cod. 2105*, ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσίν is omitted. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1 and 2816, as well as ℵ* A D^corr and most other mss. For other variants involving ἴδιος, see on *Eph.* 4,28; 5,24. The same change was made by Lefèvre, whereas Manetti put *vestris manibus propriis.*

11 *sicuti* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

11 *vobis praecepimus* ὑμῖν παρηγγείλαμεν ("praecipimus vobis" late Vg.). The present tense of the late Vulgate lacks Greek ms. support. The Vulgate word-order corresponds with παρηγγείλαμεν ὑμῖν in cod. ℵ* and a few later mss. The rendering of Erasmus agrees with that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

12 *vt* ἵνα ("vt et" Vg. 1527; "et vt" Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben edition of 1514. The Vulgate addition of *et* lacks support from Greek mss. Erasmus' correction gives the same rendering as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. One of the mss. of Manetti's version (*Pal. Lat.* 45) had *vt*, and the other (*Urb. Lat.* 6) just *et.*

12 *vos geratis honeste* περιπατῆτε εὐσχημόνως ("honeste ambuletis" Vg.; "ambuletis honeste" 1516). A similar substitution of *se gerit* occurs at 2 *Thess.* 3,6 (1519). In a similar context at *Col.* 4,5, Erasmus retains *ambulo.* He is more literal as to the word-order. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

12 *erga* πρός ("ad" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25. Lefèvre put *apud*, adopting a suggestion of Valla *Annot.*

12 *extrarios* τοὺς ἔξω ("eos qui foris sunt" Vg.; "extraneos" 1516). See on *Col.* 4,5. Erasmus does not use *extrarius* elsewhere in the N.T. In cod. 2817, the word τούς is incorrectly omitted.

12 *nulla re vobis sit opus* μηδενὸς χρείαν ἔχητε ("nullius aliquid desideretis" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites *nullius indigentiam habeatis* as an

¹³ Οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ἵνα μὴ λυπῆσθε, καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα· ¹⁴ εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀνέστη, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἄξει σὺν αὐτῷ. ¹⁵ τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου, οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας, ¹⁶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐν κελεύσματι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου, καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι θεοῦ καταβήσεται ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον, ¹⁷ ἔπειτα ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες, οἱ περιλειπόμενοι, ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγησόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἀέρα, καὶ οὕτως πάντοτε σὺν

¹³ Caeterum nolo vos ignorare fratres, de iis qui obdormierunt, ne doleatis, quemadmodum et caeteri non habentes spem: ¹⁴ nam si credimus quod Iesus mortuus est et resurrexit, sic et deus eos qui obdormierunt per Iesum, adducet cum illo. ¹⁵ Hoc enim vobis dicimus in verbo domini, quod nos qui viuemus et reliqui erimus in aduentum domini, nequaquam praeueniemus eos qui dormiunt: ¹⁶ quoniam ipse dominus cum hortatu et voce archangeli, ac tuba dei descendet de coelo, et mortui in Christo resurgent primum, ¹⁷ deinde nos qui viuemus, qui reliqui erimus simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus in occursum domini in aera: et sic semper cum

13 λυπησθε *A-C*: λυπεισθε *D E* | 16 χριστω *B-E*: χρισοω *A* | 17 κυριου *B-E*: κυριου *A* | alt. συν *B-E*: σην *A*

13 obdormierunt *B-E*: dormiunt *A* | 14 obdormierunt per Iesum, *B-E*: dormiunt, per Iesum *A* | 15 viuemus *B-E*: viuimus *A* | reliqui erimus *B-E*: relinquimur *A* | 16 cum *B-E*: in *A* | ac *B-E*: et in *A* | 17 viuemus *B-E*: viuimus *A* | reliqui erimus *B-E*: relinquimur *A*

alternative rendering, without mentioning that this was the wording of Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre. He also concedes that μηδενός can equally refer to a person or a thing. Ambrosiaster had *nullius desiderium sit vobis*, and Manetti *nullius egestatem habeatis*.

13 *Caeterum nolo* Οὐ θέλω δέ ("Nolumus autem" Vg.). Erasmus took θέλω from cod. 2817, supported by cod. 1 and some other late mss. The Vulgate followed a text having θέλομεν for θέλω, in company with 𝔓³⁰ᵛⁱᵈ ℵ A B D F G and most other mss., including codd. 2105, 2815, 2816. The less well attested reading, which Erasmus adopted, persisted in the *Textus Receptus*. For *caeterum*, see on *Act.* 6,2. Lefèvre's main rendering had just *nolo*, omitting *autem*, though in *Comm.*, he reverted to the Vulgate wording.

13 *iis qui obdormierunt* τῶν κεκοιμημένων ("dormientibus" Vg.; "iis qui dormiunt" 1516 Lat.). The Vulgate possibly reflects the substitution of the present participle, κοιμωμένων, as in codd. ℵ A B and a few other mss., though it

has *dormientium* for κεκοιμημένων at 1 *Cor.* 15,20. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 2105 and 2816, and also D (F G) and most other mss. (cod. 1 has τῶν κεκοιμωμένων). For *obdormio*, see on 1 *Cor.* 15,6, and cf. *Annot.* The 1516 rendering resembled that of Ambrosiaster, *his qui dormiunt*.

13 *ne* ἵνα μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,20. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

13 *doleatis* λυπῆσθε ("contristemini" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,20. The spelling λυπεῖσθε in 1527-35 appears to have been an error of the printer, though it is also present in codd. A Dᶜᵒʳʳ (cf. λυπεῖσθαι in codd. F G).

13 *quemadmodum* καθώς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,13. Lefèvre made the same change.

13 *non habentes spem* οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα ("qui spem non habent" Vg.). Erasmus is less accurate here, as he creates an ambiguity as to whether *habentes* is connected with *doleatis* or *caeteri*, though he follows the Greek word-order

more literally (cf. the omission of οἱ by codd. F G).

14 *nam si* εἰ γάρ ("Si enim" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,34. Erasmus has the same wording as Ambrosiaster.

14 *sic* οὕτως ("ita" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 5,21. Erasmus's rendering again agrees with that of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *hunc in modum.*

14 *eos qui obdormierunt* τοὺς κοιμηθέντας ("eos qui dormierunt" Vg.; "eos qui dormiunt" 1516 Lat.). See on 1 *Cor.* 15,6, and *Annot.* on vs. 15, below. In vss. 13-14, the substitution of *obdormierunt* for *dormiunt* in 1519 produces an inconsistency with vs. 15, where Erasmus retains *dormiunt* from his 1516 edition. In 1516, a difference of meaning further arises from his use of a comma before instead of after *per Iesum.* In one of the mss. of Manetti's version (*Pal. Lat.* 45), the scribe incorrectly omitted *eos.* By a later correction, or rather falsification, the preceding word *deus* was altered to *deiis* (in turn copied as *de iis* by *Urb. Lat.* 6) instead of reinstating the missing *eos.*

14 *cum illo* σὺν αὐτῷ ("cum eo" Vg.). This change is partly for the sake of variety of style, in view of the use of *eos* earlier in the sentence. It also serves to make a more emphatic contrast with *deus*, rejecting the rendering *secum*, which was offered by Lefèvre: see *Annot.*

15 *quod* ὅτι ("quia" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

15 *nos qui viuemus et reliqui erimus* ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι ("nos qui viuimus, qui residui sumus" Vg.; "nos qui viuimus et relinquimur" 1516). Erasmus' substitution of the future tense is based on the context, which refers to a future event, the second coming of Christ. Similar changes occur in vs. 17: see *Annot. ad loc.* The substitution of *relinquimur*, in 1516, is in conformity with the Vulgate rendering of περιλειπόμενοι in vs. 17. His replacement of the second *qui* by *et* is inconsistent with his treatment of the same Greek phrase in vs. 17, where he retains the more literal *qui.* Manetti put *nos qui viuimus relicti*, and Lefèvre *nos qui viuimus, qui relinquimur.*

15 *in aduentum* εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν ("in aduentu" late Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here, restoring the earlier Vulgate rendering. See *Annot.*

15 *nequaquam* οὐ μή ("non" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 8,13.

15 *eos qui dormiunt* τοὺς κοιμηθέντας ("eos qui dormierunt" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus objects to the perfect tense, *dormierunt*, on the grounds that it implies that those who have been asleep are now awake, even before the Lord's return. See on vs. 14, and also on 1 *Cor.* 15,6.

16 *cum ... et ... ac* ἐν ... ἐν ... καὶ ἐν ("in ... et in ... et in" Vg.; "in ... et ... et in" 1516 Lat.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that ἐν φωνῇ should be rendered by *cum voce* rather than *et in voce*, but his continuous Latin text adopts *et voce.* The use of *cum* is introduced into the 1519 rendering, but in a different position, leaving *et voce* unchanged. In 1519, Erasmus additionally treats the third instance of ἐν as superfluous for the purpose of translation. For *cum*, see on *Rom.* 1,4, and for *ac*, see on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti put *in ... et in ... atque in*, and Lefèvre *in ... in ... et in.*

16 *hortatu* κελεύσματι ("iussu" Vg.). This change is questionable. In the present context of raising the dead and seizing hold of those who are alive, a word of command seems more appropriate than mere exhortation. Cf. *Annot.*

16 *in Christo* ἐν Χριστῷ ("qui in Christo sunt" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *qui* and *sunt* lacks explicit Greek ms. support other than codd. F G, which have οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *qui mortui sunt in Christo* in place of *mortui qui in Christo sunt.*

16 *primum* πρῶτον ("primi" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with πρῶτοι in codd. D* (F) G. See *Annot.* This change was anticipated by Manetti. The version of Lefèvre had *primo.*

17 *nos qui viuemus, qui reliqui erimus* ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες, οἱ περιλειπόμενοι ("nos qui viuimus, qui relinquimur" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 15, and *Annot.* Cod. 2817 replaces ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες by οἱ ζῶντες ἡμεῖς, along with a few other late mss. The rendering of Manetti was *nos qui viuimus relicti*, as in vs. 15.

17 *simul cum illis rapiemur* ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγησόμεθα ("simul rapiemur cum illis" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order lacks explicit support from Greek mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggested *vna* rather than *simul.* Manetti and Lefèvre both had *simul cum ipsis rapiemur.*

17 *in occursum domini* εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου ("obuiam Christo" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of *Christo* corresponds with the replacement of τοῦ κυρίου by τῷ Χριστῷ

κυρίῳ ἐσόμεθα.   ¹⁸ ὥστε παρακαλεῖτε
ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις.

5 Περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν,
ἀδελφοί, οὐ χρείαν ἔχετε ὑμῖν γρά-
φεσθαι. ² αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς οἴδατε ὅτι
ἡμέρα κυρίου, ὡς κλέπτης ἐν νυκτί, οὕτως
ἔρχεται. ³ ὅταν γὰρ λέγωσιν, Εἰρήνη
καὶ ἀσφάλεια, τότε αἰφνιδίως αὐτοῖς ἐφ-
ίσταται ὄλεθρος, | ὥσπερ ἡ ὠδὶν τῇ ἐν
γαστρὶ ἐχούσῃ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐκφύγωσιν.
⁴ ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σκότει,
ἵνα ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμᾶς ὡς κλέπτης κατα-
λάβῃ. ⁵ πάντες ὑμεῖς υἱοὶ φωτός ἐστε,
καὶ υἱοὶ ἡμέρας· οὐκ ἐσμὲν νυκτὸς οὐδὲ

domino erimus.   ¹⁸ Proinde console-
mini vos mutuo sermonibus his.

5 Porro de temporibus et articulis
temporum, fratres, non est opus vt
vobis scribam. ² Ipsi enim plane scitis,
quod dies ille domini, vt fur in nocte,
ita venturus sit. ³ Quum enim dixe-
rint, Pax, et tuta omnia: tunc repen-
tinus eis imminet interitus, | sicuti
dolor partus mulieri praegnanti, nec
effugient. ⁴ At vos fratres, non estis in
tenebris, vt dies ille vos tanquam fur
opprimat. ⁵ Omnes vos filii lucis estis,
ac filii diei: non sumus noctis, neque

LB 911

LB 912

5,2 ημερα *C-E*: η ημερα *A B*

18 sermonibus *B-E*: in verbis *A*
5,3 praegnanti, nec *B-E*: pregnanti, et non *A* | **5** ac *B-E*: et *A* | diei *A-D*: dei *E*

in codd. D* F G. In Erasmus' rendering, the
substitution of *in occursum* for *obuiam* also
occurs at *Mt.* 8,34; 25,1. However, he retains
obuiam for ἀπάντησις and ὑπάντησις at *Mt.*
25,6 and *Ioh.* 12,13, respectively. See *Annot.*
Both Manetti and Lefèvre had *obuiam domino*,
as in the earlier Vulgate, though Lefèvre *Comm.*
gave *in occursum domino* as an alternative.

18 *Proinde* ὥστε ("Itaque" Vg.). See on *Act.*
11,17. Lefèvre put *Quare.*

18 *consolemini* παρακαλεῖτε ("consolamini"
Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,27.

18 *vos mutuo* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 13,34. Lefèvre put *vos inuicem* in his
translation, but also offered *vos mutuo* as an
alternative in *Comm.*

18 *sermonibus his* ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ("in
verbis istis" Vg.; "in verbis his" 1516). For
Erasmus' omission of *in*, see on *Ioh.* 1,26. For
sermo, see on *Ioh.* 1,1, and for the avoidance of
iste, see on *Act.* 7,4. In *Annot.*, Erasmus records
a textual variant, adding τοῦ πνεύματος after
τούτοις, which occurs in a few late mss.,
though not in cod. 69 or the mss. at Basle.
Lefèvre put *in his sermonibus.*

.**5,1** *Porro de temporibus* Περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων
("De temporibus autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

1 *articulis temporum* τῶν καιρῶν ("momentis"
Vg.). See on *Act.* 1,7, and *Annot.* The rendering
of Manetti was *occasionibus.*

1 *est opus* χρείαν ἔχετε ("indigetis" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 13,10. In removing the second person
plural, Erasmus' translation is less literal. Lefèvre
put *opus habetis.*

1 *vt vobis scribam* ὑμῖν γράφεσθαι ("vt scriba-
mus vobis" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corre-
sponds with τοῦ γράφεσθαι ὑμῖν in cod. ‫א‬ *,
or just γράφεσθαι ὑμῖν in ‫א‬ ᶜᵒʳʳ and a few later
mss. The use of a singular or plural verb is
unaffected by the Greek text. To retain the
impersonal character of the Greek infinitive,
it would alternatively have been possible to
translate this by *vt quisquam vobis scribat.* See
on 1 *Thess.* 4,9. Manetti and Lefèvre both had
vt scribatur vobis.

2 *plane* ἀκριβῶς ("diligenter" Vg.). Erasmus
perceived that *diligenter* was an unsuitable adverb
to accompany *scio.* Something can be known
accurately or fully, but not "diligently" or
"carefully". In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests
exacte or *ad plenum.* A good idiomatic alternative
to these would have been *certo*, which he used
at *Act.* 24,22 (1519). The version of Lefèvre put
ad amussim.

2 *quod ... venturus sit* ὅτι ... ἔρχεται ("quia ... veniet" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20. Manetti and Lefèvre put *quod ... veniet.*

2 *dies ille* ἡμέρα ("dies" Vg.). The omission of ἡ before ἡμέρα, in 1522-35, is supported by codd. ℵ B D F G and a few other mss. In 1516-19, Erasmus had ἡ ἡμέρα, as in codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as cod. A and most later mss. The insertion of *ille* was an attempt to represent the Greek article, emphasising the uniqueness and finality of the "day of the Lord". The fact that Erasmus retained *ille* in 1522-35 may indicate that the omission of ἡ was unintentional.

2 *vt* ὡς ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,21. Erasmus had the same word as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *tanquam.*

3 *tuta omnia* ἀσφάλεια ("securitas" Vg.). In converting noun to adjective, and in adding *omnia*, Erasmus resorts to paraphrase, so as to convey the meaning more clearly. The Vulgate word *securitas* is ambiguous, as it can mean a feeling of assurance or calmness, and not just the abstract concept of "safety". See *Annot.*

3 *repentinus* αἰφνιδίως. This Greek reading, substituting adverb for adjective, was not derived from any of Erasmus' Basle mss., and may have originated as an arbitrary correction or even a typesetter's error, as it is in conflict with the parallel Latin text. Most mss. have αἰφνίδιος, and this was the spelling which Erasmus retained at *Lc.* 21,34.

3 *imminet* ἐφίσταται ("superueniet" Vg.). This change was in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Act.* 28,2. In a similar context at *Lc.* 21,34, Erasmus replaces *superuenio* with *ingruo*, in rendering ἐπιστῇ. He retains *superuenio* for the same Greek verb at *Lc.* 2,38; *Act.* 4,1; 23,27. See *Annot.*

3 *sicuti* ὥσπερ ("sicut" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17. Lefèvre put *quemadmodum.*

3 *dolor partus* ἡ ὠδίν ("dolor" Vg.). Erasmus adds *partus* to express more precisely the sense of the Greek word, which refers to the birth-pangs of a pregnant woman. In *Annot.*, he cites this rendering from "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster). The same change was also made by Lefèvre.

3 *mulieri praegnanti* τῇ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσῃ ("in vtero habentis" late Vg.). A similar substitution of *praegnans* (or *pregnans* in 1516) occurs at *Mt.* 1,23, in accordance with Vulgate usage at *Mt.* 24,19; *Mc.* 13,17; *Lc.* 21,23. At *Mt.* 1,18, Erasmus prefers *grauida*. At *Ap. Ioh.* 12,2, he inconsistently retains *in vtero habens*. In *Annot.*, he again cites "Ambrose" as his source (i.e. Ambrosiaster, who had just *praegnanti* without *mulieri*). Cod. 2817 has the incorrect spelling ἐγγαστρί for ἐν γαστρί, together with a few other late mss. The version of Manetti had *parturientis*, and Lefèvre *parturienti.*

3 *nec* καὶ οὐ μή ("et non" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,16. Lefèvre put *et nequaquam.*

4 *At vos* ὑμεῖς δέ ("Vos autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

4 οὐκ. Cod. 2815 had οὐκέτι, together with a few other late mss.

4 *dies ille vos* ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμᾶς ("vos dies ille" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with ὑμᾶς ἡ ἡμέρα, found in codd. A D and a few later mss., or ὑμᾶς ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη in codd. F G. The version of Lefèvre put *dies illa vos*, and Manetti *dies nos.*

4 *opprimat* καταλάβῃ ("comprehendat" Vg.). See on 1 *Thess.* 4,6. At *Ioh.* 1,5, Erasmus preferred *apprehendo*, and at *Ioh.* 12,35, *occupo*, in rendering the same Greek verb (both in 1519): see *ad locc.* Lefèvre put *deprehendat.*

5 *Omnes* πάντες ("Omnes enim" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of γάρ, as in codd. ℵ A B D F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other late mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre likewise deleted *enim*, though Lefèvre had the word-order *vos omnes.*

5 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

5 *diei* ἡμέρας ("dei" 1535 Lat.). The 1535 spelling, which completely alters the meaning ("of God" rather than "of the day"), arose from a printer's error, omitting one letter. The same error is seen in some mss. of the Vulgate.

5 *sumus* ἐσμέν ("estis" *Annot.*, lemma = some Vg. mss.). The Vulgate lemma in *Annot.* seems to have been derived from Valla *Annot.* Further, Valla is the only authority which Erasmus cites in support of the reading ἐσμέν, though it is attested by all his Basle mss. The reading *estis*, which occurs in some Vulgate mss., arose through the influence of the Old Latin version and corresponds with ἐστέ in cod. D* (cf. ἔσται in codd. F G). Erasmus' rendering is in agreement with most Vulgate mss., and was favoured by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

σκότους. ⁶ἄρα οὖν μὴ καθεύδωμεν, | tenebrarum. ⁶Proinde ne dormiamus,
ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί, ἀλλὰ γρηγορῶμεν | sicut et caeteri, sed vigilemus et sobrii
καὶ νήφωμεν. ⁷οἱ γὰρ καθεύδον- | simus. ⁷Nam qui dormiunt, nocte
τες, νυκτὸς καθεύδουσι· καὶ οἱ μεθυ- | dormiunt, et qui inebriantur, noctu
σκόμενοι, νυκτὸς μεθύουσιν. ⁸ἡμεῖς | sunt ebrii: ⁸at nos qui sumus diei,
δὲ ἡμέρας ὄντες, νήφωμεν, ἐνδυσά- | sobrii simus, induti thoracem fidei
μενοι θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης, | et charitatis, et pro galea spem salu-
καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας. | tis. ⁹Quoniam non constituit nos
⁹ὅτι οὐκ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὀρ- | deus, vt iram nobis concitemus, sed
γήν, ἀλλ' εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας | vt salutem consequamur per domi-
διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, | num nostrum Iesum Christum, ¹⁰qui
¹⁰τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα | mortuus est pro nobis, vt siue vigile-
εἴτε γρηγορῶμεν εἴτε καθεύδωμεν, ἅμα | mus siue dormiamus, simul cum illo
σὺν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν. ¹¹διὸ παρακα- | viuamus. ¹¹Quapropter adhortemi-
λεῖτε ἀλλήλους, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε εἷς | ni vos mutuo, et aedificetis singuli
τὸν ἕνα, καθὼς καὶ ποιεῖτε. | singulos, sicut et facitis.

¹²Ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, εἰ- | ¹²Rogamus autem vos fratres, vt
δέναι τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ | agnoscatis eos qui laborant inter vos,
προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ, καὶ | et qui praesunt vobis in domino,
νουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς, ¹³καὶ ἡγεῖσθε | et admonent vos, ¹³vt habeatis il-
αὐτοὺς ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ | los in summo precio per charitatem
διὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν· εἰρηνεύετε | propter opus illorum: pacem habete

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6 λοιποι *Aᶜ B-E*: λιποι *A** | 10 καθευδωμεν *A B D E*: καθευδομεν *C* | 13 ηγεισθε *D E*:
ηγεισθαι *A-C*

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8 pro galea *B-E*: galeam *A* | 9 constituit *B-E*: posuit *A* | vt iram nobis concitemus *B-E*:
in iram *A* | vt salutem consequamur *B-E*: in acquisitionem salutis *A* | 12 inter vos *B-E*:
in vobis *A* | 13 per charitatem *B-E*: in charitate *A*

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6 *Proinde* ἄρα οὖν ("Igitur" Vg.). See on *Act.*
11,17.

6 *ne* μή ("non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 3,7.

7 *Nam qui* οἱ γάρ ("Qui enim" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 3,34. Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *qui inebriantur* οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι ("qui ebrii
sunt" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to preserve a small
distinction of meaning between μεθύσκομαι
and μεθύω, the latter of which is rendered by
sunt ebrii at the end of this verse. His wording
is the same as that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti
put *qui ebrii sunt ... inebriantur* (written as *qui
hebrii sunt ... inhebriantur* in *Pal. Lat.* 45). Lefèvre
had *qui inebriantur ... inebriantur.*

7 *noctu* νυκτός ("nocte" Vg.). This change is
for the sake of variety, in view of the use of

nocte in the first part of the sentence. Similar
substitutions of *noctu* occur at *Mt.* 2,14; 1 *Tim.*
5,5; 2 *Tim.* 1,3.

7 *sunt ebrii* μεθύουσιν ("ebrii sunt" Vg.). For
Erasmus' occasional preference for an earlier
position for *sum*, see on *Rom.* 2,27. Here the
change of word-order restores the required em-
phasis to *noctu*. He again has the same wording
as Ambrosiaster. For the renderings of Manetti
and Lefèvre, see above.

8 *at nos* ἡμεῖς δέ ("Nos autem" Vg.). See on
Ioh. 1,20.

8 *qui sumus diei* ἡμέρας ὄντες ("qui diei sumus"
Vg.). By changing the word-order, Erasmus
shifts the emphasis to *diei*, heightening the
contrast with *noctu* in the previous verse. The
Vulgate is more literal.

8 *thoracem* θώρακα ("loricam" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 6,14, and *Annot.* The rendering of Erasmus agreed with that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

8 *pro galea* περικεφαλαίαν ("galeam" 1516 = Vg.). This substitution clarifies the connection between *galea* and *spem salutis*: see *Annot.*

9 *constituit* ἔθετο ("posuit" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 15,16.

9 *vt iram nobis concitemus* εἰς ὀργήν ("in iram" 1516 = Vg.). Erasmus paraphrases the sense, probably in order to prevent the misinterpretation "to become angry". Lefèvre put *ad iram*.

9 *vt salutem consequamur* εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας ("in acquisitionem salutis" 1516 = Vg.). Again Erasmus aims for greater clarity, by introducing a further verb. See the previous note. However, he retains *in acquisitionem gloriae* for εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης at 2 *Thess.* 2,14, and *in acquisitionem animae* for εἰς περιποίησιν ψυχῆς at *Hebr.* 10,39. Lefèvre put *ad* for *in*, but otherwise followed the Vulgate.

10 γρηγορῶμεν ... καθεύδωμεν. Cod. 2815 has γρηγορῦμεν ... καθεύδομεν, along with a few other late mss. In cod. 2105, it is γρηγορῶμεν ... καθεύδομεν. However, the temporary change from καθεύδωμεν to καθεύδομεν in the 1522 edition may have been inadvertent.

11 *Quapropter* διό ("Propter quod" Vg.). See on *Act.* 10,29. Lefèvre made the same substitution.

11 *adhortemini* παρακαλεῖτε ("consolamini" Vg.). See on *Act.* 15,32 for *adhortor*, and on *Ioh.* 6,27 for Erasmus' preference for the subjunctive. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre put *exhortamini*.

11 *vos mutuo* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 13,34. Lefèvre put *vos inuicem*.

11 *aedificetis* οἰκοδομεῖτε ("aedificate" Vg.). This use of the subjunctive was influenced by the previous substitution of *adhortemini*. See above.

11 *singuli singulos* εἰς τὸν ἕνα ("alterutrum" Vg.). The Vulgate word, *alterutrum*, was only suitable for referring to two people. Since a greater number is clearly indicated by the context, a different expression was needed. See *Annot.* The rendering of Manetti put *in vnum*, and Lefèvre *ad vnum vsque* (placed before *aedificate*).

12 *agnoscatis* εἰδέναι ("noueritis" Vg.). The sense required by the context is "recognise" or "acknowledge" rather than merely "know" or "be acquainted with". Cf. on *Ioh.* 8,43. Lefèvre put *sciatis*.

12 *inter vos* ἐν ὑμῖν ("in vobis" 1516). The 1516 version was more literal, adopting the same wording as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. In 1519, Erasmus reverted to the Vulgate wording. For his frequent use of *inter* for ἐν, see on *Ioh.* 15,24.

12 *qui praesunt* προϊσταμένους ("praesunt" Vg.). Erasmus' insertion of *qui* was perhaps intended merely as an elegant refinement, in setting forth a list of items. However, it could be misunderstood as introducing a second category of persons, implying that those who "toiled" were not the same as those who exercised leadership. In the Greek, there is no such distinction. One ms. of Manetti's version (*Urb. Lat.* 6) incorrectly had *prosunt* (caused by the similarity to *presunt*).

12 *admonent* νουθετοῦντας ("monent" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,14. Manetti made the same change, while Lefèvre put *qui admonent*.

13 *vt habeatis* καὶ ἡγεῖσθε. Erasmus follows the Vulgate in leaving καὶ untranslated (cf. the substitution of ὥστε for καί in codd. F G). In his Greek text of 1516-22, he had the infinitive ἡγεῖσθαι, following cod. 2815, together with cod. 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A D F G, for which *habeatis* was an accurate translation. In 1527-35, the change to the imperative, ἡγεῖσθε, brought the Greek text into conformity with *Annot.*, in which that reading was used from 1516 onwards, following cod. 2817, in company with 1 and 2105, as well as cod. B and many later mss. However, it is possible that the substitution of ἡγεῖσθε in the 1527-35 text was not intended by Erasmus, as his Latin rendering remained unaltered and was more suited to ἡγεῖσθαι. Manetti had *vt existimetis*, and Lefèvre *et vt reputetis*.

13 *in summo precio* ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ("abundantius" Vg.). Erasmus finds a more vigorous alternative to the Vulgate word. For his avoidance of *abundantius* elsewhere, see on 2 *Cor.* 7,13. See also *Annot.* The version of Manetti was *superabundanter*. Lefèvre had *superabundantiori* in his main rendering (to agree with *dilectione*), and *superabundantius* in *Comm.*

13 *per charitatem* ἐν ἀγάπῃ ("in charitate" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17, and *Annot.* In Lefèvre's version, this was rendered by *in dilectione*.

13 *pacem habete* εἰρηνεύετε ("et pacem habete" late Vg.). The late Vulgate corresponds with καὶ εἰρηνεύετε in cod. ℵ*, but otherwise lacks

ἐν αὐτοῖς. ¹⁴παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, νουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους, παραμυθεῖσθε τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους, ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν, μακροθυμεῖτε πρὸς πάντας. ¹⁵ὁρᾶτε, μή τις κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ τινι ἀποδῷ, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν διώκετε, καὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰς πάντας. ¹⁶πάντοτε χαίρετε, ¹⁷ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε, ¹⁸ἐν παντὶ εὐχαριστῆτε. τοῦτο γὰρ θέλημα θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς. ¹⁹τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε. ²⁰προφητίας μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε. ²¹πάντα δοκιμάζετε· τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε. ²²ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε.

cum illis. ¹⁴Obsecramus autem vos fratres, monete inordinatos, consolamini pusillanimes, subleuate infirmos, patientes estote erga omneis. ¹⁵Videte, ne quis malum pro malo cuipiam reddat, sed semper quod bonum est sectemini, tum erga vos inuicem, tum erga omneis. ¹⁶Semper gaudete, ¹⁷indesinenter orate, ¹⁸in omnibus gratias agite. Haec enim est voluntas dei per Christum Iesum erga vos. ¹⁹Spiritum ne extinguatis, ²⁰prophetias ne aspernemini. ²¹Omnia probate: quod bonum fuerit, tenete. ²²Ab omni specie mala abstinete.

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13 αυτοις *B-E*: εαυτοις *A* | 15 μη τις *B-E*: μητι *A* | αποδω *B-E*: απωδω *A* | 18 ευχαρισθητε *D E*: ευχαρισθειτε *A-C*

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14 patientes *B-E*: longanimes *A* | 15 sectemini *B-E*: sectamini *A* | *prius* tum *B-E*: et *A* | *alt.* tum *B-E*: et *A* | 18 per Christum Iesum *B-E*: in Christo Iesu *A* | 20 aspernemini *B-E*: aspernamini *A*

Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* Erasmus' correction produces agreement with the earlier Vulgate and Ambrosiaster. The rendering of Lefèvre was *pacifici estote*, omitting *et.*

13 *cum illis* ἐν αὐτοῖς ("cum eis" Vg.). The 1516 Greek text, in conflict with the accompanying Latin version, had ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, attested by cod. 2817, together with 1, 3, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with A B D^corr (i.e. "among yourselves" rather than "with them"). In 1519, Erasmus adopted ἐν αὐτοῖς, as found in cod. 2815, and also in 𝔓³⁰ ℵ D* F G and many other mss. In *Annot.*, he cited both readings. The substitution of *illis* for *eis* brought consistency with *illos* and *illorum* earlier in the verse. Manetti had *eos ... ipsorum ... cum eis*, and Lefèvre *eos ... eorum ... erga eos.*

14 *Obsecramus* παρακαλοῦμεν ("Rogamus" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 16,17. Lefèvre made the same change. Manetti put *Quesumus* (= *Quaesumus*).

14 *monete* νουθετεῖτε ("corripite" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus suggests *admonete*, which would have been more consistent

with his rendering of the same Greek verb in vs. 12, and which was also recommended by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

14 *inordinatos* τοὺς ἀτάκτους ("inquietos" Vg.). Erasmus is more precise here. Similarly he substitutes *inordinate gero* for *inquietus sum* in rendering ἀτακτέω at 2 *Thess.* 3,7, and *inordinate* for *inquiete* in rendering ἀτάκτως at 2 *Thess.* 3,11, in accordance with Vulgate usage at 2 *Thess.* 3,6. See *Annot.* The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre.

14 *subleuate* ἀντέχεσθε ("suscipite" Vg.). Erasmus wanted to clarify the meaning of this verb, as an exhortation to support and assist the weak, and not merely to "receive" them. See *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *subuenite.*

14 *patientes estote* μακροθυμεῖτε ("longanimes estote" 1516). See on 1 *Cor.* 13,4, and *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *tollerate* (*sic*), omitting the following preposition.

14 *erga* πρός ("ad" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25. Lefèvre made the same substitution. For Manetti's version, see the previous note.

14 *omneis* πάντας ("omnes" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *omneis*, see on 2 *Cor.* 2,5. The same change occurs in vss. 15 and 26, below.

15 μή τις. In 1516, Erasmus' text had μήτι, as in cod. 2817. Virtually all other mss. have μή τις.

15 *cuipiam* τινι ("alicui" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,7. Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.* had *cuiquam* (the word was mistakenly omitted from Lefèvre's main rendering).

15 ἀποδῷ. The spelling ἀπωδῷ, in 1516, is nothing more than a printer's error.

15 *sectemini* διώκετε ("sectamini" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 6,27. Manetti had *sequimini*, and Lefèvre *prosequimini*.

15 *tum ... tum* καί ... καί ("... et" late Vg.; "et ... et" 1516 = Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate, possibly under the influence of the Old Latin version, may reflect the omission of the first καί, as in codd. א* A D F G and a few later mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with 𝔓³⁰ א ᶜᵒʳʳ B. For the use of *tum ... tum*, see on *Ioh.* 11,48. Erasmus' 1516 rendering agreed with the earlier Vulgate, Manetti and Lefèvre.

15 *erga* (twice) εἰς ("in" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25. Manetti omitted the first *in*, before *inuicem*. Lefèvre put *ad ... ad*.

15 *vos inuicem* ἀλλήλους ("inuicem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,33.

15 *omneis* πάντας ("omnes" Vg.). See on vs. 14, above, and also on 2 *Cor.* 2,5.

17 *indesinenter* ἀδιαλείπτως ("sine intermissione" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,9. Lefèvre put *assidue*.

18 εὐχαρισθῆτε. This spelling, in 1527-35, represents a misconceived attempt to correct the earlier error of the 1516-22 editions, which had εὐχαρισθεῖτε. What Erasmus should have put was εὐχαριστεῖτε, as found in the mss. available to him at Basle, as well as in most other mss.

18 *enim est* γάρ ("est enim" late Vg.). The position of *est* is unaffected by the Greek text, which lacks a verb. Manetti made the same change. In Lefèvre's version, the sentence began with *Nam haec est*.

18 *per Christum Iesum* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ("in Christo Iesu" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

18 *erga* εἰς ("in" Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,25. Lefèvre put *ad*.

18 *vos* ὑμᾶς ("omnibus vobis" Vg.). In company with a few other late mss., cod. 2815 substitutes ἡμᾶς. Erasmus is more accurate in using the accusative. The Vulgate addition of *omnibus* lacks Greek ms. support. See *Annot.* The same correction was made by Lefèvre. Ambrosiaster (1492) had just *vobis*.

19 *ne extinguatis* μή σβέννυτε ("nolite extinguere" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18. Manetti put *ne extinguite*.

20 προφητίας. Most mss., including those at Basle, had προφητείας. Since Erasmus retained the spelling -εια- at all other instances of this word, the present passage may have been affected by a printer's error.

20 *ne aspernemini* μή ἐξουθενεῖτε ("nolite spernere" Vg.; "ne aspernamini" 1516). See again on *Rom.* 11,18 for the removal of *nolo*. The substitution of *aspernor* for *sperno* may have been intended to produce a more precise rendering of the Greek prefix ἐξ-, though Erasmus retains *sperno* for the same Greek verb at *Lc.* 23,11; 1 *Cor.* 16,11. Manetti put *ne spernite*, and Lefèvre *nolite contemnere*.

21 *Omnia* πάντα ("Omnia autem" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *autem* reflects a Greek text having πάντα δέ, as in codd. א ᶜᵒʳʳ B D F G and many other mss., among which were codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816. Erasmus here follows cod. 2817, supported by א* A and many later mss. In *Annot.*, he says that *autem* (or δέ) is not added by "the Greeks", ignoring the fact that it is present in most of his Basle mss. The version of Manetti put *omnia vero*.

21 *probate* δοκιμάζετε. Codd. 1, 2105*, 2815 have δοκιμάζοντες, as in many other late mss.

21 *quod bonum fuerit* τὸ καλόν ("quod bonum est" Vg.). Erasmus' use of the future perfect tense is an elegant refinement, unaffected by the Greek text, which has no corresponding verb. In vs. 15, however, he retains *quod bonum est* for τὸ ἀγαθόν, although it is similarly followed by a command. Lefèvre had just *bonum* (at both passages).

22 *abstinete* ἀπέχεσθε ("abstinete vos" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *vos* lacks explicit support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction.

²³ Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἁγιάσαι ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς· καὶ ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἡ ψυχή, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τηρηθείη. ²⁴ πιστὸς ὁ καλῶν ὑμᾶς, ὃς καὶ ποιήσει.

²⁵ Ἀδελφοί, προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν. ²⁶ ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πάντας ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ. ²⁷ ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον, ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀδελφοῖς. ²⁸ ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν. ἀμήν.

Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς πρώτη,
ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν.

²³ Ipse autem deus pacis sanctificet vos totos: et integer vester spiritus, et anima et corpus, ita vt in nullo possitis culpari, in aduentu domini nostri Iesu Christi seruetur. ²⁴ Fidelis est qui vocauit vos, qui idem efficiet.

²⁵ Fratres, orate pro nobis. ²⁶ Salutate fratres omneis cum osculo sancto. ²⁷ Adiuro vos per dominum, vt recitetur haec epistola omnibus sanctis fratribus. ²⁸ Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi sit vobiscum.

Ad Thessalonicenses prima,
scripta fuit ex Athenis.

27 αναγνωσθηναι C-E: αναγνωθηναι A B

24 vocauit B-E: vocat A | idem efficiet B-E: et faciet A | 26 cum B-E: in A | 27 recitetur B-E: legatur A | 28 vobiscum D E: vobiscum. Amen A-C
Subscriptio Ad Thessalonicenses prima B-E: om. A

23 totos ὁλοτελεῖς ("per omnia" Vg.). The sense of the Greek word is "whole" or "complete": cf. Annot., where Erasmus expands the sense as per omnia perfectos, based on Jerome Epist. 120, Ad Hedybiam (CSEL 55, p. 512). Manetti tried omnino ac perfecte, and Lefèvre omnino consumatos (for consummatos).

23 et (1st.) καί ("vt" late Vg.). The late Vulgate use of vt is probably a scribal change from et, which was the earlier Vulgate reading. Valla Annot. and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

23 vester spiritus ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα ("spiritus vester" Vg.). Erasmus' rendering is closer to the Greek word-order.

23 ita vt in nullo possitis culpari ἀμέμπτως ("sine querela" Vg.). See on Phil. 2,15. In Annot., Erasmus offered irreprehensibiliter as the literal meaning, though this word did not occur in classical usage. Lefèvre put sine repraehensione.

24 qui vocauit ὁ καλῶν ("qui vocat" 1516). Erasmus' 1516 rendering is more literal, agreeing with the version of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

24 ὅς. Cod. 2817 omits this word, which is present in most other mss.

24 idem καί ("etiam" Vg.; "et" 1516). Erasmus, in 1519, felt the need to supply an object for the verb by substituting a pronoun, for the sake

of clarity. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had the same rendering as Erasmus' 1516 edition.

24 efficiet ποιήσει ("faciet" 1516 = Vg.). See on Act. 3,12.

26 omneis πάντας ("omnes" Vg.). See on vs. 14, above, and also on 2 Cor. 2,5.

26 cum ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on Rom. 1,4.

27 recitetur ἀναγνωσθῆναι ("legatur" 1516 = Vg.). See on Col. 4,16. The spelling ἀναγνωθῆναι in 1516-19 is another printer's error.

27 haec epistola τὴν ἐπιστολήν ("epistola haec" late Vg. and many Vg. mss.). The word haec is not a literal translation of the Greek article, but is implied by the context. See Annot. The Latin word-order of Erasmus follows that of the Greek text. Manetti and Lefèvre omitted haec.

28 sit vobiscum μεθ' ὑμῶν. ἀμήν ("vobiscum. Amen" Vg.; "sit vobiscum. Amen" 1516-22). For the addition of sit, see on Rom. 1,20. The omission of Amen in 1527-35 was probably unintentional as it produces an inconsistency with the accompanying Greek text. Erasmus retains Amen at the end of all the other Pauline epistles. As it happens, Amen was omitted at this point by Ambrosiaster, with support from codd. B D* F G and a few other mss. The Greek text of Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A Dᶜᵒʳʳ.

ΠΡΟΣ
ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΙΣ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ

EPISTOLA PAVLI
AD THESSALONICENSES
SECVNDA

1 Παῦλος καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμό-
θεος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων,
ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ
Χριστῷ· ²χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ
θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ.

³Εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ θεῷ
πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, καθὼς
ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ὑπεραυξάνει ἡ πίστις
ὑμῶν, καὶ πλεονάζει ἡ ἀγάπη ἑνὸς
ἑκάστου πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους,

1 Paulus et Siluanus ac Timotheus
ecclesiae Thessalonicensium, in
deo patre nostro et domino Iesu
Christo: ²gratia sit vobis et pax
a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu
Christo.

³Gratias agere debemus deo sem-
per de vobis, fratres, vt par est
quod vehementer augescit fides ve-
stra, et exuberat mutua vestra om-
nium charitas, cuiusque in alterum,

Inscriptio προς *C-E*: προς τους *A B* | **1,1** χριστω *B-E*: χρισω *A*

Inscriptio EPISTOLA ... SECVNDA *B C E*: AD THESSALONICENSES EPISTOLA SECVNDA *A*,
ERASMI VERSIO *D* | **1,1** Siluanus ac *B-E*: Syluanus, et *A*

1,1 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.
Manetti made the same change.

2 *gratia sit* χάρις ("gratia" Vg.). Erasmus adds
a verb, to complete the sentence structure.

3 *deo semper* τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε ("semper deo"
late Vg.). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-
order, agreeing with the earlier Vulgate, Ambro-
siaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

3 *de* περί ("pro" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,12.
Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of
Ambrosiaster.

3 *vt* καθώς ("ita vt" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 15,38.
The same change was made by Lefèvre. Ambro-
siaster and Manetti had *sicut*.

3 *par* ἄξιον ("dignum" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus
argues that *vt par est* is more common in Latin
idiom. He may also have had in mind that, in
vs. 5, *dignus* is used in a different sense in
rendering καταξιωθῆναι. Cf. on 1 *Cor.* 16,4,
where he preferred to make use of *operae
precium*.

3 *quod* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,20.
Lefèvre made the same change.

3 *vehementer augescit* ὑπεραυξάνει ("super-
crescit" Vg.). Cf. Erasmus' substitution of *ve-
hementer exundo* for *superabundo* in rendering
ὑπερπερισσεύομαι at 2 *Cor.* 7,4. In *Annot.*,
he suggests that the prefix ὑπερ- conveys em-
phasis or intensity, without having any impli-
cation that the faith of the Thessalonians was
superior to the faith of other Christians. Lefèvre
put *adaugetur*.

3 *exuberat* πλεονάζει ("abundat" Vg.). See on
Rom. 3,7. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *multi-
plicatur*. In one ms. of Manetti's version (*Urb.
Lat.* 6), the subjunctive *abundet* was incorrectly
substituted.

3 *mutua vestra omnium charitas, cuiusque in alte-
rum* ἡ ἀγάπη ἑνὸς ἑκάστου πάντων ὑμῶν
εἰς ἀλλήλους ("charitas vniuscuiusque vestrum
in inuicem" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The
Vulgate is more literal as to the word-order. In

⁴ ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν καυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ὑμῶν καὶ πίστεως, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς διωγμοῖς ὑμῶν καὶ ταῖς θλίψεσιν αἷς ἀνέχεσθε, ⁵ ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ πάσχετε. ⁶ εἴπερ δίκαιον παρὰ θεῷ, ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς, θλίψιν, ⁷ καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἄνεσιν μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ, μετ᾽ ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, ⁸ ἐν πυρὶ φλογός, διδόντος ἐκδίκησιν τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι θεόν, καὶ τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσι τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ⁹ οἵτινες δίκην τίσουσιν, ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον, ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ

⁴ adeo vt nos ipsi de vobis gloriemur in ecclesiis dei, de tolerantia vestra et fide super omnibus persequutionibus vestris et afflictionibus quas sustinetis, ⁵ documentum iusti iudicii dei, in hoc vt digni habeamini regno dei, pro quo et patimini. ⁶ Siquidem iustum est apud deum, reddere iis qui affligunt vos, afflictionem, ⁷ et vobis qui affligimini relaxationem nobiscum, quum reuelabitur dominus Iesus de coelo, cum angelis potentiae suae, ⁸ cum incendio flammae, qui infligit vltionem iis qui non nouerunt deum, et qui non obediunt euangelio domini nostri Iesu Christi: ⁹ qui poenam luent, interitum aeternum, a facie domini, et

7 ημων *A B D E*: υμων *C*

4 *prius* de *B-E*: in *A* | super *B-E*: in *A* | 8 cum *B-E*: in *A* | infligit *B-E*: dat *A*

omitting *omnium*, the late Vulgate has little support from Greek mss. See *Annot.* For *mutua*, see on *Ioh.* 13,34. Manetti put *caritas vniuscuiusque omnium vestrum inuicem* (though *inuicem* was omitted by *Urb. Lat.* 6). Lefèvre had *vestrum omnium cuiusque adinuicem dilectio.*

4 *adeo vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6 for *adeo vt.* Lefèvre put *Quare.*

4 *nos ipsi* ἡμᾶς αὐτούς ("et nos ipsi" Vg.). The Vulgate addition of *et* lacks support from Greek mss. Erasmus' correction agrees with the wording of some Vulgate mss., Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

4 *de* (1st.) ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,23.

4 *de* (2nd.) ὑπέρ ("pro" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 5,12.

4 *tolerantia* τῆς ὑπομονῆς ("patientia" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 2,4.

4 *super omnibus* ἐν πᾶσι ("in omnibus" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 3,10.

4 *afflictionibus* ταῖς θλίψεσιν ("tribulationibus" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 16,21. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *pressuris.*

5 *documentum* ἔνδειγμα ("in exemplum" Vg.). Erasmus wished to avoid *exemplum*, in case it might be understood in the sense of a pattern which should be imitated. In the present context, he thought that ἔνδειγμα meant a manifestation, i.e. of the nature of divine justice. He further considered that ἔνδειγμα should be treated as a nominative, and that the preposition *in* was therefore not required. See *Annot.*, where Erasmus offers *ostensio, specimen,* or *declaratio,* as alternatives for *exemplum.* See also on 2 *Cor.* 8,24. Valla *Annot.* suggested *ostensio, specimen,* or *indicium.* The last of these, *indicium,* was adopted by Lefèvre. Both Valla and Lefèvre omitted *in.*

5 *in hoc vt* εἰς τό ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20. Erasmus has the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Both mss. of Manetti's version replaced *vt* by *et,* possibly through a scribal error.

5 *regno* τῆς βασιλείας ("in regno" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). The addition of *in* is redundant, as indicated in *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus is in agreement with some mss. of the earlier Vulgate, and with the versions of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

6 *Siquidem* εἴπερ ("Si tamen" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 8,9, and *Annot.* Once again Erasmus has

the same wording as Ambrosiaster. The rendering of Lefèvre was *Certe*.

6 *reddere* ἀνταποδοῦναι ("retribuere" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,35. Lefèvre had *retribui*, placed at the end of the verse.

6 *iis qui affligunt vos, afflictionem* τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς, θλίψιν ("retributionem his qui vos tribulant" late Vg.). As indicated in *Annot.*, the first word of the original Vulgate reading seems to have been *tribulationem*, as found in many Vulgate copies, and *retributionem* was probably a later scribal alteration. Hence Erasmus listed this passage among the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata*. For *affligo* and *afflictio*, see on *Ioh.* 16,21; 2 *Cor.* 1,6. For the more accurate *iis*, see on *Rom.* 4,12. Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. Cod. 2815, with little other ms. support, replaces ὑμᾶς with ἡμᾶς. Lefèvre put *iis qui vos premunt, pressuram* (cf. Ambrosiaster, *eis qui vos deprimunt, pressuram*). Manetti agreed with the earlier Vulgate in using *tribulationem* in place of *retributionem*.

7 *qui affligimini* τοῖς θλιβομένοις ("qui tribulamini" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 1,6. Lefèvre had *qui pressuras sustinetis*.

7 *relaxationem* ἄνεσιν ("requiem" Vg.). See on *Act.* 24,23. Manetti put *remissionem*.

7 ἡμῶν. In 1522, Erasmus' Greek text substituted ὑμῶν, in conflict with the accompanying Latin version, but perhaps influenced by the 1518 Aldine Bible, which had this reading.

7 *quum reuelabitur dominus Iesus* ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ("in reuelationem domini Iesu" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). Erasmus changes noun to verb, to avoid the ambiguity as to whether κυρίου and *domini* have a subjective or an objective sense. Similar changes occur at 1 *Petr.* 1,7, 13, though *reuelatio domini* is retained at 1 *Cor.* 1,7. Most Vulgate mss., with Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns), had *reuelatione* instead of *reuelationem*.

7 *potentiae* δυνάμεως ("virtutis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *potestatis*.

7 *suae* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). As Erasmus had made *dominus Iesus* the subject of this clause, he now needed to substitute the reflexive pronoun. Manetti also adopted *suae*, though without altering the sentence structure.

8 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

8 *incendio flammae* πυρὶ φλογός ("flamma ignis" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds more closely with φλογὶ πυρός, as in codd. B D F G and a few other mss. See on *Act.* 7,30, and *Annot.* The wording of Ambrosiaster (1492) and Manetti was *igne flammae*, while Lefèvre put *ignea flamma*.

8 *qui infligit* διδόντος ("dantis" Vg.; "qui dat" 1516). Erasmus' more vigorous choice of verb, *infligo*, was better suited to the present context of revenge or punishment. In *Annot.*, he argues that the subject of the Greek participle must be the Lord, as φλογός is a feminine noun. However, the Vulgate rendering, together with its presumed underlying text, is ambiguous, as διδόντος and *dantis* might lead the reader to suppose that these participles related to πυρός (a neuter noun) and *ignis*. Lefèvre's rendering of the first part of this sentence was *qui in ignea flamma vindictam dabit*.

8 *vltionem* ἐκδίκησιν ("vindictam" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 12,19. For the word-order of Lefèvre, see the previous note.

8 *iis* τοῖς ("his" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,12. Some copies of the late Vulgate have *iis*, as in Lefèvre's Vulgate column. The versions of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *in eos*.

8 *Christi* Χριστοῦ (omitted by a few Vg. mss., with Vg^st). Codd. 2105 and 2815 omit Χριστοῦ, in company with codd. B D and many other mss. The text of Erasmus follows cod. 2817, supported by 1 and 2816, with ℵ A F G and many other mss. His translation adopts the wording of the late Vulgate and most Vulgate mss. (with Vg^ww), and of Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre omitted this word.

9 *poenam luent* δίκην τίσουσιν ("poenas dabunt" Vg.). The Vulgate uses a common classical Latin idiom. Erasmus looks for a more literal rendering on this occasion. See *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *penam dabunt*, and Lefèvre *supplicio cruciabuntur*.

9 *interitum aeternum* ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον ("in interitu aeternas" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate, treating ὄλεθρον as in apposition to δίκην. See *Annot.* The same change was proposed by Valla *Annot.* The versions of Ambrosiaster and Manetti put *in interitum aeternum*, and Lefèvre *interitu sempiterno* (to agree with *supplicio*).

9 τοῦ. The article is omitted by codd. 2105, 2815, 2816, along with D F G and a few other mss.

ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ¹⁰ ὅταν ἔλθη ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ θαυμασθῆναι ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· ¹¹ εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ τῆς κλήσεως ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ πληρώσῃ πᾶσαν εὐδοκίαν ἀγαθωσύνης, καὶ ἔργον πίστεως ἐν δυνάμει, ¹² ὅπως ἐνδοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ᾽Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ, κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου ᾽Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

2 ᾽Ερωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ᾽Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, ² εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοός, μήτε θροεῖσθε, μήτε

a gloria fortitudinis illius, ¹⁰ quum venerit vt glorificetur in sanctis suis, et admirandus fiat in omnibus credentibus, quod fides habita sit testimonio nostro erga vos in die illo: ¹¹ ad quod etiam oramus semper pro vobis, vt vos dignos habeat ista vocatione deus noster, et compleat omne bonum propositum bonitatis, et opus fidei cum potentia: ¹² vt illustretur nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi per vos, et vos per illum, iuxta gratiam dei nostri et domini Iesu Christi.

2 Rogamus autem vos fratres, per aduentum domini nostri Iesu Christi, et nostri aggregationem in illum, ² ne cito dimoueamini a mente, neque turbemini, neque

2,2 θροεῖσθε *D E*: θροεῖσθαι *A-C*

10 admirandus *B-E*: admirabilis *A* | 11 etiam *B-E*: et *A* | dignos habeat ista *B-E*: dignetur *A* | cum *B-E*: in *A* | 12 per vos *B-E*: in vobis *A* | per illum *B-E*: in illo *A*

9 *fortitudinis* τῆς ἰσχύος ("virtutis" Vg.). See on *Eph.* 1,19. The word which Erasmus adopted in his Latin rendering had previously been advocated by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre. Valla additionally suggested making use of *robur* or *validitas*: cf. Erasmus' mention of *roboris* and *potentiae* in *Annot.*

9 *illius* αὐτοῦ ("eius" Vg.). Erasmus uses the more emphatic pronoun, to refer back to *domini.* Manetti had *suae.*

10 *vt glorificetur ... admirandus fiat* ἐνδοξασθῆναι ... θαυμασθῆναι ("glorificari ... admirabilis fieri" Vg.; "vt glorificetur ... admirabilis fiat" 1516). Erasmus avoids the infinitive of purpose. The change to *admirandus* makes little difference to the meaning, but he felt that it more closely resembled the passive form of the Greek verb. Ambrosiaster had *clarificari ... mirificari* (as partly cited in *Annot.*), and Lefèvre, *glorificari ... mirificari.* The mss. of Manetti's version put *ad gloriandum ... admirabilis fiat*, neglecting to insert *vt* before *admirabilis.*

10 *credentibus* τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ("qui crediderunt" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a text having

τοῖς πιστεύσασιν, as in codd. ℵ A B D (F) G and most other mss., including codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816. Erasmus here follows cod. 2817, with support from a few other late mss. This poorly attested reading remained in the *Textus Receptus.* Lefèvre had *iis qui crediderunt.*

10 *quod fides habita sit testimonio nostro* ὅτι ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ("quia creditum est testimonium nostrum" Vg.). By using *fides*, Erasmus seeks to make the meaning clearer, partly following the version of Ambrosiaster, *quia fidem habuit testimonium nostrum*: see *Annot.* A similar substitution of *fides habita* for the passive of *credo* occurs at 1 *Tim.* 3,16. However, coming straight after *credentibus*, the use of *quod* leaves an ambiguity as to whether the sense is "because" or "that". Manetti put *quoniam creditum est testimonium nostrum*, and Lefèvre *quod testimonium nostrum creditum est.*

10 *erga* ἐφ᾽ ("super" Vg.). Cf. on *Act.* 3,25. Erasmus' choice of preposition is better suited to the context.

11 *ad quod* εἰς ὃ ("in quo" Vg.). The Vulgate gives rise to the misinterpretation that *quo*

refers to the immediately preceding *die illo* at the end of vs. 10, whereas the Greek neuter makes it more probable that the reference is to the glorification of the Lord among his saints, mentioned in the earlier part of vs. 10. Cf. *Annot*. The rendering advocated by Valla *Annot*. and Manetti was *in quod*. Lefèvre put *Quamobrem*.

11 *etiam* καί ("et" 1516). Possibly, in 1516, Erasmus wished to ensure that καί was understood to mean "also" rather than "even". The use of *et* was also to be seen here in Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

11 *vos dignos habeat* ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ ("dignetur vos" Vg.; "vos dignetur" 1516). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. His 1519 rendering echoes the use of *digni habeamini* in vs. 5, and is identical with the version of Ambrosiaster (partly cited in *Annot*.). Manetti had *dignos vos faciat*, and Lefèvre *vos ... dignos faciat* (placing *dignos faciat* after *vocatione*).

11 *ista vocatione* τῆς κλήσεως ("sua vocatione" late Vg.; "vocatione" 1516). As indicated in *Annot*., the possessive pronoun of the Vulgate is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. Erasmus' substitution of *ista*, in 1519, was perhaps intended to connect κλήσεως with the reference to τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ in vs. 10. Another alternative would have been *vocatione vestra*. Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus' 1516 edition, while Manetti put *vocationis*.

11 *compleat* πληρώσῃ ("impleat" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 15,25. Manetti had *repleat*.

11 *omne bonum propositum* πᾶσαν εὐδοκίαν ("omnem voluntatem" Vg.). See on *Eph*. 1,5. In *Annot*., Erasmus also suggests using *beneplacitum*, which also happened to be the choice of Manetti (*omne beneplacitum*). Lefèvre put *omni voluntate*.

11 *bonitatis* ἀγαθωσύνης ("bonitatis suae" late Vg.). The late Vulgate addition of *suae* lacks explicit Greek ms. support. See *Annot*. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

11 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom*. 1,4.

11 *potentia* δυνάμει ("virtute" Vg.). See *ibid*., and *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre had *potestate*.

12 *illustretur* ἐνδοξασθῇ ("clarificetur" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 12,28. In 1516 *Annot*., Erasmus suggests *celebre fiat* or *nobilitetur*, and in 1522 *Annot*., *glorificetur*. The last of these was the rendering offered by Lefèvre.

12 *Christi* (1st.) Χριστοῦ. This word was omitted by codd. 1 and 2815, along with ℵ B D 0111 and many other mss. At this point, Erasmus follows cod. 2817, together with 2105 and 2816, and also A F G and many other mss.

12 *per vos ... per illum* ἐν ὑμῖν ... ἐν αὐτῷ ("in vobis ... in illo" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom*. 1,17. Ambrosiaster and Manetti had *in vobis ... in ipso*, and Lefèvre *in vobis ... in eo*.

12 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act*. 13,23.

2,1 παρουσίας. In omitting the article, Erasmus' Greek text follows cod. 2817(corr). The wording cited in *Annot*. is τῆς παρουσίας, attested by codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, 2817* and most other mss.

1 *nostri aggregationem* ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ("nostrae congregationis" Vg.). In the Greek text, there is an ambiguity as to whether the antecedent of this phrase is ὑπέρ or παρουσίας. In preferring the first of these possibilities, Erasmus makes better sense of the passage. He uses *aggregatio* for the only other N.T. instance of ἐπισυναγωγή, at *Hebr*. 10,25, replacing *collectio*. However, *aggregatio* does not occur in classical usage. He reserves *congregatio* mainly for ἐκκλησία, and once for συναγωγή at *Mc*. 12,39. See *Annot*.

1 *illum* αὐτόν ("ipsum" Vg.). For the removal of *ipse*, see on *Rom*. 1,20. In 1527-35 *Annot*., supported by cod. 2105 (but not 2105comm), Erasmus treats the reading as αὐτήν, and therefore as relating to παρουσίας rather than to κυρίου. Lefèvre put *eo*.

2 *ne* εἰς τὸ μή ("vt non" Vg.). See on *Ioh*. 3,20. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

2 *dimoueamini* σαλευθῆναι ("moueamini" Vg.). Erasmus looks for a more vigorous rendering of the Greek verb, which means "shake" rather than just "move". See *Annot*., and see also on *Act*. 16,26; 1 *Cor*. 13,2. Erasmus here adopts the version of Lefèvre.

2 *mente* τοῦ νοός ("vestro sensu" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vgww; "sensu" a few Vg. mss., with Vgst). See on *Rom*. 1,28 for *mente*. The Vulgate addition of *vestro* corresponds with τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν in cod. D*. See *Annot*. The version of Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus. Manetti had *intellectu vestro*.

2 *turbemini* θροεῖσθε ("terreamini" Vg.). In 1516-22, Erasmus had θροεῖσθαι, as in most

LB 917 διὰ πνεύματος, μήτε διὰ λόγου, μήτε | per spiritum, neque per sermonem, | LB 918
δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅτι   neque per epistolam, tanquam nobis
ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ³μή   autoribus, quasi instet dies Christi,
τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδένα τρό-   ³ne quis vos decipiat vllo modo:
πον, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία   quoniam   non   adueniet   dominus,
πρῶτον, καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἄνθρω-   nisi venerit defectio prius, et reuela-
πος τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπω-   tus fuerit homo ille scelerosus, filius
λείας,   ⁴ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραι-   perditus,   ⁴qui est aduersarius, et
ρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ   effertur aduersus omnem qui dicitur
σέβασμα, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ   deus aut numen, adeo vt in tem-
θεοῦ ὡς θεὸν καθίσαι, ἀποδεικνύντα   plo dei sedeat, ostentans se ipsum
ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἐστὶ θεός. ⁵οὐ μνημονεύετε   esse deum.   ⁵An non meministis,

2,2 nobis autoribus E: per nos missam A, a nobis profectam B-D | 3 non adueniet do-
minus B-E: om. A | prius B-E: primum A | scelerosus B-E: peccati A | perditus B-E:
perditionis A

mss. The change to θροεῖσθε in 1527-35 may   the divine name (χū or κū). See Annot. The
have been an itacistic error by the printer,   same change was made by Lefèvre.
though this reading is found in codd. A B and
a few later mss. The substitution of turbo is   3 decipiat ἐξαπατήσῃ ("seducat" Vg.). See on
in accordance with Vulgate usage at Mt.   Rom. 7,11. Lefèvre again made the same change.
24,6. Cf. also Erasmus' replacement of timeo by turbo
in rendering the same Greek verb at Mc. 13,7.   3 non adueniet dominus, nisi ἐὰν μή ("nisi" 1516
Lefèvre made the same change at the present   = Vg.). Erasmus added non adueniet dominus by
passage. Ambrosiaster had conturbemini.   way of explanation, to complete the implied
                                                   sense of the elliptical Greek wording. In Annot.
2 nobis autoribus δι' ἡμῶν ("per nos missam"   on vs. 4, he suggested, more precisely, that the
1516 = late Vg. and some Vg. mss.; "a nobis   required sense was non veniet dies domini, which
profectam" 1519-27). In Annot., Erasmus argues   fits better with the preceding phrase, quasi instet
that the Greek phrase relates equally to πνεύμα-   dies Christi.
τος, λόγου, and ἐπιστολῆς, whereas the addi-
tion of missam restricts the application solely   3 defectio ἡ ἀποστασία ("discessio" Vg.). See
to ἐπιστολῆς. Manetti and Lefèvre had just per   on Act. 21,21. In Annot., Erasmus attributes
nos, as in some Vulgate mss.   his rendering to "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster).
                                                   Manetti's version put dissensio, and Lefèvre
2 Christi τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("domini" Vg.). The   apostasia.
Vulgate reflects the substitution of τοῦ κυ-
ρίου, as in codd. ℵ A B D* and some later   3 prius πρῶτον ("primum" 1516 = Vg.). See
mss., including cod. 2815 (cf. also cod. 2105,   on Rom. 15,24.
which has κυρίου, omitting τοῦ, in company
with codd. F G). Erasmus follows cod. 2817,   3 homo ille scelerosus ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας
supported by 1 and 2816, with Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most   ("homo peccati" Vg.; "homo ille peccati" 1516).
later mss. The expression ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ,   The pronoun ille conveys the sense of the Greek
using the article, is not seen elsewhere in the   article, that this is one particular person, and
N.T., though ἡμέρα Χριστοῦ occurs at Phil.   not just "a man". In Annot., Erasmus indi-
1,10; 2,16. An accidental substitution of κυρίου cates that the addition of this word is suppor-
for Χριστοῦ, or of Χριστοῦ for κυρίου, could   ted by "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster, who had
easily occur by the change of a single letter,   homo ille peccati). The substitution of scelerosus
facilitated by the customary abbreviations of   ("wicked") produces a clearer sense, but loses
                                                   something of the solemnity of the Greek ex-
                                                   pression, which seems to refer to an individual

who would manifest an extremity of evil which had never previously been seen.

3 *perditus* τῆς ἀπωλείας ("perditionis" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 17,12. Again, although the adjective substituted by Erasmus gives a clearer sense, something is lost from the solemnity and semi-proverbial character of the original wording, which appears to speak of a particular individual who is irretrievably and eternally lost, and marked out for destruction. By contrast, the "lost sheep" (the *oues perditae* of *Mt.* 10,6 etc.) could hope for salvation.

4 *qui est aduersarius* ὁ ἀντικείμενος ("qui aduersatur" Vg.). This change is consistent with Vulgate usage of *aduersarius* at *Lc.* 13,17; 1 *Cor.* 16,9; *Phil.* 1,28; 1 *Tim.* 5,14. However, in rendering οἱ ἀντικείμενοι ὑμῖν at *Lc.* 21,15, Erasmus substitutes *qui aduersabuntur vobis* for *aduersarii vestri*, and he further retains *aduersor* at *Gal.* 5,17; 1 *Tim.* 1,10.

4 *effertur* ὑπεραιρόμενος ("extollitur" Vg.). At 2 *Cor.* 12,7, more exactly, Erasmus has *supra modum efferrer* for ὑπεραίρωμαι, whereas at 2 *Cor.* 10,5 (1519) he is content to use *quae extollitur* for ἐπαιρόμενον. See *ad locc.*, and cf. also on *Rom.* 11,20.

4 *aduersus* ἐπί ("supra" Vg.). Erasmus substitutes *aduersus*, as the antecedent is not only ὑπεραιρόμενος but also ἀντικείμενος. The preposition *supra* is unsuitable for use with *aduersarius*. In *Annot.*, lemma, and also the lemma of Valla *Annot.*, the Vulgate reading is cited as *super*, which was the rendering used by Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (but not Lefèvre *Comm.*).

4 *omnem qui* πάντα ("omne quod" Vg.). In 1535 *Annot.*, Erasmus seems to be of the opinion that the original reading was πᾶν τό or πᾶν ("quod fuisse scriptum arbitror"). The reading πᾶν τό, without any additional ms. support, was later adopted into the Greek (folio) editions of Theodore Beza. Most mss. read πάντα. Accordingly, Valla *Annot.*, Manetti and Lefèvre all proposed *omnem qui*.

4 *numen* σέβασμα ("quod colitur" Vg.). Erasmus chooses a word which is well suited to the context, though *numen* tends to emphasise the essence and power of deity, while σέβασμα refers more specifically to deity as an object of adoration and worship. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggested *cultus* or *veneratio*. Valla *Annot.* recommended *cultus* (accompanied by the variant, σεβάσμενον, which is actually

closer to the Vulgate wording). Lefèvre put *simulacrum*.

4 *adeo vt* ὥστε ("ita vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,6. Lefèvre put *ita quod*.

4 ὡς θεόν. In leaving this phrase untranslated, Erasmus follows the Vulgate. The latter probably reflected a Greek text in which these words were omitted, as in codd. ℵ A B D* and about fifty later mss. Erasmus' Greek text follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1 and 2816, with D^corr and about 480 later mss. His cod. 2105 transposes ὡς θεόν after καθίσαι, along with more than forty other late mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 314-17). These words have been condemned by some as an interpretative scribal addition. If the phrase were an authentic part of the text, however, some scribes may have considered that it duplicated the sense of ἀποδεικνύντα ... ὅτι ἐστὶ θεός, and hence deleted it. Manetti and Lefèvre added *tanquam deus* after *dei*.

4 *ostentans* ἀποδεικνύντα ("ostendens" Vg.). Erasmus selects a verb which can be understood in a more pejorative sense, "boastfully displaying". Cf. *Annot.*

4 *se ipsum* ἑαυτόν ("se" Vg.). Erasmus renders the reflexive pronoun more emphatically, using the same wording as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

4 *esse deum* ὅτι ἐστὶ θεός ("tanquam sit deus" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vg^ww; "quia sit deus" cod. Sangermanensis, with Vg^st). In *Annot.* Erasmus gives *quod sit deus* as an alternative, this being the rendering of Lefèvre. Ambrosiaster and Valla *Annot.* offered *quasi sit deus*, and Manetti *quod est deus*.

5 *An non* οὐ ("Non" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 18,11. Manetti put *Nonne*, while Lefèvre (*Comm.*). began the sentence with *Meministisne*. Lefèvre's Vulgate column had *Num*.

5 *meministis* μνημονεύετε ("retinetis" Vg.). The use of *retineo* on its own, to mean "remember", does not seem to have been favoured by the earlier classical authors. In 1516-19 *Annot.*, Erasmus condemned the Vulgate expression as "stultam copiae affectationem", evoking criticism from Stunica. For Erasmus' reply to the latter, see *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 222, ll. 942-957. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre (*Comm.*) used the same verb as Erasmus. For Lefèvre's word-order, see the previous note. Manetti put *recordamini*.

ὅτι ἔτι ὢν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ταῦτα ἔλεγον ὑμῖν; ⁶καὶ νῦν τὸ κατέχον οἴδατε, εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ καιρῷ. ⁷τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας, μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι, ἕως ἐκ μέσου γένηται, ⁸καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος, ὃν ὁ κύριος ἀναλώσει τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταργήσει τῇ ἐπιφανίᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, ⁹οὗ ἐστιν ἡ παρουσία κατ᾽ ἐνέργειαν τοῦ σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους, ¹⁰καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ τῆς ἀδικίας ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις,

quod quum adhuc essem apud vos, haec dixerim vobis? ⁶Et nunc quid detineat scitis, nempe, vt ille reueletur in suo tempore. ⁷Nam mysterium nunc agit iniquitatis, tantum qui tenet, in praesentia teneat, donec e medio tollatur, ⁸et tunc patefiet iniquus ille, quem dominus conficiet spiritu oris sui, et abolebit claritate aduentus sui, ⁹cuius est aduentus secundum operationem satanae, cum omni potentia et signis ac prodigiis mendacibus, ¹⁰et cum omni deceptione iniustitiae in iis qui pereunt,

8 επιφανια *C-E*: επιφανεια *A B* | 9 παση *Aᶜ B-E*: πασι *A**

7 teneat *B-E*: tenet *A* | 8 patefiet *B-E*: reuelabitur *A* | claritate *B-E*: apparitione *A* | 9 satanae *A-C E*: sathanae *D* | cum *B-E*: in *A* | ac *B-E*: et *A* | mendacibus *B-E*: mendacii *A* | 10 cum *B-E*: in *A*

5 *dixerim* ἔλεγον ("dicebam" Vg.). The Vulgate is more literal here, in rendering the Greek imperfect tense.

6 *scitis, nempe* οἴδατε ("scitis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,32 for the addition of *nempe*.

6 *ille reueletur* ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτόν ("reueletur" Vg.). Erasmus inserts *ille*, to make clear that αὐτόν refers back to the υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας of vs. 3. The reader might otherwise suppose that *reueletur* had a neuter subject, represented by *quid* earlier in this sentence. See *Annot.* The same correction was made by Lefèvre, Ambrosiaster, and also Valla *Annot.*, offered *reueletur ille*.

6 ἑαυτοῦ. Cod. 2817 has αὐτοῦ, with support from codd. ℵ* A I and some other mss. The text of Erasmus follows cod. 2815, together with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as ℵᶜᵒʳʳ B D F G and most other mss. (in cod. 2816, ἑαυτοῦ is placed after καιρῷ).

7 *nunc* ἤδη ("iam" Vg.). Erasmus is less precise here. He nowhere else uses *nunc* for ἤδη in the N.T., but almost always has *iam*. An exception

is at *Rom.* 1,10, where he follows the Vulgate in using *tandem.*

7 *agit* ἐνεργεῖται ("operatur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,5, and *Annot.*, in which Erasmus criticises Lefèvre's substitution of *patratur.*

7 *tantum* μόνον ("tantum vt" Vg.). The Vulgate use of *vt* is not explicitly supported by Greek mss. The version of Manetti had *vt*, omitting *tantum*, whereas Lefèvre had *solum*, omitting *vt.*

7 *qui tenet, in praesentia teneat* ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ("qui tenet nunc teneat" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vgʷʷ; "qui tenet nunc" cod. Sangermanensis, with Vgˢᵗ; "qui tenet, in praesentia tenet" 1516). A similar substitution of *in praesentia* occurs at 1 *Petr.* 1,8, and also in rendering τὸ νῦν ἔχον at *Act.* 24,25. Elsewhere Erasmus sometimes prefers *nunc* for ἄρτι: see on *Ioh.* 9,25. He follows the main Vulgate text in supplying *teneat* to remove what was perceived as an ellipsis in the Greek wording. Cf. *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *qui iam tenet*, omitting the second verb.

7 *e* ἐκ ("de" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 2,15. Lefèvre made the same change.

7 *tollatur* γένηται ("fiat" Vg.). Erasmus finds a more expressive verb, suited to the context, taking γένηται as the equivalent of ἐξαρθῇ (cf. 1 *Cor.* 5,2).

8 *patefiet* ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ("reuelabitur" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

8 *iniquus ille* ὁ ἄνομος ("ille iniquus" Vg.). Erasmus prefers that *ille* should immediately precede the relative pronoun, rather than be separated from it by an accompanying noun or adjective. Manetti and Lefèvre both omitted *ille*.

8 *dominus* ὁ κύριος ("dominus Iesus" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of Ἰησοῦς, as in codd. א A D* F G and more than seventy other mss., including cod. 2105. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, alongside 1 and 2816, with B Dᶜᵒʳʳ and about 500 other mss. (see Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 317-20). Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change as Erasmus.

8 *conficiet* ἀναλώσει ("interficiet" Vg.). Erasmus looks for a stronger verb, meaning "consume" or "destroy", rather than just "kill". In *Annot.*, he suggests using *consumet*, consistent with Vulgate usage in rendering ἀναλίσκω at *Lc.* 9,54; *Gal.* 5,15. However, the Vulgate may reflect the substitution of ἀνελεῖ, as in codd. (A) B and over thirty later mss. (cf. Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vol. 4, pp. 317-20). Lefèvre put *elidet*.

8 *abolebit* καταργήσει ("destruet" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 6,6.

8 *claritate* τῇ ἐπιφανίᾳ ("illustratione" Vg.; "apparitione" 1516). The spelling ἐπιφανίᾳ, in the 1522-35 editions, may have been due to an itacistic printing error. At the other five N.T. instances of this word, Erasmus' Greek text has the correct form, ἐπιφάνεια, consistent with his use of τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ in 1516-19 at the present passage. In *Annot.*, it is ἐπιφανίᾳ in 1516, but ἐπιφανείᾳ in 1519-35. His substitution of *apparitione* in 1516 was an attempt at greater accuracy, though the phrase *apparitione aduentus* was no less obscure than the Vulgate. A problem with *apparitio* was that, in classical Latin, this word meant "service", rather than "appearance" (cf. also *apparitor*, an "attendant" or "servant"). The use of *claritate* in 1519 yielded a clearer sense: cf. *Annot.* The rendering of ἐπιφάνεια

by words meaning "brightness" is based on the closely related adjective, ἐπιφανής, rather than on the technical sense of an "epiphany". In rendering ἐπιφάνεια elsewhere, Erasmus uses *apparitio* to replace *aduentus* at 1 *Tim.* 6,14; 2 *Tim.* 4,1; *Tit.* 2,13 (1516-22), and to replace *illuminatio* at 2 *Tim.* 1,10. At *Tit.* 2,13 (1527-35), he replaces *aduentus* by *illustratio*, while retaining *aduentus* at 2 *Tim.* 4,8. In 1527 *Annot.* on 1 *Tim.* 6,14, Erasmus expresses a preference for *illustratio* rather than *apparitio*, and favourable references to *illustratio* further occur in *Annot.* on 2 *Tim.* 1,10; 4,1; *Tit.* 2,13.

9 *cuius* οὗ ("eum cuius" Vg.). The Vulgate added *eum*, presumably to clarify the connection with the earlier *quem*, and to prevent *cuius* from being misunderstood to relate to *aduentus* at the end of vs. 8. In the 1527 Vulgate column, a new sentence begins with *Et destruet*, for which *eum* is required as an object. Erasmus renders the Greek more literally here, adopting the same wording as Ambrosiaster and Manetti.

9 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

9 πάσῃ. In 1516, Erasmus' text had the spelling, πᾶςι (*sic*), prompted by πᾶσι in cod. 2815. He restored the correct spelling in the 1516 errata, in conformity with codd. 1, 2105, 2816, 2817.

9 *potentia* δυνάμει ("virtute" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *potestate*.

9 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25.

9 *mendacibus* ψεύδους ("mendacii" 1516). In 1516, Erasmus attempts a more literal translation, using the same word as Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. In 1519, Erasmus reverted to the clearer wording of the Vulgate: see *Annot.* The version of Manetti had *fallacibus*.

10 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

10 *deceptione* ἀπάτῃ ("seductione" Vg.). See on *Col.* 2,8. The same change was made by Lefèvre. Manetti had *dolo*.

10 *iniustitiae* τῆς ἀδικίας ("iniquitatis" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,29. Lefèvre again made the same substitution.

10 *in iis* ἐν τοῖς ("his" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the omission of ἐν, in company with codd. א * A B D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, and also א ᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. For *iis*, see on *Rom.* 4,12. See also *Annot.* The translation of Lefèvre likewise put *in iis*, but his Vulgate text had *iis*. Manetti put *in his*.

ἀνθ' ὧν τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ
ἐδέξαντο, εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι αὐτούς. ¹¹καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο πέμψει αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐνέρ-
γειαν πλάνης, εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι αὐτοὺς
τῷ ψεύδει, ¹²ἵνα κριθῶσι πάντες οἱ μὴ
πιστεύσαντες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἀλλ' εὐδοκή-
σαντες ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ.

¹³Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ
θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοὶ ἠγα-
πημένοι ὑπὸ κυρίου, ὅτι εἵλετο ὑμᾶς ὁ
θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ
πνεύματος, καὶ πίστει ἀληθείας, ¹⁴εἰς
ὃ ἐκάλεσεν ὑμᾶς διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου
ἡμῶν, εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης τοῦ κυρίου
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ¹⁵ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελ-
φοί, | στήκετε, καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς παρα-
δόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε, εἴτε διὰ λόγου,
εἴτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν. ¹⁶αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ
κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ὁ θεὸς
καὶ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἀγαπήσας ἡμᾶς
καὶ δοὺς παράκλησιν αἰωνίαν καὶ ἐλπί-
δα ἀγαθὴν ἐν χάριτι, ¹⁷παρακαλέσαι

pro eo quod dilectionem veritatis non
receperunt, in hoc vt salui fierent.
¹¹Et propterea mittet illis deus effica-
ciam illusionis, vt credant mendacio,
¹²vt iudicentur omnes qui non cre-
diderunt veritati, sed approbauerunt
iniustitiam.

¹³Nos autem debemus gratias agere
deo semper de vobis, fratres dilecti a
domino, quod elegerit vos deus ab
initio in salutem, per sanctificatio-
nem spiritus ac fidem veritatis, ¹⁴ad
quod vocauit vos per euangelium no-
strum, in acquisitionem gloriae domi-
ni nostri Iesu Christi. ¹⁵Itaque fratres
state, | et tenete institutiones quas
didicistis siue per sermonem, siue per
epistolam nostram. ¹⁶Ipse vero do-
minus noster Iesus Christus et deus
ac pater noster qui dilexit nos et de-
dit consolationem aeternam et spem
bonam per gratiam, ¹⁷consoletur

LB 919

LB 920

12 εν τη *Aᶜ B-E*: τη *A**

10 quod *B-E*: qnod *A (exx.)* | receperunt, in hoc *A E*: receperunt in hoc, *B-D* | 13 per
sanctificationem *B-E*: in sanctificatione *A* | ac fidem *B-E*: et fide *A* | 15 institutiones *B-E*:
traditiones *A* | 16 ac *B-E*: et *A* | per gratiam *B-E*: in gratia *A*

10 *pro eo quod* ἀνθ' ὧν ("eo quod" Vg.).
This change was in accordance with Vulgate
usage at *Lc.* 1,20. In rendering ἀντὶ τοῦ at
Iac. 4,15, Erasmus also puts *pro eo quod* for
pro eo vt. However, he retains *eo quod* for
ἀνθ' ὧν at *Lc.* 19,44; *Act.* 12,23, and replaces
pro eo quod by *eo quod* at *Lc.* 1,20 (1519).
Manetti anticipated Erasmus' rendering of
the present passage. Lefèvre put *qui aduersus
ea.*

10 *dilectionem* τὴν ἀγάπην ("charitatem" Vg.).
The 1527 Vulgate column followed the Froben
1514 edition in the mistaken transposition of
charitatem veritatis into *veritatem charitatis.* For
dilectio, see on *Ioh.* 13,35, and *Annot.* The ren-
dering of Erasmus was the same as that of
Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre.

10 *in hoc vt* εἰς τό ("vt" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,20,
and cf. Ambrosiaster's use of *ad hoc vt.*

11 *Et* καί (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission
has little support from Greek mss. other than
cod. D*. See *Annot.* The same correction was
made by Manetti and Lefèvre.

11 *propterea* διὰ τοῦτο ("Ideo" Vg.). See on
Rom. 13,6. Lefèvre put *iccirco* (cf. Ambrosiaster,
idcirco).

11 *efficaciam* ἐνέργειαν ("operationem" Vg.).
See on 1 *Cor.* 12,10, and *Annot.*

11 *illusionis* πλάνης ("erroris" Vg.). In *Annot.,*
Erasmus also mentions *seductionis* or *imposturae*
as possible alternatives. See further on *Eph.*
4,14. In 1516 *Annot.,* he adds τῆς before πλά-
νης, contrary to his Basle mss.

12 *approbauerunt* εὐδοκήσαντες ("consenserunt" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 10,5. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests making use of *quibus placuit.* Lefèvre put *acquieuerunt.*

12 *iniustitiam* ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ ("iniquitati" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,29 for *iniustitia.* The Vulgate may reflect the omission of ἐν. This preposition was omitted from Erasmus' Greek text in 1516, following cod. 2817, together with ℵ* B D* F G and some later mss. However, ἐν was cited in 1516 *Annot.*, and was restored to the text in the 1516 errata, with support from codd. 1, 2105, 2815, 2816, as well as ℵ corr A D corr and most later mss. The version of Lefèvre had *iniustitiae.*

13 τῷ θεῷ. Cod. 2815 omits these words, which are contained in most other mss.

13 *de* περί ("pro" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 14,12. Erasmus used the same rendering as Ambrosiaster.

13 *domino* κυρίου ("deo" Vg.). The Vulgate corresponds with the substitution of θεοῦ by cod. D*. The correction made by Erasmus agrees with the wording of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *vos* ὑμᾶς ("nos" *Annot.*, lemma = Vg.). The 1527 Vulgate column had *vos.* The use of *nos* in many Vulgate mss. corresponds with the reading ἡμᾶς in codd. ℵ* D* and a few later mss. See *Annot.* Once again Erasmus has the same wording as Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *ab initio* ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ("primitias" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ἀπαρχήν, as found in codd. B F G and some other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ D and most later mss. As indicated in *Annot.*, this textual variation is of doctrinal significance, as ἀπ' ἀρχῆς was capable of being understood as referring to eternal predestination ("from the beginning"), whereas ἀπαρχήν ("firstfruits") could refer to those who were the first to receive the divine call and were hence the first to believe in Christ. Because of the similarity of spelling, an accidental change could theoretically have occurred in either direction. At *Rom.* 16,5, for example, 𝔓46 D* substituted ἀπ' ἀρχῆς for ἀπαρχή, and a similar error occurs in cod. D* at 1 *Cor.* 16,15; on the other hand, a few later mss. (together with Chrysostom) replace ἀρχή by ἀπαρχή at *Col.* 1,18. At the present passage,

a few scribes may have substituted ἀπαρχήν through familiarity with Pauline usage of that word in several other places, and possibly also through the influence of *Iac.* 1,18 (βουληθεὶς ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας, εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀπαρχήν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων). Manetti had *primitiam*, while Lefèvre changed the word-order to produce *in salute primitiarum.*

13 *per sanctificationem ... fidem* ἐν ἁγιασμῷ ... πίστει ("in sanctificatione ... in fide" late Vg.; "in sanctificatione ... fide" 1516 = Vg. mss.). See on *Rom.* 1,17 for *per.* The late Vulgate insertion of *in* before *fide* lacks explicit support from Greek mss. The 1516 rendering is in agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

13 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti anticipated this change.

14 *ad quod* εἰς ὅ ("in qua" late Vg. and most Vg. mss., with Vg ww). Erasmus is more accurate here. See *Annot.*, where he conjectures that the original Latin version was *in quem* (referring to *spiritus* in vs. 13), later to be changed into *in quam* (referring to *fides*), which could then easily be altered into *in qua.* The use of *in quam* occurs in Ambrosiaster. Erasmus' preference for *ad quod* coincides with the wording of cod. Sangermanensis (from which Vg st adopts this reading as the Vulgate text). Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus. Valla *Annot.* and Manetti (*Pal. Lat.* 45) proposed *in quod* (altered to *in quo* by *Urb. Lat.* 6).

14 *vocauit* ἐκάλεσεν ("et vocauit" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the addition of καί before ἐκάλεσεν, as in codd. ℵ F G and some other mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre deleted *et* (but *Urb. Lat.* 6, and seemingly also *Pal. Lat.* 45, substituted *vocaui* for *vocauit*).

15 *institutiones* τὰς παραδόσεις ("traditiones" 1516 = Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 2 *Thess.* 3,6 (1519). See on *Act.* 6,14.

16 *vero* δέ ("autem" Vg.). Erasmus gives the Greek particle a continuative sense, appropriate to the context.

16 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25, and cf. *Annot.*

16 *per gratiam* ἐν χάριτι ("in gratia" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

17 *consoletur* παρακαλέσαι ("exhortetur" Vg.). This change is consistent with Vulgate usage at

ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας καὶ στηρίξαι ὑμᾶς
ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ.

3 Τὸ λοιπόν, προσεύχεσθε, ἀδελφοί,
περὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυ-
ρίου τρέχῃ καὶ δοξάζηται, καθὼς καὶ
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ²καὶ ἵνα ῥυσθῶμεν ἀπὸ
τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων.
οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις, ³πιστὸς δέ
ἐστιν ὁ κύριος, ὃς στηρίξει ὑμᾶς καὶ φυ-
λάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. ⁴πεποίθαμεν
δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ἃ παραγγέλ-
λομεν ὑμῖν, καὶ ποιεῖτε καὶ ποιήσετε.
⁵ὁ δὲ κύριος κατευθύναι ὑμῶν τὰς καρ-
δίας εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰς
τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

⁶Παραγγέλλομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί,
ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, στέλλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς

vestra corda et stabiliat vos in omni
sermone et opere bono.

3 Quod superest, orate fratres pro
nobis, vt sermo domini currat
et glorificetur sicut et apud vos, ²et
vt eripiamur ab absurdis ac peruer-
sis hominibus. Non enim omnium
est fides, ³sed fidelis est dominus,
qui stabiliet vos et custodiet a malo.
⁴Confidimus autem per dominum de
vobis, quod quae praecipimus vobis
et faciatis et facturi sitis. ⁵Porro
dominus dirigat vestra corda in di-
lectionem dei et in expectationem
Christi.

⁶Praecipimus autem vobis fra-
tres, per nomen domini nostri Iesu
Christi, vt subducatis vos ab omni

3,2 ac *B-E*: et *A* | 4 per dominum *B-E*: in domino *A* | faciatis et facturi sitis *B-E*: facitis, et
facietis *A* | 6 Praecipimus *B-E*: Denunciamus *A* | per nomen *B-E*: in nomine *A*

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two other passages where παρακαλέω is applied
to the "heart": *Eph.* 6,22; *Col.* 4,8. It also pro-
duces consistency with *consolationem* for παρά-
κλησιν in vs. 16. See *Annot.* The rendering of
Erasmus is the same as that of Ambrosiaster
and Lefèvre.

17 *vestra corde* ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας ("corda ve-
stra" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds
with τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν in codd. ℵ A and a
few later mss.

17 *stabiliat* στηρίξαι ("confirmet" Vg.). A simi-
lar substitution occurs at 2 *Thess.* 3,3. See on
Rom. 3,31. More often Erasmus retains *confirmo*
for this Greek verb. Here he adopts the same
rendering as Ambrosiaster.

17 *vos* ὑμᾶς (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omis-
sion is supported by codd. ℵ A B D* F G and
a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815
and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also
D^{corr} and most other mss. The pronoun ὑμᾶς
provides a seemingly more appropriate object
for στηρίξαι, in view of the following reference
to words and deeds, as a reader might otherwise

have assumed that the object was τὰς καρδίας
(cf. εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας at
1 *Thess.* 3,13). Both Manetti and Lefèvre made
the same change as Erasmus.

17 *sermone et opere* λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ("opere
et sermone" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects a Greek
text having ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, as in codd. ℵ A
B D and some other mss., including cod. 2105.
Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported
by 1 and 2816, with F G and most other mss.
See *Annot.* The same change was again made
by Manetti and Lefèvre.

3,1 *Quod superest* Τὸ λοιπόν ("De caetero" Vg.).
See on 1 *Cor.* 4,2. Lefèvre put *Caeterum*.

1 *orate fratres* προσεύχεσθε, ἀδελφοί ("fratres
orate" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order is supported
by few mss. other than codd. F G. The version
of Manetti made the same change as Erasmus.
Lefèvre altered the word-order to *orate pro nobis
fratres*.

1 *domini* τοῦ κυρίου ("dei" late Vg. and some
Vg. mss.). The late Vulgate corresponds with
τοῦ θεοῦ in codd. F G and a few other mss.

The correction made by Erasmus produces agreement with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

1 *glorificetur* δοξάζηται ("clarificetur" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 12,23. Lefèvre made the same change.

2 *eripiamur* ῥυσθῶμεν ("liberemur" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 7,24.

2 *absurdis* τῶν ἀτόπων ("importunis" Vg.). Erasmus' substitution of *absurdis* here has the sense of "boorish" or "unreasonable". Cf. *Annot.* He seems to have borrowed this rendering from Lefèvre, who used exactly the same word.

2 *ac* καί ("et" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,25. Manetti anticipated this change.

2 *peruersis* πονηρῶν ("malis" Vg.). This change seems to be mainly for the sake of variety, as Erasmus retains *malus* for the same Greek word in vs. 3. Manetti put *malignis*.

3 *sed fidelis* πιστὸς δέ ("Fidelis autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,26.

3 *est dominus* ἐστιν ὁ κύριος ("deus est" late Vg. and some Vg. mss.). In cod. 2815, in company with codd. F G, ἐστιν was omitted. The Vulgate word-order has little support from Greek mss., other than cod. ℵ* which has ὁ κύριός ἐστιν. The late Vulgate use of *deus* corresponds with the substitution of θεός for κύριος in codd. A D* F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows cod. 2817, along with 1, 2105, 2816, as well as cod. B and most later mss. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

3 *stabiliet* στηρίξει ("confirmabit" Vg.). See on 2 *Thess.* 2,17. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster.

4 *per dominum de vobis* ἐν κυρίῳ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ("de vobis fratres in domino" late Vg.; "in domino de vobis" 1516). Erasmus is more literal as to the word-order. The late Vulgate addition of *fratres* lacks Greek ms. support. For *per*, see on *Rom.* 1,17. The 1516 rendering agrees with that of Ambrosiaster. Manetti and Lefèvre both put *de vobis in domino*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

4 *quod ... faciatis et facturi sitis* ὅτι ... ποιεῖτε καὶ ποιήσετε ("quoniam ... facitis et facietis" Vg.; "quod ... facitis, et facietis" 1516). See on *Ioh.* 1,20, and *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre had the same rendering as in Erasmus' 1516 edition.

4 *quae* ἅ ("quaecunque" late Vg.). The late Vulgate lacks explicit support from Greek mss. Cf. *Annot.* The correction made by Erasmus is in agreement with the earlier Vulgate and Lefèvre.

4 *vobis* (2nd.) ὑμῖν (Vg. omits). The Vulgate omission is supported by codd. ℵ B D* and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, together with 1, 2105, 2816, and also A D^corr F G and most other mss. Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

5 *Porro dominus* ὁ δὲ κύριος ("Dominus autem" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 8,16.

5 *vestra corda* ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας ("corda vestra" Vg.). The Vulgate word-order corresponds with τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν in cod. D.

5 *in dilectionem ... in expectationem* εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην ... εἰς τὴν ὑπομονήν ("in charitate ... patientia" Vg.). For *dilectio*, see on *Ioh.* 13,35. In using the accusative case, Erasmus' rendering is more precise. The Vulgate omission of *in* before *patientia* lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' questionable substitution of *expectatio* for *patientia* seems to have been based on Ambrosiaster, who had *in dilectione ... expectatione*: see *Annot.*, and cf. also Lefèvre's replacement of *sustinentia* by *expectatio* at 1 *Thess.* 1,3. Elsewhere Erasmus uses *expectatio* solely for rendering προσδοκία, ἀποκαραδοκία and ἐκδοχή, and generally retains *patientia* for ὑπομονή (though for the replacement of *patientia* by *tolerantia* at several passages, see on *Rom.* 2,4). Manetti had *in caritatem ... patientiam*, and Lefèvre *in dilectione ... in patientia*.

6 *Praecipimus* Παραγγέλλομεν ("Denunciamus" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Act.* 4,18, and *Annot.* This change produces consistency with the use of *praecipimus* in vs. 4. In *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.,ASD* IX, 2, pp. 222-3, ll. 959-966, and also in 1522 *Annot.* on vs. 10, below, Erasmus questions whether *denuncio* is always an appropriate synonym for *praecipio* in classical usage. Lefèvre put *Mandamus* in his main rendering, but *Mandauimus* in *Comm.*

6 *per nomen* ἐν ὀνόματι ("in nomine" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,17.

6 *subducatis* στέλλεσθαι ("subtrahatis" Vg.). For Erasmus' use of *subduco* elsewhere, see on *Ioh.* 5,13, and for his avoidance of *subtraho*, see on *Act.* 20,20. See also on *Gal.* 2,12. Lefèvre had *procul absitis*, placed after *vos*.

ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος, καὶ
μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδωσιν ἣν παρ-
έλαβε παρ' ἡμῶν. ⁷αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδα-
τε πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ
ἠτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν, ⁸οὐδὲ δωρεὰν
ἄρτον ἐλάβομεν παρά τινος, ἀλλ' ἐν
κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν
ἐργαζόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί
τινα ὑμῶν· ⁹οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν
ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον
δῶμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς.
¹⁰καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἦμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦ-
το παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἴ τις
οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω.

fratre qui inordinate se gerit, et non
iuxta institutionem quam accepit a
nobis. ⁷Nam ipsi scitis, quomodo
oporteat imitari nos: quoniam non
inordinate gessimus nos inter vos,
⁸neque gratis panem accepimus a quo-
quam, sed cum labore et sudore nocte
dieque facientes opus, ad hoc ne cui
vestrum essemus oneri: ⁹non quod id
nobis non liceat, sed vt nosmet ipsos
formam exhibeamus vobis ad imitan-
dum nos. ¹⁰Etenim quum essemus
apud vos, hoc praecipiebamus vobis,
vt si quis nollet operari, is nec ederet.

3,6 παρελαβε B-E: παρελαβον A

6 se gerit B-E: ambulat A | iuxta A B Cᵇ D E: uxta C* | institutionem B-E: traditionem A |
7 ipsi A B D E: ipsis C | 8 cum B-E: in A | 9 exhibeamus E: exhiberemus A-D | 10 vt B-E: quod A

6 *qui inordinate se gerit* ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος
("ambulante inordinate" Vg.; "qui inordinate
ambulat" 1516). Erasmus, as elsewhere, prefers
to replace the present participle by a subordinate
clause. For *gero*, see on 1 *Thess.* 4,12. In *Annot.*,
Erasmus mentions *versor* as an alternative verb.
The Vulgate word-order corresponds with περι-
πατοῦντος ἀτάκτως in cod. D. Both Manetti
and Lefèvre put *inordinate ambulante*.

6 *iuxta* κατά ("secundum" Vg.). See on *Act.*
13,23.

6 *institutionem* τὴν παράδωσιν ("traditionem"
1516 = Vg.). The incorrect spelling παράδω-
σιν is derived from cod. 2815, and remained
throughout all five folio editions. In codd.
1, 2105, 2816, 2817 and most other mss., it is
παράδοσιν. A similar substitution of *institu-
tio* occurs at 2 *Thess.* 2,15 (1519). See on *Act.*
6,14.

6 *accepit* παρέλαβε ("acceperunt" Vg.). In 1516,
in agreement with the Vulgate rather than
Erasmus' Latin version, his Greek text had
the plural, παρέλαβον, as in codd. 2815 and
2817, along with 1, 3, 2105, 2816, and also
ℵᶜᵒʳʳ Dᶜᵒʳʳ and most later mss. The third person
plural is also found in codd. ℵ* A, which

have παρελάβοσαν, and in cod. D*, which
has ἐλάβοσαν. In cod. B, it is παρελάβετε
(cf. παρελάβεται in Fᶜᵒʳʳ G). Erasmus' substitu-
tion of the singular *accepit* was not necessarily
based on any Greek ms. variant, but might
simply have arisen from the consideration that,
on logical grounds and for the sake of good
Latin, *omni fratre* should be accompanied by
a singular verb. In 1519, Erasmus' change to
the singular, παρέλαβε(ν), had little support
from Greek mss. In turn, his statement in 1535
Annot., that "the Greeks" have παρέλαβεν,
does not appear to have been based on any
fresh examination of mss., but was probably an
assumption based on the text of his 1519-27
N.T. editions. In the mss., the reading παρέλα-
βεν could have arisen either as a simple error
of spelling or from harmonisation with the
singular ἀδελφοῦ ... περιπατοῦντος earlier in
the sentence. This inadequately attested reading
continued in the *Textus Receptus.*

7 *Nam ipsi* αὐτοὶ γάρ ("Ipsi enim" Vg.). See
on *Ioh.* 3,34.

7 *quomodo* πῶς ("quemadmodum" Vg.). This
change is consistent with the usual Vulgate
rendering of πῶς at other passages. However,

Erasmus retained *quemadmodum* at *Lc.* 22,4. Lefèvre made the same change at the present passage.

7 *inordinate gessimus nos* ἠτακτήσαμεν ("inquieti fuimus" Vg.). In *Annot.*, Erasmus contends that the meaning of the verb ἀτακτέω here is the same as ἀτάκτως περιπατέω in vs. 6, and that the same rendering should therefore be used. See further on 1 *Thess.* 5,14. Valla *Annot.* similarly objected to the Vulgate inconsistency. Lefèvre put *inordinate versati fuimus*, while Manetti's version had *inquieti sumus*.

8 *accepimus* ἐλάβομεν ("manducauimus" Vg.). Erasmus here follows codd. 2815 and 2817, with support from some other late mss. The Vulgate was based on a Greek text having ἐφάγομεν, as in codd. ℵ A B D F G I, together with codd. 1, 2105, 2816 and most other mss. In *Annot.*, Erasmus argues that ἐλάβομεν fits better with the following words, παρά τινος. Lefèvre put *comedimus*, while mentioning both Greek variants in *Comm.*

8 *a quoquam* παρά τινος ("ab aliquo" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,18. Erasmus uses the same wording as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *apud aliquem*.

8 *cum* ἐν ("in" 1516 = Vg.). See on *Rom.* 1,4.

8 *sudore* μόχθῳ ("fatigatione" Vg.). A similar substitution occurs at 1 *Thess.* 2,9. See on 2 *Cor.* 11,27, and *Annot.* The rendering of Lefèvre was *poena*.

8 *dieque* καὶ ἡμέραν ("ac die" Vg. 1527; "et die" Vg. mss.). The 1527 Vulgate column follows the Froben editions of 1491 and 1514. See on *Ioh.* 1,39 for *-que*. Erasmus' rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre. Manetti, and also Lefèvre's Vulgate column, had *et die*, as in the earlier Vulgate.

8 *facientes opus* ἐργαζόμενοι ("operantes" Vg.). A similar substitution of *opus facientes* occurs at 1 *Thess.* 2,9. See on 1 *Cor.* 9,6.

8 *ad hoc ne cui vestrum essemus oneri* πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν ("ne quem vestrum grauaremus" Vg.). See on 1 *Thess.* 2,9 (and also on *Rom.* 1,20 for comparable insertions of *in hoc*). Erasmus' rendering partly resembles that of Ambrosiaster, *ad hoc ne graues essemus cuiquam vestrum*. Lefèvre put *ne cuipiam vestrum essemus grauamini* (though in *Comm.*, *cuiquam* replaced *cuipiam*).

9 *quod* ὅτι ("quasi" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 1,24, and *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

9 *id nobis non liceat* οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ("non habuerimus potestatem" Vg.). Cf. on *Ioh.* 1,12 for a similar substitution. Although Erasmus' choice of construction is less literal than the Vulgate, he more correctly represents the Greek present tense. In 1519-35 *Annot.*, he cites the verb as a subjunctive, ἔχωμεν. Lefèvre put *non habuissemus potestatem*.

9 *exhibeamus* δῶμεν ("daremus" Vg.; "exhiberemus" 1516-27). Erasmus looks for a verb more specifically suited to accompany *formam*. In *Annot.*, he further objects to the Vulgate use of the imperfect subjunctive. A similar substitution of *exhibeo* occurs at *Act.* 10,40. Lefèvre had *praeberemus*.

10 *Etenim* καὶ γάρ ("Nam et" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 12,14. Manetti anticipated this change.

10 *hoc* τοῦτο ("haec" Vg. 1527). The use of the plural, *haec*, in the 1527 Vulgate column and the 1514 Froben Vulgate, lacks Greek ms. support. Erasmus' rendering agrees with the earlier Vulgate, Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre (both columns). Both mss. of Manetti's version had *hec* (= *haec*).

10 *praecipiebamus* παρηγγέλλομεν ("denunciabamus" Vg.). See on vs. 6, and *Annot.* The version of Erasmus has the same wording as Ambrosiaster. Lefèvre put *mandauimus*.

10 *vt* ὅτι ("quoniam" Vg.; "quod" 1516). For the removal of *quoniam*, see on *Ioh.* 1,20. Erasmus' use of *vt* was partly due to the substitution of *praecipio* earlier in the sentence. However, in view of the following imperative, ἐσθιέτω, at the end of the clause, it would have been acceptable to leave ὅτι untranslated, on the grounds that it introduces a direct quotation of something which the apostle had previously said. Erasmus' 1516 rendering is the same as that of Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre.

10 *nollet* οὐ θέλει ("non vult" Vg.). A similar substitution of *nolo* for *non volo* occurs at 2 *Cor.* 12,20. By using the imperfect subjunctive, Erasmus converts a direct quotation into indirect speech.

10 *is nec* μηδέ ("nec" Vg.). Erasmus adds a pronoun, for the sake of clarity. Manetti had *non*, and Lefèvre *neque*.

10 *ederet* ἐσθιέτω ("manducet" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31 for the removal of *manduco*, and see above (on *nollet*) for Erasmus' use of the imperfect subjunctive.

¹¹ἀκούομεν γάρ τινας περιπατοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν ἀτάκτως, μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους. ¹²τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα μετὰ ἡσυχίας ἐργαζόμενοι, τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν. ¹³ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, μὴ ἐκκακήσητε καλοποιοῦντες. ¹⁴εἰ δέ τις οὐχ ὑπακούει τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν, διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς | τοῦτον σημειοῦσθε, καὶ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε αὐτῷ, ἵνα ἐντραπῇ, ¹⁵καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖτε ὡς ἀδελφόν.

¹¹Audimus enim quosdam versantes inter vos inordinate, nihil operis facientes, sed curiose agentes. ¹²Iis autem qui sunt istiusmodi, praecipimus et obsecramus per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, vt cum quiete operantes, suum ipsorum panem edant. ¹³Vos autem fratres, ne defatigemini in benefaciendo. ¹⁴Quod si quis non obedit sermoni no|stro, per epistolam hunc indicate: et ne commercium habeatis cum illo, vt pudore suffundatur: ¹⁵neque velut inimicum habeatis, sed admonete vt fratrem.

LB 921

LB 922

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11 εργαζομενους *B-E*: εϛγαζομενους *A* | 14 ημων *E*: υμων *A-D*

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11 versantes *B-E*: ambulantes *A* | 12 praecipimus *B-E*: denunciamus *A* | 14 per epistolam hunc *C-E*: hunc per epistolam *A B* | 15 neque *B-E*: et ne *A*

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11 *Audimus* ἀκούομεν ("Audiuimus" late Vg. and many Vg. mss., with Vg^{ww}). The use of the perfect tense, in most copies of the Vulgate, lacks explicit support from Greek mss. See *Annot*. The correction made by Erasmus gives the same wording as some mss. of the Vulgate (with Vgst), along with Manetti and Lefèvre *Comm.*

11 *quosdam versantes inter vos* τινας περιπατοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν ("inter vos quosdam ambulare" Vg.; "quosdam ambulantes inter vos" 1516). In the Vulgate, the position of the verb corresponds with τινας ἐν ὑμῖν περιπατοῦντας in cod. D. In using the present participle, Erasmus' rendering is more literal. See on *Ioh.* 7,1 for *versor*. In *Annot.*, he also suggests *obambulantes*. Manetti and Lefèvre both had *ambulantes*, placing this after *inordinate*. Lefèvre further put *quosdam inter vos* for *inter vos quosdam*.

11 *inordinate* ἀτάκτως ("inquiete" Vg.). See on vs. 7, and also on 1 *Thess.* 5,14, and *Annot.* The same change was made by Manetti and Lefèvre: for their word-order, see the previous note.

11 *operis facientes* ἐργαζομένους ("operantes" Vg.). See on vs. 8, and on 1 *Cor.* 9,6. In *Annot.*,

Erasmus mentions *agentes* as an alternative rendering: this had been proposed by Valla *Annot.*, as a means of preserving the connection between ἐργάζομαι and περιεργάζομαι.

12 *Iis* τοῖς ("His" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 4,12. Lefèvre had *Iis* in his translation as well as in his Vulgate text. Manetti replaced *His autem qui eiusmodi sunt* with *Talibus autem.*

12 *qui sunt istiusmodi* τοιούτοις ("qui eiusmodi sunt" Vg.). See on 2 *Cor.* 2,6. For Manetti's rendering, see the previous note.

12 *praecipimus* παραγγέλλομεν ("denunciamus" 1516 = Vg.). See on vs. 6. Lefèvre put *mandamus.*

12 *per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum* διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ("in domino Iesu Christo" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the substitution of ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ (omitting ἡμῶν), as in codd. ℵ* A B (D*) F G and a few other mss. Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817, supported by 1, 2105, 2816, with ℵ^{corr} D^{corr} and most later mss. See *Annot.* Both Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change (except for Lefèvre's accustomed spelling, *Ihesum*).

12 *cum quiete* μετὰ ἡσυχίας ("cum silentio" Vg.). Cf. the substitution of *quieuerunt* for *siluerunt* in rendering ἡσυχάζω at *Lc.* 23,56. In the present context, as Erasmus discerns, the required meaning is "quietly" or "peacefully" but not necessarily in complete silence. His wording is identical with that of Ambrosiaster.

12 *suum ipsorum* τὸν ἑαυτῶν ("suum" Vg.). Erasmus seeks to convey more fully the meaning of the Greek reflexive pronoun. See *Annot.*

12 *edant* ἐσθίωσιν ("manducent" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 4,31.

13 *ne defatigemini* μὴ ἐκκακήσητε ("nolite deficere" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 11,18 for *ne*, and on *2 Cor.* 4,1 for *defatigo.* Manetti put *ne deficiatis*, and Lefèvre *nolite cessare.*

13 *benefaciendo* καλοποιοῦντες ("benefacientes" Vg.). See on *Gal.* 6,9. Erasmus' rendering resembles that of Ambrosiaster, who had *in benefaciendo.* Manetti had *bonum operantes*, and Lefèvre *bonum facere.*

14 *obedit* ὑπακούει ("obedierit" late Vg.). Erasmus is more literal here, restoring the earlier Vulgate rendering. Manetti and Lefèvre made the same change.

14 *sermoni* τῷ λόγῳ ("verbo" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,1. The same substitution was made by Lefèvre.

14 *nostro* ἡμῶν. In 1516-27, Erasmus' Greek text followed cod. 2815 in putting ὑμῶν, in company with 2816*vid, and also cod. B and a few later mss. His Latin version retained the Vulgate wording, based on a Greek text having ἡμῶν, as found in codd. 1, 2105, 2816corr, 2817 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A D F G. In 1527 *Annot.*, Erasmus discussed both readings, but did not correct the discrepancy between his printed Greek and Latin texts until his final edition of 1535. By placing a comma after *nostro* and ἡμῶν, he made it appear that the following phrase, διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, was connected with σημειοῦσθε rather than with τῷ λόγῳ.

14 *per epistolam hunc* διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦτον ("per epistolam hanc" late Vg.; "hunc per epistolam" 1516-19). The late Vulgate use of *hanc* lacks Greek ms. support and probably reflects a simple scribal error, by attraction to the adjacent feminine noun, *epistolam.* Perhaps hoping to avoid a recurrence of this mistake, Erasmus in 1516-19 changed the word-order,

as well as substituting *hunc.* Then in 1522, and also in the separate Latin N.T. of 1521, he reverted to the reading of the earlier Vulgate. See *Annot.* He assigned this passage to the *Loca Manifeste Deprauata.* Ambrosiaster and Manetti likewise had *per epistolam hunc.* Lefèvre (both columns) punctuated this as *per epistolam: hunc*, connecting the first two words with the preceding *sermoni.*

14 *indicate* σημειοῦσθε ("notate" Vg.). For Erasmus' preference for *indico*, cf. on *Act.* 23,15. However, in *Annot.*, he acknowledges that *noto* expresses the literal meaning of the Greek word, in the sense of "mark with a brand". Cod. 2817 had σημειοῦσθαι, with ℵ D* F G and a few other mss.

14 *ne commercium habeatis* μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε ("non commisceamini" Vg.). For *ne*, see on *Ioh.* 3,7, and cf. on *Eph.* 5,11 for *commercium habeo.* Erasmus retains *commisceo* in rendering this Greek verb at 1 *Cor.* 5,9, 11. Ambrosiaster and Lefèvre had *nolite conuersari* (in Ambrosiaster, *conuersari* was placed after *cum eo*). Manetti put *ne commisceamini*, as in some late Vulgate mss.

14 *pudore suffundatur* ἐντραπῇ ("confundatur" Vg.). See on 1 *Cor.* 4,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus also suggests *pudefiat* and *rubore suffundatur.* Lefèvre put *verecundetur.*

15 *neque ... habeatis* καὶ μὴ ... ἡγεῖσθε ("et nolite ... existimare" Vg.; "et ne ... habeatis" 1516). See on *Rom.* 11,18 for the removal of *nolo.* The substitution of *habeo* for *existimo* is consistent with Vulgate usage at 1 *Thess.* 5,13. At *Hebr.* 10,29, Erasmus uses *habeo* to replace *duco* in rendering the same Greek verb. Elsewhere he sometimes replaces *existimo* with *arbitror:* see on 1 *Cor.* 7,26. Manetti and Lefèvre had *et non ... existimate.*

15 *velut* ὡς ("quasi" Vg.). See on *Ioh.* 1,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus alternatively proposes *vt*, which was the rendering of Lefèvre, and which would have been more consistent with Erasmus' retention of *vt* for ὡς later in the present verse. In adopting *velut*, he gives the same rendering as Ambrosiaster. Manetti put *tanquam.*

15 *admonete* νουθετεῖτε ("corripite" Vg.). See on *Rom.* 15,14. In *Annot.*, Erasmus cites "Ambrose" (i.e. Ambrosiaster) as having *monete*, without mentioning that his own preference for *admonete* coincided with the rendering of Lefèvre. Valla *Annot.* suggested *commonefacite.*

¹⁶ Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος τῆς εἰρήνης δῴη ὑμῖν τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ παντὸς ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ. ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. ¹⁷ ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου, ὅ ἐστι σημεῖον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ. οὕτως γράφω. ¹⁸ ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. ἀμήν.

Ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν.

¹⁶ Ipse autem dominus pacis det vobis pacem semper omnibus modis. Dominus sit cum omnibus vobis. ¹⁷ Salutatio mea manu Pauli, quod est signum in omni epistola. Ita scribo. ¹⁸ Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi sit cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

Missa fuit ex Athenis.

16 *dominus* ὁ κύριος ("deus" late Vg.). The late Vulgate reading corresponds with the substitution of ὁ θεός in codd. F G. The versions of Manetti and Lefèvre made the same correction as Erasmus.

16 τῆς εἰρήνης. These words, which are present in nearly all mss., were omitted by cod. 2815.

16 *semper* διὰ παντός ("sempiternam" Vg.). Erasmus is more accurate here. See *Annot.* For other instances of the removal of *sempiternus*, see on *Rom.* 1,20. The change made by Erasmus agrees with the wording offered by Ambrosiaster, Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre.

16 *omnibus modis* ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ ("in omni loco" Vg.). The Vulgate reflects the replacement of τρόπῳ by τόπῳ, as in codd. A* D* F G and a few other mss., including cod. 2105 (text). Erasmus follows codd. 2815 and 2817,

supported by 1, 2105^{comm} (i.e. Theophylact), 2816 and most other mss., commencing with ℵ A^{corr} B D^{corr}. See *Annot.* Because of the similarity of spelling, an accidental change was capable of producing either of these readings, but τρόπῳ seems better suited to the present context. The rendering advocated by Valla *Annot.* and Lefèvre was *in omni modo*.

16 *Dominus* ὁ κύριος ("Deus" *Annot.*, lemma). The reading attributed to the Vulgate in *Annot.* lacks Greek ms. support. Most Vulgate mss., Ambrosiaster, Manetti and Lefèvre (both columns) had *Dominus*.

18 *sit cum* μετά ("cum" Vg.). For the addition of *sit*, see on *Rom.* 16,20.

Subscriptio Erasmus' omission of πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δευτέρα, at the beginning of this subscription, was not supported by cod. 2817.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

*	original text of a manuscript or printed edition
adv.	aduersus
alt.	alterum (= second)
cod., codd.	codex, codices
Comm., comm	commentary
compend.	compendium, or abbreviation
corr	corrector, correction
ed	editio
Epist.	Epistulae
exc.	excepto, exceptis
exx.	exemplaria (= some copies)
ital.	litteris italicis (= in italic or smaller type)
Lat.	Latin
mg	margin
ms., mss.	manuscript, manuscripts
om.	omittit, omittunt
rom.	litteris romanis (= in roman type)
supp	supplement by a later scribe
tert.	tertium
vid	videtur (= the presumed wording of a poorly legible text)
vs., vss.	verse, verses

THE BIBLE

Old Testament (O.T.)

Gn.	*Genesis*	*Esth.*	*Esther*	*Ioel*	*Joel*
Ex.	*Exodus*	*Iob*	*Job*	*Am.*	*Amos*
Lv.	*Leviticus*	*Ps.*	*Psalms*	*Ob.*	*Obadiah*
Nu.	*Numbers*	*Prv.*	*Proverbs*	*Ion.*	*Jonah*
Dt.	*Deuteronomy*	*Eccl.*	*Ecclesiastes*	*Mch.*	*Micah*
Ios.	*Joshua*	*Ct.*	*Song of*	*Nah.*	*Nahum*
Iudic.	*Judges*		*Solomon*	*Hab.*	*Habakkuk*
Rth.	*Ruth*	*Is.*	*Isaiah*	*Zph.*	*Zephaniah*
1, 2 Sm.	*1, 2 Samuel*	*Ir.*	*Jeremiah*	*Hgg.*	*Haggai*
1, 2 Rg.	*1, 2 Kings*	*Thr.*	*Lamentations*	*Zch.*	*Zechariah*
1, 2 Chr.	*1, 2 Chronicles*	*Ez.*	*Ezekiel*	*Ml.*	*Malachi*
Esr.	*Ezra*	*Dn.*	*Daniel*		
Neh.	*Nehemiah*	*Hos.*	*Hosea*		

New Testament (N.T.)

Mt.	*Matthew*	*Gal.*	*Galatians*	*Phm.*	*Philemon*
Mc.	*Mark*	*Eph.*	*Ephesians*	*Hebr.*	*Hebrews*
Lc.	*Luke*	*Phil.*	*Philippians*	*Iac.*	*James*
Ioh.	*John*	*Col.*	*Colossians*	*1, 2 Petr.*	*1, 2 Peter*
Act.	*Acts of the*	*1, 2 Thess.*	*1, 2 Thessalo-*	*1, 2, 3 Ioh.*	*1, 2, 3 John*
	Apostles		*nians*	*Iud.*	*Jude*
Rom.	*Romans*	*1, 2 Tim.*	*1, 2 Timothy*	*Ap. Ioh.*	*Revelation*
1, 2 Cor.	*1, 2 Corinthians*	*Tit.*	*Titus*		

Erasmus

Adag.	*Adagiorum Chiliades*
Ad Placandos	*Ad placandos eos, qui putant in sacris libris nihil neque superesse, neque deesse, quaedam excerpsimus*
Annot.	*Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum*
Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.	*Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iac. Lopis Stunica taxauerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione*
Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.	*Epistola apologetica aduersus Stunicam*
Loca Manifeste Deprauata	*Loca manifeste deprauata, sed ex infinitis, vt occurrebant, pauca decerpta*
Loca Obscura	*Loca Obscura et in quibus lapsi sint magni nominis interpretes, ex innumeris pauca decerpta*
Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae	*Paraphrasis in Elegantias Laurentii Vallae*
Quae Sint Addita	*Quae sint addita in nostris exemplaribus*
Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei	*Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei*
Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.	*Responsio ad collationes cuiusdam iuuenis gerontodidascali*
Soloecismi	*Soloecismi per interpretem admissi manifestarii et inexcusabiles, e plurimis pauci decerpti*

Other Sources

Aland *Die Paulinischen Briefe* vols. 1-4	Aland, K., et al., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Hand-schriften des Neuen Testaments, ii, Die Paulinischen Briefe* (Berlin and New York, 1991: vols. 16-19 in *Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung*)
ASD	Erasmus, Des., *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, 1969-)
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1954-)
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866-)
Ep.	Erasmus, Des., *Opus epistolarum*, ed. P. S. Allen (Oxford, 1906-1958, 12 vols.)
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der erste drei Jahr-hunderte* (Leipzig, 1897-1941; Berlin and Leipzig, 1953; Berlin, 1954-)
LB	Erasmus, Des., *Opera Omnia* (Leiden, 1703-1706, 10 vols.)
Lefèvre	Lefèvre, J., *S. Pauli epistolae XIV ex Vulgata* (Paris, 1512)
PG	Migne, J.-P., *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca* (Paris, 1857-1866, 161 vols.)
PL	Migne, J.-P., *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina* (Paris, 1844-1865, 221 vols.)
Manetti	Manetti, Giannozzo, *Testamentum Nouum traductum ex Greco* (see p. 14, n. 12, above)
N[27]	Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, 1993: 27th edition)
Valla *Annot.*	Valla, Lorenzo, *Adnotationes* (Paris, 1505)
Vg.	Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible (see p. 16, above)

INDEX VERBORVM

(This index, which is by no means exhaustive, offers a key
to the points of vocabulary which are discussed in the commentary.)

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