

OPERA OMNIA DESIDERII ERASMI

OPERA OMNIA
DESIDERII ERASMI
ROTTERODAMI

RECOGNITA ET ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRVCTA
NOTISQVE ILLVSTRATA

ORDINIS QVARTI TOMVS TERTIVS



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IN HOC VOLVINE CONTINETVR

MORIAE ENCOMIVM
ID EST
STVLTITIAE LAVS

ed. Clarence H. Miller

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PREFACE

The ninth volume of the new edition of the *Opera omnia* of Erasmus is the third tome of the fourth *ordo* 'moralia continens' and entirely devoted to the edition of the *Moriae encomium* by Clarence H. Miller.

It was Erasmus' own wish that the *Moriae encomium* should be published under this 'ordo'; v. Ep. I to Botzheim, 30 January 1523, p. 40, ll. 9-10; and Ep. 2283 to Boece, 15 March 1530, l. 104.

For the editorial principles of the new Erasmus edition we refer the reader to the *General introduction* of volume I,1 and to the Prefaces of the other volumes published until now.

To our deep regret we have to report the death of Professor S. L. Greenslade, a member of the 'Conseil International', and of Professor Myron P. Gilmore. The passing away of these eminent scholars and devoted friends of our new edition is a heavy loss to our project.

As new members of the 'Conseil International' were elected C. Augustijn, Amsterdam, Ch. Béné, Grenoble, V. Branca, Venice, Mrs. M. Cytowska, Warsaw, F. Heinemann, Basle.

The editorial board was also enlarged; the new members are: C. L. Heesakkers, Leyden, H. J. de Jonge, Leyden, J. Trapman, The Hague (Joint-Secretary).

The editorial board and the editor of the present volume thank all libraries who put books, photostats, microfilms and bibliographical material at their disposal.

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MORIAE ENCOMIVM
ID EST
STVLTTIAE LAVS

edited by

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Saint Louis, Missouri

LVCIAE, PAVLAE, CHRISTOPHORO ET BARTOLOMAEO
CARIS FILIOLIS MEIS
CARISSIMIS MORIOLIS CHRISTI
HANC EDITIONEM MORIAE
D.D.D.

Moriae encomium. Erasmi. Rotero. lami
declamatio.
sup̄ r̄aio moysi



Et r̄aio moysi

sup̄ r̄aio moysi

Gilles de Gourmont.

Moriae encomium, Erasmi, Roterodami
declamatio.
αὐτὸ τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν αὐτὸ



Εἰς τὸν τῆς

ἐπιγραφῆς τῆς Χίμαιρας

Εἰς τὸν τῆς

Moriae Encomium
ERASMI ROTERODAMI declamatio nuper ab eo recognita.

σὺν τῷ Μούσαιο.



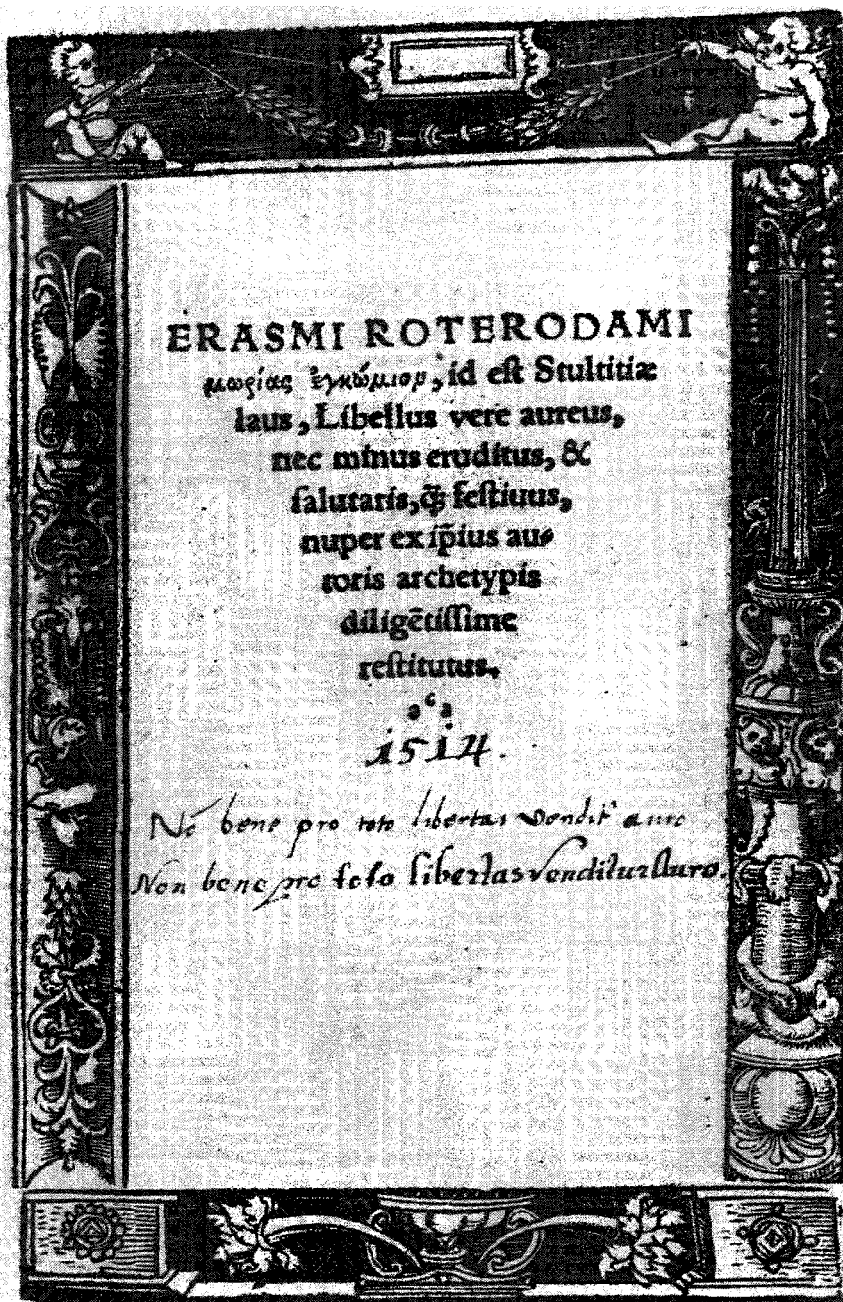
Ἰωάννης Χρῆστος

σὺν ἀρχιεπίσκοπῳ Χρῆστῳ Νίβη.

Ἰωάννης Χρῆστος

Prostat in taberna Ascensiana.

M.D.XII.

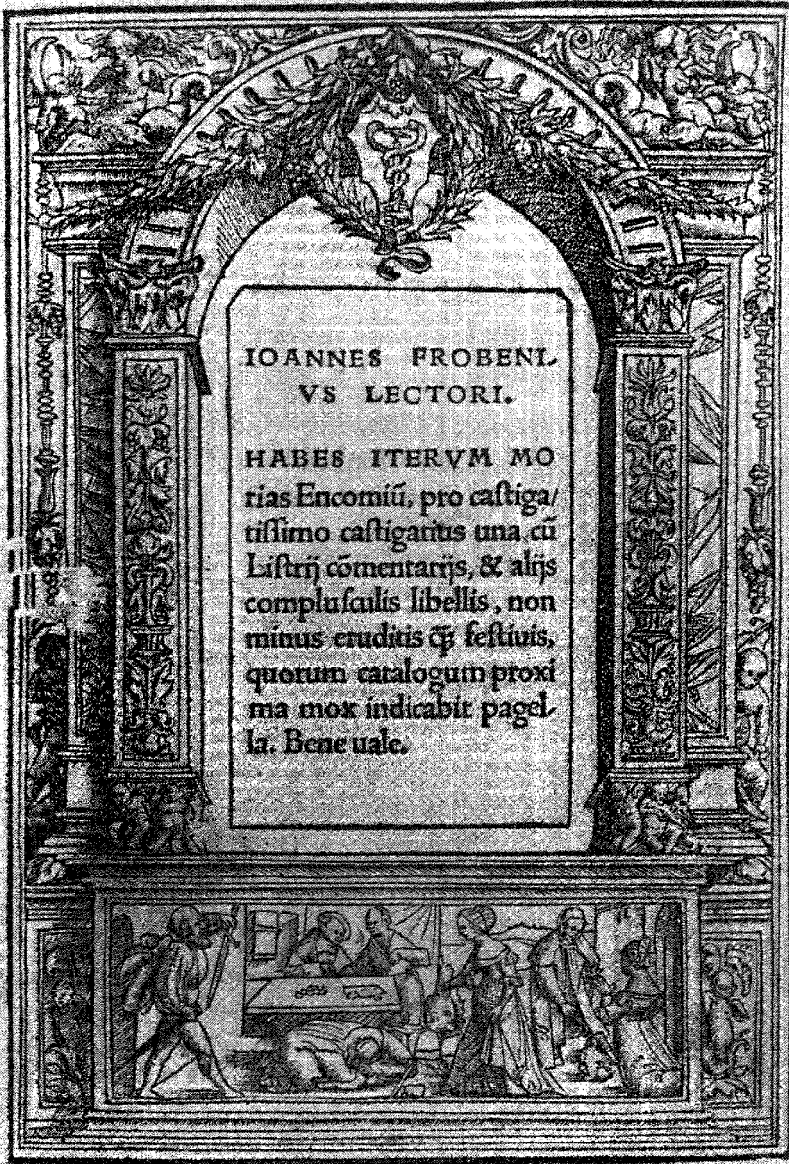


Moriae encomium. Argentorati, Ex aedibus Schurerianis, mense Nouembri 1514.

Ex. Universitätsbibliothek, Freiburg i. Br.

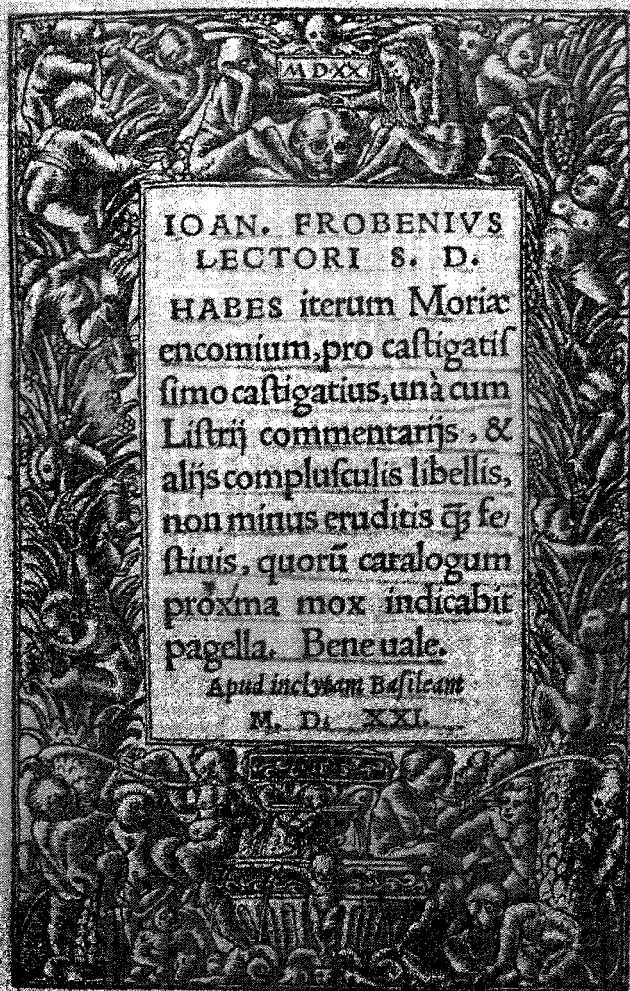


Erasmi Roterodami *μολ*
εργα εγναρω. i. Stulticiae laus,
libellus uere aureus, nec mi-
nus eruditus, & salutaris, q̄s
festiuus, nuper ex ipsius au-
toris archetypis diligentissi-
me restitutus, tum Gerardi
Lascarij, Rhenensis, Roma-
nae Graecae, & Hebraicae lite-
raturae, adprime periti, ad
haec Medicinae rei non vulga-
riter edocti, Nouis & exqui-
sissimis commentarijs expla-
natus.



Moriae encomium. Basileae, Ioannes Frobenius, [1516].

Ex. Gemeentebibliotheek, Rotterdam



Jan. Keller

Moriae encomium. Basileae, Ioannes Frobenius, mense Octobris 1521.

Ex. Gemeentebibliotheek, Rotterdam



Moriae encomium. Basileae, Ioannes Frobenius, mense Iulio 1522.

Ex. Gemeentebibliotiek, Rotterdam

MORIAE

ENCOMIUM, ID EST, STYL/
lice laudatio, ludicra declamatio
tractata per DES. ERASMV M Ro/
terodamum, per ipsum autorem etiam
atq; etiã recognita, adiectis quibusdam
appendicibus nouis.



IN OFFICINA FRO-
BENIANA
AN. M. D. XXXII

C. B. R.

INTRODUCTION

I. Date and Circumstances of Composition

Apart from the early editions themselves, Erasmus gives us the fullest and most reliable account of the genesis and history of the *Moria*, and we will do well to believe what he says unless we have very good evidence against him.¹ His most formal statement is the dedicatory letter to More, clearly intended as a necessary and integral introduction to the work and always printed with it during Erasmus' lifetime. Although the conventional explanations and defenses given in this letter are intended for the general public, not for Thomas More (who, as Erasmus himself remarks, had no need to be instructed in such matters), the opening sentences of the letter, describing where and why Erasmus conceived the notion of praising folly, should be taken as fact, not convention.² Erasmus informs us that he got the idea of a mock-encomium of folly as he was riding on horseback over the Alps from Italy on his way to England and that the idea occurred to him because he was thinking of his friends in England, especially Thomas More, whose last name resembles the Greek word for folly. In his letter to Dorp, Eras-

¹ Erasmus' four accounts of the conception and execution of the work are: (1) his prefatory letter to More in 1510 or 1511 (Ep. 222, ll. 1-21; pp. 67-68 below); (2) his defensive letter to Dorp in 1515 (Ep. 337, ll. 126-141); (3) the catalogue of his works given to James Botzheim in 1523 (*Op. Ep.* I, p. 19, ll. 6-15); (4) his defense of the *Moria* in *Adag.* 1140 (*LB* II, 460D-461D).

² Walter Kaiser, in *Praises of Folly*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, says that Erasmus lies in the opening sentence of his prefatory letter by claiming that he *wrote* the *Moria* on horseback coming over the Alps (pp. 31-32). In fact, Erasmus does not say he composed it but only that the idea occurred to him and that he 'played' with it ('quoniam... id tempus ad seriam commentationem parum videbatur accommodatum, visum est Moriae Encomium ludere'). Erasmus does use 'ludere' in the same letter to mean 'compose', but in the context of 'commentationem' it means here merely to play mentally with various thoughts, ideas, and arguments in preparation for composition. (On the complex meanings of 'ludere' see S. Dresden, *Erasmus, Rabelais et la 'festivitas'* in *Colloquia Erasimiana Turonensia*, Paris, 1972, I, pp. 465-466). Prof. Kaiser's two examples of authors writing in boats are not enough to make a convincing argument that Erasmus was merely following a convention when he said the idea of the *Moria* occurred to him while riding on horseback. The notion of a boat can be supposed to have made Petrarch's writing waver (p. 33), but the notion of actually writing the *Moria* on horseback crossing an Alpine pass would strike both More and the general public not as conventional but as utterly unfeasible.

mus informs us that he wrote the *Moria* while he was staying at Thomas More's house (the Old Barge in Bucklersbury³) suffering from a kidney ailment and deprived of his books, which had not yet caught up with him.⁴ He began it with no intentions of publication, he tells Dorp, but only to distract himself from the pain of his illness. He showed part of it to his friends, to let them in on the fun.⁵ They were so delighted with it that they urged him to complete it. In seven days, more or less, the work was done.⁶

In depreciating the work as hardly worth seven days' effort (in his letter to Dorp, which was intended for publication and was frequently published with the *Moria*), Erasmus was at least conforming with a conventional pose of modesty.⁷ At the same time he might be accused of bragging about the ease and speed with which he wrote (Folly herself accuses orators of this fraudulent boastfulness at p. 74, ll. 50-55). Nevertheless, Erasmus was also probably reporting the plain fact: his just completed work on the *Adagia* put an enormous supply of classical learning at his immediate disposal, and Erasmus was well known for the speed as well as the brilliance of his writing.⁸ Erasmus arrived in England in 1509, having left Rome early in July and taking perhaps as much as two months for the journey, since he stopped for a visit at Louvain (Allen, introd. Ep. 216). Thus the time and place of composition can be specified rather exactly: a period of about a week during the fall of 1509 in Thomas More's house, the Old Barge, in Bucklersbury, London.

II. *The Date of the First Edition and of the Prefatory Letter*

The first edition, issued by Gilles de Gourmont and Jehan Petit at Paris, is undated, but information in Erasmus' letter to Dorp (Ep. 337, ll. 137-141 and Allen, introd. Ep. 222) enables us to assign it, with a high degree of probability, to 1511. Erasmus tells Dorp that the same friends who encouraged him to finish the *Moria* had it printed in France from a faulty manuscript, but that nevertheless it was so successful that "within a very few months, it had been reprinted more than

³ Some writers speak carelessly about the house in Chelsea, which More did not acquire till 1524 (E.E. Reynolds, *The Field is Won: The Life and Death of Saint Thomas More*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1968, pp. 54, 179).

⁴ Prof. Kaiser remarks 'we may be forgiven for wondering if there were no books in More's house that he could have borrowed' (p. 32). No doubt, but perhaps not the books Erasmus needed to undertake his work on the Greek New Testament.

⁵ Erasmus' words, 'Operis incoepti gustum amiculis aliquot exhibui', are not sufficiently precise to let us know whether he merely gave it to them to read or whether he himself took on folly's part and read it to them.

⁶ On the number of days the letter to Dorp and *Adag.* 1140 agree precisely.

⁷ E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard Trask, New York, 1963, pp. 83-85.

⁸ In less than four days he once produced 80 quarto pages (Allen, introd. Ep. 1634).

seven times, in various places.”⁹ Between August 1511 and October 1512, four editions were published in Strasbourg, Antwerp, and Paris. Hence 1511, not 1510, is almost surely the date of the first edition.¹⁰

But we cannot assign the first edition to the month of June, 1511, on the strength of the month date given at the end of the dedicatory letter to More (“Ex Rure Quinto Idus Iunias”) because that letter need not have been written immediately before the first printing but rather might well have been written in 1510. In Froben’s edition of July, 1522 (No. 26, below), the year 1508 was added for the first time to the prefatory letter. If Erasmus supplied that year date (he was in Basel when the edition was published¹¹), there is no need to imagine tenuous and devious reasons for him to give deliberate misinformation.¹² If Erasmus gave the date 1508 his memory was simply faulty, since he did not return from Italy to England till 1509. Since the letter was professedly written from the countryside (“Ex Rure”¹³) in England,¹⁴ not France, the correct year date of the letter may well be 1510, when Erasmus might have visited some English country seat with Mountjoy, rather than 1511, the date assigned to it by Allen (introd. Ep. 222). It is clear from the continuity of the signatures that the printer had the letter as well as the text when he began setting type – that is, the letter need not have been composed specifically for the Paris edition. The hypothesis that Erasmus sent to More a manuscript copy of the *Moria*, with the dedicatory letter prefixed, from some residence in the English countryside in 1510 is plausible and simple.

Furthermore, Erasmus asserted (*Op. Ep.* I, p. 19, ll. 8–9) that he did not instigate the first publication but that it was carried out by the same friends who encouraged him to complete it (Ep. 337, ll. 137–138). Erasmus himself apparently went to Paris not to publish the *Moria* but to discuss a new edition of the

⁹ ‘... intra pauculos menses plus septies fuerit typis stanneis propagatus, idque diuersis in locis’ (Ep. 337, ll. 140–141). By ‘plus septies’ Erasmus apparently means simply ‘quite a few.’ But he may have known of editions which have not survived or are not yet known to be extant. Or his phrasing may have been influenced by the fact that in May 1515, when he was writing to Dorp, seven known editions had appeared (see p. 44 below).

¹⁰ Since the copy-text for the Strasbourg edition of August 1511 (No. 2, below) was the Gourmont-Petit edition, the *editio princeps* was printed before August 1511.

¹¹ His letters throughout 1522 (Allen, vol. V) were addressed from Basel.

¹² See, for example, Joël Lefebvre, *Les Fols et la folie*, Paris, 1968, p. 250. Sister Geraldine Thompson in *Under Pretext of Praise: Satiric Mode in Erasmus’ Fiction*, Toronto, 1973, pp. 51–52, presents and rejects some tortuous explanations in favor of Johan Huizinga’s view that Erasmus’ ‘sense of chronology was always remarkably ill-developed.’ Let anyone who has written even a small fraction of the enormous amount Erasmus wrote between 1509 and 1522 think back in order to assign the year of something he wrote over ten years ago and he will see how easy it is to err by a year.

¹³ Prof. Kaiser (*Praises of Folly*, pp. 32–33) thinks ‘Ex Rure’ is merely a convention to suggest a pastoral contrast with the city or a withdrawal into a *hortus conclusus*. But this seems unnecessarily subtle. Another dedicatory letter dated ‘from the countryside’ (Ep. 47) introduces a work quite unlike the *Moria*.

¹⁴ The ‘hic’ in l. 5 of the letter can only refer to England. Though Allen (introd. Ep. 222) assigns this introductory epistle to Paris because Er. was there when the *Moria* was first printed, the letter itself places More among those friends Er. had left ‘here’, that is, in England, where Er. (imaginatively if not actually) wrote it.

Adagia with Josse Bade van Assche and to buy books.¹⁵ Erasmus' protégé, Richard Croke,¹⁶ had it printed (*Op. Ep.* I, p. 19, ll. 8–9) and perhaps read proof. It is all but certain that Erasmus did not read proof – even the errata sheet is full of erroneous “corrections”. Erasmus complained that the Gourmont-Petit edition was set from a faulty copy (“exemplo non solum mendoso verum etiam mutilo”, Ep. 337, ll. 138–139). And the edition bears him out on this point too, though there seem to have been only brief omissions, not large lacunae, in the faulty manuscript.¹⁷ Not until 26 July 1512 did an authorized edition (No. 4, below) appear in Paris from the Ascensian press.¹⁸

III. Genre and Sources

Like most great literary works of the Renaissance, the *Moria* adapts a rediscovered classical form to contemporary matter, whether theological, social, or literary, inherited from the middle ages. Erasmus himself is the best guide to the classical form which he employs in the *Moria* and which he was the first of the humanists to revive, the paradoxical encomium. In his prefatory letter, defending himself against the accusation of levity unbecoming a serious scholar, he lists precedents for his seemingly trivial subject matter:

“...Cum ante tot saecula Βατραχομομαχίαν luserit Homerus, Maro culicem et moretum, nucem Ouidius. Cum Busiridem laudarit Polycrates et huius castigator Isocrates, iniustitiam Glauco, Thersiten et quartanam febrim

¹⁵ Ep. 219, n.l. 3. Stephen Gardiner, writing in 1526 (Ep. 1669) reminds Erasmus how, as a young lad, he prepared Erasmus' salad when they were staying with an Englishman named Eden in Paris sixteen years ago (Gardiner's memory is off by one year). Gardiner mentions in passing that it was at that time in Paris that Erasmus published the *Moria* (“quo tempore primum Moriam edidisti, ni fallor, tuam”). A servant boy, no matter how much his lettuce salad pleased Erasmus, was in no position to know whether Erasmus took the initiative in issuing the *Moria*. Erasmus, of course, knew what Croke was doing and could presumably have prevented it if he wished. Gardiner also remembered that Erasmus was buying many Latin and Greek books.

¹⁶ After proceeding B. A. at Cambridge in 1509–10 Croke (1489?–1558) went to Oxford to study Greek under Grocyn and from about 1513 he attended the lectures of Hieronymus Aleander at Paris. Later he taught Greek with great success at Leipzig and Cambridge. He remained on friendly terms with Erasmus (see *DNB*).

¹⁷ See p. 43, below. The implication of Erasmus' statement is that the *Moria* circulated in various manuscript copies between 1509 and 1511, since a very faulty copy is usually (though not necessarily) the result of more than one transcription. That such manuscripts are not known to be extant is not surprising, since they became superfluous after the book was printed and especially after Erasmus revised and augmented it in later editions.

¹⁸ In *Philopseudes, seu declamatio pro Erasmo* (1541) Johann Herold concludes by writing a first-person account, as if by Erasmus, of his life and works. (For the circumstances that called forth Herold's defense of Erasmus, see Andreas Flitner, *Erasmus im Urteil seiner Nachwelt*, Tübingen, 1952, pp. 26–30.) What he makes Erasmus say about the composition of the *Moria* (*LB* VIII, 639 CD) seems to be based on *Op. Ep.* I, p. 19, ll. 13–15 and Ep. 337, ll. 127–128. He goes on immediately to mention the printing of the *Moria*: ‘Vix igitur tum *Badius Moriam* absoluerat, *Leone* Decimo inaugurato, Basileam huc me contuli....’ Coming as it does right after the sentences about the composition of the *Moria*, the mention of *Badius* seems to refer to the *editio princeps*. Herold was either ignorant of the three earlier editions or chose to ignore them in favor of the first authorized edition.

Fauorinus, caluitium Synesius, muscam et parasiticam Lucianus. Cum Seneca Claudii luserit ἀποθέωσιν, Plutarchus Grylli cum Vlysse dialogum, Lucianus et Apuleius asinum, et nescio quis Grunnii Corocottae porcelli testamentum, cuius et diuus meminit Hieronymus" (p. 68, ll. 27-33).

Here Erasmus casts a wide net and catches some fish that do not strictly belong to the species "paradoxon enkomion". The narrative (Homer, Virgil, Seneca, Apuleius), dialogic (Plutarch), and testamentary (Corocotta's will) works do not even belong to the genus "epideictic oration", of which the paradoxical encomium is a small but important part.¹⁹ The paradoxical encomium has been defined as a declamation "in which the legitimate methods of the encomium are applied to persons or objects in themselves obviously unworthy of praise, as being trivial, ugly, useless, ridiculous, dangerous, or vicious."²⁰ In the *Moria* itself, when Erasmus, with typically involuted irony, makes Folly define the form she is following by dissociating herself from it, he lets her mention only examples which fit the narrower definition: there has been no lack of orators (she says) who have written elaborate encomia on such noxious subjects as "Busirides, Phalarides, febres quartanas, muscas, caluicia..." (p. 74, ll. 48-49). Although the form was cultivated almost continuously in both Greek and Latin from the fifth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. and includes among its practitioners such famous names as Isocrates, Plato, and Lucian, few paradoxical encomia have survived from classical times.²¹ According to classical rhetoricians, the paradoxical encomium could be "much freer in its arrangement than the more strictly logical forms of eloquence."²² Hence we should not expect the *Moria* to conform exactly to the structures laid down by Aphthonius or Quintilian for the encomium. In fact, the rhetorician Menander (third century A.D.), whose treatise on epideictic oratory is one of the main sources of our knowledge of the rules for eulogies, gives as his tenth kind of speech λαλία, a "name given to a style rather than to a topic. It is noticeable for the absence of fixed rules. Several topics of the epideictic circle might be treated in the style of the λαλία, which was more free and easy, sometimes conversational, yet abounding in sweetness, spirited narrative, pictures, skilful turns, proverbs, quotations.... It may be sportive in character, praising or censuring something."²³ Such a type of speech surely comes close to the *Moria*, though it provides no pattern of organization.

¹⁹ Sr. Geraldine Thompson, *Under Pretext of Praise*, p. 53, notes the difficulty and remarks 'of the mock eulogies listed, only Lucian's two are parodies of rhetorical declamations; and of the fifteen works listed only five are satirical.'

²⁰ Arthur S. Pease, *Things without Honor*, *Classical Philology* 21 (1926), pp. 28-29. Mr. Pease also distinguished the paradoxical encomium from some of its near relatives: narratives like the Homeric mock-epic, fables, epigrams, *suasoria*, and *controversia* (p. 34).

²¹ Theodore C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, Chicago, 1902, pp. 157-166. Mr. Pease has found only two medieval writers of paradoxical encomia (Hucbald in the ninth century and Psellus in the eleventh) - though he admits that he did not make a thorough search for medieval examples (pp. 38, 40).

²² Pease, p. 36; Burgess, p. 121.

²³ Burgess, p. 111.

Walter Kaiser has illuminated some of the structural features of the *Moria* by applying to it the Aphthonian pattern for epideixis, though the fit is not always very close.²⁴ So too Hoyt Hudson has outlined Folly's speech in detail according to the structure prescribed by Quintilian.²⁵ Jacques Chomarat shows with great subtlety and penetration how the rhetorical ideas and patterns of Quintilian are closely related to the basic ironies of the *Moria* and to Erasmus' serious interest in the power of true rhetoric to promote true Christianity.²⁶ Other critics have begun to take a wider view of the seemingly fluid structure of the *Moria* in terms of its three large divisions: (1) Folly provides the illusions necessary to render life in this world pleasant or even tolerable; (2) Folly makes the professional leaders of church and state blind enough to be happy in their vicious irresponsibility; (3) Folly enables the Christian fool to renounce the world in favor of Christian joy in this life and the beatific vision in the next. The relations between these parts, the transitions between them, and the levels of irony and satire in them have been the main points of recent structural criticism of the *Moria*.²⁷

Classical sources, Greek and Latin, for the arguments and *sententiae* deployed (or sometimes profusely scattered with bounteous bravura) can be traced in detail in the notes. Tags from Virgil and Homer are frequently interspersed, especially in the first part, to lend a dash of mock-heroic elevation. Horace is frequently quoted throughout to provide a comfortable aura of urbane common sense.²⁸ Gellius and Pliny provide useful anecdotes and "scientific" evidence. Cle-

²⁴ *Praises of Folly*, pp. 46–50. Burgess had already suggested that 'Erasmus in the *Encomium Moriae* follows somewhat the order of the βασιλικὸς λόγος' (p. 141).

²⁵ In his translation (Princeton, New Jersey, 1941), pp. 129–142.

²⁶ L' 'Eloge de la Folie' et Quintilien, IL 2 (1972), pp. 77–82. Thus Folly uses Quintilian's standards to mock the false rhetoric of mendicant preachers, while she herself ironically plays with Quintilian's ideas and patterns: decorum requires Folly to speak foolishly; she perverts the meanings of Quintilian's 'definition' and 'division' so as to aggrandize herself by not providing them; in the epilogue, she renounces memory, the fourth division of Quintilian's rhetoric (especially necessary for a concluding summation) and throws doubt on the validity of everything she has said; instead of the modesty necessary in the exordium according to Quintilian, she bursts on the scene with an ostentatious rhetorical fanfare of self-praise which she offers as a sign of her unpretentious sincerity.

²⁷ Delio Cantimori, introduction to *Elogio della Pazzia*, ed. Tommaso Fiore, Turin, 1964, pp. xvi–xxix. Barbara Könniker, *Wesen und Wandlung der Narrenidee im Zeitalter des Humanismus: Brant-Murner-Erasmus*, Wiesbaden, 1966, pp. 283–284. Lefebvre, pp. 242–248. Herbert B. Rothschild, Jr., *Blind and Purlind: A Reading of The Praise of Folly*, *Neophilologus* 54 (1970), pp. 223–234. Pierre Mesnard, *Erasmus et la conception dialectique de la folie*, in *L'Umanesimo e 'la follia'*, ed. E. Castelli, Rome, 1971, pp. 45–61. Lynda G. Christian, *The Metamorphoses of Erasmus' 'Folly'*, *JHI* 32 (1971), pp. 289–294. Sr. Geraldine Thompson, pp. 57–85. Wayne A. Rebhorn, *The Metamorphoses of Moria: Structure and Meaning in The Praise of Folly*, *PLMA* 89 (May, 1974), pp. 463–476. My own article *Some Medieval Elements and Structural Unity in The Praise of Folly*, *RQ* 27 (1974), pp. 499–511. Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler, introduction to *Laus Stultitiae* (Latin-German), *Ausgewählte Schriften von Erasmus*, II, Darmstadt, 1975, pp. ix–xxix. Richard Sylvester, *The Problem of Unity in The Praise of Folly*, *English Literary Renaissance* 6 (1976), pp. 125–139. A useful collection of essays on the *Moria*, many of them reprinted from earlier publications, is *Twentieth-century Interpretations of 'The Praise of Folly'*, ed. Kathleen Williams, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969.

²⁸ On Erasmus' special fondness for Horace, his extraordinary knowledge of him, and his ironical

ver prestidigitator that she is, Folly sometimes distorts, almost unnoticeably, the sayings or evidence she draws from her well-stocked classical storehouse.²⁹ Three authors, Plato, Aristophanes, and Lucian, may be selected for special comment, not because of the frequency with which they are cited or quoted but the first because he provided some focal ideas and images and the last two because they contributed most to the witty, mercurial, and vivid character of Erasmus' dramatic persona.

The key ideas drawn from Plato in the *Moria* are the myth of the cave (p. 132, ll. 127–130; p. 190, ll. 176–181), the Sileni of Alcibiades (p. 104, ll. 578–585), the distinction between two kinds of madness (according to Plato's distinction between two kinds of love, p. 116, ll. 866–869), and the higher kind of love leading from the impermanent world of flux to the stable realm of the one, true, and beautiful (p. 192, ll. 233–236).³⁰ The distinction between the two kinds of madness is of considerable structural importance because it allows Folly to describe various types of beneficent obsessions (hunters, builders, gamblers, etc., p. 118, l. 915–p. 128, l. 36).³¹ In exploiting the image of the Cave, Folly takes diametrically opposite attitudes towards it, pinpointing for us (as it were) how the irony of the first part is both like and unlike the irony of the third part. The inconsistency also reminds us that Folly is not a Platonic philosopher (she specifically rejects him at p. 98, l. 487 and l. 497). With blithe and insouciant inconsistency Folly takes whatever she likes from any philosophy whatever—Aristotelian, Platonic, Epicurean—except Stoicism.³² She uses Plato's image of the Sileni to prove an essentially sceptical or Pyrrhonist viewpoint.

The ironical complexity of the *Moria* is especially evident if we compare the use of Platonic ideas in it with Erasmus' own straightforward application of them in the *Enchiridion*. Erasmus himself encouraged Dorp to make a comparison between the two works: "Nec aliud omnino spectauimus in *Moria* quam quod in caeteris lucubrationibus, tametsi via diuersa. In *Enchiridio* simpliciter Christia-

manipulation of Horatian allusions in the *Moria*, see Eckart Schäfer, *Erasmus und Horaz*, Antike und Abendland 16 (1970), pp. 54–67.

²⁹ See notes on p. 73, l. 33; p. 79, ll. 118–119; p. 83, ll. 221–222; p. 85, ll. 227–230 and l. 257; p. 91, ll. 333–334; p. 97, ll. 479–480; p. 103, l. 544; p. 105, l. 571; p. 109, l. 668 and many others. She even boasts of her sophistical prowess in distorting evidence (p. 100, ll. 506–507). On her distortion of classical authors see W. David Kay, *Erasmus' Learned Joking: The Ironic Use of Classical Wisdom in The Praise of Folly*, Texas Studies in Literature and Language 19 (1977), pp. 247–267. Folly particularly vilifies Seneca, whom Erasmus himself admired, recommended, and edited (Winfried Trillitzsch, *Erasmus und Seneca*, Philologus 109 (1965), pp. 270–293).

³⁰ For the influence of Marsilio Ficino's commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, see the note on p. 193, ll. 234–235.

³¹ Irene Samuel in *The Brood of Folly*, Notes and Queries 203 (1958), pp. 430–431, suggests that Robert Burton (who cites Erasmus and the *Moria* frequently) and through him Milton derived the double conception of beneficent and harmful melancholy by analogy from Folly's adaptation of Plato's distinction. Rosalie Colie, in *Some Notes on Burton's Erasmus*, RQ 20 (1967), pp. 335–341, discusses Robert Burton's annotated copy of the *Moria* (in the Beinecke Library at Yale University) and points out some affinities of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* with the paradoxical encomium and, in particular, with the *Moria*.

³² She both accepts and rejects Pythagorean philosophy (p. 80, ll. 160–161; p. 112, l. 776).

nae vitae formam tradidimus.... Nec aliud agitur in Moria sub specie lusus quam actum est in Enchiridio" (Ep. 337, ll. 86–92). In the *Enchiridion* the Sileni of Alcibiades are used to stress the spiritual sense of Scripture and rather sharply divide it from the crude literal sense (LB V, 29 B). In the *Enchiridion* (LB V, 40 B) the myth of the cave is used only in the second of Folly's two ways. In the *Enchiridion* (LB V, 14 F, 28 CD) the Platonic ideas of love drawn from the *Phaedo* are used to make a sharp division between body and soul, matter and spirit, which Erasmus seems to accept and approve. But when Folly uses the same ideas in the last part of the *Moria* to explain the notion of the Christian fool, our experience of her ironical and inconsistent use of Plato ought to alert us not to take her idea of Platonic love and of the Christian fool as absolutely identical with Erasmus'. In the third part, Erasmus himself is not necessarily propounding or wholeheartedly recommending for all Christians an irrational (or suprarational) doctrine of mystical ecstasy and utter repudiation of the world and flesh.³³

Both Erasmus (in his prefatory letter, p. 68, l. 24) and Folly herself (p. 86, ll. 276–277) suggest a close relationship between the racy old comedy of Aristophanes and the *Moria*. Theodore Burgess documents the intimate connection between the old comedy and the paradoxical encomium: "Frequently in Aristophanes and the fragments there are actual examples of παράδοξα ἐγκώμια. One of the characters in the play starts in to 'praise something as hard as ever he can', and the fun lies in the burlesque. Examples of this playful deliberate praise or blame may be found in any play of Aristophanes" (p. 162). Apart from the fairly frequent quotations from Aristophanes, the part of the *Moria* that is most reminiscent of him is perhaps the scene describing the uproarious recreations of the gods (p. 88, ll. 299–310). A less tangible but more important debt is the high-spirited, audacious verve of the goddess herself. One of the reasons Folly insists on introducing her retinue by their Greek names (besides her own self-mocking pedantry) is that they are personifications who might well have appeared in a comedy of Aristophanes.³⁴ Indeed Aristophanes provides one of the two classical examples of a radical and decisive feature of the *Moria*, that Folly praises herself: in *Plut.* (507–610) Poverty delivers a paradoxical encomium of herself.

The other classical example of self-praise is mentioned by Folly herself: the first of Lucian's paradoxical encomia of Phalaris, in which the tyrant speaks his own praises (p. 74, l. 48). The interest of Erasmus and More in Lucian is well

³³ Barbara Könniker, pp. 286–289, argues rightly, I think, against Walter Nigg, *Der christliche Narr*, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1956, that the last part of the *Moria* does not represent Erasmus' full and straightforward views, that it is still ironic and therefore partial. Nevertheless, I hesitate when I find such wise and mature critics of the *Moria* as Sr. Geraldine Thompson (pp. 69–70, 84) and Hans Urs von Balthasar (*Herrlichkeit: eine theologische Ästhetik*, vol. III, part 1, Einsiedeln, 1965, pp. 513–517) seeming to agree with Prof. Nigg.

³⁴ Like Just and Unjust Discourse in *Nub.*, or War and Tumult in *Pax*, or Poverty in *Plut.* One of Folly's retinue, τρυφή, is personified by Aristophanes in *Ecd.* 973, but not as a speaking character.

known.³⁵ In 1506, only three years before the composition of the *Moria* they had engaged in friendly rivalry by translating and imitating Lucian. The passages in the *Moria* most directly reminiscent of Lucian are perhaps those lofty panoramic views of the petty squabbles and miseries of mankind.³⁶ But again, apart from frequent allusions, the primary contribution of Lucian to the *Moria* is the lively and witty character of Folly herself, her mordant wit, her acerbic and wickedly accurate exposé of hypocrisy, superstition, and humbug – though Folly occasionally displays a certain compassion for human weakness and misery which seems to go beyond the more brittle brilliance of Lucian.

Thus both Aristophanes and Lucian offer isolated precedents for Erasmus' most brilliant stroke, making Folly speak the praises of Folly. But the topic chosen by Erasmus provides a self-negating and self-affirming irony not to be found in classical encomia (nor in Erasmus' many imitators either, for that matter). "Erasmus' great originality, then, was to make Stultitia both the author and the subject of her encomium, to conceive of 'Moriae' as being simultaneously both objective and subjective genitive."³⁷ Folly's praising Folly leads us into a dilemma like that of the Cretan liar. The main precedents for making Folly speak as a dramatic character and the rich matrix of partly contradictory meanings which the notion of folly had in Erasmus' time spring not from classical precedents or sources but rather from the medieval heritage of folly, both literary and social, which flourished most widely and vividly during Erasmus' lifetime.

The dual traditions of medieval folly, the fool in disgrace as an irresponsible sinner and the fool in triumph over the supposed wisdom of the world, provided the basic potentiality for Erasmus' shifts in levels of irony in the *Moria*, especially between the second and the third parts.³⁸ The single-minded view of the fool as sinner pervades both the *Narrenschiff* (1494) of Sebastian Brant, who judges folly according to moralistic, bourgeois rationalism, and the *Narrenbeschwörung* (1512)

³⁵ See Craig R. Thompson's *The Translations of Lucian by Erasmus and St. Thomas More*, Ithaca, New York, 1940, and his edition of More's translations of Lucian in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, III, Part 1, New Haven and London, 1974. See also Erasmus' translations of Lucian in *ASD* I, 1, pp. 361–627.

³⁶ For example p. 106, l. 655 and especially pp. 134–138, ll. 192–236, where Folly herself alludes to Menippus.

³⁷ Kaiser, p. 36. Though Prof. Kaiser has given the fullest and most brilliant analysis of this labyrinthine involution of Erasmus' irony (pp. 35–50, 51–62), it has not passed unnoticed by other critics: Sr. Geraldine Thompson, p. 71; Barbara Könniker, 255–260. In *Sagesse et folie d'après Erasme, Colloquia Erasmiانا Turonensia*, Paris, 1972, I, pp. 285–299, Prof. S. Dresden shows how Erasmus' conception of wisdom or 'philosophia Christi' contains a certain ambiguity which finds expression in the *Moria*: Christian wisdom in its purest form excludes the world (which is the realm of Folly); yet that wisdom must be expressed in such a way, a contaminated or foolish way (as it were), as to be understood by the world.

³⁸ The combination of the two traditions in the *Moria* is most sharply and incisively explained in Barbara Swain, *Fools and Folly during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, New York, 1932, pp. 135–156. On medieval ideas about madness (only part of Folly's domain as she portrays it), see Penelope B. R. Doob, *Nebuchadnezzar's Children: Conventions of Madness in Middle English Literature*, New Haven and London, 1974, especially chapter 4.

of Thomas Murner, who presents a deeper, demonic conception of sinful folly.³⁹ On the other hand, in the widespread Latin dialogue *Marcolf and Solomon*, the crude folk-fool Marcolf defeats the worldly wisdom of Solomon himself.⁴⁰

The germ of such a dual conception of folly lay ready at hand in one of the flourishing social institutions of Erasmus' time, the licensed court fool, to whom Folly lays special claim in the *Moria* (p. 114, l. 819—p. 116, l. 853). In the colloquy Πρωχοπλούσιοι, Erasmus presents the court fool as an irresponsible sinner whose peculiar garb protects him from the consequences of his rash words and deeds, but he also suggests that such fools may sometimes be holier and wiser than monks, theologians, and kings.⁴¹ Among the many court fools Erasmus must have encountered were those kept by Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Thomas More.⁴² Some of the most famous court fools of his time, especially in Italy, were (like *Moria* herself) women.⁴³ In defending the *Moria*, Erasmus often cited the licensed fool in classical times and among his contemporaries.⁴⁴

Another precedent for the inversion of values propounded by Erasmus' Folly was the Feast of Fools, which flourished (in spite of official ecclesiastical remonstrances) from the twelfth century until the sixteenth.⁴⁵ During Christmastide the subdeacons and lower clergy in cathedral chapters, monastic houses, and collegiate churches chose a bishop, or abbot, or even pope of fools to lead a high-spirited, raucous, and often rowdy parody of the liturgy and hierarchical pomp of the ecclesiastical establishment.⁴⁶ One part of this celebration, which varied considerably from place to place, was sometimes the preaching of a burlesque sermon, though no such sermon has survived.⁴⁷ Even more ancient and enduring

³⁹ Lefebvre, pp. 102–120, 183–194. Many writers (like Barbara Könniker, pp. 250–251) have not hesitated to assert that Brant's very popular book was the impetus that caused Erasmus to choose the theme of folly. No doubt Erasmus knew of Brant's book, which had been translated into Latin by Jacob Locher and Josse Bade van Assche before 1509, though there is no evidence that he ever read it. A six-line Latin poem by Brant in the 1511 Strasbourg edition of the *Moria* stresses the difference as much as the similarity between the two works. See p. 41 below, and Genevieve Stenger, *The Praise of Folly and its Parerga*, *Medievalia et Humanistica*, NS 2 (1971), p. 102. Erasmus' book is so different from Brant's that it might well have been conceived and executed if Brant's book had never been written. Neither Edwin Zeydel (*The Ship of Fools by Sebastian Brant*, New York, 1944) nor Ulrich Gaier (*Sebastian Brant's Narrenschiff and the Humanists*, PLMA 83 (1968), pp. 266–270) gives any convincing evidence for their assertion that Erasmus in his "*Moria* follows Brant in a very great number of his subjects and uses him as a source, without mentioning him."

⁴⁰ Enid Welsford, *The Fool: His Social and Literary History*, London, 1935, pp. 35–40.

⁴¹ *ASD* I, 3, p. 397, ll. 280–302. Here Erasmus associates the fool's hood with the monk's cowl for satiric purposes. Some court fools were especially noted for their parody of ecclesiastical men and manners (Welsford, pp. 132–144).

⁴² Welsford, pp. 158–161.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 153–155, 169–170.

⁴⁴ *Adag.* 1140 (LB II, 461 C); *Ep.* 337, ll. 106–109, 245–255; *Lingua*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 341, l. 768; *Resp. ad ep. Alb. Pii*, LB IX, 1110 C.

⁴⁵ Welsford, pp. 199–202. In his *Saturnalia* (the pagan feast from which some derived the Feast of Fools) Lucian described a mock-king in a topsy-turvy world.

⁴⁶ E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, I, pp. 274–335.

⁴⁷ Welsford, p. 202. Chambers, I, p. 325. Thomas More described an "abbote of mysrule in a Christ-mas game that were prykked in blankettes, and then sholde stande vp and preche vppon a stole

(especially in England) than the Feast of Fools were the festivities presided over by a "boy bishop", who also sometimes preached a sermon.⁴⁸

Erasmus must have been familiar with the carnival festivities and farces of the Netherlands,⁴⁹ as well as with the *Fastnachtspiele* of Germany.⁵⁰ But even closer to the themes and literary manner of the *Moria* were the satiric skits produced by the *sociétés joyeuses* in Paris, Dijon, and other French cities. These societies, which flourished between the end of the fifteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, were the secular equivalent of the ecclesiastical Feast of Fools.⁵¹ Under their leader, the "Prince des Sotz", "Mère-Sotte", or "Mère-Folle", they presented dramatic performances such as the *sottie* and the *sermon joyeux*.⁵² The *sottie* was a roll-call of fools, "une sorte de parade, récitée avant la représentation pour attirer les spectateurs", and usually followed by a sermon, a morality play, and a farce.⁵³ In its simplest form (before 1500), the *sottie* presented two or three fools who met and exchanged nonsense with each other. Later examples (such as the one by Pierre Gringoire given at Paris in February, 1512) were more complex, including even political satire. The costume was the fool's cap with ass's ears and the fool's scepter. Mother Folly appears in many of them.⁵⁴ The dominant theme of the *sottie* was that everyone from king to clown wears the cap and bells and obeys the lordship of folly. The theme corresponds exactly with the motto of the *Infanterie Dijonnaise* – "Stultorum numerus est infinitus" – and with the major *motif* of *Moria* herself.

The *sermon joyeux* was a short mock-sermon prefaced to a sermon, morality

and make a mowynge sermon" (*The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer in The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 8, ed. L. Schuster et al., New Haven and London, 1973, part 1, p. 42; part 3, pp. 1477–1478). Sander L. Gilman (*The Parodic Sermon in European Perspective: Aspects of Liturgical Parody from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, Wiesbaden, 1974) points out that parodic preachers, like Folly, frequently concatenated and distorted proverbial (especially Solomonic) lore (pp. 19, 25, 27, 29).

⁴⁸ Chambers, I, pp. 336–371. Erasmus' *Concio de puero Iesu* resembles sermons written for boy bishops, though it was never preached by a boy bishop as such. Colet directed that the boys of his school should wait on the 'bishop' of St. Paul's songschool (Chambers, I, p. 356). On the basic seriousness of this festival see R. L. DeMolen's *Pueri Christi Imitatio: the Festival of the Boy-Bishop in Tudor England*, *Moreana* No. 45 (Feb. 1975), pp. 17–28.

⁴⁹ Gilbert Degroote, *Over 'De Lach der Zotheid' en de Bourgondische landen*, *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 48 (1955), pp. 45–49. Johannes van Vloten, *Het Nederlandsche Kluchtspel van de 14e tot de 18e Eeuw*, 2e dr., Haarlem, 1878–1881. Erasmus himself associated the *Moria* with the satire in 'vulgaribus istis comoediis' (Ep. 337, ll. 245–249). For a contemporary description of carnival at Metz in 1497 (including 'ung dictier devient la Grant Eglise par ung prebstre, abilliez en folz') see Martine Grinberg, *Carnaval et société urbaine à la fin du XV^e siècle* in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, vol. III, ed. Jean Jacquot and Elie Konigson, Paris, 1975, p. 551.

⁵⁰ Though probably not with the extant German texts, which derive almost entirely from Nürnberg (Lefebvre, pp. 24–25).

⁵¹ Closely resembling the *société joyeuse* of Paris (who called themselves *Enfants-sans-souci*) was the *Basoche*, an association of law-clerks devoted to portraying the satiric wisdom of folly.

⁵² Chambers, I, pp. 372–382. See also Jacques Heers, *Fêtes, jeux et joutes dans les sociétés d'Occident à la fin du Moyen Age*, Montréal and Paris, 1971, pp. 140–146.

⁵³ Emile Picot, *La Sottie en France*, *Romania* 7 (1878), pp. 236–326, gives a list and description of extant examples. For the definition see pp. 238–240.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 260, 262–265, 275, 280, 283, 296, 313.

play or saint's life."⁵⁵ "... Ils célébrèrent les louanges d'une foule de saints facétieux, saint Hareng, saint Oignon, sainte Andouille, saint Billouard, etc. Dès lors le genre exista; mais, comme en toute chose il faut de la variété, les joueurs de farces ne se bornèrent pas à raconter la vie de leurs saints imaginaires, ils prêchèrent sur les femmes, sur les ivrognes, et sur divers autres sujets plus ou moins scabreux."⁵⁶ Though only a few of the surviving examples can be dated before 1509,⁵⁷ the form flourished in the late fifteenth century, when Erasmus was in France. Only three of the surviving *sermons joyeux* (all dated between 1520 and 1543) had fools as their subject matter and in fact called for a gathering of fools,⁵⁸ but the classifications under which E. Picot ranges his list of *sermons joyeux* suggest some of the topics covered by Erasmus' *Moria*: (1) la vie de divers saints ou personnages facétieux; (2) l'amour, les femmes et le mariage; (3) les buveurs et les cabarets; (4) divers sujets; (5) sermons des sots.⁵⁹ It is especially noteworthy that both the *sottie* and the *sermon joyeux* frequently preceded serious religious plays or sermons, so that they might well have suggested to Erasmus not only some of the subject matter and tone of the *Moria* but also Folly's startling shift to religious, "serious" folly in the last part of her "sermon".⁶⁰

IV. Attack and Defense

Because Erasmus focused so many rays from such diverse sources into the *Brennpunkt* of the *Moria*, because he fused in his masterpiece the major elements of his whole program for reform, and because the irony of this work presented his leading ideas with such shocking and tantalizing appeal to the minds and hearts of his readers, the *Moria* (as Erasmus himself foresaw) was controversial from the very outset. In Erasmus' mind and that of his contemporaries, the *Moria* was indeed merely a trifle by comparison with such laborious contributions to the "new" theology as his Greek New Testament and his editions of the fathers. But except for the *Colloquies*, none of his works was more widely read and translated than the *Moria*, both in the sixteenth century and thereafter. Of all his works, this one was perhaps the most irritating and offensive to his enemies,⁶¹ protestant and catholic alike, not least of all because it was at once devastating and strangely elusive. Narrow-minded monks and theologians could (and did) dissect his

⁵⁵ Emile Picot, *Le Monologue dramatique dans l'ancien théâtre Français*, Romania 15 (1886), pp. 358-422; 16 (1887), pp. 438-542; 17 (1888), pp. 208-275.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 15, p. 359.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 15, pp. 363-374.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 16, pp. 464-472.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 15, p. 362.

⁶⁰ The *basochiens*, together with the *enfants-sans-souci*, were invited by the *Confrères de la Passion* (actors of religious drama) to give combined performances of mysteries, farces, and *sotties* (Welsford, p. 208).

⁶¹ Ep. 2566, ll. 83-84.

“serious” works and refute them piecemeal, however unfairly. But such a method (though they tried it) could not really work against Folly’s laughter at their wrongheaded subtlety and preposterous arrogance. Their irritation and frustration probably arose from an awareness, however dim, that to take Folly seriously was to seem foolish indeed and to deploy their heavy artillery against her was to show the whole world that they were sour cranks, incapable of understanding or enjoying a good joke. No one, however foolish, likes to be shown up as a fool in such a way that his denial, however energetic, only confirms his folly.

In his prefatory letter to Thomas More (Ep. 222), Erasmus answered two possible charges against the *Moria* by giving counter-arguments intended not for More (as Erasmus himself noted) but for the general reader. To the charge that this “new” kind of writing is too trivial for a serious scholar, he replied by citing classical precedents, by insisting that even a serious student has the right to occasional light-hearted truancy, and (most important) by suggesting that however frothy this work may seem, it jests in such a manner as to insinuate serious ideas.⁶² To the charge that his satire was too harsh to be consonant with Christian charity, he replied by citing the precedent of St. Jerome, by pointing out that his thrusts were restrained and avoided unseemly or obscene vices, and by insisting that he singled out no one class of men for wholesale condemnation and mentioned no names of individuals. Erasmus here set the terms of possible conflict within the range of grammar and rhetoric: the nature of the genre, its precedents, the scope of the subject matter, the moderation of tone. Until Edward Lee’s attack in 1518, the conflict about the *Moria* was mostly carried on within the context of literary standards rather than scholastic theology.

For three years after its first publication, the expected attack did not come, and the *Moria* enjoyed an enormous, uncontested success. Then in September, 1514,⁶³ Martin Dorp, a grammarian now addressing himself to theology, launched the first⁶⁴ feeble shots against the *Moria* in a letter to Erasmus (Ep. 304) which was not published until October, 1515. Erasmus’ reply, composed about May, 1515, and first published three months later (Ep. 337), was ordinarily reprinted with the *Moria* during Erasmus’ lifetime. In this *apologia* Erasmus elaborated the literary arguments of the prefatory letter, adding the new point that the *Moria* had been warmly received by outstanding members of the very classes and groups it satirizes – noblemen, kings, bishops, the pope, even by intelligent theologians. He also defended his project of editing and translating the Greek New Testament – a point closely related to the *Moria*, where it becomes abundantly and amusingly clear that scriptural studies should be based on the original languages. Perhaps the most important new element in Erasmus’ *apologia* is the rather detailed

⁶² He suggests the basic irony of an absurdity which turns out to be true by ringing changes on the oxymoron *seriae nugae* (Prefatory letter, p. 68, ll. 35–45 below).

⁶³ Dorp and his abettors were presumably not prompted by the long passages against theologians and monks added to the *Moria* in the Strasbourg edition of 1514, since this did not appear until November of that year.

⁶⁴ *Op. Ep.* I, p. 22, ll. 5–10.

literary analysis by which he defends the *Moria* against Dorp's accusation of impiety (Ep. 337, ll. 449–548) – a charge which would become dominant after 1518. The same basically literary defense appears in *Adag.* 1140 (1515)⁶⁵ and in three of Erasmus' letters in 1517 and 1518.⁶⁶ The Listrius commentary (1515), part of which was written by Erasmus himself (Allen, introd. Ep. 495), attempts to elucidate the ironical genre to which the *Moria* belongs and to defend daring passages, usually by appeals to literary decorum.⁶⁷ Erasmus' additions to the commentary after 1515 are mostly defensive.⁶⁸ In 1516 Froben published the *Moria* together with *The Praise of Baldness* by the Christian bishop Synesius and Seneca's *Apotheosis of Claudius*; these literary analogues were also designed to elucidate and justify the genre and techniques of the *Moria*.⁶⁹

Dorp's attack also provoked a long defense by *Moria*'s namesake and patron, Thomas More (October, 1515).⁷⁰ Alternately stroking and striking, More disarms and demolishes Dorp by a masterful manipulation of the dramatic circumstances in which he first encountered Dorp's letter. Vivid anecdotes are interwoven with dazzling dialectic that turns the main weapon of the theologians back against them. More's detailed analysis of the defects of scholastic logic and his searching discussion of the true relations among grammar, logic, and theology make this letter a truly profound and incisive statement of the humanistic program for educational and theological reform. The conflict between grammar and dialectical theology had been faintly foreshadowed in Jacob Wimpfeling's letter, printed with the 1511 Strasbourg edition of the *Moria* (Ep. 224). But Wimpfeling's understanding of the issue was facile and superficial.⁷¹ Unfortunately More's letter, of which only two early manuscripts are known, was not printed until 1563.

Beginning with his answer to Edward Lee's strictures in 1518, Erasmus' defense of the *Moria* takes on a new character: it becomes mainly theological rather than grammatical or literary. The attack on the *Moria* becomes assimilated to the method of the polemics about Erasmus' New Testament. Theologians like Lee, Jacobus Stunica (1522), and Petrus Sutor (1526) picked out individual sentences and labeled them heretical or blasphemous. They accused Erasmus of asserting that the beatific vision is insane, that Christ was foolish and weak, that saved souls lose their individuality by absorption into the Godhead,⁷² that Chris-

⁶⁵ LB II, 460 D–461 D.

⁶⁶ Ep. 673, ll. 1–6; Ep. 739, ll. 7–12; Ep. 749, ll. 1–38.

⁶⁷ J. Austin Gavin and Thomas M. Walsh, *The Praise of Folly in Context: The Commentary of Girardus Listrius*, RQ 24 (1971), pp. 197–199.

⁶⁸ J. Austin Gavin, *The Commentary of Gerardus Listrius on Erasmus' Praise of Folly: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*, unpublished Dissertation, St. Louis University, 1974, pp. lii–lix.

⁶⁹ Stenger, pp. 105–111.

⁷⁰ *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. Elizabeth Rogers, Princeton, 1947, No. 15, pp. 27–74.

⁷¹ See Stenger, pp. 99–101.

⁷² Lee, Ep. 843, ll. 575–627. Lee's criticisms were apparently sent to Er. by Martin Lypsius early in 1518 (Allen, introd. Epp. 750 and 843). The passages in the *Moria* attacked by Lee are p. 188, ll. 106–110; p. 190, ll. 156–158, and p. 192, ll. 240–247.

tian life is superstitious, that pilgrimages are useless.⁷³ The *reductio ad absurdum* of this technique was Sutor's accusation that Erasmus was blasphemous in making Folly claim that the invention of sciences was due to her. For "Deus scientiarum dominus est, et Erasmus harum inuentionem tribuit Moriae; blasphemus igitur est in Deum".⁷⁴ With increasing frustration and weariness, Erasmus answered point by point. He must have been aware of the futility of defending the *Moria* on his enemies' terms, in bits and pieces taken out of context and distorted beyond recognition. In 1526 and 1529 he remarked to his attackers that the *Moria* had lain dormant for some time; he wished that they would let sleeping dogs lie.⁷⁵ In June, 1526, he noted that he had written the *Moria* when times were quiet and the whole world was lying in a deep slumber of ceremonies and human prescriptions; he would hardly have written it, he said, if he had foreseen the storms which would arise in these later times.⁷⁶ In 1533 he felt that the *Moria* and other less guarded works of his had exposed him to a many-headed hydra against which he was barely able to survive.⁷⁷ In 1529 he defended the *Moria* in a reply to an attack by Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi.⁷⁸ Because Pio had not read his replies to Dorp, Lee, and Stunica,⁷⁹ he went over the whole ground yet once more. He still had enough energy to assert that he never defended the *Moria* in such a way as to wish it had never been published, but he proceeded in a perfunctory and half-hearted fashion. Accused of saying that foolishness is the basis of Christian-

⁷³ *Apolog. c. Lop. Stunic.*, LB IX, 366 D–371 E. Er. is replying to *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates per Iacobum Lopidem Stunicam nunc primum propalatae ac proprio volumine alias redargutae*, Rome, 1522. Among the passages attacked by Stunica are p. 126, ll. 14–16 and p. 138, ll. 229–231.

⁷⁴ Ep. 1687, ll. 85–95 and *Appendix respondens ad quaedam antapologiae Petri Sutoris* (an appendix to *Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*), LB IX, 805 D–806 A. Sutor's attack on the *Moria* occurs in *Aduersus insanam Erasmi apologiam, Petri Sutoris Ant-apologia*, Paris, 1526. The passage in the *Moria* referred to is p. 102, ll. 556–561. In 1520 Erasmus told how a friar preached against the *Moria* for weeks before he was finally silenced (Ep. 1166, ll. 20–39). See also Ep. 1967, ll. 139–146.

⁷⁵ *Appendix respondens ...*, LB IX, 805 DE and *Resp. ad ep. Alb. Pii*, LB IX, 1109 F.

⁷⁶ *Detect. praestig.*, LB X, 1559 F. In 1532, Thomas More, though he still defended the *Moria* firmly against Tyndale's attempt to use it to support protestant views, nevertheless admitted that "in these dayes in whyche men by theyr owne defaute mysseconstre and take harme of the very scrypture of god, vntyll menne better amende, yf any man wolde now translate Moria in to Englyshe, or some workes eyther that I haue my selfe wryten ere this, al be yt there be none harme therin / folke yet beyng (as they be) geuen to take harme of that that is good / I wolde not onely my derlynges bokes but myne owne also, helpe to burne them both wyth myne owne handes, rather then folke sholde (though thorow theyr own faute) take any harme of them, seyng that I se them lykely in these dayes so to do" (*The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer, The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, New Haven and London, 1973, VIII (Part I), pp. 178–179).

⁷⁷ Ep. 2800, ll. 58–61.

⁷⁸ *Resp. ad ep. Alb. Pii*, LB IX, 1109 E–1111 F. Pio's attack is entitled *Alberti Pii ... Ad Erasmi ... expostulationem responsio accurata et paraenetica, Martini Lutheri et asseclorum eius haeresim vesanam magnis argumentis et iustis rationibus confutans*, Paris, 1529. On Pio see Allen, introd. Ep. 1634 and M. Gilmore, *Erasmus and Alberto Pio*, in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe* (in honor of E. Harbison), ed. T. Raab and J. Seigel, Princeton, 1969, pp. 299–313.

⁷⁹ The early Italian editions (Nos. 7, 8, 13, 19, 32) all descend from the Strasbourg edition of 1512 (No. 5) and hence lack the later additions and revisions. No. 5 itself derives from No. 2 and hence did not benefit from the revisions of the first authorized edition (No. 4). The Italian editions also contained none of the parerga of the northern editions except the prefatory letter.

ity and that Christ liked simple people but rejected the wise, he contented himself with replying that these ideas are stated "differently" in the *Moria*.⁸⁰ Yet once more, and for the last time, Erasmus replied in 1531 to a detailed and virulent attack on his works, including the *Moria*, written by Alberto Pio and posthumously published in Paris (1531). This last, somewhat detailed defense contains some new information about his relations with Aldus, his stance toward Luther (who, like Pio, accused him of scepticism), his attitude toward indulgences, and his opinions about ecclesiastical wealth.⁸¹ The major difficulty, as in his replies to Stunica and Sutor, is that Erasmus tacitly agrees with his opponents' assumption that Folly expresses Erasmus' opinions. Erasmus, briefly but explicitly, denies this assumption,⁸² but he implicitly grants it by continually defending Folly's statements because of their precision and restraint.

Erasmus took the trouble to answer Pio because he wanted to protect his reputation in Rome. Paris was already a lost cause. In 1527 Erasmus was informed that the theologians of Paris had condemned the *Moria* as not consonant with faith and morals (Ep. 1784, ll. 5-8). In 1533, Erasmus described how these theologians had, through their commissioners, seized books by Erasmus (including the *Moria*) from a bookseller and handed them over to be examined by the Franciscans, who found thousands of heresies in them (Ep. 2868, ll. 12-32). In 1542 and 1543 the Sorbonne officially added the *Moria* to its list of condemned books.⁸³ The condemnation was repeated by the Sorbonne in indices of 1544, 1547, 1551, and 1556. The *Moria* was also included in the index of the French Inquisitor-General Vidal Bécanis (1540-1550). In Italy the opposition to Erasmus and his works was particularly virulent: the *Moria* appeared on the indices of Milan and Venice (1554), of Paul IV (1559), of Trent (1564), of Sixtus V (1590), and Clement VIII (1596).⁸⁴ In the Low Countries Erasmus' works fared better: of the three indices of Louvain (1546, 1550, and 1558), only the last mentions Erasmus and then only one work.⁸⁵ Even the *Index Expurgatorius* produced by Montano and published at Antwerp in 1571 might well have been motivated by a desire to save

⁸⁰ LB IX, 1111 BC: 'multo aliter dictum' and 'aliis verbis dictum.'

⁸¹ *Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii*, LB IX, 1137 B-E, 1139 DE, 1141 C-1142 A, 1140 A-1141 C. Pio's second attack is entitled *Alberti Pii ... Praeter praefationem et operis conclusionem, tres et viginti libri in locos lucubrationum variarum D. Erasmi Roterodami, quos censet ab eo recognoscendos et retractandos*, Paris, 1531. It is noteworthy that, unlike Pio's *Responsio* of 1529 (which could have been derived entirely from an Italian edition—see footnote 79, above), Pio's *Tres et viginti libri* of 1531 attacked specific passages (LB IX, 1138 B and F) which were first added to the *Moria* in 1514 and hence must have been based on a northern edition. Pio's *Apologia* was composed in Paris between 1529 and 1531. See Myron Gilmore, *Erasmus' Defenses of Folly in Essays on the Works of Erasmus*, ed. R.L. DeMolen, New Haven and London, 1978, pp. 111-123.

⁸² LB IX, 1136 E.

⁸³ This list became the basis for the books of Erasmus condemned by the Tridentine index. See Andreas Flitner, p. 40 and F. H. Reusch, ed., *Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 1886, p. 85.

⁸⁴ See Marcella and Paul Grendler, *The Survival of Erasmus in Italy*, Erasmus in English, No. 8 (1976), pp. 2-22, and Reusch.

⁸⁵ *De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia* (Reusch, p. 55).

Erasmus' works from total condemnation.⁸⁶ In the first index of the Spanish Inquisitor-General Valdes (1551), the *Moria* was not included, but it did appear in his second index (1559) and in the index of Quiroga (1583). In Portugal, the *Moria* was included in all nine indices published in the sixteenth century: in seven it was mentioned by name (1547, 1551, two in 1564, two in 1581, and 1597); in two it was simply included in the *Opera omnia* (1559 and 1561).⁸⁷ It is a measure of the odium attached to the *Moria* that (with only two exceptions) no sixteenth-century index that included any works of Erasmus ever omitted his masterpiece.⁸⁸

V. Additions and Revisions

Surveying his works in 1523, Erasmus wrote: "Imo quemadmodum ipsi semper hoc agimus dum viuimus, vt nobis ipsis reddamur meliores, ita non prius desinemus nostras lucubrationes elimatiores ac locupletiores reddere, quam desierimus viuere" (*Op. Ep.* I, p. 37, ll. 34-35).⁸⁹ This promise he certainly kept not only in such *opera maiora* as the adages, the New Testament, the letters, and the colloquies but also in the *Moria*. After her début in 1511, Folly grew in number, weight, and measure, if not in age and wisdom. Before Erasmus' death she had made her grand tour through the presses of 21 different printers in 11 different cities, including Venice, Florence, Basel, Lyons, Paris, Strasbourg, Cologne, Deventer, and Antwerp. She had been entertained by some of the most famous humanist printers in Europe, including Matthias Schürer, Josse Bade van Assche, Aldus Manutius, Johann Froben, Dirk Martens, and Sebastian Gryphius. She had appeared in a grand total of 36 editions and undergone seven revisions. She did not reach her full growth until 1516, when she was 17 percent larger than she had been at her first appearance five years before.

The first stage of revision appeared in Badius' Paris edition of July, 1512. Here we find many small changes and a few brief additions and omissions. This edition clearly represents the first authorized state of the text. The second stage, perhaps the most important of all, first appeared in the edition published by Matthias Schürer at Strasbourg in November, 1514 — an edition which not only included many small revisions, but also contained all but one of the long passages added

⁸⁶ Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, Paris, 1937, pp. 591-592, 759-767, and G. van Calster, *La Censure Louvaniste du Nouveau Testament et la Rédaction de l'Index Erasmi Expurgatoire de 1571*, in *Scrinium Erasmi*, ed. J. Coppens, Leiden, 1969, II, pp. 379-397; Roland Crahay, *Les censeurs Louvanistes d'Erasmus*, in *Scrinium Erasmi* I, pp. 221-249.

⁸⁷ Artur Moreira de Sá, *De re Erasmi: aspectos do Erasmismo na cultura Portuguesa do século XVI*, Braga, 1977, pp. 293-329, and I.S. Révah, *La censure inquisitoriale Portugaise au XVI^e siècle*, Lisbon, 1960, pp. 97, 112, 203.

⁸⁸ Reusch, pp. 100, 132, 156, 185, 220-221, 259, 403, 477, 537 n. 1.

⁸⁹ Folly's description of foolish writers applies well enough to Erasmus: 'Addunt, mutant, adiunt, reponunt, repetunt, recidunt, ostendunt, nonum in annum premunt, nec vnquam sibi satisfaciunt...' (p. 140, l. 308-p. 141, l. 310).

to the *Moria*. The third revised edition, printed by Froben at Basel in 1515, made several easy corrections and added two brief phrases. The major contribution of this edition, however, was the long commentary which goes under the name of Gerard Lister. One year later, toward the end of 1516, Froben produced the fourth stage of revision – an edition which included many small corrections and also added the last long passage to the text. The fifth stage of revision appeared in Froben's edition of October, 1521. The index added to this edition made accessible the many allusions and proverbs included in the text and explained in the commentary. Moreover, the text itself has been corrected very carefully, perhaps by Erasmus, but certainly by someone who was sophisticated, learned, and diligent. Less than a year later, in July, 1522, Froben produced the sixth revised edition, which he advertised on the title-page as "nunc postremum ab ipso autore religiose recognitum". This edition made many short corrections and minor changes, some of them defensive or mitigating, but it was badly printed and introduced many errors, so that it becomes necessary to distinguish Erasmus' changes from the printer's mistakes. Finally, in 1532, four years before Erasmus' death, Jerome Froben and Nicolaus Bischoff published in Basel an edition which they advertised as "per ipsum autorem etiam atque etiam recognita". Most of the revisions here are smaller touches designed to polish the style.

There were certain practical considerations which made it advantageous for Erasmus to revise and augment his works. For one thing, printers were clamorous and persistent in their eagerness to get revised editions because they knew that a new edition would tend to displace earlier ones and offer them a new inroad into the lucrative market that Erasmus' works provided (Ep. 472, ll. 4–13). Though the early printing of the *Moria* abounds in mere reprints which are often more concerned with appearance and format than with the accuracy of the text itself, Erasmus chose his own printers with care: the revisions of the *Moria* were first introduced by three of the leading printers of the age, Josse Bade van Assche, Matthias Schürer, and Johann Froben.

The long passages added in 1514 certainly were not designed merely for the convenience of the printer, but touched upon matters very close to Erasmus' heart. The first two (p. 148, l. 407–p. 154, l. 484; p. 160, l. 556–p. 166, l. 628) were added to the sections about theologians and monks in Folly's long survey of her followers. The others (p. 180, l. 920–p. 186, l. 67; p. 188, ll. 122–140) add new citations and new arguments to Folly's daring attempt to show that Christianity as it is revealed in the Scriptures is ultimately based on foolishness. It is clearly the religious dimension of the work that is heightened by the passages added in 1514. They provide brilliant particulars about the foolishly subtle questions debated by theologians, the absurd fascination of the monks with ceremonies and superstitious practices, the outrageously ingenious and irrelevant introductions to the friars' sermons, and the scholastic theologians' perverted citation of Scriptural tags taken completely out of context and wrenched so as to serve some dialectical subtlety or paradox.

Erasmus' circumstances in 1514 help to explain why he should have given a special edge to these religious topics.⁹⁰ After five busy but rather obscure years among his friends in England, Erasmus returned to Basel in the summer of 1514. His Rhine journey was almost like a triumphal progress. First at Mainz and especially at Strasbourg and Schlettstadt, he was received with ovations by enthusiastic humanists and admirers such as Von Hutten, Wimpfeling, Brant, Sturm, and Beatus Rhenanus. For the first time he could fully bask in the European renown he had earned by the *Enchiridion*, the *Adagia*, and the *Moria* itself. He began to be swept along by a strong wave of optimistic enthusiasm that would not reach its crest and break until after the *annus mirabilis* of 1516, which saw the publication not only of More's *Utopia*, but also of Erasmus' Greek New Testament and St. Jerome.

The passages added to the *Moria* in 1514 intensified both the wit and the wisdom of the work. Some of the anecdotes are so fantastic that they have a sort of abstract beauty of their own. As Dr. Johnson said about women preaching, it is like a dog walking on its hind legs: it is not well done but one wonders that it is done at all. But in some of the additions, Erasmus seems perhaps more serious and straightforward than the decorum of his persona allows. Taking over his mouthpiece, he contrasts the sincerity and goodness of the apostles with the abstruse intellectualism of modern theologians (p. 150, ll. 421-432). And toward the end of this added section, Erasmus rather than Folly notes that a new, more sensible, more informed kind of theology is gaining more and more adherents (p. 154, ll. 478-484). Finally, one large section of the added passages is devoted to the question of the need for Greek in understanding Scripture. Folly holds up to ridicule the gross misinterpretation of Scriptural passages by Nicolas de Lyra (p. 182, l. 972-p. 184, l. 45). Some of the same mistakes of Nicolas are also held up to scorn in Erasmus' annotations on the Greek New Testament.⁹¹ His interest in such passages was no doubt intensified by the preparations he had been making in England for his edition of the Greek New Testament.

The increased sharpness of the attacks on theologians and monks in the 1514 edition may have contributed to the controversy which began to rage around the *Moria* in 1515. Erasmus wryly claimed that the monks and theologians could not understand it until it had been translated into French or until the Listrius' commentary provided a necessary crutch.⁹² But the commentary itself took a defensive stance, fairly bristling with warnings not to twist Erasmus' meaning into heresy or blasphemy by taking Folly's words out of context. The issues discussed in the added passages of 1514 are among the main points of the defensive letters written to Dorp by Erasmus and More in 1515: a refusal to go beyond the Vulgate

⁹⁰ See James D. Tracy, *Erasmus Becomes a German*, RQ 21 (1968), pp. 281-288.

⁹¹ See notes on p. 183, ll. 991-992 and ll. 1-4, p. 185, ll. 15-20; and M. Screech, *L'Eloge de la Folie et les études bibliques d'Erasmus: quelques réflexions in Réforme et Humanisme: Actes du IV^e Colloque*, Centre d'Histoire de la Réforme et du Protestantisme, Université de Montpellier, Montpellier, 1977, pp. 149-165.

⁹² *Op. Ep.* 1, p. 19, ll. 10-13; *Ep.* 597, ll. 14-16.

to the Greek versions of the Bible, and a false emphasis on hypersubtle dialectic to the neglect of grammar (or as we might say, philology and literary criticism) as a technique of advancing theology by a richer understanding of Scripture and the fathers.

In 1522 Erasmus returned to one of the passages added in 1514, adding a single sentence which probably has a bearing on his attitude toward the Lutheran reformation. Between 1517 and 1521, Erasmus had tried to mediate between Luther and his papal opponents, but by 1522 he seems to have realized that the rift between Rome and the reformers was too wide to bridge. Hence the sentence added in 1522 takes on special significance. Contrasting the simplicity of the apostles with the subtlety of modern theologians, Folly says: "Identidem inculcant apostoli gratiam, at iidem nusquam distinguunt, quid intersit inter gratiam gratis datam, gratiam gratificantem" (p. 152, ll. 445-447). Then comes the added sentence: "Hortantur ad bona opera, nec discernunt opus operans et opus operatum." Here we are very close to the center of the argument about works, grace, and free will over which Luther and Erasmus would lock horns two years later.

Many smaller revisions, correcting and polishing the language itself, produce a cumulative but not an individual effect. Some small touches contribute to that peculiar blend of contempt and compassion with which Folly seems to view the miseries of mankind. Some mocking paragraphs are rounded out with a sigh. For example, when Folly imagines the disruption that would be caused by some wise man dropped from the sky to prick the illusions of those acting their parts in the ridiculous comedy of life, she says: "Contra vere prudentis est, cum sis mortalis, nihil vltra sortem sapere velle cumque vniuersa hominum multitudine vel conuere libenter vel comiter errare. At istud ipsum, inquit, stulticiae est" (p. 106, ll. 615-618). Here the paragraph originally ended with a kind of QED. The added sentence gives it a slightly different turn: "At istud ipsum, inquit, stulticiae est. Haud equidem inficias iuerim, modo fateantur illi vicissim hoc esse vitae fabulam agere." In a smaller way one can see this same compassionate turn when Folly, describing foolish superstitions, mentions the seven verses of the psalms, which, if recited every day, will ensure salvation: "Atque hos magicos versiculos daemon quispiam, facetus quidem ille, sed futilis magis quam callidus, Diuo Bernardo creditur indicasse, sed arte circumuentus" (p. 124, ll. 985-987). In 1512 Erasmus added the single word "miser": "sed arte circumuentus miser" - "after he had been duped by the saint's trick, the poor devil."

Some changes show that Erasmus himself became aware that he had not always maintained the persona of Folly. For example, in one place he changed "meipsum" to "meipsam", recognizing that Folly is feminine, not masculine (p. 124, l. 988). In another place, Folly originally said: "Haec quid aliud clamitant nisi mortaleis omneis stultos esse, etiam pios? Ipsum quoque Christum, quo nostrae stulticiae subueniret, cum esset sapientia patris, tamen quodammodo stultum esse factum..." (p. 188, ll. 106-108). The words "nostrae stulticiae" were spoken by Erasmus in his own person as a member of mankind rather than by Folly, a

goddess. In 1516, he recognized the slip and changed the phrase to “stulticiae mortalium”.

In another place, Erasmus added two items simply to increase the orotund effect of a list of titles rapped out by a friar in his sermon. Folly says that when such a preacher finally stirs up some theological subtlety he assumes a haughty theological stance, citing “doctores solennes, doctores subtiles, doctores subtilissimos, doctores seraphicos, magnifica nomina auribus inculcantes” (p. 166, ll. 636–638). In 1522, Folly thought of two more resounding names to add to the list: “doctores sanctos, doctores irrefragabiles”. But the finest touch came ten years later in 1532 when she added “doctores cherubicos”. With her usual skill she takes from actuality an extreme case – “seraphicos” – and pushes it with logical ease and nonchalance into the realm of imaginative absurdity.

Some of the changes made in the last two stages of revision in 1522 and 1532 were designed to qualify and mitigate the sweeping condemnations of certain groups in the earlier editions. For example, we no longer find the flat statement that nobles at court are consummately servile, ignorant, and abject, but rather that most of them are (p. 170, l. 717). In the revision a few grammarians are saved by a similar change: not all of them are narrow-minded idiots, but only most of them (p. 138, l. 256). One word added in 1522 was designed to make the paradox of Christian folly less open to the charge of blasphemy. Folly originally asserted “videtur omnino Christiana religio quandam habere cum stulticia cognationem...” (p. 189, ll. 141–142). Even this guarded statement was further qualified when we find in 1522 that “videtur omnino Christiana religio quandam habere cum aliqua stulticia cognationem...”

Like the notes added to the commentary between 1515 and 1532,⁹³ some of the sidenotes were cautionary and defensive. We cannot be sure to what degree Erasmus was responsible for the rather extensive changes in the sidenotes, but we may assume that in most of the major editions he at least approved the changes. In *A* and *B* the sidenotes are almost exclusively translations of Greek phrases, and after 1515 many of the sidenotes refer to the commentary rather than the text; such sidenotes have not been included in the *apparatus criticus*. Sidenotes referring to the commentary, together with the index added in 1521, made the work more useful as a storehouse of information and allusions. Viewed generally, the sidenotes in the eight major early editions went through three stages that reflect the three principal phases of the humanist educational program: (1) simple translation (albeit from Greek to Latin) of the sort practised by young schoolboys learning Latin (*A*, *B*, and *C*); (2) rhetorical techniques and patterns, like those of Quintilian and Aphthonius for organizing a whole oration (*C*, *D*, and *E*); (3) rhetorical matter of the sort to be collected by making or using commonplace books (*F*, *G*, and *H*). In brief, the rudiments, the method, the matter.

⁹³ See above, n. 68 and pp. 35–36 below.

VI. *The Listrius Commentary*

In the edition of the *Moria* printed by Froben at Basel in 1515 (No. 9, below) there appeared for the first time a long and detailed commentary written partly by Gerardus Listrius and partly by Erasmus himself. This commentary was frequently printed with the *Moria* during Erasmus' lifetime and afterwards.⁹⁴

Listrius (or Lister), born at Rhenen, about halfway between Utrecht and Arnhem, about ten years later than Erasmus, was a student of Alexander Hegius at Deventer. At Louvain he studied under Jean Desmarais (Paludanus), to whom he dedicated the commentary on the *Moria*. On 18 April 1514 he received the degree of doctor of medicine at Pavia.⁹⁵ In 1514 and 1515 at Basel, he was in the intimate circle of Erasmus' friends and was recognized as proficient not only in medicine but also in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. From 1516 to 1522 he was the rector of a school founded by the Brothers of the Common Life at Zwolle. In 1517, the year of his marriage, he became the victim of an unfounded rumor accusing him of having poisoned a fellow teacher at Zwolle, Johannes Murmellius. In 1526 he left Zwolle to become rector of the Latin School at Amersfoort. Among the school-texts he prepared were a commentary on the first six parts of Peter of Spain's *Summulae Logicales* and a rhetorical compendium, *De figuris et tropis opusculum*. When Edward Lee attacked Erasmus' *New Testament* Listrius came to his defense. A letter from Luther to Listrius and one of Listrius' own letters suggest that in 1520 he was sympathetic toward Luther's views.⁹⁶

In a letter to Martin Bucer dated 2 March 1532,⁹⁷ Erasmus explained the genesis of the commentary and his part in it. Listrius had agreed to write the commentary, but since the time was short, Erasmus prepared the way by writing some brief notes to be treated more fully by Listrius. When Listrius continued to delay and Froben urgently needed copy, Erasmus was forced to go on writing the commentary until Listrius finally set his hand to the task. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine exactly which parts of the 1515 commentary Erasmus wrote. It would perhaps be fair to assume that notes which show a detailed knowledge of such standard theological texts as Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and Gratian's *Decretum* or which rely on personal experiences in England⁹⁸ were writ-

⁹⁴ It was included in the following editions described below: Nos. 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33, 35, 39, 40. On the other hand, it never appeared in the Italian editions printed in Erasmus' lifetime.

⁹⁵ *Op. Ep.* IV, xxv.

⁹⁶ This brief sketch of Listrius' life is drawn from the fullest account in J. Austin Gavin's *The Commentary of Gerardus Listrius on Erasmus' Praise of Folly: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*, unpublished Dissertation, St. Louis University, 1974, pp. xxvi-xlvi.

⁹⁷ *Ep.* 2615, ll. 171 sqq.

⁹⁸ See the notes on the Prefatory letter, p. 70, l. 65, and on pp. 95, l. 412; 117, l. 863; 119, ll. 918-923; 123, l. 966 and ll. 967-968; 127, ll. 23-28; 129, l. 31; 133, l. 121; 137, ll. 215-216; 149, l. 409 and ll. 414-416; 151, ll. 424-425, ll. 427-428; 152, ll. 435-436; 153, ll. 441-442 and ll. 446-447; 177, l. 837 and l. 842. When we find in the commentary an error which appears in another work of Erasmus, we might be tempted to assign the note to Erasmus himself (e.g., p. 96, ll. 471-473), but in such cases it is perhaps just as likely that Listrius took over the error from Erasmus.

ten by Erasmus, who had studied theology at Paris and had visited England. There is no evidence that Listrius had visited England or studied theology formally. On the other hand, notes which bespeak a detailed knowledge of medicine⁹⁹ might well have been written by Listrius, who had studied medicine, though (as far as we know) he never practised it.

But we are on much surer ground in assigning to Erasmus notes (and parts of notes) added to the commentary after 1515. Most of these additions first appeared in the Froben editions of 1516 and 1532 (Nos. 10 and 35, below) with which Erasmus was closely associated, and it is very probable that he himself was responsible for these additions to the commentary. Certainly there is no reason to assign them to Listrius, who left Basel for Zwolle early in 1516. These additions, most of which are concerned with the decorum of Folly as a dramatic persona or with defending the theological precision and orthodoxy of the work, are as follows:¹⁰⁰

Added in 1516 (No. 10, below):

- p. 87, l. 274 in quibus ... explicatur
- p. 102, l. 541 nonnulli
- p. 189, ll. 137-138 Et decore ... obliuionem
- p. 193, l. 230 Festiuiter ... refertur
 - l. 232 Raptum ... pium
- p. 194, ll. 260-261 Hunc locum ... faciat locum
 - l. 268 Quod non ... videri posse
 - l. 268 (second note) Id est ... ageret
 - ll. 269-270 Duplici ... concedi
 - ll. 270-271 Versus ... pertinens
- p. 195, ll. 271-272 Quia ... vir
 - l. 273 Apte ... nequit
 - l. 274 Allusit ... leguminibus
 - l. 275 id est ... Erasmi
 - l. 275 (second note) Nam illud ... afferant
 - l. 276 His verbis ... viuere
 - l. 276 (third note) Sunt ... initiati

Added in 1522 (No. 26, below):

- p. 143, l. 340 Hic Erasmus ... exorituos

Added in 1523 (No. 29, below):

- p. 89, l. 305 Meminit Lucianus

⁹⁹ See the notes on pp. 85, ll. 242-243; 97, ll. 469-471; 111, ll. 745-747; 119, l. 890 and l. 910; 163, l. 560, l. 568 and ll. 568-569. The note on p. 125, l. 996, which includes the words 'Ipse cum in Italia studiorum gratia commorarer,' might well be by Listrius, who received a medical doctorate at Padua and hence might have gone to Italy to study formally at the university there. So far as we know, Erasmus (though he received a doctorate in theology from the University of Turin) did not undertake formal studies in Italy. Sometimes the commentary contains an error which we might expect from Listrius rather than Erasmus (e.g., notes on pp. 93, l. 384; 109, l. 668 and ll. 692-693; 173, ll. 759-760).

¹⁰⁰ They are based on the variants from early editions given by J. Austin Gavin.

Added in 1532 (No. 35, below):

- (Prefatory Letter), p. 69, ll. 19–20 Vide vt ... habitam
 p. 73, ll. 21–22 Vide vt ... dormitant
 p. 77, l. 107 Qui in opere ... ecclesia
 p. 91, l. 330 (second note) Si nugas ... factum
 p. 109, l. 665 Caute ... corpora
 p. 121, l. 954 Vide calumniator ... historiis
 p. 122, ll. 959–960 Quaeso te ... notat Moria
 p. 123, l. 970 Pontificum ... salubrius
 p. 134, ll. 166–167 Sentit ... omnes
 p. 135, ll. 170–173 Qui calumniis ... negligentes
 p. 161, l. 534 (second note) Et tamen ... foedissima est
 l. 556 (third note) Audi ... ordines
 p. 177, l. 838 (second note) Audis ... mundus
 p. 183, l. 990 quemadmodum ... locum
 p. 187, ll. 74–75 Et quemadmodum ... sapientiam

I have given these additions in full in the explanatory notes. In these notes, whatever precedes the notation (L.) is drawn from the 1515 Listrius commentary (in the form in which it was reprinted in 1532), except details which I have added within square brackets [] or additions made to the commentary after 1515. These additions are preceded by a year date within square brackets (for example, [1516]). The notation [1515] indicates a return to the original 1515 commentary. Apart from Erasmian additions, I usually present the commentary in a condensed form, largely because it gives a valuable indication of what information an intelligent editor thought might be necessary or useful to contemporary readers. This procedure also tends to show the very large debt all later editors (including Kan) owe to the Listrius commentary (which was last published in the Leiden edition of 1703–1706).

VII. Early Translations, Imitations, and Influence

Few of Erasmus' works were translated as frequently in the sixteenth century as the *Moria*.¹⁰¹ The earliest translation is the Czech version which the humanist Řehoř Hrubý z Jelení (Gregorius Gelenius) had completed by 1512.¹⁰² He presented his manuscript, which contains a brief introduction as well as a long commentary in Czech, to the Old Town Council of Prague in 1513,¹⁰³ but it was not

¹⁰¹ Its only rivals in this respect are the *Enchiridion* and some parts of the *Adagia* and *Colloquia*.

¹⁰² The best accounts of Hrubý are J. Truhlář's *Humanismus a humanisté v Čechách za krále Vladislava II*, Prague, 1894, pp. 163–179, and E. Pražák's *Řehoř Hrubý z Jelení*, Prague, 1964.

¹⁰³ The manuscript is in the State Library of the ČSR at Prague (University Library, XVII D 38). See J. Truhlář, *Katalog českých rukopisů c. k. Věřejné a universitní knihovny pražské*, Prague, 1906, No. 168, pp. 64–66. On the date of the manuscript see E. Pražák, *Místo Řehoře Hrubého ve vývoji českého humanismu*, Česká literatura 9 (1961), pp. 43–48.

printed until 1864.¹⁰⁴ Hrubý's translation was almost certainly made from the second edition (Strassburg, August 1511).¹⁰⁵ The next translation was the French version by George Halewin, which was apparently in existence by 1517, though the earliest extant edition was printed in 1520. Erasmus complained that Halewin, by his additions, omissions, and changes had not only translated the work into another language but had changed it into another book.¹⁰⁶ Writing to Erasmus in 1536, Viterius, an intelligent and literate Frenchman, recognized that Halewin's translation had lost the expressiveness of the Latin and proposed to make a new French version – a plan he apparently never carried out.¹⁰⁷ Modern scholars have detailed the deficiencies of Halewin's translation: he dissipates the wit and irony of the original in an attempt to render the moral "message" more clear and straightforward.¹⁰⁸

Sebastian Franck's translation (1534), the first more or less complete German version,¹⁰⁹ labors under difficulties quite similar to those of Halewin's French: cumbersome explanations and added passages, omissions (especially in the daring third part), the multiplication of equivalents for one Latin word, and rather sprawling, spineless sentences.¹¹⁰ The Italian version by Antonio Pellegrini (Venice, 1539) is the first complete and generally accurate vernacular translation of the *Moria*.¹¹¹ Pellegrini strove for clarity and elegance through rhetorical amplification, a liberal admixture of appositives, parallelism, and balanced structures; but he often merely obfuscated Erasmus' meaning with clouds of verbiage. The English translation by Sir Thomas Chaloner (1549), who made use both of

¹⁰⁴ *Erazima Roterodamského Encomium Moriae čili Chvála bláznovství. Překladem Řehoře Hrubého z Jelení*, ed. I. J. Hanuš, Prague, 1864. A facsimile edition of the manuscript was edited by E. Pražák: *Erasma Roterodamského Chvála bláznovství, Z latiny přeložil a výkladem doplnil Řehoř Hrubý z Jelení*, Editio Cime-
lia Bohemica, Vol. IX, Prague, 1969.

¹⁰⁵ The translation does not contain any of the revisions or additions which appeared after the first edition. In several places (including erroneous variants and missing words) Hrubý's translation agrees only with the second edition. I am very grateful to my colleague Dr. David Murphy for help with Hrubý's Czech and with the Czech works cited in the three preceding notes.

¹⁰⁶ Ep. 660, ll. 6–8. See also Epp. 597, ll. 14–16; 641, ll. 3–7; 739, ll. 3–7.

¹⁰⁷ Ep. 3101, ll. 83–97. According to this letter, Erasmus himself had at one time suggested that Viterius should translate the *Moria* into French.

¹⁰⁸ Margaret Mann, *Erasmus et les débuts de la réforme française (1517–1536)*, Paris, 1934, pp. 189–192; and John G. Rechten, *A 1520 French Translation of the Moriae Encomium*, RQ 27 (1974), pp. 23–35.

¹⁰⁹ In 1521 Eberlin von Günzburg translated and published in Basel two sections from the *Moria* (one on mendicant friars and one on superstitious worship of saints) as part of his series of *Flugschriften* by the fifteen 'Bundesgenossen'. See *Erasmus von Rotterdam: Katalog III, herausgegeben zur Erinnerung des 400. Todestages des Erasmus*, Wertheim-Antiquariat, Berlin, (1936), p. 8.

¹¹⁰ Ernst Goetzinger, ed., *Das teur und künstlich Büechlin Morie Encomion ... verteutsch durch Sebastianum Franken*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. xviii–xx; Rudolf Kommos, *Sebastian Franck und Erasmus von Rotterdam*, Berlin, 1934, pp. 63, 93–104; Will Erich Peuckert, *Sebastian Franck: ein deutscher Sucher*, Munich, 1943, pp. 193–196; Lefebvre, pp. 270–274.

¹¹¹ On the Italian translation see Clarence H. Miller, ed., *The Praise of Folie*, trans. Sir Thomas Chaloner (1549), Oxford, 1965, pp. xxvii–xxix. Though the early Italian editions of the Latin all derive from the unrevised Strasbourg edition of 1511 (No. 2), Pellegrini's translation is based on the last revised edition of 1532; but some parts of it derive from an earlier, less complete Latin text, probably one of the Venetian or Florentine editions (C. H. Miller, p. 189).

the Listrius commentary and Pellegrini's translation, is also complete,¹¹² usually accurate, and often lively. Since Chaloner's translation was almost surely employed by White Kennet (1683),¹¹³ it remained an indirect influence on English translations long after it had fallen out of use. Of the two sixteenth-century Dutch translations of the *Moria* (Embden, 1560, and Antwerp, 1582), the second was sufficiently popular to be reprinted in 1584 and 1597 and seven more times in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁴ The sixteenth century produced no true Spanish translation of the *Moria*,¹¹⁵ but some passages of Erasmus' book are imitated or adapted in *Triunfos de Locura* (1521), a poem by Hernán López de Yanguas,¹¹⁶ and in *Censura de la locura humana y excelencias della* (Lerida, 1598) by Jerónimo de Mondragón.¹¹⁷

The imitations spawned, directly or indirectly, by the *Moria* in the sixteenth century are legion. Literally hundreds of them were collected in several large volumes of the early seventeenth century.¹¹⁸ With very few exceptions (such as Wilibald Pirckheimer's *Podagrae laus*) the whole mass has been deservedly consigned to oblivion.¹¹⁹ Scholars and critics have tended to consider the *Moria* in relation to great works, usually ironical, of sixteenth-century vernacular literature. The connections between Rabelais and Erasmus' works, including the *Moria*, are direct and multifarious.¹²⁰ But even where the specific connections are mostly

¹¹² In his preface Chaloner gives his readers due notice that he has deliberately omitted a few short passages.

¹¹³ C. H. Miller, p. 156.

¹¹⁴ Willem de Vreese, *De Nederlandsche vertalingen van Desiderius Erasmus*, Het Boek 24 (1936), p. 87. A facsimile of the Dutch translation printed by William Geillyaert (Embden, 1560) was published in Amsterdam in 1969.

¹¹⁵ The entry in the Valdes index of 1559 ('*Moria tam Latino quam vulgare sermone*') refers either to the Italian translation or to an unknown Spanish translation (Reusch, pp. 220-221).

¹¹⁶ M. Bataillon, *Un problème d'influence d'Erasmus en Espagne*, in *Actes du Congrès Erasme*, Rotterdam, Oct. 27-29, 1969, Amsterdam and London, 1971, pp. 136-147.

¹¹⁷ Antonio Vilanova, *Erasmus y Cervantes*, Barcelona, 1949, p. 26. M. Bataillon, in *Un problème d'influence d'Erasmus en Espagne*, expresses reservations about the theory that the *Censura de la locura* was the medium by which the *Moria* influenced Cervantes. See also Antonio Vilanova, *La Moria de Erasmus y el prologo del Quijote*, in *Collected Studies in honour of Américo Castro's 80th year*, ed. M.P. Nornick, Oxford, 1965, pp. 423-433.

¹¹⁸ Pease, p. 28, n. 1, and Henry K. Miller, *The Paradoxical Encomium with Special Reference to its Vogue in England 1600-1800*, *Modern Philology* 53 (1956), p. 152.

¹¹⁹ On the paradoxical encomium in the sixteenth century with special emphasis on England see Sr. M. Geraldine, *Erasmus and the Tradition of Paradox*, *Studies in Philology* 61 (1964), pp. 41-63. H. de Vocht (*De Invloed van Erasmus op de Engelsche Tooneelliteratuur der XVI^e en XVII^e Eeuwen*, Ghent, 1908, pp. 245-253) argues for a direct influence of the *Moria* on John Lyly, but his evidence is not convincing. For Germany see Adolf Hauffen, *Zur Litteratur der ironischen Enkomien*, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Litteraturgeschichte* 6 (1893), pp. 161-185. For the Netherlands see Gilbert Degroote, *De Moriae Encomion in bet Nederlands*, *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 43 (1950), pp. 104-114, and *Erasmus en de Rederijkers van de XVI^e Eeuw*, *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 29 (1951), pp. 389-420.

¹²⁰ W.-F. Smith, *Rabelais et Erasme*, *Revue des études Rabelaisiennes* 6 (1908), pp. 215-264. Raymond Lebègue, *Rabelais, the Last of the French Erasmians*, *JWCI* 12 (1949), pp. 91-100. Kaiser, pp. 103-192. Hans Schmitt, *Die Satire des Erasmus von Rotterdam und ihre Ausstrahlung auf François Rabe-*

lacking, fruitful comparisons have been made between the *Moria* and works by Ariosto,¹²¹ Shakespeare,¹²² and Cervantes.¹²³ Rightly considered among its peers in other genres, the *Moria* is unique among world classics in that the long-standing genre to which it belongs has produced only this one masterpiece, the *ne plus ultra* (as it were) of the paradoxical encomium.

VIII. The Handling of the Text

Partly because *H* (1532)¹²⁴ represents the final version of the text approved by Erasmus, partly because the additions and revisions he made in the *Moria* between 1511 and 1532 are rather extensive, I have chosen *H* (1532) as my basic text. The apparatus criticus gives substantive variants from the other seven editions in which Erasmus had a hand,¹²⁵ ignoring such accidentals as spelling and punctuation (except where they clearly have a direct bearing on the meaning). In these variants "om." simply indicates readings which do not occur in editions before *H* (1532). Words or phrases followed by an asterisk in the apparatus criticus are marginal notes in the early editions. The capitalization and punctuation of *H* (1532), which uses commas rather heavily, have been silently modernized; but wherever the punctuation bears directly on the meaning, the punctuation of major early editions is given, either in the text or the variants. Greek accents have silently been brought into conformity with accepted usage. I have italicized quotations attributed to specific authors; in the copy-text (*H*) and the other major editions (*A-G*) the text is set entirely in roman type. With a few trifling excep-

lais, Alfonso de Valdés, und Cristóbal de Villalón, Geinhausen, (1965), pp. 81-82. M.A. Screech, *Folie Erasmiene et Folie Rabelaisienne* and *Comment Rabelais a exploité les travaux d'Erasmus: Quelques détails* in *Colloquia Erasmiiana Turonensia*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin, Paris, 1972, I, pp. 441-461. For a comparison of Ronsard's 'Hymne de l'Or' and the *Moria* see Jean-Claude Margolin, *L'Hymne de l'Or et son ambiguïté*, BHR 28 (1966), pp. 272-294.

¹²¹ Rocco Montano, *Follia et Sagezza nel 'Furioso' e nell' 'Elogio' di Erasmo*, Naples, 1942. Giambattista Salinari, *L'Ariosto fra Machiavelli ed Erasmo*, Bibliotheca della Rassegna di cultura e vita scolastica, Quaderno nr. 58, 1968. Carlo Ossola, *Métaphore et inventaire de la folie dans la littérature italienne du XVI^e siècle* in *Folie et déraison à la Renaissance*, Brussels, 1976, pp. 171-188. Alberto Viviani and Giannino Fabbri, the editors of Faustino Perisauli's *De Triumpho Stultitiae*, Florence, 1963, argue that this poem was first printed about 1495 in an edition which has not survived. Jozef IJsewijn (*Die 'Stultitiae Laus' des Erasmus und die 'De Triumpho Stultitiae libri III' des Faustino Perisauli*, Meander 22 (1967), pp. 327-339) argues more convincingly that the earliest surviving edition of Perisauli's poem (Venice, 1524) was the first and that Perisauli borrowed details from Erasmus' *Moria*, not vice versa. Perisauli's purely negative conception of Folly and the loose structure of his work belong to the medieval tradition stressing the vanity and misery of sinful folly.

¹²² Welsford, pp. 253-270. Kaiser, pp. 195-275. Thelma Greenfield, *'A Midsummer Night's Dream' and 'The Praise of Folly'*, *Comparative Literature* 20 (1968), pp. 236-244.

¹²³ Villanova, pp. 42-58. August Rüegg, *Erasmisches im 'Don Quijote' des Cervantes*, Basel, 1943. Kaiser, pp. 277-296.

¹²⁴ No. 35 in the list of early editions given below, p. 60.

¹²⁵ Some significant variants from the 30 non-authorative editions printed before 1540 are given in the Appendix, below, pp. 197-204.

tions, the early editions contain no paragraphing, and the paragraph divisions in this text are my own. I have ignored the chapter divisions and numbers introduced in the eighteenth century and reproduced by Kan (1898) because they have no precedent or authority from the early editions.

IX. Early editions of *Moriae Encomium*

The following list is based on a complete collation of all known editions printed before 1540 and of a few significant editions from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Variants or typographical peculiarities make it possible to determine with certainty or a high degree of probability what copy-text underlies each edition printed before 1540 so that rather definite chains of succession can be established. I have given concise descriptions of the few editions not in the standard bibliographies – primarily *Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays Bas*, ed. F. van der Haeghen, Ghent, 1898–1923, vol. 13, which reappears as vol. 2, pp. 271–1048 of the reprint, ed. Marie-Thérèse Lenger, Brussels, 1964–70 (here cited as *BB*) and *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, ed. Wouter Nijhoff and Maria Kronenberg, 's-Gravenhage, 1923–1971 (here cited as *NK*). Numbers preceded by “E.” (for example, E. 838) refer to the entries in *Bibliotheca Belgica*. Concerning three early manuscripts of the *Moria* (one complete and two partial) which have no independent authority or textual value, see my article *Three Sixteenth-century Manuscripts of Erasmus' Moriae Encomium*, *Manuscripta* 20 (1978), pp. 173–176.

1. Paris, Gilles de Gourmont, [1511], *BB* E. 838 (*A*¹⁻³)
 Copies: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden *A*¹
 British Museum *A*²
 New College Library, Edinburgh University¹²⁶ *A*³
- Paris, Jehan Petit, [1511], *BB* E. 839 (*A*⁴⁻⁶)
 Copies: Royal Library, Copenhagen *A*⁴
 Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Halle (Saale) *A*⁵
 Library of the University of Ghent¹²⁷ *A*⁶

These two publications actually constitute only one edition: both are made up of the same sheets, one differing from the other in the title-page only.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ The copies listed in *BB* as in Munich and Nürnberg were lost during World War II.

¹²⁷ Drs. E. van Gulik, former director of the Gemeentebibliotheek at Rotterdam, has kindly informed me that this copy is listed in *Erasmus. Tentoonstelling van Erasmusdrukken bewaard in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent ... 4-20 juni 1969*, Gent, 1969, p. 29, no. 20.

¹²⁸ The reading ‘migaciores’ for ‘nugaciores’ (p. 142, l. 319) indicates that this edition was set from manuscript rather than printed copy – that it is indeed the first printed edition. It seems that spaces were left in the text to be filled in later with Greek phrases; sometimes the space was too large, sometimes hardly large enough.

In his catalogue of his works (*Op. Ep.* I, p. 19, ll. 7–9), Erasmus said he had such a low opinion of the *Moria* that he did not even consider it worth printing. Thus, even though Erasmus himself was in Paris when it was first printed, he claimed that the edition was actually seen through the press by his protégé Richard Croke. He also complained that this first edition was very badly printed (“pessimis formulis deprauatissime”). In his letter to Dorp (*Ep.* 337, ll. 137–139), Erasmus again dissociated himself from the first printing and noted that the copy for the first edition was not only full of errors but also incomplete.

This edition was indeed very badly printed. It concludes with a long list of errata (which sometimes makes erroneous or superfluous corrections). About two dozen differences between A^{1-3} and A^{4-6} and at least two differences between $A^{1-3,5}$ and $A^{4,6}$ show that the sheets were corrected while they were in press, but this effort was sporadic and quite perfunctory.¹²⁹ The sidenotes in this edition are almost exclusively devoted to translations of Greek phrases. Since this edition was so badly printed and corrected, it is almost certain that Erasmus himself did not see it through the press. No doubt he could have prevented publication if he had wanted to, but there is no evidence to support the assertion (made in *BB* and elsewhere) that Erasmus deliberately had the book printed by Croke so that he himself could disavow it if necessary. There is no reason not to believe Erasmus when he says that the work was originally published through the efforts of his friends (*Ep.* 337, ll. 137–138).

2. Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, August 1511, *BB* E. 840¹³⁰

Copy: Royal Library, Copenhagen

This edition contains two letters from Jacob Wimpfeling: one addressed to Erasmus, the second to poets and lovers of poetry. Wimpfeling assures Erasmus (*Ep.* 224, ll. 38–40) that his defense of theology should not be construed as an attack against the *Moria*; in fact, writes Wimpfeling, he has persuaded his countryman and kinsman Schürer to reprint the work. This edition also contains three distichs by Sebastian Brant, who remarks that, while he has disposed of plebeian fools in his ship, Erasmus has taken on aristocratic and learned fools – which will arouse a storm of protest.

The copy-text for this edition was clearly E. 838–9 (as several common errors show). Though it omits ten words and makes some errors of its own, it also corrects many obvious errors, making use of the errata list of E. 838–9. Someone (perhaps Wimpfeling, probably not Erasmus) corrected some, but by no means all, the errors in the copy-text.

¹²⁹ The pages which contain stop-press variants are sigs. c2, e1^v, e2, e3, e5, e5^v, e6^v, e7^v, e8, and g3^v. One page (sig. e4^v) shows no corrections or changes, but in the second-last line ‘Homericus’ is further to the left in some copies than in others. This suggests that some of the changes may have resulted from dislocations caused by moving pages of set type.

¹³⁰ The collation in *BB* erroneously gives 43 leaves + 1 blank instead of 48 leaves + 1 blank.

3. Antwerp, Dirk Martens, January 1512,¹³¹ NK 831

Copy: British Museum

The copy-text for this edition was Schürer's edition of August 1511 (E. 840). It adds nothing new and makes an unusually large number of misprints. The absence of catchwords helps explain the wrong imposition of C1^v–C2 and C7^v–C8.

4. Paris, Josse Bade van Assche, 26 July 1512, BB E. 841¹³² (B)

Copy: Royal Library, Copenhagen

It is almost certain that this edition was set from a corrected copy of E. 838–9. It is a rather thorough-going revision. Though it makes a few misprints of its own, it also changes many words and phrases, adds a few, omits a few, corrects grammar, spelling, and misprints. It adds several sidenotes translating Greek phrases silently passed over in *A*. Moreover, it corrects, changes, and adds to the Greek phrases. The changes are clearly of a sort not likely to be made by a printer. Badius says on his title page (and also in the colophon) that this edition was recently revised by Erasmus himself, and the changes in the edition itself seem to confirm his claim.

In a letter to Erasmus dated 19 May 1512 (Ep. 263, ll. 8–10), Badius wrote that Gilles de Gourmont would be offended if Badius should print the *Moria*. But in the autumn of 1512, Erasmus remarked that Badius had printed it, though he had not yet seen a copy (Ep. 264, ll. 26–27). In a letter to Erasmus dated 29 September 1516 (Ep. 472, ll. 4–9), Badius wrote that he had lost money on his edition of the *Moria*: so great is Erasmus' reputation that if he authorizes a new edition, no one will buy the old ones, even though Erasmus has added nothing to the new edition.

5. Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, October 1512, BB E. 842

Copy: Friends' Free Library, Germantown, Pennsylvania

The copy-text of this edition was Schürer's own edition of August 1511 (E. 840), as several common errors show. It occasionally corrects a misprint in the copy-text, but it also makes some new ones of its own. Some variations from the copy-text are plausible alternative readings, but most are merely misprints. There is no reason to believe that Erasmus had anything to do with this edition.

¹³¹ I am assuming that Martens intended the new year to be calculated from January rather than Easter. See Wm. L. Edgerton, *The Calendar Year in Sixteenth-century Printing*, JEGP 59 (1960), pp. 439–449. For a full presentation of the colophon and title page of this edition, see Clarence H. Miller, ed., *The Praise of Folie*, tr. Sir Thomas Chaloner, Oxford, 1965, p. 24, n. 1.

¹³² The contents and date of this edition, which are given correctly by BB, are presented wrongly by Ph. Renouard, *Bibliographie des Impressions et des Oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius*, Paris, 1908, reprint New York, 1964, II, p. 424. It is to this edition that Johannes Herold seems to refer in *Philopseudes* (LB VIII, 639 D).

6. Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, November 1514, *BB E.* 843 (C)

Copy: Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg

Five errors found only in this edition and in Badius' edition of 1512 (E. 841) make it almost certain that the copy-text was E. 841, the most recent edition revised by Erasmus himself.

The contents of this edition seem to confirm Schürer's advertisement on the title page that it is "nuper ex ipsius autoris archetypis diligentissime restitutus". It corrects and changes many small details and adds many words and phrases. It also contains all the long passages added to the text except "Male... labores" (p. 140, ll. 270–283). That the copy for these added passages was a manuscript rather than a printed page is confirmed by the error at p. 188, l. 130 (see textual apparatus); for a compositor working from handwritten copy could easily make such a mistake, but he would not be likely to do so if his copy was printed.

In addition to the marginal glosses translating Greek phrases, this edition provides 157 new sidenotes. Ordinarily they indicate the sort of division that would now be marked by paragraphing. (Except for one or two lines indented merely by accident, the editions before 1540 are printed continuously, with no indentations for paragraphs.) The new sidenotes are mostly of two different kinds: (1) incisive sentences giving the core-idea of sections of the speech (for example, pp. 98–102), and (2) brief tags marking off the categories in Folly's inductive surveys (for example, pp. 111–113, 118–122, 136–137). Several sidenotes give stark, unflinching summaries of passages where Folly lashes superstitious abuses and clerical corruption (for example, pp. 120–126, 134).

Since Erasmus claimed that the copy used for the first Paris edition was not only faulty but also incomplete ("exemplo non solum mendoso verum etiam mutilo", Ep. 337, ll. 138–139), we might be inclined to believe that the extended passages added in this edition were part of the work as Erasmus wrote it in 1509 which happened to be missing from the manuscript Croke used for the first edition. Thus the "author's original copy" on the title page of this edition would refer to the work as Erasmus originally wrote it. But such a supposition is rendered quite unlikely by the fact that an incident narrated (p. 185, l. 49–p. 186, l. 55) in one of the added passages probably occurred in 1512.¹³³

7. Venice, Giovanni Tacuino de Tridino, 12 April 1515, *BB E.* 844

Copy: British Museum

The copy-text for this edition was Schürer's edition of October 1512 (E. 842). Besides repeating most of the errors in E. 842, this edition makes a number of misprints and omissions of its own. At one place it adds "&".

¹³³ In his note on *Tit.* 3, 10 (*LB VI*, 973–974) Erasmus says he heard the story from Colet, who had actually witnessed it at a council. The 'council' referred to was probably the one convened by Archbishop Warham on February 6, 1511/1512, in order to combat the reviving heresy of Lollardy. Colet created a sensation at that convocation by preaching sharply against the vices of bishops and priests. See J.H. Lupton's *Life of John Colet*, London, 1887, p. 202.

Erasmus was almost accurate when he wrote Dorp in May, 1515 (Ep. 337, ll. 140–141) that the *Moria* had been printed more than seven times.

8. Venice, Aldus and Andrea d'Asola, August 1515, *BB* E. 845

Copy: Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

The preponderance of evidence strongly suggests that the copy-text for this edition was Schürer's edition of October 1512 (E. 842). This Aldine edition tidies up a number of Greek quotations. It is carefully printed though it makes a few errors and slight additions of its own. On 21 June 1517, Andrea d'Asola wrote Erasmus that he was glad to hear that Erasmus was pleased by the Aldine edition of the *Moria*, "inuentum tuum dignissimum virtutis ac ingenii Erasmi" (Ep. 589, l. 5).

Thomas More was quite accurate when he wrote Dorp on 21 October 1515 that the *Moria* had been printed more than seven times.¹³⁴

9. Basel, Johann Froben, [1515], *BB* E. 846–7 (D)

Copies: Harvard University

Oeffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Basel

Facsimile (ed. H. Schmid, Basel, 1931) of the copy illustrated by Holbein

Though F. van der Haeghen in *Bibliotheca Belgica* originally distinguished E. 847 from E. 846 on the grounds that E. 847 was printed with Seneca's *De Morte Claudii* and Synesius' *Caluitii Laus*, he also noted that E. 846 and E. 847 both occur singly or bound with the other two works; and in his *liste sommaire* at the end of vol. XIII, he remarks that the two editions are really not distinct.¹³⁵

The copy-text for this edition was almost certainly Schürer's edition of November 1514 (E. 843). This edition has been dated 1515 primarily because the two works sometimes bound with it are dated March and April 1515; but since the *Moria* may have been issued separately, the date is not certain.

Probably it was to this edition that Beatus Rhenanus was referring when he wrote Erasmus on 17 April 1515 (Ep. 328, ll. 47–48) that of 1800 copies of the *Moria* only 600 remained and that it would be reprinted immediately.

This edition makes about a dozen corrections (most of them easy to make), but

¹³⁴ *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E.F. Rogers, Princeton, 1947, p. 66.

¹³⁵ All the information van der Haeghen gives about the *Moria* in E. 847 agrees exactly with what he says about E. 846, except that in describing the title page of E. 847 he erroneously omits a line-division mark after 'q̄' and gives a slightly different line-division in the incipit of Listrius' dedicatory letter. Of E. 846 he has seen only the copy in the Royal Library at Brussels (which informed me in October, 1964, that they no longer have the copy from which van der Haeghen described E. 846); of E. 847 he has seen only the copy at the University of Ghent, but he says that it agrees with the copy illustrated by Holbein in the Museum at Basel. The three copies I have listed above agree exactly, except that in the Harvard copy the two subsidiary works (preceded by a general title page naming all three works) are bound *after* the *Moria*. On sig. 14^r of the copy illustrated by Holbein (ed. H. Schmid, Basel, 1931), Myconius concluded an account of a fracas with some hunters by giving the year of the event as 1515.

it also repeats even more errors from E. 843. The phrase "quis haereticus" has been added at p. 154, l. 466, probably by Erasmus himself, who was in touch with Froben while this edition was being printed. In fact, Erasmus wrote part of the Listrius commentary, which appeared for the first time in this edition (Allen, introd. Ep. 495; Ep. 2615, ll. 171-180).

Relieved by the commentary from the task of translating Greek phrases in the margins, this edition adds 54 new sidenotes, many of which display a special interest in rhetorical technique (for example, pp. 72, l. 33; 76, ll. 78-81; 82, l. 220-83, l. 223; 96, ll. 443-444; 106, l. 614; 148, l. 415). In particular, some of these added sidenotes mark off the oratorical parts of Folly's speech according to Quintilian's divisions of the oration and the Aphthonian scheme for the divisions of the epideictic speech.¹³⁶ The sidenotes are particularly effective because the margins are not cluttered with translations of Greek or tags referring to the commentary.

Froben's claim on the title page that this edition was "ex ipsius autoris archetypis diligentissime restitutus" was borrowed directly from Schürer's title page. Nevertheless, the claim is probably true. Less well known than the marginal drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger is a single charcoal illustration of the *Moria* stemming from Leiden (c. 1520-1530) and now in the Nationalmuseum at Stockholm.¹³⁷

10. Basel, Johann Froben, [end of 1516], BB E. 848 (E)

Copy: Yale University Library

It is clear that the copy-text for this edition was either Schürer's edition of November 1514 (E. 843) or Froben's own 1515 edition (E. 846-7), probably the latter since E. 843 lacks the Listrius commentary (which appears in this edition and in E. 846-7) and since this edition reproduces almost all of the sidenotes which appeared for the first time in E. 846-7. According to van der Haeghen (who relies on Bernoulli), the title page border and initials show that this edition could not be earlier than the end of 1516. The two works which precede the *Moria* (*De Morte Claudii* and *Caluitii Laus*) have an independent series of signatures, but

¹³⁶ See pp. 74, ll. 59-61; 76, l. 90; 78, ll. 112, 123-124; 82, ll. 186, 191, 195, 198, 202, 204. On Quintilian's and Aphthonius' patterns in the *Moria*, see H.H. Hudson, *The Praise of Folly*, Princeton, 1941, pp. xiv-xvi, 129-142; W. Kaiser, *Praisers of Folly*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, pp. 35-50, and J. Chomar, *L' 'Eloge de la Folie' et Quintilien*, II. 2 (1972), pp. 77-82.

¹³⁷ In the top half of the picture, Folly, seated on a throne and facing the viewer, lectures her audience. She wears no cap and bells but her spectacles (according to E. Panofsky) could be recognized as a mark of folly. In the lower half of the drawing is her audience, composed of some of the social types she exposes but also including (at the left) Erasmus himself. A banderole beside Folly suggests that the drawing might have been a design for a title page. See *Tekeningen uit het Nationalmuseum te Stockholm: Collectie van Graaf Tessin (1695-1770) Gezant van Zweden bij het Franse Hof* by Per Bjurström, Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, 1970-1971, No. 68, pp. 43-44. On Holbein's drawings see Betty Radice, *Holbein's marginal illustrations to the Praise of Folly*, Erasmus in English, No. 7 (1975), pp. 7-17. Holbein's marginal drawings seem to have been influenced by the illustrations in the edition of Brant's *Narrenschiff* printed in 1507 at Basel (S. Colton-Gevaert, *La Nef des Fous et l'Eloge de la Folie*, Bulletin du Vieux Liège, 7 (1969), pp. 417-426).

the *Moria* (with the commentary) and the letter to Dorp are combined in one series (a1–z4^v, A1–C6, with page z4^v ending in the middle of the letter). Hence, since the letter was not available before 1515, this edition of the *Moria* was almost surely not set before late in 1515. Moreover, since this edition provided the copy-text for Froben's edition dated November 1517, it must have been printed before that date.

On 17 June 1516 Johann Froben wrote Erasmus: "Imprimam tanta cura Moriam tuam vt in illa impressione meipsum vicisse merito dici queam" (Ep. 419, ll. 15–16). But Erasmus was informed in September 1516 that the *Moria* was not yet printed because a military expedition against Lorraine had prevented Froben from obtaining good paper (Ep. 469, ll. 4–6). Late in September 1516, Erasmus learned that the *Moria* was almost finished, though Beatus Rhenanus had delayed the printing somewhat because he wished to add to it his Latin translation of Gryllus (Ep. 473, ll. 18–21). Yet Erasmus wrote to More on 1 March 1517: "Moriam in dies expectamus" (Ep. 543, l. 11).

This correspondence shows Erasmus' interest in this edition. For it he also revised his apologetic letter to Dorp in defense of the *Moria* (Ep. 337), which had been written in May 1515 and published in Louvain the following October (Allen, introd. Ep. 337).

This is the first edition to print not only the letter to Dorp but also the last long passage added to the *Moria* (p. 140, ll. 270–283).¹³⁸ Eleven whole sidenotes and a rhetorical comment added to a note in *D* (p. 178, l. 872) appear for the first time in this edition. Two of the added sidenotes call attention to comic anecdotes about theological absurdities (p. 164, ll. 601, 611). One of the new sidenotes, however, makes a very guarded and precise comment on the "folly" of the sacraments (p. 192, l. 217), and another (p. 174, l. 806) sounds a defensive note for the first time in the marginal glosses.

In keeping with Froben's claim on the title page that this edition is "pro castigatissimo castigatius", it contains many smaller additions and corrections, of a refinement which suggests that they were made by Erasmus himself. The corrections are of different sorts: some polish grammar or style, some clarify or sharpen ideas. This edition also introduces a few new errors, particularly the omission of "partim... regno est" (p. 192, l. 242) and "Mariae" for "Moriae" (p. 193, l. 257).

11. Basel, Johann Froben, November 1517, *BB* E. 849

Copy: Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York

This is a page-for-page reprint of Froben's 1516 edition (E. 848), except that in this edition the series of signatures is continuous from *De Morte Claudii* and

¹³⁸ This passage was probably intended to mock, gently, the grammatical fanaticism of Thomas Linacre (1460?–1524) who became physician to Henry VIII in 1510. When Erasmus wrote the first version of the *Moria* in 1509, Linacre was not yet 50, but when the passage was added (1516) he was about 57, not far from 'sexagenarium' (p. 140, l. 273). See *DNB* XI, 1148.

Caluitii Laus through the *Moria* (with the Listrius commentary) to Erasmus' letter to Dorp. This edition corrects at least ten mistakes in the copy-text, but the corrections are rather obvious and would not have required the hand of Erasmus himself. It also introduces at least fifteen new errors and misprints of its own.

12. Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, December 1517, *BB E.* 850

Copy: Harvard University Library

This is a page-for-page (and usually line-for-line) reprint of Schürer's edition of November 1514 (E. 843), with which it shares at least four errors not found in any other edition. But it has been supplemented by the addition of a long passage (p. 140, ll. 270–283) found heretofore only in Froben's editions of 1516 and 1517 (E. 848 and E. 849).¹³⁹ In fact, this whole edition, though it was set from a copy of E. 843, was corrected throughout (in at least forty places) against a copy of E. 848,¹⁴⁰ though the corrector failed to include at least twenty changes or corrections made in E. 848. He did make one correction in a slightly different way than E. 848 ("incesserit", p. 172, l. 773) and made one independent correction ("scripserit", p. 140, l. 299); but he also introduced at least ten new errors, and there is no reason to believe that Erasmus had any hand in this edition.

Erasmus was almost accurate when he wrote on 2 January 1518 that the *Moria* had been printed more than twelve times (Ep. 749, ll. 9–10).

13. Florence, heirs of Fillippo Giunta, 1518, *BB E.* 851

Copy: Bodleian Library

The copy-text for this edition was Aldus' edition of 1515 (E. 845).¹⁴¹ Well over fifty misprints or omissions appear for the first time in this edition.

14. Paris, Josse Bade van Assche, 31 May 1519, *BB E.* 852¹⁴²

Copy: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

The copy-text for this edition was clearly one of two Froben editions: 1516 (E. 848) or 1517 (E. 849) – very probably the latter.¹⁴³ This edition includes everything printed in the Froben editions and adds, for the first time, Dorp's letter to Erasmus (Ep. 304). It is a very carefully printed edition: it introduces only five new errors and makes at least three intelligent corrections. Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that Erasmus himself had anything to do with it.

¹³⁹ In gatherings e and f, the compositor carefully prepared to add this passage of about 19 lines; he returned as soon as possible to the page-for-page correspondence with E. 843.

¹⁴⁰ That the edition was corrected against E. 848 rather than E. 849 is suggested by the fact that it reproduces two errors found only in E. 848. For an explanation of why Schürer resorted to this unusual procedure see C. H. Miller, *Some Unusual Printer's Copy Used for Early Sixteenth-century Editions of Erasmus' Encomium Moriae*, SB 25 (1972), p. 139.

¹⁴¹ Though the Florentine printer included the same number of pages as Aldus, he spread out the text so as to avoid leaving pages blank (as Aldus had done).

¹⁴² This edition is also fully described by Renouard, *Bibliographie ... de Josse Badius Ascensius III*, p. 254.

¹⁴³ It shares with E. 849 at least three errors not found elsewhere.

15. Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, June 1519, *BB E.* 853

Copy: Royal Library, Copenhagen

This is a page-for-page reprint of Schürer's edition of December 1517 (E. 850, with which it shares at least three errors not found elsewhere), but it has been rather thoroughly corrected by comparison with one of two Froben editions – 1516 (E. 848) and 1517 (E. 849) – or perhaps from Badius' 1519 edition (E. 852) – since it contains at least six corrections found only in those three editions and not likely to have been made independently. On the other hand, not all the changes made in these three editions appear in this one. This edition also introduces over twenty new errors.

16. Basel, Johann Froben, November 1519, *BB E.* 854

Copy: Bodleian Library

The copy-text for this edition was one of two Froben editions – 1516 (E. 848) and 1517 (E. 849), probably the latter.¹⁴⁴ In two places this edition agrees with E. 848 against E. 849: “portoria” instead of “portitoria” (p. 174, l. 806) and “fecerit” instead of “fecit” (p. 185, l. 48). These must be looked on as deliberate changes (probably independent of E. 848) made by someone who prepared the text for press. “Portoria” is a far more common word than “portitoria” and might be thought to fit the context better. This same person made seven other changes and corrections which required a good understanding of the text, though not all of them may be justified. These changes were probably made in the copy before the type was set, since the compositor made at least nine careless errors and three omissions (“eam literam”, p. 164, l. 619, “dum”, p. 174, l. 806, “mei”, p. 178, l. 867) which the corrector would probably have caught if he had read proof. There is no reason to believe that Erasmus himself was responsible for any of the changes made in the edition. Froben himself, on the title page claims only that this edition was “pro castigatissimo castigatus”, not that it was corrected by Erasmus.

17. Cologne, Servais Krufter (Servatus Cruphtanus), 1520, *BB E.* 855

Copy: Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek, Cologne

The copy-text for this edition was Schürer's edition of June 1519 (E. 853) – it reproduces several errors and omissions found only in E. 853. It also makes several rather easy corrections of the copy-text. At p. 168, l. 691 it makes an intelligent (though “false”) correction of the misprint (“eset” for “cesset”) in the copy-text, changing it to “erret”; hence we may be fairly sure that Erasmus himself did not make any corrections in this edition. It omits the Hebrew letter (p. 164, l. 620) and word (p. 186, l. 61), presumably for lack of the font, since it leaves space for them. Apart from over forty careless errors, two additions, three trans-

¹⁴⁴ Its signatures agree exactly with E. 849. Moreover, wherever there is a slight difference between the page-endings of E. 848 and those of E. 849, this edition always agrees exactly with E. 849. It also produces an error found only in E. 849 and prints three side notes (p. 90, l. 332; p. 136, l. 212; p. 172, l. 780) found in E. 849 but not in E. 848.

positions, and four omissions of single words, this edition also omits two larger passages: “meas... et” (p. 188, ll. 138–139) and “superbiae... minus” (p. 192, l. 216).

18. Deventer, Albert Pafraet, March 1520, *BB E.* 856, *NK* 832

Copy: Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek, Cologne

The copy-text for this edition was Schürer's edition of November 1514 (E. 843) – it reproduces ten errors and one omission found only in E. 843. The concluding formula in this edition is “Finis Moriae, in Gratiam Mori”, which is to be found in E. 838–842 and E. 844, but not in E. 843 (which has “ΜΟΡΙΑΣ ἘΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ Foeliciter absolutum”). The printer probably chose the other formula (it is not possible to say from which edition) in order to avoid the Greek capitals. The Greek font revealed in the rest of the work is crude (without breathings, accents, or abbreviations) and has no capitals.

This old-fashioned black-letter edition is not well printed. Only one of the errors in E. 843, an easy one, is corrected. Blank spaces are left for the Hebrew letter and word. Besides many mistakes in the Greek (particularly epsilon for eta), there are many careless errors: three of omission, one of addition, and about 37 other typographical errors.

19. Venice, Georgio di Rusconi, 23 March 1520, *BB E.* 857

Copy: Bibliotheek der Gemeente Rotterdam

The copy-text for this edition was clearly the Florentine edition of 1518 (E. 851). It reproduces at least 44 errors and omissions found only in E. 851. It is badly printed, making 68 new errors and 10 new omissions of its own. At only one place does it make an obvious correction of an error in E. 851.

The Florentine copy-text has signatures A–F⁸G⁴. This edition gradually spreads the text to fill out A–G³. Perhaps one reason why Georgio di Rusconi set from the 1518 Florentine edition instead of the 1515 Venetian edition (Aldine) was that the Florentine edition had a more advantageous distribution of print over its pages (leaving no blank pages as the Aldine edition had). The text of the Florentine edition was, of course, more corrupt than the Aldine. Georgio di Rusconi may also have chosen the Florentine edition because it was later (and hence, presumably better) or because he was not allowed to copy an Aldine text in Venice.

20. Schlettstadt, Lazare Schürer, November 1520, *BB E.* 858

Copy: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.¹⁴¹

The copy-text for this edition was clearly Matthias Schürer's edition of June 1519 (E. 853), as is shown by several errors found only in this edition and E. 853.

¹⁴¹ The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (*Catalogue général des livres imprimés*, XLVII, p. 835, no. 545, 4^oy² 5591), listed as without place or date because the colophon is lacking, belongs to this edition.

Though this edition makes about twelve errors of its own, it is remarkably well printed. Someone has gone over the copy-text with some care, making at least 23 corrections. None of these would have required the hand of Erasmus himself, and all of them could have been made by an intelligent corrector. But a few of them suggest that the corrector availed himself of another edition (as Matthias Schürer himself had done when he set E. 853 from E. 850, corrected against E. 848, E. 849, or E. 852). Two words missing in the copy-text have been supplied and in one place the Greek has been corrected. If another edition was employed to correct the copy-text, it was probably E. 852, possibly E. 848 or E. 849. Though this edition omits the Hebrew letter and word, leaving blank spaces for them, the Greek is printed with unusual care and neatness.

21. [Paris], Jehan Lalyseau, [between July 1512 and c. 1520]

Copies: Bibliothèque Municipale de Reims¹⁴⁶

University Library at Louvain¹⁴⁷

The copy-text for this edition was Badius' edition of 26 July 1512 (E. 841), with which it shares eight errors, one omission, two extra words, and a series of eleven repeated words not found in any other edition.¹⁴⁸ This edition, in which the type is crabbed and crowded, is very badly printed: it omits twelve words, adds two, and introduces well over 200 errors and misprints. All that can be said about its date is that it was certainly printed after its copy-text and before No. 22 (c. 1520), for which it provided the copy-text.

22. [Mainz or Cologne (?), printer unknown, c. 1520]

Copy: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris¹⁴⁹

The copy-text of this edition was No. 21, with which it shares twelve omissions, two added words, and well over 100 errors not found in any other edition.

¹⁴⁶ A50319/Res. P. 811. In this copy two leaves (Aa1 and Aa8) are lacking.

¹⁴⁷ Res. 3A 20852. This copy once belonged to the collection of Henri Omont and was acquired by the University Library at Louvain in 1948.

¹⁴⁸ The title page is as follows: [in gothic type] Moriae Encomium Erasmi | Roterodami declamatio: | nuper ab eo recognita. [printer's device: under an arch, before a tree with two birds, a shield supported by two griffins and containing the letters J L with a trefoil knot]. The signatures are Aa8 Bb4 Cc8 Dd4. F^{vo} xvi, xviii, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv are misnumbered xiiij., xx., xxiiij, xxiiij, xxi, and xxvi. Aa1 contains the title page, Aa1^v Erasmus' prefatory letter to More, and Aa2-Dd4 the Encomium itself. In this edition Moria's speech occupies 46 pages, four less than its copy-text. Though it follows its copy-text almost line for line, it gains four pages because its pages contain 40 lines each, three more than in the copy-text. On B4^v the Reims copy has 'canu meulatus', whereas the Louvain copy has 'canmu eiulatus'. But this discrepancy was almost surely not a stop-press correction, since the edition is carelessly printed and a complete collation of both copies shows no other differences. Perhaps the two letters were pulled out by the inking ball and reinserted incorrectly (or correctly).

¹⁴⁹ *Catalogue général des livres imprimés*, XLVII, p. 835, no. 542 [Res. Y². 943]. The title page is as follows: [within a border resembling No. 64 in Johnson, *German Renaissance Title-borders*], MORI// AE ENCOMIUM | Erasmi Roterodami declamatio nuper | ab eo recognita. The signatures are Aa8 Bb4 Cc8 Dd6. Aa1 contains the title page, Aa1^v-Aa2 Erasmus' prefatory letter to More, and Aa2-Dd6^v the Encomium itself.

Since both No. 21 and No. 22 derive from E. 841 and since neither is dated, it is necessary to discover some indications of which one is prior to the other. The amplest evidence that No. 22 was set from No. 21 is provided by 28 places where words omitted in No. 22 (many of them not easy to restore) appear in No. 21. The priority of No. 21 is confirmed by two places where No. 22 has falsely “corrected” errors in No. 21: “bec” (for “nec”) in No. 21 becomes “heç” in No. 22 (p. 166, l. 644), and “progenuit ñ cerebro” (for “progenuit non e cerebro”) in No. 21 becomes “progenuit tñ [tamen] cerebro” in No. 22 (p. 76, l. 103).¹⁵⁰

Although this edition makes at least 31 easy corrections of errors in its copy-text, it is nevertheless very badly printed: it adds four words, omits 37, and introduces at least 180 errors and misprints.

At one place (p. 179, ll. 909–910) the editor or printer seems to have deliberately changed Erasmus’ words in order to allude to a current *cause célèbre*, the quarrel between Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn. Where Erasmus wrote “fortasse magis conueniet optare, vt... Scoti anima paulisper ex sua Sorbona in meum peccatus demigret”, this edition substitutes “Gingolphi” for “Scoti” and “coquina” for “Sorbona”. “Gingolphus Lignipercussoris” was the fictitious name of a reactionary theologian at Cologne, probably imaginary rather than real, to whom letter XXXII in the first part of *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (1515)¹⁵¹ was assigned and who figures in a sequel to the *Epistolae: Ex obscurorum virorum salibus cribratus dialogus, non minus eruditionis, quam macaronices amplectens; in quo introducuntur Colonienses theologi tres, Ortuinus, Gingolphus, Lupoldus*,¹⁵² tres item celebres viri, Johannes Reuchlin,

¹⁵⁰ The signatures of No. 22 are Aa8 Bb4 Cc8 Dd6. The verso of the title page (Aa1^v) contains the prefatory letter to More, set in gothic type somewhat smaller than the roman type of the rest of the volume. The letter is very crowded and three lines of it run over onto Aa2^r. It omits all Greek words, leaving no spaces for them. Errors in the letter do not pinpoint its source, but it represents the same unrevised stage of the letter as is found in E. 841. Moria’s speech occupies 50 pages, four more than its copy-text (No. 21). Though E. 841, the ultimate source of both No. 21 and No. 22, also devotes 50 pages to Moria’s speech, there is no page-for-page or line-for-line correspondence among any of the three editions.

¹⁵¹ *Vlrichi Hutteni Equitis Operum Supplementum. Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum cum inlustrantibus adversariisque scriptis*, ed. Edouard Böcking, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1864–69, II, pp. 1–2. In his commentary, Böcking explains ‘Lignipercussoria’ as ‘Holzhauer’ or ‘Holzhacker’ but does not try to identify Gingolphus, nor does he include Gingolphus in his list of real persons named in the *Epistolae* (II, pp. 592 and 287–288).

¹⁵² *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books*, London, 1961, identifies this person as Lupoldus de Egloffstein, bishop of Bamberg (XC, p. 757 and LX, pp. 74–75). Although the Lupoldus (Leopold) who was bishop of Bamberg wrote two works that were published several times in the sixteenth century (one of them printed by Matthias Schürer in 1508 and both edited by Jacob Wimpfeling), the bishop died in 1343 (*NDB*, IV, p. 340). Hence it seems unlikely that the Lupoldus designated on the title page of the dialogue as a contemporary theologian of Cologne should be identified with a fourteenth-century bishop of Bamberg. Letter XXXVII in *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* is by Lupoldus Federfusus. In his commentary, Böcking explains ‘Federfuschser’ (II, p. 607) but makes no attempt to identify him with a real person, nor does Lupoldus appear in Böcking’s list of real persons named in the *Epistolae* (II, pp. 287–288). In the dialogue itself (I, p. 307) Gingolphus mentions that as a young man he studied at Deventer. Böcking suggests that Lupoldus and Gingolphus might be Belgian because they praise old teachers of theirs (unknown to Böcking) who have French-sounding names (I, p. 308). ‘Ortuinus’ refers to Ortuinus Gratus, to whom the *Epistolae* were addressed.

Des. Erasmus, Iacobus Faber de rebus a se recenter factis disceptantes.¹⁵³ This work was perhaps written by Marcus Borsius and was printed "Apud antipodas" [Mainz (?), 1519 (?)].¹⁵⁴ That Gingolphus should be summoned from his "coquina" rather than from the Sorbonne may be intended simply to degrade him to the level of a scullion. But if we consider "coquina" in the context of the frequent jokes in the *Epistolae* about the sexual escapades of theologians, "coquina" might well be taken to mean not "kitchen" but "prostitute, concubine".¹⁵⁵

Thus this edition of the *Moria*, though it is textually worthless, has some interest because it shows how easy it was in the minds of Erasmus' contemporaries to connect the *Moria* with the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*.¹⁵⁶

The tentative date 1520 for this edition is suggested not only by the reference to Gingolphus, but also by the title-border, which is imitated from one used by Johann Schöffner at Mainz in his 1520 edition of Terence.¹⁵⁷

23. Strasbourg, Johann Knoblauch, 1521, BB E. 859

Copy: Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, except sigs. A7–A7^v, which were lacking in this copy and were supplied by a xerox of these two pages from the copy in the Bibliotheek der Gemeente Rotterdam

This edition was clearly set from a composite copy-text: Aldus' 1515 edition (E. 845) up to a turning-point on sig. E8^v and Schürer's 1517 edition (E. 850) thereafter. Before the turning-point this edition reproduces errors found only in E. 845 (or its derivatives); after this point it reproduces errors found only in E. 850. In fact, up to the turning-point this edition is printed line-for-line (not page-for-page) from E. 845;¹⁵⁸ afterwards the line-for-line correspondence disappears.

There was a good reason for the compositor to change his copy-text at the turning-point. Up to this point the passages to be added to the Aldine edition

¹⁵³ Böcking has edited the dialogue (I, pp. 301–316). He also describes fully the first two editions and a third edition with a title-border bearing the date 1519 (and perhaps printed by Hans Weysenburger or Hans Wagner in Augsburg; II, pp. 109–110). The dialogue was reprinted in two editions of *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* published in 1556 and described by Böcking (II, pp. 9–10).

¹⁵⁴ *British Museum Catalogue*, XC, p. 757. Robert Proctor (*An Index of German Books 1501–1520 in the British Museum*, 2nd ed., London, 1954, p. 173) assigns this book to Cologne rather than Mainz, but both he and Georg W. Panzer (*Annales Typographici*, Nürnberg, 1798, reprint Hildesheim, 1963, IX, pp. 119–120) agree that the date was about 1519.

¹⁵⁵ See 'coquinus' and 'coquilla' in Du Cange (II, p. 556) and 'coquine' in Emile Littré (*Dictionnaire de la Langue Française*, Paris, 1876, I, pp. 804–805). The association with French usage is relevant because (as Böcking notes) the dialogue contains many Gallicisms – so many that Böcking suggests it might have been written in Belgium or perhaps even in Louvain. 'Coquina' does not appear in Böcking's *Index Verborum* of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (II, pp. 157–287).

¹⁵⁶ See Francis G. Stokes' edition of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (London, 1925), pp. xlix–l, and Ep. 363, ll. 1–8.

¹⁵⁷ Alfred Forbes Johnson, *German Renaissance Title-borders*, London, 1929, no. 64. See also Heinrich Grimm, *Deutsche Buchdruckersignete des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden, 1965, p. 297.

¹⁵⁸ With slight variances when a short passage has to be added from E. 850 or when the compositor wishes to make a more even distribution of type within the lines than the Aldine compositor managed.

are short, usually not more than a line or two.¹⁵⁹ But afterwards the added passages become much longer, so that it became easier to take the longer form (E. 850) as copy-text. One may ask why the printer did not take E. 850 as the copy-text from the beginning, since he corrected and amplified E. 845 to conform with it. The reason was primarily his convenience. He intended to produce an imitation of an Aldine text, using italic print and a format like that of the famous Venetian printer. In fact, he specifically adverts to his Aldine pretensions in a notice on the verso of the title page. Setting line-for-line from the Aldine edition enabled him to cast off his copy rather easily, but only so long as the additions were not lengthy.

His whole Aldine ruse was probably designed to help him meet the competition of Matthias Schürer, who had already printed five editions of the *Moria*. Schürer had been associated with the *Moria* almost from the beginning of its publishing history; and one of his editions (E. 843) made important additions and revisions. In fact, one of his editions (E. 842) had been used by Aldus himself as the basis of E. 845.

Most of the additions and changes in the Aldine copy-text must have been written in the margins, as is shown by an error made by Knobloch's compositor at p. 92, l. 371. There we find in this edition, among the side-notes, the phrase 'certare συμπεριφοραῖς'. Whereas this phrase was actually an addition to be introduced in the Aldine copy-text from E. 850, the compositor mistook it for a marginal note. In at least two places, this method of marginal addition has resulted in imperfect or partial correction, producing a combination of the earlier and later forms of the text. In his preface Knobloch strikes a conscientious pose by making a correction at the top of page 11, changing it from the E. 845 to the E. 850 reading, but he had actually failed to change the E. 845 reading in many other places.¹⁶⁰

This edition also introduces over thirty new errors, though it does correct its copy-text at least twice. This may be the earliest example of the cavalier handling of the text of the *Moria*. Erasmus' text was to suffer more than once from a one-sided concern for 'elegance' of appearance and format.

24. Basel, Johann Froben, October 1521, BB E. 860 (F)

Copy: Harvard University Library

The copy-text for this edition was clearly Froben's edition of November 1519 (E. 854) – it reproduces at least five variant readings found only in E. 854. This is the first edition to print an index.

This edition was printed with extraordinary care. Not only does it make very

¹⁵⁹ With the exception of p. 140, ll. 270–283, which may have shown the printer the difficulties he would face if he tried to continue with E. 845 as his copy-text.

¹⁶⁰ All the side-notes he printed can be found either in E. 845 or E. 850, though he does not print all the side-notes of either one but seems to choose them pretty much at random. The choice of side-notes does not correspond to the division of the copy-text.

few errors of its own (perhaps no more than five), but it also corrects almost all the errors and misprints in E. 854, even supplying the four words omitted in that edition.

One reading shows just how careful and knowledgeable the corrector was. At p. 118, ll. 910–911 all editions before E. 854 had the reading “huic insano nomen ponunt”, but in E. 854 “ponunt” became “imponunt” (probably by a failure of memory on the compositor’s part). Though “imponunt” makes perfect sense and is a common word in this sense, the corrector of E. 860 realized that Erasmus’ original phrase was an allusion to Horace (*Serm.* II, 3, 47–8): “qui tibi nomen insano posuere”. Hence he restored “ponunt” for “imponunt”. This is not the sort of change a compositor is likely to make, nor would he normally have been able to restore the words omitted in E. 854. The corrector of E. 860 need not have been Erasmus himself, but his work deserves careful consideration. Some of the new readings might be slips on the compositor’s part, and one of them (“voluit”, p. 90, l. 337) is almost certainly an error. But the addition of “esse” (p. 76, l. 78) was probably not accidental. Moreover, this corrector sometimes lends his authority to changes made for the first time in E. 854 (“alligatumque” for “illigatumque”, p. 190, l. 160) or which E. 854 had taken from its copy-text (“Mariae” for “Moriae”, p. 193, l. 257). If he had thought these readings wrong, he would probably have restored the original readings (as he did, for example, at p. 174, l. 806, where he changed the “portoria” of E. 854 to the original “portitoria”).

This edition adds two sidenotes (p. 74, l. 58 and p. 130, l. 86), modifies one (p. 72, ll. 36–37), and corrects one (p. 136, ll. 201–202). It also omits a few sidenotes found in its copy-text. But the major change in the sidenotes is the addition of a large number of notes, usually single words, referring not to the text but to the commentary. These sidenotes, which are printed in the same italic typeface as the sidenotes referring to the text, clutter up the margins so that the sidenotes no longer serve effectively as rhetorical or structural markers. The sidenotes referring to the commentary are in accord with the function of the “index commentariorum”: they shift attention from the *Moria* as an integral literary work to a text with commentary which can be used as a storehouse of allusions and proverbs, a sort of *Adagia* in miniature.

On the title page of this edition, Froben claims only that it was “pro castigatissimo castigatus”, not that Erasmus himself revised it.

On 13 June 1522 Erasmus wrote that over 20,000 copies of the *Moria* had been printed (*LB IX*, 360 C–D and Allen, *Op. Ep.* IV, appendix XV, p. 622). No doubt Erasmus chose a round number, which may have been rhetorically equivalent to “very many”. But if the 1800 copies printed of E. 846–7 (*Ep.* 328, ll. 47–48) can be taken as a usual or average number for an edition, Erasmus’ estimate was quite conservative, for 24 editions would produce over twice as many copies as he claims.

25. Strasbourg, Johann Knoblauch, 1522, BB E. 861

Copy: Bibliotheek der Universiteit, Ghent¹⁶¹

This is a page-for-page and line-for-line reprint¹⁶² of Knoblauch's edition of 1521 (E. 859). But this edition has corrected its copy-text in at least 65 places, sometimes correcting careless slips which E. 859 had made independently, but more often continuing the process begun in E. 859, which was printed from a copy of E. 845 (for the first part) corrected against E. 850. Thus this edition continues to correct its copy-text against E. 850.¹⁶³ Many of the corrections introduced into this edition would not necessarily have required any other text, but some clearly would have, particularly where a word not essential to the sense had been omitted in the copy-text but is supplied by this edition.

The corrector of this edition was not very alert or learned. I can find only two true corrections that were made independently of E. 850 (and they are not very difficult). In at least twelve places corrections available in E. 850 have been overlooked. Moreover, this edition introduces at least 27 errors and three omissions of its own. Certainly it does not live up to the printer's boast that Folly now appears "imaculatio, nitidior iam denuo hoc caractere excusa" (sig. A1^v).

26. Basel, Johann Froben, July 1522, BB E. 862 (G)

Copy: Harvard University Library

The copy-text for this edition was Froben's edition of October 1521 (E. 860). Froben's claim that this edition was "nunc postremum ab ipso autore religiose recognitum" is very probably true. It adds 46 words to the copy-text, mostly single words or phrases of two or three words; but it adds one whole clause (p. 120, l. 923) and a complete sentence on the sensitive subject of good works and grace (p. 152, l. 447–p. 154, l. 448). It also makes at least four corrections, three of them (p. 104, l. 580; p. 120, l. 930; p. 193, l. 256) to provide correctness and polish, and one (p. 170, l. 717) to qualify Erasmus' attack on noblemen and make it less vulnerable to censure. The added "aliqua" at p. 189, l. 142 was designed to make Folly's religious paradox less open to the charge of blasphemy (see also Ep. 337, l. 525 sqq., the note on p. 191, ll. 156–158 and the Listrius commentary on p. 193, l. 232).

This edition, however, is badly printed. Four sidenotes are omitted (p. 82, ll. 195–198; p. 138, l. 230; p. 176, l. 841), one is slightly changed (p. 170, l. 739), and one word is omitted from another sidenote (p. 96, l. 474). The edition introduces at least 44 new errors, so that it is necessary to distinguish Erasmus' changes from the printer's mistakes. P. Bietenholz remarks: "When in 1522 he [Er.] decided to

¹⁶¹ The copy in the University of Chicago Library lacks gathering F.

¹⁶² Except for the prefatory letter to More (A2–A3^v). On 13 pages the compositor of E. 861 made some adjustments in order to gain a line, reducing the 28 lines of the copy-text to the usual 27. He also gained some space in order to transfer the colophon from the verso to the recto of 118.

¹⁶³ That the printer drew his corrections from E. 850 rather than from some other edition is shown by two false 'corrections' in E. 861 which are found only in E. 850.

go back to Basle one obvious reason was his determination to prevent henceforward what seemed to him undesirable and mismanaged publications of his own works by the press of Froben" (*Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century*, Toronto and Buffalo, 1971, pp. 38–39).

27. Mainz, Johann Schoeffer, 1522, BB E. 863

Copy: Archives départementales du Haut-Rhin, Colmar, France¹⁶⁴

The copy-text for this edition was Lazare Schürer's edition of November 1520 (E. 858), as is shown by at least ten common errors not found elsewhere. Although this edition makes at least 28 new errors (mostly minor typographical errors), it has corrected its copy-text at seven or eight places. Most of these are easy corrections; but the restoration of "si" at p. 136, l. 209 and the correction of "esset" to "cesset" at p. 168, l. 691 were not obvious changes and might well have come from consulting another edition. At p. 193, l. 257 "Moriae" has been wrongly changed to "Mariae". Two short words have been wrongly added to the copy-text. Like its copy-text this edition omits the Hebrew word and letter; but unlike its copy-text it leaves a blank space only for the word, not the letter.

28. Cologne, Servais Krufter (Servatus Cruphtanus), 1522

Copy: Bibliotheek der Gemeente Rotterdam (2 H 43)¹⁶⁵

This is a page-for-page and (with slight variations) line-for-line reprint¹⁶⁶ of Krufter's own edition of 1520 (E. 855). It contains at least 26 errors, seven omissions, three transpositions, and three additions found only in E. 855. Although it makes about 20 easy corrections (including one partial and one false "correction"), it also introduces about 45 new errors (including one transposition and three words omitted).

29. Cologne, Johann Heil (Soter), January 1523, BB E. 864

Copy: Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek, Cologne

The copy-text for this edition was clearly Froben's edition of July 1522 (E. 862). It has all the words and phrases added by E. 862 and found only there. More-

¹⁶⁴ The microfilm sent from Colmar was defective, lacking f. 6 r^o (B2^r). Requests for a microfilm of this page have remained unanswered.

¹⁶⁵ *Overzicht van de werken en uitgaven van Desiderius Erasmus aanwezig in de Bibliotheek der Gemeente Rotterdam. Aanvullingen en aanwinsten december 1937–september 1961*, Rotterdam, 1961, No. 1876. I am grateful to Drs. E. van Gulik, former director of the library, for pointing out this edition to me and sending me a microfilm of it. Apart from the italic typeface of the last six words, the title page of this edition agrees exactly with that of E. 855. In quarto format, its gatherings are: A⁸B–D⁴E⁸F–H⁴I⁸K–O⁴. Its contents are: A1 [title page] A1^r–A3 ERASMVS ... THOMAE MORO ... A3–K4 ENCOMIVM MORIAE ... K4–O4 ERASMVS ... MARTINO DORPIO ... The colophon (sig. O4) is: COLONIAE APVD SERVATI-IVM CRVPHTANVM | AN. DOMINI M. | D. XXII.

¹⁶⁶ On F3 the compositor stopped one line short of his copy-text (setting only 28 instead of the normal 29 lines), but he made it up on the two following pages. On I8 he again stopped one line short (though he set the full 29 lines) in order to avoid the excessive crowding found in his copy-text; he made up the loss on the following page.

over, it reproduces at least 17 errors found only in E. 862. Though it corrects the more obvious errors of E. 862, this edition omits four words and makes about 25 errors of its own.

30. Strasbourg, Johann Knobloch, December 1523, *BB E. 865*

Copy: Bodleian Library

This is a page-for-page (not line-for-line) reprint of Knobloch's edition of 1522 (E. 861). It contains at least eight errors found only in E. 861. But it also makes about 20 new errors of its own, including one omission and one added word. Three of these mistakes look as if they might have been not slips but false "corrections". This edition corrects about 35 slips in its copy-text; but it still contains about eight errors passed down from Knobloch's 1521 edition, not caught in his 1522 edition, and not corrected in this edition either. Most of the corrections made in this edition are easy, and perhaps only one might have required consulting another edition. The corrector paid particular attention to the Greek phrases, correcting almost all the careless mistakes of his copy-text and making only two errors of his own in the Greek phrases. One correction of a Greek word is particularly remarkable. At p. 111, l. 745 all previous editions have had "ἀνδρῶν", even though in Listrius and in some marginal notes the reading is "ἀλλῶν". Though the marginal translation in this edition would require "ἀνδρῶν", the text has "ἀλλῶν". This suggests that the corrector either knew his Homer or that he consulted Listrius' commentary (which is not printed in this edition, nor in either of Knobloch's two previous editions, nor in E. 850, which he had used to correct them).

31. Paris, Josse Bade van Assche, 24 June 1524, *BB E. 866*¹⁶⁷

Copy: Boston Public Library

The copy-text for this edition was Badius' edition of June 1519 (E. 852). This edition makes about thirty errors of its own. It also omits four single words and a passage of eight words ("idem sit... differentia qua", p. 150, ll. 428-429). After this last omission "qua" is twice changed to "quo" in order to make the syntax consistent. Some of the other errors are also not the usual printer's blunders, but look like the mistakes of a compositor who understands very well what he is setting but makes slight changes because of a faulty memory of the passage he is retaining in his mind as he sets it. In only one place did he make a correction (an easy one) of his copy-text, which had been very carefully printed.

32. Venice, Bernardino dei Vidali, 1525, *BB E. 867*

Copy: British Museum

This is a page-for-page and line-for-line reprint of the Florentine edition of 1518 (E. 851) – a very close imitation, even to the title page and the register of

¹⁶⁷ This edition is fully described by Renouard, *Bibliographie ... de Josse Badius Ascensius* II, p. 424.

signatures. It introduces at least 26 new errors and was particularly careless in reprinting the Greek phrases. Sometimes, when he was baffled by the ligatures in the Greek in E. 851, the compositor of this edition produced meaningless and even unpronounceable collocations of letters. I have found only two places where this edition makes even obvious corrections of errors in its copy-text.

This edition is the second example (the first is E. 857, di Rusconi, 1520) of a Venetian printer who produced an imitation of Aldus' edition but who chose as his copy-text the Florentine edition rather than the Aldine edition itself. It might be thought that Georgio di Rusconi made this choice simply because the Florentine edition was the latest edition (produced in Italy) but this reasoning does not apply to dei Vidali (since di Rusconi's own edition appeared two years later than the Florentine edition). Hence even allowing for mere chance or haphazard convenience, one may suspect that the imitators chose the Florentine edition as copy-text because the Aldine edition was protected in Venice.¹⁶⁸

33. Cologne, Eucharius Hirtzhorn (Ceruicornus), 1526, *BB* E. 868

Copy: Harvard University Library

The copy-text of this edition was clearly Heil's edition of January 1523 (E. 864). It reproduces 15 errors and omissions found only there.

This edition is, on the whole, very carefully printed, though it omits two words, makes one transposition, and introduces 10 new errors. It corrects 15 rather obvious misprints in its copy-text, but it also seems to make at least one deliberate "correction" which is plausible but not called for. The corrector caught the mistake at p. 141, l. 309 ("nouum" for "nonum"), which required that he recognize a common Horatian tag. In the prefatory letter to More, he made a plausible correction of an error in his copy-text ("his temporis" for "his temporibus") by printing "huius temporis". But two of his changes are peculiar. At p. 111, l. 745 he substituted "ἄλλῶν" for "ἀνδρῶν" – probably a legitimate correction of the Homeric phrase but one found previously only in the text of E. 865. At p. 148, ll. 408–409 he changed "de notionibus, relationibus" (heretofore found only in E. 862 and E. 864) back to the original reading "de instantibus" – almost surely not a justifiable change.

But he need not have consulted any text but E. 864 to make these changes because they could have been deduced from the Listrius commentary (which was printed in E. 864). The tag in the Listrius commentary (in both E. 864 and E. 868) gives "ἄλλῶν", and the note itself gives the translation "aliis". So too the tags for notes in the commentary are "instantibus" and "Formalitatibus & quiditatibus". Since in the text the phrase immediately following the changed reading is "de formalitatibus, de quiditatibus", a corrector could have deduced that the original

¹⁶⁸ See George Putnam, *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, New York, 1897, II, pp. 344–352, 359–360.

reading for “de notionibus, relationibus” must have been merely “de instantibus”, which he then proceeded to restore for the sake of consistency.

34. Lyons, Sebastian Gryphius, [c. 1529],¹⁶⁹ BB E. 869

Copy: Huntington Library, San Marino, California

The copy-text for this edition was Knoblouch’s edition of 1522 (E. 861), but this copy-text was also augmented and corrected (though not completely) by comparison with Froben’s E. 862 (July, 1522), Heil’s E. 864 (Cologne, January 1523), or Hirtzhorn’s E. 868 (Cologne, 26 July 1526).

At several places this edition agrees only with the three editions printed by Knoblouch at Strasbourg (E. 859, E. 861, and E. 865). At p. 170, l. 748, where Folly is berating bishops, this edition inserts “Cardinales” in the text after “faciunt”. In E. 861 and E. 865 the side-note “Cardina.” (which is completely lacking in E. 859) has been displaced upwards so that it occurs in the margin next to the passage devoted to the bishops. Moreover, only in E. 861 does the marginal note “Cardina.” occur in perfect spacing and alignment before the line beginning “belle faciunt”. Hence it is fairly clear that E. 861 was the copy-text.

Nevertheless, Gryphius’ edition also contains most (but not all) of the additions and revisions made only in E. 862 (and its two derivatives, E. 864 and E. 868). It is impossible to say with much certainty which of the three was used by the corrector who prepared E. 861 for the setting of E. 869, because the three editions rarely vary in passages or readings peculiar only to them; but there are some indications that it was either E. 862 or E. 864. At any rate, this edition (which is undated) cannot be earlier than July, 1522 (the date of E. 862).

The correction and augmentation of the copy-text was sporadic and haphazard. Some transpositions were corrected, but at least one was overlooked. The corrector added some words found only in E. 862, E. 864, and E. 868 but failed to make additions in at least four places. He deleted all the words in the copy-text that were not to be found in E. 862, E. 864, and E. 868, even though one of these deletions is clearly erroneous. He made some slight corrections, but missed some small changes and some even more important ones. He adopted some clearly erroneous changes but failed to adopt others – probably through sheer inadvertence. He also omitted three small words and introduced at least 14 errors.

If we ask why Gryphius should have gone to the trouble of setting from one edition and correcting from a later fuller version, instead of setting directly from the later version, the answer is not far to seek, since his reasons were similar to those of Knoblouch, who set the first part of E. 859 from E. 845 but corrected his copy-text against E. 850. Gryphius was printing in italic without the Listrius commentary. But all three of the editions incorporating the latest additions and revisions were set in roman type in pages of quite various sizes and line-lengths

¹⁶⁹ J. and H.L. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, Lyon etc., 1895–1921, reprint Paris, 1964–1965, VIII, p. 38, place this undated edition in 1528 or 1529.

because the commentary was printed as a frame around the text. Since Gryphius found it easier to cast off his copy from regular lines of italic type than from varying lines of roman, he chose the fullest italic edition (one of Knobloch's), passing over dei Vidali's italic text (E. 867), which (though it was later than Knobloch's editions) was far less complete. He then corrected the italic text by comparing it with E. 862 or E. 864, though not very systematically or carefully.

35. Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Bischoff (Episcopus), 1532, *BB* E. 870 (*H*)

Copy: Oeffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Basel

It is certain that the copy-text of this edition was Froben's edition of July 1522 (E. 862) or one of the three editions derived from it (E. 864, E. 868, and E. 869); for it contains at least 21 readings and additions found only in these editions.

It is almost certain that it was set from E. 862 rather than any of the other three, as one might expect even without close comparison, since E. 862 is the only one printed (like E. 870) by the Froben house. This edition prints a few words found only in E. 862 (not in E. 864, E. 868, or E. 869) and not easy to restore merely from the sense of the context. Moreover, this edition prints two errors found in no previous edition except E. 862.

This edition shows revisions in 44 places: 10 additions, four omissions (one of them perhaps merely an oversight of the compositor), and 30 changes. These revisions are usually directed at greater refinement, precision, and correctness of style. Though this edition omits eight sidenotes, it also adds a rather long, defensive sidenote about tithes (p. 174, l. 830) and supplies a word missing from a sidenote in its copy-text (p. 96, l. 474). At one place (p. 136, l. 208) it shifts two sidenotes in an attempt to correct their displacement in *G* by placing them opposite the appropriate places in the text. Since the title page of this edition announces that the work was "per ipsum autorem etiam atque etiam recognita", and since the revisions require a keen eye and a sure hand, it is necessary to assume (in the absence of any evidence to the contrary) that they were made by Erasmus himself. The edition has been very carefully printed and thoroughly corrected: it introduces only five errors of its own, probably fewer than any previous edition.

36. Cologne, Johann Heil (Soter), 1534, *BB* E. 871

Copy: University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

This edition was clearly set from either E. 864 or E. 868 (with which it shares at least 16 errors), almost surely from E. 864 (Heil's previous edition of January 1523). It reproduces three errors found only in E. 864 and also has some readings found in E. 864 and one or more other editions but not in E. 868. Moreover, it has two words omitted in E. 868 and very difficult to restore independently. It makes one wrong addition and 18 errors. It has made three easy corrections and patched up an obvious omission in its copy-text.

37. Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Bischoff (Episcopus), 1540, *BB* E. 872

Copy: Library of the University of Washington, Seattle

This is a page-for-page and line-for-line¹⁷⁰ reprint of the Froben edition of 1532 (E. 870), the last one corrected by Erasmus himself. It reproduces exactly almost all of the numerous corrections, additions, omissions, and transpositions found previously only in the 1532 edition. Moreover, it has at least five errors in common with E. 870 only. Though it includes two or three easy corrections and an added word probably intended as a correction, it also introduces about nine minor errors (and one erroneous omission) of its own. It is handsomely and carefully printed, but it presents no variants that might suggest recourse to an authorial manuscript.

38. Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Bischoff (Episcopus), 1540, *Opera omnia*, IV, pp. 352–89 (sigs. G2^v–K3)

Copy: Harvard University Library

Since this edition reproduces exactly almost all of the many revisions found only in the Froben editions of 1532 (E. 870) and 1540 (E. 872), it is certain that the copy-text for it was one of these two editions. Though we would have expected Froben and Bischoff to set from their most recent edition (E. 872), they apparently returned to the 1532 text, perhaps because that text, the last one corrected by Erasmus himself, had more authority in their eyes than their reprint of it.¹⁷¹

Besides three transpositions, two omitted words, and five minor errors, this edition includes at least four deliberate but false (or unnecessary) corrections.¹⁷² The folio pages, not divided into columns, are imposing and massive, but the apparatus is spartan: not only is the Listrius commentary omitted, but even the marginal notes are limited to subject headings and do not translate the Greek phrases in the text.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Apart from a few slight discrepancies between the line-endings of the two editions, the only notable differences are that on g6^v E. 872 places the commentary next to the gutter margin instead of the outside margin (where it appears in F. 870) and that on l2^v and o3^f E. 872 adds to the text of the *Moria* the catchwords lacking in E. 870.

¹⁷¹ This edition shares at least three errors with E. 870 alone, and none with E. 872. It also prints one ‘*z*’ not in E. 870 and added in E. 872, but this is a rather obvious ‘improvement’ which could have been made independently (it had, in fact, already appeared independently in E. 852). One error in this edition (‘quicque’ for ‘quicquam’) could easily derive from E. 870 (‘quicq̄’), but not very easily from E. 872 (‘quicquā’).

¹⁷² ‘Antoninus’ for ‘Antonius’ (p. 100, l. 505), ‘degunt’ for ‘agunt’ (p. 128, l. 35), ‘ne’ for ‘vt’ (p. 132, l. 152), and ‘conuertant’ for ‘conuertant’ (p. 168, l. 702). At p. 192, l. 250 it restored an ‘est’ wrongly omitted in its copy-text, but inserted it four words later than its original position (after ‘meditatio’ rather than ‘aliud’).

¹⁷³ With one slight exception (‘Patria Moriae’ in this edition, ‘Patria’ in E. 870) all the sidenotes in this edition can be found, word for word, in E. 870. But this edition omits well over half of those in E. 870.

39. Basel, Genathian Press, 1676, *BB* E. 884

Copy: Harvard University Library

This edition is important because it was the first to reproduce the illustrations drawn by Hans Holbein the younger in the margins of a copy of Froben's 1515 edition (E. 846-7).¹⁷⁴ Dedicated to Jean Baptist Colbert, Louis XIV's minister of finance, it was issued with a good deal of prefatory fanfare by its editor, Charles Patin, who had had the drawings copied by William Stettler of Bern and engraved by Casper Merian of Frankfurt (sigs. 24^v-25). In his dedication, Patin claims that, though the *Moria* has been printed about 100 times in the 160 years since it first appeared, his edition will be the chief one because of Colbert's patronage and Holbein's drawings, which he finds quite as enlightening as the learned commentary of Listrius (sigs. 25-25^v).

On his title-page and in his preface, Patin suggests that the text as well as the illustrations were taken from the illustrated copy.¹⁷⁵ But in fact, his text contains many readings, and one long passage (p. 140, ll. 270-283), which do not appear in Froben's 1515 edition. Without collating the eleven editions (*BB* E. 873-E. 883) which appeared between 1540 and 1676, it is not possible to trace the exact stages which led to Patin's text.¹⁷⁶ But a complete collation of his edition clearly shows that the basis of his text was not the final stage of revision (*H*, represented by E. 870, E. 872, and *Opera omnia*, Vol. IV) but rather the second-last stage (*G*, represented by the three Cologne editions E. 864, E. 868, and E. 871). The numerous revisions which first appeared in E. 870 do not appear in Patin's text, and in nine places (including two omissions and three errors) his text agrees with none of the early editions except E. 864, E. 868, and E. 871.¹⁷⁷ At the same time, Patin's edition presents seven variants and two short passages (a total of eight words) which do not appear in the three Cologne editions and which must derive from an even earlier stage of the text than *G*. These seven variants and two passages do appear (though not exclusively) in the edition to which the illustrated copy belongs (E. 846-7), so that a copy-text derived from E. 871 and occasionally corrected against the illustrated copy could have produced Patin's text.

Patin's edition also contains thirteen errors (three of which are quite misleading and difficult to correct), twelve omissions (seventeen words), and one added word - none of which occur in the editions printed before 1540.

¹⁷⁴ A facsimile of this copy, which is preserved at the University Library of Basel, has been edited by H. Schmid (Basel, 1931).

¹⁷⁵ 'Mihi porro reipublicae litterariae bono assiduo intento, e re publica visum est libellum hunc quem pluribus et vtilibus et periuicundum fore perspiciebam, e Bibliotheca Academiae Basiliensis gratioso eius Procerum indultu denuo producere' (sig. 27).

¹⁷⁶ Van der Haeghen was almost certainly wrong when he suggested that E. 880 (Amsterdam, Guillaume Blaeu, 1629) was the source of Patin's text. A spot-check of E. 880 (a microfilm of the copy in the British Museum) shows that, of all the errors, omissions, and peculiar readings of E. 884, E. 880 shares only one with Patin's edition (and that one is an error that could easily have been made independently).

¹⁷⁷ Of the three, E. 871 comes closest to Patin's text, with which it alone shares one error and one omission. Two other readings tend to eliminate E. 868.

40. Leiden, *Opera omnia* (1703), IV, pp. 401–504

Copy: Photographic reprint, Hildesheim, 1962

Although the title-page of this edition announces that it presents Erasmus' works "emendatiora et auctiora, ad optimas editiones, praecipue quas ipse Erasmus postremo curavit, summa fide exacta", the editor J. Clericus notes in his address to the reader at the beginning of the volume (sig. *3) that for *Stultitiae laus* he has followed "exemplar Basileense anni MDCLXXV. cui additae erant notae *Gerardi Listrii* & figurae *Ioannis Holbenii*, praestantissimi pictoris et *Erasmi* amici, qui oculis obiicere voluit, quae *Erasmus* animo descripserat, vt cum eo veluti penicillo suo certaret". Even without this notice, we might have suspected that the source of Clericus' text was Patin's edition of 1676, since Clericus reprinted Patin's preface, a life of Holbein, and a list of Holbein's paintings from the earlier edition.

This edition reproduces the added word and all the omissions and errors found only in Patin's text (1676) except that it corrects two obvious misprints.¹⁷⁸ Apart from one obvious misprint and minor variations in spelling,¹⁷⁹ Clericus' edition presents for the first time two errors, two false "corrections", and two omissions (three words). Misled, probably, by the prestige of Holbein's illustrations, Clericus simply reprinted (albeit rather carefully) Patin's text; hence the Leiden edition, which was the *textus receptus* for 200 years or more, reproduced almost all the errors and omissions of Patin's edition and did not include the last stage of Erasmus' revisions.

41. The Hague, 1898, ed. I. B. Kan, *BB E.* 893

Since the commentary in this handsomely printed edition constitutes the first significant advance beyond the Listrius commentary, which was merely reprinted by Patin and Clericus, Kan's edition has rightfully shared with Clericus' the position of standard text. Unfortunately, Kan did not establish the text with the meticulous care he devoted to the commentary, so that the text he printed suffers from almost the same defects as Clericus'.

In his preface Kan states that he has based his text on the editions of Charles Patin and Wilhelm Becker (Basel, 1780, E. 889) and that he has also had the opportunity to examine a copy of Schürer's 1511 edition (E. 840) in the Rotterdam Library.¹⁸⁰ That Kan did base his text on Patin's edition is confirmed by nine

¹⁷⁸ In one of Listrius' notes (col. 481, note 7) a sentence added by Patin within square brackets was incorporated by Clericus, who printed Patin's sentence without brackets.

¹⁷⁹ Such as 'vt' for 'vti' and 'quidque', 'quidquam', and 'quidquid' instead of the forms beginning 'quic-'.
¹⁸⁰ "Textum, quem dicere solent, constitui talem, qualem ex libro Musei Basileensis in eadem urbe denuo exscribendum curauerunt Typis Genathianis Carolus Patinus, anno 1676 et 104 annis post Guil. Gottl. Beckerus, Typis G. Haas ... Editionem, quae prodiit Argentorati in aedibus Matthiae Schurerii anno 1511, ex Bibliotheca Roterodamensi inspicere mihi licuit" (p. 5 [unnumbered] of the preface). Actually neither Patin nor Becker based the text on the copy illustrated by Holbein. The prestige of the Holbein drawings (which were reproduced in the editions of Clericus, Becker, and Kan) seems to have given Patin's text unwarranted currency.

errors, two omissions (five words), and one added word found in Kan's edition and in Patin's but in no other edition I have collated.¹⁸¹ In fourteen places, however, Kan has correct readings instead of the errors of Patin and Clericus.¹⁸² Nine of these errors he could have corrected independently; two corrections he could have found in the copy of Schürer's 1511 edition he had the chance to inspect; but three of his corrections ("Et" for "Est" at p. 120, l. 927, "ante" for "antea" at p. 190, l. 168, and "odorem" for "ardorem" at p. 192, l. 251)¹⁸³ had to come from some other edition. Moreover, Kan restored eleven words¹⁸⁴ (in nine places) omitted by Patin, Clericus, and Becker. Ten of these words he might have found in the 1511 edition in the Rotterdam Library, but one word ("meritis", p. 162, l. 558) restored by Kan occurs in a passage not added to the *Moria* until 1514. Finally at p. 192, l. 242 Kan omits eight words ("partim... regno est") which do appear in Patin, Clericus, and Becker. Nor is this omission likely to have been merely accidental, since thirteen of the editions printed before 1540 (but not the 1511 edition Kan saw) do in fact omit these same words. At p. 74, ll. 55–56 and p. 88, l. 305 Kan's text matches only the early Italian editions (E. 845, E. 851, E. 857), but this agreement probably sprang fortuitously from the special refinement and care devoted to the Greek phrases by the Aldine corrector and Kan. At p. 90, l. 327 Kan has a plausible variant ("his" for "is" or "ipse") found in no edition before 1540 except E. 862.¹⁸⁵ Apart from four minor misprints, Kan's edition presents one substantial error ("hic" for "hi", p. 146, l. 387) and three omissions ("illam" at p. 76, l. 104, "perinde" at p. 98, l. 492, and "alii" at p. 176, l. 843) which do not occur in the editions of Patin, Clericus, and Becker, nor in any edition printed before 1540.

It would be difficult to say exactly how Kan arrived at his text, but it is clear that his text (like those of Patin, Clericus, and Becker) is based not on the final stage of revision (*H*) but on the second-last stage (*G*).¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ Except those of Clericus and Becker, who reprinted Patin's text. In two places (p. 134, l. 170 and p. 188, l. 124) Kan has restored the word 'qui' omitted in Patin, either because Kan saw that the context required it or because he found it in some other edition. But in both instances he placed the restored word within parentheses. At p. 108, l. 683 in Patin (or Clericus or Becker) Kan found the error 'se' for 'sue' and commented in a footnote: 'Antiquissimae aditiones [sic] praebent *se*, sed cum iam L[istrius] adnotauerit "Quidam edentuli, dentes arte gingiuis insertos habent, non suos, sed forte porci cuiuspian," ... *sue* legendum videtur' (p. 55). This suggests that for Kan the 'antiquissimae editiones' were those of Patin, Clericus, and Becker, since the error 'se' for 'sue' is not found in any edition printed before 1550 (at least not in the copies I have collated).

¹⁸² Becker also reproduces all of these errors except one, which he could easily have corrected independently.

¹⁸³ The first two of these are false 'corrections'.

¹⁸⁴ Without placing them within parentheses. See note 181, above.

¹⁸⁵ Also at p. 154, l. 468 Kan warns in a footnote that 'magum cum mago' – the correct reading which appears in Patin, Clericus and Becker – should not be corrupted to 'magnum cum magno' (p. 122). Among the editions before 1540, only two make this mistake: 'Magnum' appears in E. 869 and 'magno' in E. 862.

¹⁸⁶ There are only two exceptions: at p. 88, l. 310 Kan, like *H*, omits 'quis' and at p. 150, l. 419 he agrees with *H* in adding 'sectas'. But the first of these changes might have been made independently (since 'quis' is rather clearly redundant), and 'sectas' is placed within parentheses, as if Kan felt he were making a peculiar editorial addition. See note 181 above.

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

- A:* ed. pr., [Paris.] Gilles de Gourmont [1511]/[Paris.] Jehan Petit [1511] (*BB* E. 838-839).
B: ed. [Paris.] Iod. Badius, VI cal. Aug. 1512 (*BB* E. 841).
C: ed. Argent., Matth. Schürer, mense Nov. 1514 (*BB* E. 843).
D: ed. [Basil.] Io. Froben [1515] (*BB* E. 846-847).
E: ed. [Basil.] Io. Froben [end of 1516] (*BB* E. 848).
F: ed. Basil., Io. Froben, mense Oct. 1521 (*BB* E. 860).
G: ed. Basil., Io. Froben, mense Iul. 1522 (*BB* E. 862).
H: ed. Basil., Hier. Froben et Nic. Episcopus, 1532 (*BB* E. 870).

Superioribus diebus cum me ex Italia in Angliam reciperem, ne totum hoc tempus quo equo fuit insidendum ἀμύσοις et illiteratis fabulis tereretur, malui mecum aliquoties vel de communibus studiis nostris aliquid agitare, vel amicorum, quos hic vt doctissimos, ita et suauissimos reliqueram, recordatione frui. Inter hos tu mi More vel in primis occurrebas: cuius equidem absentis absens memoria non aliter frui solebam, quam praesentis praesens consuetudine consueueram, qua dispeream, si quid vnquam in vita contigit mellitius. Ergo quoniam omnino aliquid agendum duxi, et id tempus ad seriam commentationem parum videbatur accomodatam, visum est Moriae encomion ludere. Quae Pallas istuc tibi misit in mentem? inquires. Primum admonuit me Mori cognomen tibi gentile, quod tam ad Moriae vocabulum accedit, quam es ipse a re alienus. Es autem vel omnium suffragiis alienissimus. Deinde suspicabar hunc ingenii nostri lusum tibi praecipue probatum iri, propterea quod soleas huius generis iocis, hoc est, nec indoctis, ni fallor, nec vsquequaque insulsis, impendio delectari, et omnino in communi mortalium vita Democritum quendam agere. Quanquam tu quidem, vt pro singulari quadam ingenii tui perspicacitate, longe lateque a vulgo dissentire soles, ita pro incredibili morum suauitate facilitateque cum omnibus

10 encomion C-H: encomium A B.

5 *hic* Though Allen (Ep. 222) tentatively assigns this introductory epistle to Paris because Erasmus was there when the *Moria* was first printed, the letter itself places More among those friends Erasmus had left 'here,' that is, in England, where Erasmus (imaginatively if not actually) wrote it.

11 *Mori cognomen* 'Vulgo Maurum vocant Morum. At Graecis μωρός stultum signifi-

cat' (L.). This and other puns on More's name were not uncommon during his lifetime and after his death. Er. also played with the similarity between the verb *moror* and the name Morillon. See G. Marc'hadour, *Thomas More; les arcanes d'un nom*, *Moreana* No. 2 (1964), pp. 55-70 and No. 5 (1965), pp. 73-88.

16 *Democritum* Cf. p. 103, n.l. 551.

omnium horarum hominem agere, et potes et gaudes. Hanc igitur declamatiunculam non solum lubens accipies, ceu *μνημόσυλον* tui sodalis, verum etiam tuendam suscipies, vtpote tibi dicatam, iamque tuam non meam.

Etenim non deerunt fortasse vitilitigatores, qui calumnientur, partim leuiore esse nugas, quam vt theologum deceant, partim mordaciores, quam vt Christianae conueniant modestiae, nosque clamitabunt veterem comoediam aut Lucianum quempiam referre, atque omnia mordicus arripere. Verum quos argumenti leuitas, et ludicrum offendit, cogitent velim, non meum hoc exemplum esse, sed idem iam olim a magnis autoribus factitatum. Cum ante tot secula *Βατραχομυομαχίαν* luserit Homerus, Maro culicem et moretum, nucem Ouidius. Cum Busiridem laudarit Polycrates et huius castigator Isocrates, iniusticiam Glauco, Thersiten et quartanam febrim Fauorinus, caluicium Synesius, muscam et parasiticam Lucianus. Cum Seneca Claudii luserit *ἀποθέωσιν*, Plutarchus Gryllum cum Vlyse dialogum, Lucianus et Apuleius asinum, et nescio quis Grunnii Corocottae porcelli testamentum, cuius et diuinus meminit Hieronymus.

Proinde si videbitur, fingant isti me latrunculis interim animi causa lusisse, aut si malint, equitasse in arundine longa. Nam quae tandem est iniquitas, cum omni vitae instituto suos lusus concedamus, studiis nullum omnino lusum permittere, maxime si nugae seria ducant, atque ita tractentur ludicra, vt ex his aliquanto plus frugis referat lector non omnino naris obesae, quam ex quorundam tetricis ac splendidis argumentis? veluti cum alius diu consarcinata oratione rhetorice aut philosophiam laudat, alius principis alicuius laudes describit, alius ad bellum aduersus Turcas mouendum adhortatur. Alius futura praedicit, alius nouas de lana caprina comminiscitur quaestiunculas. Vt enim nihil nugacius, quam seria nugatorie tractare, ita nihil festiuus quam ita tractare nugas, vt nihil minus quam nugatus fuisse videaris. De me quidem aliorum erit iudicium: tametsi, nisi plane me fallit *φιλαυτία*, stulticiam laudauimus, sed non omnino stulte.

Iam vero vt de mordacitatis cauillatione respondeam, semper haec ingeniis libertas permissa fuit, vt in communem hominum vitam salibus luderent impune, modo ne licentia exiret in rabiem. Quo magis admiror his temporibus aurium delicias, quae nihil iam fere nisi solemnes titulos ferre possunt. Porro nonnullos adeo praepostere religiosos videas, vt vel grauissima in Christum conuicia ferant citius, quam pontificem aut principem leuissimo ioco aspergi, praesertim si quid *πρὸς τὰ ἔλφια* attinet. At enim qui vitas hominum ita taxat, vt neminem omnino perstringat nominatim, quaeso vtrum is mordere videtur, an docere potius, ac monere? Alioqui quot obsecro nominibus ipse me taxo? Praeterea qui nullum hominum genus praetermittit, is nulli homini, vitiis omnibus iratus videtur. Ergo si quis extiterit, qui sese laesum clamabit, is aut conscientiam prodet suam, aut certe metum. Lusit hoc in genere multo liberius ac mordacius diuus Hieronymus, ne nominibus quidem aliquoties parcens. Nos praeterquam quod a nominibus in totum abstinemus, ita praeterea stilum temperauimus, vt cordatus lector facile sit intellecturus nos voluptatem magis quam morsum quae-

vsquam mouimus, et ridenda magis, quam foeda recensere studuimus. Tum si quis est, quem nec ista placare possunt, is saltem illud meminerit, pulchrum esse a stulticia vituperari, quam cum loquentem fecerimus, decoro personae seruien-

- 26 et ludicrum C-H: om. A B.
 27-28 Cum ... Ouidius C-H: om. A B.
 29 et ... Isocrates C-H: om. A B.
 30 Thersiten et C-H: om. A B.
 31 et parasiticam C-H: om. A B.
 31-33 Cum Seneca ... Hieronymus C-H: om. A

- 19 *omnium ... hominem* Suet. *Tib.* [42] and *Adag.* 286 [LB II, 144A] (L.). In this adage Er. quotes Gell. XII, 4 and describes 'omnium horarum homo' as 'qui seriis pariter ac iocis esset accommodatus, et qui quum [id est, quicum] assidue libeat conuiuere.' In 1520 Richard Whittington (*Vulgaria*, ed. Beatrice White, Early English Text Society, orig. ser. no. 187, London, 1932, pp. 64-65) applied the same Latin phrase to More and translated it 'a man for all seasons.'
 19-20 *Hanc ... declamatiunculam* [1532] Vide vt hoc opus declamationem appellat, hoc est argumentum fictum, atque ingenii duntaxat exercendi gratia tractatum. Proinde vehementer ineptiunt, qui non secus excutiunt hic verba, quasi serio tractaret de rebus theologis. Sed animaduersum est plerosque theologos hactenus putasse, declamationem esse concionem sacram in templis habitam' (L.).
 20 *μνημόσυνον tui sodalis* Catull. [XII, 13] (L.).
 22 *vitiligatores* Plin. *Nat.* pref. [32] (L.).
 28 *Homerus ... Ouidius* The pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia* was accepted as genuine in Er.'s times and was much better known than it is nowadays (J.H. Waszink, *Einige Betrachtungen über die Euripidesübersetzungen des Erasmus und ihre historische Situation*, *Antike und Abendland*, 17 (1971), p. 82, n. 33). The *Culex* and *Moretum* are probably genuine, early works of Virgil. For Ovid's *Nux* see *ASD* I, 1, pp. 139-174. G.M. Geerars (*Het komisch epyllion Batrachomyomachia en zijn Nederlandse bewerkingen*, *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 61 (1968), pp. 361-363) traces the tradition of such an apologetic list as Erasmus' back to Statius' dedication of his *Syluae*.
 29 *Polyrates ... Isocrates* Isocr. *Busiris*, 1-4.
 29-30 *iniusticiam Glauco* Plat. *Rep.* II, [357a-362c] (L.).
 30 *Thersiten* Hom. *Il.* II [216-219] (L.).

- B.
 35 si malint C-H: om. A B.
 52 *ἄλφιστα* C-H: *ἄλφιστα* id est ad questum A B.
 54 quot A-F H: quod G.
 55 genus A-F H: gens G.

- quartanam febrim Fauorinus* Gell. [XVII, 12, 2] (L.).
caluicium Synesius Synesius' *Praise of Baldness* was often combined with the *Praise of Folly* in early editions. See Genevieve Stenger, *The Praise of Folly and its Parerga*, *Medievalia et Humanistica*, NS, 2 (1971), pp. 97-117.
 31 *Seneca ... ἀποθέωσιν* Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* presents the emperor Claudius after his death, not apotheosized but banished to the underworld.
 31-32 *Plutarchus ... dialogum* Plut. *Mor.* 985 D-992 E.
 32-33 *Grunnii ... Hieronymus* Hier. *Comment. in Isaiam* [prol., CCSL LXXIII A, 465] (L.).
 35 *equitasse* Hor. *Serm.* [II, 3, 248] (J.).
 40-41 *bellum aduersus Turcas* 'Complures huiusmodi hortationibus conati sunt prouocare principes ad bellum, vt sub illius praetextu quam maxima pecuniae vis exhauriretur, cum magis expediat exhortari Christianos ad bellum capessendum aduersus vitia' (L.). Cf. Ep. 335, ll. 170-181.
 41-42 *de lana caprina* Hor. *Epist.* [I, 18, 15] (L.). *Adag.* 253 (LB II, 133 D).
 42-44 *Vt ... videaris* Cf. Ep. 421, ll. 105-106: 'Denique nescio quo modo magis aridet animo meo in nugis admiscere seria quam in magnis rebus nugari.'
 45 *φιλαυτία* Hor. *Carm.* [I, 18, 14]; *Serm.* [I, 3, 24] (L.). *Adag.* 292 (LB II, 147 C).
 52 *πρὸς τὰ ἄλφιστα* 'Hoc loco verba Latina, quae in limine marginali fuerant ascripta, nescio quis retulerat in contextum ... Aristoph. *Nub.* [648]' (L.). In the first eight editions of *Moria*, Greek words and phrases in the text were translated into Latin in the margins. With the exception of E. 843, all editions before E. 846-847 transferred the Latin translation 'id est, ad questum' into the text immediately after *ἄλφιστα*.

65 dum fuit. Sed quid ego haec tibi patrono tam singulari, vt causas etiam non optimas, optime tamen tueri possis? Vale disertissime More, et Moriam tuam gnauiter defende. Ex Rure. quinto Idus Iunias. AN. M. D. VIII.

67 AN. M. D. VIII *GH: om. A-F.*

65 *patrono* 'Patronus hic significat aduocatum causarum: nam aliquando refertur ad liberum. Est autem Thomas Morus, praeter egregiam optimarum literarum cognitionem,

inter Britannicarum legum professores praecipui nominis' (L.).

67 AN. M. D. VIII See Introduction, p. 15.

ΜΩΡΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ,
ID EST, STULTICIAE LAVS, ERASMI
ROTTERODAMI DECLAMATIO

STULTICIA LOQVITVR

LB 405 Vt cunq̄ue de me vulgo mortales loquuntur, neque enim sum nescia, quam male
6 audiat stulticia etiam apud stultissimos, tamen hanc esse, hanc, inquam, esse
vnam quae meo numine deos atque homines exhilaro, vel illud abunde magnum
est argumentum quod, simulatque in hunc coetum frequentissimum dictura pro-
10 dii, sic repente omnium vultus noua quadam atque insolita hilaritate enituerunt,
sic subito frontem exporrexistis, sic laeto quodam et amabili applausistis risu, vt
mihi profecto quotquot vndique praesentes intueor, pariter deorum Homericorum
nectare non sine nepenthe temulenti esse videamini, cum antehac tristes ac
solliciti sederitis, perinde quasi nuper e Trophonii specu reuersi. Caeterum
quemadmodum fieri consuevit, vt cum primum sol formosum illud et aureum
15 os terris ostenderit aut vbi post asperam hyemem nouum ver blandis aspirarit
Fauoniis, protinus noua rebus omnibus facies, nouus color ac plane iuuenta

1-2 ΜΩΡΙΑΣ ... LAVS *D-H*: Encomium
Moriae *A-C*.

3 Declamatio *D-H*: *om. A-C*.

3 DECLAMATIO 'Apte vocauit declamationem vt intelligas rem exercendi ingenii causa scriptam, ad lusum ac voluptatem. Porro Moriam fingit veterum more ceu deam quandam suas laudes narrantem, idque decore, quod hoc stultis peculiare sit, seipsos admirari, deque seipsis gloriose praedicare' (L.).

5-13 *Vt cunq̄ue ... reuersi* In *Praises of Folly*, Princeton, 1963, pp. 41-42, Walter Kaiser shows how characteristic this opening sentence is of Folly's matter and manner.

6-7 *tamen ... esse vnam* 'The word *hanc* should be taken as spoken with the gesture of pointing to herself' (L.).

10 *frontem exporrexistis* *Adag.* [748 (LB II, 316

10 *Risus stultorum** *C-E*: *om. A B F-H*.

11 *Dii Homerici** *D*: *om. A-C E-H*.

12 *antehac* *E-H*: *antea A-D*.

E]), where Er. gives examples of the idiom *frontem exporrigere* from Ter. [*Ad.* 839], Hor. [*Carm.* III, 29, 16], and Plaut. [*Cas.* 281] (L.). See also *Eccles.*, LB V, 963 A.

12 *nepenthe* An herb mentioned by Hom. [*Od.* IV, 220] and Plin. [*Nat.* XXI, 91, 159 and XXV, 5, 12] which, mixed with wine, was said to drive away cares; perhaps to be identified with oxtongue (buglossa) [Plin. *Nat.* XXV, 40] (L.).

13 *e Trophonii specu* A proverbial expression applied to gloomy persons, very much like the cave of Patrick [St. Patrick's Purgatory] in Ireland; see *Adag.* [677 (LB II, 292 F)] (L.).

14-16 *sol ... Fauoniis* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* [IV, 5, 6, III, 7, 2 and I, 4, 1] (L.). For the pervasiveness and

LB 406 quaedam | redeat, ita vobis me conspecta mox alius accessit vultus. Itaque quod
 magni alioqui Rhetores vix longa diuque meditata oratione possunt efficere,
 nempe vt molestas animi curas discutiant, id ego solo statim aspectu praestiti.
 20 Quamobrem autem hoc insolito cultu prodierim hodie, iam audietis, si modo
 non grauabimini dicenti praebere aures, non eas sane quas sacris concionatori-
 bus, sed quas fori circulatoribus, scurris ac morionibus consueuistis arrigere,
 quasque olim Midas ille noster exhibuit Pani. Lubitum est enim paulisper apud
 25 vos Sophistam agere, non quidem huius generis, quod hodie nugas quasdam
 anxias inculcat pueris ac plusquam muliebrem rixandi pertinaciam tradit, sed
 veteres illos imitabor qui, quo infamem Sophorum appellationem vitarent, so-
 phistae vocari maluerunt. Horum studium erat deorum ac fortium virorum lau-
 des encomiis celebrare. Encomium igitur audietis non Herculis neque Solonis,
 sed meum ipsius, hoc est, Stulticiae.
 30 Iam vero non huius facio sapientes istos qui stultissimum et insolentissimum
 esse praedicant, si quis ipse laudibus se ferat. Sit sane quam volent stultum, modo
 decorum esse fateantur. Quid enim magis quadrat quam vt ipsa Moria suarum
 laudum sit buccinatrix, et ἀυτή έαυτην αὐλήη? Quis enim me melius exprimat
 quam ipsa me? Nisi si cui forte notior sim quam egomet sum mihi. Quanquam
 35 ego hoc alioqui non paulo etiam modestius arbitror quam id quod optimatum ac
 LB 407 sapientum vulgus factitat, qui peruerso quodam pudore vel Rhetorem quenpiam
 palponem vel poetam vaniloquum subornare solent eumque mercede conduc-
 tum, a quo suas laudes audiant, hoc est, mera mendacia; et tamen verecundus
 interim ille pauonis in morem pennas tollit, cristas erigit, cum impudens assen-
 40 tator nihili hominem diis aequiparat, cum absolutum omnium virtutum exem-
 plar proponit, a quo sciat ille se plus quam δις δια πασῶν abesse, cum corniculam

24 Duplices (om. BF) Sophistae* B D-F: om. A C G H.

31 laudibus se H: se laudibus A-F.

33 Prouerbiū* D E: om. A-C F-H.

35 ac B-H: ac ac A.

36-37 Poetae et Rhetores* F-H: Adulatio poetarum et rhetorum* D E, om. A-C.

meanings (profane and sacred) of the initial description of vernal rejuvenation in medieval Latin literature, see F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1934, II, pp. 193, 238-239, 245, 249, and R. Baldwin, *The Unity of the Canterbury Tales*, Copenhagen, 1955, pp. 20-25.

17 *mox ... vultus* In *Eccles.* II, LB V, 862 D-872 D, Er. explains to the Christian preacher several kinds of exordia, including the one Folly uses here, drawn from the immediate surroundings. He mentions a close parallel: Prud. in his *Passio Petri et Pauli (Peristephanon XII, 1-4, CSEL LXI, 420)*: 'exordium sumit a conuentu hominum solito laetiore ac frequentiore' (LB V, 868 B).

19-20 *statim ... prodierim* Folly's entrance has

apparently been sudden and dramatic. Her unusual garb probably consists of the cap and bells of the licensed fool, which both she and her followers wear in Holbein's marginal illustrations (sigs. B1 and X4 in the facsimile edited by H.A. Schmidt, Basel, 1931). Pierre Mesnard (*Erasmus et la conception dialectique de la folie* in *L'Umancismo e 'la follia'*, ed. E. Castelli, Roma, 1971, p. 53) points out quite rightly that Folly never tells us what she is wearing. He suggests that she is wearing 'une robe de professeur' or even a lion's skin (τήν λεοντήν, p. 190, l. 156) in keeping with her role as a mystery goddess. But there is no evidence that she is wearing an academic gown; and at p. 180, l. 912 she wishes she were wearing the garb of a theologian. The

- lion's skin should almost surely be taken as purely proverbial and metaphorical; even if it were taken literally, she could not have put it on until she began to speak of Christian folly. Her clothing is 'insolito' not for her but for the setting of a formal and official eulogy in which she appears. 'Cultu' must be taken in the sense 'apparel, array'; the sense 'religious worship or cult' would require 'cultui' or 'ad hunc insolitum cultum [exhibendum, persoluendum].'
- 21-22 *sacris ... circulatoribus* 'Obiter taxat vulgus hominum, qui concionantes in templis, oscitantes ac dormitantes audiunt, multi ne audiunt quidem, cum circumforaneos ac scurras miris modis auscultent. Id verum esse facile fatebitur, qui nouerit Italiam, praesertim Romam et Venetiarum urbem. [1532] Vide vt excludat omnem calumniam hos iocos conferens circulatorum, scurrarum ac morionum dictis. Quanquam obiter notat mores hominum, qui ad ineptas fabulas attenti, in sacris concionibus dormitant' (L.). In a note on 'fori circulatoribus' at p. 169, l. 661, L. remarks that Er. had in mind Italian mountebanks, selling patent medicines or performing magic tricks in a public square.
- 22 *morionibus* See note on p. 67, l. 11. Such puns on More's name must have had a special piquancy if Er. read the first installments of the *Moria* to the More circle at More's house in Bucklersbury (Ep. 337, ll. 130-134).
- 23 *Midas Adag.* 267 (LB II, 138 B); Otto No. 1111.
- 24-25 *Sophistam ... tradit* Folly finds it necessary to make this distinction because during the middle ages *sophista* had come to be applied to academic professors of rhetoric in the schools (Du Cange, Souter) and also to university students who had passed their first examination (Latham). In particular, *sophister* was applied to second or third-year students at Cambridge (*OED*).
- 26 *infamem* 'We must remember that this is spoken by Folly as a dramatic character, for to her it is a disgrace to be called wise' (L.).
- 28 *Herculis, neque Solonis* Several encomia of Hercules are known: one by Matris from which Diod. borrowed (W. Schmid, 'Ἐπίδειξις, *RE* VI, 1909, 55); two attributed to Libanius (Foerster-Münscher, *Libanios*, *RE* XII, 1925, 2519); and one by Caecilius (T.C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, Chicago, 1902, p. 250). Both Plato (*Symp.*, 177 B) and Isocrates (*Philippus*, 109) note how frequently Hercules was the subject of formal eulogies. See also Plut. *Mor.* 192 C and 217 D.
- Although Solon, one of the seven wise men, was frequently praised as a lawgiver, I have not found an encomium of which he was the primary subject (I.M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian*, Berkeley, 1919).
- 30 *huius facio* 'Again, this must be taken as spoken with a gesture, as if she were displaying a tuft of wool or a hair or something equally worthless' (L.). Wyss, p. 81, footnote 1.
- insolentissimum* Such self-praise is not only gauche but also specifically inappropriate to the poem of an encomium, where a profession of inadequacy was quite common (T.C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, Chicago, 1902, p. 122). On the *topos* of affected modesty in the poem see F.R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 5. Aufl., Bern u. München, 1965, pp. 93-95 (*European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. W. Trask, New York, 1953, pp. 83-84). See also Quint. *Inst.* IV, 1, 59-60, and J. Chomarat, L' 'Eloge de la Folie' et Quintilien, II, 2 (1972), pp. 78-79.
- 32 *decorum* 'Appropriate not in general but specifically to the character of Folly' (L.).
- 33 *buccinatrix* Er. seems to have coined this feminine form. Only *bucinator*, in the sense of one who proclaims or praises, occurs in ancient writers (Cic. *Fam.* XVI, 21, 2 and Hier. *Epist.* 108, 16, Migne PL XXII, 892). See note on p. 92, l. 369.
- The Greek proverb means literally 'she "flutes" herself.' Correctly used, it applies to those who display their character by their deeds. Here Folly distorts it by applying it to those who boast about their deeds (L.). Listerius' interpretation is borne out by the explanation of the phrase given by Suidas: 'Αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αὐλεῖ: ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦς δεικνυόντων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὅποιοι τινές εἰσιν' (*Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, Leipzig, 1928, I, p. 422). Apart from other collectors of proverbs (Leutsch-Schneidewin, I, p. 216; II, pp. 149, 318), the phrase appears only at VIII, 349 F (conjecturally restored) in Athen. (ed. G. Kaibel, Leipzig, 1887-90, II, 267).
- 39 *cristas erigit* Cf. Iuv. IV, 69. Otto No. 467.
- 41 δις διὰ πασῶν Through two whole octaves - that is, at the greatest possible distance. *Adag.* 163 (LB II, 94 F).
- 41-42 *corniculam ... plumis* The story of the crow who borrowed the peacock's feathers is best known through Phaedr. I, 3 and Hor. *Epist.* I, 3, 19. See also B.E. Perry, *Aesopica*, Urbana, 1952, p. 556. But the language comes closer to St. Jerome, quoted in Rufinus *Apol. adv. Hier.* II, 27, 18-20: '... malui alieni operis interpres existere, quam, vt quidam faciunt,

alienis conuestit plumis, cum τὸν αἰθίοπα λευκαίνει, denique cum ἐκ μυίας τὸν ἐλέφαντα ποιεῖ. Postremo sequor tritum illud vulgi prouerbium, quo dicitur is recte laudare sese, cui nemo alius contigit laudator.

45 Quanquam hic interim demiror mortalium ingratitude dicam, an segniciam, quorum cum omnes me studiose colant, meamque libenter sentiant beneficentiam, nemo tamen tot iam seculis exitit, qui grata oratione Stulticiae laudes celebrarit, cum non defuerint, qui Busirides, Phalarides, febres quartanas, muscas, caluicia, atque id genus pestes accuratis magnaque et olei et somni iactura
50 elucubratis laudibus vexerint. A me extemporariam quidem illam et illaboratam, sed tanto veriore audietis orationem. Id quod nolim existimetis ad ingenii ostentationem esse confictum, quemadmodum vulgus oratorum facit. Nam ii,
LB 408 sicuti nostis, cum orationem totis triginta annis elaboratam, nonnunquam et alienam proferunt, tamen triduo sibi quasi per lusum scriptam aut etiam dictatam esse deierant. Mihi porro semper gratissimum fuit, ὅττι κεν ἐπ' ἀκαίριμαν γλώτταν
55 ἔλθῃ dicere.

At ne quis iam a nobis expectet vt iuxta vulgarium istorum Rhetorum consuetudinem meipsam finitione explicem, porro vt diuidam, multo minus. Nam
60 vtrumque ominis est inauspicati, vel fine circumscribere eam cuius numen tam late pateat vel secare in cuius cultum omne rerum genus ita consentiat. Tametsi quorsum tandem attinet mei velut vmbra atque imaginem finitione repraesentare, cum ipsam me coram praesentes praesentem oculis intueamini? Sum etenim, vti videtis, vera illa largitrix ἐάων quam Latini Stulticiam, Graeci μωρίαν appellat.

65 Quanquam quid vel hoc opus erat dicere, quasi non ipso ex vultu fronteque, quod aiunt, satis quae sim prae me feram, aut quasi si quis me Mineruam aut Sophiam esse contendat, non statim solo possit obtutu coargui, etiam si nulla accedat oratio, minime mendax animi speculum. Nullus apud me fucis locus, nec
LB 407 aliud fronte simulo, aliud in pectore premo. Sumque mei vndique simillima, |
70 adeo vt nec ii me dissimulare possint, qui maxime Sapientiae personam ac titulum sibi vendicant, καὶ ἐν τῇ πορφύρῃ πίθηκοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ λεοντῇ ὄνοι obambulant.
LB 408 Quamuis autem sedulo fingant, tamen alicunde prominentes auriculae Midam produnt. Ingratum me Hercle et hoc hominum | genus, qui cum maxime sint nostrae factionis, tamen apud vulgum cognominis nostri sic pudet, vt id passim aliis
LB 409 magni probri vice obiiciant. Proinde istos, cum sint μωρότατοι re, caeterum sophi
75 ac Thales videri velint, nonne iure optimo μωροσόφους illos appellabimus?

48 Phalarides C-H: om. A B.

51-52 Solennes orationes* DE: om. A-C F-H.

55-56 ὅττι κεν ἐπ' ἀκαίριμαν γλώτταν ἔλθῃ G

H: ὅττι ἂν ἐπὶ γλώτταν ἔλθοι. A-F.

58 Dialectici* FG: om. A-E H.

59 Definitio* DE: om. A-C F-H.

60 Diuisio* DE: om. A-C F-H.

61 Descriptio* DE: om. A-C F-H.

66 Stultitia relucet in vultu* DE: om. A-C F-H.

70 Dissimulata stulticia* D-H: om. A-C.

72 alicunde A-G: aliunde H.

75 istos G H: om. A-F.

informis cornicula alienis me coloribus adornare' (CCSL, XX, 103). Otto No. 64.

42 τὸν αἰθίοπα λευκαίνει Adag. 350 (LB II, 169 ... F): 'Aethiopem dealbas ... peculiariter quad-

- rabit, ... cum laudatur illaudatus.'
 42-43 ἐκ ... ποιᾷ *Adag.* 869 (LB II, 359 A). See also the note on p. 74, ll. 48-49.
- 43-44 *tritum* ... *laudator* 'Sic enim iocantur vulgo, cum quis de se praedicat arrogantius, ut dicant, malos habet vicinos, et ob id cogitur se laudare' (L). Walther 3329f: 'Vicinum habet prauum, ipse qui se iactitat.'
- 45-50 Cf. Plat. *Symp.* 177 BC and Er. *Eccles.*, LB V, 881 A.
- 48 *Busirides* Isocrates, having reproached Polycrates for praising this Egyptian tyrant badly (*Busiris*, 1), went on to write a model mock-encomium on the same tyrant. Er. mentions both encomia in his prefatory epistle (p. 68, l. 29).
Phalarides Phalaris, the Sicilian tyrant who made the inventor of the brazen bull its first victim, was praised by Lucian in two declamations, the first of which is an especially appropriate analogue because in it Phalaris, like Folly, speaks his own praises. See *Lucianus*, ed. Karl Jacobitz, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1838; reprint Hildesheim, 1966, II, pp. 153-167. Otto No. 1405.
febres quartanas Subject of a mock-encomium by Fauorinus, a rhetorician and philosopher of the second century after Christ (*Opere*, ed. Adelmo Barigazzi, Florence, 1966, pp. 139-141). This work is also mentioned in Er.'s prefatory letter (p. 68, l. 30, above).
- 48-49 *muscas* Lucian's *Muscae encomium* ends with the proverb cited by Folly at p. 74, ll. 42-43. Cf. p. 68, l. 30.
- 49 *calucia* Synesius of Cyrene, bishop of Ptolemais around the turn of the fourth century, wrote *Caluitii laus* (c. 404/5). The Greek original of this work with a commentary by Beatus Rhenanus and a Latin translation by John Free (Phreas), was printed with the *Moria* nine times during Er.'s lifetime (edds. 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 24, 26, 30, 34).
- 50-51 *A me* ... *orationem* As a woman, Folly applies to herself the proverb 'Primo crede mulieris consilio, secundo noli' (I. Grynaeus, *Adagia*, Frankfurt, 1646, p. 130). The proverb had wide currency, before and after Er.'s lifetime, not only in Latin, but also in English, French, and Italian (M. Tilley, *Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Ann Arbor, 1950, W668; B. Stevenson, *The Macmillan Book of Proverbs*, New York, 1948, p. 2576). Cf. Plat. *Apol.* 17 B-C and Otto No. 1702.
- 54 *triduo* ... *Iusum* In the letter defending the *Moria*, Er. tells Dorp that the work was written without his library in about seven days merely as a distraction from kidney pains (Ep. 337, ll. 126-136).
- 55-56 ὄτρυνεν ἐπ' ἀκασιμίμων γλωτταν ἔλθη In *Adag.* 473 (LB II, 210 A), Er. rightly attributes the phrase to Lucian, *Rat. consc. hist.* [32 and *Praecept. rhet.* 18] and Athen., V [217 C]. Like Listrius he notes that Plato quoted it from Aeschylus in *Rep.* VIII [563 C]. The phrase comes ultimately from *Anth. Lyr. Gr.*, fr. mel. chor. adesp. 12 (ed. Diehl, II, 161) and appears also in Dion. Hal. *Comp.* I, 5 and Strab. I, 2, 14. The early reading, which was replaced by the standard wording in 1522, was perhaps influenced by the Latin proverb 'Quicquid in buccam venerit' (*Adag.* 572, LB II, 209 F; Otto No. 273).
- 58 *finitio* ... *diuidam* For the technical rhetorical meaning of *finitio* and *diuisio*, see Cic. *Top.* V, 26-28, and Quint. *Inst.* V, 10, 63 and VII, 3, 2. Cf. Er. *Eccles.* II, LB V, 874 AB and Hudson, p. 129.
- 63 *largitrix* ἑάων Homer calls the gods (but not the goddesses) δωτήρες ἑάων (*Od.* VIII, 325).
- 65-66 *vultu* ... *aiunt* Cic. *Att.* XIV, 13b, *Pis.* 1. In *Adag.* 3817 (LB II, 1148 A), Er. writes: 'Habent enim oculi, frons et ipse vultus suum sermonem.' See Walther 7422 and 34258; Otto No. 717.
- 68 *oratio* ... *speculum* Walther 20342: 'Oratio est index animi certissimus.' See also Walther 28068 and 30102b. Within one sentence Folly draws on proverbs in conflict with those in the preceding note.
- 69 *aliud* ... *pectore* Walther 792: 'Aliud in ore, aliud in corde'. Verg. *Aen.* I, 209: 'spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.' Walther 30479. Cf. p. 114, ll. 831-832 and l. 835.
- 71 καὶ ἐν τῇ πορφύρᾳ πιθήκοι *Adag.* 610 (LB II, 264 E). Both Er. and Listrius mention that their contemporaries sometimes dressed their pet monkeys in fine clothes. See *Der Affe als Metaphor* in Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 522-523 (German edition), pp. 538-540 (English edition), and *Bibliographie zur antiken Bildersprache*, ed. V. Pöschl, H. Gärtner, W. Heyke, Heidelberg, 1964, p. 448.
 καὶ ἐν τῇ λεοντῇ ὄνοι In *Adag.* 266 (LB II, 137 D), Er. tells the story of the Cumaeian ass as it is related in Lucian. *Piscator* 32.
- 72 *auriculae* Midam See note on p. 72, l. 23.
- 76 *Thaletes* *Adag.* 2626 (LB II, 889 E): 'Homo Thales. Ironia prouerbialis in stultum, qui sapiens haberi studeat.'
 μωροσόφους Lucian. *Alex.* 40; Er. *De cop. verb.* I, 11, LB I, 12 C; *Adag.* (*prol.*), LB II, 11 E; and More, *Utopia*, p. 65, l. 2.

Visum est enim hac quoque parte nostri temporis rhetores imitari, qui plane deos esse sese credunt, si hirudinum ritu bilingues appareant, ac praeclarum facinus esse ducunt latinis orationibus subinde graeculas aliquot vuculas velut
 80 emblemata intertexere, etiam si nunc non erat his locus. Porro si desunt exotica, e putribus chartis quatuor aut quinque prisca verba eruunt, quibus tenebras offundant lectori, videlicet vt qui intelligunt, magis ac magis sibi placeant, qui non intelligunt, hoc ipso magis admirentur, quo minus intelligunt. Quandoquidem est sane et hoc nostratium voluptatum genus non inelegans, quammaxime
 85 peregrina maxime suspicere. Quod si qui paulo sunt ambitiosiores, arrideant tamen et applaudant, atque asini exemplo τὰ ἄτα κινῶσι, quo caeteris probe intelligere videantur. Καὶ ταῦτα δὴ μὲν ταῦτα.

Nunc ad institutum recurro. Nomen igitur habetis viri. Quid addam epitheti? Quid nisi stultissimi? Nam quo alio honestiore cognomine Mystas suos compellet dea Stulticia? Sed quoniam non perinde multis notum est, quo genere prognata sim, id iam Musis bene iuuantibus exponere conabor. Mihi vero neque Chaos neque Orcus neque Saturnus neque Iapetus aut alius id genus obsoletorum ac putrium deorum quispiam pater fuit. Sed πλοῦτος, ipse vnus, vel inuitis Hesiodo et Homero atque ipso adeo Ioue, πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. Cuius vnus
 95 nutu, vt olim, ita nunc quoque sacra prophanaque omnia sursum ac deorsum miscentur. Cuius arbitrio bella, paces, imperia, consilia, iudicia, comitia, connubia, pacta, foedera, leges, artes, ludicra, seria, iam spiritus me deficit: breuiter, publica priuataque omnia mortalium negocia administrantur. Citra cuius opem totus ille poeticorum numinum populus, dicam audacius, ipsi quoque dii selecti,
 100 aut omnino non essent aut certe οἰκίσιοι sane quam frigide victitarent. Quem quisquis iratum habuerit, huic ne Pallas quidem satis auxilii tulerit; contra, quisquis propiciam, is | vel summo Ioui cum suo fulmine mandare laqueum possit. Τούτου πατρὸς εὐχομαι εἶναι. Atque hic quidem me progenuit non e cerebro suo, quemadmodum tetricam illam ac toruam Palladem Iupiter, verum ex Neotete
 105 nymp̄ha multo omnium venustissima pariter ac festiuissima. Neque rursum id tristi illi alligatus coniugio, quomodo faber ille claudus natus est, verum, quod non paulo suauius, ἐν φιλότῃ μιχθεῖς, quemadmodum noster ait Homerus.

78 Mixture linguarum* D-H: om. A-C; esse F-H: om. A-E; hirudinum AB D-H: hirudinum C.

81 Affectata obscuritas* D-H: om. A-C.

78 *hirudinum ritu bilingues* In *Adag.* 1384 (LB II, 548 B), Er. says of the leech: '...linguam habet [hirudo] bisulcam ac fistulatam, quam penitus infigit cuti. Meminit Plinius libro vndecimo, capite trigesimo quarto, atque inibi de altero quodam animali, cui nomen non sic, quod semper infixio sanguini capite viuat, donec nimia satietate dehiscat, et ipsi immoriens alimento, cum cibi non sit exitus.'

90 Ortus seu genus stulticiae* D-H: om. A-C. 100 sane quam A E-H: saneque B-D.

106 Nothi* D E: om. A-C F-H.

(What Er. refers to as cap. 34 has been, since the editions of Harduin, numbered 40 – see the ed. of G. Brotier, London, 1826, I, p. 196, n. 3.) Pliny does not say that the leech has a forked or double tongue. Er. was probably led astray by associations between the tick mentioned above together with the leech and some bloodsucking flies described in *Nat.* XI, 34 (formerly 28) whose 'lingua cui-

- dens fistula est.' A few lines earlier in this chapter Pliny describes a beetle equipped with 'cornua praelonga, bisulcis dentata forcipibus.' Also the two daughters of the leech in *Prv.* 30:15 were traditionally interpreted as referring to a double tongue (Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis*, Venice, 1740, 656 B). Er. was not alone in citing Pliny's authority for the forked tongue of the leech. R. Stephanus commented (Paris, 1545) on *Prv.* 30:15 as follows: 'Per filias sanguisugae intellige duos sulcos linguae quibus sanguinem exugit. habet enim linguam bisulcam. Vide Plinium.'
- 79-80 *latinis ... locus* Hor. *Ars* 19: 'nunc non erat his locus.' See Er. *De cop. verb.* I, 11, LB I, 12 DE.
- 80 *emblemata* Small pieces used to make a mosaic or an inlaid design in wood (L.).
- 84-85 *quammaxime ... suspicere* Walther 786.
- 86 τὰ ὄντα κινῶσι *Adag.* 335 (LB II, 164 B). Cf. Martial. VI, 39, 15-16.
- 87 Καὶ ταῦτα δὴ μὲν ταῦτα Aristoph. *Plut.* 8; Plat. *Symp.* 220 C, *Leg.* 676 A.
- 89 *Mystas* L. gives the definition 'initiati mysteriis alicuius numinis,' which is generally correct (*Th.L.L.* VIII, 1758). But the meaning here can be somewhat refined according to the Greek μύστης, which Stephanus defines as 'qui initiatur sacris siue initiatus est' (V, 1315). So too, G.W.H. Lampe (*A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, p. 893) gives both meanings: one who is being initiated into the mysteries and one who has been initiated. Here Folly addresses her followers as those who are being initiated. At the end of her speech, after her initiatory performance, she once again addresses them as 'mystae' (p. 194, l. 276) meaning this time 'those who have been initiated.' On the *Moria* as an initiation rite, see Pierre Mesnard, *Erasmus et la conception dialectique de la folie*, in *L'Umanesimo e 'la Follia'*, ed. E. Castelli, Roma, 1971, pp. 54-55.
- 90-91 *Sed ... prognata sim* 'Allusit ad partes laudatorii generis, quod a natiuitate solet incipere' (L.).
- 91 *Musis bene iuuantibus* In imitation of the formula 'deis bene iuuantibus' (cf. Liv. 25, 38, 22 or Cic. *Fam.* 7, 20, 2). It would not be appropriate for Folly, who has just called herself *dea*, to use the normal formula. See note on p. 116, l. 866.
- 92 *Chaos* Hes. *Theog.* 116-123.
Orcus A god of the underworld frequently identified with Pluto or Dis Pater (and by Christians with the devil). See *RE* XVIII, 910-922.
Iapetus Hes. *Theog.* 507-511.
- 93 πλοῦτος The god of riches. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 969-974. Timocreon wrote a drinking song (in the form of a mock-prayer) attacking Plutus (*Anth. Lyr. Gr.*, ed. Diehl, II, 122).
- 94 πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε This hemistych is frequently applied to Zeus by Hesiod (e.g. *Theog.* 542, 643) and Homer (e.g. *Il.* XXII, 167).
- 94-96 *Cuius ... miscetur* Zeus, not Ploutos, is usually said to rule all things with his nod. Cf. Catull. LXIV, 205-206; Hom. *Il.* I, 528-530; Verg. *Aen.* IX, 106 and X, 115; *Adag.* 3475 (LB II, 1070 D) and 285 (LB II, 143 C-D).
- 96-98 *Cuius ... administrantur* Cf. Hor. *Serm.* II, 3, 94-96; Phaedr. IV, 12, 8; and *Adag.* 287 (LB II, 144 D).
- 99 *dii selecti* Aug. *Civ.* IV, 23, 37; VI, 4; VII, 2. Among the twenty are three just mentioned by Folly: Orcus, Saturnus, and Iupiter. See H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, Göteborg, 1967, I, pp. 273-274, 281, 286; II, pp. 602, 605, 607.
- 100 οὐκ ὀδοῦντο Lucian. *Sacrif.* 9.
- 102 *mandare laqueum* *Adag.* 1367 (LB II, 544 D), where Er. cites Iuv. 10, 53. See p. 106, ll. 644-645.
- 103 Τοῦτου πατὴρ εὐχομαι εἶναι In imitation of a Homeric formula (cf. *Il.* VI, 211; XIV, 113; XX, 241).
- 104 *Neotete* 'Innuat autem ex diuitiis et iuuentute nasci potissimum stulticiam' (L.). Just as Cic. (*Tusc.* I, 26, 65) names Iuventas as the cupbearer of the gods instead of Hebe, the wife of Hercules, so Er. here personifies an abstract Greek noun. Νεότης sometimes has bad connotations: it is paired with ἀκολασία (Plut. *Apol.* 26 E) and with ἀνοία (Andocides II, 7).
- 107 ἐν φιλότῳτι μιχθεῖς The exact words occur only in Hom. *Batrach.* 20 and *Hymn. Hom.* 33, 5 but Homer frequently uses variations of this idiom to describe sexual intercourse, especially when it is illicit (*Il.* III, 445; VI, 25, 161-165; XIV, 295; *Od.* VIII, 271). '[1532] Qui in opere ex professo ludicro ac ridiculo inquirunt articulos haereticos, quin hunc criminantur locum, qui toties deos ac deas commemorat: cuiusmodi loci sunt alii quoque complures. Quod si illic agnoscunt iocum et stulticiae personam, quur non idem faciunt in caeteris? Quum plures nominantur dii pro ioco ducunt: quum tribus verbis attingitur monachorum maiestas, nutat vniuersa ecclesia' (L.).

Genuit autem, ne quid erretis, non Aristophanicus ille Plutus, iam capularis, iam
 110 oculis captus, sed quondam integer adhuc calidusque iuuenta, neque iuuenta
 solum, verum multo magis nectare, quod tum forte in deorum conuiuio largius
 ac meracius hauserat.

Quod si locum quoque natalem requiritis, quandoquidem id hodie vel in pri-
 mis ad nobilitatem interesse putant, quo loco primos edideris vagitus: ego nec
 in erratica Delo nec in vndoso mari nec ἐν σπέεσι γλαφυροῦσι sum edita, sed in
 115 ipsis insulis fortunatis, vbi ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα omnia proueniunt. In quibus
 neque labor neque senium neque morbus est vllus, nec vsquam in agris aspho-
 delus, malua, squilla, lupinumue, aut faba, aut aliud hoc genus nugarum conspi-
 citur. Sed passim oculis simulque naribus adblandiuntur moly, panace, nepen-
 thes, amaracus, ambrosia, lotus, rosa, viola, Hiacynthus, Adonidis hortuli. Atque
 120 in his quidem nata deliciis nequaquam a fletu sum auspicata vitam, sed protinus
 blande arrisi matri.

Iam vero non inuideo τῷ ὑπάτῳ Κρονίῳ capram altricem, cum me duae lepi-
 dissimae nymphae suis aluerint mammis, Methe Baccho progenita et Apaedia
 Panos filia. Quas hic quoque in caeterarum comitum ac pedisequarum mearum
 125 consortio videtis. Quarum me Hercle nomina si voletis cognoscere, ex me qui-
 dem non | nisi Graece audietis. Haec nimirum quam sublatis superciliis conspi-
 camini, Φιλαυτία est. Huic, quam velut arridentibus oculis ac plaudentem mani-
 bus videtis, Κολακία nomen. Haec semisomnis ac dormitanti similis Ἀθήνη voca-
 tur, haec cubito vtroque innitens consertisque manibus Μισοπονία dicitur. Haec
 130 roseo reuineta sero et vndique delibuta vnguentis Ἡδονή, haec lubricis et huc
 atque illuc errantibus luminibus Ἄνοια dicitur. Haec nitida cute probeque sagi-
 nato corpore Τρυφή nomen habet. Videtis et deos duos puellis admixtos, quorum
 alterum Κῶμον vocant, alterum Νήγρετον Ὑπνον. Huius, inquam, famulitii fide-

112 Patria* D-H: om. A-C.

114 ἐν C-H: in A B.

117 Delitiis alitur stulticia* D E: om. A-C
 F-H.

118 simulque G H: simul atque A-F.

123 Nutrices stulticiae* D-H: om. A-C.

124 Comites Moriae* D-H: om. A-C; Panos
 B-H: Panis A.

130 lubricis B-H: ludicris A.

133 Νήγρετον C-H: νήδυμον A B.

108 *Aristophanicus ille Plutus* See p. 108, ll.
 680-681.

109 *calidusque iuuenta* Hor. *Carm.* III, 14, 27. In
 Greek literature, Plutus is always presented
 as an old man, but in the plastic arts he is
 almost always portrayed as a child or young
 man (J. Zwicker, *Plutos*, *RE* XXI, 1952,
 1040-1041). In Lucian. *Tim.* 27, Plutus tells
 how he attracts his followers by hiding his
 decrepit ugliness under a jeweled mask and
 embroidered robe. See p. 104, l. 579.

110-111 *largius ac meracius* Presumably his cup
 was thus generously supplied by his mistress

Neotes, who plays the role of Hebe (see note
 at p. 76, l. 104).

114 *erratica Delo* The birthplace of Apollo and
 Diana (Ov. *Met.* VI, 333 sqq.).

vndoso mari Venus was born from seafoam
 (Hes. *Theog.* 195-198; *Hymn. Hom.* VI, 3-5).
 Apelles painted a famous picture of her
 rising from the sea (Plin. *Nat.* XXXV, 36 and
 Ov. *Trist.* IV, 1, 29-30).

ἐν σπέεσι γλαφυροῦσι A Homeric formula
 (e.g., *Od.* I, 15; IV, 403; IX, 114, 400). 'In the
 hollow caves' Polyphemus, son of Poseidon,
 was conceived by Thoosa (*Od.* I, 73). The

- immortal Echidna, generated by Chrysaor and Callirrhoe, was born 'in a hollow cave' (Hes. *Theog.* 297).
- 115 *insulis fortunatis* See p. 96, l. 459 and note on p. 82, ll. 205-206.
- ἀσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα *omnia proueniunt* A proverb applied to productivity without labor, quoted by Lucian from Homer (*Od.* IX [109]) in *Parasit.* [24] and *Praecept. rhet.* [8] (L). Lucian's second quotation also alludes to the golden age as described by Hes. *Erg.* 117-118. Hor. also associates the phrase (which in Hom. refers to the rocky island of the Cyclopes) with the golden age (*Epod.* XVI, 42-44). On the proverbial character of the doublet see H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus linguae graecae*, rev. C. Hase, G. Sinner, T. Fix, reprint Graz, 1954, II, p. 748.
- 116-117 *asphodelus ... faba* Ordinary fare of the common people and hence contemptible in Folly's eyes. The first two, which Lucian mentions as growing in the Isles of the Blest [*Ver. hist.* II, 27-28], are described as the 'very useful' food of the poor by Hes. *Erg.* [41. See also Plin. *Nat.* XXI, 68, 108]. Lucian mentions the lupine [*Ver. hist.* II, 28] (L). Lucian also mentions asphodel in less pleasant surroundings in the underworld (*Philops.* 24, *Men. sine necyom.* 11, 21). All these plants had very practical uses as food or medicine (Plin. *Nat.* XVIII, 10, 50; 30, 117-122; 36, 133-136; XX, 39, 97-101; 84, 222-230; XXII, 74, 154-157).
- 118-119 *naribus ... hortuli* Cf. Lucian. *Ver. hist.* II, 5. Though some of the plants in Er.'s list could be used as medicine or food, they are included because they were ingredients in perfumes, unguents, oils, and soporifics (see p. 78, ll. 129-132 and p. 90, ll. 352-353). *Moly* is probably not Homer's salutary plant (*Od.* X, 305) to which L. refers, but rather a form of nightshade, a soporific that could be fatally poisonous, 'ab aliis morion, ab aliis moly appellatum, laudatum vero a Diocle et Euenore, Timaristo quidem etiam carmine, mira obliuione innocentiae' (Plin. *Nat.* XXI, 105, 180). Thus the *moly* praised by Moria is 'morion ... laudatum.' *Panace, amaracus, lotus*, and *rosa* were important ingredients in perfumes or ointments (Plin. *Nat.* XII, 56, 127; XV, 7, 30; XIII, 2, 14; 2, 18; XXI, 10, 14-21). On *lotus* see *Adag.* 1662 (LB II, 628 E). On *nepenthes* see note on p. 71, l. 12. *Ambrosia* (*aizoum maius*) was used to make a love potion (Plin. *Nat.* XXV, 102, 160). *Lotus* and *Hiacynthus* are associated with sexual passion (Hom. *Il.* XIV, 348 and Plin. *Nat.* XXI, 38, 66). *Adonidis hortuli*, short-lived, potted plants used to honor Venus' lover, became proverbial for ephemeral beauty and superficial pleasure (*Adag.* 4, LB II, 26 C).
- 120 *a fletu ... vitam* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 1, 2-3; Hier. *Epist.* XXII, 19, 3; Lactantius, *De opificio Dei* 3, 1. See Tertullian, *De anima*, ed. J. H. Waszink, Amsterdam, 1947, pp. 278-279.
- 121 *blande arrisi matri* The allusion to Verg. *Ecl.* IV, 60-63 anticipates Moria's arguments in favor of her divinity.
- 122 τῷ ὑπάτῳ Κρονίωνι Though Hom. does not use this exact phrase, he does combine ὑπάτος and Κρονίδης as epithets of Zeus at least five times (*Il.* V, 756; VIII, 31; *Od.* I, 45, 81; XXIV, 473).
- capram altricem* Cf. Ov. *Fast.* V, 115-128.
- 123 *Methe* Already personified in ancient art (Paus. 2, 27, 3; 6, 24, 8).
- Apaedia* Ἀπαιδία regularly means 'childlessness' rather than what Er. intends here: 'ignorance,' 'coarseness' (normally ἀπαιδευσία). But there is precedent (albeit unknown to Er.) for ἀπαιδία as equivalent to ἀπαιδευσία (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B. Grenfell and A. Hunt, London, 1898, part I, p. 66 [XXXIII, 2, 13]).
- 126 *sublatis superciliis* *Adag.* 749 (LB II, 317 A).
- 127 Φιλαντία *Adag.* 292 (LB II, 147 C).
- arrientibus oculis* Cf. Ps. Verg. (or Ps. Ov.) *Lydia* 5.
- 128 Κολακία Now generally spelled Κολακεία. But Er.'s form is found in some MSS.
- Ἀθήνη Personified by Hes. *Theog.* 227 and Plut. *Symp.* VII, 5 (705 B).
- 129 *consertisque manibus* Although the phrase seems to apply naturally enough to the relaxed posture of laziness, it is ironical because it has the proverbial meaning 'mit grösster Anstrengung' (Otto Nos. 1044-1045). In *Adag.* 721 (LB II, 307 D) Er. quotes *Prv.* 6, 10: 'paululum conseres manus, vt dormias.'
- Μισοπονία Cf. the name 'Misoponus' in Er. *Coll.* ASD I, 3, p. 433.
- 130 *delibuta vnguentis* 'Delibutus (-a) vnguentis' has been a common phrase since Cic. *Rep.* 4, 5 (see *Tb.L.L.* s.v. *delibuo*, 442, 49-50).
- 132 Τρυφή Personified by Aristoph. *Ecl.* 973.
- 133 Κῶμιον Personified and described at length by Philostr. *Imag.* I, 2. St. Paul links κῶμοι and μέθαι, at *Rom.* 13, 13 and *Gal.* 5, 21 (see p. 78, l. 123).
- Νήγρετον Ἦπνον Personified by Hom. *Il.* XIV, 231. *Od.* XIII, 79-80 apply both epithets to sleep: νήδυμος (in A B), and νήγρετος (in C-H).

libus auxiliis genus omne rerum meae subiicio ditioni, ipsis etiam imperans
 135 imperatoribus.

Genus, educationem et comites audistis. Nunc, ne cui sine causa videar mihi
 deae nomen vsurpare, quantis commoditatibus deos simul et homines adficiam
 quamque late meum pateat numen, arrectis auribus accipite. Etenim si non
 140 inscite scripsit quidam, hoc demum esse deum, iuare mortales, et si merito in
 deorum senatum asciti sunt, qui vinum aut frumentum aut vnam aliquam hui-
 usmodi commoditatem mortalibus ostenderunt, cur non ego iure deorum
 omnium ἄλφα dicar habearque, quae vna omnibus largior omnia?

Principio quid esse potest vita ipsa vel dulcius vel preciosius? At huius exor-
 dium cui tandem acceptum ferri conuenit, nisi mihi? Neque enim aut
 145 ὄβριμοπάτρης hasta Palladis aut νεφεληγερέτου Iouis aegis hominum genus vel
 progignit vel propagat; verum ipse deum pater atque hominum rex, qui totum
 nutu tremefactat Olympum, fulmen illud trisulcum ponat oportet et vultum
 illum Titanicum, quo, cum lubet, deos omneis territat, planeque histrionum
 more aliena sumenda misero persona, siquando velit id facere, quod nunquam
 151 non facit, hoc est παιδοποιεῖν. Iam vero Stoici se diis proximos autumant. At date
 mihi terque quaterque aut, si libet, sexcenties Stoicum: tamen huic quoque, si non
 barba, insigne sapientiae, etiam si cum hircis commune, certe supercilium erit
 ponendum, explicanda frons, abiicienda dogmata illa adamantina, ineptiendum
 ac delirandum aliquantisper. In summa, me, me inquam, sapiens ille accersat
 155 oportet, si modo pater esse velit.

Et cur non apertius meo more vobiscum fabuler? Quaeso, num caput, num
 facies, num pectus, num manus, num auris, quae partes honestae putantur, pro-
 generant deos aut homines? Non, opinor, imo ea pars adeo stulta adeoque ridi-
 160 cula, vt nec nominari citra risum possit, humani generis est propagatrix. Is
 demum est sacer ille fons, vnde vitam hauriunt omnia verius quam ille Pythago-
 ricus quaternio. Age vero, qui vir, obsecro, matrimonii capistro velit praebere
 os, si quemadmodum isti sapientes facere consueuerunt, prius eius vitae incom-
 moda secum perpenderit, aut quae tandem mulier virum admissura sit, si partus
 165 periculosos labores, si educationis molestiam vel norit vel cogitarit? Porro si
 coniugiis debetis vitam, coniugium autem debetis Ἀνοτά pedisequae, mihi nimi-
 rum quid debeatis, intelligitis. Tum quae semel haec experta denuo repetere velit,
 nisi Ἀθήνης praesens numen adfuerit? Neque vero id Venus ipsa, vel reclamante
 Lucretio, vnquam inficias iuerit, sine nostri numinis accessione suam vim man-
 cam atque irritam esse. Itaque ex nostro illo temulento ridiculoque lusu proue-
 170 niunt et superciliosi philosophi, in quorum locum nunc succedere, quos vulgus
 monachos appellat, et purpurei reges et pii sacerdotes et ter sanctissimi ponti-
 fices. Postremo totus etiam ille deorum poeticorum coetus, adeo frequens vt tur-
 bam vix iam ipse capiat Olympus, tametsi spaciosissimus.

At sane parum sit mihi vitae seminarium ac fontem deberi, nisi quicquid in
 175 omni vita commodi est, id quoque totum ostendero mei muneris esse. Quid
 autem vita haec, num omnino vita videtur appellanda, si voluptatem detraxeris?

Applausistis. Equidem sciebam neminem vestrum ita sapere, vel desipere magis, imo sapere potius, vt in hac esset sententia. Quanquam ne Stoici quidem isti vo-

- 136 Diuinitas Moriae* *D-H: om. A-C.*
 144 Initium vitae deberi stulticiae* *D-H: om. A-C.*
 150 se *A B D-H: de C.*
 158 Pudenda membra sine risu non nominantur* *D-H: om. A-C.*
 160 demum *H: om. A-G.*
 161 Matrimonium a stulticia* *C-H: om. A B.*
- 134-135 *imperans imperatoribus* Cf. Plin. *Nat. XXIV*, 1, 5.
 138 *arrectis auribus* Verg. *Aen.* 1, 152, cited by Er. in *Adag.* 2156 (LB II, 760 C).
 139 *scripsit ... mortales* Plin. *Nat.* II, 5, 18: 'Deus est mortali iuuare mortalem.'
 139-140 *in deorum ... frumentum* Cf. Cic. *Nat.* II, 23, 60; *Lig.* XII, 38; Otto No. 517.
 142 ἔλφα See *Adag.* 1318 (LB II, 528 E), where Er. quotes Martial. II, 57 and V, 26. *Ap. Ioh.* I, 8 is not the source of the metaphorical identification of the first letter with the highest position and is not Er.'s primary allusion here (though L. mentions it as an example of the metaphor). Cf. *Adag.* 8 (LB II, 28 F).
 145 ὄβριμότητος Cf. Hom. *Il.* V, 745-747; VIII, 389-391; *Od.* III, 135.
 νεφέλη γερέτου *Iouis aegis* Cf. Hom. *Il.* V, 736-742; VIII, 384-387.
 146 *deum ... rex* See note on p. 76, l. 94 and Verg. *Aen.* I, 65; II, 648; X, 2, 743.
 146-147 *totum ... Olympum* See note on p. 76, ll. 94-96.
 147 *fulmen illud trisulcum* Non. VI, 2 (348 M, 15); Festus, 352 M. Cf. Ov. *Met.* II, 846-850.
 148 *Titanicum* That is, grim. For the Titans were the oldest of the gods. Now stern old men are said to glare 'Titanically' (τιτανῶδες [cf. Lucian. *Icaromen.* 23, transl. 'vultu ... Titanico' by Er., *ASD* I, 1, p. 418, l. 27]) because their looks are so grim and stern (L.). The form 'Titanicus' appears in none of the Latin dictionaries except as a Grecism in Forcellini's appendix (VI, 748). In Greek τιτανικός is not uncommon. Plaut. uses 'Titanum' to mean 'old man' (*Men.* 854).
 150 παιδοποιεῖν A modest way of designating sexual intercourse (L.). Though Lucian used the word in a comic context (*Deor. dial.* 22, 1), it can also be used seriously (e.g. Eur. *Herac. lid.* 524).
 152 *barba ... commune* In *Adag.* 195 (LB II, 104 D), Er. quotes Hor. *Serm.* II, 3, 35 and trans-
- lates a sentence from Lucian. *Eun.* 9: 'Si philosophum oporteat ex barba metiri, hircos primam laudem abluros.' See also *Adag.* 1795 (LB II, 661 E) and Hor. *Serm.* I, 3, 133.
 152-153 *supercilium erit ponendum* See note on p. 78, l. 126.
 160-161 *sacer ... quaternio* L. quotes Pythagoras' *Golden Verses* [ll. 47-48], translating thus: 'per animae nostrae dantem quaternionem fontem perpetuae naturae.' Cf. *Macr. Somn.* I, 6, 41 and Lucian. *Vit. auctio* 4.
 161-162 *matrimonii ... os* Cf. Iuv. VI, 43.
 167 *praesens* 'Praesens, ici, signifie "efficace" plutôt que "présent"' (Jacques Chomarat, *L'Éloge de la folie et ses traducteurs français au XXe siècle*, BAG B, 4e série, 2 (1972), p. 177).
 167-168 *reclamante Lucretio* Lucr. I, 17-23.
 170-171 *philosophi ... appellat* That is, modern monks resemble some ancient philosophers (like the Pythagoreans mentioned at p. 80, ll. 160-161) in professing a strict, secluded, common life.
 171 *purpurei reges* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 35, 12 and Ov. *Met.* VII, 102-103.
 171-172 *ter ... pontifices* Though 'pontifex' strictly means only 'bishop' (the pope is 'summus pontifex,' p. 170, l. 739; p. 172, l. 768), Folly regularly uses it to refer to the pope (p. 156, l. 493; p. 176, l. 852). She mentions *sanctissimi* as an epithet of the popes (p. 172, l. 770; p. 174, l. 802). *Ter* is reminiscent of the pope's triple crown. Cf. also the opening of the Sanctus in the mass ('Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus'). See *Iulius Exclusus* in *Erasmii Opuscula*, ed. Wallace Ferguson, The Hague, 1933, p. 66, note on l. 28.
 172 *deorum ... frequens* As distinct from the twenty *dii selecti* (p. 76, l. 99).
 177-178 *sapere ... imo sapere* 'Quanto cum decoro personae, variat correctionem? Porro quod aliis est desipere, id est stulticiae sapere' (L.).

luptatem aspernantur, tametsi sedulo dissimulant milleque conuiciis eam apud
 LB 413 vulgus dilacerant, nimirum vt deterritis aliis ipsi prolixius fruuntur. Sed dicant
 181 mihi per Iouem, quae tandem vitae pars est non tristis, non infestiuā, non inue-
 nusta, non insipida, non molesta, nisi voluptatem, id est stulticiae condimentum,
 adiunxeris? Cuius rei cum satis idoneus testis esse possit ille nunquam satis lau-
 185 datus Sophocles, cuius extat pulcherrimum illud de nobis elogium ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν
 γὰρ μηδὲν ἡδιστος βίος, tamen, age, rem omnem singilatim aperiamus.

Principio quis nescit primam hominis aetatem multo laetissimam multoque
 omnibus gratissimam esse? Quid est enim illud in infantibus quod sic exoscula-
 mur, sic amplectimur, sic fouemus, vt hostis etiam huic aetati ferat opem, nisi
 stulticiae lenocinium, quod data opera prudens natura recens natis adiunxit, vt
 190 aliquo voluptatis velut autoramento et educantium labores delinire queant et
 tuentium fauores eblandiantur? Deinde quae succedit huic adolescentia, quam
 est apud omnes gratiosa, quam illi candide fauent omnes, quam studiose proue-
 hunt, quam officiose porrigunt auxiliares manus! At vnde quaeso ista iuuentae
 gratia? Vnde nisi ex me? Cuius beneficio quam minimum sapit atque ob id quam
 195 minime ringitur. Mentior, nisi mox, vbi grandiores facti per rerum vsum ac dis-
 ciplinas virile quiddam sapere coeperint, continuo deflorescit formae nitor, lan-
 guescit alacritas, frigescit lepos, labascit vigor. Quoque longius a me subducitur,
 hoc minus minusque viuīt, donec succedat τὸ χαλεπὸν γῆρας, id est, molesta
 senectus, non iam aliis modo, verum etiam sibimet inuisa. Quae quidem prorsum
 200 nulli mortalium foret tolerabilis, nisi rursum tantorum miserta laborum dextra
 adessem et, quemadmodum dii poetarum solent pereuntibus aliqua metamor-
 phosi succurrere, itidem ego quoque iam capulo proximos denuo, quoad licet,
 ad pueritiam reuocarem; vnde non abs re vulgus eos παλιμπαϊδας appellare con-
 suevit. Porro si quis transformandi rationem requirat, ne id quidem celarim. Ad
 205 Lethes nostrae fontem – nam in insulis fortunatis oritur, siquidem apud inferos
 tenuis modo riuulus labitur – eos produco, vt simul atque illic longa potarint
 obliuia, paulatim dilutis animi curis repubescant.

At isti iam delirant, inquiunt, iam desipiunt. | Esto sane, sed istuc ipsum est
 repuerascere. An vero aliud est puerum esse quam delirare, quam desipere? An
 210 non hoc vel maxime in ea delectat aetate, quod nihil sapit? Quis enim non ceu
 portentum oderit atque excretur puerum virili sapientia? Astipulatur et vulgo
 iactatum prouerbium, *Odi puerulum praecoci sapientia*. Quis autem sustineret
 habere commercium aut consuetudinem cum eo sene, qui ad tantam rerum expe-
 rientiam parem animi vigorem iudiciiue acrimoniam adiunxisset?

Itaque delirat senex meo munere. Sed tamen delirus iste meus interim miseris
 illis curis vacat, quibus sapiens ille distortetur. Interim non illepidus est com-
 potor. Non sentit vitae taedium, quod robustior aetas vix tolerat. Nonnunquam
 cum sene Plautino ad tres illas literas reuertitur, infelicissimus si sapiat. At inter-
 215 rim meo beneficio felix, interim amicis gratus, ne congerro quidem infestiuus.
 220 Quandoquidem et apud Homerum e Nestoris ore fluit oratio melle dulcior, cum
 Achillis sit amarulenta, et apud eundem senes in moenibus considerentes τῆν

λειριόεσσαυ vocem edunt. Quo quidem calculo ipsam etiam superant pueritiam, suaudem quidem illam, sed infantem, ac praecipuo vitae oblectamento, puta gar-

- 179 eam A-F H: eum G.
 180 Condimentum vitae stulticia* D-H: om. A-C.
 185 singilatim H: sigillatim A-G.
 186 Infantia stulta* D-H: om. A-C.
 187 est enim B-H: enim est A.
 191 Adolescentia* D-H: om. A-C.
 192 illi H: om. A-G.
 195 Virilis aetas* D-F: om. A-C G H.
- 180 *deterritis ... fruantur* An allusion to Philoxenos, who used to blow his nose into the sauce in order to drive away all others and have the food all to himself (L.). See Plut. *Mor.* 1128 B.
 182 *stulticiae condimentum* Folly repeats this phrase at p. 88, l. 316 and p. 91, l. 363.
 184-185 *elogium ... βλος* Soph. *Ai.* 554; *Adag.* 1981 (LB II, 702 F); Walther 1665 id.
 186-199 *Principio ... inuisa* Folly proceeds through the ages of man, a well-known tradition reaching back to Hippocrates and popular in the middle ages (especially in pictorial art). Folly mentions only four of the usual seven ages (infantia, pueritia, adolescentia, iuuentus, virilitas, senectus, decrepitus). See the New Variation Edition of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, ed. R. Knowles, New York, 1977, pp. 131-132.
 190 *voluptatis velut auctoramento* Cf. Sen. *Epist.* 69, 4.
 194-195 *sapit ... ringitur* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 128.
 198 τὸ χαλεπὸν γῆρας Hom. *Il.* VIII, 103.
 198-199 *molesta ... inuisa* Translations of Greek phrases almost never appear in the text of the *Moria* (indeed, they would defeat Folly's deliberate intention, p. 76, ll. 77-85). In Er.'s prefatory letter one such translation in the text was removed in C (p. 68, l. 52); L. remarks that it had slipped into the text from the margin. The only other example (p. 96, l. 467) was removed in E. Perhaps *molesta senectus* was allowed to stand here in order to change the gender of γῆρας in preparation for an allusion to Seneca's 'gravis Senectus sibimet' (*Oed.* 594).
 203 *παλιμπαιδας* *Adag.* 436 (LB II, 195 B), where Er. quotes Lucian. *Saturn.* 9.
 205-206 *Lethes ... labitur* The Lethon, a river said to derive from the infernal Lethe, flowed near the gardens of the Hesperides in N. Africa (Plin. *Nat.* V, 5, 31, and Lucan. IX, 355-368). The Hesperides, whose location was quite uncertain, were thought by some to be located on islands in the Atlantic, where the Fortunate Isles were also located, albeit only vaguely (Plin. *Nat.* V, 36 *ad fin.* and 37 *ad init.*).
 206-207 *longa ... obliuia* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 715.
 207 *dilutis animi curis* Cf. Ov. *Ars* I, 238.
 209 *repuerassere* Cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 294-296; Otto No. 1625.
 212 *Odi ... sapientia* *Adag.* 3100 (LB II, 991 D), where Er. cites the original source, Apul. *Apol.* [535]. See also *Adag.* 2210 (LB II, 785 A); Walther 19721b; Otto No. 1917.
 217 *vitae taedium* Cf. Gell. VI (VII), 18, 11. See also p. 84, l. 230; p. 108, l. 667, l. 676; p. 170, ll. 732-733 and Walther 10970a.
 218 *tres illas literas* That is, A, M, and O. Plaut. *Merc.* 304.
 220 *oratio melle dulcior* Hom. *Il.* I, 249. Otto No. 1224.
 221 *amarulenta* Cf. Hom. *Il.* I, 223.
 221-222 *senes ... vocem* Hom. *Il.* III, 149-152. On λειριόεσσαυ L. notes: 'Est autem tacita allusio ad λῆρον quod nugas significat. Minimum discrimen est inter λῆρον et λείριον, id est, inter nugas et florem.' The similarity in sound is borne out by what Er. says about the current pronunciation of η and ει in *De pronunti.*, ASD I, 4, p. 56, l. 426; p. 59, l. 495. In *De signis diuturniorum morborum* I, 6, Aretaeus mentions a kind of delirium (see p. 82, l. 215) due to senescence, λήρησις τοῦ γῆραος (Liddell and Scott). See also *De signis acutorum morborum* III, 6, 2. Aetius distinguishes the incoherence of senescent delirium (λήρος) from the more consequential speech characteristic of the adolescent form of the disease, μῶρωσις (Stephanus, V, 262). Plut. gives the philosophers' definition of drunkenness (μέθη, see note at p. 78, l. 123) as λήρησις πάροις (Mor. 504 B, 716 F).

225 rultate, carentem. Addite huc quod pueris quoque gaudeant impensius senes, ac
 230 pueri vicissim senibus delectantur, ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.
 Quid enim inter illos non conuenit nisi quod hic rugosior et plures numerat nata-
 les? Alioqui capillorum albor, os edentulum, corporis modus minor, lactis appe-
 tentia, balbuties, garrulitas, ineptia, obliuio, incogitantia, breuiter omnia caetera
 235 congruunt. Quoque magis accedunt ad senectam, hoc propius ad pueritiae simi-
 litudinem redeunt, donec puerorum ritu citra vitae taedium, citra mortis sensum
 emigrant e vita.

Eat nunc qui uolet, et hoc meum beneficium cum reliquorum deorum meta-
 morphosi comparet. Qui quid irati faciant, non libet commemorare, sed quibus
 235 quamaxime propitii sunt, eos solent in arborem, in auem, in cicadam aut etiam
 in serpentem transformare, quasi uero non istud ipsum sit perire, aliud fieri. Ego
 uero hominem eundem optimae ac felicissimae uitae parti restituo. Quod si mor-
 tales prorsus ab omni sapientiae commercio temperarent ac perpetuo mecum
 aetatem agerent, ne esset quidem ullum senium, uerum perpetua iuuenta frue-
 rentur felices.

240 An non uidetis tetricos istos et uel philosophiae studiis uel seriis et arduis
 LB 415 addiictos negociis, plerunque priusquam plane iuuenes sint, iam consenuisse,
 uidelicet curis et assidua acrique cogitationum agitatione sensim spiritus et suc-
 cum illum uitalem exhauriente? Cum contra Moriones mei pinguculi sint et
 nitidi et bene curata cute, plane χοῖροι, quod aiunt, Ἀκαρνώνιοι, nunquam pro-
 245 fecto senectutis incommodum ullum sensuri, nisi nonnihilo, ut fit, sapientum con-
 tagio inficerentur. Adeo nihil patitur hominum uita omni ex parte beatum esse.

Accedit ad haec uulgati prouerbii non leue testimonium, quo dictitant Stul-
 ticiam unam esse rem, quae et iuuentam alioqui fugacissimam remoretur et
 improbam senectam procul arceat. Ut non temere de Brabantis populari ser-
 250 mone iactatum sit, cum caeteris hominibus aetas prudentiam adferre soleat, hos
 quo propius ad senectam accedunt, hoc magis atque magis stultescere. Atqui hac
 gente non est alia uel ad communem uitae consuetudinem festiuior uel quae
 minus sentiat senectutis tristitiam. His quidem ut loco, ita et uitae instituto con-
 fines sunt Hollandi mei – cur enim non meos appellem usque adeo studiosos mei
 255 cultores, ut inde uulgo cognomen emeruerint? Cuius illos adeo non pudet, ut
 hinc uel praecipue sese iactitent.

Eant nunc stultissimi mortales, et Medeas, Circes, Veneres, Auroras, et fon-
 tem nescio quem requirant, quo sibi iuuentam restituant, cum id sola praestare

227 corporis *A B E-H*: corpori *C D*.

233 Qui quid *A-E G H*: Quicquid *F*.

235 istud *G H*: istuc *A-F*.

236 Studia et occupationes senium accelerant*
D-H: om. A-C.

249 Brabanti* *D-H: om. A-C (in H iuxta locum*

idoneum non in textu sed in commentario).

254 Hollandi* *D-H: om. A-C (in H iuxta locum*
idoneum non in textu sed in commentario).

257 Stulticia remoratur (moratur *C*) senium*
C-H: om. A B.

224 pueris ... senes Walther 2055.

225 ὡς ... ὁμοῖον *Adag.* 122 (*LB* II, 80 B),

where *Er.* quotes the source, *Hom. Od.* XVII,
 218.

- 227-230 *capillorum ... redeunt* Moria here perverts the epideictic topos *puer-senex*. See Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-112 (German edition), pp. 98-101 (English edition).
- 230 *vitae taedium* See note on p. 82, l. 217.
- 234 *arborem* E.g., Daphne (Ov. *Met.* I, 542-548) or Myrrha (*ibid.* X, 488-500).
auem Among the best known are Alcyone (Ov. *Met.* XI, 731-742), Philomela and Procne (*ibid.* VI, 667-670), and Ciris (*ibid.* VIII, 148-151).
cidadam Tithonus (Serv. *Comm. georg.* III, 328 and *Comm. Aen.* IV, 585; Scholiast on Hom. *Il.*, XI, 1). See *Adag.* 565 (LB II, 249 A).
- 235 *serpentem* E.g., Cadmus and Hermione (Ov. *Met.* IV, 571-603).
- 242-243 *curis ... exhauriente* In a long note on 'ante diem contracta' (p. 116, ll. 860-861) I. (citing Aristot. *Part. an.* II, [V, 651b, 9-13] and Gal. [*San. tuenda*, I, 2]) explains that intensive study consumes the animal spirits and depletes the supply of blood, thus hastening the onset of old age. 'Spiritus et succum illum vitalem' refers to the vital spirits, produced in the heart from blood refined by the liver, and themselves further refined into the animal spirits of the brain. Cf. Marsilio Ficino, *De sanitate tuenda, Opera omnia*, Basel, 1576, reprint Turin, 1953, I, 496: '... summi boni veritatisque venatores, tam negligentes (proh nefas) tamque infortunati sunt, vt instrumentum illud, quo mundum vniuersum metiri quodammodo, et capere possunt, negligere penitus videantur. Instrumentum eiusmodi spiritus ipse est, qui apud medicos vapor quidam sanguinis, purus, subtilis, calidus, et lucidus definitur. Atque ab ipso cordis calore, ex subtiliori sanguine procreatus volat ad cerebrum, ibique animus ipse ad sensus tam interiores, quam exteriores exercendos assidue vititur.... Quoniam frequens Sagittario [*pro agitatio*] mentis cerebrum vehementer exiccat, igitur humore magna ex parte consumpto (quod caloris naturalis pabulum est) calor quoque plurimum solet extingui, vnde natura cerebri sicca frigidaque euadit....' Cf. *succum et sanguinem* (Otto No. 1707).
- 243-244 *pinguiculi ... cute* Hor. *Epist.* I, 4, 15.
- 244 *χοῖροι ... Ἀλαρινῶνιοι* *Adag.* 1259 (LB II, 508 C).
- 246 *nihil ... esse* Hor. *Carm.* II, 16, 27-28: 'nihil est ab omni/parte beatum.' Walther 16631, 16633b, and 16703-4. Wyss, p. 10.
- 247-249 *vulgati ... arceat* The closest proverbial saying I have found is: *Stultum caput nec canescit nec caluescit* (Walther 30436a). See also Walther 30466b.
- 249-251 *de Brabantis ... stultescere* 'Nulla natio nec humanior nec melior quam Brabantorum. Verum ob perpetuam hilaritatem, quam illis nec senectia adimit, dictum est hoc ioco vulgari prouerbium, Brabantus quo natu grandior, hoc stultior' (L.). Kan gives the proverb 'Hoe ouder, hoc zotter Brabander.' Cf. the English saying (c. 1568): 'The longer thou livest, the more foole thou art' (*Macmillan Book of Proverbs*, p. 853 [8]).
- 254-255 *Hollandi ... emeruerint* 'Et haec laudatissima gens est, tamen ob ingenii simplicitatem, et mores minime fucatos, vulgo stulti vocantur, prouerbio iocoso. Porro quod dicit, mei, non ad Erasmus qui Hollandus est, sed ad stulticiae personam referri debet' (L.). Kan gives the proverb 'Hoe ouder, hoe botter Hollander.' M. Tilley, *Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Ann Arbor, 1950, D 654, gives 'as dull as a Dutchman,' but cites no example before 1639.
- 255-256 *Cuius ... iactitent* In *Adag.* 3535, *Auris Batava*, Er. turns the proverbial idea of Dutch coarseness to the praise of his countrymen: 'Nam quod Martialis eam gentem rusticitatis insimulat, quod eandem Lucanus *trucem* vocat: aut nihil ad nos pertinet aut etiam laudi vertendum arbitror vtrumque' (LB II, 1084 B).
- 257 *Medeas* Ov. *Met.* VII, 262-293. Otto No. 1375.
Circes Circe's transformation of Scylla (Ov. *Met.* XIV, 40-67) and Picus (*ibid.* XIV, 388-396) were hardly rejuvenating; but when she changed Odysseus' men from swine back to human form (Hom. *Od.* X, 229-399), they were younger and more handsome than before (*ibid.* X, 395-396).
Veneres Venus gave Phaon youth and beauty (Serv. *Comm. Aen.* III, 279 and Lucian. *Dial. mort.* 9, 2). See p. 86, ll. 260-261; p. 96, l. 451; and p. 108, l. 691.
Auroras See note on p. 84, l. 234. Aurora obtained from Zeus immortality for her lover Tithonus, but she failed to ask for eternal youth for him (*Hymn. Hom.* V, 218-238). Taking pity on his senile decrepitude, she turned him into a cicada. Tzetzes *Schol. Lycophron* 18 notes that cicadas, like snakes, when they are old, shed their 'old age' (τὸ γῆρας) - that is, their skin - thus renewing their youth (Sir J.G. Frazer's note on Apollod. III, 12, 4 in his edition [New York, 1921, Loeb no. 6, II, 43-44]).
- 257-258 *fontem nescio quem* 'Significat fontem

et possim et soleam. Apud me succus est ille mirificus, quo Memnonis filia Tit-
 260 honi aui sui iuuentam prorogauit. Ego sum Venus illa, cuius fauore Phaon ille
 repubuit, ita vt a Saphone tantopere deamaretur. Meae sunt herbae si quae sunt,
 mea precamina, meus ille fons, qui non solum reuocat elapsam adolescentiam,
 sed, quod est optabilius, perpetuam seruat. Quod si omnes huic sententiae
 265 subscribitis, adolescentia nihil esse melius, senectute nihil detestabilius, quan-
 tum mihi debeatis videtis opinor, quae tantum bonum retineam, tanto excluso
 malo.

Sed quid adhuc de mortalibus loquor? Coelum omne lustrate et mihi meum
 nomen opprobret licebit quicumque volet, si quem omnino deorum reppererit
 non insuauem et aspernabilem, nisi meo numine commendetur. Etenim cur sem-
 LB 416 per ephebus et comatus Bacchus? Nempe quia vecors ac temulentus, | conuiuuiis,
 271 saltationibus, choreis, lusibus, vitam omnem transigens, ne tantulum quidem
 habet cum Pallade commercii. Denique tantum abest, vt sapiens haberi postulet,
 vt ludibriis ac iocis coli gaudeat. Neque prouerbio offenditur, quod illi fatui cog-
 275 nomentum attribuit, id est huiusmodi: Μορύχου μωρότερος. Porro Morycho
 nomen verterunt, quod illum pro templi foribus sedentem musto ficisque recen-
 titibus agricularum lasciuiam consueuerit oblinere. Tum autem quid non scommat-
 um in hunc vetus iacit comoedia? O insulsum, inquit, deum et dignum qui
 ex inguine nasceretur. At quis non malit hic fatuus et insulsus esse, semper festi-
 uus, semper pubescens, semper omnibus lusus ac voluptatem adferens, quam
 280 vel ἀγκυλόμητις ille Iupiter omnibus formidabilis, vel Pan suis tumultibus omnia
 senio vitians, vel fauillis oppletus Vulcanus ac semper officinae laboribus squa-
 lidus, aut Pallas etiam ipsa, sua Gorgone et hasta terribilis καὶ ἀεὶ ἐνορῶσα δριμύ.
 Cur semper puer Cupido? Cur? nisi quia nugator est καὶ μηδὲν ὑγιές neque facit
 neque cogitat? Cur aureae Veneri semper vernat sua forma? Nimirum quia
 285 mecum habet affinitatem, vnde et patris mei colorem vultu refert, atque hac de
 causa est apud Homerum χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη. Deinde perpetuo ridet, si quid modo
 poetis credimus aut horum aemulis statuariis. Quod numen vnquam religiosius
 coluere Romani quam Florae, omnium voluptatum parentis? Quanquam si quis

260 aui B-H: om. A.

261 deamaretur E-H: amaretur A-D.

267 Gentilium dii stulti omnes* C: om. A B
 D-H; Deos ipsos stulticia commendari*
 D-H: om. A-C.

268 opprobret B F-H: opprobet A C-E; rep-
 pererit A-F: repererit G H.

271 tantulum E-H: tantillum A-D.

274 Morychus* D-H: om. A-C (in H iuxta
 locum idoneum non in textu sed in commentario).

278 Dii iocosi et dii seueri* D-H: om. A-C.

280 vel Pan A C-H: Pan vel B.

283 Cur? A-G: om. H.

285-286 atque ... Ἀφροδίτη B-H: om. A.

287 vnquam A B D-H: nunquam C.

iuuentutis appellatum, in quem ingressi
 senes repubescant' (L.). Legends about the
 fountain of youth were very widespread (E.
 Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vor-
 läufer*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 222).

259-260 succus ... prorogauit Er. (or perhaps

merely Folly) errs here: Memnon (son of Ti-
 thonus and Aurora) had no daughter and the
 youth of Tithonus was not prolonged. See
 the notes on p. 84, l. 234 and l. 257. When
 Memnon was slain by Achilles at Troy,
 Aurora wept for him (hence the dew of the

- dawn) and obtained a sort of immortality for him by changing the smoke from his pyre into a flock of birds (Ov. *Met.* XIII, 576-622).
- 260-261 *Venus ... deamaretur* See third note on p. 84, l. 257.
- 267-268 *mibi ... opprobret* 'Id est, Stultam me vocet' (L.).
- 269 *insuauem et aspernabilem* Cf. Gell. XVI, 8, 16.
- 270 *ephebus ... Bacchus* L. notes that the ancients portrayed Bacchus as a young man with flowing hair, citing Macr. [*Sat.* I, 18, 9], though Macrobius actually says Bacchus was depicted as infant, youth, bearded man, and old man. In fact, after Praxiteles, Bacchus was regularly represented as a beautiful, beardless youth (Kern, *Dionysos*, RE V, 1905, 1045).
- 270-271 *conuiuus ... transgens* See, e.g., Aristoph. *Ran.* 395-414.
- 273 *ludibriis ... gaudeat* Verg. *Georg.* II, 380-396 gives a vivid vignette of lusty rural festivals in honor of Bacchus.
- 274 *Μορύχου μωρότερος* 'Lege Chiliades Erasmi [*Adag.* 1801 (LB II, 662 F)], [1516] in quibus erudite iuxta ac copiose prouerbium hoc explicatur' (L.). Leutsch-Schneidewin I, 121 (Zenobius V, 13). See Photius, *Lex.*, ed. S.A. Naber, Leiden, 1864-65, reprint Amsterdam, 1965, I, 435-436; Suidas, ed. Ada Adler, Leipzig, 1928-38, III, 419; Ps. Plut. *Prov. Alex.* 40, ed. F. Dübner, V, Paris, 1832, 166-167; and W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1894-97, II, 3220-3221.
- 276-278 *quid non scommatum ... nasceretur* Bacchus is frequently insulted in Aristoph. *Ran.* (e.g. 572-576, 932, 1135, 1150), but none of the insults comes close to the language or idea which Moria seems to quote here ('inquiet'). On Bacchus' second birth from Jove's thigh, see Ov. *Met.* III, 310-312.
- 280 *ἀγκυλόμητις ille Iupiter* Homer applies the epithet only to Cronos (*Il.* II, 205; *Od.* XXI, 415), but when he does so he is referring to Iupiter, 'the child of wily Cronos.' Hesiod applies the epithet not only to Cronos (*Theog.* 18) but also to Prometheus (*Theog.* 546, *Erg.* 48) - but only when the hero is dealing with Zeus.
- 280-281 *Pan ... vitians* On the sudden, unreasonable 'panic' fear inspired by this god see Polyain. *Strat.*, 1, 2. E. Harrison's note in *Classical Review* 40, pp. 6-8 and *Adag.* 263 (LB II, 884 C), where Er. refers to Angelus Politianus, *Lib. miscell.*, cap. 28 (*Opera*, Basel, 1553, pp. 249-250). This fear is nowhere associated with old age ('senio vitians'). Listrius' explanation ('et [Pan] senex fingitur') is true but not very satisfying, since Pan was also portrayed as a graceful young man. On representations of Pan in ancient art see J.-A. Hild in Daremberg and Saglio, IV, pp. 299-302. Perhaps Folly intends *senio* to mean merely 'debility'.
- 282 *καὶ αἰὲν ἐνορῶσα δριμύ* L. rightly refers to Cupid's description of Pallas' stern glances in Lucian. [*Deor. dial.*, XIX, 1]. Cf. also Lucian. *Cat.*, 3.
- 283 *μηδὲν ὄγιές* *Adag.* 738 (LB II, 312 A). Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 37 and *Thesm.* 394, Eur. *Andr.* 448, Cic. *Att.* XV, 1.
- 284 *aureae Veneri* Cf. Ov. *Met.* X, 277; *Her.* XVI, 35.
- 285-286 *patris ... Ἀφροδίτη* The epithet χρυσῆ (derived from Lesbos, Tümpel, *Aphrodite*, RE I, 1894, 2748) is applied to Aphrodite in *Hymn. Hom.* V, 93 and ten times in Homer (e.g., *Od.* VIII, 337, 342; *Il.* V, 427). The color of Moria's father, Plutus, is gold because he is the god of riches. See the note on p. 76, l. 93. Lucian makes an ironical contrast between the real gold of riches and the metaphorical gold of Aphrodite's beauty (*Dial. mort.* IX, 3). See also Lucian. *Iup. trag.*, 10 and *Charidemus*, 11.
- 286-287 *si quid ... credimus* Cf. Iuv. X, 246: 'magno si quidquam credis Homero.' *ridet ... statuarius* The epithet φιλομειδής is applied to Aphrodite by Hesiod (*Theog.* 989), five times in *Hymn. Hom.* V (e.g., l. 17), and six times by Homer (e.g., *Il.* III, 424; *Od.* VIII, 362). L. mentions this Homeric epithet and quotes Theocr. XIX, 7 and I, 95. See also Verg. *Aen.* IV, 128. A large group of early Ionic statues represent Aphrodite as smiling, but many of the best and best known statues of her (especially after the division between the heavenly and the earthly forms of Aphrodite) do not portray her as smiling (K. Tümpel, RE I, 1894, 2779-2780). Lucian mentions a well-known statue of Aphrodite smiling (*Imag.* 6).
- 288 *Florae ... parentis* Flora was an indigenous Roman goddess whose rites, the Floralia, were celebrated each spring. The Floralia were so lascivious that even Ovid found them a little shocking (*Fast.* V, 331-354). See also Martial. I, praef. The Floralia were singled out as an especially notorious example of indecent worship of the pagan gods (Aug. *Civ.* II, 27 and *Epist.* 91, 5). Lact. gives one version of the origin of the Floralia designed to explain why naked prostitutes took part in the festivities (*Diuin. inst.* I, 20, 6-10).

etiam tetricorum deorum vitam diligentius requirat ab Homero reliquisque poetis, reperiet stulticiae plena omnia. Quid enim attinet reliquorum facta commemorare, cum Iouis ipsius fulminatoris amores ac lusus probe noritis? Cum seuera illa Diana oblita sexus nihil aliud quam venetur, Endymionem interim deperiens?

Verum illi sua facinora a Momo audiant malim, a quo saepius quondam audire solebant; sed hunc nuper irati vna cum Ate in terras praecipitem dederunt, quod sapientia sua felicitati deorum importunus obstreperet. Neque mortalium vllus exulem dignatur hospitio, tantum abest vt illi in principum aulis sit locus, in quibus tamen mea Κολακία primas tenet, cui cum Momo non magis conuenit quam cum agno lupis. Itaque sublato illo, iam multo licentius ac suavius nugantur dii, vere ῥᾶον ἄγοντες, vt inquit Homerus, nullo videlicet censore. Quos enim non praebebat iocos ficulnus ille Priapus? Quos non ludos exhibet furtis ac praestigiis suis Mercurius? Quin et Vulcanus ipse in deorum conuiuuiis γελωτοποιόν agere consuevit, ac modo claudicatione, modo cauillis, modo ridiculis dictis exhilarare compositationem. Tum et Silenus ille senex amator, τὴν κόρδακα saltare solitus, vna cum Polyphemo τὴν τρετανελό, Nymphis τὴν γυμνοποδίαν saltantibus. Satyri semicapri Atellanas agitant. Pan insulsa quapiam cantiuncula risum | omnibus mouet, quem ita malunt quam ipsas audire Musas, praecipue cum iam nectare coeperint madere. Porro quid ego nunc commemorem, quae probe poti dii post conuiuuium agitent? Adeo me Hercle stulta, vt ipsa nonnunquam a risu temperare nequeam. At satius est in his Harpocratis meminisse, ne forte nos quoque Corycaeus aliquis deus auscultet ea narrantes, quae ne Momus quidem impune proloquutus est.

Sed iam tempus est, vt ad Homericum exemplar relictis coelitibus vicissim in terram demigremus, quamque ibi nihil laetum aut felix sit nisi meo munere dispiciamus. In primis videtis, quanta prouidentia natura parens et humani generis opifex illud cauerit, ne vsquam deesset stulticiae condimentum? Etenim cum

295 sed hunc B-H: Verum A.

296 Adulatio grata principum aulis* D-H: om. A-C.

300 ῥᾶον B-H: ῥᾶστον A.

301 Voluptates deorum* D-H: om. A-C.

303 cauillis B-H: fauillis A.

305 γυμνοποδίαν G H: γυμνοπόδιον A-F.

290 stulticiae plena omnia Cf. Cic. Fam. IX, 22, 4: 'Stultorum plena sunt omnia.' Walther 30433a; Otto No. 1701.

291 Iouis ... lusus Iupiter had not only seven wives (Hes. Theog. 886-922), but also many mistresses. See p. 80, l. 150.

292 Diana ... venetur Though Xen. De venatione mentions that a few women have excelled at hunting (XIII, 18), his treatise as a whole makes it clear that hunting was an almost exclusively masculine pursuit.

310 At E-H: Sed A-D; ne H: ne quis A-G.

311 narrantes F-H: narrantem A-E.

314 terram A C-H: terram tempus est vt ad Homericum exemplar: relictis caelitibus vicissim in terram B; quamque A E-H: quamquam B-D; sit A: om. B-H.

Endymionem Theocr. XX, 37-39; Cic. Tusc. I, 38; Ov. Her. XVIII, 49-74; and Adag. 863 (LB II, 357 D).

294 Momo Listrius notes Plato's allusion to Momus, the god of reprehension [Rep. VI, 487a], Lucian's portrayal of Momus reproaching the gods in council [Deor. concil.], and the story of Momus' strictures on the creative talents of Pallas, Vulcan, and Prometheus (conflating Pallas, Vulcan, and Neptune from Lucian's version [Hermotimos

- 20] with Aesop's Pallas, Zeus, and Prometheus [*Fab.* 125, ed. A. Chambry, Assn. G. Budé, Paris, 1925]. In *Adag.* 474 (LB II, 210 B), Er. refers to Hes. [*Theog.* 214], to Aristot. *Part. an.* III [2, 663b], and to Lucian. *Ver. hist.* II [3] and *Hermotimos* [20]. Although in post-classical times Momus was portrayed as a king's jester holding a fool's bauble (M. Rat in his notes to P. de Nolhac's translation, Paris, 1936, pp. 269-270; G. Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols*, New York, 1962, p. 1116), Momus is portrayed as a sharp-toothed, decrepit old man in *Anth. Pal.* XVI 265-266; it is not likely that Er. intended us to imagine Momus, an enemy of Folly, as dressed in her livery.
- 295 *hunc ... dederunt* Aesop (see preceding note) tells how Zeus threw Momus down from Olympus. On Ate see Hom. *Il.* XIX, 126-131 and *Adag.* 613 (LB II, 265 E).
- 296-297 *Neque ... hospitio* In Lucian. *Imp. trag.* 22 Momus remarks that men pay him no honor or favors. Cf. Otto No. 1394.
- 299 *cum agno lupis* *Adag.* 310 (LB II, 155 C). Wyss, p. 81.
- 300 ῥεῖα ἄγοντες The exact Homeric phrase is ῥεῖα ζῶοντες (*Od.* IV, 805; V, 122; *Il.* VI, 138).
- 301 *ficulnus ille Priapus* Hor. *Serm.* I, 8, 1 and *Adag.* 685 (LB II, 295 E).
- 302 *Mercurius* Hor. *Carm.* I, 10. Lucian. *Somnium sine Gallus* 28, *Prometh.* 5, *Deor. dial.* VII, 1-3. *Vulcanus ... γελωτοποιόν* The Greek word has coarse and scurrilous connotations (Xen. *Symp.* I, 11; Cass. Dio XLV, 28, 2). L. refers to *Il.* I, [584-600], quoting the last two lines.
- 304 *Silenus ... saltare* The χόρδαξ was a comic dance (Aristoph. *Nub.* 540) usually regarded as vulgar (Athen. XIV, 631d) or obscene (Thphr. *Char.* VI, 3). It is danced by Silenus in Lucian. *Icaromen.* 27 (transl. by Er., *ASD* I, 1, p. 420, l. 24). L. calls the cordax a rustic, comic dance, referring to Lucian. *Salt.* [26] and to Poll. lib. 4, cap. 13 [IV, 99]. The gender of χόρδαξ is masculine, not feminine. See L. B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece*, Middletown, Conn., 1964, p. 87.
- 304 *Polyphemo τὴν τρετανελό* Although L. notes that τρετανελό (Aristoph. *Plut.* [290]) is a word manufactured to represent the dance of the Cyclops (mentioned by Hor. [*Serm.* I, 5, 63]), the Greek word was actually coined to imitate the strumming of a cithara. But when Aristophanes' character uses this word, he is in fact dancing in imitation of the Cyclops. In this passage Aristophanes parodies a lost play of Philoxenus, from which he borrowed this onomatopoetic word (*Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem*, ed. Fr. Dübner, Paris, 1877, p. 341). I. Tzetzes in his commentary on Aristophanes (ed. L. M. Positano, Groningen, 1960, pp. 83-84) makes the word either neuter or masculine, not feminine. The form θρετανελό appears in E. 845, E. 851, E. 857, and E. 859. E. 867 has θρετανεδό. Stephanus and modern editors spell the word more correctly (θρετανελό), but Er. himself remarks (*De pronunt.*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 80, l. 179 sqq.) that many of his contemporaries (he refers particularly to lowland Germans) pronounce θ as simply τ, instead of sounding it like the *th* at the opening of the English word 'thief.'
- τὴν γυμνοποδίαν 'Et hoc saltationis genus a nuditate pedum dicta: γυμνόν enim nudum, ποῦς pes dicitur. [1523] Meminit Lucianus [*Salt.* 12]' (L.). Stephanus (III, 815) gives this meaning (together with the form γυμνοπόδιον found in A-F), but Dindorf corrected the reading at Lucian. *Salt.* 12 and elsewhere to γυμνοπαιδία, a Spartan festival during which a group of boys danced naked.
- 306 *Atellanas* A dance which uses obscene gestures to depict lust, named from the city of Atella (L.). This indigenous form of comedy (Liv. VII, 2, 12-13) was a spontaneous and often licentious skit, which became so objectionable that it was suppressed (Tac. *Ann.* IV, 14). See *Atellanae Fabulae*, ed. Paolo Frassinetti, Rome, 1967, and Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, 4th ed., rev. Carl Hosius, 1927, reprint Munich, 1959, part 1, pp. 245-253. It was regularly recognized as indecorous and reprehensible (Petron. 53; Hier. *Epist.* 147, 5; and Tert. *De spect.* 17, 2).
- 310 *Harpocratis* The god of silence, usually portrayed as pressing his finger against his lips. Varro, *Ling. lat.* V, 57 (and Aug. *Civ.* XVIII, 5); Catull. CII, 4; Ov. *Met.* VI, 692. In *Adag.* 3052 (LB II, 981 E), Er. quotes Catull. LXXIV. Otto No. 791.
- 310-311 *Corycaeus* In *Adag.* 144 (LB II, 87 A), Er. quotes Strab. XIV [1, 32, 644] and notes that two comic writers, Menander and Dexippus, brought on the stage 'Deum quempiam Corycaeum, exaudientem atque auscultantem quae gerantur.' Otto No. 449.
- 313-315 *Sed iam ... dispiciamus* Cf. Lucian. *Sacrific.* 8.
- 315-316 *natura ... opifex* Cf. Cic. *Nat.* I, 8 and Plin. *Nat.* XXXI, 1, 1.
- 316 *stulticiae condimentum* See p. 82, l. 182 and p. 91, l. 363.

Stoicis definitioribus nihil aliud sit sapientia quam duci ratione, contra stulticia affectuum arbitrio moueri, ne plane tristis ac tetrica esset hominum vita, Iupiter quanto plus indidit affectuum quam rationis? Quasi semiunciam compares ad assem. Praeterea rationem in angustum capitis angulum relegauit, reliquum
 320
 LB 418 omne corpus perturbationibus reliquit. Deinde duos quasi tyrannos violentissimos vni opposuit: iram quae | praecordiorum arcem obtinet atque adeo ipsum vitae fontem, cor, et concupiscentiam, quae ad imam vsque pubem latissime imperium occupat. Aduersus has geminas copias quantum valeat ratio, communis hominum vita satis declarat, cum illa, quod vnum licet, vel vsque ad rauim
 325 reclamat et honesti dictat formulas, verum hi laqueum regi suo remittunt multoque odiosius obstrepunt, donec iam ipse quoque fessus vltro cedit ac manus dat.

Caeterum quoniam viro administrandis rebus nato plusculum de rationis vnciola erat aspergendum, vt huic quoque pro virili consuleret, me hic sicut in caeteris in consilium adhibuit moxque consilium dedi me dignum: nempe vt mulierem adiungeret, animal videlicet stultum quidem illud atque ineptum, verum ridiculum et suaue, quo conuictu domestico virilis ingenii tristitiam sua stulticia condiret atque edulcaret. Nam quod Plato dubitare videtur, vtro in
 330 genere ponat mulierem, rationalium animantium an brutorum, nihil aliud voluit quam insignem eius sexus stulticiam indicare. Quod si qua forte mulier sapiens haberi voluerit, ea nihil aliud egerit quam vt bis stulta sit, perinde quasi bouem aliquis ducat ad ceroma, inuita reluctantequae, vt aiunt, Minerua. Conduplicat enim vitium, quisquis contra naturam virtutis fucum inducit atque alio deflectit
 335 ingenium. Quemadmodum iuxta Graecorum prouerbium *simia semper est simia*, etiam si purpura vestiatur, ita mulier semper mulier est, hoc est stulta, quamcunque personam induerit.

Neque vero mulierum genus vsque adeo stultum arbitror, vt eam ob rem mihi succenseant, quod illis, et ipsa mulier et Stulticia, stulticiam attribuam. Etenim
 345 si rem recta reputent via, hoc ipsum stulticiae debent acceptum ferre, quod sint viris multis calculis fortunatiores. Primum formae gratia, quam illae merito rebus omnibus anteponunt cuiusque praesidio in tyrannos etiam ipsos tyrannidem exercent. Alioqui vndenam horror ille formae, hispida cutis et barbae sylua, plane senile quiddam in viro, nisi a prudentiae vicio, cum foeminarum semper laeues
 350 malae, vox semper exilis, cutis mollicula quasi perpetuam quandam adolescentiam imitentur? Deinde quid aliud optant in hac vita quam vt viris quammaxime placeant? Nonne huc spectant tot cultus, tot fuci, tot balnea, tot compturae, tot vnguenta, tot odores, tot componendi, pingendi fingendique vultus, oculos, et cutem artes? Iam num alio nomine viris magis commendatae sunt quam stulticiae? Quid enim est, | quod illi mulieribus non permittunt? At quo tandem auto-
 LB 419 ramento nisi voluptatis? Delectant autem foeminae non alia re quam stulticia. Id esse verum non ibit inficias, quisquis secum reputarit, quas vir cum muliere dicat ineptias, quas agat nugas, quoties foeminea voluptate decreuerit vti. Habetis igitur
 356 primum et praecipuum vitae oblectamentum, quo fonte proficiscatur.

360

Sed sunt nonnulli, cum primis autem senes, bibaces quidem illi magis quam mulierosi, qui summam voluptatem in comotationibus constituunt. Equidem an sit vllum lautum conuiuium, vbi mulier non adsit, viderint alii. Illud certe constat, citra stulticiae condimentum nullum omnino suaue esse. Adeo vt si desit, qui seu vera seu similata stulticia risum moueat, γελωτοποιόν quempiam vel mer-

- 317 Stulticia naturalis homini* C-H: om. A B.
 327 ipse H: is A-F, his G.
 330 me hic H: me A-G.
 332 Mulier stultum animal* C D F G: om. A B E H.
 336 Bis stulta mulier quae sapere velit* C-H: om. A B.
 337 voluerit H: velit A-E, voluit FG; egerit H: agit A-G.
 342 induerit H: induxeris A-F, induxerit G.
 317-318 *Stoicis ... moueri* Cic. *Leg.* I, 7, 22 and *Tusc.* III, 19; IV, 12.
 319-320 *semiunciam ... assem* '...Ridicule autem meminit assis et vnciae, quae sunt ponderum nomina, cum de rebas animi loquatur' (L.).
 320-324 *rationem ... occupat* L. refers to Plato [*Tim.* 69 B-71 A, *Rep.* IV, 435 C-441 C, 444 B-E]. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* I, 10, 20; IV, 5, 10.
 325 *vsque ad rauim* A Plautine proverb [*Aul.* 336] (L.). *Adag.* 3070 (LB II, 985 D), *Vsque ad rauim*. Otto No. 1509. The phrase may be translated 'until she is hoarse.'
 326 *laqueum ... remittunt* A variation of the idiom 'mandare laqueum' (see note on p. 76, l. 102).
 327-328 *manus dat* Otto No. 1040.
 331 *in consilium adhibuit* Otto No. 516.
moxque consilium '[1532] Si nugas quaslibet vocamus ad seriam ac seueram examinationem, quid magis impium quam hoc tribuere stulticiae, quod scriptura commemorat a Deo factum?' (L.). The commentary refers to God's creation of woman (*Gen.* 1, 27; 2, 18-22). Cf. Otto No. 516.
 334 *edulcaret* Gell. XV, 25, 2.
 334-335 *Plato ... brutorum* Plato *Tim.* 76E: γυναικες και ταλλα θηρια. See also *Tim.* 42 A-C, 91 A. Folly conveniently ignores a passage where Plato insists on the essential equality of men and women (*Rep.* 452 E-456 A). André Tiraqueau, in his *De legibus conubialibus et de iure maritali* (1513), seems to have taken some of his phrasing directly from this passage in the *Moria*. See Roger Desmed, *Erasme (Eloge de la Folie, XVII)*, in: *Ludus Magistralis*, no. 14 (1968), pp. 11-16.
 336-337 *mulier ... bis stulta* Er. *Coll., Abbatis et Eruditae*, ASD I, 3, p. 407, ll. 133-134: 'Frequenter audiui vulgo dici foeminam sapien-
 343 eam ob rem mihi F-H: mihi eam ob rem A-E.
 345 Quae commoda foeminis e stulticia* D-H: om. A-C; gratia A B F: gratia C D, gratiam E G H; illae E-H: illi A-D.
 353 pingendi A-F: pinguendi G H.
 353-354 oculos, et cutem G H: om. A-F.
 356 foeminae H: om. A-G.
 361 Voluptas conuiuiorum* C-H: om. A B.
 364 seu vera seu E-H: vel vera vel A-D.
 tem bis stultam esse.'
 337-338 *bouem ... ceroma* *Adag.* 362 (LB II, 172 B). Cf. Otto Nos. 264, 1284.
 338 *inuita ... Minerva* *Adag.* 42 (LB II, 44 A); Otto No. 1121. In *Eccles.*, LB V, 854 C, Er. quotes Hor. *Ar.* 385.
 340-341 *simia ... vestiatur* *Adag.* 611 (LB II, 265 A). See note on p. 74. l. 71.
 346 *multis calculis* Cf. *Adag.* 460 (LB II, 205 E).
 347-348 *in tyrannos ... exercent* Cf. *Plin. Nat.* XXIV, 1, 5: 'imperatoribus ... imperauerunt.'
 348 *barbae sylvia* Cf. *Iuv.* 9, 12-13.
 352 *compturae* Though this word does not appear in any of the classical or medieval dictionaries (not all the forthcoming medieval dictionaries have reached the letter 'c'), I doubt that Er. coined it. The 1520 French translation has 'tants de cultures' (sig. C4v), though this may be a translation of 'tot cultus'; Pellegrini (Venice, 1539) translated 'ornamenti' (sig. B3v); Chaloner (London, 1549), 'heare curlyges' (ed. Clarence Miller, Oxford, 1965, p. 24). Derived from 'comptus' (*Th.L.L.* III, 2169, 33) but related also to 'coma' (*Th.L.L.* III, 1992, 53, 83; 1993, 1-3), 'comptura' probably means either 'hairstyle' or 'headdress.' Tertullian calls hairdressers 'structores capillaturae' (*De cultu fem.*, I, 7). In the half-century before Er. wrote *Moria* (1509), women almost always wore head-dresses, often very elaborate and usually concealing the hair entirely (C.W. and P. Cunningham, *Handbook of Medieval Costume*, London, 1960, pp. 159-164).
 363 *stulticiae condimentum* See p. 82, l. 182 and p. 88, l. 316.
 364 γελωτοποιόν See second note on p. 88, l. 302.

365 cede conductum accersant aut ridiculum aliquem parasitum adhibeant, qui
ridendis, hoc est, stultis diceriis silentium ac tristitiam comotationis discutiat.
Quorsum enim attinebat tot bellariis, tot lauticiis, tot cupediis onerare ventrem,
nisi et oculi pariter et aures, nisi totus animus risu, iocis, leporibus pasceretur?
At istiusmodi tragematum ego sum architectrix vnica. Quanquam illa ipsa iam
370 in conuiuuis solemnia, regem sortiri talis, lusitare tesseriis, philotesiis inuitare,
certare συμπεριφοραῖς, ad myrtum canere, saltare, gesticulari, non a septem
Graeciae sophis, verum a nobis ad humani generis salutem reperta sunt. Atqui
omnium huiusmodi rerum ea natura est, vt quo plus habeant stulticiae, hoc plus
conferant vitae mortalium, quae si tristis sit, ne vita quidem appellanda videatur.
375 Tristis autem euadat oportet, nisi cognatum taedium hoc genus oblectamentis
absterseris.

Sed erunt fortassis qui hoc quoque voluptatis genus negligent et in amicorum
charitate et consuetudine acquiescant, amicitiam dictitantes vnam rebus omni-
bus anteponendam, quippe rem vsqueadeo necessariam, vt nec aer nec ignis nec
380 aqua magis. Rursum adeo iucundam, vt qui hanc de medio sustulerit, solem sus-
tulerit, adeo denique honestam, si quid tamen hoc ad rem pertinet, vt nec ipsi
philosophi vereantur eam inter praecipua bona commemorare. Sed quid, si
LB 420 doceo me huius quoque tanti boni et | puppim esse et proram? Docebo autem
non crocodilitis aut soritis, ceratinis aut aliis id genus dialecticorum argutiis sed
385 pingui, quod aiunt, Minerua rem digito propemodum ostendam. Age, con-
nuere, labi, caecutire, hallucinari in amicorum vitiis, quaedam etiam insignia vitia
pro virtutibus amare mirarique, an non stulticiae videtur affine? Quid cum alius
exosculatur naeuum in amica, alium delectat polypus Agnae, cum filium strabo-
nem apellat petum pater, quid, inquam, hoc est nisi mera stulticia? Clament ter-
390 que quaterque stulticiam esse: atqui haec una stulticia et iungit, iunctos et seruat
amicos. De mortalibus loquor, quorum nemo sine vitiis nascitur, optimus ille est
qui minimis vrgetur: cum interim inter sapientes istos deos aut omnino non
coalescit amicitia aut tetrica quaedam et insuauis intercedit, nec ea nisi cum pau-
cissimis (nam cum nullis dicere religio est) propterea quod maxima pars homi-
395 num desipit, imo nullus est, qui non multis modis deliret, et non nisi inter similes
cohaeret necessitudo. Quod si quando inter saeueros istos coierit mutua bene-
uolentia, ea certe haudquaquam stabilis est nec admodum duratura, nimirum
inter morosos et plus satis oculatos, vt qui in amicorum vitiis tam cernunt acu-
tum quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius; at ipsi in propriis vitiis quam lip-

371 certare συμπεριφοραῖς B-H: om. A.

382 Nec amicitiam constare sine stultitia*
D-H: om. A-C.

388 amica C-H: amico A B.

396 Asperitas in amicitia* C-H: om. A B.

399 prius aut A-E G H: vt F.

367 bellariis *Bellaria* was regularly noted as the
Latin equivalent of τραγήματα (Gell. XIII,
11, 7, and *Th.L.L.* II, 1805, 23-37). L. notes
that *tragemata* (l. 369) are called *bellaria* in
Latin and signify 'secundae mensae delicias.'
369 *architectrix* Though this feminine form

does not appear in any of the classical or
medieval dictionaries, it is a regular forma-
tion from *architector*, a masculine form rare in
classical times (*Th.L.L.* II, 646, 67-70) but
not uncommon in the middle ages (*Mittella-
teinisches Wörterbuch*, Munich, 1959-69).

- Feminine forms in *-trix* seem to have been more common in the middle ages, partly because of the titles applied to the Virgin (see *genetrix, mediatrix, redemptrix, desertrix, resig-natrix* in Blaise). See D.F.S. Thomson, *The Latinity of Erasmus*, in *Erasmus*, ed. T. A. Dorey, London, 1970, p. 127, and note on p. 72, l. 33 above.
- 370 *regem sortiri talis* The person who prescribes how much each person at a banquet must drink is called the 'king' (L.). Hor. *Carm.* I, 4, 18: 'Nec regna vini sortiere talis.' Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 7, 25 and Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 15. *Adag.* 947 (LB II, 381 C-D).
- philotesiis inuitare* Φιλοτησία refers to a custom we still follow: first drinking to someone's health and then extending the cup to him (L.). Cf. Lucian. *Somnium sive Gallus* 12, and Suidas (ed. A. Adler, Leipzig, 1935, IV, p. 735). Cf. *Adag.* 3670 (LB II, 1115 C).
- 371 *certare συμπεριφοραῖς* The Greek word refers to the custom of going round the table in order, each one taking his turn to sing, speak, or drink (L.). Stephanus (VII, 1108) mentions the meaning 'circumportatio ... ut sit ἡ ἐν κύκλῳ φορὰ τοῦ κύλικος καὶ πόσις,' but (like Budé) rejects it. Modern dictionaries (Liddell and Scott) give only such meanings as 'companionship, complaisance.' Cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV, 1, 31; *Epist.* I, 19, 11.
- ad myrtum canere* L. refers to *Adag.* [1521 (LB II, 589 D)]. Zenobius I, 19. Leutsch-Schneidewin I, 6.
- 371-372 *septem Graeciae sophis* The list of seven wisemen, first given in Plat. *Prot.* 343 A, underwent many variations. Their contributions were not speculative but moral and political (cf. Cic. *Rep.* I, 7, 12); hence a certain dissonance with 'regem sortiri talis' (l. 370). Er. edited *Septem Sapientum celebra dicta* (Allen, introd. Ep. 298).
- 374 *ne vita quidem* Hence the ancients sometimes used *vivere* to mean 'to live happily, to live a good life' as in Catull. [5, 1] (L.). See note on p. 116, l. 862 and on p. 194, l. 276.
- 375 *Tristis ... oportet* Cf. Lucian. *Prometh.* 8.
- 378-379 *amicitiam ... anteponendam* Cf. Cic. *Lael.* 4, 17.
- 379-380 *necessariam ... magis* *Adag.* 1175 (LB II, 474 A), and Walther 960b.
- 380-381 *qui banc ... solem sustulerit* Cf. Cic. *Lael.* 13, 47.
- 382 *philosophi ... commemorare* Cf. Cic. *Fin.* I, 20, 65; III, 21, 70.
- 383 *puppm ... proram* *Adag.* 8 (LB II, 28 E), and Cic. *Fam.* XVI, 24, 1. Otto No. 1477.
- 384 *crocodilitis* This is a kind of sophistical argument, which the logicians illustrate with the story of the crocodile which made the following proposition to a woman whose child he had seized. 'If you tell me the truth,' it said, 'I will give you back your child.' 'You will not give him back,' she said, 'and now give him back since I have told the truth.' 'Quite the contrary,' said the crocodile. 'If I gave him back, you would not have told the truth.' (L.). This fallacy is mentioned by Quint. (*Inst.* I, 10, 5) and given in full by Lucian. (*Vit. auct.* 22).
- sortitis* This is the kind of argument which Cicero calls 'cumulative' [*Div.* II, 4, 11; *Ac.* 2, 16, 49] because it deceives by adding items to a pile one by one. Thus, if ten coins are not enough to make a man rich, what if you add one coin? What if you add another? Finally you will be reduced to the point where you can never become rich unless a single coin is capable of making you so (L.). Cf. Lucian. *Symp.* 23 and Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 45-47.
- ceratinis* This argument is called the 'horns' of a dilemma because whichever of two alternatives you choose can be turned against you. Ancient logicians used to amuse themselves with such sophistries (L.). Listrius seems to be incorrect. See Quint. *Inst.* I, 10, 5; Lucian. *Symp.* 23; and, for an example, Gell. XVIII, 2, 9.
- 385 *pingui ... Minerua* *Adag.* 37 (LB II, 42 A); Er. *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1278 D; and Otto No. 1120.
- digito ... ostendam* Otto No. 550.
- 385-386 *connuere ... hallucinari* On the meanings of these words and the distinctions among them see *Adag.* 750 (LB II, 317 C-D). 'Connuere' means 'to close one's eyes to, to deliberately overlook.'
- 387-388 *alius ... amica* Cf. Cic. *Nat.* I, 28, 79: 'Nacuum in articulo pueri delectabat Alcaeam.' Cicero's clearly homosexual context, preserved in the original reading *amico*, was eliminated in C.
- 388 *alium ... Agnae* Hor. [*Serm.* I, 3, 40] (L.).
- 388-389 *filium ... pater* Hor. *Serm.* I, 3, 44-45.
- 390-391 *haec ... amicos* Hor. [*Serm.* I, 3, 54] (L.). *Adag.* 1853 (LB II, 675 A).
- 391-392 *nemo ... vrgetur* Hor. [*Serm.* I, 3, 68-69] (L.). Otto No. 1918.
- 395-396 *non nisi ... necessitudo* *Adag.* 120-121 (LB II, 78 D-80 B); Otto Nos. 1335-1336; and Walther 29641-42. On *necessitudo* in the sense 'intimacy, friendship,' see *Adag.* 1175 (LB II, 474 B) and Gell. XIII, 3, 1-6. Cf. p. 94, ll. 405-406.
- 398-399 *qui ... Epidaurius* Hor. [*Serm.* I, 3,

400 piunt et quam non vident manticam in tergo pendentem! Itaque cum ea sit hominum natura, vt nullum ingenium reperiat non magnis obnoxium vitiis, adde tantam animorum ac studiorum dissimilitudinem, tot lapsus, tot errata, tot casus vitae mortalis, quo pacto vel horam constabit inter Argos istos amicitiae iucunditas nisi accesserit ea quam mire Graeci εὐήθειαν appellant, hanc seu stulticiam
 405 seu morum facilitatem veritas licebit. Quid autem? An non Cupido ille omnis necessitudinis autor et parens, prorsum oculis captus est, cui quemadmodum τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται, itidem inter vos quoque efficit, vt suum cuique pulchrum videatur, vt cascus cascam, perinde vt pupus pupam deamet. Haec passim et fiunt et ridentur, sed tamen haec ridicula iucundam vitae glutinant copulantque societatem.
 410

Porro quod de amicitia dictum est, id multo magis de coniugio sentiendum, quod quidem nihil est aliud quam indiuidua vitae coniunctio. Deum immortalem, quae non diortia aut etiam diortiis deteriora passim acciderent, nisi viri foeminaeque domestica consuetudo per adulationem, per iocum, per facilitatem,
 415 errorem, dissimulationem, meum utique satellitium, fulciretur alereturque? Papae, quam pauca coirent matrimonia si sponsus prudenter exquireret, quos lusus delicata illa, sicuti videtur, ac pudens virguncula iam multo ante nuptias luserit? Tum quanto pauciora cohaerent inita, nisi plurima vxorum facta per viri vel negligentiam vel stuporem laterent? Atque haec quidem merito stulticiae
 420 tribuuntur, verum ea interim praestat, vt marito iucunda sit vxor, vxori iucundus maritus, vt tranquilla domus, vt maneat affinitas. Ridetur, cuculus, curruca, et quid non vocatur, cum moechae lachrymas labellis exorbet. At quanto felicius, sic errare, quam zelotypiae diligentia cum sese conficere, tum omnia miscere tra-
 L.B. 421 goediis?

425 In summa vsque adeo nulla societas, nulla vitae coniunctio sine me vel iucunda vel stabilis esse potest, vt nec populus principem nec seruum herus nec heram pedisequa nec discipulum praeceptor nec amicus amicum nec maritum vxor nec locator conductorem nec contubernalis contubernalem nec conuictor conuictorem diutius ferat, nisi vicissim inter sese nunc errent, nunc adulentur, nunc prudentes conniueant, nunc aliquo stulticiae melle sese deliniant. Iam haec scio
 430 videri maxima, sed audietis maiora.

Quaeso num quenquam amabit qui ipse semet oderit? Num cum alio concordabit qui secum ipse dissidet? Num vlli voluptatem adferet qui sibimet ipsi sit grauis ac molestus? Istud opinor nemo dixerit, nisi qui sit ipsa stultior stulticia.
 435 Atqui si me excluderis, adeo nemo poterit alterum ferre, vt ipse etiam sibi quisque puteat, sua cuique sordeant, sibi quisque sit inuisus. Quandoquidem id mali natura, non paucis in rebus nouerca magis quam parens, mortalium ingeniis inseuit, praecipue paulo cordatiorum, vt sui quemque poeniteat, admiretur

404 hanc B-H: quam A.

405 Amor caesus iudex* D-H: om. A-C.

411 Non constare coniugium sine stulticia*
 C-H: om. A B.

418 facta A-D F-H: acta E.

425 Nulla societas hominum absque stulticia*
 C-H: om. A B.

432 Nemo sibiipsi charus absque stulticia*

26-27] (L.). *Adag.* 896 (LB II, 366 C). Cf. *Adag.* 691 (LB II, 256 F). Otto No. 1632.

400 *manticam ... pendentem* In *Adag.* 690 (LB II, 256 C), Er. quotes Catull. [22, 21], Pers. [IV, 24] (quoted also by I.), Hor. [*Serm.* II, 3, 298-299] and Hier. [*Epist.* 102, Migne PL XXII, 831]. Cf. Phaedr. IV, 10; B. E. Perry, *Aesopica*, Urbana, 1952, p. 424; Walther 18704b; and Otto No. 1032.

403 Argos L. quotes Ov. [*Met.* I, 625].

404-405 εὐήθειαν ... *facilitatem* On the contrary meanings of the Greek word see Plat. *Rep.* 400 E and Suidas (ed. A. Adler, Leipzig, 1928-38, part II, p. 448).

405-406 *Cupido ... oculis captus* L. quotes and translates Plat. *Leg. V*, 731 E: τυφλοῦται ὁ φιλῶν [L. ἡς τὸ φιλοῦν] γὰρ περὶ τὸ φιλοῦμενον. But love in this passage refers to self-love, not love of another. The blindness of Cupid, which never appears in ancient iconography and almost never in ancient literature (but see Theocr. X, 19-20), is a medieval innovation with distinct moral overtones. See E. Panofsky's *Blind Cupid* in *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1962, pp. 95-128, and G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450-1600*, Geneva, 1958, col. 40-41. Walther 2226.

406-407 τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται Theocr. VI, [18-19], quoted and translated by L. and by Er. in *Adag.* 115 (LB II, 74 E).

407 *suum ... pulchrum* *Adag.* 115 (LB II, 75 B). Walther 30942b. Er. *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1290 E. Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 56, ll. 32-33 and note.

408 *cascus cascam* *Adag.* 162 (LB II, 94 D). Er. *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1290 E.

409 *glutinant copulantque* *Glutinare* used *de arte societate hominum* seems to appear only in Christian writers (*Th.L.L.* glutino II A 2). *Copulantque* looks forward to the following paragraph, since it is very frequently applied to matrimony (*Th.L.L.*, copulo II B 2).

412 *individua vitae coniunctio* A condensation of the definition of matrimony in civil (Iustin. *Inst.* I, 9, 1) and canon law: 'viri mulierisque coniunctio, individuum vitae consuetudinem retinens' (*Decretum Gratiani*, II, causa XXVII, quest. 2, CJC I, 1062).

413 *diuortii deteriora* He refers to poisoning or murder (L.).

415 *satellitium* In the abstract sense 'support, protection,' this is a favorite word of St. Augustine (Blaise).

421-422 *cuculus ... exorbet* *Cuculus* and *curruca* are terms commonly applied to a husband

C-H: om. A B.

whose wife is unchaste, although Plautus [e.g. *Asin.* 923] applies *cucullus* to a husband who has a mistress, because the cuckoo lays its eggs in other birds' nests. Juvenal applies *curruca* to the husband of an unchaste wife because this bird raises up in its own brood birds begotten by another: 'Tu tibi nunc curruca places, [fletumque] labellis/Exsorbes,' 6, 276-277] (L.). In *Iuv.* 6, 276, modern editors read *vruca*, but in Er.'s time the commonly accepted reading was *curruca*, which was used to mean both 'cuckoo' (Latham) and 'cuckold' (Du Cange, 2. *curruca*). Plautus uses *cucullus* to mean either 'stupid' or 'amorous' (Wyss, pp. 90-91). See also Walther 16600. The only classical authority for *cuculus* in the sense 'cuckold' is a scholiast on Hor. *Serm.* I, 7, 31, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was clearly used to mean 'cuckold' (Latham, Niermeyer). Cf. *Adag.* 3484 (LB II, 1072 E).

423-424 *omnia ... tragoediis* Cf. *Adag.* 281 (LB II, 142 A), 285 (LB II, 143 C-D), 1791 (LB II, 660 F), and 2154 (LB II, 759 E).

430-431 *Iam haec ... maiora* Cf. Cic. *Phil.* V, 38.

432-434 *Quaeso ... molestus* Er. writes three variations on the proverb *Qui sibi malus, nulli bonus* (Walther 24728a). The proverb itself was current in various forms (Walther 10537, 17338, 24730-33).

434 *stultior stulticia* A variation of the proverbial formula *Stultior stulto* (Walther 30404-30404a). Cf. also Plaut. *Amph.* 907; Otto No. 1699.

435-436 *sibi quisque puteat* The impersonal and metaphorical construction *sibi putere* does not appear in available dictionaries of classical or medieval Latin. L. explains: 'Putere dicitur quod molestum est ac displicet.'

436 *sibi ... inuisis* Three variations contrary to the proverbs *Suum crepitus bene olet*, *Adag.* 2302 (LB II, 806 B); Walther 30944b and *Suum cuique pulchrum* (see n.l. 407 above).

437 *natura ... parens* The main source is Plin. *Nat.* VII, 1. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* XII, 1, 2; Lactantius, *De officio Dei* 3, 1; *Adag.* 1195 (LB II, 481 D). Otto No. 1239.

438 *cordatiorum* The comparative of *cordatus* was used not only by Lactantius (*Inst.* III, 20, 2) but also by writers of the middle ages (Latham, s.v. *cor*) and Renaissance (*Lexicon mediae et infimae latinitatis Polonorum*, ed. M. Plezia, Krakow, 1959-67). Er. much admired the style of Lactantius, whom he called 'Cicero Christianus.'

aliena. Quo fit vt omnes dotes, omnis elegantia decorque vitae vitietur pereatque.
 440 Quid enim proderit forma, praecipuum deorum immortalium munus, si putiditatis vitio contaminetur? Quid iuuenta, si senilis tristitiae fermento corrumpatur? Denique quid in omni vitae munere vel tecum vel apud alios acturus es cum decoro (est enim non artis modo, verumetiam omnis actionis caput, decere quod agas) nisi adsit dextra haec Philautia, quae mihi merito germanae est vice? Adeo
 445 strennue meas vbique partes agit. Quid autem aequè stultum atque tibiipsi placere? Teipsum admirari? At rursum quid venustum, quid gratiosum, quid non indecorum erit quod agas ipse tibi displicens? Tolle hoc vitae condimentum et protinus frigebit cum sua actione orator, nulli placebit cum suis numeris musicus, explodetur cum sua gesticulatione histrio, ridebitur vna suis cum musis
 450 poeta, sordebit cum arte pictor, esuriet cum pharmacis medicus. Postremo pro Nireo Thersites, pro Phaone Nestor, pro Minerua sus, pro facundo infans, pro vrbano rusticus videberis. In tantum necesse est, vt sibi quoque quisque blandiatur et assentatiuncula quapiam sibi prius commendetur quam aliis possit esse commendatus.

455 Denique cum praecipua felicitatis pars sit, vt quod sis esse velis, nimirum totum hoc praestat compendio mea Philautia, vt neminem suae formae, neminem sui ingenii, neminem generis, neminem loci, neminem instituti, neminem patriae poeniteat, adeo vt nec Hirlandus cum Italo nec Thrax cum Atheniensi nec Scytha cum insulis fortunatis cupiat permutare. Et ô singularem naturae sollicitudinem, vt in tanta rerum varietate paria fecit omnia! Vbi dotibus suis nonnihil detraxit, ibi plusculum Philautiae solet addere, quanquam hoc ipsum stulte profecto dixi, cum haec ipsa dos sit vel maxima.

Vt ne dicam interim, nullum egregium facinus adiri nisi meo impulsu, nullas egregias artes nisi me autore fuisse repertas. An non omnium laudatorum facinorum seges ac fons est bellum? Porro quid stultius quam ob causas, nescio quas,
 465 certamen eiusmodi suscipere, vnde pars vtraque semper plus aufert incommodi quam boni? Nam eorum qui cadunt, veluti Megarensium οὐδελς λόγος. Dein cum iam vtrinque constitere ferratae acies et rauco crepuerunt cornua cantu, quis oro sapientum istorum vsus, qui studiis exhausti vix tenui frigidoque sanguine spiritum ducunt: crassis ac pinguibus opus est, quibus quam plurimum adsit audaciae, mentis quam minimum. Nisi si quis Demosthenem militem malit, qui Archilochi sequutus consilium vix conspectis hostibus abiecto clypeo fugit, tam ignauus miles quam orator sapiens.

475 Sed consilium, inquit, in bellis plurimum habet momenti. Equidem fateor in duce, verum id quidem militare, non philosophicum; alioqui parasitis, lenonibus, latronibus, sicariis, agricolis, stupidis, obaeratis et huiusmodi mortalium fece res tam praeclara geritur, non philosophis lucernariis. Qui quidem quam sint ad omnem vitae vsum inutiles, vel Socrates ipse, vnus Apollinis oraculo sapiens, sed minime sapienter iudicatus, documento esse potest, qui nescio quid publice

439 Forma* D-H: om. A-C.

441 Iuuentus* D-H: om. A-C.

443-444 Actionis decorum* D-H: om. A-C.

453 assentatiuncula B-H: assentiuncula A.

- 455 Sibi quisque placet per stulticiam* C-H: *om. A B.*
- 463 dicam interim E-H: interim dicam A-D.
- 464 Bellum ex stulticia nascitur* C-H: *om. A B.*
- 467 λόγος A E-H: λόγος id est nulla ratio B-D (*in A interpretatio Latina in margine posita est*); Dein C-H: Deinde A B.
- 470 crassis B-H: cassis A.
- 474 Per pessimos et stultissimos bellum optime geritur (geri H, *om. G*)* C-H: *om. A B.*
- 475 alioqui B-H: *om. A.*
- 478 Socratis stultitia* C: *om. A B D-H.*
- 440 *forma ... munus* Folly seems to agree with Paris' preference of Venus to Minerva or Juno (Ov. *Her.* XVI, 65-88; Lucian. *Deor. dial.* 20, 13-14).
- 440-441 *putiditatis* Putiditas does not appear in available dictionaries of classical or medieval Latin. It seems to mean 'sour disposition', 'foul temperament'. See note on p. 94, ll. 435-436.
- 441-442 *tristiciae ... corrumpatur* The underlying metaphor seems to be the souring of wine by fermentation. Cf. Macr. *Sat.* VII, 12, 11 and Colum. XII, 5, 1. See also 1. *Cor.* 5, 6 and *Gal.* 5, 9.
- 443-444 *non artis ... agas* *Adag.* 3402 (LB II, 1054 B). Cf. Quint. *Inst.* XI, 3, 177: 'caput est artis decere quod facias' (alluding to Cic. *De or.* I, 29, 132). See also Cic. *Or.* XXI, 70-71; *Off.* I, 4, 14, and I, 27-28, 93-99. Folly here sharply probes one vital center of the humanist program: the essential connection between rhetorical and moral decorum. Cf. p. 72, l. 32.
- 444 *Philantia* See first note on p. 78, l. 127. Cf. *Inst. princ. christ.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 177, l. 350.
- 445-446 *tibi ipsi placere* In *Adag.* 115 (LB II, 76 B), Er. glosses 'tibi pulcher' (Hor. [*Epist.* I, 19, 45]) as 'tibi ipsi placens.'
- 450-451 *pro Nireo Thersites* According to Homer, Nireus was the handsomest of all who came to Troy [*Il.* II, 673], Thersites the ugliest [*Il.* II, 216] (L.). See also Lucian. *Dial. mort.* 25, tr. Er. (*ASD* I, 1, p. 580); *Adag.* 3280 (LB II, 1020 F); and Ov. *Pont.* IV, 13, 15-16. Otto No. 1230.
- 451 *pro Phaone Nestor* Venus restored Phaon from age to youth. Nestor lived three ages, according to Hom. *Il.* I, [250-252] (L.). See p. 86, ll. 260-261; p. 108, l. 678 and l. 691, and p. 84, third note to l. 257. Cf. *Adag.* 566 (LB II, 249 B); Otto No. 1223.
- pro Minerva sus* *Adag.* 40 (LB II, 43 A). Otto No. 1118.
- 453 *assentatiuncula quapiam* Cf. Cic. *Fam.* V, 12, 6.
- 455 *quod ... velis* Martial. [X, 47, 12] (L.). Ep. 2735, ll. 3-4.
- 456 *Philantia* See p. 78, first n.l. 127.
- 459 *insulis fortunatis* See p. 78, l. 115 and p. 82, n.ll. 205-206.
- 464-465 *An non ... bellum* *Adag.* 2436 (LB II, 836 E), Lucian. *Rat. conscrib. bist.* 2, and Heracl. frag. 53. For other allusions to the saying see G.S. Kirk's edition of Heracl., Cambridge, 1962, pp. 245-246.
- 467 *eorum ... λόγος* Theocr. [XIV, 49] (L.). Among the many examples given by Er. in *Adag.* 1079 (LB II, 437 A), those cited from Plut. *Mor.* [682 F, 730 D] are closest to Folly's form of the proverb.
- 468 *ferratae acies* Though Hor. has 'agmina ferrata' (*Carm.* IV, 14, 29-30), Prud. and at least four other late writers have 'ferratas acies' (*Th.L.L.*, VI, pt. 1, p. 572, ll. 76-78). Er. was especially fond of Prudentius (see, e.g., *Poems*, ed. C. Reedijk, index s.n.).
- rauco ... cantu* Verg. [*Aen.* VIII, 2] (L.).
- 469-471 *studiis ... minimum* According to Aris- tot. [*Part. an.* 648 A, 650 B-651 A], thin blood promotes intelligence and timidity; thick blood, stupidity and daring (L.). See Plin. *Nat.* XI, 89, 21; *Adag.* 2518 (LB II, 853 C); Otto No. 1860; Walther 25698; and note on p. 84, ll. 242-243.
- 471-473 *Demosthenem ... sapiens* L. refers to Plut.'s account of Demosthenes' cowardice (*Vit.* [855 A]), to Archilochus' epigram in Plut. *Apophth.* [L.'s error for *Instituta*] *Lac- onica* [*Mor.* 239 B], and to *Adag.* [1197 (LB II, 482 C)] (where Er. also refers to Plut. *Apophth.* rather than *Inst.*). Otto No. 1615.
- 475-476 *parasitis ... obaeratis* Ep. 288, ll. 39-41.
- 476-477 *mortalium fece* Otto No. 633.
- 477 *lucernariis* The primary meaning, 'scholarly', is clarified by *Adag.* 671 (LB II, 290 D), *Olet lucernam*, but by Er.'s time the word also had strong religious overtones derived from prayer by lamplight or at vespers, the time of lighting lamps (Du Cange, Blaise, and *Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis*, ed. Franz Blatt et al., Hafniae, 1957-69). Cf. Prud., *Liber Cath.* V, 'Hymnus ad Incensum Lucernae.'
- 478 *Socrates ... sapiens* Plat. *Apol.* 20 D-21 D; Diog. Laert. II, 37.
- 479-480 *nescio ... discessit* Though Plat. (*Apol.* 20 E, 27 A, 30 C) and Xen. (*Apol.* 14-15) make it clear that Socrates' speech at his trial was interrupted by outbursts of indignation, Folly's accusation here does not match any

480 conatus agere summo cum omnium risu discessit. Quanquam vir is in hoc non
 vsquequaque desipit, quod sapientis cognomen non agnoscit atque ipsi deo rescribit
 LB 423 quodque censet sapientia a Republica tractanda abstinendum esse, nisi quod
 potius monere debuerat a sapientia temperandum ei, qui velit in hominum haberi
 485 numero. Deinde quid eundem accusatum ad cicutam bibendam adegit nisi
 sapientia? Nam dum nubes et ideas philosophatur, dum pulicis pedes metitur,
 dum culicum vocem miratur, quae ad vitam communem attinent non didicit. Sed
 adest praeceptorum de capite periclitanti discipulus Plato, egregius scilicet patronus,
 qui turbae strepitu offensus vix dimidiatam illam periodum pronunciare
 potuit. Iam quid dicam de Theophrasto? Qui progressus in concionem protinus
 490 obmutuit, perinde quasi repente lupo conspecto, qui militem animasset in bello?
 Isocrates ob ingenii timiditatem nec hiscere vnquam est ausus. M. Tullius eloquentiae
 Romanae parens, semper indecora trepidatione, perinde quasi puer singultiens
 exordiri consuevit. Idque Fabius interpretatur cordati oratoris et periculum
 intelligentis argumentum. Verum cum hoc dicit, an non palam fatetur
 495 sapientiam obstare ad rem probe gerendam? Quid isti facient, cum res ferro geritur,
 qui tum metu exanimantur, cum nudis verbis est decertandum?

Et post haec celebratur, si diis placet, praeclara illa Platonis sententia, beatas fore respublicas, si aut imperent philosophi aut philosophentur imperatores. Imo si consules
 500 historicos, reperies nimirum nullos reipublicae pestilentiores fuisse principes quam si quando in philosophastrum aliquem aut literis addictum inciderit imperium. Cuius rei satis, opinor, faciunt fidem Catones: quorum alter insanis delationibus Reipublicae tranquillitatem vexavit, alter libertatem P. R. dum nimium sapienter vindicat, funditus subuertit. Adde his Brutos, Cassios, Grac-

481 desipit *G H*: desipuit *A B*, desipiat *C-F*.
 487 Nec ad dicendum (*Ad dicendum non prorsus C*) idoneos esse qui sapiunt* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 489 quid *A-F H*: *om. G*; protinus *H*: repente *A-G*.
 490 quasi repente *H*: quasi *A-F*, repente quasi

G; conspecto, qui *A-F H*: conspecto. Qui *G*.
 496 exanimantur *B-H*: examinantur *A*.
 499 Perniciosos esse Reipublicae sapientes* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 500 philosophastrum *A E-H*: philophastrum *B-D*.

recorded incident. In fact, Socrates was not only honest but also successful in public office (*Plat. Apol.* 32 A-D). Er. praises his eloquence in *Paracl.*, LB V, 138 D-E. Folly's thrust is mere vague sophistry ('nescio quid'), not evidence. Cf. *Plat. Theat.* 174 B-175 B and *Diod.* XIV, 5, 1.
 481-482 *sapientis ... rescribit* *Plat. Apol.* 23 A. Er. *Apophth.* II (LB IV, 159 A).
 482 *censet ... abstinendum esse* *Plat. Rep.* 496 C-497 A, *Apol.* 31 C-32 A, *Gorg.* 521 D-522 A; *Xen. Mem.* I, 6, 15. But Socrates' view is hardly as simple as Folly maintains: see *Plat. Hipp. mai.* 281 A-282 D; *Euthyd.* 306 B-C; *Xen. Mem.* III, 7, 1-9; *Plat. Epist.* VII, 328-331; and above all, *Rep.* 473 D-474 B (cited by Folly

herself at p. 98, ll. 497-499).
 484-485 *quid ... sapientia* *Plat. Apol.* 21 C-D, 36 B-D. *Phaed.* 117 BC. Cf. *De cop. verb.*, LB I, 102 C.
 485-486 *nubes ... miratur* In *Aristoph. Nub.* Socrates investigates clouds (252), the length of a flea's feet (144-152; *Xen. Symp.* VI, 8) and the voice of a gnat (156-164). On *ideas* see *Plat. Rep.* 476-480, 497-498; *Parm.* 131-132. Cf. *Cic. Tusc.* V, 3. Er. frequently praised Socrates for transferring intellectual endeavors from natural phenomena to human problems (*Epp.* 1334, ll. 177-181; 1390, ll. 37-38; 1572, l. 65). Cf. *Adag.* 569 (LB II, 250 A). There is no textual authority to support Kan's suggestion that *miratur* ought to be

- rimatur.*
- 487-489 *Plato ... potuit* L. quotes Plato's opening words from Diog. Laert. [II, 41]. Cf. Ep. 1390, ll. 38-39.
- 489-490 *Theophrasto ... obmutuit* The disciple of Aristotle. Though his name derives from his eloquence, he had so little experience that when he came before the people to make a speech, he fell silent (L.) Gell. VIII, 9.
- 490 *repente ... bello* In *Adag.* 3450 (LB II, 1065 B) Er. (relying on Donatus) explains the common belief that a man who is seen by a wolf before he himself sees the wolf will be suddenly robbed of the power to speak. See also *Adag.* 2756 (LB II, 916 A). Otto Nos. 988-989. The need for the *repente* added in *G* is suggested by the fact that *repente*, together with five different synonyms, appears in *Adag.* 3450. The somewhat awkward construction 'Qui [who] progressus ... qui [how] militem ... bello' led to the error of attaching 'qui militem ... bello' to the following sentence.
- 491 *Isocrates ... ausus* Isocrates himself asserted several times that his lack of confidence and vocal power made him unsuited for public speaking (*Phil.* 81, *Panathen.* 9-10, *Epist.* 8,7). Cf. Philostr. *Vit. soph.* I, 17, 505; Cic. *De or.* II, 3, 10; *Eccles.*, LB V, 854 E. Er. himself rejects some of Isocrates' political principles in Ep. 393, ll. 62-68.
- 491-494 *M. Tullius ... argumentum* Cicero mentions his trepidation (*S. Rosc.* IV, 9; *Mil.* I, 1) but *puer singultiens* is Folly's own extravagant exaggeration. Quintilian (*Inst.* XII, 5,4) does indeed approve of some nervousness and anxiety as the sign of an orator who recognizes the magnitude of his task; but he does not apply the idea to Cicero, whom he finds it necessary to defend against charges of boastful self-confidence (*Inst.* XI, 1, 18-20). Cf. Er. *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1275 A-B and Ep. 1390, ll. 40-43.
- 495-496 *Quid isti ... geritur* Socrates (*Plat. Symp.* 219 E-221 B, *Apol.* 28 E; Diog. Laert. II, 23), Cicero (*Plut. Vit.* 862 A; Cic. *Phil.* XII, 11, 27; *Div.* I, 32, 72), and perhaps Isocrates (Münchscher, *Isocrates*, RE IX, 1916, 2150) served creditably as soldiers.
- 497-498 *Platonis ... imperatores* *Plat. Rep.* 473 C-D; *Epist.* VII, 326 A-B, 328 A. On 'si aut imperent' L. notes: 'These things are not spoken seriously but rather as a witty joke in keeping with the character of Folly. The author is of quite a different opinion.' Er. frequently approves of Plato's dictum (insisting that 'philosophy' must be understood in a moral rather than a technical or scholastic sense): *Adag.* 201 (LB II, 108 B-C; *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, pp. 133, 144-145; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 2, LB V, 228E; *Vidua christ.*, LB V, 730 A; Ep. 393, ll. 20-26. Socrates' paradox is also cited by More as a crux in the argument of *Utopia*, p. 86, ll. 11-12 (see also p. 349n). On the form *philosophentur* see Er. *De cop. verb.* I, 20, LB I, 19 E.
- 499 *si consulens historicos* On the dangers of drawing lessons from historians, see Er. *Inst. princ. christ.* ASD IV, 1, p. 180, l. 448 sqq.; and Peter G. Bietenholz, *History and Biography in the Work of Erasmus of Rotterdam*, Geneva, 1966, pp. 13-19.
- 500 *philosophastrum* Aug. (*Civ.* II, 27) applies this disparaging term to Cicero and to a learned opponent (*Contr. Jul. op. imperf.* V, 11; VI, 18).
- 501-502 *alter ... vexavit* Cato the Censor was not only litigious (L. mentions his numerous lawsuits, referring to *Plut. Vit.* 344 D-E) and *Plin. Nat.* VII, [27, 101]), but also quarrelsome and disruptively severe (*Plut. Vit.* 338 A-B, 342 B-C, 345 A-347 E, 349 A). See also Er. Ep. 2443, ll. 92-93 and *Eccles.*, LB V, 844 C.
- 502-503 *alter ... subuertit* 'Cato of Utica, by provoking Caesar, undermined the liberty of Rome' (L.). In spite of rare moments of moderation or compromise (*Plut. Vit.* 776 B, 782 C-E), Cato of Utica managed to embitter not only the common people and enemies such as Caesar and Pompey, but (temporarily) even friends like Cicero (*Plut. Vit.* 762 C, 770 AB, 774 AB, 775 CD, 778 DE, 779 F-780 C). *Plut.* himself condemns his intransigent righteousness (*Vit.* 781 BC).
- 503 *Brutos, Cassios* 'They killed Julius [Caesar]; afterwards they were defeated and committed suicide' (L.).
- 503-504 *Gracchos* 'Both were eloquent revolutionaries and both died during a violent revolt. Read Pliny "de viris illustribus"' (L.). L. refers to *De viris illustribus urbis Romae* [64-65], an anonymous history combined with the work of Aurelius Victor but attributed to Pliny in some manuscripts (W.S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, neu bearb. W. Kroll und F. Skutsch, Leipzig, 1913-20, III, p. 245). Though *Plut. (Vit.* XIX) portrays them as admirable, the Gracchi were often vilified as seditious demagogues (*Val. Max.* VIII, 10, 1; *Vell. Pat.* II, 6, 1-3; *Tac. Ann.* III, 27; *Iuv.* II, 24), so that they lend themselves to Folly's purpose very well. But even Cicero, who normally disapproved of them strongly (*Lael.* 11, 37; *Rep.* VI, 11-12;

chos, ac Ciceronem etiam ipsum, qui non minus pestilens fuit Romanorum Rei-
 505 publicae quam Demosthenes Atheniensium. Porro M. Antonius, vt donemus
 bonum imperatorem fuisse (nam id ipsum extorquere possim, fuit enim hoc ipso
 nomine grauis atque inuisus ciuibus, quod tam philosophus esset), sed tamen vt
 donemus fuisse bonum, at certe pestilentior fuit Reipublicae tali relicto filio
 510 quam fuerat sua administratione salutaris. Quandoquidem solet hoc hominum
 genus, qui se sapientiae studio dediderunt, cum caeteris in rebus, tum praecipue
 in liberis propagandis infelicissimum esse, prouidente, opinor, natura ne malum
 hoc sapientiae inter mortales latius serpat. Itaque Ciceroni degenerem fuisse
 filium constat et sapiens ille Socrates liberos habuit *matri similiores quam patri*, |
 LB 424 vt non omnino pessime scripsit quidam, id est stultos.

515 Sed vtcunque ferendum, si tantum ad publica munia forent *ἄνοι πρὸς λόγῳ*, nisi
 ad omnem prorsus vitae functionem nihilo essent dexteriores. Ad conuiuium
 adhibe sapientem: aut tristi silentio aut molestis quaestiunculis obturbabit. Ad
 chorum aduoca: camelum saltare dices. Ad publicos ludos trahe: ipso vultu
 520 populi voluptatibus obstabit et cogetur e theatro migrare sapiens Cato, quando-
 quidem supercilium non potest ponere. In colloquium inciderit: repente lusus in
 fabula. Si quid emendum, si contrahendum, breuiter si quid eorum agendum,
 sine quibus haec quotidiana vita transigi non potest, stipitem dicas sapientem
 istum, non hominem. Vsqueadeo neque sibi neque patriae neque suis vsquam
 525 vsui esse potest, propterea quod communium rerum sit imperitus et a populari
 opinione vulgaribusque institutis longe lateque discrepet. Qua quidem ex re
 odium quoque consequatur necessum est, nimirum ob tantam vitae atque animo-
 rum dissimilitudinem. Quid enim omnino geritur inter mortales non stulticiae
 plenum idque a stultis et apud stultos? Quod si quis vnus vniuersis velit obstre-
 530 pere, huic ego suaserim, vt Timonem imitatus in solitudinem aliquam demigret
 atque ibi solus sua fruatur sapientia.

Verum vt ad id quod institueram reuertar, quae vis saxeos, quernos et agrestes
 illos homines in ciuitatem coegit nisi adulatio? Nihil enim aliud significat illa
 Amphionis et Orphei cithara. Quae res plebem Romanam iam extrema molien-
 tem, in concordiam ciuitatis reuocauit? Num oratio philosophica? Minime, imo
 LB 425 ridiculus ac puerilis apologus de ventre reliquis|que corporis membris confictus.
 536 Idem valuit Themistoclis apologus consimilis de vulpe et ericio. Quae sapientis
 LB 426 oratio tantundem potuisset quantum commenticia illa | cerua Sertorii potuit,
 quantum Laconis illius de duobus canibus deque vellendis equinae caudae pilis
 ridendum modo dicti Sertorii commentum? Vt ne quid dicam de Minoe deque

504-505 Reipublicae B-H: reip. A^{1-3,6}, i reip.
 A⁴⁻⁵.

509 Sapientum stulti filii* C-H: om. A B.

510 se F-H: sese A-E.

512 sapientiae B-H: om. A.

512-514 Itaque ... stultos C-H: om. A B.

515 Ad omnem vitae consuetudinem inepti

sapientes* C-H: om. A B.

523 prius neque C-H: nec A B.

526 Sapientia odium parit* C-H: om. A B.

531 Stulticia Respublicas constituit* C-H: om.

A B; quernos, et G H: om. A-F.

539 modo dicti Sertorii H: om. A-G.

- Brut. 27, 103; *De or.* I, 9, 38; *Sest.* 101), sometimes found it necessary to praise their virtues (*Leg. agr.* II, 5, 10).
- 504-505 *Ciceronem ... Demosthenes* 'Cicero instigated Anthony to destroy the republic. ... So too [Demosthenes] urged the Athenians to wage war on Phillip—a venture which turned out very badly' (L.). It was customary to compare the two not only as writers (Épp. 2695, ll. 32-36; 2773, ll. 66-67) but also as statesmen (Plut. *Vit.* XX).
- 505 *M. Antonius* L. assigns the wrong title *Pius* as well as the correct *Philosophus* to this emperor. The correct name M. [Aurelius] Antoninus appears for the first time in Er. *Op. om.*, Basel, 1540. But it is possible that Folly deliberately and maliciously assimilated the good emperor with the profligate triumvir.
- 506-507 *nam ... esset* Folly's boast is empty: M. Aurelius actively promoted the welfare of the people and was beloved by them (Iul. Capit. in *Script. hist. Aug.* VIII, 3; XII, 1; XVIII, 1-3), though Folly might have tried to make something out of XXIII, 4-5 and XXIX, 3. Cf. *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 196, l. 891 sqq.
- 508 *pestilentior ... filio* Even apart from his monstrous private perversions, Commodus, as a ruler, was ruinous and justly detested (Ael. Lamprid. in *Script. hist. Aug.* XIV, 4; XV, 2; XVIII-XIX). Cf. Er. *Apophth.*, LB IV, 281 E, 282 B.
- 511-512 *ne malum hoc sapientiae* 'Is it not perfectly clear at this point that he is engaging in playful wit, expressing not his own mind but rather that of his character Folly?' (L.). Cf. *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 138.
- 512-513 *Ciceroni ... filium* Sen. [*Suas.* 8 ad fin.] (L.). Plin. *Nat.* XIV, 22 (28), 147.
- 513-514 *Socrates ... stultos* Sen. [*Epist.* CIV, 27: 'liberos indociles et matri quam patri similiores']. Socrates' wife was sour and shrewish according to Gell. [I, 17, 1-3] (L.). On Socrates' stupid sons see Aristot. *Rhet.* II, 15, 1390 B and Plut. *Vit.* 347 F. On the degenerate sons of M. Aurelius, Cicero, and Socrates, see *Inst. christ. matrim.*, LB V, 669 C.
- 515 *ἄνοι πρὸς λύρα* *Adag.* 335 (LB II, 164 B).
- 518 *camelum saltare* *Adag.* 1666 (LB II, 630 A). Cf. *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 851 C and *Coll. Conuiuium religiosum*, ASD I, 3, p. 237, l. 203.
- 519 *e theatro ... Cato* Martial. Praef. lib. I. L. summarizes the story of Cato the younger's departure from the Floralia (see note on p. 86, l. 288). Val. Max. II, 10, 8; *Adag.* 947 (LB II, 381 C); Otto No. 358.
- 520-521 *lupus in fabula* See note on p. 99, l. 490.
- 522-523 *stipitem ... hominem* Cf. Cic. *P. red. in sen.* 6, 14. Otto No. 1695.
- 525 *longe lateque* *Adag.* 970 (LB II, 386 C).
- 529 *Timonem* Er. translated Lucian's *Timon* [ASD I, 1, pp. 488-505] (L.). Cf. Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 70-71 and Er., *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 70, l. 826.
- 532-533 *Nibil ... cithara* Hor. [*Ars.* 391-396] (L.). The *quernos* added in G was an improvement: though Orpheus, like Amphion (Paus. IX, 17, 7), moved stones by his music (Quint. *Inst.* I, 10, 9), he was more famous for drawing to himself animals and trees (Ov. *Met.* X, 86-91), especially the oak (Hor. *Carm.* I, 12, 7-12; Verg. *Cul.* 281). On the oak as a symbol of hard-hearted cruelty see Ov. *Met.* XIII, 799 and Stat. *Theb.* IV, 339. Cf. *Paracl.*, I-B V, 138 D and *De consecr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 411, ll. 4-5.
- 535 *apologus ... confictus* L. quotes Menenius Agrippa's fable from Liv. II [32, 8-12]. See also Dion. Hal. VI, 86, 1-5.
- 536 *Themistoclis ... ericio* L. (giving a more detailed account than any I have discovered) and Er. himself (*De cop. verb.*, LB I, 98 E) attribute the fable to Themistocles, who was attempting to persuade the people of Athens not to revolt because of their greedy magistrates. But Aristot. (*Rhet.* II, 20, 1393 B) and Plut. (*Mor.* 790 D) assign the story to Aesop (B.E. Perry, *Aesopica*, Urbana, 1952, p. 490), and Flav. Ioseph. (*Ant. Iud.* XVIII, 5, 172-176) attributes a very similar fable to the emperor Tiberius. Neither Er, however, in the *Apophth.* of Themistocles and Aristides (LB IV, 242 D-246 B), nor Er's source (Plut. *Mor.* 184 F-185 F), nor any other writer I have found connects the fable with Themistocles (who was, perhaps, a plausible candidate because of his well-known greed). Cf. *The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More*, ed. L. Bradner and C. Lynch, Chicago, 1953, No. 182, ll. 19-20.
- 537 *cerna Sertorii* Plut. *Vit. Sert.* [573 B-D, 578 D-F] (L.). Gell. XV, 22, 1-9.
- 538 *Laconis ... canibus* L. translates Lycurgus' experiment from Plut. *Mor.* [3 A-B]. See also Plut. *Mor.* 225 F-226 B, Er. *Lingua* (ASD IV, 1, p. 264, l. 936 sqq.), and *Apophth.*, LB IV, 124 D-125 A.
- 538-539 *deque vellendis ... commentum* L. translates Plut. *Vit.* [576 A-B]. See also Val. Max. VII, 3, 6 and Er. *Lingua*, ASD IV, 1, p. 265, l. 929.
- 539 *Minoe* L. quotes and translates Hom. *Od.* XIX, [178] (interpreting it to mean that

LB 425 Num|ma, quorum vterque fabulosis inuentis stultam multitudinem rexit. Huius-
LB 426 modi nugis commouetur ingens ac potens illa belua, populus. At rursum, quae
542 ciuitas vnquam Platonis aut Aristotelis leges aut Socratis dogmata recepit?

Tum autem quae res Deciis persuasit, vt vltro sese diis manibus deuouerent?
Quid Q. Curtium in specum traxit nisi inanis gloria, dulcissima quaedam Siren,
LB 427 sed mirum quam a sapientibus istis damnata? Quid | enim stultius, inquirunt,
546 quam supplicem candidatum blandiri populo, congiariis fauorem emere, venari
tot stultorum applausus, acclamationibus sibi placere, in triumpho veluti signum
aliquod populo spectandum circumferri, aeneum in foro stare? Adde his nomi-
num et cognominum adoptiones, adde diunos honores homuncioni exhibitos,
550 adde publicis ceremoniis in deos relatos etiam sceleratissimos tyrannos. Stultis-
sima sunt haec et ad quae ridenda non vnus sufficiat Democritus. Quis negat?
Atqui hoc fonte nata sunt fortium heroum facinora, quae tot eloquentium viro-
rum literis in coelum tolluntur. Haec stulticia parit ciuitates, hac constant impe-
ria, magistratus, religio, consilia, iudicia, nec aliud omnino est vita humana quam
555 stulticiae lusus quidam.

Iam vero vt de artibus dicam, quid tandem mortalium ingenia ad excogitandas
prodendasque posteris tot egregias, vt putant, disciplinas excitauit nisi gloriae
sitis? Tantis vigiliis, tantis sudoribus, famam nescio quam, qua nihil esse potest
inanius, redimendam putarunt homines vere stultissimi. Sed interim stulticiae
560 tot tam egregia vitae commoda debetis, quodque est longe dulcissimum, aliena
fruinini insania.

Ergo posteaquam mihi fortitudinis et industriae laudem vindicaui, quid si pru-
dentiae quoque vindicem? Sed dixerit aliquis: eadem opera ignem aquae misceas
licebit. Verum hoc quoque successurum arbitror, si vos modo, quod antehac
565 fecistis, auribus atque animis fauebitis.

Principio si rerum vsu constat prudentia, in vtrum magis competet eius cog-
nominis honos, in sapientem, qui partim ob pudorem partim ob animi timidi-
tatem nihil aggreditur, an in stultum, quem neque pudor, quo vacat, neque pericul-
cum, quod non perpendit, ab vlla re deterret? Sapiens ad libros veterum con-

540 Legum repertrix stulticia* C-H: om. A B
(in H. iuxta locum idoneum non in textu sed in
commentario).

543 Fortitudinis laus a stultitia* C-G: om. A B
H.

547 acclamationibus B-H: exclamationibus A.
556 Artium repertrix stulticia* C-H: om. A B.

560 tam H: iam A-G.

566 Prudentia penes stultos verior* C-H: om.
A B.

566-567 eius cognominis honos, in E-H: om.
A-D.

568 in E-H: om. A-D.

Minos pretended that he was allowed to con-
sult Jove every nine years) and Plat. *Min.* [320
D] (where Plato interprets as instruction the
golden scepter attributed to Minos by
Hesiod). See also Plat. *Min.* 319 E; Strab. XVI,
2, 38 and X, 4, 8; and *Schol. Graec. in Hom. Od.*
on *Od.* XIX, 178 (ed. W. Dindorf, Oxford,
1855, II, p. 675).

540 *Numa* Liv. [I, 19, 5] (L.). See also Plut. *Vit.*
62 A, 65 AB.

541 *belua, populus* L. summarizes Plat. *Rep.* VI,
[493 A-C] (accusing '[1516] nonnulli [1515]
concionatores nostri temporis' of similar
mercenary flattery) and quotes Hor. *Epist.* [I,
1, 76].

542 *Platonis ... leges* Er. himself implies that

- Plato's laws are impracticable (*Adag.* 2036, *LB* II, 725 D); on the other hand, he praises the political writings of Aristotle and (especially) Plato as very valuable to a Christian prince (*Inst. princ. christ.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 180, ll. 448-450). But see also *Ep.* 2431, ll. 10-16.
- Socratis dogmata* L. gives three examples: (1) it is better to suffer an injury than to inflict one, (2) death is not an evil, (3) philosophy is nothing but the contemplation of death.
- 543 *Deciis ... deuouerent* [P.] Decius [Mus] and his son sacrificed themselves to save the republic (Liv. VIII, [6, 8-13; 9, 1-12] and X, [28, 13-18])' (L.). See also Val. Max. I, 7, 3, and V, 6, 5-6; Cic. *Off.* III, 16 and *Div.* I, 24, 51; Plin. *Nat.* XXVIII, 3, 12; Iuv. 8, 254-258. Cicero, who refers to the Decii many times in his speeches, questions the justice of their deaths in *Nat.* III, 6, 15. Glory is mentioned as the motive for the death of the younger Decius in *Rhet. ad Her.* IV, 44. Cic. (*Fin.* II, 19, 61; *Tusc.* I, 37, 89) also says that a third P. Decius Mus, grandson of the first, sacrificed himself, but his assertion is probably unhistorical (Cass. Dio. X, 40, 42 [Zonarar 8, 5]). Cf. Er. *Disputatiunc.*, *LB* V, 1273 A.
- 544 *Q. Curtium* Varro *Ling. lat.* V, 148; Liv. VII, 6, 1-6. Val. Max. (V, 6, 2), Plin. (*Nat.* XV, 20, 78), and especially Aug. (*Civ.* V, 18) stress glory as the cause and result of Curtius' deed. Of these writers only Livy mentions Curtius' praenomen: Marcus, not Quintus. Er. alludes to the suicide of M. Curtius in *Disputatiunc.*, *LB* V, 1273 A.
- traxit ... Siren* Otto No. 1657. Folly adapts to her purpose a fallacious premise exposed by Cic. in *Inv.* I, 49, 91. She also plays on the etymology of *Siren*, which was derived from *σειρά*, *catena* (Zwicker, *Sirenen*, RE, III A, 1927, 289) or from *σῆρειν*, *trahere* (*Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarii Octolinguis Altera Pars*, Lyons, 1663, p. 578). Thus Mythographus Vaticanus II: 'Σειρήνες igitur Graece, Latine *trahitoriae* dicuntur' (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini tres Romae nuper reperti*, ed. G.H. Bode, Celle, 1834, reprint Hildesheim, 1968, pp. 109, 233). See also Fulg. *Myth.* II, 8. The medieval bestiaries use *trahere* or *attrahere* to describe the action of the Sirens (*Physiologus Latinus*, ed. F.J. Carmody, Paris, 1939, p. 25; *Physiologus ... by Bishop Theobald*, ed. A.W. Rendell, London, 1928, sig. c2^r). For Er.'s views on the proper and improper uses of etymology as a rhetorical technique, see *Ep.* 2465, ll. 199-220 and *Eccles.*, *LB* V, 923 DE, 932 E-933 B.
- 545 *mirum ... damnata* E.g., Aug. *Civ.* V, 20 and Er. himself: *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 43 DE; *Enarrat. in Ps. 33*, *LB* V, 389 EF.
- 547 *acclamationibus* The replaced *exclamationibus*, except in a limited, almost technical sense (*Th.L.L.*, *exclamatio* Ib.β, V, 1264), does not fit the context.
- signum* 'Signa statuae dicuntur' (L.). See Forcellini, *signum* 4 (V, 504).
- 548 *aeneum ... stare* Cf. Hor. *Serm.* II, 3, 183.
- 548-549 *nominum ... adoptiones* Much importance was attached to adopting the names Antoninus, Pius, Alexander, Augustus, as is clear from Aelius Spartianus [in *Script. hist. Aug.*, *Had.* XXIV, 3-5; *Sept. Sev.* XIX, 3-4; *Carac.* IX, 2; X, 5-6] and others (L.). See also, e.g., Ael. Lamprid. in *Script. hist. Aug.*, *Elagab.* I, 4-7; XXXIV, 6-7; *Sev. Alex.* I, 1-3; X, 3-5; XXV, 9.
- 549-550 *adde ... tyrannos* L. gives some details of the ceremony of apotheosis (the high pyre, the incense, the eagle escaping from the top of the pyre) which can be found in Herodian. IV, 2. Eight editions of *Moria* printed in Er.'s lifetime (Nos. 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 24, 26, and 30 in the list given in the introduction) included Seneca the younger's satiric skit on the apotheosis of the emperor Claudius (*Apocol.*), with a commentary by Beatus Rhenanus.
- 551 *ad quae ... Democritus* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 194. Cf. p. 134, ll. 192-193 and p. 138, ll. 238-239. Democritus was considered as the 'laughing philosopher'; cf. Stob. *Floril.* III, 20, 53; Lucian. *Vit. auct.* 14, *De sacrific.* 15.
- 554-555 *nec aliud ... lusus quidam* Cf. *Anth. Pal.* X, 72.
- 556-559 *de artibus ... stultissimi* In *Ep.* 1687, ll. 90-96, Er. shows how one of his opponents, Petrus Sutor, had constructed a stupid syllogistic argument from this passage, in a futile attempt to prove that this passage is blasphemous.
- 560 *tot tam* For this phrase (rather than 'tot iam') see Liv. XXIV, 26, 13 and XXV, 37, 13.
- 560-561 *aliena fruimini insania* Plin. [*Nat.* XVIII, 6, 31]. *Insania* refers not only to stupid, but also to immoderate deeds. Hence those who think nothing of devoting many sleepless hours to originating or rediscovering branches of learning can be said to benefit others by their 'insane' labors (L.). See also *Adag.* 1239 (*LB* II, 496 DE) and Walther 20314a1.
- 563 *ignem aquae misceas* Plut. *De primo frig.* [XIV, 6 (*Mor.* 950 F)] (L.). See also *Adag.* 3294 (*LB* II, 1023 DE).
- 565 *auribus atque animis* Cf. Lucret. VI, 920.
- 568-569 *neque pudor ... deterret* Quoting the

570 fugit atque hinc meras vocum argutias ediscit. Stultus adeundis cominusque
 periclitandis rebus veram, ni fallor, prudentiam colligit. Id quod vidisse videtur
 Homerus, etiamsi caecus, cum ait *ῥεχθὲν δὲ τε νῆπιος ἔγνω*. Sunt enim duo prae-
 cipua ad cognitionem rerum parandam obstacula, pudor qui fumum offundit
 animo, et metus, qui ostenso periculo dehortatur ab adeundis facinoribus. At his
 I.B. 428 magnifice liberat stulticia. | Pauci mortales intelligunt ad quam multas alias quo-
 576 que commoditates conducatur nunquam pudescere et nihil non audere.

Quod si prudentiam accipere malunt eam, quae rerum iudicio constat, audite
 obsecro quam procul absint ab hac, qui hoc nomine sese venditant. Principio
 constat res omnes humanas, velut Alcibiadis Silenos, binas habere facies nimium
 580 inter sese dissimiles. Adeo ut quod prima, ut aiunt, fronte mors est, si interius
 inspicias, vita sit: contra quod vita, mors: quod formosum, deforme: quod
 opulentum, id pauperrimum: quod infame, gloriosum: quod doctum, indoctum:
 quod robustum, imbecille: quod generosum, ignobile: quod laetum, triste: quod
 585 prosperum, aduersum: quod amicum, inimicum: quod salutare, noxium; breuiter
 omnia repente versa reperies, si Silenum aperueris. Id si cui forte nimis philo-
 sophice dictum videtur, age pinguiore, quemadmodum dici solet, Minerua plan-
 nius faciam. Quis regem non et opulentum et dominum fatetur? Atqui nullis
 animi bonis instructus est, atqui nihil illi satis est; iam videlicet pauperrimus est.
 Tum animum habet plurimis addictum vitiis, iam turpiter seruus est. Ad eundem
 590 modum in caeteris quoque philosophari liceret, sed hoc exempli vice posuisse
 satis sit. At quorsum haec? inquiet aliquis. Audite quo rem deducamus. Si quis
 histrionibus in scena fabulam agentibus personas detrudere conetur ac spectato-
 ribus veras nativasque facies ostendere, nonne is fabulam omnem peruerterit
 dignusque habeatur, quem omnes e theatro velut lymphatum saxis eiiciant?
 595 Exorietur autem repente noua rerum species, ut qui modo mulier, nunc vir: qui
 modo iuuenis, mox senex: qui paulo ante rex, subito Dama: qui modo deus,
 repente homunculus appareat. Verum eum errorem tollere est fabulam omnem
 perturbare. Illud ipsum figmentum et fucus est, quod spectatorum oculos deti-
 net. Porro mortalium vita omnis quid aliud est quam fabula quaequam, in qua alii
 600 aliis oblecti personis procedunt aguntque suas quisque partes, donec choragus
 educat e proscenio? Qui saepe tamen eundem diuerso cultu prodire iubet, ut qui
 modo regem purpuratum egerat, nunc seruulum pannosum gerat. Adumbrata
 quidem omnia, sed haec fabula non aliter agitur.

Hic si mihi sapiens aliquis coelo delapsus subito exorietur, clamitetque hunc
 quem omnes ut deum ac domini suspiciunt nec hominem esse, quod pecudum
 I.B. 429 ritu ducatur affectibus, seruum esse infimae sortis quod tam multis tamque foedis
 606 dominis sponte seruiat. Rursum alium, qui parentem extinctum luget, ridere
 iubeat, quod iam demum ille viuere coeperit, cum alioqui vita haec nihil aliud sit
 quam mors quaedam. Porro alium stemmatis gloriantem, ignobilem ac nothum
 610 appellet, quod a virtute longe absit, quae sola nobilitatis sit fons, adque eundem
 modum de caeteris omnibus loquatur, quaeso quid is aliud egerit nisi ut demens
 ac furiosus omnibus esse videatur? Ut nihil est stultius praepostera sapientia, ita

- 577 Melius iudicant stulti* C-H: *om. A B.*
 580 sese A B D-H: se C; *alt. vt GH: quod A-F.*
 585 Putida sapientum iudicia* C-H: *om. A B.*
 586 quemadmodum dici solet E-H: quod aiunt A-D.
 594 velut C-H: veluti A B.

- 599 Humana vita nihil aliud quam fabula* C-H: *om. A B.*
 605 Princeps malus* C-H: *om. A B.*
 606 infimae sortis H: infimum A-G.
 607 Luctus mortui stultus* C-H: *om. A B.*
 609 Nobilitas inanis* C-H: *om. A B.*

- Aristotelian definition of shame ('metus iustae reprehensionis') from Gell. XIX, 6, 3, L. quotes and translates Thucydides' saying (II, 40, 3) as it appears in Lucian. *Epist. ad Nigrin.*: 'prudence makes us cautious, but ignorance makes us bold.' Cf. Otto No. 853 and Walther 25698.
- 571 *veram ... prudentiam* L. notes that Folly here wittily adapts to her own purposes Gellius' attack on mere ivory-tower philosophers [probably X, 22, where Gellius quotes Plat. *Gorg.* 484 CD and 485 A-E] and cites 'miseram prudentiam' from Plin. [*Paneg.* LXXVI, 4].
- 571-572 *vidisse ... caecus* L. points out the word-play in *vidisse* (meaning 'to understand') and *caecus*. *Videtur* adds yet another twist.
- 572 *ῥεχθὲν ... ἔγνων* Hom. *Il.* XVII, [32]; Hes. [*Erg.* 218] (L.). *Adag.* 30-31 (LB II, 38 C-39 E). Otto No. 613 and Walther 14335a.
- 573-574 *pudor ... animo* The meaning assigned to *fumos vendere* or *fumos offundere* in *Adag.* 3783 (LB II, 1141 D) - 'to make empty promises' - is clearly not applicable here. Folly must mean 'beclouds the mind,' 'throws us into mental confusion' (though there is no close precedent for such a meaning). Cf. p. 182, l. 974; 'fumos quosdam obicere' (Ep. 798, l. 21); 'tenebras offundunt menti' (*Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1277B); and 'tenebras offundere' at p. 76, ll. 81-82, p. 144, l. 378, and p. 154, l. 477. St. Jerome (*Epist.* 50, ad Domnionem, *Migne PL* XXII, col. 513) uses 'tenebras offundere' to mean 'to confuse, to deceive.' L. notes that, according to Plin. [*Nat.* XXI, 105, 178], a mental disturbance caused by the herb strychnon and characterized by delirium is called 'lusus pudoris.'
- 577 *prudentiam* 'Trifariam enim accipiunt prudentiam. Vel qua praevidemus futura, vel quae rerum vsu collecta sit, vel in genere, quae rerum iudicio et cognitione constat. Ea potest esse vel citra experientiam' (L.). L.'s threefold division of prudence derives from Cic. *Inv.* II, 53, 160 and was well known to the schoolmen (St. Thomas Aquinas, *S.T.* Ia-IIae, q. 57, a. 6). See p. 102, l. 566; *De conscr.*

- ep.* XLV, *ASD* I, 2, p. 367, l. 1 sqq.; *Eccles.* I, LB V, 782 C; and Jacques Chomarat, L' 'Eloge de la Folie' et ses traducteurs français au XXe siècle, BAGB, 4e série, 2 (1972), p. 175.
- 578 *sese venditant* 'Eleganter dixit venditant pro iactant' (L.).
- 579 *Alcibiadis Silenos Adag.* 2201 (LB II, 770 C-782 C), Ep. 337, ll. 519-521, and *Enchir.* V, LB V, 29 B. In his notes on *Moria* (Paris, 1936), M. Rat mentions several prominent contemporaries of Er. who also made use of Alcibiadis' Silenos (pp. 276-277).
- 580 *prima ... fronte Adag.* 888 (LB II, 362 CD).
- 586 *pinguiore ... Minerva* See note on p. 93, l. 385.
- 589 *Tum animum ... serius est* Cf. *Inst. princ. christ.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 152, ll. 502-503; and Boeth. *Cons. Phil.* IV, metr. 2, 9-10.
- 591 *Audite ... deducamus* Hor. *Serm.* I, 1, 14-15.
- 592-593 *personas ... ostendere* Cf. *Adag.* 452 (LB II, 201 EF).
- 593-602 *fabulam ... gerat* Lucian. *Nigr.* 20; *Men. siue necrom.* 16. Er. Epp. 2443, ll. 405-432; 2522, ll. 59-63. Cf. Thomas More, *The History of King Richard III*, ed. R. Sylvester, New Haven and London, 1963, p. 81, ll. 1-6. On the *topos* of life as a play see Curtius, pp. 138-144 (English edition).
- 596 *paulo ante rex* Cf. Lucian. *Nav. siue vota* 46. *Dama* L. quotes Hor. [*Serm.* II, 5, 18] and Pers. V [76-77]. See also Hor. *Serm.* I, 6, 38; II, 7, 54.
- 604 *sapiens ... delapsus Adag.* 786 (LB II, 329 BC). Cf. Otto Nos. 287 and 516.
- 605 *deum ac dominum* L. quotes Martial. [V, 8, 1] and points out that Domitian demanded this title [Suet. *Dom.* 13].
- 606-607 *quod tam ... seruiat* 'Quot vitii obnoxius es, tot habes dominos, et ii nonnumquam diuersa imperant. Auaricia cogit querere, amor iubet insumere. Quod eleganter depinxit Persius Satyra 5' [115-124, 148-155] (L.). *Apophth.*, LB IV, 96 E. Cf. Hor. *Epist.* I, 1, 59; Otto No. 1537; and Walther 26227b.
- 610 *sola ... fons* Cf. Walther 17016.

peruersa prudentia nihil imprudentius. Siquidem peruerse facit, qui sese non accommodet rebus praesentibus, foroque nolit uti nec saltem legis illius conuiualis meminerit, ἢ πῖθι, ἢ ἄπιθι, postuletque ut fabula iam non sit fabula. Contra vere prudentis est, cum sis mortalis, nihil ultra sortem sapere velle cumque vniuersa hominum multitudine vel conuiuere libenter vel comiter errare. At istud ipsum, inquiunt, stulticiae est. Haud equidem inficias iuerim, modo fateantur illi vicissim hoc esse vitae fabulam agere.

620 Caeterum illud, o dii immortales, eloquarne an sileam? Cur autem sileam, cum sit vero verius? Sed praestiterit fortassis in re tanta Musas ex Helicone accersere, quas poetae saepius ob meras nugas aduocare solent. Adeste igitur paulisper, Iouis filiae, dum ostendo nec ad egregiam illam sapientiam ac felicitatis, ut ipsi vocant, arcem, aditum esse cuiquam nisi stulticia duce.

625 Iam primum illud in confesso est, affectus omnes ad stulticiam pertinere, quandoquidem | hac nota a stulto sapientem discernunt, quod illum affectus, hunc ratio temperat; eoque Stoici perturbationes omnes ceu morbos a sapiente semouent. Verum affectus isti non solum paedagogorum vice funguntur ad sapientiae portum properantibus, verumetiam in omni virtutis functione ceu calcaria stimuli que quidam adesse solent, velut ad bene agendum exhortatores. 630
 LB 430 Quanquam hic fortiter reclamationem bis Stoicus Seneca, qui prorsum omnem affectum adimit sapienti. Verum cum id facit, iam ne hominem quidem relinquit, sed nouum potius deum quendam δημιουργεῖ, qui nusquam nec extitit vnquam, nec extabit; imo, ut apertius dicam, marmoreum hominis simulacrum constituit, stupidum et ab omni prorsus humano sensu alienum. Proinde si libet, ipsi suo sapiente fruuntur citraque riualem ament licet cumque eo vel in ciuitate Platonis vel, si malint, in idearum regione vel in Tantalii inhabitent hortis. Quis enim non istiusmodi hominem ceu portentum ac spectrum fugitet horreatque, qui ad omnes naturae sensus obsurduerit, qui nullis sit affectibus, nec amore nec misericordia magis commoueatur, quam si dura silex, aut stet Marpesia cautes, quem nihil fugiat, qui nihil erret, sed ceu Lynceus quispiam nihil non perspiciat, nihil non ad amussim perpendat, nihil ignoscat, qui solus seipso sit contentus, solus diues, solus sanus, solus rex, solus liber, breuiter omnia solus, sed suo solius iudicio, qui nullum moretur amicum, ipse amicus nemini, qui diis quoque ipsis non dubitet mandare laqueum, qui quicquid in omni vita geritur velut insanum damnet rideatque? Atqui huiusmodi animal est absolutus ille sapiens. Quaeso, si res agatur suffragiis, quae ciuitas istiusmodi magistratum sibi velit aut quis exercitus talem optet ducem? Imo quae mulier id genus maritum, quis conuiuator eiusmodi conuiuam, quis seruus talibus moribus dominum vel optet vel ferat? Quis autem non malit vel vnumquemuis de media stultissimorum hominum plebe, qui 635
 640
 645
 650
 LB 431 stultus stultis vel imperare possit vel parere, qui sui simili libis placeat, sed quamplurimis, qui comis sit in vxorem, iucundus amicis, bellus coniuua, conuictor facilis, postremo qui nihil humani a se alienum putet? Sed me quidem iamdudum istius sapientis piget, quare ad reliqua commoda sese recipiat oratio.

655 Agedum, si quis velut e sublimi specula circumspiciat, ita ut Iouem interdum

- 614 accomodet *A-C*: accomodat *H*; Prouerbi-
bium* *D*: *om. A-C E-H*.
- 618-619 Haud ... agere *C-H*: *om. A B*.
- 620 Ad egregiam sapientiam non perueniri
nisi per stulticiam* *C-H*: *om. A B*; Caeterum
C-H: Sed *A B*; immortales *A-G*: mortales
H.
- 626 illum *B-H*: hunc *A*.
- 614 *foroque nolit uti* Ter. *Phorm.* [79] (I.). *Adag.* 92
(*LB II*, 62 D); Otto No. 710; Wyss, p. 32.
- 615 ἢ πῖθι ἢ ἀπιθι *Adag.* 947 (*LB II*, 381 E);
Otto No. 253.
- 616 cum sis mortalis Cato [*Disticha II*, 2, 3] (L.).
Er. combines this proverb with another:
Adag. 569 (*LB II*, 250 AB). Cf. Min. Fel. 13, 1;
Lact. *Div. inst.* III, 20; Hier. *Apol. adv. Rufin.*
III, 28; Otto No. 1714.
- 617 coniuere *Adag.* 750 (*LB II*, 317 C).
comiter errare Folly cleverly distorts a passage
in Ennius which begins: 'Homo qui erranti
comiter monstrat viam' (*Scenica* 398, ed.
Johannes Vahlen, 2nd ed., Leipzig, reprint
Amsterdam, 1928, pp. 195-196, reported by
Cic. *Off.* I, 16, 51).
- 621 vero verius *Adag.* 3802 (*LB II*, 1145 A).
Musas ... accersere Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII, 641; X,
163.
- 623-624 felicitatis ... arcem Aug. *Civ.* XII, 21;
Sidon. *Epist.* II, 4, 1.
- 625-628 affectus ... se mouent Sen. *Epist.* LXXV,
8-14. See *SVF III*, pp. 102-110, 150-151.
- 628-630 affectus ... exhortatores 'Haec est opinio
peripateticorum ...' (L.). See, e.g., Aristot. *M.*
mor. I, 5, 1-2; 7, 1-4; *Eth. Nic.* II, 2, 7. Cf.
Enchir., *LB V*, 14 F, 15 EF.
- 631-632 Quanquam ... sapienti Sen. *Epist.*
LXXXV, 2-12. See *SVF III*, pp. 108-110.
- 633 δημιουργεῖ Plat. *Tim.* 29 A, 31 A. Xen.
Mem. I, 4, 7.
- 634 marmoreum ... simulacrum Cf. Sen. *Epist.*
LXXI, 27.
- 636 ciuitate Platonis Lucian. *Ver. hist.* [II, 17
(115)] (L.).
- 637 idearum regione Aristotle makes fun of
Plato's separate forms or ideas [*Metaph.* I, 9,
1-30 (990a-992b)]. She is referring to the sort
of fabulous regions described by Lucian in
Ver. hist. (L.).
Tantaliis ... bortis *Adag.* 1046 (*LB II*, 424 BC).
640 quam si ... cautes Verg. *Aen.* VI, [471] (L.).
Otto No. 1689.
- 641 Lynceus Hor. *Epist.* [I, 1, 28-29] (L.). *Adag.*
1054 (*LB II*, 427 E). Cf. Er. *Disputatiunc.*, *LB*
V, 1274 A. Otto No. 1003; See note on p. 149,
- 628 ἀπάθεια Stoicorum* *D-G*: *om. A-C H*.
- 631 prorsum *C-H*: prorsus *A B*.
- 638 Stoicus sapiens* *D-H*: *om. A-C*.
- 643 breuiter *B-H*: *om. A*.
- 654 Sola stulticia consolatur huius vitae miser-
iam* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
- 655 interdum *H*: *om. A-G*.
- l. 410.
- 642 ad amussim L. quotes Gell. I, 4, 1. See also
Adag. 490 (*LB II*, 216 C) and Otto No. 102.
The phrase means 'accurately, to a T' and
refers to the amussis (tape measure) used by
stonemasons and carpenters.
- nihil ignoscat L. quotes and translates the Stoic
maxim 'all sins are equal' [e.g., Diog. Laert.
VII, 120, 127]; hence, says L., the Stoics think
the deeds of everyone else to be uniformly
vicious. L. also quotes Pers. 5, 119-120. See
SVF III, pp. 140-145.
- solus ... contentus One of the Stoic paradoxes is
'only the wise man is self-sufficient' [quoted
in Greek and translated]. Hence Plut. says in
his essay *De virt. et vitio* [IV (*Mor.* 101 D)]:
'You will be self-sufficient if you learn what
is good and honorable. Even in poverty you
will find pleasure and live like a king' [quoted
in Greek and translated] (L.). See *SVF III*, pp.
13-16.
- 642-643 solus diues ... omnia solus This is another
Stoic paradox, 'that only the wise man is rich'
[quoted in Greek and translated]. Hor. *Epist.*
[I, 1, 106-108, quoted]. And Plut. in the essay
already cited [*De virt. et vitio* IV (*Mor.* 101
DE)]: 'If you become a philosopher, you will
live a good life, learning to live pleasantly
whatever your circumstances may be. You
will be pleased by wealth because it allows
you to do good to many people; by poverty
because it frees you from many cares; by a
great reputation because of the honor it will
bring you; by obscurity because it frees you
from envy' [quoted in Greek and translated]
(L.). Cf. Hor. *Serm.* I, 3, 124-125, Lucian. *Vit.*
auctio 20, and Walther 29997b.
- 644 moretur See note on p. 67, l. 11.
- 644-645 diis ... laqueum Iuv. 10, 52-53. See note
on p. 76, l. 102.
- 652 comis ... vxorem Cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 133.
- 653 nihil ... putet Ter. *Heaut.* 77.
- 655 velut ... specula *Adag.* 3395 (*LB II*, 1023 E).
- 655-656 Ionem ... praedicant E.g., Hom. *Il.* VIII,
51-52.

poetae facere praedicant, quot calamitatibus hominum vita sit obnoxia, quam misera, quam sordida natiuitas, quam laboriosa educatio, quot iniuriis exposita pueritia, quot sudoribus adacta iuuentus, quam grauis senectus, quam dura mortis necessitas, deinde in omni vita, quot morborum agmina infestent, quot imminuant casus, quot ingruant incommoda, quam nihil vsquam non plurimo felle tinctum, vt ne commemorem ista, quae homini ab homine inferuntur mala, quod genus sunt paupertas, carcer, infamia, pudor, tormenta, insidiae, proditio, conuicia, lites, fraudes. Sed ego iam plane τὸν ἄμμιον ἀναμετρεῖν aggredior. Porro quibus admissis ista commeruerint homines aut quis deus iratus eos in has miseras nasci coegerit, non est mihi fas in praesentia proloqui. Verum ista qui secum perpendat, nonne Milesiarum virginum probabit exemplum, etiamsi miserandum? At quinam potissimum sibi vitae taedio fatum accersiuere? Nonne sapientiae confines? Inter quos, vt interim Diogenes, Xenocrates, Catones, Cassios ac Brutos sileam, Chiron ille, cum immortalem esse liceret, vltro mortem praeoptauit. Videtis, opinor, quid futurum sit, si passim sapiant homines: nempe altero luto, altero figulo Prometheo opus fore. Verum ego partim per ignorantiam, partim per incogitantiam, nonnunquam per obliuionem malorum, aliquando spem bonorum, aliquoties nonnihil mellis voluptatibus aspergens, ita tantis in malis succurro, vt ne tum quidem libeat vitam relinquere, cum exacto Parcarum stamine ipsa iamdudum eos relinquit vita, quoque minus sit causae, cur in vita manere debeant, hoc magis iuuet viuere: tantum abest, vt vlllo vitae taedio tangantur.

Mei nimirum muneris est, quod passim Nestorea senecta senes videtis, quibus iam ne species quidem hominis superest, balbos, deliros, edentulos, canos, caluos vel, vt | magis Aristophanicis eos describam verbis, ῥυπῶντας, κυφούς, ἀθλίους, ῥυσοὺς, μαδῶντας, νωδοὺς καὶ ψωλοὺς, tamen vsqueadeo vita delectari adeoque νεανίζειν vt alius tingat canos, alius apposititia coma caluitium dissimulet, alius dentibus vtatur mutuo fortassis a sue quopiam sumptis, hic in puellam aliquam misere depereat, et amatoriis ineptiis quemuis etiam superet adolescentulum. Nam vt capulares iam meraque silicernia teneram aliquam iuenculam ducant vxorem, eamque et indotatam et aliis vsui futuram, id adeo frequens, vt prope modum et laudi detur.

Sed multo etiam suauius, si quis animaduertat anus longo iam senio mortuas adeoque cadauerosas, vt ab inferis redisse videri possint, tamen illud semper in ore habere, φῶς ἀγαθόν: adhuc catullire atque, vt Graeci dicere solent, καπροῦν et magna mercede conductum aliquem Phaonem inducere, fucis assidue vultum oblinere, nusquam a speculo discedere, infimae pubis sylvam vellere, vietas ac putres ostentare mammas, tremuloque gannitu languentem sollicitare cupidinem, potitare, misceri puellarum choris, literulas amatorias scribere. Ridentur

657 *prius* quam *G H*: quamque *A-F*.
 663 *aggredior A C-H*: *aggrediar B*.
 667 *At quinam A-D F-H*: *Atqui E*.
 676 *iuuet C-H*: *iuuat A B*.

678 *Senes vitae cupidi* C-H*: *om. A B*.
 685 *Senex puellae maritus* D-H*: *om. A-C*.
 688 *Anus libidosae* C-H*: *om. A B*.
 694 *literulas E-H*: *litteras A-D*.

- 663 τὸν ἄμμον ἀναμετρεῖν Theocr. *Charites* [16, 60–61]; Verg. *Georg.* II, [105–106] (L.). *Adag.* 344 (LB II, 168 F). Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 28, 1–2. The gender of ἄμμον should be feminine, as it is in some Italian editions (Nos. 8, 13, 19, 32).
- 665 non est ... *proloqui* '[1532] 'Caute suspendit sententiam, ne vel peccatum originis attingat parum in loco, vel Platonis et Origenis opinionem probare videatur, qui docent animas peccasse priusquam immigrarent in humana corpora' (L.).
- 666 *Milesiarum* ... *exemplum* Gell. [XV, 10] (L.). The story of the inexplicable mania for suicide among young girls, which came to an end only when it was decreed that the bodies of suicides should be carried naked through the streets, is told by Plut. (*Mor.* 249 B), who is cited by Gellius.
- 667 *vitae taedio* See note on p. 82, l. 217.
- 668 *Diogenes, Xenocrates* The shift to the plural forms (ἑτέρωσις ... *numeri*) is intended to heighten the humor. Diog. Laert. [VI, 77–78; IV, 14–15] (L.). According to Diog. Laert., however, Xenocrates' death was an accident, not suicide.
- 668–669 *Catonis, Cassius ac Brutus* Plut. *Cato* [69–70; *Brutus* 43, 52 (*Vit.* 794, 1004, 1009)] (L.).
- 669 *Chiron* Lucian. *Dial. mort.* [26] (L.). Ov. *Met.* II, 649–654.
- 670–671 *altero luto* ... *Prometheo* Lucian. *Prometh.* 2, 11–13. Otto No. 998.
- 674–675 *exacto* ... *stamine* *Adag.* 567 (LB II, 249 C). L. quotes and translates the Greek proverb.
- 676 *vitae taedio* See note on p. 82, l. 217.
- 678 *Nestorea senecta* Hom. *Il.* I, [250–252] (L.). *Adag.* 566 (LB II, 249 A), *Nestorea senecta*. Cf. Martial. IX, 29, 1 and see first note on p. 97, l. 451.
- 680–681 *Aristophanicis* ... *ψωλούς* Aristoph. *Plut.* [266–267] (L.). Except for ἀθλίους (wretched), L. translates all the Greek words (noting that ψωλούς means 'carentes mentula'). Ψωλός can mean 'circumcized' or 'with the prepuce retracted (in lust).' But its meaning in *Plut.* 267 is not entirely clear (see the edition by J. van Leeuwen, Leiden, 1904, p. 44). Following L.'s hint, Sir Thomas Chaloner, ed. Clarence H. Miller, Oxford, 1965, p. 41, translated 'lame of their best limbe (whiche for womanhode I name not).'
- 682 *νεανίσειν* '... iuueniliter agere, quod Horatius [*Arts.* 246] dixit iuuenari' (L.). *Adag.* 3083 (LB II, 988 A).
- apposititia coma* 'Hanc quidam galericulum vocant. Id frequens est apud Hispanos' (L.).
- 683 *dentibus vtatur* 'Quidam edentuli, dentes arte gingiuis insertos habent, non suos, sed forte porci cuiuspiam' (L.). In the sixteenth century it was believed that a tooth could be transplanted from one person to another. False teeth (originally cosmetic rather than functional) were manufactured out of ivory, bone, precious woods, or the teeth of men, beef-cattle, or walruses (A. Franklin, *La vie privée d'autrefois: variétés chirurgicales*, Paris, 1894, XIV, pp. 130–133, 139–141, 171).
- 684 *amatoris* ... *adolescentulum* Ov. [*Am.* I, 9, 4] (L.). Cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 59 A–B.
- 685 *capulares* ... *silicernia* Ter. *Ad.* [587] (L.). L. draws upon Fulg. *Serm. antiqui* 8, 23 and Donatus on *Ad.* 587 for his etymologies of *capulares* and *silicernia*.
- 690 *φῶς ἀγαθόν* 'Light' is taken to mean 'life.' The saying is attributed to a dying old woman who was still eager to live (L.). An old woman who wished to make love without being embarrassed by the wrinkles on her naked body, extinguished the lamp, saying χαῖρε φίλον φῶς (Leutsch-Schneidewin, pp. 173, 319; and the *Supplementum*, Crusius' *Analecta*, pp. 73–74). *Adag.* 1638 (LB II, 622 F), *Vale carum lumen*. The saying is wittily ambiguous: (1) Farewell, dear light; (2) Welcome, dear life. Cf. *Ecccl.* 11, 7.
- καπροῦν* In *Adag.* 809 (LB II, 336 B) Er. quotes and translates Aristoph. *Plut.* [1024] and attributes (wrongly) the Latin equivalent, *catullire*, to Plautus.
- 691 *Phaonem* The name here stands for any handsome young man. Iuv. [1, 38–39]. Aristoph. *Plut.* [959–979]. The word is an urbane way (ἀστεϊσμός) of expressing an indelicate idea in delicate language (L.). See p. 96, l. 451 and the third note on p. 84, l. 257.
- 692 *infimae* ... *vellerē* Here too she uses periphrasis (περιφρασις) to veil an obscene meaning. The phrase refers to a woman's privy parts. Martial [X, 90] introduces such a woman, Ligella (L.). Unlike Folly's, Martial's language is brutally explicit.
- 692–693 *vetas* ... *mammis* Hor. *Carm.* [error for *Epod.* 8, 7–8] (L.).
- 693–694 *tremuloque* ... *cupidinem* Hor. [*Carm.* IV, 13, 5–6] (L.).
- 694 *misceri puellarum choris* Cf. Hier. *Epist.* 22, 7, 2 (*CSEL* LIV, 153) describing his temptations in the desert: 'saepe choris intereram puellarum.'

695 haec ab omnibus, tanquam (vti sunt) stultissima, at ipsae sibi placent, et in sum-
 mis interim versantur deliciis, totasque sese melle perungunt, meo videlicet
 beneficio felices. Porro quibus haec deridicula videntur, illud secum expendant
 velim, vtrum satius ducant huiusmodi stulticia vitam plane mellitam exigere an
 trabem, vt aiunt, suspensio quaerere.

700 Porro quod haec vulgo putantur infamiae obnoxia, istud nihil ad stultos meos,
 qui malum hoc aut non sentiunt aut si quid sentiunt, facile negligunt. Si saxum
 in caput incidat, id vere malum sit. Caeterum pudor, infamia, probrum, male-
 dicta, tantum adferunt noxae quantum sentiuntur; si sensus absit, ne mala qui-
 dem sunt. Quid laedit, si totus populus in te sibilet, modo tute tibi plaudas?
 705 Atque vt id liceat, sola stulticia praestat.

Sed mihi videor audire reclamantes philosophos. Atqui hoc ipsum est, inqui-
 unt, miserum, stulticia teneri, errare, falli, ignorare. Imo hoc est hominem esse.
 Porro miserum cur vocent, non video, quandoquidem sic nati estis, sic instituti,
 sic conditi, ea est communis omnium sors. Nihil autem miserum quod in suo
 710 genere constat, nisi forte quis hominem deplorandum existimet, qui neque volare
 possit cum aibus neque quaternis ingredi pedibus cum reliquo pecudum genere
 neque cornibus sit obarmatus, quemadmodum tauri. Verum is eadem opera
 equum etiam bellissimum infelicem vocabit, quod neque grammaticam didicerit,
 neque placentis vescatur, taurum miserum, quod ad palaesticam sit inutilis. Igi-
 715 tur vt equus imperitus grammaticae miser non est, ita nec homo stultus infelix,
 propterea quod haec cum illius natura cohaerent.

Verum rursus vrgent logodaedali. Est, inquiunt, homini peculiariter addita
 disciplinarum cognitio, quarum adminiculis id quod natura diminutum est, inge-
 nio penset. Quasi vero vllam veri faciem habeat, naturam, quae in culicibus atque
 720 adeo in herbis ac flosculis tam sollicite vigilauerit, in vno homine dormitasse, vt
 disciplinis opus esset, quas Theutus ille humano generi infensus genius in sum-
 mam perniciem excogitauit, adeo non vtilis ad felicitatem, vt illi quoque ipsi offi-
 ciant ad quod proprie repertae dicuntur, vt eleganter arguit apud Platonem rex
 ille prudentissimus de literarum inuento. Igitur disciplinae cum reliquis humanae
 725 vitae pestibus irrepserunt, iisdem autoribus, a quibus omnia flagitia proficiscun-
 tur, puta daemonibus, quibus hinc nomen etiam inuentum, quasi *δαίμονας*, hoc
 est, scientes appelles. Siquidem simplex illa aurei seculi gens, nullis armata dis-
 730 ciplinis, solo naturae ductu instinctuque viuebat. Quorsum | enim opus erat
 grammatica, cum eadem esset omnibus lingua nec aliud sermone petebatur, nisi
 vt alius alium intelligeret? Quis vsus dialectices, vbi nulla erat pugnantium inter
 se sententiarum dimicatio? Quis rhetoricae locus, cum nullis alteri negotium
 faceretur? Quorsum requireretur legum prudentia, cum abessent mali mores, ex
 quibus haud dubie bonae leges prognatae sunt? Porro religiosiores erant quam
 vt impia curiositate arcana naturae, syderum mensuras, motus, effectus, abditas
 735 rerum causas scrutarentur, nefas esse rati si homo mortalis vltra sortem suam
 sapere conaretur. Iam quid extra coelum esset, inquirendi dementia ne in men-
 tem quidem veniebat. At labente paulatim aetatis aureae puritate, primum a

malis, vt dixi, geniis inuentae sunt artes, sed paucae atque hae quidem a paucis
 740 receptae. Postea sexcentas addidit Chaldaeorum superstitio et Graecorum ociosa
 leuitas, meras ingeniorum cruces, adeo vt vel vna grammatica abunde satis sit ad
 perpetuam vitae carnificinam.

Quanquam inter has ipsas disciplinas hae potissimum in precio sunt, quae ad
 sensum communem, hoc est, ad stulticiam quam proxime accedunt. Esuriunt
 745 Theologi, frigent Physici, ridentur Astrologi, negliguntur Dialectici. Solus
 indoctior, audacior, incogitantiorque, hoc pluris fit etiam apud torquatos istos
 LB 435 principes. Atqui medicina, praesertim vt nunc a compluribus | exercetur, nihil
 aliud est quam assentationis particula, non minus profecto quam rhetorica.

700 Stultum metuere infamiam* C-H: om. A B.

706 Miserum non est, quicquid secundum naturam est* C-H: om. A B.

717 Disciplinas inutiles esse et noxias* C-H: om. A B.

721 Artes a malis daemonibus excogitatae* C-H: om. A B; Theutus E-H: Teuthus A B, Theuthus C D.

729 Grammatica* C-H: om. A B.

730 Dialectica* C-H: om. A B; dialectices E-H: dialecticae A-D.

731 Rhetorica* C-H: om. A B.

732 Leges* C-H: om. A B.

733 Physica* C-H: om. A B.

734 effectus A-F H: affectus G.

739 Magia* C-H: om. A B.

742 Maxime in precio sunt artes minime sapientes* D-H: om. A-C.

745 γὰρ E F: om. A-D G H; ἀνδρῶν A-H: ἄλλῶν in notis Listerii et in editionibus E. 865 ac E. 868 reperitur.

746 Medici* D-H: om. A-C.

747-748 medicina ... rhetorica C-H: medicina (si Platoni credimus) nihil aliud est quam quinta assentationis particula A B.

696 totasque ... perungunt Adag. [1909 (LB II, 687 B)] (L.).

699 trabem ... quaerere Adag. 921 (LB II, 373 C).

703-704 si sensus ... sunt Walther 32033a.

704 populus ... plaudas Hor. [Serm. I, 1, 66-67] (L.).

706-707 Atqui ... ignorare Cf. St F III, 168-169.

714 taurum ... inutilis Cf. note on p. 90, ll. 337-338.

717 logodaedali Plat. Phaedr. 266 E. Cf. Adag. 1262 (LB II, 509 F).

721-724 Theutus ... inuento L. translates Plat. Phaedr. 274 CD and summarizes 274 E: 275 A.

726-727 δαήμονας ... scientes Plat. Crat. 398 B. Lact. Div. inst. II, 14, 6 (CSEL XIX, 163).

730 dialectices In Dr cop. verb. I, 11, LB I, 13 A, Er. recommends the occasional use of Greek inflections for the sake of variety. See variant readings and p. 130, l. 111.

731-732 negocium faceretur 'Id est, molestus esset in ius vocando. Porro rhetorum opera, in iudiciis requirebatur' (L.).

732-733 mali ... prouidat sunt Adag. 961 (LB II, 384 D). Macr. Sat. III, 17, 10. Otto No. 944. Walther 2109.

733-735 religiosiores ... scrutarentur L. quotes the

Socratic proverb 'nihil ad nos ... quae supra nos.' In Adag. 569 (LB II, 250 AB) Er. quotes the proverb from Lact. Div. inst. III, 20. See note on p. 106, l. 616.

735-736 homo ... conaretur Cf. Adag. 692 (LB II, 256 F). Apophth. II, LB IV, 157 F.

736 extra coelum Plin. [Nat. II, 1, 3]: 'Furor est profecto, furor egredi, ex eo [et tanquam interna eius cuncta plane iam sint nota, ita scrutari externa]' (L.).

738 malis ... geniis Adag. 72 (LB II, 55 F).

739 Chaldaeorum superstitio Gell. XIV, 1, 1-10.

741 carnificinam See second note on p. 132, l. 153.

743 sensum communem Cf. Hor. Serm. I, 3, 66; Cic. De or. I, 3, 12.

745 ἱατρὸς ... ἀνδρῶν Hom. Il. XI, [514], quoted by Plat. Symp. [214 B] (L.). Adag. 2752 (LB II, 915 D).

745-747 in hoc ipso ... principes '... Nec hoc arbitrator ad artis meae contumeliam pertinere, sed potius ad gloriam, si taxatur illorum temeritas, qui hanc illotis pedibus aggrediuntur' (L.).

747-748 medicina ... rhetorica Plat. Gorg. [463 AB, 465 BC] (L.). The revision removes the direct reference to Plato, who makes medicine one

750 Secundum hos proximus datur locus leguleiis, et haud scio an primus, quorum
 professionem, ne quid ipsa pronunciem, velut asininam philosophi magno consensu
 ridere solent. Sed tamen horum asinorum arbitrio maxima minimaque
 negocia transiguntur. His latifundia crescunt, cum theologus interim excussis
 totius diuinitatis scriniis lupinum arrodit, cum cimicibus ac pediculis assidue bel-
 lum gerens.

755 Vt igitur feliciores sunt artes, quae maiorem habent cum stulticia affinitatem,
 ita longe felicissimi sunt hi, quibus prorsus licuit ab omnium disciplinarum com-
 mercio abstinere solamque naturam ducem sequi, quae nulla sui parte manca est,
 nisi forte mortalis sortis pomeria transilire velimus. Odit natura fucos multoque
 760 felicius prouenit quod nulla sit arte violatum. Agedum, an non videtis ex vno-
 quoque reliquorum animantium genere ea felicissime degere, quae sunt a disci-
 plinis alienissima nec vllius magisterio nisi naturae ducuntur? Quid apibus aut
 felicius aut mirabilius? At his ne corporis quidem omnes sensus adsunt. Quid
 simile in extruendis aedificiis reperit architectura? Quis vnquam philosophus
 similem instituit rempublicam? Rursum equus, quoniam humanis sensibus affi-
 765 nis est et in hominum contubernium demigrauit, humanarum item calamitatum
 est particeps, quippe qui non raro dum vinci pudet in certaminibus ducit ilia et
 L.B. 436 in bellis, dum ambit triumphum, confoditur simulque cum sessore terram | ore
 momordit. Vt ne commemorem interim lupata frena, aculeata calcaria, stabuli
 carcerem, scuticas, fustes, vincula, sessorem, breuiter omnem illam seruitutis
 770 tragoediam, cui se vltro addixit, dum fortes viros imitatus impensius hostem
 vlcisci studet. Quanto optabilior muscarum et auicularum vita, ex tempore solo-
 que naturae sensu degentium, modo per hominum insidias liceat. Quae si quando
 caueis inclusae assuescant humanas sonare linguas, mirum quam a natiuo illo
 nitore degenerent. Adeo modis omnibus laetius est quod natura condidit quam
 775 quod fucavit ars.

Proinde nunquam satis laudarim gallum illum Pythagoram, qui cum vnus
 omnia fuisset, philosophus, vir, mulier, rex, priuatus, piscis, equus, rana, opinor
 etiam spongia, tamen nullum animal iudicauit calamitosius homine, propterea
 quod caetera omnia naturae finibus essent contenta, solus homo sortis suae limi-
 780 tes egredi conaretur. Rursum inter homines, idiotas multis partibus anteponit
 doctis ac magnis, et Gryllus ille non paulo plus sapuit quam πολυμήτις Ὀδυσσεύς,
 qui maluerit in hara grunnire quam cum illo tot miseris obiici casibus. Ab his mihi
 non dissentire videtur Homerus, nugarum pater, qui cum mortales omnes
 subinde δειλοὺς καὶ μοχθηροὺς appellat, tum Vlysem illum, suum sapientis
 785 exemplar, saepe numero δόστηνον vocat, Paridem nusquam, nec Aiace[m] nec
 Achillem. Quamobrem id tandem? Nisi quod ille vafer et artifex nihil non Pal-
 ladis consilio agebat nimiumque sapiebat, a naturae ductu quam longissime recedens.

790 Vt igitur inter mortales ii longissime absunt a felicitate, qui sapientiae student,
 nimirum hoc ipso bis stulti, quod homines nati cum sint, tamen obliiti conditionis
 suae deorum immortalium vitam affectant, et gigantum exemplo disciplinarum

machinis naturae bellum inferunt, ita quam minime miseri videntur ii, qui ad brutorum ingenium stulticiamque quam proxime accedunt neque quicquam ultra hominem moliantur. Age experiamur num hoc quoque non Stoicis enthememata-

749 Iureconsulti* C-H: om. A B.

756 hi C-H: ii A B.

758 Feliciora omnia quae carent arte* C-H: om. A B.

760 reliquorum A E-H: reliquoque B-D.

762 ne A C-H: nec B.

763 reperit H: reperiatur A-G.

of the four genuine studies mimicked by the four branches of flattery (cooking, cosmetics, sophistry, and rhetoric).

749 *leguleis* Cic. *De or.* I, 236.

750 *reliet asiunam* Because they are not trained in chop-logic but argue by citing laws – although the lawyers may in fact come closer to the truth than the philosophers, who imagine that they are super-subtle, whereas they actually verify the saying ‘In the heat of violent argument, the truth is completely forgotten’ (L.). See note on p. 142–144, ll. 357–358.

751 *maxima minimaque* Otto No. 1010.

752 *latifundia* Pliny [*Nat.* XVIII, 7, 35] gives the saying ‘Italiam perdidere latifundia’ as if it were a proverb (L.).

753 *lupinum arrodit* Cf. *Adag.* 3537 (LB II, 1085 D). The phrase means ‘nibbles on a dried pea’ – that is, ‘goes hungry.’

757 *naturam ducem* Cf. Cic. *I. ael.* 5, 19; *Cato* 2, 5; and Walther 15922a–b.

758 *pomeria* Liv. I, [44, 4–5] (L.). Varro, *Rust.* I, 2, 13; Macr. *Sat.* I, 24, 12.

adit ... fucos Prop. I, [2, 1–15]; Plin. *Nat.* [XXI, 1, 1] (L.).

761 *apibus* L. quotes Plin. [*Nat.* XI, 4, 11] and refers to Aristot. *Hist. an.* V, [22] and IX, [40]; Verg. *Georg.* IV, 149–227. Cf. *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 142, l. 204 sqq.; p. 156, l. 633 sqq.

762 *ne corporis ... adsunt* Plin. (*Nat.* XI, 3, 10) says that all insects have eyes, touch, and taste and that some have smell and a few hearing also. Aristot. (*Hist. an.* IV, 8, 15) asserts categorically that insects, including bees, have all five senses.

763 *reperit* The potential subjunctive ‘reperiatur’ was changed to the perfect indicative (usually ‘repperit’) in accordance with ‘instituit’ in the next sentence.

764–766 *equus ... particeps* Aristot. *Rhet.* II, 20 (1393 B); Hor. *Epist.* I, 10, 34–38. *Ep.* 2472, ll. 42–45.

766 *ducit ilia* Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 9–10 (L.).

764 Miserrima animantia quae disciplinae capacia* C-H: om. A B.

777 Quoduis animal felicius homine* C-H: om. A B.

781–782 et Gryllus... casibus C-H: om. A B.

782 Ab his C-H: Ab hoc Gallo A B.

767–768 *terram ore momordit* Verg. *Aen.* [XI, 418; X, 482]. Hom. *Od.* XXII, [269]; *Il.* XXII, [17] (L.).

768 *Impata frenata* Verg. *Georg.* [III, 208] (L.). Hor. *Carmin.* I, 8, 6–7.

770–771 *ultra ... studet* ‘Fortes viros’ is ironical (*εἰρωνικῶς* dictum) and applies to those foolish princes who set out to destroy the enemy but end up by placing themselves in great jeopardy. Hor. [*Epist.* I, 10, 34–38] (L.). See note on p. 112, ll. 764–766.

776 *gallum illum Pythagoram* Lucian. *Somnium sive Gallus*, transl. by Ir. [*ASD* I, 1, p. 471, ll. 1–10; p. 482, ll. 1–5; p. 485, ll. 25–28] (L.).

778 *spongia* Aristot. (*Hist. an.* V, [16]) and Plin. [*Nat.* IX, 69, 148] classify the sponge as an animal (L.). See Ir. *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1274 C.

781 *Gryllus* Gryllus, changed into a hog by Circe, debates with Odysseus in Plut. *Mor.* 987 B–989 A.

πολυμήτις Ὀδυσσεύς In the *Od.* Hom. applies this epithet to Odysseus over 80 times.

783–784 *mortales ... μοχθηρούς* Hom. *Od.* XII, [341] (L.). The phrase *δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι* occurs once more in the *Od.* (XV, 408) and three times in the *Il.* (XXII, 31, 76; XXIV, 525). The epithet *μοχθηρός* is not used by Hom., though he does apply *μοχθίζοντα* to Philoctetes (*Il.* II, 723).

785 *δύστηνον* In the *Od.* this epithet is applied to Odysseus 15 times and twice to Elpenor (XI, 76, 80). In the *Il.* it is applied to Priam and Andromache (XXII, 59, 477) but never to Paris, Ajax, or Achilles.

791–792 *gigantum ... inferunt* Cic. [*Cato* II, 5] (L.). *Adag.* 2993 (LB II, 948 D). L. points out that ‘machinis’ implies a metaphor drawn from the military engines used to besiege towns. Cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 29 C.

794–795 *Stoicis enthemematis* On the enthememe as an oratorical syllogism, one of whose premises is either probable (not certain) or merely implied (not stated), see Aris-

795 tis, sed crasso quopiam exemplo queamus ostendere. Ac per deos immortales, estne quicquam felicius isto hominum genere, quos vulgo moriones, stultos, fatuos, ac bliteos appellant, pulcherrimis, vt equidem opinor, cognominibus? Rem dicam prima fronte stultam fortassis atque absurdam, sed tamen vnam multo verissimam.

800 Principio vacant mortis metu, non mediocri per Iouem malo. Vacant conscientiae | carnificina. Non territantur manium fabulamentis. Non expauescunt
LB 437 spectris ac lemuribus, non torquentur metu impendentium malorum, non spe futurorum bonorum distenduntur. In summa non dilacerantur milibus curarum quibus haec vita obnoxia est. Non pudescunt, non verentur, non ambiunt, non
805 inuident, non amant. Denique si propius etiam ad brutorum animantium insipientiam accesserint, ne peccant quidem autoribus theologis. Hic mihi iam expendas velim, stultissime sapiens, quot vndique sollicitudinibus noctes diesque discrucietur animus tuus, congeras in vnum aceruum vniuersa vitae tuae incommoda atque ita demum intelliges, quantis malis meos fatuos subduxerim. Adde
810 huc quod non solum ipsi perpetuo gaudent, ludunt, cantillant, rident, verum etiam caeteris omnibus, quocunq; sese verterint, voluptatem, iocum, lusum risumque adferunt, velut in hoc ipsum a deorum indulgentia dati, vt humanae vitae tristitiam exhilararent. Vnde fit, vt cum aliis in alios varius sit affectus, hos omnes ex aequo tanquam suos agnoscant, expetant, pascant, foueant, complectantur, succurrant si quid acciderit, impune permittant quicquid vel dixerint vel
815 fecerint. Adeoque nemo illis nocere cupit, vt ferae quoque beluae ab illorum iniuria temperent, sensu quodam innocentiae naturali. Sunt enim vere sacri diis, praecipue mihi, ideoque non iniuria hunc honorem omnes illis habent.

Quid quod summis etiam regibus adeo sunt in delitiis, vt nonnulli sine his neque prandere nec ingredi nec omnino vel horam durare possint. Neque vero paulo interuallo hos bliteos suis illis tetricis sophis anteponunt, quos tamen ipsos aliquot honoris gratia solent alere. Cur autem anteponant, nec obscurum arbitror nec mirum videri debet, cum sapientes illi nil nisi triste soleant adferre principibus suaque doctrina freti non vereantur aliquoties auriculas teneras mordaci
820 radere vero; Moriones autem id praestent quod unum undecunq; principes modis omnibus aucupantur, iocos, risus, cachinnos, delitias. Iam accipite et hanc non aspernam stultorum dotem, quod soli simplices ac veridici sunt. Quid autem veritate laudatius? Quanquam enim Alcibiadeum apud Platonem prouerbum veritatem vino pueritiaeque tribuit, tamen omnis ea laus mihi peculiariter debetur, vel Euripide teste, cuius extat illud celebre de nobis dictum: $\mu\omega\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$
LB 438 $\mu\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$. Faluus quicquid habet in pectore, id et vultu prae se fert et oratione promit. At sapientum sunt duae illae linguae, vt idem meminit Euripides, quarum altera verum dicunt, altera quae pro tempore iudicant opportuna. Horum
831 est nigrum in candida vertere et eodem ex ore frigidum pariter et calidum efflare
835 longeque aliud conditum habere in pectore, aliud sermone fingere. Porro in tanta felicitate, tamen hoc nomine principes mihi videntur infelicissimi, quod deest, a quo verum audiant, et assentatores pro amicis habere coguntur.

- 796 Moriones et fatui omnium felicissimi*
D-H; om. A-C.
- 802 ac E-H; aut A-D.
- 804 verentur A-D F-H; ferentur E.
- 806 Stulti non peccant* C-H; om. A B.
- 807 quot A-F H; quod G.
- 810 Iucundi omnibus fatui* C-H; om. A B.
- tot. *An. pr.* 70a10, *Rbet.* 1355a6; *Cic. Top.* 13, 55-14, 56; *Quint. Inst.* V, 14, 24-26. Cf. *Eccles.*, *LB V*, 1006 D. But Folly may not be using the term precisely, since the enthymeme as such is not particularly associated with Stoic teaching (e.g. the word does not occur in the index of *ST*). Folly perhaps chose an imposing word to designate fine-spun arguments like those given by Sen. in *Epist.* XIII, 2, 19-20, 24, 30.
- 795 crasso ... exemplo Cf. *Hor. Serm.* II, 2, 3. In *Adag.* 37 (*LB II*, 42 C), *Er.* contrasts Horace's 'Rusticus abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva' with a philosopher 'exactis illis Stoicorum rationibus atque argutis instructum.'
- 797 bliteus A favorite word of Octavius Augustus. 'Bliton' in Greek means beet ('beta'), a plant so flavorless and flat that Martial [*XIII*, 13] calls it 'stupid' ('fatua') (L.). *Suct. Aug.* 87 notes that Augustus used 'baecolum' to mean 'stultus' and 'betizare' to mean 'langere.' In *Adag.* 1372 (*LB II*, 546 A), *Er.* refers to the same passages in Suetonius and Martial, but he also remarks that 'betizare' can be applied to dull, witless persons and he connects the verb with 'bliteus' (meaning 'stupid').
- 798 prima fronte *Adag.* 888 (*LB II*, 362 C).
- 801 carnificina See second note on p. 132, l. 153. *fabulamentis* This word is not found among classical writers, but was in use in the middle ages (Latham). Perhaps Folly uses it with deliberate contempt. Cf. *Hor. Carm.* I, 4, 16: 'Iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes.'
- 806 ne peccant ... theologis In discussing what kind of ignorance excuses actions otherwise sinful, Alexander of Hales, the irrefragable doctor, notes that ignorance excuses sin if the ignorance cannot be avoided, 'sicut in illo qui a natiuitate sua caret usu rationis' (*ST. inq.* 3, tract. 2, sect. 1, quaest. 2, tit. 1, cap. 8 in *Opera omnia*, Florence, 1930, III, 330). St. Thomas Aquinas teaches that 'stultitia' is not sinful if it results from a congenital indisposition; but it is if it results from sensual immersion in worldly things (*ST. IIa-IIae*, q. 46, a. 2). See also St. Bonaventure, *Commentarium in libros sententiarum*, lib. 2, dist. 22, art. 2, quaest. 3 in *Opera omnia*, Florence, 1882-1902, II, 527.
- 812 humanae A-C E-H; humane D.
- 815 succurrant si; succurrant, si A B E-H; succurrant. Si C-D.
- 818 ideoque A-G; adeoque H.
- 819 Fatui principum delitiae* C-H; om. A B.
- 826 Veritas penes fatuos* C-H; om. A B.
- 815-816 *impune ... fecerint* Except for some cases of treason or sacrilege, those deprived of rational faculties were not held accountable, by either civil or canon law, for actions normally punished by law (Paul Foriers, *La condition des insensés à la Renaissance in Folie et déraison à la Renaissance*, Brussels, 1976, pp. 30-31, 35-36).
- 818 *omnes illis habeat* Because reverence for the gods is a duty binding equally on everyone (L.).
- 819-820 *Quid ... possint* On the official fools of the French kings, two of whom *Er.* mentions by name, see André Stegmann, *Sur quelques aspects des fous en titre d'office dans la France du XI^e siècle in Folie et déraison à la Renaissance*, Brussels, 1976, pp. 53-68.
- 824-825 *auriculas ... vero* *Pers.* 1, [107-108] (L.). *Adag.* 1853 (*LB II*, 675 A). *Ep.* 334, l. 199.
- 827 *simplices ac veridici* Cf. Walther 3315701.
- 828-829 *Alcibiadeum ... tribuit* In *Adag.* 617 (*LB II*, 267 B), *Er.* quotes and translates a sentence from *Plat. Symp.* 217 E. Though his translation is not completely accurate (as H. Stephanus noted, *LB II*, 268 F), *Er.* is correct in inferring from Alcibiades' sentence that truth was proverbially attributed not only to wine, but also to children. *Er.* also cites *Cic. Top.* [20, 75].
- 830-831 *μωρὰ ... λέγει* *Eur. Bacch.* [369] (L.). *Adag.* 98 (*LB II*, 67 B). Walther 30497a.
- 831-832 *Fatuus ... promit* Cf. Walther 30479. See note on p. 74, ll. 68-69.
- 832-833 *sapientum ... opportuna* 'Euripides scripsit unicuique mortalium duas esse linguas' (L.). Cf. *Eur. Rhes.* 394-395, *Andr.* 451-452.
- 834 *nigrum ... vertere* *Iuv.* III, [30] (L.)
eodem ... efflare Avianus [29, *Fabulistes latins*, ed. L. Hervieux, Paris, 1894, III, 280-281] (L.). See also *Aesop* No. 60, ed. A. Chambry, Paris, 1925, pp. 130-134; No. 35 in *Aesopica*, ed. B. E. Perry, Urbana, 1952, p. 335; and *Greek Proverbs*, ed. R. Strömberg, Göteborg, 1954, p. 15.
- 835 *aliud ... fingere* See note on p. 74, ll. 68-69.
- 836-837 *principes ... audiant* Cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD IV*, 1, p. 60, l. 73 sqq. and Walther 33157a10, 3315707, 3315715, 3315717.

Sed abhorrent a vero principum aures, dixerit aliquis, et hac ipsa de causa sapientes istos fugitant, quod vereantur ne quis forte liberior existat, qui vera
 840 magis quam iucunda loqui audeat. Ita quidem res habet: inuisa regibus veritas. Sed tamen hoc ipsum mire in fatuis meis vsu venit, vt non vera modo, verum etiam aperta conuicia cum voluptate audiantur, adeo vt idem dictum, quod si a sapientis ore proficiscatur, capitale fuerat futurum, a morione profectum, incredibilem voluptatem pariat. Habet enim genuinam quandam delectandi vim ve-
 845 ritas, si nihil accedat quod offendant; verum id quidem solis fatuis dii dederunt.

Iisdem ferme de causis hoc hominum genere mulieres gaudere solent impensius, vtpote ad voluptatem et nugas natura propensiores. Proinde quicquid cum huiusmodi factitarint, etiam si nonnunquam serium nimis, illae tamen iocum ac lusum interpretantur, vt est ingeniosus, praesertim ad praetexenda commissa
 850 sua, sexus ille.

Igitur vt ad fatuorum felicitatem redeam, multa cum iucunditate peracta vita, nullo mortis vel metu vel sensu, recta in campos Elysios demigrant, et illic pias atque ociosas animas lusibus suis delectaturi.

Eamus nunc et quemuis etiam sapientem cum huius morionis sorte conferamus. Finge iam mihi quod huic opponas exemplar sapientiae, hominem qui
 855 totam pueritiam atque adolescentiam in perdiscendis disciplinis contriuerit et suauius vitam partem perpetuis vigiliis, curis, sudoribus perdiderit, ne in reliqua quidem omni vita vel tantillum voluptatis degustarit, semper parcus,
 LB 439 pauper, tristis, tetricus, sibiipsi iniquus ac durus, aliis grauis et inuisus, pallore, 860 macie, valetudine, lippitudine confectus, senio canicieque multo ante diem contracta, ante diem fugiens e vita. Quanquam quid refert quando moriatur istiusmodi, qui nunquam vixerit? Habetis egregiam illam sapientis imaginem.

At hic rursus obganniunt mihi οὐ ἐκ τῆς σοφῆς βέλτεροι. Nihil, inquiunt, miserius insania. Sed insignis Stulticia vel insaniae proxima est vel ipsa potius insania. Quid enim aliud est insanire quam errare animo? Sed isti tota errant via. Age,
 865 hunc quoque syllogismum dissipemus, Musis bene fortunantibus. Argute quidem isti, verum quemadmodum apud Platonem docet Socrates ex vna Venere secta duas et ex vno Cupidine dissecto duos faciens, itidem et istos dialecticos decebat insaniam ab insania distinguere, si modo ipsi sani videri vellent. Neque
 870 enim protinus omnis insania calamitosa est. Alioqui non dixisset Horatius *An me ludit amabilis insania*, neque Plato poetarum, vatum et amantium furorem inter praecipua vitae bona collocasset, nec vates illa laborem Aeneae vocasset insanum.

Verum est duplex insaniae genus: alterum quod ab inferis dirae vltices submitunt, quoties immissis anguibus vel ardorem belli vel inexplebilem auri sitim
 875 vel dedecorosum ac nefarium amorem vel parricidium, incestum, sacrilegium
 LB 440 aut aliam id genus pestem aliquam in pectora | mortalium inuehunt, siue cum

841 Impunitas stultorum* C-H: om. A B.

846 Fatui grati foeminis* C-H: om. A B.

848 nimis B-H: om. A.

855 iam mihi H: om. A-G.

- 863 Stultos foeliciter insanire* C D: *om. A B E-H*; *στοῦς; στῶς A-H*.
- 841-843 *non vera ... futurum* Cf. Ep. 337, ll. 106-109 and Walther 33157u1.
- 846-847 *mulieres ... propensiores* Cf. Walther 15345d; *Adag.* 2550-2551 (*LB II*, 859 BC).
- 848 *serium nimis* 'With such modest words she indicates that sometimes women have sexual intercourse with fools, and even become pregnant, imagining that their transgression will not come to light' (L.). Cf. *Adag.* 2550 (*LB II*, 859 A); W. Willeford, *The Fool and his Scepter*, Chicago, 1969, pp. 11-12; Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, XXVIII, 34-36.
- 849-850 *ingeniosus ... sexus ille* Cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 1032, *Andr.* 85; Iuv. VI, 284-285; Prop. II, 9, 31-32; Walther 15358.
- 852 *campus Elysias* Suidas [ed. A. Adler, Leipzig, 1928-1938, I, part 2, pp. 565-566]. Some place Elysium in the underworld, but others think it is in the Fortunate Isles (L.). See p. 78, l. 115.
- 860-861 *senio ... vita* Cf. *Adag.* 2962 (*LB II*, 943 A), where Er. quotes and translates Hom. *Od.* XIX, 360. See note on p. 84, ll. 242-243.
- 862 *nixerit* L. explains that 'viuere' here means 'suauiter viuere,' quoting Ter. [*Iec.* 461], Pers. V, [151-152], and Martial. [VII, 47, 11]. In *Adag.* 2466 (*LB II*, 843 C), Er. notes that in the proverb 'Vixit, dum vixit, bene' (Ter. *Iec.* [461]), 'est autem amphibologia in verbo *viuere*, quod interdum simpliciter viuere est, interdum genialiter vitam agere. ...' Cf. notes on p. 92, l. 374 and p. 194, l. 276.
- egregiam ... imaginem* Folly complacently congratulates herself on her effective use of the rhetorical figure *effictio* (*Eccles.*, *LB V*, 1010 E). See p. 106, l. 646.
- 863 *οἱ ... βάρπαχοι* ... Et Origenes, atque hunc sequutus Hieronymus, Aegyptiorum ranas, dialecticorum et sophistarum molestam garrulitatem interpretatur, vt etiam scriptum est in decretis canonicis distinctione trigesima-septima' (L.). Although Gratian (*Decretum* I, dist. XXXVII, CJC. I, 137) says that Origen interprets both the frogs and the following plague of mosquitoes as 'vanam dialecticorum garrulitatem et sophistica argumenta,' Origen actually applied only the mosquitoes to false dialectic and interpreted the croaking frogs as the poets ceaselessly singing their deceptive fables (*Homilia II' in Esodum*, Migne PG XII, 322 A-B). Although Origen's is the usual patristic and medieval interpretation (Hier. *Brev. in Ps.* 77 and 104, Migne PL XXVI, 1052 and 1138; St. Isidore, Migne PL I, XXXIII, 292; Bede, Migne PL XCI, 301; *Glossa ord.*, Migne PL CXIII, 205-207), Augustine (*Serm.* 1, 4, Migne PL XLVI, 948-949 and C.C.L. XXXIX, 1087) followed by Peter Damian (Migne PL CXLV, 689), interpreted the frogs as 'loquaces philosophi et haeretici.' The phrase *οἱ ἀπὸ (ἐκ) τῆς στοῦς* is a customary formula meaning simply 'Stoic' (Athen. 103 B, 104 B, 274 E; Diog. Laert. VII, 5; Sext. Emp. *Πυρρώνειοι ὑποτυπώσεις* III, 181). Three Italian editions (Nos. 8, 13, 19) and one derived from No. 8 (No. 23) have the more correct *στοῦς*; the rest have *στῶς*. See note on p. 108, l. 663. Even aside from Aristoph. *Ran.* and the Homeric *Batrachomyomachia*, frogs are usually presented comically, because they are puffed up and obstreperous. In *Adag.* 1034 (*LB II*, 418 F) - which is not directly applicable because it refers to tadpoles, not frogs - Er. notes that 'ranae tribuitur loquacitas, quae stoliditatis solet esse comes' (*LB II*, 419 B).
- 864-865 *Stulticia ... animo* Cic. *Tusc.* III, 4, 8-5, 10; Cic. *Paradox.*, 24-32; Hor. *Serm.* II, 3, 221; Sen. *Epist.* XCIV, 17; Apul. *De dogm. Plat.* I, 18, 217. Cf. *Adag.* 2997 (*LB II*, 949 D). Walther 30412a.
- 865 *tota errant via* In *Adag.* 48 (*LB II*, 47 F), Er. quotes Ter. *Eun.* [245]: 'Tota erras via.' Otto No. 1886.
- 866 *Musis bene fortunantibus* In *Adag.* 2589 (*LB II*, 866 A), Er. says that this proverbial phrase is used 'de doctis aut iis, quae docte dicuntur, aut quemadmodum ostendit Suidas [ed. A. Adler, Leipzig, 1928-1938, I, part 3, p. 371] cum illiteratus inter eruditos viuit, vt per Ironiam efferatur.' No doubt Folly is aware that the muses are not normally invoked by those who intend to refute a syllogism by making a distinction. See note on p. 76, l. 91.
- 867-868 *Platonem ... faciens* L. quotes and translates Plat. *Symp.* [180 D-E]; and summarizes *Symp.* [181 A-E].
- 869 *insaniam ... vellent* See p. 146, ll. 392-393.
- 870-871 *Au me ... insania* Hor. *Carm.* [III, 4, 5-6] (L.).
- 871-872 *Plato ... collocasset* L. summarizes Plat. *Phaedr.* [244 A-245 A]. *Phaedr.* 265 A-B gives a neat summary.
- 872 *vates ... insanum* L. quotes not only Verg. *Aen.* VI, [135] but also 'Insanire libet [quoniam tibi,' Verg. *Ecl.* III, 36].

nocentem et consciuum animum furis ac terriculorum facibus agunt. Est alterum huic longe dissimile, quod videlicet a me proficiscitur, omnium maxime exoptandum. Id accidit quoties iucundus quidam mentis error simul et anxiiis illis curis
 880 animum liberat et multiuga voluptate delibutum reddit. Atqui hunc mentis errorem ceu magnum quoddam deorum munus, ad Atticum scribens optat Cicero, nimirum quo tantorum malorum sensu carere posset. Neque perperam sensit Arguius ille, qui hactenus insaniebat, vt totos dies solus desideret in theatro ridens, plaudens, gaudens, quod crederet illic miras agi tragoedias, cum nihil
 885 omnino ageretur; cum in caeteris vitae officiiis probe sese gereret, iucundus amicis, *comis in vxorem, posset qui ignoscere seruis, Et signo laesae non insanire lagenae*. Hunc vbi cognatorum opera datis pharmacis morbo leuasset sibi iam totus esset redditus, hunc in modum cum amicis expostulans *Pol, me occidistis amici, Non seruastis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas, Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error*. Et
 890 merito quidem; errabant enim ipsi atque elleboro magis opus habebant, qui tam felicem ac iucundam insaniam, ceu malum aliquod, existimarent potionibus expellendam.

Quanquam illud equidem nondum statui, num quiuis sensus aut mentis error insaniae nomine sit appellandus. Neque enim si cui lippienti mulus asinus esse
 895 videatur aut si quis indoctum carmen veluti doctissimum admiretur, is continuo videbitur insanire. Verum si quis non sensu tantum, sed animi iudicio fallatur idque praeter vsitatum morem ac perpetuo, is demum insaniae censebitur affinis esse, veluti si quis, quoties asinum audierit rudentem, arbitretur scese miros symphoniscos audire, aut si quis pauperculus infimo loco natus Croesum Lydorum
 900 regem esse se credat. Sed hoc insaniae genus, si (quemadmodum fere fit) vergat ad voluptatem, non mediocrem delectationem adfert, tum iis qui eo tenentur, tum illis quibus est hoc animaduersum nec tamen eodem insaniunt. Nam haec insaniae species multo latius patet quam vulgus hominum intelligit. Sed vicissim insanus insanum ridet ac mutuam sibi voluptatem inuicem ministrant. Neque
 905 raro fieri videtis, vt maior insanus vehementius rideat minorem. Verum hoc quisque felicior, quo pluribus desipit modis, Stulticia iudice, modo in eo genere insaniae maneat quod nobis est peculiare, quod quidem vsqueadeo late patet, vt haud sciam, an ex vniuersa mortalium summa quempiam liceat reperire qui omnibus horis sapiat quique non aliquo insaniae genere teneatur. Quanquam hoc
 LB 441 tantum interest: qui cucurbitam cum videt, mulierem esse | credit, huic insano
 911 nomen ponunt, propterea quod perpauca id vsu veniat. Verum vbi quis vxorem suam, quam cum multis habet communem, plusquam Penelopen esse deierat
 LB 442 sibi maiorem in modum plaudit, feliciter | errans, hunc nullus insanum appellat, propterea quod passim maritis hoc accidere videant.

915 Ad hunc ordinem pertinent et isti, qui prae venatu ferarum omnia contemnunt
 LB 441 atque incredibilem animi voluptatem percipere se praedicant, quoties foedum illum cornuum cantum audierint, quoties canum eiulatus. Opinor etiam, cum excrementa canum odorantur, illis cinnamomum videri. Deinde quae suauitas quoties fera lanianda est? Tauros et verueces humili plebi laniare licet, feram nisi

- 879 quidam *A B D-H*: quidem *C*.
 886 seruis *B-H*: serius *A*.
 891 aliquod *A C-H*: aliquot *B*.
 893 Non omnis error insania est* *C-H: om. A B*.
 898-899 symphoniscos *C-H*: Symphoniacos *A B*.
 905 videtis *H*: videbitis *A-G*.
- 877 nocentem ... animum Cic. *Parad.* [II, 18]; Iuv. [XIII, 196-197] (L.).
furiis ... agunt Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 469-473, and VII, *passim*.
 877-879 alterum huic ... exoptandum Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* III, 4, 9-5, 11.
 880-882 huic mentis ... posset Atticus arguit M. Tullium triumviris occupantibus tyrannidem, quod nimium animo discriciaretur, adeo ut quidam putarent illum errare mente. Is respondit se plane sentire, optat autem errorem mentis, quo tantorum malorum sensu vacaret. Itidem apud Euripidem Ajax dolet, quod ab insania resipisset. ... Sen. *Phaedr.* [589-590] (L.). L. should have referred not to Euripides but to Soph. *Ant.* 271-277, 305-310. Folly's point is not borne out by Cicero's own words: 'Nam, quod scribis te audire me etiam mentis errore ex dolore adfici, mihi vero mens integra est. Atque utinam tam in periculo fuisset!' (*Att.* III, 13). Er., writing without his books (see note on p. 74, l. 54), may have made this error. But if (as Hudson suggests, p. 146) he intended to show Folly deliberately twisting the evidence, L. was also apparently taken in by Folly's sophistry.
 883-889 Arguius ... error Hor. *Epist.* [II, 2, 128-140] (L.).
 890 elleboro On the two kinds of ellebore (black and white) and their use to cure madness, L. quotes Dioscorides IV, [148, 1] and Hor. [*Serm.* II, 3, 82 and *Art.* 300]. Cf. Plin. *Nat.* XXV, 21-22, (47-54) and Gell. XVII, 15. *Adag.* 751 (*LB* II, 317 E). Otto No. 596.
 894 mulus asinus One proverbial expression - 'mulum de asino pingere' (Tert. *Adv. Val.* 19, 2) - equates the two animals as symbols of stupidity. Another - ἴνους δ' ὄσσον ἔνων χρεῖσσοτες ἡμίονοι (Theognis 996, quoted by Ir. in *Adag.* 2055, *LB* II, 729 F) - stresses the great superiority of the mule.
 896-897 Verum ... affinis esse Socrates makes a similar distinction in Xen. *Mem.* III, 9, 6-7.
 898-899 symphoniscos 'She uses this word to designate musicians singing in harmony. It is derived from συμφωναῖν, which means "to sing together"' (L.). Since 'symphoniacos'
 907 Nullos omnino vacat insania* *C-H: om. A B*; quidem *B-H: om. A*.
 911 Vxor communis* *C-H: om. A B*.
 912 communem *H*: communem, eam *A-G*; Penelopen *E-H*: Penelopē *A-C*, Penelopem *D*.
 915 Voluptas venandi* *C-H: om. A B*.
- (found in *A* and *B*) is a regular Latin adaptation from Greek which Cicero uses more than once, whereas 'symphoniscos' does not appear in the dictionaries of classical and medieval Latin (though Latham gives 'symphonista'), we might suspect that 'symphoniscos' (introduced in *C*) is simply a typographical corruption. But 'a' and the long 's' were not easily confused in writing or print in Ir.'s time, and the commentary confirms 'symphoniscos.'
 899-900 Croesum Lydorum regem *Adag.* 574 (*LB* II, 251 D). L. quotes and translates part of Solon's reply to Croesus [Hdt. I, 32].
 904 insanus insanum ridet Cf. *Adag.* 33 (*LB* II, 40 C): 'Manus manum fricat.'
 905 maior ... minorem Hor. *Serm.* II, [3, 326] (L.).
 909 omnibus horis sapiat *Adag.* 1329 (*LB* II, 532 B), where Ir. cites Plin. *Nat.* VII, [41, 136]. Otto No. 868.
 909-910 Quaquam ... interest 'In hac disputatione de insania non nihil imitatus est ex Horatii Satyra, cuius initium, Sic raro scribis [*Serm.* II, 3] (L.).
 910 cucurbitam ... credit 'This disease is caused by deterioration of the imaginative faculty' (L.). The disturbed man might well see not only a cucumber but also a cupping glass ('cucurbita medicinalis,' as in Plin. *Nat.* XXXII, 42, 123 or Cels. II, 10, 1-2) used to treat madmen (Iuv. XIV, 57-58). There is also a slur against women, since 'cucurbita' was used to mean 'Dummkopf' (Otto No. 472).
 910-911 huic ... ponunt Cf. Hor. *Serm.* II, 3, 46-47. See Introduction, p. 53.
 915 prae venatu ... contemunt Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 170, ll. 5-28. Surtz's notes (pp. 457-458) show that humanists were not unanimous in condemning the pleasures of the chase.
 918-923 quae suauitas ... viderit On 'nudo capite' L. notes: 'I understand this is the universal rule among the English, even for those wild animals they call fallow deer (damas). Some have a higher opinion of harts (platycerotas), and some prefer the roe (sylvestris capra).' Cutting up the deer was a technical and elaborate process, described by J.D. Bruce in

920 a generoso secari nefas. Is nudo capite, inflexis genibus, gladio ad id destinato
(neque enim quouis idem facere fas est) certis gestibus certa membra certo ordine
religiose secat. Miratur interim perinde vt in re noua sacraque circumstans tacita
turba, quamuis spectaculum hoc plus milies viderit. Porro cui contigerit e bellua
925 nonnihil gustare, is vero existimat sibi non parum nobilitatis accedere. Itaque
cum isti assidua ferarum insectatione atque esu nihil aliud assequantur nisi vt ipsi
propemodum in feras degenerent, tamen interea regiam vitam agere se putant.

Est his simillimum genus eorum, qui insatiabili aedificandi studio flagrant,
nunc rotunda quadratis, nunc quadrata rotundis permutantes. Neque vero finis
vllus neque modus, donec ad extremam redactis inopiam, nec vbi habitent nec
930 quid edant supersit. Quid tum postea? Interim annos aliquot summa cum vol-
uptate peregerunt.

Ad quos mihi quidem proxime videntur accedere, qui nouis et arcanis artibus
rerum species vertere moliantur ac terra marique quintam quandam essentiam
venantur. Hos adeo lactat mellita spes, vt neque laborum neque impensarum
935 vnquam pigeat, miroque ingenio semper aliquid excogitant, quo sese denuo fal-
lant sibi que ipsis gratam faciant imposturam, donec absumptis omnibus non sit
quo iam fornaculam instruant. Non desinunt tamen iucunda somnare somnia,
caeteros pro viribus ad eandem felicitatem animantes. Cumque iam prorsus omni
spe destituuntur, superest tamen vna sententia, abunde magnum solatium: in
940 magnis et voluisse sat est. Ac tum vitae breuitatem incusant, vt quae magnitudini
negocii non suffecerit.

Porro aleatores nonnihil addubito num in nostrum collegium sint admittendi.
Sed tamen stultum omnino ridiculumque spectaculum est, quoties videmus non-
942 nullos vsqueadeo addictos, vt simul atque strepitum tesserarum audierint, pro-
tinus illis cor saliat palpitetque. Deinde cum semper illiciente vincendi spe
945 omnium facultatum naufragium fecerint, in aleae scopulum illisa naue (non
paulo formidabiliorem Malea) vixque nudi emerserint, quosuis potius fraudant
quam victorem, ne scilicet viri parum graues habeantur. Quid cum senes iam et
caecutientes, vitreis etiam oculis lusitant? Postremo cum iam iusta chiragra con-
950 tudit articulos, vicarium etiam mercede conducunt qui pro se talos in pyrgum
mittat? Suavis quidem res, nisi quod hic ludus plerunque solet in rabiem euadere
iamque ad furias, non ad me, pertinere.

943 Caeterum illud hominum genus haud dubie totum est nostrae farinae, qui
miraculis ac prodigijs gaudent mendacijs vel audiendis vel narrandis. Nec vlla
955 satietas talium fabularum, cum portentosa quaedam de spectris, de lemuribus, de
laruis, de inferis, de id genus milibus miraculorum commemorantur; quae quo
longius absunt a vero, hoc et creduntur lubentius et iucundiore pruritu titillant
aures. Atque haec quidem non modo ad leuandum horarum taedium mire con-

922 sacraque *H: om. A-F, sacra G; circumstans
C-H: circumstans ac A B.*

923 quamuis ... viderit *H: om. A-F, tametsi ...
viderit G.*

924 parum *C-H: nihil A B.*

927 Aedificandi morbus* *C-H: om. A B; Est
A-F: Et G H.*

930 supersit *G H: superest A-F.*

- 932 Alcumistae* C-H: *om. A B.*
- 933 essentiam A B D-H: *assentiam C.*
- 937 fornaculam B-H: *fornacem A.*
- 942 Furor aleatorum* C-H: *om. A B.*
- 944 tesserarum H: *talorum A-G.*
- Englische Studien 32 (1903), pp. 23-36. Certain parts of the deer were distributed to the participants in the hunt according to a precise order of precedence (Julian Barnes, *Boke of Huntynge*, ed. G. Tilander, Karlshamn, 1964, p. 74). The execution of this ritual was pervasive in France and England, less so in Germany (D. Dalby, *Lexicon of the German Hunt*, Berlin, 1965, pp. xiv-xv).
- 928 *rotunda ... permutantes* L. quotes Hor. [*Epist.* I, 1, 100]. Cf. Martial. IX, 46. Otto No. 560.
- 933 *quintam quandam essentiam* The Aristotelian aether (RAC I, 153) or fifth essence was sometimes called πέμπτη οὐσίνη (e.g. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed. H. Diels, 11th ed., rev. W. Kranz, Berlin, 1964, I, 397, 4-5). Cic. translates *quinta quaedam natura* (*Tusc.* I, 26, 65; II, 10, 22), but *essentia* became the regular Latin translation of οὐσία (Apul. *De dogm. Plat.* I, 6, 193). The alchemists pursued the quintessence because it was thought to be so pure and purifying that it could change baser metals to gold. 'Philosophis Chymicis quinta essentia est Substantia, in qua purissima et sincerissima est crasis, seu natura, vis, virtus, spiritus et proprietates rerum a corpore suo per artem extracta. Siue Materia corporalis ex omnibus, quibus vita inest, separata, ab omnibus impuritatibus subtilissime purgata, in qua omnis rerum potentia et medicina' (R. Goelenius, *Lexicon philosophicum*, Frankfurt, 1613, repr. Hildesheim, 1964, pp. 164-165).
- 936 *sibique ... imposturam* Although the alchemists in the two colloquies Er. devoted to the subject (*Coll., Alcumistica* and Πτωχολογία, ASD I, 3, pp. 424, 433) are cynical tricksters, Er. portrays vividly the extraordinary self-deception of the greedy and gullible victims.
- 939-940 *in magnis ... est* Prop. II, 10, 6. *Adag.* 1755 (LB II, 652 A). Otto No. 1853.
- 940-941 *vitae ... suffecerit* Cf. Sen. *Brev. vit.* I, 1-3.
- 944 *tessararum* In H this word replaces 'talorum'. The *talus* was oblong and marked with numbers on only four sides. The *tessera* was like modern dice. At p. 120, l. 950 Er. left 'talos'.
- 946-947 *in aleae ... Malea* Strab. VIII, [6, 20] (L.). *Adag.* 1346 (LB II, 537 F). Otto No. 1016. Er. employed the echo Malea-alea in his colloquy Γερωντολογία, ASD I, 3, p. 383, ll. 263-267. Kaiser, p. 73, comments: 'In saying the last two words, Stultitia elides the *m*'s, thus making it sound as though she had said *alea* (dice).'
- 947-948 *quosuis ... habeantur* Tac. *Germ.* [24, 3-4] (L.).
- 948 *senes* In ancient times old men were especially fond of dicing because it required little physical effort (Cic. *Cato XVI*, 58; Suet. *Aug.* LXXI, 1-2; Iuv. XIV, 4).
- 949 *vitreis etiam oculis* From the use of this phrase in Er.'s colloquy Γερωντολογία, ASD I, 3, p. 375, l. 6, it is clear that it means eyeglasses and has nothing to do with the modern prosthetic glass eyes. Other words for spectacles, current before and during Er.'s times, were available to him: *spectacula* (pl.), *speculae* (Latham), and *ocularia* pl. (Niermeyer).
- 949-951 *iusta ... mittat* L. quotes Hor. *Serm.* [II, 7, 14-18].
- 953 *nostrae farinae* Pers. [V, 115] (L.). *Adag.* 2444 (LB II, 839 D). Otto No. 643.
- 954 *prodigiosis ... mendaciis* Cf. Ov. *Am.* III, 6, 17. *miraculis ... narrandis* 'Hac de re libellum [*in marg.* Philopseudes] conscripsit Lucia[nus], quem Morus, cui libellus hic [i.e. Moriae Encomium] dicatus, elegantissime vertit in sermonem latinum. Hoc genus hominum execratur et diuus Hieronymus in epistolis [I have not been able to find the place], qui pugnas cum daemonibus, atque huiusmodi portenta confingunt. [1532] Vide calumniator nec a Moria damnari miracula, sed illorum vanitatem, qui fictis miraculis quaestui suo consulunt, et eorum stulticiam, qui talibus figmentis magis capiuntur quam sacris historiis' (L.). In his preface to his translation (1506), More wrote that the satire of the pagan Lucian might be used to advantage against the superstitions of Christians: 'Hunc certe fructum nobis afferet iste dialogus [Philopseudes], vt neque magicis habeamus praestigiis fidem, & superstitione careamus, quae passim sub specie religionis obrepit, tum vitam vt agamus minus anxiam, minus videlicet expauescentes tristia quaerpiam ac superstitiosa mendacia, quae plerunque tanta cum fide atque auctoritate narrantur ...' (*Translations of Lucian*, ed. C.R. Thompson, New Haven and London, 1974, p. 4). See C.R.

ducunt, verum etiam ad quaestum pertinent, praecipue sacrificiis et concionatoribus.

960

Hiis rursus adfines sunt ii, qui sibi stultam quidem, sed tamen iucundam persuasionem induerunt, futurum, vt si ligneum aut pictum aliquem Polyphemum Christophorum aspexerint, eo die non sint perituri, aut qui sculptam Barbaram praescriptis verbis salutarit, sit incolumis e praelio rediturus, aut si quis Erasmus certis diebus, certis cercolis certisque preculis conuenerit, breui sit diues euasurus. Iam vero Georgium etiam Herculem inuenerunt, quemadmodum et Hippolytum alterum. Huius | equum phaleris ac bullis religiosissime adornatum tantum non adorant ac subinde nouo quopiam munusculo demerentur; per huius aeream galeam deierare plane regium habetur.

965

LB 444

970

Nam quid dicam de iis, qui sibi fictis scelerum condonationibus suauissime

961 Superstitiosus imaginum cultus* C-H: om. A B.

962 vt G H: om. A-F.

970 fictis B-H: factis A.

Thompson, *The Translations of Lucian by Erasmus and St. Thomas More*, Ithaca, New York, 1940, pp. 24-27. Gullible credulity about ghostly apparitions is the main target of Er.'s colloquy *Exorcismus* (*ASD* I, 3, pp. 417-423). 959-960 *sacrificiis et concionatoribus* 'Palam est, hic non reprehendi miracula, sed conficta, et conficta ad quaestum, quo plus extorqueant a mulierculis et senibus, stulteqe credulis. Nam his difficillime credunt, qui maxime credunt Euangelio. Et fere videmus, vt qui huiusmodi fabulamentis maxime fidem habent, apud hos Euangelii leuissima sit autoritas. Videtur autem taxare genus hominum illaudatum, quos vulgo quaestuarios vocant, qui circumferentes sanctorum reliquias, magna impudentia solent apud populum huiusmodi portenta narrare, quae post ipsi inter pocula rident. [1532] Quaeso te lector, expende locum, et vide an hic damnetur pius cultus diuorum, ac non potius superstitio. Superstitiosus est qui colit diuum ob id, quod frustra sibi quis a deo promitteret: neque enim conspicua trinitatis imago praestat, ne eo die male pereas, vtcumque viuas: dein quod incertum est. Quis enim pollicitus est, hoc hunc aut illum diuum posse? Praeterea quod id petitur a diuo velut autore, quod dare solius est dei. Postremo secum pugnantia petunt, dum cupiunt bene mori, quum non desinant male viuere. Haec tantum notat Moria' (L.).

962-963 *Polyphemum Christophorum* 'Polyphemum vocat, quod hunc immani, et plusquam gigantea magnitudine fingant pictores et sculptores, et malum, baculi loco tenentem ingressum vndas, qualis Polyphemus apud

Vergilium, quem 3. Aeneidos sic describit [quotes *Aen.* III, 658-659, 664-665]. Quem et Homerus *Odysseae* I. [i.e. iota, IX, 190-192] (L.). Cf. *Coll., Peregrinatio* (*ASD* I, 3, p. 484, l. 501 and note). Gigantic pictures or statues of St. Christopher were displayed in very many churches, from cathedrals to small parish churches, especially in the fifteenth century. See E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge*, Paris, 1922, p. 185, and M. Rat's note to P. Nolhac's translation (p. 281).

963 *eo die ... perituri* 'Quaeso quid dici potuit stultius aut superstitiosius? et tamen mirum, quam id vulgo persuasum habeatur. Quis istiusmodi plusquam haereticas opiniones insaeuit in animos Christianorum? Bene morietur, quisquis vixerit in Christo, non qui ligneum viderit Christophorum' (L.). This belief was the reason for placing the representation of St. Christopher in a prominent place in church so that it might be seen by all attending mass (L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, Paris, 1955-59, III, 305-306). The following couplet was often placed beneath the picture or statue: 'Christophori sancti speciem quicumque tuetur, Ista nempe die non morte male morietur.' *Acta Sanctorum*, 25 July VI, Antwerp, 1729, XXXII, 135-136. See also Er., *Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii*, LB IX, 1162 D, and Walther 2727.

963-964 *sculptam Barbaram ... rediturus* 'Vtriusque [Christophori et Barbarae] historia non admodum grauis est [both are in the *Legenda aurea*, by Jacobus de Voragine, ed. [J.G.] Th.Graesse, 3. Aufl., Lipsiae, 1890, reprint Osnabrück, 1965, pp. 430-434, 898-902]. Et tamen huiusmodi fabulamentis permisum

- est olim ludere Christianis potius quam Ethnicis' (L.). Augustine ridicules the pagan gods and their myths at length in *Civ. St. Barbara* was protectress against lightning and explosions, but it was also believed that she could grant the favor of not dying without the last sacraments (E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux*, Paris, 1922, p. 186), which could not normally be received by the soldier dying on the battlefield. See L. Réau, III, 170-171. Cf. Ep. 1347, ll. 80-85.
- 964-966 *Erasmus* ... *enասւրս* 'Animaduerte lector, et intelliges, nihil hic dici contumeliosum in sanctos, sed in eos, qui illos superstitione colunt. Nauticum genus, quo vix aliud sceleratius, cum non mutant vitam, tamen ita se domum redituros confidunt, si simulachrum Christophori conspexerint. Milites perditissimum genus, si ad Barbarae procubuerint imaginem, et castrensia quaedam demurmurauerint precamina, credunt se incolumes, ad pristinam vitam redituros e praelio. Auari in hoc colunt Erasmus, et id superstitiose, vt breui ditescant' (L.) St. Erasmus, who (like Barbara, Christopher, and George) was one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, was invoked against St. Elmo's fire and intestinal ailments (L. Réau, III, 438-439). In spite of L.'s last sentence, there is no evidence that St. Erasmus was invoked by those who wished to get rich quick. As his language suggests (the finicky repetition of 'certis', the precious diminutives 'cereolis', 'preculis'), Er. is making a quiet joke about his own namesake. Er. had written with passionate precision about the superstitious worship of the saints in *Enchir.* (LB V, 26 E-27 D) and would do so again (mentioning Christopher, Barbara, and Erasmus) in his note on *Rom.* 13, 21 (LB VI, 634 C). He defended what he had written about the worship of the saints in *Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii*, LB IX, 1162 B-1163 D.
- 966 *Georgium etiam Herculem* 'Some things told about this saint seem to be drawn from the labors of Hercules, who fought the Lernaean hydra' (L.). Cf. *vitae Lernae*, p. 124, l. 980. St. George, who was especially honored in England, was sometimes invoked for safe return from battle (*Acta sanctorum*, 23 April III, Antwerp, 1675, XI, 143, 160-163). On St. George as a Christian analogue of Hercules, see H. Delehay, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Brussels, 1905, p. 194.
- 967 *Hippolytum alterum* St. Hippolytus, like the classical Hippolytus (see *Adag.* 2565, LB II, 861 B), was destroyed by wild horses (*Acta Sanctorum*, 13 August III, Antwerp, 1737, XXXVI, 6). The parallel between the two is presented by Prud. (*Peristeph.* 11, 86-89).
- 967-968 *phaleris ... demerentur* 'Olim in templis Christianorum nihil erat neque sculptum neque pictum, nunc equus Georgii veris instructus armis, bonam aliquoties templi partem occupat' (L.). *Moria* was written in England, and there can be little doubt that Folly's remarks about St. George were intended primarily for English ears. In his English translation (1549), Thomas Chaloner deliberately omitted Folly's remarks about St. George. Life-size statues of the saint - horse, dragon, and all - were not uncommon in important English churches. Henry VII in his will, dated March 1509 (about 6 months before *Moria* was written), bequeathed 'to God, our Lady His Mother, and Saint George within our College of Windsor, and to the Dean and Cannons, and to be set upon the High Altar at the days of solemn feasts, a great image of St. George of gold, poysing cclx. unces, garnished with rubies, perles, sappires, and diamonds now in our iewel house' (G. Scharf, *On a Votive Painting of St. George and the Dragon*, *Archaeologia* 49 (1886), pp. 256-257, 263-264, 281).
- 970 *fictis scelerum condonationibus* 'Has vulgo vocant indulgentias, quas hic non improbat si verae sint, sed simulatas ridet, ideoque addidit, fictis, saepe enim quidam ad quaestum factas bullas circumferunt, vt agrestibus et imperitis imponant. Nonnunquam abutuntur et his, quas vere concessit pontifex, dum eas populo proponunt et commendant, non quatenus conducit ad salutem animarum, sed quatenus ad ipsorum quaestum maxime confert. In summa non erat nostrum de potestate pontificum disputare. Hoc vnum scio, certius esse quod Christus in Euangelio promisit, de remittendis peccatis, quam quod pollicentur homines, praesertim cum haec tota res recens sit, et nuper inuenta. Postremo complures mortalium his condonationibus freti, sibi male blandiuntur, nec cogitant de vita mutanda. [1532] Pontificum condonationibus, quales nunc vulgo venduntur, non ita multum tribuunt theologi. Et tamen *Moria* profitetur se duntaxat notare fictas condonationes, fraude impetratas, id quod non raro deprehenditur. Notat autem potissimum eas relaxationes, quae promittunt diminutionem poenarum in igne purgatorii. De quibus adeo dubitant theologi, vt complures ambigant an vllum sit purgatorium. Ad haec, notat eos qui perperam acci-

blandiuntur ac purgatorii spacia veluti clepsydris metiuntur, secula, annos, menses, dies, horas, tanquam e tabula mathematica citra vllum errorem dime-
 975 tientes. Aut de iis, qui magicis quibusdam notulis ac preculis (quas pius aliquis impostor vel animi causa vel ad quaestum excogitavit) freti, nihil sibi non pol-
 licentur, opes, honores, voluptates, saturitates, valetudinem perpetuo prospere-
 ram, vitam longaeuam, senectam viridem, denique proximum Christo apud
 superos consessum, quem tamen nolint nisi admodum sero contingere: hoc est,
 cum huius vitae voluptates inuitos eos ac mordicus retinentes tamen deseruerint,
 980 tum succedant illae coelitem delitiae. Hic mihi puta negociator aliquis aut miles
 aut iudex, abiecto ex tot rapinis vnico nummulo, vniuersam vitae Lernam semel
 expurgatam putat, totque periuria, tot libidines, tot ebrietates, tot rixas, tot cae-
 des, tot imposturas, tot perfidias, tot proditiones existimat velut ex pacto redimi
 et ita redimi, vt iam liceat ad nouum scelerum orbem de integro reuerti.

985 Quid autem stultius iis, imo quid felicius, qui septem illis sacrorum psalmorum
 versiculis cotidie recitatis plusquam summam felicitatem sibi promittunt? Atque
 hos magicos versiculos daemon quispiam, facetus quidem ille, sed inutilis magis
 quam callidus, Diuo Bernardo creditur indicasse, sed arte circumuentus miser;
 LB 445 et haec tam stultita, vt meipsam propemodum pudeat, tamen approbantur idque
 non a vulgo modo, verum etiam a religionis professoribus.

990 Quid iam, nonne eodem fere pertinet, cum singulae regiones suum aliquem
 peculiarem vindicant diuum, cumque in singulos singula quaedam partiuntur,
 singulis suos quosdam culturae ritus attribuunt, vt hic in dentium cruciatu suc-
 currat, ille parturientibus dexter adsit, alius rem furto sublatam restituat, hic in
 naufragio prosper affulgeat, ille gregem tueatur, atque item de caeteris, nam
 995 omnia percensere longissimum fuerit. Sunt qui singuli pluribus in rebus valeant,
 praecipue deipara virgo, cui vulgus hominum plus prope tribuit quam filio.

Verum ab his diuis quid tandem petunt homines nisi quod ad stulticiam atti-

971 Fictae pontificum condonationes vel indulgentiae* C-H: om. A B.

973 Preces superstitiosae* C-H: om. A B.

987 miser B-H: om. A.

988 haec A E-II: hac B-D; meipsam B-H: meipsum A.

piunt condonationes: quum enim offerantur confessis et contritis, plerique se puros arbitrantur, si nummum in scrinium coniecerint. Id explicat paulo post. Hic mihi puta, negotiator aliquis etc. Hac porro admonitione quid salubrius? (L.). In a sense, indulgences were 'nuper inuenta,' since the theory and practise of indulgences in the modern sense is hardly earlier than the eleventh century (DTC, VII, 1606-1607). When L. (or Er.) asserted that theologians do not attribute 'ita multum' to indulgences, he might even have cited Aquinas' authority (*Comm. in Sent.* IV,

990 Superstitiosus cultus diuorum* C-H: om. A B.

991 Munia* C D F G: om. A B E H.

994 item A¹⁻³ B-H: idem A⁴⁻⁶.

997 Vulgus non optat a superis sapientiam* C-H: om. A B.

dist. 20, a. 3, q. 2, ad 2^{um}). L.'s claim that some theologians doubt the existence of purgatory would not have been true before the protests of reformers (DTC, XIII, 1264-1271) in the 1520's; but this part of the note appeared in the commentary for the first time in 1532 (No. 35, above). Indulgences applied to the souls in purgatory became prominent in the fifteenth century (DTC, VII, 1616). Er. protested against the abuse of indulgences many times (*Consult. de bell. turc.*, LB V, 359 C-E; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 388, l. 226 sqq.; Epp. 2205, ll. 76-84; 2285, ll. 86-114). He

- gives a full and balanced view in *Exomolog.*, LB V, 167 E-F.
- 971-973 *purgatorii ... dimetientes* Cf. *Coll., Peregrinatio*, ASD I, 3, p. 481, l. 400 sqq. Indulgences were usually expressed in terms of years and days because they emerged gradually from lists of appropriate or commuted penances assigned in confession. These lists were expressed in terms of the required time of fasting or doing some other penance. As applied to indulgences the times ceased to have any real reference; they were not intended to represent days spent in purgatory. See *DTC*, VII, 1606-1612.
- 973-974 *pius aliquis impostor* 'Facete coniunxit pugnantia. Sentit eum, qui sub specie pietatis imposturam facit' (L.).
- 975-976 *opes ... viridem* 'Vides quid isti petant suis precibus, non bonam mentem, sed comoda huius mundi, ut palam intelligas non taxari preces, sed superstitiosas, praesertim si his vtaris ad hunc finem, quem dicit. Nam tales et Ethnici irriserunt poetae. Vnde Persius Satyra secunda huiusmodi preculas ridens ait [quotes Pers. II, 6-7]. Et Iuue[nalis] Satyra .10. [quotes 23-25] (L.). Verg. *Aen.* VI, 304: 'cruda ... viridisque senectus.'
- 976-977 *proximum ... consessum* Cf. *Mt.* XX, 21.
- 980 *vitae Lernam* 'Lerna palus Argiuorum pestilentissima quae prodidit hydram septem capitum. Prouerbiu[m] est λερνὴ κακῶν, id est, lerna malorum, de immensis et innumeris malis' (L.). Cf. note on p. 122, l. 966 and *Adag.* 227 (LB II, 122 D).
- 983 *et ita redimi* 'Et hinc palam nihil dici aduersus indulgentias. Taxantur enim non qui his vtuntur ut debent, sed qui satis putant adiecisse nummum in corbonam, cum nihil de vita pristina mutetur' (L.).
- 984-987 *septem ... miser* 'Quidam e septem fecerunt octo. Super hac re vide quam ridiculam narrent, imo scribant fabulam, Daemon occurrens diuo Bernardo, iactauit se scire septem versiculos in Psalmis Dauidicis, quos qui quotidie recitasset, non posset non ire in coelum. Instabat Bernardus, ut indicaret quinam essent. Cumque ille recusaret, Nihil agis, inquit Bernardus, quandoquidem quotidie totum euoluam psalterium, in quo tui quoque septem versus insint necesse est. At daemon veritus, ne tanti boni dedisset occasionem, maluit versiculos suos indicare: atque hoc tantum bonum, quantum nec in Euangelio legimus, cacodaemoni ferimus acceptum' (L.). On the seven (or eight, or nine) verses of St. Bernard see Réau, III, 209, 215, and V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1927, I, pp. xxx-xxxii. The verses, together with an account of their origin, were included in Thomas More's prayer book (ed. L. Martz and R. Sylvester, New Haven, 1969, p. xxvii). Cf. *Er. Enchir.*, LB V, 9 B.
- 988 *meipsam* In B *Er.* corrected 'meipsam' in keeping with the femininity of Folly.
- 990-991 *singulae ... diuum* The patron saints of countries, provinces, and cities listed by Réau in vol. III extend from p. 1411 to p. 1436. Pages 1450 to 1470 are devoted to patrons of religious orders, guilds, and trades. Cf. *Er. Eccles.*, LB V, 885 B.
- 992-994 *dentium ... tueatur* Apart from women saints (Folly's pronouns are all masculine), Sts. Medard and Christopher were invoked against toothache; Sts. Leonard and Erasmus, during childbirth; St. Anthony of Padua, against the loss of stolen goods; St. Erasmus, against shipwreck ('affulgeat' refers to St. Elmo's fire); Sts. Blaise, Anthony and Bovus, among others, were invoked to protect cattle (C. Cahier, *Caractéristiques des saints dans l'art populaire*, Paris, 1867, pp. 311, 607, 609-610, 613, 621).
- 995 *omnia ... fuerit* Saints invoked to protect men and animals occupy pages 1471-1482 in vol. III of Réau.
- 996 *deipara virgo* '... Mirum est autem quam vulgus hominum ab hac omnia petat, perinde quasi Christus aut minus sit exorabilis quam Maria, aut minus possit. Sed stultum vulgus imaginatur in sacra virgine, quod vident in filio quopiam princepe, et huius matre. Quod ab illo non possunt extorquere, vel quod sit implacabilior hic sexus, vel quod ad hunc non pateat aditus, id per mulierem impetrari putant. Illud animaduerte lector, quanquam Moriam loquentem facit, tamen hoc cauit, ne vsquam laedat Christianam religionem, ne videretur taxare eos, qui impense addicti sunt cultui diuae virginis, addit, plus prope tribuit quam filio, ut intelligeres stultam vulgi superstitionem notatam, qui magis fedit Mariae, quam Christo. Ipse cum in Italia studiorum gratia commorarer, vidi in aede sacra affixum epigramma, in quo quidam testabatur se grauissima febris correptum, nihil spei collocasse in medico, non multum in deo, sed tamen diuae virginis ope reuixisse. Nulla, inquit, erat in medico spes, neque multa deo. Nam hunc versiculum forte memoria teneo' (L.). *Er.* defended what he had written about Mary in *Apolog. adv. rhaps. Ath. Pii*, LB IX, 1163 E-1167 A. Ep. 1956, ll. 35-37.

net? Agedum inter tot anathemata, quibus templorum quorundam parietes omnes ac testudinem ipsam refertam conspiciatis, vidistisne vnquam qui stulticiam effugerit, qui vel pilo sit factus sapientior? Alius enatauit incolumis. Alius ab hoste perfossus vixit. Alius e praelio pugnantibus caeteris non minus feliciter quam fortiter aufugit. Alius in crucem subactus fauore diui cuiuspiam furibus amici decidit, vt nonnullos etiam male diuitiis onustos pergeret exonerare. Alius perfracto carcere fugit. Alius irato medico a febre reualuit. Alii potum venenum, aluo soluta, remedio, non exitio fuit, idque non admodum laeta vxore, quae operam et impensam luserit. Alius euerso plaustro equos incolumes domum abegit. Alius oppressus ruina vixit. Alius a marito deprehensus elusit. Nullus pro depulsa stulticia gratias agit. Adeo suauis quaedam res est nihil sapere, vt omnia potius deprecentur mortales, quam Moriam. Sed quid ego hoc superstitionum pelagus ingredior?

*Non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
 Ferrea vox, omneis fatuorum euoluere formas,
 Omnia stulticiae percurrere nomina possim.*

Vsqueadeo omnis omnium Christianorum vita istiusmodi delirationibus vndique scatet, quas ipsas tamen sacrifici non grauatim et admittunt et alunt, non ignari quantum hinc lucelli soleat accrescere. Inter haec, si quis odiosus sapiens exoriatur succinatque id, quod res est: non male peribis, si bene vixeris; peccata redimis, si nummulo addideris odium malefactorum, tum lachrymas, vigiliis, preces, ieiunia, ac totam vitae rationem commutaris; Diuus hic tibi fauebit, si vitam illius aemulaberis – haec, inquam, atque id genus alia si sapiens ille obganniat, vide a quanta felicitate repente mortalium animos in quem tumultum retraxerit.

Ad hoc collegium pertinent, qui viui qua funeris pompa velint effferri, tam diligenter statuunt, vt nominatim etiam praescribant, quot tedas, quot pullatos, quot cantores, quot luctus histriones velint adesse, perinde quasi futurum sit, vt aliquis huius spectaculi sensus ad ipsos sit rediturus aut vt pudescant defuncti, nisi cadauer magnifice defodiatur, haud alio studio quam si aediles creati ludos aut epulum edere studeant.

Equidem tametsi propero, tamen haud possum istos silentio praetercurrere, qui cum nihil ab infimo cerdone differant, tamen inani nobilitatis titulo mirum

2 quam A¹⁻³ B-H: quod A⁴⁻⁶.

4 carcere A¹⁻³ (in *erratis*) B-H: cacere A¹⁻³, crure A⁴⁻⁶.

14 Sacerdotes abutuntur superstitione vulgi ad suum quaestum* C-H: om. A B.

17 peccata A¹⁻³ B-H: peccato A⁴⁻⁶.

18 tum C-H: om. A, tam B.

19 preces G H: orationes A-F.

23 Cura sepulchri* C-H: om. A B.

25 luctus A¹⁻³ B-H: luctus. A⁴⁻⁶.

29 Stulta nobilitas* C-H: om. A B.

998 *anathemata* Ita vocantur donaria suspensa in templis, ac monumenta dicata diuis. Apud Italos in aedibus sacris huiusmodi plena sunt omnia' (L.). Er. defined this meaning of the

Greek word in his comment on *Lc.* 21, 5: 'Dona, quae dicata Diis suspenduntur in parietibus et columnis templi ...' (LB VI, 312 F; see also LB VI, 609 D and V, 787 D).

- 'Anathema' in the sense 'votive offering' is different from 'anathema' (= 'curse'). Though 'curse' was the normal meaning in the middle ages (*Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, Munich, 1959, I, 617-619), the other meaning appears in the bible and Prudentius (*Tb. L.*, XI, 20, 35-52). Both meanings are given by Du Cange (I, 239).
- 1000-7 *Alius enatavit ... elusit* L. notes that Folly cleverly imitates the inscriptions placed under votive paintings or wax images. How close she comes to the truth can be seen by noting the miracles attributed to the Virgin of Halle in a Latin book by Justus Lipsius (*Diva Virgo Hallensis. Beneficia eius et Miracula fide atque ordine descripta*, Antwerp, 1604, BB L. 306), later translated into French, Dutch, and English (1688): some were saved from drowning, imprisonment, hanging, wounds received in battle, an overturned cart, and fever (*Miracles of the Virgin ...*, London, 1688, Wing's Short-title Catalogue L2361, pp. 11-12, 15-16, 22-25, 28-32, 33-36). In his colloquy *Peregrinatio*, Er. contrasts a list of perverse or foolish petitions with a truly religious prayer to the Virgin (*ASD* I, 3, p. 473). He expressed the same contrast in a Greek prayer to the Virgin to be inscribed on a tablet and hung up at Walsingham (Ep. 262, ll. 7-9; *Poems*, pp. 301-303). Cf. Er.'s *Coll. Naufragium*, *ASD* I, 3, pp. 325-332.
- 2-3 *Alius in crucem ... decidit* Among the saints who have saved thieves from hanging are Erasmus and Quentin (*Acta Sanctorum*, 2 June I, Antwerp, 1695, XXI, 218; 31 October XIII, Paris, 1883, LX, 804). In the Musée de Cluny at Paris is a medieval tapestry portraying this miracle of St. Quentin (*Chefs-d'oeuvre du Musée de Cluny: les tapisseries médiévales*, ed. Geneviève-Fr. Souchal, Publications filmées d'art et d'histoire, Paris, 1959, pp. 23-24).
- 4 *irato medico* 'Quia maluerit morbum diuturniorem, quaestus sui causa ...' (L.).
- 4-6 *Alii ... luserit* L. quotes in full Auson. XIX, 3 (*Epigr.* 10). Cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 369.
- 7 *Alius a marito ... elusit* In the colloquy *Alcunmistica*, an adulterer attributes his escape from his mistress' husband to the miraculous intervention of the Virgin (*ASD* I, 3, p. 429, l. 178 sqq).
- 11-13 *Non mihi ... possim* Adapted from Verg. *Aen.* VI, [625-627], which is in turn modelled on Hom. *Il.* II, [489-490], according to L., who quotes both passages. Otto No. 959.
- 14 *omnis omnium Christianorum* 'Cave sic accipias lector, quasi Christiana vita sit superstitiosa. Sed eorum qui Christiani vocantur mores his superstitionibus sic sunt infecti, vt nulla pene res sit tam sacra, cui non admisceant aliquid huiusmodi ...' (L.). Er. *Apolog. c. Lop. Stunic.*, LB IX, 366 DE.
- 17 *non male ... vixeris* 'This refers to the pictures of Christopher and St. Bernard's psalter' (L.). Cf. Ep. 1347, ll. 95-96: 'Non potest male mori qui bene vixerit.' See also M. Tilley, *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Ann Arbor, 1966, L391; and Walther 28254.
- 17-19 *peccata ... commutaris* 'This refers to indulgences' (L.).
- 19-20 *Diuus ... aemulaberis* 'This refers to the cult of St. Erasmus. ... Imitation is the truest and most acceptable worship of the saints. But because this is far more difficult, most people neglect it and take refuge in some easy ceremonies' (L.). Er. repeatedly insisted that imitation is the best worship of the Virgin and saints (*ASD* I, 3, p. 483, l. 563; LB V, 31 C-D; V, 1329 B; IX, 1163 E).
- 23-28 *qui viui ... studeant* Pointing out that paid mourners are a survival from paganism, L. quotes Hor. *Ars* 431-432. At a prince's funeral, L. notes, even his horse is forced to play a mourner's role: he is covered with a black cloth and his head is tied to his foreleg so as to make him hang his head. Wills were often quite detailed and precise about the matters Folly mentions; see, e.g. *Wills and Inventories from Bury St. Edmund's*, ed. S. Tymms, London, 1850, pp. 16-19. The sumptuous funeral of Henry VII (who gave instructions for his black marble tomb in his will) took place on May 8 to 10, 1509, about two months before Er. wrote *Moria* (E. Simons, *Henry VII*, New York, 1968, pp. 299-305). In his first will, Er. directed that 'sepulturae cura sit penes heredem, sumptu nec sordido nec ambitioso' (Allen, *Op. Ep.* VI, appendix XIX, pp. 503-506), but even this stipulation disappeared in his last will (Allen, *Op. Ep.* XI, appendix XXV, pp. 362-365). Er.'s friend, Archbishop Warham, explicitly required in his will that his funeral be quite simple (*Wills from Doctors Commons, 1499-1695*, ed. J. Nichols and J. Bruce, Westminster, 1863). Cf. Sen. *Brev. vit.* XX, 5.
- 30 *nihil ... differant* 'Vide vt circumspecte taxat nobiles, non quosuis. Sunt enim vere nobiles, qui generis claritati, doctrina moribusque respondent. Sed eos qui vita, caeterisque bonis rebus, nihilo antecellunt infimam plebem, aut, quod saepe videmus, vincunt viciis' (L.). Cf. Iuv. VIII, 182.

quam sibi blandiuntur. Alius ad Aenaeam, alius ad Brutum, alius ad Arcturum genus suum refert. Ostendunt vndique sculptas et pictas maiorum imagines. Numerant proavos atque atavos et antiqua cognomina commemorant, cum ipsi non multum absint a muta statua, pene iis ipsis quae ostentant signis deteriores. Et tamen hac tam suavi Philautia felicem prorsum vitam agunt. Neque desunt aequae stulti, qui hoc beluarum genus perinde ut deos suspiciunt.

Sed quid ego de vno aut altero genere loquor, quasi vero non passim haec Philautia plurimos ubique miris modis felicissimos efficiat? cum hic quavis simia deformior sibi plane Nireus videtur. Alius simulatque treis lineas circino duxerit, prorsum Euclidem sese putat. Hic ὄνος πρὸς λύραν, et quo deterius nec ille sonat quo mordetur gallina marito, tamen alterum Hermogenem esse se credit. Est autem illud longe suauissimum insaniae genus, quo nonnulli, quicquid vlli suorum dotis adest, eo non aliter atque suo gloriantur. Qualis erat ille bis beatus apud Senecam diues, qui narraturus historiolum quampiam seruos ad manum habebat, qui nomina suggererent, non dubitaturus vel in pugilum certamen descendere, homo alioqui adeo imbecillus, ut vix viveret, hac re fretus quod multos haberet domi seruos egregie robustos.

Porro de artium professoribus, quid attinet commemorare? quando peculiaris est horum omnium Philautia, adeo ut reperias citius, qui velit agello paterno quam ingenio cedere, verum praecipue histrionum, cantorum, oratorum, ac poetarum, quorum quo quisque est indoctior, hoc sibi placet insolentius, hoc sese magis iactat ac dilatat. Et inveniunt similes labra lactucas, imo quo quicquam est ineptius, hoc plures admiratores nanciscitur, ut pessima quaeque semper plurimis arident, propterea quod maxima pars hominum, ut diximus, Stulticiae obnoxia est. Proinde si qui est imperitior, et sibiipsi multo iucundior est et pluribus admirationi, quid est quod is veram eruditionem malit, primum magno constaturam, deinde reddituram et putidiorem et timidiorem, postremo multo paucioribus placituram?

Iam vero video naturam, ut singulis mortalibus suam, ita singulis nationibus ac pene ciuitatibus communem quandam inseuisse Philautiam atque hinc fieri, ut Britanni praeter alia formam, musicam et lautas mensas proprie sibi vindicent, Scoti nobilitate et regiae affinitatis titulo neque non dialecticis argutiis sibi blandiantur, Galli morum ciuilitatem sibi sumant, Parisienses theologicae scientiae laudem (omnibus prope submotis) sibi peculiariter arrogent, Itali bonas literas et eloquentiam asserant atque hoc nomine sibi suauissime blandiantur omnes, quod soli mortalium barbari non sint. Quo quidem in genere felicitatis, Romani primas tenent ac veterem illam Romam adhuc iucundissime somniant. Veneti nobilitatis opinione sunt felices; Graeci tanquam disciplinarum autores veteribus illis laudatorum heroum titulis sese venditant; Turcae totaque illa vere barbarorum coluuius etiam religionis laudem sibi vindicat, Christianos perinde uti superstitiosos irridens. At multo etiam suauius Iudaei etiamnum Messiam suum constanter

34 pene E-H: peneque A-D.

37 Sua cuique placent* C-H: om. A B.

38 ubique C-H: om. A B; hic B-H: is A.

51 Poetae philauti (φιλαυτοί C-E)* C-H: om.

- A B.
- 52 quicquam A (*in erratis*) H: quicque A-G.
- 55 qui A H: quis B-G.
- 59 Communis regionum philautia* C-H: *om.* A B.
- 31 *Aenaeam ... Arcturum* Brutus (Brut), the grandson of Aeneas and ancestor of King Arthur, was the eponymous founder of Britain (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, I, 3, 16; IX, 1, ed. A. Griscom, London, 1929, pp. 223-224, 249, 432-433; and *Adag.* 2201, LB II, 774 E). Henry VII and his Tudor successors encouraged the belief that they were descended from King Arthur; for this very reason Henry VIII's elder brother, who died in 1502, had been named Arthur (C. Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 3-36). Though Pellegrini (Venice, 1539) translated 'Stella della Tramontana', Thomas Chaloner (London, 1549; ed. Clarence Miller, London, 1965, p. 59) translated 'Arthur'. The collocation of three ancient progenitors of the English dynasty makes it unlikely that Er. intended 'Arcturum' to refer to the star mentioned by Cic. (*Nat.* II, 42, 110). Er., *Prosopopoeia Britanniae Maioris*, *Poems* 45, ll. 105-106.
- 35 *Philautia* See first note on p. 78, l. 127.
- 38-39 *simia deformior* Otto No. 1651. See notes on p. 74, l. 71 and p. 90, ll. 340-341.
- 39 *Nireus* L. quotes and translates Hom. *Il.* II, [673-675] and refers to Lucian. *Dial. mort.* [25, tr. Er., *ASD* I, 1, p. 580]. See note on p. 96, ll. 450-451.
- treis ... duxerit* Folly probably refers to the first proposition of Book I of Euclid's *Elementa*, in which the problem is to construct an equilateral triangle ('treis lineas') with the aid of a compass ('circino').
- 40 *ἄνος πρὸς λύρα* See note on p. 100, l. 515.
- 40-41 *quo deterius ... marito* Iuv. III, [90-91]; Quint. [*Inst.* XI, 3, 51] (L.).
- 41 *Hermogenem* Hor. *Serm.* [I, 9, 25] (L.). Hor. frequently satirized the singer Tigellius Hermogenes. See the note on *Serm.* I, 3, 129 by Paul Lejay in his edition of the *Satires*, Paris, 1911, reprint Hildesheim, 1966, p. 93.
- 43-47 *ille bis ... robustos* L. paraphrases Sen. *Epist.* 27, 4-6. Cf. Ep. 56, ll. 45-47.
- 49-50 *qui velit ... cedere* Martial. [VIII, 18, 9-10] (L.). Er. *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1265 C and Ep. 109, ll. 16-18.
- 52 *inueniunt ... lactucas* *Adag.* 971 (LB II, 386 D) and Otto No. 896: 'Similem habent labra lactucam.'
- 57 *putidiorem* The reading 'pudiciorem' in edition No. 36 is a tempting emendation.
- 61 *Britanni ... mensas* 'Vide lector vt rem per se mordacem festiuit, et citra morsum tractat. Quis nescit, vt singulis hominibus, ita et singulis nationibus sua quaedam vitia esse, de quibus vulgus etiam sua habet proueria. At hic nihil attingit odiosum, sed tantum ridicula quaedam commemorat, vt intelligas illum candido illo Mercurii sale ludere voluisse. Nam Britannos etiam laudauit, si vindicant sibi, quod et habent, et habere pulchrum est' (L.). This note in the commentary resembles a passage in Er.'s defensive letter to Dorp (Ep. 337, ll. 175-180), which (like the Listrius commentary) was written in 1515. Cf. 'Mensa Britanna' in *Adag.* 1168 (LB II, 472 A).
- 63 *Galli morum ciuilitatem* See Er.'s colloquy *Diuersoria*, *ASD* I, 3, pp. 333-334.
- 63-64 *Parisienses ... arrogant* Cf. Ep. 64, l. 26. For a discussion of Er.'s attitude toward Paris, see M.M. de la Garanderie, *Les relations d'Erasmus avec Paris au temps de son séjour aux Pays-Bas Méridionaux (1516-1521)*, in *Scrinium Erasmianum*, ed. J. Coppens, Leiden, 1969, I, pp. 29-53.
- 64-66 *Itali ... sint* This Italian arrogance is frequently noted in Er.'s letters: e.g., Epp. 967 (ll. 50-51), 1110 (l. 66n), 1648 (ll. 5-12), 1791 (ll. 37-43), 1794 (ll. 44-45). Cf. P. de Nolhac, *Erasmus et l'Italie*, Paris, 1925.
- 66-67 *Romani ... somniant* 'Rēferrem hoc loco nonnihil de Romanorum affectu, ni scirem, sine gemitu non posse audiri a piis. Et praestat Erasmi, quem interpretor, modestiam imitari' (L.). Er. insisted on the superiority of Christian Rome to ancient Rome (LB VII, 771). On his conflict with Roman purists and his double attitude toward Rome itself, see A. Renaudet, *Erasmus et l'Italie*, Genève, 1954, pp. 202-205, 246-247.
- 68-69 *Graeci ... venditant* See Er.'s note on *Rom.* 1, 14 (LB VI, 561 E-F). Cic. applies 'heros' to illustrious non-military men such as Cato (*Att.* I, 17, 9) or Plato and Aristotle (*Rep.* 3, 8).
- 71 *Iudaei* Er.'s attitude toward the Jews is more complex than Folly's. See *Op. Ep.* I, p. 17, ll. 36-39; Epp. 1333, ll. 203-209; 1800, ll. 240-245.

expectant ac Mosen suum hodieque mordicus tenent, Hispani bellicam gloriam nulli concedunt, Germani corporum proceritate et magiae cognitione sibi placent ac, ne singula persequar, videtis, opinor, quantum vbiq̄ue voluptatis pariat singulis et vniuersis mortalibus Philautia, cui prope par est Assentatio soror.

LB 449

76

Nihil enim aliud Philautia quam cum quis ipse sibi palpatur; idem si alteri facias, *Κολακία* fuerit. At hodie res quaedam infamis est adulatio, sed apud eos qui rerum vocabulis magis quam rebus ipsis commouentur. Existimant cum adulatione fidem male cohaerere; quod multo secus sese habere, vel brutorum animalium exemplis poterant admoneri. Quid enim cane adulantius? At rursum quid fidelius? Quid sciuro blandius? At hoc quid est homini magis amicum? Nisi forte vel asperi leones vel immites tigres vel irritabiles pardi magis ad vitam hominum conducere videntur. Quanquam est omnino pernicioosa quaedam adulatio, qua nonnulli perfidiosi et irrisores, miseros in perniciem adigunt. Verum haec mea ab ingenii benignitate candoreque quodam proficiscitur multoque virtuti vicinior est quam ea quae huic opponitur, *asperitas*, ac morositas *inconcinna*, vt ait Horatius, *grauisque*. Haec deiectiones animos erigit, demulcet tristes, extimulat languentes, expergefacit stupidos, aegrotos leuat, feroces mollit, amores conciliat, conciliatos retinet. Pueritiam ad capessenda studia literarum allicit, senes exhilarat, principes citra offensam sub imagine laudis et admonet et docet. In summa, facit vt quisque sibi ipse sit iucundior et charior, quae quidem felicitatis pars est vel praecipua. Quid autem officiosius quam cum | mutuum muli scabunt? Vt ne dicam interim hanc esse magnam illius laudatae eloquentiae partem, maiorem medicinae, maximam poeticae; denique hanc esse totius humanae consuetudinis mel et condimentum.

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LB 450

95

Sed falli, inquit, miserum est. Imo non falli miserrimum. Nimum enim desipiunt qui in rebus ipsis felicitatem hominis sitam esse existimant. Ex opinionibus ea pendet. Nam rerum humanarum tanta est obscuritas varietasque, vt nihil dilucide sciri possit, quemadmodum recte dictum est ab Academicis meis, inter philosophos quam minimum insolentibus. Aut si quid sciri potest, id non raro officit etiam vitae iucunditati. Postremo sic sculptus est hominis animus, vt longe magis fucus quam veris capiatur. Cuius rei si quis experimentum expositum et obuium quaerat, conciones ac templa petat, in quibus si quid serium narratur, dormitant, oscitant, nauseant omnes. Quod si clamator ille – lapsa sum, declamator dicere volebam – ita vt saepe faciunt, anilem aliquam fabellam exordiat, expergiscuntur, eriguntur, inhiant omnes. Item si quis sit diuus fabulosior et poeticus, quod si exemplum requiris, finge huius generis Georgium aut Christophorum aut Barbaram, videbitis hunc longe religiosius coli quam Petrum aut Paulum aut ipsum etiam Christum. Verum haec non huius sunt loci.

100

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Iam quanto minoris constat haec felicitatis accessio? Quandoquidem res ipsas aliquoties magno negotio pares oportet, vel leuissimas, vti grammaticen. At opinio facillime sumitur, quae tamen tantundem aut amplius etiam ad felicitatem conducat. Age si quis pultribus vescatur salsamentis, quorum alius nec odorem ferre possit, et tamen huic ambrosiam sapiant, quaeso, quid interest ad felicitate

LB 451

115 tem? Contra si acipenser alicui nauseam sapiat, quid referet ad vitae beatitudinem? Si cui sit vxor egregie deformis, quae tamen marito vel cum ipsa Venere certare posse videatur, nonne perinde fuerit ac si vere formosa foret? Si quis tabulam minio lutoque male oblitam suspectet ac demiretur, persuasum habens Apellis aut Zeusidis esse picturam, nonne felicior etiam fuerit eo, qui eorum artificum manum magno emerit, fortassis minus ex eo spectaculo voluptatis percep-

75 Inter philautiam et colaciam (κολακίαν C-E) quid intersit* C-H: om. A B.

76 Adulatio res saluberrima* C-H: om. A B.

79 sese A⁵⁻⁶ B-H: Dii A¹⁻².

81 sciuro B-H: scinio A¹⁻², scuro A¹⁻² (in *erratis*) A⁵⁻⁶; quid est A⁵⁻⁶ B-H: quis est A¹⁻².

85 Bona adulatio laudata* E-H: om. A-D.

86 Vitia in amicitia* F-H: om. A-E.

91 et E-H: om. A-D.

72 *mordicus tenent* Adag. 322 (LB II, 160 A). Otto No. 1139.

73 *Germani ... magiae cognitione* According to M. Rat's note, Renaudet suggests that Er. may have had in mind Johann Trithemius (Trithemius), abbot of Spanheim until 1507, when disputes caused him to leave for Sankt Jakob in Würzburg. The quarrel at Spanheim resulted partly from Trithemius' interest in the occult arts. Another well-known German investigator of magic was Trithemius' friend Cornelius Agrippa, who in 1509 set out for England from the university at Dôle, where his lectures on Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* had caused him to be accused of heresy (DTC I, 35-37; XV, 1862-1867). The first reference to Georg Faust, the shadowy but historical magician who lies behind the Faust legend, appears in a letter of Trithemius dated 20 August 1507 (W. Rose in his introd. to *The Historie of ... Faustus*, South Bend, Ind, 1963, pp. 3-5).

77 Κολακία 'Festiuit per collationis [sc. Philautiae et Assentationis] occasionem miscuit iocum, et tamen [iocando verum supplied from E. 846-847] dixit, Est autem perniciosissima adulatio, cum quis assentatur sibi' (L.).

80-81 *cane ... fidelius* Cf. Walther 27657.

81 *Quid sciuro ... amicum* Cf. Martial. V, 37, 12-13.

85-87 *virtuti ... grauisque* Hor. *Epist.* I, 18, 6.

89 *Pueritiam ... allicit* L. wrote a paragraph contrasting the kind pedagogic methods recommended by Horace and Quintilian with the brutal beatings administered by the grammar school teachers of his own day.

90 *principes ... docet* L. says that Er. himself ful-

95 Est error felix* C-H: om. A B.

97 Vita hominum ex opinione pendet* C-H: om. A B.

106 *fabulosior* C-H: *fabulosus* A B.

113 Error gustus* C-H: om. A B.

114 et E-H: om. A-D; huic B-H: huic puta Britanno A.

116 Error oculorum* C-G: om. A B H.

filled this function of the encomion very well in *Panegy. ad Philipp.* Er. made the same claim in a letter to Jean Desmarais printed with the panegyric (Ep. 180, ll. 39-104; *Op. Ep.* I, p. 19, ll. 20-24).

92-93 *mutuum ... scabunt* Adag. 696 (LB II, 300 A). Otto No. 1163.

93-94 *hanc esse ... medicinae* See note on p. 111, ll. 747-748 above.

98-100 *rerum ... insolentibus* I. quotes and translates Plat. *Apol.* 21 D. Cf. Cic. *De or.* III, 18, 67 and *Ac. I*, 3, 7-8.

106 *fabulosior* 'Let no one accuse him here of having little respect for the saints. For he does not call the saints legendary (*fabulosos*) because they are not saints but because some legendary incidents are told about them, as Horace calls the Hydaspis river "fabulosum" [*Carm.* I, 22, 7-8] ...' (L.).

107-108 *Georgium ... Barbaram* See notes on p. 122, ll. 962-963, 963-964, and 966 above.

109 *Verum ... loci* The place they pertain to is pp. 120-122, ll. 953-960.

111 *grammaticen* See note on p. 110, l. 730; also p. 110, l. 729 and p. 111, l. 740.

114 *sapient* Cic, in a passage which also mentions the 'acipenser,' puns on 'sapere' ('to be wise' and 'to taste'), *Fin.* II, 8, 24.

115 *acipenser* Martial. [XIII, 91] (L.). A fish considered a great delicacy by the Romans, perhaps the sturgeon.

119 *Apellis aut Zeusidis* Plin. *Nat.* XXXV, [10, 36, 79-97 and 10, 36, 61-72] (L.). Cf. *Adag.* 312 (LB II, 156 A). In *A propos d'Erasmus et de la peinture: une légende*, Latomus 23 (1973), pp. 868-872, Jacques Chomarat finally disposes of the myth that Er. himself was a painter.

125 turus? Noui ego quendam mei nominis, qui nouae nuptae gemmas aliquot adul-
 terinas dono dedit, persuadens (vt erat facundus nugator) eas non modo veras
 ac natiuas esse verum etiam singulari atque inaestimabili precio. Quaeso, quid
 130 intererat puellae, cum vitro non minus iucunde pasceret et oculos et animum,
 LB 452 nugas perinde vt eximium aliquem thesaurum conditas apud sese seruaret? Mari-
 tus interim et sumptum effugiebat et vxoris errore fruebatur, nec eam tamen sibi
 minus habebat deuinctam quam si magno empta donasset. Num quid interesse
 censetis inter eos, qui in specu illo Platonico variarum rerum vmbras et simulacra
 demirantur, modo nihil desiderent neque minus sibi placeant, et sapientem illum,
 130 qui specum egressus veras res aspicit. Quod si Mycillo Lucianico diues illud et
 LB 452 | aureum somnium perpetuo somnare licuisset, nihil erat cur aliam optaret felici-
 tatem.

Aut nihil igitur interest aut si quid interest, potior etiam stultorum conditio.
 Primum quod iis sua felicitas minimo constat, id est, sola persuasiuncula. Deinde,
 135 quod ea fruuntur cum plurimis communiter. Porro nullius boni iucunda sine
 socio possessio. Quis enim nescit quanta sapientum paucitas, si modo quisquam
 inueniatur? Quanquam ex tot seculis Graeci septem omnino numerant, quos me
 Hercle, si quis accuratius excutiat, dispeream si vel semisapientem inueniet, imo
 si vel trientem viri sapientis.

140 Proinde cum inter multas Bacchi laudes illud habeatur, vt est, primum,
 quod animi curas eluat idque ad exiguum modo tempus – nam simulatque villum
 edormieris, protinus albis (vt aiunt) quadrigis recurrunt animi molestiae –
 quanto meum beneficium cum plenius, tum praesentius, quae perpetua quadam
 145 ebrietate mentem gaudiis, deliciis, tripudiis, expleo idque nullo negotio? Neque
 quenquam omnino mortalem mei muneris expertem esse sino, cum reliquae
 numinum dotes aliae ad alios perueniant. Non vbiuis nascitur generosum et lene
 merum, quod curas abigat, quod cum spe diuite manet. Paucis contigit formae
 gratia, Veneris munus; paucioribus eloquentia, Mercurii donum. Non ita multis
 obtigerunt opes, dextro Hercule. Imperium non cuiuis concedit Iupiter Home-
 145 LB 453 ricus. Saepenumero | Mauors neutris fauet copiis. Complures ab Apollinis tri-
 151 pode tristes discedunt. Saepe fulminat Saturnius. Phoebus aliquando iaculis pes-
 tem immittit. Neptunus plures extinguit quam seruat, vt interim Veioves istos,
 Plutones, Atas, Poenas, Febres, atque id genus, non deos, sed carnifices comme-
 morem. Ego sum vna illa stulticia, quae omneis ex aequo tam parata beneficentia
 155 complector. Nec vota moror nec irascor exposcens piamina, si quid ceremonia-
 rum fuerit praetermissum. Nec coelum terrae misceo, si quis reliquis inuitatis diis
 me domi relinquat nec admittat ad nidorem illum victimarum. Nam caeterorum
 deorum tanta in his est morositas, vt prope maius sit operaeprecium atque adeo
 tutius, illos negligere quam colere. Quemadmodum sunt et homines nonnulli,
 160 tam difficiles et ad laedendum irritabiles, vt praestiterit eos prorsum alienissimos
 habere quam familiares.

121 Imposturae (Impostura D F) in gemmis
 facticiis* C-H: om. A B.

127 Specus Platonicus* C-H: om. A B (in H
 iuxta locum idoneum non in textu sed in commen-

- tario).
 128 et H: ac A-G.
 129 et sapientem illum C-H: quam is sapiens
 A B.
 130 l'elicius est errare quam sapere* C-H: om.
 A B.

- 131 erat A B E-H: erat? C D.
 134 iis B-H: hiis A.
 140 Stulticiae commoditas latius patet* C-H:
 om. A B.
 154 omnis E-H: omnia A-D.

- For Er.'s indirect influence on one painter see David Cast, *Maarten van Heemskerck's 'Momus criticizing the works of the gods': a problem of Erasmian iconography*, Simiolus 7 (1974), pp. 23-34.
- 121 *quendam mei nominis* 'Apparet eum loqui de quopiam, cui nomen fuerit Moro, qui puellam sponsam hac arte deluserit' (L.). Though R.W. Chambers warns against accepting all the anecdotes assigned to More (*Thomas More*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1958, pp. 42-45), he does not reject this one and accepts another account by Er. about More and his first bride (pp. 95-96). Allen seems to accept the story (Ep. 999, n.l. 168). See notes to p. 67, l. 11 and p. 72, l. 22 above. Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 168, ll. 22-23.
- 127-130 *Num quid ... aspicit* L. quotes and translates Plat. *Rep.* VII, 514 AB. Cf. Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, LB V, 453 A, *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 142, l. 220 sqq, and *Enchir.*, LB V, 40 B. See p. 190, ll. 159-161.
- 130 *Mycillo Lucianico* L. refers to Lucian. *Somnium sive Gallus* [1], mentioning Er.'s Latin translation (ASD I, 1, p. 472).
- 135-136 *Porro ... possessio* Sen. *Epist.* 6, 4.
- 137 *Graeci septem* See note on p. 92, ll. 371-372.
- 140-141 *Bacchi ... eluat* *Anth. Pal.* [IX, 524, 2, 12, 18, 20, 22]; Hor. [*Epist.* 1, 5, 16-20]; Tib. [1, 2, 1]; Prop. III, [17, 1-4]; Hom. *Il.* VI, [261] (L.).
- 142 *albis ... quadrigis* Hor. *Serm.* I, 7, 8. *Adag.* 321 (LB II, 159 C). Wyss, pp. 78-79. Otto No. 1498.
- 146-147 *generosum ... manet* Hor. [*Epist.* 1, 15, 18-21] (L.).
- 148 *eloquentia ... donum* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1, 10, 1-3.
- 149 *dextro Hercule* Pers. [II, 10-12] (L.). *Adag.* 73 (LB II, 56 F).
- 149-150 *Imperium ... Homericus* L. quotes and translates Hom. *Il.* II, [204-206] and I, [279].
- 150 *Mauors ... copiiis* *Adag.* 3649 (LB II, 1108 B) and 663 (LB II, 286 C).
- 150-151 *Complures ... discedunt* Cf. *Adag.* 1716 (LB II, 642 E).
- 151-152 *Phoebus ... immittit* Hom. *Il.* I, [9-10] (L.). Hom. *Il.* I, 43-54. Apollo did not hurl javelins but shot arrows. Perhaps Er. alludes

- to the rays of the sun (which are called 'iacula' by Mart. Cap. I, 13), since the plague generally occurred during hot summer weather.
- 152 *ut interim* Kan (edition No. 41, p. 94) notes that some editors have inserted 'non' before 'commemorem' in order to make better sense out of the sentence. No edition I have collated adds 'non,' but edition No. 38 changes 'Vt' to 'ne' and separates 'ne interim ... commemorem' from the preceding sentence only by a comma. But if 'interim' is understood to mean 'by the way, in passing,' emendation is unnecessary: 'to mention [merely] in passing such powers as Vejovis, Pluto, Ate, the Poenae, the god of Fever and the like - not really gods but tormentors.' *Veioves* L. summarizes Gell. V, 12, [8-12]. See also Plin. *Nat.* XVI, 79, 216. Veiovis was an Etruscan deity, later identified by the Romans with Dis Pater, the lord of the underworld.
- 153 *Atas* Hom. *Il.* XIX [126-131]; IX, [505-508] (L.). See note on p. 88, l. 295. *carnifices* Wyss, p. 55. *Poenas, Febres* Plin. *Nat.* II, [5, 16] (L.). Aug. *Civ.* II, 14, 54; IV, 15, 22; IV, 23, 32.
- 155 *Nec vota moror* Folly puns on 'mōror' ('expect,' as in Verg. *Aen.* V, 400) and 'mōror' ('play the fool'). Cf. Suet. *Ner.* 33, 1: 'nam et morari eum [sc. Claudium] desiisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur,' cited by Er. in *De cop. verb.* I, 11, LB I, 12 A. See note on p. 67, l. 11. *piamina* 'Credebant offendi deos, si quid in sacris fuisset non rite peractum: id si accidisset, expiabant' (L.). 'Piamina' is hapax legomenon in classical literature, but is used by Prud. (*Cath.* 9, 33).
- 156-157 *coelum ... victimarum* Iuv. II, [25]; VI, [283-284]; Ov. *Met.* VIII, [279-283]; Lucian. *Conv. sive Lap.* [25, trans. Er., ASD I, 1, p. 616, ll. 4-18] (L.). *Adag.* 281 (LB II, 142 A). Cf. Lucian. *Conv. sive Lap.* 35, trans. Er. (ASD I, 1, p. 613, ll. 32-37). For 'coelum terrae misceo' cf. Lucian. *Prometh.* 9; *Adag.* 281 (LB II, 142 A).

At nemo, inquit, Stulticiae sacrificat, neque templum statuit. Equidem demiror, vt dixi, nonnihil hanc ingratitude[m]. Verum hoc quoque pro mea facilitate boni consulo, quanquam ne haec quidem desiderare possum. Quid enim est
 165 cur tusculum aut molam aut hircum aut suem requiram, cum mihi mortales omnes vbique gentium eum cultum persoluant, qui vel a theologis maxime probari solet? Nisi forte Dianae debeam inuidere, quod illi humano sanguine litatur. Ego me tum religiosissime coli puto, cum passim (vt faciunt omnes) animo com-
 170 plectuntur, moribus expriment, vita repraesentant. Qui quidem diuorum cultus nec apud Christianos admodum frequens est. Quanta turba eorum, qui deiparae
 L.B. 454 virgini cereolum affigunt, idque in meridie, cum nihil est opus? Rursum quam pauci qui eandem vitae castimonia, modestia, coelestium rerum amore studeant aemulari? Nam is demum verus est cultus longeque coelitibus gratissimus. Praeterea cur templum desiderem, cum orbis hic vniuersus templum mihi sit, ni fal-
 175 lor, pulcherrimum? Neque vero desunt mystae nisi vbi desunt homines. Nec iam vsqueadeo stulta sum, vt saxeam ac coloribus fucatas imagines requiram, quae cultui nostro nonnunquam officiant, cum a stupidis et pinguib[us] istis signa pro diuis ipsis adorantur. Nobis interim vsu venit, quod solet iis, qui a vicariis suis extruduntur. Mihi tot statuas erectas puto quot sunt mortales, viam mei imagi-
 180 nem prae se ferentes, etiam si nolint. Itaque nihil est quod reliquis diis inuideam, si aliis in angulis terrarum alii colantur, idque statis diebus: quemadmodum Rhodi Phoebus, in Cypro Venus, Argis Iuno, Athenis Minerua, in Olympo Iupiter, Tarenti Neptunus, Lampsaci Priapus, modo mihi communiter orbis omnis longe potiores victimas assidue praebeat.

185 Atqui si cui videor haec audacius quam verius dicere, agedum paulisper ipsas hominum vitas inspiciamus, quo palam fiat, et quantum mihi debeant et quanti
 L.B. 455 me faciant maximi | pariter ac minimi.

At non quorumlibet vitam recensebimus, nam id quidem perlongum, verum insignium tantum, vnde reliquos facile sit aestimare. Quid enim attinet de vulgo
 190 plebeculaque commemorare, quae citra controuersiam tota mea est? tot enim vndique Stulticiae formis abundat, tot indies nouas comminiscitur, vt nec mille Democriti ad tantos risus suffecerint; quanquam illis ipsis Democritis rursum alio Democrito foret opus. Quin etiam incredibile sit dictu, quos risus, quos ludos, quas delicias homunculi quotidie praebeant superis. Nam hi quidem horas

162 Stulticiae templum et sacra* C-H: om. A B.

164 possum G-H: possim A-F.

169 Superstitiosus cultus imaginum* C-H: om. A B; diuorum E-H: om. A-D.

171 opus? Rursum quam B-H: opus. Rursum quam A¹⁻³, opus rursum Quam A⁴⁻⁶.

185 Communis vita mortalium stulticiae plena* C-H: om. A B.

165 *tusculum aut molam* Plin. *Nat. pref.*, [11] (L.).

166-167 *cultum ... solet* [1532] Sentit de imitatione vitae, cultus enim dei praecipuus est, illum imitari. Moriam imitantur omnes' (L.).

Alexander of Hales, the irrefragable doctor, writing on the question 'Quo modo sancti viri sint adorandi?' (*S.T. pars II, inq. 3, tract. 2, sect. 1, quaest. 2, tit. 1, dist. 3, cap. 1, art. 4,*

- Quaracchi-Florence, 1947, IV, 456) quotes St. Augustine: 'Honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem' (*De vera rel.* LV, 108 and 111, *CSEL* XXXII, p. 256).
- 167 *Dianae ... litatur* Strab. V, [3, 12, C239]; *Lact. Div. inst.* II [16, 21, *CSEL* XIX, 172] (L.). See also *Lact. Div. inst.* I, 21, 2-3, *CSEL* XIX, 78-79; *Hdt.* IV, 103; *Ov. Pont.* III, 2, 51-58 and *Trist.* IV, 4, 63-64.
- 168-169 *religiosissime ... repraesentant* See note on p. 134, ll. 166-167.
- 170-173 *Quanta turba ... aemulari* '... Quod autem per iocum additum est, in meridie, nemo malignius interpretetur, quasi damnet simplicem populi pietatem. Etiam si Hieronymus Vigilantio deridenti hunc morem, nihil aliud responderet, quam cereos accendi, non in honorem martyrum, ut ipse calumniabatur, sed in solatium nocturnae caliginis [*Hier. Liber contra Vigil.*, Migne *PL* XXIII, col. 345-346]. [1532] Qui calumniis gaudent, diuidunt quod coniunctum oportuit. Ecce, inquit, damnat publicam ecclesiae consuetudinem, quae cereos etiam clara luce accendit diuis. Imo Moria non damnat eos, qui talem cultum qualemcunque exhibent diuae virginis, sed illos taxat qui quod est minimum praestant, quod est praecipuum negligentes' (L.). Like St. Jerome in the passage cited by L., Er. gives carefully qualified approval to the proper use of images of saints in *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 303, l. 908 sqq. and *Mod. orandi Deum*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 156, ll. 200-221. His strictures against abuses of images are somewhat sharper in *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 32 EF.
- 175 *mystae* 'Qui initiati numini sacra celebrant' (L.). There are precedents for Folly's application of *mystes* to Christians in Hier., Ausonius, and Rufinus (*Tb.L.L.* s.v., 1758, 69-79).
- 176-178 *saxeeas ... adorantur* 'Omnes ferre veteres sancti damnabant in templis imagines, ob metum idololatriae, id quod ex pluribus patet locis, ut apud Hieronymum, episcopus quidam velum sustulit, et concidit e templo, quod hominis haberet pictam imaginem [*Epist.* XI, 9, *CSEL* LIV, 411]. Et diuus Gregorius episcopum quendam reprehendit, non quod imagines frerit, sed quod id fecerit absque consilio fratrum [*Greg. M. Epist.* IX, 105 and XI, 13, Migne *PL* LXXXVII, 1027-1028, 1128]. Et in eadem epistola saepius inculcat, nihil manufactum vilo modo debere adorari: a posteriores theologi rationem inuenere, ut ipsis videtur, argutam, qua eadem ratione adoremus saxeam aliquam, et vermiculosam imaginem, et Christum: verum de his non disputo. Sit magna pietatis pars, prouolui gypso, coloribus lito. Non taxatur hic consuetudo Christianorum, sed illorum stulticia, qui imagines venerantur non ut signa, sed perinde quasi ipsae sensum aliquem habeant, et huic magis fidant quam illi. Quod si consultum est vitare scelerum occasiones, nullum autem scelus execrabilius idololatria, profecto non alienum fuerit, hanc e medio tollere, ne quid offendant imperitos' (L.). The most important theologian who held the position ridiculed by L. was St. Thomas Aquinas (*S.T.* III^a, q. 25, a. 3): 'Relinquitur ergo quod exhibeatur ei reuerentia solum in quantum est imago. Et sic sequitur quod eadem reuerentia exhibeatur imagini Christi et ipsi Christo. Cum igitur Christus adoretur adoratione latriae, consequens est quod eius imago sit adoratione latriae adoranda' (see also his *Comm. in sent. Lombardi* III, dist. 9, q. 1, a. 2, sol. 2). The question Thomas was answering was no mere quibble, since it had its roots in the iconoclastic heresy of the eighth century. Still, his answer has been an embarrassment to some of his followers, who have developed subtle explanations. The fourteenth-century theologian Guilelmus Durandus gave a simpler answer than Thomas' and one which would have been more acceptable to Er.: he denied that images should be worshipped with the same kinds or levels of worship as the persons represented by them. See *DTC* VII, 825-826. In *Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii*, *LB* IX, 1160 D, Er. gives Scotus' teaching on this point.
- 182 *Rhodi Phoebus* Solin. [XI, 33, drawing on Plin. *Nat.* II, 62, 153]; Hor. *Carm.* I, 7, 1 (L.). Strab. XIV, 2, 5, C652. On the Rhodian worship of the sun-god (of which the Colossus was a representation) see Hiller v. Gaertringen, *RE*, Suppl. V (1931), 769, 781.
- Cypro Venus* Strab. XIV, [6, 3, C 682-683]; Hor. *Carm.* [I, 3, 1] (L.).
- Argis Iuno* Strab. VIII, [6, 10, C 372]; Hom. *Il.* IV, [51-52] (L.). Hor. *Carm.* I, 7, 8-9. Verg. *Aen.* I, 24.
- Athenis Minerva* Strab. IX, 1, 16, C396. Hor. *Carm.* I, 7, 5-6.
- 182-183 *in Olympo Iupiter* Strab. VIII, [3, 30, C353-354] (L.).
- 183 *Tarenti Neptunus* Hor. *Carm.* I, 28, 29.
- Lampsaci Priapus* Plin. *Nat.* V, [32, 141] (L.). Verg. *Georg.* IV, 110-111. *Ov. Trist.* I, 10, 26.
- 192-193 *Democriti ... Democrito* See note on p. 102, l. 551.

195 illas sobrias et antemeridianas iurgiosis consultationibus ac votis audiendis
 impartunt. Caeterum vbi iam nectare madent neque lubet quicquam serium
 agere, tum qua parte coelum quammaxime prominet, ibi consistunt ac pronis
 frontibus, quid agitent homines speculantur. Nec est aliud spectaculum illis
 suavius. Deum immortalem, quod theatrum est illud, quam varius stultorum
 200 tumultus! Nam ipsa nonnunquam in deorum poeticorum ordinibus considerare
 soleo. Hic deperit in mulierculam et quo minus adamatur, hoc amat impotentius.
 Ille dotem ducit, non vxorem. Ille sponsam suam prostituit. Alius zelotypus velut
 Argus obseruat. Hic in luctu, papae quam stulta dicit facitque, conductus etiam
 velut histrionibus, qui luctus fabulam peragant. Ille flet ad nouercae tumulum.
 205 Hic quicquid vndecunque potest corradere, id totum ventriculo donat, paulo
 post fortiter esuriturus. Hic somno et ocio nihil putat felicius. Sunt qui alienis
 obeundis negociis sedulo tumultuantur, sua negligunt. Est qui versuris atque
 aere alieno diuitem se esse putat, mox decocturus. Alius nihil arbitratur felicius,
 quam si ipse pauper haeredem locupletet. Hic ob exiguum idque incertum lucel-
 210 lum per omnia maria volitat, vndis ac ventis vitam committens nulla pecunia
 reparabilem. Ille mauult bello diuitias quaerere quam tutum ocium exigere domi.
 Sunt qui captandis orbis senibus putant quam commodissime ad opes perueniri.
 Neque desunt qui idem malint deamandis beatis aniculis aucupari. Quorum vtri-
 que tum demum egregiam de se voluptatem diis spectatoribus praebent, cum ab
 LB 456 iis ipsis, quos captant, arte deluduntur. | Est omnium stultissimum ac sordidis-
 216 simum negotiorum genus, quippe qui rem omnium sordidissimam tractent,
 idque sordidissimis rationibus; qui cum passim mentiantur, peierent, furentur,
 fraudent, imponant, tamen omnium primos sese faciunt, propterea quod digitos
 habeant auro reuinctos. Nec desunt adulatores fraterculi, qui mirentur istos ac
 220 venerabiles palam apellent, nimirum vt ad ipsos aliqua male partorum portiun-
 cula redeat. Alibi videas Pythagoricos quosdam, quibus vsqueadeo omnia viden-
 tur esse communia, vt quicquid vsquam incustoditum nacti fuerint, id, velut hae-
 reditate obuenerit, aequo animo tollant. Sunt qui votis tantum diuites sunt et
 iucunda quaedam sibi fingunt somnia idque ad felicitatem satis esse putant. Non-
 225 nulli foris diuites haberi gaudent, domi gnauiter esuriunt. Hic festinat quicquid
 habet profundere, ille per fas nefasque congerit. Hic candidatus ambit populares
 honores, ille ad focum semet oblectat. Bona pars lites nunquam finiendas agit
 et hinc atque hinc certatim contendunt, vt prorogatorem iudicem et collusorem
 ditent aduocatum. Hic rebus nouandis studet, ille magnum quiddam molitur. Est

195 iurgiosis E-H: om. A-D; consultationibus
 A B D-H, consolationibus C.
 200 poeticorum C-H: om. A B.
 201 Amantes* C-H: om. A B.
 202 Zelotypi* C-H: om. A B (in C-E praee-
 denti notae iunctum: Amantes zelotypi).
 203 Luctus funebris* C-H: om. A B.
 206 Ociosi* C-H: om. A B.

207 Curiosus* C-H: om. A B.
 208 Decoctores* C-H: om. A B (in H iuxta l. 205
 perperam positum. Quoniam in F et G tres notae
 Ociosi, Curiosus, et Decoctores omnes simul
 nimis alte impressae sunt, corrector editionis H
 Decoctores quasi ad esuriturus referentem
 relinquens, Ociosi et Curiosus in locos idoneos infra
 Decoctores transtulit); se A B D-H: sese C.

- 209 Auari* C-H: *om. A B.*
 210 vitam A C-H: vitem B.
 211 Milites* C-H: *om. A B*; domi C-H: *om. A B.*
 212 Haeredipetae* C D F-H: *om. A B E.*
 215 iis A-F: *om. G H.*
 216 Negociatores* C-H: *om. A B.*
 219 Adulatio concionatorum* C-H: *om. A B.*
 221 Fures* C-H: *om. A B.*
- 222 vt A C-H: *om. B.*
 223 Optatores* C-H: *om. A B.*
 225 gnauiter A B E-H: grauiter C D; quicquid B-H: quidquid A.
 226 Profusores* C-H: *om. A B*; congerit A¹⁻⁶ B-H: cogerit A¹⁻².
 227 Ambitiosi* C-H: *om. A B.*
 228 Litigatores* C-H: *om. A B.*
- 195 *consultationibus* L. notes that the following passage draws on Lucian's *Icaromen*, which Er. translated (*ASD* I, 1, pp. 410-422).
 203 *Argus* Ov. *Met.* I, 624-627. Wyss, p. 12.
 204 *flet ... tumulum* L. quotes and translates the Greek proverb. See *Adag.* 810 (LB II, 336 C).
 205-206 *Hic ... esuriturus* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* I, 15, 32.
 207 *versuris* Fest. [578]; Ter. *Phorm.* [779] (L.). Er. *Disputatiunc.* LB V, 1281 A.
 212 *Sunt qui ... perueniri* Hor. *Serm.* II, 5, 23-26.
 213 *beatis aniculis* Iuv. [1, 38-39] (L.).
 214-215 *ab iis ... deluduntur* Hor. *Serm.* [II, 5, 55-69] (L.). *Adag.* 9 [14] (LB II, 372 B).
 215-216 *sordidissimum negociatorum genus* 'Sordidum vocat illiberale et magno animo indignum. Porro in bonorum ordine, etiam iuxta peripateticos nihil villius pecunia, quam solam captant negociatores. Nec Cicero probat hoc negociatorum genus, qui hic coemunt, vt alibi carius vendant [*Off.* I, 42, 150]. Et paucissimi sunt, imo nulli opinor qui sine fraude ditescant. Et tamen hi soli habentur in precio, cum in sententiis Theologorum plane damnata sit negociatio, si Gregorio credimus, nam hic citatur in sententiis [Petri Lomb. *Sent.* IV, dist. 16, 2, Migne PL CXCII, 878-879], nec minus si Chrysostomo [pseudo-Chrysostom in *Decret. Gratiani*, dist. 88, c. xi, *CJC* I, 307-309], Augustino [*ibid.* c. xii, I, 309-310, quoting Aug. *Enarr. in ps. LXX*, Migne PL XXXVI, 886-887] et Cassiodoro [*ibid.* c. xiii, I, 310] credimus, nam hi citantur in decretis dist. octogesima octaua, quorum sanctissimis scriptis, nescio quis frater, mercatoribus assentari volens, paleas praeposuit. Augustinus etiam palam dicit in lib. de poenitentia [I have not been able to find this passage], mercatores et milites poenitentiam agere non posse' (L.). The friar mentioned by L. might have been such a Franciscan as S. Antoninus (*Summa theol.* III, tit. 8, Verona, 1740, repr. Graz, 1959, III, 295-307) or S. Bernardinus Senensis (*De euang. aeterno sermo* XXXIII, art. 1, *Op. om.*, Quaracchi-Florence, 1956, IV, 140 and sermo XXXIX, art. 1-2, IV, 266-294). Both friars recognize the dangers traditionally pointed out by theologians, but both also spend much time and effort explaining how necessary and useful 'mercatio' is and under what circumstances profit may be taken from the exchange of goods or money. S. Bernardinus says that the statement attributed to Chrysostom by Gratian in dist. 88 is either a rhetorical exaggeration or is simply wrong. Pagan moralists and fathers of the church generally disapprove of taking interest on loans. See R. Bogaert, *Geld (Geldwirtschaft)*, *RAC* IX (1976), 901-903.
 219-220 *adulatores ... venerabiles* The Italian background of the passage is suggested by the Italian phrase 'venerabili mercadanti' attributed to flattering friars by L.
 220 *male partorum* Cf. Wyss, p. 63.
 221-222 *Pythagoricos ... communia* L. quotes in Greek and translates the Pythagorean maxim 'amicorum omnia esse communia.' *Adag.* 1 (LB II, 13 F-14 F). Walther 951.
 223-224 *votis ... putant* Lucian. *Nav. sine vota* [18-25, 46] (L.).
 224-225 *Nonnulli ... esuriunt* 'They say there are many such patricians in Venice' (L.).
 226 *per fas nefasque* Don. (Ter. *Andr.* 214) identifies 'fas nefas' as proverbial. Cf. Liv. VI, 14, 10 and Lucan. V, 313.
 228 *prorogatore iudicem* 'Differt enim sententiam ne perdat quaestum' (L.).
 228-229 *collusorem ... aduocatum* 'Colludit, qui nocet parti, quam videtur tueri, et adiuuat quam videtur oppugnare, quod iureconsulti vocant praeuuaricationem' (L.).
 229 *Hic rebus ... molitur* 'Nouare res (comme *res nouas*) a en latin un sens fort et péjoratif, "faire une révolution," ce qui pour un Ancien et pour Erasme ne peut signifier que: "faire table rase," "anéantir l'ordre existant," "détruire"; il suffit alors, dans la deuxième partie de la phrase, de mettre l'accent non pas sur *magnum*, mais sur *molitur* au sens de: "il bâtit, il édifie, il construit" (avec l'idée d'effort puissant, d'obstacles surmontés, de difficultés vaincues); la phrase ci-dessus

230 qui Hierosolymam, Romam aut diuum Iacobum adeat, vbi nihil est illi negotii,
domi relictis cum vxore liberis. In summa si mortalium innumerabiles tumultus
LB 457 e luna, quemadmodum Menippus olim, despicias, putes te muscarum aut culi-
cum videre turbam inter se rixantium, bellantium, insidiantium, rapientium,
ludentium, lasciuientium, nascentium, cadentium, morientium. Neque satis
235 credi potest, quos motus, quas tragoedias ciat tantulum animalculum tamque
mox periturum. Nam aliquoties vel leuis belli seu pestilentiae procella multa
simul milia rapit ac dissipat.

Sed ipsa stultissima sim planeque digna, quam multis cachinnis rideat Democritus, si pergam popularium stulticiarum et insaniarum formas enumerare. Ad
240 eos accingar, qui sapientiae speciem inter mortales tenent, et aureum illum
ramum, vt aiunt, aucupantur.

Inter quos grammatici primas tenent, genus hominum profecto, quo nihil calamitosius, nihil afflictius, nihil aeque diis inuisum foret nisi ego miserrimae
professionis incommoda dulci quodam insaniae genere mitigarem. Neque enim
245 *πέντε κατάραις*, id est, quinque tantum diris obnoxii sunt isti, quemadmodum
indicat epigramma Graecum, verum sexcentis, vt qui semper famelici sordidique
in ludis illis suis – in ludis dixi? imo in *φροντιστηρίοις*, vel pistrinis potius ac car-
nificinis – inter puerorum greges, consenescent laboribus, obsurdescant clamoribus,
foetore paedoreque contabescant; tamen meo beneficio fit, vt sibi primi
250 mortalium esse videantur. Adeo sibi placent, dum pauidam turbam minaci vultu
voceque territant, dum ferulis, virgis, lorisque conscindunt miseros dumque
modis omnibus suo arbitratu saeuunt, asinum illum Cumanum imitantes. Inter-
LB 458 rim sordes illae | merae mundiciae videntur, paedor amaricinum olet, miserrima
illa seruitus regnum esse putatur, adeo vt tyrannidem suam nolint cum Phalaridis
255 aut Dionysii imperio commutare. Sed longe etiam feliciores sunt, noua quadam
doctrinae persuasione. Siquidem cum plerique mera deliramenta pueris incul-
cent, tamen, dii boni, quem non illi Palaemonem, quem non Donatum prae se
contemnunt? Idque nescio quibus praestigiis mire efficiunt, vt stultis materculis
et idiotis patribus tales videantur, quales ipsi se faciunt. Iam adde et hoc voluptatis
260 genus, quoties istorum aliquis Anchisae matrem aut vuculam vulgo incog-
nitam in putri quapiam charta deprehenderit, puta bubsequam, bouinatorum aut
manticulatore, aut si quis vetusti saxi fragmentum, mutilis notatum literis ali-
cubi effoderit: O Iupiter, quae tum exultatio, qui triumphus, quae encomia,
perinde quasi vel Africam deuicerint vel Babylonas ceperint! Quid autem cum
265 frigidissimos et insulsissimos versiculos suos passim ostentant neque desunt qui

230 Qui sacra visunt loca* C-F: om. A B G H.

238 sim A³⁻⁶ B-H: sim stultior A¹⁻².

240 Stulticia doctorum hominum* C-H: om. A B.

243 Grammatici miseri* C-H: om. A B.

250 Tyrannis ludi magistrorum* C-H: om. A B.

256 plerique H: om. A-G.

257 Arrogantia eorundem* C-H: om. A B; se H: sese A-G.

261 *deprehenderit B-H: reprehenderit notatum A.*

oppose donc le destructeur au créateur' (Jacques Chomarat, *L' 'Eloge de la folie' et ses traducteurs français au XX^e siècle*, BAGB, 4^e série, 2 (1972), pp. 181-182.

230-231 *qui Hierosolymam ... liberis* '... Verum tamen vide quam circumspecte locutus est Erasmus, etiam sub aliena persona, ne quis possit offendi. Non probat eos, qui domi relinquunt quos curare debeant, et visunt loca, in quibus nihil negotii habebant, tantum visunt, vt visant' (L.). Cf. Er. *Coll., Peregrinatio*, ASD I, 3, p. 494. 'Diuum Iacobum' refers to the shrine of St. James at Compostella in Spain.

231-234 *In summa ... morientium* Lucian. *Icaromen.* (L.). *Rixantium ... morientium* is a verbal imitation of *Icaromen.* 15, translated by Er. as follows: 'adulterantes, occidentes, insidiantes, rapientes, peierantes, trepidantes, non nullos ab intimis amicis prodi' (ASD I, 1, p. 415, l. 41-p. 416, l. 2). In the *Moria* Er. adds the ironical contrast between the last three words and the first five.

235 *animalculum* Probably an Erasmusian coinage, since it appears in none of the classical and medieval dictionaries except in two instances after the *Moria* (1518, 1662 in Latham). Er. was fond of diminutives (DFS, Thomson, *The Latinity of Erasmus*, in *Erasmus*, ed. T. A. Dorey, London, 1970, pp. 125-126).

238-239 *Democritus* See note on p. 102, l. 551.

240-241 *aureum illum ramum* Verg. *Aen.* [VI, 137] (L.). Kan asserts that there is no allusion to Virgil here and that the phrase must be simply proverbial (as 'vt aiunt' indicates - see *Adag.* 97 [LB II, 66 A]). He thinks it is a sarcastic description of the schoolmaster's ferule in terms of a king's golden scepter. But the 'vt aiunt' simply refers to a traditional interpretation of the Virgilian phrase: as early as Serv. *Comm. Aen.* the bough was taken as symbolic of 'virtus et integritas.' Fulgentius allegorizes it as 'doctrinae atque litterarum ... studium' and 'scientia' (*Vergiliana continentia* M154). Cf. Ep. 152, l. 45; *Enchir.*, LB V, 14 D; and *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 146, l. 308 sqq.

242 *grammatici* Cf. *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, pp. 56-58, and *Vidua christ.*, LBV, 713. Er. praises the task of the schoolmaster in Ep. 364.

246 *epigramma Graecum* L. quotes, translates, and explains *Anth. Pal.* [IX, 173]. According to this epigram by Palladas, grammarians

262-263 *alicubi A¹⁻³ B-H: aliquibi A⁴⁻⁶.*

264 *Babylonas A¹⁻³ B-H: Babilonas A⁴⁻⁶.*

can hardly expect to be prosperous since they begin their task by examining the opening lines of the *Iliad*, which contain a catalogue of disasters: 'wrath' (line 1), 'accursed' and 'pains' (line 2), 'souls to Hades' (line 3), 'prey' and 'dogs' (line 4), 'birds [of prey]' and 'the anger of Zeus' (line 5). Cf. *Adag.* 226 (LB II, 122 B) and Otto No. 849.

247 *φροντιστηρίους* Aristoph. *Nub.* [94 et al.] (L.). *Schol. Gr.* on *Nub.* 94 places more emphasis than I. on the meaning 'place of thought' rather than 'place of care or sadness.'

248 *conescant laboribus* Cf. Quint. *Inst.* III, 8, 67.

249 *foetore ... contabescant* Cf. Iuv. 7, 225-226.

252 *asinum illum Cumanum* *Adag.* 612 (LB II, 265 C) and 266 (LB II, 137 EF). At Cumae an ass disguised in a lion's skin played the tyrant until he was exposed.

253 *amaricinum* *Adag.* 38 (LB II, 165 D). An ointment made from marjoram (Plin. *Nat.* XIII, 1, 5).

254 *Phalaridis* See *Adag.* 986 (LB II, 392 D) and second note on p. 74, l. 48.

255 *Dionysii* L. alludes to the story that Dionysius II, tyrant of Sicily, was a poor school-teacher after he was deposed (Niese, *Dionysios II*, RE V, 1905, 908). Cic. *Tusc.* III, 12, 27. Er. *Adag.* 1793 (LB II, 661 B); *Apophth.* V, LB IV, 237 B.

257 *Palaemonem* A famous Roman grammarian of the first century A.D. Suet. *De gramm.* 23. Iuv. VI, 452; VII, 215.

Donatum St. Jerome's teacher, whose *Ars grammatica* was the standard Latin grammar until Er.'s times.

260-261 *voculam ... incognitam* Cf. p. 76, ll. 81-82.

261 *bubsequam* Apul. [*Met.* VIII, 1, 505] (L.). *De cop. verb.* I, 11, LB I, 12 B. The word is spelled 'busequa' in *Tb.L.L.* and means 'neatherd.' *bouinatorem* Gell. [XI, 7, 7-9] (L.). The word means 'tergiversator' (or perhaps 'brawler').

262 *manticulatore* Fest. [ed. W. Lindsay, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 118-119] (L.). The word means 'pickpurse.'

264 *Africam deuicerint* Finally conquered for Rome by the Scipio's (L.). Cf. *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 219, l. 634.

Babylonas ceperint 'A proverbial expression found in Lucian [*De merc. cond.* 13 and *Nav. sine vota* 39]. This wealthy city was captured by Darius with the help of Zopirus' (L.).

mirentur: iam plane Maronis animam in suum pectus demigrasse credunt. At nihil omnium suavius quam cum ipsi inter sese mutua talione laudant ac mirantur, vicissimque scabunt. Quod si quis alius verbulo lapsus sit idque forte fortuna hic oculatior deprehenderit, ἡράκλεις, quae protinus tragoediae, quae digladiationes, quae conuicia, quae inuectivae! Male propicios habeam omnes grammaticos, si quid mentior.

Noui quendam πολυτεχνότατον, Graecum, Latinum, mathematicum, philosophum, medicum, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλικόν, iam sexagenarium, qui (caeteris rebus omissis) annis plus viginti se torquet ac discrutiat in grammatica, prorsus felicem se fore ratus, si tam diu liceat viuere, donec certo statuatur, quomodo distinguendae sint octo partes orationis, quod hactenus nemo Graecorum aut Latinorum ad plenum praestare valuit. Perinde quasi res sit bello quoque vindicanda, si quis coniunctionem faciat dictionem ad aduerbiorum ius pertinentem. Et hac gratia, cum totidem sint grammaticae quot grammatici, imo plures, quandoquidem Aldus meus vnus plus quinquies grammaticam dedit, hic nullam omnino quantumuis barbare aut moleste scriptam praetermittit, quam non euoluat excutiatque nemini non inuidens, si quid quantumlibet inepte molitur in hoc genere, misere timens, ne quis forte gloriam hanc praeripiat et pereant tot annorum labores. Vtrum insaniam hanc vocare mauultis an stulticiam? Nam mea quidem haud magni refert, modo fateamini meo beneficio fieri, vt animal omnium alioqui longe miserrimum eo felicitatis euehatur, vt sortem suam neque cum Persarum regibus cupiat permutare.

Minus mihi debent poetae, tametsi vel ex professo meae sunt factionis, quippe liberum genus, vt habet prouerbum, quorum omne studium non alio pertinet quam ad demulcendas stultorum aures, idque meris nugamentis ac ridiculis fabulis. Et tamen his freti dictu mirum, vt cum sibi polliceantur immortalitatem et diis parem vitam, tum aliis eandem promittant. Huic ordini prae caeteris familiares Φιλαυτία καὶ Κολακία nec ab vlllo mortalium genere color neque simplicius neque constantius.

Porro rhetores, quanquam nonnihil illi quidem praeuaricantur colluduntque cum philosophis, tamen hos quoque nostrae factionis esse cum alia multa tum illud in primis arguit, quod praeter alias nugas tam accurate, tam multa de iocandi ratione conscripserunt (atque adeo stulticiam ipsam inter facetiarum species numerat quisquis is fuit, qui ad Herennium dicendi artem conscripsit) quodque apud Quintilianum, huius ordinis longe principem, caput est de risu vel Iliade prolixius: tantum denique stulticiae tribuunt, vt saepenumero quod nullis argumentis dilui possit, risu tamen eludatur. Nisi si quis hoc arbitretur ad stulticiam non pertinere, ridiculis dictis excitare cachinnos, idque arte.

Huius farinae sunt et isti, qui libris edendis famam immortalem aucupantur. Hi cum omnes mihi plurimum debent, tum praecipue qui meras nugas chartis illinunt. Nam qui erudite ad paucorum doctorum iudicium scribunt, quique nec Persium nec Laelium iudicem recusant, mihi quidem miserandi magis quam beati videntur, vt qui sese perpetuo torqueant. Addunt, mutant, adimunt, reponunt,

repetunt, recidunt, ostendunt, nonum in annum premunt nec vnquam sibi satisfaciunt ac futile praemium, nempe laudem eamque perpaucorum, tanti emunt, tot vigiliis, somnique (rerum omnium dulcissimi) tanta | iactura, tot sudoribus, tot crucibus. Adde nunc valetudinis dispendium, formae perniciem, lippitudinem, aut etiam caecitatem, paupertatem, inuidiam, voluptatum abstinentiam, senectutem praeproperam, mortem praematuram, et si qua sunt alia eiusmodi.

310
LB 460

- 266 animam *A B E-H*: animum *C D*.
 269 *alt. quae A C-H*: qui *B*.
 270-283 *Male ... labores E-H: om. A-D*.
 285-286 *alioqui longe C-H: longe alioqui A B*.
 288 *Poetae* C-H: om. A B*.
 290 *meris B-H: meis A*.
 295 *Rhetores* C-H: om. A B*.
 299 *Herennium A-H: B-H: Herennium A-H*;

- conscripsit *H*: scripsit *A-G*.
 301 *tantum denique H: tantumque A-G*.
 302 *Nisi H: Nisi et A-G*.
 304 *Scriptores librorum* C-H: om. A B*.
 305 *Hi E-H: ii A-D; praecipue E-H: praecipue ii A-D*.
 309 *nonum A-F H: nouum G*.
 314 *qua B-H: quae A; alia E-H: om. A-D*.

- 266 *Maronis ... credunt* 'An allusion to Ennius' dream that Homer's soul had passed into his body. Pers. [prol. 2-3] (L.). Lucr. I, 124-126. Pers. VI, 10-11. Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 50-53. See Enn. *Annales* lib. I, frg. V, vs. 6, ed. Johannes Vahlen, Leipzig, 1903² (reprint Amsterdam, 1928).
 268 *vicissimque scabunt Adag.* 696 (LB II, 300 A). Walther 15819a. Otto No. 1162.
 269-270 *digladiationes* This word appears in none of the classical or medieval dictionaries except for one example (1403) in Du Cange; but it is an easy and normal formation from the more common verb 'digladior.' Cf. p. 144, l. 369.
 270-283 *Male ... labores* L. has no notes on this passage because it first appeared about a year after the commentary.
 273 βασιλικόν This word may mean simply 'fit for a king, excellent' or may denote a royal official; but it probably alludes to Thomas Linacre, physician to King Henry VIII. See Introduction, p. 46, n. 138.
 280 *Aldus ... dedit* According to A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*, Paris, 1834, Aldus Manutius the elder published his own Latin grammar in 1501, 1508, and 1514; besides the Greek grammars of Lascaris (1494), Gaza (1495), and Apollonius (1495), Aldus also published his own Greek grammar in 1515 (pp. 4, 31, 52, 58, 69-70, 73-74). 'Plus quinquies' was probably not intended to be precise. On Er. 's relations with Aldus, see A. Renaudet, *Erasmus et l'Italie*, Geneva, 1954, pp. 83-86.
 286-287 *Persarum regibus* L. quotes Hor. [*Carm.* III, 9, 4 and I, 38, 1].

- 289 *liberum ... prouerbiu* L. quotes and translates the proverb from Lucian. *Imag.* 18 and quotes Hor. *Ars* 9-10. *Adag.* 2048 (LB II, 727 D). Otto No. 1443.
 291-292 *immortalitatem ... promittant* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 30, 1; IV, 8, 28-29 and 9, 25-29.
 295-296 *colliduntque cum philosophis* Cic. *De or.* I, 15, 68-69; II, 36-37, 152-156 and 68, 274. Quint. *Inst.* X, 1, 35; XII, 2, 4-28.
 297-298 *de iocandi ... conscripserunt* Cic. *De or.* II, 54, 217-222; II, 58-71, 235-291. Quint. *Inst.* VI, 3.
 298-299 *stulticiam ... conscripsit* *Rhet. Her.* I, 6, 10.
 300 *apud Quintilianum ... caput* Quint. *Inst.* VI, 3.
 300-301 *Iliade prolixius* *Adag.* 3451 (LB II, 1065 F).
 302 *risu ... eludatur* 'Vt Cicero deprehensus in mendacio, quod domum emisset, quam negauerat se empturum elusit ad hunc modum, vt diceret esse sapientis patrisfamilias, dissimulare quod velit agere' (L.). Quint. *Inst.* VI, 3, 10 and 100.
 302-303 *Nisi ... arte* In Ep. 2431, ll. 229-239 Er. praised the witty jokes of Cicero and Plutarch as salutary and profitable.
 304 *Huius farinae* See note on p. 120, l. 953.
 305-306 *meras ... illinunt* Cf. Hor. *Serm.* I, 4, 36.
 307 *Persium nec Laelium* Cic. *Fin.* [I, 3, 7] (L.). See C. *Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae*, ed. F. Marx, Leipzig, 1904; Amsterdam, 1963, I, 41 (frag. 593); II, 220; and Cic. *De or.* II, 6, 25.
 309 *nonum ... premunt* Hor. [*Ars* 388] (L.).
 311 *somnique ... dulcissimi* L. quotes and translates Mosch. 2 (*Eur.*), 3, attributing it to Theocr. Cf. Hom. *Od.* VII, 289; *Il.* I, 610; Theocr. 11, 22-23.

315 Tantis malis sapiens ille redimendum existimat, vt ab vno aut altero lippo probetur. At meus ille scriptor quanto delirat felicius, dum nulla lucubratione, verum vtcunque visum est animo, quicquid in calamum incidit, vel somnia sua, statim literis prodit, leui duntaxat chartarum iactura, non ignarus futurum, vt
 320 quo nugaciores nugas scripserit, hoc a pluribus, id est, stultis et indoctis omnibus probetur. Quid enim est negotii, treis illos doctos, si tamen ea legerint, contemnere? Aut quid valebit tam paucorum sapientum calculus in tam immensa reclamantium turba? Sed magis etiam sapiunt, qui aliena pro suis edunt, et alieno magnoque partam labore gloriam verbis in se transmouent, hoc videlicet freti, quod arbitrentur futurum, vt etiam si maxime coarguantur plagii, tamen ali-
 325 quanti temporis vsuram sint interim lucrifacturi.

Videre est operaeprecium, quam hi sibi placeant, cum vulgo laudantur, cum digito ostenduntur in turba: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ δεινός ἐκεῖνος, cum apud bibliopolas prostant, cum in omnium paginarum frontibus leguntur tria nomina, praesertim peregrina ac magicis illis similia. Quae, per deum immortalem, quid aliud sunt
 330 quam nomina? Deinde quam a paucis cognoscenda, si mundi vastitatem respicias, tum a quanto paucioribus laudanda, vt sunt etiam indoctorum diuersa palata. Quid quod ea ipsa nomina non raro confinguntur aut e priscorum libris adoptantur? Cum alius sese Telemachum, alius Stelenium aut Laertem, hic Polycratem, ille Thrasymachum sese nominari gaudet, vt nihil iam referat, etiam si
 335 chamaeleonti aut cucurbitae siue, quemadmodum solent philosophi loqui, alpha aut beta librum inscribas.

Illud autem lepidissimum, cum mutuis epistolis, carminibus, encomiis sese vicissim laudant, stulti stultos, indoctos indocti. Hic illius suffragio discedit Alcaeus, ille huius Callimachus. Ille huic est M. Tullio superior, hic illi Platone
 340 doctior. Nonnunquam etiam antagonistam quaerunt, cuius aemulatione famam augeant. Hinc *scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus*, donec vterque dux re bene gesta victor discedit, vterque triumphum agit. Rident haec sapientes vt (veluti sunt) stultissima. Quis enim negat? Sed interim meo beneficio suauem vitam
 LB 461 agunt, ne cum Scipionibus quidem suos triumphos commutaturi. Quanquam
 345 docti quoque interim dum haec magna cum animi voluptate rident et aliena fruuntur insania, non paulum mihi debent et ipsi, quod inficiari non possunt, nisi sint omnium ingratisissimi.

Inter eruditos iureconsulti sibi vel primum vindicant locum neque quisquam alius aequae sibi placet, dum Sisyphi saxum assidue voluunt ac sexcentas leges
 350 eodem spiritu contexunt, nihil refert quam ad rem pertinentes, dumque glossematis glossemata, opiniones opinionibus cumulantes, efficiunt vt studium illud omnium difficillimum esse videatur. Quicquid enim laboriosum, idem protinus et praeclarum existimant.

Adiungamus his dialecticos ac sophistas, hominum genus quouis aere Dodo-
 355 naeo loquacius, vt quorum vnusquisuis cum vicenis delectis mulieribus garrulitate decertare possit, feliciores tamen futuri, si tantum linguaces essent, non etiam rixosi, adeo vt de lana caprina pertinacissime digladiantur et nimium altercando

- 320 probetur *E-H*: se probatum iri *A-D*.
 321 calculus *A-D F-H*: calculis *E*.
 323 magnoque *G H*: magno *A-F*.
 326 placeant *A-F H*: placent *G*.
 329 magicis *C-H*: imagicis *A B*.
 339 hic illi *C-H*: ille *A B*.
- 315 *altero lippo* Hor. [*Serm.* I, 5, 49] (L.).
 322-323 *alieno ... transmouent* Ter. *Eun.* [399-400] (L.).
 324 *plagii* L. gives the legal definition (stealing or selling a free man or someone else's slave), the only applicable one found in the classical and medieval dictionaries. But 'plagiarius' was used by Martial. (I, 52, 9) to mean 'plagiarist.' Er. *Annot. in r. Tim.* 1, 10, LB VI, 928 F.
 327 οὐτός ... ἐκεῖνος L. mentions the jesting taunt applied to Demosthenes (οὐτός ἐστὶν ὁ Δημοσθένης) and alludes to Diogenes' scorn (Diog. Laert. VI, 34). He also quotes Pers. [1, 28], Hor. [*Carm.* IV, 3, 22], and Hom. [*Il.* XI, 654] (also applied in jest to Demosthenes). Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 36, 103. Otto No. 549.
 328 *tria nomina* The nomen, praenomen, and cognomen were to the Romans a sign of nobility (Quint. *Inst.* VII, 3, 27; Iuv. V, 125-127; Auson. XVI [*Griph. tern. num.*], 80). Er.'s own three names (Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus) appeared regularly in the early editions of the *Moria*.
 329 *peregrina* 'They look down on Christian names and like to be called Hercules or Hannibal' (L.).
magicis ... similia 'For magicians use Hebrew or Arabic words, or others as esoteric as possible, to make the common people stand in great awe of them' (L.).
 331-332 *diuersa palata* Hor. [*Epist.* II, 2, 62] (L.).
 333 *Telemachus ... Laertem* 'Notice how careful he has been not to injure anyone's reputation. He could have named some names here, and the context required it, but he deliberately chose names which up till now no contemporary writer has used' (L.). Telemachus was the son of Homer's Odysseus; Laertes, his father. 'Stelenum' was perhaps intended to be 'Sthenelum' (Hom. *Il.* II, 564; XXIII, 511; Er. *De cop. verb.* I, 13, LB I, 14 D; and Er.'s translation of Eur. *Iph. T.* 308, ASD I, 1, p. 286), but Folly was surely capable of including a name even less 'real' than the others (since it does not even designate a fictional person). In his translation of Galen (ASD I, 1, p. 644, l. 4), Er. wrongly wrote *Sthenei* for *Stheneli*.
 348 *Iureconsulti** *C-H*: om. *A B*.
 351 *opiniones opinionibus C-H*: om. *A B*.
 354 *Dialectici** *C-H*: om. *A B*.
 355 *vnusquiuus A B E-H*: vnusquisque *C D*; delectis *A-F H*: dilectis *G*.
 333-334 *Polycratem, ille Thrasymachum* The Polycrates alluded to is probably the Athenian rhetorician whose praise of Busiris is mentioned by Er. in the dedicatory letter prefaced to the *Moria* (p. 68, l. 29). See first note on p. 74, l. 48. On Thrasymachus see Cic. *De or.* III, 16, 59 and 22, 128.
 335 *chamaeleonti* Proverbial for inconstancy (*Adag.* 2301, LB II, 805 F).
cucurbitae See note on p. 118, l. 910. The cucumber was also proverbially associated with bleary vision (*Adag.* 1076, LB II, 436 C).
 335-336 *quemadmodum ... inscribas* 'Letters are often used in demonstrations by Aristotle [e.g., *An. pr.* I, 2-3] and especially by the mathematicians [e.g., Euclid]' (L.). Folly does not refer to the practise of using Greek letters to number the books of a poem.
 338-339 *Hic ... Callimachus* Hor. [*Epist.* II, 2, 99-100] (L.).
 340 *antagonistam* '[1522] Hic Erasmus videtur diuinasse Leos, Latomos ac Stunicas suos exoritueros' (L.).
 341 *scinditur ... vulgus* Verg. [*Aen.* II, 39] (L.).
 344 *Scipionibus* See first note on p. 138, l. 264.
 345-346 *aliena fruuntur insania* See note on p. 102, ll. 560-561.
 349 *Sisyphi ... volunt* *Adag.* 1240 (LB II, 535 E). Cf. *Adag.* 2625 (LB II, 889 D) and Hom. *Od.* XI, 593-600.
 350-351 *glossematis ... cumulantes* Cf. *Eccles.*, LB V, 854 AB. Folly has in mind the accretions that gathered for centuries around the work of Justinian and Gratian.
 351-353 *efficiunt ... existimant* Cf. Ep. 858, ll. 71-73.
 354 *sophistas* See p. 154, l. 473 and note on p. 72, ll. 24-25.
 354-355 *aere Dodonaeo* *Adag.* 7 (LB II, 28 A). Part of the note in L. is a detailed correction of a slip in Pico della Mirandola's commentary on his hymn in praise of the Trinity.
 357 *de lana caprina* Hor. [*Epist.* I, 18, 15] (L.). Er. Ep. 108, l. 37. *Adag.* 253 (LB II, 133 D). Otto No. 340. The proverbial foolish question was whether goat's hair could be called wool.
 357-358 *nimum ... amittant* Gell. [XVII, 14, 4], Macr. [*Sat.* II, 7, 11] (L.). Er. *De libr. arbitr.*, LB IX, 1215 C, and *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1265 C.

plerunque veritatem amittant. Hos tamen sua philautia beatos reddit, dum tribus instructi syllogismis incunctanter audent quauis de re cum quouis manum conserere. Caeterum pertinacia reddit inuictos, etiamsi Stentorem opponas.

360 Sub hos prodeunt philosophi barba pallioque verendi, qui se solos sapere praedicant, reliquos omnes mortales | vmbas volitare. Quam vero suauiter delirant, cum innumerabiles aedificant mundos, dum solem, dum lunam, stellas, orbis, tanquam pollice filouae metiuntur, dum fulminum, ventorum, eclipsium ac caeterarum inexplicabilium rerum causas reddunt, nihil vsquam haesitantes, perinde quasi naturae rerum architectrici fuerint a secretis quasiue e deorum consilio nobis aduenerint! Quos interim natura cum suis coniecturis magnifice ridet. Nam nihil apud illos esse comperti, vel illud satis magnum est argumentum, quod singulis de rebus inexplicabilis inter ipsos est digladiatio. Ii cum nihil omnino sciant, tamen omnia se scire profitentur, cumque seipsos ignorent neque fossam aliquoties aut saxum obuium videant, vel quia lippiunt plerique vel quia peregrinantur animi, tamen ideas, vniuersalia, formas separatas, primas materias, quidditates, eccititates, formalitates, instantia videre se praedicant, res adeo tenues, vt neque Lynceus, opinor, possit perspicere. Tum vero praecipue prophanium vulgus aspernantur, quoties triquetris, et tetragonis, circulis, atque huiusmodi picturis mathematicis, aliis super alias inductis et in labyrinthi speciem confusis, praeterea literis velut in acie dispositis ac subinde alio atque alio repetitis ordine, tenebras offundunt imperitioribus. Neque desunt ex hoc genere qui futura quoque praedicant consultis astris ac miracula plusquam magica polliceantur et inueniunt homines fortunati, qui haec quoque credant.

Porro theologos silentio transire fortasse praestiterit, καὶ τὰ τύτῃν καμαρίναν μὴ κινεῖν nec hanc anagyrim tangere, vtpote genus hominum mire superciliosum atque irritabile, ne forte turmatim sexcentis conclusionibus adorianantur et ad

358 philautia F-H: φιλαυτία A-E.

359 incunctanter B-H: incontanter A.

361 Philosophi* C-H: om. A B.

373 quidditates, eccititates B-H: om. A; formalitates, instantia H: om. A-G.

374 Mathematici* C-H: om. A B.

378 Prognostae* C-H: om. A B.

381 Theologi* C-H: om. A B.

382 μὴ E-H: οὐ A-D.

Walther 16933. See note on p. 112, l. 750.

358 tribus 'Tres posuit pro paucis. ...' Ter. [Phorm. 637-638] (L.) Adag. 3384 (LB II, 1043 C).

360 Stentorem Hom. [Il. V, 785-786]; Iuv. [XIII, 112] (L.). Adag. 1237 (LB II, 496 B). Otto No. 1690.

361 barba ... verendi See note on p. 80, l. 152 and Gell. IX, 2, 4-5.

361-362 solos ... volitare L. quotes Hom. Od. [X, 493-494]. In Adag. 1253 (LB II, 506 D), Er. quotes Diog. Laert. [VII, 183]; Hom. Od. X, [493-494]; Plut. Mor. [200 A and 805 A]; he also alludes to Plat. [Meno, 100 A]. See Cic.

Div. I, 40, 88; Plut. Mor. 740 E.

366 naturae ... architectrici See note on p. 92, l. 369.

a secretis This phrase, meaning 'private secretary,' was not used before medieval times (Latham and Mittellaseimisches Wörterbuch, Munich, 1959, s.v. a III). It is formed by analogy with formulas such as 'a libellis' or 'ab epistulis' used to designate imperial servants (Th.L.L. s.v. a, ab, III C 2).

366-367 e deorum ... aduenerint Cic. Nat. I, 8, 18. Otto No. 517.

369 inexplicabilis ... digladiatio Folly wryly echoes 'inexplicabilium rerum causas' (p.

- 144, l. 365). On 'digladiatio', see note on p. 140, l. 269.
- 371 *fossam ... lippiunt* L. quotes Hor. *Epist.* I, 12, 13. The first fable mentioned by L. (a philosopher looking at the stars falls into a well and is ridiculed by an old woman) agrees with No. 40 in B.E. Perry's *Aesopica* (Urbana, Illinois, 1952, p. 337) except that the passerby is not specified as an old woman and the story is told of an astrologer, not a philosopher. The fable derives ultimately from Plat. *Tht.* 174 A and is alluded to by Cic. (*Div.* II, 13, 30). Cf. Hor. *Serm.* II, 3, 57-59. For medieval versions see D. W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer*, Princeton, 1962, p. 273. The second fable given by L. (an astrologer on his way home from a banquet bumps into a stone projecting from a wall) he assigns to Ioannes Companus. The *Opera omnia* of Giovanni Antonio Campano (1422-1477), Cardinal, Bishop of Teramo, humanist friend of Pope Pius II, had been printed several times before 1509. Some of his fables were included in a collection printed by Dirk Martens in 1512 (Aesopus, Aelianus, etc., *Fabulae*, Antwerp, Th. Martens, 1512; NK 26; BB A. 153; M.E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists*, Boston, 1962, I, 808-812). According to a frequently repeated story, the philosopher Thales was mocked because he fell into a well while looking at the stars (Tertullian, *De anima* 6, 8, ed. J. H. Waszink, Amsterdam, 1947, p. 143).
- 372-373 *ideas ... instantia* See note on p. 106, l. 637. On 'quidditates, ecceitates' L. notes: 'Haec sunt portenta verborum a recentioribus theologis excogitata.' An 'vniuersale' is something characteristic of a whole group or class of things, so that it can be predicated of all of them. What kind of existence universals have (whether in God's mind, in particular things, or in the mind of a perceiver) was a question much discussed by medieval philosophers and became the crux of the opposition between the realists and the nominalists (*Enciclopedia Filosofica*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1967, VI, 712-715). Er. *Annot. in I. Tim.* 1, 6, LB VI, 927 B. Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 158, l. 27 and note. To Aristotle and the scholastics 'forma' was the active, permanent principle of an essence or kind of thing; 'materia' was the passive, limiting, changing principle; 'materia prima' was matter considered as purely potential, not yet informed; a 'forma separata' was one existing without matter. St. Thomas Aquinas' identification of the human soul with Aristotelian form stirred up much controversy (*Enciclopedia Filosofica* II, 1458-1459; IV, 380-384). 'Quidditas' was the principle which makes a thing what it is, i.e., the essence which determines its species (*ibid.* V, 483-484). 'Ecceitas' (from 'ecce ipsum') or 'haecceitas' (from 'haec res') is Scotus' term for the principle of individuation which makes a thing this particular member of a species rather than another (*ibid.* II, 697-698). See notes on p. 148, l. 409.
- 374 *Lynceus* See notes on p. 106, l. 641, and p. 148, l. 410.
- 375-378 *triquetris ... ordine* On 'alijs super alias' L. notes the imitation of Lucian. *Icaromen.* [6]. On 'labyrinthi' see *Adag.* 1951 (LB II, 696 B) and Otto No. 897. L. says that the figures drawn by astrologers are meant, but respectable physicists used complicated lettered diagrams. See Aristot. *Phys.* 262ab, 266ab or Nicole Oresme, *Tractatus de configurationibus qualitatum et motuum*, ed. M. Clagett, Madison and London, 1968. *Triquetrum* probably has the meaning 'triangle' rather than the astronomical sense it has in Pliny: the relation between the earth and a planet when their celestial latitudes are separated by one-third of a circle (cf. Plin. *Nat.* II, 59).
- 378 *tenebras ... imperitioribus* '... Quorsum enim attinet rem per se facilem, huiusmodi difficultatibus inuoluere. Ita ut fecit Rabanus suis literariis figuris' (L.). See note on p. 104, ll. 573-574. Perhaps L. refers to Rabanus Maurus' complicated monograms in *De inuentione linguarum* (Migne PL CXII, 1582-1583) and in *De laudibus S. Crucis* (Migne PL CVII, 142-163).
- 381 *καταρπύων* 'Serv. [*Comm. Aen.* III, 701]. *Adag.* [64 (LB II, 51D)]. ... Neque vero quisquam iniquius interpretetur hic notari theologos, vere theologos, cum id habeam competentum, Erasmus omnibus quidem fauere studiis, nulli tamen magis, quam theologorum, in quo totus noctes diesque versatur. Notantur autem quidam crassi theologo, et nihil minus quam theologo, qui vel ineptas quaestiunculas consecretantur, vel arroganter magis quam pie docti sunt, id quod paulo post ex ipsius verbis palam fiet' (L.). Er. Ep. 337, l. 658.
- 382 *anagyrim* Dioscorides [III, 150, 2] (L.). *Adag.* 65 (LB II, 52 A). The Greek proverb 'do not touch the stink-weed' (Suidas, ed. Ada Adler, Leipzig, 1928-1938, III, 118) refers to the foul-smelling plant *anagyris* (stinking bean-trefoil).
- 382-383 *genus ... irritabile* Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 102: 'genus irritabile vatium.' To transfer the

385 palinodiam adigant, quod si recusem, protinus haereticam clamitent. Nam illico solent hoc terrere fulmine, si cui sunt parum propicii.

Sane quanquam non alii sunt, qui minus libenter agnoscant meam in se beneficentiam, tamen hi quoque non mediocribus nominibus obstricti sunt, dum felices sua philautia, perinde quasi ipsi tertium incolant coelum, ita reliquos mortaleis omneis, vt humi reptantes pecudes, e subllimi despiciunt ac prope commiserantur; dum tanto magistralium definitionum, conclusionum, corollariorum, propositionum explicitarum et implicitarum agmine septi sunt, tot exuberant κρησφυγέτοις, vt nec Vulcaniis vinculis sic possint irretiri, quin elabantur distinctionibus (quibus nodos omneis adeo facile secant, vt non Tenedia bipennis melius), tot nuper excogitatis vocabulis ac prodigiosis vocibus scatent; praeterea dum arcana mysteria suo explicant arbitrato: qua ratione conditus ac digestus sit mundus; per quos canales labes illa peccati in posteritatem deriuata sit; quibus modis, | qua mensura, quantulo tempore in virginis vtero sit absolutus Christus; quemadmodum in synaxi accidentia subsistant sine domicilio. Sed haec protrita. Illa demum magnis et illuminatis, vt vocant, theologis digna putant, ad haec si 400 quando incidunt, expergiscuntur: Num quod instans in generatione diuina? Num plures in Christo filiationes? Num possibilis propositio: Pater deus odit

384 Palinodia* C-G: om. A B H (in FG iuxta locum idoneum non in textu sed in commentario).

390 magistralium definitionum C-H: om. A B.
401 possibilis B-H: vera A.

phrase from poets to theologians was to turn the tables on the theologians, who sometimes scorned humanists like Er. as mere poets or students of poetry (Epp. 224; 347, ll. 105-125; 337, ll. 326-332). See also *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E.F. Rogers, Princeton, 1947, No. 15, ll. 574-628.

384 palinodiam 'παλινωδία, recantatio, cum diuersa oratione corrigimus superiorem' (L.). *Adag.* 859 (LB II, 356 A). Otto No. 1323.

385 propicii L. rightly notes that this word is frequently applied to deities. Its connotations are in keeping with the suggestion of Jupiter's thunderbolt in 'hoc terrere fulmine.' Cf. p. 176, l. 860.

388 tertium ... coelum 1. *Cor.* 12, 2.

390 corollariorum 'Corollarium Latini vocant auctarium illud quod praeter debitum additur ...' (L.).

391 explicitarum et implicitarum 'His verbis vtuntur illi, putidis profecto nimium ac molestis auribus ingenuis. Explicitas exigunt ab omnibus Christianis, implicitas ab eruditiss' (L.). St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* II^o-II^{ac}, q. 1, aa. 5-6; *Comm. in Sent.* III, q. 25, a. 1.

392 κρησφυγέτοις L. quotes and translates a

note from Suidas (ed. A. Adler, Leipzig, 1928-1938, III, 187): 'these are small enclosures built against the cold, offering protection and refuge. Some think the name arose when islanders took refuge in caves from the Cretans when, under their king Minos, they ruled the sea' (L.). Lucian, *Eun.* 10. Hdt. V, 24. Dion. Hal. *Ant.* IV, 15, 2.

392 Vulcaniis vinculis L. quotes and translates Hom. *Od.* VIII, [273-281].

393 Tenedia bipennis *Adag.* 829 (LB II, 345 F). Cic. *Ad Q. fr.* II, 11, 2. Otto No. 1759.

395 arcana mysteria 'Folly is joking, but to speak seriously, the ancient theologians who not only understood scripture but also absorbed and savored it, had little to say about such matters, and even that little was spoken with reverence and as a last resort in their disputes with heretics. Nowadays we define everything with amazing arrogance, not only what it is but also how it can exist or be made. The older theologians simply believed that sin came down from Adam, but now they carry on disgusting disputes about how it came down, as if that had anything to do with Christian piety or the mysteries of Christ, which should be adored rather than

- picked apart with sophistical subtlety' (L.). On Er.'s knowledge of scholastic theology see Craig R. Thompson, *Better Teachers than Scotus or Aquinas*, in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Duke University), 2 (1966), pp. 128-133. In a long note on 1. *Tim.* 1, 6, LB VI, 926 D-928 D, translated by Prof. Thompson (pp. 142-145), Er. gives many more specimens of quibbling questions in a wholly serious context. Also see my article *Some Medieval Elements and Structural Unity in Erasmus' The Praise of Folly*, RQ 27 (1974), pp. 499-511. Er. gives a list of more serious but unacceptably abstruse questions in *Rat. ver. theol.*, LB V, 134 A-C.
- 395-396 *qua ratione ... mundus* Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II, dist. 12, 1-6. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Comm. in Sent.* II, dist. 12, a. 1-5.
- 396 *per quos ... sit* Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II, dist. 31, 1-2: 'Quomodo peccatum originale a patribus transeat in filios, an secundum animam, an secundum carnem.' St. Bonaventure, *Comm. in Sent.* II, dist. 31, a. 1-2, *Op. om.*, Quaracchi-Florence, II (1885), 739-750. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* I^a-II^ae, q. 81, a. 1, 3.
- 396-397 *quibus modis ... Christus* Peter Lombard, *Sent.* III, dist. 2, c. 3. Alexander of Hales, *Summa theol.* III, pars I, inquis. vnica, tr. 2, q. 1, memb. 2, Quaracchi-Florence, IV (1948), 99-100. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Comm. in Sent.* III, dist. 3, q. 5, a. 2.
- 398 *quemadmodum ... domicilio* 'Quod Latine dicere possis, coniunctionem, siue coagmentationem, aut conciliationem: ita vocat Dionysius, quam nos vocamus eucharistiam, quod hoc mysterio representatur humana coniunctio, et vt ita dicam, vnitas Christianorum' (L.). Er. uses *ὁμώνυμις* (already Latinized by Ven. Fort. *Carm.* 8, 17, 1) to mean the mass and especially the eucharist (see below, p. 150, l. 427 and l. 430; p. 192, l. 217). See also Ep. 916, l. 58 and Ep. 2263, ll. 69-88, where he refers to Origen's commentary *In Matthaei euangel.* 15, 18-20, LB VIII, 468 D. This meaning is quite frequent in the Greek fathers, especially Chrysostom and Dionysius the Areopagite (G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961). Er. Ep. 2284, ll. 89-99. Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV, dist. 12, 1. St. Bonaventure, *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 12, pars 1, a. 1, qq. 1-3. Godefroid de Fontaines, *Quodlibeta*, XI, 3, ed. J. Hoffmans, Louvain, V (1932), 19. Folly flippantly substitutes 'domicilio' for 'substantia'.
- 398 *haec protrita* The questions Folly has mentioned all appear in Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* and hence were frequently discussed.
- 399 *illuminatis ... theologis* Doctores 'illuminati in fide per gratiam spiritussancti' are mocked in *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (ed. F. Stokes, London, 1925, pp. 34, 44). In a dialogue sequel (1519?) to *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (see Introduction, p. 51) an old-fashioned theologian asserts that it does not pertain to him or his two companions to write books about God. Erasmus, having asked 'Ad quos igitur spectat?' is answered 'Ad illuminatissimos et zelosissimos magistros nostros, qui sciunt arguere pro et contra' (sig. Cr^v).
- 400 *instans ... diuina* 'How often does St. Paul exhort us not to discuss questions that contribute nothing to piety but rather cause disputes and quarrels. [1. *Tim.* 1, 4; 2. *Tim.* 2, 14; 1. *Cor.* 1, 10-11 and 3, 3]. They smack of pride and the school of the devil, as Augustine says. Hence it is all the more surprising that there are theologians who like nothing but such questions' (L.) See second note on p. 148, l. 409; Peter Lombard, *Sent.* I, dist. 9, 3-4; *Sent.* I, dist. 30, 1. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Comm. in Sent.* I, dist. 9, q. 2, aa. 1-2.
- 401 *plures ... filiationes* Alexander of Hales, *Summa theol.* III, pars. 1, inquis. 1, tr. 2, q. 3, cap. 3, Quaracchi-Florence, IV (1948), 131. Scotus, *Questiones Quodlibetales*, II, 11, *Op. om.*, Paris, XXV (1895), 72. Henri de Gand, *Quodlibeta*, Paris, 1518; repr. Louvain, 1961, IV, 3, ff. 90-90^v: 'Vtrum in Christo sint duae reales filiationes: vna ad patrem et altera ad matrem.' Godefroid de Fontaines, *Les quatre premiers Quodlibets*, ed. M. de Wulf and A. Pelzer, Louvain, 1904, p. 6.
- 401-402 *possibilis ... filium* 'Reader, tell me frankly, even if what is discussed on these points is true, I ask you, would not all pious ears shrink from such things? And yet some discuss many points even more absurd than these, not only in public disputations in the schools but even in sermons to the people. Such things should cause us to weep rather than laugh' (L.). Er. mentions the same question in *Annot. in 1. Tim.* 1, 6, LB VI, 927 D. Jean Buridan, *Questiones super decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis*, Paris, 1513, ff. 189^v-189^v, Bk. VIII, q. 23: 'Vtrum patri liceat filium abnegare, filio vero patrem nequam.' The same question is also discussed in two anonymous codices: Vaticanus Latinus 2173 (ff. 58^v-59^v) and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin 15106 (ff. 62^v-63^v).

filium? Num deus potuerit suppositare mulierem, num diabolium, num asinum, num cucurbitam, num silicem? Tum quomadmodum cucurbita fuerit concionatura, editura miracula, figenda cruci. Et quid consecrasset Petrus, si consecrasset
 405 eo tempore, quo corpus Christi pendebat in cruce? Et num eodem tempore Christus homo dici potuerit? Et num post resurrectionem edere aut bibere fas sit futurum, iam nunc famem sitimque praecauentes.

Sunt innumerabiles λεπτολεσχίαι, his quoque multo subtiliores, de notionibus, relationibus, instantibus, de formalitatibus, de quidditatibus, ecceitatibus,
 410 quas nemo possit oculis assequi, nisi tam Lynceus vt ea quoque per altissimas tenebras videat quae nusquam sunt. Adde nunc his γνώμας illas, adeo παραδόξους, vt illa Stoicorum oracula, quae paradoxa vocant, crassissima prae his videantur et circumforanea, velut leuius esse crimen homines mille iugulare quam semel in die dominico calceum pauperi consuere. Et potius esse committendum,
 415 vt vniuersus orbis pereat vna cum victu et vestitu (quod aiunt) suo, quam vnicum quantumlibet leue mendaciolum dicere. Iam has subtilissimas subtilitates subtiliores etiam reddunt tot scholasticorum viae, vt citius e Laby|rinthis temet explices, quam ex inuolucris Realium, Nominalium, Thomistarum, Albertistarum,

404 si consecrasset E-H: om. A-D.

406 Friuolae argutiae* D-H: om. A-C.

406-407 fas ... praecauentes C-H: licebit.

Videō, ridetis iamdudum tam friuolas theologorum argutias A B.

408-484 Sunt innumerabiles ... conspurcare C-H: om. A B.

402 *suppositare mulierem* Peter Lomb. *Sent.* III, dist. 12, 5: 'Si Deus potuerit assumere hominem in sexu muliebri.'

diabolium ... asinum 'Queritur vtrum Deus vere sit asinus. Omne tale per essentiam prius et verius est tale quam quod est tale per participationem ...' (Cambridge Univ., Peterhouse MS. 152, f. 8^v). See my article *Some Medieval Elements and Structural Unity in Erasmus' The Praise of Folly*, RQ 27 (1974), p. 501, note 13. I owe this reference and those in the note on pp. 146-148, ll. 401-402 to the kindness of Prof. Charles Ermatinger of St. Louis Univ. See also Er. Ep. 108, ll. 41-44. John Major, a theologian who was at the Collège de Montaigu while Er. was there, discussed such questions as whether God could become an ass or an ox (P. Smith, *Erasmus*, 1923; rpt. 1962, p. 23).

403 *cucurbitam ... silicem* Godefroid de Fontaines, *Quodlibeta*, ed. J. Hoffmans, Louvain, IV, 1924, 208-210: 'vtrum persona diuina posset assumere naturam irrationalem ad vnitatem suppositi.'

404-405 *quid consecrasset ... cruce* Henri de Gand,

408-409 de notionibus ... instantibus H: de instantibus C-F, de notionibus, relationibus G.

411 Paradoxa theologorum* C-G: om. H.

415 Prouerbiū* D E: om. C F-H.

417 Sectae theologorum* C-H.

Quodlibeta, XIII, 4, Paris, 1518; repr. Louvain, 1961, ff. 425^v-426: 'Vtrum deus potuit facere quod anima Christi in triduo fuisset separata a corpore in sepulcro et coniuncta illi consecrato in pyxide si fuisset consecratum.' See also *Quodlibetum* II, 3, f. 31^v.

405-406 *num eodem ... potuerit* Peter Lombard, *Sent.* III, dist. 22, 1. Scotus, *Comm. in Sent.* III, dist. 22, *Op. om.*, Paris, XIV, 1894, 754-779. Godefroid de Fontaines, *Les quatre premiers Quodlibets*, ed. M. de Wulf and A. Pelzer, Louvain, 1904, p. 45.

406-407 *num post ... futurum* St. Thomas Aquinas, *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 44, q. 1, a. 3.

408 λεπτολεσχίαι 'That is, "subtle trifles." The word is a compound formed from λεπτός (thin) and λέσχη (trifles). In *The Clouds* Aristophanes calls philosophers debating about picayune details λεπτολεσχεῖς and λεπτολόγους ... Philostratus, *Vita Apollon.* [I, 17] (L.). *Adag.* 2661 (LB II, 897 B). Aristoph. does use λεπτολογεῖν (*Ran.* 828 and *Nub.* 320, where it is coupled with στενολεσχεῖν) and λεπτολόγος (*Ran.* 876), but not λεπτολεσχεῖς. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, Lon-

- don, 1823, 5747 D, gives both λεπτολεσχεῖς and λεπτολεσχίαι but without specific references; these words might have appeared in the text of Aristoph. *Er.* used. For Budé's use of λεπτολογήματα in the sense 'de tout petits sujets, un peu minces et futiles', see *La correspondance d'Erasmus et de Guillaume Budé*, ed. Marie-Madeleine de la Garanderie, Paris, 1967, pp. 57, 67.
- 408-409 *notionibus* The term sometimes referred to an idea apprehended, sometimes to the apprehension itself. It had complicated subdivisions and a special relevance in logic. Rudolphus Goclenius, *Lexicon Philosophicum*, Frankfurt, 1613; repr. Hildesheim, 1964, pp. 767-768.
- 409 *relationibus* One of the nine Aristotelian categories of accident. *Enciclopedia Filosofica*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1967, V, 663-669. *instantibus* 'She is talking about the "instants" which the Scotists posit in the divine generation. Thus they say that an instant is to time what a point is to a line or momentum to motion. And in the second distinction of the second book, Scotus [*Comm. in Sent.* II, dist. 2, 6, 10-11] makes an "instant" one of four kinds of measures. He says that it measures instantaneous changes' (L.). *Er.* mentions theological disputes 'de quatuor instantibus naturae' in *Annot. in 1. Tim.* 1, 6, LB VI, 928 A. See also *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX, 1033 D. On the 'instantes (or signa) naturae' involved in divine generation and knowledge, see Scotus, *Ordinatio* I, dist. 5, pars 2, q. un., no. 131, *Op. om.*, Vatican City, IV, 1956, 74-75; *ibid.*, dist. 6, q. un., no. 15, IV, 95, dist. 7, q. 1, no. 83, IV, 144, and dist. 35, q. un., no. 32, VI, 1963, 258; *Rep. Par.* I, dist. 36, q. 2, no. 34, *Op. om.*, Paris, XXII, 1894, 445. See also Etienne Gilson, *Jean Duns Scot*, Paris, 1952, p. 48.
- formalitatibus, de quidditatibus* 'Formalitates eas vocant, quae recipiuntur in subiecto, quidditates autem quae recipiunt' (L.). See note on p. 144, ll. 372-373. 'Formalitas', an important term for Scotus, had more intricate meanings than the one given by L. (*Enciclopedia Filosofica*, Florence, 1967, II, 1471-1472).
- ecceitatus* 'Our hair-splitters have also dreamed up certain individual differences and individuations, the principle of which according to Thomas, on the third distinction of the second section [*Comm. in Sent.* II, dist. 3, q. 1, a. 4] is matter and quantity - a position refuted by Scotus writing on the same distinction [*Comm. in Sent.* II, dist. 3, qq. 5-6]. And thus they dream their different dreams. Some call these principles of individuation "ecceitates"; some call them "sorteitates", expressing these unheard of monstrosities in monstrous and unheard of words' (L.). See note on p. 144, ll. 372-373.
- 410 *Lyneus* L. identifies him as one of the Argonauts who could see through a wall. *Apoll. Rhod.* I, 151-155. *Apollod.* III, 10, 3. *Hor. Serm.* I, 2, 90; *Epist.* I, 1, 28. Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 438. See note on p. 106, l. 641.
- 411-412 *γνώμας ... paradoxa* *Aristot. Rhet.* II, 21, 2-8 (1394ab). *Cic. Parad.* 4; *Ac.* 1, II, 44, 136. *Plut. Mor.* 1060 B; *Vit. Cat. Min.* XXI, 4-5. See *JVF* III, 164-172.
- 413-414 *Jeuus ... consuere* 'They say this because the one is an offense directly against God, whereas the other is directly against our neighbor - certainly a more clever reason than Christ, a clumsy theologian no doubt, would have been able to understand when he indicated that if our neighbor's ox fell into a ditch it ought to be pulled out even on the sabbath [Matt. 12, 11]' (L.).
- 414-416 *potius ... dicere* 'De hac re vide in decretis canonicis 22 quaest. 2. "ne quis arbitretur" et in sententiis lib. 3. dist. 38. vbi ex Augustini sententia dicitur, quod perfectus, pro vita alicuius, non debet mentiri, sed verum occultare, ac si longe aliud esset verum occultare, et mentiri' (L.). *Decretum Gratiani*, 2 pars. causa XXII, q. 2, c. 14 (*CJC* I, 871) quotes Augustine, who says that the perfect spiritual man should not lie, even to save a life, though he may be silent or conceal the truth (Augustine's distinction between telling a falsehood and concealing the truth is quite valid and hardly subtle). Peter Lombard (*Sent.* III, dist. 38, cc. 3-4) quotes Augustine's belief that 'omne mendacium esse peccatum,' but Augustine goes on to say that 'multum interesse, quo animo, et de quibus rebus quisque mentiatur.' *Er. Ep.* 180, ll. 66-67.
- 415 *victu ... aiunt* This phrase, which Folly clearly labels proverbial (*Adag. prol.*, LB II, 13 EF), is not in Otto, Walther, or *Adag.* (but cf. *Adag.* 3390, LB II, 1045 A). The phrase is, however, Ciceronian (*Quinct.* XV, 49).
- 417 *Labyrinthis* See note on p. 144, ll. 375-377.
- 418 *Realium* 'Hi ponunt vniuersalia esse res distinctas a singularibus, quantitatem a re quanta, respectus a fundamentis et terminis. Vnde ad saltum pulicis totum mundum dicunt moueri' (L.). Realists such as Abélard, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Bonaventure held that universal concepts which apply to many individuals are based on some really

Occanistarum, Scotistarum; et nondum omnes dixi sectas, sed praecipuas duntaxat.

420

In quibus omnibus tantum est eruditionis, tantum difficultatis, ut existimem ipsis apostolis alio spiritu opus fore, si cogantur hisce de rebus cum hoc nouo theologorum genere conserere manus. Paulus fidem praestare potuit, at idem cum ait: *Fides est substantia rerum sperandarum, argumentum non apparentium*, parum magistraliter definiuit. Idem ut charitatem optime praestitit, ita parum dialectice vel diuidit vel finit in priore ad Corinthios epistola, capite decimotertio. Ac pie quidem illi consecrabant synaxim, et tamen rogati de termino a quo et termino ad quem, de transsubstantiatione, de modo quo corpus idem sit in diuersis locis, de differentia qua corpus Christi est in coelo, qua fuit in cruce, qua in sacramento synaxeos, quo puncto fiat transsubstantiatio, cum oratio per quam ea fit, ut quantitas discreta sit in fluxu, non pari (sicut opinor) respondissent acumine, quo Scotidae disserunt haec ac definiunt. Nouerant illi Iesu matrem, sed quis eorum tam philosophice demonstrauit, quomodo fuerit ab Adae macula praeseruata, quam

425

430

419 sectas *H: om. C-G.*

423 idem *F-H: om. C-E.*

424 Definitio fidei* *C-H.*

425 Charitas* *C-G: om. H.*

existing essence or nature which includes various individuals (*Enciclopedia Filosofica*, Florence, 1967, V, 579-584). See note on p. 144, ll. 372-373. Cf. *Er. Annotat. in NT*, 1. *Cor.* 1, 10 (*LB VI*, 662 D).

Nominalium 'Hi dicunt vniuersalia nihil aliud esse quam terminos' (L.). Nominalists such as Roscellino and Ockham held that universal concepts in the mind are merely arbitrary names not based on any common nature really existing in the individual things included in the concepts (*ibid.* IV, 1053-1055). See note on p. 144, ll. 372-373.

Thomistarum The teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) was attacked during his lifetime by Averroists like Siger of Brabant and Augustinians like William Peckam; it continued to be attacked and defended for more than two centuries after his death. Between 1508 and 1523 Tommaso de Vio (Gaetano or Cajetan) issued a voluminous commentary on St. Thomas' *Summa theol.* defending Thomism against the attacks of Scotus, Durandus, Holkot, Godefroid de Fontaines, and others (*ibid.*, VI, 505-506).

Albertistarum In the fifteenth century, followers of Albert the Great, St. Thomas Aquinas' teacher at Cologne, began to defend Albert's teaching against both Scotists and Thomists, in Paris and Louvain but especially in Cologne (*ibid.* I, 151).

419 *Occanistarum* Though some of William

Ockham's teachings were condemned by the University of Paris in 1339-1340, his nominalism gained more and more followers, especially among philosophers whose primary interest was mathematics or physical science, such as Jean Buridan and Nicole Oresme (see notes on p. 144, ll. 375-377 and pp. 146-148, ll. 401-402). In the latter half of the fifteenth century Marco da Benevento, an astronomer who seems to have known Copernicus personally, was responsible for preparing the printed editions of Ockham's major works, issued in Bologna, Venice, and Lyons (*ibid.* IV, 1105).

Scotistarum Some of the leading defenders of Scotus in the early sixteenth century were Antonio Trombetta (1436-1517) at Padua, Antoine Syret (who taught at Paris in the years when Er. was a student there), and Franciscus Licheto (d. 1520) - *ibid.* V, 1180-1181. On the revival and ascendancy of Scotism at the University of Paris during Er.'s lifetime see H. Elie, *Quelques maîtres de l'université de Paris vers l'an 1500*, Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge, 18 (1950-51), pp. 193-243. For a list of those granted degrees in theology at Paris during Er.'s years there and during the rest of his lifetime see Henri-Bernard Maitre, *Les 'Théologastres' de l'Université de Paris au temps d'Erasmus et de Rabelais (1496-1536): Répertoire onomastique*, BHR 27 (1965), pp. 248-264.

- 422 *alio spiritu* 'Sophistico videlicet, et mundano, quem se habere negans, sic ait, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, nos enim non spiritum mundi accepimus, sed spiritum Dei [1. *Cor.* 2, 12]' (L.).
- 424-425 *Fides ... definiuit* Hebr. 11, 1. 'She alludes to the gloss in the beginning of the Decretals, asserting that Paul's definition of faith is not good, both because it applies to hope, which is also the substance of things to be hoped for, and also because the definition speaks only of the future. He defines faith magisterially as follows: Faith is voluntary certitude about things not present, below the level of science and above the level of opinion' (L.). *Decretalia Gregorii IX*, Venice, 1591, p. 4 has the gloss: 'Sed videtur quod definitio ista [Pauli] non sit bona: quia vera definitio conuertibilis debet esse cum suo definito, sed haec non est conuertibilis: quia spes similiter est substantia sperandarum rerum. vnde videtur inferendum, quod fides est spes, quod est falsum. Item haec definitio videtur loqui tantum de futuris, cum fides sit tam de praesentibus quam de praeteritis et futuris. ... et ita videtur esse insufficientis ista definitio et licet diuersa tempora comprehendat, vna tantum fides esse videtur. Vnde satis potest dici, quod non est vera definitio, sed quaedam notificatio fidei ab Apostolo dicta. Potest autem magistraliter definiri. Fides est voluntaria certitudo absentium infra scientiam, et supra opinionem constituta.'
- 425-426 *charitatem ... decimotertio* Probably a fanciful extension of the actual fact stated in the preceding sentence. The schoolmen had no need to quarrel with Paul's description of charity in 1. *Cor.* 13, 4-13 because a good definition of charity was readily available in scripture (*Mt.* 22, 37-40); see Peter Lombard's *Sent.* III, dist. 27, c. 2. When they discussed 1. *Cor.* 13, it was usually to explain why charity would remain while faith and hope would disappear (v. 13); *ibid.*, dist. 31, cc. 1-2 and Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacr.* II, 13, Migne PL CLXXVI, 541-542.
- 427 *synaxim* See note on p. 146, l. 398.
- 427-428 *de termino ... quem* 'Nowadays our theologians treat such things in discussing the tenth distinction of the fourth [book of Lombard's *Sententiae*] - matters which contain a great deal of polemical animosity but no piety' (L.). Scotus, *Quaestiones Quodlibetales*, X, *Op. om.*, Paris, XXIV, 1895, 442; *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 10, q. 1, *ibid.* XVII, 1894, 173, 177-178.
- 428 *de transsubstantiatione* Scotus, *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 11, qq. 1-2, *Op. om.*, Paris, XVII, 1894, 318-350. For Er.'s mature views on the Eucharist, see K.H. Oelrich, *Der späte Erasmus und die Reformation*, Münster, 1961, pp. 150-151, and John Payne, *Erasmus: his Theology of the Sacraments*, Richmond, Va., 1970, pp. 126-154.
- de modo ... locis* Godefroid de Fontaines, *Les quatre premiers quodlibets*, ed. M. de Wulf and A. Pelzer, Louvain, 1904, p. 250. Scotus, *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 10, q. 2, *Op. om.*, Paris, XVII, 1894, 190-221. François de Meyronnes, *In Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, Venice, 1520 on *Sent.* IV, dist. 11, q. 1 (f. 190^r-190^v).
- 429-430 *de differentia ... synaxeos* François de Meyronnes, *In Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, Venice, 1520, on *Sent.* IV, dist. 10, q. 2: 'vtrum in sacramento corpus Christi habeat sic perfectam quantitatem sicut in celo' (f. 188^r-188^v). *Ibid.* on *Sent.* IV, dist. 11, q. 8: 'Vtrum illa quae conueniunt corpori Christi in cruce conueniant sibi in pyxide, scilicet si fuit nudatum in pyxide sicut fuit in cruce.' Scotus touches briefly on the difference between Christ's body in the sacrament and on the cross in *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 10, q. 2, *Op. om.*, Paris, XVII, 1894, 191. On 'synaxeos' see note on p. 146, l. 398.
- 430-431 *quo puncto ... fluxu* Henri de Gand, *Quodlibeta*, III, 7, Paris, 1518; repr. Louvain, 1961, ff. 56^r-57^r: 'Vtrum conuersio substantiae panis in corpus Christi fiat subito, an successiue.' St. Bonaventure, *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 11, pars 1, art. un., q. 5, *Op. om.*, Quaracchi-Florence, IV, 1889, 248-250. For both the answer is 'subito.' Er. Ep. 2284, ll. 89-99.
- 431-432 *Scotidae* '... alludens ad Iuuenalem [II, 64-65], qui Stoicos vocauit Stoicidas ...' (L.).
- 432-433 *Iesu ... praeseruata* Cf. Epp. 1126, ll. 294-304 and 1196, ll. 51-62. In the debate about the immaculate conception, the answer to whether Mary was conceived without original sin depended to a large extent on how she could have been so preserved. The great scholastic theologians of the thirteenth century denied the doctrine, but the question was complicated by the notion of two conceptions: (1) that of the flesh engendered in the womb, and (2) the infusion of the created soul in this flesh before birth. Scotus' support of the doctrine was one important turning point in the development of the dogma. During Er.'s years at Paris the doctrine came into prominence because on 3 March 1496/97 the Sorbonne declared that all hold-

nostri theologi? Petrus accepit claves et accepit ab eo, qui non committat
 435 indigno, et tamen an intellexerit, nescio, certe nusquam attigit subtilitatem, quo-
 modo scientiae clauem habeat is quoque, qui scientiam non habeat. Baptizabant
 illi passim, et tamen nusquam docuerunt, quae sit causa formalis, materialis, effi-
 440 ciens et finalis baptismi, nec characteris delebilis et indelebilis apud hos vlla men-
 tio. Adorabant quidem illi, sed in spiritu, nihil aliud sequentes quam illud euan-
 gelicum *spiritus est deus, et eos qui adorant eum, in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare*.
 Verum haud apparet eis tum fuisse reuelatum vna eademque adoratione adorand-
 467 dam imagunculam carbone deliniatam in pariete et Christum ipsum, si modo
 duobus sit porrectis digitis, intonsa coma et in vmbone qui adhaeret occipitio,
 445 treis habeat notas. Quis enim haec percipiat nisi triginta sex annos totos in phi-
 siccis et vltamundanis Aristotelis et Scotticis contriuerit? Identidem inculcant
 apostoli gratiam, at iidem nusquam distinguunt, quid intersit inter gratiam gratis
 datam, gratiam gratificantem. Hortantur ad bona opera, nec discernunt opus

434 committat C-G: committit H.

441 fuisse reuelatum E-H: reuelatum fuisse C
D.

442 et E-H: vt C D.

445 et Scotticis G H: om. C-F.

446 apostoli E-H: om. C D.

447-448 Hortantur ... operatum G H: om. C-F.

ers of degrees must swear to support the doctrine of the immaculate conception. This decree was published on 23 August and on 17 September 1497, 112 doctors took the oath. *DTC*, VII, 1042-1064, 1074-1078, 1126. On current disputes about the immaculate conception see Richard Pace, *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur*, ed. and trans. Frank Manley and R.S. Sylvester, New York, 1967, p. 61, and *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E.F. Rogers, Princeton, 1947, No. 83, ll. 1246-1250.

435-436 *quomodo ... habeat* 'This is their firm assertion on distinction 18 of the fourth [book of the *Sententiae*]. For they say that the key of knowledge is not any actual or habitual knowledge (to use their own language) nor any discretion, but only the authority or power of discerning, which Scotus says may be possessed by someone who lacks all knowledge or discretion - although the person who collected the sentences calls the key of knowledge the knowledge needed to decide' (L.). The two keys mentioned in *Mt.* 16, 19 were discussed in connection with a priest's power to administer the sacrament of penance. They were explained by Peter Lombard as the key of passing sentence and the key of discriminating ('clavis potestatis et clavis scientiae'). Peter asserted that many priests are ignorant before and after receiv-

ing orders and that they do not receive the key of discrimination at ordination. Scotus, on the other hand, claimed that an ignorant priest may have the authority (*clavis*) to discriminate without being actually able to do it (that is, lacking the knowledge itself), so that Peter's assertion should be qualified thus: a person without knowledge may not rightly use the key of knowledge (the authority to decide) though he may have it. Scotus, *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 19, qu. un., nos. 7-8, *Op. om.*, Paris, XVIII, 1894, 610.

437-438 *causa ... baptismi* 'For they inquire about four causes for each of the sacraments' (L.). It was customary to discuss the material and formal causes (matter and form) of all the sacraments, but the efficient and final causes were not always treated systematically with the other two. On the matter and form of baptism see St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* III, q. 66, aa. 3-5 and Scotus, *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 3, q. 2. Peter Lombard has a discussion 'de causa institutionis baptismi' in *Sent.* IV, dist. 3, c. 9; this corresponds to the final cause. On the question whether the sacraments are instrumental efficient causes of a mediate disposition in the soul (whether a 'character' or an 'ornatus') or should rather be regarded as causes *sine qua non*, see *DTC*, XIV, 578-593.

- 438-439 *characteris ... mentio* 'They say that a "character" is a spiritual sign impressed by God and remaining indelibly on the soul of anyone who receives a sacrament that is not repeatable. They say that three sacraments cannot be repeated: baptism, confirmation, and holy orders. Neither scripture nor the ancient theologians say anything about these characters. But just as the astronomers made up eccentric orbits and epicycles because they were unable to give a satisfactory explanation of the variations in the movements of the heavenly bodies, so too modern theologians thought up these characters so that they could give some reason why one sacrament can be received only once while another can be received more frequently. Once these characters were accepted (for as Aristotle says [*Phys.* I, 2, 185a11, 186a9] ἐνός ἀτόπου δοθέντος τὰλλα συμβαίνει [If this one paradox is granted, all the others follow]) many questions were raised about them, such as these: whether a character is an absolute or a relative form; whether it is in the potency of the soul or its essence; whether the character is in those baptized by the spirit and by fire [see *Eccles.*, LB V, 933 D]; whether it is in Mary and Christ' (L.). St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* III, q. 63, aa. 1-6; *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 4, q. 1, aa. 1-4. William Ockham, *Quaestiones et decisiones in IV libros sententiarum ...*, Lyons, 1494-96; repr. London, 1962, on *Sent.* IV, q. 2 (sigs. R2^v-R5^r). See More, *Utopia*, p. 520.
- 440 *spiritus ... adorare Iob.* 4, 24.
- 441-442 *vna eademque... Christum ipsum* 'This is the conclusion of the theologians writing on distinction 10 [actually distinction 9] of the third book [of Lombard's *Sententiae*]: images of things to be worshipped are to be worshipped with the same kind of worship as the things signified by images, so that if the thing signified is to be worshipped with latria, the images must also be worshipped with latria; so too with dulia and hyperdulia' (L.). See note on p. 134, ll. 176-178.
- 442 *carbone* 'She alludes in jest to those little pictures drawn all over the walls by lazy, good-for-nothing loiterers. They say the pictures must be worshipped no less than Christ himself, but in fact they are not so worshipped by anyone who has the least bit of sense' (L.).
- 443 *porrectis digitis* 'She has expressed graphically the bearing and gesture with which they depict Christ. For he is drawn with his fingers stretched out as if to give a blessing or to guard himself by making the sign of the cross' (L.).
- 443-444 *in vmbone ... notas* 'For on the halo (that is, the hemicircle which surrounds his head) they draw three groups of rays, one on top and one on each side' (L.). Holbein's sketch in the copy he illustrated matches Er.'s and L.'s description of the work of these sidewalk artists (Froben's 1515 edition, ed. H.A. Schmid, Basel, 1931, sig. O4^r). As L. points out, Er. uses *vmbone* to mean 'halo, aureole.'
- 444-445 *triginta ... contriuerit* Cf. Er. *Annot.* on 1. *Tim.* 1, 6, LB VI, 928 C.
- 445 *ultramundanis* 'The word is almost a direct translation of 'metaphysics', but it is perhaps tinged by ironical solemnity (like 'otherworldly'). Cf. Ep. 1115, l. 9 and p. 110, ll. 735-736.
- 446-447 *gratiam ... gratificantem* 'Theologi super vicesima sexta distinctione libri secundi [Lombardi *Sententiarum*], varias ponunt gratiae diuisiones. Secant enim eam in incretam, et creatam, et in large acceptam, et stricte, item in largissime acceptam, et strictissime, et in gratum facientem, et gratis datam. Item in disponentem, praeuenientem, et cooperantem' (L.). Alexander of Hales, *Comm. in Sent.* II, dist. 26, nos. 1, 6c, 12, 18e, 20 (Quaracchi-Florence, II, 1952, 239-252). Dionysius Cartusianus, *Comm. in Sent.* II, dist. 26, q. 3, Tornaci, XXII, 1903, 334-336. Gabriel Biel, on *Sent.* II, dist. 26, q. 1, quoted in *Dogmata Theologica Ludouici Thomassini*, ed. P.F. Ecalle, Paris, VI, 1870, 196-197. 'Gratia gratificans' is the fundamental grace whereby a man is united to God; 'gratia gratis data' is a special gift bestowed by God on a person so that he may help in the sanctification of others - e.g. the gift of prophecy (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* I^a-II^{ae}, q. 3, aa. 1, 4).
- 447-448 *opus ... operatum* 'Opus operans' refers to the action of the minister or the disposition of the recipient of a sacrament; 'opus operatum' refers to the effect of the sacrament itself considered apart from the moral condition of the minister or recipient. Although 'ex opere operantis' later became the normal phrase (*DTC*, XI, 1084-1085, 1087) neither Er. nor the printers were in error in choosing 'opus operans,' which was the original form of the phrase. See Pierre de Poitiers (Migne *PL* CCXI, 863, 1235); Innocent III (Migne *PL* CCXVII, 844); St. Bonaventure, *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 1, pars 1, art. un., q. 5, Quaracchi-Florence, IV, 1889, 26; St. Thomas Aquinas, *Comm. in Sent.* IV, dist. 1, q. 1, a. 5, sol. 1-2.

operans et opus operatum. Passim inculcant charitatem nec secernunt infusam
 ab acquisita, nec explicant, accidens ne sit, an substantia, creata res an increata.
 450 Detestantur peccatum, at emoriar, si potuerunt scientifice definire, quid sit illud
 quod peccatum vocamus, nisi forte Scotistarum spiritu fuerunt edocti. Nec enim
 adduci possum, vt credam Paulum, e cuius vnus eruditione licet omneis aesti-
 mare, toties damnaturum fuisse quaestiones, disceptationes, genealogias, et (vt
 ipse vocat) λογομαχίας, si eas percalluisset argutias, praesertim cum omnes illius
 455 temporis contentiones pugnaeque rusticanae fuerint et crassae, si cum magi-
 storum nostrorum plusquam Chryssippeis subtilitatibus conferantur.

Quamquam homines modestissimi, si quid forte scriptum sit ab apostolis
 indolatus parumque magistraliter, non damnant quidem, sed commode inter-
 pretantur, hoc videlicet honoris partim antiquitati, partim apostolico nomini
 460 deferentes. Et hercle parum aequum erat res tantas ab illis requirere, de quibus
 ex praeceptore suo ne verbum quidem vnquam audissent. Idem si eueniat in
 Chrysostomo, Basilio, Hieronymo, tum sat habent adscribere, *non tenetur*. Et illi
 quidem confutarunt ethnicos philosophos ac Iudaeos, suapte natura pertinacis-
 simos, sed vita magis ac miraculis quam syllogismis, tum eos quorum nemo fuerit
 465 idoneus vel vnicum Scoti Quodlibetum ingenio consequi. Nunc quis ethnicus,
 LB 468 quis haeretico non continuo cedat tot tenuissimis subtilitatibus, nisi tam crassus
 vt non assequatur, aut tam impudens vt exhibilet, aut iisdem instructus laqueis vt
 iam par sit pugna, perinde quasi magum cum mago committas, aut si gladio for-
 tunato pugnet aliquis cum eo, cui gladius sit fortunatus: tum enim nihil aliud
 470 quam tela Penelopes retexeretur. Ac meo quidem iudicio saperent Christiani, si
 pro pinguibus istis militum cohortibus, per quas iam olim ancipiti Marte belli-
 gerantur, clamosissimos Scotistas et pertinacissimos Occanistas et inuictos
 Albertistas vna cum tota sophistarum manu mitterent in Turcas et Saracenos:
 spectarent, opinor, et conflictum omnium lepidissimum et victoriam non ante
 475 visam. Quis enim vsqueadeo frigidus, quem istorum non inflamment acumina?
 Quis tam stupidus, vt tales non excitent aculei? Quis tam oculatus, vt haec illi
 non maximas offundant tenebras?

Verum haec omnia videor vobis propemodum ioco dicere. Nec mirum sane,
 cum sint et inter ipsos theologos melioribus instituti literis, qui ad has friuolas,
 480 vt putant, Theologorum argutias nauseent. Sunt qui velut sacrilegii genus exe-
 crentur summamque ducant impietatem de rebus tam arcanis et adorandis magis
 quam explicandis tam illoto ore loqui, tam prophanis Ethnicorum argutiis dis-
 putare, tam arroganter definire ac diuinae Theologiae maiestatem tam frigidis,
 imo sordidis verbis simul et sententiis conspurcare.

At interim ipsi felicissime sibi placent, imo plaudunt, adeo vt his suauissimis
 485 naeniis nocte dieque occupatis ne tantulum quidem ocii supersit, vt euangelium
 LB 469 aut Paulinas epistolas vel semel liceat euoluere. Atque interim dum haec nungan-
 tur in scholis, existimant sese vniuersam ecclesiam, alioqui ruituram, non aliter
 syllogismorum fulcire tibicinibus quam Atlas coelum humeris sustinet apud Poe-
 490 tas. Iam illud quantae felicitatis esse putatis, dum arcanas literas, perinde quasi

- 454 λογομαχία (λογομαχία E)* D E: om. C F-H.
- 458 Interpretatio theologorum* C-H.
- 463 ethnicos philosophos G H: ethnicos, philosophus, C-E, ethnicos, philosophos F.
- 466 quis haereticus D-H: om. C.
- 448-449 *charitatem ... acquisita* Dionysius Carthusianus, *Comm. in Sent.* III, dist. 27, *Op. om.*, Tornaci, XXIII, 1904, 459. The schoolmen did not place much emphasis on this distinction, but they did normally discuss whether (and how) the supernatural virtue of charity infused at baptism could be increased or decreased (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* II^a-II^{ae}, q. 24, aa. 2-5).
- 449 *accidens ... increata* Alexander of Hales, *Comm. in Sent.* I, dist. 17, Quaracchi-Florence, 1951, pp. 179-180. Pietro de Falco, *Questions disputées ordinaires*, q. IX, a. 3, ed. A.-J. Gondras, Louvain and Paris, II, 1968, 355-356.
- 453 *quaestiones* 1. *Tim.* 1, 4; 1. *Tim.* 6,4 (see Er.'s note, LB VI, 943 F); 2. *Tim.* 2, 23; *Tit.* 3, 9. *disceptationes Rom.* 14, 1; 1. *Tim.* 2, 8. *genealogias* 1. *Tim.* 1, 4; *Tit.* 3, 9.
- 454 λογομαχίας '1. *Tim.* 6, 4 ...' (L.). See Er.'s note, LB VI, 943 F. Er. recommends λογομαχία as a suitable variant of 'contentio verborum' in *De cop. verb.* I, 11, LB I, 12c.
- 456 *Chrysippeis subtilitatibus* L. quotes and translates two of Chrysippus' arguments [from Diog. Laert. VII, 7, 186].
- 458 *indolatus* This rather rare word, used by Arnobius and Jerome, means 'unhewn, rough' (*TbLL.* s.v.). There seems to be no precedent for Er.'s figurative use of the word.
- 462 *Chrysostomo ... Hieronymo* Like St. Basil (329-379, Bishop of Caesarea), St. John Chrysostom (345?-407, Patriarch of Constantinople) was a father of the Greek church. St. Jerome (340?-420) was Er.'s favorite among the Latin fathers of the church. The works of all three were edited by Er.
- 465 *Quodlibetum* To the schoolmen, this was a question (or a series of questions), often somewhat subtle or unusual, posed and discussed at an official public disputation, outside the context of a regular summa or commentary on Lombard's *Sentences*. The *Quaestiones Quodlibetales* are among Scotus' later works.
- 465-468 *Nunc ... pugna* 'Using the technique of induction, she argues that this sophistical theology would be of no use in confuting heretics. For the heretics would either not understand their subtleties, or understand
- 468 mago C-F H: magno G.
- 480 nauseant G H: nauseant C-F.
- 485-486 At ... naeniis C-H: At ipsi felicissime sibi placent, adeo vt his naeniis A B.
- 488-489 aliter ... sustinet C-H: aliter fulcire humeris, quam Atlas coelum sustinet A B.
- them but scorn them, or understand them better than the theologians themselves' (L.). On induction as a rhetorical argument see Er. *Eccles.*, LB V, 927 AB, 942 E. But Folly's argument seems closer to 'diuisio,' an argument which makes a point by affirming or denying all possible alternatives (*ibid.*, 936 B).
- 468-469 *gladio ... fortunatus* Cf. Er. *Mod. orandi Deum*, ASD V, 1, p. 156, l. 196.
- 470 *tela Penelopes* '... Hom. *Il.* [error for *Od.* II, 104-105] ...' (L.). *Adag.* 342 (LB II, 168 B). Otto No. 1379.
- 471 *ancipiti Marte* *Adag.* 3649 (LB II, 1108 C).
- 472-473 *Scotistas ... Albertistas* See the notes on p. 148, l. 418.
- 473 *sophistarum* See p. 142, l. 354 and note on p. 72, ll. 24-25.
- 475-477 *Quis enim ... tenebras* 'Totus hic locus εἰρωνικῶς accipiendus' (L.).
- 482 *illoto ore* L. mentions the parallel with the proverb discussed in *Adag.* 855 (LB II, 354 C).
- 486-487 *euangelium ... epistolas* 'From this place it is clear that the reproaches are directed not against learned and pious theologians but rather against those who spend their whole lives in such trivial questions, while the most important thing for a theologian is to have absorbed the sources and meditated night and day on the law of the Lord, so that continual application may make it almost second nature, so that he understands it not only in a human manner but is also affected and carried away by it. No one truly understands Christ unless he is drawn by Christ. How far from understanding, then, are they who have left piety in favor of worthless sophistry so that they neither know nor read anything at all. I have known very many theologians, doctors (as they are called), who have privately admitted to me that in fifty years they have still not read through the epistles of Paul. Whenever such men undertake to interpret scripture, good lord, how stilted it all is, how repellent, how unworthy of Christ!' (L.). Cf. Ep. 337, ll. 392-395.
- 489-490 *Atlas ... Poetas* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 247. Ov. *Met.* IV, 661-662.
- 490-491 *quasi cereae sint* Cf. the proverb 'lex ... cereum habet nasum' (*Mittelateinisches Wör-*

cereae sint, pro libidine formant ac reformant; dum conclusiones suas, quibus iam aliquot scholastici subscripserunt, plusquam Solonis leges videri postulant et vel pontificiis decretis antependendas; dumque veluti censores orbis ad palinodiam trahunt, si quid vsquam cum explicitis et implicitis illorum conclusionibus
 495 non ad amussim quadrarit ac non secus atque ex oraculo pronunciant: *haec propositio scandalosa est, haec parum reuerentialis, haec haeresim olet, haec male tinnit*, vt iam nec baptismus nec euangelium nec Paulus aut Petrus nec sanctus Hieronymus aut Augustinus, imo nec ipse Thomas ἀριστοτελικώτατος Christianum efficiat, nisi baccalauriorum calculus accesserit; tanta est in iudicando subtilitas. Quis
 500 enim sensurus erat eum Christianum non esse, qui diceret has duas orationes, *matula putes et matula putet*, item *ollae féruere et ollam féruère*, pariter esse congruas,

493–504 dumque ... agunt C–H: om. A B.

497 nec baptismus E–H: baptismus C D.

498 Christianum E–H: Christianos C D.

499 accesserit C–FH: accerserit G.

501 féruere ... feruère G H: feruere ... feruere C–F.

terbuch, Munich, 1968–70, II, 480). *Adag.* 2133 (LB II, 754 C). The phrase ‘nasus cereus,’ in connection with Scripture, had been used at least twice before Erasmus (in the twelfth century and in the fifteenth); it became especially popular in sixteenth-century controversy about the interpretation of Scripture (H.C. Porter, *The Nose of Wax: Scripture and the Spirit from Erasmus to Milton*, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser., 14, 1964, pp. 155–156).

491 *formant ac reformant* ‘She indicates those who do not conform their ideas to the thinking of Scripture but wrest Scripture to their own thinking – which they call ‘fundare’ [that is, ‘grounding’ their claim on Scripture] – as, for example, when they misapply the two swords of Peter to the double power [of the church], though the clear meaning of this passage is that Christians ought not to fight’ (L.). Among classical and medieval dictionaries, only Latham gives a meaning of ‘fundare’ that is close to what is required here: ‘to establish facts.’ See note on p. 178, l. 906. The *Glossa Ordinaria* (Migne PL, CXIV, 340) interprets the two swords mentioned in *Lc.* 22, 38 as the Old and New Testaments, as does St. Ambrose (cited by Er. in *Annot. in Lc.* 22, 36, LB VI, 319 B). At p. 184, ll. 28–36 below, Er. ridicules Nicolas de Lyra for interpreting the sword mentioned by Christ (*Lc.* 22, 36) as military power. In *Rat. ver. theol.*, LB V, 129 AB, Er. remarks that St. Bernard, a great man whose mind was truly saturated with Scripture, was guilty of twisting it and that, though St. Jerome protests against such distortion in Origen, many fathers (includ-

ing Jerome) wrested Scripture, especially in polemics.

492 *Solonis leges* See note on p. 72, l. 28.

493 *pontificiis decretis* The second part of *Corpus Iuris Canonici* consists of papal decretals issued by Gregory IX and Boniface VIII and of other regulations by Popes Clement V and John XXII.

censores L. summarizes the wide-ranging authority of the Roman Censors. In the second and third centuries B.C., these officials could strike the names of offenders against morality from the list of senators or knights (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford, 1949, p. 178).

493–494 *palinodiam* L. quotes and translates part of Plat. *Phaedr.* [243 AB]. See note on p. 146, l. 384.

494 *explicitis et implicitis* See note on p. 146, l. 391.

495 *ad amussim* See first note on p. 106, l. 642.

496 *scandalosa* ‘She makes a special effort to imitate their barbarous language. For the Greeks use σκάνδαλον to mean διαστροφή, that is, “a crippling.” “Scandalum” is used as if it were from σκάζον, τοῦτ’ ἔστι χάλανον περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, that is, “limping with respect to the truth.” “Scandalosus” is ineptly derived from “scandalum” (L.). In the classical and medieval dictionaries only ‘scandaloſe’ appears; five instances from the two centuries preceding *Moria* are given by Du Cange and Latham. See *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, Stuttgart, 1933–1973, VII, 338–358.

haec haeresim olet ‘Sic enim ipsi dicunt, haec

- propositio sapit haecresim, data autem opera, mutauit sapit in olet. Indicat autem hoc loco reuocationes et condemnationes frigidas, quae habentur in articulis illis erroneis, vt ipsi dicunt, Parisiis et in Anglia condemnatis' (L.). Cf. Er. *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1286 D: 'haeresim manifestam sapit.'
- haec male tinnit* 'Sic enim frequenter dicunt, haec propositio male sonat, quod iocose vertit tinnit' (L.).
- 498 *Thomas ἀριστοτελικώτατος* Casting the epithet in Greek gives it an ironic edge, since Aquinas knew Aristotle only in Latin. Er. (unlike Colet) expressed considerable respect for St. Thomas Aquinas, in spite of his commanding position among scholastic theologians (Lp. 1211, ll. 429–441; *Annot. in Rom.* 1, 4, LB VI, 554 E; *Apolog. c. Iac. Latomi dialog.*, LB IX, 103 B). On Er.'s use of Aquinas in his notes on the New Testament, see J.B. Payne, *Erasmus: Interpreter of Romans*, in *Sixteenth-century Essays and Studies*, ed. C. Mayer, II, 1971, 8.
- 499 *baccalauriorum calculus* 'Nam in articulis illis baccalauriorum autoritate et iudicio condemnantur propositiones aliquot Thomae, quas, nescio quis fraterculus, cum tanquam veras docuisset, coactus fuit a baccalauriis reuocare' (L.).
- 501 *matula ...putet* 'This is her variation of what they say: "Socrates curris" and "Socrates currit." The two statements were said by some friar or other to be equally "perfect" [complete] and "congruent" [grammatically correct], as they say, whereupon they were condemned by the bachelors of Oxford' (L.). Defending *Moria* in his letter to Martin Dorp, St. Thomas More attacked the logic (a sort of metaphysical grammar) of Peter of Spain (Pope John XXI, died 1277), the enormously influential *Parua Logicalia* or *Summulae Logicales* (*The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E.F. Rogers, Princeton, 1947, pp. 38–40). More insists that there is really no such difference as that which the logicians assert exists between two such statements as 'Papam verberau' and 'Verberau Papam' (ll. 382–385). L. wrote a commentary on the *Parua Logicalia* published in Zwolle about 1520 and again about two years later: *Commentarioli in dialecticam Petri Hispani* (NK 1375 and 4159). See *The Summulae Logicales of Peter of Spain*, ed. J. P. Mullally, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1945, p. 149). But the example given by L. seems even more closely related to a kind of grammar (highly infiltrated by logic) which was strongly influenced by Peter of

Spain (Mullally, pp. lxxxiii–xcviii) and which reached its classic formulation in the *Grammatica Speculatiua* of Thomas of Erfurt (formerly attributed to Scotus and still most readily available in Scotus *Op. om.*, Paris, I, 1891, 1–50). Er.'s and L.'s 'congruas' (roughly, grammatically correct) and L.'s 'perfectas' (complete) are technical terms from the modist grammar (*Grammatica Speculatiua*, pp. 47–50). There we are told that the statement 'si Socrates currit' is imperfect because it is a dependent clause which requires a main clause to complete it (to translate the technical language into more ordinary grammatical terms). Johannes Aurifaber, a fourteenth-century modist grammarian, begins a long 'determinatio' thus: "Nominatiuo hic magister" est oratio congrua et perfecta. Hoc probatur sic: hic nulla est disproportion nec defectus. Ergo etc. Improbatur, quod est eclipctica; ergo non est congrua nec perfecta' (J. Pinborg, *Die Entwicklung der Sprachtheorie im Mittelalter*, Münster and Copenhagen, 1967, p. 215). For an explanation of the terms 'congruitas' and 'perfectio' see G.L. Bursill-Hall, *Speculative Grammars of the Middle Ages*, The Hague, 1971, pp. 307–309. 'Socrates currit,' mentioned by L. and wittily altered by Folly to 'matula putet,' was a frequent illustration among the modists (Pinborg, pp. 75–77). 'Matula putet' might seem more 'congruous' than 'matula putes' because in the latter statement a noun (which would ordinarily be third-person) is used either vocatively (leaving the verb without an expressed subject) or as the subject of a second-person verb. The modist grammar, undermined by nominalist attacks, received its *coup de grâce* at the hands of the humanists (Pinborg, pp. 202–212). Cf. *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, p. 77, ll. 3–5. *ollae ...feruere* If we may trust the stress marks in G and H, the two statements rely on the alternative verb-forms mentioned by Quintil. (I, 6, 8–9): ferueo (feruere, ferbui) and feruo (feruere, ferui). 'Feruere' should probably be taken as an historical infinitive used in place of the finite form 'feruunt'; 'feruere,' as the infinitive of 'ferueo.' The proposition 'ollae feruere' is more 'perfect' (complete) than 'ollam feruere' because an accusative-with-infinitive construction, though it has a subject and verb, was considered unfinished (Thomas of Erfurt, *Grammatica Speculatiua*, in *Scoti Op. om.*, Paris, I, 1891, p. 49, no. 8). Yet 'ollam feruere' might be considered more 'congruous' (grammatically correct) than 'ollae feruere' because the latter statement

nisi sapientes illi docuissent? Quis tantis errorum tenebris liberasset ecclesiam, quos ne lecturus quidem vnquam quisquam fuerat, nisi magnis sigillis isti prodidissent? Verum an non felicissimi dum haec agunt? Praeterea dum inferorum
 505 res omnes sic ex amussim depingunt, tanquam in ea republica complureis annos sint versati? Praeterea dum pro arbitrio nouos orbes fabricantur, addito denique latissimo illo pulcherrimoque, ne scilicet deesset vbi felices animae commode vel spatari vel conuiuium agitare vel etiam pila ludere possent. His atque id genus bis mille nugis horum capita adeo distenta differtaque sunt, vt arbitrer nec Iouis
 L.B. 470 cerebrum aequae grauidum fuisse, cum ille Palladem | parturiens Vulcani securim
 511 imploraret. Quare nolite mirari, si videtis caput illorum tot fasciis tam diligenter obinctum in publicis disputationibus, alioquin enim plane dissilirent.

Illud ipsa quoque nonnunquam ridere soleo, cum ita demum maxime sibi videntur theologi, si quammaxime barbaramente spurceque loquantur, cumque adeo
 515 balbutiunt vt a nemine nisi balbo possint intelligi, acumen appellant quod vulgus non assequatur. Negant enim e dignitate sacrarum literarum esse, si grammaticorum legibus parere cogantur. Mira vero maiestas theologorum, si solis illis fas est mendose loqui, quanquam hoc ipsum habent cum multis cerdonibus commune. Postremo iam diis proximos sese ducunt, quoties quasi religiose *magistri*
 520 *nostri* salutantur, in quo quidem nomine tale quiddam subesse putant, quale est apud Iudaeos τετραγράμματον. Itaque nefas aiunt esse *MAGISTER NOSTER* secus quam maiusculis scribere literis. Quod si quis praepostere *Noster magister* dixerit, is semel omnem theologicum nominis peruerterit maiestatem.

Ad horum felicitatem proxime accedunt ii, qui se vulgo religiosos ac monachos appellant, vtroque falsissimo cognomine, cum et bona pars istorum longissime absit a religione, et nulli magis omnibus locis sint obuii. Iis non video quid possit esse miserius, nisi ego multis modis succurrerem. Etenim cum hoc hominum genus omnes sic execrentur, vt fortuitum etiam occursum ominosum esse
 525

503 quidem E-H: quidam C D.

511 Solennis cultus theologorum* C-H: om. A B.

512 Barbaries theologorum* C D F-H: om. A B E.

519-520 Magistri nostri* C-H: om. A B.

521 *MAGISTER NOSTER* E-H: Magister noster A-D.

524 Monachi* C-H: om. A B.

525 et E-H: om. A-D.

526 Iis A C D F-H: Is B E.

substitutes an infinitive for a finite verb form. 'Olla male feruet' is a proverbial expression meaning 'the affair is going badly' (Petron. 38, 13 and Walther 81a). Cf. also *Adag.* 323 (LB II, 190 D): 'Feruet olla, viuunt amicitia' (applied to superficial friendship). Otto No. 1286.

503-504 *magnis* ... *prodidissent* 'For it is their usual practise to affix, at the end of the list of condemned propositions, the great seal of the university as a sign of authenticity' (L.).

504-505 *inferorum res* 'Let no one think that hell is being laughed at here; rather, the ridicule is directed against the fables which some persons tell among the common people as if they were true and certain' (L.).

505 *ex amussim* See first note on p. 106, l. 642.

506-507 *nouos* ... *pulcherrimoque* 'The ancients attributed seven individual spheres to the planets. To these they added an eighth for the fixed stars. Then, observing that the eighth sphere had two different motions and

- having learned from Aristotle that each sphere cannot have more than one natural motion, they were forced to conclude that the second motion of the eighth sphere was violent (not natural). But a higher sphere cannot be violently moved by a lower. Hence they were driven to the hypothesis of a ninth sphere, called the primum mobile. To these the theologians added a tenth sphere, which they call the empyreum, just as if the saints could not be happy unless they had their own heaven. But the heretic Basilides manufactured 365 heavens, according to Augustine [*De haeresibus* IV, CCSL XLVI, 291] (L.). See *Dictionnaire d'archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, I, 1924, 131–132; and Gregor Maurach, *Coelum Emphyreum: Versuch einer Begriffsgeschichte*, Wiesbaden, 1968, pp. 84–94.
- 507–508 *ne scilicet ... possent* Godefroid de Fontaines discusses the question of extension in the heavenly mansions (*Quodlibeta*, XV, 5, ed. J. Hoffmans, Louvain, XIV, 1937, 34).
- 509–510 *Iouis cerebrum* L. tells the story of Athena's birth from Jupiter's brain, referring to Lucian. [*Deor. dial.* 8]. In this context Folly may allude ironically to the fact that, partly because of her birth, Athena was allegorized as wisdom (Fulg. *Myth.* II, 1, 68 and Isid. *Ety-mol.* VIII, 71–73, Migne PL LXXXII, col. 321–322). For the idea, widespread in Er.'s time, that folly or madness was caused by the pressure of a 'stone of folly' on the brain, see Hyacinthe Brabant, *Les traitements burlesques de la folie aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, in *Folie et déraison à la Renaissance*, Brussels, 1976, pp. 75–95.
- 511 *caput illorum* Sen. (*Epist.* 21, 5) uses 'caput' with a plural meaning. But Folly uses 'horum capita' in the preceding sentence.
- 511–512 *tot fasciis ... obuinctum* 'We see this most of all among the Parisian doctors, whose heads are so swathed in winding bands that they can hardly turn around ...' (L.). The ordinary headgear of a doctor of divinity (or its equivalent, master of theology) was some form of the *pileus*, a close-fitting cap which often covered the ears (S. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academic Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 40–42, 65–66, 150). Such a cap was a sign of status strictly forbidden to mere bachelors or licentiates of theology (*ibid.*, pp. 156, 179–180). Pierre Mesnard suggests an ironical allusion to another, less common meaning of 'fascia': a regal diadem (Sen. *Epist.* 80, 10; Curt. III, 3, 19; Suet. *Caes.* 79; Val. Max. VI, 2, 7). 'Fasciolum,' a head-covering like a turban, is associated by some medieval writers with Persians and Turks (Du Cange).
- 512 *obuinctum* 'obuincire' does not appear in the classical and medieval dictionaries, but it is a perfectly regular formation, analogous to 'obligare.'
- 513–514 *maxime ... loquantur* 'If it seems ridiculous and foolish to Folly herself, it must be very foolish indeed. What she says is true of many of them, who think that nothing is learned or penetrating unless it is couched in barbaric and debased language. Choice writing they scorn as produced by merely grammatical study. Simplicity of speech clearly befits a theologian, but certainly not sloppiness, which does not present the truth bare, as they claim, but rather muddled and defiled' (L.).
- 517–518 *Mira ... loqui* Cf. Ep. 183, ll. 137–140.
- 519–520 *magistri nostri* Cf. Er. *Enchir.*, LB V, 49 A. In a dialogue sequel (1519?) to *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (see Introduction, p. 51 and p. 146, n.l. 399) Er. asks Reuchlin how he should address three conservative theologians. Reuchlin replies: 'Volunt in primis se magistros nostros appellari.' Er: 'Id ego, si non dixerō?' Reuchlin: 'Irascentur, et colloquio suo indignum te iudicabunt' (sig. B3^v).
- 521 τετραγράμματος L. summarizes Hier. *Epist.* 25, ad Marcellam, Migne PL XXII, col. 428–429, giving the ten biblical names of God in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He notes that the ninth name, the tetragrammaton, consisted of an unpronounceable combination of four consonants with no vowels: '... by this mystery the letters suggest that God's essence is in every way ineffable.' Cf. Er. *Eccles.*, LB V, 1088 C. The artificial name 'Jehovah' was formed from the tetragrammaton, which is now thought to have been pronounced 'Yahweh' (H. Haag, *Bibel-Lexikon*, 2nd ed., Einsiedeln, 1968, pp. 796, 808, 1735).
- 524–525 *religiosos ac monachos* 'Nam monachus Graece dicitur solitarius, et religio nihil aliud est quam pietas et dei cultus, quod est omnium Christianorum. Loquitur autem de malis, quae maxima turba est, et hoc cognomine indignis' (L.). Folly's indictment of the monks is defended by Er. in *Apolog. c. Lop. Stunic.*, LB IX, 366 E–368 B.
- 526 *nulli ... obuui* Walther 4659 and 13044a.
- 528 *execrentur* 'De vulgo loquitur. Et nimium verum est quod dicit. Quin ipse diuus Hieronymus testatur, Romae quoque monachi nomen inuisissimum fuisse [*Epist.* 39, ad

persuasum sit, tamen ipsi sibi magnifice blandiuntur. Primum summam existi-
 530 mant pietatem, si vsqueadeo nihil attigerint literarum, vt ne legere quidem pos-
 sint. Deinde cum psalmos suos, numeratos quidem illos at non intellectos, asi-
 ninis vocibus in templis derudunt, tum vero se putant diuorum aures multa vo-
 luptate demulcere. Et sunt ex his nonnulli, qui sordes ac mendicitatem magno
 535 vendunt proque foribus magno mugitu panem efflagitant, imo in nullis diuer-
 soriis, vehiculis, nauibus non obturbant, non mediocri profecto reliquorum
 mendicorum iactura. Atque ad eum modum homines suauissimi, sordibus, insci-
 tia, rusticitate, impudentia, apostolos, vt aiunt, nobis referunt.

LB 472 Quid autem iucundius quam quod omnia faciunt ex praescripto, quasi mathe-
 maticis vtentes rationibus, quas praeterire piaculum sit. Quot nodos habeat cal-
 540 ceus, quo colore singula vestis, quot discriminibus varieganda, qua materia quot-
 que culmis latum cingulum, qua specie et quot modiorum capax cuculla, quot
 digitis latum capillitium, quot dormiendum horas. Atque haec quidem aequalitas
 in tanta corporum et ingeniorum varietate quam sit inaequalis, quis non perspi-
 cit? Et tamen his nugis non alios modo prae se nauci faciunt, verum inuicem alii
 545 alios contemnunt atque homines apostolicam charitatem professi ob aliter cinc-
 tam vestem, ob colorem paulo fusciorum omnia miris tragoediis miscent. Ex his
 videas quosdam adeo rigide religiosos, vt summa veste non nisi Cilicina vtantur,
 intima Milesia, alios contra, qui superne linei sint, intime lanei. Rursum alios qui
 pecuniae contactum ceu aconitum horreant, nec a vino interim nec a mulierum
 550 contactu temperantes. Denique mirum omnibus studium, ne quid in ratione
 vitae conueniat. Nec illud studio est, vt Christo similes sint, sed vt inter se dis-
 similes.

LB 473 Porro magna felicitatis pars est in cognomentis, dum hi funigeros appellari se
 gaudent et inter hos alii Coletas, alii minores, alii mini|mos, alii bullistas. Rursum
 555 hi Benedictinos, illi Bernardinos: hi Brigidenses, illi Augustinenses: hi Guilhel-
 mitas, illi Iacobitas, quasi vero parum sit dici Christianos. Horum magna pars

532 derudunt *A-H*: derudiunt *A* (*in erratis*).

533 his *F-H*: iis *A-E*; Mendicantes* *C-H*: *om. A B*.

534-535 imo ... obturbant *C-H*: *om. A B*.

538 Descriptio monachorum* *C-H*: *om. A B*;
 quod *C-H*: cum *A B*.

540 singula vestis, quot *A-E*: cingula vestis,
 quot *F*, cingula, vestis quot *G*, singula, vestis
 quot *H*.

541 cuculla *G H*: cucullus *A-F*.

542 quot *A C E-H*: quod *B D*; horas *B-H*:
 horis *A*.

544 Dissensio monachorum* *C-H*: *om. A B*.

546 ob ... fusciorum *C-H*: *om. A B*.

548 superne *C-H*: supreme *A B*.

550 in *A B E-H*: *om. C D*.

551-552 Nec illud ... dissimiles *C-H*: *om. A B*.

553 Cognomina monachorum* *C-H*: *om. A B*.

554-556 et inter ... Christianos *C-H*: illi Bene-
 dictinos, alii Bernardinos, quasi parum sit
 esse Christianos *A B*.

556-578 Horum magna ... beneficio *C-H*: *om. A B*.

Paulum, Migne *PL* XX, col. 472 and *Epist.*
 127, Marcellae epitaphium, *ibid.*, col. 1089]:
 quanquam ea tempestate nihil aliud erant
 monachi, quam vere et simpliciter Christiani,
 ... in libertate spiritus deo seruientes' (L.).

fortuitum ... ominosum Walther 6769. Cervan-
 tes alludes to the same superstition in *Don*
Quijote, part II, chap. 58.

530 *nihil ... literarum* 'Monks were once laymen,
 like the Benedictines and the companions of

- Francis. Hence there are some who think it irreligious to be literate, especially to be versed in good literature. They will not accept learned men, and if some should happen to be admitted, they gladly expel them, since they themselves are more truly bellies than men' (L.).
- 531 *psalmos suos* 'Notice, reader, divine worship is not ridiculed here, but rather those monks (and that includes the most of them) who make no effort to understand what they chant and fill the church with horrible shouting, as if such outcries were pleasing to the saints. The value of prayers is determined not by their number but by the mental engagement with which they are said' (L.). Er. defended this passage in *Apolog. c. Lop. Stunic.*, LB IX, 367 A: 'Fortasse apud Hispanos Monachi Psalmos Angelicis vocibus modulantur omnes, apud nos pene solenne est, praesertim apud *Minoritas* et *Carmelitas*, vt voces suas miro impetu promant e pectore, quasi robur ac latera certatim ostentantes, tauros dicas verius quam homines. Certe quisque chorus fere admixtum habet aliquem immani voce, quam praeter naturam sic efflat e pectore, vt nullam vocalem sonare possit, praeter Asininam illam o, facitque vt nec ipse, nec quisquam e toto choro intelligatur canens.'
- 532 *derudunt* The classical and medieval dictionaries give only 'rudo,' not 'derudo.' Er. either coins a word or mockingly employs a barbarism (see notes on p. 156, l. 496 and p. 158, ll. 513-514).
- 534 *vendunt* 'Vendunt dixit, pro ostentant. Ita Politianus: Vultuque tristes, vendunt sanctimonias. Simulant enim nonnulli sordes, vt plus accipiant a mulierculis' (L.). *magno mugitu* 'Pudet me, quoties id video, et tamen videmus: imo irrumpunt in diuersoria publica, obstrepunt in mediis conuiujs, nihil pudet sacerdotes. Paulus manibus laborauit, Christus vsus est liberalitate amicorum. Ego putarim magis conuenire, vt istis, si boni sint, alia ratione prouideretur. [1532] Et tamen Moria non damnat verecundam mendicitatem, sed improbam et clamosam, quae monachis foedissima est' (L.).
- 539-540 *calceus* See Ph. Oppenheim, *Das Mönchskleid im christlichen Altertum*, Freiburg iB., 1931, p. 205.
- 546 *omnia ... miscent* See note on p. 94, ll. 423-424.
- 547-548 *summa ... Milesia* 'This is the practice of the Cluniac monks, who had been corrupted by wealth even in the time of Bernard, as is clear from his letters. ... Hor. *Epist.* [1, 17, 30-31]' (L.). Cf. *Adag.* 308 (LB II, 154 D) and Verg. *Georg.*, III, 306-307. On 'Cilicina' see Hier. *Vit. Hilarionis*, 10, 44, Migne PL, XXIII, col. 32, 52.
- 548 *linei ... lanei* In *Colloquium Senile*, ASD I, 3, p. 383, l. 289, Er. applies the same doublet to an order of canons.
- 549 *pecuniae contactum* Quoting the rule of St. Francis, L. argues that it does not forbid the touching of money but the personal control and use of it.
- 553 *funigeros* A name for Franciscans, derived (like the French 'cordelière') from the rope worn by friars as a cincture.
- 554 *Coletas* A reformed branch of the Franciscans (usually 'Coletani'), begun by St. Colette (1381-1447) and dissolved by Leo X in 1517. *minores* The formal title of the Franciscans is 'fratres minores.' *minimos* An order based on the Franciscan rule, founded by St. Francis of Paula in the fifteenth century. *bullistas* A branch of the Franciscans which based its claim to separate chapters on a papal bull (*Dictionnaire Encyclopédie Quillet*, ed. R. Mortier, Paris, I, 1946, 625).
- 555 *Bernardinos* A name sometimes applied to the Cistercians in honor of one of the order's earliest and most illustrious saints, Bernard of Clairvaux (*Catholicisme*, ed. G. Jacquemet, Paris, I, 1948, 1489-1490). *Brigidenses* The Brigittines, an order for women and men founded by St. Bridget of Sweden in the fourteenth century. Although St. Brigit of Ireland (5th century) founded monasteries, there was no order that went by her name in Er.'s time. *Augustinenses* Hermits of St. Augustine, a mendicant order which had its beginnings in the eleventh century but was formally established by Alexander IV in 1256 (*Catholicisme*, ed. G. Jacquemet, Paris, I, 1948, 1048).
- 555-556 *Guilbelmitas* The Williamites, founded in the twelfth century by St. William of Maleval.
- 556 *Iacobitas* A name often applied to the Dominicans in France because the prominent house of the order in Paris was established in a hospice and chapel dedicated to St. James (*Catholicisme*, ed. G. Jacquemet, Paris, VI, 1967, 242-243). *dici Christianos* L. quotes 1. *Cor.* 1, 10, translates it, and applies it to the quarrels among the religious orders. *Horum magna pars* [1532] 'Audi calumniator, qui dicit magna pars, non damnat vniuersos ordines' (L.).

intantum suis nititur ceremoniis et hominum traditiunculis, vt putet vnum coelum parum dignum esse tantis meritis praemium, haud cogitantes futurum, vt Christus contemptis his omnibus suum illud sit exacturus praeceptum, nempe
 560 charitatis. Alius ostentabit aqualiculum omni piscium genere distentum. Alius psalmodum centum effundet modios. Alius ieiuniorum myriadas annumerabit et toties vnico prandio pene disruptam imputabit aluum. Alius tantum ceremoniarum aceruum proferet, quantum vix septem onerariis nauibus vehi possit. Alius gloriabitur sexaginta annos nunquam attactam pecuniam, nisi digitis duplici chirotheca munitis. Alius cucullam ingeret, adeo sordidam et crassam vt nullus nauta suo dignetur corpore. Commemorabit alius se plusquam vndecim lustris spongiae vitam egisse, semper eidem affixum loco. Alius raucam assiduo cantu
 LB 474 vocem adducet, alius lethargum solitudine contractum, alius linguam iugi silentio torpentem. At Christus, interpellatis nunquam alioqui finiendis gloriis, vnde
 570 nam hoc, inquiet, nouum Iudaeorum genus? Vnicam ego legem vere meam agnosco, de qua sola nihil audio. Et olim palam nulloque parabolarum vtens inuolucro, paternam haereditatem pollicitus sum, non cucullis, preculis aut inediis, sed fidei et charitatis officiis. Nec eos agnosco, qui sua facta nimis agnoscunt; isti qui me quoque sanctiores videri volunt, Abraxasiorum coelos, si libet,
 575 occupent, aut ab his sibi nouum extrui coelum iubeant, quorum traditiunculas meis praeceptis anteposuerunt. Cum haec audient et videbunt nautas et aurigas sibi praeferrari, quibus putatis vultibus sese mutuo contuebuntur?

Sed interim spe sua felices sunt, non absque meo beneficio. Atque hos quidem, quanquam a republica semotos, nemo tamen audet contemnere, praecipue mendicantes, propterea quod omnia omnium arcana teneant ex confessionibus quas
 580 vocant. Quae tamen prodere nefas habent, nisi si quando poti fabulis amoenioribus delectare se volunt, sed coniecturis modo rem indicant, tacitis interim nominibus. Quod si quis hos crabrones irritarit, tum in popularibus concionibus probe vliscuntur sese et obliquis dictis hostem notant, adeo tecte vt nemo non
 LB 475 intelligat nisi qui nihil intelligit. Nec prius oblatrandi finem faciunt quam in offam obieceris.
 585

Age vero quem tu mihi comoedum, quem circulatorem spectare malis, quam istos in concionibus suis rhetoricantes, omnino ridicule, sed tamen suauissime imitantes ea quae rhetores de dicendi ratione tradiderunt? Deum immortalem,
 590 vt gesticulantur, vt apte commutant vocem, vt cantillant, vt iactant sese, vt subinde alios atque alios vultus induunt, vt omnia clamoribus miscent. Atque hanc orandi artem ceu rem arcanam fraterculus fraterculo per manus tradit. Eam tametsi mihi non est fas scire, tamen vtcunque coniecturis sequar.

569 Palinodia* E: om. C D F-H.

573 fidei et H: om. C-G.

577 putatis E-H: om. C D.

578 Atque hos quidem C-H: Hos A B.

582 modo E-H: om. A-D.

584 hostem C-H: om. A B.

588 rhetoricantes C-H: rhetoricantes et A B.

590 vt cantillant B-H: cantillant A.

- 559-560 *exacturus ... charitatis* L. quotes *Iob.* 15, 12 and translates it.
- 560 *aqualiculum* 'A diminutive of "aqualus" [better, "aqualis"] with the meaning "belly." Pers. I, [57] ... He calls it "bloated" because these friars eat mostly fish, which, since it is colder than meat, generates more fat (which physicians say consists of congealed pituite). Also he called it "bloated" so that he would not seem to condemn them simply because they abstain from meat - though even of that Paul doesn't have a very high opinion - but because they gorge themselves with great quantities of various kinds of fish, so that they are fit for nothing but sleeping' (L.). 'Aqualiculus' is a favorite word of St. Jerome (*ThL.L.*, II, 365/84-366/4).
- 561 *ieiuniorum myriadas* '... even here he did not condemn fasts as such, but only fasts counted and numbered, and even during those fasts they devour so much at one meal that neither their bodies nor their minds can accomplish anything ...' (L.).
- 564-565 *glorabitur ... munitis* Er. Ep. 2700, ll. 70-71.
- 567 *spongiae ... egisse* '... We showed above, from the opinion of Aristotle and Pliny, that a sponge is a living creature ...' (L.). See note on p. 112, l. 778.
eidem affixum loco Er. refers to the 'stabilitas loci' introduced into Western monasticism by the rule of St. Benedict. A fourth vow of stability was added to those of poverty, chastity, and obedience (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1911, X, 473).
- 568 *adducet* The meaning given in *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, Munich, 1959, s.v. II E, '(in medium) proferre, promere, vorbringen, anführen,' is closer to what is required here than the nearest meaning in *ThL.L.* (s.v. II A).
lethargum 'A lethargy is a tumor in the posterior ventricle of the brain, which causes sleepiness, forgetfulness, and sluggish movement. It springs from very fatty pituitary fluid, mostly in persons who eat a lot (especially fish) and get little exercise, and at the same time live in solitude and leisure - like these friars who have condemned themselves to perpetual imprisonment' (L.).
- 568-569 *linguam ... torpentem* 'For they have certain fixed periods of silence. These friars are especially subject to diseases caused by cold humors, such as apoplexy, paralysis, twisting cramps, lethargy, and spasms. Hence I have seen many of them who could not move their tongue (which is above all moist
- because it was disabled by paralysis' (L.).
- 570 *nouum Iudaeorum genus* 'For just as the Jews boasted of circumcision, fasting, keeping the sabbath, and other ceremonies such as these, just as Paul often reproaches them for lacking the spirit, so too some Christians place more trust in ceremonies, which are in themselves useless, than they do in the spirit (of which they have never felt the least spark). Since these people are no different from the Jews, Folly is hardly foolish in calling them a new race of Jews' (L.).
- 572 *preculis* This word could mean not merely 'little prayers' but specifically rosary beads. See Latham, pp. 331, 364 and also Du Cange. Er. calls rosary beads *sphaerulae precatioriae* and *rosariola* (*Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 535, l. 1473 and p. 686, l. 6). In *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 470, ll. 12-13 they are called *oua serpentum* because the eggs of serpents clinging together resemble a string of beads.
- 573 *Nec eos agnosco* L. quotes *Mt.* 23, 37 and alludes to *Lc.* 18, 10-14.
- 574 *Abraxasiorum coelos* L. explains how the Greek letters of 'Abraxas,' taken as numerals, add up to 365 and refers to Augustine [*De haeresibus*] *ad Quodvultdeum* [IV, CCSL XLVI, 291] and to Er.'s notes on St. Jerome's epistles. See note on p. 158, ll. 506-507 and Allen, Ep. 2465, n.ll. 194-199. Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 112, l. 3 and note.
- 581 *nisi ... poti* 'This does not apply to good monks. Let the bad consider that they are hereby informed what they ought to correct. For we have very often heard them telling what they have heard in the confessional, and that not for the sake of edification but simply as a joke. They name the city, the college, the house, and the person too, if he is dead, as if it were enough not to give away the names of living persons only. In this passage many things could have been said about bad monks which, out of respect for good monks, I prefer to leave unsaid' (L.).
- 583 *crabrones irritarii* L. cites *Plin. Nat.* XI, [24, 73] and *Plaut. Amph.* [707]. *Adag.* 60 (LB II, 50 D). Otto No. 453.
- 585-586 *in os offam* Verg. *Aen.* [VI, 419] (L.). The sop with which the Sibyl silenced Cerberus became proverbial.
- 592 *per manus tradit* 'Per successionem, proverbial dictum figura' (L.). *Adag.* 3428 (LB II, 1060 E).
- 593 *mibi ... scire* "'Mihi" refers to the *persona* of Folly, since they do not want women to know literature or learned studies' (L.).

Primo loco inuocant, id quod a poetis mutuo sumpserunt. Deinde dicturi de
 595 charitate, a Nilo Aegypti fluuio sumunt exordium; aut crucis mysterium enar-
 raturi, a Babylonio dracone Bel feliciter auspicantur; aut de ieiunio disputaturi,
 a duodecim zodiaci signis principium faciunt; aut de fide verba facturi, diu de
 quadratura circuli praeloquuntur. Audiui ipsa quendam eximie stultum – errauit,
 doctum volebam dicere – qui in concione celeberrima diuinae triadis mysterium
 600 explicaturus, quo et doctrinam suam non vulgarem ostentaret et theologis
 satisfaceret auribus, noua prorsus ingressus est via, nimirum a literis, syllabis et
 oratione, tum a concordia nominis et verbi, adiectiui nominis et substantiui,
 LB 476 mirantibus iam | plerisque ac nonnullis Horatianum illud apud se mussitantibus:
 605 *Quorsum haec tam putida tendunt?* Tandem huc rem deduxit, vt in grammaticorum
 rudimentis sic expressum ostenderet totius triadis simulacrum, vt nemo mathe-
 maticorum in puluere posset euidentius depingere. Atque in hac oratione
 θεολογώτατος ille totos octo menses ita desudarat, vt hodie quoque magis cae-
 cutiat quam talpae, nimirum tota luminum acie ad ingenii cuspidem auocata.
 Verum haud poenitet hominem caecitatis ac paruo quoque putat emptam eam
 610 gloriam.

Auditus est a nobis alius quidam octogenarius, adeo theologus, vt in hoc Sco-
 tum ipsum renatum putes. Is explicaturus mysterium nominis Iesu, mira subti-
 litate demonstraui in ipsis literis latere quicquid de illo dici possit. Etenim quod
 615 tribus duntaxat inflectitur casibus, id manifestum esse simulacrum diuini ternio-
 nis. Deinde quod prima vox Iesus desinat in s, secunda Iesum in m, tertia Iesu
 in u, in hoc ἀρρητον subesse mysterium, nempe tribus literulis indicantibus eum
 esse summum, medium et vltimum. Restabat mysterium his quoque retrusius:
 mathematica ratione Iesus sic in duas aequales diffidit portiones, vt scilicet pen-
 themimeres in medio resideret. Deinde docuit eam literam apud Hebraeos esse
 620 שׁ, quam illi Syn appellant; porro syn, Scotorum (opinor) lingua, peccatum
 sonat, atque hinc palam declarari Iesum esse qui peccata tolleret mundi. Hoc tam
 LB 477 nouum exordium sic inhiantes admirati sunt omnes, | praecipue theologi, vt
 parum abfuerit, quin illis acciderit quod olim Niobae, cum mihi propemodum
 euenerit quod ficulno illi Priapo, qui magno suo malo Canidiae Saganaeque noc-

595 Prooemium* C-H: om. A B.

595-629 aut crucis ... vocant C-H: om. A B.

601 Ridicula fabula de theologo quodam*

E-H: om. C D.

611 Alia fabula non minus amoena* E-H: om. C D.

594 *Primo ... sumpserunt* Cf. Ex. Eccles., I.B V, 872 D.

595 *a Nilo Aegypti* 'That is, from the most irrelevant matter. Here, with a wonderful sort of vivid illustration [ὑποτυπώσει, Quintil. Inst. IX, 2, 40] he depicts their τὸ κακόζηλον [Quintil. Inst. VIII, 3, 56-58], as the Greeks say, that is, perverse imitation. For nothing is

more repellent than affected artistry' (L.).
 596 *a Babylonio dracone Bel* 'This story about the dragon Bel [Dn. 14, 1-42] was added to the writings of Daniel by Theodotion, as some think; for (like the story of Susanna [Dn. 13, 1-64] and the hymn of the three boys) it is not found in the Hebrew. By placing obelisks before all of them, St. Jerome disposed of

- them as spurious' (L.). See Hier., *Apol. adv. lib. Ruf.* (Migne *PL* XXIII, 454-455).
- 596-597 *de ieiunio ... signis* 'They say that during the lenten fast the sun enters Aries, the first sign of the zodiac, so that everything begins to grow warmer and moister at that time, and that the thick humors of the body, which could not be melted during the winter because of the cold weather, begin to be melted at that time, so that the body needs less nutriment, and that therefore the church did well to establish the lenten fast in the spring-time. Taking this cue, they babble on in a marvelous fashion about the zodiac and the signs in it so that to the ignorant people they may appear to be learned' (L.).
- 598 *quadratura circuli* Quoting and translating Aristot. *Cat.* [7b, 29-33] ('Though the knowledge of something may not exist, still nothing prevents it from being knowable. For example, the squaring of the circle, though it can be known, is nevertheless not yet known. Still in itself it is knowable'), L. remarks: 'Taking their cue from this, so that they can appear to know more than Aristotle, the sophists in their schools and the friars in their sermons chatter a great deal of nonsense about squaring the circle.' *Ps. Apul. De dogm. Plat.* III, 275.
- 599 *divinae triadis* 'He uses the Greek word τριάς because the word commonly used, "trinitas," is not very good Latin usage' (L.). In *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, *LB* IX, 1023 B-F, Er. regularly uses 'trias' instead of 'trinitas.'
- 600 *theologicis* 'There is humor here, because he tacitly signifies that theologians would rather listen to these subtle trifles and fables than the gospel or Paul's epistles' (L.).
- 604 *Quorsum ... tendunt* *Hor. Sermon.* II, 7, 21.
- 606 *in puluere* See *Cic. Nat.* II, 18, 48; *Liv. XXV*, 31, 9.
- 607-608 *magis ... talpae* 'The Greek proverb "blinder than a mole" is applied to those who are very dim-sighted. He is making fun of some theologian known to him, who is perhaps purblind' (L.). *Adag.* 255 (*LB* II, 133 F): '... Nam iocundior fiet metaphora, siquidem ad animum transferatur. ...' *Otto No.* 1739.
- 608 *acie ... cuspidem* "'Acies" refers to the mind, but "cuspidem" is not used except as applied to physical objects. She deliberately reverses them here' (L.).
- 615-621 *Deinde ... mundi* Er. condemns stupid etymologies constructed from the letters of a word in *Ep.* 2465, ll. 175-188. See note on p. 102, l. 544.
- 616 ἀρρητον The word has an ironic edge because it may be used in a good or a bad sense (unspeakable vs. ineffable).
- 618 *mathematica ratione* The early Greek fathers, influenced by Jewish traditions, had worked out some rather elaborate numerical interpretations of the name Jesus (P.E. Testa, *Il Simbolismo dei Giudeo-Cristiani*, Jerusalem, 1962, pp. 227, 365-370, 379-385, 520-522). Er., like More but unlike some of their humanist contemporaries and forebears, displayed little interest in esoteric numerical symbolism (G. Marc'hadour, *Thomas More et la Bible*, Paris, 1969, pp. 489-490).
- 618-619 *penthemimeres* A portion consisting of two and a half units, sometimes applied to half of a dactylic pentameter (*Quint. Inst.* IX, 4, 78). L. points out that if the middle 's' of 'Jesus' is split, one half will form a penthemimeres with the first two letters, the other with the last two. L. also shows that the Hebrew letters, partly because of letters added according to the following word, do not match the letters of the Latin name. 'Mais si l'on partage le mot JESUS en deux parties, comment peut-on en même temps isoler au milieu la lettre S: JE-S-US, cela fait trois parties (inégaux) ; et quel rapport à ce moment avec l'idée d' "effacer les péchés du monde"? Si stupide que l'on suppose le prédicateur raillé par Erasme, il faut admettre qu'il avait une idée, naïve mais cohérente; sinon où serait le comique? Reprenons la première phrase du texte latin et traduisons-la, sans souci d'élégance, avec précision: "Il partagea en deux parties égales le mot JESUS, de telle manière que, bien évidemment, c'est une penthémimère qui se trouvait placée au milieu"; une penthémimère, ... c'est une coupe placée après deux pieds et demi, et ici par image, après deux lettres et demie; JE\$US; le trait vertical raye la lettre S, la détruit, la supprime (*tollere*), supprimant ainsi le péché qu'elle symbolise' (Jacques Chomarat, *L' 'Eloge de la folie' et ses traducteurs français au XXe siècle*, BAGB, 4e série, 2, 1972, pp. 179-180).
- 620 *Scotorum* 'Syn' (or 'sin') was equally current in England and Scotland. Folly probably choses Scottish to allude to John Duns Scotus and his followers.
- 621 *qui ... mundi* *Iob.* 1, 29.
- 623 *Niobae* L. quotes *Ov. Met.* VI, [302-5]. *Hom. Il. XXIV*, 602-4. *Adag.* 2233 (*LB* II, 789 C).
- 624 *ficulno illi Priapo* L. quotes and explains *Hor. Sermon.* [I, 8, 44-50]. *Adag.* 685 (*LB* II, 295 F). *Hor. Sermon.* I, 8, 1.

625 turna sacra spectavit. Nec iniuria profecto: nam quando similem ἔφοδον com-
mentus est Demosthenes ille Graius, aut Cicero Latinus? Illis vitiosum habebatur
prooemium, quod a re foret alienius, quasi vero non ad istum modum exordian-
tur et subulci, natura videlicet magistra. At hi docti praeambulum suum, sic enim
630 cum reliquo argumento confine, vt auditor interim admirans illud secum mur-
muret: *quo nunc se proripit ille?*

Tertio loco ceu narrationis vice nonnihil ex euangelio, sed cursim ac velut obi-
ter interpretantur, cum id solum fuerit agendum. Quarto loco iam noua sumpta
persona quaestionem mouent theologalem, aliquoties οὔτε γῆς οὔτε οὐρανοῦ
635 ἀπτομένην, atque id quoque ad artem arbitrantur pertinere. Hic demum theolo-
gicum attollunt supercilium, doctores solennes, doctores subtiles, doctores sub-
tilissimos, doctores seraphicos, doctores cherubicos, doctores sanctos, doctores
irrefragabiles, magnifica nomina auribus inculcantes. Tum syllogismos, maiores,
640 minores, conclusiones, corollaria, suppositiones frigidissimas, ac plusquam
LB 478 scholasticas nugas apud imperitum vulgus iactitant. Superest iam quintus actus,
in quo sum|mum artificem praestare conuenit. Hic mihi stultam aliquam et
indoctam fabulam ex Speculo, opinor, Historiali aut Gestis Romanorum in
medium adferunt, et eandem interpretantur allegorice, tropologice et anagogice.
Atque ad hunc quidem modum Chimaeram suam absoluunt, qualem nec Hora-
645 tius vnquam assequi potuit cum scriberet: *Humano capiti* etc.

Sed audierunt a nescio quibus ingressum orationis sedatum minimeque clamo-
sum esse oportere; itaque principio sic exordiuntur, vt nec ipsi vocem propriam
exaudiant, quasi referat dici quod nullus intelligat. Audierunt nonnunquam ad
650 concitandos affectus exclamationibus vtendum esse. Proinde presse alioqui
loquentes subinde repente vocem tollunt furioso plane clamore, etiam cum nihil
opus. Iures elleboro homini opus esse, perinde quasi nihil referat, vbi clames.
Praeterea quoniam audierunt oportere sermonem in progressu feruescere, in sin-
gulis partibus principiis vtcunque sane recitatis, mox mira vocis contentione
vtuntur, etiam si res sit frigidissima, atque ita denique desinunt, vt spiritu defec-
655 tos credas.

Postremo didicerunt apud rhetores de risu fieri mentionem eoque student et
ipsi iocos quosdam aspergere, ὃ φίλη Ἀφροδίτη, quam plenos gratiarum quam-
que in loco, vt plane ὄνον πρὸς τὴν λύραν esse dicas. Mordent quoque nonnun-
quam, sed ita, vt titillent magis quam vulnerent. Nec vnquam verius adulantur,
660 quam cum maxime παρρησιάζεσθαι videri student. Denique tota actio est eius-

629 ita demum C-H: atque ita demum exor-
dium A B; rhetoricum A C-H: rhetorico-
rum B.

632 Narratio* C-H: om. A B.

633 Argumentatio* C-H: om. A B (in G et H
iuxta l. 638).

634 οὔτε ... οὔτε C-H: οὐδέ ... οὐδέ A B.

637 doctores cherubicos H: om. A-G.

637-638 doctores sanctos ... irrefragabiles G H:
om. A-F.

639 suppositiones frigidissimas, ac C-G: sup-
positiones, frigidissimas ac H, suppositiones.
frigidissimas. ac A B; Conclusio* C-H: om.
A B.

- 641 Hic B-H: Hinc A.
- 642 aut Gestis Romanorum G H: om. A-I.
- 643 allegorice ... anagogice G H: om. A-F.
- 645 etc. B-II: om. A.
- 625 ἔφοδον 'That is, an *insinuatio*, which according to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* [I, 4, 6 and 7] is a way of speaking that secretly worms its way into the listener's mind by dissimulation and indirection. Quintilian, in book IV, [1, 42], says this ought to be used in a sensational and odious case' (L.). The *Rhet. ad Her.* mentions two kinds of introduction: 'Principium, quod Graece prooemium appellatur, et insinuatio, quae ephodos nominatur' (I, 4, 6). According to *Rhet. ad Her.* I, 6, 9 and Cic. *Inv.* I, 17, 23, the *insinuatio* should be used when the subject itself will alienate the listeners, when they have apparently been won over by the opposition, or when they are tired of listening.
- 626-627 *Illis ... alienius* Cic. *Inv.* I, 18, 26. Cf. Er. *Eccles.*, LB V, 862 C.
- 628-629 *praeambulum ... vocant* 'Praeambulum' is unclassical; it appears in Du Cange and in Latham, p. 363.
- 631 *quo ... ille* Verg. *Ecl.* III, 19.
- 632 *narrationis* A 'statement of facts,' the second part of a formal oration (Quint. *Inst.* IV, 2, 2).
- 634 *theologalem* 'Μιμητικῶς legendum, risus causa. Sic enim illi solent vocare verbo non admodum Latino' (L.). 'Theologalis' does not appear in the classical or medieval dictionaries. In ll. 635-636 Folly uses the correct 'theologicus.'
- 634-635 οὔτε ... ἀπτομένην Lucian. [*Alex.* 5. *Pseud.* 54, trans. Er. *ASD* I, 1, p. 467, l. 4] (L.). *Adag.* 444 (LB II, 199 B).
- 636 *attollunt supercilium* *Adag.* 749 (LB II, 317 A).
- 636-638 *doctores ... irrefragabiles* Scotus was entitled 'doctor subtilis'; St. Bonaventure, 'doctor seraphicus'; Alexander of Hales, 'doctor irrefragabilis' (cf. p. 186, l. 57). See Lucas Waddingus, *Scriptores ordinis minorum*, Rome, 1906, pp. 9, 46, 136. For many other similar titles (illuminatus, moralis, bonus, singularis, fundatus, scholasticus, ornatissimus) see *ibid.*, pp. 85, 99, 102, 106-107, 121, 131. On the titles of St. Bonaventure see J. H. Sbaralea, *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum*, Rome, 1908, Part I, p. 149. Cf. *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 90, ll. 8-9.
- 639 *corollaria* See note on p. 146, l. 390.
- 640 *scholasticas ... iactitant* Cf. Er. *Eccles.*, LB V, 874 F- 875 A.
- 646 Pronunciatio* C-H: om. A B.
- 656 Festiuitas* C-H: om. A B.
- 660 παρρησιάζεσθαι C-H: παρρησιάζειν A B.
- 640-641 *quintus ... conuenit* 'He alludes to the fact that a comedy consists of five acts. And M. Tullius [Cicero] says that the poet ought to be best in the last act [Cato II, 5]' (L.). *Adag.* 35 (LB II, 83 C).
- 642 *Speculo ... Historiali* The third part of *Speculum Maius*, an enormous encyclopedia compiled mostly by Vincent de Beauvais (d. 1264). *Gestis Romanorum* *Gesta Romanorum* is a collection of moralized tales compiled about 1300. By the early sixteenth century, it had been translated into German, English, and French.
- 643 *allegorice ... anagogice* St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* I, q. 1, a. 10. Of the traditional four senses of Scripture, the literal consists in the things or events presented in the text; the allegorical, of the religious beliefs to be deduced from it (often by way of Old Testament figures or types of Christ or the church); the tropological, of the moral lessons that can be drawn from it; and the anagogical, of the apocalyptic or heavenly parallels to the literal sense. For a discussion of Fr.'s attitude toward the levels of exegesis (based largely on *Eccles.*, LB V, 1034-1037), see Sr. Geraldine Thompson, 'Water wonderfully clear': *Erasmus and figurative writing*, Erasmus in English, 5 (1972), pp. 5-10.
- 644 *Chimaeram* L. quotes and translates Hom. *Il.* [VI, 180-182] and quotes Lucr. [V, 905]. *Adag.* 4061 (LB II, 1189 B).
- 645 *Humano capiti etc.* [Hor.] *Arts* I (L.).
- 646-648 *ingressum ... intelligat* Cf. Er. *Eccles.*, LB V, 959 F.
- 648-651 *Audierunt ... opus* Cf. Er. *Eccles.*, LB V, 959 A-C. Cic. *De or.* III, 60, 224. Quint. *Inst.* XI, 3, 44-45. *Rhet. Her.* IV, 15.
- 651 *elleboro* See note on p. 118, l. 890.
- 656 *de risu fieri mentionem* See note on p. 140, ll. 297-298.
- 657 ὡ φίλη Ἀφροδίτη Aphrodite is associated with the graces and hence with elegance.
- 658 *in loco* In *Eccles.*, LB V, 860 EF, Er. admonishes preachers not to introduce inept jokes into their sermons.
- ὄνον ... λύραον See note on p. 100, l. 515.
- 658-660 *Mordent ... student* In *Eccles.*, LB V, 891 F, Er. berates preachers who flatter their audience (especially well-born ladies) under the guise of reproaching them.

LB 479 modi, vt iures eos a fori circulatoribus didicisse, a quibus longe vincuntur. Quamquam vtrique alteris vsqueadeo sunt similes, vt nemo dubitet quin aut hi ab illis, aut illi ab his rhetoricen suam didicerint.

665 Et tamen inueniunt hi quoque mea nimirum opera, qui cum hos audiunt, Demosthenes meros ac Cicerones audire se putant. Quod genus sunt praecipue mercatores ac mulierculae, quorum auribus vnice placere student, quod illi nonnullam praedae portiunculam de rebus male partis soleant impertiri, si commode fuerint palpati. Illae cum aliis multis de causis huic ordini fauent, tum praecipue quod in horum sinus soleant effundere, si quid in maritos stomachantur.

670 Videtis, opinor, quantopere mihi debeat hoc hominum genus, qui cum ceremoniolis et nugis deridiculis clamoribusque tyrannidem quandam inter mortales exercent, Paulos atque Antonios sese credunt. Verum ego istos histriones tam ingratos beneficiorum meorum dissimulatores quam improbos simulatores pietatis libenter relinquo.

675 Iamdudum enim iuuat de regibus ac principibus aulicis, a quibus simplicissime color et (vt dignum est ingenuis) ingenue, nonnihil attingere. Qui quidem si vel semunciam sani cordis haberent, quid esset horum vita tristius aut aeque fugiendum? Neque enim existimabit vel periurio particidioque parandum imperium quisquis secum perpenderit, quam ingens onus sustineat humeris qui vere principem agere velit: Eum qui rerum gubernacula suscepit, publicum non priuatum negocium gerere, nihil nisi de commodis publicis oportere cogitare; a legibus, quarum ipse et autor et exactor est, nec latum digitum discedere; officialium omnium et magistratuum integritatem sibi praestandam esse; sese esse vnum omnium oculis expositum, qui vel ceu sidus salutare morum innocentia maximam rebus humanis salutem possit adferre vel veluti cometa letalis summam perniciem inuehere; aliorum vitia neque perinde sentiri neque tam late manare; principem eo loco esse, vt si quid vel leuiter ab honesto deflexerit, grauis protinus ad quam plurimos homines vitae pestis serpat; tum, quod multa secum adferat principum fortuna, quae soleant a recto deducere, quod genus, delitiae, libertas, 690 adulatio, luxus, hoc acrius enitendum ac sollicitius aduigilandum, necubi vel deceptus cesset in officio; postremo, vt insidias, odia, caeteraque vel pericula vel metus omittam, capiti imminere verum illum regem, qui paulo post ab eo sit etiam de minimo quoque commisso rationem exacturus, idque tanto seuerius quanto praestantius gessit imperium. Haec, inquam, atque huiusmodi plurima, 695 si princeps secum perpenderit (perpenderit autem si saperet), is nec somnum nec cibum, opinor, iucunde capere posset.

At nunc meo munere has omnes curas diis permittunt, ipsi sese molliter curant neque quenquam ad aurem admittunt nisi qui iucunda loqui norit, ne quid animo sollicitudinis oboriatur. Se probe principis partes omnes implese credunt, si venentur assidue, si bellos alant caballos, si suo commodo vendiderint magistratus ac praefecturas, si quotidie nouae rationes excogitentur, quibus ciuium opes attenuent et in suum conuerrant fiscum, verum id apposite repertis 700 titulis, vt etiam si sit iniquissimum, aliquam tamen aequitatis speciem prae se

LB 480 ferat. Addunt data opera nonnihil adulationis, quo populares animos vtcunque
 706 sibi deuinciant. Fingite mihi | nunc (quales sunt nonnunquam) hominem legum
 710 ignarum, publicorum commodorum pene hostem, priuatis intentum commodi-
 tatibus, addictum voluptatibus, osorem eruditionis, osorem libertatis ac veri,
 nihil minus quam de reipublicae salute cogitantem, sed omnia sua libidine suis-
 que vtilitatibus metientem. Deinde addite huic torquem auream, omnium virtu-
 tum cohaerentium consensum indicantem; tum coronam gemmis insignitam,
 quae quidem admoneat eum heroicis omnibus virtutibus oportere caeteris ante-
 cellere; praeterea sceptrum, iusticiae et vndecunque incorrupti pectoris symbol-
 um; postremo purpuram, eximiae cuiusdam in rempublicam charitatis indicium.
 715 Haec gestamina si princeps cum sua vita conferret, equidem futurum arbitror,
 vt plane pudescat ornatus sui vereaturque ne quis nasutus interpres totum hunc
 tragicum cultum in risum iocumque vertat.

662 vsqueadeo *A B F-H*: vsque deo *C-E*.
 666 Mulieres et mercatores* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 667 impertiri *B-H*: impartiri *A*.
 670 qui *H*: *om. A-G*.
 672 Paulos *H*: et Paulos *A-G*; credunt *H*: cre-
 dant *A-G*; ego *A C-H*: ergo *B*.
 673 improbos *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 675 De principum stulticia* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 676 et (vt dignum est ingenuis) ingenuae, non-
 nihil: et (vt dignum est) ingenuis ingenuae:
 nonnihil *A B*, et (vt dignum est) ingenuis,
 ingenuae, nonnihil *C-E*, et, vt dignum est,
 ingenuis ingenuae nonnihil *FG*, et vt dignum
 est ingenuis, ingenuae, nonnihil *H*.

677 semunciam *E-H*: scmiunciam *A-D*.
 680 Forma boni principis* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 697 Studia malorum principum (principum
 malorum *D*)* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 702 conuerrant *D-H*: conuertant *A-C* [*List-
 rius notauit plerosque (reuera omnes editiones
 priores) conuertant pro conuerrant deprauate
 legere*]; fiscum *A-F H*: viscum *G*.
 709 Cultus principum* *C-H*: *om. A B*; auream
C-H: aureum *A B*.
 711 admoneat *E-H*: admonet *A-D*.
 712 sceptrum, iusticiae et *F-H*: sceptrum ius-
 ticiae, et *A-D*, sceptrum, iusticiae, et *E*.

661 *iures ... vincuntur* See note on p. 72, ll. 21-22
 and Er. *Eccles.*, LB V, 958 E.
 667 *male partis* Otto No. 1013. Cf. *Adag* 682 (LB
 II, 294 F).
 672 *Paulos atque Antonios* These names almost
 surely denote not the Egyptian hermits (who
 may be referred to in *Enchir.*, LB V, 33 B), but
 the apostle Paul and St. Anthony of Padua,
 both renowned for eloquent preaching.
 675-676 *simplicissime color* 'Hoc est aperte, et
 sine fucu, non quemadmodum a monachis'
 (L.).
 682 *latum digitum* *Adag.* 406 (LB II, 184 E).
 Otto No. 1825.
 683-688 *sese ... serpat* Er. *Vidua christ.*, LB V,
 730 B. Otto No. 1538. Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 56,
 l. 15 and note.
 692 *capiti imminere* Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* V, 21, 61-62;
 Hor. *Carm.* III, 1, 17-21; Pers. III, 39-43.
 697 *diis permittunt* Hor. [*Carm.* I, 9, 9] (L.).

700 *bellos ... caballos* Er. was probably aware of
 the chivalric overtones these words have
 because of their adoption into French. On
 Er.'s knowledge of French see D.F.S. Thom-
 son, *The Latinity of Erasmus*, in *Erasmus*, ed.
 T.A. Dorey, London, 1970, p. 130.
 702 *in suum conuerrant fiscum* 'Plerique
 deprauant, pro conuerrant per geminum r,
 conuertant per t. Est autem conuerrere, in
 vnum verrere, sic vt nihil relinquant. Fiscum
 dixit, nam fiscus proprie est principis, quem-
 admodum aerarium est reipublicae' (L.). See
 variant readings.
 709-713 *torquem ... indicium* Er. employs exactly
 the same symbolism in *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD
 IV, 1, p. 146, l. 307 sqq.; p. 171, l. 153 sqq. The
 choice of crown, robe, and scepter also sug-
 gests *Mt.* 27, 28-29.
 714-716 *Haec ... vertat* Cf. *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD
 IV, 1, p. 178, l. 390 sqq.

Iam quid de proceribus aulicis commemorem? quorum plerisque cum nihil sit addictius, seruilis, insulsus, abiectus, tamen omnium rerum primos sese videri volunt. Hac vna in re tamen modestissimi, quod contenti, aurum, gemmas, purpuram, reliquaque virtutum ac sapientiae insignia corpore circumferre, rerum ipsarum studium omne concedunt aliis. Hoc abunde felices sibi videntur, quod regem haerum vocare liceat, quod tribus verbis salutare didicerint, quod norint ciuiles titulos subinde inculcare, serenitatem, dominationem et magnificentiam, quod egregie perfricauerint faciem, quod festiuiter adulentur. Nam hae sunt artes, quae vere nobilem et aulicum deceant. Caeterum si vitae rationem omnem propius inspicias, ni|mirum meros Phaeacas inuenies, *sponso Penelopes* – reliquum carmen agnoscitis, quod Echo vobis melius referet quam ego. Dormitur in medios dies, ibi sacrificulus mercennarius ad lectum paratus, qui propemodum cubantibus adhuc sacrum expedite peragat. Mox ad ientaculum, quo vix peracto iam interpellat prandium. Sub id alea, laterunculi, sortes, scurrae, moriones, scorta, lusus, inficetiae. Interim vna aut altera merenda. Rursum coena, post hanc repotia, non vna per Iouem. Atque ad hunc modum, citra vllum vitae taedium, elabuntur horae, dies, menses, anni, secula. Ipsa nonnunquam saginatio abeo, si quando viderim illos *μεγαλορροῦντας*, dum inter nymphas vnaquaeque hoc sibi videtur diis propior, quo caudam longiorem trahit, dum procerum alius alium cubito protrudit, quo Ioui vicinior esse videatur, dum sibi quisque hoc magis placet, quo grauiorem catenam collo baiulat, vt robur etiam, non opes tantum ostendet.

Ac principum quidem institutum summi pontifices, cardinales et episcopi iam pridem gnauiter aemulantur ac prope superant. Porro si quis perpendat, quid linea vestis admoneat, niueo candore insignis, nempe vitam vndiquaque inculpata; quid sibi velit mitra bicornis, vtrunque fastigium eodem cohibente nodo, puta noui pariter ac veteris instrumenti absolutam scientiam; quid manus chirothecis communitae, puram et ab omni rerum humanarum contagio immunem sacramentorum administrationem; quid pedum, nimirum crediti gregis vigilantissimam cu|ram; quid praelata crux, videlicet omnium humanorum affectuum victoriam, haec, inquam, atque id genus alia multa si quis perpendat, nonne tristem ac sollicitam vitam egerit? At nunc belle faciunt, cum sese pascunt. Caeterum ouium curam aut ipsi Christo mandant aut in fratres, quos vocant, ac vicarios reiiciunt. Neque vel nominis sui recordantur, quid sonet episcopi vocabu-

717 Proceres aulici* C-H: om. A B; quorum plerisque G H: quibus A-F.
 721 concedunt C-H: concedant A B.
 727 quod ... ego C-H: om. A B.
 734 inter nymphas C-H: om. A B.
 735 procerum C-H: om. A B.
 736 vicinior E-H: propior A-D; sibi quisque

E-H: quisque sibi A-D.
 738 ostendet H: ostendent A-G.
 739 Episcopi* G H: De episcopis* C-F, om. A B.
 743 instrumenti C-H: testamenti A B.
 747 alia H: om. A-G.

- 724 *perfricauerint faciem* *Adag.* 747 (LB II, 316 A). Quint. *Inst.* XI, 3, 160. Plin. *Nat. praef.* 4.
- 725-726 *si ... inspicias* Plin. *Epist.* IV, 15, 13.
- 726-727 *sponsos ... ego* Hom. [*Od.* I, 150-152] and Hor. [*Epist.* I, 2, 28] (L.). In Hor. the whole phrase is 'sponsi Penelopes, nebulones, Alcinoïque ... iuuentus.' By 'reliquum carmen' Folly probably means especially the third word, which carries the sting. The insulting word she coyly leaves to Echo, whose habit (as L. notes) is to repeat final sounds. It is not likely that Echo's repetition refers to the last two syllables of 'nebulones,' suggesting a pun on ὄνος, 'onus,' or 'honus' because the sense requires a plural form. In Er.'s colloquy *Echo*, the nymph makes ὄνους out of 'eruditionis,' *ASD* I, 3, p. 555, ll. 21-22, and ὄνε out of 'Cicerone,' *ASD* I, 3, p. 558, ll. 99-100. The idea of echoing or parroting words is appropriate to the repeated formulas of adulation mentioned in ll. 722-723.
- 727-728 *Dormitur ... dies* Hor. *Epist.* I, 2, 30.
- 732 *repotia* '... Quod hic intelligi vult, vulgo vocant banketam' (L.). Hor. *Serm.* II, 2, 60.
- 732-733 *vitae taedium* See note on p. 82, l. 217.
- 734-735 *μεγαλορροῦντας ... trahit* L. notes that the Greek compound (derived from μέγας and ῥῆσις and meaning 'speaking boastfully') is applied by Lucian to the gods. As Kan remarked, such a compound appears neither in Lucian nor anywhere else (though Lucian does use parallel expressions such as μεγαληγόρος (*Iup. Trag.* 14) and μεγαληγορεῖν (*Sacrif.* 9). The two words mentioned by L. are in fact compounded, but they produce μεγαλορρημων (Stephanus, V, 644, and Liddell-Scott, 1087). It is possible that Er. coined his compound by combining μεγαλο- with the unused present form εἶρω which lies behind such words as ῥῆσις, παρρησία, ῥητός. Kan suggested that the coinage is derived from μεγαλο- and ἄρρος (meaning 'great-tailed') and refers to the long trains of men's clothing as 'caudam' refers to women's trains. But ἄρρος is akin to οὐρά (in a note on p. 130, l. 81, L. correctly gives the etymology of 'sciuro' as σκία + οὐρά, 'shadow-tail'), which, like Latin 'cauda' (Hor. *Serm.* I, 2, 45; II, 7, 49), is used *sensu obsceno* to mean 'penis' (Liddell-Scott, 1256, 1272). To judge from Holbein's illustration of a courtier and from Chaloner's translation (ed. Clarence Miller, Oxford, 1965, p. 95, ll. 24-25 and p. 183), they may have been aware of some recherché wit in the passage. Furthermore, 'caudam trahere' may mean 'to have a tail stuck on in mockery, to be made a fool of' (Hor. *Serm.* II, 3, 53; Vell. Pat. II, 83, 2). L. also points out a French expression as equivalent to the Greek compound: 'galli quoque vulgo vocant, la grande gorre.' J. Chomarat has pointed out that *Dictionnaire de la langue française en XVIe siècle* (Huguet) gives examples of 'femme à la grand' gorre' (used pejoratively of a woman dressed in extravagant and luxurious fashion) in Henri Estienne's *Apologie pour Hérodote*, ed. Ristelhuber, Paris, 1879, I, 131; II, 130. Estienne borrowed the expression from Olivier Maillard, who preached at Paris often in the 1490's, particularly during Lent in 1494 and 1498 (A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1953, p. 243). If Er. heard the expression during his years in Paris, his memory may have misled him into applying it to grandiloquent language (assuming Er. wrote this note, not L.). In the early sixteenth century 'la grande gorre' could also mean 'venereal disease' (*Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, ed. F. Godefroy, Paris, 1885, repr. 1961, s.v. 'gorre' 2).
- 736 *Ioui* 'Iouem vocat principem' (L.). Hor. *Epist.* I, 19, 43.
- 741-742 *linea ... inculpatam* This white garment might be an alb, a rochet, or a surplice. See J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient*, Freiburg i.B., 1907, pp. 59, 125-43, 725. Of the alb Innocent III says: 'Haec ob speciem candoris designat munditiam, secundum quod legitur: Omni tempore vestimenta tua sint candida' (*De sacro altaris mysterio*, Migne PL CCXVII, 793). See also Guilelmus Durandus, *Rationale Diuinorum Officiorum*, Venice, 1568?, III, 1, 3, and 10-11, ff° 42-43.
- 742-743 *mitra ... scientiam* In *De sacro altaris mysterio*, Innocent III notes: 'Mitra pontificis scientiam vtriusque Testamenti significat' (Migne PL CCXVII, 795). See also Durandus, *op. cit.*, III, 13, 2, f° 50.
- 743-745 *chirothecis ... administrationem* See Durandus, *op. cit.*, III, 12, 3, f° 49°.
- 745 *pedum* See Durandus, *op. cit.*, III, 15, 2, f° 51°.
- 746-747 *crux ... victoriam* Durandus, *op. cit.*, IV, 6, 18, f° 67.
- 750-751 *episcopi vocabulum* 'Ἐπίσκοπεῖν ἐστὶν inspicere, et curam agere, prospicereque de necessariis, et ἐπίσκοπος, id est inspector et curator ...' (L.). For the etymology and its implications see St. Licinian's letter to Gregory the Great (Migne PL LXXVII, 600) and Isidore, *De eccles. offic.* II, 5 (Migne PL LXXXIII, 782).

lum, nempe laborem, curam, solitudinem, verum in irretiendis pecuniis plane episcopus agunt, οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπιή.

Ad eundem modum cardinales si cogitent sese in apostolorum locum successisse, eadem ab ipsis requiri quae illi praestiterunt, deinde non dominos esse, sed
 755 administratores spiritalium dotium, de quibus omnibus sint paulo post exactissime reddituri rationem, imo si vel in cultu paulisper philosophentur, atque ita secum cogitent. Quid sibi vult hic vestitus candor? Nonne summam et eximiam vitae innocentiam? Quid interior purpura? Nonne flagrantissimum in deum amorem? Quid rursus exterior sinuosa capacitate diffluens ac totam etiam reue-
 760 rendissimi complectens mulam, quanquam vna vel camelo contegendo suffecerit? Nonne charitatem latissime sese pandentem ad subueniendum omnibus, hoc est, ad docendum, exhortandum, consolandum, increpandum, admonendum, componenda bella, resistendum improbis principibus, et vel sanguinem libenter impendendum gregi Christiano, non solum opes. Quanquam quorsum omnino
 765 opes pauperum apostolorum vicem gerentibus? – haec si perpenderent, inquam, nec eum locum ambirent et libenter relinquerent aut certe vitam plane laboriosam atque sollicitam agerent, cuiusmodi veteres illi vixerunt apostoli.

Iam summi pontifices, qui Christi vices gerunt, si conentur eiusdem vitam aemulari, nempe paupertatem, labores, doctrinam, crucem, vitae contemptum,
 770 si vel papae, id est patris, nomen vel sanctissimi cognomen cogitent, quid erit in terris afflictius? Aut quis eum locum omnibus emat facultatibus; emptum, gladio, veneno omnique vi tueatur? Quantum his abstulerit commoditatum, si semel incessiuerit sapientia? Sapientia dixi? Imo vel mica salis illius, cuius meminit Christus. Tantum opum, tantum honorum, tantum ditionis, tantum victoria-
 775 rum, tot officia, tot dispensationes, tot vectigalia, tot indulgentias, tantum equorum, mulorum, satellitum, tantum voluptatum. Videtis quantas nudinas, |
 I.B. 483 quantam messem, quantum bonorum pelagus paucis sim complexa. In quorum locum inducet vigiliis, ieiunia, lachrymas, orationes, conciones, studia, suspiria, milleque id genus miseros labores. Neque vero negligendum illud, futurum vt tot
 780 scriptores, tot copistae, tot notarii, tot aduocati, tot promotores, tot secretarii, tot mulotribae, tot equisones, tot mensarii, tot lenones (pene mollius quiddam addideram, sed vereor ne durius sit auribus), in summa, tam ingens hominum turba, quae Romanam sedem onerat (lapsa sum, honorat sentiebam), ad famem adigatur. Inhumanum quidem hoc et abominandum facinus, at multo magis
 785 detestandum, ipsos etiam summos ecclesiae principes ac vera mundi lumina ad peram et baculum reuocari.

At nunc fere, si quid laboris est, id Petro et Paulo relinquunt, quibus abunde satis est ocii. Porro si quid splendoris aut voluptatis, id sibi sumunt. Atque ita fit
 790 mea quidem opera, vt nullum pene hominum genus viuat mollius minusque sollicitum, vt qui abunde Christo satisfactum existiment, si mystico ac pene scenico ornatu, ceremoniis, beatitudinum, reuerentiarum, sanctitatum titulis, et benedictionibus ac maledictionibus episcopus agant. Priscum et obsoletum nec horum omnino temporum, miracula edere; docere populum, laboriosum; sacras

795 interpretari literas, scholasticum; orare, ociosum; lachrymas fundere, miserum ac muliebre; egere, sordidum; vinci, turpe parumque dignum eo, qui vix reges

- 753 Cardinales* C-H: om. A B.
 764 non solum E-H: nedom A-D.
 765 inquam E-H: om. A-D.
 767 atque B-H: ac A.
 768 Summi pontifices* C-H: om. A B.
 771-772 emptum, gladio E-H: emptum gladio A-D.
 773 inessiucriit E-H: inesseret A, inesserit

752 οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπιή Hom. [Il. X, 515; XIII, 10. Od. VIII, 285]. ...Suidas [ed. A. Adler, Leipzig, 1928-1938, pars I, 98, 10] (L.). 'Irretiendis pecuniis' also carries a barb for those who were supposed to be, like Peter and Andrew, fishers of men, not money (Mc. 1, 17). (Ἄλαο)σκοπιή alludes ironically to (ἐπί)σκοπος.

754-755 non dominos ... dotium 1. Cor. 12, 1. Er. Ep. 2375, ll. 46-53. Er. himself was probably offered the cardinal's hat; if so, he refused it (Allen, Ep. 3007, n.l. 5). Cf. Er. Resp. ad ep. Alb. Pii, LB IX, 1106 D-E.

757 vestitus candor See note on p. 170, ll. 741-742.

758 interior purpura Liturgically, red signified not only martyrdom but also love (Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, p. 751). Folly probably refers to a red cassock worn under the white garment (H. Norris, *Costume and Fashion*, New York, 1921-1938, III, 177) but 'interior' might also refer to the inside of the cappa magna.

759-760 reuerendissimi ... mulam 'Cardinals are called by the special title 'most reverend,' as popes are called 'most holy.' The pallium is tied to the mule's forehead in the Roman manner' (L.). Folly refers not to the pallium mentioned by L., but to the long cape called 'cappa magna' or 'pluuiale' (Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, pp. 352-353, 649). By a bull of Urban VIII (10 June 1630) the title 'eminentia' or 'eminentissimus' was restricted to cardinals (and a few others). In Er.'s time cardinals were entitled 'eminentissimi ac reuerendissimi' (L.Th.K. III, 847).

761 charitatem ... omnibus In *De sacro altaris mysterio*, Innocent III notes: 'Latitudo planetae [chasuble] significat latitudinem charitatis, quae vsque ad inimicos extenditur' (Migne PL CCXVII, 795). Er. transfers the traditional symbolism of the chasuble to the cappa magna (Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, pp. 718, 726).

B-D.

- 777 complexa A³⁻⁴, B-H: complexā A¹⁻², 1.
 780 Curia Romana* C D F-H: om. A B E.
 782 tam ingens E-H: tanta A-D.
 783 famem A-F H: famam G.
 784 adigatur H: adigentur A-F, adigetur G.
 790 existiment E-H: existimant A-D.
 792 Virtutes apostolicae* C-H: om. A B.

770 papae ... nomen Cf. Er. *Enchir.*, LB V, 49 B, and *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 178, l. 371 sqq.

773 salis illius Mt. 5, 13.

774-776 Tantum ... voluptatum Cf. Er. *Iulius exclusus*, ed. Wallace Ferguson, The Hague, 1933, p. 120, ll. 1117-1119.

777 bonorum pelagus Adag. 229 (LB II, 123 B).

780 copistae 'Ad risum imitatus est barbarum illorum vocabulum. Sic enim vocantur infimi scribae, qui bullas, quas vocant, effingunt Romae' (L.).

promotores Prosecutors in an ecclesiastical court (*Enciclopedia Cattolica*, Vatican City, 1948-54, X, 122-125).

781 mulotribae 'A compound of a Latin word and a Greek word [τριβή, rubbing, care] meaning those who take care of mules' (L.). The word does not appear in classical or medieval dictionaries. But τριβάς (like the Latin 'tribas') and τριβων have bad connotations. *mollius quiddam* 'She seems to mean the perverse love of boys when she adds "something more effete"' (L.). Cf. Er. *Iulius exclusus*, ed. Wallace Ferguson, The Hague, 1933, p. 77, note on l. 250. See C. Reedijk, *Een schimpdicht van Erasmus op Iulius II*, in *Opstellen aangeboden aan F.K.H. Kossmann*, 's-Gravenhage, 1958, pp. 197, 203.

783 onerat ... honorat The same pun appears in Innocent III's *De sacro altaris mysterio* (Migne PL CCXVII, 777): 'Nomen episcopi plus sonat oneris, quam honoris.'

785 vera mundi lumina 'This too is a witty imitation, for the phrase is sung in a sacred hymn about the apostles' (L.). The phrase occurs in the original version of the vespers hymn for the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29); see P. Paris, *Les hymnes de la liturgie romaine*, Paris, 1954, p. 50, and M. Britt, *The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal*, New York, 1922, p. 325.

790 scenico Cf. p. 104, ll. 599-601.

792-797 Priscum ... infame Cf. Er. *Iulius exclusus*,

etiam summos ad pedum beatorum admittit oscula; denique mori, inamabile; tolli in crucem, infame.

Restant sola haec, arma ac benedictiones dulces, quarum meminit Paulus atque harum quidem sunt sane quam benigni, interdictiones, suspensiones, aggrauationes, redaggrauationes, anathematizationes, vltrices picturae ac fulmen illud ter|rificum, quo solo nutu mortalium animas vel vltra tartara mittunt. Quod ipsum tamen sanctissimi in Christo patres et Christi vicarii in nullos torquent acrius quam in eos qui instigante diabolo patrimonia Petri minuere atque arrodere conantur. Cuius cum haec vox sit in euangelio, *Reliquimus omnia, et sequuti sumus te*, tamen huius patrimonium appellant agros, oppida, vectigalia, portoria, ditiones. Pro quibus dum zelo Christi accensi ferro ignique dimicant, non absque plurimo Christiani sanguinis dispendio, tum demum ecclesiam Christi sponsam sese credunt apostolice defendere, fortiter profligatis, vt vocant, hostibus; quasi vero vlli sint hostes ecclesiae perniciosiores quam impii pontifices, qui et silentio Christum sinunt abolescere et quaestuariis legibus alligant et coactis interpretationibus adulterant et pestilente vita iugulant.

Porro cum Christiana ecclesia sanguine sit condita, sanguine confirmata, sanguine aucta, nunc perinde quasi Christus perierit, qui more suo tucatur suos, ita ferro rem gerunt. Cumque bellum res sit adeo immanis vt feras, non homines deceat, adeo insana vt poetae quoque fingant a furiis immitti, adeo pestilens vt vniuersam morum luem simul inuehat, adeo iniusta vt a pessimis latronibus optime soleat administrari, adeo impia vt nihil cohaereat cum Christo, tamen omnibus omissis hoc tantum agunt. Hic videas etiam decrepitos senes iuuenilis animi robur praestare, nec offendi sumptibus nec fatigari laboribus nec deterreri quicquam, si leges, si religionem, si pacem, si res humanas omneis sursum ac deorsum misceant. Neque desunt adulescentes eruditi, qui istam | manifestariam insaniam, zelum, pietatem, fortitudinem appellent, excogitata via qua fieri possit, vt quis letale ferrum stringat adigatque in fratris sui viscera, manente nihilominus charitate illa summa quam ex Christi praecepto debet proximo Christianus. Equidem incerta sum adhuc, vtrum his rebus exemplum dederint an potius hinc sumpserint episcopi quidam Germanorum, qui simplicius, etiam omisso cultu, omissis benedictionibus aliisque id genus ceremoniis, plane satrapas agunt, adeo vt propemodum ignauum, parumque decorum episcopo putent alibi quam in acie fortem animam deo reddere.

Iam vero vulgus sacerdotum, nephas esse ducens a praesulum suorum sanctimonia degenerare, euge quam militariter pro iure decimarum ensibus, iaculis,

798 haec, arma *E-H*: haec arma *A-D*; ac *C-H*: ad *B*, *om. A*; dulces *B-H*: *om. A*; quarum *C-H*: quarum ad romanos scribens *A*, quantum *B*.

799 sunt sane quam *E-H*: mirum quam sint *A B*, quam sint *C D*.

800 redaggrauationes *C-H*: reaggrauationes *A B*.

806 Haec de impiis pontificibus dicta sunt, non de piis* *E-H*: *om. A-D*; portoria *E H*: portitoria *A-D F G*.

822-823 possit *H*: potest *A-G*.

828 episcopo *A C-H*: episcopum *B*.

830 Vide calumniator hic non reprehendi quod sacerdotes accipiunt decimas: sed quod

- quum odiose exigant, sui vicissim officii non meminerint* *H: om. A-G (cuius vice in C-G*
- ed. Wallace Ferguson, The Hague, 1933, p. 70, ll. 131-142.
- 796 *pedum beatorum* 'This is also an elegant imitation' (L.).
- 798 *arma ... Paulus* 'Rom. 16, [18]: Qui per dulces sermones, et benedictiones seducunt corda innocentium' (L.). Hudson, p. 149, citing 2. *Cor.* 6, 4 and 6-7, *Rom.* 13, 12, 2, *Cor.* 10, 4 and *Eph.* 6, 11-17, argues convincingly that 'arma' should be taken ironically.
- 799 *interdictiones* An interdict is a censure by which the faithful, though remaining within the communion of the Church, are deprived of certain sacred privileges (*DTC* VII, 2280-2282).
- suspensiones* A suspension is an ecclesiastical punishment the effect of which is to prohibit a cleric from exercising a power or from administering and receiving the income from a benefice (*DTC* XIV, 2864-2867).
- 800 *aggravationes, redaggravationes* The first is an increase in the gravity of a censure; the second, a further increase, or the final warning and sentence of excommunication (*Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, Munich, 1959, I, 379, 11-19; Latham, pp. 11, 392; Du Cange, VIII, 33) See *Iulius exclusus* in *Erasmi Opuscula*, ed. Wallace Ferguson, The Hague, 1933, p. 69, note on ll. 106-107.
- anathematizationes* An anathema is a special degree of excommunication, exceptionally grave and solemn (*DTC* V, 1735).
- ultrices picturae* 'At Rome they put up paintings on linen, as ugly as possible, showing excommunicated persons. The excommunicate sits there with a countenance like a madman's; two demons, one on each side, place on him a crown of flames; fire under his feet, horrendous inscriptions, and still they are not the least bit affected. Oh, the hardness of such men! Once again the reader should be warned against any malicious interpreter who thinks these things indicate scorn for the popes. He does not criticize these things absolutely, but rather he reproaches those who omit all the true duties of pontiffs - holiness, teaching and the other things he mentioned. These things alone [interdicts, etc.] they claim for themselves and even then they use not to save souls but to heap up money. He clearly indicates this when he says "restant sola haec." And you see how he always avoids filthiness. Otherwise, if he had wanted to paint bad popes and
- solum* Sacerdotes priuati* *apparent*).
- 831 *iure decimarum E-H: suis decimis A-D.*
- cardinals in their true colors, those who have lived at Rome know how many tales he could have brought forward. But, lest the deeds of the wicked should be attributed by fools to the good, out of respect for the name of Christianity, he has remained silent' (L.).
- 801 *solo nutu Adag.* 3839 (*LB* II, 1153 D).
- 803 *instigante diabolo* 'Here too he is mimicking them. For they use this phrase in their bulls, as they call them' (L.).
- 804-805 *Reliquimus ... te Mt.* 19, 27. Cf. *Er. Iulius exclusus*, ed. Wallace Ferguson, The Hague, 1933, pp. 86-87, l. 346.
- 806 *zelo Christi* 'This is also mimicry. Moreover, it is a witty joining of opposites. For zeal, as Ammonius says, is "an eager imitation of something which seems good" [translated from Greek; see Ammonius, *περὶ ὁμολῶν καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων* in J. Scapula, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, Oxford, 1820]. But zeal is also "sorrow because of someone else's goods which one would like to get for himself" [*ibid.*] (L.).
- ferro ignique Adag.* 3711 (*LB* II, 1125 A).
- 810 *quaestuariis legibus* L. notes that the many complicated laws concerning trials, dispensations, and donations seem designed not to promote piety but to bring money to the Roman curia. Kan points out that the word *quaestuariis* has overtones of prostitution.
- 812-813 *Christiana ... aucta* Walther 27490.
- 815 *poetae ... immitti* *Verg. Aen.* VII, [324-326] (L.).
- 818 *omnibus omissis* 'Vides optime lector, ut ubique circumspecte loquutus est. Non reprehendit, quod bellant pontifices, quod iure reprehendi poterat in omnibus etiam Christianis, mea quidem sententia. Sed eos damnat, qui caeteris omnibus omissis, solum id agunt, quod est omnium pessimum' (L.).
- decrepitus senes* 'He seems to mean Julius II, who caused such an uproar in the world that no truly pious Christian can think back on it without groaning. Perhaps someone will think he has spoken here too freely. But anyone well informed about the matter would admit that he has spoken modestly' (L.).
- 820-821 *sursum ac deorsum Adag.* 285 (*LB* II, 145 A).
- 827 *omisso cultu* 'Ils ont abandonné les "habits" épiscopaux (*cultus* a le même sens au chapitre II [p. 72, l. 20] ...) pour porter le harnachement du guerrier' (Jacques Chomarat, *L'*

saxis, omnique armorum vi belligerantur, quam hic oculati, si quid ex veterum literis possint elicere, quo plebeculam territent et plusquam decimas deberi conuincant. At interim non venit in mentem, quam multa passim legantur de officio
 835 quod illi vicissim praestare populo debeant. Nec saltem admonet eos vertex rasmus sacerdotem omnibus huius mundi cupiditatibus liberum esse oportere neque quicquam nisi coelestia meditari. Sed homines suaues se suo officio probe perfunctos aiunt, si preculas illas suas vtcunque permurmurarint, quas me Hercle demiror, si quis deus vel audiat vel intelligat, cum ipsi fere nec audiant nec intel-
 840 ligant tum, cum eas ore perstrepunt.

Verum hoc quidem sacerdotibus est cum prophanis commune, vt ad emolumentum messem vigilent omnes neque quisquam ibi leges ignoret. Caeterum si quid sarcinae, id prudenter in alienos humeros reiciunt et alii alii tanquam pilam per manus tradunt. Siquidem laici quoque principes, quemadmodum partes admini-
 845 strandi regni vicariis delegant et vicarius item vicario tradit, ita pietatis studium omne plebi modestiae causa relinquunt. Plebs in eos reicit quos ecclesiasticos vocant, perinde quasi ipsis cum ecclesia nihil omnino sit commercii, quasi baptismi votis nihil prorsus sit actum. Rursum sacerdotes qui sese vocant seculares, quasi mundo initiati, non Christo, in regulares onus hoc deuoluunt, regulares in
 850 monachos, monachi laxiores in arctiores, omnes simul in mendicantes, mendicantes in Carthusienses, apud quos solos sepulta latet pietas | et adeo latet vt vix vnquam liceat conspicerere. Itidem pontifices, in messe pecuniaria diligentissimi, labores illos nimium apostolicos in episcopos relegant, episcopi in pastores, pastores in vicarios, vicarii in fratres mendicantes. Hi rursus in eos retrudunt, a qui-
 855 bus ouium lana tondetur.

Verum non est huius instituti pontificum ac sacerdotum vitam excutere, ne cui videar satyram texere, non encomium recitare neue quis existimet bonos principes a me taxari, dum malos laudo. Sed haec ideo paucis attingi, quo palam fieret nullum esse mortalem qui suauiter viuere possit, nisi meis initiatus sit sacris
 860 meque propiciam habeat.

Nam id quo pacto fieri queat, cum ipsa etiam Rhamnusia, rerum humanarum fortunatrix, mecum adeo consentiat, vt sapientibus istis semper fuerit inimicissima, contra stultis etiam dormientibus omnia commoda adduxerit? Agnoscitis Timotheum illum, cui hinc etiam cognomen, et prouerbum ἡ εὐδοντος κύρτος αἰρεῖ. Rursum aliud γλαυξ ἔπαταται. Contra in sapientes qualdrant illa, ἐν τετραδι
 L.B 487

835 debeant *A B D-H*: debebant *C*.

838 Hercle *H*: Hercule *A-G*.

839 fere *E-H*: *om. A-D*.

841 Veram religionis functionem, alii in alios reiciunt* *C-F*: *om. A B G H*.

846 omne *E-H*: *om. A-D*.

850 monachi ... omnes *B-H*: monachi in laxiores/arctiores/omnes *A*.

851 Carthusienses *A C-H*: Chatrusienses *B*.

856 Stultis fortuna fauet* *C-C*: *om. A B H* (*debebat iuxta l. 868 stare, ubi autem non erat locus in C propter interpretationes marginales prouerbiorum Graecorum*).

857-858 principes *C-H*: pontifices *A B*.

860 meque *C-H*: neque *A B*.

863 dormientibus *A C-H*: dormientibus contra *B*; adduxerit *B-H*: adducit *A*.

- 'Eloge de la folie' et ses traducteurs français au XXe siècle, BAGB, 4e série, 2, 1972, p. 180).
- 835 *vertex rarus* St. Isidore gives almost the same significance for tonsure (*De eccles. officiis*, Migne PL LXXXIII, col. 779-780). Cf. Walther 25146.
- 837 *suo officio* 'Sic enim interpretantur illud, propter officium datur beneficium, quasi utcunque dicere preculas, sit totum sacerdotis officium, cum ea pars sit omnium infima, et laicorum potius quam sacerdotum' (L.). For the dictum 'beneficium propter officium' see F. Capello, *Summa Iuris Canonici*, Rome, 1948, II, 510. 'Officium' means 'delegated responsibility' rather than 'the liturgical hours' (Niermeyer, 'officium' 14), but there was in fact a distinction between a 'double' benefice, which carried duties of pastoral care, and a 'simple' benefice, which required only saying mass and divine office (Capello, *op. cit.*, II, 512).
- 838 *preculas* Here this word probably refers to the liturgical hours, but see note on p. 162, l. 572.
utcunque permurmuravit [1532] Audis et hic non damnari preces solennes sacerdotum, sed eos qui eas sine intellectu, ac sine mente, sed non sine taedio demurmurant. Atque vitiam talibus non esset vndique plenus mundus' (L.).
- 838-840 *quas ... perstrepunt* Cf. Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio* II, 62 (Migne PL CCXVII, col. 836): 'Nam qui semetipsum non audit, nec Deus illum exaudit.'
- 842 *neque quisquam ... ignoret* 'Vt de decimis, de oblationibus, de iure plebani [*Decretalia Gregorii IX*, lib. III, tit. 30, ed. E. Richter and E. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1881, pars 2, 555-569]: et presbyteri duplici honore digni sunt [1. *Tim.* 5, 17]. Et, qui altari seruit, de altario viuat [1. *Cor.* 9, 13, cited in *Decretum Gratiani*, causa XIII, q. 1, ed. E. Richter and E. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879, pars 1, 718] (L.).
- 843-844 *per manus tradunt* See note on p. 162, l. 592.
- 846 *modestiae causa* 'Ironiam habet' (L.).
ecclesiasticos 'All Christians belong to the church, the ministers of which are the priests. All Christians are religious, bound by their baptismal vow to renounce the world, the devil, and his pomps. No other vow can be holier than this one, except that custom has cheapened it so that it is not considered as a vow at all' (L.).
- 849 *regulares* Folly refers not to religious orders that have a rule, for that would also include 'monachos,' but to canons regular, which Er. describes as 'medium genus inter monachos, et canonicos, quos *seculares* appellant' (*Coll., Peregrinatio, ASD I*, 3, p. 475, ll. 157-158).
- 851 *Carthusienses* 'He attributes a great deal to this order, implying nevertheless that they have more in the way of ceremonies than of true piety. This is even admitted by the more judicious among them' (L.). Cf. *Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor*, LB IX, 803 D-804 A.
- 855 *ouium lana tondetur* This phrase seems to glance ironically at *Adag.* 2612 (LB II, 886 D): 'Boni pastoris est, tondere pecus non deglubere.' Also Walther 2113.
- 858 *malos laudo* 'Mira facetia inuertit, malos vocat, quos laudauit, hoc est, vituperauit hactenus. Nam a stulticia laudari, vituperari est' (L.).
- 860 *propiciam* See note on p. 146, l. 385.
- 861-863 *Rhamnusia ... adduxerit* 'Rhamnusia dea est indignationis, quam Graeci Νέμεσιν vocant ... quae superbos aliosque contententes, ... punire credebatur. ... Hic Rhamnusia ipsam dicit fortunam, quae stultis fauere dicitur [Walther 9847c: Fortuna fauet fatuis]. Vnde vulgato prouerbio dicunt, quo quisque est stultior, hoc est fortunator. Contra, sapientibus Rhamnusia semper fuit inimica. [L. quotes and translates Sotades 15, ll. 9-16, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, ed. J.U. Powell, Oxford, 1925, p. 243] (L.). In *Adag.* 1538 (LB II, 597 B), Er. quotes Ammianus describing Rhamnusia (or Nemesis) as 'reginam et arbitram rerum omnium.' But she is presented as punishing the proud and elevating the humble, not as rewarding fools.
- 864-865 *Timotheum ... αἰρεῖ* *Adag.* 482 (LB II, 213 B). 'Timotheus' reply to the quip that his net caught while he slept was 'Imagine what I could do awake' (Er. *Apophth.*, LB IV, 249 B). His 'cognomen' was εὐτυχής, 'lucky' (Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 54, l. 900). *Plut. Mor.* 856 B. Otto No. 579. Though the form ἡ κύρτη exists, κύρτος should be masculine, not feminine. Perhaps Er. intended ἦ 'indeed,' not ἡ. The usual form of the proverb is εὐδοντι κύρτος αἰρεῖ.
- 865 γλαυῆ ἴπταται Since the owl was sacred to Athene, patroness of Athens, the proverb applies to the undeserved successes of the Athenians brought about through the influence of the goddess. *Adag.* 76 (LB II, 57 F).
- 865-866 ἐν τετραδίῳ γεννηθέντες Since Hercules was born 'in the fourth moon', the proverb applies to those born to a life of struggles and labors. *Adag.* 77 (LB II, 58 A).

866 γεννηθέντες, et equum habet Seianum, et aurum Tolosanum. Sed desino
 παρομιμάζεσθαι, ne videar Erasmi mei commentaria suppilasse.

Ergo vt ad rem, Amat fortuna parum cordatos, amat audaciores, et quibus
 870 illud placet πᾶς ἐρρίφθω κύβος. At sapientia timidulos reddit ideoque vulgo vide-
 tis sapientibus istis cum paupertate, cum fame, cum fumo rem esse; neglectos,
 inglorios, inuisos viuere; stultos affluere nummis, admoueri Reipublicae guber-
 naculis, breuiter florere modis omnibus. Etenim si quis beatum existimet prin-
 cipibus placuisse viris et inter aurcos illos ac gemmeos deos versari, quid inutilius
 875 sapientia, imo quid apud hoc hominum genus damnatius? Si diuitiae parandae
 sunt, quid tandem lucri facturus est negociator, si sapientiam secutus periurio
 offendetur, si in mendacio deprehensus erubescet, si anxios illos de furtis atque
 vsuris sapientum scrupulos vel tantuli faciet? Porro si quis honores atque opes
 L.B. 488 ambiat ecclesiasticas, ad eas vel asinus vel bubalus citius penetrabit | quam
 sapiens. Si voluptate ducaris, puellae, maxima huius fabulae pars, stultis toto pec-
 880 tore sunt addictae, sapientem haud secus ac scorpium horrent fugiuntque. Deni-
 que quicumque paulo festiuus ac laetius viuere parant, sapientem in primis exclu-
 dunt ac quoduis animal potius admittunt. Breuiter quoquo te vertas, apud pon-
 tifices, principes, iudices, magistratus, amicos, hostes, maximos, minimos,
 omnia praesentibus nummis parantur, quos vti contemnit sapiens, ita illum
 885 sedulo fugere consueuerunt.

Sed cum laudum mearum nullus sit modus neque finis, tamen oratio aliquando
 finem habeat necesse est. Itaque desinam dicere, sed si prius ostendero paucis non
 deesse magnos autores, qui me literis suis pariter ac factis illustrarint, ne cui forte
 stulte mihi soli videar placere neue legulei calumnientur me nihil allegare. Ad
 890 ipsorum igitur exemplum allegabimus, hoc est, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος.

Principio illud omnibus vel notissimo prouerbio persuasum est, vbi res abest,
 ibi simulationem esse optimam. Eoque recte statim traditur hic versus pueris:
Stulticiam simulare loco sapientia summa est. Vos iam ipsi coniiicite, quam ingens sit
 bonum Stulticia, cuius etiam fallax vmbra et imitatio sola tantum laudis meretur
 895 a doctis. Sed multo candidius pinguis ille ac nitidus Epicuri de grege porcus mis-
 cere *stulticiam consiliis* iubet, tametsi *breuem* non admodum scite addidit. Item alibi,
Dulce est desipere in loco. Rursum alio in loco mauult *delirus inersque videri quam sapere*
et ringi. Iam apud Homerum Telemachus, quem modis omnibus laudat poeta,
 subinde νήπιος appellatur atque eodem praenomine tanquam felicitis ominus liben-
 900 ter pueros et adolescentes vocare solent tragici. Quid autem sacrum Iliadis car-
 men nisi *stultorum regum et populorum continet aestus?* Porro quam absoluta laus illa
 Ciceronis? *Stultorum plena sunt omnia.* Quis enim ignorat vnumquodque bonum,
 quo latius patet, hoc esse praestantius?

Atqui fortassis apud Christianos horum leuis est autoritas; proinde sacrarum
 905 quoque literarum testimoniis, si videtur, laudes nostras fulciamus siue, vt docti
 solent, fundemus, principio veniam a theologis praefatae, vt nobis fas esse velint.
 L.B. 489 Deinde quoniam arduam rem aggredimur et fortassis im|probum fuerit, denuo
 Musas ex Helicone ad tantum itineris reuocare, praesertim cum res sit alienior,

910 fortasse magis conueniet optare, vt interim, dum theologum ago perque has spinas ingredior, Scoti anima paulisper ex sua Sorbona in meum pectus demigret, quouis hystrice atque erinaceo spinosior, moxque remigret quo lubebit, vel ἐς

871 viuere E-H: om. A-D.

872 Ad omnia vtilior stulticia. Id mira inductione probat (Id ... probat om. CD)* C-H: om. A B; existimet C-H: existimat A B.

873 aureos H: meos A-G.

881 paulo A B E-H: Paulo C-D.

886 Laus stulticiae ex autoribus* C-H: om. A

B.

896 addidit A C-H: addite addidit B.

900 tragici E-H: om. A, poetae B-D.

901 aestus H: iras A-G.

902 plena sunt A B G H: sunt plena C-F.

911 erinaceo C-H: Ericio A B.

866 *equum habet Seianum* Gnaeus Seius, first owner of a beautiful Argive horse, and succeeding owners all came to utter ruin, together with their houses, families, and possessions (Gell. III, 9, 1-6). *Adag.* 997 (LB II, 395 F). Otto No. 1620.

aurum Tolosanum When Toulouse was sacked by Quintus Caepio, much gold was found in the temples but whoever touched it died an agonizing death (Gell. III, 9, 7-9). *Adag.* 998 (LB II, 396 B). Otto No. 1793.

867 *Erasmi mei* ... He criticizes no one by name except himself. What could be more modest? (L.). Folly apparently expects her audience to be familiar with the Aldine edition of Er.'s *Adagia* (Venice, 1508).

868 *Amat ... cordatos* See note on p. 176, ll. 861-863.

amat audaciores *Adag.* 145 (I.B II, 88 B). Otto No. 702.

869 πᾶς ἐρριφθῶ κλύβος *Adag.* 332 (LB II, 162 C).

872-873 *principibus ... viris* Hor. [*Epist.* I, 17, 35] (L.).

876-877 *anxious ... scrupulos* See note on p. 136, ll. 215-216.

882 *quoduis animal* 'Pro quouis homine, et emphasim habet' (L.). Cf. Cic. *Leg.* I, 7, 22.

883 *maximos, minimos* Cf. Otto No. 1010.

884 *omnia ... parantur* Cf. Otto No. 1165. Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 102, l. 22 and note.

888 *magnos autores* 'Non pas "de grands écrivains" (le Christ est-il un écrivain?), mais "de grandes autorités"' (Jacques Chomarat, *L'Éloge de la folie et ses traducteurs français au XXe siècle*, BAGB, 4e série, 2 (1972), p. 175).

890 οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος *Adag.* 445 (LB II, 199 B); Aristoph. *Ecll.* 751.

891-892 *proverbio ... optimam* 'In his plane lusit ingenio, et partim argumentis, partim detortis, quod vult colligit' (L.). Cf. Walther 32039.

893 *Stulticiam ... summa est* Dionysius Cato, *Disticha* II, 18, 2. Walther 30422. Kan quotes Er.'s note on this line of the *Disticha* from a 1596

edition: 'Aliquando ... sumenda persona stulti, praesertim inter stultos, vt stultum agas, non vt stultus fias.'

895 *pinguis ... porcus* Hor. *Epist.* [I, 4, 15-16] (L.).

895-896 *miscere ... addidit* Hor. *Carm.* [IV, 12, 27]: 'miscere stultitiam consilii breuem.'

897 *Dulce ... loco* Hor. *Carm.* [IV, 12, 28]. (L.). As Hudson notes (p. 150), 'alibi' seems to be a slip on Er.'s part.

897-898 *delirus ... ringi* Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 126-128.

898-900 *Homerum ... tragici* Folly exploits the double meaning of γήπιος (which is pointed out by L.): simply 'child' (and in this sense it is applied to Telemachus in *Od.* XI, 448-449) and 'foolish' (e.g. *Od.* IX, 44). Soph. uses the word in the sense 'child' (*Ion*, 1399; *Andr.* 755; *Heraclid.* 956).

901 *stultorum ... aestus* Hor. *Epist.* [I, 2, 8] (L.).

902 *Stultorum ... omnia* Cic. *Fam.* IX, 22, 4. Otto No. 1701. Walther 30433a. The phrase occurs casually in a discussion of obscene overtones present in ordinary words; H. Stephanus thought it spurious (Cic. *Epistolae*, ed. N.E. Lammaire, Paris, 1827, I, 460).

902-903 *vnunquodque ... praestantius* *The Macmillan Book of Proverbs, Maxims, and Famous Sayings*, ed. B. Stevenson, New York, 1968, gives 'bonum quo communius eo melius' as an early saying of unknown origin. St. Ignatius Loyola wrote 'bonum, quo vniuersalius, eo diuinius est' in *Societatis Iesu Constitutiones*, pars 7, cap. 2, Rome, 1949, p. 225.

906 *fundemus* 'Obiter taxat verbum Theologis familiare, sed non perinde probatum, atque vsitatum' (L.). See note on p. 156, l. 491.

907-908 *denuo Musas ... reuocare* 'Quoniam antea iam inuocauit' (L.). See p. 106, ll. 621-622.

908 *alienior* 'That is, hardly suited to the Muses, since it pertains more to the theologians' (L.).

911 *hystrice* L. gives information contained in *Adag.* 3192 (LB II, 1006 E).

911-912 ἐς κόρακας *Adag.* 1096 (LB II, 446 B). Aristoph. *Ran.* 189, 607.

κώρακας. Vtinam et vultum alium liceat sumere et ornatus adsit theologicus. Verum illud interim vereor, ne quis me furti ream agat, quasi clanculum magistrorum nostrorum scrinia compilauerim, quae tantum rei theologiae teneam.
 915 Sed non adeo mirum videri debet, si tam diutina, quae mihi arctissima est, cum theologis consuetudine nonnihil arripui, cum ficulnus etiam ille deus Priapus nonnullas Graecas voces legente domino subnotarit tenueritque et Gallus Lucia-
 nicus longo hominum conuictu sermonem humanum expedite calluerit.

Sed iam ad rem bonis auiibus. Scripsit Ecclesiastes capite primo: *Stultorum infinitus est numerus*. Cum numerum praedicat infinitum, nonne mortales vniuersos complecti videtur, praeter pauculos aliquot, quos haud scio an cuiquam videre contigerit? Sed magis ingenue confitetur hoc Hieremias capite decimo *Stultus*, inquit, *factus est omnis homo a sapientia sua*. Soli deo tribuit sapientiam, vniuersis hominibus stulticiam relinquens. Ac rursus paulo superius: *Ne gloriatur homo in sapientia sua*. Cur non vis hominem in sua sapientia gloriari, optime Hieremia? Nimirum, inquit, ob id, quia non habet sapientiam. Sed ad Ecclesiasten redeo. Hunc, cum exclamat *vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*, quid aliud sensisse creditis nisi, quemadmodum diximus, vitam humanam nihil aliud quam stulticiae ludicrum esse? Nimirum Ciceronianae laudi album addit calculum, cuius optimo iure celebratur illud, quod modo retulimus: *Stultorum plena sunt omnia*. Rursus sapiens ille Ecclesiasticus, qui dixit *stultus mutatur vt luna, sapiens permanet vt sol*, quid aliud innuit nisi mortale genus omne stultum esse, soli deo sapientis nomen competere? Siquidem lunam humanam naturam interpretantur, solem omnis luminis fontem, deum. Huic astipulatur quod ipse Christus in euangelio negat quenquam appellandum bonum nisi deum vnum. Porro si stultus est quisquis sapiens non est et quisquis bonus, idem sapiens (autoribus Stoicis), nimirum mortales omnes stulticia complectatur necessum est. Iterum Salomon capite decimoquinto *Stulticia*, inquit, *gaudium stulto*, videlicet manifeste confitens sine stulticia nihil in vita suaue esse. Eodem pertinet illud quoque: *Qui apponit scientiam, apponit dolorem, et in multo sensu multa indignatio*. An non idem palam confitetur egregius ille concionator capite septimo? *Cor sapientium, vbi tristitia est, et cor stultorum, vbi laetitia*. Eoque non satis habuit sapientiam perdiscere, nisi nostri quoque cognitionem addidisset. Quod si mihi parum habetur fidei, ipsius accipite verba quae scripsit capite primo: *dedique cor meum, vt scirem prudentiam atque doctrinam erroresque et stulticiam*. Quo quidem loco illud animaduertendum, ad stulticiae laudem pertinere quod eam posteriore posuit loco. Ecclesiastes scripsit, et hunc scitis esse ordinem ecclesiasticum, vt qui dignitate primus sit, is locum obtineat extremum, vel hic certe memor euangelici praecepti.

L.B. 491 Sed stulticiam praestantiorum esse sapientia et ecclesiasticus ille, quisquis fuit,
 950 liquido testatur capite quadragesimoquarto, cuius me hercle verba non prius proferam quam *εἰσαγωγήν* meam commoda responsione adiuueritis, vt faciunt apud Platonem hi qui cum Socrate disputant. Vtra magis conuenit recondere, quae rara sunt et preciosa an quae vulgaria viliaque? Quid tacetis? Etiam si vos dissimuletis, prouerbum illud Graecorum pro vobis respondet, τὴν ἐπὶ θύραις ὑδρίαν,

- 919 aubus *A-FH*: auribus *G*.
 920-926 Cum numerum ... redeo *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 924 paulo *F-H*: Paulo *C-E*.
 927 Hunc *C-H*: Idem *A*, Eundem *B*.
 929 Nimirum *B-H*: *om. A*; addit *H*: addens *A*, addentem *B-G*.
- 916 *ficulus* Hor. *Serm.* [I, 8, 1-2] (L). Cf. note p. 164, l. 624.
 917 *Graecas ... tenueritque* Priap. [LXVIII, 3-4] (L.).
 917-918 *Gallus ... calluerit* Lucian. *Somnium siue gallus* [trans. Er., *ASD* I, 1, p. 473, ll. 8-10] (L.).
 919 *bonis aubus* *Adag.* 75 (LB II, 57 C).
capite primo "Tacite ridet quorundam morem, qui nunquam non citant, atque id praeclarum putant, si nomen partem, distinctionem, capitulum, paragraphum, columnam, denique versum" (L). *Mea maxima culpa*.
 919-920 *Stultorum ... numerus* *Eccles.* 1, 15. Walther 30430.
 922-923 *Stultus ... sapientia sua* *Ir.* 10, 15.
 923 *Soli ... sapientiam* *Ir.* 10, 7 and 12.
 924-925 *Ne gloriatur ... sapientia sua* *Ir.* 9, 23.
 927 *vanitas ... omnia vanitas* *Eccles.* 1, 2 and 12, 8.
 928-929 *stulticiae ludicrum* See p. 104, ll. 599-601.
 929 *album addit calculum* *Adag.* 453 (LB II, 202 B).
 930 *retulimus* See p. 178, l. 902.
 931 *stultus ... sol* *Sir.* 27, 12. Walther 30478a.
 933-934 *lanam ... deum* St. Augustine, *Epist.* 55, 8-9, CSEL XXXIV, 177-179. St. Caesarius (Gregorii fratris), *Dial.* II, interrog. 100, Migne PG XXXVIII, 966: luna est 'euidens imago nostrae naturae.'
 934-935 *Christus ... unum* *Mt.* 19, 17.
 936 *quisquis bonus ... Stoicis* *SVF* III, 148-149, 164-168.
 937-938 *Stulticia ... stulto* *Prv.* 15, 21.
 939-940 *Qui apponit ... indignatio* *Eccles.* 1, 18.
 940-941 *egregius ille concionator* "... "notre grand Prédicateur"; en effet, *concionator* est la très exacte transposition latine d'*ἐγκλησιαστής*; Erasme joue sur les deux langues et sur la possibilité de traiter le mot grec soit en nom propre, "l'Ecclésiaste," soit en nom commun, "le prédicateur" - de même que quelques lignes plus bas dans *Ecclesiastes scripsit, et hunc scitis esse ordinem ecclesiasticum, ut* ... [p. 180, ll. 946-947] il joue sur le rapport étymologique entre ce mot et "ecclésiastique" (Jacques Chomarat, *L'Éloge de la folie et ses traducteurs français au XXe siècle*, BAGB, 4e série, 2 (1972), p. 176).
- 929-930 *cuius ... illud* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 930 *quod modo retulimus* *GH*: *om. A-F*; *Stultorum ... omnia* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 931 *Ecclesiasticus* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
 937 *est* *A-F*: *esse* *G H*.
 938 *manifeste* *C-H*: *manifesto* *A B*.
 940-968 *An non idem ... laudes* *C-H*: *om. A B*.
- 941 *Cor ... laetitia* *Eccles.* 7, 5.
 944-945 *dedique ... stulticiam* *Eccles.* 1, 17.
 946-947 *ordinem ecclesiasticum* Guilelmus Durandus in *Rationale Diuinorum Officiorum*, Venice, 1568(?), describes the order and significance of ecclesiastical processions in detail (IV, 6, 15-17, ff° 66^v-67; VI, 102, 3, ff° 258^v), but he does not refer to the gospel texts about the first and the last. Er.'s ironical allusion was probably a brilliant invention. See note on p. 180, ll. 940-941.
 948 *euangelici praecepti* *Mt.* 19, 30; 20, 16; *Mc.* 10, 31; *Lc.* 13, 30.
 949-950 *ecclesiasticus ... quadragesimoquarto* Er. or the printer (reading '44' instead of '41' or 'xx') seems to have mistaken the chapter, since *Sir.* 44 contains no support for Folly's viewpoint. The words to which she refers here (quoted verbatim in ll. 961-962 below) are from *Sir.* 41, 18: 'Melior est homo qui abscondit stultitiam suam, quam homo qui abscondit sapientiam suam.' Cf. the very similar text in *Sir.* 20, 33: 'Melior est qui celat insipientiam suam quam homo qui abscondit sapientiam suam.'
 951-952 *εισαγωγήν ... disputant* "... id est, inductio, genus est argumentationis, cum ex similibus concessis colligitur id quod volumus. Frequens est in hoc Socrates platonius, sed aduersarium comode respondentem facit, id quod notat etiam Quintilianus" (L.). Quint. *Inst.* V, 11, 3, describes 'inductio' (which he also calls *παράδειγμα*) and gives an example from Cic. *Inv.* I, 31, 51. Er. calls the Socratic questioning 'paragoge' or 'inductio' (*Eccles.*, LB V, 927 A, 942 E). Cf. Gell. XVI, 8, 1.
 954 *τὴν ἐπιθύραϊς ὑδρίαν* Aristot. *Rhet.* 1363 A. Like L., Er. (*Adag.* 1065, LB II, 431 A and *Eccles.*, LB V, 1047 B) interprets the proverb to mean that cheap things can be left free and unguarded, but he is aware that it is defective as Aristotle reports it. More in keeping with Aristotle's context, modern editors (like J.H. Freese, Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1939) take it to apply to 'lost labor' - to break the pitcher after carrying it home.

955 quod ne quis impie reiiciat, refert Aristoteles, magistrorum nostrorum deus. An
 quisquam vestrum tam stultus est vt gemmas et aurum in via relinquat? Non
 hercle, opinor. In abditissimis penetralibus, nec id satis, in munitissimorum scri-
 niorum secretissimis angulis, ista reponitis, coenum in propatulo relinquitis.
 960 Ergo si quod preciosius est reconditur, quod vilius exponitur, nonne palam est
 sapientiam, quam vetat abscondi, viliores esse stulticia, quam recondi iubet?
 lam ipsius testimonii verba accipite. *Melior est homo qui abscondit stulticiam suam
 quam homo qui abscondit sapientiam suam.*

Quid quod animi quoque candorem diuinae literae stulto tribuunt, cum
 sapiens interim neminem sui similem putet. Sic enim intelligo id quod scribit
 965 Ecclesiastes capite decimo: *Sed et in via stultus ambulans, cum ipse insipiens sit, omnes*
 stultos existimat. An non istud eximii cuiusdam candoris est, omnes aequare tibi
 ipsi cumque nemo non magnifice de se sentiat, omnibus tamen tuas communi-
 care laudes? Proinde nec puduit tantum regem huius cognominis, cum ait capite
 trigesimo: *Stultissimus sum virorum.* Neque Paulus ille magnus gentium doctor,
 970 Corinthiis scribens, stulti cognomen illibenter agnoscit: *Vt insipiens, inquit, dico,
 plus ego,* perinde quasi turpe sit vinci stulticia.

Sed interim obstrepunt mihi Graeculi quidam, qui tot huius temporis theolo-
 gorum ceu cornicum oculos student configere, dum annotationes suas veluti
 fumos quosdam aliis offundunt, cuius gregis si non Alpha, certe Beta meus est
 975 Erasmus, quem ego saepius honoris causa nomino. O vere stultam, inquiunt, et
 ipsa dignam Moria citationem. Longe diuersa mens apostoli quam tu somnias.
 Nec enim hoc agit his verbis, vt caeteris stultior haberetur, verum cum dixisset
ministri Christi sunt, et ego, seque veluti iactabundus in hac quoque parte aequasset
 caeteris, per correctionem adiecit *plus ego,* sentiens se non modo parem reliquis
 980 apostolis in euangelii ministerio verum etiam aliquanto superiorem. Idque cum
 ita verum videri vellet, ne tamen vt arrogantius dictum offenderet aures, prae-
 muniit stulticiae praetextu, *Vt minus sapiens dico,* propterea quod sciret esse stul-
 torum priuilegium, vt soli verum citra offensam proloquantur.

Verum quid Paulus senserit cum haec scriberet, ipsis disputandum relinquo.
 985 Ego magnos, pingues, crassos, et vulgo probatissimos theologos sequor, cum
 quibus magna pars doctorum errare $\nu\eta\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \Delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ malit quam cum istis trilinguibus
 bene sentire. Neque quisquam illorum Graeculos istos pluris facit quam Gracu-
 los: praesertim cum quidam gloriosus theologus, cuius ego nomen prudens sup-
 primo, ne graculi nostri continuo Graecum in illum scomma iaciant $\delta\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$,
 LB 492 | magistraliter et theologaliter hunc passum enarrans ab hoc loco, *Vt minus sapiens*
 991 dico, plus ego, nouum facit caput et (quod absque summa dialectica non poterat)
 nouam addit sectionem, ad hunc interpretans modum (adducam enim ipsius
 verba, non solum in forma, verum etiam in materia): *Vt minus sapiens dico,* id est,
 995 si videor vobis insipiens me pseudapostolis adaequando, adhuc videbor vobis
 minus sapiens me eis praeferendo. Quanquam idem paulo post, velut oblitus sui,
 alio delabitur.

Sed cur anxie me vnus exemplo tueor? – cum hoc publicum ius sit theologo-

rum, coelum, hoc est, diuinam scripturam, ceu pellem extendere; cum apud diuum Paulum pugnent diuinæ scripturæ verba, quæ suo loco non pugnant (si qua fides illi πενταγλώττω Hieronymo) cum Athenis forte conspectum aræ titulum torqueret in argumentum fidei Christianæ ac caeteris omissis, quæ causæ fuerant offectura, duo tantum extrema verba decerpserit, nempe hæc, *ignoto deo*,

970 Corinthiis scribens C-H: *om. A B*; Vt insipiens, inquit, dico C-II: Insipiens quis est, inquiens A B.

961-962 *Melior ... suam Sir.* 41, 18. See note on p. 180, ll. 949-950.

965-966 *Sed ... existimat Eccl.* 10, 3.

968 *regem* Solomon, considered as the author of *Eccl.* and *Prv.*

969 *Stultissimus sum virorum Prv.* 30, 2.

970-971 *Vt insipiens ... ego 2. Cor.* 11, 23.

973 *cornicum oculos ... configere Adag.* 275 (LB II, 140 A). Otto No. 436.

974 *fumos ... offundunt* See note on p. 104, ll. 573-574.

si non Alpha, certe Beta Perhaps Er. makes Folly give him the second place rather than the first because his work on the Greek text of Scripture had been preceded by that of Lorenzo Valla or Lefèvre d'Étaples. But the self-depreciatory attitude toward himself is in keeping with the ironical stance he assumes in other places in the *Moria* (e.g. p. 122, ll. 964-966; p. 178, l. 867). See F.p. 337, ll. 835-852. Girolamo Bologni was far from the mark in his four-line Latin epigram against the *Moria*: he accused Er. of imagining that he alone is sane (the greatest madness of all!) — see Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, *Zwei unveröffentlichte Gedichte an Erasmus aus Girolamo Bolognis Promiscuorum Libri*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 19 (1970), pp. 235-239: 'Libellus Erasmi Roterodami de Insania/Te quoque tam clari, Roterodame, nominis atra/Egit in insanos scribere bilis opus/Tene putas sanum? Non est insania major./Quam sanum quando se putat vilus homo.'

986 νῆ τὸν Δία' ... festiuiter autem adiecit iuramentum rei ridiculae' (L.).

trilinguibus 'The three languages are Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, in which all knowledge, sacred and secular, has come down to us. The ancients considered them so necessary for sacred scripture that it was even provided in the papal decrees [Allen, Ep. 182, n.l. 181] that the knowledge of these languages be publicly maintained in the schools, because they judged that without them the mysteries

972-67 *Sed interim ... Paulum redco C-H: om. A B.*

987 *istos E-H: illos C D.*

of holy scripture cannot be understood. But our theologians are so devoted to dialectical subtleties that they don't even take the trouble to learn the Latin language' (L.). Er. played an important role in the founding of the trilingual college at Louvain and remained interested in it throughout his lifetime (Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, 4 vols., Louvain, 1951-1955, I, pp. 12-14, 342-348, 386-390; II, pp. 628-633; III, pp. 384-453).

987-988 *Graeculos ... Graculos Cf. Adag.* 622 (LB II, 270 B). Otto No. 766.

988 *gloriosus* L. notes the ambiguity ('famous' or 'vainglorious').

988-989 *nomen ... λύρας* '... Allusit ad cognomen Nicolai de Lyra' (L.). See p. 166, l. 658 and note on p. 100, l. 515.

990 *magistraliter et theologaliter* 'Haec sunt barbara eorum verba, quæ data opera per iocum imitatus est, [1532] quemadmodum dixit passum pro locum' (L.).

991-992 *nouum ... sectionem* In his note on this text in *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 790-791, Er. takes Nicolas de Lyra to task at greater length.

998 *diuinam ... extendere Cf. M. Tilley, Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966, C608, N226.

999 *pugnent ... pugnant* M. Screech notes that 'Erasmus, par analogie avec *militare* plus le datif, emploie *pugnare* plus le datif au sens de "combattre pour la Sainte Ecriture"' (*L'Eloge de la Folie et les études bibliques d'Erasmus: quelques réflexions*, in *Réforme et Humanisme: Actes du IV^e Colloque*, Centre d'Histoire de la Réforme et du Protestantisme, Université de Montpellier, Montpellier, 1977, pp. 157-158).

1000 πενταγλώττω '... For we know that Jerome knew Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Dalmatian ...' (L.).

1000-4 *titulum ... peregrinis* See Er. *Annot. in NT*, Act. 17, 23, LB VI, 501. L. quotes St. Jerome's

atque haec quoque nonnihil immutata, siquidem integer titulus sic habebat: *Diis Asiae, Europae et Africae, diis ignotis et peregrinis*. Ad huius, opinor, exemplum passim iam οἱ τῶν θεολόγων παῖδες hinc atque hinc reuulsa quatuor aut quinque ver-
 5 bula, et si quid opus est etiam deprauata, ad suam accommodant vtilitatem, licet ea quae praecedunt et consequuntur aut nihil omnino faciant ad rem aut reclament quoque. Quod quidem faciunt tam felici impudentia, vt saepenumero theologis inuideant iureconsulti.

L.B. 493 Quid enim illis iam non succedat, posteaquam | magnus ille (pene nomen effu-
 11 tiueram, sed rursus metuo Graecum prouerbum) ex Lucae verbis sententiam expresserit, tam consentaneam animo Christi quam igni cum aqua conuenit. Etenim cum immineret extremum periculum, quo tempore solent boni clientes maxime suis adesse patronis et quanta valent ope συμμαχεῖν, Christus hoc agens,
 15 vt omnem huiusmodi praesidiorum fiduciam eximeret ex animis suorum, percontatus est eos, num quid rei defuisset vsquam, cum illos emisisset adeo non instructos viatico, vt nec calceis muniret aduersus spinarum et saxorum iniuriam nec peram adderet aduersus famem. Vbi negassent defuisse quicquam, adiecit: *Sed nunc, inquit, qui habet sacculum tollat, similiter et peram; et qui non habet, vendat tunicam suam et emat gladium*. Cum tota Christi doctrina nihil aliud inculcet quam mansuetudinem, tolerantiam, vitae contemptum, cui non perspicuum sit, quid hoc
 20 loco sentiat? Nempe vt magis etiam exarmet suos legatos, vt non tantum calceos negligant et peram, verum et tunicam insuper abiiciant nudique et prorsus expediti munus euangelicum aggrediantur, nihil sibi parent nisi gladium, non istum
 25 quo grassantur latrones et parricidae, sed gladium spiritus in intimos quoque pectoris sinus penetrantem, qui semel affectus omneis sic amputat, vt nihil iam illis cordi sit praeter pietatem.

At videte, quaeso, quorsum haec torqueat celebris ille theologus. Gladium interpretatur defensionem aduersus persecutionem, sacculum sufficientem com-
 L.B. 494 meatus | prouisionem, perinde quasi Christus commutata in diuersum sententia,
 31 quod oratores suos parum βασιλικῶς instructos emisisse videretur, superioris institutionis palinodiam canat aut velut oblitus quod dixerat beatos fore cum probris, contumeliis et suppliciis afficerentur, prohibens ne quando resisterent malo, mites enim beatos esse, non feroces, oblitus quod illos ad passerum et lilio-
 35 rum exemplum vocarit, nunc adeo noluerit eos absque gladio proficisci, vt eum vel tunica diuendita iubeat emi malitque nudos ire quam non accinctos ferro. Ad haec, quemadmodum gladii nomine contineri putat quicquid ad depellendam vim pertinet, ita marsupii titulo complectitur quicquid ad vitae pertinet necessitatem. Atque ita diuinae mentis interpretes apostolos lanceis, balistis, fundis et
 40 bombardis instructos educit ad praedicationem crucifixi. Loculis item, vidulis et sarcinis onerat, ne forte non liceat illis e diuersorio discedere nisi impransis. Nec vel illud commouit hominem quod ensem, quem tantopere iusserat emi, mox idem obiurgans iubeat recondi quodque nunquam fando sit auditum apostolos ensibus aut clypeis vsos aduersus vim ethnicorum, vtique vsuros, si Christus hoc
 45 sensisset, quod hic interpretatur.

LB 495

Est | alius, quem honoris causa non nomino, haudquaquam postremi nominis, qui e tentoriis, quorum meminit Habacuk, *turbabuntur pelles terrae Madian*, pellem fecerit Bartholomaei excoriati. Ipsa nuper interfui dissertationi theologicae, nam id facio frequenter. Ibi cum quispiam exigeret, quae tandem esset diuinarum literarum autoritas, quae iuberet haereticos incendio vinci magis quam disputatione

50

- 5 *alt. hinc E-H: huic C D.*
 31 *quod C D F-H: quo E.*
 33 *afficerentur E-H: affligerentur C D.*
 35 *eum E-H: om. C D.*

commentary on *Tit.* 1, 12, Migne *PL* XXVI, 572-573.

- 5 οἱ τῶν θεολόγων παῖδες ... Alludit ad Lucianum [*Dips.* 5], qui ἰατρῶν παῖδας, id est, medicorum filios, saepicula ipsos ἰατρούς, id est, ipsos medicos vocauit' (L.). Cf. *Adag. prol.*, LB II, 10 F. For L.'s diminutive *saepicula* ('pretty often') see Plaut. *Car.* 703.
 9 *ireconsulti* 'For it is the common custom of the lawyers to make irrelevant citations, since they think it is a splendid thing to thrust in as many as possible, even if they are quite out of place. In this our theologians imitate them so well as to surpass them' (L.). Cf. Ep. 858, ll. 70-73.
 10 *magnus ille* 'Nicolaum de Lyra intelligit. ...' (L.).
 11 *Graecum prouerbiū* See p. 182, l. 989.
 12 *igni cum aqua* *Adag.* 3294 (LB II, 1023 D).
 14 *συμμαχεῖν* Citing Thuc. I [44, 1], L. explains that *συμμαχεῖν* applies to an alliance for aggressive war, whereas *ἐπιμαχία* is an alliance for defensive war only.
 15-20 *percontatus ... gladium* *Lc.* 22, 35-36. In *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 317 C-321 F, Er. has a long and passionate note rejecting Nicolas de Lyra's interpretation of this passage. Commenting 'literaliter' on *Lc.* 22, Nicolas does give the interpretation ridiculed by Folly, though he twice qualifies the defence symbolized by the sword as 'moderate.' Commenting 'moraliter,' he adds 'Gladius spiritus est dei verbum in sacra scriptura contentum' (quoting *Mt.* 13, 45 and *Sap.* 7, 9 as parallel texts). Cf. Er. *Iulius exclusus*, ed. Wallace Ferguson, The Hague, 1933, p. 79, n.l. 276.
 25 *gladium spiritus* L. quotes St. Ambrose [*Expositio in Lucam*, *CCSL* X, 54, 529-536].
 28-29 *Gladium interpretatur* See note on p. 184, ll. 15-20.
 31 βασιλικῶς 'id est, regaliter et magnifice, quo verbo saepe vitur Lucianus' (L.). *Adag.* 1786 (LB II, 660 B).
 32 *palinodiam* See note on p. 146, l. 384.

47 *Turbabuntur pelles terrae Madian** *E: om. C D F-H.*

49 *Festiuā fabella de theologo** *E-H: om. C D.*

32-33 *beatos ... afficerentur* *Mt.* 5, [11] (L.).

33-34 *prohibens ... feroces* *Mt.* 5, [39-42 and 4] (L.).

34-35 *passerum ... exemplum* *Mt.* 6, [26-30] (L.). *Mt.* 10, 29-31.

39 *diuinae mentis interpres* 'εἰρωνικῶς, cum commentum illius sit a diuina mente alienissimum' (L.).

40 *bombardis* 'Cannons' (Du Cange and Latham), though it was sometimes applied to smaller firearms (Du Cange).

educit ad praedicationem crucifixi L. notes the military connotations of 'educit' and its emphatic contrast with 'crucifixi.'

42-43 *nox ... recondi* *Mt.* 26, 52; *Iob.* 18, 11.

46-48 *alius ... excoriati* 'As far as I remember, it is among the sermons preached by Jordanus. Misled by the word "pellium," which the historians use to mean "military tents," because they used to make tents out of skins, he takes it to mean human skin - especially since the story about Bartholomew has little authority' (L.). *Hab.* 3, 7. Jordanus is perhaps Jordanus von Quedlinburg (c. 1300-1380), famed as a preacher. Collections of his sermons were widespread and exercised a strong influence on the piety of the late middle ages. His sermons were printed in 1483-1485. See F. Rennhofer in *L.Th.K.* V, 1120. In a list of preachers who should not be taken as models, Er. mentions 'Sermones Iordanis' (*Eccles.*, LB V, 857 E). He also gives this same example of a false exordium in *Eccles.*, LB V, 863 B-C. Applying 1. *Sm.* 18, 4 to St. Bartholomew, Jordanus von Quedlinburg (*Sermones de Sanctis*, Strassburg, 1484, British Museum IB 1361, sermo 128, sigs. v2-v3) mentions only Gideon's victory over the Madianites (*Iud.* 7) as analogous to Bartholomew's prayers; the scriptural texts he applies to Bartholomew's excoriation do at least apply to skin (not tents) in their original contexts (*Iob.* 2, 4 and 10, 11; *Mch.* 3, 3; *Gn.* 3, 21).

reuinci, senex quidam seuerus et vel supercilio teste theologus magno stomacho respondit hanc legem tulisse Paulum apostolum, qui dixerit: *Haereticum hominem post vnā et alteram correptionem deuita*. Cumque ea verba identidem intonaret et plerique demirarentur quid accidisset homini, tandem explanauit *de vita tollendum haereticum*. Risere quidam nec deerant tamen quibus hoc commentum
 55 plane theologicum videretur, caeterum reclamantibus etiamnum nonnullis, successit *τενέδιος*, quod aiunt, *συνήγορος* et autor irrefragabilis. Accipite rem, inquit, scriptum est, *maleficum ne patiaris viuere*, omnis haereticus maleficus, ergo etc. Mirari quotquot aderant hominis ingenium et in eam sententiam itum est pedi-
 60 bus, et quidem peronatis. Neque cuiquam venit in mentem legem eam ad sortilegos et incantatores ac magos attinere, quos Hebraei sua lingua vocant *מכשפים*.
 LB 496 | Alioqui fornicationem et ebrietatem capite punire oportuit.

Verum haec stulte persequor tam innumera, vt nec Chrysippi nec Didymi voluminibus omnia comprehendere possint. Illud duntaxat admonitos volebam, cum
 65 haec diuinis illis magistris licuerint, mihi quoque plane *σὺκίνη θεολόγω* par est dare veniam, si minus omnia ad amussim citauero.

Nunc tandem ad Paulum redeo: *Libenter*, inquit, *fertis insipientes*, de sese loquens. Et rursum *velut insipientem accipite me, et non loquor secundum deum, sed quasi in insipientia*. Rursus alibi *Nos*, inquit, *stulti propter Christum*. Audistis a quanto
 70 autore quanta stulticiae praeconia. Quid, quod idem palam stulticiam praecipit vt rem in primis necessariam, et oppido salutarem? *Qui videtur esse sapiens inter vos, stultus fiat, vt sit sapiens*. Et apud Lucam duos discipulos, quibus se iunxerat in via, Iesus stultos appellat. Illud haud scio an mirum videatur, cum deo quoque non-
 nihil stulticiae tribuit diuinus ille Paulus: *Quod stultum est, inquit, dei, sapientius est*
 75 *hominibus*. Porro Origenes interpres obsistit, quo minus hanc stulticiam ad hominum opinionem possis referre: quod genus est illud, *verbum crucis pereuntibus quidem stulticiam*.

Sed quid ego frustra anxia tot testimoniis haec docere pergo, cum in psalmis mysticis palam ipse Christus loquatur patri *Tu scis insipientiam meam*? Neque vero
 80 temere est, quod deo stulti tam impense placuerunt: opinor, propterea quod, quemadmodum summi principes nimium cordatos suspectos habent et inuisos (vt Iulius Brutum et Cassium, cum ebrium Antonium nihil metueret, vtque Nero
 LB 497 Senecam, Dionysius Plato[nem]) contra crassioribus ac simplicioribus ingeniis delectantur, itidem Christus σοφοὺς istos suaeque nitentes prudentiae semper
 85 detestatur ac damnat. Testatur id Paulus haudquaquam obscure cum ait *Quae stulta sunt mundi elegit deus cumque ait deo visum esse, vt per stulticiam serua-
 ret mundum, quandoquidem per sapientiam restitui non poterat*. Quin ipse idem satis indicat clamans per os prophetac: *Perdam sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium reprobabo*. Rursum cum agit gratias, quod salutis mysterium celasset
 90 sapientes, paruulis autem, hoc est, stultis aperuisset. Nam Graece pro paruulis est *νηπίοις*, quos opposuit σοφοῖς. Huc pertinet quod passim in euangelio Pharisaeos et scribas ac legum doctores incessit, vulgus indoctum sedulo tuetur. Quid enim aliud est *Vae vobis scribae et pharisaei* quam *vae vobis sapientes*? At paru-

95 lis, mulieribus ac piscatoribus potissimum delectatus esse videtur. Quin et ex animantium brutorum genere ea potissimum placent Christo, quae a vulpina prudentia quam longissime absunt, eoque asino maluit insidere, cum ille, si libuisset, vel leonis tergum impune potuisset premere. Ac spiritus ille sacer in columbae

61 vocant C-F H: vacant G.

65 Prouerbum* E: om. C D F-H.

67-68 Libenter ... loquens C-H: Et libenter fertis insipientes, ad se refert A B.

68-70 Et rursum ... praeconia C-H: om. A B.

70 idem C-H: om. A B.

71 vt rem ... salutarem C-H: om. A B.

72-73 Et apud ... appellat C-H: om. A B; via, Iesus C-F: via Iesus G H.

74 diuinus ille Paulus C-H: om. A B.

51 *supercilio Adag.* 749 (LB II, 317 A).

53-54 *deuita ... de vita* In his *Annot. in Tit.* 3, 10, LB VI, 973-974, Er. remarks that he heard this true story from John Colet, who was present at the council during which it happened (probably the convocation called by Archbishop Warham on 6 February 1511/12 to combat the newly revived Lollard heresy). See J.H. Lupton, *Life of John Colet*, London, 1887, p. 202 and Introduction, p. 43, n. 133. The false division of 'de vita' is an example of the Aristotelean 'fallacia accentus' (Peter of Spain, *Tractatus called afterward Summule Logicales*, ed. L.M. de Rijk, Assen, 1972, pp. 128-129).

57 *τενέδιος ... συνήγορος* See *Adag.* 3006 (LB II, 971 C) and note on p. 146, l. 393.

irrefragabilis See note on p. 166, ll. 636-638.

58 *maleficium ... viuere* Ex. 22, 18.

59-60 *in eam sententiam ... peronatis* '... facete vero addidit, et quidem peronatis, quod Pero genus sit calciamenti rusticiani' (L.). *Adag.* 1612 (LB II, 616 B).

63 *Chryssippi nec Didymi* The philosopher Chryssippus was said to have written 700 books (Diog. Laert, VII, 7); the grammarian Didymus, 4000 (Sen. *Epist.* LXXXVIII, 37).

65 *συκίνη θεολόγῳ* *Adag.* 685 (LB II, 295 E). Literally a 'figwood theologian,' meaning a 'raw amateur, a tyro in theology.' Συκίνη is the equivalent of *ficulna* (see p. 88, l. 301; p. 164, l. 624; p. 180, l. 916).

67 *Libenter ... fertis insipientes* 2. Cor. 11, [19] (L.).

68 *velut insipientem accipite me* 2. Cor. 11, 16.

68-69 *non loquor ... insipientia* 2. Cor. 11, 17.

69 *Nos ... stulti propter Christum* 1. Cor. 4, [10] (L.).

71-72 *Qui ... sapiens* 1. Cor. 3, [18] (L.).

72-73 *duos discipulos ... appellat* Lc. 24, [25] (L.).

74-75 *Quod stultum ... hominibus* 1. Cor. 1, [25].

76 verbum crucis pereuntibus C-H: gentibus A B.

78-79 Sed quid ... insipientiam meam C-H: om. A B.

85 haudquaquam A-F H: haudquaque G.

89 cum B-H: cum patri A.

90-91 Nam Graece ... σοφοῦς C-H: om. A B.

93 Quid enim ... sapientes C-H: om. A B; At C-H: Quodque A B.

94 videtur C-H: videatur A B.

'Non quod sit aliquid stultum in deo, sed quod infima pars sapientiae diuinae superat summam hominum sapientiam. [1532] Et quemadmodum summa hominum iusticia, collata ad diuinam fit iniusticia: ita summa hominum sapientia fit stulticia, si conferatur ad dei sapientiam' (L.).

75-76 *Origenes ... referre* For Origen see Hier. *Transl. hom. Orig. in Ir.*, Migne PL 25, cols. 630-632. Er. *Annot. in 1. Cor.* 1, 25, LB VI, 665. See Clarence Miller, *Current English Translations of The Praise of Folly: Some Corrections*, PQ 45 (1966), pp. 730-731.

76-77 *verbum ... stulticiam* 1. Cor. 1, [18] (L.).

79 *Tu scis insipientiam meam* Ps. LXVIII, 6. L. notes that Folly here cleverly distorts the text, since Christ spoke here not for himself but 'sub persona suorum membrorum.' See August. *Enarr. in Ps. LXVIII*, 1, 10 (CCSL 39, 910-911), quoted in *Glossa ordinaria*; Cassiodorus *Exp. in Ps. LXVIII* (CCSL 97, 608). Nicolas de Lyra gives the same interpretation ([*Biblia cum glosa ordinaria et expositione Lyrae literalis et morali: necnon additionibus ac replicis* ...], 6 vols., Basel, Froben, 1498, vol. 3, sig. C4^v).

82 *Iulius ... metueret* Plut. *Vit. Iul. Caes.* LXII, 737 C.

82-83 *Nero Senecam* Tac. *Ann.* XV, 62 and 65.

83 *Dionysius Platonem* Cic. *Rab. Post.* IX, 23.

85-86 *Quae stulta ... deus* 1. Cor. 1, [27] (L.).

86-87 *per stulticiam ... poterat* 1. Cor. 1, [21] (L.).

88-89 *Perdam ... reprobo* 1. Cor. 1, [19], referring to Is. [29, 14] (L.).

89-91 *agit gratias ... σοφοῦς* Mt. 11, 25 and Lc. 10, 21. Both texts contrast the two Greek words. See note on p. 178, ll. 898-900.

93 *Vae ... pharisaei* Mt. 23, 13-27; Lc. 11, 42-43.

96 *asino maluit insidere* Mt. 21, 1-7.

97-98 *columbae ... milui* Mt. 3, 16. L. quotes and

specie delapsus est, non aquilae aut miluii. Praeterea ceruorum, hinnulorum, agnorum crebra passim in diuinis literis mentio. Adde quod suos ad immortalem vitam destinatos oues appellat; quo quidem animante non est aliud insipientius
 100
 L.B. 498 vel Aristotelico prouerbio teste, *προβότατον ἦθος*, quod quidem admonet ab eius pecudis stoliditate sumptum in stupidos et bardos conuicii loco dici solere. Atqui huius gregis Christus sese pastorem profitetur, quin etiam ipse agni nomine delectatus est, indicante eum Ioanne *Ecce agnus dei*, cuius multa fit et in Apocalypsi mentio.
 105

Haec quid aliud clamitant nisi mortaleis omneis stultos esse, etiam pios? Ipsum quoque Christum, quo stulticiae mortalium subueniret, cum esset sapientia patris, tamen quodammodo stultum esse factum, cum hominis assumpta natura habitu inuentus est vt homo? Quemadmodum et peccatum factus est, vt peccatis
 110 mederetur. Neque alia ratione mederi voluit, quam per stulticiam crucis, per apostolos idiotas ac pingues, quibus sedulo stulticiam praecipit a sapientia deterrens, cum eos ad puerorum, liliorum, sinapis et passerulorum exemplum pro- uocat, rerum stupidarum ac sensu carentium soloque naturae ductu, nulla arte, nulla sollicitudine vitam agentium; praeterea cum vetat esse sollicitos, qua essent
 115 apud praesides oratione vsuri cumque interdicit, ne scrutentur tempora vel momenta temporum, videlicet, ne quid fiderent suae prudentiae, sed totis animis ex ipso penderent. Eodem pertinet quod deus ille orbis architectus interminatur, ne quid de arbore scientiae degustarent, perinde quasi scientia felicitatis sit venenum. Quanquam Paulus aperte scientiam veluti inflantem et perniciosam improbat. Quem diuus Bernardus (opinor) sequutus, montem eum in quo Lucifer
 120 sedem statuerat, scientiae montem interpretatur.

Fortasse nec illud omittendum videatur argumentum, gratiosam esse apud superos stulticiam, quod huic soli datur erratorum venia, sapienti non ignoscitur; vnde qui veniam orant, etiam si prudentes peccauerint, tamen stulticiae
 125 praetextu patrociniisque vtuntur. Nam sic Aaron sororis poenam deprecatur in Numerorum, si satis commemini, libris: *Obsecro, domine mi, ne imponas nobis hoc peccatum, quod stulte commisimus*. Sic et Saul apud Dauid culpam deprecatur *Apparet enim*, inquit, *quod stulte egerim*. Rursum ipse Dauid ita blanditur domino: *Sed precor, domine, vt transferas iniquitatem serui tui, quia stulte egimus*, perinde quasi non impetraturus veniam, nisi stulticiam et inscitiam obtenderet. Sed illud acrius
 130 vrget, quod Christus in cruce, cum oraret pro suis inimicis *Pater ignosce illis*, non aliam praetexuit excusationem quam imprudentiae: *quia nesciunt*, inquit, *quid faciant*. Ad eundem modum Paulus scribens ad Timotheum: *Sed ideo misericordiam dei consecutus sum, quia ignorans feci in incredulitate*. Quid est *ignorans feci* nisi per stulticiam feci, non maliciam? Quid est *ideo misericordiam consecutus sum*, nisi non consecuturus, ni stulticiae patrociniis commendatus? Pro nobis facit et mysticus ille psalmographus, qui suo loco non veniebat in mentem, *Delicta iuuentutis meae et ignorantias meas ne memineris*. Audistis quae duo praetexat, nimirum aetatem, cui semper comes esse soleo, et ignorantias, idque numero multitudinis, vt ingentem
 135 stulticiae vim intelligeremus.
 140

Ac ne quae sunt infinita persequar vtque summatim dicam, videtur omnino Christiana religio quandam habere cum aliqua stulticia cognationem minimeque cum sapientia conuenire. Cuius rei si desideratis argumenta, primum illud animaduertite, pueros, senes, mulieres, ac fatuos sacris ac religiosis rebus praeter caeteros gaudere eoque semper altaribus esse proximos, solo nimirum naturae impulsu. Praeterea videtis primos illos religionis autores mire simplicitatem amplexos, acerrimos ! literarum hostes fuisse. Postremo nulli moriones magis desipere videntur, quam hi, quos Christianae pietatis ardor semel totos arripuit: adeo sua profundunt, iniurias negligunt, falli sese patiuntur, inter amicos et inimicos nullum discrimen, voluptatem horrent, inedia, vigilia, lachrymis, laboribus, contumeliis saginantur, vitam fastidiunt, mortem vnice optant, breuiter ad

145
LB 500
150

98 non aquilae aut miluii C-H: om. A B.
104 cuius B-H: cuius rei A.
107 stulticiae mortalium E-H: nostrae stulticiae A-D.
117 ipso H: sese A B, se C-G.
122-140 Fortasse ...intelligeremus C-H: om. A B.

translates *Mt.* 10, 16 and refers to Aristot. *Hist. an.* IX, [7, 2, 612b and 32, 5-6, 619ab] and Plin. *Nat.* X, [3, 6-11; 12, 28; 52, 104]. In *Annot. in NT* (LB VI, 22 C), Er. notes that 'specie columbae' is a more exact translation of the Greek than the Vulgate 'sicut columbam.' *Miluius* appears as a variant form of *miluus* in Ov. and Hier. (*Tb.L.L.* s.v. *miluus*, 985, ll. 51-52).

98-99 *ceruorum* ... *mentio* Plin. *Nat.* VIII, [50, 114] and Aristot. *Hist. an.* IX, [5, 4, 611b] (L.). Though 'agnus' occurs well over 100 times in the Bible and 'ceruus' over 20 times, 'hinnullus' occurs only 5 times. Folly cleverly conceals the false evidence in the midst of the true.

100 *oues appellat* *Iob.* 10, 1-27. *Mt.* 25, 32-33.
101 *προβάτειον ἦθος* Aristot. *Hist. an.* IX, [3, 1, 610b] (L.). *Adag.* 2095 (LB II, 742 B). Wyss, p. 81.
104 *Ecce agnus dei* *Iob.* 1, [29, 36] (L.).
104-105 *Apocalypsi Ap. Iob.* V-VII (L.).
107-108 *sapientia patris* 1. *Cor.* 1, [24] (L.).
108 *stultum esse factum* 'Not because there is any folly in Christ, but because he became man; and human nature, however wise, is foolish compared to God, just as all the justice of a man, compared with God, is injustice' (L.). Cf. Er. Ep. 337, ll. 480-485.
108-109 *hominis* ... *homo* *Phil.* 2, [7] (L.).
109-110 *peccatum* ... *mederetur* 2. *Cor.* 5, [21] (L.).
110-111 *stulticiam crucis* ... *pingues* 1. *Cor.* 1, [21] (L.). See also 1. *Cor.* 1, 18 and 23; *Gal.* 5, 11.

125 sororis H: vxoris C-G.
127 stulte E-H: stulti C D.
128 stulte E-H: stultum C D.
130 obtenderet E-H: obtruderet C D.
142 aliqua G H: om. A-F.
148 hi C-H: ii A B.

112 *puerorum* *Mt.* 18, [3]; *Lc.* 18, [17] (L.). *Mc.* 10, 15.
litorum *Mt.* 6, [28] (L.). *Lc.* 12, 27.
sinapis *Mt.* 17, [19]; *Lc.* 17, [6] (L.). *Mt.* 13, 31; *Mc.* 4, 31; *Lc.* 13, 19.
passerculorum *Mt.* 6, [25] (L.). *Mt.* 10, 29; *Lc.* 12, 6.
114-115 *vetat* ... *vsuri* *Lc.* 12, [11-12] (L.). *Mt.* 10, 18-19; *Mc.* 13, 11; *Lc.* 21, 14.
115-116 *interdicit* ... *temporum* *Act.* 1, [7] (L.).
117-118 *interminatur* ... *degustarent* *Gn.* 2, [17] (L.).
119-120 *Paulus* ... *improbat* 1. *Cor.* 8, [1] (L.).
120-121 *Bernardus* ... *interpretatur* St. Bernard, *In ascensione domini sermo IV*, Migne PL CLXXXIII, 310-312.
126-127 *Obsecro* ... *commisimus* *Nu.* 12, [11] (L.).
127-128 *Apparet* ... *egerim* 1. *Sm.* 26, [21] (L.).
128-129 *Sed precor* ... *egimus* 2. *Sm.* 24, [10] (L.).
131-133 *Pater* ... *faciant* *Lc.* 24 [error for 23, 34] (L.). In D and E the commentary has the correct chapter number.
133-134 *Sed ideo* ... *incredulitate* 1. *Tim.* 1, [13] (L.).
137 *suo loco* ... *mentem* Since this text is from the Psalms, it probably should have come to mind at p. 186, ll. 78-79.
137-138 *Delicta* ... *memineris* 'Ps. 24, [7] [1516] Et decore Moriae affinxit obliuionem' (L.).
139 *numero multitudinis* Er. *De cop. verb.*, LB I, 14. In *Annot. in Rom.* 12, 1, LB VI, 628, Er. reports Origen's opinion about the use of a plural form for emphasis.

omnem sensum communem prorsus obstupuisse videntur, perinde quasi alibi
 viuat animus, non in suo corpore. Quod quidem quid aliud est quam insanire?
 Quo minus mirum videri debet, si apostoli musto temulenti sunt visi, si Paulus
 155 iudici Festo visus est insanire.

Sed posteaquam semel τὴν λεοντήν induimus, age doceamus et illud, felicitatem
 Christianorum, quam tot laboribus expetunt, nihil aliud esse quam insaniae
 stulticiaeque genus quoddam; absit inuidia verbis, rem ipsam potius expendite.
 160 Iam primum illud propemodum Christianis conuenit cum Platoniceis, animum
 immersum alligatumque esse corporeis vinculis huiusque crassitudine praepe-
 didi, quo minus ea quae vere sunt contemplari fruique possit. Proinde philoso-
 phiam definit esse mortis meditationem, quod ea mentem a rebus visibilibus ac
 corporeis abducat, quod idem vtique mors facit. Itaque quamdiu animus corporis
 165 organo probe vtitur, tam diu sanus appellatur. Verum vbi ruptis iam vinculis
 conatur in libertatem asserere sese quasque fugam ex eo carcere meditatur, tum
 insaniam vocant; id si forte contingit morbo vitioque organorum, prorsus
 omnium consensu insaniam est. Et tamen hoc quoque genus hominum videmus
 futura praedicere, scire linguas ac literas quas antea nunquam didicerant, et
 omnino diuinum quiddam prae se ferre. Neque dubium est id inde accidere, quod
 170 mens a contagio corporis paulo liberior, incipit natiuam sui vim exerere. Idem
 arbitror esse in causa, cur laborantibus vicina morte simile quiddam soleat acci-
 dere, vt tanquam afflati prodigiosa quaedam loquantur.

Rursum si id eueniat studio pietatis, fortasse non est idem insaniam genus, sed
 tamen adeo confine, vt magna pars hominum meram insaniam esse iudicet, prae-
 175 sertim cum pauculi homunciones ab vniuerso mortalium coetu tota vita dissent-
 tiant. Itaque solet iis vsuuenire, quod iuxta Platoniceum figmentum opinor acci-
 dere iis, qui in specu vincti rerum vmbras mirantur, et fugitio illi, qui reuersus
 in antrum veras res vidisse se praedicat, illos longe falli, qui praeter miseram
 vmbras nihil aliud esse credant. Etenim sapiens hic commiseratur ac deplorat
 180 illorum insaniam, qui tanto errore teneantur. Illi vicissim illum veluti delirantem
 rident atque eiiciunt. Itidem vulgus hominum ea quae maxime corporea sunt
 maxime miratur eaque prope sola putat esse. Contra pii, quo quicque propius
 accedit ad corpus, hoc magis negligunt totique ad inuisibilem rerum con-
 185 tem|plationem rapiuntur. Nam isti primas partes tribuunt diuitiis, proximas cor-
 poris commodis, postremas animo relinquunt, quem tamen plerique nec esse cre-
 dunt, quia non cernatur oculis. E diuerso illi primum in ipsum deum, rerum
 omnium simplicissimum, toti nituntur; secundum hunc, et tamen in hoc, quod
 ad illum quam proxime accedit, nempe animum; corporis curam negligunt,
 pecunias ceu putamina prorsus aspernantur ac fugitant. Aut si quid huiusmodi
 190 rerum tractare coguntur, grauatim ac fastidienter id faciunt, habent tanquam
 non habentes, possident tanquam non possidentes.

Sunt et in singulis rebus gradus multum inter istos diuersi. Principio sensus
 tametsi omnes cum corpore cognitionem habent, tamen quidam sunt ex his cras-
 siores, vt tactus, auditus, visus, olfactus, gustus; quidam magis a corpore semoti,

- 195 veluti memoria, intellectus, voluntas. Igitur vbi se intenderit animus, ibi valet.
 LB 502 Pii, quoniam omnis animi vis ad ea conten|dit quae sunt a crassioribus sensibus
 alienissima, in his velut obbrutescunt atque obstupescunt. Contra vulgus in his
 plurimum valet, in illis quam minimum. Inde est quod audimus nonnullis diuinis
 200 viris accidisse, vt oleum vini loco biberint.
- Rursum in affectibus animi quidam plus habent cum pingui corpore commer-
 cii, veluti libido, cibi somnique appetentia, iracundia, superbia, inuidia; cum his
 irreconciliabile bellum piis, contra vulgus sine his vitam esse non putat. Deinde
 sunt quidam affectus medii quasique naturales, vt amor patriae, charitas in libe-
 205 ros, in parentes, in amicos. His vulgus nonnihil tribuit. At illi hos quoque student
 ex animo reuellere, nisi quatenus ad summam illam animi partem assurgunt, vt
 iam parentem ament non tanquam parentem (quid enim ille genuit, nisi corpus?
 quanquam hoc ipsum deo parenti debetur) sed tanquam virum bonum et in quo
 luceat imago summae illius mentis, quam vnam summum bonum vocant et extra
 quam nihil nec amandum nec expetendum esse praedicant.

- 159 Furor amantium* *D: om. A-C E-H.*
 160 alligatumque *F-H: illigatumque A-E.*
 166 vocant *A E-H: vocat B-D; prorsus E-H:*
 prorsum *A-D.*
 168 antea *A-F: ante G H.*
 170 Ecstasis* *C-H: om. A B; exerere E-H:*
 exercere *A-D.*
 171 soleat *A-G: solet H.*
- 176 Specus Platonicus* *C-H: om. A B.*
 182 putat *B-H: putant A.*
 185 postremas *B-H: postrema A.*
 198 Sanctus Bernardus oleum vini loco bibit*
E-H: om. A-D.
 203 quidam *A B E-H: quidem C D; patriae H:*
 patris *A-G.*
 205 assurgunt *H: assurgant A-G.*
- 154 apostoli ... visi *Act. 2, [13] (L.).*
 154-155 Paulus ... insanire *Act. 26, [24] (L.).*
 156 τὴν λεοντήν *Adag. 266 (LB II, 137 D).*
 156-158 doceamus ... quoddam *In Ep. 337, ll.*
 524-547, Er. points out how carefully he has
 chosen his words so as not to give offense to
 pious ears. He claims he has even gone fur-
 ther than decorum allows in order to soften
 Folly's language.
- 159-160 animum ... vinculis *Plat. Gorg. 493 A.*
 161 quae vere sunt *In Ep. 1115, ll. 2-23, Er.*
 explains in what sense he used this phrase in
 the *Moria* by referring to Plato's myth of the
 cave, Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, and 2. *Cor. 4,*
 [18]. See note on p. 132, ll. 127-130.
- 161-162 philosophiam ... meditationem *Plat. Phaed.*
 [64 A] (L.). *Phaed. 80 E. Enchir., LB V, 14 F.*
 171-172 laborantibus ... loquantur *Plat. Apol. [39*
C] (L.).
- 176 Platonicum figmentum *L. summarizes Plat.*
Rep. [514 A-517 A]. See note on p. 132, ll.
 127-130.
- 183-184 totique ... rapiuntur *Cf. 2. Cor. 4, 18.*
 184-185 Nam isti ... relinquunt *Aristot. Eth. Nic.*
I, [8, 2, 1098b12-16] (L.). Aristot. Pol. VII, 1,
 2-4, 1323a23-1323b21. *Cic. Fin. III, 13, 43.*
- 189 putamina *Adag. 708 (LB II, 305 B) and 3930*
(LB II, 1169 C).
 190-191 habent ... possidentes *1. Cor. 7, [29-30]*
(L.).
 193-195 quidam sunt ... voluntas *Aristot. An. [III,*
 4, 429a10-429b2] (L.). The Augustinian divi-
 sion of man's mind into memory, intellect,
 and will was well known to scholastic theo-
 logians (e.g., St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*
theol. I, q. 59, a. 1; q. 79, aa. 6-7).
- 195 vbi se ... valet *Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa*
theol. I^a-II^{ae}, q. 37, a. 1.
- 199 vt oleum ... biberint *L. tells how this hap-*
 pened to St. Bernard. See *Legenda aurea*, ed.
 Graesse, Breslau, 1890, p. 531.
- 201 libido ... inuidia *All of the seven capital sins*
are listed except avarice.
- 205 summam illam animi partem *L. notes that Er.*
 took the tripartite division (corpus, anima,
 spiritus) from St. Paul, as interpreted by Ori-
 gen (see, e.g., Origen's commentary on *Rom.*
 1, 9 and 13, 1, Migne PG XIV, 856 and 1226).
 See also Er.'s argument to his commentary
 on *Rom.*, his note on *Rom.* 13, 1, LB VI, 550
 and 634; *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1287 C; and
Enchir., LB V, 19 A-20 B.

210 Hac eadem regula reliqua item omnia vitae officia metiuntur, vt vbique id
 quod visibile est, si non est omnino contemnendum, tamen longe minoris faciant
 quam ea quae videri nequeunt. Aiunt autem et in sacramentis atque ipsis pietatis
 officiis corpus et spiritum inueniri. Velut in ieiunio non magni ducunt, si quis
 215 tantum a carnibus coenaque absteineat, id quod vulgus absolutum esse ieiunium
 existimat, nisi simul et affectibus aliquid adimat, vt minus permittat irae quam
 soleat, minus superbiae, vtque ceu minus iam onustus mole corporea spiritus ad
 coelestium bonorum gustum fruitionemque enitatur. Similiter et in Synaxi,
 tametsi non est aspernandum, inquirunt, quod ceremoniis geritur, tamen id per
 se aut parum est conducibile aut etiam perniciosum, nisi id quod est spiritale
 220 accesserit, nempe hoc quod signis illis visibilibus repraesentatur. Repraesentatur
 autem mors Christi, quam domitis, extinctis, quasique sepultis corporis affecti-
 bus exprimere mortales oportet, vt in nouitatem vitae resurgant vtque vnum
 cum illo, vnum item inter sese fieriqueant. Haec igitur agit, haec meditatur ille pius.
 Contra vulgus sacrificium nihil aliud esse credit quam adesse altaribus, idque
 225 proxime, audire vocum strepitum, aliasque id genus ceremoniolas spectare.

Nec in his tantum, quae duntaxat exempli gratia proposuimus, sed simpliciter
 in omni vita refugit pius ab his quae corpori cognata sunt, ad aeterna, ad inui-
 sibilia, ad spiritualia rapitur. Proinde cum summa sit inter hos et illos omnibus de
 rebus dissensio, fit vt vtrique alteris insanire videantur. Quanquam id vocabuli
 230 rectius in pios competit quam in vulgus, mea quidem sententia. Quod quidem
 magis perspicuum fiet, si (quemadmodum pollicita sum) paucis demonstraro
 summum illud praemium nihil aliud esse quam insaniam quandam.

Primum igitur existimate Platonem tale quiddam iam tum somniasse, cum
 amantium furorem omnium felicissimum esse scriberet. Etenim qui vehementer
 235 amat, iam non in se viuit, sed in eo quod amat quoque longius a seipso digreditur
 et in illud demigrat, hoc magis ac magis gaudet. Atque cum animus a corpore
 peregrinari meditatur neque probe suis vtitur organis, istud haud dubie furorem
 recte dixeris. Alioqui quid sibi vult, quod vulgo etiam dicunt: 'Non est apud se',
 et 'ad te redi', et 'sibi redditus est'? Porro quo amor est absolutior, hoc furor est
 240 maior ac felicior. Ergo quaenam futura est illa coelitem vita, ad quam piae mentes
 tanto studio suspirant? Nempe spiritus absorbebit corpus, vtpote victor ac for-
 tior. Idque hoc faciet facilius, partim quod iam velut in suo regno est, partim
 quod iam olim in vita corpus ad huiusmodi transformationem repurgarit atque
 245 extenuarit. Deinde spiritus a mente illa summa mire absorbebitur, quippe infi-
 nitis partibus potentiore. Ita vt iam totus homo extra se futurus sit, nec alia
 ratione felix futurus nisi quod extra sese positus, patietur quiddam ineffabile a
 summo illo bono omnia in se rapiente.

Iam haec felicitas, quanquam tum demum perfecta contingit cum animi recep-
 tis pristinis corporibus immortalitate donabuntur, tamen quoniam piorum vita
 250 nihil aliud est quam illius vitae meditatio ac velut vmbra quaedam, fit vt praemii
 quoque illius aliquando gustum | aut odorem aliquem sentiant. Id tametsi minu-
 254 tissima quaedam stillula est ad fontem illum aeternae felicitatis, tamen longe

superat vniuersas corporis voluptates, etiam si omnes omnium mortalium deliciae in vnum conferantur. Vsqueadeo praestant spiritalia corporalibus, inuisibilia visibilibus. Hoc nimirum est quod pollicetur propheta: *Oculus non vidit nec auris audiuit nec in cor hominis ascenderunt quae praeparauit deus diligentibus se*. Atque haec est Moriae pars, quae non aufertur commutatione vitae, sed perficitur. Hoc igitur

- 217 Etiam in sacramentis aliud alio sanctius*
E-H: om. A-D.
218 iniquiant E-H: om. A-D.
228 pius E-H: om. A-D.
233 Furor Platonicus* E-H: om. A-D.
242 partim ... regno est A-D: om. E-H.

- 217 *Synaxi* See first note on p. 146, l. 398. Cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 30 F-31 B.
222-223 *in nouitatem ... queant* M. Screech (*L'Eloge de la Folie et les études bibliques d'Erasmus: quelques réflexions*, in *Réforme et Humanisme: Actes du IV^e Colloque*, Centre d'Histoire de la Réforme et du Protestantisme, Université de Montpellier, Montpellier, 1977, pp. 162-163) notes the echoes of *Rom.* 6, 4 and *Gal.* 3, 28 and points out some parallels in Erasmusian exegesis.
230 *mea quidem sententia* [1516] Festiuitur adiecit, mea quidem sententia, quasi diceret, stultorum iudicio. Nam mea, ad stulticiae personam refertur' (L.).
232 *nihil aliud ... insaniam quandam* [1516] Raptum et Ecstasim, insaniam vocat, non simpliciter, ne de vulgari insaniam intelligamus, sed quodammodo, et idcirco addidit quandam, ne quis, vt sunt morosi et φιλολοιδόροι quidam, ansam arriperet calumniandi. Candidi lectoris est non voculam aliquam aucupari quam calumniatur, sed rem ipsam expendere. Quod si quis faciat, quid his rebus sanctius dici potuit aut magis pium' (L.).
233-234 *Platonem ... scriberet* Plat. *Phaedr.* 244 A-245 B. Cf. Plat. *Io.* 533 E-534 E; *Men.* 99 C-D.
234-235 *Etenim ... quod amat* P.O. Kristeller, *Erasmus from an Italian Perspective*, RQ 23 (1970), p. 11, notes here a 'clear echo of Ficino's commentary on the Symposium' (ed. R. Marcel, Paris, 1956, p. 155): 'Ille ... amator animus est proprio in corpore mortuus, in alieno corpore viuens.' M. Screech (*L'Eloge de la Folie et les études bibliques d'Erasmus: quelques réflexions*, in *Réforme et Humanisme: Actes du IV^e Colloque*, Centre d'Histoire de la Réforme et du Protestantisme, Université de Montpellier, Montpellier, 1977, pp. 163-164) traces Er.'s concep-

- 247 se F-H: sese A-E.
248 contingit A E-H: contigit B-D.
250 est A-G: om. H.
255-256 nec auris audiuit B-H: om. A.
256 ascenderunt G H: ascendit A-F.
257 Moriae A-D: Mariae E-H.

- tion of Christian ecstasy to a Platonic interpretation of Theophylactus' commentary on 2. *Cor.* 5, 13 (*Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 767 F).
242-244 *partim ... extenuarit* Cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 28 C-D.
244-251 *a mente illa ... sentiant* Er. defends this passage in *Ep.* 337, ll. 486-547 and *Ep.* 843, ll. 575-627.
248-249 *perfecta ... donabuntur* *Explan. symboli*, ASD V, 1, p. 264, l. 750 sqq.
252 *stillula* This diminutive had been used at least four times in the middle ages (Blaise and Latham).
255-256 *pollicetur ... diligentibus se* 1. *Cor.* 2, 9, where Paul cites *Is.* 64, 4. In *Annot. in NT* (LB VI, 667 F-668 C), Er. notes that he follows Lorenzo Valla in rendering ἀνέβη by the plural 'adscenderunt' rather than by the singular 'adscendit' (as the Vulgate does). He also comes closer to the Greek by translating 'diligentibus se' instead of following the Vulgate 'his qui diligunt illum.'
257 *Moriae pars* The editions do not provide enough evidence to decide with certainty between 'Moriae' and 'Mariae' (see variant readings and Introduction, pp. 46, 53-54), but 'Moriae,' which alludes to *Lc.* 10, 42 only indirectly, seems more witty and elegant. Interpreting Mary and Martha (*Lc.* 10, 38-42) as allegories of contemplation and action was traditional (Gregory the Great, *Epist.* 5 and 25, Migne PL LXXVII, 449 and 877). St. Bernard (*Serm. in assumpt. B. Mariae*, Migne PL CLXXXIV, 1004) attributes 'sapientia' to Mary and comes close to Folly in describing Mary's ecstasy: 'Maria vero speciem exprimit contemplationis, dum sedet, dum tacet, dum interpellata non respondet; sed tantum in Dei verbum toto mentis studio intendit, ac solam quam diligit gratiam diuinae cognitionis, caetera res-

quibus sentire licuit (contingit autem perpauca), ii patiuntur quiddam dementiae
 260 simillimum, loquuntur quaedam non satis cohaerentia nec humano more, sed
 dant sine mente sonum, deinde subinde totam oris speciem vertunt. Nunc alacres,
 nunc deiecti, nunc lachrymant, nunc rident, nunc suspirant, in summa, vere
 toti extra se sunt. Mox vbi ad sese redierint, negant se scire vbi fuerint, vtrum
 in corpore an extra corpus, vigilantes an dormientes: quid audierint, quid vide-
 265 rint, quid dixerint, quid fecerint, non meminerunt nisi tanquam per nebulam ac
 somnium, tantum hoc sciunt, se felicissimos fuisse dum ita desiperent. Itaque
 plorant sese resipuisse nihilque omnium malint, quam hoc insaniae genus per-
 petuo insanire. Atque haec est futurae felicitatis tenuis quaedam degustatiuncula.

Verum ego iamdudum oblita mei ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδῶ. Quanquam si quid
 petulantius aut loquacius a me dictum videbitur, cogitate et Stulticiam et mulie-
 270 rem dixisse. Sed interim tamen memineritis illius Graecanici prouerbii, πολλάκι
 τοι καὶ μωρὸς ἀνὴρ κατακαίριον εἶπεν, nisi forte putatis hoc ad mulieres nihil atti-
 nere.

Video vos epilogum expectare, sed nimium desipitis, siquidem arbitramini me
 quid dixerim etiamnum meminisse, cum tantam verborum farraginem effude-
 275 rim. Vetus illud μισῶ μνάμονα συμπόταν, nouum hoc μισῶ μνάμονα ἀκροατήν.
 Quare valete, plaudite, viuite, bibite, Moriae celeberrimi mystae.

τέλος

265 somnium B-H: somnum A.
 271 κατακαίριον B-H: κατὰ καιρὸν A.
 274 etiamnum H: etiamdum A-G.

277 τέλος E-H: Finis Moriae In gratiam Mori
 A B, ΜΩΡΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ. Foeliciter
 absolutum C D.

puens, medullitus haurit; forisque velut
 insensibilis redditur, dum intus ad contem-
 planda Domini sui gaudia felicissima rapi-
 tur.⁷

260 dant sine mente sonum Verg. Aen. X, 640.
 260-261 Nunc alacres, nunc deiecti '[1516] Hunc
 locum melius intelliget, qui legerit commen-
 tarios Origenis in Cantica Canticorum
 [Migne PG XIII, 178-181], quomodo sponsa,
 nunc subducente se sponso, nunc exhibente,
 et sui copiam faciente, varie afficitur. Item in
 vita sanctae Elizabethae nonnihil habes, quod
 ad hunc faciat locum' (L.). The visions, ser-
 mons, and epistles of St. Elizabeth of Schön-
 nau (c. 1129-1165) were printed by J. Lefèvre
 d'Étaples in Paris in 1513. Cf. *Vita S. Eliza-
 bethae* II, 30-32 and IX, 116-118, Migne PL
 CXCIV, 136-138, 181-183.
 262-263 vtrum in corpore an extra corpus Cf. 2.
 Cor. 12, 2.
 268 oblita mei '[1516] Quod non conueniat stul-
 ticiam de rebus tam arcanis loqui. Facit

autem idem in fine disputationis quod initio
 fecerat, sentiens rem alioqui prima fronte
 duriusculam videri posse' (L.).

ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδῶ '[1516] Id est, ultra
 limites salio. Prouerbum est in eos, qui di-
 grediuntur a re proposita, quod locus in quo
 cursu aut disco exercebantur, certis limitibus
 circumscriberetur, quemadmodum et hodie
 in lusu pilae, extra quos qui certaret, nihil
 ageret' (L.). Plat. *Cratyl.* 413 A. Lucian. *Som-
 nium siue gallus* 6 (trans. Er., *ASD* I, 1, p. 475,
 l. 6).

268-270 Verum ... dixisse In Ep. 337, ll.
 542-547, Er. points out that this passage
 helps keep Folly's religious paradox from
 seeming blasphemous or offensive.

269-270 et Stulticiam et mulierem '[1516] Duplici
 nomine danda venia: et quod mulier sit, cum
 ipsi sexui peculiaris sit loquacitas: et stulticia,
 cui quiduis solet concedi' (L.).

270-271 πολλάκι ... εἶπεν '[1516] Versus
 hexameter citatus apud Aulum Gellium, sed

- aliquanto secus [II, 6, 9]. Verum ad hunc modum ex antiquis voluminibus restituit Erasmus in Chiliadibus suis [*Adag.* 501 (LB II, 220 F)]. Sensus est, Saepe sane et stultus vir opportune dixit. Innuit autem, quanquam stulticia dixerit haec, haud tamen ob id negligenda, quod a stultis quoque nonnunquam dicatur ad rem pertinens' (L.).
- 271-272 *nisi forte ... attinere* '[1516] quia Graecus versus habet, stultus vir' (L.).
- 273 *epilogum* '[1516] Apte praetexit obliuionem in epilogo, qui constat repetitione eorum quae dicta sunt, quod nisi a memore fieri nequit' (L.). According to Er. (*Eccles.*, LB V, 950 E) an epilogue may have three purposes: (1) to refresh the hearers' memory; (2) to give a unified view of the whole speech; (3) to dispose of some loose ends. The epilogue of an encomium was often a brief summing up of the life under discussion and an appeal to others to imitate the virtues it illustrates; such an epilogue might appropriately end with a prayer (T.C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, Chicago, 1902, p. 126).
- 274 *verborum farraginem* '[1516] Allusit ad illud Iuue[nalis]. Nostri est farrago libelli [Iuv. I, 86]. Est enim farrago sacrificii genus ex variis confectum leguminibus' (L.).
- 275 *Vetus illud ... συμπτῶν* '[1516] id est, Odi memorem compotatorem. Est apud Marti[alem] I, 21, 7] et refertur apud Plutarchum in Quaestionibus conuiuialibus [I (*Mor.* 612 C)]. Explicatur accuratius in Chiliadibus Erasmi [*Adag.* 601 (LB II, 262 A)]' (L.). Lucian. *Conv. sive Lap.* 3 (trans. Er., *ASD* I, 1, p. 605, ll. 5-6).
- nouum ... ἀκροατήν* '[1516] Nam illud vetus, hoc Moriae nouum. Tacite allusit ad stultos auditores, qui e concionibus nihil secum referunt domum, adeo vt saepenumero audias eos dicentes: Quam belle concionatus est, ac mox rogati, quid dictum sit, nihil habent quod afferant' (L.).
- 276 *valete, plaudite, viuite, bibite* '[1516] His verbis vtebatur recitator fabulae, discessurus e proscenio. De suo addidit, viuite, bibite. Et viuere proprie est genjaliter viuere' (L.). On 'viuere' meaning 'live well' see Martial. I, 15, 11-12; I, 103, 12; Hor. *Serm.* II, 5, 110; *Epist.* I, 6, 67; and n. on p. 92, l. 374. The parodic sermon in the middle ages often concluded with a toast (Sander L. Gilman, *The Parodic Sermon in European Perspective: Aspects of Liturgical Parody from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 19). *celeberrimi* Pierre Mesnard (*Erasme et la conception dialectique de la folie*, in *L'Umanesimo e 'la follia*, ed. E. Castelli, Roma, 1971, p. 55) says: 'on ne peut traduire ici très-illustres ou très-célèbres, quand il s'agit de gens absolument inconnus.' He suggests the meaning 'consacré: les exemples...étant fournis par Ovide, poète familier à Erasme.' But 'celeber' in the sense 'solemn, sacred' applies only to religious festivities, never to persons (*Tb.L.L.* III, 738-739). Through her speech Folly herself has made her initiates well known and illustrious by establishing their universality and preeminence.
- mystae* '[1516] Sunt qui dei cuiuspiam sacris sunt initiati' (L.). See note on p. 76, l. 89.

APPENDIX
 SELECTED VARIANTS FROM
 SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MINOR EDITIONS

The following substantive variants from the 30 non-authoritative editions printed before 1540 are given as a help in pinpointing the particular edition some later reader or translator might have used. Most of the variants given for each edition are found only in that edition.

2. Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, August 1511, BB E. 840

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
88	308	coeperint: ceperit
90	349	laeues: lenes
130	81	quid est: quidem
136	194	homunculi: homuncioli
158	511	caput: capita
170	719-720	gemmas, purpuram: purpuram, gemmas
172	774	honorum: bonorum
180	934	fontem: fontem esse
190	182	quicque: quicquam
192	234	amantium: animantium

3. Antwerp, Dirk Martens, January 1512, NK 831

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
94	402	studiorum: stultorum
160	539	nodos: modos
	541	cingulum: singulum
189	141	persequar: prosequar

5. Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, October 1512, *BB E.* 842

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
98	490-491	bello? Isocrates: bello Isocrates
106	638	fugitet: fugiet
120	940	incusant: accusant
130	77	facias: faciat
138	235	tamque: tanquam
144	363	innumerabiles: numerabiles
188	101	teste: est

7. Venice, Giovanni Tacuino de Tridino, 12 April 1515, *BB E.* 844

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
132	124	vitro: viro
134	173	gratissimus: grauissimus
146	395	qua: quam

8. Venice, Aldus and Andrea d'Asola, August 1515, *BB E.* 845

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
170	739	principum: principium
190	161	vere: vera

11. Basel, Johann Froben, November 1517, *BB E.* 849

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
185	48	fecerit: fecit
188	116	fiderent: viderent

12. Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, December 1517, *BB E.* 850

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
140	299	conscripsit: scripserit
142	345	dum: cum
156	500	diceret: diceret, et
182	988	quidam: quidem
191	204	nonnihil: nihil

13. Florence, heirs of Filippo Giunta, 1518, *BB E.* 851

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
124	973	preculis: periculis

124	982	proditiones: perditiones
131	115	referet: refert
169	708	omnia: omina
176	865	aliud: illud
180	915	non: <i>om.</i>
188	101	teste: <i>om.</i>
190	156	induimus: induimur

14. Paris, Josse Bade van Assche, 31 May 1519, *BB E.* 852

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
152	447	gratiam: et gratiam
180	915	diutina: diuina

15. Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, June 1519, *BB E.* 853

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
138	230	vbi: vt
168	691	cesset: esset
170	740	gnauiter: grauiter
172	755	administratores: ministratores
176	849	deuoluunt: reuoluunt
194	259	nec: <i>om.</i>

16. Basel, Johann Froben, November 1519, *BB E.* 854

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
118	911	ponunt: imponunt
178	867	mei: <i>om.</i>
190	160	alligatumque: <i>sic in hac editione. Omnes priores illigatumque habent.</i>

17. Cologne, Servais Krufter, 1520, *BB E.* 855

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
141	314	eiusmodi: huiusmodi
168	698	admittunt: permittunt
182	990	theologaliter: theologicaliter
186	53	deuita: de vita
188	138–139	meas ... ignorantias: <i>om.</i>
192	247	illo: isto

18. Deventer, Albert Pafraet, March 1520, *BB E. 856, NK 832*

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
140	266	animam: animum
142	332	c priscorum: episcoporum
186	60	peronatis: perornatis

19. Venice, Georgio di Rusconi, 23 March 1520, *BB E. 857*

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
80	152	si: <i>om.</i>
88	303	ac: non
92	370	lusitare: sitare
113	793	quam: quum
128	62	regiae: rege
136	194	hi: <i>om.</i>
160	541	<i>prius</i> quot: <i>om.</i>
170	744	puram: curam
174	823	manente: monente
176	864	hinc: huic
188	115	interdicat: intercidit

20. Schlettstadt, Lazare Schürer, November 1520, *BB E. 858*

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
126	24	pullatos: bullatos
170	722	vocare: vocari

21. [Paris], Jehan Lalyseau, [between July 1512 and c. 1520]

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
80	156	Quaeso, num: quae sonum
84	256	iactitent: factitent
91	360	magis: magi
92	374	conferant: conserant
94	405	vertas: vertans
96	466	incommodi: commodi
110	711	pedibus: pecudibus
112	771	auicularum: anicularum
116	867	Venere: Vere
120	940	Ac tum: Actum
131	117	vere: <i>om.</i>
132	149	cuiuis: cuius

136	207	versuris: versutis
172	762	docendum: nocendum
	782	summa ... hominum: summa hominum
174	798	quarum: quantum

22. [Mainz or Cologne (?), printer unknown, c. 1520]

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
78-80	133-134	fidelibus: felicibus
82	196	sapere: capere
84	237	omni: animi
86	273	coli: celi
90	323	fontem: frontem
91	363	nullum: nonnullum
92	371	saltare: certare
96	460	paria: pia
102	548	aeneum: <i>om.</i>
104	598	fucus: succus
106	624	arcem: artem
108	688	animaduertat anus: animaduerta mus
114	818	ideoque: deoque
118	899	natus: ratus
124	996	prope: probe
134	173	verus: vetus
162	584	tecte: recte
166	639	frigidissimas: <i>om.</i>
173	795	egere: agere
178	873	gemmeos: meos
179	910	Scoti: Gingolphi Sorbona: coquina
194	260	oris: moris

23. Strasbourg, Johann Knobloch, 1521, *BB E.* 859

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
166	649	esse: presse presse: esse
186	59	in eam: eam in

25. Strasbourg, Johann Knobloch, 1522, *BB E.* 861

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
158	523	semel: simul

164	596	Babylonio: Babylónico
188	109	et: <i>om.</i>

27. Mainz, Johann Schoeffer, 1522, *BB E.* 863

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
118	889	gratissimus: grauissimus
188	114	vitam: viam

28. Cologne, Servais Krufter, 1522

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
104	603	haec: <i>om.</i>
110	736	sapere: <i>om.</i>
114	825	Moriones: moriens
116	842	aperta: apta
	851	fatuum: futurorum
154	485	interim: enim
158	508	spatiari: suspicari
176	852	messe: mense

29. Cologne, Johann Heil, January 1523, *BB E.* 864

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
94	402	animorum: annorum
96	443	decere: docere
180	942	perdiscere: perdere
182	969	magnus: <i>om.</i>
	982	sciret: diceret
188	106	omneis: <i>om.</i>
190	193	habent: habeant

30. Strasbourg, Johann Knobloch, December 1523, *BB E.* 865

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
111	745	ἀνδρῶν: ἄλλων
116	865	via: vita
130	81	fidelius: felicius
180	912	adsit: absit
186	60	peronatis: personatis
192	245	partibus: illis partibus

31. Paris, Josse Bad van Assche, 24 June 1524, *BB E.* 866

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
124	994	gregem: regem
150	426	diuidit: diuisit
		finit: finiuuit
	428–429	idem ... corpus: <i>om.</i>
	429	qua fuit: quo fuit
		qua in: quo in
164	599	diuinae: diuae
190	159	illud: <i>om.</i>

32. Venice, Bernardino dei Vidali, 1525, *BB E.* 867

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
98	488	vix: vis
126	1	e: est

33. Cologne, Eucharius Hirtzhorn, 1526, *BB E.* 868

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
98	482	tractanda: <i>om.</i>
154	450	peccatum: peccata
	461	vnquam: <i>om.</i>

34. Lyons, Sebastian Gryphe, [c. 1529], *BB E.* 869

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
154	468	magum: magnum
170	748	faciunt: faciunt cardinales
176	865	in sapientes: insipientes
182	970	cognomen: nomen
	972	obstrepunt mihi: mihi obstrepunt

36. Cologne, Johann Heil, 1534, *BB E.* 871

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
72	33	me: <i>om.</i>
76	85	susplicere: suscipere
104	603	aliter: <i>om.</i>
111	740	leuitas: lenitas
124	981	putat: <i>om.</i>
128	57	putidiorem: pudiciorem

160	532	templis: templum
174	811	pestilente: pestilenti
189	146	autores: tutores

37. Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Bischoff, 1540, *BB E.* 872

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
90	326	regi: regio
110	712	is: in

38. Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Bischoff, 1540, *Opera omnia IV*, 342–389
(sigs. G^{2v}–K₃)

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	
82	201	et: vt
182	972	tot: <i>om.</i>
190	159	primum: <i>om.</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. CLASSICAL AND PATRISTIC AUTHORS

Ael.	Claudius Aelianus	Aristot.	Aristoteles
Ael. Arist.	Aelius Aristides	<i>An. post.</i>	<i>Analytica posteriora</i>
Aeschyl.	Aeschylus	<i>An. pr.</i>	<i>Analytica priora</i>
<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>	<i>An.</i>	<i>De anima</i>
<i>Choeph.</i>	<i>Choephoroi</i>	<i>Ath. pol.</i>	'Αθηναίων πολιτεία
<i>Eum.</i>	<i>Eumenides</i>	<i>Aud.</i>	<i>De audibilibus</i>
<i>Hik.</i>	<i>Hiketides</i>	<i>Cael.</i>	<i>De caelo</i>
<i>Pers.</i>	<i>Persai</i>	<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Categoriae</i>
<i>Prom.</i>	<i>Prometheus</i>	<i>Col.</i>	<i>De coloribus</i>
<i>Sept.</i>	<i>Septem</i>	<i>Div.</i>	<i>De diuinatione</i>
Aesop.	Aesopus	<i>Eth. Eud.</i>	<i>Ethica Eudemia</i>
Ambr.	Ambrosius	<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus	<i>Gen. an.</i>	<i>De generatione animalium</i>
Anacr.	Anacreon	<i>Gen. corr.</i>	<i>De generatione et corruptione</i>
<i>Anth. Lat.</i>	<i>Anthologia Latina</i>	<i>Hist. an.</i>	<i>Historia animalium</i>
<i>Anth. Lyr. Gr.</i>	<i>Anthologia Lyrica Graeca</i>	<i>M. mor.</i>	<i>Magna moralia</i>
<i>Anth. Pal.</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina Graeca</i>	<i>Metaph.</i>	<i>Metaphysica</i>
Apoll. Sid.	Apollinaris Sidonius	<i>Meteor.</i>	<i>Meteorologica</i>
Apollod.	Apollodorus	<i>Mir.</i>	<i>Mirabilia</i>
Apoll. Rhod.	Apollonius Rhodius	<i>Mot. an.</i>	<i>De motu animalium</i>
App.	Appianus	<i>Mund.</i>	<i>De mundo</i>
Apul.	Apuleius	<i>Oec.</i>	<i>Oeconomica</i>
<i>Apol</i>	<i>Apologia</i>	<i>Part. an.</i>	<i>De partibus animalium</i>
<i>Flor.</i>	<i>Florida</i>	<i>Phys.</i>	<i>Physica</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	<i>Phgn.</i>	<i>Physiognomonica</i>
Arat.	Aratus	<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetica</i>
Aristaen.	Aristaenetus	<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politica</i>
Aristid.	Aristides	<i>Probl.</i>	<i>Problemata</i>
Aristoph.	Aristophanes	<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i>
<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Acharnenses</i>	<i>Rhet. Alex.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i>
<i>Av.</i>	<i>Aues</i>	<i>Sens.</i>	<i>De sensu</i>
<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiazusae</i>	<i>Somn.</i>	<i>De somno et vigilia</i>
<i>Equ.</i>	<i>Equites</i>	<i>Soph. el.</i>	<i>Sophistici elenchi</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysistrata</i>	<i>Spir.</i>	<i>De spiritu</i>
<i>Nub.</i>	<i>Nubes</i>	<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>
<i>Pax</i>	<i>Pax</i>	Arnob.	Arnobius
<i>Plut.</i>	<i>Plutus</i>	Arr.	Arrianus
<i>Ran.</i>	<i>Ranae</i>	Artemid.	Artemidorus
<i>Thesm.</i>	<i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>	Ascl.	(Apuleius) Asclepius
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespae</i>	Athan.	Athanasius

Athen.	Athenaeus	<i>Mil.</i>	<i>Pro T. Annio Milone</i>
Athenag.	Athenagoras	<i>Mur.</i>	<i>Pro L. Murena</i>
Aug.	Aurelius Augustinus	<i>Nat.</i>	<i>De natura deorum</i>
<i>Civ.</i>	<i>De ciuitate Dei</i>	<i>Off.</i>	<i>De officiis</i>
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessiones</i>	<i>Opt. gen.</i>	<i>De optimo genere oratorum</i>
Aur. Vict.	Aurelius Victor	<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orator</i>
Auson.	Ausonius	<i>De or.</i>	<i>De oratore</i>
Basil.	Basilius	<i>Parad.</i>	<i>Paradoxa</i>
Batr.	Batrachomyomachia	<i>Part.</i>	<i>Partitiones oratoriae</i>
Boeth.	Boethius	<i>Phil.</i>	<i>In M. Antonium oratio</i>
Caes.	C. Julius Caesar		<i>Philippica</i>
<i>Civ.</i>	<i>De bello ciuili</i>	<i>Phil. frg.</i>	<i>Librorum philosophicorum</i>
<i>Gall.</i>	<i>De bello Gallico</i>		<i>fragmenta</i>
Calp. Sic.	Calpurnius Siculus	<i>Pis.</i>	<i>In L. Pisonem</i>
Cassian.	Johannes Cassianus	<i>Planc.</i>	<i>Pro Cn. Plancio</i>
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio	<i>Prov.</i>	<i>De provinciis consularibus</i>
Cassiod.	Cassiodorus	<i>Ad Q. fr.</i>	<i>Epistolae ad Quintum fra-</i>
Cato	Cato		<i>trem</i>
<i>Agr.</i>	<i>De agricultura</i>	<i>Quinct.</i>	<i>Pro Quinctio</i>
Catull.	Catullus	<i>Rab. perd.</i>	<i>Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis</i>
Cels.	Celsus		<i>reo</i>
Cens.	Censorinus	<i>Rab. Post.</i>	<i>Pro C. Rabirio Postumo</i>
Chrys.	Johannes Chrysostomus	<i>P. red. in sen.</i>	<i>Oratio post reditum in senatu</i>
Chrysol.	Petrus Chrysologus	<i>P. red. ad Quir.</i>	<i>Oratio post reditum ad</i>
Cic.	Cicero		<i>Quirites</i>
<i>Ac. v</i>	<i>Lucullus sive Academicorum</i>	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De re publica</i>
	<i>priorum libri</i>	<i>Q. Rosc.</i>	<i>Pro Q. Roscio comoedo</i>
<i>Ac. &</i>	<i>Academicorum posteriorum</i>	<i>S. Rosc.</i>	<i>Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino</i>
	<i>libri</i>	<i>Scaur.</i>	<i>Pro M. Aemilio Scauro</i>
<i>Arat.</i>	<i>Aratea</i>	<i>Sest.</i>	<i>Pro P. Sestio</i>
<i>Arch.</i>	<i>Pro Archia poeta</i>	<i>Sull.</i>	<i>Pro P. Sulla</i>
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Epistolae ad Atticum</i>	<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>
<i>Balb.</i>	<i>Pro L. Balbo</i>	<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>
<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus</i>	<i>Tull.</i>	<i>Pro M. Tullio</i>
<i>Ad Brut.</i>	<i>Epistolae ad Brutum</i>	<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
<i>Caec.</i>	<i>Pro A. Caecina</i>	<i>Vatin.</i>	<i>In P. Vatinium testem in-</i>
<i>Cael.</i>	<i>Pro M. Caelio</i>		<i>terrogatio</i>
<i>Catil.</i>	<i>In Catilinam</i>	<i>Verr. 1, 2</i>	<i>In Verrem actio 1, 2</i>
<i>Cato</i>	<i>Cato maior de senectute</i>	<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Claudius Claudianus</i>
<i>Cluent.</i>	<i>Pro A. Cluentio</i>	<i>Clem. Al.</i>	<i>Clemens Alexandrinus</i>
<i>Deiot.</i>	<i>Pro rege Deiotaro</i>	<i>Colum.</i>	<i>Columella</i>
<i>Div.</i>	<i>De diuinatione</i>	<i>Curt.</i>	<i>Q. Curtius Rufus</i>
<i>Div. in Caec.</i>	<i>Diuinitio in Q. Caecilium</i>	<i>Cypr.</i>	<i>Cyprianus</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>De domo sua</i>	<i>Democr.</i>	<i>Democritus</i>
<i>Fam.</i>	<i>Epistolae ad familiares</i>	<i>Demosth.</i>	<i>Demosthenes</i>
<i>Fat.</i>	<i>De fato</i>	<i>Diod.</i>	<i>Diodorus Siculus</i>
<i>Fin.</i>	<i>De finibus</i>	<i>Diog. Laert.</i>	<i>Diogenes Laertius</i>
<i>Flacc.</i>	<i>Pro L. Valerio Flacco</i>	<i>Diom.</i>	<i>Diomedis ars grammatica</i>
<i>Font.</i>	<i>Pro M. Fonteio</i>	<i>Dion Chrys.</i>	<i>Dio Chrysostomus</i>
<i>Har.</i>	<i>De baruspicum responso</i>	<i>Dion. Hal.</i>	<i>Dionysius Halicarnassensis</i>
<i>Inv.</i>	<i>De inventione</i>	<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
<i>Lael.</i>	<i>Laelius de amicitia</i>	<i>Comp.</i>	<i>De compositione verborum</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>De legibus</i>	<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Ars rhetorica</i>
<i>Leg. agr.</i>	<i>De lege agraria</i>	<i>Dion. Per.</i>	<i>Dionysius Periegetes</i>
<i>Lig.</i>	<i>Pro Q. Ligario</i>	<i>Dion. Thrax</i>	<i>Dionysius Thrax</i>
<i>Manil.</i>	<i>Pro lege Manilia</i>	<i>Don.</i>	<i>Aelius Donatus grammati-</i>
<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Pro M. Marcello</i>		<i>cus</i>

Enn.	Ennius	Hes.	Hesiodus
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annalium fragmenta</i>	<i>Erg.</i>	<i>Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturarum fragmenta</i>	<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogonia</i>
<i>Scaen.</i>	<i>Fragmenta scaenica</i>	Hesychn.	Hesychnius
Epict.	Epictetus	Hier.	Hieronimus
Epic.	Epicurus	<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronicon</i>
Eratosth.	Eratosthenes	Hil.	Hilarius
<i>Etym. Gud.</i>	<i>Etymologicum Gudianum</i>	Hippocr.	Hippocrates
<i>Etym. mag.</i>	<i>Etymologicum magnum</i>	<i>Hist. Aug.</i>	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
Eun.	Eunapius	Hom.	Homerus
Eur.	Euripides	<i>Hymn. Hom.</i>	<i>Hymni Homerici</i>
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>	<i>Il.</i>	<i>Ilias</i>
<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andromache</i>	<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssea</i>
<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>	Hor.	Horatius
<i>Cycl.</i>	<i>Cyclops</i>	<i>Ars</i>	<i>Ars poetica</i>
<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>	<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>	<i>Carm. saec.</i>	<i>Carmen saeculare</i>
<i>Hel.</i>	<i>Helena</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>
<i>Heraclid.</i>	<i>Heraclidae</i>	<i>Epod.</i>	<i>Epodi</i>
<i>Herc.</i>	<i>Hercules</i>	<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones</i>
<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i>	Hyg.	Hyginus
<i>Ion</i>	<i>Ion</i>	<i>Astr.</i>	<i>Astronomica</i>
<i>Iph. A.</i>	<i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i>	<i>Fab.</i>	<i>Fabulae</i>
<i>Iph. T.</i>	<i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>	Hyp.	Hyperides
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>	Iambl.	Iamblichus
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orestes</i>	Iord.	Iordanes
<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>	Iren.	Irenaeus
<i>Rhes.</i>	<i>Rhesus</i>	Isid.	Isidorus
<i>Suppl.</i>	<i>Supplices</i>	<i>Orig.</i>	<i>Origines</i>
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades</i>	Isocr.	Isocrates
Eus.	Euscbius	Iul.	Iulianus
Eust.	Eustathius	<i>Iul. Vict. rhet.</i>	<i>C. Iulii Victoris ars rhetorica</i>
Eutr.	Eutropius	Iust.	Iustinus
Fest.	Festus	Iustin.	Iustinianus
Firm.	Firmicus Maternus	Iuv.	Iuuenalis
Fl. Ios.	Flavius Iosephus	Lact.	Lactantius
<i>Ant. Iud.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i>	Liv.	Liuius
<i>Bell. Iud.</i>	<i>Bellum Iudaicum</i>	Lucan.	Lucanus
<i>C. Ap.</i>	<i>Contra Apionem</i>	Lucian.	Lucianus
<i>Vita</i>	<i>De sua vita</i>	Lucil.	Lucilius
Flor.	Florus	Lucr.	Lucretius
Front.	Fronto	Lyd.	Ioannes Laurentius Lydus
Frontin.	Frontinus	<i>Mag.</i>	<i>De magistratibus</i>
Fulg. myth.	Fulgentius mythologiae	<i>Mens.</i>	<i>De mensibus</i>
Gal.	Galenus	Lycophr.	Lycophron
Gell.	Aulus Gellius	Lycurg.	Lycurgus
Geop.	Geoponica	Lys.	Lysias
Greg. M.	Gregorius Magnus	Macr.	Macrobius
Greg. Naz.	Gregorius Nazianzenus	<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>
Greg. Nyss.	Gregorius Nyssenus	<i>Somm.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Ciceronis somnium Scipionis</i>
Greg. Tur.	Gregorius Turonensis	M. Aur.	Marcus Aurelius
Hecat.	Hecataeus	Manil.	Manilius
Heracl. Pont.	Heraclides Ponticus	Mar. Vict.	Marius Victorinus
Herm.	Hermes Trismegistus	Martial.	Martialis
<i>Trismeg.</i>		Mart. Cap.	Martianus Capella
Herodian.	Herodianus	Mela	Pomponius Mela
Hdt.	Herodotus		

Menandr.	Menander	<i>Euthyphr.</i>	<i>Euthyphro</i>
Mimn.	Mimnermus	<i>Gorg.</i>	<i>Gorgias</i>
Min. Fel.	Minucius Felix	<i>Hipparch.</i>	<i>Hipparchus</i>
<i>Mon. Anc.</i>	<i>Monumentum Ancyranum</i>	<i>Hipp. mai.</i>	<i>Hippias maior</i>
Mosch.	Moschus	<i>Hipp. min.</i>	<i>Hippias minor</i>
Nem.	Nemesianus	<i>Io</i>	<i>Io</i>
Nep.	Cornelius Nepos	<i>Clit.</i>	<i>Clitophon</i>
Nicandr.	Nicander	<i>Crat.</i>	<i>Cratylus</i>
<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexipharmaca</i>	<i>Crit.</i>	<i>Critias</i>
<i>Ther.</i>	<i>Theriaca</i>	<i>Crito</i>	<i>Crito</i>
Nicom.	Nicomachus	<i>Lach.</i>	<i>Laches</i>
Non.	Nonius Marcellus	<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leges</i>
Nonn.	Nonnus	<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysis</i>
<i>Dion.</i>	<i>Dionysiaca</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Meno</i>
Orib.	Oribasius	<i>Menex.</i>	<i>Menexenus</i>
Oros.	Orosius	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Minos</i>
<i>Or. Sib.</i>	<i>Oracula Sibyllina</i>	<i>Parm.</i>	<i>Parmenides</i>
Orig.	Origenes	<i>Phaed.</i>	<i>Phaedo</i>
<i>Orph. Arg.</i>	<i>[Orpheus] Argonautica</i>	<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>
<i>Orph. hymn.</i>	<i>[Orpheus] hymni</i>	<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philebus</i>
Ov.	Ovidius	<i>Polit.</i>	<i>Politicus</i>
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>	<i>Prot.</i>	<i>Protagoras</i>
<i>Ars</i>	<i>Ars amatoria</i>	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De re publica</i>
<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>	<i>Sis.</i>	<i>Sisyphus</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroides</i>	<i>Soph.</i>	<i>Sophistes</i>
<i>Ib.</i>	<i>Ibis</i>	<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	<i>Thg.</i>	<i>Theages</i>
<i>Pont.</i>	<i>Ex Ponto</i>	<i>Tht.</i>	<i>Theatetus</i>
<i>Rem.</i>	<i>Remedia amoris</i>	<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>
<i>Trist.</i>	<i>Tristia</i>	Plaut.	Plautus
<i>Paroem. Gr.</i>	<i>Paroemiographi Graeci</i>	<i>Amph.</i>	<i>Amphitruo</i>
<i>Paul. Fest.</i>	<i>Pauli Diaconi epitoma Festi</i>	<i>Asin.</i>	<i>Asinaria</i>
<i>Paul. Nol.</i>	<i>Paulinus Nolanus</i>	<i>Aul.</i>	<i>Aulularia</i>
Paus.	Pausanias	<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchides</i>
Pers.	Persius	<i>Capt.</i>	<i>Captivi</i>
Petron.	Petronius	<i>Cas.</i>	<i>Casina</i>
Phaedr.	Phaedrus	<i>Cist.</i>	<i>Cistellaria</i>
Philo	Philo	<i>Curc.</i>	<i>Curculio</i>
Philostr.	Philostratus	<i>Epid.</i>	<i>Epidicus</i>
Phot.	Photius	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menaechmi</i>
Pind.	Pindarus	<i>Merc.</i>	<i>Mercator</i>
<i>Isthm.</i>	<i>Isthmia</i>	<i>Mil.</i>	<i>Miles</i>
<i>Nem.</i>	<i>Nemea</i>	<i>Most.</i>	<i>Mostellaria</i>
<i>Olymp.</i>	<i>Olympia</i>	<i>Persa</i>	<i>Persa</i>
<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythia</i>	<i>Poen.</i>	<i>Poenulus</i>
Plat.	Plato	<i>Pseud.</i>	<i>Pseudolus</i>
<i>Alc. 1, 2</i>	<i>Alcibiades 1, 2</i>	<i>Rud.</i>	<i>Rudens</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>	<i>Stich.</i>	<i>Stichus</i>
<i>Ax.</i>	<i>Axiochus</i>	<i>Trin.</i>	<i>Trinummus</i>
<i>Charm.</i>	<i>Charmides</i>	<i>Truc.</i>	<i>Truculentus</i>
<i>Def.</i>	<i>Definitiones</i>	<i>Vid.</i>	<i>Vidularia</i>
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Demodocus</i>	Plin.	Plinius (maior et minor)
<i>Epin.</i>	<i>Epinomis</i>	<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Naturalis historia</i> (Plin. maior)
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i> (Plin. minor)
<i>Erast.</i>	<i>Erastai</i>	<i>Paneg.</i>	<i>Panegyricus</i> (Plin. minor)
<i>Eryx.</i>	<i>Eryxias</i>	Plot.	Plotinus
<i>Euthyd.</i>	<i>Euthydemus</i>		

Plut.	Plutarchus	Sil.	Silius Italicus
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>	Socr.	<i>Socrates hist. eccles.</i>
<i>Vit.</i>	<i>Vitae</i>	Sol.	Solon
Poll.	Pollux	Solin.	Solinus
Polyb.	Polybius	Soph.	Sophocles
Pomp. Trog.	Pompeius Trogus	<i>Ai.</i>	<i>Aias</i>
Porph.	Porphyrius	<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antigone</i>
Posid.	Posidonius	<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>
Priap.	Priapea	<i>Ichn.</i>	<i>Ichneutae</i>
Prisc.	Priscianus	<i>Oed. Col.</i>	<i>Oedipus Colonus</i>
Prob.	M. Valerius Probus	<i>Oed. T.</i>	<i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>
Proc.	Proclus	<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philoctetes</i>
Procop.	Procopius	<i>Trach.</i>	<i>Trachiniae</i>
Prop.	Propertius	Soz.	<i>Sozomenus hist. eccl.</i>
Prud.	Prudentius	Stat.	Statius
PsAug.	Pseudo-Augustinus	<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Achilleis</i>
PsClem.	Pseudo-Clemens	<i>Silv.</i>	<i>Silvae</i>
Ptol.	Claudius Ptolemaeus	<i>Theb.</i>	<i>Thebais</i>
<i>Cosm.</i>	<i>Cosmographia</i>	Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantium
<i>Geogr.</i>	<i>Geographia</i>	Stob.	Stobaeus
<i>Quadr.</i>	<i>Quadrupartitum</i>	Strab.	Strabo
Quint.	Quintilianus	Suet.	Suetonius
<i>Decl.</i>	<i>Declamationes</i>	<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustus</i>
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>	<i>Caes.</i>	<i>Caesar</i>
Sall.	Sallustius	<i>Cal.</i>	<i>Caligula</i>
<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Coniuratio Catilinae</i>	<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Claudius</i>
<i>Hist. frg.</i>	<i>Historiarum fragmenta</i>	<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Domitianus</i>
<i>Iug.</i>	<i>Bellum Iugurthinum</i>	<i>Galb.</i>	<i>Galba</i>
Sen.	Seneca (maior et minor)	<i>Ner.</i>	<i>Nero</i>
<i>Contr.</i>	<i>Controversiae (Sen. maior)</i>	<i>Oth.</i>	<i>Otho</i>
<i>Suas.</i>	<i>Suasoriae (idem)</i>	<i>Tib.</i>	<i>Tiberius</i>
<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon (idem)</i>	<i>Tit.</i>	<i>Titus</i>
<i>Apocol.</i>	<i>Apocolocyntosis (Sen. minor)</i>	<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespasianus</i>
<i>Benef.</i>	<i>De beneficiis (idem)</i>	<i>Vit.</i>	<i>Vitellius</i>
<i>Clem.</i>	<i>De clementia (idem)</i>	Suid.	Suidas
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogi (idem)</i>	Symm.	Symmachus
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistolae ad Lucilium (idem)</i>	Synes.	Synesis Cyrenaeus
<i>Herc. f.</i>	<i>Hercules furens (idem)</i>	Tac.	Tacitus
<i>Herc. Oet.</i>	<i>Hercules Oetaeus (idem)</i>	<i>Agr.</i>	<i>Agricola</i>
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea (idem)</i>	<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Naturales quaestiones (idem)</i>	<i>Dial. or.</i>	<i>Dialogus de oratoribus</i>
<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedra (idem)</i>	<i>Germ.</i>	<i>Germania</i>
<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae (idem)</i>	<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
<i>Oed.</i>	<i>Oedipus (idem)</i>	Tat.	Tatianus
<i>Thy.</i>	<i>Thyestes (idem)</i>	Ter.	Terentius
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades (idem)</i>	<i>Ad.</i>	<i>Adelphoe</i>
Serv.	Seruius	<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andria</i>
<i>Comm. Aen.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneida</i>	<i>Eun.</i>	<i>Eunuchus</i>
<i>Comm. ecl.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Vergilii Eclogas</i>	<i>Heaut.</i>	<i>Heautontimorumenos</i>
<i>Comm. georg.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Vergilii Georgica</i>	<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecyra</i>
Sext. Emp.	Sextus Empiricus	<i>Phorm.</i>	<i>Phormio</i>
		Tert.	Tertullianus
		Theocr.	Theocritus
		Theodrt.	Theodoretus Cyrus
		Thgn.	Theognis
		Thphr.	Theophrastus
		<i>Caus. plant.</i>	<i>De causis plantarum</i>

<i>Char.</i>	<i>Characteres</i>	<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>
<i>Hist. plant.</i>	<i>Historia plantarum</i>	<i>Georg.</i>	<i>Georgica</i>
Thuc.	Thucydides	<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moretum</i>
Tib.	Tibullus	Vitr.	Vitruvius
Tzetz.	Tzetztes	Xen.	Xenophon
<i>Anteb.</i>	<i>Antehomerica</i>	<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agesi laus</i>
<i>Chil.</i>	<i>Chiliades</i>	<i>An.</i>	<i>Anabasis</i>
<i>Posth.</i>	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
Vlp.	Vlpianus (<i>Vlpiani regulae</i>)	<i>Ath. pol.</i>	<i>Athenasorum politeia</i>
Val. Fl.	Valerius Flaccus	<i>Equ.</i>	<i>De equitandi ratione</i>
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus	<i>Hell.</i>	<i>Hellenica</i>
Varro	Varro	<i>Hier.</i>	<i>Hiero</i>
<i>Ling. lat.</i>	<i>De lingua latina</i>	<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hipparchicus</i>
<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menippeae</i>	<i>Cyn.</i>	<i>Cynegeticus</i>
<i>Rust.</i>	<i>Res rusticae</i>	<i>Cyr.</i>	<i>Cyropaedia</i>
<i>Veg. mil.</i>	<i>Vegetius de re militari</i>	<i>Lac. pol.</i>	<i>Lacedaemoniorum politeia</i>
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus	<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia</i>
Ven. Fort.	Venantius Fortunatus	<i>Oec.</i>	<i>Oeconomicus</i>
Verg.	Vergilius	<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneis</i>	<i>Vect.</i>	<i>De vectigalibus</i>
<i>Aet.</i>	<i>Aetna</i>	Zenob.	Zenobius
<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Catalepton</i>	Zon.	Zonaras
<i>Cir.</i>	<i>Ciris</i>	Zos.	Zosimus
<i>Cul.</i>	<i>Culex</i>		

B. THE BIBLE

1. *Vetus Testamentum*

<i>Gn.</i>	<i>Genesis</i>
<i>Ex.</i>	<i>Exodus</i>
<i>Lv.</i>	<i>Leuiticus</i>
<i>Nu.</i>	<i>Numeri</i>
<i>Dt.</i>	<i>Deuteronomium</i>
<i>Ios.</i>	<i>Iosua</i>
<i>Iud.</i>	<i>Iudices</i>
<i>Rth.</i>	<i>Ruth</i>
1., 2. <i>Sm.</i>	1., 2. <i>Samuel</i>
1., 2. <i>Rg.</i>	1., 2. <i>Reges</i>
1., 2. <i>Chr.</i>	1., 2. <i>Chronici</i>
<i>Esr.</i>	<i>Esra</i>
<i>Neb.</i>	<i>Nebemia</i>
<i>Esth.</i>	<i>Esther</i>
<i>Iob.</i>	<i>Iob</i>
<i>Ps.</i>	<i>Psalmi</i>
<i>Prv.</i>	<i>Prouerbia</i>
<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastes</i>
<i>Ct.</i>	<i>Canticum Canticorum</i>
<i>Is.</i>	<i>Isaias</i>
<i>Ir.</i>	<i>Ieremias</i>
<i>Thr.</i>	<i>Threni Ieremiae</i>
<i>Ez.</i>	<i>Ezechiel</i>
<i>Dn.</i>	<i>Daniel</i>
<i>Hos.</i>	<i>Hoseas</i>
<i>Ioel</i>	<i>Ioel</i>
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amos</i>
<i>Ob.</i>	<i>Obadia</i>
<i>Ion.</i>	<i>Ionas</i>
<i>Mch.</i>	<i>Michaeas</i>
<i>Nab.</i>	<i>Nabum</i>
<i>Hab.</i>	<i>Habacuc</i>

<i>Zph.</i>	<i>Zephania</i>
<i>Hgg.</i>	<i>Haggaeus</i>
<i>Zch.</i>	<i>Zacharias</i>
<i>Ml.</i>	<i>Malachias</i>
<i>Idth.</i>	<i>Iudith</i>
<i>Sap.</i>	<i>Sapientia Salomonis</i>
<i>Tob.</i>	<i>Tobias</i>
<i>Sir.</i>	<i>Iesus Sirach</i>
<i>Bar.</i>	<i>Baruch</i>
1., 2., 3., 4. <i>Mcc.</i>	1., 2., 3., 4. <i>Macchabaei</i>

2. *Nouum Testamentum*

<i>Mt.</i>	<i>Matthaeus</i>
<i>Mc.</i>	<i>Marcus</i>
<i>Lc.</i>	<i>Lucas</i>
<i>Iob.</i>	<i>Iohannes</i>
<i>Act.</i>	<i>Acta Apostolorum</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Ad Romanos</i>
1., 2. <i>Cor.</i>	1., 2. <i>Ad Corinthios</i>
<i>Gal.</i>	<i>Ad Galatas</i>
<i>Eph.</i>	<i>Ad Ephesios</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Ad Philippenses</i>
<i>Col.</i>	<i>Ad Colossenses</i>
1., 2. <i>Thess.</i>	1., 2. <i>Ad Thessalonicenses</i>
1., 2. <i>Tim.</i>	1., 2. <i>Ad Timotheum</i>
<i>Tit.</i>	<i>Ad Titum</i>
<i>Phm.</i>	<i>Ad Philemonem</i>
<i>Hebr.</i>	<i>Ad Hebraeos</i>
<i>Iac.</i>	<i>Iacobi Epistola</i>
1., 2. <i>Petr.</i>	<i>Petri Epistola</i> 1., 2.
1., 2., 3. <i>Iob.</i>	<i>Iohannis Epistola</i> 1., 2., 3.
<i>Iud.</i>	<i>Iudae Epistola</i>
<i>Ap. Iob.</i>	<i>Apocalypsis Iohannis</i>

C. THE WORKS OF ERASMUS

<i>Act. Acad. Lov. c. Luth.</i>	<i>Acta academiae Louaniensis contra Lutherum</i>
<i>Adag.</i>	<i>Adagia</i>
<i>Admon. adv. mendac.</i>	<i>Admonitio aduersus mendacium et obtrectationem</i>
<i>Annot. in leges pontif.</i>	<i>Annotationes in leges pontificias et caesareas de haereticis</i>
<i>Annot. in NT</i>	<i>Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum</i>
<i>Antibarbar.</i>	<i>Antibarbari</i>
<i>Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus debacchationes Petri Sutoris</i>
<i>Apolog. pro declam. laud. matrim.</i>	<i>Apologia pro declamatione de laude matrimonii</i>
<i>Apolog. duae</i>	<i>Apologiae duae</i>
<i>Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.</i>	<i>Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem</i>
<i>Apolog. c. Iac. Latomi dialog.</i>	<i>Apologia contra Iacobi Latomi dialogum de tribus linguis</i>
<i>Apolog. resp. inuect. Ed. Lei</i>	<i>Apologia qua respondet inuictiuis Eduardi Lei</i>
<i>Apolog. de loco Omn. resurg.</i>	<i>Apologia de loco 'Omnes quidem resurgemus'</i>
<i>Apolog. c. Lop. Stunic.</i>	<i>Apologia contra Lopidem Stunicam</i>
<i>Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus monachos quosdam hispanos</i>
<i>Apolog. monast. relig.</i>	<i>Apologia monasticae religionis</i>
<i>Apolog. omnes</i>	<i>Apologiae omnes</i>
<i>Apolog. pro piet.</i>	<i>Apologia pro pietate</i>
<i>Apolog. de In princip. erat sermo</i>	<i>Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo'</i>
<i>Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus rhapsodias Alberti Pii</i>
<i>Apolog. c. Sancti. Caranz.</i>	<i>Apologia contra Sanctium Caranzam</i>
<i>Apophth.</i>	<i>Apophthegmata</i>
<i>De lib. arbiti.</i>	<i>De libero arbitrio diatribe</i>
<i>Axiom. pro causa Luth.</i>	<i>Axiomata pro causa Martini Lutheri</i>
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
<i>Cat. lucubr.</i>	<i>Catalogus lucubrationum</i>
<i>Cato</i>	<i>Cato pro pueris</i>
<i>Ciceron.</i>	<i>Dialogus Ciceronianus</i>
<i>De ciuil.</i>	<i>De ciuilitate morum puerilium</i>
<i>Coll.</i>	<i>Colloquia</i>
<i>Comp. rhet.</i>	<i>Compendium rhetorices</i>
<i>Conc. de Dei misericord.</i>	<i>Concio de immensa Dei misericordia</i>
<i>Conc. de puero Iesu</i>	<i>Concio de puero Iesu</i>
<i>De conscr. ep.</i>	<i>De conscribendis epistolis</i>
<i>De construct.</i>	<i>De constructione octo partium orationis</i>
<i>Consult. de bell. turc.</i>	<i>Consultatio de bello turcico</i>
<i>De contemptu mundi</i>	<i>De contemptu mundi</i>
<i>De cop. verb.</i>	<i>De copia verborum ac rerum</i>
<i>Declam. de morte</i>	<i>Declamatio de morte</i>
<i>Declamationes</i>	<i>Declamationes</i>
<i>Declamatiuncula</i>	<i>Declamatiuncula</i>
<i>Declamatiunculae</i>	<i>Declamatiunculae</i>
<i>Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.</i>	<i>Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas</i>
<i>Detect. praestig.</i>	<i>Detectio praestigiarum cuiusdam libelli...</i>
<i>Dilut. Clichthov.</i>	<i>Dilutio eorum quae Iodocus Clichthoueus scripsit aduersus declamationem suasoriam matrimonii</i>
<i>Disputatiunc.</i>	<i>Disputatiuncula de redio, pauore, tristitia Iesu</i>
<i>Eccles.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastes siue de ratione concionandi</i>
<i>Enarrat. in Ps.</i>	<i>Psalmi (Enarrationes siue commentarii in psalmos)</i>
<i>Enchir.</i>	<i>Enchiridion militis christiani</i>
<i>Encom. matrim.</i>	<i>Encomium matrimonii</i>
<i>Encom. medic.</i>	<i>Encomium medicinae</i>
<i>Epist. de apolog. Petr. Cursi.</i>	<i>Epistola de apologia Petri Cursii</i>
<i>Epist. consolat.</i>	<i>Epistola consolatoria in aduersis</i>
<i>Epist. ad frat. Infer. Germ.</i>	<i>Epistola ad fratres Inferioris Germaniae</i>

<i>Epist. de modest. profit. ling.</i>	<i>Epistola de modestia profitendi linguas</i>
<i>Epist. c. pseudenang.</i>	<i>Epistola contra quosdam qui se falso iactant euangelicos</i>
<i>Exomolog.</i>	<i>Exomologesis siue modus confitendi</i>
<i>Explan. symboli</i>	<i>Explanatio symboli apostolorum siue catechismus</i>
<i>Hyperasp.</i>	<i>Hyperaspistes</i>
<i>Inst. christ. matrim.</i>	<i>Institutio christiani matrimonii</i>
<i>Inst. hom. christ.</i>	<i>Institutum hominis christiani</i>
<i>Inst. princ. christ.</i>	<i>Institutio principis christiani</i>
<i>De interdicto esu carn.</i>	<i>Epistola apologetica ad Christophorum episcopum Basiliensem de interdicto esu carniū</i>
<i>Lingua</i>	<i>Lingua</i>
<i>Liturg. Virg. Lauret.</i>	<i>Virginis matris apud Lauretum cultae Liturgia</i>
<i>Lucubrationes</i>	<i>Lucubrationes</i>
<i>Lucubratiunc.</i>	<i>Lucubratiunculae</i>
<i>Mod. orandi Deum</i>	<i>Modus orandi Deum</i>
<i>Moria</i>	<i>Moriae encomium</i>
<i>Obsecratio</i>	<i>Obsecratio siue oratio ad Virginem Mariam in rebus aduersis</i>
<i>Orat. funebr. Berth. de Heyen</i>	<i>Oratio funebris Berthae de Heyen</i>
<i>Orat. de pace</i>	<i>Oratio de pace et discordia</i>
<i>Orat. de virt.</i>	<i>Oratio de virtute amplectenda</i>
<i>Paean Virg.</i>	<i>Paean Virgini Matri dicendus</i>
<i>Panegy. ad Philipp.</i>	<i>Panegyricus ad Philippum Austriae ducem</i>
<i>Parab.</i>	<i>Parabola siue similia</i>
<i>Paracl.</i>	<i>Paraclesis</i>
<i>Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae</i>	<i>Paraphrasis in Elegantias Laurentii Vallae</i>
<i>Paraphr. in NT</i>	<i>Paraphrasis in Nouum Testamentum</i>
<i>Paraphr. in Mt.</i>	<i>Paraphrasis in Matthaeum</i>
<i>(etc.)</i>	<i>(etc.)</i>
<i>Peregrin. apost.</i>	<i>Peregrinatio apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i>
<i>De praep. ad mort.</i>	<i>De praeparatione ad mortem</i>
<i>Precat. dominica</i>	<i>Precatio dominica</i>
<i>Precat. ad Iesum</i>	<i>Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum</i>
<i>Precat. pro pace eccles.</i>	<i>Precatio ad Iesum pro pace ecclesiae</i>
<i>Precationes</i>	<i>Precationes</i>
<i>De pronunt.</i>	<i>De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione</i>
<i>De pueris</i>	<i>De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis</i>
<i>Purgat. adv. ep. Luth.</i>	<i>Purgatio aduersus epistolam non sobriam Lutheri</i>
<i>De purit. tabernac.</i>	<i>De puritate tabernaculi</i>
<i>Querela</i>	<i>Querela pacis</i>
<i>De rat. stud.</i>	<i>De ratione studii</i>
<i>Rat. ver. theol.</i>	<i>Ratio verae theologiae</i>
<i>Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei</i>	<i>Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei</i>
<i>Resp. ad annot. Lop. Stunicae</i>	<i>Responsio ad annotationem Iacobi Lopis Stunicae</i>
<i>Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.</i>	<i>Responsio ad collationes cuiusdam iuuenis gerontodidascali</i>
<i>Resp. ad disp. Phimost.</i>	<i>Responsio ad disputationem cuiusdam Phimostomi de diuortio</i>
<i>Resp. ad ep. Alb. Pii</i>	<i>Responsio ad epistolam paraeneticam Alberti Pii</i>
<i>Resp. ad ep. frat. Infer. Germ.</i>	<i>Responsio ad fratres Germaniae Inferioris ad epistolam apologeticam incerto autore proditam</i>
<i>Resp. adv. febricit. lib.</i>	<i>Responsio aduersus febricitantis cuiusdam libellum</i>
<i>Resp. c. Sylv. Egranum</i>	<i>Responsio apologetica contra Syluium Egranum</i>
<i>De sarc. eccles. concord.</i>	<i>De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia</i>
<i>Spongia</i>	<i>Spongia aduersus aspergines Hutteni</i>
<i>Supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae</i>	<i>Supputatio calumniarum Natalis Bedae</i>
<i>Vidua christ.</i>	<i>Vidua christiana</i>
<i>Virg. et mart. comp.</i>	<i>Virginis et martyris comparatio</i>
<i>Vita Hier.</i>	<i>Vita diui Hieronymi Stridonensis</i>

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- ASD Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, Amsterdam, 1969-
- BAGB Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé.
- BB *Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays Bas*, ed. F. van der Haeghen, Ghent, 1898-1923, vol. 13, reissued by Marie-Thérèse Lenger, Brussels, 1964-1970, vol. 2, pp. 271-1048.
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- CJC *Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. A. L. Richter and A. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879, reprint Graz, 1959.
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- IL Information littéraire.
- JEGP Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
- JHI Journal of the History of Ideas.
- JWCI Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute.
- Kaiser Walter Kaiser, *Praisers of Folly*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963.
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- NK Wouter Nijhoff and M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 's-Gravenhage, 1923-1971. 3 vols.
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- PQ Philological Quarterly.
- RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Stuttgart, 1950- .
- Rat *Eloge de la Folie*, tr. Pierre de Nolhac, comm. Maurice Rat, Paris, 1936.
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- RQ Renaissance Quarterly.
- SB Studies in Bibliography (Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia).
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