

OPERA OMNIA DESIDERII ERASMI

KON. NED. AKADEMIE
VAN WETENSCHAPPEN
ERASMUS-COMMISSIE

OPERA OMNIA
DESIDERII ERASMI
ROTERODAMI

RECOGNITA ET ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRVCTA
NOTISQVE ILLVSTRATA

ORDINIS NONI TOMVS SECVNDVS



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IN HOC VOLVMINE CONTINETVR

APOLOGIA RESPONDENS AD EA QVAE
IACOBVS LOPIS STVNICA TAXAVERAT
IN PRIMA DVNTAXAT NOVI
TESTAMENTI AEDITIONE

ed. H.J. de Jonge

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PREFACE

The *Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iacobus Lopis Stunica taxauerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione* is Erasmus' first apology against the Spaniard Stunica. Erasmus himself classed it under the eighth 'ordo' of his works, that is, the 'ordo' of his apologies; see Ep. I to Botzheim, 30 January 1523, p. 41, l. 22, and cf. Ep. 2283 to Boece, 15 March 1530, l. 189. Since the editors of *BAS* reserved the seventh 'ordo' ('tomus' in their terminology) for the *Paraphrasis in Nouum Testamentum*, in accordance with Erasmus' direction in the letter to Botzheim (Ep. I, p. 41, l. 8), and the next 'ordo' for the translations from the Church Fathers, in accordance with the letter to Boece (Ep. 2283, l. 155), the collected apologies eventually became the ninth 'ordo', not the eighth. In the present edition, the first apology against Stunica is the second volume of the ninth 'ordo'. Four further apologies against Stunica and that against Carranza will form, or form part of, another volume.

Interestingly enough, the first apology against Stunica is the first work of Erasmus whose final authentic redaction turns out not to be contained in an edition printed during Erasmus' lifetime, but in *BAS*. This remarkable fact as well as its consequences for the present edition will be discussed in detail in the Introduction, chapter VI.

In addition to those who, at the request of the editorial board, took charge of the supervision of this volume and whose names are recorded on the verso of the title-page, M. de Jonge of Leiden has kindly read and criticized the typescript.

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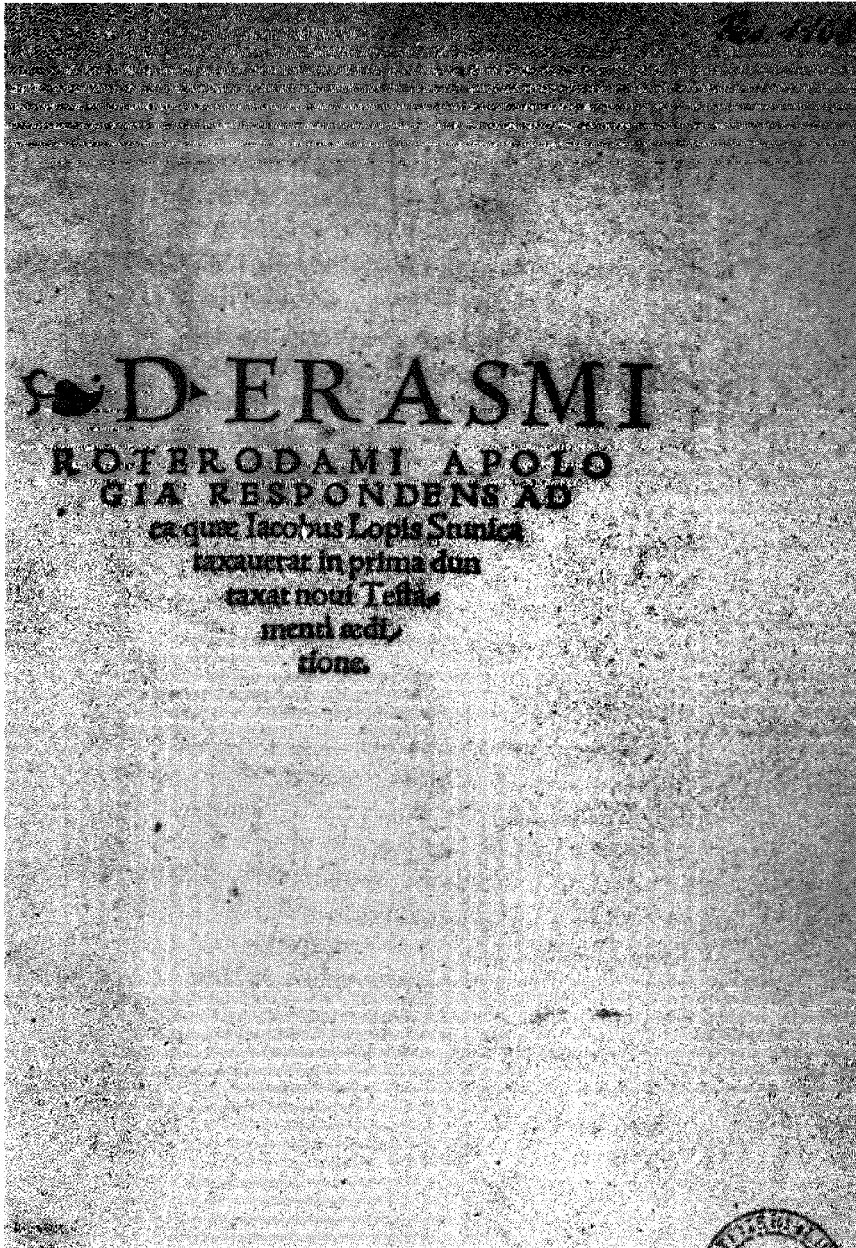
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edited by
H. J. DE JONGE
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Apologia respondens ad ea quae Jacobus Lopis Sunitica taxauerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione. Louanii, Theodoricus Martinus (Dirck Martens), [1521].

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INTRODUCTION

I. Historical background of the controversy with Stunica : the appearance of the Nouum Instrumentum (1516) and its reception

In February 1516 the first edition of Erasmus' New Testament, the *Nouum Instrumentum*, came from the presses of John Froben at Basle. On 7 March of that year Erasmus could announce that the book was published.¹ Although the work is primarily, and rightfully, famous for containing the first printed edition of the Greek New Testament ever published, there can be no doubt that for Erasmus himself and for most sixteenth-century readers of the book, its most important constituent was not the Greek text, but the new Latin version of the New Testament. Most writers on the subject wrongly regard the *Nouum Instrumentum* as, in the first place, an edition of the Greek text. The nature of the *Nouum Instrumentum* as primarily a new rendering of the New Testament into Latin is generally misunderstood.² It is by no means incidental, however, that the title-page announced the work, not as the first published edition of the New Testament in Greek, but as a revised and improved edition of the New Testament, that is, a revision and improvement of the current, traditional, Latin version; a revision to which the Greek textual tradition as well as Latin biblical manuscripts and patristic quotations and commentaries had rendered auxiliary services. The title runs: *Nouum Instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum et emendatum, non solum ad Graecam veritatem, verumetiam ad multorum vtriusque linguae codicum, [...], postremo ad*

¹ Ep. 394, l. 36. Allen, introd. Ep. 384. The colophon to the *Annotationes* is dated 1 March 1516.

² Even by authors who have otherwise written good accounts of Erasmus as an editor of the New Testament, e.g. S.P. Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, London, 1854; A. Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments und ihre Gegner*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902; W. Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation*, Cambridge, 1955; B. Hall, *Erasmus: Biblical Scholar and Reformer*, in T.A. Dorey, ed., *Erasmus*, London, 1970, pp. 81-113. That the Latin translation was an important component of the *Nouum Instrumentum* was realized in a way by Hall, but still not sufficiently. See on this subject H.J. de Jonge, *Nouum Testamentum a nobis versum. De essentie van Erasmus' uitgave van het Nieuwe Testament*, Lampas 15 (1982), pp. 231-248.

probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem et interpretationem, [...] vna cum Annotationibus, quae lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. The words “*recognitum et emendatum ... ad Graecam veritatem*” in this title designate a revision and correction of a Latin text according to, and on the basis of, the Greek, just as Erasmus’ words in the *Apologia* preceding his New Testament, “*Hieronymus Vetus et Nouum Instrumentum ... ad Hebraeam et Graecam veritatem instaurauit*”,³ refer to Jerome’s Latin translation of the bible.⁴

In the *Nouum Instrumentum*, the Greek text was principally included in justification of the new Latin translation. It had to prove that Erasmus’ translation was well-founded, that it could be defended on solid grounds. In order to facilitate comparison and verification, the Greek and Latin were printed in parallel columns.⁵ For just because publishing a fresh Latin translation was likely to provoke vehement opposition, the translation had not only to be backed up by the best possible support, that is, by a text in the original language, but this support had also to be presented in the clearest possible way. In this conception the Greek had an important, authenticating function; it remained nevertheless supporting evidence and was not yet considered as the principal content of the book which Erasmus offered to the public.

It is in accordance with the above assessment of the *Nouum Instrumentum* that, when the copies of this edition and of its subsequent revisions spread over Europe, praise and criticism were levelled mainly at Erasmus’ new Latin rendering of the New Testament⁶ and to a lesser extent at the *Annotationes* in which the new translation and its deviations from the Vulgate were accounted for. The history of the reception of Erasmus’ New Testament need not be traced here in detail. An ever useful account of the repercussions which the work provoked is that by A. Bludau.⁷ Less extensive surveys of the reactions

³ *Apologia*, ed. H. Holborn, *Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus. Ausgewählte Werke*, München, 1933, reprint 1964, p. 167.

⁴ One might also refer to the way Erasmus speaks of his intended edition of the New Testament in Ep. 305, ll. 222–224: “*Nouum Testamentum a me versum et e regione Graecum, vna cum nostris in illud annotamentis*”. Another clear statement about what the *Nouum Instrumentum* was meant to be is to be found in the prefatory letter to the *Annotationes*, Ep. 373, ll. 12–65. Here Erasmus made it perfectly clear that he considered all his research into the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament and into the Fathers as serving only one goal: his *recognitio* (l. 13) and *emendatio* (l. 36) of the Latin text. The purpose of the *Annotationes* was to justify the new Latin translation (ll. 34–38) and in particular its deviations from the Vulgate (ll. 45–49, 57–63, partly added in the second edition, 1519).

⁵ This is expressly pointed out by Erasmus himself in the *Apologia*, ed. Holborn, p. 170, ll. 17–18: “*nostra [i.e. our Latin translation] conferto cum Graecis, quod quo promptius esset, illa e regione adiecimus*”. See on the intended lay-out of the *Nouum Instrumentum* also Ep. 352, ll. 5–9, 28–30 and 41–44. For the secondary function of the Greek, see Ep. 860, ll. 31–34, a most instructive and revealing passage, and Ep. 337, ll. 862–868.

⁶ This has rightly been noticed by several authors, e.g. Schwarz, *Principles and Problems*, p. 163; Hall, *Erasmus: Biblical Scholar*, p. 98; G.B. Winkler, in the introduction to Erasmus von Rotterdam, *In Nouum Testamentum Praefationes*. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von G.B. Winkler, Darmstadt, 1967, p. xvii.

⁷ A. Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben*, see n. 2 above.

to the *Nouum Instrumentum* were given by several other authors.⁸ Here it suffices to recall only some main lines of the mixed reception that Erasmus' New Testament met with.

Much praise, congratulation and actual support against opposition came from England. Even before the completion of the *Nouum Instrumentum* the Louvain theologian Martinus Dorpius, at the instigation of some conservative professors of the theological faculty, had raised objections against Erasmus' intention to publish a new Latin translation and Greek text of the New Testament which in his opinion undermined the foundations of church and theology.⁹ An impressive reply to Dorpius' objections was written by Thomas More in his *Apologia ad Martinum Dorpium* of 1515.¹⁰ Here More advocated the utility of new Latin translations of the New Testament and the necessity of an appeal to the underlying Greek text. Another apology written by More in defence of Erasmus' New Testament appeared in 1520: his *Epistola [...] qua refellit rabiosam maledicentiam monachi cuiusdam, juxta indocti atque arrogantis*. In this pamphlet he turned against an unnamed Carthusian monk, now identified as John Batmanson, a deacon of the bishop of London, who had published a fierce attack on Erasmus' work and person and had particularly warned against the dangers of heterodoxy in the Rotterdamer's writings. In his reply More stood up for Erasmus' philological approach to the bible as fully justified as well as for his orthodoxy.¹¹ Also from England, John Colet, the dean of St. Paul's in London, expressed his enthusiastic approval of the *Nouum Instrumentum* and tried to set Erasmus at ease by informing him that the English theologians who criticized and disapproved of this new edition of the New Testament were exactly the sort of people Erasmus had satirized in his *Moria*. Colet himself, so he declared, espoused Erasmus' New Testament and in particular expressed his gratitude for Erasmus' translation, which was "more Latin" than the Vulgate.¹² William Latimer, at the time a widely known English humanist and a friend of Erasmus, let him know that he was highly

⁸ E.g. P. Smith, *Erasmus. A Study of his Life, Ideals, and Place in History*, New York/London, 1923, republished 1962, pp. 174–186; Schwartz, *Principles and Problems*, pp. 162–166; R.H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom*, New York/London, 1969, republished 1972, pp. 166–174.

⁹ Dorpius' criticism appears in Epp. 304 and 347; for Erasmus' responses see Ep. 337 and Allen, introd. Ep. 347. For an account of the controversy between Erasmus and Dorpius, see *inter alia* H. de Vocht, *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*, Louvain, 1934, p. 139 sqq.; O. Hendriks, *Erasmus en Leuven*, Bussum, 1946; P. Mesnard, *Humanisme et théologie dans la controverse entre Erasme et Dorpius*, *Filosofia* 14 (1963), pp. 885–900. For More's defence of Erasmus against Dorpius and Batmanson, see H. Holeczek, *Humanistische Bibelphilologie als Reformproblem bei Erasmus von Rotterdam, Thomas More und William Tyndale*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought*, IX, Leiden, 1975, pp. 138–185.

¹⁰ More's letter to Dorpius has been preserved in two manuscripts (Paris and Sélestat) and a transcript (Oxford, Bodleian Library); it was not printed until after his death, in the *Lucubrationes*, Basel, 1563. See Allen, introd. Ep. 347, and M.S. Cooper, *More and the Letter to Martin Dorp*, *Moreana* 6 (1965), pp. 37–44.

¹¹ Holeczek, *Humanistische Bibelphilologie*, pp. 136–185.

¹² Ep. 423, ll. 7–11.

pleased with Erasmus' fresh translation of the New Testament, though he regretted that the word *sabbatum* and other loan-words had not yet been replaced by genuine Latin equivalents: Latimer would have liked Erasmus to avoid any word to which Roman ears were unaccustomed.¹³ John Watson, a theologian at Cambridge, also expressed the greatest appreciation of Erasmus' translation and annotations; according to him, Christ had received much light from Erasmus' work.¹⁴ The bishop of Winchester, Richard Foxe, attested before a large audience of prominent personalities that Erasmus' Latin translation was as valuable to him as ten commentaries: so much did it contribute to the clarification of the biblical text.¹⁵ John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, wrote to Erasmus that nobody could reasonably take offence at the new Latin version and that, owing also to the annotations, the New Testament was now more agreeable to read and easier to understand.¹⁶

Not only from England, but also from Germany came many laudatory reactions, as from Willibald Pirckheimer, councillor of Nuremberg,¹⁷ from Gregory Reisch, prior at Freiburg, from Louis Ber, a theological doctor then at Basle, from Wolfgang Capito, preacher and Hebraist also at Basle, and from theologians at Mainz and Cologne.¹⁸ In France the outstanding Hellenist Guillaume Budé hailed the *Nouum Instrumentum* with enthusiasm and praised Erasmus for his great achievement.¹⁹ Budé also applauded Erasmus' wise decision to dedicate the work to the pope: Leo's authority would certainly protect the work against "those stinging wasps, the pseudo-theologians".²⁰ Thus Budé's reaction testifies not only to his admiration of Erasmus' New Testament, but also to some disquietude as to possible opposition from certain theologians. This fear, shared by Erasmus, was to prove all but groundless.

It would not be difficult to adduce many more testimonies of the approval and appreciation with which the *Nouum Instrumentum* was widely received. In addition it should be remembered how readily and intensively its first and later editions were soon used by such theologians as Luther and Zwingli. However, Erasmus' New Testament also called forth a storm of criticism and protests. It has rightly been observed, that almost "all these attacks are directed against Erasmus' Latin version, not against the publication of the Greek text".²¹ Erasmus was reproached for daring to replace, at least in his *Nouum Instrumentum*, the Vulgate by his own new translation and so undermining the

¹³ Ep. 481, ll. 21-26.

¹⁴ Ep. 450, ll. 45-47.

¹⁵ Ep. 502, ll. 19-23.

¹⁶ Ep. 592, ll. 13-21.

¹⁷ Ep. 409.

¹⁸ Ep. 413, ll. 8-30. For Ber's appreciation see also Ep. 456, l. 163; for Capito's judgement, *ibid.*, l. 169; for that of Reisch, *ibid.*, ll. 180-181.

¹⁹ Ep. 403, ll. 25-28. See also Ep. 583, ll. 225-231.

²⁰ Ep. 403, ll. 131-134.

²¹ Schwarz, *Principles and Problems*, p. 163; see also n. 6 above.

authority of the official bible text, hallowed by the use of almost a millennium in liturgy as well as in theology.

As early as August 1516 Erasmus had been informed that one of the colleges in Cambridge had passed an official resolution forbidding anybody to bring a copy of the *Nouum Instrumentum* within the precincts of the college, "either on horseback, or by boat, or by carriage, or by carrier".²² At Strasbourg, shortly after the appearance of the *Nouum Instrumentum*, a Dominican preacher passionately inveighed against it before an audience of students; when one of those present, Jakob Sturm, asked him whether he had ever seen the book, he had to admit, to the hilarity of his audience, that this was not the case.²³ In February 1517, a preacher at Antwerp proclaimed in a public sermon that Holy Scripture and theology were now done for since someone had arisen who had dared to alter the Lord's Prayer and the Magnificat.²⁴ On Whitsunday of that year, 31 May 1517, Erasmus himself heard the prior of the Carmelites at Antwerp, Sebastian Craeys, preach a sermon in which he too accused Erasmus of sinning against the Holy Spirit by changing the text of the Lord's Prayer and the Magnificat.²⁵ Also in 1517, the Carmelite Nicolaus Egmondanus openly preached at Louvain, where Erasmus had taken up his residence at that time, that the appearance of the *Nouum Instrumentum* ushered in the end of the church and that the Antichrist (he meant Erasmus) and his forerunners had come. When Erasmus asked him what had offended him so much in the *Nouum Instrumentum*, Egmondanus confessed to not having read it.²⁶ These and a whole series of similar incidents²⁷ were perhaps not yet really alarming and to a certain extent even amusing. They clearly revealed, however, the deep distrust which many of Erasmus' contemporaries felt towards his new edition of the New Testament and they were the harbingers of storms of more serious criticism. Not only lower clergymen, but also more learned and literate men, like the theological professors at Louvain, feared Erasmus' revision and renovation of the Latin bible. For that is the common denominator of almost all the criticism which Erasmus' New Testament encountered: the desire to preserve the authority of the church against innovation, a desire inspired by precisely the same belief in the church that impelled Erasmus to improve and renew the Latin text of the bible.²⁸ For it should be borne in mind that by his

²² Ep. 456, ll. 8-12. Cf. Ep. 619, ll. 51-52. As far as I know, the college has not been identified. The name of the college is not mentioned by H.C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 36, nor is the incident discussed in D.F.S. Thomson and H.C. Porter, *Erasmus and Cambridge*, Toronto, 1963, see p. 195.

²³ Ep. 948, ll. 145-146.

²⁴ Ep. 541, ll. 82-86 and Ep. 948, ll. 104-109. This is perhaps the same incident as that related in Ep. 1967, ll. 155-158, on which see Allen's notes.

²⁵ Epp. 948, ll. 110-135; 1967, ll. 149-155; 2045, ll. 42-54; and LB VI, 1052 E.

²⁶ Ep. 948, ll. 136-144; 1581, ll. 239-244; 2045, ll. 85-93; cf. Allen, Ep. 483, n.l. 26.

²⁷ See for instance Ep. 948, *passim*; 1153, *passim*; 1192, *passim*; 1212, ll. 27-31.

²⁸ The diagnosis of the disagreement between Erasmus and the antagonists of his New Testament given by Schwarz, *Principles and Problems*, p. 166, is perfectly right.

new translation Erasmus hoped to make the words of Christ and the Apostles accessible to a wide circle in clear and easily understood prose. He wished to fill the world with the *philosophia Christi*, the simple, pious, and practical Christianity which would best serve the world. To achieve this, as many people as possible had to read the New Testament. But not the Vulgate, which was full of all sorts of obscurities. A new, more readable and clearer translation was necessary, and that was his *Nouum Instrumentum*, from 1519 entitled *Nouum Testamentum*.

Particularly unfortunate and regrettable was the dissension which arose between Erasmus and the noted French humanist, theologian and biblical scholar Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. The latter reproached Erasmus in 1517 with "impiety" because he had maintained and defended the translation "Thou hast made him [i.e., Christ] a little lower than the angels" in *Hebr.* 2,7 and declined Lefèvre's proposal to translate "... a little lower than God". The words at issue are a quotation from *Ps.* 8,6, but the Greek text of *Hebr.* 2,7 follows the reading "angels" of the Septuagint, not "God" of the Masoretic text. As Erasmus rightly took the Greek text of *Hebrews* as the basis and norm for his translation, he was of course also perfectly right in vindicating the Septuagint reading "angels" and in rejecting Lefèvre's suggestion to adopt the reading "God" from the Hebrew. But Erasmus was too sensitive to the charge of "impiety", brought by someone who was after all a friend and a kindred spirit, to content himself with being philologically right. In 1517 he published an *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*²⁹ and in the second edition of his *Annotationes* on the New Testament he inserted a lengthy and detailed defence of his position.³⁰ On his side, Lefèvre now kept silent for a time, but this very silence worried Erasmus more than a heated polemic could have done. A reconciliation finally came about in 1519. For the rest it will be clear that Lefèvre's criticism of Erasmus' translation and annotations cannot be classified among the usual traditionalistic protests which were launched at Erasmus' work.³¹

Fear for an infringement of the authority of Scripture and ecclesiastical tradition was the obvious impulse which induced the prominent German theologian Johann Maier von Eck, professor at Ingolstadt, to raise objections against some passages in Erasmus' *Annotationes*.³² In a letter to Erasmus of February 1518 he took exception to Erasmus' comment on *Mt.* 2,6. Here Erasmus had pointed out that the author of the gospel had quoted from

²⁹ LB IX, 17-18. See also Allen, Ep. 597, n.l. 32.

³⁰ LB VI, 985-991.

³¹ On the controversy with Lefèvre d'Étaples, see Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben*, pp. 63-68; Margaret Mann, *Erasme et les débuts de la réforme française (1517-1536)*, Paris, 1934, chs. 2-3.

³² The dispute with Eck appears in Erasmus' correspondence: Epp. 769 and 844. Cf. Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben*, pp. 71-73.

memory and thereby made a mistake. Furthermore, Eck had scruples about Erasmus' depreciatory qualification of the language of the Apostles. According to Erasmus' note on *Act.* 10,38, the Apostles had retained many Semitisms in their Greek, "for the Apostles had learned their Greek from the colloquial speech of ordinary people, not from the speeches of Demosthenes".³³ Eck held that the Apostles knew Greek by virtue of the gift of tongues which had been conferred on them on the day of Pentecost (*Act.* 2,1-13). Finally, Eck felt that Erasmus overrated the significance of Jerome and underrated that of Augustine, who was the greater theologian of the two. In May 1518 Erasmus replied to these criticisms in a letter in which he argued that the writers of the gospels had only been inspired so far as theologically essential matters were concerned, but had not been exempt from making incidental mistakes in less important matters. He did not wish to deny that the Apostles had had the gift of tongues, but that did not exclude the possibility that they had learned Greek "ex vulgi colloquio", for they might well have known Greek before the day of Pentecost and Greek is not among the languages which they are reported to have spoken on that day. Moreover the rudeness, nay indeed the barbarity ("ruditas, imo barbaries") of their Greek is undeniable: should such Greek be considered to be a gift from heaven? Lastly he did not intend to detract from the importance of Augustine when recognizing that Jerome had greater merits; the reason why the latter was often underestimated was that his works were sometimes rather obscure and required serious study. There was no further polemic between Eck and Erasmus, but no reconciliation either.³⁴

Further opposition came from one of the Louvain theologians, Jacobus Latomus. In 1519 he published a work³⁵ in which he advocated the view that the knowledge of Greek is unnecessary for the understanding of the New Testament. The pious are in no need of philological aids, and those who are not pious cannot understand the bible anyhow, even if they know the original

³³ LB VI, 476 D E: "cum Graece scribunt Apostoli, multum referunt ex proprietate suae linguae. ... Nam Apostoli Graecitatem suam non e Demosthenis orationibus, sed e vulgi colloquio didicerunt". For the place which this important statement occupies in the history of the study of the New Testament and its language, see J. Ros, *De studie van het Bijbelgrieksch van Hugo Grotius tot Adolf Deissmann*, Nijmegen/Utrecht, 1940, p. 6. Eck's reproach recurs in the attacks on Erasmus of Lee, Stunica, Noel Beda and the Spanish monks, see *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX, 1073 B, and the note to *Apolog. resp. lac. Lop. Stun.*, p. 183, ll. 343-346 below.

³⁴ See Eck's letter to Erasmus of 1530, Ep. 2387, and especially Erasmus' rather unkind comments on this letter in Ep. 2406.

³⁵ *De trium linguarum et studii theologicis ratione dialogus*, Antwerp, 1519. On the controversy with Latomus, see Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben*, pp. 84-86; Allen, Ep. 934, n.l. 3; Schwarz, *Principles and Problems*, pp. 165; Ch. Béné, *Érasme et saint Augustin*, Genève, 1969, pp. 289-333; J. Etienne, *Spiritualisme érasmien et théologiens louvanistes*, Louvain, 1956, pp. 163-186; and especially G. Chantraine, *L'Apologia ad Latomum. Deux conceptions de la théologie*, in: J. Coppens, ed., *Scrinium Erasmanum*, vol. II, Leiden, 1969, pp. 51-75. The contents of Latomus' *Dialogus* and Erasmus' reply to it are of a much wider import than can be indicated here.

languages in which it was written. Latomus' plea is a sustained criticism of the exegetical method as advocated and practiced by Erasmus who, however, remains unnamed and a defence of scholasticism, of the authority of the church and of the Vulgate. Erasmus replied with an *Apologia*,³⁶ in which he defended the utility of the study of the bible and the early Fathers and the necessity of linguistic knowledge for a good understanding of these sources. The tone of this discussion remained kind and urbane.

In England it was, among others, Henry Standish, a Franciscan and bishop of St. Asaph, who raised furious protests against Erasmus' New Testament. In an oration at St. Paul's Churchyard he accused Erasmus of falsifying the New Testament on account of his altering the words of *Iob.* 1,1 "In principio erat verbum", as the Vulgate reads, into "In principio erat sermo".³⁷ The total extinction of Christianity was at hand, claimed Standish, unless all new translations of the bible were abolished. He appealed to the Lord Mayor of London, the magistrates and all citizens to come to the church's rescue. A little later Standish accused Erasmus before Henry VIII of denying the resurrection of the dead as he had translated *1 Cor.* 15,51 differently from the Vulgate.³⁸ As Erasmus' use of *sermo* in *Iob.* 1,1 was also criticized by monks in Paris and Brussels, he composed a special apology in defence of his preference for *sermo* over *verbum* in the passage at issue.³⁹ In another apology he defended his translation of *1 Cor.* 15,51 as being based on Greek manuscripts, supported by patristic evidence, and as free from the heretic tendency with which Standish had charged him.⁴⁰

However, all the criticisms and attacks mentioned so far, and several others that we have to pass over in silence here, were mere pin-pricks compared with the acrimonious and protracted polemics in which Erasmus soon became involved with two other, more formidable opponents: the Englishman Edward Lee, later Archbishop of York, and the even more redoubtable Spanish theologian Jacobus Lopis Stunica.

Erasmus and the English theologian Edward Lee had made each other's acquaintance at Louvain in 1517, when Lee was there to study Greek. Here Lee wrote first a few, and later more criticisms of the *Nouum Instrumentum*, in the hope of contributing to the improved second edition. Finding however that Erasmus did not receive and use these notes with sufficient respect, but

³⁶ *Apologia refellens suspiciones quorundam dictitantium dialogum D. Iacobi Latomi de tribus linguis ... conscriptum fuisse aduersus ipsum*, Antwerp, 1519; LB IX, 79B-106 E.

³⁷ Epp. 1126, ll. 17-28; 1061, ll. 21-27; 1581, ll. 347-349; Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben*, pp. 60-61; Roland H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom*, pp. 173-175.

³⁸ Epp. 1126, ll. 89-130; 1027a (Allen, vol. VIII, p. xlv), ll. 23-45; 1162, ll. 151-164; 1581, ll. 340-347; 2045, ll. 65-84.

³⁹ *Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo'*, first printed at Louvain, Th. Martens, 1520; LB IX, 111-122.

⁴⁰ *Apologia de loco 'Omnes quidem resurgemus'*, first printed in the *Apologiae omnes*, Basel, Froben, 1522; LB IX, 434-442.

treated them with contumely and even controverted some of them with a certain disdain in the new edition of the *Annotationes* (1519), Lee decided not to show his further notes to Erasmus any more, but to publish his criticisms.⁴¹ Nothing could move him from this resolve, neither Erasmus' personal démarches with him, nor the mediation of mutual friends, among them Thomas More, nor Erasmus' threatening him with the revenge on which he said the Germans, "a ferocious people", were brooding. Lee's *Annotationes in Annotationes Novi Testamenti Erasmi Roterodami* came out at Paris in 1520.⁴² In many annotations Lee drew attention to mistakes which he alleged Erasmus had made in adducing Greek manuscript evidence and in quoting patristic sources. In others he tried to prove that Erasmus had criticized the Vulgate without any ground. In others again he pointed out that Erasmus had occasionally translated what was absent from the Greek, and had produced some Greek of his own to complete *Revelation*. Finally Lee did not refrain from accusing Erasmus of Arianism (*inter alia* on account of his leaving out 1 *Ioh.* 5,7b-8a from his Greek and Latin text), Pelagianism and other heresies.

At first sight the *Annotationes* of Lee may seem to be a serious scholarly work; on closer examination, however, many of his objections are without foundation; all in all Lee's work is only of very mediocre, not to say poor, quality. Above all it is clear that his criticism, inspired by theological conservatism, was fomented by wounded pride, rancour and the desire to win fame. All this can nevertheless hardly justify the savage animosity of the invectives that were now launched at Lee from several quarters of the continent, especially by many an adherent of the Erasmian enlightenment in Germany.

Erasmus himself replied to Lee's *Annotationes* with no less than three apologies. In the first, which appeared in or about March 1520,⁴³ he dismissed the calumnies and the imputations with which Lee had loaded him and depicted Lee as an astute and perfidious hypocrite who played his arrant tricks under the cover of piety and humility. In April 1520 Erasmus' *Responsio ad Annotationes Lei*⁴⁴ appeared, followed in May by his *Liber tertius quo respondet reliquis annotationibus Ed. Lei*.⁴⁵ In these apologies Erasmus defended in detail his exegesis, going through Lee's *Annotationes* from the beginning to the end

⁴¹ Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben*, pp. 86-125; Allen, introd. Ep. 765; Preserved Smith, *Erasmus*, pp. 176-177; Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom*, pp. 168-170; Hall, *Erasmus: Biblical Scholar and Reformer*, p. 103; Holeczek, *Humanistische Bibelphilologie als Reformproblem*, pp. 145-147.

⁴² See Allen, introd. Ep. 1037.

⁴³ *Apologia nihil habens neque nasi neque dentis neque stomachi neque unguium, qua respondet duabus innectiis Eduardi Lei*, Antwerp, Hillen, 1520; not in *BAS*, nor in *LB*, but in W.K. Ferguson, ed., *Erasmi Opuscula*, The Hague, 1933, pp. 236-303, preceded by a useful account of the controversy with Lee, pp. 225-234.

⁴⁴ *LB IX*, 123-200.

⁴⁵ *LB IX*, 199-284.

and refuting each of his opponent's criticisms, in particular his reproaches as to Erasmus' deviations from the Vulgate and his alleged aberrations from the traditional doctrine of the church. It was in the third apology against Lee that Erasmus defended his omission of 1 *Iob.* 5,7b-8a by arguing that if in preparing his New Testament he had found the passage in a single Greek manuscript, he would have introduced it into his edition and into his Latin translation.⁴⁶

The bitter dispute between Erasmus and Lee was certainly magnified out of all proportion to its significance.⁴⁷ But it was only the first of the great altercations in which Erasmus became implicated as a result of his editions of the New Testament. Several other controversies, conducted with the same acerbity, were still to follow: with Stunica, Sutor and Beda. The virulence with which Erasmus' antagonists assailed him is remarkable. It shows to what extent they felt concerned in the central and real issue of all these controversies: the authority of the traditional Latin bible and ultimately, in connection with this, the stability and endurance of theology, philosophy and the church in general. In fact, the great question for many of Erasmus' contemporaries was whether theology and church could survive when the old proof-texts were gone.⁴⁸ Fundamentally, the issue was not one of biblical philology: it touched the foundations of society and of human existence itself. Only this explains, and in a way justifies, the vehemence with which Erasmus' new Latin version was discussed.

That it was pre-eminently this new Latin translation of Erasmus which alarmed the readers of the *Nouum Instrumentum* becomes apparent once more from the title, the preface and the contents of a book which appeared in 1520 at Alcalá: *Annotationes contra Erasmum Roterodamum in defensionem tralationis Noui Testamenti*. It was the first offensive of the most competent critic Erasmus as a New Testament scholar was ever to have: Jacobus Lopis Stunica.

⁴⁶ This remark of Erasmus is sometimes misinterpreted as if he had promised here to restore the so-called *Comma Iohanneum* if it could be found in a single Greek manuscript. It is one of the cherished legends about the history of New Testament scholarship that Erasmus kept his promise and restored the verse when one such manuscript was produced. But this is no more than a legend. In fact, far from being a promise, Erasmus' words are only a simple account of the facts owing to which he had felt obliged to exclude the *Comma Iohanneum* from his first and second edition. His words are not a promise, but a retrospective account of what he had done. Accordingly, the reason why Erasmus inserted the *Comma Iohanneum* in the third edition of his New Testament was not that he felt bound to keep any promise, but, as he declared himself in his annotations on 1 *Iob.* 5,7 and in his first apology against Stunica (see p. 258 below), "to take away any handle for calumniating" him. It may be useful to quote here Erasmus' words in full: "Quod si mihi contigisset vnum exemplar in quo fuisset quod nos legimus, nimirum illinc adiecissem quod in caeteris aberat. Id quia non contigit, quod solum licuit feci, indicaui quid in Graecis codicibus minus esset" (*LB IX*, 275 B-C). See H. J. de Jonge, *Erasmus and the Comma Iohanneum*, *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 56 (1980), pp. 381-389.

⁴⁷ Allen, introd. Ep. 765; A. Rabil, Jr., *Erasmus and the New Testament: the Mind of a Christian Humanist*, San Antonio, 1972, p. 94.

⁴⁸ Preserved Smith, *Erasmus*, pp. 175-176.

II. *Jacobus Lopis Stunica and his polemics with Erasmus. His writings*

Stunica owes his fame almost exclusively to his polemics with Erasmus. As a result, he is mentioned in passing in many works on the Hollander. His own biography, however, has never been written. Here is the place, it seems, to give some special attention to Stunica's life and writings. In fact, as one of Erasmus' most fervent and tenacious adversaries, he caused a great deal of unrest, fear and tension in the latter's life during the 1520's. Erasmus had to write no less than five apologetic writings against him, some more extensive than others.⁴⁹ The following outline of Stunica's life and of his polemics with Erasmus may serve to contribute to a good understanding of these apologies which will appear in this new edition.

Little, though not – as Bataillon wrote⁵⁰ – nothing, is known of the life of Jacobus Lopis Stunica, whose Spanish name was Diego López de Zúñiga, until the period of his controversies with Lefèvre d'Étaples and Erasmus which he commenced in 1519. According to Juan de Vergara, the one time secretary to cardinal Ximénez and chaplain to the court of Emperor Charles V, Stunica was of gentle birth.⁵¹ The orientalist Johann Albert Widmanstadt, who was in close relation with Stunica in the late twenties of the sixteenth century, designated him as a man “ex equestri ordine”.⁵² Stunica had a brother who performed high diplomatic functions in the service of the Emperor Charles V.⁵³ Either this, or another brother was the “Johannes Stunica, Diui Iacobi auratus eques”, to whom Stunica dedicated his book *Itinerarium ... ad urbem romanam* (1521). Stunica is said by one recent author, otherwise not too well informed, to have been born at Madrid, but it is unclear on what ground this information is based.⁵⁴

Ximénez' biographer Juan de Vallejo, who was in the cardinal's service as early as 1498 and was thus an eye-witness of Stunica's Alcalá career, mentions the “bachiller Diego López de Çúñiga”, “persona docta en la arte griega”, among the scholars whom the cardinal assembled at Alcalá de Henarez in the summer of 1502 to undertake the preparatory work for what was to become

⁴⁹ For a list of the eleven writings which Stunica and Erasmus wrote against each other and published during the course of their controversy, see ch. III of this introduction. A biographical note on Stunica, mainly based on the evidence contained in Erasmus' works and correspondence, occurs in H. de Vocht, *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Fr. Craneveldium 1522-1528*, Louvain, 1928, pp. 228-229. De Vocht is wrong in calling Stunica a “professor of divinity at Alcalá” (see n. 73 below) and in dating his arrival at Rome to 1522 instead of to 1521.

⁵⁰ M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, México/Buenos Aires, 1966², p. 23; Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, Paris, 1937, p. 25.

⁵¹ Allen, App. XV, vol. IV, p. 623, l. 34: “claris natalibus”. Cf. Ep. 1216, ll. 14-15.

⁵² Ioh. Alb. Widmanstadius, *Liber Sacrosancti Euangelii* [the New Testament in Syriac], Viennae, 1555, f° a**2. See nn. 145, 147 and 149 below.

⁵³ Vergara in Allen, App. XV, vol. IV, p. 631, l. 11 and ll. 33-34. In l. 11 Vergara calls this brother a “splendidus eques”.

⁵⁴ *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europea-Americana*, t. XXXI, Barcelona, s.d. [c. 1915], p. 161, s.v. “López de Zúñiga (Diego)”.

the famous Complutensian Polyglot.⁵⁵ If the date 1502 is correct – and this is not impossible, though not ascertainable either⁵⁶ – Stunica cannot have been much younger than thirty at the time, and was perhaps somewhat older. This would mean that he was of about the same age as Erasmus. Accordingly, he could rightly be considered a “senex” in 1522,⁵⁷ a qualification Erasmus had applied to himself not later than 1518.⁵⁸

As to his education, Stunica was in any case a priest, but not a monk.⁵⁹ He himself mentions Arius the Portuguese, that is, Ayres Barbosa, as his teacher in Greek.⁶⁰ He must have studied, therefore, at the university of Salamanca, where Barbosa, a pupil of Angelo Politian, held the chair of Greek from ca. 1490 to at least 1503, and perhaps to 1510.⁶¹ Stunica’s bachelor’s degree, mentioned by Vallejo, may have been one in divinity, for in Alcalá Stunica was awarded the degree of *doctor theologiae*.⁶² From his works it is evident that he was a competent Latin, Greek and Hebrew scholar; he also knew Aramaic and Arabic. He did not rank, however, among the most outstanding scholars of Alcalá, among whom were the great Latin and Greek grammarian Antonio of Lebrixa (Nebrissensis, 1444–1522) and the fine Greek scholar Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (Nonius Pincianus, 1471–1552).⁶³

That Stunica had a share in the preparation of the Complutensian Polyglot is beyond all doubt. Not only did his contemporaries Juan de Vallejo and Alvar Gómez de Castro⁶⁴ include him among the editors of this celebrated bible edition, he himself also refers to particular researches which he obviously undertook with a view to the edition of the Polyglot. As Stunica’s name nowhere appears in any of the volumes of the Polyglot, however, his share in the preparatory and editorial work can only be determined by a careful examination of the scarce information given by de Vallejo, Gómez and Stunica

⁵⁵ Juan de Vallejo, *Memorial de la Vida de Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, edited by A. de la Torre y del Cerro, Madrid, 1913, p. 69.

⁵⁶ Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, pp. 22–23; Bataillon, *Erasme et l’Espagne*, pp. 24–25.

⁵⁷ Ep. 1260, l. 153.

⁵⁸ Ep. 844, l. 266.

⁵⁹ Ep. 1260, l. 154.

⁶⁰ *Annotationes contra Erasmus Roterodamum in defensionem tralationis Noui Testamenti*, Alcalá, 1520, f° 3 v°. Stunica gives Barbosa’s christian name as “Arius”, not “Arias”, as he is normally called elsewhere. On Barbosa, see Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Noua*, Matriti, 1783–1788, vol. I, pp. 170–171; M. Andrés, *Humanismo Español y ciencias eclesiásticas (1450–1565)*, Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España, vol. VI, Salamanca, 1977, pp. 122–123 and 140–141. See also R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850*, Oxford, 1976, p. 65.

⁶¹ According to Antonio (see n. 60), Barbosa taught at Salamanca “per vicennium integrum”. For further evidence concerning the duration of Barbosa’s professorship of Greek at Salamanca, see Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, p. 19, n. 32; *Erasme et l’Espagne*, pp. 20–21, n. 3.

⁶² See Sepulveda’s letter included in A. Schottus, *Hispaniae bibliotheca*, Francofurti, 1608, p. 585. On Sepulveda, see Allen, introd. Ep. 2637.

⁶³ See on these scholars Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 65–66. Stunica’s *Ann. c. Er., ad Mc.* 5,41, contains an enthusiastic panegyric on Nebrissensis.

⁶⁴ Alvar Gómez (Gomecius, de Castro), *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio*, Alcalá, 1569; I used the edition included in Joa. Sambucus, ed., *Rerum Hispanicarum Scriptores aliquot*, Francofurti, 1579–1580, vol. III; see p. 43.

himself. In my opinion, Bataillon did not succeed in doing full justice to the available evidence.⁶⁵ He overlooked part of it, especially some details of Gómez' testimony, and did not take into account the agreement of Gómez' testimony with Stunica's own remarks concerning his study of Old Testament manuscripts. Bataillon's conclusion that it is no longer possible to ascertain Stunica's share in the Polyglot⁶⁶ is, therefore, somewhat too sceptical and needs reconsideration.

In the preface to his *Annotationes contra Erasmum Roterodamum in defensionem tralationis Noui Testamenti*, first published in 1520, Stunica claims the right to criticize Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum* in a passage running as follows:

"If anybody can pass judgement on these things, then we, too, can do it with a certain right, as we have spent not a few years in reading the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. And we have compared most carefully the very Hebrew and Greek manuscripts of Holy Writ with the oldest Latin codices. So, if I am not mistaken, I am very well aware just how much respect should be paid to this translation [i.e., the Vulgate] of the New Testament used by the church, thoroughly grounded as I am by my year-long reading and experience".⁶⁷

In itself, this passage cannot be taken to refer to any particular operation forming part of the editorial work for the Polyglot. It only says that, during the course of years, Stunica compared Hebrew and Greek manuscripts of the bible with old manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate. It is not clear whether the Greek manuscripts were only New Testament manuscripts, or Septuagint manuscripts as well. But according to Alvar Gómez, Stunica's share in the Polyglot consisted precisely in making the interlinear Latin translation of part of the Septuagint.⁶⁸ Making such a translation might of course well involve consulting and comparing Hebrew, Greek and Latin manuscripts. It is not impossible, therefore, that Stunica's own rather generally phrased account of his year-long comparison of Hebrew, Greek and Latin manuscripts of the bible also bears upon his work at the Latin translation of the Septuagint with which Gómez credits him. Even if one hesitates to take Stunica's words as a confirmation of Gómez' testimony, it should be observed that, in this case, there is no reason to question the reliability of Gómez' information. That

⁶⁵ Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, pp. 39 and 92; *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, pp. 43 and 98.

⁶⁶ *Erasmus y España*, p. 39: "Su participación en la obra es imposible de determinar", p. 92: "... imposible de precisar".

⁶⁷ *Annotationes contra Erasmum Roterodamum ...*, 1520, f° A3 v°: "Cum praesertim si quisquam alius et nos quoque his de rebus nostro quodam iure iudicium ferre possimus. Quippe qui non paucos annos in sanctis scripturis Veteris ac Noui Testamenti Hebraice, Grece et Latine perlegendis consumpserimus, ac Hebraica Grecaque ipsa diuinarum litterarum exemplaria cum antiquissimis Latinorum codicibus diligentissime contulerimus. Longa igitur lectione ac experientia iampridem edocti quantum tralationi huic ecclesiasticae Noui Testamenti deferendum sit, nisi fallor, noui optime".

⁶⁸ Gómez, *De rebus gestis a Fr. Ximeno*, p. 43, l. 31.

Stunica contributed part of the Latin translation of the Septuagint is, all in all, something one can safely assume.

As to the role he played in the edition of the New Testament we have the testimony of Stunica himself. In the introduction to his *Annotationes contra Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*, published in 1519, Stunica wrote:

“As far as the gospels are concerned, it is evident that the Latin manuscripts agree very well with the Greek ones, apart from scribal errors. The latter are not rare as we noticed some time ago, when, at the instance and by order of the very Reverend Father Franciscus Cisnerius, the cardinal of Toledo, we noted these carefully down, collating Greek manuscripts with very old Latin codices”.⁶⁹

Ximénez, the originator and stimulator of the Polyglot project, then, had instructed Stunica, it seems, to collate Greek manuscripts of the gospels with old manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate.⁷⁰ True, Stunica does not explicitly say that these collations formed part of the editorial work for the Polyglot. But both the fact that Stunica made the collations by order of Ximénez and the fact that, according to external evidence, Stunica was involved anyhow in the edition of the Polyglot, make it probable that his collations of gospel manuscripts, too, had to do with Ximénez' great enterprise. This is not to say, however, that he was also involved in the establishment of the Greek text of the gospels in the Polyglot. Delitzsch has rightly pointed out that most of the Greek readings which Stunica defended against Erasmus do not figure in the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglot.⁷¹ In his turn, Delitzsch called attention to the striking agreement of the Greek readings defended by Stunica in the Pauline and Catholic epistles with those adopted in the Polyglot. From this agreement Delitzsch inferred that Stunica probably played a role in establishing the Greek text of the epistles. But this conclusion does not hold water either. In fact, Stunica may very well have vindicated against Erasmus readings that, chosen by some fellow-editor, had previously been printed in the Complutensian New Testament. Stunica's approval of such readings cannot be taken as an indication of his editorial responsibility for them, let alone of his responsibility for the text of the epistles as a whole.

All we know, then, about Stunica's share in the edition of the

⁶⁹ *Annotationes contra Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*, 1519, f^o A3: “Quantum ad euangelia attinet, manifestum est, exceptis scriptorum mendis, quae non paucae sunt, vt nos olim ex Graecorum exemplarium cum antiquissimis Latinorum codicibus collatione hortatu ac iussu patris reuerendissimi Francisci Cisnerii cardinalis Toletani ... diligenter annotauimus, in reliquis Latina cum Graecis optime conuenire”.

⁷⁰ The ms. Madrid, Bibl. Univ. Central, 117-Z-1, f^{os} 180-252, containing *Annotationes Noui Testamenti*, has been considered the result of this collation, but wrongly, see our list of the writings of Iacobus Lopis Stunica, no. [21].

⁷¹ Fr. Delitzsch, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Polyglottenbibel des Cardinals Ximenez*, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 29-30.

Complutensian Polyglot, is that he made part of the interlinear Latin version of the Septuagint (it remains unclear, just which part) and that he collated Greek manuscripts of the gospels with Vulgate manuscripts. He may well have contributed much more, but there is simply no evidence to prove this. Nor is there sufficient ground to speak of Stunica as “the principal editor” of the Complutensian Polyglot, as is not seldom done.⁷² The only ground on which such an assessment is based seems to be the fact that among the seven or eight editors of the Complutensian Polyglot, Stunica was the only one to join issue with Erasmus, whose *Nouum Instrumentum* can only have been a thorn in the side of the Complutensian editors. This ground is of course not conclusive. For the rest it may be observed that, as far as can be concluded from the evidence, Stunica collaborated in the Polyglot project, not as a professor of Alcalá university, as Bludau stated,⁷³ but in some function of the staff of cardinal Ximénez.⁷⁴

The printing of the Old Testament part of the Complutensian Polyglot was still far from being completed, when copies of Erasmus’ *Nouum Instrumentum* reached Alcalá, some time in the summer or in the second half of 1516.⁷⁵ This event changed Stunica’s life. As soon as he had a copy at his disposal,⁷⁶ he began to write *Annotationes* against Erasmus’ New Testament and, apart from his attack on Lefèvre d’Etaples’ commentary on, and new Latin translation of, the epistles of Paul, an attack in the shape of *Annotationes contra Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem* (Alcalá, 1519),⁷⁷ the rest of Stunica’s life may be described as the history of his polemic with Erasmus. Useful accounts of the controversy which

⁷² For instance by S.P. Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, London, 1854, p. 3; F.H.A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, Cambridge, 1883³, pp. 250, 423, 651; F.C. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, London, 1912², p. 268; Eb. Nestle, *Einführung in das griechische N.T.*, Göttingen, 1909³, p. 1; id., 4. Aufl. von E. von Dobschütz, Göttingen, 1923, pp. 61, 62; F.G. Kenyon and A.W. Adams, *Der Text der griechischen Bibel*, Göttingen, 1961², p. 54. For a more cautious assessment of Stunica’s share in the polyglot, see J.D. Michaelis, *Introduction to the N.T.*, transl. by H. Marsh, Cambridge, 1793–1802, vol. II, p. 433. The current view according to which Stunica was the principal editor of the New Testament of the Polyglot has already been controverted by Delitzsch, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Polyglottenbibel*, pp. 28–30.

⁷³ Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben*, p. 125, and see n. 49 above, *in fine*.

⁷⁴ Vergara in Allen, App. XV, vol. IV, p. 624, ll. 56–57. See also J. Ignacio Tellechea, *La création de l’université d’Alcala et sa signification dans la Renaissance espagnole*, in: *Pédagogues et juristes, De Pétrarque à Descartes*, t. IV, Paris, 1963, pp. 137–147, where Stunica is not mentioned among the professors of Alcalá. When Erasmus wrote: “Academia Complutensis ... esset fortunator si Stunicam ... non haberet” (*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ad Rom.* 15,24), he was not well informed.

⁷⁵ On 26 April a copy of the *Nouum Instrumentum* reached Budé in Paris, Ep. 403, ll. 25–28. The book was on the Paris market a week later, *ibid.* It was bought and read at London in June, Ep. 423, ll. 6–7, and at Cambridge in August, Ep. 449, ll. 9–11. On 9 August 1516 Erasmus himself declared that the book had been circulated (*vulgatum*) all over the world, Ep. 446, ll. 70–71.

⁷⁶ Vergara in Allen, App. XV, vol. IV, p. 624, l. 56.

⁷⁷ In this work Stunica took issue with Lefèvre d’Etaples’ view that the commonly used Latin version of the New Testament, the Vulgate, was not the work of Jerome. It is remarkable that Erasmus had not yet seen the *Annotationes* against Lefèvre d’Etaples in February 1534 (see Ep. 2905, l. 36).

Stunica started openly with Erasmus in 1520 and carried on during the rest of his life – he died in 1531 – have been given by M. Menéndez Pelayo,⁷⁸ A. Bludau,⁷⁹ and M. Bataillon.⁸⁰ We need at present touch only upon the main points of this long-continued dispute.

When Stunica had completed in manuscript a draft of his *Annotationes* on Erasmus' New Testament and showed it to his patron Ximénez, the cardinal recommended him to send his criticisms first to Erasmus in a private letter and to proceed to the publication of his *Annotationes* only if Erasmus' reaction was unsatisfactory. On another occasion, when Stunica happened to find the cardinal with Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum* on his desk, he said to him that he wondered how he could read such nonsense and that the book was full of monstrous faults. The cardinal retorted severely: "Would that all prophesied this way. If you can, produce something better, stop condemning the labours of others".⁸¹ As long as the cardinal lived and Stunica was in his service, the latter did not venture to publish his annotations, nor did he follow Ximénez' advice to send his notes to Erasmus privately. However, two and a half years after the cardinal's death, which occurred on 8 November 1517, Stunica committed his work against Erasmus to the press in Alcalá. The printer was A.G. de Brocario, from whose presses the Polyglot had come. The *Annotationes* against Erasmus were printed before August 1520, when Stunica set out from Alcalá for Rome, and probably before 21 June 1520 when Erasmus wrote Ep. 1114 in which he mentions a letter from his friend Petrus Barbirius, a Fleming who sojourned in Spain at that moment. This letter from Barbirius, which is no longer extant, is likely to have informed Erasmus for the first time about the appearance of Stunica's *Annotationes*.⁸²

Stunica's *Annotationes* against Erasmus form a folio-volume of 58 folio's⁸³ or 115 pages. In a preface to the reader⁸⁴ the Spaniard declared in a somewhat haughty and contemptuous tone that he felt himself obliged to stand up for the cause of Jerome to whom Erasmus had done a great injustice by his criticism and condemnation of the Vulgate and by publishing an entirely new translation of his own. The learning on which Erasmus had relied in making this new translation was in fact no more than audacity. He had been led, not

⁷⁸ M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1880–1881, see vol. II, pp. 48–60. Republished in E. Sánchez Reyes, ed., *Edición nacional de las Obras completas de Menéndez Pelayo*, 8 vols., Santander, 1946–1948, vol. III, pp. 54–74, where the account of the controversy between Stunica and Erasmus has remained unaltered.

⁷⁹ Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben*, pp. 125–140.

⁸⁰ Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, pp. 91–97, 99, 115–132; *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, pp. 98–104, 107, 123–142.

⁸¹ This anecdote was inserted by Erasmus in the introduction to the second edition of his first *Apologia* against Stunica, see p. 62, l. 38 below, critical apparatus. Ximénez' words seem to contain an allusion to *Num.* 11,29: "... vt omnis populus prophetet ...".

⁸² Allen, *Epp.* 1216, n.l. 1; 1128, n.l. 4; *App.* XV, vol. IV, p. 623, ll. 20–21; *Ep.* 1114, l. 13.

⁸³ Signatures A–I⁶, K⁴; the last verso is blank.

⁸⁴ *F^{os}* A1 v^o–A2 r^o; quoted in part by Allen, *Ep.* 1128, n.l. 3.

by love of truth nor by the wish to help those who applied themselves to the study of the bible, but by thirst for glory and by the desire to censure the Vulgate and Jerome. Erasmus' criticisms of the traditional Latin bible of the church and his contempt of Jerome were, however, wholly unjustified. Jerome's translation of the New Testament was a good rendering of the Greek manuscripts; its Latin was correct and tasteful. There might be discrepancies between the Vulgate and the Greek manuscripts; there might also be textual corruptions and variant readings within the textual tradition of the Vulgate. But these differences and variant readings could have been registered separately. They could by no means justify a new translation of the whole New Testament, nor the alteration of its old wording, nor the impudent overthrow of a text which had been used so long, nor finally the overt condemnation of the translation of the church. Here Stunica's motive becomes clear: he feared that Erasmus' new translation might subvert the foundations of theology and church. It was therefore his intention, as he declared, to demonstrate that Erasmus' translation and annotations were not the work of a real scholar, but of someone who, in consequence of his ignorance and his perverted reason, had committed follies at countless places in the New Testament. According to Stunica it was not merely his duty, but also his right to defend the truth against Erasmus, since he had spent many years in the study of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin bible and in the comparison of early Latin manuscripts of the bible with Hebrew and Greek manuscripts.⁸⁵ As a result he knew, so he claimed, how to value the Vulgate at its true worth. It was his conviction, then, that Jerome was an extremely intelligent and skilled editor. The very authority of Jerome ought to have sufficed to safeguard the bible of the church from such false and malicious charges as had been made by Erasmus, the more so as Jerome had made his translation at the apostolic command of a pope.

Stripped of all disparagements, allegations and insinuations, this preface does no more than express Stunica's opinion that Erasmus' criticism of the Vulgate was baseless, that a new Latin translation of the New Testament was unnecessary, and that Erasmus' translation and his annotations formed an unjustified assault on Jerome and on the bible used by the church. It may be useful to observe that in this controversy between Stunica and Erasmus it is impossible to take a simple decision as to which of the two scholars was right. Erasmus had tasted the sparkling freshness of the original language of the New Testament and rightly supposed that the newly discovered tone and force of the New Testament could only be transmitted to the reading public of his time by a new translation. The problem is that, in evaluating and criticizing the old translation used in the Latin church, he chose his criterion in Greek manuscripts of the Byzantine church. Within the textual tradition of the New Testament these Greek manuscripts represented not only another branch than

⁸⁵ See also p. 15 above and n. 67.

the Vulgate, but also, as is now generally acknowledged, a relatively late and inferior stage of transmission. From a modern point of view and if allowance is made for the limitations to which the Vulgate was necessarily subject as a translation, one must admit that the Vulgate contained a more reliable text of the New Testament than Erasmus' Greek manuscripts, let alone his new Latin translation. True, the relationship between the text of the Vulgate and that of the Greek manuscripts of the Byzantine type of text was still entirely unknown to Stunica and Erasmus. Consequently, there is no reason to give Stunica credit for his preference for the Vulgate, nor to blame Erasmus for the use he made of Byzantine manuscripts. Stunica's attachment to the Vulgate was after all nothing but a consequence of his fear of innovations which he regarded as fatal to the church. The essential question remains, however, whether in the sixteenth century the Vulgate still sufficed for an adequate understanding of the bible. This is ultimately an extremely complicated question, about which opinions may widely differ. The present writer feels that even if it had been desirable for the church to maintain the Vulgate as an official bible, e.g. for certain liturgical purposes, a fresh translation from the Greek, if only from Byzantine manuscripts, could no doubt render useful services. This was how many of Erasmus' catholic contemporaries considered his editions of the New Testament.⁸⁶ Moreover, the view of Stunica who accepted and contributed to the study of the Hebrew and Greek bible, but objected to the making of a new translation from these languages, runs the risk of being too subtle to be realistic. This does not mean, however, that Stunica's position was in itself unjustifiable. Erasmus' translation was eventually to be condemned by the Council of Trent. But Stunica's standpoint was from the outset too idealistic to find lasting support.

Stunica's preface is followed by a series of 212 extensive annotations arranged in the order of the books and chapters of the New Testament. In these he enters into the details of Erasmus' Latin translation and annotations. He persistently tries to demonstrate on philological grounds that the wording of the "vetus translatio" is correct, both as Latin and as a rendering of the Greek, that Erasmus' alterations of the traditional Latin text were mistaken or unnecessary, and that Erasmus had criticized Jerome unjustly. In several cases, especially where matters of Semitic philology were concerned, Stunica was right, but often he was not.

⁸⁶ According to J. Fisher, e.g., Erasmus' translation was more readable and more understandable than the Vulgate (Ep. 592, l. 17). Colet praised it as "more Latin" than the Vulgate (Ep. 423, l. 42) and R. Foxe, too, considered it most enlightening, perspicuous, and free from Grecisms and the mistakes of the Vulgate (Ep. 503, ll. 21-24). Dorpius declared in 1519 that in order to get as close as possible to a direct understanding of Paul, he wished to rely on Erasmus, not on the Vulgate, which was more corrupt than the Greek copies on which Erasmus had based his translation; *Oratio in praelectionem epistolarum diui Pauli*, Antwerp, 1519, f^{os} d ii v^o-e iv^o. In W. Pirckheimer's opinion Erasmus' translation was simply "indispensable and helpful to all Christians" (Ep. 409, l. 8).

Stunica's *Annotationes contra Erasmus* came from the press in Alcalá probably before 21 June 1520. Some months after their appearance Stunica went on a journey to Rome. He set out from Alcalá in August 1520 and travelled at his leisure along the Mediterranean coasts of Spain, France and Italy, taking time for sight-seeing and for visiting prominent persons. He arrived at Rome on 9 February 1521, and in the same year he published a detailed account of his voyage under the title *Itinerarium ab Hispania vsq[ue] ad urbem romanam in quo multa varia ac scitu dignissima continent[ur]*.⁸⁷ During the following ten years Stunica stayed on in Italy, until his death (1531); he never returned to Spain.

Stunica himself states in the opening passage of his *Itinerarium* that he travelled to Rome primarily for visiting the curia: "ea praecipue causa, vt Romanam curiam viseremus". As he took a great number of the printed copies of his *Annotationes contra Erasmus* with him to Rome,⁸⁸ he may have had the particular intention to try to convince the leaders of the church in Rome that the time had come to take measures against the influential humanist from Rotterdam. For a long time past Stunica had taken offence at Erasmus' bold criticism of the church and had seen great danger in it. In fact, his anger had already been stirred by the *Moriae encomium* (1511), as appears from the sarcastic tone in which he mentions this work in his reply to Erasmus' annotation on *Mt.* 11,25: "liber ille percelebris ab Erasmo iampridem editus, cui titulum indidit Μωρίας ἐγκώμιον, opus quidem grauissimum et τοῦ ἐγκωμιστοῦ haud indignum". Now he thought he could prove on firm philological grounds that Erasmus did not deserve the respect which he enjoyed. Through his *Annotationes contra Erasmus* Stunica may very well have hoped to bring about a turn in the esteem in which Erasmus was generally held in Rome and thus to contribute to an official condemnation of Erasmus' person and works. In any case the purpose of his move to Rome soon became clear to anybody who watched his movements there. What he intended was "to make Erasmus hateful to the clerical order", "vt Erasmus ordini ecclesiastico infestum reddat", in the words of the German humanist Joannes Caesarius.⁸⁹

At Rome Stunica enjoyed the protection of cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal.⁹⁰ This Spaniard, who played a leading part in the papal court and was dean of the college of cardinals, accommodated Stunica in his house. The latter soon secured a post in the Sapienza, the university of Rome founded in 1303. In 1521 Stunica lectured on the Greek poet Oppian (c. 200 A.D.), whose

⁸⁷ No. 3 in the list of Stunica's works below.

⁸⁸ See Ep. I, p. 24, ll. 23-24 and Allen, Ep. 1216, n.l. 1.

⁸⁹ See Ep. 1291, l. 30. For Caesarius, see Allen, introd. Ep. 374.

⁹⁰ Ep. 1330, ll. 45-47. For Carvajal, see Allen, Epp. 239, n.l. 48; 247, ll. 16-17. Carvajal died on 16 December 1523.

Halientica and *Cynegetica* (nowadays ascribed to two different Oppians) were favourite literature with him, judging from his *Annotationes contra Erasmum*.⁹¹

On 16 December 1521 Stunica received in Rome a copy of the apology with which Erasmus had opened the counter-offensive. We shall deal with Erasmus' first apology in chapter IV of this Introduction. Here it suffices to remark that Erasmus had obtained a copy of Stunica's *Annotationes* at Anderlecht in June 1521 and that he had immediately begun to write an extensive and detailed defence, in which he answered, one by one, all Stunica's critical remarks. In September 1521 Erasmus put the final touches to this first apology against Stunica. During the same month it went to Dirk Martens' press at Louvain and in October it was published.

However, some time before a copy of Erasmus' apology reached Stunica at Rome in December 1521, Stunica had completed a new work directed against Erasmus, his *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates*. It had already been announced in the *Annotationes contra Erasmum (ad Act. 4,27)*. In its original form this work consisted of three books containing a series of quotations and excerpts from several of Erasmus' works, accompanied by extensive comments of Stunica himself. In these comments Stunica argued that the passages quoted from Erasmus showed that the latter's attitude towards the church and its doctrine was hardly different from that of Luther and his adherents. It should be borne in mind that in June 1520 Luther's theses had been censured as heretical by the bull *Exsurge Domine* and that he had been excommunicated by the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem* of 3 January 1521. In the course of 1521 Stunica submitted a hand-written copy of his *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates* to Leo X, no doubt hoping to obtain permission to publish the work in print with papal approbation. A manuscript fair copy of this original version of the work, possibly the very copy presented to the pope, is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples.⁹² It is preceded by a still unpublished prefatory letter addressed to pope Leo X. In it Stunica calls the pope's attention to the agreements between the heretic ideas of Erasmus and Luther, suggesting that Luther had borrowed his heterodox doctrines from Erasmus. He complains that Erasmus mocks at such great exegetes of the church as Nicholas of Lyra, Hugo of St. Cher, Isidore of Seville and Thomas Aquinas, and that Erasmus did not scruple to disagree freely with the old doctors of the church. It is therefore the pope's task, Stunica argues, to take steps against Erasmus' temerity and to bridle his blasphemous mouth, "oportet te ... hominis temeritati auctoritate tua sanctissima obuiare, blasphemoque ori

⁹¹ *Ad 1 Cor. 4*. Cf. Allen, Ep. 1260, n.ll. 170-171. I cannot find Stunica's name in F. M. Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università degli studi di Roma detta comunemente la Sapienza*, 4 vols., Roma, 1803-1806 (see especially vol. II, § vi "Lingue dotte, Eloquenza Greca e Latina, e loro Maestri"), nor in Jos. Catafa, *De gymnasio Romano et de eius professoribus*, 2 vols., Romae, 1751. In Ep. 1291 Caesarius speaks of Stunica as "publicus, vt audio, in vrbe Roma professor" (l. 24).

⁹² Fondo Principale, VII B 41, f^{os} 1-119; see no. 12 in the list of Stunica's works below.

frenum imponere". It is Leo's duty to purge the church of the tares sown by the devil, to extinguish the snake in the grass and to efface it from the memory of men.

Stunica is also on record to have read fragments from his new work against Erasmus in Roman circles on several occasions in 1521.⁹³ Pope Leo, however, forbade him to publish anything which might harm Erasmus' name.⁹⁴ As a result, his new attack on Erasmus remained unpublished. On 1 December 1521 Leo died. The new pope Adrian VI was elected in January 1522, but he was not to arrive in Rome until the end of August. In the meantime Stunica prepared an abridged version of his *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates*, in which he omitted his own comments, which had formed the bulk of the book, and left only the excerpts from Erasmus' works. He also replaced the prefatory letter to Leo X by a shorter preface to the reader. According to Erasmus⁹⁵ the cardinals in Rome forbade Stunica to publish his book even in its abridged form. It is, in any case, an established fact that the cardinals passed a resolution which forbade the sale of Stunica's books in Rome.⁹⁶ The *Blasphemiae et impietates* were nevertheless in the press on 7 April 1522 and were published before 4 May 1522:⁹⁷ a quarto-volume of 54 pages.⁹⁸

In his new preface⁹⁹ Stunica intimated that by publishing these fragments from Erasmus' works he wished to warn against the dangers of the latter's publications to the faith and the church. He pointed out that he had already written an extensive work against the suspected passages published here – he refers of course to the original version of the *Blasphemiae et impietates* – and that he intended to publish this work before long. Obviously he had not yet abandoned his plan to bring out the integral version.

⁹³ Epp. 1260, ll. 149–153, 183–191; 1268, ll. 72–75. From the latter passage it appears that a rumour had reached Erasmus that the work which Stunica had presented to Leo contained an enumeration of six myriads of heresies found in Erasmus' works.

⁹⁴ Epp. 1213, ll. 33–36; 1581, ll. 191–196; cf. Ep. 2385, ll. 69–72.

⁹⁵ Ep. I, p. 23, ll. 26–27; *ibid.*, p. 24, ll. 26–27; Epp. 1302, ll. 59–61; 1415, ll. 13–19; 1418, ll. 26–28; 1581, l. 194; *LB IX*, 379F; 381B; and at other places. An endeavour to find documentary confirmation of Erasmus' statements concerning the cardinals' resolution remained without success. Dr. Paul Canart of the Vatican Library kindly informed me by letter of 26 November 1979 that "les sondages nécessaires dans différents fonds ... sont restés négatifs: mes collègues des Archives Vaticanes n'ont rien trouvé qui se rapporte à l'interdiction en question. Cela n'est pas tout à fait inattendu: il reste très peu de documents concernant l'interrègne entre Léon X et Adrien VI, et il n'est pas facile de mettre la main dessus. Mes collègues m'ont dit aussi qu'il n'y avait pas plus de chances de trouver les documents en question en dehors des Archives Vaticanes".

⁹⁶ Stunica himself informed his brother about this resolution of the cardinals, see Allen, vol. IV, p. 631, ll. 9–11.

⁹⁷ The book was ready for the press before 26 March 1522, see Allen, vol. IV, p. 628, ll. 2–3. That it was in the press on 7 April 1522 appears from a letter from Johann Faber to Beatus Rhenanus quoted by Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben*, p. 135. For the date of publication, see Allen, vol. IV, p. 630, ll. 4–5. Copies of the *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates* reached Speier on 28 May 1522 (Ep. 1289, l. 7), Nuremberg before 5 June (Ep. 1290) and Cologne before 14 June (Ep. 1291).

⁹⁸ No. 4 in the list of Stunica's works below.

⁹⁹ *LB IX*, 372 A–D.

By 25 April 1522 the news about the appearance of the *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates*, and probably a copy of the book as well,¹⁰⁰ had reached Erasmus at Basle.¹⁰¹ He did not wait very long to react. He completed his *Apologia aduersus libellum Iacobi Stunicae cui titulum fecit Blasphemiae et impietates Erasmi* on 13 June 1522.¹⁰² He asserted that he had written it at the instigation of Albert of Brandenburg, the archbishop of Mainz.¹⁰³ This second apology against Stunica runs to 52 pages in octavo.¹⁰⁴ In it Erasmus goes over, one by one, all the passages Stunica had cited or excerpted from his works and defends himself against the accusations and insinuations which Stunica had permitted himself to prefix to each of these by way of headings. Erasmus felt obliged to argue for instance that he had never intended to reject the veneration of saints, ecclesiastical ceremonies, the authority of the pope and the bishops, or the sacraments, nor to refuse all respect to theologians and monks. He had only criticized the abuses which deformed and violated the purity of ecclesiastical institutions and offices. Erasmus concluded by determining clearly his position over against the Lutheran movement. He did not subscribe to any of Luther's theses which had been condemned by the universities and the pope. Nor was it his fault that the Lutherans tried to make him their champion. Rather, his dislike of revolution alienated him from them.

In the meantime Stunica had the satisfaction of finding some support in his fight against Erasmus from the side of his compatriot Sancho Carranza de Miranda, a theologian who was temporarily staying at Rome.¹⁰⁵ Carranza was a canon of Alcalá who taught theology at the university there. He had come to Rome in 1520. In March 1522 he published his *Opusculum in quasdam Erasmi Annotationes*, in which he invited Erasmus to state more clearly than he had done in his first apology against Stunica his position as to some particular accusations of heterodoxy which Stunica had launched at him in his *Annotationes contra Erasmusum*. According to Carranza, Erasmus, in his apology, had not sufficiently succeeded in setting at rest possible doubts as to his orthodoxy on three specific points: (1) whether Christ's divinity can be proved from the name Emmanuel in *Mt.* 1,23 and from some other passages in the Scriptures; (2) whether the designation "servant" is applicable to Christ; (3) whether it could be due to Erasmus' exegesis of *Eph.* 5,32 that Luther refused to see matrimony as a sacrament. The tone of Carranza's *Opusculum* was

¹⁰⁰ This may be inferred from the dates at which copies of the book reached Speier, Nuremberg and Cologne, see n. 97 above.

¹⁰¹ Ep. 1278, ll. 25-26.

¹⁰² This date occurs in the subscription on the apology: "Basileae Id. Iun. Anno M.D.XXII.," correctly reproduced in *LB IX*, 375 B.

¹⁰³ Ep. 1305, ll. 9-11.

¹⁰⁴ It was published for the first time as an addition to Erasmus' *De interdicto esu carn.*, Basle, 6 August 1522, f^{os} 94 v^o-17 r^o. *LB IX*, 355 D-375 B.

¹⁰⁵ On Carranza, see Allen, Ep. 1277, nn.ll. 22 and 24; Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, pp. 122-124 and the index *s.v.*; *Erasme et l'Espagne*, pp. 131-133 and the index *s.v.*; Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben*, pp. 140-143.

moderate and polite; much less so was that of the *Apologia de tribus locis quos ut recte taxatos a Stunica defenderat Sanctius Carranza theologus* by which Erasmus replied. He wrote this apology in June 1522, after the apology against Stunica's *Blasphemiae et impietates*.¹⁰⁶ Both these apologies were published in August of that year. From his side Carranza did not continue the polemic.

Stunica himself, however, persisted at Rome in his offensive against Erasmus. The latter's second apology, the *Apologia aduersus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit Blasphemiae et impietates Erasmi*, was still in the press when he received at Basle a copy of a third attack on his work by Stunica, the *Libellus trium illorum voluminum praecursor, quibus Erasmi blasphemias ac impietates ac blasphemias redarguit*.¹⁰⁷ This pamphlet had been printed and published by Antonius Bladus de Asula at Rome in 1522, after the 26th of March¹⁰⁸ and before the arrival of the new pope, Adrian VI, at Rome by the end of August.¹⁰⁹ It would appear that Stunica tried to take advantage of the pope's absence from Rome to carry on his campaign against Erasmus as vigorously as possible. Whether he really acted in defiance of the interdiction issued by the cardinals, as Erasmus did not cease to declare, is not entirely clear. But he certainly ran counter to the common feeling and the sense prevailing in the conclave and the curia. In Rome Stunica met with remarkably little sympathy for his crusade against Erasmus. Even the influential papal librarian Girolamo Aleander, otherwise an energetic advocate of a disciplinary reform in the church, seems not to have been pleased with Stunica's zeal, although his relations with Erasmus were not precisely characterized by cordiality at the time.¹¹⁰

In his *Libellus* Stunica makes a new attempt to demonstrate that Erasmus had called in question the sacramental nature of matrimony and that Luther had borrowed his heretical view of matrimony from the works of Erasmus. Stunica also summoned Erasmus to cleanse himself of the suspicion of

¹⁰⁶ For the date of composition of the apology against Carranza, June or at the latest July 1522, see the *Apologia ad Prodromon Stunicae*, LB IX, 375 C-D, written in July or in the first days of August 1522 as an "Appendix" to the apology against Stunica's *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemias et impietates*, after the completion of the apology against Carranza; cf. Ep. 1294, l. 5, and Ep. 1303, l. 45, with Allen's introductory note to this letter.

¹⁰⁷ No. 5 in the list of Stunica's works below.

¹⁰⁸ See Stunica's letter of that date, addressed to Vergara, in which he reports that the *Libellus praecursor* was with the printer, but had not yet been printed; Allen, vol. IV, p. 629, ll. 52-56.

¹⁰⁹ Ep. 1415, ll. 12-15. The "vnum atque alterum librum" which Erasmus mentions here are the *Blasphemias et impietates* (April or May 1522) and the *Libellus praecursor* (March-July 1522). As the printing of Erasmus' reply to the *Libellus praecursor*, included in his *De interdicto esu carnis*, was completed on 6 August 1522, Stunica's *Libellus praecursor* cannot have come from the press later than July.

¹¹⁰ Ep. 1235, ll. 33-35 (to Barbirius); Ep. 1236, ll. 57-58 (to Bombasius), cf. *ibid.*, ll. 169-172. For Stunica's failing success at Rome, see also Ep. 1480, ll. 104-107, and cf. n. 187 below with the corresponding text. That in the conflict between Stunica and Erasmus Aleander did not openly support Stunica and did spare Erasmus may well reflect the policy of both pope and curia to try to keep Erasmus in the church and not to drive him into the arms of the Lutherans. See J. Paquier, *Jérôme Aleandre de sa naissance à la fin de son séjour à Brindes (1480-1529)*, Paris, 1900, pp. 223-230, 280-284, 290-295.

heterodoxy by taking up his pen against the Lutherans. In July or the first days of August 1522 Erasmus got hold of a copy of the *Libellus*. He immediately wrote a reply and added it as an "Appendix" to his *Apologia aduersus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit Blasphemiae et impietates Erasmi*.¹¹¹ In *BAS* the heading "Appendix" was replaced by the title *Apologia ad Prodromon Stunicae*, in consequence of which the work became an independent apology.

The title *Libellus trium illorum voluminum praecursor* was obviously intended as a threatening announcement of the impending publication of the "three books" of which the *Blasphemiae et impietates* originally consisted. These Stunica had not yet dared to publish without official approbation. The publication of this work in its integral form had first been prohibited by Leo X, and after his death by an edict of the cardinals, "senatus consulto cardinalium".¹¹² According to Erasmus the cardinals had even confirmed their interdiction by a second resolution.¹¹³ When Adrian VI had arrived in Rome, Stunica had again endeavoured to obtain permission from the pope to bring out his *Blasphemiae et impietates*, but in vain.¹¹⁴ Adrian, too, forbade the publication of the work in question,¹¹⁵ and as long as Adrian held the pontificate in Rome Stunica published nothing. New hopes dawned for the Spaniard when Adrian died in September 1523. During the following interregnum which lasted only two months (from 14 September to 19 November 1523), Stunica did not yet venture to bring out his *Blasphemiae et impietates*, but he did publish a new assault on Erasmus in the shape of a venomous pamphlet entitled *Conclusiones principaliter suspecte et scandalose que reperiuntur in libris Erasmi Roterodami per Iacobum Lapidem Stunicam excerpte*. No wonder that it appeared without a printer's name; a subscription appended to the final line of the text reads only "Romae. M.D.XXIII".¹¹⁶

The *Conclusiones*, a pamphlet of only five quarto-pages, consist of a collection of passages, some of them badly misquoted, taken from Erasmus' works. With these "suspect and scandalous" passages Stunica intended to prove once again that Erasmus shared and supported the heretical views of Luther, for instance, on the authority of the pope, the date at which the papal office had originated, the sacramental character of confession, extreme unction and matrimony, the value of devotional exercises as practised by clerics, the significance of scholastic theology and the reliability of scriptural and hagiographic traditions. Interestingly, one of the *conclusiones* against which Stunica felt compelled to warn his readers was: "The Apostles learned their

¹¹¹ Cf. n. 104 above. In this first edition the Appendix runs to 18 octavo pages: f^{os} t7 v^o-u8 r^o. LB IX, 375 B-381 B.

¹¹² Allen, vol. IV, p. 631, ll. 9-10.

¹¹³ *Apologia ad Stunicae Conclusiones* (1524), LB IX, 284 F; Ep. I, p. 24, ll. 26-27.

¹¹⁴ Ep. 1415, ll. 15-17; *Apologia ad Stunicae Conclusiones*, LB IX, 385 A; Ep. I, p. 24, ll. 28-29.

¹¹⁵ Ep. 1415, ll. 13-14; *Apologia ad Stunicae Conclusiones*, LB IX, 385 A.

¹¹⁶ See no. 7 in the list of Stunica's works below. The integral text of the *Conclusiones* occurs in LB IX, 381-382.

Greek from the speech of ordinary people”, “apostoli suam Graecitatem e vulgi colloquio didicerunt”.¹¹⁷ Here Stunica anticipates a conflict which was to break out with great vehemence in the seventeenth century.¹¹⁸ In his preface to the reader Stunica announced that “those three volumes which we have written against all Erasmus’ blasphemies and impieties” would soon see the light.

Erasmus, who received a copy of the *Conclusiones* not later than January 1524,¹¹⁹ at once set himself to refute one by one all Stunica’s accusations. His apology, the fourth he wrote against Stunica, became more than four times as long as the *Conclusiones* themselves. Although there are indications that he was already engaged upon this *Apologia ad Stunicae Conclusiones* as early as January 1524, he did not date the preface until 1 March 1524.¹²⁰ The apology also contains an amusing, though probably somewhat coloured, account of the method Stunica applied in order to bring the *Conclusiones* among the public.

“When Adrian VI had died, Stunica returned to his old courses [viz., his attempts to publish the unabridged recension of his *Blasphemiae et impietates*]. But as there was not enough time to have the things he had written printed in the short period during which the cardinals were kept locked up to elect a new pope, he brought forward the *Conclusiones*. He feared, however, that he would not get rid of the copies. Now there are in the streets of Rome those boys who are used to cry eggs, mushrooms, leaflets on which one’s fortune is told, or with popular songs printed on them, and such-like trifles. These boys were bribed to sell Stunica’s *Conclusiones* and to obtrude the copies upon the reluctant buyers before the cardinals would get wind of the matter. From the letters which I have received from several learned friends I know these things as surely as if I had been myself in Rome”.¹²¹

Erasmus contended in his preface that the *Apologia ad Stunicae Conclusiones* (which in Clericus’ edition runs to nine columns) had been the work of one day.¹²² This looks like a slight exaggeration and in any case Erasmus’ defence against the *Conclusiones* did not confine itself to this apology. In a letter to the new pope, Clement VII, Erasmus complained bitterly of Stunica’s continued

¹¹⁷ Cf. Erasmus’ *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 476 E on *Act.* 10,38. The same passage had been held against Erasmus by Eck, see Ep. 844, ll. 56–81 and cf. p. 9 above, with n. 33.

¹¹⁸ See H. J. de Jonge, *De bestudering van het Nieuwe Testament aan de Noordnederlandse universiteiten ... van 1575 tot 1700*, Verhandelingen van de Kon. Ned. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Lett., N.R. 106, Amsterdam/London, 1980, pp. 35–40.

¹¹⁹ Ep. 1410, with Allen’s note to l. 18.

¹²⁰ This preface was edited by Allen as Ep. 1428. Cf. Allen, Ep. 1410, n.l. 18. That Erasmus had completed his reply by 8 February 1524 appears from Ep. 1415, ll. 78–79. Allen, introd. Ep. 1415, mentions a ms. of the draft of Erasmus’ *Apolog. ad Stun. Conclusiones*, by another than Erasmus’ hand, but contemporary, occurring in ms. Vatic. Arm. 64, f^{os} 194–199.

¹²¹ LB IX, 385 A–B.

¹²² Ep. 1428, l. 11.

malicious and unfair assaults on his work.¹²³ In particular he dissociated himself explicitly from Stunica's insinuation that his views in ecclesiastical matters were the same as those of Luther. In March 1524, within one and a half months after he had written his letter to the pope, Erasmus could declare, not without obvious relief and satisfaction, that Clement had taken steps to impose silence upon Stunica.¹²⁴

Stunica, however, was not a man to be easily daunted. The only result of the pope's intervention in favour of Erasmus was that his Spanish opponent went on to bring out his further pamphlets without an indication as to the printer and place of publication, so apparently for private circulation only.¹²⁵ Before July 1524 two new writings of his saw the light, the *Assertio ecclesiasticae translationis Novi Testamenti a soloecismis quos illi Erasmus Roterodamus impegerat* and the *Loca quae ex Stunicae annotationibus, illius suppresso nomine, in tertia editioe Novi Testamenti Erasmus emendavit*.¹²⁶ In the *Assertio* Stunica defended, mostly on highly questionable grounds,¹²⁷ the Latinity of phrases in the Vulgate which Erasmus had condemned as solecisms. In the *Loca* he demonstrated that in the enlargements and corrections introduced in the third edition of his *Annotationes* on the New Testament Erasmus had repeatedly used the criticisms of Stunica without mentioning his name. The whole argument of the *Loca* is rather disputatious and irrelevant. In fact, it was Erasmus' custom continually to add to, or to alter, his *Annotationes* in response to the objections and observations made by his numerous critics, friends as well as enemies. As a result, the *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum* faithfully reflect all the discussions and controversies in which Erasmus, in consequence of his edition of the New Testament, became involved. Erasmus was sensible enough to include much of the contents of his apologies in his *Annotationes* as well. At one time he would directly embark in a discussion on, or a refutation of, the criticism which a particular annotation had provoked; at another, if a suggestion or the evidence which some critic had contributed seemed useful to him, he would not fail to make use of it. In either case he would normally not bother to mention the name of the critic whom he was contradicting or following, but only refer to him with such vague designations as "quidam" or

¹²³ Ep. 1418, ll. 13-43. This letter is dated 13 February 1524.

¹²⁴ Epp. 1431, ll. 12-13; 1433, ll. 14-15; 1488, ll. 16-17.

¹²⁵ Ep. 1466, ll. 48-49: "nec audent vendere".

¹²⁶ Nos. 8 and 9 in the list of Stunica's works below. The *Assertio* is a quarto of 42 pp. Allen, vol. IV, p. 622, wrongly referred to this booklet as *Apologia ecclesiasticae translationis* instead of *Assertio ecl. transl.* For a description of the copy now in Louvain-la-Neuve (U.C.L.), see J. Coppens in: *Erasmus en Leuven*, Leuven, 1969, no. 297, p. 319. The *Loca* is a quarto of 34 pages.

¹²⁷ For instance, Erasmus had criticized both the use of the genitive and that of the wrong gender of "eorum" in Mt. 20,25 "principes gentium dominantur eorum". Stunica defended the neuter on the ground that it could not be misunderstood, and the genitive on the ground that "dominari" was found with a genitive "apud probatos autores". This construction, however, only occurs in christian and late Latin.

“sunt qui”.¹²⁸ There would, indeed, not have been much point in mentioning by name all the writers with whom he had had to do. Most of his opponents had already had the honour of receiving their own apology. On the other hand it was certainly undesirable to let the *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum* grow into too polemical a work. The plan and intention of Stunica’s *Loca* are, therefore, rather futile.

In July 1524 Erasmus had both the *Assertio* and the *Loca* in hand, but he found their contents so insignificant that he contented himself with turning them into ridicule in his private correspondence¹²⁹ and decided not to respond to them in public.¹³⁰ Five years later, in 1529, a copy of the *Assertio* turned up among Erasmus’ papers in consequence of his move to Freiburg.¹³¹ Only then did he take up his pen to write a defence in the shape of an extensive letter to Hubert of Baarland, the physician with whom he had been in contact at Basle in the autumn of 1528.¹³² This *Epistola apologetica aduersus Stunicam*, as it was styled in *BAS* and *LB*, was first published in Erasmus’ *Opus Epistolarum* printed by Froben at Basle in 1529.¹³³

The *Epistola apologetica aduersus Stunicam*, though obviously dashed off in a hurry, is an interesting work. Its central issue is: what is the criterion for determining what is, or is not, correct Latin prose. In order to defend the Vulgate against Erasmus’ verdict on a long series of dubious phrases, Stunica, in his *Assertio*, had accepted the Latin of any ancient Latin writer as authoritative, provided that he supported the turns of phrase of the Vulgate denounced by Erasmus. Plautus, Terence, Suetonius, Apuleius, Ambrose, even poets and parallels from the Vulgate itself had been adduced by Stunica to justify the grammatical anomalies and mistakes in the Vulgate. In other cases Stunica had defended the unidiomatic Latin of the Vulgate on the ground that it rendered literally the underlying Greek, or even the Semitisms in that Greek, as if the translational character of the Vulgate justified its solecisms. Erasmus, on the other hand, argued that the norm was in principle to be looked for in the *scriptores probati* (or *probi auctores*), and even there exclusively in their *consuetudo*, their normal and natural usage. They should not be followed in their incidental use of a barbarism, an obsolete phrase, a dubious construction or other exceptional licences. Otherwise Latin would become unintelligible and monstrous. He admitted that the ancients, in translating Greek into Latin, had sometimes used a Grecism. “But we have

¹²⁸ See for instance *LB* VI, 743 B, “quidam” referring to Lee and Standish; 113 E and 673 E, “quidam” referring to Stunica; 22 F, “sunt qui” for Stunica.

¹²⁹ Ep. 1466, ll. 35–49.

¹³⁰ Ep. 1470, ll. 38–42.

¹³¹ Ep. 2172, ll. 2–7.

¹³² Allen, introd. Ep. 2081.

¹³³ P. 861. It was afterwards not republished among Erasmus’ letters, but included among the *Apologiae* in *BAS* IX, 326–333 and *LB* IX, 391–400. It will also have to be edited in *ASD*. The opening and concluding passages of this letter appear in Allen as Ep. 2172.

not the same freedom as they had. For otherwise, if we wish to permit ourselves to reproduce Greek idiom when translating Greek into Latin, what will be more monstrous than our language?"¹³⁴ Consequently, Latin should be kept free from strange elements and foreign influences. The standard of correct Latin is the customary idiom of the approved authors, and only their *Latina consuetudo is recte loquendi magistra*.¹³⁵

With this apology of Erasmus against Stunica's *Assertio* their polemics came to an end; the *Loca* and the *Assertio* of 1524 remained Stunica's last attacks on Erasmus and his last publications generally. His silence lasted so long that in 1527 even Erasmus began to believe that peace was now soon to be had with Stunica.¹³⁶ True, on the appearance of the fourth edition of Erasmus' *Nouum Testamentum* (1527) Stunica began to write new critical notes. But he did not proceed to their publication. They turned up only after his death among his literary remains and were eventually sent to Erasmus.¹³⁷ The truce was broken by Erasmus in 1529 by the publication of his reply to Stunica's *Assertio* discussed above. From his side, however, Stunica did not re-open hostilities.

In July 1529 we find Stunica together with his friend and compatriot Juan Gines de Sepulveda¹³⁸ in the household of cardinal Francisco de Quiñones, the former general of the Franciscans¹³⁹ and now the ambassador of pope Clement VII to the King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor. During the months of July and August Stunica and Sepulveda accompanied Quiñones on his mission from Rome to meet Charles V at Genoa in the name of the pope.¹⁴⁰ On 12 August 1529 Stunica must have witnessed the pompous ceremonies on the occasion of the disembarkation of Charles V, then on his way to Bologna to be crowned by the pope.¹⁴¹ During the course of the emperor's sojourn in Northern Italy Johann Choler, a canon of St. Maurice's at Augsburg and vicar-general to the bishop of Chur,¹⁴² saw Stunica in the entourage of the imperial court, probably at Bologna and in any case before 29 January 1530.¹⁴³ Choler reports that Stunica spoke to him in a friendly way of Erasmus.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁴ LB IX, 396 E.

¹³⁵ LB IX, 397 D.

¹³⁶ Ep. 1805, l. 376.

¹³⁷ See no. 15 in the list of Stunica's works below.

¹³⁸ See on him Allen, introd. Ep. 2637 (cf. n. 62 above) and Bataillon, *Erasmus y España* (index).

¹³⁹ See on him Allen, Ep. 2126, n.l. 6; Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, pp. 404-410; *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, pp. 438-443.

¹⁴⁰ Í.G. Sepulveda, *Antapologia pro Alberto Pio*, Romae, 1532, cap. 19; Allen, vol. IV, p. 622.

¹⁴¹ For the visit of Charles V to North Italy, see Bataillon, the pages referred to in n. 139 above.

¹⁴² See on him Allen, introd. Ep. 2195.

¹⁴³ At this date Choler had returned from Italy to Augsburg, see Ep. 2269, ll. 1-2, 23-28. That Choler and Stunica met at Bologna, as Allen wrote (vol. IV, p. 622), is probably correct, but cannot be inferred from Ep. 2269, ll. 23-28. Charles V arrived on 5 November 1529 in Bologna, and the pope two weeks before; Allen, Ep. 2240, n.l. 13. The coronation took place on 24 Febr. 1530.

¹⁴⁴ L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, IV, 2, Freiburg, 1907, pp. 388, 575, records that a Stunica was raised to the cardinalate on 9 March 1530. Pastor does not mention this Stunica's further names. De Vocht, *Litterae ad Craneveldium* (see n. 49 above), p. 229, has taken this to refer to our Jacobus

Stunica's service with Quiñones seems also to have brought him into connexion with the young and promising orientalist and diplomatist Johann Albert Widmanstadt (Widmanstetter, 1506–1557).¹⁴⁵ This German scholar had studied at Tübingen and other universities and had eventually entered the service of the bishop of Burgos, Íñigo López de Mendoza, who came to Italy in July 1529 in the train of Charles V.¹⁴⁶ Widmanstadt took the opportunity to continue his studies in Turin, but in or before 1530 he followed Mendoza to Naples, where he certainly stayed in 1530 and lectured in 1531. Many years later, when Widmanstadt had returned to Germany, he published a pioneering edition, in fact the first printed edition, of the Syriac version of the New Testament according to the Peshitta (Vienna, 1555).¹⁴⁷ In the preface to this work¹⁴⁸ he relates that Jacobus Lopes (*sic*) Stunica had accompanied his Arabic studies and had particularly helped him to read and interpret Mohammed Al-Ansāri's commentary on the Arabic grammar written by Ibn Āğurrum († 1323 A.D.). Widmanstadt remarks that the lessons took place "apud Inachum Mendozam", that is, with his patron Íñigo López de Mendoza.¹⁴⁹ This detail helps to date this interesting episode of Stunica's life to the years 1529–1531, for these were the last years of his life. It seems then that Stunica and Widmanstadt met in Northern Italy in 1529 or 1530 in the environment of the court of Charles V, and that Widmanstadt seized this opportunity to learn, or to improve his knowledge of, Arabic with the aid of Stunica, either somewhere in Northern Italy or possibly also in Naples, where Stunica died after a short stay in 1531. Widmanstadt had occasion to praise

Lopis Stunica, but wrongly. The Prefetto of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano kindly informed me by letter of 18 February 1982 as follows: "Le cardinal de Stunica créé par Clément VII, le 9 mars 1530, est Inicus (Íñigo) López de Mendoza y Zunica (ou Stuniga), évêque de Burgos depuis le 2 mars 1529; mort le 15 janvier 1537. Il y eut, avant lui, un autre cardinal de ce nom: Joannes de Zuniga, évêque de Seville le 5 mai 1503; créé cardinal le 29 novembre 1503; mort le 14 août 1504. ... Jacobus Lopis Stunica ne figure pas dans la liste des cardinaux". Cf. G. van Gulik, C. Eubel, L. Schmitz-Kallenberg, *Hierarchia catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi sive Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. Cardinalium ... series*, III, Monasterii, 1923², p. 21: Inicus de Zuniga, cardinal 1531–1537; p. 10: Joa. de Zuniga, cardinal 1503–1504.

¹⁴⁵ See on him Allen, introd. Ep. 2614; C. von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, LV, Wien, 1887, pp. 262–264; cf. n. 52 above; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XLII, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 357–361; H. Striedl, *Die Bücherei des Orientalisten Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter*, in: *Serta Monacensia F. Babinger dargebracht*, Leiden, 1952, pp. 200–244.

¹⁴⁶ On Mendoza, see Allen, Ep. 2163, n.l. 5.

¹⁴⁷ See on this edition C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 495–497; B.M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 52–53.

¹⁴⁸ For the title see n. 52 above.

¹⁴⁹ Widmanstadt's words are: "Hunc [i.e., Aelium Antonium Nebrissensem, *floruit* 1490–1510] tamen nihilominus eadem fere aetate Iacobus Lopes Stunica, ex equestri ordine doctissimus theologus strenue adeo secutus est, vt Graeca, Hebraica et Arabica percalluerit, mihiq; se apud Inachum Mendozam Burgensem Antistitem [on whom see n. 144 above], in Mahomedis Alinsarii commentariis, quos in Iaromum Grammaticum Arabem olim scripsit, explicandis, doctorem praebuerit et fide et diligentia excellentem". On the Moroccan grammarian Ibn Āğurrum, and his Arabic grammar *Muḳaddima*, "one of the first treatises available to Arabists for the study of the Arabic grammatical system", see G. Troupeau in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, III, Leiden/London, 1971, p. 697.

Stunica as a “most learned theologian, who was very well acquainted with Greek, Hebrew and Arabic”.

In or about 1530 Stunica wrote an extensive advice (*Consilium*) addressed to pope Clement VII, in which he argued that for settling the problems with which the vigorously growing Lutheran movement confronted the church it was not necessary to convoke an oecumenical council. During Stunica’s lifetime this *Consilium* remained unpublished; it was edited in 1894.¹⁵⁰

As late as March 1531 Erasmus had reason to fear that Stunica was preparing a new attack on him, this time not in the matter of biblical philology or theology, but in the field of grammar, “de re grammatica”.¹⁵¹ But before anything of the kind had appeared, Stunica died in 1531. Shortly before, he had left Rome to visit Naples and there death overtook him. On his death-bed he declared that what had led him to write against Erasmus was not malevolence, but love of the truth.¹⁵² It does not detract from the credibility of this declaration that even a man like Mendoza, the bishop of Burgos, who had felt much sympathy for Stunica, had to admit that he had been of a hot-tempered and vehement nature, unable to moderate himself in his writings and in conversations.¹⁵³

There is a certain confusion as to the exact date of Stunica’s death. Most writers on the subject give 1530 as the year in which he died. According to Allen, however, his death occurred “about the end of 1531”.¹⁵⁴ Probably on Allen’s authority Bataillon dated Stunica’s death “vers la fin de 1531”.¹⁵⁵ Now it is very unlikely that Stunica died in 1530, for on 7 March 1531 Erasmus wrote about Stunica as not only very much alive, but even threatening a fresh attack on him.¹⁵⁶ It is hardly probable, though perhaps not absolutely impossible, that, if Stunica had died sometime in 1530, Erasmus had not been informed by March 1531. Erasmus’ ignorance makes it plausible that Stunica died in 1531 at the earliest. So far Allen and Bataillon seem to be right. Moreover the earliest mention of the fact that Stunica, when dying, had decided to leave his draft notes on some of Erasmus’ works to Erasmus himself occurs in a letter of 1 April 1532 from Stunica’s friend Sepulveda to Erasmus. Some months previously, in the beginning of 1532, Sepulveda had mentioned the same notes and their intended destination in his *Antapologia pro Alberto Pio* (Rome, 1532).¹⁵⁷ These two references seem to be too late to allow of 1530 as the year of Stunica’s death; and taking into consideration how late

¹⁵⁰ See no. 10 in the list of Stunica’s works below.

¹⁵¹ Ep. 2443, ll. 355–356.

¹⁵² I. G. Sepulveda, *Antapologia pro Alberto Pio*, Rome, 1532, cap. 32; the passage in question has been reprinted in Andreas Schottus, *Hispaniae bibliotheca ...*, Francofurti, 1608, pp. 584–585.

¹⁵³ Ep. 2705, ll. 24–25.

¹⁵⁴ Allen, vol. IV, p. 622.

¹⁵⁵ Bataillon, *Erasme et l’Espagne*, p. 142; *Erasmus y España*, p. 132: “a fines de 1531”.

¹⁵⁶ Ep. 2443, ll. 355–356.

¹⁵⁷ Ep. 2637, ll. 22–34.

they are, one can see why Allen was even inclined to keep the possibility open that Stunica died as late as January 1532. Now the source of all confusion is what Sepulveda himself wrote on the date of Stunica's death, viz.: "Mortuus est Neapoli ad annum opinor tricesimum eius saeculi". This sentence occurs in his *Antapologia* dating from the beginning of 1532. As it is most unlikely that, if Stunica died in 1532, Sepulveda could have dated such a recent event so indeterminately as he actually did with the phrase "opinor", the year 1532 has to be excluded as a possible date of Stunica's death. The vague way in which Sepulveda expressed himself seems to recommend that we should date Stunica's death as far back as can still be considered compatible with Erasmus' ignorance of the event on 7 March of that year. The first half of 1531 may therefore be the least hazardous approximation.

At his death Stunica left in manuscript eighty Notes on Erasmus' scholia on Jerome (*Annotaciones in scholia Erasmi super epistolas Hieronymi*)¹⁵⁸ and more than a hundred on Erasmus' fourth edition of the New Testament, especially on the Latin translation and the annotations (*Annotaciones in quartam editionem Annotationum Erasmi super Nouum Testamentum*).¹⁵⁹ Stunica had expressed the wish that these papers, which were not yet ready for the press, should be assigned to Erasmus after a revision by some friend.¹⁶⁰ With this intention he had bequeathed the notes, together with all his Latin books, to his patron (or former patron) cardinal Francisco de Quiñones.¹⁶¹ Quiñones asked his secretary Sepulveda¹⁶² to make a selection from the notes and to forward these to Erasmus. Sepulveda, who could not find the time to accept this task, left it to Íñigo de Mendoza, the bishop of Burgos, "who, however, finding it too difficult, had a copy made of the whole, which he transmitted to Erasmus".¹⁶³ In the copy which eventually reached Erasmus some time before 17 February 1534, those passages and turns of phrase which betrayed malice rather than learning had been omitted.¹⁶⁴

As long as Stunica had been a threat to Erasmus' reputation and position the latter had spoken of him as a fool, a braggart and a treacherous enemy.¹⁶⁵ He had called him "insane", "a shameless, stupid and ignorant debauchee" and a "pettifogger".¹⁶⁶ These vehement qualifications and Erasmus' assiduity in writing apologies against Stunica throw some doubt on the trustworthiness of his statement: "I have never bothered about Stunica".¹⁶⁷ Only after Stunica

¹⁵⁸ No. 14 in the list of Stunica's works below. Cf. n. 157.

¹⁵⁹ No. 15 in the list of Stunica's works below.

¹⁶⁰ Ep. 2637, ll. 25-26.

¹⁶¹ Cf. n. 139 above.

¹⁶² Cf. n. 138 above.

¹⁶³ For the vicissitudes of these notes, see Allen, Ep. 2637, n.l. 24; Epp. 2701; 2705; 2810, ll. 87-88; Allen, Ep. 2873, n.ll. 3-4; and *passim* in vol. X.

¹⁶⁴ Ep. 2905, ll. 1-9; cf. Ep. 2951, ll. 7-9.

¹⁶⁵ See e.g. Ep. 1581, ll. 174, 191-192, and Ep. 2412, ll. 27-29.

¹⁶⁶ Ep. 1305, ll. 11, 13: "scurra effrons, stolidus et indoctus", "rabula".

¹⁶⁷ Ep. 1337, l. 6: "Stunicam semper contempsit".

had died could Erasmus acknowledge that he had been a “vir doctus et diligens”.¹⁶⁸

As for Stunica himself, although his attacks on Erasmus were singularly virulent and indelicate, there can be no doubt as to the sincerity of his intentions. These intentions were however inspired by a heart-felt horror of Erasmus' criticism of the traditions of the church. He therefore made it his task to try to destroy the reputation of Erasmus and to save the church from the dangerous influence of the Hollander. Evidently it was not Erasmus' philological approach to the bible in itself which annoyed Stunica. As an editor of the Complutensian Polyglot he was prepared and able to apply this new method himself, as his *Annotationes* against Erasmus show. What had really shocked him for a long time past was Erasmus' raillery at the institutions, the doctrine, the practice and the authority of the church. In Stunica's view Erasmus' criticism could not but result in the greatest damage to the church. The leaders of the church were not vigilant enough to stem the evil. Therefore he went to Rome, in order to arouse the pope and the curia and to open the eyes of the leading ecclesiastical authorities to the perils of Erasmus' work. At first he hoped to discredit Erasmus by a public attack on his masterpiece, his edition of the New Testament, and by crossing swords with him in the field of biblical philology. In a sense, this approach is not without merit: a discussion on the admissibility of certain views on church and theology would easily have risked becoming utterly inefficacious, because of the elusive, disputable and abstract character of the arguments and presuppositions that would inevitably have had to play a role in such a controversy. The new exegetical method of Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus provided combatants with material and arguments which were capable of objective philological verification, irrespective of doctrinal preoccupations. It was with this ammunition that Stunica intended to hit Erasmus. The *Annotationes* of Stunica can thus be regarded as a significant innovation in the field of theological debate. But one need not read his subsequent theological attacks on Erasmus to realize that Stunica had used his philological apparatus, too, for an ultimately theological goal: the neutralization of Erasmus' criticism of church, theology and traditional piety.

In the preceding survey of Stunica's life and work not all his writings have been mentioned. As a reliable bibliography of his works does not exist, and a list of his writings is almost indispensable for those who wish to follow the polemics between Stunica and Erasmus, such a list of Stunica's writings will be appended here.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Ep. 2905, l. 33.

¹⁶⁹ For earlier attempts at a (complete or partial) bibliography of Stunica, see N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Matriti, 1783–1788, vol. I, pp. 295–296; A. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, 2nd ed., 22 vols., Barcelona, 1948–1970, vol. VII,

THE WRITINGS OF JACOBUS LOPIS STUNICA

Printed works

1. *Annotationes contra Iacobum Fabrum Stapulen[sem]*. Impressum ... in Academia Complutensi Toletane Prouincie per Arnaldum Guilielmum de Brocario ... 1519. Fol., pp. 47.
(Cambridge, Univ. Libr.; London, Brit. Libr.; Paris, Bibl. Nat.)

Reprinted in: Jacobus Lopis Stunica, *Annotationes ... contrar [sic] d. Erasmus Roterodamum in defensionem tralatio. Noui Testamenti* ... Luteciae, apud P. Vidouaeum, sumptibus Conradi Resch, Mense Iulii 1522, with a special title-page running: *Annotationes Iacobi Lopidis Stunicae, contra Iacobum Fabrum Stapulen. in epi. Pauli*. Parisiis sub scuto Basiliensi, In aedibus Conradi Resch, in via Iacobaea, 1522.

(Brussels, Kon. Bibl.; The Hague, Kon. Bibl.; Cambridge, Pembroke; London, Brit. Libr.; Paris, Bibl. Nat.; and many other libraries)

2. *Annotationes contra Erasmum Roterodamum in defensionem tralationis Noui Testamenti*. Impressum ... in Academia Complutensi Toletanae Prouinciae per Arnaldum Guilielmum de Brocario ... 1520. Fol., pp. 115.
(Madrid, Bibl. Nac.; London, Brit. Libr.)

Many authors wrongly mention a 1519 edition of this work. This mistake originated from the fact that several copies of Stunica's *Annotationes* against Erasmus have been bound together with copies of those against Lefèvre d'Étaples in such a way that those against Erasmus precede those against Lefèvre d'Étaples. This applies, e.g., to three copies in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid: R. 28696, R. 2487 and Usoz 7464. In such cases the colophon of the *Annotationes* against Lefèvre d'Étaples could easily be taken to be that of the whole volume.

References to a Toledo edition of 1520 derive from an unfortunate misinterpretation of the adjective "Toletanae" in the colophon of the Alcalá edition as cited above. This mistake, or at least the ghost-edition Toledo 1520, occurs in Isaías Rodríguez, *Autores espirituales españoles (1500-1572)*, Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiásticas en España, vol. III, Salamanca, 1971, pp. 407-625, see pp. 514-515, and in Klaus Reinhardt, *Die biblischen Autoren Spaniens bis zum Konzil von Trient*, in the same Repertorio, vol. V, Salamanca, 1976, pp. 9-242, see p. 204.

Stunica's *Annotationes contra Erasmum* were reprinted in the same volume as his *Annotationes contra Iacobum Fabrum Stapulen[sem]*, no. 1 above (Paris, 1522). They were also reprinted in the three editions of J. Pearson, et al., edd., *Critici sacri*, Londini, 1660, t. IX, col. 3443-3552; Francofurtiae ad Moenum, 1695-1701, t. VII, col. 1065-1229; Amstelodami, 1698, t. VIII, second part, "Tractatus ad N.T. pertinentes", col. 57-152.

Three long excerpts from Stunica's *Annotationes contra Erasmum* accompany Erasmus' own *Apologia contra Sanctium Caranzam* as appearing in three editions of Erasmus' *De interdicto esu carniū*: Basileae, Froben, VIII Idus August. 1522 (Rotterdam, Mun. Libr.); Argentorati, J. Knobloch, 1522 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.); Luteciae, P. Vidouaeus-C. Resch, mense Martio 1523 (Rotterdam, Mun. Libr.)

p. 665, nos. 142050-142060, cf. pp. 671-672; I. Rodríguez, *Autores espirituales españoles (1500-1572)*, Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España, vol. III, Salamanca, 1971, pp. 407-625, especially pp. 514-515; K. Reinhardt, *Die biblischen Autoren Spaniens bis zum Konzil von Trient*, in the same Repertorio, vol. V, Salamanca, 1976, pp. 9-242, especially pp. 174-175 and 204. These earlier bibliographies all show remarkable inaccuracies and omissions, and contain ghost-editions as well as false attributions.

3. *Itinerarium ab Hispania vsq[ue] ad urbem romanam in quo multa varia ac scitu dignissima continent[ur]*. Romae in Campo floriae per Marcellum Silber al[ia]s Franck, 1521. 4°, pp. 40.
(London, Brit. Libr.)

Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, vol. IV, p. 622, dated this book to 1522. In all copies known to me, however, the colophon explicitly gives 1521 as year of publication. This applies to the copy in London, Brit. Libr.; two copies in Cambridge, King's and Trinity College; one in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.; two copies in the libraries of Harvard University and Yale University respectively; and two copies in Rome described by Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, t. II, Madrid, 1880, p. 51, n. 5 (Vatican Library and Biblioteca Angelica).

A manuscript copy (Vatic. lat. 10571) of this work is referred to by N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, 2nd ed., 2 vols, Matriti, 1783-1788, vol. I, p. 296.

Reprinted in: Andreas Schottus, *Hispaniae bibliotheca seu de academiis ac bibliothecis ...*, Francofurti, 1608, pp. 625-649 (Leiden, Univ. Libr.).

4. *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates nunc primum propalatae ac proprio volumine alias redargutae*. Romae per Antonium Bladum de Asula, 1522. 4°, pp. 55.
(London, Brit. Libr.; Rotterdam, Mun. Libr.)

Stunica's prefatory letter to the *Blasphemiae et impietates* was included by Erasmus in his own *Apologia aduersus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit Blasphemiae et impietates Erasmi*. This apology accompanies Erasmus' *De interdicto esu carniū* in the three editions mentioned above under no. 2 and was later included among the other apologies in *B.A.S* and *LB*. In *LB* Stunica's preface to the *Blasphemiae et impietates* occurs at IX, 372 A-D. – Cf. no. 12 below.

5. *Libellus trium illorum voluminum praecursor, quibus Erasmicas impietates ac blasphemias redarguit*. Romae, per Antonium Bladum de Asula, 1522. 4°, pp. 58.
(Leiden, private collection; London, Brit. Libr.; Cambridge, Trin. Coll.; these are the only copies known to me).

The *tria illa volumina* referred to in this title are the three "books" of which the *Blasphemiae et impietates* are composed in the original, longer version which Stunica was never permitted to publish. A fair manuscript copy of this longer recension is still extant, see no. 12 below.

6. *Epistola ad Pontificem nouiter electum* [Rome, 1522]. 4°, pp. 16.
(London, Brit. Libr.; Paris, Bibl. Nat.; Ghent, Univ. Libr.)

The *Pontifex nouiter electus* is Adrian VI. The letter has, at the end, the following date: "Ex vrbe Roma, XVIII die mensis ianuarii anni Domini M.D.XXII".

7. *Conclusiones principaliter suspecte et scandalose que reperiuntur in libris Erasmi Roterodami*. Romae [A. Bladus], 1523. 4°, pp. 7.
(Cambridge Mass., Harvard College Library)

Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, vol. IV, p. 622, rightly dated the *Conclusiones* to 1523. M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, Madrid, 1880-1881, II, p. 57 (not corrected in the ed.

Santander, 1946/8) and M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, México/Buenos Aires, 1966, p. 131 (in the French ed., p. 141), are probably wrong in dating this pamphlet to 1522. Menéndez Pelayo did state that he saw a copy with the date "Romae, MDXXII" in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome, but he seems to have made a mistake in copying the date, for in the Harvard College Library copy the colophon reads clearly "Romae, M.D.XXIII". Moreover, according to Erasmus, Ep. I, p. 24, ll. 30–32, the *Conclusiones* were published after the death of Adrian VI (14 September 1523) and before the new pope, Clement VII, had been elected (19 November 1523), so in the autumn of 1523. The same date is given in Ep. 1415, ll. 18–19.

Reprinted in the editions of Erasmus' *Apologia ad Stunicae Conclusiones* which was published three times together with his *Exomologesis*: Basle, Froben, 1524 (Rotterdam, Mun. Libr.); Antwerp, Hillen, 1524 (Antwerp, Plantin Mus.); [Strasbourg, Knobloch, 1524] (Rotterdam, Mun. Libr.). Stunica's *Conclusiones* were also reprinted in an unauthorized edition of Erasmus' *Apologia* against this pamphlet: [Nuremberg, F. Peypus, c. 1524/5] (Rotterdam, Mun. Libr.). Finally, the *Conclusiones* were reprinted as an introduction to Erasmus' reply in vol. IX of *BAS* and *LB*, in the latter edition at col. 381–382.

8. *Assertio ecclesiasticae translationis Noui Testamenti a soloecismis quos illi Erasmus Roterodamus impegerat*. Romae, 1524. 4°, pp. 42.
(Louvain-la-Neuve, Libr. U.C.L.)

Menéndez Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. 58, wrongly dated this pamphlet to 1523. At the end, on f^o E5 v^o, the *Assertio* is dated "Romae. M.D.XXIII".

Allen wrongly designated this work as *Apologia Ecclesiasticae translationis* in lieu of *Assertio E. tr.*, see *Opus Epistolarum*, vol. IV, p. 622, and Ep. 2172, n.l. 3.

9. *Loca quae ex Stunicae annotationibus illius suppresso nomine in tertia editione Noui Testamenti Erasmus emendauit* [Rome, 1524]. 4°, pp. 34.
(London, Brit. Libr.)

Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia* (1880/1), II, p. 58, and Bataillon, *Erasmus* (1966), p. 132 (French ed., 1937, p. 141), dated this pamphlet to 1523, but from Ep. 1466, ll. 35–44 (21 July 1524) it appears that it was published at about the same time as the *Assertio*, no. 8 above. Allen was probably right, therefore, in dating the *Loca* to 1524.

10. *Consilium quod ad causam Lutheranam non sit opus generali concilio* [1530], edited by Steph. Eheses, *Eine Denkschrift aus dem Jahre 1530 über Berufung eines Allgemeinen Konzils*, Römische Quartalschrift 8 (1894), pp. 473–492.

The manuscript from which this tract was edited is Vatic. lat. 3919, f^{os} 96–104. It was reprinted in *Concilium Tridentinum*, t. XII, Tractatum pars prior, Fribourg Brigis. (Societas Goerresiana) 1930, pp. 52–58.

11. To this list there may be added a reference to Stunica's share in the Complutensian Polyglot, printed during the years 1514–1517 and published in 1522. His name does not occur in this work, but it is beyond doubt that he had a part in its preparations. He was probably responsible for the interlinear Latin version in part of the Septuagint and for the collation of Greek manuscripts of the gospels with Vulgate manuscripts. *Vetus Testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primo impressum* and *Nouum Testamentum*

grece et latine in academia Complutensi nouiter impressum, Compluti, 1514, 1517.
(Leiden, Univ. Libr.)

Works only preserved in manuscript

12. *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates ex eiusdem Annotationum libro in Nouum Testamentum excerptae, cum Stunicae confutatoris contra eundem annotationis*, 1520 or 1521.
(MS. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo Principale, VII B 41, fos 1-119; of the sixteenth century)

Preceded by a prefatory letter addressed to Pope Leo X. This is the original, extensive version of the pamphlet published in 1522, mentioned above as no. 4. As Stunica did not receive permission to publish the original work, he removed from it his own *confutatoria annotamenta* (which formed the bulk of the work) and published the rest, hardly more than a series of brief quotations from Erasmus' works and references to passages Stunica considered suspect.

13. *Hispanicarum historiarum breuiarium*
(Ms. Rome, Bibl. Vatic., Barberini MXIX)

Works of which no copy is known

14. *Annotationes in scholia Erasmi super epistolas Hieronymi*

A manuscript copy of these notes was sent to Erasmus after Stunica's death (1531); see Ep. 2705. Stunica had worked at these *Annotationes* (sometimes they are referred to as *Scholia*) as early as 1522, see Allen, vol. IV, p. 629, ll. 61-65 and Ep. 2637, n.l. 24, and Epp. 2705 and 2872.

15. *Annotationes in quartam editionem Annotationum Erasmi super Nouum Testamentum*

See Ep. 2705. These notes were described by Sepulveda in his *Antapologia pro Alberto Pio* as follows: "non pauca, quae ne in quarta quidem editione tua Noui Testamenti probaret". Before he died, Stunica decided to leave the manuscript of these notes to Erasmus. See Allen, Ep. 2637, n.l. 24; Ep. 2705, l. 11 sqq. and Ep. 2872.

Works of which Stunica's authorship is not entirely certain

16. *Epistola ad R.P. Episcopum Forosempronien[sem] super significationibus xvi coniunctionum in signo piscium quae futurae sunt mense Februario huius anni M.D.XXIII*. [*s.l.*, *s.n.*, *s.a.*], but from the first page of the letter it is perfectly clear that the booklet was printed and published at Rome in 1524]. 4^o, pp. 15.
(Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A., Univ. Libr.)

At the end, on f^o B4 r^o, the *Epistola* is dated "Romae. viii. Ianuarii. M.D.XXIII". In the heading over the beginning of the letter the author calls himself "Iacobus Lopis Stunica" (f^o A2

ro). This is almost certainly the famous opponent of Erasmus. Not only is the name the same, but also are place (“in hac curia Romana”, f^o A2 ro) and date (1524) in accordance with what is known of Stunica’s biography. Moreover, the title-page (f^o A1 ro) shows, in large format, exactly the same arms as appear on the title-pages of Stunica’s *Annotationes* against both Faber Stapulensis and Erasmus, Alcalá, 1519 and 1520 and of his *Libellus trium illorum voluminum praecursor*, Rome, 1522: argent, a bend sable, with a chain in orle (cf. Allen, Ep. 1416, n.l. 18). Precisely in February 1524, i.e. about the time at which the booklet appeared, Erasmus made fun of Stunica’s coat of arms, especially of the chain in it (Epp. 1415, l. 26; 1416, ll. 18–19).

The only reasons for doubt are, first, that this *Epistola* has never been registered as a work of our Stunica in any account of him or his works, and, second, that the subject-matter is so different from that of all his other writings. The *Epistola* is a sharp critique of the “Prognosticon super coniunctionibus in signo piscium futuris mense Februario huius praesentis anni M.D.xxiiii” which the Bishop Paul of Fossombrone (Forum Sempronii) in North Umbria had recently sent to Pope Clement VII. Stunica’s reaction is an astrological tract of a highly technical character, testifying to a scientific interest and knowledge which are not apparent from the works which are certainly his.

However, the contents of the *Epistola* do not seem to be a decisive argument against the authorship of the Stunica who attacked Erasmus. As this *Epistola* does not figure either in the bibliographies of other Stunicas, it is probably best attributed to the Stunica with whom we deal here.

The conjunction of 1524 and the literature it provoked, *inter alia* the *Prognosticon* of Paul of Fossombrone, have received special attention in L. Thorndike, *A History of Experimental Science*, vol. V, New York, 1951², pp. 178–233, esp. 217–218, but there no mention is made of Stunica’s *Epistola*. In his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Meteorologie*, Nr. 1–5, Berlin, 1914 (Veröffentlichungen des Kön. Preuss. Meteorologischen Instituts, no. 273), pp. 5–102, G. Hellmann listed 133 pamphlets on the conjunction of 1524, written by 56 authors, but Stunica’s *Epistola* is not mentioned there either.

The language of the tract is naturally highly technical, and the brief prologue and epilogue are phrased in common terms. Consequently, the language and style offer no clue for the identification of the author.

17. *Oratio ad Leonem X P.M. habita pro vniuersali Hispaniarum Ecclesia*, Compluti, apud Brocarium, 1523.

(No copy known to me)

This title figures, among other titles of Stunica’s works, in A. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, t. VII, Barcelona, 1954, p. 665, no. 142059. Palau refers to Nicolás Antonio as his source, but Antonio does not mention this work among those of our Stunica, nor can I find it among those of other Stunicas. If the title as given above is correct, it should be observed that this edition of the *Oratio* was published two years after Leo X, to whom it was addressed, had died. The fact that Stunica was in Rome in 1523 makes the attribution to him doubtful.

[18–19] *Enchiridion Religionis* and *Assertiones de Ecclesia*.

(No copy known to me)

Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, Matriti, 1783–1788, vol. I, p. 296, attributes to Stunica an *Enchiridion Religionis* and *Assertiones de Ecclesia*, without further particulars as to date or place of publication. I have found no evidence whatsoever of the existence of these works. The latter title may be a confused reference to Stunica’s *Assertio Ecclesiasticae translationis* of 1524, see no. 8 above. On the authority of Antonio, the same titles are listed as of works of our Stunica in C.G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, t. IV, Leipzig, 1751, col. 2239, s.v. “de Zunniga (Didacus

Lopez)", and in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europea-Americana*, t. XXXI, Barcelona, s.a. [ca. 1915], p. 161, s.v. "López de Zúñiga (Diego)".

Works falsely attributed to Stunica

[20] *Reconcilings of Scripture texts.*

A work of this title figures among our Stunica's publications in *The National Union Catalog. Pre-1956 Imprints*, vol. 341, p. 40, third column, where the reader is referred to Thomas Salusbury, *Mathematical Collections and Translations*, t. I, pt. 1, London, 1661. This latter work contains on pp. 468-470 a section headed "An abstract of some passages in the Commentaries of Didacus à Stunica, of Salamanca, upon Job ...", which corresponds to Didacus a Stunica Salmanticensis Eremita Augustinianus, *In Iob Commentaria*, Toledo, 1584, pp. 205-207. The Spanish Augustinian monk Didacus a Stunica (floruit 1575-1600), also known as an important philosopher, is not identical with our Jacobus Lopis Stunica. See on the former: Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana* (ed. cit., see under no. [18-19] above), pp. 324-325; Jöcher (see under no. [18-19] above), col. 2239; *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europea-Americana*, t. LXX, 1930, p. 1536, s.v. "Zúñiga (Diego de)"; and V. Muñoz Delgado, *Lógica Hispano-Portuguesa hasta 1600 (Notas bibliográfico-doctrinales)*, Repertorio de historia de la ciencias eclesiásticas en España, vol. IV, Salamanca, 1972, pp. 9-122, especially 112 (and the same author in vol. I of this Repertorio, Salamanca, 1967, p. 464, no. 252, where 1597 should be read for 1957).

[21] *Annotationes Noui Testamenti.*

(Ms. Madrid, Biblioteca Universitaria Central, A.H.U., formerly Bibliotheca Ildefonsina Complutensis, 117-Z-1, f^{os} 180-252)

A set of manuscript annotations to the Greek New Testament, closely related to the marginal notes to the Complutensian New Testament, and registering differences between a Greek text and the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament. The ms. does not carry an author's name. M. Revilla Rico in his *La Poliglota de Alcalá*, Madrid, 1917, pp. 167-171, argued that the author was Stunica. This attribution was accepted by M. Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, Paris, 1937, p. 43, *Erasmus y España*, Mexico, 1966², p. 39, and, with a question-mark, by K. Reinhardt, *Die biblischen Autoren Spaniens bis zum Konzil von Trient*, Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España, vol. V, Salamanca, 1976, p. 175. The differences, however, between these annotations and Stunica's views as expressed in his works against Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples are such that it is impossible to regard Stunica any longer as the author of the annotations. See J.H. Bentley, *New Light on the Editing of the Complutensian New Testament*, Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance 42 (1980), pp. 145-156.

[22-23] *Commentaria in Zachariam and Iob.*

Wrongly attributed to Jacobus Lopis Stunica by Jöcher (see at nos. [18-19] above), and by Palau y Dulcet (see at no. 17 above), p. 672. The real author of these commentaries is Didacus a Stunica (Diego de Zúñiga), the Augustinian monk and theological professor at Osuna, already mentioned at no. [20] above.

[24] *Annotaciones in Iacob.*

This is no more than a confused reference to the *Annotationes contra Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*, as appears from the fact that the source which gives these *Annotaciones in Iacob* as one of Stunica's

works, viz. the *Enciclopedia Universal* (see at no. [20] above), adds to this title: "Paris 1522". These data apply to the reprint of the *Annotationes contra Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*, see at no. 1 above.

[25] *Annotationes contra Desiderium Erasmum in defensionem translationis Vet. Testam. Venetiis*, sixteenth century.

This title, listed by Palau y Dulcet (see at no. 17 above), p. 672, no. 142277, is undoubtedly a confused reference to our no. 2. The mention of Venice as place of publication is based on Antonio, who makes the same mistake for precisely our no. 2.

This list may be concluded by two caveats.

In view of the extreme rarity of the copies in which some of Stunica's writings have survived (e.g. no. 5, the original edition of no. 7, and no. 16), it is not impossible that editions of other writings from his hand have been lost without trace.

For sixteenth-century Spanish authors of the name of Diego (= Didacus, Jacobus) (López, -pes, -pis) (de, a) Zún(n)iga (= Stunica) with whom our Stunica must not be confused, see N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, Matriti, 1783-1788, vol. I, pp. 294-296 and 324-325, and C.G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, t. IV, Leipzig, 1751, col. 2239.

III. *A chronological synopsis of the thirteen polemical writings exchanged by Stunica and Carranza on the one side and Erasmus on the other*

The great number and the mutual affinity of the polemical writings which Stunica, Carranza and Erasmus exchanged during the course of their controversy can easily create confusion. Those readers of Erasmus who are not yet entirely familiar with this thorny section of his *œuvre*, may find it useful to have here a complete chronological survey of the thirteen publications which Stunica and Carranza on the one side and Erasmus on the other produced against each other. This survey has been composed after the example of a similar and most helpful table given by P.S. Allen in the valuable Appendix XV at the end of the fourth volume of his *Opus Epistolarum*.¹⁷⁰ Allen's list is open to a few slight improvements, especially as to the title, place and date of our item 11 (Allen's item 9). Allen also omitted our items 3, 4 and 12. It may be useful to include them. We mention only the first edition of each work.

1. Stunica, *Annotationes contra Erasmum Roterodamum in defensionem translationis Novi Testamenti*, Alcalá, A.G. Brocario, [before August, probably before 21 June] 1520.
2. Erasmus, *Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iacobus Lopis Stunica taxauerat*

¹⁷⁰ P. 622.

- in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione*, Louvain, Th. Martens, [between 23 September and 10 October 1521].
3. Carranza, *Opusculum in quasdam Erasmi Annotationes*, Rome, A. de Trino, 1 March 1522.
 4. Erasmus, *Apologia de tribus locis quos vt recte taxatos a Stunica defenderat Sanctius Caranza theologus*. Published in *De interdicto esu carn.*, Basle, J. Froben, 6 August 1522.
 5. Stunica, *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates nunc primum propalatae ac proprio volumine alias redargutae*, Rome, A. Bladus de Asula, [between 7 April and 4 May] 1522.
 6. Erasmus, *Apologia aduersus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit Blasphemiae et impietates Erasmi*. Published in *De interdicto esu carn.*, Basle, J. Froben, 6 August 1522.
 7. Stunica, *Libellus trium illorum voluminum praecursor, quibus Erasmicas impietates ac blasphemias redarguit*, Rome, A. Bladus de Asula, [between 26 March and the end of July] 1522.
 8. Erasmus, *Apologia ad Prodromon Stunicae*, an "Appendix" to no. 6 above. Published in the same volume, Basle, J. Froben, 6 August 1522.
 9. Stunica, *Conclusiones principaliter suspecte et scandalose que reperiuntur in libris Erasmi Roterodami*, Rome, [A. Bladus de Asula, between 14 September and 19 November], 1523.
 10. Erasmus, *Apologia ad Stunicae Conclusiones*, completed 1 March 1524 (Ep. 1428). Published in *Exomologesis*, Basle, [between 1 March and the beginning of July, probably in March] 1524.
 11. Stunica, *Assertio ecclesiasticae translationis Noui Testamenti a soloecismis quos illi Erasmus Roterodamus impegerat*, [s.l., s.n., s.a., but dated at the end by the author:] Rome, 1524 [before July].
 12. Erasmus, *Epistola apologetica aduersus Stunicam*, completed 8 June 1529 (= Ep. 2172). Published in *Opus Epistolarum*, Basle, H. Froben, J. Herwagen, N. Episcopus, August-September, 1529 [= LB IX, 391-400].
 13. Stunica, *Loca quae ex Stunicae annotationibus, illius suppresso nomine, in tertia editione Noui Testamenti Erasmus emendauit*, [s.l., s.n., s.a., but dated at the end by the author:] Rome, 1524 [before July].

For a justification of the bracketed dates of publication, see chapter II of this introduction, except for the date of no. 2, for which see chapter IV.

Nos. 6 and 8 have also been preserved in a draft manuscript written by Erasmus himself, now in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thottske Saml. 73 Fol., f^{os} 51 r^o–65 r^o and 68 r^o–72 v^o respectively; see C. Reedijk, *Three Erasmus Autographs in the Royal Library at Copenhagen*, in: S. van der Woude, ed., *Studia bibliographica in honorem H. de la Fontaine Verwey*, Amsterdam, 1968, pp. 327–349, especially p. 341.

The titles of nos. 8 and 12 as quoted above have not been given to these apologies by Erasmus, but by the editors of *BAS*. Erasmus himself headed the *Apologia ad Prodromon Stunicae* “Appendix”, both in the manuscript and in the first edition. He did not regard it as an independent apology, but as an addition to his *Apologia aduersus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit Blasphemiae et impietates* (no. 6). Still in the letter to Botzheim (1523) he called it “Appendix aduersus eiusdem [i.e. Stunicae] libellum, cui titulum fecit *πρόδρομος*” (Allen, vol. I, p. 41, l. 25). No. 12 originated as a letter to Hubert of Baarland (Ep. 2172), but in *BAS* it was rightly included among the *Apologiae*, not among the *Epistolae*. On this occasion it received the title given above. Although this title is not particularly specific, it seems best to retain it.

The five apologies of Erasmus against Stunica may henceforth be referred to with the following abbreviated titles:

- I. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* (LB IX, 283–356; no. 2 above)
- II. *Apolog. adv. Stun. Blasph. et imp.* (LB IX, 355–375; no. 6 above)
- III. *Apolog. ad Prodr. Stun.* (LB IX, 375–381; no. 8 above)
- IV. *Apolog. ad Stun. Concl.* (LB IX, 383–392; no. 10 above)
- V. *Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.* (LB IX, 391–400; no. 12 above)

The hitherto usual, general designation *Apologia contra Lopidem Stunicam*, abbreviated to *Apolog. c. Lop. Stun.*, does not apply to any particular apology of Erasmus against Stunica. Consequently this title should rather be avoided, unless one prefers to use it with an additional number: I, II, III, IV, or V.

A work sometimes referred to as *Resp. ad annot. Lop. Stunicae* is neither an apologia against Stunica, nor an independent work of Erasmus at all. It is the third part (LB IX, 429–432) of the *Apologia contra Sanctium Caranzam* = no. 4 above. The designation *Resp. ad annot. Lop. Stunicae* is inapplicable and should be avoided.

The manuscript Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Samling 96, f^{os} 207 r^o–214 r^o, contains a draft, in Erasmus’ handwriting, for an apologetic work entitled *Manifesta mendacia*. This apology, unpublished until now, and sometimes regarded as a defence by Erasmus against criticism of his theological views made by Stunica, is in fact an apology against Jacobus Latomus’ work *De confessione secreta, De quaestionum generibus quibus Ecclesia certat intus et foris, De Ecclesia et humanae legis obligatione*, Antwerp, 1525, on which see Allen, Ep. 1585, n.l. 80. The *Manifesta mendacia* has no connexion with the polemics between Erasmus and Stunica.

IV. *Circumstances of composition of Erasmus' Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iacobus Lopus Stunica taxauerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione*

The news concerning the appearance of Stunica's *Annotationes contra Erasmus* reached Erasmus first about the beginning of the summer of 1520. On one of the days from 25 to 29 July of that year, Juan de Vergara, a former secretary to cardinal Ximénez who had come to the Netherlands in the train of emperor Charles V, met Erasmus at Bruges.¹⁷¹ Erasmus told Vergara on that occasion that he had already been informed about the attack Stunica had launched on his New Testament by a letter from a Flemish friend then sojourning in Spain: "esse se per literas monitum ab amico Flamingo in Hispania agente", as Vergara paraphrased Erasmus' words.¹⁷² Erasmus' informant was, in all probability, Petrus Barbirius,¹⁷³ with whom Erasmus had been in touch since 1516, when Barbirius was still in Brussels as a chaplain to Jean Le Sauvage, chancellor of Burgundy and, later in 1516, of Castile.¹⁷⁴ With Le Sauvage Barbirius had gone to Spain in 1517 and he remained there until 1522. Although no letters exchanged between Erasmus and Barbirius between May 1518 (Ep. 847) and June 1521 (Ep. 1216) are now extant, there was certainly some correspondence between the two men in the interval, for when writing to Aloisius Marlianus, the bishop of Tuy in Galicia, in June 1520, Erasmus made mention of a letter which he had received from Barbirius.¹⁷⁵ This letter from Barbirius, which has disappeared, must have reached Erasmus some time before 21 June 1520, the approximate date of Erasmus' letter to Marlianus (Ep. 1114). It may very well have been the source from which Erasmus first learned that Stunica had published an attack on his *Nouum Instrumentum*.¹⁷⁶

Barbirius had not forwarded to Erasmus a copy of Stunica's book, nor did Vergara bring one with him to Flanders in July 1520, as he had promised to do to Barbirius.¹⁷⁷ As a result Erasmus remained in uncertainty as to the contents and character of Stunica's *Annotationes*. Understandably, this made him feel

¹⁷¹ Allen, Ep. 1128, n.l. 4, and Ep. 1129, n.l. 1. On Vergara, see Allen, introd. Ep. 1277, and Bataillon, *Erasmus y España, passim* (see index).

¹⁷² Allen, vol. IV, p. 623, ll. 20-21.

¹⁷³ This has rightly been supposed by Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, p. 103; *Erasmus y España*, p. 96. On Barbirius, see Allen, introd. Ep. 443.

¹⁷⁴ On Le Sauvage, see Allen, introd. Ep. 410.

¹⁷⁵ Ep. 1114, ll. 12-13, and Ep. 1198, l. 8, where the letter from Barbirius is referred to again.

¹⁷⁶ Another reason for identifying Erasmus' informant as Barbirius is that among Erasmus' correspondents Barbirius was the very first whom Erasmus informed that he had finally received a copy of Stunica's work, in June 1521 (Ep. 1216) and to whom he gave an account of its contents as well as his own opinion about it. It may be noticed that Barbirius could indeed be considered a friend (*amicus*, cf. Vergara's paraphrase of Erasmus' words quoted in the text above) of Erasmus; see Ep. 1198, l. 8, where Marlianus, writing to Erasmus, speaks of Barbirius as "vtriusque nostrum amantissimum". The terms in which Erasmus himself addressed Barbirius in Ep. 1216 are most friendly indeed.

¹⁷⁷ Allen, vol. IV, p. 623, ll. 21-22, Vergara to Stunica, 10 October 1521: Erasmus had told Vergara "esse se per literas monitum ab amico Flamingo in Hispania agente [i.e. Barbirio] (cui ego [i.e. Vergara] id ipsum olim praesens promiserim) librum me allaturum".

somewhat uneasy, the more so as Vergara told him that Stunica was a competent philologist, well versed in the Greek, Latin and Hebrew languages and literatures, and that his criticisms of Erasmus' New Testament were not devoid of some frankness.¹⁷⁸

The first mention of Stunica in Erasmus' own letters, as far as preserved, appears in a letter written shortly after he had met Vergara. On 2 August 1520 he wrote: "Spain, too, has her Lee. A certain Zuniga has published a book, I learn, rather virulent against Lefèvre and me. The late cardinal of Toledo had forbidden its publication. When he had died, the writer brought out his poison. I have not seen the work yet. They try to prevent the book's coming my way".¹⁷⁹ That Ximénez had forbidden Stunica to publish his *Annotationes* is evidently Erasmus' rendering of a piece of information Vergara had given him, namely that Ximénez had advised Stunica to communicate his criticisms of the *Nouum Instrumentum* first privately to Erasmus by letter, and not to publish an invective immediately.¹⁸⁰

A year had passed since Erasmus had first heard of Stunica's book, when he finally secured a copy of it, in June 1521. On the 26th of that month he reported this to Barbirius in Spain,¹⁸¹ who, a year ago, had probably been the first to bring the appearance of Stunica's *Annotationes* to Erasmus' notice. It seems that at the moment of writing his letter to Barbirius, Erasmus was already engaged on the preparation of his *Apologia* against Stunica, for the letter shows a striking resemblance with the long introduction to the first apology against the Spaniard.¹⁸² When writing to Barbirius Erasmus had either already finished the introduction to his *Apolog. resp. Jac. Lop. Stun.* and could summarize it in his letter, or he gave an outline of the planned introduction to the *Apologia* in his letter and worked it out afterwards for the *Apologia* as printed in September 1521.

In the account of Stunica's book which he gave in his letter to Barbirius, Erasmus described Stunica as more learned and less virulent than Edward Lee. Still Erasmus complained that Stunica had denied him all intellectual faculties. He regretted that his opponent had not followed Ximénez' advice to first send him his criticisms in a private letter, but had published them when Ximénez had died, without waiting for the second, improved edition of his New Testament.¹⁸³ Erasmus declared that he was glad to see that the *bonae literae* began to flourish also in Spain. But he expected that Stunica would not reap as much glory with his *Annotationes* as he had hoped. For although the Spaniard boasted of both his candour and his profound learning, while blaming

¹⁷⁸ Allen, vol. IV, p. 623, ll. 30-42.

¹⁷⁹ Ep. 1128, ll. 2-6.

¹⁸⁰ Allen, vol. IV, p. 623, ll. 56-60; cf. Allen, Ep. 1128, n.l. 4.

¹⁸¹ Ep. 1216.

¹⁸² Not with the *second* apology against Stunica, as Allen wrote (introd. Ep. 1216).

¹⁸³ It did not occur to Erasmus that Stunica might have been unaware that such an improved edition was forthcoming.

Erasmus for his superficial knowledge, limited reading and confused presentation of the evidence, it was clear to every reader – thus Erasmus – that Stunica was not free from malice and animosity. In fact, Stunica had ridiculed, calumniated and abused Erasmus from the first to the last page of his book, reproaching him even with the errors of the printer and the mistakes of Oecolampadius (who had helped Erasmus in questions concerning Hebrew and Aramaic); he had repeatedly made an enormous fuss apropos of nothing and even expressed his disdain for Erasmus as being a “Batauus”. Further Stunica had not only indulged in insults in almost every paragraph of his book, he had also phrased rather offensively the brief printed notes in the margins, the so-called *elenchi* or *indices marginales*. From all this it was evident that Stunica’s intentions had not been as sincere and candid as he pretended. Moreover, Stunica’s defence of the translator of the Vulgate could not be considered successful, as he had passed over in silence many of the solecisms in the Vulgate which Erasmus had indicated. Finally, Erasmus averred, the virulence of Stunica’s work was possibly more derogatory to Stunica’s own reputation than to that of Erasmus, for his offensive tone was out of place anyhow in a discussion of the sacred text. This was how Erasmus’ reacted to Stunica’s *Annotationes* in his letter to Barbirius of 26 June 1521.

Erasmus’ remark concerning the risk which his Spanish adversary ran of causing damage to his own reputation rather than to that of Erasmus by the virulence he displayed, may seem somewhat rhetorical, haughty and presumptuous, but very soon it turned out to be justified. As was set out in the second chapter of this introduction, Stunica was greatly disappointed in his hopes of finding support in his fight against Erasmus at Rome.

For several passages of the first apology against Stunica it can be established that they were not written before the middle of August, but probably as late as September 1521. This applies to the final passages of the sections on, *inter alia*, *Rom.* 5,13, *1 Cor.* 12,28, *Gal.* 3,1 and *1 Iob.* 5,7. In these passages Erasmus refers to Latin manuscripts of the New Testament belonging to the College of St. Donatian at Bruges. He came to know these manuscripts during his stay at Bruges from c. 12 to 29 August 1521 (introd. Ep. 373). Consequently, the sections in question were probably completed after Erasmus’ return to Anderlecht, where he arrived on 31 August at the latest (Ep. 1232). The passages referred to can be dated, therefore, to the first weeks of September 1521.

On 23 September Erasmus’ *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* was in the press.¹⁸⁴ On 10 October Vergara could send a copy, “ex ipso statim praelo redemptam”,¹⁸⁵ from Brussels to Stunica in Rome, who received it there on 16 December 1521.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Ep. 1235, l. 33.

¹⁸⁵ Allen, vol. IV, p. 624, l. 70.

¹⁸⁶ Allen, vol. IV, p. 625, l. 2.

Once Erasmus had completed his apology, he looked upon Stunica's *Annotationes* as much less harmful than he had done when he took first cognizance of the book. In June he had been irritated and hurt by Stunica's insults and had shown signs of disquietude as to the effect of this attack on his work. In September, when he had handed the manuscript of his apology in to the printer, he had got full control of his feelings again and spoke slightly of Stunica's "booklet" (*libellus*). "At first sight, the booklet is promising and impressive, but as soon as one looks at it more closely, one would rather call it mere smoke. We have replied to it in a short and succinct apology. I begrudge already the pains bestowed on it, for his work is such as to displease Aleander also,¹⁸⁷ and it would not have harmed my reputation, at least with fair and erudite men. All the same we have replied to it, not only briefly, but also courteously, not because he so deserves, but because we did not wish to lose our repute of being moderate, a repute we have upheld and vindicated until now".¹⁸⁸

This passage is not precisely marked by lack of self-confidence. But if Erasmus had thought that Stunica was in any way impressed, he was greatly mistaken. To Stunica, the *Apologia* was the definite proof of Erasmus' lack of learning, of his ignorance and arrogance, as he declared in astonishingly unreserved language to Vergara.¹⁸⁹ That he was to launch a new and not less vehement attack on Erasmus, "siendo como es tan impio y tan blasphemo",¹⁹⁰ was a foregone conclusion.

As to Erasmus, his apology against Stunica was the last work he wrote in the Netherlands. On 28 October 1521 he left Louvain and travelled to Basle to see the third edition of his *Nouum Testamentum* through the press. The four Louvain years had come to an end, years clouded by the polemics with Martinus Dorpius and the Louvain theologians, by growing mistrust and disfavour from both the Catholic and the Lutheran side, and finally by the controversy with Stunica which had now only begun.

¹⁸⁷ Girolamo Aleander, the papal librarian. Cf. n. 110 above.

¹⁸⁸ Ep. 1236, ll. 53-61, written to Paul Bombasius on 23 September 1521, when his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* was in the press: "Prima facie miris fumis sese ostentat. Vbi propius contemplatus sis, nebulas meras esse dixeris. Ei respondimus Apologia laconica. Cuius operae sane nos iam poenitet; nam opus est eius generis vt et Aleandro displiceat, nec meae famae fuerit effecturum, duntaxat apud aequos et eruditos. Et tamen respondimus non solum breuiter sed etiam ciuilliter: non quod ille mereretur, sed quod nos hactenus defensam moderationis laudem noluerimus amittere".

¹⁸⁹ Allen, vol. IV, pp. 625-628, see p. 626, ll. 23-37.

¹⁹⁰ "Being as he is so impious and blasphemous". These words of 9 January 1522 contain an allusion to the title of Stunica's second great attack on Erasmus, which he was never allowed to publish, the *Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates*. An abridged version of it saw the light in April or May 1522. See nos. 4 and 12 in the list of Stunica's works above.

V. *Structure and literary genre of the Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iacobus Lopis Stunica taxauerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione*

The literary structure of the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* is very simple and does not need much comment. The work opens with an introduction in which Erasmus dwells on such themes as the futility and uselessness of writing polemic works, Stunica's over-indulgence in abusive language, his arrogance and the petty-mindedness of his criticism. The contents of this introduction concur for the rest to a great extent with those of Erasmus' letter to Barbirius (Ep. 1216) discussed in the preceding chapter.

The introduction is followed by a series of 212 sections forming the body of the work and arranged in the order of the writings of the New Testament and their chapters. Each section is headed by a reference to the Scripture passage which is discussed in it. The number of sections of which this apology consists is the same as the number of sections which make up the *Annotationes* of Stunica. In fact, Erasmus replied to each *annotatio* of Stunica with a separate counter-argument and left none of Stunica's *annotationes* uncontradicted. In the course of the work Erasmus began obviously to weary of it; from *Philemon* up to and including *Revelation* his paragraphs are considerably shorter than in the preceding part of the work (with the exception of his long excursus on 1 *Ioh.* 5,7-8).

The work concludes with a very short paragraph in which Erasmus expresses his regret for the loss of the seven days which he had spent on these trifles (*nugae*). He also promises, too rashly, never to react again to possible further attacks from Stunica's side. The final sentence sounds like a threat: in this apology, Erasmus affirms, he has not yet really replied to Stunica's attack, but only adumbrated what could be replied if by any chance a reply should be necessary.

The internal organization of each individual section is, basically, as follows. Each section has a superscription indicating the book and chapter of the New Testament in which the words to be discussed occur. Verse-numbers still being unknown, each section opens with a quotation from the Vulgate as an indication of the passage in dispute. Then follows a brief account of how Erasmus himself had dealt with the words at issue in the *Nouum Instrumentum*, either in his Latin translation or in his *Annotationes*, or in both. After this he summarizes Stunica's criticism. Finally he proceeds to the defence of his original translation or comment, to the impugnation, refutation and rejection of Stunica's argument, and sometimes to the disparagement of his opponent in person. Irony and sarcasm play an important role here. In almost no case does Erasmus make a concession.

By its nature and purpose this work must of course be classed as an apology, as Erasmus did himself.¹⁹¹ All the traditional elements of this type of

¹⁹¹ In the letter to Botzheim, Ep. I, p. 41, l. 22.

literature¹⁹² are here exploited, such as the hypothetical *concessio*, the *anticategoria* of the adversary, the retortion, and so on. At the same time, however, the sections forming the body of this apology constitute a kind of commentary on the book of Stunica, which they follow from one paragraph to another, as well as on the New Testament passages under discussion. The fragmentary, unsystematic and extemporary character of this commentary would certainly have prevented Erasmus from designating it as a formal *commentarius*. He was accustomed to distinguish sharply between a genuine commentary and “annotations”. At the very beginning of his introduction to the annotations on the New Testament he declared: “annotatiunculas scribimus, non commentarios”.¹⁹³ *Annotationes* might have a less accomplished form, and might also contain tentative solutions, suggestions¹⁹⁴ and even more than one alternative explanation at a time.¹⁹⁵ In this sense Erasmus’ commentary on the New Testament consisted of *annotationes*. In the same sense Stunica had called his attack on Erasmus *Annotationes*. The *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, too, can rightly be understood as an apology in the form of *annotationes*, and these *annotationes* as the organic continuation of the *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum*.

VI. *The textual history of the Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iacobus Lopis Stunica taxauerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione. The present edition*

The history of the text of the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* is not without complications and surprises. The first edition, here designated as *A*, was printed by Dirck Martens at Louvain in September 1521 and published before 10 October of that year.¹⁹⁶ In the present edition (*ASD*) the main text intends to be a critical recension of *A*; the successive later developments of the text are recorded in the critical apparatus.

The final pages of Martens’ edition (f^{os} q3 v^o–q4 r^o) contain a list of some 80 corrigenda of misprints, introduced by a brief note from Martens to the studious readers. This list creates a curious problem in so far as it includes, apart from obvious and useful corrections, absurd proposals by which the

¹⁹² It may suffice to refer to H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, 2 vols., München, 1960, Bd. I, pp. 54 and 86–110.

¹⁹³ *LB VI*, f^o *** 4 r^o. Cf. *Capita argumentorum contra morosos*, *LB VI*, f^o ** 3 v^o: “Annotationes scribimus, non leges; et expendenda proponimus, non protinus habenda pro compertis”.

¹⁹⁴ *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, p. 234, ll. 151–152 below: “hoc ... indicaui, quo lectori darem occasionem vestigandi” (*ad 2 Tim.* 3,8). See also n. 193.

¹⁹⁵ *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, p. 210, ll. 769–770 below: “in Annotationibus phas est, inquirendi gratia, varios sensus proponere” (*ad Eph.* 4,27). Cf. *Apologia* (Holborn, p. 170, ll. 33–35): “in annotamentis varias [sc. lectiones] referimus, aut indicantes quid nobis optimum videatur, aut tuo relinquentes arbitrio quid sequi malis”.

¹⁹⁶ For the date of printing: *Ep.* 1235, l. 33; cf. n. 184 above. For the date of publication: Allen, vol. IV, p. 624, l. 70; cf. n. 185 above. We used photographs of the copy in Ghent, University Library. Further copies are in Cambridge, University Library and St. Andrews, University Library.

original text of *A* would definitely be deteriorated. To quote an example, in the introduction to his apologia Erasmus complains that Stunica had blamed him for the errors of the compositor and replies that it was unreasonable to charge these misprints of the *Nouum Instrumentum* entirely to him. From his side at least he would feel deeply ashamed to hold Stunica responsible for the frequent occurrence of orthographical mistakes in his *Annotationes*, like *occiari* and *Battaunus*; these mistakes occurred so frequently in Stunica's book that one would be tempted to believe that they were not due to accident. In this passage¹⁹⁷ *A* correctly reads *Battaunus*: only this can be the reading intended by Erasmus. According to Martens' list of corrigenda, however, *Battaunus* should be replaced by *Bataunus*. This "correction", due to someone who had not followed Erasmus' argument in the passage at issue and for whom the *prima facie* semblance of a misprint was enough to suggest an alteration, in reality amounts to a gross corruption.

Obviously, not all of Martens' corrections can be regarded as authoritative Erasman readings. In all probability Erasmus had nothing to do with this list of corrigenda. It may simply be the work of some proofreader of Martens' firm. With Martens it appears, indeed, that Erasmus did not correct his own proofs.¹⁹⁸ On the other hand there are among the corrigenda a considerable number of indispensable and recommendable emendations. Even if Erasmus is not personally responsible for these correct changes, they have at present to be taken as representing the final authoritative redaction of *A*. Erasmus had after all committed the production of the volume to Martens and would no doubt have expected him to execute the work as carefully as possible. Erasmus would certainly have welcomed, therefore, a list of corrigenda and preferred the corrections of such a list to the misprinted readings in the main text, even if the corrections were not his. This means that wherever a reading of Martens seems to be better, or at least not worse than that of the original text of *A*, the correction must now be adopted as the authoritative Erasman text. Wherever a reading of the list of corrigenda stands against a reading of the main text, the former is signified by *A'*, the latter by *A**.

In his *Répertoire des œuvres d'Erasmus*, I (p. 11), Vander Haeghen registered a work entitled *In Iac. Lopim Stunicam non admodum circumspectum calumniatorem apologia*, Argentorati, 1521, without a publisher's name. Not a trace of this edition, however, is to be found. Vander Haeghen's reference is probably due to confusion with the unauthorized reprint of the second edition (*B*) of the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* produced by Ulric Morhart at Strasbourg in 1522, which will be mentioned below. The words "non admodum circumspectum calumniatorem" are obviously taken from the collective title of the Froben

¹⁹⁷ P. 66, ll. 132-135 below. The strange introduction to the list of corrigenda is discussed by C. Reedijk, *Erasmus et Martens...*, in: J. Coppens, ed., *Scrinium Erasmanum*, II, Leiden, 1969, pp. 351-378, see p. 358.

¹⁹⁸ Allen, Ep. I, p. 22, n.l. 22.

1522 edition of the *Apologiae Omnes* (comprising the second edition of the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* = B), which runs: *Apologiae Erasmi Roterodami omnes, aduersus eos, qui illum locis aliquot, in suis libris, non satis circumspecte sunt calumniati. In Iacobum Lopim Stunicam apologia I*, etc. etc. In brief, the edition which Vander Haeghen designated as “Argentorati, 1521” seems to be no more than a ghost-edition.

A second, revised edition of the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* was printed from October 1521 by J. Froben at Basle and published in February 1522, as the opening section of Erasmus’ *Apologiae Omnes*, f^{os} Aa2 r^o–Hh2 r^o.¹⁹⁹ This second edition, here designated as B, contains a great number of expansions and alterations as compared with A, on which it is based. In some cases B rectifies a misprint which had not yet been corrected in A. In other cases it ignores the correction of A and either repeats the dubious reading of A* or gives a correction different from that of A. If the reading of A* has been corrected in different ways in A and B and the correction of A is not a deterioration, then the present edition gives the correction of A in the text and that of B in the critical apparatus.

The text of B was reprinted in two unauthorized editions, one printed by Ulric Morhart in Strasbourg and published on 31 July 1522,²⁰⁰ the other by Pierre Vidoue (Vidouaeus) in Paris at the expense of the bookseller Conrad Resch,²⁰¹ also in July 1522. The mere fact that in the Vidoue edition Erasmus’ *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* is preceded by Stunica’s attack on him, the *Annotationes contra Erasmum*,²⁰² proves this edition to be unauthorized, for Erasmus had resolutely declined the idea of having his apologia published together with the *Annotationes* of Stunica.²⁰³

The unauthorized joint edition of Stunica’s attack and Erasmus’ defence went through three further editions in the seventeenth century, when both works were deemed important enough to be included in the *Critici sacri*, that superb corpus of the best philological exegetes of the bible from Valla to

¹⁹⁹ We used photographs of the copy in Rotterdam, Municipal Library, 2 B 12 :2. The edition is not rare. The title-page has the date February 1522, the final page (with Froben’s printer’s mark) October 1521.

²⁰⁰ We inspected a copy in Cambridge, University Library. Although Morhart printed also Erasmus’ *De cop. verb.* (1519 and 1521), *Coll.* (1522), and *Enchir.* (1522), there is no indication whatsoever that he produced these books with Erasmus’ permission. For a careful description of this edition see F. Ritter, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en Alsace au 16me siècle de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg*, vol. II (E–K), Strasbourg, 1945, p. 503, no. 757. On Morhart, who worked at Strasbourg from 1519 to 1522, see F. Ritter, *Histoire de l’imprimerie Alsacienne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Strasbourg/Paris, 1955, pp. 306–308.

²⁰¹ We inspected a copy in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Further copies are in London, British Library; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; Le Mans, Municipal Library; The Hague, Royal Library (incomplete, see n. 203 below) and elsewhere.

²⁰² The edition contains also Stunica’s attack on Lefèvre d’Etaples.

²⁰³ This appears from a letter from Vergara to Stunica of 10 October 1521, see Allen, vol. IV, p. 624, ll. 70–74. The irony of fate would have it that from a copy of this edition now in the Royal Library at The Hague, the whole apologia of Erasmus has been cut out and removed, so that only Stunica’s work is left.

Grotius.²⁰⁴ The recension of Erasmus' *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* as included in the *Critici sacri* shows at some places the hand of a thoughtful editor. A selection from his noteworthy readings has been registered in the critical apparatus of the present edition, marked with the siglum *CS*. In some four cases the reading of *CS* is even the only acceptable one among the readings of all textual witnesses; in these cases the *CS* reading has been included in the main text of this edition.

During his lifetime Erasmus did not publish a third edition of the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* After his death, however, this apologia was re-published in volume IX of the Basle edition of Erasmus' *Omnia Opera* (*BAS*, 1540). Surprisingly, the text of this edition of the apologia turns out to be, not a simple reprint of *B*, but a thorough revision of it. At dozens of places the text has been changed or expanded. From the contents of the passages inserted into *B* it is perfectly clear that the recension in *BAS* is due to Erasmus himself. This appears, firstly, from the numerous new references to Origen, Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome and above all Theophylact in Greek, writers with whom Erasmus occupied himself intensively in the 1520's and 1530's.²⁰⁵ In *BAS* references to these authors have often been added to reinforce the argument of passages where such a reinforcement was no longer absolutely necessary. None other than Erasmus could have troubled to include them. Obviously he had continued to collect materials that could be used against Stunica and to record them in the margins of a copy of *B*, a copy which was later used as the basis for *BAS*. Secondly, the text in *BAS* has been enriched with some rhetorical exclamations, the irony of which is typically Erasmian, e.g.: "O piaculum", "O periculum ecclesiae, ni haec fuissent excussa", "O serias annotationes et Complutensi theologo dignas", "O fumos, Stunicanos malo dicere quam Hispanienses", and "Sic crescit voluminis modus".²⁰⁶ Thirdly, the distinctive text of *BAS* contains such favourite Erasmian turns of phrase as "Asiatica phrasis",²⁰⁷ "nodus in scyrpo",²⁰⁸ and even references to Erasmus' *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum* phrased as follows: "Mea sic habent in Annotationibus".²⁰⁹ In short, it is beyond all doubt that the text of the *Apolog.*

²⁰⁴ J. Pearson, et al., edd., *Critici sacri*, London, 1660, vol. IX, col. 3551-3622; Frankfurt, 1695-1701², vol. VII, col. 1229-1338; Amsterdam, 1698³, vol. VIII, second part, "Tractatus ad N.T. pertinentes", col. 151-212. We used our copy of the London edition.

²⁰⁵ See e.g. the expansions of *BAS* registered in the critical apparatus of the present edition on p. 146, l. 692; p. 165, l. 31; p. 184, l. 382; p. 188, l. 423; p. 192, l. 493; p. 196, ll. 555-556; p. 208, l. 756; p. 216, ll. 861-862; p. 236, l. 167.

²⁰⁶ See the critical apparatus on p. 120, l. 240; p. 125, l. 308; p. 156, l. 558; p. 250, l. 401; p. 250, l. 409. For parallels see e.g. *LB IX*, 221 C, 238 D, 347 F, 350 C.

²⁰⁷ See the critical apparatus on p. 70, l. 198 and cf. *Ep.* 403, l. 139. For the meaning of "Asiatica phrasis", cf. *De cop. verb.*, *LB I*, 5 A: "Asianum ac redundantem, nimiaque luxuriantem copia".

²⁰⁸ See the critical apparatus on p. 200, l. 624. For parallels, see *Resp. ad collat. inv. geront.*, *LB IX*, 982 D; *Ep.* 373, ll. 187-188. Cf. *Adag.* 1376, *LB II*, 546 F.

²⁰⁹ See the critical apparatus on p. 109, l. 983.

resp. Iac. Lop. Stun. in *BAS* is authentically Erasmusian. In editing this apologia, the editors of *BAS* must have employed a copy of *B* which had been revised by Erasmus himself with a view to a later edition and contained his manuscript corrections and additions. In 1537 the future editors of *BAS* had indeed announced that for several of Erasmus' works they were able to base their new edition on copies revised by Erasmus himself which they had found in his library after his death.²¹⁰ But up to now the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* is the only work for which this can be proved to be the case. This means that the definitive recension of this work is found in a posthumous edition: *BAS*. For the present edition *BAS* had consequently to be dealt with, not as an incidental, but as a constant witness of the text. All distinctive readings of *BAS* have been registered, therefore, in the critical apparatus.

Unexpected problems presented themselves in connexion with a particular copy of the *Apologiae Omnes* (1522, containing *B*) preserved in the University Library at Cambridge (class-mark Adv. 2. 5. 1, formerly Nn. VI. 24). For a full account of the investigations necessitated by the intricacies with which this copy is bound up, reference may be made to an article specially devoted to the subject.²¹¹ Here it suffices to mention only the main results of the research described there.

The Cambridge copy contains manuscript annotations in three sixteenth-century hands. The first category is certainly in the hand of Erasmus himself and consists of seven corrections of, and additions to, the printed text. The second category is not in Erasmus' hand and consists of an exhaustive registration of the differences between the text of this copy (*B*) and *BAS*. The third category, not in Erasmus' hand, is formed by handwritten aids for the reader, mainly brief summaries and aides-mémoire added in the margins. The last category is text-critically irrelevant and will be left out of further consideration.

Of Erasmus' own corrections and additions, three relate to the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, one to the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, two to the *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei* (one of which is an addition of 95 words),²¹² and one to the *Apolog. in annot. nouas Lei*. These autograph notes of Erasmus have not found their way into subsequent editions of his works, although some of his corrections are so obvious that they have been made independently in *BAS*. The three corrections which Erasmus made in the margins of the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop.*

²¹⁰ *Catalogi duo operum Des. Erasmi Roterodami... Cum praefatione D. Bonifacii Amerbachii Iurecons.* ... Basle, Hier. Frobenius and Nic. Episcopus, 1537, p. 84: "Ex hisce lucubrationibus vniuersis aliquot post obitum eius inter suos libros repperimus locupletatas et recognitas, et ab ipso autore ad nouam aeditionem adornatas". See on this passage C. Reedijk, *Tandem bona causa triumphat. Zur Geschichte des Gesamtwerkes des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel, 16), Basle/Stuttgart, 1980, pp. 32 and 55.

²¹¹ H. J. de Jonge, *Aantekeningen van Erasmus in een exemplaar van zijn Apologiae Omnes (1522)*, Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis 58 (1978), pp. 176-189.

²¹² For the text, as for that of the other marginalia, see the article mentioned in the previous note.

Stun. are by far the least interesting. They will be included in the critical apparatus of this edition, marked with the siglum *M* (*marginalia autographa*); see the apparatus on p. 85, l. 519; p. 89, l. 597; p. 220, l. 932.

The second set of manuscript marginalia, not written by Erasmus but nonetheless dating from the sixteenth century, presented more serious problems. They register quite accurately the textual differences between the printed text of the copy in question (*B*) and the printed text of *BAS*. In other words, nearly everything by which *BAS* distinguishes itself from *B* can be found in the margins of the Cambridge copy. Consequently, it had to be decided whether by any chance these very marginalia had been the source of *BAS*, or if not, whether the marginalia derived from *BAS*, or finally, whether the marginalia and *BAS* were dependent on a common source. The relevance of this problem is obvious. Indeed, if *BAS* had proved to be dependent on the marginalia, the definitive recension of the apologia at issue would not have been available in *BAS*, but in these marginalia and the critical apparatus of the present edition would have had to give the variant readings of the "third edition", not from *BAS*, but from the margins of the Cambridge copy.

A detailed study of this text-critical problem²¹³ has led to the conclusion that *BAS* is not dependent on the marginalia but that, on the contrary, the marginalia constitute the result of a collation of this copy with a copy of *BAS*: the marginalia are dependent on *BAS*. The whole argument need not be repeated here, but it may be useful to mention here some of the grounds on which this conclusion is based.

Firstly, the Cambridge copy bears no signs of having been used as printer's copy. It cannot have been the printer's copy for *BAS*.

Secondly, at *Act.* 4,27 *BAS* has a long addition of about two hundred words. This addition includes, *inter alia*, the sentence "Filius iussu patris condidit omnia". The same addition occurs in the margin of the Cambridge copy, but here the words "patris condidit" are lacking. The result is the meaningless group of words "Filius iussu omnia". Now it is much more probable that the sound text of *BAS* has been corrupted in the Cambridge marginalia through the omission of two words than that the damaged text of the marginalia has been restored in such a brilliant way as to result in the perfect text of *BAS*. Consequently, the marginalia cannot have been the source of *BAS*.

Thirdly, at the end of his refutation of Stunica's remarks concerning *Mc.* 1,2, Erasmus points out that Stunica's side-note (*elenchus*) printed in the margin of his paragraph at issue, reads: "Erasmus talks nonsense". Erasmus' Latin runs as follows: "Et tamen Stunicae in elencho *blaterat Erasmus*". The genitive "Stunicae" looks somewhat strange, but both *A* and *B* read "Stunicae". The writer of the Cambridge marginalia, however, preferred to read a nominative,

²¹³ For the argumentation, see the article mentioned in n. 211 above, pp. 184-187.

“Stunica”, and this is the reading which he noted in the margin. Now *BAS* has the *lectio ardua* “Stunicae”, not the easier reading “Stunica”. It follows that *BAS* is not dependent on the marginal reading of the copy in Cambridge.

Fourthly, it is also improbable that the marginalia and *BAS* depend on a common source. Such a source would necessarily have been a copy of *B*. The writer of the marginalia, however, does not seem to have copied his marginalia from a copy of *B* with exactly the same lay-out as the copy in which he noted the marginalia. For he has made some remarkable mistakes in indicating the places at which certain marginal additions had to be inserted. These mistakes rather betray that the lay-out of the exemplar from which he copied the marginalia was different from that of *B*.

The Cambridge marginalia, then, seem to be the work of some early possessor who, after the appearance of *BAS* (1540), wished to make the text of his 1522 copy²¹⁴ up-to-date by adding in its margins the readings proper to *BAS*. As a result, these marginalia can be excluded from the critical apparatus of the present edition.

Only a few remarks need to be made on the handling of the text in this edition. The main text is basically a recension of *A*, in which all acceptable readings of *A* have been incorporated. In a few cases it was necessary to adopt a reading of *B*, *BAS* or *CS* in the main text in order to restore a corruption in *A* which had not been corrected in *A*. But normally all the rejected readings of *A* and *A* and all the variant readings and additions of *B*, *BAS* and *M* appear in the critical apparatus. Printer's errors and orthographical variants have normally been passed over in silence. They are only mentioned in the apparatus if they make a new (and wrong) sense or occasioned a real textual corruption, or if they seemed notable for some other reason. It follows that the apparatus contains, besides the real editorial changes made by Erasmus in the course of years, some mistakes due to compositors or proofreaders. This is almost inevitable.

The decision to edit *A* as the main text is based on various considerations. The principal reason perhaps deserves to be mentioned here. The *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* belongs to the first stage of Erasmus' controversy with Stunica and Carranza. There were still eleven further works to appear in this polemic. An historically correct understanding of these polemical writings would be thwarted, if they were not read in their original form. It is not sensible, for instance, to read Erasmus' first defence of 1521 in a recension which appeared posthumously in 1540, whereas Carranza in his reaction of 1522 had to reply to

²¹⁴ All in all, then, Erasmus seems to have possessed three copies of *B*, two of which he used as “desk-copies”. After his death two copies were sent to John a Lasco (F. Husner, *Die Bibliothek des Erasmus*, in: *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, Basel, 1936, pp. 228-259, see “Versandliste”, nos. 332 and 383), and one remained at Basle to be used as printer's copy for *BAS*. The copy now at Cambridge can be identical with either of the copies sent to A Lasco, but not with the copy used for *BAS*.

the edition of 1521 and received, in his turn, an answer from Erasmus as early as 1522 (the *Apolog. c. Sanct. Caranz.*). It is the conviction of this editor that, in order to prevent anachronisms and misunderstandings, new editions of the writings exchanged by Stunica, Carranza and Erasmus have to present recensions of the first editions as main texts, and should record later developments of the text in the critical apparatus.

For further details of the editorial policy followed in this edition, particularly as to the seeming inconsistency in orthographical matters, the reader is expressly referred to the General Introduction to the edition (*ASD* I, 1, p. XIX). The specific nature of the present apologia seemed however to require one additional refinement. In an exegetical work such as the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* it often happens that the discussion is concerned with certain words taken by themselves, irrespective of any context. In such cases modern writers would normally place the words in discussion between quotation-marks. Erasmus, however, inserted such words seamlessly in the context of his discourse, so that they form, syntactically, an integral part of his exposition. This sometimes makes it hard to see immediately what he is arguing. The problem cannot be solved by italicizing the words at issue, for italics are reserved for real quotations and not all words which are discussed irrespective of a context occur in a quotation. The solution has been sought in the spacing of the words in question. An example may illustrate the relevance and the use of this proceeding.

Tamen in testamento corruptio est.

Still there is some corruption in the will.

Tamen in testamento corruptio est.

The word *tamen* as occurring in the will, is a corruption.

Tamen in testamento corruptio est.

Still there is some corruption in the word *testamento*.

Tamen in testamento corruptio est.

The letters *-tamen-* of the word *testamento* are corrupt.

From this example it may be plain that, in a highly exegetical work such as the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, the spacing of words can be a useful contribution to a right understanding of the text. Those words, then, which form the object of Erasmus' exegetical reflection rather than being part of his own interpretative reasoning, have been spaced. Needless to say, such spacings can sometimes coincide with italics which mark quotations. This is especially the case at the beginning of each separate section where the discussion is normally opened with a quotation from the Vulgate.

LIST OF THE EDITIONS OF THE APOLOGIA RESPONDENS AD EA QVAE IACOBVS LOPIS
STVNICA TAXAVERAT IN PRIMA DVNTAXAT NOVI TESTAMENTI AEDITIONE UP TO
AND INCLUDING 1540

1. ed. Lou., Theod. Martinus, [Sept. 1521] (NK 2851). (= A) [The ed. Argent. 1521, mentioned by Vander Haeghen, seems to be a ghost-edition.]
2. ed. Bas., Ioa. Frobenius, mense Februario 1522. (= B).
3. ed. Paris., P. Vidouaeus, mense Iulii 1522.
4. ed. Argent., Huld. Morhardus, pridie Cal. Augusti, 1522.
5. ed. Bas. in vol. IX of the *Omnia Opera*, H. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1540. (= BAS).

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

a. testium assidue adhibitorum

- A*: ed. pr., Louanii, Theodoricus Martinus, Sept. 1521 (non commemoratur in *BB*; *NK* 2851).
- A'*: tabula corrigendorum editioni principi *A* addita.
- A**: contextus editionis principis *A* vbi ei opponitur diuersa lectio in *A'*.
- B*: ed. Basileae, Ioa. Frobenius, Febr. 1522 (in corpore quod inscribitur *Apologiae Omnes*).
- BA**S*: ed. Basileae, H. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1540 (in tomo IX *Omnium Operum* Erasmi).
- M*: Marginalia manu ipsius Erasmi scripta ad oram exemplaris *Apologiarum* eius *Omnium* ed. 1522 (*B*), quod nunc in Bibliotheca vniuersitatis Cantabrigiensis asseruatur, signatum Adu. a. 5. 1.

b. testium citatorum quotiens lectiones eorum notabiles videbantur

- CS*: ed. Londini, Jac. Flesher, 1660 (in tomo IX corporis *Criticorum sacrorum*, ed. J. Pearson et al.).
- LB*: ed. Lugd. Batauorum, Petrus vander Aa, 1706 (in tomo IX *Omnium Operum* Erasmi).

APOLOGIA RESPONDENS AD EA QVAE IN NOVO TESTAMENTO TAXAVERAT IACOBVS LOPIS STVNICA

*Quis leget haec? Min' tu istud ais? Nemo hercule. Nemo?
Vel duo, vel nemo.*

Scio protinus dices, optime lector: quid isthuc noui prooemii? Nimirum hoc potissimum e satyra Persiana mihi veniebat in mentem, cum instigantibus amicis adornarem respondere libro Iacobi Štunicae, quo taxat locos aliquot in quibus cessatum putauit a nobis in editione Noui Testamenti prima. Quis enim adeo feriatu est, vt huiusmodi rixas libeat legere? Quod si nunc reperiatur vnus aut alter qui studio partium his admouere velint oculos et animum, certe posteritas haec aut nesciet, aut contemnet. Feruebant olim Laurentii Vallae,

1 APOLOGIA *scripsi breuiter*: APOLOGIA
ERASMI ROTERODAMI, A B, DES.

ERASMI ROT. APOLOGIA B.A.S.

3-4 Pers. I, 2-3.

6-7 *instigantibus amicis* "I am writing at the instance of friends" is a proemial topos used by classical and mediaeval authors to avoid the suspicion of immodesty and to dispose the reader to benevolence. E.R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern/München, 1969⁷, pp. 94-95, refers to Cic. *Brut.* 1, 1, Verg. *Georg.* III, 41 and Plin. *Epist.* I, 1. Many more examples are mentioned by T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces*, Stockholm, 1964, pp. 53-54, 116-120. From mediaeval literature, the 13th-century prologue to the Liège *Diatessaron* may be quoted: "Once I was asked by a dear friend of mine that I should draw the Gospel out of Latin into the Dutch language ..." (*Diatessaron Leodiense*, ed. C.C. de Bruin, Leiden, 1970, p. 3). Er. used this exordial commonplace rather frequently, e.g. *Orat. de pace*, LB VIII, 545 E, *Apolog. c. Iac. Latomi dialog.*, LB IX, 79 C, *Apolog. resp. inuect.* Ed. Lei, LB IX, 123-124, *Rat. ver. theol.*, LB V, 75 (Holborn, p. 177), *De lib. arbitr.*, LB IX, 1215 A, *Eccles.*, preface, Ep. 3036, ll. 6, 10-11, 17,

27-28, cf. Ep. I, p. 34, l. 22. See also Ep. 936, l. 46: "Decreueram ... non respondere libello, sed vicit amicorum sententia". In the case of *De lib. arbitr.* the topos can be shown to correspond to historical reality; cf. Ep. 1180 from Leo X, Ep. 1213 from P. Bombasius, and Epp. 1269 and 1270 from the imperial side. See also Ep. I, p. 27, ll. 7-8 and p. 35, ll. 11-20.

11-13 *Vallae ... cum Poggio digladiationes* In 1452 and 1453 Poggio Bracciolini, then papal secretary, and Valla, apostolic scribe, both at Rome at that time, exchanged a series of singularly vehement invectives. The polemic broke out after a copy of Poggio's letters provided with numerous manuscript notes by a pupil of Valla, Rosius, censuring Poggio's style as barbarous, had fallen into Poggio's hands. Though the conflict originated from a difference in estimation of classical authors and disagreement on stylistic matters, it was nourished by envy, hatred and self-complacency from both sides, and soon degenerated into a violent polemic in which accusations of heresy, sacrilege and immo-

hominis (quod negari non potest) eruditi iuxta ac facundi, cum Poggio digladiationes. Huius Elegantias pene solas habemus in manibus, neque quicquam magis hodie friget apud nos quam in quo illi tum maxime calebant.

15 Quoties autem contemplor animo, quam brevis ac fugax sit haec vita, deinde quam huius exigua portio mihi supersit, vehementer molestum est in huiusmodi naeniis rei multo omnium cum pretiosissimae, tum irreparabilis facere iacturam, vt interim omittam, quod dum huiusmodi rixis in vicem incessimus et incessimur, perit illa tranquillitas animi christiani, perit dulcedo studiorum, 20 perit et fructus compluribus ab his studiis alienatis.

Ego vero Stunicae gratiam etiam haberem, si in publicam vtilitatem contulisset quod a nobis esset praetermissum, aut emendasset in quo nos lapsi fuisset, quam ad rem inuitauimus etiam eruditos in editione prima, quam ne tum quidem dissimulauimus esse plus satis praecipitem ac tumultuariam; si 25 modo sic vtilitatem hanc attulisset studiis, vt ipse viri modesti aequique laudem retulisset. Nunc talis est liber, vt si detrahas conuicia quibus me nunc flagellat, nunc | deridet, si praefationes et perorationes in me detortas, si LB 284 sannas et scommata quibus scurram agit verius quam theologum, haud multum superfuturum sit voluminis. Atque vtinam Stunica, quisquis est, non 30 magis obtemperasset vel animo suo, vel quorundam instinctibus, quam prudenti pariter et amico consilio reuerendi domini cardinalis Toletani, eius cui noster successit Croius, iuuenis seni, sed dignus qui in ea dignitate

17 multo omnium cum *A B*: cum multo omnium *BAS*.

20 fructus *A*: fructus bona pars *B BAS*.

31 Toletani, eius *A*: Toletani, Francisci Cisnerii, *B BAS*.

32 Croius *A*: Guilhelmus Croius *B BAS*.

rality were not shunned. Poggio wrote five *Inuictiuae in Vallam* (*Opera*, Basle, 1538, repr. Torino, 1964, pp. 188–251), Valla answered with four books *Antidotum in Poggium* and two *In Poggium libelli in dialogo conscripti* (*Opera*, Basle, 1540, repr. Torino, 1962, I, pp. 249–366). See E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke*, Leipzig/Berlin, 1914, pp. 272–277; S.I. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, Firenze, 1972, pp. 311–403; A. Wesseling, *Lorenzo Valla. Antidotum Primum*, RLN 4, Assen/Amsterdam, 1978, pp. 25–39. An essential element in the discussion is Valla's defence of his right to subject the Vulgate to his philological criticism. After C. Gerard had mentioned the conflict of Poggio and Valla in Ep. 24 of 1489, Er. gave his opinion of both opponents taking positively Valla's part (Ep. 26, ll. 44–67). In 1505, Er. again compared Poggio very unfavourably with Valla, in his introduction to the latter's annotations

on the N.T. (Ep. 182, ll. 86–94).

15 *quam brevis ac fugax sit haec vita* Cf. Plaut. *Most.* 726: “Vita quam sit brevis, cogita” and Otto 1916. The commonplace is of particularly frequent occurrence in Er.; see, e.g., *De pueris*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 24, ll. 17–18: “si cogitaris quam ... sit fugax hominum vita”; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 57E (Holborn, p. 122): “Perpende ... quam sit haec vita fumo fugacior”; *Inst. princ. christ.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 218, l. 588: “Quam fugax quam brevis ... est hominum vita”; *De praep. ad mort.*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 354, ll. 313–314: “expende totius aevi quod hic agimus breuitatem”; *Adag.* 1948 (*LB* II, 500A–503A): “Homo bulla. Proverbum hoc admonet humana vita nihil esse fragilius, nihil fugacius”; *Adag.* 2963 (*ASD* II, 6, p. 570): “Vita mortalium brevis”; Ep. 1137, l. 43: “magna celeritate vita nostra auolat”; Ep. 1400, ll. 44–45: “Quid hac nostra vita fragilius, quid breuius ...?”.

16 *exigua portio* As early as 1514 Er. wrote

that if he returned to Steyn, he would be there no more than a grey "senex", Ep. 296, l. 209. In 1517, at the age of c. 45 to 48, he looked for an abode for his "senectuti ... iam vrgenti", Ep. 596, ll. 3-4, and sighed: "si modo detur adhuc vnum annum superesse", Ep. 649, ll. 13-14. The preparation of the second ed. of the N.T. precipitated his "senium", he believed, Epp. 745, l. 30; 757, l. 23 sqq.; "Indies accedit senium", Ep. 780, ll. 16-17. In 1518 Er. felt that he was a "senex", Ep. 844, l. 266, and "morti proximus", Ep. 888, l. 9. Immediately after the completion of the present apologia Er. wrote: "Si mihi contingit adhuc tres aut quatuor annos viuere", Ep. 1236, ll. 122-123. Dürer wrote in 1521: "O Erasme ..., ich hab von dir gehört, das du dir selbst noch 2 jahr zugeben hast", *Tagebuch der Reise in die Niederlande*, ed. F. Leitschuh, Leipzig, 1884, p. 84. After his return to Basle in 1521, Er.' ill-health made him fear for his life, Ep. 1248, l. 11. In 1523 Er. felt that death "mihi sane procul abesse non potest", *Spongia*, ASD IX, 1, p. 170, ll. 91-92.

17 *rei ... pretiosissimae* A periphrasis inspired by the words τὸ πολυτελέστατον ἀνάλωμα τὸν χρόνον of Antiphon the sophist quoted by Plut. *Vita Antonii* 28, but ascribed by Er. to Democritus and to Theophrastus (*Apophth.*, LB IV, 348 B and 339 F), not to Thales, as wrongly stated in ASD I, 3, p. 638, n.l. 38. See also *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 174, l. 1605: "rei vt multo preciosissimae, ita irrecuperabilis" and *Eccles.*, LB V, 812 D: "tempus ... sumptus, vt quidam dixit, preciosissimus". The designation of "tempus" as "res omnium pretiosissima" by Sen. *Brev. vit.* 8, 1 is perhaps related as well; for the idea, cf. Sen. *Epist.* 1.

19 *tranquillitas animi* Cicero's translation (*Off.* I, 20, 69) of the term ἀταραξία which Panaetius preferred to ἀπάθεια to denote the philosophic ideal of freedom from emotions (M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, Göttingen, 1980⁵, II, p. 140). Seneca (*De tranquillitate animi* 2, 3) used the same Latin term to render εὐθυμία. Ἀταραξία had been an ideal of Greek philosophy since Democritus, in particular of the Stoa, but also of Epicurus (Diog. Laert. X, 128) and of Sceptics like Pyrrho (id. IX, 68). Er. was well aware of the philosophic implications of the term, witness his words "simulatque ... consenuerunt affectus, ... exoritur ... tranquillitas animi" (*Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 50), though he uses *tranquillitas*

animi also in the sense of "good (clear) conscience" (*ibid.*, p. 119 and *Apophth.*, LB IV, 337 C). See for the history of the concept of ἀταραξία: P. Wilpert, in: RAC I, pp. 844-854, and for Er.' concept of "tranquillitas animi": Epp. 858, l. 34; 1211, l. 180; *Spongia*, ASD IX, 1, p. 170, ll. 93-94: "tranquillitas animi christiani".

dulcedo studiorum The expression occurs in Val. Max. I, 8, ext. 2; Amm. Marc. XVIII, 6, 29; and Hier. *Epist.* 60, 3: "quis crederet ... illum ... luctante anima studiorum scire dulcedinem?". The idea that polemics do damage to the cause of the *bona studia* is a commonplace in Er.' Apologies: LB IX, 79 C, 201 A, 432 B. In 1519 Er. complained to Leo X "contentionibus labefactari tranquillitatem studiorum", and asked the pope to see that "studiis sua reddatur tranquillitas", Ep. 1007, ll. 86-87, 113. Cf. Ep. 1134, ll. 13-14 and especially Ep. 1235, ll. 37-39: "... interim perit illa serenitas Christianae mentis, et vulgus studiosorum alienatur a sacris literis".

23 *inuitauimus* In the *Apologia*, LB VI, fo^o *2 r^o, ll. 45-52; Holborn, p. 165, ll. 12-25.

24 *tum ... tumultuariam* Ep. 402, l. 1: "N.T. praecipitatum est verius quam aeditum" (April 1516); Ep. 411, ll. 1-2: "sex annorum operas octo mensibus praestitit"; Ep. 417, l. 2: "Aeditum est pro temporis angustia satis accurate" (June 1516); Ep. 421, ll. 46-70 (details of the precipitate printing); Ep. 694, l. 18: "N.T. ... praecipitatum fuit verius quam aeditum" (Nov. 1517). "Praecipitatum verius quam aeditum" became a stock expression of Er., see, e.g., *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, LB IX, 282 E.

31-39 *consilio ... opus* The whole passage bears a close resemblance to Ep. 1216, ll. 16-22.

31 *cardinalis* Ximénez (1436-1517), archbishop of Toledo from 1495, and as such primate of Spain, most influential in political matters. In 1500 he founded the university of Alcalá (opened 1508). His chief title to fame is the Complutensian Polyglot. Before May 1517 he invited Er. to accept a post at Alcalá (Ep. 582, l. 9). Er. always spoke of him with great respect. C.J. Hefele, *Der Cardinal Ximenez*, Tübingen, 1853²; ODCC, s.v. Ximénez; P.S. Rodriguez, *La siembra mística del cardenal Cisneros y las reformas en la iglesia*, Madrid, 1979 (pp. 112-147: bibliography).

32 *Croius* William Croij Jr. (c. 1498-6 Jan. 1521). As a son of Henry Croij, count of

consenesceret. Siquidem audio virum optimum, vbi vidisset quae moliebatur
 in me Stunica, dedisse consilium plane christianum, vt prius opus ad me
 35 mitteret quam euulgaret, quod si responsione satisfacerem, magis in rem ipsius
 fore premi librum quam euulgari. Sin autem respondere grauarer, aut proterue
 indocteu responderem, publicaret suas vigilias bonis auibus, meque neglecto
 veritati patrocinaretur. At ille statim a morte cardinalis typographis tradit
 opus me ne per litteras quidem admonito, non dubito quin impulsu quorun-
 40 dam qui male feriat ex huiusmodi gladiatorii conflictationibus eruditorum
 voluptatem non minus foedam quam crudelem capere gaudent. Neque enim
 mihi persuadere possum generosos ac bene natos animos tantum odii in
 quenquam posse concipere, a quo nunquam sint lesi. Nam, vt apparet, Stunica
 LB 285 sese numerari postulat inter eos, | qui generis claritatem cum eruditionis gloria
 45 copularunt. Quod si gloriae cupiditas stimulabat hominem, affectus non
 omnino pudendus, praesertim homini prophano, ea contigisset multo plausibili-
 or, si famam auspicari maluisset ab opere quod cum nullius infamia fuisset
 coniunctum, aut certe quod eruditionis eminentiam modestiae commendatione
 condecorasset. Nunc quam non amica, quam atrox praefatio, quae quot
 50 constat verbis tot pene habet conuicia, nusquam non spirans mirum quendam
 Erasmi Bataui contemptum.

Sperabat, opinor, homo suavis fore vt lector hospes crederet eximium
 aliquem heroa delapsum e coelo, vel in hoc magis reuixisse Geryonem illum
 pro tricorpore trilinguem, qui magis contemneret Erasmus quam culicem
 55 elephantus Indicus, non animaduertens interim longe facilius esse contemnere
 quam vincere, ridere quam refellere. Quid alii mihi tribuant, nobis in manu
 non est; certe mihi quam minimum sumo. Quid possim libris declarau; frustra
 nitar, si studeam alius haberi quam sum. Ego vt mihi nihil vnquam insigne
 vindicaui, ita Stunicae laudibus adeo nihil detraham, vt cupiam conduplicatum
 60 etiam quod sibi liberalissime tribuit, in me tam parcus ac malignus, vt nudo,
 quod aiunt, etiam vestimenta detrahat, nihil non adimens infelici Batauo:
 ingenium, memoriam, curam, iudicium, eruditionem, lectionem et intellectum
 sacrorum voluminum, peritiam linguarum omnium, elegantiam, denique
 grammatices etiam Latinae scientiam. Nec haec contentus dixisse semel,

38 patrocinaretur *A*: patrocinaretur. Si-
 quidem Stunica quum forte reperisset op-
 timum virum prae manibus habentem a
 nobis recognitum Nouum Testamentum,
 demirari coepit, quod talibus nugis ad-
 moueret oculos, librum scaterere mendis ac
 erroribus prodigiosis. Hic cardinalis homi-
 nis petulantiam graui dicto castigauit, vt
 referunt optimae fidei quidam qui tum
 cardinali aderant, 'vtinam', inquires, 'sic

prophetent omnes, tu si potes adfer meliora,
 ne damna alienam industriam'. Proinde
 viuo cardinale pressit libellum suum male-
 dicum, qui vtinam tum prodisset, non dubi-
 to quin et ieunior et indoctior quam nunc
 est. *B BAS*.

40 eruditorum *A B*: *add.* inter ipsos *BAS*.

46 prophano *A*: prophano, vt arbitror *B*
BAS.

Porcian, and a nephew of the statesman

William Croy (1458-1521), the governor to

- Prince Charles, William Jr. belonged to one of the most powerful noble families in Spain at the time. In 1517, at the age of 20, he became cardinal-archbishop of Toledo, in succession to Ximénez. The letters he and Er. exchanged in 1519 bespeak a growing friendship. They probably got acquainted with each other at Louvain in 1520 (Ep. 1071, ll. 3-4). In Febr. 1521 Er. had heard of his death (Ep. 1184, l. 3). Allen, introd. Ep. 647.
- 33 *audio* Evidently from Vergara who met Er. at Bruges c. 25-29 July 1520 and at Louvain early in Aug. 1520; see Vergara's letter to Stunica in Allen, vol. IV, p. 624, ll. 47-60, and cf. Ep. 1128, l. 4 and ch. IV of our Introd., p. 44.
- 37 *bonis auibus* *Adag.* 75 (LB II, 57C). In several variations this is a phrase of frequent occurrence in Er. It means sometimes (as here) "spe boni successus", e.g. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 440, l. 75 (see the n., to which may be added *Ov. Met.* XV, 640; *Fast.* I, 513), sometimes simply "feliciter", e.g. Ep. 715, l. 14; Ep. 1292, l. 4.
- 38 *patrocinaretur* In the long addition made in B "quidam" refers to Vergara. Ximénez' words seem to allude to *Num.* 11,29. *statim* Incorrect. Ximénez died in 1517, Stun.'s *Ann. c. Er.* were printed in 1520. The same mistake in Ep. 1216, l. 21.
- 39-40 *impulsu quorundam* Cf. Ep. 1216, ll. 15-16: "nisi adsit improbus aliquis instigator". This insinuation is among the most stereotyped elements in Er.'s defences against critics of his N.T. He used it against Dorpius (Epp. 1225, ll. 25-26; 539, ll. 1-4), Lefèvre d'Étaples (Epp. 707, ll. 25-26; 766, l. 10; 768, ll. 18-24; 778, ll. 262-263); Lee (Epp. 886, l. 59; 993, l. 26); Stunica (*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ad Act.* 4,27, p. 142, ll. 639-641 below; *ibid., ad Rom.* 11,11, p. 174, l. 188 below; Ep. 1416, ll. 19-20) and several others. The point of the *scripsit-alieno-instinctu* topos is to represent the opponent's attack as so base or inferior that it is unimaginable that he is himself responsible for it. The effect is a sort of disqualification (and as a result, intimidation) of the opponent.
- 40-41 *conflictationibus ... gaudent* This too is a stock argument in Er.'s defence against his assailants: the illiterate (monks, scholastics etc.) take pleasure in the quarrels of the erudite and seize them as an occasion to ridicule the *bona studia*; see e.g. Epp. 814, ll. 9-21; 855, ll. 55-56. By means of this topos Er. suggests that his adversaries endanger the cause of the *bonae litterae* and had better kept silence.
- 41-43 *Neque ... concipere* Ep. 1216, ll. 13-14.
- 43 *apparet* From information given to him by Vergara, as the latter pointed out to Stun.; see his letter in Allen, vol. IV, p. 623, ll. 33-34. Cf. Ep. 1216, ll. 14-15 and our Introduction, p. 13, with n. 51.
- 45 *gloriae cupiditas* From his side, Stun. had accused Er. of "laudis cupiditas", right away in the preface to his *Ann. c. Er.* and most emphatically in his paragraph on *Rom.* 12,6.
- 45-46 *non ... pudendus* That *gloriae cupiditas* is not in itself a vice, but can serve the virtue of justice, is argued by, e.g., *Cic. Off.* I, 8, 26 and esp. II, 10, 31-51: "gloria et quaerenda et collocanda ratione est" (II, 10, 42).
- 49-50 *quot ... conuicia* Ep. 1216, ll. 52-53. Cf. Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium* 18 (on Tertullian's style): "quot paene verba, tot sententiae".
- 51 *contemptum* Stun.'s preface breathes unrestrained disdain for Er., but Er. is not yet ridiculed here for being a *Batauus*. Such derision followed in the paragraphs on *Act.* 16,11; 25,24 and *Gal.* 3,8.
- 53 *Geryonem* The triple bodied monster who reigned over an island in the extreme west; Heracles had to steal his cattle and did so after killing him. The comparison was probably not suggested by the fact that Geryon's kingdom was often located in Spain (Hdt. IV, 8; Diod. IV, 18), but simply by Stun.'s *eruditio trilinguis*, just as when Er. compared the German Capito with Geryon (Ep. 541, l. 127), whereas he compared the Englishman Warham with Geryon for his three functions of primate, chancellor and maecenas (*Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 903 F).
- 54-55 *culicem ... Indicus* Κώνωπος ἑλέφας Ἴνδός οὐκ ἀλεγιῖζει, Leutsch-Schneidewin II, p. 495. "Culicem elephanti conferre", *Adag.* 2027, ASD II, 5, pp. 55-56. Cf. Ep. 175, ll. 4-5.
- 59-64 *laudibus ... scientiam* The sentence agrees, often verbally, with Ep. 1216, ll. 3-7.
- 60-61 *nudo ... detrahat* Plaut. *Asin.* 1, 1, 92; *Adag.* 376, LB II, 175 A. Otto 1250.
- 62-64 *ingenium ... scientiam* In the course of his work Stun. had indeed denied Er., or questioned, now this now another of all these qualities.
- 64-65 *Nec ... praeftatiunculas* Cf. Ep. 1216, ll. 52-54.

65 repetit identidem ad singulas pene annotationes, addit nouas praefatiunculas, addit epiphonemata aliquid aloes habentia, interim non optime sentire visus de
 70 lectore, quem putet toties iam inculcata non meminisse. Atque interim mire festiuis sibi videtur, dum me ludos facit, dum versat ac voluit Atticis, vt ipsi videtur, salibus. Mihi certe voluptati est et apud Hispanos efflorescere linguas
 75 ac bonas litteras. Ac de Stunicae quidem ingenio satis ampliter mihi promitto, bonaque spes est illum post hac rectius vsurum ingenio suo, litteris, chartis et ocio. Sed vereor ne suo vicio non tam opimam gloriam referat ex his studii sui primitiis quam sibi videtur polliceri. Siquidem vt persuadeat se linguis ac litteris omnibus, se sagaci iudicio, perspicaci ingenio, se longa diligentique
 80 veterum euolutione, se lexicis admirandis et alienis annotationibus affatim instructum, *optime* nosse quid *sit deferendum* interpreti, *me heri ac nudius tertius attigisse* sacros libros, me in his ne verbum quidem intelligere, qui ante annos viginti scripserim Enchiridion, a doctissimis etiam theologis comprobatum, certe tale quod declaret me et olim legisse nonnihil in sacris voluminibus,
 85 quique in hoc Annotationum opere, quod ipse vere tumultuarium appellat, tantum e diuersis et Graecis et Latinis scriptoribus adferam testimoniorum, quis hoc illi crediturus est, quod (vti scribit) *hoc opus* susceperit non villo *maledicendi* studio, sed animo defecato prorsusque ab omni contentione alieno, cum totum opus nihil aliud spiret quam contemptum et odium mei? Nam

Taxandi, subsannandi, lacerandi, calumniandi, deprauandi nullus est neque modus, neque finis. Atqui quum fieri non possit quin in magno opere permulta sint quae calculum album mereantur, tantum abest vt quicquam probet Stunica, vt saepe deprauet quae sunt simplicissime dicta, e friuolis gerris
 90 atroces excitans tragoedias. Quod genus est illud. Obiter nominaram Neapolim *quam nunc in Italia occupant Hispani*. Hic me propemodum lesae maiestatis reum peragit, qui Caesari adimam *ius haereditarium*, quod Hispanis impingam tyrannidem non ob aliud nisi quod *occupant* vsurparim pro tenent. Rursus cum innoxio cauillo dixissem apud Paulum *Hispaniam* fraudari *prima*
 95 *syllaba*, quod illic legatur *Σπανία*, non *Ἰσπανία*, cum ipsi soleant in similibus vocibus de suo *addere*, *dicentes especto pro spectro*, *μᾶλα τραγικῶς* vociferatur me
 LB 286 totam | gentem Hispanicam criminari inscitiae. Proinde opinor Stunicam eum esse qui possit e parua ciuitate maximam reddere, cui nihil tam exile est quod non in immensum exaggeret. Sicubi non videor illi satis excussisse quid
 100 senserit Hieronymus, illico clamat me *nihil prorsus intelligere*, nec in Hieronymo, nec in vllis autoribus. Sicubi Graecam vocem aliquanto secius interpretor quam ipsi videatur, rideor et prorsus ignarus sum Graecae literaturae. Et alicubi *prorsus* adimit cognitionem *Latinae* grammatices, qui non probarim retinere positum pro meminisse. Quod adhuc nec ipse Stunica potuit ex villo

74 diligentique *A'*: diligenti *A**, ac diligenti 101 secius *A B*: secus *BAS*.
B BAS.

- 66 *aloes* A metaphor for bitterness. Cf. "Plus aloes quam mellis habet", Iuv. VI, 181; *Adag.* 766, LB II, 323 D.
- 68-69 *Atticis ... salibus* Witticisms. Otto 201; Häussler, pp. 96, 137. Cf. "Lepos Atticus", *Adag.* 157, LB II, 92 D.
- 69 84 *Mihi ... mei?* This passage agrees, often verbally, with Ep. 1216, ll. 25-40.
- 73 *primitiis* Stun.'s real "primitiae" were his *Annotationes contra Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem* (1519), not his *Ann. c. Er.* (1520). The same mistake on p. 228, ll. 28-29 below.
- 73-76 *se ... interpreti* Cf. Stun.'s preface: "Cum praesertim, si quisquam alius, et nos quoque his de rebus nostro quodam iure iudicium ferre possimus. Quippe qui non paucos annos in S. Scripturis V. ac N. Testamenti Hebraice, Graece et Latine perlegendis consumpserimus, ac Hebraica Graecaque ipsa diuinarum literarum exemplaria cum antiquissimis Latinorum codicibus diligentissime contulerimus. Longa igitur lectione ac experientia iam pridem edocti, quantum tralationi huic ecclesiasticae N. Testamenti deferendum sit, nisi fallor, noui optime". (See our Introduction, n. 67.)
- 75 *lexicis ... annotationibus* Stun. had made use of Antonius Nebrissensis' *Tertia Quinquagena* (Alcalá, 1516), a work consisting of critical notes on the bible (see Stun. *ad Mc.* 5,42; *Iob.* 5,2), of Hesychius' lexicon and Pollux' *Onomasticon* (see Stun. *ad Iob.* 12,3; *Act.* 19,35). He also refers to Ambrosius Calepinus' Latin dictionary (*ad Col.* 1,2), to Nebrija's Latin lexicon (*ad Rom.* 15,24), to Moschopoulos' *De nominibus Atticis* (*ad Rom.* 12,6) and to Pablo Coronel's Hebrew-Latin onomasticon of the O.T. and N.T. and his Hebrew-Latin vocabulary of the O.T. (*ad Hebr.* 7,2), both included in vol. VI of the Complutensian Polyglot. Er.' words betray the disdain of the true scholar who thinks it beneath his dignity to use dictionaries; cf. J.J. Scaliger (c. 1605): "Jamais je ne me suis servi de Lexicon que d'un simple, non pour y chercher les mots, mais pour y mettre ce que je lisois", *Scaligerana*, Amsterdam, 1740, p. 349.
- 76-77 *heri ... attigisse* Stun. *ad Mt.* 8,29: [Er. S. Scripturas] "ab heri et nudius tertius videtur attigisse".
- 77 *me ... intelligere* In his preface Stun. had claimed that Er. in his *Annot. in NT* "ob imperitiam ac praeposterum ... intellectum hallucinatus est".
- 78 *Enchiridion* The *Enchir.*, begun and completed in 1501, was first published in 1503; see Allen, introd. Ep. 164.
- 80 *appellat* I cannot find the passage in Stun., unless the reference is to such passages as those in which Stun. reproaches Er. that his work was only based on a "lectio tumultuaria" of the Fathers (*ad Mt.* 1,23; *Gal.* 3,1; 6,2) and on "tumultuary information" from Oecolampadius (*ad Mc.* 10,46).
- 82 *scribit* In his preface: "Neque velimet aliquis nos ad hoc opus maledicendi gratia deuenisse".
- 83 *animo defecato* "Serenely". Cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 1, 2, 1.
- 88 *calculus albus* "Approval". *Adag.* 453, LB II, 202 B; Otto 300; *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 1096 F.
- 90 *nominarum* *Annot. in NT, ad Act.* 16,11. Er. quoted the same example in Ep. 1216, l. 44. Stun. replied, *inter alia*: "Neapolim ... hereditario iure ... Hispani hodie possident".
- 94 *dixissem* *Annot. in NT, ad Rom.* 15,24. Cf. Ep. 1216, ll. 44-45. Stun. replied, *inter alia*: "Hispanos taxat imperitiae cum *espero* pro *spero* ... scribere illos dicat". *apud Paulum Rom.* 15,24.
- 98 *e parua ... reddere* I cannot find the phrase in *Adag.*, Du Cange, Forcellini, Otto, *Tb.L.L.*, Walther, nor in other dictionaries.
- 100 *clamat* Stun. *ad 1 Cor.* 4,3: "nihil ... eorum quae apud D. Hieronymum et alios ecclesiae doctores legit prorsus intelligit". Cf. Ep. 1216, l. 34.
- 102 *rideor* See e.g. Stun. *ad Eph.* 2,14: "Soleo profecto non paruo perfundi risu cum in has Erasmi elegantias incido ..."; *ad Pbil.* 3,5: "Non potui, ita me Deus amet, Erasmicam istam annotationem legens a risu temperare". *ignarus sum Graecae*... Stun. *ad Iob.* 12,3: "... vt Er. ex Graecae linguae imperitia suspicatus est". In his *Annot. on Rom.* 5,13 Stun. speaks of Er. as "ille tam stupidus tamque Graecae imperitus linguae"; cf. *ad Hebr.* 2,1: "Quisquis in Graecis literis vel mediocriter fuerit eruditus, facile intelligit in Graeco sic esse vt vetus interpretes traduxit, non vt Er. paraphrastes".
- 103 *alicubi* Stun. *ad 2 Thess.* 2,5: "O stultum hominem Erasmum istum Roterodamum et Latinae linguae prorsus ignarum".
- 104 *retinere ... meminisse* Er. had sharply criticized the phrase "non retinetis" in 2 *Thess.* 2,5 Vg. as a mistranslation of οὐ μνημονεύετε, because good Latin authors had not used "retinere" (without a word for memo-

105 Latino autore proferre, tota secula versatus in euoluendis optimis quibusque scriptoribus. Quin alicubi geminae haereseos suspicionem mihi conatur impingere, vbi ne tantulum quidem erat occasionis. Apollinaristarum, quod Vallam citarim autorem, qui negarit serui nomen in Christum congruere quatenus fuit homo, sed quatenus vt nocens affectus est supplicio, cum huius
 110 sententiae sit et Ambrosius et Chrysostomus. Praeterea Arianorum, qui dixerim Christum subditum fuisse Patri, sed vt filium, non vt seruum, hoc est, charitate et sponte, non metu. Quod quam impudenter et indocte faciat, suo docebimus loco. Exprobrat identidem Hebraici sermonis inscitiam, cum ego simpliciter vbique fatear me rudem eius literaturae. Alioqui quur non eadem
 115 opera exprobrat quod alas non habeam? Clamat me mihi Hieronymum delegisse quicum *monomachiam exerceam*, quod alicubi ab eo reuerenter dissentiam, cum nemini sit obscurum quantum vbique deferam Hieronymo. Exprobrat mihi Theseum Oecolampadium, quem alicubi nescio cur nuper a me confictum dicat. Atqui is vir est nulla in parte Stunicae contemnendus, nisi
 120 forte hoc vno nomine quod Germanus est, quemadmodum mea pro nihilo ducit quod Batauus sim. In Hebraeis fere sequebamur autoritatem Hieronymi. Et loco commonstrato Hebraea asscripsit Oecolampadius, tum voces admodum paucas admiscuit. Poteram hoc laudis suffurari, et iam illo pro suo candore mihi libenter cessuro; at ego malim illi aliquid meae laudis cedere
 125 quam alienae laudis esse furunculus. Et hunc candorem, hanc modestiam, hanc ingenuitatem naso suspendit Stunica. Oecolampadius satis idoneus est qui sua tueatur aduersus Stunicam; et tamen si quid forte lapsus fuisset, iniquum fuerat alienos lapsus mihi impingere. Atque adeo si quid illum offendit in libris Hieronymi quos aediderunt Amorbachii, mauult in me
 130 coniiicere quam in illos qui se profitentur aeditionis autores.

Imo si quid erratum est ab operis typographicis, id quod vitari non potest etiamsi Argum admoueris castigatorem, totum imputat mihi. Mihi sane vehementer impudens viderer, si Stunicae tribuam quod toties in eius opere legitur *occiari*, *Batauus*, aliaque id genus, quae tamen adeo frequenter sunt
 135 obuia, vt aegre credas accidisse casu. Atque ex huiusmodi gerris dictu mirum quos moueat tumultus, quam in me debacchetur, cum ipse tam immitis censor

129 Amorbachii *A B*: Amerbachii *B.A.S.*

134 Batauus *A* B B.A.S.*: Batauus *A' mire errans.*

ry present) in the sense of "to recollect". Er. himself translated "An non meministis".

105-106 *tota ... scriptoribus* Allusion to Stun.'s words quoted on p. 65, n.ll. 73-76.

106 *alicubi Ad Act. 4,27.*

107-110 *Apollinaristarum ... Arianorum* At *Act. 4,27* the Vg. reads "aduersus sanctum puerum tuum Iesum" for ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν. Following a suggestion of

Valla, Er. had argued that "puerum" in the sense of "slave" or "servant" was an incorrect translation here, since it was not as God's servant, but as his Son that Christ came to bring salvation. In his response Stun. had written: "Viderit Er. ..., ne, cum dixit *serui* appellationem in Christum non conuenire, in Apollinaristarum errorem inciderit". The heresy at issue consisted, ac-

- cording to Stun., in denying "quod ... Christus pro nobis seruitutem suscepisset in corporis humani susceptione". Apollinarius (c. 310-390) taught that Christ lacked complete manhood (cf. *ODCC, s.v.*). Moreover, in reply to Er.' assertion that Christ had obeyed the Father as his Son, not as his servant, Stun. had written: "videndum est etiam ne [id] Arium redoleat". For, according to the orthodox view, the Son is equal to the Father, so he can only have obeyed the Father as his servant, not as his Son. Arius (c. 250-336) denied the true divinity of Christ and his coequality with God (cf. *ODCC, s.v.*). Obviously Stun. believed that, were the Son said to have obeyed the Father, then the Son would be made subordinate—and thus unequal—to God. This would almost amount to Arianism.
- 113 *Hebraici ... inscitiam* E.g. *ad Mt.* 21,42: "Hebraicae linguae ignorantia Erasmus saepissime in errores inexplicabiles pertrahit". Similar allegations *passim* in Stun.
- 114 *vbique* E.g. in the prefatory letter to the *Annot. in NT*, i.e. Ep. 373, ll. 75-76, a passage referred to by Stun. *ad Mt.* 1,6: "se Hebraice nescire in prologo Annotationum ingenue fassus est".
- 115 *Clamat* Stun. *ad Mt.* 26,31: "... oportebat, si quid a Hieronymo non bene dictum alicubi videbatur, Erasmus ... non hunc prae caeteris sanctis doctoribus eligere cum quo μονομαχίαν ex professo exerceret".
- 118 *Theseum Oecolampadium* In the preface to the *Annot. in NT* (Ep. 373, ll. 69-75) Er. had acknowledged the help he had received from Oecolampadius in matters of Semitic philology. He had dealt with that side of the work "οὐκ ἔνευ Θησέως, vt Graecorum habet prouerbium" (Leutsch-Schneidewin I, p. 132; not in *Adag.*, but often in Epp., e.g. 334, l. 127; 741, ll. 5-8). In his *Ann. c. Er.* Stun. repeatedly sneers at Oecolampadius, e.g. *ad Mc.* 10,46: "Soleo profecto quoties Annotationes Erasmi lego, in quibus ea pertractat quae ad Hebraicam Chaldaicamue linguam attinent, in cachinnos pene solui; adeo interdum imperite, ne dixerim ridicule, quae a suo Theseo Oecolampadio tumultuarie edoctus est, in medium profert". See also Ep. 1216, ll. 41-42.
- 118-119 *alicubi ... dicat* Here Er. perpetrates a blunder. In his note on *Lc.* 16,20 Stun. had written: "Lazarus ... non a Lazariabu, inaudito hactenus nomine, et ab Oecolampadio Theseo nunc primum conficto, sed ab Eleazaro ... deductum est". The words "nunc primum conficto" belong of course to "inaudito ... nomine", not to "Oecolampadio". Er. makes the same mistake in his paragraph on *Lc.* 16,20 below.
- 121 *quod Batauus sim* See e.g. Stun. *ad Rom.* 16,11: "Quas non conuiciorum ἔλας, vt aiunt, ἀμάξιας merebatur quidem hoc loco Batauus iste, nolo Sarmatam dicere, cum ... impudentissime blateret?".
- 122 *loco Mc.* 10,46.
- 122-123 *asscripsit ... admisit* Whenever Er. had thought it fit to elucidate Hebrew or Aramaic words, names or phrases, he had shown the passage in question to Oecolampadius and the latter had filled in the Semitic words in Hebrew characters in Er.' annotations and added short comments.
- 126 *naso suspendit* "Turns up his nose, sneers at", *Hor. Sat.* I, 6, 5; II, 8, 64; Otto 1199; *Adag.* 722, *LB* II, 307D; *Eccles.*, *LB* V, 964A.
- 129 *Amorbachii* In his *Annot.* on *Gal.* 4,20 Er. had observed that Jerome seemed to regard αἰσχύνη and σύγχυσις as synonyms. This observation was based on the reading of Jerome's commentary on *Gal.* 4,20 as printed in the edition of his *Opera Omnia*, Basle, 1516, supervised by Er., but actually edited by the three Amerbach brothers. In his *Ann. c. Er.* Stun. objected that an earlier edition (Venice, de Gregoriis, 1497) had not read "αἰσχύνη siue σύγχυσις", but "αἰσχύνη siue [and a blank space of c. one word]"; according to Stun., the lacuna must be filled up with ἐντροπή, rather than with σύγχυσις. He ascribed the latter reading, "if not to the Amerbach brothers", then to "Erasmica audacia". In reality it was probably one or other of the Amerbachs who was responsible; see p. 201, n.ll. 620-622 below.
- 131 *vitari non potest* Cf. Ep. 1216, ll. 41-42. In 1515 the printing of the *Nov. Instr.* had been interrupted by lack of a corrector (Ep. 356, ll. 11-12). Later a jurist and a theologian, Nic. Gerbell and J. Oecolampadius, were engaged for the proof-reading, but when they proved unequal to their task, Er. had to read the final proof himself (Ep. 421, ll. 53-58). "Argus": Otto 162; cf. p. 172, l. 147.
- 134 *occiari, Battauus* "Battauus" occurs in Stun. *ad Act.* 16,11 and *Rom.* 15,24. "occiari" and "occium", in lieu of "oci-" or "otiani" etc., *ad Act.* 19,9. Cf. p. 159, n.l. 899.

saepe labatur in his, in quibus ne puer quidem elementarius laberetur. Velut in hoc cum in epistola ad Romanos castigans id quod a Paulo scriptum erat, pro ἐλλογεῖται legendum contendit ἐλλογεῖτο, cum ἐλλογεῖτο vox sit Graecis
 140 inaudita. Ad haec quaedam eius generis sunt vt ad me nihil pertineant, quae tamen loquacissime prosequitur; quaedam adeo minuta ac frigida vt idonea videri possint,

Neronianas quae refrigerent thermas.

At cum toto opere concutiatur cachinnis, diffluat risu, sibi non temperet,
 145 rideat, subsannet, delitietur, tamen quasi parum sit illic petulantiae, addidit elenchos in spatio marginis, in quibus Erasmus dormit, stertit, *somniat*, cecutit, *ballucinetur*, labitur, *errat* toto coelo, delirat, interpretes et Stunica triumphat, Batauus proteritur. Illic in expedito sunt omnia, et magnifica promissa lactis, quod aiunt, gallinacei spem faciunt, cum sepenumero res, si venias in medium,
 LB 287 admodum impedita sit ac diluta, perinde quasi medicus inscribat pyxidi *manus*
 151 *deorum*, cum intus sit malagma betaceum.

Subinde vero *Batauum* me appellat, et addit alicubi satis scurriliter *butyro et patria cernisia obrutum*. Perinde quasi mihi dedecori sit futurum, si Bactris aut apud Sogdianos natus essem, aut quasi Hollandia regio sit vlli pro sua
 155 portione contemnenda, siue spectes celebritatem ac frequentiam oppidorum, siue cultum ac politiem vitae, siue copiam rerum omnium, siue ingeniorum prouentum. Quod esse verum Stunica vel ex negotiatoribus Hispanis cognoscere poterit. Quanquam hic affectus quam minimum ponderis habere debet apud eruditos. Apud christianos philosophos non est Hispanus, nec Gallus,
 160 nec Germanus, nec Sarmata, *sed nona creatura*. Quicumque seruiunt gloriae Christi, contribules sunt, germani sunt, et si quid germanis coniunctius.

Iam vt sibi multa sumit parum pudenter, ita de me multa pronuntiat impudentissime. Quod genus sunt illa: Erasmus *semper in prophanis literis versatum illotis pedibus ad hoc opus accessisse*, nec alia re commotum quam inanis
 165 gloriae fame; Stunicam omnibus praesidiis instructissimum simplici puroque animo, nec alio prorsus studio quam iuuandi ac patrocinandae *veritati*, quam videret *indignis* modis per nos *opprimi*, *hoc opus aggressum*, idque sine Theseo, vt gloriatur. At quid me dementius, si tantum laboris exhausti nihil aliud captans quam vt interpretem laedam mihi que nonnihil gloriae comparem? Quid mihi
 170 similitatis erat cum interprete, cuius nomen nemo nouit? An non alia patebat

147 triumphat *A*: triumphant *B B.A.S.*

161 germani ... germanis *A B.A.S.*: Germani ... Germanis *B male*.

137-140 *Velut ... inaudita* See at *Rom.* 5,13 below.

141 *frigida* As a rhetorical and literary-critical term (Gr. ψυχρός) this adjective means "without force, insipid, flat, lifeless, tedious". This notion underlies the pun in Mar-

tial. III, 25, 3 (the rhetor Sabineus can cause hot baths to cool down) and called forth the quotation in l. 143.

143 *Neronianas* Martial. III, 25, 4.

146 *elenchos* "Side-notes". Cf. Ep. 1216, ll. 52-53.

- 146-148 *dormit ... proteritur* Er. exaggerates. Some *elenchi* run indeed "Er. somniauit" (*Mt.* 27,48; *Gal.* 3,8) or "Erasmii somnium" (*Ap. Iob.* 17,9), many others "Erasmii euidentis (or: manifesta) hallucinatio" (*Act.* 8,32; 1 *Cor.* 14,21) and some others "Insignis (or: manifestus) error" (*Iob.* 19,19; *Hebr.* 9,5) or "Tria Erasmi errata in Hebraica lingua" (*Rom.* 11,4). But *dormit, stertit, cecutit, labitur, delirat ... proteritur* do not occur in the *elenchi*, although some of these terms do occur in the text proper, e.g. *caecutiens* (*Act.* 15,13), and similar terms figure in the *elenchi*, e.g. "Er. blaterauit" (*Mc.* 1,2 and *Rom.* 15,24), and "delirauit" (1 *Cor.* 14,21).
- 148-149 *lactis ... gallinacei* *Adag.* 503, LB II, 222 D, "de raris inuentu atque ob id preciosis". Otto 748. Cf. Leutsch-Schneidewin I, p. 231; II, pp. 20, 335 (γάλα ὀρνιθίων).
- 150-151 *manus deorum* *Adag.* 206, LB II, 113 D: "Θεῶν χεῖρες, i.e. Deorum manus. Olim per ironiam, vt opinor, dicebantur efficacia illa pharmaca, quae plurimis ex rebus et e longinquo petitis conficiantur: quibus hodie tum medici, tum pharmacopoeae vulgo faciunt imposturam", with references to Plut. and Gal.
- 151 *malagma betaceum* "Beet-poultice". This combination of words is not found in *Th. L.L.*, Forcellini, Du Cange, nor of course in Valerius Cordus, *Dispensatorium Pharmacorum*, Nuremberg, 1598. "Malagma" does not even occur in Cordus, the pharmacological term being "cataplasma". Er.' words *mal. bet.* are used in jest.
- 152 *Subinde* Only twice: *ad Act.* 16,11 and *Rom.* 15,24. For this complaint and the following eulogy of Holland, see Ep. 1216, ll. 45-51.
- 152-153 *butyro ... obrutum* Stun. *ad Gal.* 3,8.
- 153-154 *Bactris ... Sogdianos* Bactria (roughly northern Afghanistan) and Sogdiana (roughly Uzbekistan) formed the extreme north-eastern part of the empire of Alexander the Great.
- 154-157 *Hollandia ... prouentum* Er.' feelings towards Holland and the Netherlands always remained a mixture of dislike and attachment, but his affection grew stronger with the years. The most eloquent expression of his sympathy for Holland is *Adag.* 3535 "Auris Batava", LB II, 1083-1084, a glorification of Holland specifying the same qualities as those praised here. See also Er.' comments *ad Rom.* 15,24 below. J. Huizinga, *Erasmus*, Haarlem, 1936³, pp. 46-50; id., *Er. über Vaterland und Nationen*, in: *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Er. von Rotterdam*, Basle, 1936, pp. 34-49; A. Gerlo, *Erasmus, homo batavus*, Commémoration nationale d'Erasmus, Brussels, 1970, pp. 61-80; id., *Erasmus et les Pays-Bas*, Colloquia Erasmiiana Turoniensia, I, Paris, 1972, pp. 97-111.
- 155 *frequentiam* Verg. *Georg.* II, 155-156.
- 158-159 *Quaquam ... eruditos* Cf. Ep. 1147, l. 32: "mihi non admodum referre videtur quo quisque sit loco natus". Unlike other humanists, Er. was far from being a nationalist.
- 160 *Sarmata* Cf. Stun. *ad Act.* 16,11: "Batavus iste, nolo Sarmatam dicere, ...". *sed noua creatura* *Gal.* 6,15. Cf. *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 467 E: "in Christo neque sexus est, neque conditio, *sed noua creatura*".
- 161 *contribules* The idea that Christianity creates a unity transcending national differences, is common in Er.; see e.g. Ep. 296, ll. 85-87; *Querela*, ASD IV, 2, pp. 91-92. H. Treinen, *Studien zur Idee der Gemeinschaft bei Er. ...*, Saarlouis, 1955, pp. 162-166.
- germani ... germanis* Note the stupid "correction" in B.
- 163-164 *semper ... accessisse* Stun. in his preface: "Cum enim in gentilium auctorum lectione fuerit semper versatus, ..."; *ad Rom.* 8,25: "quam illotis, vt aiunt, pedibus ad hoc Annotationum opus in eadem scribendum accesserit". *Illotis pedibus*: Otto 1390; *Adag.* 854, LB II, 354 A.
- 164-165 *commotum ... fame* Stun. in his preface: "laudis potius cupiditate ductus", and *ad Rom.* 12,6: "gloriolae ... immodica cupiditate".
- 165 *instructissimum* See the long quotation from Stun.'s preface given by Er. in the following paragraph: "Cum praesertim" etc., p. 70, ll. 192-198.
- 165-167 *puroque ... opus* Stun. in his preface: "Neque velim existimet aliquis nos ad hoc opus maledicendi gratia deuenisse, ... sed vt veritati potius suffragaremur, quam ita indigne ab Erasmo opprimi ferendum nequaquam erat".
- 167 *sine Theseo* Stun. *ad Mt.* 1,6: "nos, qui his de rebus ἀνευ Θεσεως iudicium ferre possumus". Cf. p. 67, n.l. 118 above.
- 168-169 *At ... comparem?* Cf. Ep. 1216, ll. 63-64.
- 170 *nomen nemo nouit* Just like Valla and Lefèvre (and Luther), Er. maintained that Jerome cannot have been the translator of

ad gloriam via, minore sudore, maiore compendio? Eiusdem frontis est illud, quod ait interpretem *passim a me contumeliosissime compellari atque ex eruditorum virorum corona penitus explodi*, cum in illo magis desiderem curam quam peritiam, cum multis in locis collaudem quod ille vertit, nonnumquam etiam
 175 defendam aduersus Vallam et Fabrum. Sed illud etiam impudentius, quod scribit a me *damnari traductionem ecclesiasticam*, cum vbique clamem *vsque ad rauim*, vt inquit Plautus, me vertere quod habetur in Graecorum voluminibus, nec vsquequaque mihi probari lectionem illorum; per me manere lectionem ecclesiasticam incolumem et illibatam; haec tradi in cubiculis legenda, non in
 180 templis. Quin et illud assumit parum verecunde, hanc translationem quam nunc habet vsus ecclesiasticus aut esse Hieronymi, aut certe ab Hieronymo castigatam, cum in Annotationibus tot argumentis doceam, imo cum res ipsa clamitet hoc esse falsum. Illud porro nescio quo nomine donari debeat, quod suscepto aduersum me patrocinio interpretis, cum ego illum in ius non vocem,
 185 in tot locis tam insignis orator destituat suum clientem. Nam cum affirmet illum *Latine et eleganter* vertisse, silentio praeterit tot a me notatos soloecismos manifestarios, tot loca obscure et ambigue reddita. Et tamen verecundius est obticescere quam inepte defendere.

Haec cum tam magnifice praefatus sit, vt scriptor ille ciclicus ad hunc
 190 collatus videri possit egregie modestus, tamen in calce iudicium defert lectori, modo Graecae Latinaeque linguae *sit peritus*. At quis ausit aduersus eum pronunciare, qui paulo ante sic de se pronunciarit: *cum praesertim*, inquit, *si quisquam alius et nos quoque his de rebus nostro quodam iure iudicium ferre possimus; quippe qui non paucos annos in sacris scripturis Veteris ac Noui Testamenti Hebraice,*
 195 *Graece et Latine perlegendis consumpserimus ac Hebraica Graecaque ipsa diuinarum litterarum exemplaria cum antiquissimis Latinorum codicibus diligentissime contulerimus. Longa igitur lectione ac experientia iam pridem edocti, quantum translationi huic ecclesiasticae Noui Testamenti deferendum sit, nisi fallor, noui optime.*

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

200 Et tamen nonnulla suspicio tangit animum Stunicam hunc subornatum ab aliis, alienam fabulam vt ageret. Certe si detrahas illi quod hausit ex lexicis, |
 LB 288 quod ex annotationibus eruditissimi viri Antonii Nebrissensis, cuius gloriae merito atque ex animo fauemus, haud multum supererit quod iactet Stunica. Quod si tantus est quantus vult videri, quid illi venit in mentem, vt tantus
 205 heros huc se demitteret, ad Erasmi Bataui nugas excutiendas? Quid enim facilius quam in magno opere quaerere quod arrodas? Aut quid abiectius quam in alieno libro obambulare venantem quod carpas? Aut quid hinc gloriae poterat contingere, quum ipse proxima aeditione correxerim si quid in prima fuerat cessatum? Vergilius Turni virtutem attollit, quo magis illustret

- the Vg., as his quotations from the N.T. do not agree with the Vg. See e.g. *Apologia*, Holborn, p. 165, ll. 26-28; *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 10 C; 850 C-D and *passim*; Ep. 843, ll. 16-24, 284-289. According to Er. Jerome's translation had gone lost: *Apologia*, Holborn, p. 170, ll. 11-12; *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 182, ll. 30-31: "per multa ab Hieronymo restituta temporum iniuria interciderunt, velut Nouum Testamentum ad Graecam veritatem emendatum". Of the Vg. N.T. only the gospels are nowadays considered a revision made by Jerome; the remaining books of the N.T. have been revised by someone else, possibly by his pupil Rufinus the Syrian, the father of Pelagianism, who came to Rome in 400. B. Fischer, *Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache ...*, in: K. Aland, *Die alten Übersetzungen des N.T., die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, Berlin/New York, 1972, pp. 49, 66, 74.
- 171 *frontis* "Impudence". The metonymy is common in Er.; *Adag.* 747, LB II, 316 A.
- 172-173 *passim ... explodi* Verbally quoted from Stun.'s preface.
- 176 *damnari ... ecclesiasticam* Stun. in his preface: "... errata ... seorsim ... erant annotanda, ... non ... ecclesiastica traductio damnanda".
- 176-177 *vsque ad rauim* Plaut. *Aul.* 2, 5, 10; Er. *Adag.* 3070, LB II, 985 D; Otto 1509. Ep. 809, ll. 14-15.
- 177-178 *vertere ... illorum Apologia*, Holborn, p. 170, l. 35-p. 171, l. 11; Ep. 809, ll. 85-90; Bludau, p. 41, refers to many further parallels in Er. Er. regarded e.g. the doxology at the end of the Lord's prayer in *Mt.* 6, 13 as a secondary addition in his Greek mss., and the short text of the Vg. as original. In his translation however he could not but follow the (longer) Greek text.
- 178-179 *per ... illibatam Apologia*, Holborn, p. 168, ll. 1-3. Bludau, p. 41.
- 179-180 *cubiculis ... templis Apologia*, Holborn, p. 168, ll. 4-7; *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei.*, LB IX, 281 C; *Apolog. de In princip. erat sermo*, LB IX, 112 E. Bludau, p. 41.
- 180-182 *assumit ... castigatam* Stun. in his preface: "Hieronymus ... emendandi atque ad Graecae veritatis lineam illud redigendi officium suscepit".
- 186 *Latine et eleganter* Verbally quoted from Stun.'s preface. Cf. Ep. 1216, ll. 58-63.
- 189 *scriptor ... ciclicus* Hor. *Ars* 136; an epic poet who tried to treat the whole mythic cycle from the earliest times to the Trojan war. Hor. represents him as over-bold, incapable of mastering his subject, and promising too much in his poem.
- 190-191 *in calce ... peritus* The final sentence of Stun.'s preface runs: "Lectorem vero oratum velim, quem quicumque erit, dum tamen Graece et Latine peritus sit, nostri huius operis iudicem constituimus, vt candidè quidem ac ingenue his de rebus calculum ferat, quas de causa nostra non parum confidentes eius arbitrio libere relinquimus".
- 192-198 *cum ... optime* Verbal quotation from Stun.'s preface.
- 199 *Quid ... hiatu?* Hor. *Ars* 138; the *promissor* is the *scriptor ciclicus* just mentioned.
- 200-201 *subornatum ab aliis* See on the *scripsit-alieno-instinctu* topos p. 63, n.ll. 39-40 above.
- 201 *alienam fabulam* Er. probably refers to the anti-Erasman agitation among the lower clergy in Spain, especially that of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, who mistrusted and detested Er. as a supporter of the Lutheran revolution. The powerful regulars eventually succeeded in forcing the inquisitor-general to hold an inquiry into Er.' works, in the form of an action (1527). Though no sentence followed, Er.' name remained widely hated in Spain from that time. Yet his influence on the leading clergy in Spain was considerable and even contributed to the rise of a lofty type of inward and mystic spirituality within 16th-century Spanish catholicism. J. Brouwer, *Erasmus in Spanje*, Boekenschouw 30 (1936/7), pp. 265-271; M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, México/Buenos Aires, 1966².
- 201-202 *lexicis ... annotationibus* See p. 65, n.l. 75 above.
- 208 *proxima aeditione* It had appeared in March 1519 (Allen, introd. Ep. 864; Bludau, pp. 23-33), but Stun. did not see a copy until about the end of 1520, at Genoa, on his journey from Spain to Rome (see his letter to Vergara in Allen, vol. IV, p. 627, ll. 77-90).
- 209 *Turni virtutem* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 727-777; XII.
- 209-210 *quo magis ... gloriam* The same view of Virgil's intention, which implies a specific rhetorical interpretation of *Aen.* XII, is found in Er.' *Ecclesiastes* (v.i.). For the idea that one can augment someone's glory by praising the force of his opponent: Quint. VIII, 4, 20. This procedure is a species of

- 210 Aeneae victoris gloriam. Homerus Achillem non cum Thersita, sed cum Hectore viro fortissimo committit. Stunica putat non alio pacto sibi posse contingere speciosam victoriam, nisi persuadeat sibi cum homine nihili fuisse certamen, non dissimilis quibusdam stulte inuidis mulierculis quae faciem aliarum deturpant sperantes fore vt sic demum formosae videantur ipsae.
- 215 Quare cum tam in se benignus sit Stunica, in me tam malignus, vitare non potest quin, si serio haec scribit, partim impudens habeatur, partim arrogans, partim linguae petulantis. Sin ita ludit, videat etiam atque etiam, ne hoc grauibus viris scurra dignius videatur quam eo qui tractet sacras litteras, praesertim tam splendida praefatus. Atque hic lapsus mihi videtur foedior in
- 220 moribus quam si centum admittas soloecismos in sermone.
- Sed iam ex ipso libro quaedam decerpemus, ex quibus lector facile iudicabit an res ipsa promissis respondeat et in tantum sapiat Stunica, quantum sibi sapere videtur.

EX MATTHAEI CAPITE I.

- 225 Aliquoties admonueram mihi non videri Matthaeum euangelium suum scripsisse Hebraice, aut si scripsit, ab Hieronymo non fuisse visum. Id non asseuero quidem, sed aio *mibi videri probabilius*. Et causas adfero in Annotationibus, quas hic non est necesse referre. At Stunica obiicit Origenem, Augustinum et Chrysostomum, qui diuersum sentiant, quorum nemo tamen affirmat. Nam
- 230 Origenes, *ita enim*, inquit, *tradiderunt patres*. Et Augustinus, *solus*, inquit, *Matthaeus Hebraeo scripsisse perhibetur eloquio*. Denique Chrysostomus, *Hebraeo*, inquit, *dicitur euangelium scripsisse sermone*. Sed Hieronymus citat hinc quaedam in epistola ad Hedibiam. Rursus in epistola ad Damasum de dictione Osanna.
- Mirum autem cur hic Stunica, quem nihil vsquam fugit in vlllo bonorum
- 235 autorum genere, non adduxerit locum e catalogo scriptorum illustrium, vbi palam asseuerat Hieronymus, quod *Matthaeus euangelium suum Hebraicis litteris verbisque composuerit*. Exemplar *Hebraicum* ea adhuc aetate seruatum *in bibliotheca Cesariensi, quam Pamphilus martyr* appararit. Sibi *quoque* eius voluminis *describendi* factam fuisse copiam *a Nazaraeis, qui eo in Berea urbe Syriae vterentur*. Hic
- 240 Stunicae causam adiuuo. Rogabit igitur qua fronte dissentiam ab Hieronymo. Illa praecipua causa est, quod cum toties incidat locus vt vehementer opus sit Hebraici euangelii praesidio, vix vnquam tamen Hieronymus adducat. Nam quod adducit in modo dictis epistolis, sic retulit, vt e Nazaraeorum euangelio videri possit desumptum. Quis igitur affirmat se vidisse? Quid suspicer malim
- 245 coniectare lectorem quam me proloqui. Ac ne protinus hic mihi reclametur: Os impudens, audiat prius quae super hac re scribit ipse Hieronymus libro tertio aduersus Pelagianos. *In euangelio*, inquit, *iuxta Hebraeos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est, quo vtuntur vsque hodie Nazaraeni, secundum apostolos, siue vt plerique autumant iuxta Matthaeum, quod*
- 250 *et in Caesariensi habetur bibliotheca, narrat historia*. Hactenus Hieronymus.

Conuenit de bibliotheca, conuenit de Nazareis vtentibus, conuenit de litteris Hebraicis, conuenit et de titulo iuxta plurimorum opinionem. Superest vnus scrupulus de sermone Chaldaico. Atque idem in comentariis quos scripsit in

- 213 non *B BAS*: Homo *A male*.
 218 eo qui tractet *A B*: eo qui tractat *BAS*.
 222 in tantum *A* B CS*: an tantum *A BAS*.

- 232 quaedam *BAS CS LB*: quadam *A B*.
 249 Nazaraeni *A B*: Nazaraei *BAS*.
 253 scripsit *A B*: composuit *BAS*.

- the so-called *ratiocinatio* (Lausberg I, p. 223). Er. deals with it in *Eccles.*, *LB V*, 974 A–B: “Est ratiocinationis species, qua aliud ex alio augetur hoc pacto: Homerus attollit in immensum virtutem Hectoris, vt maiorem faciat Achillem, qui solus illum potuerit occidere. Et Vergilius amplificat virtutem Turni quo fiat illustrior virtus Aeneae victoris”. That Vergil’s emphasis on Turnus’ *virtus* was a rhetorical means *ad maiorem Aeneae gloriam* is a stock topic in Er.; see e.g. *De rat. stud.*, *ASD I*, 2, p. 145; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD I*, 2, p. 346.
- 210–211 *cum Hectore* Hom. *Il. XX*, 364–454; *XXII*.
- 217–218 *videat ... litteras* Cf. Ep. 1216, ll. 65–70.
- 222 *in tantum* The “correction” *an tantum* in *A* and (independently) in *BAS* is unnecessary, see Ep. 778, ll. 86–87: “in tantum illi non aduersor vt ...”.
- 225 *Aliquoties* For instance, *ad Mt.* 1,2; 8,23; 13,14.
- 227 *mibi ... probabilius* Er. *ad Mt.* 8,23.
- 230 *Origenes* The reference is to a quotation from Orig. in Rufinus’ Latin translation of Eus. *H.E.* VI, 25, 4, ed. E. Schwartz and Th. Mommsen, *GCS*, Eus., Part II, vol. II, p. 577. The words quoted “ita enim tradiderunt patres” have no counterpart in the Greek of Eus.; they have been added to the text by Rufinus. The Greek text of Eus. *H.E.* was first edited by R. Stephanus in 1544.
- Augustinus De consensu evangelistarum* I, 4; ed. F. Wehreich, *CSEL* 33, p. 4, ll. 3–4.
- 231 *Chrysostomus Hom. in Mt.* I, 5; Migne *PG* 57, 17: λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ματθαῖος ... τῇ τῶν Ἑβραίων φωνῇ συνθεῖναι τὸ Ἐβραγγέλιον.
- 232 *hinc* From a gospel of *Mt.* in Hebrew. But see n.l. 243 below.
- 236–239 *Hieronymus ... vterentur De viris illustribus* 3; ed. E. Richardson, *TU* 14, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 8 9; Migne *PL*, 23, 643 B–645 A. Er. quotes rather loosely. This passage is now usually regarded as referring to *Ev. Hebr.*, not a *Mt.* in Hebrew;

- see Ph. Vielhauer, in: Hennecke-Schneemelcher I, p. 82; De Santos, pp. 38–39, no. 18. The first sentence of this testimony (*Matthaeus ... composuerit*) had already been adduced as a testimony for a Hebrew *Mt.* by Stun. This makes Er.’ words *Mirum ... non adduxerit* and their ironic ring somewhat dubious. The reason why Stun. omitted the rest of the passage may be that it can raise the suspicion that Jerome confused here *Mt. Hebraice* with *Ev. Naz.* or *Ev. Hebr.*
- 243 *e Nazaraeorum euangelio* For one particular apocryphal tradition transmitted in the *Ep. ad Hedybiam* Er.’ supposition is possibly correct, see Hennecke-Schneemelcher I, p. 97, no. 21. However, the very passages quoted from the *Epp. ad Hedybiam* and *Damasum* by Stun. and mentioned above by Er., have no bearing on any gospel whatsoever, either canonical or apocryphal, but contain merely Jerome’s own hypothetical (and absurd) retroversions from the canonical *Mt.* into Hebrew; Hennecke-Schneemelcher I, p. 91.
- 244 *Quid suspicer* Viz., that there had not been a ms. of *Mt. Hebraice* in Caesarea at all, but only a rumour that such a ms. was there, actually relating to *Ev. Naz.*; and that Jerome’s assertion that he had seen it was only boast, or at best a mistake due to confusion of *Mt. Hebraice*, known to him from tradition, with *Ev. Naz.*
- 246 *Os impudens* Ter. *Eun.* 838, cf. 597. This term of abuse is very common in Er., see e.g. *ad Col.* 4 below; Ep. 29, 1,6; *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei.*, *LB IX*, 246 F; *Apolog. c. Sanct. Caranz.*, *LB IX*, 430 A. Not in *Adag.*, nor in I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter*, Heidelberg, 1965, but cf. *OLD*, s.v. os 8b. *Hieronymus Contra Pelagianos* III, 2, Migne *PL* 23, 597 B 598 A. De Santos, p. 42, no. 31.
- 253 *idem* Hier. *Comm. in Mt.* II, *ad Mt.* 12,13; ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 77, p. 90, ll. 366–369; Hennecke-Schneemelcher I, p. 96, no. 10; De Santos, p. 40, no. 23.

LB 289 Matthaei caput xii scribit hunc in modum: *In euangelio quo utuntur Nazaraeni et*
 255 *Ebionitae, quod nuper in Graecum de Hebraeo sermone transtulimus et quod vocatur a*
plerisque Matthaei authenticum et cetera. Ex his colligimus fuisse duo volumina,
 quorum alterum vere fuerit Matthaei, litteris et verbis Hebraicis conscriptum
 ab ignoto interprete versum in linguam Graecam, quod Hieronymus viderit
 260 tantum ac descripserit, non autem verterit. Alterum sermone Syro
 Chaldaicoque, sed figuris Hebraicis, quod ipse transtulerit in linguam
 Graecam. Vnde cum frequenter depromat testimonium, mirum cur non multo
 frequentius depromat ex altero. Deinde mirandum, quur Nazareni maluerint
 Chaldaicum illud amplecti quam Hebraicum. Ad haec si horum alterum sine
 265 controuersia erat Matthaei, alterum apocryphum, quur toties repetit
 Hieronymus Chaldaicum illud a plerisque credi Matthaei et authenticum?
 Praeterea si diuus Hieronymus iudicasset hoc euangelium quod descripsit esse
 vere Matthaei, oportuit reliquum quidem Nouum Testamentum ad Graecam
 veritatem emendare, ceterum euangelium Matthaei ad Hebraicam veritatem
 270 restituere. Idem fecisset Origines, homo prodigiosae diligentiae, praesertim
 cum queratur euangelicos libros apud Graecos plerisque locis variantes sibi
 videri deprauatos. Denique si Matthaesus scripsit Hebraice, qui factum est sic
 perisse neglectum quod scripserat, vt ne in Syria quidem exemplar superesset
 praeter vnicum illud? Adiciam et illud. Quum Stunica fateatur Christum
 275 Chaldaice fuisse loquutum, non Hebraice, qua lingua tum Hebraei vulgo
 utebantur, quid venit in mentem Matthaео vt Hebraice scribere maluerit quam
 Syriace, hoc est lingua et paucioribus nota et diuersa ab ea qua loquutus est
 Christus? Proinde saluo cuiusque iudicio mihi suspicio est, aut Hieronymum
 alicubi abuti vulgata opinione de volumine tam celebri, praesertim vbi res ipsa
 280 posceret, aut alterum illud volumen fuisse versum ex euangelio Matthaei
 Graeco, sicut pleraque volumina Latinorum versa sunt in eandem linguam. In
 praesentia non addam plus argumentorum. Quod si cui non placet mea
 suspicio, fruatur opinione sua. De caeteris quae subiicit Stunica viderit meus
 Theseus, et res est exigui momenti.

285

IN CAPVT MATTHAEI PRIMVM.

Indicaram in Annotationibus mihi magis placere *e Thamar* quam *de Thamar*,
 quod inusitatus sermo sit: suscepit liberos de illa, tametsi non ignorabam
 similem orationis formam apud autores inueniri. Hic Stunica praefationem
 orditur a loco communi in eos qui *rebus* neglectis, de *signis* solliciti sunt,
 290 eodemque calculo damnat et Erasmus et Fabrum et Vallam *atque adeo* caeteros
omnes quotquot in hoc laboris genere Erasmus *habuit antesignanos*. Sic enim ille
 loquitur, non intelligens interim quod haec damnatio complectitur et
 Hieronymum et Augustinum, quorum alter restituit Nouum Testamentum et
 in commentariis de vocis emphasi saepe contendit, nonnunquam et de

- 295 *elegantia*, quemadmodum alicubi conspersio vocabulum probat, massae reicit; alter praeterquam quod idem subinde facit quod nusquam non facit
- 254 Nazaraeni *A B*: Nazaraei *BAS*.
- 263 Nazaraeni *A B*: Nazaraei *BAS*; maluerint *A B*: maluerunt *BAS LB*.
- 270 Origines *A*: Origenes *B BAS*.
- 275 Chaldaice *A B*: *add.* ac Syriace *BAS*.
- 278 Christus? *A*: Christus? Eusebius Cesa-riensis historiae suae quam Ecclesiasticam inscripsit libro tertio meminit Euangelii secundum Hebraeos, sed addit in ecclesia non fuisse receptum. De altero volumine non meminit. *B BAS*.
- 256 *fuisse* Viz., according to Jerome.
- 260–261 *Syro Chaldaicoque* i.e. Aramaic.
- 262 *Vnde* Here begins Er.' criticism of Jerome's information and opinion: he doubts whether Jerome really saw or possessed a *Mt. Hebraice*, and whether a *Mt. Hebraice* ever existed at all.
- 270 *Origines* Er. always considered Orig. the greatest of all Fathers, both as an exegete and as a biblical philologist. "Nemo plus docet quam Origenes", *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 296. The reference here is to Orig. *Comm. in Mt.* XV, 14, *ad Mt.* 19, 16 in the Latin version of Rufinus; ed. E. Klostermann, *GCS*, Orig. X, p. 387, l. 28–p. 388, l. 7: "multam enim differentiam inter exemplaria [sc. euangeliorum] inuenimus, siue per negligentiam scribentium, siue ex temeritate quorundam, siue propter eos qui neglegunt emendare scripturas, vel propter eos qui, quod ipsis videtur, in emendationibus vel adiciunt, vel subducunt".
- 278 *Christus?* The reference to Eus. *H.E.* added in *B* is to III, 25, 27 and 39; De Santos, pp. 35–36, nos. 7–9.
- 280–281 *versum ex ... Graeco* A keen suggestion of Er. Later in the 16th century two editions of *Mt.* in Hebrew appeared, both translated from the Vg. In 1537 S. Münster edited a 14th-century Hebrew version, in 1555 J. du Tillet and J. Mercerus brought out another Hebrew translation from the Latin. See T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture ...*, II, London, 1903, pp. 706–707, nos. 5088 and 5096; H.J. Schonfeld, *An Old Hebrew Text of St. Matthew's Gospel*, Edinburgh, 1927.
- 281 *eandem* i.e. Hebrew. The earliest known Hebrew translations from the Latin belong to the 13th century; dozens of Latin works were however translated into Hebrew in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, mainly writings on medicine, natural science, philosophy and logic. Among the works translated are Pseudo-Aristotle, *De somno et vigilia*, Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* and Thomas Aquinas' commentary on Aristot. *Metaph.* See I. Broydé, *Translations, – From the Latin, Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, New York/London, 1906, pp. 223–224.
- 283 *caeteris* Stun. had argued that *Matthaeus* did not derive from Hebrew *Matthaiahu*, as Er. had pointed out on Oecolampadius' (= Theseus') authority, but from *Matthai*. Stun. was right, but as *Matthai* derives from *Matthaiahu*, Er. was not wrong. See Strack-Billerbeck I, p. 536.
- 284 *Theseus* See p. 67, n.l. 118 above.
- 286 *Indicaram* In the *Annot.* on *Mt.* 1, 3.
- 289 *rebus ... signis* Stun. had written: "Mirum est eiusmodi homines interdum reperiri qui *signis* plus delectentur, vt diui Augustini verbis vtat, quam *rebus* ipsis". Cf. Aug. *Doctr. chr.* I, 2, 2; III, 5, 9, etc.
- 290–291 *atque ... antesignanos* Stun. *ad loc.*: "atque adeo omnes alii quos ille sui huius operis antesignanos habet".
- 294 *emphasis* The additional meaning, or the specific shade of meaning, of a word or phrase in a given context; overtone. Through *emphasis* one's utterance "plus significat quam dicit", Quint. *Inst.* VIII, 3, 83; see for *emphasis* as a rhetorical term Lausberg I, pp. 450–453. Comparing his own translation of the N.T. with the Vg., Er. wrote: "sunt fere eiusmodi quae mutauimus, vt ad *emphasis* pertineant magis quam ad sensum ipsum; quanquam saepe numero magna sensus pars est *emphasis*", Ep. 337, ll. 738–740.
- 295 *elegantia* Defined by Er. as *orationis puritas* (involving freedom from both *sermonis vitia* and *affectatio*) combined with *sermonis mundities*, *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, pp. 226–227. "Elegantia partim sita est in verbis receptis ab auctoribus idoneis, partim in accommodando, partim in compositione", *De cop. verb.*, *LB* I, 7 C. But for the specific meaning in which Er. uses *elegantia* at the present place see pp. 149–151, n.l. 756 below.
- consperisionis* Hier. *Comm. in Gal.* III (*ad* 5,9), Migne *PL* 26, 429; also quoted by Er. in

Hieronymus, libros etiam aliquot conscripsit de loquutionibus Veteris Testamenti.

Porro cum suscepissem negotium restituendae lectionis ac sermonis aposto-
 300 lici ad mundiciem linguae Latinae reuocandi, an mihi tacendum erat de signis,
 cum huius rei considerationem mihi proprie sumpsissem? Quur non eodem
 calculo damnat Coronellum suum, nisi forte in magno illo lexico cauit, ne quid
 de signis attingeret? Quod si nullus est delectus signorum, quur in scholis
 1.B 290 traditur pue|ris amara grammatica? At quomodo signa erunt, si non refert,
 305 quid quibus verbis eloquaris? Certe nisi de signis conuenit, non potest homo
 homini significare verbis, quod sentit animo.

Sed negat Augustinus referre apud *rerum cognitorem inter homines dicas an
 inter hominibus*. Quur igitur ipse Augustinus fugit ad hunc loquendi modum?
 Idem alicubi scribit se malle ossum dicere quam os, si de osse sentiat, non de
 310 ore, quo magis intelligatur ab auditore. Verum, sed quoties vulgo loquitur, cui
 ossum absque dubio tum significabat quod nobis ambigue sonat os. Atque
 hac de causa magis olim tolerari poterant euangelici sermonis incommoda,
 quod adhuc vulgus Latine loqueretur, tametsi corrupte, et notos soloecismos
 tum vulgus magis intelligebat quam si pure Latine vertisset interpres. Nunc
 315 nobis cum vulgo res non est, quoties Latine loquimur, et ad euangelicae
 doctrinae propagationem simul et commendationem pertinet, vt sermone
 simplici quidem, sed tamen puro castoque tradatur. Atqui ex eo quod interpres
 parum Latine reddit, saepe videmus lapsos etiam summos sacrorum volumi-
 320 num interpretes et hinc frequenter natam deprauationem. Etenim nisi interpres
 male vertisset: *latuerunt angelis hospitio exceptis*, librarius offensus non deprauas-
 set scripturam: *placuerunt angelis hospitio exceptis*. Nec enim rem negligit
 quisquis tractat verba, sed viam struit ad rerum cognitionem, aut certe efficit,
 vt sensus ceu commodiore vehiculo traducantur in animos hominum.

Atque hic rursus impudenter assumit Stunica hanc translationem qua nunc
 325 vtitur ecclesia ab Hieronymo fuisse recognitam, cum et verba quaedam in
 commentariis taxet Hieronymus et quaedam indicet superesse, quaedam
 diuerso sensu legi. Haec si nondum animaduertit Stunica, satis apparet illum
 non tam diligenter versatum in euoluendis veterum orthodoxorum libris quam
 iactat, sed locos quosdam a me citatos excussisse, venantem quod aliqua
 330 calumnia posset arrodere.

Nec minus impudenter pronunciat de omnibus, quorum est et Hieronymus,
 nihil aliud spectasse qui sacros libros conati sunt emendare quam vt *veteres*
 Sacrae Scripturae *tractatores* et ecclesiasticam lectionem damnarent et infama-
 rent. Quod si maxime haec translatio fuisset ab Hieronymo recognita atque
 335 etiam incorrupta, quemadmodum ab ipso prodita fuisset, non tam insolens aut
 morosus esset Hieronymus, vt arbitraretur se *insigni affici contumelia*, si quis
 diligentius aut feliciter in eodem argumento versaretur. Quod si hic noster
 labor contumeliosus est in orthodoxos veteres et ecclesiasticam lectionem, cur
 semel atque iterum suo testimonio conprobauit Leo summus ecclesiae pastor?

340

Iam in hoc quod dicam palam est fucō vsū esse Stunicam, quod Vallam auctorem facit nihil interesse vtra praepositione vtaris ex aut de, cum Valla non agat illic de ratione sermonis Latini, sed refellat differentiam quorundam

308 loquendi *BAS*: loqui *A B*.

321 placuerunt *A^c B BAS*: placuissent *A**.

323 ceu *A B*: seu *BAS*.

330 posset *A B*: possit *BAS*.

341 ex aut de *A B*: ex an de *BAS*.

342 refellat *B BAS*: refellit *A*.

Annot. in NT, ad 1 Cor. 5,6, LB VI, 678 E.

297 *libros Aug. Locutiones in Heptateuchum*, ed.

I. Fraipont, *CCSL 33*, pp. 379–472.

302 *Coronellum* Pablo Coronel, one of the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot, loudly praised by Stun. (*ad Hebr. 7,2*) for his onomasticon *Interpretationes ... nominum V. ac N. Testamenti*, included in vol. VI of the Polyglot as a supplement to Coronel's *Vocabularium hebraicum atque chaldaicum totius V. Testamenti* in the same volume.

307 *Augustinus Doctr. chr.* II, 13, 19, ad-duced against Er. by Stun.

309 *alicubi Doctr. chr.* III, 3, 7. Er. had treated the same example in *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 272, l. 15; and used it again in *Capita argumentorum contra morosos ...*, *LB VI*, fo **3 v^o, and in *Eccles.*, *LB V*, 1053 D.

311 *ossum* This is indeed an old variant of *os*, "bone", occurring e.g. in Cn. Gellius (late 2nd cent. B.C.), *apud Priscianum*, ed. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. II, fasc. 1, p. 318: "caluariaeque eius ipsum ossum expurgant inauraueruntque". Further examples in Forcellini, *s.v. os*, *ossis*.

314–317 *Nunc ... tradatur* That a new translation of the N.T. into correct Latin was admissible since Latin was no longer the language of ordinary people, and that such a new translation could be of use to the propagation of the Gospel, were stock arguments in Er.'s defence of his translation; see e.g. his *Capita argumentorum contra morosos ...*, *LB VI*, fos **4 v^o–**1 r^o.

320 *latuerunt Hebr.* 13,2.

321 *placuerunt* An early corruption in the ms. tradition of the Vg., transmitted in many mss. and signalled by Valla. See Wordsworth-White, and Er., *Annot. in NT, ad Hebr.* 13,2.

326 *taxet* For examples see *Annot. in NT, LB VI*, 678 E and 834 F.

indictet superesse For examples see *Annot. in NT, LB VI*, 248 E, 801 C, 813 C, 840 E, 977 E.

327 *diuerso sensu legi* i.e., that in certain cases the Vg. made a sense differing from that of

the Greek text which Jerome accepted as correct, either because the Vg. rendered a different Greek reading, or because it rendered the same reading in an imperfect way, see e.g. *LB VI*, 850 C and 79 F respectively.

331–334 *pronunciat ... infamarent* Stun. had written: "Er. ... atque adeo omnes alii quos ille sui huius operis antesignanos habet, ... hanc prouinciam ... Scripturas Sacras de nouo transferendi ... non ob aliud sibi desumpsisse videntur, nisi vt veterem ecclesiae translationem passim carperent, illiusque autorem imperitiae redarguerent". Stun. overlooked that Er.'s principal "antesignanus" had been Jerome himself.

336 *insigni ... contumelia* Stun. had written that Er. and his "antesignani" had practised their biblical criticism "illud vertentes animo ... ipsum imprimis sacrorum librorum recognitorem et emendatorem diuum Hieronymum insigni afficere contumelia".

339 *semel atque iterum* Ep. 864; Ep. 1180, ll. 9–10: "eis studiis pietatis quae semper es professus". The laudatory mention of Er.'s N.T. in Leo's letter, Ep. 338, l. 25, is, however, an interpolation made by Er., as Allen pointed out. Whether the words "eruditio rara ac eximia virtutum tuarum merita" in Leo's letter to Er. of 26 Jan. 1516 (Ep. 519, ll. 2–3) concern the *Nov. Instr.*, is doubtful.

340–341 *iam ... auctorem facit* "Now in the mere fact which I shall presently mention, it is plain that Stun. avails himself of specious but deceitful arguments, namely that he makes V. say ...".

341 *Valla* In his *In Latinam Noui Testamenti interpretationem ... Adnotationes*, edited by Er., Paris, 1505, see *ad Mt.* 1,16, where Valla argues that the theological distinctions traditionally connected with *de* and *ex* in the words "conceptus de Spiritu S., natus ex Maria virgine" in the Apostles' Creed, are not based on the text of the gospels, as *Mt.* 1,16 Vg. reads "Mariae de qua natus est Iesus".

theologorum qui docent vtendum esse de quoties notatur eadem substantia, ex quoties significatur tantum origo. Quam distinctionem relicit etiam
 345 Chrysostomus, certe negat esse perpetuam. Quid hoc ad me qui loquor de consuetudine sermonis Latini?

Quod si Stunica vult passim licere, vt de ponamus vice ex, quaeso an aliquis feret hunc sermonem: Fugit de bello, et : Amat me de animo, pro: Amat ex animo, et: Cognoui de literis tuis, pro: ex litteris tuis, et: Non erit
 350 de re tua, pro: ex re tua? Hic quum multum se torqueat Stunica vt doceat de idem pollere quod ex, prolatis aliquot locis e Vetere Testamento, nullum adhuc repperit autorem probatum linguae Latinae, quo doceat quod asseuerat. Et tamen non inficior inueniri, verum aio nec hoc licere passim et inusitatus esse.

355 Id cum ego tribus verbis moderatissime indicassem, Stunica suo more exaggerat quasi debacchatus essem in interpretem, vel potius in Hieronymum, LB 291 quod *Getice loquutus* esset, *non Latine*. Hoc agebamus, ne quid | esset quod offenderet amantes sermonis pure Latini, et id maluimus, quod sciebamus minus offensurum. Dixerit aliquis: Quur mutabas quod erat tolerabile? Fateor
 360 quam minimum esse mutandum, si haec in locum publicae lectionis substituerentur. Nunc cum illa incolumi haec demus in museis legenda, expediret magis mutari singula, quandoquidem autore Augustino varietas lectionis magnopere conducit ad intellectum Sacrae Scripturae. Quod si quando visum erit ecclesiae principibus innouare lectionem ecclesiasticam, id longe facillimum fuerit post
 365 hanc nostram operam, qua viam ad eam rem struximus.

IN IDEM CAPVT ANNOTATIO STVNICAE II.

Quoniam in genealogia *Dauid* additur cognomen *regis* adiuncto articulo: τὸν βασιλέα, obiter et aliud agens admoneo lectorem, consideret num qua sit emphasis in Graeco articulo. Sic enim additur vt videri possit hic *Dauid*
 370 discerni *ab alio quopiam* eiusdem nominis qui rex non fuerit. Hic Stunica homo perspicax deprehendit me *Luciani* libris occupatum ne *primoribus* quidem *labris degustasse sacros codices*. Quaeso te lector, quid hoc homine impudentius aut petulantius? Non reperitur in sacris libris alius hoc nomine? Num ideo non potuit esse alius, qui non reperiatur in libris, praesertim quum extra controuersiam sit permultos Hebraeorum libros intercidisse? Deinde non hoc sensi
 375 fuisse alium, sed quaerendum quid sibi velit articulus τὸν. Nam *Dauid* regem fuisse declarasset, etiam si citra articulum dixisset: *Dauid βασιλέα*.

Praeterea cum alteram coniecturam addidissem, quur vnam tantum arrodit Stunica? Nam quod adducit e Glossa Ordinaria non soluit nodum de articulo.
 380 Bellum est autem quod hic nobis etiam diuinat quid Hebraice scripserit *Matthaeus hamelech*. Atque hoc tam friuolum argumentum non potuit Stunica tractare sine praefatione atrociter contumeliosa.

EIVSDEM III.

385 Post tam magnificas pollicitationes, post tam atrociam iurgiam, vide quae crimina tandem impingit. Ait me *Solomonem* vertisse, cum Hebraeis recte dicatur etiam *Salomon*, quod ego nec ignorabam, nec inficiatus sum vsquam. Atqui si piaculum est quod *Solomon* verterim, quemadmodum constanter pronunciant Graeci, quor non reprehenditur Latinus interpres, quod Iesu nomen verterit iuxta Graecorum, non iuxta Hebraeorum pronunciationem, praesertim cum

352 reperit *A B*: reperit *BAS*.

354 esse. *A*: esse. Siquidem Ciceronem ita loquentem: audiui de patre meo, vix quisquam adhuc recte loquendi studiosus ausus est imitari. *B BAS*.

345 *Chrysostomus* Chrys. *Hom. in Iob. V (aliter VI)*, 3, Migne PG 59, 56-57, where Chrys. argues that the various prepositions ἐξ, διὰ and ἐν, when used in connexion with the Persons of the Trinity, do not denote differences in dignity or essence: πολλάκις καὶ συνεχέστερον εὐροίμεν ἂν μεθισταμένας ταῦτας τὰς λέξεις: ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἂν συνέβη μὴ πανταχοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας ὑποκειμένης. Er. used the same testimony of Chrys. in *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, I.B IX*, 174 C-D, and in *Annot. in Iob. 1,3, LB VI*, 337 F; in none of these cases did Er. mention the work of Chrys., let alone the passage, to which he was referring.

347 *Stunica* Stun. had indeed asserted that *de* and *ex* had been used indifferently by all authors "quotquot Latine locuti existimantur".

354 *esse* The reference to Cic. inserted in *B* is to *De or. III*, 133; the same construction occurs in *Off. III*, 77 and *Brut.* 26, 100.

357 *Getice* ... Stun.'s words are: "interpres ecclesiasticus ... quasi Getthice locutus fuerit et non Latine, ita ab istis secularis elegantiae superstitionis observatoribus irridetur".

361 *illa* ... *legenda* Cf. Er.' introd., p. 70, ll. 179-180, with our note.

362 *Augustino Doctr. chr.* II, 12, 17; the same borrowing from Aug. in *Apologia*, Holborn, p. 167.

367 *David Mt.* 1,6.

370 *ab alio*... *Annot. in NT, ad loc.*

Stunica His words are: "Si plus olei in S. Scripturarum studio Er. consumpsisset quam in Luciani opusculis ... perlegendis, numquam hoc misisset in literas, quo perlecto nemo ... hominem nec primoribus vt

365 struximus *A B*: strauimus *BAS*.

386 *primum* nec *A B BAS*: non *LB*.

387 *Solomon A BAS*: *Salomon B plane errans*.

388 verterit *A BAS*: verteret *B*.

aiunt labris sacros degustasse codices non statim asseueret".

373 *alius* In the Vg. and the LXX only one David occurs.

375 *libros* E.g. the *Liber bellorum Domini* (*Nu.* 21,14), the *Liber instorum* (*2 Sm.* 1,18; *Ios.* 10,13), the *Libri Samuelis, Nathan et Gad* (*1 Chr.* 29,29), the *Liber Abiae* and the *Visio Addo* (*2 Chr.* 9,29) and *Enoch* (*Iud.* 14).

378 *alteram Viz.*, that the author had added the article "vt hic insignite rex intelligatur: cum alios multos reges commemoret ...".

379 *Glossa* The standard mediaeval commentary on the bible, begun by Anselm of Laon (c. 1100) and completed by others by c. 1150. See *ODCC, s.v.* "Glossa Ordinaria". Er. had an aversion to this compilation of disconnected patristic quotations, torn from their original contexts; forced by his adversaries, he began to use it only for the second and later editions of his N.T., with obvious reluctance and mainly to demonstrate that his own interpretations and observations could be backed up with the authoritative commentary of his conservative opponents. See H.J. de Jonge, *Erasmus und die Glossa Ordinaria zum N.T.*, NAK 56 (1975), pp. 51-77.

381 *hamelech* Stun. had argued that the article was due to the underlying Hebrew "hamelech", "the king".

385 *Solomonem Mt.* 1,6.

389-391 *cum ... diuinae* Speculations concerning the symbolic value of the letters of the Hebrew equivalent of Ἰησοῦς are numerous. Three examples may suffice. *Iren. Haer.* II, 24, 2 (Migne PG 7, 789 A; ed. W.W. Harvey, Cambridge, 1857, I, p. 334): "Iesus autem nomen secundum propriam

390 sint qui in ipsis Hebraicis elementis putent esse mysticam significationem naturae diuinae?

Sed mox ciuilior est Stunica ac mihi propemodum ignoscit, quod *in annotationibus Bersabee* scriptum sit, non *Bethsabee*, et *Oecolampadium Theseum* meum *in ius vocandum* arbitratur. Atque ex hoc tanto argumento deprehendit
395 homo nasutus neque me neque Oecolampadium scire linguam Hebraicam. Si quid frontis haberet Stunica, typographis hoc imputasset, non Oecolampadio, nisi forte postulet sibi imputari in hoc libello *occiari* pro *ociari*, *Battauus* pro *Batauus*, *excussum* pro *excusum* aliaque huius generis haud sane pauca. Certe videt hoc esse correctum proxima aeditione, etiam sine Theseo, ne me putet
400 vsque adeo alienum a litteris Hebraicis, vt hoc scire non queam.

Quam eximium vero specimen modestiae, quod addit se vel absque Theseo posse de lingua Hebraica iudicare. Quis autem est tam arrogans, vt neget sibi opus esse cuiusquam praesidio? Hercules absque Theseo non est, et solus Stunica Theseo non eget, sed vnus ipse sibi satis est.

405 Quae tandem petulantia est, per quamuis occasionem incessere Oecolampadium, virum non minus vitae sanctimonia quam rei theologicae et linguarum cognitione suspiciendum? Quem fortasse Stunica breui experietur sibi non vsque adeo contemnendum, si tamen Oecolampadius Stunicam sua dextra dignabitur. |

LB 292

EODEM III.

411 *In transmigratione Babylonis.* Fateor quidem intelligi quid senserit interpres ab iis qui norunt historiam, sed tamen admoneo rem apertius explicari posse, si quis vertat: *postquam demigratum erat in Babylonem*, vel: *cum demigrassent Babylonem*, aut vt nos tum vertimus: *in transmigratione in Babylonem*;
415 et addo: *apertius erat in exilio seu captiuitate Babylonica.* Hic quum multos modos ostendam quibus vitari poterat sermonis incommoditas, Stunica tantum hoc arrodit, quod posueram in contextu dissimulans reliquos. Verum quoniam hoc opus sic aedideram, vt nollem annotationes a contextu separari, debet Stunica vir ciuilis ac prudens imaginari hoc esse in contextu, quod erat
420 in annotationibus, et eligere quod optimum iudicaret.

Porro quod assumit *transmigrationem magis exprimere Graecam* vocem *μετοικεσίαν* quam *demigrationem*, cum fortiter asseueret, nequaquam tamen probat. Neque enim perpetuum est in vertendis vocibus Graecis, quod est in *μετάθεσις* et *μεταφορά*; alioqui *μετανοέω* nobis sonaret transsentio, et
425 *μεταπέμπω* transmitto, et *μεταστρέφω* transuerto. Quod si *μετά* apud Grecos nihil aliud valeret quam quod apud nos *trans*, tamen spectandum erat quid recepisset Romani sermonis consuetudo. Deportari dicuntur, qui deferuntur in insulas desertas, transportari non dicuntur. Et relegati dicuntur, non translegati. Itaque cum scirem demigrare vocem esse
430 probatam et vsitatam apud Latinos, de transmigrare dubitarem, malui quod erat certius.

435 Sed in eo quod verti residet nonnihil amphibologiae; potest enim accipi: Iechoniam cum fratribus suis natum esse in ipsa profectioe. Fateor, et ob eam causam in proxima aeditione mutauimus, nondum diuinantes exoriturum Stunicam qui de nugis huiusmodi tragoedias excitaret.

440 Sed in eo quod verterat interpretes aut multis modis anceps, aut nullus erat sensus. Cur enim potius dicitur *transmigratio Babylonis* quo demigratur quam transmigratio Palestinae quae relinquitur? Vt ne repetam quod nomen verbale μετακείσθαι potest vel actiue sumi vel passiue. Verum hic me Stunica *ridiculum* vocat, qui alios *ex meo iudicem ingenio*, cum non possit *accipi nisi*

404 satis est *A B*: *add.* et superest *BAS*.

427 Deportari *B BAS*: Deportati *A*.

428 transportari *BAS*: transportati *A B*.

429 vocem esse *A B*: esse vocem *BAS*.

Hebraeorum linguam ... significans Dominum eum qui continet coelum et terram", i.e. as consisting of the initial letters of יהוה שמים וארץ: "Dominus, coelum terraque". J. Reuchlin (*De Verbo mirifico*, Tübingen, 1514, III, chap. 12) argued that Jesus' Hebrew name יהושע (*sic*, with ה instead of ע) is composed of the name of God יהוה and the ש of the word אש, "fire", i.e. the fire announced by Moses (and symbol of the Messiah) in *Dt.* 4,36. Thus, Jesus' name indicates that he is the promised representative of God. But the ש could also be taken as standing for שן, "tooth"; now "per dentes articulata vox promitur", so that Jesus' name designates him as "God's voice". According to A. Osiander (*Harmonia euangelica*, Basle, 1537, Annot.), Jesus' Hebrew name יהושע was a junction of יהוה, "Jahweh", and the ש of אש, "man", the א and the ך of אש being left out as *matres lectionis*; so that Jesus means "God made man, God incarnate in man". Cf. *Apologia*, Holborn, p. 169. Er. ridicules three other absurd interpretations of the letters of Jesus' name in *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 164. On the whole subject: F. Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1964, pp. 136-138.

392-395 in ... *Hebraicam* Stun.: "Quod vero vxorem hanc Vriae *Bersabe* per *r* in Annot. Erasmus appellauit, cum *Bethsabe* per *th* in Hebraeo et vetustis Latinorum codicibus legatur, mirum nemini videri debet, quandoquidem se Hebraice nescire ... fassus est. Theseus ille *Oecolampadius* ... in ius potius vocandus esset quod *Panerasmum* suum nequaquam de hoc admonuit, ne vel ex prima Annotationum pagina vtrumque Hebraicam ignorare linguam nos, qui his de

rebus ἀνευ Θησέως iudicium ferre possumus, non semel sed iterum deprehendere-mus".

393 *Theseum* See p. 67, n.l. 118 above.

397-398 *occiari* ... *excusum* See p. 67, n.l. 134 above; "excusum" in lieu of "excusum" occurs in Stun.'s proem ("impressorii excussum formis") and in his eulogy on Hernán Nuñez (Ferdinandus Pincianus) *ad Rom.* 15,24 ("formis excussorum"). "To print" is "(formis) excudere" in Latin, not "excutere".

401-402 *se* ... *iudicare* See the quotation from Stun. in the n.l. 392-395.

408 *Oecolampadius* He never took up his pen against Stun. In 1522 he became one of the leaders of the Reformation in Basle; see Allen, *Ep.* 224, n.l. 24, and *ODCC*, s.v.

411 *In transmigratiōe Mt.* 1,11.

Fateor To avoid the possibility of taking *Babylonis* as an objective or subjective genitive, Er. had translated "in Babylonem". Stun. objected that this change was unnecessary, as nobody would ever be tempted to infer that it was Babylon which had migrated.

415 *addo* In the *Annot.*

422 *demigrationem* Er. had changed "transmigrationem" (Vg.) into "demigrationem", no doubt because "de-" is classical and "trans-" late and christian Latin.

423 *quod est in Viz.*, that μετα- in Greek normally corresponds to *trans-* in Latin.

432 *Sed* Stun. had objected that Er.' translation "in demigratione in Babylonem" could mean "in ipsa demigratione, i.e. in ipso itinere". In his second ed. Er. translated "in exilio Babylonico".

440-441 *ridiculum* ... *passiue* Stun.: "Nam quod pro *transmigratiōe Babylonis* iccirco se

passive. Id quum per se falsum sit, tamen age demus hoc quod sumit Stunica: intelligemus igitur Babylonem alio fuisse translata, cum audimus *transmigrationem Babylonis*. Addit simile: *cum Aegypti*, inquit, *captiuitas dicitur*, intelligimus *Iudaeos in Aegypto fuisse captiuos*, quasi si quis dicat captiuitatem
 445 Troiae, sensurus sit Graecos aliquos in Troia fuisse captiuos, ac non potius ipsam captam Troiam. Haec tam praeclara mundus erat ignoraturus, nisi Stunica nobis fuisset exortus.

Denique diuinat hic quoque quid scripserit Matthaeus. Miseret me Stunicae, qui nugis huiusmodi et suum ingenium et calamum et chartas et ocium
 450 triuerit; miseret me lectoris, qui talibus naeniis aliquid bonarum horarum impartit; miseret me mei, qui cogar has ineptias vel legere vel refellere. Et tamen hoc nugamentum non potuit indicare Stunica sine vno atque altero conuicio.

EODEM III.

455 Quod est Graecis ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει et interpres vertit *in utero habebit*, quoniam sermo videbatur inusitatus Latinis auribus ac praeterea anceps, habet enim in vtero quae pransa est, non solum quae concepit (vnde iocus apud Athenaeum, quo medico percontanti mulierem num in vtero haberet, responsum est a mimo, quinam haberet, iam triduum totum ieiuna), nos vertimus *virgo erit*
 460 *pregnans*. Hic Stunica me calumniatur, quod sensum verterim non verba. Verti quidem, sed Latine, sed dilucidius. Quod si nusquam phas est a verbis discedere, sepe vocabitur in ius interpres qui frequenter absque causa discedit a verbis Graecis. Aut si erat, inquit, discedendum | a verbis Graecis, ab Hebraeis
 1.B 293 petendum erat, apud quos pro ἔξει est λήψεται, id est *accipiet*. Pulchre, sed interim mutassem incommodum, non effugissem. Ne quid attingam interim,
 465 quod hoc loco nos Stunica docens ex autoritate Hieronymi quid sit apud Hebraeos, non intelligit locum quem adducit, vt est corruptum, cum id tribus verbis admonuerim, eum locum esse deprauatum, qua de re nonnulla videbis in secunda aeditione, plura in tertia, nonnulla in Apologia qua respondimus
 470 Leo. Docuimus enim Hieronymum legisse *habet*, non *habebit*. Et quanquam *habet* verbum est praesentis temporis, tamen respondet verbo praeteriti temporis, quod est *concepit*. Quemadmodum in psalmo *accepit dona in hominibus*, tametsi verbum est praeteriti temporis, tamen rem notat futuri temporis. Etenim qui accepit largiturus, nondum largitus est. Haec fugere
 475 Lynceum Stunicam.

Porro quod calumniatur Hebraicam vocem secus habere quam nos indicauimus Oecolampadio fisi, iam ipse Leo respondi, qui prior hoc erat calumniatus.

Iam quod obiter admiscueram mihi *ioco loquutum* videri Hieronymum, quum

- in *Babylonem* ait transtulisse, quo vel sermonis ambiguitatem hoc pacto vitaremus, ridiculus omnino est". Nobody would ever take the words at issue to mean "Babylonem transmigrasse aliquo ..., vt frustra Er. est suspicatus, ex suo ingenio aliena iudicans".
- 442 *intelligemus* Er. means that even if *transmigratio* is taken in a passive sense, the ambiguity remains, for the genitive *Babylonis* can still be objective or subjective.
- 443 *Aegypti ... captiuitas* *Is.* 20,4; *Ex.* 29,14.
- 448 *diuinat* Stun.: "Grecus Matthei interpretēs ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος transtulit ... pro eo quod Mattheus, vt coniectare par est, *begaluth Babel* originaliter scripserat". Stun.'s retroversion is indeed only a random speculation (why, e.g., ἄ, not ἡῶ or ἡῶ or ἡῶ) and is certainly not needed to explain the genitive of direction, which is a special use of the objective genitive; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1197 τὴν Ἀργούς ὁδόν, "leading to Argos"; Hom. *Od.* XXIII, 68 νόστον Ἀχαιῶδες, "the return to Achaiis"; Thuc. II, 79 Σικελίας παράπλους, "to Sicily"; id. I, 108 ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς = ἐς τὴν γῆν. See Kühner-Gerth II, 1, p. 335.
- 455 *in vtero habebit* *Mt.* 1,23.
- 457 *Athenaeum Deipnosophistae* X, 20, 453 A. The passage is quoted in *Annot. in NT, ad Mt.* 1,23, *LB* VI, § F-6 A.
- 460 *Stunica* Stun. had objected that Er. should not have given a free rendering of the Hebrew of *Is.* 7,14, but ought to have retained "in vtero habebit" (*Mt.* 1,23 Vg.). For this was a verbal rendering of ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει and according to Jerome ἔξει was a faithful translation of *Mt.*'s original Hebrew, since *Mt.* had intentionally changed *Is.*'s "she will receive" to "she will have". Consequently, seeing that *Mt.* had changed the O.T. text on purpose and with good reason, Er. ought to have translated *Mt.*'s redactional text "she will have". In his reply Er. is suggesting that Stun. had reproached him with translating the sense rather than the words of *Mt.*, but this is a misrepresentation of Stun.'s objection.
- 463-464 *ab Hebraeis petendum* Stun. had said nothing of the sort. He had in fact argued just the opposite. According to Stun. Er. ought not to have translated the O.T. form of the prophecy, but its altered Matthean form (see previous n.).
- 464 *λήψεται* *Is.* 7,14 in certain witnesses and branches of the textual tradition of the LXX (e.g. ms. B and the Lucian recension), other witnesses reading ἔξει.
- 466 *Hieronymi Comm. in Is.* III, ad 7,14, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 73, p. 104, ll. 73-77, and id. *Comm. in Mt.* I, ad 1,23, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 77, p. 12, ll. 108-113.
- 467 *locum ... corruptum* Hier. *Comm. in Mt.* I, ad 1,23, the passage referred to in the preceding note. Er. proposed to read in l. 113 "mutauit accipiet et posuit habet" in lieu of "mut. acc. et pos. habebit". This conjecture, which rests on a misunderstanding of Jerome's argument, occurs as a reading of "alia manus in rasura" in one of the mss. of Jerome's *Comm.*, viz. in R. See the critical apparatus of Hurst-Adriaen.
- 467-468 *tribus verbis* In *Annot. in NT*, ed. 1516, ad loc.: "Hier. ... legisse videtur ἔξει praesentis temporis, non ἔξει futuri".
- 469 *Apologia* *LB* IX, 129 C-131 A.
- 471 *respondet* Er. means that, according to Jerome, the angel said: "the virgin is (not: will be) pregnant", thus indicating that the conception had taken place and the prophecy (with *habebit* in the future) had been fulfilled.
- 472 *psalmo* *Ps.* 67 (68),19, where "accepisti" is read instead of "accepit". Jerome, whom Er. follows here, had pointed out, in discussing *Mt.* 1,23, that the psalm reads "he received", but that in the quotation of the psalm in *Eph.* 4,8 "received" had been changed into "gave", because Christ "iam dederat quod acceperat".
- 475 *Lynceum* One of the Argonauts, Lynceus was famous for his sharp sight; often proverbial, Otto 1003; *Adag.* 1054, *LB* II, 427 E-428 C; *Epp.* 113, l. 31; 967, l. 137; *Spongia*, *ASD* IX, 1, p. 154, l. 817.
- 476 *vocem* הרה. Er. had written: "Hier. concipiet vertit, cum tamen, vt Hebraici apices duo scilicet camez indicant, praesentis sit temporis, praeteriti autem esset si vnum foret camez". The information on the Hebrew is totally wrong. Stun. rightly criticized it, but himself makes the glaring (though traditional) mistake of taking הרה as the perfect of the verb, with the meaning of a future, instead of, what it certainly is, the feminine nomen verbale (or adjective), "pregnant". In 1517 W. Capito had made the same critical remarks on Er.' note as Stun., see *Ep.* 561.
- 477 *Leo respondi* *LB* IX, 131 B-C. It follows that the reading *respondit* of all authoritative editions, *A B BAS* and *LB*, is wrong, and that *CS* contains here a correct emendation.
- 478 *Hieronymum Comm. in Is.*, ad 7,14, ed. M.

ait Latinis *alma* dici quae *sancta* sunt, voce congruente cum Hebraeis,
 480 suspicatur Stunica me hoc ideo dixisse quod Hieronymus hoc dicturus ita
 profetur: *et vt risum praebeamus Iudaeis*. Hinc colligit me non intellexisse verba
 Hieronymi. Colligit *errorem* meum ac *tumultuariam lectionem*. Sed quid ego
 vicissim ex his Stunicae verbis colligam in praesentia non eloquar. Illud tamen,
 lector, dicam me non meminisse ioci, quod de risu Iudaeorum meminit
 485 Hieronymus, sed quod res mihi parum videretur probabilis. Primum enim non
 idem sonat *alma* Latinis quod Hebraeis. Quod si qua conueniunt, aut
 σύμπτωμα esse crediderim, nimirum in tot milibus vocum casu consentientibus
 aliquot, veluti nobis quaedam casu conueniunt cum Gallis, nonnumquam
 diuerso significatu, vt quod Picardi dicunt *cout*, id est calidum, nobis eadem
 490 voce sonat frigidum; aut a nobis vsurpata fuisse, quemadmodum constat
 Grecos plerasque voces Latinas a Graecis vsurpatas, vt *κουστῶδις*, *σουδάριον*,
πραιτώριον.

EX CAPITE II, I.

Ex autoritate Graecorum codicum hac in parte mire consentientium, ex
 495 autoritate veterum Latinorum, admonueram legendum *Iudaeae*, non *Iude*. Sed
 dissentit Hieronymus. Nec hoc ignorabam, nec tamen hoc asseuerat
 Hieronymus, sed *putamus* inquit. Et asseuerat Stunica. Coeterum argumentum
 Hieronymi tacite etiam in prima aeditione refellimus, si Stunica tam esset
 oculatus quam videri vult; siquidem Hieronymus imaginatur Iudeam hic
 500 accipi pro tota regione Iudaeorum. At ego Iudeam hic intelligo positum pro
 portione Iude. Hoc si intellexisset Stunica, non scripsisset *quae si Erasmus*
legisset.

Mox obiicit mihi memoriae lapsum, qui scripserim in libro *Iudicum* inueniri
Bethlehem alteram quae sit *in Galilaea*. Si Stunica praeditus esset ea ciuilitate
 505 eoque candore qui vere doctos decet, tribuisset vnus vocolae lapsum
 typographis aut scribis potius quam meae memoriae. Coeterum aderas,
 inquiet, cum ista excuderentur. Fateor, sed huiusmodi lapsus non perinde
 facile nobis recognoscentibus deprehenduntur, veluti quoties in numeris errant
 operae, nisi forte Stunicae cuncta haec sunt in numerato. Sed vt in pessimam
 510 partem torqueat, non potest aliud suspicari quam quum haec describerem e
 commentariis Hieronymi, partim quos scripsit in hunc locum, partim in
 quintum Micheae caput, calami lapsum fuisse, praesertim cum in hoc
 posteriore loco paulo ante meminisset libri Iudicum. Et tamen utcunque
 accidit, hoc nomine gratiam habeo Stunicae meo qui monuerit. Nam ipse
 515 fortassis non eram animaduersurus. Hic igitur Stunicae laurea corona prae-
 mium esto. |

Ac mittens Herodes. Cum Graece sit ἀποστέλλας, quod indicat homines cum

mandatis esse missos non epistolas, quod peculiari verbo Grecis dicitur
 520 ἐπιστέλλειν, ostendi dilucidius potuisse verti si dixisset *missis carnificibus, aut ministris, aut satellitibus*. Quid si nihil horum miserit, inquit Stunica, sed miserit *edicta regia per veredarios*. Sed interim obsecro, an veredarii ministri non sunt? Aut quomodo perueniunt edicta sine ministrorum opera?

Deinde notat quod pro *occidit* verterim *sustulit* cupiens exprimere Grecam
 525 vocem ἀνεῖλεν. Ait sustulit esse vocem ancipitem:

Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem

(nam suspicor Stunicam partim ob hoc calumniatum hunc locum, vt nobis recitaret tam lepdatum carmen in Neronem iactatum e suo Politiano), deinde a

500 positum *A B*: positam *B.AS LB*.

519 epistolas *M B.AS LB*: epistolis *A B CS*.

528 in Neronem iactatum *A'*: Martialis *A**
 olim in Neronem iactatum *B B.AS CS LB*.

Adriaen, p. 103, ll. 38–39: “Et vt risum praebemus Iudaeis, nostro quoque sermone alma sancta dicitur”, and he continues to argue that “Omnium paene linguarum verbis vtuntur Hebraei”. The examples he quotes are, in Er.’ opinion, not real old loan-words from other languages, but casual homophones, e.g. מְסוּרָה, Lat. *mensura*. Er. therefore regards Jerome’s theory as jest.

486 *sonat* Not “sounds”, but “signifies”, “means”, as often in Er., e.g. in l. 490 below.

489 *cout* Pronounce “kaut” as in “scout”. Picardian for “hot” (Fr. “chaud”). The c before -a- which in Fr. became ch-, survived in Pic. as c- (“k-”): Pic. “cat”, Fr. “chat” (C. Thurot, *De la prononciation française*, Paris, 1883, p. 208). For the Picardian prononciation “kow/kau” (for Lat. “calidu-”) see C. T. Gossen, *Petite grammaire de l’ancien Picard*, Paris, 1951, p. 76. Dutch “koud” means “cold”.

491–492 *κουστωδία* κτλ. These examples are all taken from the N.T., see e.g. *Mt.* 27,65–66; *Lc.* 19,20; *Mt.* 27,27. Cf. p. 160, l. 947, with n.

495 *Iudeae* *Mt.* 2,1. Here many mss. and most 15th- and 16th-century editions of the Vg. have *Iude* (= *Iudae*), but most early mss. of the Vg. read *Iudaeae* (or *Iudeae*). Er. had stated that, seeing the textual evidence, *Iudeae* should be read, that is, should be adopted as the correct reading in any Latin translation, the Vg. as well as modern translations as for instance his own. As far as the Vg. is concerned, Er.’ view is en-

dorsed by Wordsworth-White and the Stuttgart Vg.

496 *Hieronymus* *Comm. in Mt.*, ad 2,5: “... *Iudaeae*. Librariorum error est; putamus enim ab euangelista primum editum sicut in ipso Hebraico legimus *Iudae*, non *Iudeae*”. Stun. had adduced this passage against Er.

497 *Coeterum argumentum* Hier. *ibid.*: “Quae est enim aliarum gentium Bethlehem vt ad distinctionem eius hic *Iudaeae* poneretur? *Iudae* autem idcirco scribitur quia est et alia Bethlehem in Galilea. Lege librum Iesu filii Naue”.

500 *intelligo* Rightly so.

503 *Iudicum* A slip for “Iosuae”: *Ios.* 19,15.

509 *numerato* “In numerato habere” (to have in readiness), *Adag.* 3282, *LB* II, 1021 A–B.

512 *Micbeae* *Comm. in Mcb.* II, ad 5,2, ed. M. Adriaen, *C.C.S.L.* 76, pp. 481–483.

518 *Ac mittens* *Mt.* 2,16.

526 *Sustulit* Suet. *Ner.* 39: “The one (sc. Nero) took off (i.e. killed) his mother, the other (Aeneas) took off (i.e. carried away on his shoulders) his father”. Cf. *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 324, l. 232.

528 *Politiano* I cannot find the passage in any of Politian’s works. Er. probably confuses here Politian’s *Miscellanea* with L. Valla’s *Elegantiae*, the standard handbook on humanist Latin. Here the epigram is quoted *s.v.* tollere, in a discussion of the various meanings of this verb; see Valla, *Opera Omnia*, ed. E. Garin, Torino, 1962, I, p. 166. Er. himself had certainly read the epigram in Valla’s *Elegantiae*, for he had epitomized this work at Steyn in c. 1488 and once again at Paris in c. 1498 and always remained

530 paucis intelligendam. Primum si semper anxie vitanda est amphibologia, ambiguum est et occidendi verbum: occidit qui interficit, occidit qui vehementer molestus est.

Occidunt me quidem dum nimis sanctas

535 *student* apparare *nuptias*. Et arbitror eos qui non sunt versati in litteris ethnicorum citius intellecturos *sustulit* pro interfecit quam *sustulit* pro suscepit ex vxore siue sustulit in humeros.

EX CAPITE III, ANNOTATIO I.

540 *Poenitentiam agite*. Pro μετανοεῖτε aliquando verteram *poeniteat vos*, aliquando *resipiscite*. Ac *poenitentiam agite* semel duntaxat repperi in epistolis Plinianis, sed addito casu paterno. Quaquam mihi non admodum probabatur *poeniteat vos*. Sed Stunica negat hunc locum ante hac a quoquam secus citatum quam verterit interpres. An hoc sit verum ipse viderit. Certe si mihi non licebit aliter vertere quam veteres legerant, habebit passim Stunica cur mihi scribat dicam. Atqui hoc ipsum erat propositum, vt aliter verterem, speranti hac ex re non parum lucri accessurum lectori.

545 Post haec conuiciis aliquot destomachus in me Stunica impingit mihi quod ridiculum sensum expresserim: *poeniteat vos, quoniam appropinquauit regnum coelorum*, quasi iusserit illos poenitere regni coelorum iam appropinquantis. Imo ridicule sic interpretatur Stunica. Sed quicquid hoc est mali, an non idem manet in vetere translatione: *poenitentiam agite, quia appropinquauit* et cetera? Et tanto magis quod illi solenne est quia abuti pro quod. 550 Quantum hic abundauit ocio, qui talibus ineptiis et suum ocium et aliorum perdat negotium.

EODEM II.

555 *Genimina viperarum* verti *progenies viperarum* addens nescire me an genimina reperiatur *apud probatos autores* linguae Latinae. Ac mox obiicit mihi Hieronymum, qui sic alicubi loquutus sit in vertendo Vetere Testamento. Equidem pono Hieronymum inter probatos autores rei theologiae, vt dicendi certum doctorem non accipio. Sed prisci, inquit, dicebant geno pro gigno. Sic enim nos docet Priscianus ex Andabatis Varronis et Lucretio. Ab hoc igitur 560 geno duci potest genimen, quemadmodum a rego regimen. Nihil moror quid possit dici, sed ostendat Stunica quid apud probatos autores compererit. Porro cum impudentissimum fuerit futurum, si obsoletum verbum geno ex priscis autoribus idque carmen scribentibus vsurpare voluissem, multo magis ridiculum sit vsurpare vocem hinc deductam quae nec apud vllos reperiatur, 565 praesertim quum alia suppetant et Latina et vsitata. Ego sane cuperem reperiri, cuperem vsu publico comprobata vocem genimen. Quaeso te

lector perpende, an haec vlla ex parte respondeant magnificis illis ac terrificis Stunicae promissis. |

533 apparare *A B*: apparere *B.A.S LB*.
544 lucri *A B*: lucis *B.A.S*.

564 villos *A B*: illos *B.A.S*.

conversant with it (J. H. Waszink, in: *ASD* I, 4, pp. 191-205).
532-533 *Occidunt ... nuptias* Ter. *Ad.* 899-900; "apparare" is due to influence from Ter. *Phorm.* 701 "apparandi nuptias".
537 *Poenitentiam agite* Mt. 3,2.
537-538 *aliquando ... aliquando* Mt. 3,2; *Mc.* 1,15.
539 *Plinianis* *Epist.* VII, 10, 3: "agat poenitentiam poenitentiae suae"; "poenitentiam agere" therefore requires a genitive and *poenitentiam agite*, used independently in *Mt.* 3,2, is bad Latin, thus Er. That "poenitentiam agere" as a rendering of μετανοεῖν is dubious Latin, had already been pointed out by Lact. *Inst.* VI, 24; yet Tert., Aug. and Jerome had used the term, see Forcellini, *s.v.* poenitentia. Er. wished moreover to avoid here possible reminiscences of the penance imposed by priests as part of the sacrament of the confession; see *Annot. in NT, ad loc.* In subsequent editions Er. translated: "Poenitentiam agite vitae prioris". S. Castellio (1551) translated: "corrigitte vos".
540-541 *negat ... interpretes* This is not precisely what Stun. had said. These are his words: "nemo doctorum veterum, atque illorum quidem qui praeter S. Scripturarum doctrinam Latinae quoque linguae peritissimi sunt habiti, aliter hunc locum vnquam citavit nisi vt in vetere tralatione continetur". This bold assertion is not too wide of the mark. Patristic quotations of *Mt.* 3,2 usually read "poenitentiam agite" (or "ag. p."). The only exception known to me is Tert. *De poenitentia* 2: "poenitentiam initote". Further variations are not yet known to exist (as I have kindly been informed by Dr. H. J. Frede, *Vetus Latina Institut, Beuron*). Ms. k of the *Vetus Latina* has "penitemini", see H. von Soden, *Das lateinische N.T. in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians*, TU 3, 3, Leipzig, 1909, p. 370.
550 *quia ... pro quod* E.g. "scimus quia", 1 *Cor.* 8,4; "credere enim oportet ... quia", *Hebr.* 11,6; "nesciebat quia", *Act.* 12,9; "sperans

quia", *Act.* 24,26. See on the whole subject H. P. V. Nunn, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*, Cambridge, 1922, sections 113-115, 135-137; W. E. Plater and H. J. White, *A Grammar of the Vulgate*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 119-121; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II, pp. 586-587.

554 *Genimina viperarum* *Mt.* 3,7, but the Vg. has *progenies* here, not *genimina*, which is the reading of *Lc.* 3,7 Vg. The misreading *genimina* originated as follows. In his translation Er. had retained the reading *progenies* of the Vg. In the *Annot.*, however, he had observed that as far as he knew *genimen* did not occur in approved authors. From this annotation Stun. had wrongly inferred that *progenies* in Er.' translation had taken the place of a rejected *genimina* of the Vg. Consequently, Stun. had begun his section with the words: "Vetus tralatio (= Vg.): *Genimina viperarum*". Er. did not discover Stun.'s blunder. Instead of blaming Stun. for his sloppiness, Er. presently takes for granted that he himself had translated *progenies* and that the Vg. has *genimina*.

555 *apud probatos autores* The occurrences registered in *Th.L.L.* are all in christian authors.

556 *alicubi* Stun. had referred to *Iob* 31,12; *Prv.* 8,19 and 18,20 in the Vg.

559 *Priscianus* Ed. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. II, fasc. I, p. 528, ll. 25-27: "gigno, genui, pro quo *geno* vetustissimi protulisse inueniuntur: Varro in *Andabata*: sed quod haec loca aliquid genuit. Infinitivum passivum Lucretius in quarto protulit: *geni*". *Lucret.* III, 797.

Andabatis Varronis The *Andabatae* (Roman gladiators whose helmet had no opening for the eyes so that they fought blindfolded; see *PW* I, col. 2116, and Allen, *Ep.* 1010, n.l. 22) was one of the *Menippean Satires* written by M. Terentius Varro; see its fragments in F. Bücheler, *Petronii Saturae ...*, Berolini, 1922, p. 184, esp. no. XI: "sed quod haec loca aliquid genuit". *Lucretio* III, 797.

LB 295

EODEM III.

570 *Facite fructus dignos poenitentiae*, καρπὸς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας. Ostendo Graecis sermonem esse ancipitem, quod genitiuus casus *poenitentiae* referri possit ad *fructus* siue ad *dignos*, et verto quod probat etiam Stunica; sed negat alterum sensum consistere, quod dignus non ponatur absolute nisi statim subiiciatur qua re dignus sis. Imo satis est frequenter hoc subaudire:

575 *O digno coniuncta viro,*
... *si credere dignum est,*

et: digna et indigna dixit. Si quis dicat: malis verberibus acceptus est, et alter respondeat: vt dignus est, puto Latinum fore sermonem. Atque id crebrius est apud Graecos quam apud Latinos. Proinde impudenter hic
580 diuersum nos docet Stunica. Iam vt verum sit dignus apud Latinos alicubi reperiri iunctum paterno casui, certe vehementer est insolens ac vel ideo fugiendum in sermone euangelico, quem decet simplex facilitas. Festiuum autem quod, vt nobis persuadeat ἄξιός apud Graecos iungi paterno casui, de suo fingit exemplum ἄξιός εἰμι τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, quum in promptu esset
585 quod in huius nugas magis quadrasset ἄξιός οὐδενός.

EX CAPITE IIII.

Quod apud Hilarium in Canone super Matthaeum inueneram pro *diabolo zabulum*, dubitabam an esset librariis ascribendum. Hinc Stunica mirus dialecticus ratiocinatur me nihil in Hilario nec in aliis autoribus legisse, nisi vt
590 aliquid decerperem. Sed vnde sumpsit hanc coniecturam Stunica, nisi ex seipso? Neque tamen aiebam *hoc tantum loco* inueniri apud Hilarium, imo posteriore aeditione testor et aliis locis apud eundem obuium esse, neque me fallebat apud Cyprianum esse, quem totum emendauī pro viribus quidem. Stunica diuinat ab Hebraea voce zebul dictum zabulum. Id commenti
595 quantum valeat, ipse viderit; certe Graecis est διάβολος, neque zabulus vsquam reperitur in sacris voluminibus pro diabolo. Mihi videtur aliquanto probabilius zabulum a Graeca voce deflexum Latinis, o mutato in u. Nam za Graecis aliquoties poni pro διά notius est quam vt hic oporteat probare. O grauem annotationem et pulchre respondentem gloriosis illius praefationibus.

600

EODEM II.

Quod interpretes verterat *daemoniacos*, quoniam Graece est σεληνιαζόμενος,

577 dixit. *A B*: add. Et beneficium dando accepit, qui digno dedit. *BAS*.

585 quod *A B BAS*: qui *A**.

597 zabulum *A B*: zabolium *BAS*; deflexum

Latinis, o *A*: deflexum, Latinis o *B BAS*; in u *A B*: add. nisi quis malit hoc scribarum inscitiae tribuere. Nam zabolus in quibusdam codicibus scriptum reperio *BAS*, add.

- sed continuo delet* Tametsi zabolium alicubi scriptum et reperio *M* (cf. *NAK* 58 [1978], p. 180); Nam za *A B*: Certe za *BAS*.
- 598 probare. *A*: probare. Huius rei nos ad-
- 570 *Facite fructus* *Mt.* 3,8, but the *Vg.* reads "fructum" here. *Er.* copied the misreading from *Stun.*; it is probably due to confusion with *Lc.* 3,8.
- 572 *quod probat etiam Stunica* *Er.* had translated "Facite ergo fructus qui deceant poenitentiam". *Stun.* had not in the least expressed his agreement with *Er.*' translation. *Er.* means that *Stun.* had at least agreed that in the *Vg.* *poenitentiae* must be understood as dependent on *dignos*, not on *fructus*, though the latter would in principle be possible.
- 573 *consistere* "To be applicable".
- 575 *O digno...* *Verg. Ecl.* 8, 32.
- 576 ... *si credere...* *Ov. Met.* III, 311. A bad example.
- 577 *digna et indigna dixit* This does not seem to be a real quotation, but "digna indigna" in *Verg. Aen.* XII, 811 "prouerbialiter dictum est", as *Servius* observes *ad loc.* Cf. *ibid.* IX, 595; *Cir.* 247 "digna atque indigna laborum milia visuram"; *Sen. Dial.* VI, 10, 6 "digna atque indigna passuri"; *Val. Fl.* II, 117 "digna atque indigna canentem"; *Otto* 556, supplemented in *Häussler*.
- 579 *apud Graecos* *E.g. Ap. Iob.* 16,6 ἄξιον γὰρ εἶσι.
- 586 *Ex capite iiii* *Mt.* 4,1.
- 587 *Hilarium* *Comm. in Mt., ad* 4,1; *Migne PL* 9, 928, where, however, the text runs "ut tentaretur a diabolo". *Er.* had found "a zabulo" in the Hilary edition published at Paris (in *aedibus ascensianis*), 1510. In his *Annot. in NT, ad Mt.* 4,1 he observed: "Quod in *Hilario pro a diabolo* legitur a *zabulo*, fortassis errori librarium est ascribendum". This comment obviously concerns only the quotation of *Mt.* 4,1. In 1523 *Er.* himself edited the complete Hilary with *Froben* at Basle; see *Ep.* 1334.
- 589-590 *me nihil ... decerperem* *Stun.*: "Ex hoc facile apparet non *Hilarii* opera *Erasmus* perlegisse, sed neque aliorum doctorum veterum, nisi quatenus ex eis excerperet quod suo operi conducibile videbatur".
- 591 *hoc tantum loco* *Stun.*: "Si enim *Hilarii* commentarios diligenter *Er.* percurrisset, non hoc loco tantum sed et in aliis quamplurimis *Zabuli* appellatione diabolium ab eo vocitatum comperisset".
- 593 *Cyprianum* *Stun.* had quoted two passages from *Cypr. Fort.* 10 (ed. *R. Weber, CCSL* 3, pp. 198-199) as evidence for "zabulus"; recent editions, however, have "diabolus" at these places.
- emendandi* In 1520 *Er.* had edited *Cypr.* with *Froben* at Basle; see *Ep.* 1000.
- 594 *zebul* *Stun.* had indeed launched the hypothesis that *zabulus* derived from ζεβούλ (*Mt.* 12,24), which he regarded as a corrupted form of ζεβούβ = זבוב (*zebub*, "flies"). And as *zebul* was the name of an idol (2 *Reg.* 1,2-16), *zebul* and *zabulus* had become names of the devil. This theory is wrong and *Er.*' explanation is right: *zabulus* is *Vulgar Latin* for διάβολος, see *Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr* I, p. 130, and *Th.L.L., s.v. diabolus*.
- 597 *in u* The spelling "zabolus" mentioned in the addition in *M* and *BAS*, occurs in *Hier. Epist.* 39, 6, 1 in part of the mss. Further instances in *Th.L.L., s.v. diabolus*.
- 598 *probare* The insertion of the laudatory mention of *Aleander* in *BAS* is the result of a hint which *L. Vives* gave *Er.* in *Ep.* 1256, ll. 67-69: "[*Aleandrum*] si commode posses per occasionem honorifice nominare, redderes ὄλον σόν; nam questus est mihi te non retulisse gratiam περι τοῦ ζα in *Stunicam* - intelligis puto. Vide quibus moueatur, aut potius quid de te sentiat, quum tantopere cupit laudari abs te". The laudatory qualifications which *Er.* repeatedly used when mentioning *Aleander* in his letters, were held against him as a mark of lack of character by *Hutten*; see *Spongia, ASD* IX, 1, p. 148, ll. 680-681, and *Ep.* 1195, l. 12 with *Allen's* note. Cf. pp. 169-171, n.l. 98.
- 601 *daemoniacos* *Mt.* 4,24. *Er.* is in error: he means "lunaticos". The mistake arose from the fact that *Stun.* had misquoted *Mt.* 4,24 as follows: "et daemoniacos et lunaticos"; "et daemoniacos" is not the text of the *Vg.*, but that of *Er.*' translation. *Er.* himself, however, did not notice *Stun.*'s blunder, and took it from *Stun.* that "et daemoniacos" was the *Vg.* Moreover, *Er.* is wrong in connecting his comments with the first words of *Stun.*'s lemma "et daemoniacos" instead of with the fourth word "lunaticos".

malui vertere *syderatos*, idque in prima duntaxat aeditione, nam id in secunda mutauimus. Nec damnabam tamen quod verterat interpres. Stunica docet nos aliud esse *syderatos*, aliud *lunaticos*. Et scio inter eruditos olim fuisse concertationem de hac voce; nec video cur non possint dici *syderati*, qui *syderis* vi percussi sunt, atque id sane sonat Graeca vox. Coeterum hac de re non est animus multis verbis contendere cum Stunica, praesertim quum ipse vltro vocem eam mutarim in aeditione sequunda.

EX CAPITE V, I.

610 *Si sal euanuerit*. Hic mihi magis placuerat *infatuatus fuerit* quam *euanuerit*, quod euanescere Latinis dicatur quod tollitur e conspectu aut quod inani specie desinit videri. Euanescit fumus, euanescunt spectra. Deinde malebam salem in masculino genere quam in neutro. Stunica docet in vtroque genere vsurpatum. Id ego nec ignorabam nec inficiatus sum, sed magis placuit quod ~~et~~ receptius esset et apud autores minus obsoletos reperiretur. |

LB 296

EODEM II.

In prima aeditione verteram *non adulteraberis* malens id quam quod erat Grecum *moechaberis*, quanquam hoc ipsum librariis imputari poterat, quandoquidem nullam huius rei facio mentionem in Annotationibus, quod tamen in secunda aeditione mutaram vertens *non committes adulterium*. Stunica negat adulterari probum esse verbum nisi sumas passiuæ. Ac verum est Latinis adulterari quod corrumpitur, quemadmodum et adulterat qui corrumpit, neque id nos fugiebat. Sed ego sic dixi adulterari, sicut dicimus poetari, rhetoricari, iuuenari, palpari, neutrali significatione. Et tamen quod Stunica putat apud Gellium adulterare simpliciter idem esse quod adulterium committere, non omnino illi assentior. Nam subaudiendum est pronomen, ni fallor: *illa te, si adulterares, digito non auderet contingere. Si adulterares*, subaudi: eam. Sed hoc praeterquam quod leuiculum est et tale vt possim in alios reiicere, iam ante tres annos est a nobis mutatum, vt dixi, vt si melius est quod postea posuimus, nihil omnino gratiae debeatur Stunicae.

EX CAPITE VI.

635 *Panem nostrum quotidianum*. Hic quoniam nihil est quod contra me faciat, non est quod respondeam. Quanquam hoc nomine nonnihil debeo Stunicae, quod admonuerit mihi pro *alibi* scribendum fuisse *hic*, etiamsi a me scriptum suspicor *alicubi*. Tum vt tumultuabamur, non vacabat inspicere locum aut fortassis dum hoc aggredimur alio sumus auocati. Et tamen animaduertentem in hac aeditione tertia. Quod si mihi Stunica diffidit, debebo non inuitus illi hoc officii, tametsi seuus est monitor, et fortasse cum illius lucubrationes prodibunt, reponam etiam hanc gratiam cum aliquo foenore.

- 623 dicimus *A BAS*: diximus *B*.
- 625 adulterare *CS BAS LB recte* (cf. *Stunicam ad locum*: *adulterare dicimus, non adulterari*): adulterari *A B*.
- 637 in hac aeditione *A B*: hoc in aeditione *BAS*.
- 602 in *secunda* In 1519 Er. returned to the translation "lunaticos".
- 603–604 *docet ... lunaticos* Stun.: "sciendum ... *lunaticos* eos proprie dici qui certis lunae temporibus aut insania aut alio quouis morbo vexantur. ... *Siderati* vero illi dicuntur quorum corpora vi quadam occulta siderum momento temporis arefacta redduntur".
- 605 *concertationem* Commenting on *Mt.* 4,24 and 17,15 Jerome and Chrysostom, both quoted by Stun., point out that in using the term "lunaticus" *Mt.* had adopted popular usage, though realizing that it was an improper term because the disease in question was not brought on by the movements of the moon, as the pagans believed, but by demons.
- 610 *Si sal euanuerit* *Mt.* 5,13. *infatuatus* "Infatuari" in the sense of "to become insipid, tasteless" is not precisely common, and only used in christian Latin. At this very place it occurs in the mss. d, h and k of the *Vetus Latina*: "infatuatum fuerit", see A. Jülicher, *Itala*, I, Berlin/New York, 1972². Cf. *Hier. Epist.* 125, 1, 3 "sal ... si infatuatur"; *Epist.* 14, 9, 3 "infatuatum sal ad nihilum est vitile". In his *Annot., ad loc.*, Er. himself referred to *Martial.* XIII, 13, 1 "fatuae ... betae".
- 613 *masculino genere* In the *Vg.* the gender of *sal* remains uncertain at this place, but the use of "infatuatus" forced Er. to make a choice.
- 615 *autores minus obsoletos* Stun. had pointed to the use of *sal* as a neuter in *Afranius* (2nd cent. B.C.; quoted by *Priscianus*, V, 45, ed. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. II, fasc. I, p. 171), *Festus* (of uncertain date, 2nd cent. A.D.?, but Stun. quotes his epitomist *Paulus Diaconus*, of c. 800 A.D., ed. W. Lindsay, Leipzig, 1913, p. 439), and *Jerome* in the *Vg.*, *Lv.* 2,13; *Iudic.* 9,45; 2 *Rg.* 2,20. The masculine is much more common.
- 617 *non adulteraberis* *Mt.* 5,27. As Er. says, "adulteraberis" may originally be a printer's error for "adulterabis".
- 621 *negat* Rightly so.
- 623 *Sed ego sic dixi* Precisely this is impossible. For *adulterari* in the neutral sense of "to be an adulterer" there is no unequivocal ancient evidence, see *Th.L.L.* In mediaeval Latin, however, *adulterari* as a deponens meaning "to commit adultery" is not unusual, see *Diefenbach*, *Latham*, and *Niermeyer*, s.v. If Er.' "adulteraberis" was not a printer's error, it may have been a "mediaevalism".
- 625 *Stunica putat* Stun. had written: "adulterare ... reperitur etiam absolutum pro adulterum esse, sicut hic apud *Gellium* lib. 10, cap. 23, vbi dicitur: Illa te, si adulterares, digito non auderet contingere; neque ius est". For "adulterares" modern editions read "adulterares siue tu adulterare". This bears out Stun.'s view that the passive form had a passive or a reflexive meaning, not an active or "absolute" meaning "to commit adultery".
- 628 *subaudi: eam* An untenable interpretation.
- 629 *in alios* That is, *in librarios*, mentioned in the beginning of this section. (I owe this explanation to Prof. J. Smit Sibinga.)
- 632 *Panem nostrum quotidianum* *Mt.* 6,11, but Er. replaced *supersubstantialem* (*Vg.*) by *quotidianum* in conformity with *Lc.* 6,13 and the liturgical form of the *Lord's Prayer* in, e.g., the *Mass*.
- nihil ... faciat* The *Vg.* reads "supersubstantialem", the *Vetus Latina* "quotidianum". The latter translation had been approved of, as Stun. argued, by *Ambrose* (*De Sacramentis* V, 4). Somewhat clumsily, Stun. had failed to stress that "supersubstantialem" should be preferred and Er. now takes advantage of this slight negligence.
- 634 *pro alibi ... hic* In his *Annot.* on *Mt.* 6,11 Er. had written: "Quod alibi vertit supersubstantialem ...". Stun. replied: "Dicere debuit 'Quod hic' etc., as "supersubstantialem" occurs only in *Mt.* 6,11, not in *Lc.* 11,3.
- 637 *aeditione tertia* *Viz.*, of Er.' *Nouum Testamentum*, in preparation since Oct. 1519 (*Ep.* 1029, l. 30) and published in March 1522 (*Ep.* 1267, l. 29).
- 638 *illius lucubrationes* In his comments on *Act.* 4,27 Stun. had announced a second work against Er., in which he would deal with Er.' dogmatic errors. Obviously, Stun. was already thinking of his *Blasphemiae et impietates Erasmi*, on which see our Introduction, pp. 22–23, 36, 38. See also p. 142, ll. 634–636, with the n.l. 636.

640

EODEM II.

Hic quid superest nisi vt Stunicae triumphum adornemus albis equis? Dixeram coronidem precationis dominicae reperiri quidem in omnibus Graecorum codicibus, coeterum a nemine exponi praeterquam a Vulgario. Stunica indicat et a Chrysostomo in Homiliis. Ac ne diffidamus, ipsius Chrysostomi verba
 645 refert Graeca moxque subiicit Aniani interpretationem. Prodigiosam hominis diligentiam. Atque hinc colligit quam indiligenter tum versatus sim in euoluendis autoribus. Absolutum est hoc opus Basileae magna celeritate intra menses ferme quinque. Neque in hoc totum esse licebat. Maximam mei partem habebat Hieronymus qui simul excudebatur. Et miratur Stunica, si locus
 650 aliquo casu non occurrit in Chrysostomo, quod aliquoties accidit ob inuersas paginas. Quod incommodum mihi tum acciderat in Commentariis Theophylacti Graecis in epistolas Pauli et Chrysostomo Latine verso. Fieri potest vt Chrysostomus id temporis mihi non venerit in mentem, quod satis esset Vulgarius. Et tamen hac de re satis, opinor, respondi Leo, qui prior hoc
 655 nobis impegit, sed sero, cum in aeditione posteriore meminerimus etiam Chrysostomi, vt hoc sane nomine neutri quicquam debeamus.

EX CAPITE VIII.

Quod Graece est καὶ ἐμβάντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, interpret vertit *et ascendente eo in nauiculam*. Vt seruarem etiam temporis rationem, verto *et cum esset ingressus nauim*. Deinde ne quis putaret subesse mysterium in diminutiua voce *nauicula*, ostendo hoc loco πλοῖον esse, non πλοῖάριον, quanquam his vocibus promiscue viderentur vti euangelistae. Stunica docet interpretem *non male* vertisse. Sit ita sane, nec id ego sane dixeram. Nam ἀναβαίνω, inquit, sonat
 LB 297 ascendo, καταβαίνω descendo, ἐμβαίνω inscendo. Quid autem συμβαίνω,
 665 num conscendo? Sed extra iocum, quid hic agit Stunica? Si ἐμβαίνω sonat inscendo, ergo non debebat verti *ascendens*, cum non sit ἀναβάς, sed inscensa nauis.

Ad haec obiter admonui conciliabulum nec esse diminutiuum nec sonare

643 Vulgario *A B*: Theophylacto *BAS*.645 Aniani *CS*: Amiani *A B*, Anniani *BAS*
LB.654 Vulgarius *A B*: Theophylactus *BAS*.662 viderentur *A B*: videntur *BAS*.641 *Hic Mt.* 6,13.*albis equis Adag.* 321, LB II, 159 C-D: "... quod victores in triumpho albis equis vectari soleant". Suet. *Ner.* 25; *Dom.* 2.642-643 *omnibus ... codicibus* The doxology concluding the Lord's Prayer occurs in several forms in the great majority of the Greek mss., especially in the mss. belonging to the Byzantine type of text. But it isabsent from early representatives of the Alexandrian and Western text, and in early patristic commentaries, e.g. those of Tertullian, Origen and Cyprian. See B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek N.T.*, London/New York, 1971.643 *Vulgario* Theophylact, archbishop of Ochrida in Bulgaria until 1108, whose Greek commentary on the gospels Er. used

- in a ms. now at Basle, Univ. Libr., A.N. III.15 (Gregory no. 817), the beginning of which was damaged so that the author's name was no longer legible. On its cover, however, the Latin name "Vulgarius" (= Βουλγάριος) had been written, borrowed from the ms. itself at a moment when the word Βουλγάριος was still legible in its original title. Er. took "Vulgarius" to be the author's name, without realizing that it was the designation of a Bulgarian, let alone of Theophylact, and consistently referred to the commentary as that of Vulgarius, even on the title-page of his *Nouum Instrumentum*. See H. Omont, *Catalogue des mss. grecs des bibliothèques de Suisse*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 10, no. 20; C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des N.T.*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 748, 224; Allen, Ep. 846, n.l. 8 and Ep. 1790, n.l. 11. Er. corrected his mistake in the second ed. of 1519. See also *ad Ioh.* 1,46 below, p. 130, ll. 435-437.
- 644 *Chrysostomo Hom. in Mt.* XIX, 6; Migne PG 57, 282.
- 645 *Aniani An(n)ianus*, deacon of Celeda ("on ne sait trop où était cette ville", A. Regnier, in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1924, III, p. 281), a known follower of Pelagius, translated Chrys. in 415-419. See Bardenhewer III, p. 333; Regnier, *loc. cit.*; Geerard, no. 4424. His translation of Chrys.' *Hom. in Mt.* was criticized by Er. in Ep. 1558, ll. 187-246; see Allen, n.l. 202. However, the Latin version quoted by Stun. was not Anianus's, as he himself had claimed, but that of George of Trebizond (see below, n.l. 652).
- 647 *celeritate* See p. 122, ll. 262-263 below and p. 60, l. 24 above; and cf. p. 173, n.l. 144.
- 651-652 *Commentariis Theophylacti Graecis* See on this ms., which is now in Oxford, p. 193, n.l. 493; p. 165, n.l. 31; p. 197, n.ll. 555-556.
- 652 *Chrysostomo Latine verso* From *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei* (LB IX, 141 C) it appears that, until 1522, Er. used the Latin *Hom. in Mt.* of Chrys. in two different Basle editions of Chrys.' works: the one published by Jac. Wolff of Pforzheim and W. Lachner, Basle, 1504 (on which see Allen, Ep. 575, n.l. 36), the other published by Froben, Basle, 1517, 5 vols. (see *ibid.* and introd. Ep. 2359). Er. bought a copy of the 1517 edition in 1519 (see Ep. 1052, l. 1). Both editions contain the first eight homilies (on *Mt.* 1-2,15) in the Latin translation of Anianus, the other 81 homilies in the translation of George of Trebizond (1395-1484).
- 654 *respondi Leo Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, LB IX, 132-133.
- 657 *Ex capite viii Mt.* 8,23.
- 660 *mysterium Explained in Annot., ad loc.*, of 1516 (= LB VI, 47 D): "hinc ortum arbitrator, quod passim iam nauiculam appellant Petri, quoties ecclesiam significant. At magis conueniebat ingentem esse nauim, quae vniuersum hominum genus reciperet, magisque responderet ad typum arcae, quae capacissima fuisse describitur". *Nauicula Petri* is a popular mediaeval symbol and conception of the church, often of the church in peril; see e.g. Seb. Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, Basle, 1494 (ed. M. Lemmer, Tübingen, 1968²), § 103, 63: "Sant Peters schyfflin ist im schwangk", with Dürer's woodcut showing "sant peters schifflin". See also E. Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der chr. Ikonographie*, III, Rome, 1971, s.v. *Navicella*, and, e.g., Tert. *De baptismo* 12,7 "nauicula illa figuram ecclesiae praeferebat ...". Er. presently rejects the conception of the church as a small *nauicula Petri* as too narrow: the church should embrace "vniuersum hominum genus". In this Er. may well have been influenced by a different patristic tradition: many fathers liked to compare the church with a *big* ship on which all the faithful made for their heavenly destination; see Lampe, s.v. *ναῦς*; H. Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung*, Zürich, 1945, pp. 345-440 (to which Prof. J. Smit Sibinga kindly drew my attention); K. Goldammer, *Nauis Ecclesiae*, ZNW 40 (1941), pp. 76-86. In substituting *nauim* for *nauiculam*, however, Er. also eliminated a vulgarism. Vulgar and christian Latin shared the preference of the popular language for the fuller and more expressive forms of nouns. Many of these diminutives soon lost their diminutive force. In *Mt.* 8,23 *nauicula* translates *πλοῖον*. Consequently, Er.' rendering *nauim* substitutes a classical for a non-classical form. For "nauicula Petri" see also Ep. 3021, l. 32.
- 661-662 *his ... euangelistae* This had already been observed by Stun.: "nunc *πλοῖα* nunc *πλοῦάρια* indifferenter illi [*sc.* euangelistae] vocare solent". Broadly speaking, this is correct. For instance, in *Ioh.* *πλοῦαριον* and *πλοῖον* are used indiscriminately and the diminutive may well have lost that significance there.
- 668 *admonui Viz.*, in order to show that a diminutive or pejorative significance is

semper in malam partem, cum apud Hieronymum reperitur in bonam
 670 partem. Stunica docet apud Hieronymum accipi in malam partem. Quis istud
 neget? Cum coetus, conuentus, synagoga, concilium, si addas
 Satanae, sonet in malam partem. Sed me prouocat vt indicem vbi diuus
 Hieronymus vsurparit in bonam partem. Atqui demiror hoc a me petere
 675 Stunicam, qui totas aetates versatus sit in omnibus sacris autoribus. Sed tamen
 vnus locus mihi nunc in promptu est. In epistola ad Gerontiam De monoga-
 mia scribit hunc in modum Hieronymus: *quae iuxta Apocalypsim Ioannis
 synagogae magis Diaboli appellandae sunt quam conciliabula Christi*. Eat nunc Stunica
 et neget me quicquam vidisse in sacris autoribus, cum hoc certe a Batauo
 didicerit.

680

EODEM II.

Stunica videtur delectatus ioci genere quod Graeci vocant ἀπροσδόκητον, cui
 visum est hoc loco denūo praefari hunc in modum: *imo, inquit, quid Erasmo cum
 sacris scripturis, quas ab heri et nudinstertius videtur attigisse. Sciendum vero et cetera*.
 Haec qui legit, nonne mox expectat illum proditurum aliquem insignem ac
 685 periculosum meum lapsum in sacris literis? Rursum, vbi audit: *sciendum vero*,
 nonne reconditam aliquam expectat doctrinam e penitissimis scripturarum
 adytis depromendam? Nunc audi rem vix teruncio dignam.

Quod interpret verterat: *quid nobis et tibi Iesu*, verbo noto, qui Latine
 vertens Graece loqui maluerit quam Latine, quod ad orationis tropum attinet.
 690 Graecis enim eleganter dicitur: *τί μοι καὶ μακροῖς ἀλλοῖς, τί κυνὶ καὶ βαλανείῳ*,
 Latinis non item. Adieceram igitur: *imo quid hic interpreti cum Graeca figura?* Id
 Stunica sibi visus est perquam lepide retorquere: *imo quid Erasmo cum sacris
 scripturis?* Deinde docet eandem sermonis formam quae est apud Graecos et
 apud Hebraeos esse. Sit ita sane. Verum num ideo *heri* coepit Erasmus
 695 attingere sacras litteras, si Graecis congruit sermonis tropus cum Hebraeis?
 Quid autem hic a me peccatum est? Non negabam eandem orationis formam
 esse apud Hebraeos, sed apud Latinos esse negaui. Hoc, opinor, mihi conuenit
 cum Stunica, sed ille mauult euangelistas, etiam alios qui sine controuersia
 Graece scripserunt, hoc sermonis genus ab Hebraeis duxisse potius quam a
 700 Graecis: ne id quidem mea refert. Tametsi quid opus aliunde petere, cum domi
 sit? Etiamsi nescissent euangelistae Hebraice tantumque Graece scissent,
 tamen sic, opinor, erant loquuturi. An ideo Latine vertit interpret Latinus,
 quod sic loquantur Hebraei? O serias Annotationes. Vtrum hic *somniauit
 Erasmus*, an potius Stunica? Nescio quid suspicionis mihi parit, quod Stunica
 705 tam impense fauet Hebraeis vt his omnia velit deberi, cum res nihil tale
 postulet.

EX CAPITE X.

Et nurrum aduersus socrum suam. Quoniam Graecis est νόμφη, verteram

710 *sponsam aduersus socrum suam*. Stunica docet νόμφην Graecis et nurum sonare et sponsam, nec id sane nesciebam. Sed interim quae tibi nurus est, filii tui sponsa est, vt hoc loco nihil referat ad sensum, *sponsam* dicas an *nurum*. Non taxabam interpretem, sed eundem sensum aliter reddidi, idque voce magis vsitata quam sit nurus.

671 neget *A B*: negat *B.A.S.*
683 ab heri *A B*: heri *B.A.S.*

688 noto *A*: illum noto *B B.A.S.*

sometimes wrongly looked for in words which do not have such a meaning. Stun. in his turn had quoted four passages in Jerome where *conciliabulum* does have a pejorative meaning, but brought about, as Er. presently argues, by the addition of "haereticorum" or "malignantium" or "vitiatorum". For the rest it should be noticed that *conciliabulum* is not really comparable to *manicula* since nouns in *-bulum* and *-bula* (*stabulum, patibulum, fibula*, etc.) are no diminutives at all, but normal derivatives of verbs and nouns; see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I, p. 314, § 285, 4.

669 *Hieronymum Epist.* 123, 11, ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 56, p. 84, ll. 19-20, as quoted by Er. ll. 676-677.

674 *totas aetates...* An allusion to Stun.'s introd. as quoted on p. 65, n.ll. 73-76.

676 *Apocalypsim Ap. Iob.* 2,9; 3,9. For another instance of *conciliabulum* in a favourable sense in Jerome, see *Epist.* 60, 12: "martirum conciliabula" (*Tb.L.L., s.v.*).

678 *neget Stun. ad 1 Cor.* 4,3: "nihil ... corum quae apud D. Hieronymum et alios ecclesiae doctores legit [*sic* Erasmus] prorsus intelligit".

Batauo See pp. 66, l. 121; 134, l. 504; 146, l. 709, with the nn.

680 *Eodem ii Mt.* 8,29.

681 ἀπροσδόκητον Cic. *De Or.* II, 255: "notissimum ridiculi genus, cum aliud exspectamus, aliud dicitur"; in Latin "improuisum", *ibid.* III, 207; Quint. *Inst.* IX, 1, 35; 3, 90.

683 *heri et nudistertius* Plaut. *Most.* 956; *Adag.* 1442, *LB II*, 565 D; Ep. 1216, ll. 33-34.

686-687 *scripturarum adytis* Cf. Hier. *Epist.* 107, 7, ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 55, p. 298, ll. 11-12: "in adyto scripturarum".

689 *orationis tropum* Not a specific rhetorical "tropus" (figure of speech), but the Greek "turn of phrase" τί ἐστιν ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί;

690 τί μοι καὶ μακροῖς ἀλοῖς Leutsch-Schneidewin II, p. 677.

τί καὶ κατλ. Leutsch-Schneidewin II, pp.

219, 677; *Adag.* 39, *LB II*, 166 C-167 D.
693-694 *docet ... Hebraeos esse* Rightly so. Cf. 1 Rg. 17,18 מִה־לִּי וְלִי (quid mihi et tibi, Vg.) and Epict. I, 22, 15 τί μοι καὶ ἀλλῶ. See Bauer, col. 430.

703-704 *somniauit Erasmus* Stun. had written: "Sciendum vero non hic esse Graecam figuram, vt Er. somniauit, sed Hebraicam potius".

704 *suspitionis* Viz., that Stun. was of Jewish extraction. See Er.' insinuation *ad 1 Cor.* 7,18, and cf. his allusions *ad Lc.* 3,1 and 23,28 *B.A.S.* (crit. app.). These allusions are meant as depreciatory. Er. regarded tolerance as a matter of course, but his tolerance was constantly menaced by his identification of christendom and society. Ultimately, he was not entirely free from the anti-jewish prejudices current in Europe in his time. See C. Augustijn, *Erasmus und die Juden*, *NAK* 60 (1980), pp. 22-38; Allen, Ep. 1006, n.l. 142; G. Kisch, *Erasmus' Stellung zu Juden und Judentum*, Tübingen, 1969; G. Winkler, *Erasmus und die Juden*, in: *Festschrift Franz Loidl*, II, Wien, 1970, pp. 381-392; H.S. May, *Erasmus and the Jews: Psychohistoric Revaluation*, in: *Proceedings of the 6th Congress of Jewish Studies*, ed. A. Shinan, V, 2, 1975, pp. 85-93; S. Markish, *Erasmus et les juifs*, Lausanne, 1979. Er. used the same innuendo against Aleander, Epp. 1166, l. 85; 2578, l. 31. That Stun. was a Jew was also alleged by Alciati in April 1521, see A. Hartmann, ed., *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, II, Basle, 1943, pp. 510-511.

708 *Et nurum Mt.* 10,35.

709 *sponsam* Stun. rightly criticized this translation. Er.' defence is weak; in his *Annot., ad loc.*, he correctly observed: "νόμφη ... si referatur ad maritum *sponsam* sonat, si ad parentes sponsi, *nurum*". The latter is the case. Beza (*Annot., ad loc.*) too criticized Er.' translation "sponsam", but Vatablus and Zegerus (in *CS*) adopted it. In *Lc.* 12,53 Er. translated: "nurus aduersus socrum suam".

EX CAPITE XI.

- 715 *Lamentaui* et non *planxisti*. Sic interpret. Ego verteram *lamentati*
sumus et adieceram: *quis autem vnquam dixit lamentaui*? Hic Stunica docet
 ex antiquis grammaticis quaedam verba apud priscos usurpata voce actiua,
 LB 298 quae nunc passiuia sunt in | vsu, et contra, quod genus sunt puniuntur pro
 puniunt et sacrificantur pro sacrificant, contemplo pro contemplor,
 720 auguro pro auguror, crimino pro criminor, frustra pro frustror,
 patio pro patior, moro pro moror, demolio pro demolior, atque huius
 generis complura. Et ad hanc formam vult interpretem dixisse *lamentaui*.
 Bella profecto defensio interpretis, si non excusatus dixit *lamentaui* quam
 si dixisset *criminaui* ac *demoliui*. Sic eximius iste patronus et in
 725 sacris litteris *προσεληνάιος* tuctur interpretem clientem suum.
 Addit aliud huic simile lemma. In Psalmis, inquit, habetur *et virgines eorum*
non sunt lamentatae. Quasi consequens sit eum ideo recte dicere, quia saepius ita
 dicat, aut ideo verum dicat aliquis si crebro repetat idem mendacium.
 Quanquam non statim Latine dicitur in oratione soluta et vulgo parata
 730 populo quod *populatas* urbes passiuie legamus.
 Multo minus ad rem facit quod adducit ex Hebraeis, imo contra ipsum facit.
 Etenim cum Hieronymus mutato verbi genere verterit *virgines eorum nemo luxit*,
 palam est illum vitasse vocem male Latinam *lamentatae* sunt. Sed interim
 Stunica meus, qui defendit puniuntur pro puniunt, in me non tulit
 735 *adulteraberis* pro *adulterabis*.

EODEM II.

- Confiteor tibi, Pater, Domine coeli et terrae* et cetera. Hic Stunica mihi
 geminam impingit dicam, primum quod pro *ἐξομολογοῦμαι* verterim *gratias*
ago, deinde quod *νηπίοις* pro *paruulis* verterim *stultis*.
 740 Non dissimulat tamen a me lectum Hieronymum, qui admonuerit confes-
 sionem non semper esse peccatum agnoscentis, sed frequenter laudantis
 et gratias agentis. Sed *Hieronymus*, inquit, *illic* non *de verbi proprietate*, sed *de*
sensu disputat. Istuc equidem sciebam et idcirco monueram hoc esse idiomatis
 Hebraici, apud quos confessio sonaret gratiarum actionem, testorque me
 745 ideo vertisse *gratias ago*, quo dilucidior esset sermo iis qui Latine tantum
 norunt. Quid hic admissum? Sensum reddidi et dilucidius reddidi et citra
 amphibologiam. An hoc est *improprie* vertere? Nam id impingit Stunica. An
 abuti voce Latina in sensum, quem Latinis non reddit, est *proprie* vertere?
 Nam hoc laudis Stunica tribuit interpreti.
 750 Iam quod *stultis* verteram pro *paruulis*, miris salibus exagitat homo e
 meris veneribus ac leporibus conflatus. *Non mirum autem*, inquit, *videri debet, si*
in his quae sequuntur pro νηπίοις, id est paruulis, stultos transtulerit, qui de laudibus
stulticiae tam luculenter scripsit. Notus est enim liber ille percelebris ab Erasmo

755 *iam pridem aeditus, cui titulum indidit Morias encomium, opus quidem grauissimum et τοῦ ἐγκωμιαστοῦ haud indignum. Atque illud fuisse reor in causa ut sic hoc loco transferret, quo vel hinc ad sua confirmanda auctoritatem sumeret.* Audis lector eloquentiam Atticam. An non hoc dictum simillimum videtur illi Thrasonico

Eone es ferox, quia habes imperium in beluas?

730 *populo* A B: *populo, populas*, BAS.

735 *adulteraberis* A B: *add. parum sibi constans* B.1S.

715 *Lamentauimus* Mt. 11,17.

716 *quis ... lamentauimus* That *lamentauimus* is bad Latin had already been observed by Valla, *ad loc.*, and there is a correction "lamentati sumus" in ms. C of the Vg. Active forms of "lamento" occur in the Vetus Latina, e.g. Lc. 23,27 in e, and elsewhere in christian Latin; see *Th.L.L.*, s.v.

717 *grammaticis* Nonius Marcellus, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Leipzig, 1903, vol. III, pp. 748-773: book VII; Diomedes I, ed. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. I, pp. 400-401.

725 *προσεληναῖος* "Stupid boaster", cf. *Adag.* 2227, ASD II, 5, pp. 202-203, ll. 946-949: "Lucianus in libello De Astrologia tradit Arcades ob eam causam stupidos habitos, quod caeteris omnibus amplectentibus astrologiam soli contempserint seseque fecerint antiquiores ipsa luna. Vnde et *προσεληναῖος* dicti". See Lucian. *Astr.* 26 and Er.' translation in ASD I, 1, p. 622, ll. 2-4.

726 *Psalmis* Ps. 77 (78),63 Vetus Latina (in Ps. = Vg.).

730 *populo* Yet *populo* as an active verb is not uncommon (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* I, 527; XII, 263); but Cic. uses it only in the part. perf. pass.; Lewis-Short, s.v.

731 *quod adducit* Stun. had quoted Ps. 77 (78),63 in Hebrew and translated the verb used there (in his text הללתי) as "sunt deploratae". He seems to have taken the verb as a form of הלל, the hif'il of which means "to lament, wail". But this is incorrect: הללתי is a pu'al perf. of הלל, "to shout for joy, jubilate, exult". In Ps. 77 (78),63 the verb means: "sunt celebratae, sc. carminibus nuptialibus", that is, "sunt desponsatae".

732 *Hieronymus* Ed. H. de Sainte-Marie, S. Hier. *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, Rome, 1954: "virgines ... nemo luxit". Meanwhile Augustine (*ad loc.*) erroneously took the words of the Vetus Latina "sunt lamentatae" to mean "they have lamented", see

Th.L.L., s.v. *lamentor*.

735 *adulteraberis* See *ad Mt.* 5,27 above.

737 *Confiteor* Mt. 11,25.

738-739 *gratias ago* Valla had already written: "Confitebor tibi, Pater, id est, Gratias ago tibi (ita enim Hieronymus exponit hoc verbum)", *ad loc.*, and the *Glossa Ordinaria* has the interlinear gloss: "Gratias ago, in te exulto".

740 *Hieronymum* *Comm. in Mt.*, *ad* 11,25, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCSL 77, p. 85.

743-744 *idiomatis Hebraici* Cf. *Annot.*, *ad loc.*:

"confiteor dixit iuxta sermonis Hebraei proprietatem pro laudo, seu gratias ago". In Mt. 11,25 ἐξομολογοῦμαι has indeed the cultic meaning of "sing praises, give thanks (to God)" which is typical of the verb in the LXX, especially in the psalms, where it always stands for ἠδ, "to praise, give thanks". Cf. *TWNT* V, pp. 213-215. No single Latin word expresses the full meaning of the Greek verb adequately. "Confiteor tibi" (Vg.) has too many different meanings, whereas "le sens de louer Dieu appartenait au latin biblique et il n'a pas été usuel dans la langue courante" (not even in christian Latin), Chr. Mohrmann, *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens*, I, Rome, 1961, pp. 30-33, see p. 33. "Gratias ago tibi", as Er. translated here, covers only part of what ἐξομολογοῦμαι means. In Mt. 11,25 Beza translated "gloriam tibi tribuo".

747 *improprie* Stun. *ad loc.*: "... recte a vetere interprete traductum, ab Erasmo vero improprie".

754 *Morias* The *Moriae encomium* had first appeared in 1511. In 1520, when Stun. published his first attack on Er., twenty editions of the *Moria* had already appeared; see C.H. Miller, introd. *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, pp. 40-50.

757 *Atticam* "Eloquentia Attica", *Adag.* 157, LB II, 92 D-E.

Thrasonico Thraso is the braggart captain in Terence's *Eun.*

758 *Eone...* Ter. *Eun.* 415: words by which

760 Sed illud cauendum Stunicae, ne doctis grauibusque viris videar paulo dexterius tractasse stultitiam quam ipse tractat euangelicam sapientiam.

Haec lepida praefatus rursus addit: *sciendum vero*. Quid autem docet? Νηπίους *proprie* diei *paruulos* aut *infantes*, *metaphorice stultos*. Rem magnam docuit, sed quam sciunt καὶ νήπιοι. Verum e Chrysostomo docet hoc loco non dictum esse μωροῖς, sed νηπίοις, hoc est *simplicibus* et fuci ignaris. Quid
765 hinc colligit Stunica? Νήπιος non significare stultum, nisi in bonam partem? At in malam partem dixit Hesiodus

νήπιε Πέρσα,

et Homerus

ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω.

770 An μωρός semper in malam partem sonat? At in bonam partem accepit Paulus: *quae stulta sunt mundi, elegit Deus et quod stultum est Dei*. Idem *Christum* predicat *gentibus* quidem μωρίαν, et *Dei* τὸ μωρόν humanis ingeniis *sapientius*. Et paulo ante *stulticiam praedicationis* opposuerat sapientiae scribarum ac philoso-
LB 299 phorum. Hic | Paulus non abhorruit a voce μωροῦ. Proinde quemadmodum
775 anceps est in litteris sacris sapientia, ita est et stulticia. Sunt laudati pariter et illaudati tum νήπιοι, tum μωροί. Quemadmodum paulo ante dixerat *sapientes*, non quod vere saperent, sed quod iuxta mundum saperent, ita suos discipulos *stultos* vocat, non quod vere stulti essent, sed quod iuxta mundum haberentur
780 stulti. Iam qui *paruulos* aut *infantes* vertit, primum perdit gratiam contrarii, deinde non effugit incommodum quod hic vitari vult. Neque enim proprie paruuli erant apostoli, sed malicia paruuli, imo iuxta vulgarem hominum existimationem, qui nec legis erant periti, nec philosophiae professores. Meo iudicio plane magis quadrabat *stulti* vocabulum quam *paruuli*, et tamen in
785 aeditione secunda pro *stultis* reposuimus *paruulos*, veluti diuinantes exoriturum Stunicam, qui nobis hinc strueret calumniam.

EODEM III.

Quod interpres verterat *iugum meum suaue est*, cum Grece sit χρηστόν, malebam *iugum meum commodum*, non damnans tamen quod vertit interpres. Stunica non negans, quod negari non potest, χρηστόν aliquando sonare
790 bonum atque commodum, probare nititur posse pro suaui accipi. Quod vt maxime probet, tamen non praestiterit quod in elencho marginis profiteretur, rectius interpretari *suaue* quam *commodum*.

Nunc quod adducit e Chrysostomo ὅτι μὲν ἡδὺς καὶ κοῦφος ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς ζυγός, haudquaquam probat χρηστόν sonare *suaue*. De re mihi conuenit cum
795 Chrysostomo; tantum agitur an χρηστόν *suaue* sonet et an *suaue* potius quam *commodum*. Potest enim iugum esse commodum minimeque molestum, vt absit tamen iucunditas, et leue potest esse quod non grauet, nec delectet tamen.

Neque vero contra me facit, si Hieronymus sequens vulgatam lectionem legit *suaue iugum*.

800

EX CAPITE XII.

805 Scripseram me vocari *in coniecturam*, *Commentarios* quos habemus Hieronymi *in Matthaeum* alicubi fuisse *decurtatos*; *Commentarios* item *in Psalmos*, quibus et aliena multa sint admixta. *Nam* *Commentarios in Marcum* nihil habere *Hieronymi preter titulum*. Hic atrocibus conuiciis in me destomachatur Stunica, clamitans impudentissimum esse suspicari quenquam *ausum violare* libros sacrorum *doctorum*. Hominem suaue, quasi vero non omnia sint ausi deprauatores in libris doctissimi cuiusque, aut quasi hoc olim non publicum etiam studium fuerit, autores in compendium contrahere.

783 quadrabat B *B.A.S. CS I.B.*: quadrabit A.
790 suaui A B: suaue *B.A.S.*
794 sonare suaue A B: *add.* si locum explanans plus dixit quam habet euangelium

B.A.S.
797 tamen. A B: *add.* Et si delectet quicquid commodum est, non statim commodum idem declarat quod delectabile. *B.A.S.*

Thraso claims he had squashed the man who had charge of the king's elephants when this man had shown jealousy (as Thraso believed) of the favour in which Thraso was with the king. Er. quotes the dictum as a sample of an extremely poor joke, though told with swank as if it was witty. Er. quoted the same line in his *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD I, 4, p. 255, l. 319.*

763 *Chrysostomo Hom. in Mt. XXXVIII, Migne PG 57, 429 (Εἰπὼν δὲ σοφούς ... ζηλοῦν).*

765 *Νήπιος ... partem?* This is not what Stun. means; he had only argued that "hoc loco non de stultis, i.e. fatuis, sed de paruulis, i.e. simplicibus, dominica verba intelligi debere omnes ecclesiastici doctores affirmant" (he quotes Chrys. and Hil.). Er. agreed with this exegesis, but felt that the translation "stulti" did not run counter to this interpretation (just this is questionable) and that the contrast with "sapientes" was better brought out by "stulti" than by "paruuli" (cf. p. 98, l. 779 "graciam contrarii").

767 *νήπιε Πέρσα Hes. Erg. 286, 397, 633.*

769 *ῥεχθὲν κτλ. Hom. Il. XVII, 32.*

771 *quae stulta ... Deus 1 Cor. 1,27.*

quod stultum est Dei 1 Cor. 1,25.

771-772 *Christum ... sapientius* A paraphrasis of parts of *1 Cor. 1,23* and *25.*

773 *stulticiam praedicationis 1 Cor. 1,21.*

776 *sapientes Mt. 11,25.*

787 *iugum meum suaue est Mt. 11,30.*

789 *Stunica* The only reason why Stun. prefers "suaue" to "commodum" is that, according to him, "suaue" fits better in with a "yoke". He does not explain why.

791 *elencho* It runs: "χρηστόν rectius hoc loco interpretari suaue quam commodum".

795 *Chrysostomo Hom. in Mt. XXXVIII, Migne PG 57, 433.*

798 *Hieronymus Comm. in Mt., ad 11,30, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCSL 77, p. 87; Ps. Hier. Breuiarium in Psalmos, ad 16,4, Migne PL 26, 911.* Prof. J. Smit Sibinga pointed out to me that, in contravention of what Er. argued in the present section, he accepted *suaue* as an adequate rendering of *χρηστόν* in *Mt. 11,30* when, in the *Annot., ad Lc. 5,39*, he needed the meaning *suaue*.

801 *Scripseram Ad Mt. 12,17-18.*

803 *Commentarios in Marcum* Cf. p. 101, n.11. 822-823.

804 *Stunica* His words are: "Quis non admiretur Erasmi istius audaciam, aut non potius impudentiam detestetur, ...? ... Neque enim quisquam adeo fuisset temerarius, ne sacrilegum dixerim, qui sanctorum opera eo modo violare ausus esset quo Er. est suspicatus".

Docet autem quod Hieronymus eos Commentarios vocet *strictos*. Fateor
 810 fuisse breues, si ad eos conferantur, quibus explanat prophetas, et tamen nihil
 vetat integros copiosiores fuisse quam nunc sunt.

Iam quod Hieronymus ait se plenius in Commentariis de re quapiam
 scripsisse, cum illic vix attingat paucis, sic eludit Stunica, non dictum esse
 plenius in Commentariolis, sed in Commentariolis et in epistola ad Algasiam.
 815 At in hac copiose rem tractat. Atque hec tergiuersatio quantum habeat
 momenti, viderint alii. Si sensisset Hieronymus quod interpretatur Stunica,
 dixisset, opinor: qua de re nonnihil attigimus in Commentariolis, sed plenius
 disseruimus in epistola ad Algasiam. Ego praeter coniecturam meam nihil
 attuli in medium.

820 Porro Commentarios in Psalmos nihil vetat et breues fuisse, et tamen
 decurtatione factos breuiores, cum tamen alicubi sit multum battologiae.

Postremo Stunica ne qua in re mecum sentiat, etiam Commentarios in
 Marcum qui feruntur Hieronymi titulo illi asserit. *Simili*, inquit, *errore deceptus*
est nostrorum temporum Aristarchus. Nisi putat nullum esse Hieronymi opus, nisi quod
 LB 300 *secularem eloquentiam redo|leat quodque Tullium ac Liuium passim representet.* Legat
 826 Stunica eos Commentarios et postea rideat Aristarchum horum temporum.
 Neque enim ex phrasi tantum iudicauit hoc esse alterius, neque damno tamen
 opus.

EX CAPITE XIII.

830 *Et decollauit Ioannem.* Quod est ἀπεκεφάλησεν verteram *amputauit caput*,
 non damnans interpretem, imo fassus esse decollandi verbum apud Senecam
 in libello ludicro De morte Claudii, sed addubitans *an ludibrii causa* eo sit vsus.
 Stunica indicat esse et apud alios autores et alio loco apud hunc ipsum
 Senecam. At istud ipsum testatus sum in secunda aeditione. Nec tamen
 835 perperam verti *amputauit caput*. Decollandi verbum certe ambiguum esse
 fatetur Stunica. Hic quum nihil dictum aut admissum sit in interpretem, vide
 tamen quanto cum stomacho peroret Stunica: *quae tandem, inquit, insolentia est*
veterem interpretem ex obliquo carpere, calumniari, mordere et quasi barbare loquutus
 fuerit passim exsibilare? Audis oratorem vehementem, non dulcem tamen.

840

EODEM II.

Hic suauiter ridet Stunica quod, cum Hieronymus scripserit: *si sciremus quid in*
nostra lingua sonet Genezareth et cetera, quesierim: *quid appellat suam linguam?*
 Num *Syrorum inter quos habitabat?* Stunica docet illum scripsisse de lingua
 Latina. Nec ego diuersum affirmaram.

845 Adieci videri vocem Hebraicam *incompertam* fuisse Hieronymo, quod *ait, si*
sciremus. Stunica contendit fuisse *compertissimam*, cum ageret apud *Syros*, quum

- 810 prophetas *A B*: *add.* aut epistolam ad Ephesios *B.A.S.*
- 814 sed in Commentariolis *A B*: sed coniunctim in commentariolis *B.A.S.*
- 815 Atque *A B*: Atqui *B.A.S.*
- 843 scripsisse *A*: sensisse *B B.A.S.*
- 809 *Hieronymus* In the prologue to *In Ir.*, § 1, ed. S. Reiter, *CCSL* 74, p. 1: "quem ... strictis sensibus ... disserui".
Commentarios i.e. those in *Mt.*, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 77. Nowadays the integrity of this work is no longer doubted. In this matter Stun.'s argument, too long to be quoted here, is very much to the point and convincing. See Dekkers, p. 135, no. 590.
- 812 *Hieronymus ait* In *Comm. in Is.*, ad 42,1-4, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 73 A, p. 479. Er.'s comments are somewhat dubious as Jerome's words are indeed: "De quo plenius in Matthaei Commentariolis, et in libro quem ad Algasiam nuper scripsimus, disputatum est".
- 814 *ad Algasiam* Hier. *Epist.* 121, 2-5, ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 56, pp. 8-20.
- 820 *Commentarios in Psalmos* The discussion is on Ps. Hier., *Breviarium in Psalmos*, Migne *PL* 26, 821-1270, not on the genuine *Commentarioli in Psalmos* which were first found by G. Morin and edited by him in 1895 (*CCSL* 72, pp. 163-245). The *Breviarium* is indeed a pseudonymous work compiled from the commentaries and homilies of several authors, among them Jerome. See Bardenhewer III, p. 620; Dekkers, p. 143, no. 629.
- 821 *battologiae* This loanword from the Greek is not uncommon in Fr. He discussed the origin, history and meaning of βαττολογία and -γεῖν ("multiloquium", "voce eadem iterum atque iterum repetere") in *Adag.* 1092 (*LB* II, 444 B-C) and *Annot. in NT* (*LB* VI, 35 E). The earliest occurrence of the verb is *Mt.* 6,7, where Er. translates "ne sitis multiloqui". Both the verb and the noun occur in the Greek fathers of the church, see Lampe, and *ASD* V, 1, p. 140.
- 822-823 *Commentarios in Marcum* Migne *PL* 30, 589-664. This too is a ps.-Hieronymian work, really written by Cumeanus in the 7th century. Bardenhewer III, p. 636; Dekkers, p. 144, no. 632; B. Fischer, *Verzeichnis der Sigel für Kirchenschriftsteller*, Freiburg, 1963², p. 231.
- 824 *Aristarchus Sc.* of Samothrace, c. 217-145 B.C. His name has often been used to typify the complete critic, e.g. Cic. *Att.* 1, 14, 3; Hor. *Ars* 450; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1970, s.v. Aristarchus.
- 830 *Et decollavit Mt.* 14,10.
ἀπεκεφάλησεν This reading appears in *A B B.A.S.* and *LB*; *CS* has -λισεν. In the *Nov. Instr.* too Fr. had given -λησεν both in the text of *Mt.* 14,10 and in the *Annot. ad loc.* In his comments Stun. had silently corrected -λησεν into -λισεν, but Er. sticks to -λησεν. In *Mc.* 6,16 and 27 the *Nov. Instr.* has -λισ-, in *Lc.* 9,9 -λησα.
- 831 *Senecam Apocol.* 6,2. Er.'s suspicion that at this place *decollare* is used "ludibrii causa" is without foundation, as appears from the seven instances of *decollare* quoted by C.F. Russo, *L. Annaei Senecae, Divi Claudii Ἀποκολοκύντωσις*, Firenze, 1961³, p. 73.
- 833 *alios auctores* Non. 97, 25 (ed. Lindsay, I, p. 138); Suet. *Cal.* 32; Diom. and Fenestella ap. Diom. (ed. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 1, p. 365).
- 834 *Senecam De ira* III, 18, 4.
- 835 *ambiguum Decollare* properly means "to take off from one's neck, to unburden", and only in later Latin, from the first century A.D., "to behead".
- 839 *oratorem ... tamen* An allusion to Cic. *De or.* II, 14, 58 (on Xenophon): "... impetum oratoris non habeat, vehemens fortasse minus, sed aliquanto tamen est ... dulcior".
- 841 *Hic Ad Mt.* 14,34.
Hieronymus Comm. in Mt., ad 14,34, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 77, p. 126.
- 844 *Nec ... affirmaram* But Er. had at least suggested that Jerome had meant Syriac, as appears from his annotation of 1516: "quid suam linguam dicat nisi forte Syrorum".
- 846-847 *quum ... mystice* Stun.'s words are: "alioqui quomodo secundum huius nominis interpretationem mystice hunc locum exponebat?". Stun. seems to suppose, indeed, that there is some specific connexion between the meaning of the name Genesaret and Jerome's allegorical interpretation of the "Walking on the Water" (*Mt.* 14,22-34) as a type of the salvation of the church suffering from persecution. Er. is right in dismissing this supposition, for Jerome's commentary on *Mt.* 14,34 is merely a thoughtless translation of Origen's note on the verse: ... Γενεσαρέτ, ἧς τὴν ἐρμηνησίαν

iuxta hanc interpretatus sit *hunc locum mystice*. Imo Hieronymus non interpretatur hanc vocem eo in loco. Etenim cum Genesar siue Genezareth interpretentur ortus principium siue initium natiuitatis, non video quid
 850 ad hanc etymologiam faciant verba Hieronymi quae sic habent: *si sciremus quid in nostra lingua sonaret Genezareth, intelligeremus quomodo Iesus per typum apostolorum et nauis ecclesiam de persecutione et naufragio liberatam transducat ad littus et in tranquillissimo portu faciat requiescere*. An Hieronymus modestiae causa dissimulauit se scire quod oportuit docere? Nam id videtur sentire Stunica
 855 scribens: *humilitatis causa si sciremus inquit*.

EX CAPITE XVIII.

Quod interpres verterat *decem milia talenta*, notaram cum *iniuria Latinitatis* duntaxat *factum, sensu incolumi*. Stunica in elencho professus hanc orationem esse Latinam, adducit ex Valla frigidum commentum quo *possent* huiusmodi
 860 sermonis formae vtcunque *defendi: decem milia talenta, talenta entia decem milia*. Deinde docet Hieronymum Iudicum capite viii sic esse loquutum: *quindecim milia viri manserant*. Nemo negabat hoc genus sermonis passim inueniri in sacris voluminibus, sed si Stunica protulerit locum non obnoxium suspicioni mendae e probato Romani sermonis autore, tum vicerit. Ego
 865 suspicor apud veteres numeros notulis signari solitos et hinc a scribis sepe positum *milia pro mille*.

EODEM II.

Et tenens suffocabat eum, καὶ κρατήσας αὐτὸν ἔπιγεν. Quoniam κρατεῖν non est simpliciter tenere, sed tenere ceu praedam cui manus inieceris,
 870 verteram *et iniecta manu*. Deinde quoniam suffocare Latinis sonat occidere praeculso guttore, cum hic videatur loqui de eo qui voluerit trahere in
 LB 301 carcerem aut in ius, non qui voluerit occidere, pro ἔπιγεν verti *obtorto collo traherebat*. Id Stunicae non probatur, nec video quam ob causam. *Obtorto*,
 875 inquit, *collo non habetur in Graeco*. Quid tum postea? At sensus inest. *Non legitur*,
 inquit, *quod in ius aut aliquo traheret hominem*. Imo hoc liquet ex his quae sequuntur: *et misit eum in carcerem donec redderet*. Nec absurdum sit si damnatum iudicio ducat in carcerem.

Stomachatur et hic nescio quid Stunica meus, quod ea putarim *huic loco conuenire* quae legissem *apud Senecam et apud Hieronymum in epistolis*. Imo hoc
 880 legeram apud Ciceronem, nec ineptum arbitror si quis euangelii sensum verbis Ciceronis explicet.

- εὶ ἐγνωμεν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὠνάμεθα ἄν τι πρὸς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων διήγησιν (cf. Migne *PL* 26, 107 n.; *GCJ*, Orig. X, p. 43). Obviously Or. and Jerome, when commenting upon *Mt.* 14,34, did not have ready an etymology of Genesaret, let alone one which could serve the allegorical interpretation of the preceding pericope.
- 849 *ortus principium* Er. no doubt found this etymology in the table of interpretations of proper names which formed part of many printed editions of the Vg. from 1471 until far into the 16th century. The main constituent of this table is Jerome's *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, ed. P. de Lagarde, *CCSL* 72, p. 136: "Gennesar: hortus principium" (crit. app.: ortus B). But "(h)ortus principium" must be a corruption of *"(h)orti principum" = κήποι ἀρχόντων (Migne *PL* 23, 1211) = גַּנְנֵי שָׂרִים ("gannē šārim", "the gardens of princes", a popular etymology known from rabbinic literature, see Strack-Billerbeck I, p. 184). *initium natiuitatis* Quoted from the *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* as figuring in many Vg. editions. The full entry in, e.g., *Biblia cum pleno apparatu*, Paris (Kerver), 1504, runs: "Gennasar: ortus principium vel natiuitatis initium". "Natiuitatis initium" is nothing but a paraphrase of "ortus principium", the origin of which is explained in the preceding note.
- 853-854 *modestiae causa dissimulauit...* Stun. argued that Jerome had known quite well what Genesaret meant, but had not said it "humilitatis causa", a notable misinterpretation of Jerome's words and character.
- 857 *decem ... talenta* *Mt.* 18,24. That *decem millia talenta* was a "sin against grammar" had already been observed by Valla, *ad loc.*
- 858 *elencho* It runs: "Decem milia talenta non malam esse Latinitatem".
- 859 *Valla Elegantiae* III, 4, ed. E. Garin, *Opera Omnia*, I, Torino, 1962, p. 83: "Reperimus tamen apud ecclesiasticos saepe hoc modo dici, quale est: *Debebat decem millia talenta* [*Mt.* 18,24], et *duodecim millia signati* [*Ap. Iob.* 7,5-8]. Quod defendi non potest, nisi resoluas sic: Signati duodecim millia, talenta decem millia, quasi dicatur, numero duodecim millia et numero decem millia, et subintelligatur: entia. Debebat talenta entia decem millia. Signati entes duodecim millia". Stun. had quoted this passage, but left out "Quod defendi non potest ... quasi dicatur", which he replaced by "quasi dixeris".
- 861 *Iudicum Iudic.* 8,10 Vg.
- 863-864 *si Stunica ... autore* From *Tb.L.L.* VIII, 977, it appears that the construction of *milia* with a nominative or accusative in postposition only occurs in authors which Er. did not regard as models of style, e.g. Varro *Ling. lat.* VI, 38 "centum milia discrimina", cf. *Vitr.* I, 4, 12 "quattuor milia passus progressi"; frequently in the Vg. (F. Kaulen, *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata*, Freiburg, 1904, § 146) and christian Latin. The construction of *milia* with a genitive in postposition is the most common one and the one favoured by Cic., e.g. *Nat.* I, 34, 96 "sexcenta milia mundorum". Less frequently Cic. used *milia* as an apposition following the numbered substantive and taking its case, e.g. *Fam.* V, 20, 6 "sestertiis nongentis milibus".
- 864-865 *Ego ... mille* This clause is meant as a reaction to Valla's theory according to which the accusative "milia" in "milia talenta" is only acceptable if taken as an apposition. Er. proposes another, rather unfortunate theory, viz. that such instances of *milia* are due to the misreading of the symbol of *mille*. The singular *mille* used as an adjective does not require a genitive, but can be constructed with any case, e.g. *Liv.* XXIII, 32, 5 "mille argenti talenta ... transmissurus erat". Er. argues that in such instances scribes erroneously changed the symbol representing *mille* into *milia*, so that *milia* came to be constructed with a nominative or an accusative, or any other case whatsoever, not necessarily a genitive. This theory, however can only account for instances in which "milia" is not qualified by a numeral, e.g. "milia talenta", "thousands of talents"; it can not possibly explain phrases like "decem milia talenta" as in *Mt.* 18,24, for *"decem mille" is no Latin.
- 868 *Et tenens suffocabat eum* *Mt.* 18,28.
- 873 *nec video...* Stun. had simply observed that "iniecta manu" and "oborto collo" had no equivalents in the Greek.
- 875-876 *quae sequuntur* *Mt.* 18,30.
- 879 *Senecam ... Hieronymum* Er. had not at all referred to these authors. Stun. thinks of Sen. *Apocol.* 11, 6 "collo oborto trahit ad inferos"; Hier. *Epist.* 117, 5, 1, ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 55, p. 427: "oborto collo me in ius trahis".
- 880 *Ciceronem* Cic. *Cluent.* 21, 59 "collo obtorto ad subsellia reduceret". It is significant and amusing that Er. insists that Cic. was his example, although the wording of his

EX CAPITE XXI.

Verebuntur filium meum. Hic admoneo apud Latinos *additum forte*, cum non sit *apud Graecos*. Stunica magis suspicatur apud Graecos *detractum*. Sed hunc
 885 locum ante calumniatus est Leus, cui respondens abunde docui nec apud Graecos interpretes fuisse, nec Hieronymum hoc loco legisse *forte*. Qui volet illinc petat, ne hic eadem repetendo temporis iacturam faciam.

EODEM II.

A Domino factum est istud. Ostendo in sermone Greco *factum est* et
 890 *admirabile* non posse referri nisi vel ad *angulum* vel ad *caput*. Stunica negat, sed mauult Hebraeorum more foemininum positum pro neutro, quod Syri careant genere foeminino. Vt demus hoc esse verum, quur interpres maluit Hebraice loqui quam Graece? Quur hoc vno loco tantum id fecit in Nouo Testamento?

895 Verum hoc vtcunque habet, me certe par erat a crimine liberari, qui sequutus sum magnorum virorum autoritatem, Origenem, Chrysostomum et Hieronymum.

Origenis ex Homilia xix verba non pigebit hic ascribere, quantum ad huius rei probationem attinet. *Et iste*, inquit, *lapis donum est donatum a Deo edificio*
 900 *univerſo et admirabile caput in oculis nostris, qui possumus eum videre oculis mentis.*

Qui Chrysostomum Latine reddidit, ita vertit vt nos vulgo legimus. Mihi tamen subolet Chrysostomum ad *lapidem angularem* retulisse pronomen, qui duos maxime inter se dissidentes populos in eandem religionem coagmentarit, quando ita scribit: *et vident nihil horum Deo esse aduersum, sed valde acceptum atque*
 905 *gratum, mirabile preterea stuporisque plenum a Domine factum esse, subiunxit lapidem* et cetera. Hec et quae sequuntur si conferas, lector, videbis Chrysostomum de lapide loqui, quamuis interpres aut fortassis scribe sequutus suam memoriam lectionem perturbarit. Subindicat enim Chrysostomus doctores Iudaeorum voluisse edificare sed absque lapide Christo, qui connecteret vtrunque popu-
 910 lum. Atque hec ex coniectura duntaxat diuinamus, certius iudicaturi si Graeci codicis esset copia.

Iam quid Hieronymus verterit ex Hebraeo non satis liquet, quum constet pleraque eius voluminis fuisse deprauata a sciolis scribis, nec ipsis voluminibus inter se consentientibus. Proinde fieri potest vt ex sua memoria reposuerit illud
 915 *factum est istud* et *hoc est mirabile*. Quod si maxime demus ita versum ab

887 illinc petat *A' B.A.S' LB*: illa petit *A**, illa petat *B C.S.*

889 sermone Greco *A'*: sermone *A* B B.A.S' C.S' I.B.*

890 referri *A B B.A.S'*: referre *LB*.

896-897 Origenem, Chrysostomum et Hieronymum *A B*: Origenis, Chrysostomi et Hie-

ronymi *B.A.S.*

904 esse *A B*: *om. B.A.S.*

911 copia. *A B*: *add.* Illud extra controuersiam est, Theophylactum interpretari: angulus factus est et angulus est mirabilis. *B.A.S.*

- translation is nearer to the passage in Jerome suggested by Stun.
- 883 *Verebuntur filium meum* Mt. 21,37. *apud Latinos additum forte* Viz., after “verebuntur”. This applies to many early printed editions of the Vg., e.g. *Biblia cum pleno apparatu*, Paris (Kerver), 1504; one Vetus Latina ms. (h) reads “Forte verebuntur”, see A. Jülicher, *Itala*, I, Berlin/New York, 1972², *ad loc.* There seems to be little or no ms. evidence for “forte” in the Vg., see Wordsworth-White, *ad loc.*
- 883–884 *non ... Graecos* In four Greek minuscules, unknown to Er., 16, 61, 1216 and 1473, supported by Old Latin and Old Syriac witnesses, ἵσως is inserted after λέγων, see S.C.E. Legg, *N.T. Graece. Mt.*, Oxford, 1940, and H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des N.T.*, II, Göttingen, 1913, *ad loc.* The addition, for this it is, is due to influence from *Lc.* 20,13, as Er. himself rightly observed in *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, LB IX*, 139 A. It should be noted that min. 61, just mentioned, is the very Codex Britannicus fabricated c. 1520 for Lee as proof that the *Comma Iohanneum* was not unknown in the Greek ms. tradition. The reading ἵσως in this ms. is plainly another example of the deceit Lee practiced to prove that Er. was wrong in claiming that the Vg. contained words which had no counterpart in the original Greek.
- 885 *cui respondens ... docui* *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, LB IX*, 138 F–140 E.
- 886 *Hieronymum* *Comm. in Mt.*, *ad Mt.* 21,37, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 77, p. 197.
- 889 *A Domino factum est istud* Mt. 21,42.
- 892 *foeminino* A slip of Er.’ pen, corrected into “neutro” in *CS*. Stun. had written: “carent enim Hebraei neutro genere, quod vel ex Prisciani lib. 5 facile apparet, vbi dicitur: *Et maxime cum lingua Poenorum, quae Chaldaeae vel Hebraeae similis est et Syrae, non habet neutrum genus*”. (Hence Er.’ *Syri* in *L.* 891.)
- 892–893 *quur ... Graece* According to Er., the translator of the Vg. had taken αὐτή and θαυμαστή as neuter as if he were translating Hebrew, instead of as fem. what they are in Greek. But Mt. 21,42 is a quotation from *Ps.* 117,23 LXX and Er. should have checked, therefore, if in the LXX αὐτή occurs in the function of a neuter and if such instances of αὐτή have been translated as neuter in the Vg. This is the case, e.g., in *Ps.* 26,3 ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω, Vg. “in hoc ego sperabo”.
- 893 *hoc vno loco* There are no other instances of αὐτή for τοῦτο in the N.T., except *Mc.* 12,11 which Er. regards as identical with Mt. 21,42b.
- 898 *Origenis* *Comm. in Mt.* XVII, 12, ed. E. Klostermann, *GCS*, Orig. X, p. 616. The whole rest of this section (from *verba non pigebit* to p. 106, l. 934 *probatissimi interpretes*) was also included by Er. in the third and later editions of the *Annot. in NT, ad loc.*
- 901 *Qui ... reddidit* George of Trebizond (1395–1484), whose Latin translation of Chrys. *Hom. in Mt.* (on which see p. 93, n.l. 652 above) Stun. had quoted. For the Greek of Chrys., see Migne *PG* 58, 641–642.
- 904 *et vident* A misquotation for “et vt videant” (correctly in *Annot. in NT, ad loc., LB VI*, 112 F).
- 910 *coniectura* This conjecture is not confirmed by Chrysostom’s Greek text, in which αὐτή refers to the event (τὸ συμβαῖνον) of the unification of believing Jews and gentiles in one church: ἵνα μάθωσιν ὅτι οὐδὲν τῷ Θεῷ ἐναντίον τῶν γινομένων ἦν. ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα εὐαπόδεκτον τὸ συμβαῖνον καὶ παράδοξον, καὶ τῶν ὁρώντων ἕκαστον ἐκπλήττον (καὶ γὰρ ἦν θαῦμα σφόδρα ἄφατον), ἐπήγαγε λέγων· Παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὐτή (Migne *PG* 58, 642 A). The complete text of the *Hom. in Mt.* was not published until 1603 in *S. Patris Ioannis Chrysostomi ... expositio perpetua in Nouum I.C. Testamentum, graece ac latine*, Heidelberg (Commelin), 1603 (ed. F. Sylburg).
- 911 *copia* The reference to Theophylact adopted in *BAS* is to *Enarrat. in Ev. Mt., ad loc.*, Migne *PG* 123, 381–382 C: “Angulus autem ille admirabilis est, et a Domino est factus”.
- 912 *quid Hieronymus verterit ex Hebraeo* Stun. had asserted that in Jerome’s *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos, Ps.* 117 (118),23 read as follows: “A Domino factum est istud: hoc est mirabile in oculis nostris”. See now H. de Sainte-Marie, ed., *S. Hier. Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, Rome, 1954, *Ps.* 117 (118),23 “a Domino factum est istud et hoc mirabile in oculis nostris”, with “factus est” etc. as a variant occasioned by the *Psalterium Romanum* registered in the crit. app.
- 913 *voluminis* This is the reading of all editions of this apology, but the parallel passage in *Annot. in NT* has “volumina” (*LB VI*, 113 C). The reading “voluminis” seems to be preferable.

Hieronymo, tamen *istud* ad *caput* referri potest, hoc est ad Christum. Nec est necesse vt ad complexum orationis quae praecessit referatur. Certe Hieronymus enarrans Psalmum 117 legit et exponit hunc in modum: *et est mirabilis in oculis nostris. Non in illorum qui eum reprobauerunt, sed in nostris qui*
 920 *eum credendo suscepimus.* Hactenus Hieronymus.

Porro siue referas ad *lapidem* siue ad *caput* siue ad *angulum*, sensus est idem et ad Christum pertinet.

Cum itaque tot autores tam graues sequutus sim in annotatione mea, cum sensus optime quadret ad nostram lectionem, tamen extitit Stunica qui tragicis
 925 verbis exaggeraret hic inextricabilem errorem meum, ex Hebrei sermonis idiomate petens huiusmodi solutionem: *Hebraei*, inquit, cum *careant neutro genere*, abutuntur *foeminino*. Huius generis esse quod legitur Iosue capite 3: *in hoc scietis*, cum Hebraeis sit in hac scietis. Et Psalmo 40: *in hoc cognoui* pro in hac
 LB 302 cognoui. Porro Psalmo 26 interpret etiam | Hebraicum genus reliquit: *vnam*
 930 *petiū a Domino, hanc requiram.* In hanc ferme sententiam ille.

Quae vt demus maxime esse vera, nihil aliud efficiunt nisi vt intelligamus sic posse legi ac verti quemadmodum habet aeditio vulgata. Non consequitur vt necesse sit, cum commodior etiam sit sensus vt ad *caput* seu *angulum*, hoc est ad Christum, referatur, quemadmodum faciunt probatissimi interpretes.

935 Itaque cum nihil sit incommodi quod ad sententiam attinet, quum summorum virorum auctoritatem sequutus sim, vide quam atrox crimen inpingit Stunica, siquidem in elencho marginis *error*, inquit, *Erasmi grauissimus in Hebraica lingua.* Rursus in praefatiuncula: *Hebraicae linguae ignorantia Erasmus sepissime in errores inextricabiles pertrahit.* Imo Stunicae lingua effrenis ipsum
 940 frequenter in petulantiam indecoram ac intempestiuam pellicit.

EX CAPITE XXII.

Scripseram haec in annotatiuncula: *ceterum Herodianos appellat milites Herodis quem proselytum Augustus praefecerat Iudaeis, vt ab iis imperatoris Romani nomine tributa colligeret.* Hic Stunica: *non hic*, inquit, *Herodiani appellantur Herodis illius*
 945 *proselyti milites, qui primus eius nominis in Iudaea Romanorum beneficio regnum sortitus est, vt Erasmus ex ignoratione sacrarum scripturarum est suspicatus.* Hic enim Christo adhuc infantulo et in Aegypto constituto mortuus est. Quaeso te, lector, quaenam est ista maledicendi libido? Num a me dictum est hunc Herodem fuisse *eius nominis primum*? Aut vnde suspicatus est hoc Stunica me fuisse suspicatum?

950 Deinde similis erroris ait esse quod scripserim hunc Herodem Iudaeis praefectum tributorum colligendorum gratia. Imo *rex est*, inquit, *constitutus.* Qui rex datur et in hoc datur, vt tributa colligat, nonne praeficitur? Imo quisquis datur rex alicui prouinciae, nonne illi praeficitur? Si Stunica volebat hic nonnihil addere ex historiis, an non poterat id facere ni praeter
 955 causam me conuiciis incesset? Atqui quod ego hic annotaram decerpseram e commentario Hieronymi. Nec amplius decerpseram quam quantum instituto

meo satis esset. Is ait *Herodem Antipatris* fuisse *filium*. Cur igitur Stunica maluit mecum rixari quam cum Hieronymo?

EX CAPITE XXVI.

960 In Annotationibus haec sunt mea verba quibus offensus est Stunica: *atqui hac in re aut ego prorsus hallucinor, aut lapsus est Hieronymus, quem ut fateor virum fuisse summa doctrina, pari eloquentia, incomparabili sanctimonia, ita hominem fuisse non possum diffiteri*. Audis, lector, quanta laudis ac reuerentiae praefatione dissentio ab Hieronymo. Nunc audi Stunicam impudentissime suo more deprauantem
965 omnia. *Magnificae*, inquit, *illius pollicitationis nunc oblitus Hieronymum erroris*

918 *Hieronymus enarrans Psalmum 117* Ps. Hier. *Breniarium in Psalmos*, Migne PL 26, 1257 C.
925 *exaggeraret* The parallel passage in *Annot. in NT* has "exaggeravit" (LB VI, 113 E). Moreover, the name "Stunica" has been replaced there by "quidam" (see on this "quidam" n. 128 with the corresponding text passage of our Introduction).
inextricabilem An allusion to Stun.'s words: "Hebraicae linguae ignorantia Erasmus sepiissime in errores inexplicabiles pertrahit, ...".

927 *abutuntur* Here "abuti" means "to use improperly, loosely".

Iosue Ios. 3,10.

928 *Psalmo 40* Ps. 40,12 Vg.

929 *Psalmo 26* Ps. 26,4 Vg.

932-933 *Non consequitur ut necesse sit* Here Er. is right. Modern exegetes and translators usually endorse Stun.'s view, but Er.' position is regarded as tenable by such grammarians as Moulton I, p. 59, and Robertson, pp. 254, 410-411: "It is even possible that αὐτῆ may refer to κεφαλὴν γωνίας", 655. In Ps. 117 (118),23 LXX αὐτῆ is certainly a piece of "translation" Greek (of Hebrew נָחַי; in Hebrew the feminine serves as the neuter) and Er. seems at first not to have been aware of this. Er., however, raised the question whether the authors of *Mt.* and *Mc.* (12,11) themselves and their readers understood αὐτῆ as referring to the whole event described in *Mt.* 21,42a-b, or simply to κεφαλὴν γωνίας, as did Origen and Theophylact (and e.g. Cyril of Alexandria, see J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, TU 61, Berlin, 1957, p. 236).

939 *inextricabiles* A misquotation for "inexplicabiles".

942 *Herodianos* *Mt.* 22,16.

948-949 *Herodem ... primum* Er. is suggesting that he had not thought of Herod I the Great, king of the Jews from 37 to 4 B.C. and that he had meant Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea from 4 B.C. to 39 A.D. But Er. had borrowed his comment from Jerome who, in his *Comm. in Mt.*, ad 22,16, had unmistakably meant Herod the Great: "Caesar Augustus Heroden filium Antipatri, alienigenam et proselytum, regem Iudaeis constituerat, qui tributis praeesset". The "filius Antipatri" can only be Herod the Great. Er.' annotation had been somewhat less specific as to the identity of the Herod in question, and this enables Er. now to pretend that he had meant Antipas. From the verbal similarity between his annotation and that of Jerome, however, it is plain that Er. too had thought of Herod I. Moreover, in later editions of the *Annot.* he revised his view once again and maintained that, at least according to Jerome, the Herodians were soldiers of Herod I (even if this king had already died); see LB VI, 115 D. On the Herodians, a political party of partisans of the Herod family rather than an army, see H.W. Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 331-342.

953-954 *Si ... historiis* Stun. had argued that according to *Ios. Ant.* XIV, 14, 4-6, 385-389, and *Bell. I.* 14, 4, 284-285, and in spite of *Bell. I.* 20, 1, 388, Herod the Great had been proclaimed king by the Roman Senate, not by August.

956 *Hieronymi* *Comm. in Mt.*, ad 22,16, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 77, pp. 202-203.

960 *Annotationibus* Viz. *ad Mt.* 26,31.

960-961 *hac in re* Explained further down.

965 *illius pollicitationis* In the preceding sen-

arguere veritus non est quo argutior ipse appareret ac in sanctarum scripturarum intelligentia eruditior. Atqui oportebat, si quid ab Hieronymo non bene dictum alicubi videbatur, Erasmus stare promissis: aut eleuare errorem aut excusare aut tegere, non hunc autem prae caeteris sanctis doctoribus eligere, cum quo monomachiam ex professo excerceret, vt ex multis suarum Annotationum locis apparet. Quamquam quod duellum esse potest, quae monomachia inter Herculem monstrorum domitorem et inualidum homuncionem vix dum fragorem armorum auditu valentem sustinere? Hactenus Stunica.

Nullius autoritatem religiosius sequor quam Hieronymi. Ac tantum illi tribuo, vt mihi quidam etiam scriptis negotium exhibuerint, quod sim in illum aequo propensior, et hic nescio quos Hercules, quae monstra, quem fragorem armorum, quod duellum, quam monomachiam somniat. Ac mox decantat Hieronymi laudes, mutuatus quaedam ex encomio quo ego non vno in loco illius laudes celebros, sed longe alio ardore copiaque quam hic Stunica. Qui si conferatur mihi, plane frigidus ac perparcus laudator videbitur. Mox ad me redit: et hunc, inquit, talem quasi vnus esset ex triuio, sic Erasmus balbutiens passim redarguere non dubitat. Atque haec tam ἀπροσδιόνησα magnifice (vt ipsi videtur) praefatus rem aggreditur.

Quod habetur in propheta: *percutite pastorem et dispergentur oves*, Hieronymus vult sub persona prophetae dici rogantis vt *percutiat Deus pastorem*. Mihi magis placet, vt ad Deum hic sermo pertineat, quemadmodum adducit euangelista. Quir id malim, quo lectori perspicuum sit, asscribam hic locum ex aeditione tertia Noui Testamenti, quo laboris hoc interim lucrifaciam.

Etenim si quis, inquam, attentius expendat eum prophetae locum, is comperiet nihil esse necesse, imo non nisi dure haec ad prophetae personam accommodari. Framea, suscitare super pastorem meum, et super virum cohaerentem mihi, dicit Dominus exercituum. Haec certe palam est dici sub persona Dei, cum addiderit: dicit Dominus exercituum. Ac mox sequitur: *percutite pastorem, et dispergentur oves*. Haec quoque sunt Dei verba alloquentis gladium suum. Quod si quis velit alio torquere, certe quod sequitur non sinet: et conuertam manum meam ad paruolos. Atque adeo reclamatione euidenti, quod continenter adiungitur: et erunt in omni terra, dicit Dominus.

In libello De optimo genere interpretandi cum hoc ageret ex professo Hieronymus, vt ostenderet quaedam apud Hebraeos discrepare ab interpretatione Septuaginta aut apostolorum citationibus, adduxit et hunc Zachariae locum, sic distinguens personas vt argumento quod instituebat tunc congruebat. Caeterum in Commentariis quibus locum hunc euangelistae enarrat, sic temperat sententiam vt quod in libello De optimo genere interpretandi scripserat propemodum recantare videatur. Hoc, inquit, aliis verbis in Zacharia propheta scriptum est, et, ni fallor, ex persona prophetae ad Deum dicitur: *percutite pastorem*. Porro quod hunc sensum confirmat consensu psalmi sexagesimi: quoniam quem tu percussisti, persecuti sunt, vt demus hoc sensisse Psalmographum quod interpretatur Hieronymus, haud cogit tamen vt persona loquentis

10 *mutetur. Cum enim constet priorem partem vaticinii: framea, suscitare super pastorem meum, pertinere ad Deum Patrem, si quod mox sequitur ad eundem referatur: percutere pastorem et cetera, tamen idem existit sensus, Christum a Patre fuisse percussum, qui suo gladio mandarit ut percuteret; percutit enim qui percutiendum tradit.*

15 *Caeterum Hieronymus enarrans ipsum prophetam magis etiam a seipso dissentit, et accommodat totam orationem Patri. Quod quo magis perspicuum sit, ipsius verba subscribam. Nec putandum est, inquit, de altero loco assumptum testimonium, quia in euangelio Deus a se pastorem dicit esse percussum. Et in praesenti loco gladio atque mucroni legimus imperatum: percutere pastorem, et dispergentur oves. Hactenus Hieronymus. Vides palam Patris imperantis mucroni suo vocem esse: percutere*
 20 *pastorem, non autem verba prophetae obsecrantis. Vides nullam esse mentionem eius rei,*

971 quae monomachia *A* (id saltem corrector sensisse videtur, scripsit autem que monacha) B.A.S: qui monomachia *A**, quia monomachiae *B*, aut quae monomachia ipse *Stunica*,

quem sequitur *C.S.*

983 aggredditur *A B*: add. Mea sic habent in Annotationibus, B.A.S.

tence *Stun.* had recalled the fact that, in the *Apologia* accompanying the *Nov. Instr.* (Holborn, p. 172, ll. 13-15), *Er.* had announced that he would not indulge in pointing out the errors made by the fathers in their commentaries, but "correct them silently, or excuse the authors in question, or cover up their mistakes". The words "aut eleuare ... tegere" in l. 968 are a succinct paraphrase of what *Er.* had declared. See p. 175, n.l. 184 below.

975 *quidam* Johann Eck, in Ep. 769, ll. 80-91, answered by Ep. 844, ll. 119-271. See our Introduction, pp. 8-9.

negotium exhibuerint ... "Have given me trouble, because ...". Cf. *Cic. Off.* III, 31, 112.

978 *laudes* In an exuberant panegyric of half a page *Stun.* had sounded the praises of Jerome's intelligence, learning, his exceptional knowledge of Hebrew, eloquence, and insight into the Scriptures: "omnibus ecclesiasticis doctoribus sine dubio Hier. antecellat".

encomio E.g. in Ep. 396, ll. 95-213.

982 ἀπροσδιόνυσσα The word occurs also in Ep. 1640, l. 2; "not to the point"; "nihil ad Bacchum", *Adag.* 1057, LB II, 541 542.

990 *prophetae locum* *Zch.* 13,7-8.

999 *libello De optimo genere interpretandi* Hier. *Epist.* 57, 5, ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 54, p. 514.

2 *Commentariis* *Sc. in Mt.* 26,31, ed. D. Hurst

and M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 77, p. 252. The quotation from Jerome ends with "percutere pastorem", before "Porro", l. 6.

4 *recantare videatur* In *Epist.* 57 Jerome took "percutiam pastorem" in *Mt.* 26,31 as spoken by God ("ex persona Dei dicitur, ut euangelista vult"), in *Comm. in Mt.* he regarded the prophet as the speaker ("ex persona prophetae ad Deum dicitur"). Yet the difference is less considerable than it seems, for even in *Epist.* 57 Jerome regarded the ascription of the words to God (as intended by the writer of *Mt.* 26,31) as due to a misinterpretation by the author; originally and in reality the words at issue were, as Jerome explained, a prayer of the prophet to God.

6 *psalmi sexagesimi* *Ps.* 68,27 Vg. The erroneous reference to *Ps.* 60 went through all editions of the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* and of the *Annot. in NT* up to and including LB (VI, 135 B and IX, 303 C-D) and *CS* as far as the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* is concerned. In the *Annot. in NT* included in the *Critici sacri* (first ed., London, 1660), however, the reference was corrected into "Psalmi 68". Jerome and *Stun.* read "sexagesimo et octauo".

14 *Hieronymus enarrans ipsum prophetam* *Comm. in Zch.*, ad 13,7-9, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 76 A, pp. 874-878; the quotation on p. 875, ll. 166-170.

15 *totam orationem* *Sc. of Zch.* 13,7.

quam posuerat in libello *De optimo genere interpretandi*, cum hic maxime tempestiuum fuerit hoc inculcare.

25 *Quid igitur dissonat in Matthaeo? Verba dissonant, res eadem est. Quisquis enim loquitur gladio suo: percutit, significat se mox velle percutere, et ideo Matthaeus verbis omissis sensum expressit: percutiam pastorem. Quin et pronomem omisit Matthaeus,*

304 *cum in propheta sit: super pastorem meum; quod ipsum etiam inuitat vt sermonem Patri potius accomodemus. Suum enim vocat vnicum illum se dignum, cum aliis alii sint pastores, quorum nonnulli tales sunt vt illis percussis melius habeat grex.*

31 *Sed exultat calumniator, docens nos personas in litteris diuinis aliquando mutari subito. Nihil erat necesse vt hoc ab isto disceremus, quod toties in libris nostris testati sumus. Sed hic nihil cogebat mutare personam. Et apparet Hieronymum suae sententiae poenituisse.*

Huiusmodi ferme recensuimus in aeditione tertia, ex quibus opinor liquere lectori nos non temere dissensisse ab Hieronymo. Porro quam id faciamus reuerenter ipsa res indicat.

35

EX CAPITE XXVII.

Erant anni plures triginta, quod adolescens legeram *Vitas ducum* Plutarcho autore. Et videbar legisse *acetum* a Cleopatra datum *Antonio*, quo *celerius ex vulnere moreretur*. Stunica indicat illic *vini*, non aceti fieri mentionem. Hoc sane debemus Stunicae. Adornet curram triumphalem ac sibi plaudat, quod loco quem indicaram relecto, vel lecto magis, *vinum* inuenerit pro aceto.

40

EX MARCI CAPITE I.

Ecce ego mitto angelum meum. Modeste annotaram videri posse Hieronymum memoria lapsum, cum ait hoc testimonium haberi in fine Malachiae, cum sit in fronte

45 *tertii capituli totusque liber quatuor capitibus absoluatur, eoque magis in medio videri quam in fine.* Stunica respondet *quartum caput* admodum esse breue, sic vt *tercio coniunctum vix tertiam* totius operis portionem absoluat. Vt istuc largiamur, an hoc *in fine* dici solet, quod paulo vltra medium est? Et addo coniecturam, quae occasio fuerit lapsus memoriae, *quod in fine* totius prophetiae *habeatur*

50 *simile vaticinium, quod et ipsum de Ioanne interpretantur.* Quid dici poterat moderatius quam *memoriae lapsum videri posse?* Et tamen Stunicae in elencho *blaterat Erasmus; in dissertatione arguit Hieronymum.*

EX CAPITE III.

Boanerges, quod est: filii tonitruu. Hic cum oportuerit Stunicam agere cum

55 *Theseo meo, maluit rixari mecum. Erges, inquit, non tonitruum sonat, sed sonitum siue tumultum aut fremitum.* Legendum autem *Banerrem*, nam *Boanerges* vocem esse *corruptam* autore Hieronymo.

Primum, quod a me positum est, docuit Libellus interpres Hebraicorum
 60 nominum incerto autore. Et fieri potest vt quod Hebrei sonant Banerrem,
 Chaldaei Syrique sonent Boanerges.

Porro quid tandem appellat Hieronymus corruptum? An quod Syro

36 xxvii B BAS: om. A.

- 23 *dissonat Mt.* 26,31 runs Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, Vg. "percutiam pastorem". *Zch.* 13,7c Vg. reads "percutie pastorem". Here Er. only compares the Vg. text of *Mt.* 26,31 with that of *Zch.*, not with LXX or MT.
- 24-25 *verbis omissis Viz.*, the whole of *Zch.* 13,7a-b "Framea ... exercituum".
- 25 *pronomem omisit Matthaeus* In omitting *Zch.* 13,7a-b, *Mt.* also omitted "meum" in the phrase "super pastorem meum" of v. 7a. In reality, *Mt.* took the quotation, without omitting anything but with an inversion, from *Mc.* 14,27.
- 29 *docens Stun.* had argued: "Nemo autem miretur si ita haec verba distinximus vt nunc Deum nunc prophetam loquentem induxerimus. Constat enim hunc morem peculiare esse prophetis vt nunquam sub vna persona perpetuo loquantur ...".
- 31 *Hieronymum* In the *Comm. in Zch.*
- 33 *ferme* The only difference of any importance is that the *Annot.* have "Verum" for "Sed" in l. 31.
- 36 *capite xxvii Mt.* 27,48.
- 37 *Vitas ducum* An uncommon designation of the *Vitae parallelae* or *Vitae virorum illustrium Gr. et Rom.*
- 38 *videbar ... Antonio Viz.*, in *Plut. Anton.* 77, a passage referred to by Er. in 1516 as a parallel to *Mt.* 27,48: ... πλήσας τε ὄξους ... ἐπότιζεν αὐτόν. *Plut.*, however, does not speak of vinegar, but of wine. The italics in the text mark words quoted from Er.' *Annot.* of 1516.
- acetum* In his *Annot.* of 1522 Er. corrected this into *vinum*. The *Plut.* passage remains an excellent parallel, however, to *Mt.* 27,34, overlooked by most commentators.
- 43 *Ecce ego mitto... Mc.* 1,2.
- Hieronymum Epist.* 57 (*De optimo genere interpretandi*), 9, ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 54, p. 518: "in Malachiae fine positum est".
- 44 *hoc testimonium Mt.* 3,1, quoted in *Mc.* 1,2.
- 49 *in fine totius prophetiae Mt.* 4,5: "Ecce ego mittam vobis Eliam prophetam antequam veniat dies Domini".
- 50 *interpretantur* See, e.g., *Mt.* 17,13; *Mc.*

- 9,12; *Hier. Comm. in Mt.*, ad 4,5-6, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 76 A, p. 942.
- 51 *elencho* It runs: "Non lapsum hoc loco fuisse Hieronymum, vt Erasmus blaterat".
- 52 *arguit Hieronymum* *Stun.*'s section begins with the clause: "Rursus Erasmus suo more Hieronymum arguit".
- 54 *Boanerges ... tonitruum Mc.* 3,17.
- 55 *Theseo* See p. 67, n.l. 118 above.
- 55-56 *Erges ... fremitum* *Stun.* had not written "Erges", but עָרְגָה (*regesf*) which in the O.T. only occurs in *Ps.* 55 (Vg. 54),15, where it must mean "tumultuous crowd". *Stun.*'s "tumultus" is a good translation.
- 57 *autore Hieronymo Hier. Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, ed. P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, Göttingen, 1870, p. 66: "Banereem: filii tonitruum, quod corrupte Boanerges vsus optinuit". "Banereem" = בָּנֵי עָרְגָה = "sons of thunder".
- 58 *Libellus...* The *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, figuring in so many Vg. editions. The entry at issue runs: "Boanerges: filii tonantes, vel filii tonitruum". Er. had explained the name as follows: "Hebraeis בני filios sonat, עָרְגָה tonitruum vel fremitus".
- 59-60 *fieri potest ... Boanerges* "Boanerges" may represent some Aramaic form, as Er. rightly suggests, but it is impossible to determine just what this form is. The Aramaic form was certainly not the equivalent of Hebr. "Banereem", for this is merely a secondary construction devised by Jerome to make the name correspond better to the translation "sons of thunder" as given in *Mc.* 3,17 (Wutz, *Onomastica sacra*, p. 333). The etymology of "Boanerges" has not been explained satisfactorily, but the derivation from עָרְגָה, as recorded by Er., still has its defenders, whereas the suggestion of Jerome and *Stun.* to change the text into "Banerrem" or "Banereem" is generally dismissed; see Bauer, *s.v.* Βοανηργές and V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London, 1966², ad *Mc.* 3,17.
- 61-66 *Porro ... prolatum* Er. means to say that

sermone deflexum est ab Hebraeo? Huiusmodi verbis frequenter vtuntur euangelistae et haud scio an hoc sermone semper vsus sit Christus, qui tum vulgo fuit maxime familiaris. Certe Graeci codices consentiunt: quod si sic scripsit euangelista, nobis non debet videri *corruptum* quod euangelista scripsit a Christo prolatum.

Quid quod nihil vetat quo minus *fremitem* pro *tonitruo* accipiamus? Nam hinc Homero Iuppiter dictus est ἐρίγδουπος et ὑψιβρεμέτης.

Proinde non video quur hic in me destomachetur Stunica, qui maluerim euangelistae sequi autoritatem quam Hieronymi. Si quid hic Stunica volebat e suis litteris adiicere, poterat absque conuicio candide conferre in medium. Alioqui multo praestabat indoctiorem videri quam maledicentiae vicio obnoxium.

EX CAPITE V.

75 *Tabitha cumi*. Indicaram in ipsa statim annotationis fronte Grecis esse *Talitha*, non *Tabitha*. Hoc praefatus (quod Stunica dissimulat) obiter (vt est commentariorum licentia) propono considerandum, num hic *Tabitha* possit esse *nomen proprium puellae, quemadmodum in Actis*, capite ix. Nihil autem vetat ita incidere vt Puella proprium sit nomen puellae, quod idem futurum sit non
80 puellae. Deinde consensus Latinorum codicum me mouebat nonnihil. Atque id sane temporis adeo non eram anxius in mutanda translatione vulgata, presertim in euangeliis, vt aliquoties totas paginas ne contulerim quidem, non
1.B 305 tam incuria segnis quam obrutus vndis laborum.

Porro quod adiicio *Thabitha* sonare Hebraeis respice siue attolle
85 oculos, non dubito quin scripserim admonitu Oecolampadii. Quod si verum est, nec enim refellit Stunica, nihil officit lectioni, tantum est arguta annotatio vocis multa significantis, id quod casu frequenter accidit. Veluti si Petrus sit nomen hominis, cum significet saxum, et idem sonet diuisum: fili, Troiane, aut aliud simile. Nam hoc adhibemus interim docendi gratia.

90 Ceterum quod ait Stunica *euangelistam interpretari Tabitha puella*, meminerit, quod pridem decertauit Matthaeum scripsisse Hebraice. Quod si verum est, haec interpretatio non potest esse euangelistae.

Hactenus satis, opinor, pro mea portione dixi. Quod superest Theseo relinquo, cui potius *imperitiam* imputare debebat quam mihi. Quanquam ex
95 hac annotatione mutaueram nonnulla aeditione secunda. Sane vehementer hoc in loco probo Stunicae candorem, qui non dissimulet vnde et alia pleraque hauserit quibus nostrum opus impetit, nimirum e magno Lexico et

64 familiaris *A B*: *add.* Quandoquidem et illa verba psalmi: Deus meus, Deus meus, vt quid me dereliquisti? corrupte pronunciauit

in cruce. *BAS*.

88 diuisum *A B*: diuisim *BAS*.

- even if Jerome is right in supposing that Boanerges is an Aramaic form deriving from Hebr. "Banerrem", there is no reason to alter the Greek text: even Christ may have spoken Aramaic. These remarks show that Er. was able to distinguish between the "prehistory" of a text and its textual tradition. The point of his argument is that a possible change from Banerrem into Boanerges may very well have occurred before the gospel was written down and even before Jesus addressed the sons of Zebedee, so that the Greek text has to be left unaltered; Jerome and Stun. do not even seem to have formed an idea of where the change had to be located.
- 64 *familiaris* In the additional passage in *BA5* Er. means that $\sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\chi\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}$ in *Mt.* 27,46 and *Mc.* 15,34, quoted from *Ps.* 22 (Vg. 21),2, is an Aramaism in a Hebrew saying; cf. *Annot. in NT, LB VI, 144 E.* In reality the reverse is the case: the saying is in Aramaic, but strongly Hebraicized (V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St Mark, ad loc.*). This fact does not affect, however, Er.' argument, viz. that Jesus spoke, at least occasionally, Aramaic.
- 75 *Tabitha cumi* *Mc.* 5,41. Although the variant "T(h)abitha", occurring in many witnesses of the *Vetus Latina* and the Vg., has its counterpart in the readings $\tau\alpha\beta\iota\theta\alpha$ of ms. W and $\theta\alpha\beta\iota\tau\alpha$ of ms. D, these readings are probably due to confusion with the proper name $\tau\alpha\beta\iota\theta\acute{\alpha}$ in *Act.* 9,40. The original reading in *Mc.* 5,41 is "tabitha" in the Vg. and $\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\theta\acute{\alpha}$ or $\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\theta\acute{\alpha}$ in the Greek. *Indicaram* Er. had begun his annotation as follows: "Graeci Talita per $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\alpha$ scribunt, non Tabita per $\beta\eta\tau\alpha$ ".
- 76 *dissimulat* Incorrect: Stun. had explicitly stated: "Er., ... cum in Annotationibus scripserit Graecos *Talitha* per λ scribere, ...".
- 78 *Actis* *Act.* 9,40.
- 79-80 *quod idem ... puellae* "(a proper name) which will remain the same even when she is no longer a girl".
- 80-81 *id sane temporis ... vulgata* Er.' Latin translation of 1516 varies less from the Vg. than that of 1519 and later editions; see Allen, introd. Ep. 384, pp. 183-184 and Ep. 809, ll. 62-65. The reason given in Ep. 809 for his reserve in changing the Vg. is not want of time, but "ne nimis offenderem istorum animos nimium morosos".
- 84 *Tabitha* Oecolampadius seems to have interpreted this word as the 2nd pers. sing. of the hiph'il imperfect of נָבַט , "to raise one's eyes", with a cohortative suffix: * תְּבִיטְהָ (*tabithā*), but this form is not without problems. First, it is non-feminine; second, the suffix $-\bar{a}$ does not occur with the 2nd pers. (the only doubtful exception being תַּעֲפֶה , *tā'ufā*, in *Iob* 11,17, sometimes taken as a 2nd pers. masc. with cohortative suffix, "be dark!", but in fact probably a 3rd pers. if a verb at all; Gesenius-Kautzsch, §48 d); third, the imperfect is followed by a fem. imperative, at least in the *textus receptus* and the Vg.: κοῦμι, cumi , = קוּמִי . In spite of his subterfuges in the present section, Er. did well to omit Oecolampadius' suggestion in later edd.
- 88 *idem sonet diuisum* Divided into *Pe* and *Tros*, i.e. Παῖ, Τρώς , *Petros* means "Son, Trojan!". This bizarre example of homonymy is not mentioned by Er. in his *Eccles.*, *LB V, 1053-1054*, where he refers, after a cursory treatment of homonymy, to Ioa. Driedo, *De ecclesiasticis scripturis et dogmatibus*, Louvain, 1533. In lib. 3, cap. 2, Driedo does deal with the problem of homonymy, but among his examples *Petros* does not appear, nor is it mentioned in the grammatical works of Isidore of Seville, Perotti, Henr. Bebelius, Despauterius, Colet or Lily, nor in Donatus, ed. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. IV, p. 395, ll. 20-26.
- 92 *non potest esse euangelistae* Er. is entirely wrong; he overlooks the fact that he has already left *Mt.* behind and that he is now engaged on *Mc.* He never discovered his mistake.
- 93 *Theseo* See p. 67, n.l. 118. The present clause is probably not a dig at Oecolampadius, for it was only in 1524 that Er.' relation with him altered; see Ep. 1496, l. 74 with Allen's n.
- 94 *imperitiam* Er.' suggestions that "Tabitha" might be a proper name or even a verb, had been qualified by Stun. as "ridicula quaedam quae hominis imperitiam palam ostendunt".
- 97-98 *Lexico ... Quinquagenis* Stun. had claimed that "Talitha" in *Mc.* 5,41 had first been restored and fully explained by Nebrija (*Nebrissensis*; 1444-1522) in his critical observations on fifty passages of the bible, the *Tertia quinquagena*, Alcalá, 1516 (also in the *Critici sacri*), §45. Stun. had seized the opportunity to devote an enthusiastic eulogy to Nebrija. It was however not here, but in his section on *Rom.* 15,24 that Stun. mentioned Nebrija's Latin-

Quinquagenis Elii Antonii Nebrissensis, cuius laudes nunquam sic attollet
 100 Stunica quin pro viri meritis putemus aliquid etiam addendum. Sic promeretur
 hominis integritas, sic labores iuuandis bonis studiis exhausti, cui libenter
 cedimus hoc laudis, quod *primus* indicarit; tametsi Stunica negare non potest
 nos et in prima aeditione docuisse Graecos codices *Talitha* legere per lambda.
 Quod si Nebrissensis Quinquagenae huc fuissent perlatae, paulo candidius illis
 vsi fuissemus quam vtitur Stunica.

105

EX CAPITE VIII.

Quod Graecis est ἐπετίμησεν et interpres vertit *comminatus est*, ego malui
 110 vertere *increpauit*. Hic floret Musa Stunicae meque meo iugulat gladio, quod
 qui alibi verterim ἐπετίμησεν *interminatus est*, hic reprehendam interpretem
 qui simili modo verterit, quasi vero idem sit Latinis interminari et
 115 comminari. *Interminatus sum ne faceres*, Latinum est; *comminatus sum*
ne faceres, non auderem dicere, nec arbitror vnquam inueniri.

EX CAPITE X.

Filius Timei Bartimaeus. Indicaram euangelistam interpretari quid sonet
 115 *Bartimeus*, id est *filius Timei*. Hic Stunica meus *pene soluitur in cachinnos*, non
 quod inficietur *Bartimeus* sonare *filium Timei*, sed quod dixerim euangelis-
 tam voluisse *interpretari*. Idque euincit hoc lemmate: quod *filius Timei*
 precedit, cum interpretatio soleat subiici. Quis non inuideat felicissimo
 Stunicae suas delicias, suos risos, suos *cachinnos*?

Sed interim homo rerum omnium adprime doctus non intelligit *cachinnos* hos
 120 non in me cadere, sed in Hieronymum, quem hic sequutus sum. Eius verba
 sunt haec in Commentariis quibus explicat caput 4 epistolae ad Galatas: *abba*,
 inquit, *Hebraicum est, id ipsum significans quod et pater. Et hanc consuetudinem in*
pluribus locis Scriptura conseruat, vt Hebraicum verbum cum interpretatione sua ponat,
 125 *Bartimaeus: filius Timei; Aser: diuitiae; Tabitha: dorcas; et in Genesi*
Mesech: vernaculus; et caetera his similia. Hoc igitur non Theseus me docuerat,
 sed Hieronymus, a quo non vult me vllo pacto dissentire, cum ipse huius
 commentum etiam *cachinnis* diffuens exhibet. Atque hic habet elenchus
 marginalis: *Error Erasmi in lingua Hebraica.* Etsi quid errarem in quacumque
 130 lingua, ego puto hoc ingenii maledici specimen quod de se prebet Stunica peius
 esse sexcentis erratis litterariis.

EX LVCAE CAPITE I.

Et postulans pugillarem. Vt obseruarem et temporis et numeri rationem,
 quandoquidem Graecis est αἰτήσας πινακίδιον, non damno quidem quod vertit
 interpres, sed malo *postulata tabella*. Latine, ni fallor, ac dilucide reddidi

LB 306 sensum euangelistae. Quid igitur | queritur Stunica? An quod variarim id
 136 quod erat rectum? Atqui istud ad intellectum scripturarum conducere docuit
 nos Augustinus. Certe suos *pugillares* adhuc habet Stunica, si non placent
tabellae.

Reiicit quod argutabar: *quomodo scripsit postulans pugillarem*, nondum
 140 enim habet qui postulat. Ait in his aliquoties presens poni vice praeteriti.
 Fortassis vere dicit, sed id fit perquam raro, nec sine incommodo sermonis.

Ceterum in illo videor Stunicae valde *ridiculus*, quod arguter hoc modo: *si*

102 Talitha *A recte*: Lalitha *B BAS LB*.

105 Ex capite viii *B BAS*: *om. A*.

111 vnquam *A*: vsquam *B BAS*.

Spanish *Lexicon* and his Spanish-Latin
Dictionarium, Salamanca, 1492 (see Allen,
 Ep. 487, n.l. 14; Ep. 1111, l. 794; and p.
 65, n.l. 75 above, and p. 179, n.l. 261
 below).

101 *primus* See the previous n.

106 ἐπιτίμησεν *Mc*. 8,33. For ἐπιτιμᾶν in the
 synoptic tradition, cf. H.C. Kee, *The*
Terminology of Mark's Exorcism Stories, NTS
 14 (1967-1968), pp. 232-246.

107 *increpauit* Similarly, the *Vg.* in *Mc*. 8,32
 renders ἐπιτιμᾶν by *increpare*.

meo iugulat gladio *Adag.* 51, *LB* II, 48 D-F.

108 *alibi* *Mc*. 8,30.

109 *simili modo* The *Vg.* has "comminatus
 est" in 8,30 as well as in 8,33.

110 *Interminatus ... faceres* *Ter. Andr.* 496: "I
 warned you with threats not to do it".

111 *nec ... inueniri* The rare instances of *commi-*
nari followed by *ne* recorded in *Tb.L.L.* III,
 1890, are all in christian authors and the
Vg.

vnquam In his annotation on *Iob.* 19,13
 below *Er.* uses the phrase "vsquam inueni-
 ri", just as *B* and *BAS* read in the present
 passage. But "vnquam" does not seem
 impossible, cf. p. 192, ll. 488-489 "nun-
 quam inuenitur", "nunquam reperiretur".

113 *Filius Timei* *Mc*. 10,46.

120 *Hieronymum* *Comm. in Gal.*, Migne *PL*
 26, 400 B. "Aser: diuitiae", *Gn.* 49,20;
 "Tabitha: dorcas", *Act.* 9,36; "Mesech:
 vernaculus", *Gn.* 15,2 *Vetus Latina* or
LXX.

125 *Thesens* See p. 67, n.l. 118 above.

127 *elenchus* It runs: "Error Erasmi in
 Hebraica lingua".

132 *Et postulans pugillarem* *Lc.* 1,63.

137 *Augustinus* *Doctr. chr.* II, 12, 17; cf. p.
 79, n.l. 362 above. *Stun.*'s very point was
 that it was unnecessary to replace "pugilla-
 ris" by "tabula" since "pugillaris" is a

correct Latin word, used by *Martial* in the
 superscription of XIV, 3 "Pugillares citrei".

140 *Ait* *Stun.*'s words are: "Ista vero aoristi
 participia nonnumquam per praesens tem-
 pus, interdum vero per praeteritum Latini
 interpretes transferre solent". This is cor-
 rect; cf. F. Kaulen, *Sprachliches Handbuch zur*
biblischen Vulgata, Freiburg, 1904², § 114A,
 p. 228.

141 *perquam raro* Cf. *Leumann-Hofmann-*
Szantyr II, p. 386: "Ein praeteritaler
 Gebrauch des Part. Praes. ist im ganzen
 Altlatein nicht zu finden"; p. 138: "... kann
 eventuell erst für Liv. angenommen wer-
 den" (e.g. *Liv.* XXVII, 43, 3 "primo incer-
 tis implicantes responsis, vt metus ... fateri
 vera coegit, edocuerunt"). Only in late
 Latin and in translation Latin does this use
 of the pres. partic. become more frequent,
 e.g. *Chiron* 384 "incidens difficiliter resur-
 git", *ibid.*, p. 387.

142 *ridiculus* *Stun.*'s words are: "In eo autem
 quod ... infert [*sc.* that *dicens* relates to
Zechariah's writing, not to his speaking],
 quam sit ridiculus manifeste patet. ... Quis
 ... *Erasmica* haec legens, quantumuis
 ἀγέλαστος, a risu se possit continere?". In
 later editions of the *Annot. in NT* *Er.*
 rightly maintained his view that *dicens* must
 be taken as referring to what *Zechariah*
 said in writing, but both he and *Stun.* failed
 to observe that this loose use of λέγων has a
 markedly O.T. ring, in conformity with the
 general character of *Lc.* 1-2; see 2 (= 4)
Rg. 10,6 *LXX* ἔγραψεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς βιβλίον
 δευτέρον λέγων (ἡκλ) ..., and *Blass-*
Debrunner, § 420; *pace* S. *Trenkner*, *Le style*
καὶ dans le récit Attique oral, Assen, 1960,
 p. 43, who counts γράφω λέγων among the
 "hébraïsmes prétendus", but without ad-
 ducing exact parallels from non-biblical
 sources.

dixit, quid opus erat scribere? Et soluo nodum vt *dicens* referatur non ad Zachariam, qui adhuc erat mutus, sed ad scripturam loquentem: loquebatur enim
 145 non lingua, sed stilo. Nam mox additur illi apertam fuisse linguam. Obsecro te, lector, quid absurdi vides in his verbis? Et tamen Stunica non putat vivere quenquam tam *agelaston*, qui haec legens possit a risu temperare. Sed aduerte quaeso, quam se praebeat ridiculum, dum me *ridiculum* facit. Scribit enim homo argutus hunc in modum: quasi quum quis aliquid scribit, etiamsi is mutus non
 150 sit, non tacens id scribat, ac mente potius scripturam dictet quam prolatione verborum. Hoc quid ad rem faciat, prorsus non intelligo. Certe nihil vetat quo minus aliquis et scribens loquatur ea quae scribit.

Sed suavius est quod pergit nos docere velut e cathedra. *Sciendum igitur*, inquit, non ad scripturam quae loqui non poterat, illud *dicens* referri debere, sed ad
 155 Zachariam, qui ea per scripturam dicebat quae animo conceperat. Quid hac inscitia crassius? Docet nos quod ipse scripseram et carpit quod non intelligit. Quid enim aliud est *scriptura loquens* quam scriptor tacitus scriptura loquens, non lingua?

Sed magis etiam ridiculum quod addit: vt *omittam* quod *γραφή*, id est
 160 *scriptura*, in Graeco foeminini generis est, sicut in Latino et λέγων, id est *dicens*, masculinum, quod in Graeco cum scriptura nequaquam conuenire potest. Non sensit me non de voce loqui *γραφή*, sed de re, nimirum Zachariam scripto, non lingua fuisse loquutum. Ecce, lector, quales habeo censores, quales irrisores. Sed reprimo me. Non difficile fuerit odorari, quas annotationes e suo ingenio
 165 commentus sit Stunica, quas ex alienis annotationibus sit mutuatus. Hanc facile sibi ceu germane germanam vindicabit.

EX CAPITE II.

Sub preside Syriae Cyrino. Cum Graece sit Κυρηνίου, verito et annoto duobus verbis duntaxat. Stunica vult hanc vocem Romanam, perperam vsurpatam ab
 170 euangelista Graece scribente, cuius generis sunt et illa Ἀκύλας pro *Aquila*, Πούδης pro *Pudens* et Κόϊντος pro *Quintus*. Atqui in ceteris erat causa deprauandi, velut in Κοῖ et Ἄκυ, quum q litteram Graeci nesciant, et in δης, quod nulla sit Graecis dictio desinens in ens. Caeterum quid opus erat addere syllabam in Κυρήνιος? Deinde si Latinus interpres Romanam vocem voluit suo
 175 sono reddere, cur non dixit Quirinus? Quur idem non fecit Ruffinus interpres Iosephi? Et tamen hac de re, quoniam leuis est momenti, non digladiabor cum quoquam.

EX EODEM CAPITE, II.

Et pannis eum inuoluit. Non damno quod vertit interpres, sed malo: et
 180 *fasciis eum inuoluit*. Graece est ἐσπαργάνωσεν, Stunica fatetur σπαργανώματα Graecis dici *primas illas fascias quibus colligantur pueri recens nati*, ne corpus tenerum distorquetur, sed rectum euadat.

185 Porro quod addit e Suida σπάργανα Graecis proprie dici ῥάκη, id est pannos, non est credendum ῥάκη nihil aliud sonare Graecis quam pannos viles ac detritos, cum apud Matthaeum legamus ῥάκος ἄγναφον, cum loquatur de panno nouo assuto veteri, et *pannum purpureum* dixit Horatius pro parte vestis magnificae assuta veteri vilique. Porro quae citat ex Ambrosio de Christo *pannis inuoluto*, non hoc euincunt vt intelligere cogamur Christum laceris ac vilibus pannis inuolutum, sed huc deiectum vt infantulus fasciis inuolueretur, qui regnabat in coelis. *Quia in pannis est*, inquit, *vides, quia in coelis est, non vides*. Quod si fasciae fuissent purpureae, tamen declarant Deum vehementer demissum a diuina maiestate.

LB 307
191

147 agelaston A: ἀγέλαστον B B.A.S.

166 *ceu germane germanam* "As truly authentic", "as really written by himself". Cf. p. 256, l. 519 below.

168 *Sub ... Cyrino* Lc. 2, 2. *uerto* Sc. "Cyrenio".

168-169 *annoto duobis verbis* Er.' annotation was as short as that: "Κυρηνίου, id est Cyrenio". Stun. had profusely commented on Er.' spelling of the name.

169 *voce Romanam* Sc. "Cyrinus, aut verius Quirinus".

170-171 Ἀκύλας ... Κόιντος Ἀκύλας e.g. Act. 18, 2; Πρωδης 2 Tim. 4, 21; Κόιντος 2 Mcc. 11, 34. The first and third examples had been adduced by Stun.

173 *quid opus erat* Viz., supposed that the original name was Cy- or Quirinus.

175 *Ruffinus* Stun. had pointed out that in the Latin translation of Josephus ascribed to Rufinus (c. 345-410), in *Ant.* XVII, 13, 5, 355 and XVIII, 1, 1, 1, the same person is called "Cyrinus", as in the Vg. in Lc. 2. The author of the 6th-century Old Latin version, a very literal translation, of Josephus' complete works (except the *Vita*), is at present regarded as unknown; the best complete edition is still *Flavii Iosephi ... opera quaedam, Ruffino presbytero interprete*, Basle (Froben), 1524; it was first printed at Augsburg in 1470 and reprinted sixteen times until 1524. See F. Blatt, *The Latin Josephus*. I. Intro. and Text. *Antiquitates I-V* (Acta Jutlandica 30), Aarhus, 1958; E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, new English version, I, Edinburgh, 1973, p. 60.

176 *non digladiabor* In the *Annot. in NT* Er. added a long passage, reflecting the discussion with Stun., in defence of his "Cyrenio". The translation "Cyrino" of the Vg., defended by Stun., is no better, but Er.

would have been well advised to have corrected his "Cyrenio" into "Quirinio". Er.' use of *digladiari* is somewhat remarkable since the verb is not very current. Although most of its occurrences are found in Cic., Er. may owe it to his favourite author Jerome (e.g., *Adv. Ruf.* I, 11; II, 19; III, 9; *In Ir.* 13, 12; *Epist.* 50, 3, 2). For much of his polemical terminology Er. is indebted to Jerome (and to Valla).

179 *Et pannis eum inuoluit* Lc. 2, 7.

181 *primas illas...* This explanation had been quoted, and translated, by Stun. from the *Etymologicon magnum*, ed. pr. Venice, 1499; ed. T. Gaisford, Oxford, 1848, s.v. σπαργανάματα.

183 *Suida* See Suid. *Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, IV, Leipzig, 1935, p. 416: Σπάργανα: τὰ ἱμάτια, κυρίως δὲ τὰ ῥάκη.

184-185 *pannos ... detritos* Stun. had explained ῥάκη as "pannos aut vestes viles vel laceras".

185 *Matthaeum* Mt. 9, 16.

186 *Horatius* Hor. *Ars* 15-16.

187 *Ambrosio* Ambr. *Expositio Ev. sec. Lc.*, ad 2, 7, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 14, p. 49: "ille inuolutus in pannis ...".

190 *Quia in pannis est, inquit* Ambr. *ibid.*

191 *purpureae* The reason why Er. stresses that the clothes in which Jesus was wrapped up were not rags but decent swaddlingbands, becomes apparent from the *Annot. in NT, ad loc.* He wanted to make clear that there is no trace of a sentimental glorification of poverty in this episode, nor any justification of the ostentatious pauperdom which he detested so much in the mendicant orders of his time. See LB VI, 231 E-F.

EX CAPITE III.

Procurante Pontio Pilato Iudaeam. Cum Graece sit ἡγεμονεύοντος, ego verto
 195 *praesidente*, seu potius *praeside*. Non damno tamen quod vertit interpres, sed
 aio illum *delectatum varietate, qui nunc vertat procurante, quod paulo ante vertisset*
praeside. Haec mea verba simplicia detorquet ac deprauat Stunica, quasi tacite
 carperim interpretem, quod *improprie* sit abusus *procurante* pro praesidem
 200 publicis prouinciae negociis praeest. Quod docet Stunica non ignorabam;
 quod interpretatur, nec scripsi, nec vnquam mihi venit in mentem. Et tamen
 quando illud erat curae Stunicae, vt doceret procurare qui praeses esset,
 debebat e probatis Latinae linguae autoribus exemplum adducere potius quam
 e Ruffino Iosephi interprete. Quod tamen arbitror ignoscendum homini, qui
 205 videtur in nullis Romanae linguae scriptoribus fuisse versatus, sed
 Hebraeorum voluminibus magis fuisse delectatus.

EODEM II.

Qui fuit Salathiel. Cum in contextu reliquerim *Salathiel*, vt habebat aeditio
 vulgata, tantum in Annotationibus annoto *rectius* fortasse dici *Sealthiel*, cum
 210 ita sonet Hebraeis. Stunica fatetur esse verum quod indico, sed vult hanc
 vocem vnam esse de numero earum quas Graeci vsurpando non nihil
 deprauant. Haec an ita habeant neque refert admodum, neque ad me pertinet.

Nec erat quur hic Stunica ob rem nihili debaccharetur in *Oecolampadium*
Theseum trium linguarum peritum, autore me. Oecolampadium non norat
 215 Stunica, nisi nostra praedicatione; quem, opinor, ob hoc ipsum odit, quod a
 me sit praedicatus. At ego qui vtrumque noui, pluris facio vnum
 Oecolampadium quam Stunicas decem.

EX CAPITE VII.

Pauperes euangelizantur. Cum in contextu nihil mutarim, tantum annoto
 220 *pauperes* hic dici *mansuetos ac mites*, idque *more Hebraeorum, quibus עני*
vertitur pauper ab Hieronymo, a Septuaginta mansuetus, quod fere diuitias comitatur
ferocitas. Et in euangelio *beati pauperes* vocantur, qui mansueti sunt,
 minimeque feroci spiritu. Stunica vult Septuaginta *deceptos similitudine* litterae.
 Quod an verum sit, quoniam mea non refert, aliis excutiendum relinquo.

203 debebat *A B*: add. e iureconsultorum
 veterum literis atque *BAS*.

205 nullis *A B BAS*: multis *A**.

206 delectatus *A B*: add. Nam vehementer
 addubito, an quisquis praeses est prouin-
 ciae, idem recte dicatur procurare prouin-

ciam. *BAS*.

214 Oecolampadium *A BAS*: Oecolampa-
 dium *B* addens in margine Io. Oecolam.

220 עני scripsi, cum *CS*, secundum scripturam
 annotationis qua Er. hunc locum commentatus est
 in ed. pr. Annotationum, p. 331: עני *A B*

BAS, אֲבִיזוֹן LB.

222 ferocitas A B: ferocia BAS.

194 *Procurante Pontio Pilato* Lc. 3,1.

195 *praesidente* This was Er.' translation in 1516; in 1519 he switched to "praeside", to restore the agreement with Lc. 2,2.

196 *aio* In the *Annot.* of 1516; "delectatum varietate" recalls the Latin proverb "delectat varietas", Otto 1848.

paulo ante Lc. 2,2.

198-199 *pro praesidem siue praefectum agente* This is Er.' paraphrase of Stun.'s words "pro administrante siue gubernante". Er.' use of the term "praefectus" testifies to his historical intuition as to the situation described in Lc. 3,1: an inscription found at Caesarea in 1961 shows that Pilate's official title was "praefectus Iudaeae" (A. Frova, *L'iscrizione di Pontio Pilato a Cesarea*, *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Cl. di Lettere*, 95 (1961), pp. 419-434). Ἡγεμονεύω in Lc. 3,1, however, is not meant as an official term; both Stun. and Er. rightly took it in a general sense.

204 *Ruffino Iosephi interprete* See p. 117, n.l. 175 above. Stun. had quoted *Bell. II*, 15, 1, 309: "Alexandrum qui Aegyptum procurabat" to prove that "procurare" is correct Latin for "to run (a province)". Er. doubted this. In the sense of "to be procurator of a province" *procurare* (intr.) occurs only since Pliny the younger and not in what Er. regarded as good authors; in the sense of "to administer (a province)" it occurs as a transitive verb since Pliny the elder; see Forcellini and *OLD*. Er.' translation "praesid(ent)e" is definitely better than "procurante" in the Vg.: it is just as general a word as ἡγεμονεύω, and it avoids reminiscences of the title "procurator".

208 *Qui fuit Salathiel* Lc. 3,27.

209 *annoto* "Rectius, ni fallor, dicendum Sealthiel". This note, no doubt inserted by Oecolampadius, is somewhat unfortunate, for, first, why should only this name be restored to its Hebrew form (and not, for example, Zorobabel, for which Zerubbabel would be a more literal rendering of the Hebrew); second, Er. was translating Greek, not Hebrew, and that was why he wrote "Solomon" in *Mt.* 1,6; 7, not "Salomon" with the Vg. (see his defence of "Solomon" against Stun. *ad Mt.* 1,6); third, the name Salathiel has two different Hebrew forms in the O.T.: Š'alti'el (שלתיאל, e.g. *Hgg.* 1,1) and Šalti'el (שליאל,

e.g. *Hgg.* 1,12; 14).

211-212 *Graeci ... deprauant* The LXX reads Σαλαθιήλ for all instances of Š(ʿ)alti'el.

213-214 *Oecolampadium ... autore me* Stun. had begun his section with: "Fallitur Er. cum suo Theseo Oecolampadio, trium, vt ipse ait, linguarum perito". Cf. p. 67, n.l. 118.

219 *Pauperes euangelizantur* Lc. 7,22.

220 עני In confirmation of this emendation it may be noted that Stun.'s comment was: "Dictio Hebraica עני non mansuetum sonat, sed pauperem ...".

221 *vertitur pauper ab Hieronymo* This is true for the majority of the instances of עני in the MT; in certain cases however he rendered it by *egenus* (*Ps.* 82/1,3), *inops* (*Ps.* 72/1,12), *egens* (*Ps.* 40/39,18), *indigens* (*Dt.* 24,24) or other words.

a Septuaginta mansuetus This annotation is misleading. עני occurs c. 73 times in the MT. The LXX renders it c. 37 times by πτωχός, c. 13 times by πέννης, c. 9 times by ταπεινός, 3 or 4 times by πρᾶυς, and by some other words. Consequently, "mansuetus", i.e. ταπεινός or πρᾶυς, is not really the normal translation. Stun. rightly criticized Er.' statement at issue (Er. failed to mention that this was the main point of Stun.'s objection). Still Er.' observation is useful, for only if one knows that *pauper* in the bible can have the connotation of *mansuetus*, can one see the intended connexion of Lc. 7,22 with *Is.* 61,1 "ad annuntiandum mansuetis misit me".

222 *euangelio* *Mt.* 5,3-4; *Lc.* 6,20.

223 *Stunica vult* His words are: "si alicubi LXX pro עני *mansuetum* aut *mitem* transtulerunt, decepti sine dubio sunt scripturae similitudine, cum iod et vau sola magnitudine differant". Etymologically, עני, "poor, miserable", and ענו, "humble", are closely related and they may have had the same meaning (see *TWNT VI*, pp. 885-888, and the literature mentioned there). There has indeed been some confusion between the two words, see M. Schwantes, *Das Recht der Armen* (Beiträge zur bibl. Exegese u. Theologie, 4), Frankfurt/Bern/Las Vegas, 1977, pp. 49-51 (also on the etymological relationship of the terms). But it is going too far to assert that wherever עני has been rendered by ταπεινός or πρᾶυς, עני has been misread as ענו.

225

EX CAPITE X.

Maria optimam partem elegit. Cum Graece sit ἀγαθήν, verito *bonam* pro *optimam*. Et tamen addo nonnullam epitaseos vim esse in articulo Graeco τὴν ἀγαθήν, id est, *partem illam certam quae vere bona est*, velut excusans ac probans quod fecit interpret, tantum abest vt reprehendam. Stunica docet
 230 Hebraeos, quod comparatiuis ac superlatiuis careant, nonnumquam abuti positiuis: id factum esse vult hoc loco. Non hic pugnabo cum Stunica, sed demiror, quur id hoc loco fecerit interpret Latinus potius quam innumeris aliis. Illud verum est, Augustinum et Ambrosium pro *optimam* legisse *meliozem*.

235

EX CAPITE XII.

Vt det illis in tempore tritici mensuram. Ostendo Graecis *compositam esse dictionem* σιτομέτριον, vt non solum ad triticum pertineat, sed ad alia quoque
 LB 308 quibus vescuuntur famuli, hoc est ad *demensum cibum*. Hic multis modis offenditur Stunica, quod non distinguo σῖτον a σῖτος, cumque dixerim eandem
 240 vocem sonare cibum, non addiderim: *mutato genere*. Non enim hoc agebam, neque id refert ad dictionem *compositam*, quae non minus *composita* videri potest ex σῖτον quam ex σῖτος.

Deinde quod cito *libros* Catonis De re rustica, cum sit vnus dumtaxat, quasi non recte citetur e prophetis quod in vno quopiam propheta scriptum est,
 245 qui vnus est e multis. Ibi *libros* dixi De re rustica quod Catonis liber sit inter eos qui tractant de re rustica.

Postremo notat, quod illic secus legatur quam cito. Haec ita leuia sunt, vt non referat defendere. Et tamen pro quamlibet leuibis debebamus gratiam monitori, ni tam saeuus esset Stunica, vt ipse veluti Scyria capra, quod est in
 250 prouerbiis, perdat officii sui gratiam.

EX CAPITE XIII.

Hierusalem, Hierusalem, quae occidis. Non mutaram quidem lectionem vulgatam, sed tamen in Annotationibus submonueram posse verba esse tertiae personae, *quae lapidat et occidit*, propter pronomen αὐτήν, quod non videtur
 255 conuenire secundae personae, ni primam habeat aspiratam: αὐτήν. Stunica contendit αὐτός omni congruere personae. Id verum est, cum habet *emphasim* discretionis: αὐτός ἔγραψα, αὐτός ἔγραψας, αὐτός ἔγραψε, verum alioqui non arbitror idem licere. Porro nihil est quod hic cogat *Hierusalem* esse *vocatiui casus*.

260 Iam quod verteram *eos qui mittuntur*: nihil aliud fuit in causa, nisi quod tum

240 mutato genere A B: add. O piaculum
 B.A.S.

B CS male.

245 Ibi A B: Ita B.A.S.

244 vno quopiam A B.A.S LB: non quopiam

- 226 *Maria optimam partem elegit* *Lc.* 10,42.
- 227 *addo* Valla had already observed: "Neque Graece dicitur *optimam*, sed *bonam partem*". In the *Annot.*, *ad loc.*, Er. had remarked: "*bonam partem*, nisi quod articulus additus declarat plusculum, nempe partem illam certam quae vera bona sit". But see the next note. Er. fails to appreciate the comparative or superlative value of ἀγαθὴν, which in correct Latin could well have been rendered by "meliores" or "optimam", see Lewis-Short, *s.v.* bonus C 8.
- 229–231 *Stunica ... loco* Stun.'s explanation is probably right, cf. Blass-Debrunner, § 245; Moulton-Turner III, p. 31. But the Vg. often has a positive for a comp. or a superl.: F. Kaulen, *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata*, Freiburg, 1904, § 54.
- 233 *aliis* E.g. *Mt.* 22,36 "magnum"; *Ioh.* 2,10 "bonum".
Augustinum E.g. *Serm.* CIV, Migne PL 38, 617, ll. 8–9: "*Maria meliorem partem elegit. Non tu malam: sed illa meliorem*".
Ambrosium E.g., *Expositio Ev. sec. Lc.*, *ad loc.*, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 14, p. 242: "*Maria, quod meliorem partem sibi elegerit*". But this is only a paraphrase; the quotation by which Ambr. introduced his comments runs: "*Maria optimam partem sibi elegit*". In consequence of Stun.'s criticism Er. inserted the passages of Aug. and Ambr. also in the third and later eds. of the *Annot. in NT*.
- 236 *Vt det illis...* *Lc.* 12,42.
- 238 *demensum cibum* This phrase, borrowed from Plaut. *Stich.* 60, replaces "tritici mensuram" in Er.' translation of *Lc.* 12,42 in the second and later editions of his *Nov. Test.*
- 239 *offenditur Stunica* He had objected (1) that σῖτος very often means "wheat", so that Jerome's "tritici mensuram" was a better translation than "frumenti mensuram", and (2) that the general meaning of "food" is proper to τὸ σῖτον, not to ὁ σῖτος. In both Stun. is in error. As to (1), σῖτος properly and normally means "grain", comprehending wheat as well as barley, spelt and other sorts of corn; in a wider sense it means food made from grain, or even any food. In (2) Stun. has been misled by Byzantine grammarians, e.g. Hesychius, whose distinction between σῖτος, "grain", and σῖτον, "food", has been recorded and refuted in *Th.L.G.* VII, 296–297. Moreover, σῖτος only has a heteroclitic declension in the plural; there are no certain instances of the singular τὸ σῖτον.
- 243 *cito ... Catonis* In his *Annot.* of 1516 Er. had (wrongly) remarked that it could be gathered "ex Catonis libris De re rustica" (*sc.* § 56) that the σιτομέτριον allotted to slaves did not consist of wheat, but of spelt and vegetables.
- 247 *illic secus legatur* The very passage referred to by Er. (see previous n.) also says that during the winter slaves should receive a ration of 4.5 measures of "triticum". In the third and later eds. of the *Annot.* Er. wisely omitted the reference to Cato; cf. previous n.
- 249 *Scyria capra* Leutsch-Schneidewin I, p. 36; II, p. 10; *Adag.* 920, *LB* II, 373 A–B; "in eos qui beneficium maleficio corrumpunt".
- 250 *prouerbiis* The plural is used on purpose, analogous to the plural of *libri* and *prophetiae* in the preceding paragraph.
- 252 *Hierusalem...* *Lc.* 13,34.
- 254 255 *pronomen ... personae* In the N.T. αὐτόν often occurs as a reflexive of the 3rd pers. in lieu of ἐαυτόν, e.g. *Mt.* 3,16; *Hebr.* 5,7, but not of the 2nd pers. sing., except in *Mt.* 23,37 and *Lc.* 13,34: Ἱερουσαλήμ, Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ... λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν. Er. rightly regards this αὐτήν as problematic, but seems too hesitant to take it as the 3rd pers. reflexive serving as 2nd pers. (If αὐτήν is taken as a real 3rd pers. here, the relative clause would become a parenthesis.) See Robertson, p. 689. In this knotty matter Er.' knowledge of Greek grammar is clearly superior to that of Stun., whose assertion that αὐτός serves in all persons, does not apply to the reflexive αὐτόν. Yet Stun. rightly dismissed Er.' suggestion that αὐτήν could be 3rd pers. here.
- 258–259 *nihil ... casus* In this objection to one of Stun.'s remarks, Er. is wide of the mark.
- 260 *eos qui mittuntur* All editions of the Vg., including the Complutensian Polyglot, read "qui mittuntur", as Er. had translated it. Although the reading "qui missi sunt" occurs in some mss., Stun. had probably had *Mt.* 23,37 Vg. "qui missi sunt" in mind and wrongly blamed Er. for changing this to "qui mittuntur". In reality Er. had simply retained the reading of the Vg. In his turn Er. did not perceive Stun.'s blunder: instead of defending his translation by referring to the Vg., he appealed to a Greek reading which he probably invented himself (see next n.).
- 260–261 *tum usus sum* For the 1516 edition Er.

vsus sum codice qui habebat ἀποσπελλομένους, cum scriberem Annotationes vsus sum qui secus haberet. Nec enim res acta est eodem in loco. Quaedam annotaram in Britannia, pleraque Basileae. Ac pro tempore diuersis sum vsus exemplaribus, nec vnis tamen. Porro quum peruentum esset ad Lucam, ita sum
 265 afflictus aduersa valetudine, vt coactus sim totum laborem conferendi dies aliquot intermittere: nec tamen poterant cessare operae, magno typographi dispendio. Et ob id pollicitus sum alteram aeditionem, qua sarcirem quod in priore fuisset cessatum: id quod et fecimus.

EX CAPITE XVI.

270 *Et erat quidam mendicus nomine Lazarus.* Obiter annotaram, quid *Hebraeis sonet Lazarus*, nimirum *adiutus a Domino*. Sic me docuerat Liber interpretis nominum Hebraicorum, siue Beda sit autor siue Remigius. Oecolampadius non dissentiebat, quem non video quur hic *Theseum* meum vocet *nunc primum a me confictum*. Hoc sane quid conuicii sit nescio. Non enim sentit, opinor, me
 275 ficto nomine voluisse tegere lapsus meos. Et tamen Stunica refellens quod ego posueram, nihil adfert praeter meram diuinationem eamque pene frigidam. Vult enim *Lazarum* esse dictum ab Eleazaro resecta prima vocabuli syllaba. Apud me nondum est tam leuis autoritas illius libelli quem sequutus sum aut Oecolampadii, vt isti subscribam coniecturae. Quanquam res alioqui nullius
 280 pene momenti est.

EX CAPITE XIX.

Et praecurrens ascendit in arborem sycomorum. Cum in textu reliquissem id quod habet nostra translatio, duobus verbis annoto hoc loco *sycomoream* esse, non *sycomorum*, et interpretor *fatuam ficum*, non dissimulans tamen scrupulum, quod apud Graecos *sycomorus* et *sycomorea* scribatur per o micron,
 285 cum Graecis μωρός, *fatuus*, habeat ω *mega*, nimirum etymologiam vocis indicans potius quam naturam arboris explicans. Neque enim hoc tum agebam, lectionis duntaxat negotium tractabam. Alioqui volumen mihi creuisset in immensum.

290 Quod si *sycomorus caprificus non est*, certe nomen habet cum illa commune. Quod *fatua* dicitur, certe succo foetuque, qui *ignauis* ac diluti
 LB 309 saporis esse scribitur Dioscoridi ac | Theophrasto, refert *caprificum*; foliis arborem *morum*, quae et ipsa voce Graeca *fatua* dicitur, quam Dioscorides putat eandem cum ea quam Graeci vocant *μωρέαν*.

295 Porro arborem hanc infamem olim fuisse *fatuitatis* et *ignauiae* nomine, declarat illud, quod Athenienses Syllam per contumeliam appellarint *συκάμινον ἀλφίτω πεπασμένον*, id est *sycomorum* siue *sycaminum* (nam hoc quoque tertium nomen est huic arbori) *polenta maceratum*.

266 operae, A: operae, quod futurum erat B BAS.

279 isti *A B*: Lopidis *BA*S.

282 textu *A B*: contextu *BA*S.

had used three mss. of the gospels, Gregory, nos. 1, 2, and 817. Previously (c. 1512-3) he had probably compared min. 69, or some of its allies, in England; whether he consulted further Greek mss. in England, cannot be ascertained. None of the mss. known to have been used by Er. reads ἀποστελλομένους, nor does any other ms. presently known to us. Probably Er. devised this reading merely in defence of his translation. (In *Mt.* 23,37, two minuscules do read ἀποστελλομένους, viz. 348 and 1279, teste Von Soden, but Er. did not know these mss.). Cf. p. 131, n.l. 433.

264-265 *ita sum afflictus...* The correspondence from Aug. 1515 to March 1516 is silent about this indisposition of Er.

267 *pollicitus sum* Ep. 417 (of 5 June 1516), l. 7: "alteram mox adornabo aeditionem"; cf. Ep. 421, l. 70.

270 *Et erat quidam ... Lazarus* *Lc.* 16,20.

271-272 *Liber interpretis nominum...* The onomasticon included in many early editions of the *Vg.* In his *Annot.* on *Hebr.* 7,2 Er. had suggested that Jerome could not be its author. Stun. had replied, also *ad Hebr.* 7,2, that Nicholas of Lyra (*Comm. in Gn.* 46) had ascribed the work to Remigius of Auxerre (9th cent. A.D.; cf. Migne *PL* 131, 50 A). Er. now anticipates the discussion and tries to overtrump Stun. by showing that he knows of still another attribution, viz. to the Venerable Bede (d. 735), among whose works the onomasticon was often listed and transmitted; see Migne *PL* 90, 84 A. The attribution to Remigius is nowadays regarded as not wholly impossible; O. Bardenhewer, *Der Name Maria*, Freiburg, 1895, pp. 83-85; Manitius I, p. 519; Dekkers, p. 311.

273-274 *Theseum ... confictum* A glaring misinterpretation of Stun.'s words "*Lazarus ... non a Lazariabu*, inaudito hactenus nomine, et ab Ocolampadio Theseo nunc primum conficto, sed ab *Eleazaro ... deductum est*". Cf. p. 67, n.ll. 118-119 above.

277 *Vult enim...* Stun. is correct. Unfortunately Er. never adopted Stun.'s suggestion in his *Annot.*

282 *Et praecurrens...* *Lc.* 19,4.

283 *annoto* Er. had written that the Greek has "συκομοραϊαν, id est, in caprificum, h.e. fatuam ficum. Illud miror, apud Graecos hanc dictionem scribi per ο, cum μωρός

297 id est *A B*: idem *BA*S *male*.

habeat ω".

286-287 *etymologiam ... indicans* Er. had suggested an etymological relationship between συκομοραία and μωρός. Stun. had rightly rejected this etymology and pointed out the connexion with *morum* = μύρον, "mulberry, blackberry".

290 *sycomorus ... non est* Stun. had written: "Non enim est caprificus ...".

290-291 *nomen ... commune* Er. seems to mean that in Greek *sycomorus* and *caprificus* have the same name: συκόμορος or συκομοραία.

291 *fatua dicitur* Viz., in its Greek name συκόμορος: Er. interprets -μορος as μωρός = *fatua*, "insipid".

292 *Dioscoridi ac Theophrasto* Diosc. *De materia medica* (ed. M. Wellmann, vol. I, Berlin, 1907), I, 127 *s.v.* συκόμορον: καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καρπὸς συκόμορον διὰ τὸ ἄστονον [ἄστομον Wellmann] τῆς γέυσεως. Thphr. *Hist. plant.* (ed. F. Wimmer, Lipsiae, 1854) IV, 2, 1: ἡ μὲν συκάμινος ... κάρπον φέρει... παραπλήσιον τῷ χυλῷ δὲ καὶ τῇ γλυκύτατι τοῖς δύνθουσι, in the translation of Theodore Gaza (c. 1400-1475) used by Stun. (ed. pr. Tarvisii, 1483; often reprinted): "[sycomorus] pomum parit ... succo atque sapore caprificis sane simile". Both passages had been quoted by Stun.

refert "Makes one think of", "calls to mind", "resembles".

292-293 *foliis ... morum* Thphr. *ibid.*, in Gaza's translation: "Morus [συκάμινος, sc. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ] similis quodammodo moro nostrati est, quippe folio ... proxima".

293 *Dioscorides* *De materia medica* I, 127, does not say that the συκόμορος is the same tree as the μωρέα, "mulberry-tree". Instead it says that the συκόμορος is τοῖς φύλλοις ἑοικὸς μωρέα.

296 *appellarint* Plut. *Vita Sullae* 2. Plut. relates that an Athenian mockingly called Sulla a "sycamore-fig macerated [πεπασμένον, from πεπαινῶ] in bread", not, as Er. suggests, because of Sulla's foolishness or slackness, but because of Sulla's complexion which showed a remarkable variety of contrasting red and white spots.

298 *tertium nomen* Thphr. and Diosc. did regard συκόμορος and συκάμινος as the same tree, but distinguished it from the μωρέα. Er. wrongly suggests that the three names refer to one tree.

Iam cum constet morum arborem apud Latinos in carmine primam habere
 300 productam, cumque conueniat sycomorum ob foliorum similitudinem hinc
 esse dictam, mihi non dissimile videtur deprauatione librariorum factum apud
 Graecos, vt sycomorus per o micron scriberetur. Hoc aliquanto credibilis
 mea quidem sententia quam quod adfert Stunica, sic morum producere
 primam syllabam apud Latinos poetas, quemadmodum apud Homerum
 305 ἐλώρια ob sequentem liquidam:

Nec video quur Stunica putet huic arbori nomen immutandum, vt dicatur
 ficomorus permixta Graeca voce cum Latina, idque quod est durius more
 Graeco. Nos enim potius diceremus ficimorus, quemadmodum caprificus.

EX CAPITE XXIII.

310 Hortabar vt titulum crucis triplici lingua passim haberemus depictum, *quem
 Ioannes*, inquam, *ad hanc ponit formam*. Hic Stunica monet lectorem, ne putet a
 Ioanne titulum tribus linguis fuisse descriptum. Et bene monet. Nam ego non
 de lingua, sed sensu loquebar, quem ex Ioanne volebam verti in reliquas duas
 linguas.

315 Ceterum quod argutatur, quibus elementis Hebraice scribatur nomen Iesu,
 quando ad me non pertinet, neque nunc vacat in his multum oci ponere, aliis
 excutiendum relinquo.

EX EVANGELIO IOANNIS, CAPITE I.

Et Verbum erat apud Deum. In annotamento scribo hunc in modum: *Mos*
 320 *enim hic est diuinae scripturae plerumque Dei vocabulum, licet omnibus personis ex aequo*
commune, Patri tribuere et haud scio an vsquam legatur Dei cognomen aperte tributum
Christo in apostolorum et euangelistarum litteris. Hoc quum in prima aeditione
 simpliciter admonuissem, haudquaquam in dubium vocans an Christus esset
 Deus et homo, quod nobis indubitatissimum esse oportuit, etiamsi semel
 325 duntaxat in sacris litteris legeretur, sed vt studiosus lector inquireret, quo
 consilio apostoli palam ac perpetuo tribuant cognomentum Dei Patri, Filio ac
 Spiritui Sancto non item, quoniam senseram nonnullos offensos hoc loco, aut,
 quod magis arbitror, ansam hinc arripuisse calumniae, in posteriore aeditione
 adieceram hec verba: *etiamsi ex compluribus locis certo colligitur Christum fuisse*
 330 *Deum, non hominem tantum*. Hoc igitur fundamento fixo et inconcusso paucis
 diluam Stunicae argumenta qui locum hunc atrociter est insectatus.

Primum quod dixi *duobus aut tribus locis*, non numero loca, sed vulgari more
 sermonis pauca significo loca. Quod etiamsi me fefellisset memoria, cum hoc
 ipso loco tester Dei vocabulum in omnes personas ex aequo competere, non
 335 erat quur quisquam metueret aliquid ab Arianis. Fortasse suspicari poterat
 aliquis hoc parcius fuisse factum ab apostolis verentibus, ne id temporis
 quorundam aures profanae non ferrent homini tribui Dei vocabulum,

340 fieretque vt prius resilirent ab euangelica doctrina quam coepissent euangelii mysteria discere. Sic primum Christus suis mandauit, vt penitentiam praedica-
rent, de Christo tacerent. Et Petrus ac Paulus, Christum rudibus adhuc praedicantes, virum et hominem appellant, de Deo tacent.

302 o micron *B.B.A.S.*: omicron *A.*

308 caprificus *A.B.*: *add.* O periculum ecclesiae, ni haec fuissent excussa. *B.A.S.*

313 sensu *A.B.*: de sensu *B.A.S.*

316 aliis *A.B.*: aliis Iudaeorum amicis *B.A.S.*

319 annotamento *A.B.*: annotamentis *B.A.S.*

322 litteris *A.B.*: *add.* praeterquam duobus aut tribus in locis *B.A.S.*

329 ex compluribus *A.B.*: compluribus ex *B.A.S.*

299 *in carmine* To prove that the first syllable of *morum* is long, Stun. had already quoted *Ov. Met.* IV, 90 and *Hor. Serm.* II, 4, 22.

301 *depravatione ... factum* This theory can easily be refuted: Greek poets use the word μῶρον, "black mulberry, blackberry".

305 ἐλώρια Stun. had quoted *Hom. Il.* I, 4 αὐτοὺς δ' ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν to show that syllables which are short by nature (ἐ-) can become long if followed by a liquid.

306 *Stunica ... immutandum* Stun. had remarked that, etymologically, συκόμορος could be translated as "ficomorus, i.e., ficus moro similis". Er.' objection that *ficomorus* is a compound of a Latin and a Greek element, does not hold water, *morus* being a genuine Latin word. But Er. rightly observes that if the first part of a Latin compound is the stem of a noun, it generally ends in -i, not in -o, e.g. *agri-cola, armi-ger, auri-fex, fratri-cida*; cf. C.D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Chicago, 1957, pp. 356-357 ("Forms like *Aeno-barbus, mero-bibus*, etc. follow the analogy of compounds borrowed from Greek, like *philo-sophus, hippo-dromos*"); Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I, pp. 389-392 (§ 335).

309 *capite xxiii* *Lc.* 23,38.

311 *ad banc ... formam* In the *Annot.* there follows the text of the inscription in Hebrew, Greek and Latin: the Greek was taken from *Iob.* 19,19, the Latin from *Iob.* 19,19 Vg. and the Hebrew was a translation based on the same verse. Stun. had objected that John had only given the Greek text.

315 *quibus elementis* Er. had written יהושע (J^hōšū^{ac}), whereas Stun. preferred to write ישו (Jēšū^{ac}, a later form of the same name), in order to bring out more clearly the correspondence with the Hebr. root שׁו (hōšū^{ac}, "to set free") which he supposed to underly σώσει in *Mt.* 1,21 καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαόν

αὐτοῦ. As both יהושע and ישו are probably related to the verb שׁו (jāšā', "to save"), Stun.'s reasoning is not conclusive. ישו, however, was much more common in Jesus' time than יהושע, see *TWNT*, s.v. Ἰησοῦς.

319 *Et Verbum erat apud Deum* *Iob.* 1,1.

324 *Deus et homo* Cf. the Athanasian Creed: "... Deus et homo est".

331 *atrociter est insectatus* That the N.T. called Jesus God at only two or three places was a comment which, according to Stun., Er. had written "ex ignoratione S. Scripturarum". Stun. himself discusses ten N.T. passages which in his opinion called Jesus God. Stun. did not omit to point out that several of these passages had been used by the church against Arius: an unmistakable insinuation against Er.

335 *Arianis* See the previous n.

339-340 *penitentiam praedicarent* *Mt.* 9,7; *Mc.* 6,7-12.

340 *de Christo tacerent* *Mt.* 16,20; *Mc.* 8,29-30; *Lc.* 9,20-21. The same remark: *Annot. in NT, LB VI*, 551-552. This sentence mirrors Er.' conviction that, since times changed continuously, each time made its special demands. Compare, for instance, his opinion that the vulgar, unpolished and faulty Greek used by the authors of the N.T. had been appropriate for their time, but since times had changed ("splendor accessit ecclesiae") the bible should be retranslated into the correct, pure and clear Latin of educated people (*LB VI*, f^o **4 r^o). In the specific case of the apostles' temporary silence about Christ, Er. owed his sense of the gradual change in history to Origen (see *Annot., ad Mt.* 16,20; *LB VI*, 89 D).

341 *virum et hominem* *Act.* 2,22; 17,31; *Rom.* 5,15.

Iam ad *loca decem*, vt ait, quae mihi obiicit Stunica, paucis respondebo.

Matthaeus refert ex Esaiae capite vii testimonium: *ecce Virgo concipiet et |*
 LB 310 *pariet filium et vocabitur nomen eius Emanuel, quod est interpretatum nobiscum*
 345 *Deus.* Hic vult *Christum manifeste* vocatum *Deum*, praesertim cum ita interpretetur Hieronymus enarrans hunc prophetam. Primum nec in verbis prophetae *manifeste* Christus appellatur *Deus*, sed ex indito nomine significatur, illo nato Deum fore propicium humano generi. Cum his enim *Deus* esse dicitur, quibus fauet. Quin et Graeci σύν τῷ Θεῷ, σύν ταῖς Μούσαις fieri optant quod illis
 350 propiciis ac fauentibus fieri cupiunt. Nec hoc palam dicit Hieronymus, ad quod Stunica detorsit. Relegat attente locum prudens lector et sic esse comperiet. Nam nos breuitati studemus in praesentia.

Iam quod Iudaei colligunt Christum sibi vindicare diuinitatem, quod se vocaret Filium Dei, nihil contra me facit, nam non consequi vt, quicumque sit
 355 filius Dei, idem sit *Deus*, docuit ipse *Christus*, ostendens et pios homines appellatos *filios Dei*, atque adeo *deos* esse dictos. Quod si maxime consequeretur, nihil aduersum me facit, qui fateor plurima esse loca in libris diuinis, e quibus certo colligimus Christum esse *Deum*.

Porro quod hoc loco cum ait: *et Deus erat Verbum*, *Christus* aperte vocatur
 360 *Deus*, mihi magis videtur certa ratiocinatione colligi quam appellatione manifesta. Docet enim *Ioannes Verbum Dei* fuisse ab initio, imo sine initio, ante conditum mundum, idque *Verbum* fuisse naturae diuinae, idemque postea factum hominem. Quoniam autem sic assumpsit quod non erat, vt non desineret esse quod erat, certo colligitur eundem fuisse geminae naturae,
 365 diuinae et humanae. Atque id ex multis diuinae scripturae locis colligi testatus sum, impius futurus si quid hac de re dubitarem.

Sed euidentius est quod *Thomas* contrectato latere *Christi* exclamat: *Dominus meus et Deus meus.* Hic aliquis tergiuersari posset exclamationem esse, non asseuerationem de *Christo*. Sed malo locum hunc vnum esse ex eorum
 370 numero, in quibus *Christus manifeste* sit appellatus *Deus*. Nolo enim esse argutus cum offendiculo infirmorum, praesertim cum non disputetur de *Christo*, sed de lapsu memoriae meae, deque inscitia scripturarum. Nec aliud est periculum, si vincat aduersarius, quam vt *Erasmus* non legerit aut non meminerit locorum, in quibus *Christus* aperte nominatur *Deus*.

Porro quod ait *Paulus* in Actis apostolicis, capite xx: *attendite vobis et vniuerso gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos ad regendam ecclesiam Dei quam acquisiuit sanguine suo*, potest esse duplex tergiuersatio. Primum *Christus* hic repeti potest ex eo quod paulo ante precessit, *quod accepi a Domino Iesu* et cetera, vt intelligamus *ecclesiam* dici *Dei Patris* quasi familiam eius quam *Christus Patri*

353 alt. quod A B: quia B.A.S.

355 sit Deus A: sit natura deus B B.A.S.

342 *loca decem, vt ait* The phrase *vt ait* is meant

ironically. It expresses a certain disdain for

- Stun.'s Latin. When *locus* means "passage in a book", its plural is normally *loci*, only rarely *loca*; see Lewis-Short, *s.v.*, II B. Er. himself wrote in the final paragraph of the present section "decem locos": p. 130, l. 422.
- 343 *Matthaeus Mt. 1,23; Is. 7,14.* See on this passage also Er.' statement on p. 128, ll. 406-409 below.
- 346 *Hieronymus Comm. in Is. III, ad 7,14-15,* ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 73, pp. 104-105: "Ergo iste puer qui nascetur ex virgine, o domus Daud, nunc a te appelletur Emmanuel, id est nobiscum Deus, quia rebus ipsis probabis a duobus inimicis regibus liberata, Deum te habere praesentem; et qui postea vocabitur Iesus, id est Saluator, eo quod vniuersum hominum genus saluaturus sit, nunc a te Emmanuelis appelletur vocabulo. ... Non mireris ad rei nouitatem, si virgo Deum pariat, qui tantam habeat potestatem, vt multo post tempore nasciturus, te nunc liberet inuocatus".
- 350-351 *Nec ... detorsit* This is questionable. True, according to Jerome, as cited in the previous note, the name Emmanuel does not designate its bearer as God; it rather expresses the belief that God is with his people. Moreover, to Jerome's mind Emmanuel was only a provisional, prenatal name of the future Christ, not of the historical Jesus. But on the other hand Jerome does say: "Non mireris ... , si virgo Deum pariat".
- 353-354 *Iudaei ... Dei Iob. 10,33,* a passage adduced by Stun. who inferred from it "Christum semetipsum multis in locis Deum appellasse".
- 356 *filios Dei Mt. 5,9; Lc. 20,36.* Cf. *Mt. 5,45; Lc. 6,35; Iob. 1,12; 11,52* etc. That Er. was right in maintaining that the term "son of God" was not simply equivalent to "God" is also clear from the frequent use of *υἱός θεοῦ* of heroes and charismatic rulers in non-christian Greek texts; see A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, Tübingen, 1924³, pp. 294-295; L. Bieler, *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ*, I, Vienna, 1935, pp. 137-139; Bauer, *s.v. υἱός* 2b; *TWNT* VIII, p. 336.
- atque adeo deos* "And indeed ..., yes ..."; Lewis-Short, *s.v. adeo* II B 5. For *deos*, see *Iob. 10,35*.
- 357 *loca* The repetition of Stun.'s dubious plural *loca* (cf. p. 126, n.l. 342) seems to be meant as ironical.
- 359 *hoc loco Iob. 1,1,* Stun.'s second passage, from which, as he wrote, "manifestissime patet ... Iohannem ... Christum Deum appellasse".
- 363 *assumpsit* The subject is Christ, the object human nature.
- 367 *Thomas Iob. 20,28,* Stun.'s third passage.
- 370 *Christus ... Deus* The phrase echoes Stun.'s words "notandum ... euangelistam ... manifeste Christum Deum appellasse", see p. 126, l. 345, but the evangelist there is Mt.
- 371 *offendiculo infirmorum* The terms are borrowed from 1 *Cor. 8,9* and *Rom. 14,1; 2; 13; 20-21*, but by "the weak" Er. means those who believe that Jesus' deity depends on biblical proof-texts and who regard *Iob. 20,28* as one of these proof-texts.
- 372-374 *lapsu memoriae ... Deus* This passage responds to the remarks with which Stun. had concluded the discussion of *Iob. 1,1*: "Ecce nos decem attulimus loca ex quibus Dei cognomen ab apostolis et euangelistis aperte tributum esse Christo manifestissime patet. Neque ignoramus multa et alia his similia in sacris libris posse reperiri. Sed nos haec tantum annotare volumus vt vel ex his facile appareat quam frequens sit in Sacrarum Scripturarum lectione Erasmus iste Roterodamus, qui haud se scire ait an vsquam legatur Dei cognomen aperte tributum Christo in apostolorum aut euangelistarum literis, praeterquam in duobus aut tribus locis".
- 375 *Paulus in Actis Act. 20,28,* quoted by Stun. in Greek: ... τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. Stun. had interpreted θεοῦ as referring to Christ. Er. could not yet dismiss this interpretation by appealing to the variant reading κυρίου (for θεοῦ), since that reading did not become known until the 17th century, from Codex Alexandrinus, see H. Grotius, *Annot. in NT, ad Act. 20,28* (1646); E. Abbot, *The Authorship ... and Other Critical Essays*, Boston, 1888, pp. 294-331.
- 378 *repeti potest Viz.,* as the subject of *acquisiuit.*
- quod ... Iesu Act. 20,24.*
- 379 *Dei Patris* It is interesting to see how the catholic exegete Cornelius a Lapide (1567-1637) reacted to Er.' exegesis in his *Comm. in Act. (1627), ad loc.*: "Inepte et distorte Erasmus Arianis arma ministrans, sic exponit: '... ecclesiam Dei (Patris) quam acquisiuit (Christus) sanguine suo.' Si hoc non est falsare Scripturam, quid erit?". Yet Er. was certainly right in explaining *Dei* as *Patris*.

380 suo sanguine asseruerit. Deinde potest accipi, vt Pater Filii sanguinem *suum* appellet, propterea quod ipso autore Filius pro salute mundi mortem obierit.

Ad locum qui est in epistola ad Romanos, capite ix: *ex quibus est Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula. Amen*, tergiuersari posset aliquis sermonem sic esse distinguendum: *qui est super omnia*, deinde
385 interiecto silentio velut epiphonema adiicit: *Deus benedictus in secula*, vt haec clausula sit agentis gratias Patri, qui Christum praefecerit omnibus.

Ceterum locus qui est ad Philippenses, capite ii: *qui cum in forma Dei esset et cetera*, iam declarauimus et ab Ambrosio secus enarrari quam de natura diuina et humana. Nec est hic proprie appellatio, nec apertum dici potest vbi variant
390 interpretes orthodoxi.

Rursum quod est ad Collossenses, capite ii: *in ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter*, praeterquam quod negari potest appellatio de qua nos fecimus mentionem, recipit et aliam interpretationem, nimirum Christo datum a Patre affatim quicquid attinet ad humanam felicitatem, vt non oporteat nec a
395 philosophis, nec a Mose, nec ab angelis eam petere, quasi repetierit Paulus quod paulo ante dixerat: *in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi.*

LB 311 Porro quod additur *σωματικῶς*, magis oppo|nitur vmbri legis Mosaicae quam refertur ad naturam diuinam.

Ad haec quod est in epistola ad Titum, capite ii: *expectantes beatam spem et aduentum gloriae magni Dei et saluatoris* et cetera, praeterquam quod sermo palam
400 est anceps, hoc enim negari non potest, docuimus Ambrosium priorem partem de Patre interpretari, non de Filio.

Iam quod adducitur ex epistolae ad Hebraeos capite i: *ad Filium autem: thronus tuus, Deus, in seculum*, vt ne quid tergiuerser de autoritate huius epistolae,
405 vt ne postulem mihi suffragari sermonis amphibologiam manifestam, vt suo indicabimus loco, certe locus hic ex Vetere Testamento citatus est, cum ego loquar de scripturis apostolicis, quibus ipsi suis verbis Christum predicant. Quo quidem colore poteram vti et in primo loco, quem ex propheta Matthaeus adduxerat.

410 Postremo quod adfertur ex epistolae Ioannis primae capite v: *et sumus in vero Filio eius Iesu Christo. Hic est verus Deus et vita eterna*, vt omittam alias tergiuersationes, non cogimur vt hoc accommodemus Filio. Potest enim hic esse sensus, imo hoc sensisse videtur qui scripsit: et sumus non in Diabolo, aut mundo vano et fallaci, sed in vero Patre et hoc per Filium eius Iesum
415 Christum, per quem illi iungimur. *Hic enim Pater est verus Deus et vita eterna, fons omnium.*

405 *alt.* vt *A*: quemadmodum *B BAS*.

409 adduxerat *A*: adduxerat: nobiscum deus *B BAS*.

380 *Deinde...* In this alternative interpretation the subject of *acquisiuit* is the Father. The explanation of *suo* as referring to the Father

may seem far-fetched, but it should be borne in mind that the exegesis of the relative clause *quam ... suo* was thwarted by

- the reading of the *textus receptus* διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. Only the reading commonly accepted by modern exegetes, διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου, made it possible to interpret "which God won for himself by the blood of his own Son".
- 382 *ad Romanos Rom.* 9,5.
- 384 *posset* The subjunctive is significant. Personally, Er. would not have accepted this interpretation as a satisfactory solution. In the *Annot. in NT, ad Rom.* 9,5 (LB VI, 610 C) he expressly rejected it on the ground that it would require the definite article before Θεός. He prefers, therefore, to put a full stop after *carnem/σάρκα*, and to take Ὁ ὦν κτλ. as a thanksgiving to God. In neither of these interpretations can *Rom.* 9,5 serve as a proof-text for Christ's deity. See B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek N.T.*, London/New York, 1971, pp. 520-523.
- 387 *ad Philippenses Phil.* 2,6.
- 388 *iam ... Ambrosio* In the *Annot. in NT, ad Phil.* 2,6 Er. had quoted Ambrosiaster, *ad Phil.* 2,7-8 (ed. H.I. Vogels, CSEL 81, 3, p. 141): "Forma enim Dei quid est nisi exemplum quod Deus apparet, dum mortuos excitat, surdis reddit auditum, leprosos mundat". According to Er. this passage showed that Ambr. had not taken the phrase "cum in forma Dei esset" as a proposition concerning Christ's divine nature, but as a reference to his superhuman goodness shown to the sick.
- 389-390 *variant interpretes* In the *Annot. in NT, ad Phil.* 2,6 (LB VI, 867 F-868 B), Er. points out that, in contradistinction to Ambrosiaster, Hil. and Aug. explained "in forma Dei" as referring to Christ's divine nature.
- 391 *ad Collossenses Col.* 2,9.
- 392-393 *negari ... mentionem* It can be denied that the verse designates Christ as "Deus".
- 396 *paulo ante Col.* 2,3.
- 397 *σωματικῶς ... vmbri* Er. explains *σωματικῶς* in terms of the traditional hermeneutic opposition between "vmbra" (shadow, foreshadowing, prefiguration, type) and "corpus" (reality, realization, actualization, antitype). Thus, the meaning of *σωματικῶς* becomes "really, concretely, in actuality", "not longer in the way of a prefiguration, as in the law of Moses, but in reality". For the opposition "vmbra-corpus" in the sense of foreshadowing-realization, see *Col.* 2,17; and for the Mosaic law as foreshadowing, *Hebr.* 8,5 and 10,1.
- 399 *epistola ad Titum Tit.* 2,13.
- 401 *anceps* The genitive *saluatoris* can be taken as qualifying *aduentum*: "the appearing of God's glory and (the appearing) of our saviour". In this case the text does not call the saviour God. But the genitive *saluatoris* can also be taken as qualifying *gloriae*: "the appearing of the glory of God and (the glory of) our saviour". In this case it is possible, but not necessary, to regard *Dei* as a designation of the saviour Jesus Christ. *Ambrosium* Ambrosiaster, *ad Tit.* 2,13 (ed. H.I. Vogels, CSEL 81, 3, p. 330): "hanc esse dicit [*sc.* apostolus] beatam spem credentium, qui expectant aduentum gloriae magni dei, quod reuelari habet iudice Christo, in quo dei patris videbitur potestas et gloria". "Reuelari habet" is vulgar Latin for "reuelabitur".
- 403 *ad Hebraeos Hebr.* 1,8.
- 404 *de autoritate* With many early christian authors Er. regarded *Hebr.* as non-Pauline. He discussed the problem at length in *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, LB IX, 54 D-56 E, and in an appendix to his notes on *Hebr.*, *Annot. in NT, LB VI, 1024-1025*. In both cases Er. mentioned with some approval Jerome's view according to which *Hebr.* bears a clear resemblance to the first Epistle of Clement of Rome. In Er.' opinion the non-Pauline authorship of *Hebr.* detracted from its authority, see ll. 406-407 *cum ... apostolicis* and p. 130, l. 421.
- 406 *ex Vetere Testamento Ps.* 44 (45),7.
- 408 *colore* For "color" in the sense of "excuse, pretext", see p. 212, l. 804 and p. 238, l. 208.
- 410 *epistolae Ioannis 1 Iob.* 5,20. The Vg. has "et simus", and so has Stun. But Er. preferred "et sumus", on account of the Greek καὶ ἐσμὲν. Under the influence of the Greek text, Stun. had read "in vero, in Filio" instead of "in vero Filio" (Vg.), but both readings fit his interpretation equally well.
- 411-412 *alias tergiuersationes* Not specified in the *Annot.* either.
- 412-416 *Potest ... omnium* Er. first dissociates *in vero* ("in him who is real") from *Filio* ("through the Son") and then makes *Hic est verus Deus* refer, not to *Filio*, but to *eius*, that is, to "him who is real" (God). What led Er. to this alternative interpretation was the wording of the Greek: ἐσμὲν ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ. The Vg. "simus in vero Filio eius" hardly admits of another exegesis than that defended by Stun.; the Greek can be explained in two ways.

Igitur, vt finiam, cum ego loquutus sim de vocabulo *aperte tributo*, testatus
 ratiocinatione pluribus ex locis posse colligi, sentiens Patrem tot locis appellari
 Deum, Filium indicari potius quam appellari, cum apertum sit de quo non
 420 variant interpretes orthodoxi, quod non pendeat ab allegoriis, de quo non
 queas tergiuersari, cum loquutus sim de litteris apostolicis, cum *duo aut tria*
 dixerim pro paucis: eat nunc et numeret suos decem locos Stunica, quibus
 arguat me non legisse sacros libros. Iuxta rationem hanc vix duos inueniet,
 opinor. Et tamen hac in re non libet esse disertum. Malo ipse lapis aut fungus
 425 haberi, quam aliquid per occasionem decedere gloriae Christi.

EODEM II.

A Nazareth potest aliquid boni esse. Augustinus existimat vtrique pronun-
 ciationi ex aequo congruere *veni et vide*, siue affirmatiue sonet siue interroga-
 tiue. Et in codice quo primum vtebar, non erat addita nota interrogationis.
 430 Stunica contra dicit in *omnibus Graecis exemplaribus etiam vetustissimis interroga-*
tionis notam esse additam. Demiror hominis felicitatem, si illi contigit omnia
 Graecorum exemplaria videre. Certe cum haec excuderentur Basileae, suppete-
 bant nobis exemplaria tria: vnum quod nobis praebuerat vir eximius Ioannes
 Reuchlinus, duo quae praebuerat monasterium praedicatorum Basileae, in
 435 quorum altero aderant Commentarii Graeci Theophylacti, quem nos totiens
 adduximus nomine Vulgarii, quod Theophylacti vocabulum ob litteras
 detritas vix legi posset. Ex hoc Stunica toties facit Athanasium; quod secus
 esse vir tam nasutus vel e stilo debebat deprehendere, siquidem Athanasius
 spirat vim rhetoricam, hic simplex ac pene dilutus humi graditur. In his igitur
 440 si fuisset interrogationis nota, saltem admonuissem vtriusque pronunciationis.
 Sed hoc non est eiusmodi, vt hac gratia cuiquam sit digladiandum.

EX CAPITE V.

Est autem Hierosolymis probatica. Cum in contextu Graeco recte scriptum
 fuerit Βηθεσδά, suspicari debebat quod erat in Latino contextu, *Bethesda* per
 445 duplex s, vicio librariorum esse commissum, qui litteram priorem expunctam
 reliquerint et addiderint, quam suo loco asscripseramus; similique casu
 contigisse quod in Annotationibus scriptum sit *Bethseda*. Quod si mihi nolit
 largiri Stunica, neque nos illi largiemur tot κακογραφίας in hoc opere non
 admodum magno.

420 variant A B: variant BAS.

431 contigit A B: add. oculis emissitiis BAS.

433 vir eximius A: eximius vir B BAS.

445 s A B: ss BAS.

417 *aperte tributo* See the beginning of this section, p. 124, l. 321.423 *vix duos* The only passages left by Er.were *Ioh.* 20,28 and perhaps *Ioh.* 1,1 (see *Annot. in NT., ad Tit.* 2,13, LB VI, 971 D). The discussion is still going on: see, e.g.,

- R.E. Brown, *Does the N.T. call Jesus God?*, Theological Studies 26 (1965) pp. 544-573; V. Pery, *Does the N.T. call Jesus God?*, Expository Times 87 (1976), pp. 214-215.
- 424 *lapis aut fungus* These metonymies for "blockhead" come from Plaut. and Ter.; see Lewis-Short; Otto 911 and 736; *Adag.* 89 (LB II, 179 A) and 3038 (ibid. 979 B).
- 426 *Eodem Iob.* 1,46 (*textus receptus*: 47).
- 427 *Augustinus Doctr. chr.* III, iii, 6 (ed. I. Martin, CCSL 32, p. 81).
- 429 *codice quo primum utebar* Er. seems to distinguish this codex from the "three" Greek mss. which, as he states some lines further down, he used at Basle for the first edition of the N.T. The former codex may well have been, therefore, a ms. which he used in England, when he worked at the Latin translation and the *Annot. in NT* in 1506-09 or 1512-13 (Allen, introd. Ep. 384). Er. speaks of the Greek ms. which he used in England in the singular: "in codice, vnde contuli in Anglia" (*Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, 986 E). Wettstein I, p. 53, and Bludau, p. 15, n. 4, have observed that there are signs that the ms. used by Er. in England is the Codex Leicestriensis (min. 69, containing the whole N.T.). However, in *Iob.* 1,46 (47) this codex has a question-mark written by the first hand (information kindly supplied by Dr. K. Junack, Münster). Er.' English ms. may have been an ally of min. 69.
- 430 *omnibus* This is of course a gross exaggeration. The earliest mss. of John presently known, papyri 66 (c. 200) and 75 (3rd cent.), do have some punctuation, but not the question-mark. In *Iob.* 1,46 (47), after εἰνάει, they have no punctuation at all, nor have the uncials κ and Β (4th cent.).
- 433 *exemplaria tria* These are (a) min. 1, Basle, Univ. Libr., A.N. IV.2, a ms. borrowed from Reuchlin (Ep. 300, l. 33); (b) min. 2, Basle, Univ. Libr., A.N. IV.1, used as printer's copy; (c) min. 817, Basle, Univ. Libr., A.N. III.15, containing the gospels with Theophylact's commentary. These were used for the gospels. For the rest of the N.T. Er. used 4 further mss.: min. 2^{ap+paul}, 4^{ap+paul}, 7^{paul} and 1^{rev}. As far as I know, there is no fully accurate account of the mss. used by Er. for his Greek N.T. In *Iob.* 1,46 (47) the min. 2 and 817 have the question-mark written by the original hand. Min. 1, too, has a question-mark, but in this case it seems to be an addition by a later hand (information kindly supplied by Dr. K. Junack, Münster). Cf. p. 190, n.l. 460 below.
- 436 *Vulgarii* See pp. 92-93, n.l. 643 above.
- 437 *Athanasium* The 15th-century Latin translation of Theophylact's commentary on Paul was commonly attributed to Athanasius, as, e.g., in the edition [Enarrationes s. Athanasii in Epistolas s. Pauli Christophoro de Persona interprete], Romae, per Ulderichum Gallum, alias Han, 1477, used by Stun. and Er., see *Annot. in NT, ad 1 Cor.* 12,27 (LB VI, 721 F) and 2 *Cor.* 5,17 (LB VI, 768 E). On comparing this edition with a Greek ms. of Theophylact (a ms. now in Oxford, see p. 193, n.l. 493 below), Er. discovered that it was in fact a work by Theophylact, as he recounts in the *Annot. on Rom.* 1,4 (LB VI, 555 E) and 1 *Cor.* 12,27 (LB VI, 721 F). Cf. Allen, Ep. 846, n.l. 8. In later editions of Athanasius' *Enarrationes Persona* is called Porsena. On the editions of Porsena's translation and on the nature and textual transmission of Theophylact's commentary on Paul generally, see K. Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome, 1926, pp. 213-245, see pp. 233-234 (also on Er.' identification). For the Latin ed. used by Er. in Anderlecht, see p. 193, n.l. 493 below.
- 441 *digladiandum* In the *Nov. Instr.* of 1516 the clause "A Nazareth potest aliquid boni esse" (*Iob.* 1,46 [47]) is not concluded by a question-mark, nor is the corresponding Greek, since Er. took this clause to be an exclamation, not a question. But in the second ed. (1519) he altered the clause into a question through the insertion of a question-mark (instead of the full stop of 1516), in the Greek as well as in the Latin text.
- 442 *Ex capite v Iob.* 5,2. Stun. had observed that, since the Greek had Βηθεσδά, "Bethesda" (so Er. in his translation) and "Bethseda" (so Er. in his *Annot.*) must be mistranslations. Er. ascribes these mistakes to the compositors. The reading Βηθσαιδά, underlying "Bethsaida" in the Vg. and possibly the original reading, was unknown to Er. and Stun.
- 448 *κακογραφίας* Not in Liddell-Scott, Lampe (except as a false reading), *Th.L.G.*, or C. du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyon, 1688; nor does *cacographia* occur in *Th.L.L.* or the Latin Du Cange. In modern Greek *κακογραφία* does occur, but it means *δυσανάγνωστος*

LB 312 Subiicit Stunica *totum hunc locum a lib|brariis corruptum restituisse Antonium*
 451 *Nebrissensem omnium primum*, quasi illud agat, ne quid habeatur mihi gratiae,
 quod de *super piscina siue ad piscinam* restitui. Sed hoc quicquid est laudis
 lubentes cedimus Antonio, cuius labores vtinam ad nos quoque perferrentur.

EX CAPITE VII.

455 *Flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae viuae*. Hic adieceram in Annotationibus:
ita distinguit Ioannes Chrysostomus, vt sicut dicit Scriptura referatur ad verbum
credit in me, et id quod sequitur: flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae viuae,
verba sint Christi, non Scripturae et cetera. Hic Stunica non habet quod
 stomachetur, nisi quod adiecerim: *etiamsi Lyranus ex Solomone citata putat*. Hic
 460 duplici nomine indignatur, et quod Lyrano vbiq; derideam, et quod
 Lyrano tribuam quod prior scripserit Hieronymus. Certe hoc loco non derideo
 Lyrano, nec erat occasio, quor hoc conuitii misceret Stunica, nisi data opera
 quaereret ansam maledicendi. Et palam falsum est me *passim irridere* Lyrano,
 sed illud verissimum est Stunicam *passim* calumniari Erasmus.

465 Deinde non ideo nego dictum prius ab alio, si fateor hoc dictum a Lyrano.
 Et quod hic ait Hieronymus durius est et coactius, malimque Chrysostomo
 subscribere, praesertim cum Augustinus etiam enarrans hunc locum eadem
 verba tribuat Christo, nec vllam Scripturae faciat mentionem.

EX CAPITE VIII.

470 *Adducunt autem scribae*. Hic vt docerem hanc historiam de muliere in
 adulterio deprehensa non inueniri in omnibus exemplaribus, cito Hieronymum
 testem praefatus his verbis: *quin et diuus Hieronymus in Dialogo aduersus Pelagianos*
secundo, cum vehementer egeret huius testimonio loci, quo quidem in casu solet et ex
apocryphis adducere testimonia, tamen hanc allegans historiam ingenue fatetur non in
 475 *omnibus haberi codicibus*. Ac mox Hieronymi verba subscribo: *in Euangelio*, inquit,
secundum Ioannem in multis et Graecis et Latinis codicibus inuenitur de adultera muliere
quae accusata est apud Dominum. Sed reclamat Stunica dicens scriptum esse in
 meis: *non inuenitur*. Verum sciat hoc a me non scriptum, sed ab emendatore
 parum attento deprauatum inter excudendum, quod in praefatiuncula citatio-
 480 nis visus sum illi hoc dicere, cum aio: *ingenue fatetur non in omnibus haberi*
codicibus. Ratiocinatus sum autem hoc sensisse Hieronymum, quod scriberet: *in*
multis et Graecis et Latinis codicibus haberi, nimirum indicans non esse in
 omnibus, sed hinc auctoritatem concilians huic historiae, quod *in multis*
 voluminibus haberetur. Nec hic meum errorem in typographos confero,
 485 quorum vtinam esset ea fides ac diligentia, vt hoc *κρησφύγετον* in totum nobis
 occluderent. Sed frequentius hos accusare cogimur quam velimus. Quam
 excusationem si non recipit Stunica, videat quam legem praescribat sibi. Atque
 adeo quod dicimus ipse suspicari debuerat Stunica potius quam ad illa odiosa
 descendere: *Erasmus falso citauit verba Hieronymi*.

490 Ceterum quod in prima editione putaram non extare commentarium Augustini in hanc historiam, in secunda aeditione correxi et in Apologia qua

452 de super *A B*: desuper *BAS CS LB*.
478 meis *A*: meis scholiis *B BAS*.

483 hinc *A B*: hic *BAS*.

γραφῆ, “bad handwriting, scribbling”, the opposite of καλλιγραφία, see D. Demetrakou, Μέγα λεξικόν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, IV, Athens, 1950, s.v. Er. may have modelled the word on “cacologia”, which, according to A. Blaise, *Lexicon latinis aevi*, Turnhout, 1975, s.v., occurs in post-classical and christian Latin for “a faulty way of expressing oneself”.

450–451 *Antonium Nebrissensem* Stun. had observed that Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis (see p. 113, n.ll. 97–98 above) had already restored the reading of the Vg. to “Bethesda” in his *Tertia quinquagena*, Alcalá, 1516 (also in the *Critici sacri*), cap. V.

452 quod de ... restitui “what I corrected with respect to ...”. Cf. crit. app.

super piscina... The current reading of the Vg. was “Est autem Hierosolymis probatica piscina”. Er. had pointed out that this is not a correct rendering of the Greek Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τῇ Προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρα and that ἐπὶ τῇ Προβατικῇ should be translated as “super probaticam, siue ad probaticam”. In the present sentence Er. wants to refer to this improved translation, but he writes “piscina” instead of “probatica”. He never corrected this mistake.

453 vtinam... Although Nebrissensis’ *Tertia quinquagena* had been reprinted at Paris in 1520, Er. had not yet seen the work.

454 Ex capite vii Iob. 7,38.

456 *Ioannes Chrysostomus Hom. in Iob.*, 51,1, Migne PG 59, 283.

459 *Lyranus ex Solomone* Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270–1340), *Postillae perpetuae in vniuersam s. Scripturam*, ad Iob. 7,38, regards “sicut dicit Scriptura” as a reference to *Prv.* 5,16.

460 quod ... derideam Stun.’s words are: “... etiamsi Er. suo more passim hominem irrideat”. It is true that Er. had a poor opinion of Lyra’s exegesis and sometimes treated his expositions with great sarcasm. For examples, see index to *LB VI*.

461 *Hieronymus Prologus in Pentateucho*.

466 *darius ... coactius* Jerome’s comment is indeed very short, for he only says “[est] in Prouerbiis”, and it does not serve its con-

text too well. Jerome argues that several O.T. quotations in the N.T. cannot be found in the LXX, but only in the Hebrew text. As an example he quotes, *inter alia*, Iob. 7,38b, to be found “in Prouerbiis”. If the reference is to *Prv.* 5,16, as Er. thought on Thomas Aquinas’ authority, then it is strange that Jerome used it as an example. For the Vg. text of this verse, based on the Hebrew, is by no means closer to Iob. 7,38b than its LXX text, as Er. rightly observed. The difficulty remains the same if Jerome’s reference is to *Prv.* 18,4. See *Annot. in NT, ad Iob.* 7,38, *LB VI*, 371 E.

467 *Augustinus Tractatus in Iob. ev.* 32, 2, ad Iob. 7,38, ed. R. Willems, *CCSL* 36, p. 301.

469 Ex capite viii Iob. 8,3.

471 *Hieronymus Dialogus contra Pelagianos II*, 17, Migne PL 23, 579 A.

478 *emendatore* Possibly Gerbell or Occolampadius, see *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, *LB IX*, 896 F: “Quod sane miror a nemine castigatum hactenus animaduersum, cum id muneris in prima editione [sc. *Novi Instrumenti*] obierint Ioannes Oecolampadius et Nicolaus Gerbellius ...”.

489 *Erasmus ... Hieronymi* Quoted from the opening sentence of Stun.’s corresponding section, but with the usual slight alterations. Stun.’s own words are: “Falso ea verba diui Hieronymi Erasmus citauit”.

490 in prima editione putaram Er. had written: “Augustinus, cum in hoc euangelium diligenter ac copiose scripserit, hunc locum ne attigit quidem”. But Aug. *Tractatus in Iob. ev.* 33, 4–8 (ed. R. Willems, *CCSL* 36, pp. 307–311) is an extensive exposition of the *pericope de adultera*, and U. Becker, *Jesus und die Ehebrecherin*, Berlin, 1963, pp. 183–186, lists and discusses ten passages which show Aug.’s acquaintance with it from the years 393/4 onwards.

491–492 *Apologia ... respondi Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, *LB IX*, 189 D–190 C. Here Er. relates that he himself had already discovered his mistake, had corrected it in his working copy of the *Nov. Instr.*, and had himself shown the correction to Lee, when the latter criticized Er. for this mistake in

Leo respondi ingenue fateor me fuisse falsum, dum nescio quo casu tum in codice quaesitum locum non inuenirem, siue quod tumultuanter quaererem, siue quod paginis luxatis non occurreret suo loco.

495

EODEM II.

Quinquaginta annos nondum habes. Indicaram in Homiliis Chrysostomi legi: *quadraginta annos pro quinquaginta*, et adiectum esse *vice commenti: ac si prope iam accederet ad eam aetatem.* Stunica refellit hoc commentum huiusmodi lemmate:

LB 313

500

nam quod addit inquit vice commenti: ac si prope iam accederet ad eam aetatem, potius videtur ex illis verbis Chrysostomum legisse quinquaginta quam quadraginta.

505

Quid ego audio? Homo natus annos plus minus triginta, num propior est anno quinquagesimo quam quadragesimo? Non opinor hoc Stunicam scripsisse serio, sed voluisse facere periculum ingenii mei quem toties appellat *crassum, rudem* ac denique *Batauum*. Et tamen suspicor locum in Chrysostomo non carere mendo, quod ingenue fateor in aeditione sequunda.

Demiror vbi legerit Carrensis quod citat ex Chrysostomo, cum in his quae nos habemus non sit. *Potuit*, inquit Stunica, *legisse in iis quae Erasmus non vidit.* Satisfaciet Stunica si protulerit ipse, qui nihil non vidit, neque carptim legit autores, neque quicquam obliuiscitur.

510

EX CAPITE XII.

Maria ergo accepit libram. Graecam vocem *λίτραν* suspicabar ab euangelista deflexam a Latina libra. Stunica contra docet Latinos libram deflexisse a *λίτρα* ac propemodum mihi persuadet, nisi quod fieri potuit vt quemadmodum barbarae quaedam voces vna cum ipsis rebus importatae sunt in Graeciam, quod genus sunt *πίπερι, σίνγηπι*, ita libra demigrarit a Romanis ad Graecos, quod non appareat quae sit Graecae vocis origo, cum Latini complures voces habeant a libra: libella, librare, equilibrium, bilibris, et cetera.

515

EODEM II.

Nardi pistici. In Annotationibus asscripseram: *de hoc dictum est in Luca.* Nam *iisdem verbis utitur vterque*, cum dicere debuerim: *de hoc dictum est in Marco.* Quod ait Stunica verum est, sed ipse prior id aduerteram et correxeram hunc lapsum in aeditione secunda.

520

EX CAPITE XIII.

Et sermonem quem audistis, non est meus. Hic cum nihil sit causae, tamen admiscet stomachum Stunica; *ne hunc quoque locum*, inquit, *intactum praeteriret,*

525

492 falsum *A B: add.* in quo falsus fuerat et ipse Leus *BAS.*

501 num *A BAS*: non *B CS*.504 Chrysostomo *A B*: *add. verso BAS*.

his *Annotationes in Annot. NT. Des. Erasmi*, Paris, 1520.

495 *Eodem ii Iob. 8, 57*.

496 *Homiliis Chrysostomi Hom. in Iob.*, 55, *aliter* 54, Migne PG 59, 304: "Quadragesima annos", with Montfaucon's footnote: "Sic omnes mss. et editi Chrysostomi ...". Stun. had argued that Chrys.' comment "ac si prope iam accederet ad eam aetatem" would make more sense if Chrys. himself had read "fifty" than if he had read "forty", as the Latin translation reads. According to Stun., the emotion expressed in Chrys.' comment is best comprehensible if Chrys. thought the Jews had said "You are not yet fifty years old"; for supposing that in *Iob. 8* Jesus was about thirty, he was already on his way to the age of forty, so the reproach "You are not yet forty" did not need to rouse so much irritation on the part of Chrys. as the reproach "You are not yet fifty". So Chrys.' protest indicates that he is more likely to have read "fifty" than "forty". But whereas Stun. gives more weight to Chrys.' indignation, Er. stresses more the word "prope" in Chrys.' comment. Seeing that Jesus was about thirty, Chrys. is more likely to have denied that Jesus was nearing the age of forty than that he was nearing the age of fifty. On this line of arguing Chrys. must have read "quadragesima".

503-504 *crassum, rudem* See Stun. *ad 2 Thess. 2, 5*: "Quasi aliquis tam rudis vsquam reperiri possit et tam Erasmo similis, id est adeo hebeti ingenio et crasso intellectu, vt non intelligat hoc loco *non retinetis* idem esse quod *non meministis*".

504 *Batauum* See p. 67, n.l. 121 above.

506 *Demiror ... Chrysostomo* In 1516 Er. had written: "Nec est quod faciamus Christum senili fuisse vultu ob labores. Cuius sententiae cum Carrensis autorem nominet Chrysostomum, demiror quem ille habuerit alium Chrysostomum a nostro diuersum. Mirum autem si Chrysostomus ipse secum pugnet". See Hugo Carrensis, *Postilla super quattuor euangelia*, Basle, J. Amerbach, 1504, *ad Iob. 8, 75*: "Mirum est quod tantum [*sc. 50*] annorum numerum proferunt. Sed dici potest quod Dominus multum [Er. seems to have read: vultu] laborauerat: et terra calida est valde, et ita consumpserat et labor et calor et inopia naturam eius delica-

tissimam: vnde et apparebat multo maioris aetatis quam esset. Chrysostomus". On Carrensis see p. 229, n.l. 50 below.

510 *Ex capite xii Iob. 12, 3*.

512 *a Latina libra* This is not so. Cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, III, Paris, 1974, s.v. λίτρα: "terme méditerranéen venant de la Sicile, emprunté parallèlement par le latin sous la forme libra et qui doit provenir de *libra avec une spirante".

512-513 *a λίτρα* Nor is this correct. Cf. A. Walde and J.B. Hofmann, *Lat. etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1938³, s.v. libra: "... könnte aus einer Sprache des mittelmeerländischen Kulturkreises stammen, wobei τ und β verschiedene Wiedergabe eines β der Fremdsprache wären".

514-515 *barbarae ... πίπερι, σίνηπι* Here Er. is dependent on ancient lexicographical tradition, cf. Choeroboscus (7th or 8th cent.), *Scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini Canones Isagogicos de flexione nominum*, ed. A. Hilgard, in: *Grammatici Graeci*, IV, 1, Leipzig, 1889-1894, p. 343: τὸ πέπερι καὶ τὸ σίνηπι ... οὐκ εἰσὶν Ἑλληνικά ἀλλὰ βάρβαρα, and Theodosius Alexandrinus (4th cent.?), *ibid.*, p. 33: τὸ σίνηπι καὶ τὸ πέπερι οὐχ Ἑλληνικά. Cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, s.v. πέπερι: "Emprunt oriental venu par la voie du commerce, ... moyen indien *pippari*", and s.v. νάπτω: loan word, but it is not known from which language.

517 *cetera* Er. fails to acknowledge that Stun. had proved that λίτρα was not a new Greek word coined by John, as Er. had claimed, but a current word used by several Hellenistic authors, e.g. Plutarch.

518 *Eodem ii Iob. 12, 3*.520 *in Marco Mc. 14, 3*.

523 *Ex capite xiiii Iob. 14, 24*. In his note on this verse Er. had observed that Valla in his *Annot., ad loc.*, had rightly pointed out that the accusative "sermonem" (Vg.), due to attractio inversa, had no basis in the Greek of *Iob. 14, 24* which has ὁ λόγος, and that attractio inversa was too poetical a figure of speech to be used in a prose translation of the bible. For these reasons Er. himself had put forward the suggestion that "sermonem" was a textual corruption of "sermo". But in his translation he had left "sermonem" unaltered.

et rursus aliquanto post: *quo vel sic*, inquit, *interpretem notaret*. Imo Laurentius accusat interpretem, ego excuso, qui *suspicio locum esse deprauatum*.

Porro vt Stunica doceat hoc sermonis genus fuisse vsitatum, citat loca quaedam e poetis, cum magis oportuerit ex oratoribus. Quanquam hoc
530 quicquid est exigui momenti arbitror.

EX CAPITE XVIII.

Trans torrentem Cedron. Admonueram ex *addito Graecis articulo*, τῶν κέδρων, *Cedron non videri nomen Hebraicum*. Stunica docet esse Hebraicum et in Graecis codicibus omnibus corrupte addi articulum pluralis numeri, quum τῶν aut τοῦ
535 addatur apud Septuaginta, quanquam nec id perpetuo comperio verum quod docet Stunica, siquidem Libri regnorum iii capite xv legitur ad hunc modum in aeditione Aldina: καὶ ἐνέπρησε πυρὶ ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ τῶν κέδρων. In ceteris locis nullus additur articulus, nec scribitur κεδρών, quemadmodum refert Stunica, sed κέδρων, quanquam facile concesserim hos locos a librariis esse corruptos.
540 Neque grauate subscribo sententiae Capnionis ac Stunicae, praesertim cum suspicer hunc hausisse ex Quinquagenis Aelii Nebrissensis.

EX CAPITE XIX.

Et sedit pro tribunali. Nescio quo malo fato cum haec primum aederem incideram in mendosum exemplar Latinum, in quo pro *Gabbata* scriptum erat
545 *Golgotha*. Id mendum suspicans esse in plerisque codicibus, corrogo admoneoque substituendum *Gabbata*. Sic res habet, fateor hac in parte meam infelicitatem. Stunica negat vsquam inueniri *Golgotha* hoc loco, tanto quidem me felicior, atque vtinam mihi numquam contingeret incidere in vllum locum mendosum. |

LB 314

EODEM II.

551 *Scriptis autem et titulum Pilatus*. Adieceram in annotamentis: *euangelista Latina voce est vsus τίτλον*. Coeteri vocauerunt αἰτίαν. Hic Stunica me medium tenens: *solus*, inquit, *Matthaeus* vocauit αἰτίαν. At non agnoscit ἐτέρωσιν numeri qua excusatur quod latrones maledixerint Christo, quum vnus maledixerit.
555 Adieceram: *dicere poterat ἐπιγραφὴν*. Hic Stunica me notat *quasi videri voluerim nouum aliquid ex me adferre*, cum apud Marcum et Lucam sit ἐπιγραφὴ. Imo demonstraui non fuisse necesse abuti voce Latina, cum in promptu esset Graeca.

EX ACTIS, CAPITE I.

560 *Et conuescens praecepit*. Quoniam hac de re et plura diximus in secunda

534 τοῦ A B BAS: τῶ LB male.

548 vllum B BAS CS LB: nullum A.

558 Graeca. A B: add. O serias annotationes et Complutensi theologo dignas. BAS.

- 529 *e poetis* Verg. *Aen.* I, 573; Ter. *Andr.* 47. Stun. had borrowed both examples, without acknowledgement, from Prisc. *Institutiones grammaticae* XVII, 160, ed. M. Hertz, in: Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. III, pp. 187–188.
- ex oratoribus* Stun. had claimed: “Oratores quoque et hac figura vsi sunt, vt ex Nonio Marcellino latissime patet, eo capite cui titulus est De numeris et casibus, et ex Prisciano ... De constructione”. But Non. (ed. W.M. Lindsay, III, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 794–806) gives not a single instance of inverse attraction, but only examples of interchange of cases. The same applies to Prisc. (see previous note), except for the two examples of inverse attraction in Ter. and Verg. already mentioned. Non. and Prisc. give no instance of this usage in an orator. According to Kühner-Stegmann II, p. 289, inverse attraction is originally a colloquialism, not occurring in classical prose.
- 531 *Ex capite xviii Iob.* 18,1.
- 532 τῶν κέδρων This reading of the majority of the mss., instead of τοῦ Κ., had seduced Er. to translate “torrentem cedrorum”, “the Torrent of Cedars”, on the analogy of “the Mount of Olives”.
- 533 *apud Septuaginta* Stun. had quoted 3 Rg. 2,37 in the form τὸν χειμάρρον τὸν κέδρων. But at 2 Rg. 15,23 (*bis*) and 3 Rg. 15,13 the reading τῶν occurs in at least some witnesses, and the latter instance was detected by Er.
- 536 *capite xv* 3 Rg. 15,13.
- 537 *aeditione Aldina Sacrae Scripturae veteris nouaeque omnia*, Venice, Feb. 1518, the first complete bible in Greek. The quotation given from it by Er. is correct.
- 539 κέδρων Accentuated as a paroxytone, it is the gen. pl. of κέδρος, “cedar”.
- 540 *subscribo...* A strange concession, for Er. always maintained the Greek reading τῶν κέδρων, and this reading did not only entitle, but even obliged him to translate “cedrorum”. The fact that Stun. suggested the felicitous conjecture τοῦ κεδρών (due to retroversion from the Vg.) did not alter this obligation. Yet from the third ed. Er.’ translation is “torrentem Cedron”.
- Capnionis* J. Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis*, Pforzheim, 1506, p. 509, s.v. קדש, had correctly explained that *Cedron* is a Hebrew proper name (Qidron), etymologically related to the verb *qdr*, “to be black, or dark”; “quamuis enim κεδρων [without accent] graece significet latine cedrorum, tamen non sic est in hebraico”, thus Reuchlin. The whole passage had been quoted by Stun.
- 541 *suspicer ... Quinquagenis* The insinuation is unfounded: in *Tertia quinquagena* the name Cedron is not touched upon.
- 542 *Ex capite xix Iob.* 19,13. The words “Hebraice autem Gabatha” had occasioned Er. to remark: “Coeterum in Graecis codicibus non est *Golgotha*”, thus giving the impression that certain Latin mss. do have *Golgotha* here. Stun., rightly perhaps, suggested that Er. had never seen the reading *Golgotha*, but that he had confused v. 13 “Hebraice autem Gabbatha” with v. 17 “Hebraice autem Golgotha”. Unfortunately, Er. insists that he had really seen a Latin ms. reading *Golgotha* in v. 13. Wordsworth-White, Jülicher-Matzkow and the Stuttgart Vg. (ed. R. Weber, 1975²) do not mention this variant.
- 550 *Eodem ii Iob.* 19,19.
- 552–553 *me medium tenens* See p. 243, n.l. 262 below.
- 553 *solus ... Matthaeus Mt.* 27,37. *Mc.* 15,26 and *Lc.* 23,38 have ἐπιγραφῆ. ἐτέρωσιν *numeri* Incongruence in number between verb and subject, e.g. plural verb with a singular subject. For the term ἐτέρωσις see Quint. *Inst.* IX, 3, 12, and for an example *Mt.* 21,8 ὄχλος ἔστρωσαν. Aug. *Locutiones in Heptateuchum* II, 133, *ad Ex.* 32,31 (ed. I. Fraipont, *CCSL* 33, p. 420), had referred to this figure of speech to explain away the contradiction between *Mt.* 27,44 οἱ λησταὶ ὠνείδιζον αὐτῷ and *Lc.* 23,39 εἷς δὲ τῶν ... κακούργων ἐβλασφήμει αὐτόν: according to Aug., *Mt.* had used a “pluralis pro singulari”. This explanation is certainly untenable, but now Er. in his turn uses it, perhaps not without some irony, to justify his slip of the pen “coeteri vocauerunt”. Aug.’s interpretation of *Mt.* 27,44 as an example of ἐτέρωσις or a plural for a singular is mentioned by Er. in *Annot. in NT, ad loc.*, LB VI, 143 F, and in *Eccles.* III, LB V, 1016 F–1017 A.
- 556 *Marcum et Lucam Mc.* 15,26; *Lc.* 23,38.
- 557 *voce Latina τίτλος* is a loan word from the Latin. See for the phenomenon of Latin loan words in Greek: Blass-Debrunner, § 6; Robertson, pp. 108–111; S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d’Egitto*, Barcelona, 1971.
- 559 *Ex Actis, capite i Act.* 1,4.
- 560–561 *plura ... respondimus* In the first ed. of the *Annot.* Er. had adopted Valla’s conjecture that the original reading of the Vg. was not *conuescens*, but *conuersans*, and had

aeditione et Leo respondimus, maluimus eo relegare lectorem, praesertim cum res paucis tractari non possit. Coniecturam Stunicae de etymologia συναλιζόμενος, quod a *sale* ducatur haec vox, et nos in tertiam aeditionem adieceramus, ac magnopere placeret si quem haberet autorem.

565 Coeterum quod nos adduxeramus de *conuescens* deprauato pro conuersans, hauseramus ex Vallae scholiis.

EODEM II.

Tunc reuersi sunt Hierosolymam. Hic magnis conuiciis mecum agit Stunica, quod fisis commentariis Lyrani et Glossae Ordinariae putarim *iter sabbati* non esse longius quam *mille passuum*. Atqui nec hinc liquet non *passim* a me rideri Lyrantum, cum illi tantum hoc loco tribuerim? Nam Glossae Ordinariae nemo nescit quanta sit autoritas apud theologos. Cum his igitur iustius litigasset Stunica quam mecum, praesertim cum versarer in opere tumultuario, nec adessent Quinquagenae Nebrissensis quibus Annotationes meas locupletarem.

575 Quamquam autem hoc loco quedam adducit Stunica nequaquam indigna cognitu, tamen assumit nonnulla quae maluissem ab ipso probari. Assumit enim nec probat leucam complecti quater mille passus.

EODEM III.

Hii omnes perseuerabant. Quod est σὺν γυναῖξί et interpres vertit *mulieribus*, 580 indicaui verti potuisse: cum vxoribus, quod separatim addiderit: *matrem Iesu*, et γυνή Graeca vox sit anceps ad quamuis mulierem et ad vxorem. Stunica mauult intelligi de *mulieribus quae primum doctrinae gratia sequutae Dominum, post non deseruerunt senatum apostolicum*. Hoc quod Stunicae magis placet, et nos sequuti sumus in vertendo. Porro quod Hieronymus scribens

565 de conuescens deprauato *A'*: de conuescens deprauata *A**, de voce conuescens deprauata *B BAS CS LB*.

569 putarim *A BAS LB*: putaram *B CS*.

570 nec hinc *A B*: vel hinc *BAS*.

577 quater *A' B BAS*: quatuor *A**.

claimed that the notion of eating and drinking could not be meant here. In defence of *conuescens*, "eating with them", however, Stun. had cited the evidence of Latin mss. and Fathers, and argued that συναλιζεσθαι was derived from ἅλς, "salt", metaphorically "banquet, feast, social intercourse". Previously, Lee had defended *conuescens* on the ground that it was a good rendering of συναλιζόμενος, a reading occurring in several minuscule mss. (e.g., min. 1) and regis-

tered by Valla and Er. But against Lee Er. had insisted that even συναλιζεσθαι meant in the first place *conuersari*, not *conuesci*; see *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, LB IX, 204. In revising the *Annot. in NT* for the second ed., Er. replaced his original note by a lengthy exposition in which he tried to vindicate συναλιζόμενος, the reading which he adopted in all his editions, as the correct reading of the Greek text, and "congregans se cum illis" as its meaning. It may be

- noticed that the meaning and etymology of συναλιζόμενος are still considered as unexplained. Valla's suggestion that it is another spelling for συναυλιζόμενος is not implausible and still has its defenders; see Moulton-Milligan, *s.v.*, and Bauer, *s.v.*
- 564 *adieceramus* He added: "Haec si cui probantur, ... expendat, num συναλιζεσθαι dicatur a salis communione, iuxta prouerbum: salem et mensam ne praeteras" (Leutsch-Schneidewin I, pp. 24, 197; II, pp. 104, 141, 266, and *Adag.* 510, LB II, 225 B). The evidence by which Stun. illustrated the use of ἄλς as an image of social intercourse, was Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* 1156b27, where Aristot. alludes to the proverb ἄλῶν μέδιμον ἀποφαγῶν (Leutsch-Schneidewin II, pp. 57, 142, 272; Otto 85). Seeing the difference between the evidence referred to by Er. and Stun., it is very well possible that Er. had indeed inserted his etymological note already before he saw that of Stun.
- 566 *Vallae scholiis Annot. in NT, ad loc.*
- 567 *Eodem ii Act.* 1,12. On this whole section, see H.J. de Jonge, *Erasmus und die Glossa Ordinaria zum N.T.*, NAK 56 (1975), pp. 51-77, esp. p. 56. See also p. 79, n.l. 379 above, and the discussion of *Ioh.* 7,38, p. 132, ll. 459-464.
- 569 *iter sabbati* In his *Annot.* Er. had explained this phrase as "spatium mille passuum". Stun. could easily demonstrate that this comment had been borrowed, without acknowledgement, from the *Glossa Ordinaria* or Lyra's *Postilla*; see *Biblia sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria*, Paris, 1590, VI, *ad Act.* 1,12, interlinear gloss *ad* "sabbati iter": "mille passus", and *ibid.* Lyra's *Postilla*: "Sabbati ... iter, id est ... mille passus".
- 571 *Nam* This *nam* creates the impression that Er. is confounding the author of the *Postilla*, Lyra, with the compilers of the Gloss. This confusion was the obvious result of the fact that in most printed editions of the Gloss, e.g. those produced at Basle in 1498, 1498-1502 and 1506-1508, the Gloss is accompanied by the *Postilla*. On a superficial view, both commentaries could easily come to be regarded, therefore, as parts of one composite work.
- 573 *tumultuario* Er. wrote his notes on the N.T. partly in England, partly in Brabant, and partly in Basle while the *Nov. Instr.* was in the press (see introd. to *Annot. in Mc.*).
- 574 *Nebrissensis* See p. 65, n.l. 75 and p. 113, n.l. 97-98 above.
- 575-576 *quedam ... cognitu Viz.*, some passages from *Ioh.* 11,18, Jerome and Chrysostom, from which it appears that a sabbath day's journey is not one, but almost two miles long.
- 577 *leucam* To prove that Lyra's text on which Er. had relied was untrustworthy, Stun. had quoted Lyra's words "mille passus ... faciunt dimidiam leucam" and stated that in reality a *leuca* was not half a mile, but four miles. Er. criticizes this statement, because ancient authors had estimated the *leuca* (or *leuga*) at about 1500 Roman paces or one and a half mile; see Isid. *Orig.* XV, 16, 2, Migne PL 82, 557 A: "leuca finitur passibus mille quingentis"; cf. Amm. Marc. XVI, 12, 8 and Iord. *De origine actibusque Getarum* 192.
- 578 *Eodem iii Act.* 1,14.
- 580 *vxoribus* Er. repeatedly seized the opportunity to draw attention to traditions which indicate that some of the apostles, e.g. Peter, Paul and Philip, had been married; see for instance *Annot. in NT, ad 1 Cor.* 9,5, and *ad Phil.* 4,3: "... tantum aberat vt damnarent matrimonium" (LB VI, 875-876). Er. used these traditions in various ways in expounding his views on the celibacy of priests. "De coelibatu neque Christus, neque apostoli legem aliquam in sacris litteris praefixerunt", *De interdicto esu carn.*, ASD IX, 1, p. 28, ll. 230-231. Er. maintained that the institution was of late introduction, and felt that if priests were not chaste, they would do better to marry. By contrast, Er. reproached the ministers of the radical "pseudevangelicals" for being too eager to abandon celibacy and to marry: "Apostoli, quo magis vacarent euangelio, aut abstinebant ab vxoribus quas ducere licebat, aut legitime ductas vertebant in sorores. Nunc floret euangelium quod sacerdotes et monachi contra leges certe humanas, contra professionem suam ducunt vxores", *Epist. c. pseudeuang.*, ASD IX, 1, p. 294, ll. 314-317.
- 581 γυνή ... *anceps* Cf. p. 184, l. 365 and p. 226, l. 6.
- 584 *vertendo* Er. had translated "cum mulieribus" (= Vg.). *Hieronymus* Stun. had quoted *Adv. Iov.* I, 26, Migne PL 23, 257: "Quanquam, excepto apostolo Petro, non sit manifeste relatum de aliis apostolis quod vxores habuerint; et cum de vno scriptum sit, ac de caeteris tacitum, intelligere debemus sine vxoribus eos fuisse, de quibus nihil tale Scriptura significet".

585 aduersus Iouinianum putat reliquos apostolos vxoribus caruisse, quod aperte de Petro *scriptum sit* quod vxorem habuerit, *de caeteris tacitum sit*, non potest aliud esse quam argumentum probabile aliquanto plus habiturum ponderis, nisi hoc scripsisset pugnans aduersus Iouinianum nuptiarum immodicum praeconem.

590

EODEM III.

Ita vt appellaretur ager ille Acheldemach. Indicaram Graecis legi Ἀχελδεμά, *Aceldema*, quod *propius accedat ad vocem Hebraicam*. Hactenus nihil incusat Stunica. Imo docet hoc ipsum quod admonueram. Sed *Hebraicam vocem* dixi quae sit Chaldaica. Hoc nisi alicubi facit Hieronymus, non deprecabor
595 quin mihi magni criminis vice impingatur. Est enim magna inter has linguas cognatio. Deinde quid noui est Hebraeum vocari quo vulgo vtantur Hebraei?
LB 315 | Porro quibus litteris Hebraicis scribatur *Aceldema*, Theseo defendendum relinquo, quem Stunica satis impudenter scribit aequo *imperitum* Hebraicarum litterarum atque ego sum.

600

EX CAPITE III.

Conuenerunt enim vere in ciuitate. Quod Grecis hic est παῖδα, malebam filium verti quam *puerum*, idque ex sententia Vallae. Scio Hieronymum multis locis contendere in Christum competere nomen serui. Contra qui scripsit commentarios in epistolam ad Hebraeos qui Chrisostomo tribuuntur, non
605 patitur hoc cognomen tribui Christo. Et Ambrosius non probat eos qui Christo *serui formam* asscribant quod humanam naturam assumpserit, sed quod velut seruus flagitiosus coesus sit et in crucem suffixus. Verum huic contentioni me non admisceo. Ego negaui in Christum competere serui cognomen, quomodo non competeat in apostolos: *iam non dicam vos seruos, sed amicos.*

585 quod aperte *A B*: propterea quod aperte *BAS*.

589 praeconem. *A*: *add.* Certe Clemens apud Eusebium, Ecclesiasticae historiae libro 3, non veretur et Philippo et Paulo tribuere vxorem, cuius hic duobus in locis meminert in epistolis suis. *B BAS*.

596 Hebraei? *A B*: *add.* Nam Lucas in Actis cap. i ostendit Hierosolymitas sic fuisse loquutos, ita [LB 315] | scribens: et notum factum est omnibus habitantibus Hierusalem, ita vt appellaretur ager ille lingua eorum Acheldemach. *BAS*.

588 *Iouinianum* The monk Jovinian (d. c. 405) taught that God's indwelling in all baptised members of the church is the same, so that the merit after baptism of virgins, widows and married women is equal. He was concerned to vindicate the state of marriage against those who showed a greater esteem

for celibacy. See W. Haller, *Jovinianus*, TU 17, 2, Leipzig, 1897.

589 *praeconem* The addition in *B* is a reference to Eus. *H.E.* III, 30, 1, quoting Clem. Al.; cf. p. 187, n.l. 399 below.

590 *Eodem iii* *Act.* 1, 19.

592 Ἀχελδεμά ... *Hebraicam* Er.' note reads as

- follows: "Graeci scribunt ἀχελδαμά [sic, not -δεμά], propius accedentes ad vocem Hebraicam quam nos. Hebraeis לְפָנָי *fundus* est siue *facultas*", מִן *sanguis*". This note, no doubt inserted by Oecolampadii, is beside the mark. For the first Hebrew word he mentions there is no evidence. He, it seems, simply transliterated Ἀκελ into Hebrew characters, approximating the particle of wishing (or the proper name) לְפָנָי, and connected it with the meaning "estate, property" (*fundus, facultas*) known from *Act.* 1,19 χωρίον. Stun. rightly observed that Ἀχελδαμά was not Hebrew, but Aramaic (or Chaldaic, as it was called), and gave the right Aramaic words, though in an unfortunate orthography: ܐܚܠܐܢܐܘܩܐ *sic, pro* ܐܚܠܐܢܐܘܩܐ. Er. did not notice the inaccuracies in Stun.'s Aramaic, nor did he correct his own faulty note, but he did add the right derivation from Aramaic (now called Syriac) to his *Annot. on Mt.* 27,8, *LB VI*, 140F. ἀχελδεμά in the present passage of the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* is a slip of Er.' pen for ἀχελδαμά. The Greek of the *Nov. Instr.* and the *Annot. in NT* of 1516 reads ἀχελδαμά. The misreading may have been caused by the commonly accepted reading of the Vg. "Acheldemach", quoted several times by Stun. in his corresponding section. The false reading -δεμά went uncorrected through *B BAS LB* and *CS*.
- 594 *alicubi ... Hieronymus* Er. is probably thinking of *Epist.* 57, 7, 1 "cum in Hebraeo tantummodo sit: puella, surge" (*Mt.* 5,41); cf. *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, ed. P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, Göttingen, 1870, p. 63: "Talithacumi puella surge. Syrum est". For further instances of this confusion, even in Jerome, and a justification of it, see G.J.M. Bartelink, *Hieronymus. Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* (*Ep.* 57), Leiden, 1980, p. 73. The confusion was quite common in the early church; see e.g. *Iob.* 20,16.
- 597 *Theseo* See p. 67, n.l. 118 above.
- 598 *imperitum* Stun.'s section begins as follows: "Perperam quidem vt solet ac male ab Oecolampadio Theseo edoctus, vtpote itidem harum rerum imperito, de vocabulo *Acheldemach* Erasmus in *Annot. disseruit*".
- 600 *Ex capite iiii Act.* 4,27. See on this whole section p. 66, n.ll. 107-110 above. For a more detailed treatment of all points discussed here, especially the charge of Apollinarism, see Er.' apologia against Carranza, *LB IX*, 414-428.
- 602 *Vallae L. Valla, Annot. in NT, ad Act.* 4,27, where Valla argues that *puer* is an incorrect rendering of παῖς here. True, παῖς can mean both "son" and "slave"; but the latter only when a young boy is concerned. "As the Lord was not a boy at the moment of his death", παῖς in *Act.* 4,27 must mean "son".
- Hieronymum* Stun. had quoted five passages from various works of Jerome in which the terms *seruus*, "servant", and, in the same sense, *puer*, had been justified as a suitable and adequate designation of the incarnate Son of God.
- 604 *Chrisostomo Homiliae in Hebr.* 3, ad 1,6-8, Migne *PG* 63, pp. 253-254: "Arianos autem percutit ostendens quoniam neque *seruus* est, neque *creatura*" (col. 29 A: πρὸς Ἀρειανούς ... ὅτι οὐ δοῦλος. εἰ δὲ κτίσμα, δοῦλος) and pp. 255-256: "Missus est quidem et Filius, sed non sicut minister, neque vt perfunctus quibuslibet officiis, sed sicut Filius vnigenitus, eadem Patri suo volens atque desiderans" (col. 31 A: Ἐπέμφθη μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ υἱός, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς διάκονος, οὐδὲ ὡς λειτουργός, ἀλλ' ὡς Ὑἱός καὶ μονογενής, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Πατρὶ βουλόμενος). Er. distrusted the attribution of these homilies to Chrys. because the very title of the work states that it was edited after Chrys.' death: *Joannis Chrysostomi ... Expositio in Epistolam B. Pauli Apostoli ad Hebraeos, ex notis edita post eius obitum a Constantino presbytero Antiocheno, Mutiano Scholastico interprete*, Basle, Froben, 1517. Cf. Er.' own remark in *Annot. in NT, ad Hebr.* 4,2: "... si modo hi commentarii sunt illius. Nam titulus, indicans eos post mortem illius editos, nonnihil suspicionis praebet lectori". (*LB VI*, 995 D-E). Chrys.' authorship is not questioned in Geerard, p. 538, no. 4440. See also *Ep.* 2253, ll. 17-18.
- 605 *Ambrosius Ambr. Ep.* I, 46, Migne *PL* 16, 1194-1199; Stun. had already quoted it to demonstrate that "seruus" could refer to Christ incarnate. It is true that § 4 of this letter relates Christ's being called a servant to his humiliation and passion. But § 9 connects it also with his birth and incarnation: "seruus factus legitur, quia legitur factus ex virgine, et creatus in carne; omnis enim creatura seruit". The way in which Er. uses the letter does not do full justice to it.
- 606 *serui formam Phil.* 2,7.
- 609 *iam non dicam... Iob.* 15,15.

610 Christus obediuit non vt seruus, sed vt Filius, obediuit enim sponte, ex
 charitate, non metu. Neque video quur abhorreamus ab eo, vt Christus iuxta
 naturam dicatur seruus, cum sit homo; neque rursus cur hoc valde contenda-
 mus, praesertim cum ex sacris litteris hoc cognomen nec asseri certo possit, nec
 615 abrogari, quandoquidem vt παῖς Graecis vox est anceps, ita aiunt et huic
 respondentem Hebraeam.

Sed quoniam hac de re respondimus iampridem Leo, non arbitror operae-
 precium hic repetere quae scripsimus. Tantum attingam, quae peculiariter
 adduxit Stunica, qui cum antea tantum ageret grammaticum, nunc minatur
 nescio quid theologicum ac mihi tanquam theologo (nam hoc nomine, vt ille
 620 ait, me iacto) denunciat periculum duplicis haereseos, si negem Christum fuisse
 seruum: alterius quae est Apollinaristarum, alterius quae est Arrianorum.
 Quasi quisquis negarit in scripturis Christum appellatum seruum, is illi
 detrahat naturam humanam, aut quisquis dicat Christum obedisse Patri vsque
 ad crucem vt Filium, sentiat cum Arrianis, qui negant Filium Patri aequalem.
 625 Atque vt huius Stunicae non minus petulans quam indocta maledicentia
 liqueat omnibus, ipsius verba subscribam. Cum enim citasset summam eorum
 quae Ambrosius disserit in epistola xlvii, subiicit: *quae cum ita sint, viderit
 Erasmus, qui se theologum vocat, ne quum dixit serui appellationem in Christum non
 conuenire in Apollinaristarum errorem inciderit. Nam quod statim subiunxit: Christum
 630 tametsi obediuit et subditus fuit Patri iuxta assumptum hominem, vt Filium tamen Patri
 obedisse, non vt seruum, videndum est ne Arrium redoleat. Quum enim Filius aequalis sit
 Patri et obedientia et subiectio minoritatem designet, palam est Christum non vt Filium
 obedisse et subditum fuisse, sed vt seruum, hoc est, iuxta assumptum hominem.*

Haec tam stolidam postquam euomuit, bellam addit clausulam. *Sed haec,*
 635 *inquit, et alia quam plurima huiusmodi ex Erasmi Annotationibus quae nonnihil
 impietatis prae se ferunt, nisi potius ignorantia credenda est, secundo operi reseruamus.*
 Hactenus Stunica, qui quam diu continuit sese intra cancellos annotationum
 Nebrissensis habebat aliquid vtcumque dignum lectu, at posteaquam ὑπὲρ τὰ
 ἔσκαμμένα πηδήσας se praebere coepit organum alicui sycophantae ψευδομο-
 640 νόχῳ (nec enim aliud suspicari possum quam hunc histrionem subornatum qui
 conductus fabulam ageret) miserabiliter delirat.

Primum ego nusquam contendo Christum non posse dici seruum Dei, qui
 se facit ministrum omnibus. *Non venit, inquit, Filius hominis ministrari, sed
 ministrare.* Sed eadem, inquit, ratione dicitur seruus, qua dicitur homo.
 645 Equidem nec hoc in praesentia magnopere cupio refellere, tametsi diuersum
 docet Ambrosius enarrans epistolae ad Philippenses caput ii. Ipsius verba sunt
 haec: *for|mam tamen Dei non accepisse dicitur, sed esse in forma Dei; serui autem
 1.B 316 formam accepisse, dum quasi peccator humiliatur. Serui autem ex peccato fiunt. Sic
 Cham filius Noe, qui primus merito nomen serui accepit.* Audis, lector, quod
 650 Ambrosius non tribuit Christo nomen serui quod assumpsit hominem, sed
 quod susceperit iniurias humanae naturae peccatis obnoxiae. Ac ne putes hoc
 esse meum commentum, audi quid mox sequatur. *Non enim, inquit, mihi sicut*

655 *quibusdam videtur sic formam serui accepisse, dum homo natus est. Atque inibi continenter sequitur: vide enim quid dicat: hoc sentite in vobis, quod et in Christo Iesu, id est, Deo et homine. Ante incarnationem enim aut Christus potest dici, aut Iesus, quia simul ambo nomina et hominis Filium et Dei Filium significant. Nam ante natiuitatem quid dicit, inter caetera? Petra autem erat Christus, et, non tentemus*

645 nec hoc *A'*: nec *A**, isthuc nec *B BAS CS*.

654 sentite scripsi cum *Ambrosiastro et Vg.*: sentire *A B BAS LB CS*.

611–612 *Neque ... homo* This sentence might seem to contradict the preceding words “Ego negaui in Christum competere serui cognomen”, but this is not so. The only reason why Er. is reluctant to use “seruus” as a designation of Christ, is that the word might express the thought that Christ was obedient to God on compulsion, under coercion, and not voluntarily. If, however, this misconception was excluded, Er. would not object to designating Christ as God’s “seruus”, see *Annot., ad Act.* 4,27, *LB VI*, 452 F: “Etenim si seruus est, qui bona fide obedit iussis domini, Christus vt homo cur non dicatur seruus? Sin seruus est, qui malo coactus suum officium facit, non competit in Christum serui cognomen”. But as “seruus” remained susceptible of the misunderstanding just mentioned, Er. wanted to reduce the use of the word to a minimum, although admitting that it could well designate Christ’s manhood.

615 *Hebraeam* Er. mentioned the ambiguity of עֶבֶד (*‘ēbēd*) also in *Annot. in NT, ad Mt.* 12,18, *LB VI*, 67 F. But עֶבֶד is not so ambiguous as πᾶς and *puer*, for it means just “slave, servant, minister”, not “son”.

616 *Leo Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, *LB IX*, 205–207.

619–620 *vt ille ait* Stun.’s words are quoted in full by Er. in l. 628. Stun. repeated his sneer in his section on *Eph.* 2,14–15. Er. had repeatedly called himself a theologian, e.g. in the preface to the *Inst. princ. christ.*, dedicated to Prince Charles (March 1516), *ASD IV*, 1, p. 134, l. 58, Ep. 393, ll. 66–67: “Ego theologus”.

621 *Apollinaristarum ... Arrianorum* See p. 66, n.ll. 107–110.

627 *epistola xlvii* *Ambr. Ep. I*, 46, *Migne PL* 16, 1194–1199.

quae cum ita ... The following quotation (ll. 627–633, 634–636) is entirely accurate, apart from orthographical matters and two

real divergences; see the next two notes.

631 *videndum est* Stun. had “videndum est etiam”.

633 *obedisse* Stun. had “Patri obedisse”.

636 *secundo operi* The *Erasmii Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates*. The ms. of this work still exists, but Stun. was never allowed to publish it; see Introduction, pp. 22–24 and no. 12 in the list of Stunica’s works above (p. 38).

638 *Nebrissensis* See p. 113, n.ll. 97–98 above.

638–639 ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα... *Leutsch-Schneidewin I*, 168, 375; *II*, 224. I cannot find the phrase in the *Adagia*.

639–641 *se praebere ... ageret* Er. had already fastened the same suspicion on Stun. in his proem, see p. 62, ll. 39–40 above, with the note, and p. 70, ll. 200–201. Cf. the section on *Rom.* 11,11 below (end), and *Ep.* 1416, ll. 19–20: “Sunt stolidi monachi qui subornant hunc histrionem” (*sc. Stunicam*). The insinuation is stereotyped in Er. and with regard to Stun. it is utterly unfounded.

642 *Primum...* The length of the following exposition betrays that Er. was seriously worried about the suspicion of heresy which Stun. had thrown on him.

643–644 *Non ... ministrare Mt.* 20,28. The subject of “inquit” is probably not Christ, but Stun., as in the preceding paragraph and in the next sentence. Stun. had indeed quoted *Mt.* 20,28, although as part of a quotation from Jerome’s commentary on *Tit.* 1,1.

643 *inquit Viz.* Stun. His own words are: “Recte Christus seruus Dei dicitur secundum humanitatem assumptam”.

646 *Ambrosius* *Ambrosiaster, ad Phil.* 2,7 8, ed. H.I. Vogels, *CSEL* 81, p. 140.

648 *Sic* Not “sicut”, as in Vogels’ edition.

652 *Non enim...* *Ambrosiaster, ibid.*

654 *hoc ... Iesu Phil.* 2,5.

657 *Petra ... Christus* 1 *Cor.* 10,4.

657–658 *non tentemus ... tentauerunt* 1 *Cor.* 10,9.

Christum, sicut quidam tentauerunt. Vbi ergo aut Deum, aut hominem vult significare Scriptura, vnum e duobus ponit, aut Iesum, aut Christum. Hactenus Ambrosius.

660 Haec verba quorsum attinent, nisi vt naturam in Christo significantes vtrambilibet, aut Iesum dicamus, aut Christum; iniurias acceptas significare volentes, dicamus seruum? Ante susceptum hominem seruus dici non poterat, post depositam mortalitatem seruus appellari desiit. Haec sensisse videtur qui haec scripsit, quisquis fuit. Nam mihi subolet pannum esse
665 assutum commentariis Ambrosianis, qualem nunc habemus Glossam Ordinariam.

Sed in epistola damnat hereseos eum qui negabat Christum dici seruum. Primum dispiciat calumniator, vtri malit esse plus ponderis, commentario
670 sacro an epistolae quam misit amico. Et tamen si quis propius introspiciat, idem Ambrosius sentit in epistola quod docet in commentariis. Haereticus ille negabat Christum vere passum. At vere pati non potuit, nisi verus fuisset homo. Quatenus passus est, seruus est dictus; secundum humanam naturam passus est. Ita fit, vt qui non fateatur vere passum, inficietur hominem verum fuisse. Nec tamen protinus consequitur seruum fuisse dictum simpliciter
675 quatenus erat homo; poterat enim esse homo et tamen immunis ab afflictionibus ac suppliciis. Quin in eadem epistola sic vult Christum dici seruum, vt dictus est *peccatum, maledictio et opprobrium*. Haec in eum non competebant, nisi fuisset homo, et tamen non competebant quatenus erat homo; poterat enim esse homo, nec esse tamen *peccatum*. Atque hoc est magnificum lemma quo me
680 facit Apollinaristam egregius censor meus Stunica.

Nunc vide quibus argumentis me faciat Arrianum. *Obediuit*, inquit Erasmus, *ac subditus fuit, sed non vt seruus verum vt Filius. Sed Filius aequalis est Patri, non fuit igitur vt Filius Patri subditus. O acumen omni*, quod ait Hieronymus, *pistillo retusius*. Tot locis Paulus ac Ioannes vocant in Christo renatos filios Dei, et
685 Christus quatenus erat homo non dicetur Filius Dei? Praesertim cum in euangelio Christus ipse ad hanc calumniam responderit. Filius Dei *aequalis est*

678 competeabant quatenus *A B*: compete-

bant simpliciter quatenus *BAS*.

664-665 *Nam ... Ambrosianis* Er. was the first scholar in modern times to doubt the ascription to Ambrose of the Latin commentaries on the thirteen Epp. of Paul which the mss. and mediaeval authors had ascribed to Ambrose; and it was Er. who, in his ed. of Ambrose of 1527, first called the unknown author Ambrosiaster. But in the present sentence he puts forward a different hypothesis, viz., that these commentaries are not a homogeneous work, but a compilation which had undergone changes and enlargements in the course of several recensions, the basis of which,

however, was a work by Ambrose. To some extent this relatively favourable judgement on the authorship may be inspired by Er.'s intention to disqualify the testimony of Ambrose's authentic *Ep.* 1, 46 (47), see ll. 668-669. But the text of Ambrosiaster also gives cause for the theory that it is a patchwork. From precisely the commentary on *Phil.* 2, which seems to contain traces of an adoptianist christology, it has been concluded that "das Werk durch vier Jahrhunderte überarbeitet und amplifizirt wurde" (J.T. Plitt, *PRE*² I (1877), p. 331, where Ambrosiaster is also characterized as a

- “Sammelwerk”). In his edition in *CSEL* 81, 3 vols., 1966–1969, H.J. Vogels distinguished three recensions, which originated through alterations in, and additions to the text. He assigned the passage just quoted by Er. (*vide ... Christum*) to the most recent recension and the first two passages quoted (*formam ... accepit* and *Non enim ... natus est*) to the earliest recension.
- 665–666 *qualem ... Glossam Ordinariam* That the Gloss was essentially a compilation was one of the main reasons why Er. abhorred it; see, e.g., *Apolog. c. Sanct. Caranz.*, LB IX, 409 E: “(Glossam) visum est vocare *ordinariam*, ob id, opinor, quod nullum habeat ordinem. Est enim rhapsodia quaedam ac cento ex diuersorum auctorum fragmentis indiligenter consarcinata, nec titulis interim additis”. See also p. 79, n.l. 379 above, and pp. 67–68 of the article mentioned there. Cf. p. 233, n.ll. 127–128.
- 667 *in epistola* Ambr. *Ep.* I, 46, ad Sabinum, Migne *PL* 16, 1194–1199; cf. p. 141, n.l. 605 above. had used this letter to show that Ambr. “docet Christum Dominum in quantum hominem, seruum Dei recte ac pie dici posse”, thus Stun. Sabinus, bishop of Placentia, was an intimate friend of Ambrose, six of whose letters are addressed to him.
- 670 *idem Ambrosius sentit...* Er. misrepresents the tenor of Ambrose’s letter. For Ambrose, Christ’s *seruitus* was his humanity as such, as opposed to his deity. For Er. Christ’s *seruitus* is one aspect of his incarnate life, viz., that he was humiliated and abused.
- Haereticus ille* The Apollinarist whom Ambrose in his letter says he had refuted.
- 671 *negabat Christum vere passum* This distortion of what Ambrose’s opponent had argued is not found in Ambrose’s letter. In the following exposition also, Er. simplifies and misrepresents Ambrose’s argument for his present purpose. Ambrose says that he had made his opponent admit that *Phil.* 2,7 “formam serui accipiens” means “perfectionem naturae et conditionis humanae (accipiens)” (Migne *PL* 16, 1197 A). From this it is clear that the heretic had not simply denied that Jesus had really suffered, but that he had had complete manhood: the heretic’s position was obviously purely Apollinaristic, as Ambrose himself had already noticed (1195 A).
- 676 *in eadem epistola* Migne *PL* 16, 1196 A: “Quid dicam *seruus*? *Peccatum, opprobrium, maledictum factus est*”. But this clause does not precisely mean what Er. suggests it means. In Ambrose’s opinion Christ’s *seruitus* was his incarnation and complete humanity (*Ep.* 46, 7; 9). His humiliation and suffering were not part of, but came on top of his *seruitus*: he was made man, and as such a servant, but moreover he was made an *opprobrium*.
- 677 *peccatum ... opprobrium* 2 *Cor.* 5,21; *Gal.* 3, 13; *Ps.* 68 (69),20, where Ambr. read “Scis opprobrium meum”; *Ps.* 21 (22),7; *Ps.* 43 (44),14. See Ambr.’s commentary on *Ps.* 118 (119),22.
- 678–679 *poterat ... esse homo, nec esse tamen peccatum* This is not the point at issue. The question is: could Christ be a man without being, not *peccatum*, but *seruus*. Ambr. and Stun. would have answered “no”, and Er. answered “yes”.
- 679–680 *me facit Apollinaristam* For Stun.’s own words, see the main text on p. 142, ll. 627–629 above.
- 681–682 *Obediuit ... vt Filius* A paraphrase of a passage in the *Annot.* of 1516, ad *Act.* 4,27, which Stun. had quoted and criticized.
- 682–683 *Filius aequalis ... subditus* This sums up Stun.’s objection; his actual words have been quoted in full in the main text on p. 142, ll. 631–633 above.
- 683–684 *acumen ... retusius* Hier. *Epist.* 69, 4, ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 54, p. 686: “rogo, quae est ista tergiuersatio et acumen omni pistillo retusius ...”.
- 684 *Paulus* E.g. *Rom.* 5,2 Vg., *Rom.* 8,14; *Gal.* 3,26; *Phil.* 2,15 Vg. See next n.
- Ioannes* E.g. *Iob.* 1,12 Vg.; *Iob.* 11,52 Vg.; 1 *Iob.* 3,1–2 Vg.; 1 *Iob.* 3,10 Vg. It should be noticed that the plural *filius Dei* occurs more frequently in the Vg. than *uioi theou* in the Greek *textus receptus*. In the Johannine writings *uioi theou* does not occur at all. The Greek equivalent of *filius Dei* is usually $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\nu\alpha$, not *uioi theou*.
- 685–686 *in euangelio* *Mt.* 26,63; *Mc.* 14,62; *Lc.* 22,70, but rather *Iob.* 10,31–38, esp. 36.
- 686–687 *aequalis est Patri* Quoted from Stun., see l. 682 above and p. 142, ll. 631–632. Er. adopts this proposition as correct, but amplifies it with his own proposition “Filius Dei minor est Patre”, which he varies somewhat further down in the form “Filius Dei subditus fuit Patri”. In short, Stun. claims that Christ, in as far as he obeyed the Father, can only be designated as *seruus*, not as *Filius*; Er. maintained that Christ, in as far as he obeyed the

Patri et Filius Dei minor est Patre propterea quod Christus duplici ratione dicitur Filius Dei, natura et gratia. Verum utcumque accipias Filium Dei, nihilo magis haeresim sonat hoc proloquium: Filius Dei *subditus fuit Patri*,
 690 quam hoc: Filius Dei *mortuus ac sepultus* est. Nec interim tamen perpetuo verum est, quod assumit Stunica, minorem esse quisquis obedisse dicitur aut subditus esse. Iesus paruit ac subditus fuit Mariae et Ioseph, utroque maior. |

LB 317 Vt igitur finiam, si seruus dicitur qui metu mali et conditionis necessitate suo fungitur officio, Christus absurde diceretur seruus, ac ne nos quidem,
 695 quoties afflati *spiritu filiorum, in quo clamamus: Abba, Pater*, vltro quae sunt pietatis expetimus. Sin seruus appellatur addictus cultor ac diligens exequutor alienae voluntatis, nihil prohibet Christum iuxta naturam humanam vocari seruum Dei, sed ita ut nihil interim vetet eundem iuxta naturam eandem vocari Filium Dei, quod nullo metu, sed charitatis impetu volens passus sit.

700 Habes impudentem Stunicae calumniam. Et his similium annotationum pollicetur opus alterum. At ego malim esse obnoxius alicui opinioni haereticae, simplici quidem intellectus errore, quod accidisse videmus Hieronymo, Cypriano, aliisque probatissimis orthodoxis, quam laborare morbo quo visus est laborasse quisquis haec scripsit. Alterutrum enim consequitur, ut aut ipse
 705 fuerit impudenter sycophanta, aut talibus locarit operam suam. Egon' Christo adimo naturam humanam, qui tot libris meis illam adoro? Egon' facio Christum iuxta diuinam naturam inferiorem Patre, qui toties detestor Arianos? Ego me defendi ab haeresi, defendat ipse sese a suspitione peruersae ac maliciosae calumniae. Vocet me *Batauum*, appellet *rudem, crassum, ebetem, ignarum*, stipitem, plumbeum, caudicem, non admodum commouebor; quis
 710 ferat ex talibus lemmatis velut a scurra perfrictae frontis impingi suspitionem geminae haereseos et eiusmodi, non quae laedat pontificem, aut decreta scholastica, sed ipsum Christum? Nec dubito quin hic Stunica sibi perquam facetus ac salsus esse videatur.

715

EODEM II.

Ioseph autem, qui cognominatus est Barnabas. Hic mihi postulabo rursus illud iuris, ut tametsi Hieronymus alicubi distinguit linguam Hebraicam a Chaldaica, tamen dilatato nonnunquam vsu vocabuli liceat linguam Hebraicae finitimam et cognatam Hebraeam vocare, qua vulgo Hebraeos vsos fatetur et
 720 Stunica.

Admonebam *Barnabas* sonare Hebraeis *filium consolationis* atque ita interpretatur ipse Lucas hoc in loco, consentiunt in voce codices omnes tum Graeci, tum Latini, atque etiam, opinor, mirabilis ille Rhodiensis, hoc nomine

692 maior. *A B: add.* Ut quod illis obediit, erat pietatis, multo magis pietati tribuendum si obediat patri coelesti. Non hic adducam, quod orthodoxi non verentur

dicere, filium patri subiiciendum, etiam secundum naturam diuinam, sed ita ut subiectio non faciat filium patre inferiorem, sed patris autoritatem declarat. Quid autem

absurdi, si quis dicat, filium etiam iuxta naturam diuinam obedisse patri? Si credimus Hilario, fiat lux verba sunt patris mandantis filio quid fieri vellet: filius iussu patris condidit omnia. Deus genuit filium, negari non potest: sed vtrum genuit obedientem an inobedientem? Eodem interpre- [[LB 317]te missus est in regionem Sodomitarum. Nondum erat homo natus vtique, qui missus mittentis exequitur iussa, obtemperat atque obsequitur. Quod si maior est quisquis mandat, et minor quisquis obtemperat, colligit Stunica filium pa-

tre minorem esse. Certe Hilarius hoc nomine fatetur patrem filio maiorem, quod illius propria sit autoritas. Sed haec mihi parerga dicuntur, tantum in hoc adducuntur, vt magis liqueat calumniatoris impudentia, qui mihi tragoediam mouet qui de natura humana sentiens dixerim, Christum obedisse patri, sed vt filium: quum vetetes orthodoxi non vereantur dicere, illum iuxta diuinae naturae proprietatem obedisse patri vt filium, vt legatum ei qui legat. *BAS*.

710 plumbeum *A* *B*: plumbum *BAS*.

713 dubito *A*: dubito tamen *B* *BAS*.

Father, can better be designated as *Filius* and preferably not as *seruus*.

689 *subditus fuit Patri* These are Er.' words; see p. 144, l. 682 above.

690 *mortuus ac sepultus* Cf. the Apostles' Creed: "... et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius ... mortuus et sepultus ...".

692 *Iesus paruus ac subditus fuit* *Lc.* 2,51.

maior The two references to Hilary in the long addition in *BAS* seem to be to *Trin.* IV, 16-17 and 28-29, ed. P. Smulders, *CCSL* 62, pp. 117-121 (Migne *PL* 10, 108-111) and pp. 132-133 (Migne *PL* 10, 118-119); if so, they are rather remote reminiscences. Cf. also Hil. *Tractatus mysteriorum* II, 12-13, ed. A. Feder, *CSEL* 65, p. 36; and Hil. *Tractatus de titulo Ps. xci*, § 6, ed. A. Zingerle, *CSEL* 22, p. 350 (Migne *PL* 9, 497), where the works of the Son are designated as his "famulatus" and "ministerium" towards the Father, for the Son "obsequio se paterno deuinxit arbitrio", but even in his obedience to the Father the Son remains the Son. *fiat lux: Gn.* 1,3; *Sodomitarum: Gn.* 18-19.

694 *ne nos quidem* This subject has its verb in *diceretur seruus*, but the zeugma is awkward owing to the fact that *absurde* and *ne ... quidem* are not synonymous. The sentence is meant as follows: "Christus absurde (= sine ratione) diceretur seruus, ac ne nos quidem (ratione, merito) diceremur serui, quoties ...".

695 *spiritu ... Pater Rom.* 8,15.

701 *opus alterum* See the Latin text, p. 142, ll. 635-636 above.

702 *Hieronymo* See Ep. 1334, ll. 476-479, where Er. observes that Jerome's ungenerous views on matrimony and remarriage were hardly orthodox. For the idea that the works of Jerome and Cyprian are not free from heresies, see p. 228, ll. 32-34 below.

703 *Cypriano* His opinion that baptism administered by heretics and schismatics was invalid, was discussed by Er. as notoriously unorthodox in Ep. 1000, ll. 121-148.

aliis ... orthodoxis E.g. Hilary, see Ep. 1000, l. 127; Tertullian, see Ep. 1334, ll. 473-476; Augustine, see *ibid.*, ll. 482-485; Ambrose, see p. 228, l. 32 below, with n.ll. 33-34 and for an extensive survey of heresies taught by several fathers of the church: *Enarrat. in Ps.*, LB V, 432 C-435 A.

705 *talibus ... suam* See p. 143, n. ll. 639-641 above.

709 *Batauum* This is how Stun. had styled Er. in his sections on *Act.* 16,11 and *Rom.* 15,24. See p. 135, n.l. 504 and p. 67, n.l. 121 above.

rudem, crasum Stun. used these qualifications in his section on 2 *Thess.* 2,5; see p. 135, n.ll. 503-504 above. For *ignarum*, see Stun.'s sections on *Mt.* 12,17-18; 21,37; *Ioh.* 1,1, and *Act.* 4,27 (end).

711 *lemmatis* For this form of the abl., see p. 258, n.l. 525 below.

715 *Eodem ii Act.* 4,36. Er.' annotation reads: "Barnabas enim vox est Hebraica, בן ברנבא. Et פטרן praeter alia recreari significat et refrigerari ac consolari".

717 *alicubi* E.g., in *Prologus Tobiae*, preceding *Tob.* in the Vg.: "vicina est Chaldeorum lingua sermoni Hebraico". It is strange that Er. admits that Jerome sometimes distinguished between Hebrew and Aramaic: he would have done better to take advantage of the fact that Jerome sometimes confounded the two languages, see p. 141, n.l. 594 above.

719 *Hebraeam vocare* Er. had wrongly called *bar* Hebrew; it is Aramaic, as Stun. pointed out.

723 *Rhodiensis* A Greek ms. containing the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, sent to

725 felix quod toties citetur a Stunica. Sic interpretatur Liber Hebraicorum
 nominum interpres, sic et Hieronymus in libello in quo exponit voces
 Hebraeas ex Actis collectas. *Barnabas*, inquit, *filius prophetae, vel filius venientis,*
aut vt plerique putant: filius consolationis. Stunica negat *Barnabas* quicquam
 huiusmodi significare quale Lucas interpretatur et coniectat omnes Graecorum
 730 codices esse deprauatos atque a Luca scriptum fuisse *Barnabum*. An recte
 diuinet Stunica, viderint alii, mihi non debet impingere errorem, qui Lucam et
 Hieronymum sequutus sum autores.

EX CAPITE VII.

Et transferam vos trans Babylonem. Sic habent quidam Latini codices;
 contra nonnulli habent *in Babylonem*. Caeterum Graecis est ἐπέκεινα
 735 Βαβυλῶνος, id est, *ultra Babylonem*. Quanquam in Amos, capite v, vnde
 desumptus est hic locus, aliquanto secus legitur: μετοιχιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα
 LB 318 Δαμασκοῦ, id est, *transferam vos vltra Damascus*. Hieronymus ita Lucam
 aut Stephanum excusat, vt sensum magis reddiderit prophetae quam verba, is
 est, *transferam vos trans Damascus in Babylonem siue trans Babylonem.*
 740 Stunica suspicari mauult et hunc locum in Graecis ac Latinis codicibus
 omnibus esse deprauatum, et pro ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος legendum ἐπέκεινα
 Δαμασκοῦ. Negat hoc esse nouum in sacris litteris; sic in Matthaeo *Esaias*
 positum esse pro *Aseph*, et in eodem *Hieremiam* positum pro *Zachariam*.
 745 Sed hic nihil accusat nisi quod *alias* immodice curiosus in hunc locum nihil
 annotarim. Verum in tanta turba rerum fieri non potest quin aliqua suffugiant
 oculos.

EX CAPITE VIII.

Tanquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est. Hic euidentem *hallucinationem*
 750 impingit mihi, quod in codice meo citarim ex Esaias capite 50 quod habeatur
 in capite 53. Quasi non in notulis numerorum passim errent librarii, nec id
 facile deprehenditur ab eo qui recognoscit non adhibito antitypo. Id esse
 verum sentiet qui viderit hunc numerum in secunda aeditione fuisse repositum.
 Caeterum an Aethiops legerit ex Hebraeo volumine an Graeco, quoniam
 nihil refert, nolim in eo verba fundere.

755

EODEM II.

Inuentus est in Azoto. Hic indicans elegantiam Latinae vocis *inuentus est*

755 eodem II A: eodem capite II B, eodem capite annotatio II B.45.

Ximénez from Rhodes and deposited by
 him in the University Library of Alcalá.

Stun. repeatedly quoted readings from this
 ms. in criticizing readings and annotations

- in Er.' *Nov. Instr.* The ms. (min. Wettstein Paul. 50 = Apostolos 52) seems to be lost. Since Stun. himself declared (*ad 2 Cor.* 2,3) that its contents were "apostolicae epistolae", the present reference to it by Er. is out of place.
- 724 *toties* Five times: *ad 2 Cor.* 2,3; *Iac.* 1,22; 2 *Petr.* 2,2; 1 *Iob.* 3,16; 1 *Iob.* 5,20.
- 724-725 *Liber ... interpretes* The onomasticon at the end of many early editions of the Vg., see p. 123, n.ll. 271-272 above. In the Froben 1491 edition the entry runs: "Barnabas filius concludens vel filius prophete: seu filius venientis aut filius consolationis".
- 725 *Hieronymus in libello...* See P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, Göttingen, 1870, p. 67.
- 729 *Barnabum* Stun. had guessed that *Barnabas* was a corruption of *Barnabum* = בר נחום. This guess is an attempt to restore the relationship between Joseph's surname *Barna-* and its explanation "Son of consolation" as given in *Act.* 4,36, the name "Nahum" being related to the verb *nibam* (נָחַם), "to console". Stun.'s guess has not met with approval. Βαρναβᾶς is probably best explained as a Grecized rendering of Aramaic *Barnebaus*, "Son of Nebo", see A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, Marburg, 1895, p. 178; id., *Neue Bibelstudien*, Marburg, 1897, p. 16. Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, *ad Act.* 4,36.
- 732 *Ex capite vii Act.* 7,43 in a quotation from *Am.* 5,25-27. Er. had translated "in Babylonem", not "trans Babylonem". Stun. objected that this was an inaccurate translation, as the Greek reads ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος. Moreover, he considered ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος to be a corruption of ἐπέκεινα Δαμασκού, as the LXX reads in *Am.* 5,27. Although Er. defends his translation "in" by referring to mss. where he had found this reading, he changed his translation in the *Nov. Test.* into "vltra Babylonem".
- 734 *nonnulli* The witnesses for "in Babylonem" mentioned by Wordsworth-White are: the codices Armachanus and Teplensis, and the Venice 1481 edition of the Vg. by Leonard Wild. The reading was adopted in the Sixtine Vg., Rome, 1590.
- 735 *Amos Am.* 5,27.
- 737 *Hieronymus Comm. in Am.* II, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 76, p. 297, *ad* 5,27; the passage had been quoted by Stun.
- 738 *Stephanum Act.* 6,5; 8.
- 740 *et hunc locum Viz. Act.* 7,43, just like the word *Barnabas* in *Act.* 4,36.
- 742 *in Matthaeo Mt.* 13,35, where certain Greek mss. read διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, not διὰ τοῦ προφήτου. Stun. had referred to the view of Jerome who, in his *Comm. in Ps. lxxvii*, had explained Ἡσαίου as a scribal error for Ἀσάφ.
- 743 *in eodem Mt.* 27,9, where a passage quoted from *Zcb.* 11,13 is ascribed to Jeremiah.
- 744 *alias* Stun.'s words are: "mirandum est cur Erasmus hunc nodum [viz., the contradiction between the reading ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος and the fact that the Israelites had been exiled to Babylon, not beyond Babylon] insolutum reliquerit, qui et alias in rebus haud ita obscuris plusquam necesse est immorari solet".
- 747 *Ex capite viii Act.* 8,32.
- 748 *hallucinationem* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Erasmi hallucinatio manifesta".
- 751 752 *Id esse verum Viz.*, that it was only a misprint.
- 753 *ex Hebraeo ... an Graeco* Er. had observed that, judging from the Isaiah text quoted in *Act.* 8,32-33, the Ethiopian had read the LXX. Stun. had objected that the Ethiopian was not likely to have known Greek, but could easily have known Hebrew "ob prouinciarum vicinitatem". He regarded the verbal agreement between *Act.* 8,32-33 and *Is.* 53,7-8 LXX as irrelevant, as there is no great difference between LXX and Hebrew text of *Is.* 53,7-8.
- 754 *fundere* "To waste", as in *Ter. Ad.* 769: "iam tu verba fundis hic".
- 755 *Eodem ii Act.* 8,40.
- 756-759 *Inuentus ... repertus* For the distinction between "inuenire" and "reperire", see Er.' *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD* I, 4, p. 310: "Reperire est casu offendere non quaesitum, vt: Reperi Petrum hodie in foro, id est, offendi, vel obuium habui. Res multum diuque quaesitae, saepe vbi quaeri desierint, vltro reperiuntur" and p. 264: "Inuenire, comperire siue fortuito, siue consilio". But Beza rightly reacted: "Ego vero non puto perpetuam esse differentiam illam inter inuenire et reperire" (*Nov. Test.*, Geneva, 1588, *ad loc.*). More importantly, the meaning of εὐρέθη is probably intransitive: "he appeared, turned up at A." (Blass-Debrunner, § 313) and in this respect *reperitus est* is as questionable a translation as *inuentus est*.
- 756 *elegantiam* Here *elegantia* means the correct use of a word in accordance with the particular shade of meaning by which the word distinguishes itself from words of a

addideram: *quis quaerebat illum, vt illic fuerit inuentus?* et malo: *reperitus est*, quod qui subito aut praeter spem alicubi deprehenditur, Latine dicatur reperitus. Stunica dicit *interpretem ridiculum fuisse* futurum, si has Latini
 760 sermonis elegantias voluisset obseruare. Rem sane nouam audio. Quod si *ridiculus fuisset interpres*, mihi tamen non sit absurdum indicare, qui hoc negotium susceperam, vt quantum fieri posset sermonem Noui Testamenti a soloecismis repurgarem.

Sed interim Stunica videtur oblitus quod in praefatione dixit *eleganter et*
 765 Latine vertisse interpretem. Quomodo vertit *eleganter*, si puduit obseruare elegantias?

Porro quod adiicio vocem Hebraicam quae respondeat *Αζοτο*, eam quoniam putat deprauate scriptam, demiratur impudentiam meam, qui *consciis imperitiae* meae non hic consuluerim meum Oecolampadium. Atqui scire dignabitur Stunica vocem hanc Oecolampadio autore fuisse additam. Cum
 770 hoc igitur res erat Stunicae, non mecum.

EX CAPITE X.

Quomodo vnxit eum Deus. Ostenderam duplicem lectionem: *ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτόν*, id est, *quomodo vnxit eum*, et *ὃν ἔχρισεν αὐτόν*, id est, *quem vnxit eum*,
 775 admonens in posteriore lectione Latino *interpreti omittendum pronomen eum*, id quod additur *ex idiomate sermonis Hebraei*. Hic nescio quid argutatur Stunica, *cum interpres* verterit e codice *qui habebat ὡς ἔχρισεν*, *non omittendum fuisse pronomen*. Atque hoc ipsum est quod annotaram.

Coeterum vtrum Petrus haec Hebraice loquutus sit an Graece, minimum
 780 refert, nisi quod Stunicae placet eum Graece loquutum fuisse, nec ob aliud opinor, nisi quod suspicabatur hoc mihi minus probatum iri. Potuit autem Graecis loqui Petrus Hebraice, et tamen intelligi.

EX CAPITE XII.

Precingere et calcia te caligas. Καὶ ὑπόδησον τὰ σανδάλιά σου verteram *subliga*
 785 *soleas tuas*, quod olim sandaliis vterentur pro calceis. Ea loris quibusdam subligabantur, vt hererent pedibus. Hic nescio quo consilio studet mutare Graecam scripturam ac pro *ὑπόδησον* legere *ὑπόδυσον*, quod *utraque* vox Graecis *sit eiusdem sonus*. Sic enim Stunicae licet loqui. Atque hic nos docet rem plane nouam, videlicet *indui calceos*, atque vt hoc credamus adducit autorem
 LB 319 Suetonium. At | tandem homo ciuilis permittit vt vetus scriptura *ὑπόδησον*
 791 maneat. Sed quid opus erat hac diuinatione, cum *ὑπόδησον* probe quadraret, verbum Graecis vsitatissimum, et codicum maximus sit consensus?

786 studet B BAS: studeat A.

791 Sed A' B BAS: At A*.

- related meaning. Cf. the title of Valla's *Elegantiae*, and p. 75, l. 295 above and p. 206, l. 713 below.
- 763 *soloecismus* In the second ed. of the *Nov. Test.* (1519), Er. had inserted the following sentence in that paragraph of the preface to the *Annot. in NT* which describes the object of his new translation: "Soloecismos euidentēs ac prodigiosos submouimus, et ita sermonis elegantiam vbique quantum licuit secuti sumus, vt nihilo minor esset simplicitas" (= Ep. 373, ll. 61–63).
- 764 *in praefatione* In his proem Stun. had written that Er. had unjustly censured and corrected Jerome "quem constet et Latine et eleganter sacros Noui Testamenti codices ex Graeco in Latinum traduxisse"; cf. p. 71, n.l. 186 and p. 100, ll. 824–825 above.
- 767 *adiicio vocem Hebraicam* In his *Annot.* Er. had concluded a note on Azotus with the words "Est ciuitas ... Hebraeis dicta אֲזוֹטוֹס". With fine irony Stun. had remarked that this form of the name had obviously been taken by accident from a passage in which the name was provided with the suffix אֶ- denoting direction: "to Azotus", as in 1 Sm. 5, 1. The blunder prompted Stun. to write, *inter alia*: "Id nequaquam euenisset, si ... propriae conscius imperitiae Oecolampadium saltem Theseum, aut alium eo in Hebraicis literis peritiorum, hoc loco esset percontatus [sc. Er.]".
- 772 *Ex capite x Act.* 10, 38.
- 774 ὃν ἔχρισεν αὐτόν Where Er. had found this latter reading, and whether his information is correct, is unclear, but the only witness known to give this reading is a correction in Codex Bezae (D) consisting in the addition of αὐτόν to the reading ὃν ἔχρισεν of the original text. Er. did not know Codex Bezae. See F.H. Scrivener, *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis*, Cambridge, 1864, pp. viii–ix, 362, 443.
- 776 *ex idiomate ... Hebraei* Er. means the insertion of the redundant personal pronoun in relative clauses, as in *Mc.* 7, 25 ἡς... αὐτῆς. As this idiom appears also in older Greek, it is not necessarily due to Semitic influence. See Robertson, p. 683; Moulton-Turner III, p. 325.
- 778 *hoc ... annotaram* Er. had argued that the translator ought to have omitted *eum* because it reflected only Hebrew idiom. As a matter of fact this remark applies only in case the translator's Greek copy read ὃν instead of ὡς. But Er. had not specified this case. Taking advantage of Er.' inaccuracy Stun. had replied that the translator could not possibly have dispensed with *eum* since his Greek copy had ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτόν. Er. himself read Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτόν ὁ θεός and translated: "(Ipsi noster ...), vt Iesum Nazarenum vnxit Deus (Spiritu ...)".
- 779–780 *Coeterum ... refert* Er. himself had observed: "Incertum Petrus haec Hebraice dixerit an Graece". Stun. had replied that Peter was likely to have said it in Greek, "quandoquidem ad gentiles loquebatur, non ad iudaeos".
- 782 *intelligi* Er. means that many Greeks in Caesarea must have been able to understand Hebrew, so that Peter could speak Hebrew to a Greek speaking audience.
- 783 *Ex capite xii Act.* 12, 8.
- 786 *consilio* Stun. had hazarded the supposition that the Greek underlying *calcia* (or *calcea*) in the Vg. was ὑπόδυσσον, not ὑπόδησον, obviously because he took *caligas* for an adequate rendering of σανδάλια, and ὑπόδύομαι ("to put on", e.g. shoes) for better fitting in with *caligas* than ὑποδέω ("to bind under one's feet"). But σανδάλια are no *caligae*, the imp. should have been ὑπόδουθι or ὑπόδουσαι, not ὑπόδυσσον, and ὑποδέεσθαι is even used for "to put on high boots", see Liddell-Scott, s.v. ὑποδέω III, 1. Moreover, for the form ὑπόδησον (which Stun. wanted to correct to ὑπόδυσσον) there is no evidence whatsoever in the textual tradition of *Act.* 12, 8: all known mss. read ὑπόδησαι.
- 789 *indui calceos* "That shoes are (said to be) put on". In justification of his conjecture ὑπόδυσσον σανδάλια Stun. had written: "Nam induo aliquando accipitur pro calceo, -as, Suetonius in Augusto: si mane sibi calceus perperam ac sinister pro dextero indueretur". The reference is to Suet. *Aug.* 92. Er.' phrase "docet rem planc nouam" is ironical: everybody knows that "to put on shoes" is "induere calceos" in Latin. This needs no proof from Suetonius. But it does not imply that ὑπόδυσσον is the original reading in *Act.* 12, 8.
- 790 *tandem* The final sentence of Stun.'s section runs: "Potest etiam et ὑπόδησον legi per η, id est: *subliga*, vt ad calceorum corrigias referatur".

EODEM II.

795 *Pulsante autem eo ad ostium iannuae.* Non negat Stunica πολῶνα Graecis et ostium significare et vestibulum. Nos itaque vertimus *vestibulum*, alioqui non quadrabat, nisi θύραν accipias id quod excludit aditum, et πολῶνα hiatum parietis qui admittit aditum. At hic multis verbis argumentatur non consistere quod verti, quod *vestibulum non sit pars edium, sed locus ante edes vacuus*. Consistet si cogitet quedam vestibula adiecto pariete, sed absque tecto secludi a via
800 publica; id ostium certe nocte claudi solet, quo domus sit tutior.

EODEM III.

Populus autem acclamabat. Hoc loco quid sibi velit Stunica, prorsus non intelligo, quum magno consensu Graeci codices habeant φωνή θεοῦ, id est, *vox dei*, et pulchre congruat sensus. *Concionabatur* enim Herodes ac loquenti
805 *acclamabant* adulantes, quasi vox deum sonaret magis quam hominem, siquidem ex voce Venerem agnoscit et Aeneas Vergilianus. Stunica violente deprauat hunc locum ac legi postulat φωνῆ θεοῦ, id est *voce dei*, quasi vox populi fuerit vox dei. Atque hic multis verbis impudentissime nugatur, nihil aliud captans quam vt esset locus referendae historiae ex Eusebio et Iosepho.
810 Atqui magis illi fuisset locus, si neque nos taxasset immerito, neque lectionem in cunctis Graecorum voluminibus consentientem, autoritate sua mutasset.

EX CAPITE XIII.

Et cum a Papho nauigasset Paulus. Cum sit οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον, verteram *ii qui cum Paulo erant*, veluti non agnoscens figuram Graecanicam de qua prius taxassem Vallam. Verum haec figura non semper habet locum et qui dicit nauigasse *eos qui cum Paulo erant*, non protinus excludit Paulum a nauigatione, quemadmodum cauillatur Stunica. Sed tamen hunc locum restituimus, tametsi interpres plus vertit quam dixit Lucas, si figuram amplectimur, quod tamen in me crebro damnat Stunica.

820

EX XIII.

Factum est autem in Iconio. Indicaram Latinius esse: *Factum est Iconii*, cum sit nomen ciuitatis. Rursus hic destomachatur in miseras *grammaticorum observationes*, et tamen ex grammatico Prisciano docet recte addi praepositionem. Sciebam huiuscemodi orationes nonnunquam inueniri apud autores, sed
825 ego malebam quod esset vsitatus ac longius abesset a stilo poetico.

Coeterum recte monet Stunica Iconium hic Lycaoniae ciuitatem esse, non

- A* B B.A.S.
- 824 huiusmodi *A ad calcem paginae vbi pri-*
mam *paginae sequentis vocem anticipat*, B B.A.S.
C.S: huiusmodi *A in contextu paginae versae.*
- 793 *Eodem ii Act.* 12,13, where Er. had translated τὴν θύραν τοῦ πυλῶνος as "ostium vestibuli".
- 797 *multis verbis* Stun. had defended the translation *ostium iannae* on the following grounds. (1) Not all houses had a *vestibulum*. (2) Greek has other words for "entrance-hall". (3) In v. 14 πυλῶν seems to mean "door", not "entrance-hall". (4) If the Latin word *vestibulum* signifies a space between the street and the entrance of a house, how can such a space be "opened" (v. 14)? Moreover, if Peter stood before the *vestibulum*, he stood in the street and not before the door of the house. None of these objections cuts any ice.
consistere "To be applicable", as on p. 88, l. 573; *Tb.L.L.* IV, 468-469; *OLD*, s.v., 13c. Cf. p. 197, l. 549 and p. 217, l. 860 below.
- 798 *vestibulum ... vacuus* Gell. XVI, 5, 3, already quoted by Stun.
- 801 *Eodem iii Act.* 12,22. Here the Vg. has "dei voces", but in his Greek mss. Er. had only found the singular θεοῦ φωνή. Consequently, he had translated "vox dei": "And the populace shouted: 'The voice of a god, not of a man'". Stun. preferred to read a dat. φωνῆ and to interpret: "And the populace shouted with such a voice as that with which it normally addressed a god, not a man". This interpretation and the conjecture φωνῆ are untenable. They are based on Rufinus' Latin translation of Eus. *H.E.* II, 10, 1: "Cumque populus acclamaret ei dei voces et non hominis". Eus.' Greek (which was not published until 1544) reads ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ φωνῆ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου.
- 804 *concionabatur Act.* 12,21 Vg.
- 805 *acclamabant* Cf. *Act.* 12,22 "acclamabat".
- 806 *ex ... Vergilianus* Verg. *Aen.* I, 328.
- 807-808 *quasi ... dei* Er. misrepresents Stun.'s intention. Stun. himself had paraphrased the phrase "dei voce" as follows: "id est, ea voce qua deo acclamarent, non qua homini", taking φωνῆ as instr. dat. and θεοῦ as obi. gen.; cf. n.l. 801 above. The verbal agreement with the proverb "vox populi vox dei" may be accidental. It occurs first in Alcuin, c. 800, Migne *PL* 100, 438 A and is referred to as a proverb as early as 920 by William of Malmesbury, Migne *PL* 179, 1451 B. Not in *Adag.* T.B. Harbottle, *Dictionary of Quotations (Classical)*, London, 1906, p. 308.
- 809 *Eusebio et Iosepho* Eus. *H.E.* II, 10 and *Ios. Ant. Iud.* XIX, 8, 2, 343-346. These passages report that Herod Agrippa was hailed as a god in the theatre at Caesarea and smitten with illness and death.
- 812 *Ex capite xiii Act.* 13,13.
- 814-815 *prius taxasset Valla* In his annotation on *Iob.* 11,19, Valla had paraphrased πρὸς τὰς περὶ Μάρθαν καὶ Μαρίαν as follows: "ad eas quae erant circa Martham et Mariam". In the *Annot.* of 1516 Er. had censured this paraphrase stating: "Non agnoui hoc loco Valla formam Graecanici sermonis, quo dicunt illi τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πλάτωνα pro Platone ipso. ... Non enim inuisebant eas quae circa illas erant, sed ipsas in luctu constitutas". But in *Act.* 13,13 Er.' own translation of οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον ran: "ii qui cum Paulo erant", as if Paul was excluded. Stun. had eagerly seized the opportunity to blame Er. for his inconsistency.
- 817 *restituimus* In the third ed. Er. corrected his translation into "Quum autem a Papho soluisset Paulus, qui cum eo erant venerunt Pergem ...".
- 818 *interpres* The Vg. translates οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον with "Paulus et qui cum eo erant".
- 820 *Ex xiiii Act.* 14,1.
- 822-823 *grammaticorum observationes* Stun.'s words are: "Non adeo superstitiosus erat ecclesiasticus interpres vt ad Latinae potius linguae proprietatem et curiosas grammaticorum obseruationes prospicere curaret quam ad reddendum Graeca verba bona fide".
- 823 *Prisciano* Prisc. *Institutiones grammaticae* XVIII, 217, ed. M. Hertz, in: Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. III, p. 315: "Latini frequenter et maxime historici ablatiuus vtuntur cum praepositione pro genitiuis et datiuus 'in loco' significationem habentibus, vt in Tyro, pro Tyri, ...". In spite of this testimony Er. is right in stating (l. 825) that in classical Latin the place-names of the 1st and 2nd declension sing., when used to designate the place where something happened, usually take the locative form, not that of the ablative preceded by *in*. Plaut., however, repeatedly used the latter construction (hence Er.' words *stilo poetico*, l. 825). See Kühner-Stegmann I, pp. 475-477.
- 826 *recte monet* Er. had written: "Sunt autem duae huius nominis, altera Lycaoniae, alte-

Ciliciae; id accidit inuersione dictionum. Sic enim erat legendum: *sunt duae huius nominis, altera Ciliciae, altera Lycaoniae de qua hic agitur*. Atque hoc erroris typographorum aut scribarum ni fallor, castigaram in secunda aeditione.

830

EX CAPITE XV.

Viri fratres, audite me. Recitaram opinionem Vallae, qui suspicatur *Simeon* Graecam esse vocem, nonnihil deflexam ab Hebraea *Simon*. Hic primum me plagii defert Stunica, qui passim suffurer pleraque ex Annotationibus Laurentii Vallae. Quo quid dici poterat impudentius? Cum saepe dissentiam a
 835 Laurentio, tam multa recenseam quae ille non attingit, tam multa preteream quae ille multis verbis persequitur, toties illum citem nominatim. Sed interim causae periculum a me transfert in Laurentium: is igitur pro se respondeat.
 1.B 320 Nam ego manum non verterim, vtra vox | Graeca sit, vtra Hebraica. Scio Σίμωνα Graecis esse virum, vel adagio teste οἶδα Σίμωνα, καὶ Σίμων ἐμέ.

840

EODEM II.

Paulus vero electo Sylva. Cum Graece sit ἐπιλεξάμενος, quo magis exprimerem vocem Graecam, verteram *allecto Sylva* ab allegendo, quemadmodum dicuntur allegi in senatum qui eo asciscuntur. Stunica damnat verbum non
 845 inelegans, sed amphibolum, quod alicui videri possit ab allicio deductum, non ab allego. Verum elegantia verbi fecit, vt amphibologiae incommodum contemnerem, quod eruditi frequenter nulla de causa negligunt. Neque prorsus idem est allego et eligo, quemadmodum putat Stunica. Eligo liberis amici preceptorem, non allego.

EX CAPITE XVI.

850 *Et sequenti die Neapolim*. Hic annotaram: *non est ea quam nunc in Italia occupant Hispani, sed altera Cariae in Asia*. Hoc loco mihi *blasphemiae* crimen impingit ac lesae maiestatis crimen ob vnum verbulum *occupant*, quod ille sic interpretatur: *hoc est, nullo iusto titulo, sed tanquam tyranni detinent*.

855 Sic autem praefatur hoc crimen intentaturus: *quas non conuiciorum ὄλας, vt aiunt, ἀμάξας merebatur quidem hoc loco Batauus iste, nolo Sarmatam dicere?* Quis non

827 inuersione *A BAS*: in versione *B CS vitiose*.

827–828 sunt duae huius nominis, altera Ciliciae, altera Lycaoniae, de qua *A' CS*: sunt duae Lycaoniae huius nominis, altera

Ciliciae, altera de qua *A* B BAS LB vitiose*.
 847 allego et eligo *A' B BAS*: allecto et electo *A**.

852 crimen *A B: om. BAS*.

ra Ciliciae, de qua hic loquitur". Stun. rightly demonstrated that the Iconium at issue must be a city of Lycaonia.

829 *castigaram* The change was only a partial improvement. In reality an Iconium in Cilicia has never existed at all, so that the

- whole distinction between two cities of that name was mistaken. The root of the confusion was perhaps the fact that some ancient authors locate Iconium in Lycaonia, while others locate it in Phrygia (see Bauer, *s.v.* Ἰκόνιον). But all refer to one and the same city (*PW* IX, pp. 990–991).
- 830 *Ex capite xv Act.* 15,13–14.
- 831 *Recitaram* In 1516 Er. had written: “Συμεών id est, Symeon; haud scio vtrum errore perperam scriptum, an quod nihil intersit inter *Symonem* et *Symeonem*, nisi quod *Symeon* Hebraice dicitur, Graece inflexa voce *Symon*, vt a *Saul Saulus*”. The supposition that *Symeon* represents a Hebrew pronunciation and *Symon*, as Er. and Stun. read in *Act.* 15,14 Vg., a Greek pronunciation of the same name, was borrowed without acknowledgement from Valla, *Annot., ad loc.* Valla had stated, *inter alia*, that Peter was called “Graece *Simon*, Hebraice *Symeon*”. Stun. had defended the reverse theory, viz., that *Symon* represented a Hebrew, and *Symeon* a Greek pronunciation of the same semitic name. None of these theories does justice to the complicated reality which may be summarized as follows. In the Greek bible Συμεών is a rendering of the Hebrew name שמעון, Συμων does not occur, and Σίμων is a genuinely Greek name often used to represent the Hebrew name שמעון. In the Latin bible *Simeon* (or *Symeon*) is a transliteration of שמעון or of Συμεών, whereas *Simon* (or *Symon*) must be the Latinized form of the Greek name Σίμων, although sometimes used at places where the Greek has Συμεών.
- 831–832 *Simeon ... Simon* This is a complete misrepresentation of Valla’s position: Valla had held just the reverse opinion. Er. misunderstood Valla’s words: “Graece non est Simon, sed Symeon”, the real meaning of which is: “The Greek text has Symeon here, not Simon”.
- 833 *plagii defert* Stun.’s words are: “Hoc loco Erasmus, ..., quasi boni aliquid reperisset, supradicta omnia ex Laurentii Vallae annotationibus, vt plerumque facere solet, ad verbum fere transtulit”.
- 837 *causae periculum* “The responsibility for the defence”. The language and imagery of the whole sentence belong to the sphere of judicial proceedings.
- 838 *manum non verterim* In *Adag.* 221, LB II, 120F, Er. explained the expression as follows: “nihil omnino laboro, aut mea nihil refert. Nihil enim facilius quam manum vertere”, with references to Apul. *Apol.* 56 and Cic. *Fin.* V, 31, 93. Cf. Otto 1042.
- 838–839 *Scio ... virum* Naturally, Stun. too had known this. But he had tried to explain *Symeon* and *Symon* from the Hebrew only, without appealing to the genuinely Greek name Σίμων. Precisely this is impossible, as Er. rightly suggests by the present reference to Σίμων.
- 839 *adagio Adag.* 1449, LB II, 567B: “De iis dicebatur, qui pares essent, etc.”. Leutsch-Schneidewin I, pp. 137, 290; II, 553.
- 840 *Eodem ii Act.* 15,40.
- 843 *allegi in senatum* E.g., Suet. *Claud.* 24. *Stunica damnat* Er. correctly reports Stun.’s objection.
- 849 *Ex capite xvi Act.* 16,11.
- 851 *occupant Hispani* In 1442, Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily made himself master of Naples. It was united with Sicily to a kingdom, which, however, continued to be involved in wars among foreign powers for domination in Italy. Finally, in 1504, Naples and Sicily fell to the Spanish. As the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Naples and Sicily were united with Spain, and from 1504 to 1715 this kingdom was ruled by Spanish viceroys.
- blasphemiae* Stun. had written: “Satis illum pro hac blasphemia poenas daturum arbitrabor, si turpiter hoc loco in re ad geographiam pertinente lapsus ostendero”.
- 852 *lesae maiestatis* Stun. had not explicitly blamed Er. for lèse-majesté, but something of this reproach is included in Stun.’s words: “Neapolim ... hereditario iure et sedis apostolicae priuilegio, ... ac proinde iustissimo bello ab iniustus possessoribus vindicatam, Hispani hodie possident”. Cf. Er.’s proem, p. 64, ll. 90–93 above.
- 853 *hoc est ... detinent* The quotation is correct.
- 854–855 *quas ... dicere* The quotation is correct. For “conuiciorum ὄλας ἀμάξας”, see Lucian. *Eun.* 2 ὄλας ἀμάξας βλασφημιῶν, and Leutsch-Schneidewin II, p. 558.
- 855 *Batauis* See p. 147, n.l. 709 above. *Sarmatam* The Sarmatae were a great nomadic people, dwelling in Russia from the Carpathians to the Don. That their name could have the connotation of “barbarians” is clear from Ep. 1393, ll. 21–22: “olim quum inter feros ac barbaros censerentur Sarmatae” and *Encom. medic.*, ASD I, 4, p. 182, l. 359: “Rhetor frigebit apud Sarmatas”, with J. Domański’s note, and *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 67, l. 9 “apud Sarmatas et si quid est his etiam barbarius”.

rideat huius Stunicae delicias, qui putet ingens conuicium appellari Batauum, deinde qui credat aliquid esse cognationis Batauis cum Sarmatis?

Sed vt ad crimen respondeam, an quisquis occupat, tyrannide occupat et iniusto titulo? Quaeso qui vacuum occupat, num per tyrannidem occupat? Arbor qui locum occupat, vt alteri non sit locus, num iniuste occupat? O sinistrum verborum interpretem. Non agebam illic quo iure Hispani possiderent Neapolim. Certe sic tenent, vt aliis non sit illic regnandi locus.

Ac subito facetus Stunica putat me tam atrocis criminis *satis* magnas *poenas* daturum, si doceat me *lapsum in geographia*, mauultque Paulum ita circumducere, vt a Mysia deducat Troadem, hinc in Samothraciam, hinc rursus Neapolim, et inde Philippos. Haec Stunicae coniectura quantum valeat excutiant ii, quibus est ocium. Mihi satis est quod Hieronymus in locis Actorum, *Neapolis*, inquit, *ciuitas Cariae, quae est prouinciae Asiae*. Id cum non ignoraret Stunica, quid enim illum fugit, cum Hieronymo disputandum erat.

EX CAPITE XVII.

Et tempora quidem huius ignorantiae despiciens Deus. Pro despiciens Graecis est ὑπεριδών. Quoniam Graeca vox sonat quasi dicas super videre, porro qui despicit velut ex alto videt, itidem qui dissimulat vt rem negligendam altius tollit oculos, adieceram in annotatione: *sed interpret visus est sensisse ὑπεριδών ex alto videns.* Sed Stunica negat eum id sensisse, sed *despiciens* posuisse pro contemnens. Et hoc ipsum fueram suspicaturus, nisi contemnens hoc loco parum quadraret. Neque enim contempsit Deus idololatriam, sed ad tempus ceu dissimulauit, relinquens illos suis erroribus. Porro quod Guarinus ὑπεριδόντες vertit *contemnentes*, fortasse rectius vertisset dissimulantes, etiamsi non negem alicubi contemnere qui dissimulat. Verum hoc loco parum congruebat contemnendi verbum.

EX CAPITE XVIII.

Erant enim scenefactoriae artis, σκηνοποιοί. Nos verteramus: *auleorum texendorum artifices.* Stunica multis verbis docet *σκηνάς* sonare *tabernacula*, ea solere *confici ex pellibus*. Sciebam Paulum a Graecis aliquoties vocatum esse coriarium, sed *σκηνή* Grece sonat quicquid obducitur ad obumbrandum. Vnde et scenae fabularum. At huiusmodi sunt et aulaea, ni fallor; quod indicat Horatius in Epistolis:

890 *aulea Britannica cessant.*

LB 321 Quod si contendit Stunica taberna|cula non confici nisi *ex pellibus*, reclamationem

857 cognationis A *BAS recte*: cognitionis B *vitiose*.

- 860 Arbor qui *A B*: Arbor quae *B.A.S.*
- 866 Samothraciam *A B*: Samothracen *B.A.S.*
- 868 satis est *A B*: *add.* in praesentia *B.A.S.*
- 876 Sed *A*: Atqui *B B.A.S.*
- 860 *Arbor qui* In *A* and *B* "arbor" is taken as masc., possibly by a mistake of Er. himself.
- 864–865 *satis ... geographia* See p. 155, n.l. 851 *blasphemiae* above. Er. had incorrectly located the Neapolis of *Act.* 16,11 in Caria, instead of in the borderland between Macedonia and Thracia, where it was the port of Philippi.
- 867–868 *Haec ... ocium* In his own *Annot.* Er. adopted Stun.'s view as "opinio probabilior".
- 868 *Hieronymus* The reference is to the Venerable Bede's work *De nominibus locorum vel ciuitatum quae leguntur in libro Actuum Apostolorum*, Migne *PL* 92, 1033–1040, see 1039: "Neapolis, ciuitas Cariae, quae est prouinciae Asiae". The ascription to Bede does not allow of doubt any more, see Dekker, no. 1359. The ascription to Jerome is due to the fact that many mss. and the early editions of Jerome, e.g. that by Er. himself (1516), include Bede's *De nominibus ... Act. Ap.* as an appendix to Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* (Migne *PL* 23, 903–976; see the n. on pp. 975–976 there). In the *Annot.*, *ad Act.* 16,11, Er. indicated that he regarded the ascription to Jerome as false through the addition of "(Hieronymus) sed falsus opinor" (*LB VI*, 495 E, inserted in 1527).
- 871 *Ex capite xvii Act.* 17,30.
- 872 *despiciens* Er. had translated "cum dissimulasset", rejecting "despiciens" (Vg.) since *despicere* meant "to look down on". Stun. had objected that in this case *despicere* meant "to despise" and that this was precisely the meaning intended by the author of Acts. Er. is denying this.
- 874–875 *vt rem negligendam Sic.* All editions have a comma before *vt*. This suggests that *dissimulat* should be taken as intransitive, on the analogy of *despicit*, and that *vt ... negligendam* is an adjunct to the omitted object of *dissimulat*.
- 880 *Guarinus* Stun. had remarked that the Italian humanist Guarino of Verona (1374–1460), in his translation of Plut. *Vita Bruti* 2, 8, had translated *ὑπεριδόντες* as "contemnentes": *Ἐάνθιοι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπεριδόντες τάφον ἀπονοίας ἐσχέκασιν τὴν πατρίδα*, "Xanthii beneficium meum contemnentes in sepulcro desperationis patriam posuere". An edition of *Plutarchi Vitae parallelae in latinum translatae a ... Guarino Veronensi*, appeared at Rome, c. 1470. The work was several times reprinted.
- 883 *Ex capite xviii Act.* 18,3.
- 884 *verteramus* Viz., in the annotations. In his translation Er. had given a different version: "Erat autem ars illorum texere aulaea". In 1519 Er. replaced "aulaea" by "tabernacula".
- 886 *confici ex pellibus* Stun.'s words are: "... patet scenofactoriam artem non fuisse aulaeorum texendorum officium, vt Erasmus somniauit, sed tentoriorum potius, siue tabernaculorum, quae et ipsa ex pellibus quoque conficiebantur ...".
- 886–887 *a Graecis ... coriarium* Er. is alluding to Orig. *Comm. in Rom.*, *ad* 16,3, Migne *PG* 14, 1279 A, where, in Rufinus' Latin translation, *σκηνοποιοί* is explained as "sutores", and to Chrys. *Hom. de laudibus Pauli* IV, Migne *PG* 50, 490, where Paul is referred to as *περί δέρματα τὴν τέχνην ἔχων*, "qui artem exercebat in pellibus", a passage quoted by Stun. Cf. J.A. Cramer, ed., *Catena in Acta SS. Apostolorum*, Oxford, 1838, p. 302: *Παῦλος ... ἐπὶ σκηνοραφείου ἐστὼς δέρματα ἔραπτε*. The noun *σκηνοποιός* is extremely rare. Modern exegetes generally explain it, with Stun., as "maker of leather tents", "leather-worker". See Th. Zahn, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lucas*, Leipzig/Erlangen, 1921, pp. 632–633; K. Lake and H. Cadbury, in: F.J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, I, iv, London, 1933, p. 223; W. Michaelis, in *TWNT VII*, pp. 394–396, *s.v.*
- 889 *Horatius* Er. is obviously quoting from memory, for Hor.'s works do not contain the words he cites. The quotation is a conflation of Iuv. VI, 67 "aulaea recondita cessant" and Verg. *Georg.* III, 25 "purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni". The association with Hor. may be due to *Epist.* II, 1, 189: "aulea premuntur". Er.' loose way of quoting Hor. may be due to the fact that, in his youth, he had known Hor. (and Ter.) by heart (*Ep.* IV, Allen, vol. I, p. 70, ll. 540–541). This may sometimes have tempted him to trust his memory too much.

horum temporum consuetudo, quae canabeis potissimum vtitur. Et apud Hispanos in vsu sunt aulea coreacea, vt nihil sit quo debuerit offendi Stunica. Et tamen in secunda aeditione memini et tabernaculorum.

895

EX CAPITE XIX.

In schola tyranni cuiusdam. Admonebam ambigere interpretes, vtrum hic tyrannus nomen sit proprium an praepotentem quempiam ac magnatem sonet. Et malo magnatem esse. Porro *scholam* sonare *occium* et *secessum in quo solitus sit occiari*. Sic enim mea refert Stunica. Stunica mauult nomen esse
900 *proprium viri*, quod apud Senecam compererit aliquem fuisse hoc nomine. Fruatur igitur Stunica suo iudicio, nam ego sic verti, vt illi liberum sit hoc facere.

EODEM II.

Demetrius autem nomine argentarius. Cum Graece sit ἀργυροκόπος et
905 *argentarius* Latine sonet mensarium magis quam artificem argenti cudendi aut fundendi, malui vertere *aurifabrum*. Stunica putat multum interesse inter aurum et argentum, nec istud nego, sed interim artificii commune nomen est, siquidem eiusdem est opificii cudere aurum et argentum. Aurificem legimus, argentificem non legimus.

910 Porro quod obiter taxat ἀργυροκόπον *non dictum ab incidendo argento, sed ab elaborando*, non est verisimile, cum Graecis laboro sit κοπιάζω siue κοπιάω. Caeterum κόπτω non solum significat incido, verum etiam caedo, pulso, percutio.

EODEM III.

915 *Viri Ephesii, quis est hominum qui nesciat* et cetera. Hic quod Grecis est νεωκόρον, verito quemadmodum verterat interpretes *cultricem*. Tantum labor in etymologia nominis νεωκόρου, quod imaginabar esse dictum a νεώς templum et κόρη virgo (nam Dianam virginem faciunt poetae), cum dicatur a νεώς templum et κορεῖν, quod est purgare siue verrere, quemadmodum docent
920 Hesychius et Suida. Atque hoc erroris humani mox sarsimus in secunda aeditione, ne quid hic triumphet Stunica.

Caeterum quod adieceram κόρης appellationem *tribui Dianae et Proserpinae*,

916 νεωκόρον *BAS CS*: νεοκόρον *A B*; labor

A B: *add.* est *BAS*.

892 *horum ... consuetudo* Methodically, the appeal Er. is making here to a 15th- and 16th-century practice is strange and weak, especially since Stun. had quoted the gram-

marian Festus (2nd cent. B.C.) to prove that tents were made "ex pellibus". *canabeis* The adjective "cannabeus" does not occur in *Th.L.L.*, but it must be an alterna-

- tive form of "cannabinus", which is used by the satirist Lucilius (ed. Marx, l. 1325), Varro and other authors. It means "made of hemp". Er. is thinking of "tents made of coarse linen, or of canvas". In mediaeval Latin "cana-" or "cannabeus" is less rare, see A. Blaise, *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi*, Turnhout, 1975, and J.W. Fuchs and O. Weyers, *Lexicon latinitatis Neerlandicae Medii Aevi*, II, Leiden, 1978.
- 892-893 *apud Hispanos ... coreacea* Er. may have seen this himself on the occasion of some or another of the visits which, as a councillor to Charles V, he paid at the Spanish Court on its journeys through France, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy. "coreacea" is the spelling in *A*, whereas *B* and *BAS* have, more correctly, "coriacea". The adjective means "made of leather". In ancient Latin it is very rare. Amm. Marc. 24, 3, 11 and Placitus *Liber Medicinae* (4th cent.?) 17, 20 are the only occurrences of the word mentioned in *Th.L.L.* Note that "coreaceus" (leathern) is something quite different from "factus ex pellibus" here.
- 895 *Ex capite xix Act.* 19,9.
- 899 *Sic ... Stunica* This ironic clause intends to express disdain for the way "occium" and "occiari" are spelled in Stun.'s corresponding section. See Er.' proem, p. 66, l. 134 above, and for the type of irony, p. 126, n.l. 342 above.
- 900 *Senecam Sen. Brev. vit.* 20, 3.
- 901 *sic verti, ut illi...* In 1516 Er. had translated "in schola tyranni cuiusdam", exactly as in the Vg. But the difference is that in the black letter Vg. editions of Er.' time proper names have no capital initials, whereas Er.' *Nov. Instr.*, printed in Roman type, did use capital initials for proper names. So if Er.' "tyranni" was meant as an attempt to leave open the possibility to take it as a proper name (as he states in the final words of this section), this attempt was doomed to failure. In 1519 Er. switched to "Tyranni".
- 902 *facere* There follows no discussion on the meaning of "schola", since Stun. had not criticized the opinion which Er. had expressed with regard to this word. The only object of the sentence "Porro ... occiari" is to ridicule Stun.'s orthography.
- 903 *Eodem ii Act.* 19,24, where Er., following Valla's proposal "aurifex", had replaced "argentarius" by "aurifaber". In the third ed. (1522), no doubt in reaction to Stun.'s criticism, he switched again to "faber argentarius".
- 909 *argentificem* Cf. Varro *Ling. lat.* VIII, 62: "... neque vt aurificem, sic argentificem (dici)".
- 911 *elaborando* Since Stun. had gone on to remark: "et eius opus fuisse dicatur argenteas aedes Dianae fabricare", Er. correctly inferred that Stun. regarded ἀργυροκόπος as related to κοπιᾶω. Er. is of course right in dismissing this etymology: ἀργυροκόπος is related to κόπτω, see P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, I, Paris, 1968, p. 564, s.v. κόπτω. It is strange that in the *Annot. in NT* Er. let the wrong and the correct etymology stand side by side, see *LB* VI, 508 F: "Est enim ἀργυροκόπος, ab elaborando argento dictus, nisi mauiis a κόπτω deducere, vnde et monetam Graeci κόμμα dicunt, πονηροῦ κόμματος". κοπιᾶζω *A* "vox nihili": there is no sufficient evidence that this verb has ever existed, unless as an unacceptable variant reading in, e.g., Pseudo-Longinus 43. In the present passage of Er. it seems to be a conflation of κοπιᾶζω and κοπιᾶω.
- 914 *Eodem iii Act.* 19,35.
- 916 *labor* "I am mistaken", a verb, not a noun, as in *BAS* and *LB*, where the addition of *est* is due to a misunderstanding.
- 917-918 *imaginabar ... virgo* Er. had written: "vox composita est ex νεώς *templum* et *virgo*, quod nomen tribuunt Dianae et Proserpinae". Stun. had rightly pointed out that the etymology given by Er. was incorrect: νεωκόρος derives from κορεῖν, "to sweep out", see P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, I, Paris, 1968, p. 566, s.v. κορέω.
- 918 *Dianam ... poetae* E.g. Hom. *Od.* VI, 109 παρθένος ἄδυής, Eur. *Hipp.* 17 παρθένω, Verg. *Aen.* IV, 511 "virginis Dianae". See *PW* II, 1352, and W.F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands*, Bonn, 1929, p. 105.
- 920 *Hesychius et Suida* Hesych. *Lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, II, Copenhagen, 1966, p. 708: νεωκόρος ὁ τὸν ναὸν κοσμῶν. κορεῖν γὰρ τὸ σαίρειν ἔλεγον, and Suid. *Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, III, Leipzig, 1933, p. 453: Νεωκόρος ὁ τὸν ναὸν κοσμῶν καὶ εὐτρεπιζῶν. These passages had not yet been quoted or referred to by Stun.
- 920-921 *secunda aeditione* Here Er. had replaced "composita est ex νεώς *templum* et κόρη *virgo*" by "composita est ex νεώς, quod Attice sonat *templum*, et κορῶ *purgo* siue *verro*, auctoribus Hesychio, Etymologico, et Suida, vnde acuitur penultima νεωκόρος".

non sensu similiter tribui, nec eandem esse deam, ut suspicatur Stunica, sed Proserpinae attribuitur, ut nomen proprium. Certe Dianae tribuitur virginitas.

925 Porro quod in epilogo colligit Stunica interpretem recte vertisse *cultricem* pro νεωκόρον, idem et ipse comprobaram, qui simili modo verterim; tantum in κόρη scrupulus erat, quem ipse mox deprehendi ac discussi.

EX CAPITE XXIII.

Inuenimus hunc hominem pestiferum. Annoto Graecis esse λοιμόν, hoc esse
930 *pestem*, non quidem damnans quod vertit interpretes, cum ipse vertam eodem modo, sed indicans Graecam figuram, cum Latinis tamen communem, qua pestiferum pestem vocamus et scelerosum scelus dicimus. Atque hoc sensisse me declarat quod addo, *quemadmodum exitialem vocant* ὄλεθρον, id est *exitium*. Hic Stunica multa congerit, ut doceat λοιμόν aliquando sonare
935 pestilentem. Atque hoc ipsum ut docerem indicaui figuram sermonis.

Caeterum nihil erat causae, quare quod legimus in primo psalmo: *et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit*, ceu perperam versum emendaret, legendum docens: *in cathedra pestilentium*. Neque enim consequitur si λοιμός aliquando
940 usurpatur pro homine pestilente, iccirco non multo frequentius sonare pestem.

EX CAPITE XXVII.

Et sublato artemone. In contextu verteram quod verterat interpretes, relinquens
LB 322 vocem qua vsus est Lucas ἀρτέμονα. Nihil igitur hic scrupuli, sed in
945 Annotationibus velut exponens eam vocem interpretor antemna. Hic Stunica contendit artemonem non esse vocem Graecam, sed Latinam, quanquam a Luca Graece loquenti usurpatam, quod iam nouum non sit, cum apud euangelistas legatur δηνάριον, κῆνσον, λέντιον, σικαρίων, κουστωδίαν. Sed ut hoc fortiter asseuerat Stunica, ita nequaquam probat. Cum enim Latini
950 doceant esse machinam tollendis in altum oneribus accommodam, probabile est vocem dictam ab αἴρω siue ἀρτάω idque efficit, ut ego suspicarer esse antemnam, cuius hic vsus est apud nautas, ut hac ceu machina demittant velum aut subrigant. Cumque sensus cogat, ut intelligamus velum expositum ventis, quo maiore impetu nauis illideret in littus, hoc ipsum efficit sublata antemna, cui velum annexum est.

926–927 in κόρη A B BAS: κόρη A*.

929 alt. esse A B: est BAS.

939 iccirco non A B: add. esse verum, quod constat BAS.

942 artemone BAS LB recte: antemone A B CS perperam.

946 loquenti A: loquente B BAS CS.

947 Sed A B: Verum BAS.

923 *similiter tribui* Stun. had written: "Erasmus ... hoc loco lapsus est, primum

- cum dixit κόρη, id est *virginem*, Dianae et Proserpinae tributum, cum sola Proserpina hoc nomine a Graecis vocata fuerit". And some lines further down: "Iulius Pollux ... de festiuitatibus quoque deorum in eodem libro [τοῦ Ὀνομαστικοῦ I] agens Proserpinae festum a Dianae celebritate diiunxit, sic dicens ...".
- 924 *Proserpinae* ... *proprium* For Κόρη, as a proper name of Persephone, see Liddell-Scott, *s.v.* Κόρη, B.
virginitas See p. 159, n.l. 918 above.
- 928 *Ex capite xxiii Act.* 24,5.
- 931 *Graecam figuram* Metonymy.
- 932 *pestem* E.g. Cic. *Fam.* X, 28, 1: "adhuc viuuit haec pestis", of Marc Antony.
scelus E.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2, 1, 15, §40: "O scelus! O portentum in vltimas terras exportandum!", of Verres. *Pestis* and *scelus* are very common terms of abuse in classical Latin, see I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter*, Heidelberg, 1965, Index.
- 933 ἄλεθρον See the examples in Liddell-Scott, *s.v.*, II.
- 937 *emendaret* Stun. had quoted, *inter alia*, *Ps.* 1,1c LXX, καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδρᾳ λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν, in order to demonstrate that λοιμός could mean "pestiferus, pestilens". Consequently, the verse had to be interpreted as meaning "Et in cathedra pestilentium non sedit", thus Stun. He had not proposed, as Er. would seem to suggest, to alter the text of the Vg., which has "... cathedra pestilentiae ...".
- 938-940 *Neque ... pestem* Here Er. is clearly mistaken. As Stun. observed, the LXX, on which the Vg. text of *Pss.* is based, has a peculiar use of λοιμός as an adjective (see Hatch-Redpath, and also Liddell-Scott, *s.v.*, II). This adjective occurs too frequently, also in the plural, to be considered any more as a figure of speech: it is no longer a metonymy of the type *pestis pro homine pestifero*. Where this is the case, as in *Ps.* 1,1, λοιμός is better translated as *pestiferus* than as *pestis*.
- 941 *Ex capite xxvii Act.* 27,40.
- 942 *sublato* This is a slip of Er.' pen: the Vg. has "Et leuato artemone". In the *Nov. Instr.* Er. had left this unaltered, but with the annotation: "id est, sublata antemna". Hence *sublato*.
- 943 ἀρτέμονα This is the reading of the *textus receptus*. Critical editions have ἀρτέμωνα, which is perhaps more correct, since for new Hellenistic words in -ων like ἀρτέμων, a simple flexion was naturally adopted instead of a strong flexion, see Moulton-Howard II, p. 136.
- 945 *non ... Graecam, sed Latinam* Stun. had borrowed this hypothesis, without acknowledgement, from Ant. Nebrissensis, *Tertia quinquagena*, chap. 2 (also in *Critici sacri*), together with the evidence, e.g. the references to Vittr. and Iavolenus (see below). Nebrissensis' and Stun.'s view is probably incorrect. The word is genuinely Greek, but of late origin. In Greek it is only attested in *Act.* 27,40. See P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, I, Paris, 1968, *s.v.* ἀρτέμων: "On pourrait penser à un dérivé de ἀρτέομαι, 'être arrangé' ... Mais ... il vaut mieux penser à ἀρτάω, 'suspendre', (p.-ē. avec une forme ionienne en -έω), ce qui pourrait convenir à la voile, et mieux encore prouver que ce mot servait d'appareil de levage". Cf. A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, I, Paris, 1951, *s.v.* artemo: "Vitruve 10,2,9, donne le mot pour latin, ... Néanmoins, il est probable que artemō, comme un grand nombre de termes nautiques, est emprunté au gr. ἀρτέμων, de ἀρτέω, comme ἡγέμων de ἡγέομαι".
- 946 *loquenti* The form of the abl. betrays that *Graece loquenti* is taken as an adj.; cf. *patienti*, p. 196, l. 556. But B switched to *loquente*.
- 947 *δηγάριον ... κουστωδίαν* The first four examples had been quoted by Stun. from *Mc.* 12,15; *Mc.* 12,14; *Iob.* 13,4; *Act.* 21,38. Er. himself presently adds the fifth example, taken from *Mt.* 27,65-66 and 28,11. See also p. 84, ll. 490-492.
- 948 *Latini* Vittr. X, 2, 9: "in radice polyspasti machinae conlocatur tertia troclea, eam autem Graeci ἐπάγοντα, nostri artemonem appellant".
- 950 ἀρτάω An excellent guess; cf. P. Chantraine, quoted in the n.l. 945 above.
- 951 *antennam* "Sail-yard". Cf. *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae, ASD* I, 4, p. 225: "Artemon est velum amplissimum in nauī. Siue antenna". For this latter explanation, and similar but slightly different explanations, see Chantraine, quoted above ("appareil de levage") and K. Lake and H.J. Cadbury, in: K. Lake and F.J. Foakes Jackson, *Beginnings of Christianity*, I, iv, London, 1933, p. 338 ("foresail" or "forward mast").
- apud nautas* For similar references to contemporary practices, see pp. 156-158, ll. 891-893 and p. 162, ll. 966-967.

955 Sed ex his quae citat Stunica satis liquet iureconsultis artemonem non esse antemnam, quae utique pars naui est, non minus quam malus. At fieri potuit ut Lucas eam vocem ad antemnam deflexerit, quae adeo similis est machinae qua tollunt onera nauigiis imponenda aut eximenda, ut hodie fere non alias adhibeant machinas quam antemnas.

960 Hic tandem diffusus omnibus Graecorum ac Latinorum codicibus arbitratur legendum pro *artemonem*: *antemonem*, quod Perottus Sipontinus scripserit *antemonem* esse *velum quod potest facilius obliquari et quo nautae in summo tempestatis discrimine vtuntur*; et tamen huic quoque diffusus quod *nullum citat* autorem, qua quidem in re nimium saepe peccat vir ille, alioqui pulchre doctus, *studiosis*
965 *delegat hac de re diligentius inquirendi* prouinciam. Mihi non videtur esse mutanda scriptura; cum enim constet artemonem esse machinam paratam subleuandis oneribus, et ad eandem rem nautae vtantur antemnis, non video quur absurdum sit hic pro antemna positum. Quod si velum est artemon, ut interpretatur Beda, conueniet ut intelligamus velum antemnae affixum, quod
970 facillime circunducitur. Sunt enim et alia vela, quae funibus tendantur, non antemna.

EODEM II.

Quosdam super ea, quae erant de naui. Quoniam ante dixerat quosdam in tabulis peruenisse in terram, ac mox subiicit: *quosdam super ea, quae erant de naui,*
975 cum et tabulae fuerint de naui, aut addendum erat: super alia quaedam, quae erant ex naui, aut aliquid ponendum quod esset peculiare naui. Nos igitur verteramus: *fragmenta nauis*. Stunica negat nauem fuisse fractam. Imo Paulus ait *puppim solutam a vi maris*. Neque quicquam vetat remos, antemnam, artemonem, foros et huiusmodi *fragmenta nauis* vocari, quae naui etiam non
980 fracta solent esse praesidio in naufragiis. Nec mihi displicisset quod interpretatur Stunica, ut accipiamus de *vasis* et instrumentis nauticis, nisi obstitisset scrupulus quem indicaui.

EX EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS.

De filio suo, qui factus est ei. Cum Graece sit γενομένου, Laurentius tamen
985 *manult genitus quam factus*, atque subindico γενομένου Graecis non proprie sonare genitum cum aio: *certe genitus esset, si scriptum fuisset γεννηθείς*. Sed quur igitur, inquit, vertis *qui fuit genitus*? Quia *factus* dure sonabat Latinis auribus, praesertim cum sensus sit eum coepisse esse hominem in tempore ex genere Dauid, qui ante omnia tempora Deus erat ex Deo. Porro quisquis
990 nascitur, iuxta carnem esse incipit. Graecam igitur vocem non exacte reddidi, sed tamen a sensu non recessi. Certe Augustinus in libro aduersus Faustum xi, capite iiii, docet in nonnullis codicibus pro *factus* scriptum fuisse *natus*. Nam id obiter carpit Stunica, quod *cum Valla* tantum posuisset *genitus*, ego de meo adieceram: *aut natus*.

958 fere *A BAS*: vere *B CS*.

979 *artemonem scripsi*: *temonem A B BAS*

LB CS.

987 *vertis A' B BAS*: *vertit A**.

955 *quae citat* Viz. Iauolenus (*fl.* 100 A.D.), in *Dig.* 50, 16, 242: "malum nauis esse partem, artemonem autem non esse Labeo [the famous teacher of law in the time of Augustus] ait, quia pleraeque naues sine malo inuitiles essent ideoque pars nauis habetur, artemo autem magis adiectamento quam pars nauis est".

960-961 *arbitratur legendum* The grounds for Stun.'s conjecture were (1) that the context required a word for "sail" and (2) that *artemo*, according to Vittr. X, 2, 9, did not mean "sail" but "hoisting-apparatus".

961 *Perottus Sipontinus* Niccolo Perotti (1430-1480), author of *Cornucopiae*, a bulky encyclopedic commentary on Martial, first published, after Perotti's death, at Venice in 1489, often reprinted and used as a kind of thesaurus; see Allen, *Ep.* 117, n.l. 42. See e.g. the Aldine ed., Venice, 1513, col. 760, ll. 22-24: "antemon velum est, quod potest facilius obliquari, quo nautae in summo tempestatis discrimine vtuntur".

961-963 *artemonem ... vtuntur* Quoted by Er. from Stun.

963-965 *nullum ... inquirendi* Stun. had written: "Nullum quippe citat testimonium quo suam sententiam fulcire videatur [*sc.* Perottus]. Quaerant igitur diligentius hac de re s. literarum studiosi". In the *Tb.L.L.* "antemo(n)" does not occur.

969 *Beda* In the Ordinary Gloss, see *Biblia sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria*, Paris, 1590, VI, ad *Act.* 27,40: "Artemo: modicum velum, directioni nauis potius accommodatum quam celeritati. Beda".

972 *Eodem ii Act.* 27,44.

973 *ante dixerat* Also in 27,44.

977 *fragmenta nauis* In Er.' translation v. 44 runs: "Coeterique partim in tabulis, partim in quibusdam nauis fragmentis, et sic factum est, vt omnes incolumes euaderent in terram". The words "in quibusdam nauis fragmentis" stand for ἐπί τῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου.

Stunica negat Stun. had claimed that τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου were not the wreckage of the ship, but cases, casks and barrels which had belonged to the cargo. Stun. believed that the centurion had given orders that those who could not swim should try to get to land on pieces of the cargo thrown overboard for that purpose.

978 *Paulus A* mistake for "Lucas". The reference is to *Act.* 27,41.

979 *artemonem* All editions read "temonem", but "temo" is only used of the beam or pole of a plough, carriage or cart.

981 *vasis* Stun. had spoken of "dolia et caetera id genus vasa", but had not spoken at all of "instrumenta nautica" as mentioned by Er.

983 *Ex epistola ad Romanos Rom.* 1,3.

984 *Laurentius* In the *Annot.* of 1516 Er. had written, *inter alia*: "Laurentius Valla [*Annot. in NT, ad loc.*] mauult *genitus* aut *natus* quam *factus*". Er. himself had translated "qui *genitus* fuit". Stun. felt that only "factus" was correct.

987 *vertis* That this reading is preferable to the reading "vertit" of *A** appears, apart from the testimony of the textual witnesses, from Er.' expression "Quur igitur maluisti" in the section on *Rom.* 7,3 below, p. 168, l. 94.

988 *sensus* Viz., of the Greek text.

989 *Deus ... ex Deo* Cf. the *Symbolum Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum*: "Credimus ... in vnum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei, natum ex Patre ante omnia saecula, Deum verum de Deo vero, natum, non factum ...". Certain witnesses insert, after "saecula": "Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine". H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, Freiburg, 1957³¹, no. 86; see also nos. 13 and 54.

989-990 *Porro ... incipit* This sentence seems to be a condensed form of the following train of thought. The Greek says that Jesus was born (γενόμενος). Now, whoever is born (quisquis nascitur) begins to be according to the flesh. But beginning to be according to the flesh is the same as being brought forth or being begotten, in Latin "esse genitum". Consequently, "qui genitus fuit" is a correct translation of γενόμενος.

991 *Augustinus* Aug. *Contra Faustum* XI, 4, Migne *PL* 42, 248: "Etsi enim in quibusdam latinis exemplaribus non legitur *factus*, sed *natus* ex semine Dauid, cum graeca *factus* habeant, vnde non ad verbum, sed ad sententiam transferre voluit dicendo *natum*, latinus interpret".

993-994 *cum Valla ... natus* Stun. had written: "Et cum Valla dicat Graece potius esse *genitus*, *natus* illi Erasmus adiecit".

995 Indicaram et *pronomen* quod habetur in Latinis codicibus, in nullis Graecis
 LB 323 addi. Stunica indicat *nec in antiquissimis Latinorum* addi. Atque hinc colligit me
 cum in consulendis vetustis exemplaribus *euangeliorum diligens* fuerim, in
 coeteris *raro aut numquam videri consuluisse*. Imo in coeteris longe fui diligentior,
 1000 sed plura sunt euangeliorum exemplaria vetusta quam coeterorum, siquidem
 in epistolis apostolicis quum primum aederetur Nouum Testamentum vnicum
 mihi aderat exemplar, sed venerandae antiquitatis mireque castigatum. Quod
 cum frequenter a me citetur in Annotationibus, demiror quur hic Stunica
 meam desiderat diligentiam.

EODEM II.

5 *Qui est benedictus. Ob rudiores verto: laudandus*, nam vulgus putat benedicere
 mouere manum ad spetiem crucis, aut bene praecari. Miror, inquit Stunica,
 quinam sint illi rudes quos *offendisset benedictus*. Non erat periculum ne
 offenderentur, verum ne non intelligerent quod sensit Paulus. Sed Graecis,
 inquit Stunica, εὐλογεῖν est benedicere, non laudare, et εὐλογητός benedic-
 10 tus, non laudandus. Hoc perinde est ac si dicas: εὐπαθεῖν Graecis est bene
 pati, non beneficio affici. An cum toties dicimus: *benedicite, omnia opera
 Domini, Dominum*, non intelligimus laudem opificis ex rebus conditis?

Bellum autem quod vt probet εὐλογητός sonare benedictum, adducit illud:
benedictus Dominus, Deus Israel, quasi nesciamus aut negemus sexcentis locis sic
 15 verti εὐλογητός in sacris litteris. At nos agebamus quid benedictus sonaret iis
 qui Latine loquuntur. Optarim quidem benedictus in hunc sensum esse
 Latinum.

EX CAPITE II.

Si autem tu Iudaeus. Ostenderam in Graecis duplicem esse lectionem, in aliis
 20 εἰ δέ, id est, *si vero*, in aliis ἰδέ, id est, *ecce*. Pronunciatione altera ab altera non
 distinguitur, sed scriptura. Posteriorem magis probo, quod mollius coheret
 cum eo quod sequitur. Stunica mauult priorem, citans Origenem e cuius verbis
 Latine versis non satis liquet quid legerit, ex Athanasii verbis multo minus.
 Nam hoc titulo subinde adducit Theophylactum quo sibi mire placet, quod is
 25 autor nuper exisset nouus Latine versus. Ac fefellit quidem Stunicam titulus
 falso additus. Sed cum ingens discrimen sit inter phrasim Athanasii, viri apud
 Graecos ad miraculum vsque facundi, et huius, mirum est hominem tam in
 ceteris nasutum, vt sibi videtur, hoc non sensisse, cumque passim a nobis
 citetur nomine Vulgarii, non animaduertisse eundem esse quem ego
 30 Vulgarium appellarem, ipse Athanasium, praesertim cum aliquoties ex eo
 versus aliquot adducam Graece.

995 pronomen *A B*: pronomen ei *BAS*; nullis
 scripsi cum *Er.* in annotatione qua hunc locum in
 ed. *pr. illustravit*: multis *A B BAS CS LB*.

3 desiderat *A B*: desideret *BAS*.
 21 coheret *A B*: cohaereat *BAS*.
 28 cumque *A B*: Cum *BAS*.

- 31 *Graece A B: add.* Post nactus Graeci voluminis copiam reperi in contextu scrip-
- 995 *pronomen Sc. "ei"*. It was added in *BAS*.
- 995-996 *in nullis Graecis addi* This observation is correct, at least so far as we know at present.
- 996 *nec ... Latinorum* Stun. had written: "neque in Latinorum antiquissimis codicibus inuenitur". This statement is incorrect. The testimony of the early Vg. mss. is divided: some mss. have it, others do not. The same applies to the modern critical editions: Wordsworth-White include it in their text, with the Amiatinus and Fuldensis. The Stuttgart Vg. has it only in the crit. app. See these editions.
- 997-998 *euangeliorum ... consuluisset* Stun. had written: "quos [sc. Latinorum antiquos codices] Erasmus cum diligenter in euangeliis conspexisset, raro aut nunquam in reliquis N.T. libris consuluisset videtur".
- 1000-1 *unicum ... exemplar* For the Vg. mss. Er. used for the 1st ed., see his preface to the *Annot.* of 1516 (= Ep. 373, ll. 17-21): "[Nouum Testamentum recognouimus ...] ad fidem vetustissimorum Latinae linguae codicum, quorum duos exhibuit eximius ille diuinae philosophiae mystes Ioannes Coletus, Paulinae apud Londinum ecclesiae Decanus, adeo priscis litterarum typis vt mihi ab integro discenda fuerit lectio et in noscitantibus elementis fuerit repuerascendum". These two Vg. mss. of St. Paul's have not yet been identified. They may have perished. See J. Wordsworth, in: *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, I, Oxford, 1883, pp. 51-52. For another reference to the same mss. see *Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*, LB IX, 766F: "Habui duos codices vetustissimos ex bibliotheca collegii quod est Londini sacrum diuo Paulo. Ex his quam multa restitui?". Only one of the two mss. contained the gospels, see *Annot.*, ad Mt. 4,10 "in vetustissimo codice ex bibliotheca Paulina apud Londinum", and ad Mt. 7,14 "in Paulino codice ... scriptum erat ..."; the other contained the epistles, see next n.
- 2 *citetur* E.g. ad Rom. 4,5: "In codice peruesto, cuius copiam fecit Joannes Coletus e Paulina bibliotheca, non erant in contextu [sc. the words: *secundum propositum gratiae Dei*, at the end of v. 5] sed diuersa ac recentiore manu in ima margine adiecta". Further references to the ms. occur ad Rom. 4,9; 14,9; 1 Cor. 1,10, 14, and 20, and really *passim*.
- 4 *Eodem ii Rom.* 1,25.
- 7 *Non erat...* Here begins Er.' reply.
- 11-12 *benedicite ... Dominum Dn.* 3,57, belonging to the *Benedicite* (vv. 35-66), one of the canticles frequently used in liturgical worship; see *ODCC*, s.v. *Benedicite*.
- 13 *benedictum Sic*, in the accusative.
- 14 *benedictus ... Israel Lc.* 1,68, first line of the *Benedictus* or Song of Zacharias, sung liturgically at Lauds; see *ODCC*, s.v. *Benedictus*.
- 15 16 *in sacris ... Latine ...* The distinction is quite characteristic: the main object of Er.' translation of the N.T. was "vt casto puroque sermone tradatur" (LB VI, fo **4r^o), and this for the sake of clarity and intelligibility (ibid.). Cf. p. 204, n.l. 670 below.
- 18 *Ex capite ii Rom.* 2,17. Here the Byzantine text reads ἰδε, but the Egyptian and Western texts εἰ δέ. Er. had chosen ἰδε and translated accordingly.
- 21-22 *mollius ... sequitur* See Blass-Debrunner, §467, n. 2.
- 22 *Origenem Comm. in Rom.* II, 11, ad loc., Migne PG 14, 895 C: "Primo namque hoc obseruandum est, quod non dixit de eo: Si autem tu Iudaeus es, sed Iudaeus cognominaris, ...", quoted by Stun. The passage clearly proves that Orig.'s reading was εἰ δέ. But Er. maintains that it proves nothing, since "si autem" may be an erroneous translation of ἰδε, wrongly read as εἰ δέ through iotacism or owing to the translator's being accustomed to "si autem".
- 23 *Athanasii* That is, Theophylact, *Expositio in Ep. ad Rom.* 2,17, quoted by Stun. as follows: "Nam si vel praeceptor sis, quae vero sunt legis non egeris, nil prodest, quin exhibet maioris cruciatum occasionem". The Greek (Migne PG 124, 373 A) reads: ὅτι καὶ διδάσκαλος εἶ, μὴ πρᾶττης δὲ τὰ τοῦ νόμου, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ὠφελῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μειζόνως κολάζῃ. From "si" (for καὶ) Stun. had inferred that in *Rom.* 2,17, Athanasius had read εἰ δέ.
- 24-25 *Theophylactum ... versus* See p. 131, n.l. 437. The recent translation alluded to by Er. is that by Persona, Rome, 1477; cf. pp. 192-193, n.l. 493.
- 29 *Vulgarium* See p. 92, n.l. 643 above.
- 31 *Graece* The Greek ms. of Theophylact's commentary on Paul mentioned in *BAS* (see crit. app.) is that of the Dominicans at Basle. See pp. 192-193, n.l. 493.

EX CAPITE III.

Si autem iniquitas nostra iusticiam Dei. Cum in Graecis sit gratia vocis affinis repetitae, ἀδικία δικαιοσύνην, ne eam perderemus, vertimus: *si iniusticia*
 35 *nostra Dei iusticiam constituit.* Stunica sic agit quasi damnarim verbum *iniquitatis*, etiamsi putem hic *iusticiam* accipi pro generali iusticia, quae viros bonos reddat. Nam Iudaei iustos vocant probos, sanctos et integros.

Stunica docet συνίστησι non male verti posse *commendat*, quemadmodum et ipse verito alicubi. Quod docet Stunica, idem doceo in secunda aeditione plane
 40 confitens mihi non displicere quod vertit interpret. *Constituit* autem dictum est pro stabilit ac fulcit confirmatque. Nam hoc sonare συνίστησι, paulo post docet Origenes ipse.

EX CAPITE V.

Peccatum autem non imputabatur. Graece sic habet: ἀμαρτία δὲ οὐκ ἐλλογεῖται
 45 μὴ ὄντος νόμου. Quod ita verito: *porro peccatum non imputatur, cum non est*
 LB 324 *lex.* Cum omnes Graeci codices consentiant, tamen | Stunica putat esse mendum et pro ἐλλογεῖται verbo praesentis temporis scribendum ἐλλογεῖτο
 50 verbum praeteriti imperfecti temporis. Hoc autem argumento mouetur, quod, vt ait homo perspicax, deprehendit *ex ipso dicendi modo.* *Interpres*, inquit, vertit *imputabatur*, non facturus si scriptum fuisset ἐλλογεῖται. Quid si quod scriptum est ab interprete deprauatum fuit a scribis? Bellum erit vero, si praepostere Graecam lectionem e Latina castigabimus, hoc est, si iuxta Graecorum prouerbium *currus bouem aget.*

Sed quicquid legit interpret, certe non hoc legit quod posuit Stunica
 55 ἐλλογεῖτο, quam vocem nemo Graece peritus agnoscet. Etenim cum ἐλλογοῦμαι componatur a praepositione ἐν et -λογέομαι, intercedente vocali augmenti, repetendum erat ν, quod ante versum erat in λ, ac dicendum ἐνελογεῖτο, quemadmodum in ἐκκόπτω ἐξέκοπτον, ἐμμένω ἐνέμεινα, ἐκκρούω ἐξέκρουον. Id cum pueris quoque sit notum qui nuper coeperunt Graece discere, demiror non
 60 venisse in mentem Stunicae, qui in praefatione tam magnifice praedicauit se rebus omnibus instructum ad hoc opus accessisse. Sed ille me monuit alicubi, vt *meminerim me hominem esse.* Tametsi memorem monet, ego illum vicissim hic admoneo meminerit se non esse Deum. Nam ille contumeliam existimat quod alicubi dissentiens ab Hieronymo dixerim illum *hominem esse.*

65 Verum vt ad rem redeam, nihil est quod hic offendat verbum praesentis temporis, etiamsi sermo accommodetur ad tempus praeteritum. Nam praesens sic positum est, vt ad quoduis tempus pertineat: *peccatum non imputatur, si lex non sit*, hoc est, non solet aut non debet imputari, quemadmodum dicimus: non auditur actor nisi presente reo.

- 32 *Ex capite iii Rom.* 3,5.
- 35 *Stunica sic agit* Stun. had only observed that, since righteousness consisted in equity, *iniquitas* was a correct translation of ἀδικία.
- 36 *iusticiam* By this *iusticia* Er. does not mean the *iusticia Dei* mentioned in the present clause. He means the *iusticia* indirectly referred to in his term *iniusticia nostra*, so the righteousness of man.
generali iusticia In the *Annot.* on *Rom.* 4,9 (*LB VI*, 578 E-F), Er. called this the “*vniversa virtus*”, virtuousness in everyday life, as opposed to the special *iustitia* consisting in “*innocentia quae contingit gratuita condonatione peccatorum*”. A distinction between *iustitia generalis* and *specialis* is also made by Thomas Aquinas (e.g., *Comm. in Ep. ad Phil.*, ad 3,9, and elsewhere), but differently. Cf. R.J. Deferrari a.o., *Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas*, n.p., 1948, s.v. *iustitia* d; L. Schütz, *Thomas-Lexikon*, Stuttgart, 1958, s.v. *iustitia* 4.
- 38 συνίστησι In 1516 Er. had translated this as “constituit”. In 1519 he added a note running: “*Quamquam et commendat recte vertit*” illustrated by the synonyms of συνιστάειν given by Hesychius.
- 39 *alicubi* In *Rom.* 5,8, “*vbi Erasmus pro συνίστησι commendat, vt vetus interpres traduxit*”, as Stun. had pointedly remarked.
- 41–42 *paulo post ... ipse* Stun. had quoted a passage from Orig. *Comm. in Rom.*, ad 3,5, Migne PG 14, 923 B–C, to demonstrate that Orig. had interpreted συνίστημι as “*probabilioem facio*”, “*comprobo*”. From this, Stun. had concluded that the Vg. had correctly translated “*commendat*”. Er. presently objects that, somewhat further down in the same commentary, ad 3,31, Migne PG 14, 957 B, one finds “*statuimus, hoc est: confirmamus*”.
- 43 *Ex capite v Rom.* 5,13.
- 46 *omnes ... consentiant* We now have more information. The original reading of Codex Sinaiticus is ἐνελογεῖτο, and ἐλλογεῖτο occurs in at least three Greek mss., not to speak of other variants here. See the crit. app. in Von Soden. But ἐλλογεῖται is certainly correct.
- 49 *ex ... modo* Thus Stun. By this he had meant: “*Loquitur enim Apostolus semper de praeterito a principio istius clausulae*”.
- 50–51 *Quid ... scribis* An excellent conjecture: the original reading of the Vg. is indeed: “*peccatum autem non imputatur cum lex non est*”, see Wordsworth-White and the Stuttgart Vg. But many mss. and early printed editions read *im-* or *imputabatur* instead of *imputatur* and *esset* instead of *est*. On the basis of the Greek ἐλλογεῖται Er. wanted to read *imputatur* in his translation, supposing that this might also have been the reading of the Vg.
- 53 *prouerbiū Sc.* ἀμαζα τὸν βοῦν ἔλκει. Leutsch-Schneidewin I, p. 219; II, pp. 100, 170, 278. Er. *Adag.* 628 “*Plaustrum bouem trahit*”, *LB II*, 273 A: “*De re quae praepostere geritur*”.
- 57 ἐνελογεῖτο In certain cases the augment is put at the beginning of the compound, e.g. ἐπροφήτευσα (Blass-Debrunner, § 69), but in ἐλλογεῖται it would naturally fall after the preposition, as in ἀπελογεῖτο, *Act.* 26,1.
- 60 *in praefatione* Quoted by Er. in his proem, see p. 70, ll. 192–198 above.
- 61 *alicubi* In his section on 1 *Tim.* 4,3: “*meminerit se imposterum Erasmus hominem esse et facile vel errare vel memoriola, qua nihil in humanis fragilius est, posse vacillare*”.
- 62 *memorem monet* See p. 226, l. 25, with the n.
- 64 *alicubi ... hominem esse* In his *Annot.* on *Mt.* 26,31 Er. had written of Jerome: “*quem vt fateor virum fuisse summa doctrina, pari eloquentia, incomparabili sanctimonia, ita hominem fuisse non possum diffiteri*”. Stun. had taken this passage very much amiss and had shown himself outraged at this “*temeraria prouocatio*”.
- 67–68 *peccatum ... sit* This is still another new translation by Er. himself.
- 69 *non ... reo* I cannot find the source of this dictum, if there was any and if Er. did not formulate the phrase himself. My thanks are due to Prof. R. Feenstra (Leiden) for his attempts to trace the maxim in ancient and mediaeval legal texts (unfortunately without success) and for drawing my attention to John M. Kelly’s article *Audi alteram partem*, *Natural Law Forum* 9 (1964), pp. 103–110. Searching for the extremely scarce evidence for the existence of a written legal principle of the tenor “*audi alteram partem*”, Kelly quotes *inter alia* the opening sentence of Lucifer of Cagliari’s *De S. Athanasio liber I* (c. 358; ed. G. Hartel, *CSEL* 14, p. 66; ed. G.F. Diercks, *CCSL* 8, p. 3): “*Cogis nos, Constanti, absentem damnare consacerdotem nostrum ..., sed diuina id facere prohibemur lege ... An diuinitus poteris asserere permissum, absentem, inauditum ... damnari?*”. This passage presupposes the notion contained in Er.’s maxim. But Kelly demonstrates that “*audi*

- 70 Proinde si interpres vertit *imputabatur* aut si eodem modo loquantur interpretes, respicientes ad tempus quo nondum erat data lex Mosaica, non est quod miremur aut Graecam mutemus scripturam. Et magis suspicor scripturam in nostris codicibus fuisse vitiatam, siquidem in vno codice vetustissimo quem nobis exhibuit collegium Sancti Donatiani Brugis, scriptum erat: *quum*
75 *lex non est*, ex quo coniectare licet scriptum fuisse *lex non imputatur*.

EODEM II.

- Sicut enim per inobedientiam vnus*. Cum ad sensum nihil referret siue legas *κατεστήθησαν*, id est, *constituti sunt*, siue *κατεστήθημεν*, *constituti fuimus*, id
80 *Aldina*.

Sed sequitur in proxima parte *καταστήσονται*, id est, *constituentur*. Non est nouum in Paulo variari personam et magis quadrat, vt quod erat odiosius Paulus in suam personam transtulerit, quod plausibilius in aliorum.

EX CAPITE VI.

- 85 *Finem autem vitam aeternam*. Hic est euidens *Erasmi hallucinatio*, si credimus elencho Stunicae. Nam in contextu pro *finem*, scriptum erat *fructum*. Imo hic est euidens incuria typographi. Nam qua fronte hoc mihi impingat Stunica, cum in Annotationibus citem vt vertit interpres, neque taxem aliquid in ea dictione, neque de *fructu* verbum vllum faciam? Denique putetur hoc esse
90 meum, nisi viderit in secunda aeditione mutatum.

EX CAPITE VII.

- Igitur viuente viro adultera vocabitur*. Quod vertit *vocabitur*, Graece est *χρηματίσει*. Nos vertimus *iudicabitur*. Stunica dicit et sic posse verti, vt vertit
95 interpres. Id nos non negamus. Quir igitur maluisti *iudicabitur*? Quia
LB 325 videbam *χρηματίζεσθαι* Graecis esse ius dicere, aut consultum respondere, vnde *χρηματισμός* | oraculum aut principis edictum. Cum igitur hic sentiat illam sic vocandam iudicum sententiis, malui *iudicabitur* quam *vocabitur*, quamquam *χρηματίζω* voce actiua pro vocor nusquam legi nisi hic apud Paulum.

72 aut Graecam A B: aut quur Graecam B.AS.

75 imputatur A: add. Quin et illud pro nobis facit, quod in Graeco sermone non additur articulus, *μη ὄντος νόμου*, vt quemadmodum ὄντος ad quoduis tempus pertinet, ita νόμου ad quamuis legem referatur, non solum ad Mosaicam. B B.AS.

78 *κατεστήθησαν* A B: *κατεστάθησαν* B.AS; *κατεστήθημεν* A B: *κατεστάθημεν* B.AS.

97 illam sic vocandam B B.AS: illum sic vocandum A.

98–99 quamquam ... Paulum. A: Porro quod *χρηματίσει* noue vsurpatum est voce actiua, proprietas [h.l. B.AS addit: est] Graeci sermonis, qui sic dicunt: *ἐχρημάτισε ῥήτωρ*,

pro eo quod est habebatur rhetor, aut profitebatur rhetorem, quemadmodum Latini dicunt: audit pater, audit philosophus, pro eo quod est vocatur pater, habe-

tur philosophus. Et huius rei submonuit Hieronymus Aleander, ne quem sua laude fraudemus. *B.B.A.S.*

alteram partem” and its variants represent in fact an idea of instinctual or natural justice, a maxim of popular wisdom, not a rule of written law. However, in the 15th and 16th centuries the adage “audiatur altera pars” or some variant of it was found on the walls of many court-rooms and town-halls (G. Büchmann, *Geflügelte Worte*, Berlin, 1967³¹, pp. 588–589). Interestingly this was also the case at Gouda: the main-entrance to the 15th-century town hall of Gouda is crowned by the inscription “Audite et alteram partem”, and was so probably as early as Er.’ time (G.C. Helbers, in: *Zevende Verzameling Bijdragen van de Oudheidkundige Kring Die Goude*, Gouda, 1952, p. 146). Er. can have seen it there. Yet it should be noticed that τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροῦσθαι was already an official rule in classical Athenian law, see Lucian. *Calumn.* 8; Pseudo-Plato *Demodocus* 383b; Leutsch-Schneidewin II, p. 759; Büchmann, *loc. cit.*).

72–73 *suspīcor ... vitiatam* This surmise is perfectly right, see next n.

73–74 *codice ... Brugis* For his third ed. of the *Nov. Test.* Er. used five Latin mss. of the N.T. belonging to the College of St. Donatian at Bruges, where he was in August 1521 (Allen, introd. Ep. 1223). For these mss., see *Annot., ad Mt.* 1,18 and 3,16. They have not yet been identified. From the reference to the Bruges ms. it appears that the present passage was written in September 1521; cf. Introduction, p. 46.

75 *lex non imputatur* A slip of the pen for “peccatum non imputatur”.

76 *Eodem ii Rom.* 5,19.

78 *κατεστήθησαν ... κατεστήθημεν* The spelling -στήθ- is a slip for -στάθ-. The first and second edd. of the *Nov. Test.* have *καθεστάθημεν* (*sic*), which Stun., in quoting Er.’ Greek in his corresponding section, had silently corrected into *κατεστάθημεν*, a reading for which Von Soden lists the Leicester codex (min. 69) as the only witness. Er.’ impossible reading *καθεστάθημεν* can easily be explained: the ms. which served as his printer’s copy, now Gregory no. 2 ^{ap+pa^u}, Basle, Univ. Libr., IV.4 (cf. p. 131, n.l. 433 above), has *καθεστήκαμεν*. Guided by the reading *κατεστάθησαν* of

other mss., some corrector changed the ending -ήκαμεν into -άθημεν, but he forgot to correct *καθ-* into *κατ-*.

80 *Aldina* The Greek text of the Aldine N.T., Venice, 1518, is nothing but a reprint of Er.’ own text of 1516. No wonder that the Aldine has the same misreading *καθεστάθημεν* (*sic*) as Er. in 1516 and 1519. But Er. never became aware of the true relationship between Aldina and *Nov. Instr.* See S.P. Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek N.T.*, London, 1854, p. 27.

82 *variari personam* Er. owed his sensitiveness to the frequent change of persons in Paul (a stock topic in his exegesis of Paul) to Origen; see the latter’s *Comm. in Rom.*, Migne PG 14, Index analyticus, s.v. “Personas diuersas subito et latenter introducit et immutat”, and A. Godin, *Fonction d’Origène dans la pratique exégétique d’Erasmus ...*, in: O. Fatio and P. Fraenkel, *Histoire de l’exégèse au XVI^e siècle*, Genève, 1978, pp. 17–44, esp. pp. 19–20.

84 *Ex capite vi Rom.* 6,22.

85 *Erasmī hallucinatio* This is the marginal note to Stun.’s corresponding section.

86 *fructum* This word occurs four words back in the same verse. It had been repeated by mistake.

90 *secunda* In 1519 *fructum* was corrected into *finem*.

91 *Ex capite vii Rom.* 7,3.

95 *χρηματίζεσθαι* This seems to be a mistake for *χρηματίζειν*, since *Rom.* 7,3 has the active, not the middle, and “ius dicere” is one of the meanings of the active (Liddell-Scott, s.v., 1, 52).

95–96 *consultum respondere* Not in *Th.L.L.*, s.v. *consultum*, nor in H. Heumann and E. Seckel, *Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts*, Jena, 1907⁹, but the phrase must mean “to pronounce one’s judgement”, or: “to give an advice as a legal expert”, cf. “ius repondere”, “to give one’s opinion”, frequently of jurists.

97 *iudicum sententiis* Er. is mistaken: in Hellenistic Greek the active *χρηματίζω* can mean “to be called” without any juridical connotation (see next n.). Later Fr. rightly switched from “iudicabitur” to “vocabitur” (= Vg.).

98 *nusquam legi* This simply means that Er.

100 Ridiculum autem quod Stunica suspicatur me putasse χρηματίσει a κρῖμα ductum esse, non a χρῆμα, quasi nesciam differentiam inter χ et κ, inter η et ι. Citius suspicarer Stunicam a stiua dictum. Huiusmodi scilicet annotationibus respondet illis magnificis suis promissis ac gloriosarum praefationum fumis.

105

EX CAPITE VIII.

In quo clamamus: Abba, Pater. Hic rursus impingo ad eundem lapidem, quod pro Syra voce dixerim *Hebraicam*. Et in secunda aeditione ex autoritate Hieronymi testor esse vocem Syram *Abba*.

Coeterum quod addit Stunica me suspicari ὁ πατήρ non aliter esse quam
110 *nominandi casu* accipiendum, plane calumniatur. Etenim si interpretandi gratia additum est ὁ πατήρ, nominandi casus erit. Sin erit ἀναδίπλωσις affectui seruiens, vocatiui casus erit. Et vtrumque modum nos posuimus, quod dissimulat Stunica venans occasionem aliquid arrodendi.

EODEM II.

115 *Quos autem iustificauit, illos et magnificauit.* Quod Graece est ἐδόξασε, verti non *magnificauit*, sed *glorificauit*. Stunica docet δοξάζω in litteris sacris varie verti. Quid hoc ad me? Nec hoc reprehendo, sed propius exprimit Graecam vocem glorifico quam magnifico. Nam magnifico pro extollo, vt sit Latinum, certe infrequens verbum est.

120

AD ROMANOS CAPITE IX.

Stunica suo more praefatus honorifice de me, *quam infrequens* verser in euoluendis sacris voluminibus *quamque illotis pedibus ad hoc opus accesserim*, et adiecto in spatio marginis honorifico elogio: *Erasmi euidens hallucinatio*, docet hoc testimonium quod adduxit Paulus non e *primo Oseae capite* sumptum,
125 quemadmodum annotaram, sed *ex diuersis eius prophetae locis*, cum Paulus prophetae nomen posuerit, caput suppresserit. Mirum vero si Paulus non addidit capitis numerum, cum id temporis non fuerit huiusmodi capitum sectio.

Iam vt demus a me citatum *primum Oseae caput*, tametsi in numeris
130 frequenter errent librarii, quid erat admissum flagitii, cum locus qui habetur in

101 ductum *A B*: dictum *BAS* (cf. *Stun.*: *deductum*).

was not as well-read in Hellenistic as in classical Greek authors. See, e.g., *Act.* 11,26 (mentioned in later edd. of the *Annot.*, *ad loc.*) and Liddell-Scott, *s.v.* χρηματίζω III.

The acknowledgement to Aleander added in *B* is obviously due to a hint of Louis Vives. In Ep. 1256, ll. 68-69, Vives informed Er. that Aleander, the Papal Librar-

- ian, had complained that Er. had used without acknowledgement some observations which he had kindly communicated to Er. See p. 89, n.l. 598 above.
- 102 *stiva* "Plough-handle"; not a current metonymy. Here the word is probably supposed to convey the notions of rustic rudeness and lack of erudition which are, according to Er., characteristic of Stun.'s *Annot.*
- 105 *Ex capite viii Rom.* 8,15. Er. had called "Abba" a Hebrew word. It is Aramaic.
- 106 *ad eundem lapidem Cic. Fam.* X, 20, 2; Leutsch-Schneidewin I, pp. 65, 235, 359; II, p. 370; Otto 916, and p. 227, ll. 22-23 below. Er. had made the same mistake of calling an Aramaic word Hebrew in his *Annot.* on *Act.* 1,19 (Akeldama). See p. 140, n.l. 592 above.
- 108 *Hieronymi Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, ed. P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, Göttingen, 1870, p. 63: "Abba: pater, syrum est, non hebraeum", and p. 73: "Abba: pater, syrum est".
- 110 *nominandi casu* Er. had remarked that it was uncertain whether δ πατήρ was meant as a repetition of *Abba* for the sake of greater emphasis, or as a translation of that word for gentiles. Although he had opted for the former solution, he felt that it was in favour of the latter that δ πατήρ "additum sit nominandi casu". In this he had followed Valla's note: "Vox graeca probat non esse *Pater* vocatiui casus, sed nominatiui". In reply to this Stun. had written: "Illud vero δ πατήρ non nominandi casu positum est, vt Erasmus existimauit, sed vocandi, quantum habeat δ articulum nominatiui".
- 111 ἀναδιπλωσις "Repetition"; Lausberg, §§ 608-617. *affectui* "Strong feeling, emotion"; Lausberg, § 257, 3 and 612: "Quint. IX, 3, 28: verba geminantur ... amplificandi gratia ...". 'Die Wiederholung ist eine Pathosformel'".
- 113 *dissimulat* Er. had mentioned two possibilities: (1) δ Πατήρ is an explanation of Ἀββᾶ, phrased in the nom.; (2) it is part of the exclamation and a reiteration of Ἀββᾶ, in which case its function is that of a vocative. Stun. had failed to mention that Er. had left the second possibility open.
- 114 *Eodem ii Rom.* 8,30.
- 117 *varie verti* E.g., as "glorificare", "clarificare", "honorificare", and, in *Ex.* 15,1 and *Lc.* 4,15, as "magnificare", so that, according to Stun., "magnificauit" in *Rom.* 8,30 was a correct translation. The Old Latin biblical texts of Carthago in Cyprian's time favoured *clarificare*. In younger stages of the *Vetus Latina* this verb is often replaced by *magnificare* and *honorificare*, whereas Jerome had a preference for *glorificare*. But for each part of the N.T. the development was different. See W. Thiele, *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes*, Freiburg, 1965, pp. 179-184.
- 119 *vt ... infrequens* From the *Th.L.L.* it appears that, apart from a few occurrences in *Plaut.*, *Ter.*, *Rbet. Her.*, and *Plin. Nat.* (none in *Cic.* or *Caes.*), the word *magnifico* occurs only in christian authors. It does not belong, therefore, to the customary idiom of the approved Latin authors into which Er. felt that the N.T. had to be translated. Strangely enough, the word *glorificare*, chosen by Er., does not occur in non-christian authors at all.
- 120 *Ad Romanos ... ix Rom.* 9,25.
- 121-122 *quam ... accesserim* Stun.'s section begins as follows: "Vel ex hoc loco facile prudens lector iudicare poterit quam infrequens Erasmus iste sit in s. scripturarum lectione, et quam illotis, vt aiunt, pedibus ad hoc Annotationum opus in eisdem scribendum accesserit". See p. 69, ll. 163-164.
- 123 *Erasmi ... ballucinatio* This is indeed Stun.'s side-note.
- 124 *hoc testimonium Rom.* 9,25-26. *non ... capite* Er. had written that Paul had cited this testimony from *Hos.* "cap. 1". But elements of the quotation occur in *Hos.* 1,9 as well as in 2,1 and 2,25 according to the LXX, that is, 1,9; 1,10 and 2,24 respectively in the Vg. and MT. Consequently, Er. had not been entirely wrong.
- 125-126 *ex ... suppresserit* Stun.'s words are: "cum Paulus apostolus non signet locum vnde hoc testimonium ex Osea propheta accepit, sed sicut in Osea dicit scripserit, ac ex diuersis locis eiusdem prophetae hoc testimonium conflauerit, ...". The words "cum Paulus ... non signet locum" caused Er. to write the sarcastic sentence "Mirum vero ...".
- 127-128 *id ... sectio* The chapter division used by Er. and Stun. and closely corresponding to the chapter division in modern bibles, was only introduced c. 1200 by Stephen Langton. See B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Notre Dame, 1964, pp. 221-224, 333-334, also on the problems of the division of Osee.
- 130-132 *cum ... diuersa* Er. means that *Hos.* 2,23-24 Vg. presupposes *Hos.* 1,6 and 9.

fine secundi capitis pendeat ab hoc loco, qui est in primo capite, velut a fonte, siquidem hic induntur nomina molesta, illic commutantur in diuersa.

Ad haec quum pars vaticinii plane petita sit ex primo capite, illud potius mirandum quod Stunica, vir tam oculatus, qui nusquam cecutiat, paulo post
 135 bis labi videtur. Primum quod ait ab Hieronymo *praesentem locum* enarrante citari duplicem lectionem, cum id faciat in capite primo, vbi nomina induntur, cuius rei nullam facit mentionem in fine secundi capitis. Deinde quod ea citat ex Hieronymo, quae illic non habentur, siquidem Hieronymus haec tantum habet: *pro οὐκ ἠλεημένην, id est, absque misericordia, in quibusdam fertur*
 140 *exemplaribus οὐκ ἠγαπημένην, id est, non dilectam.* Stunica refert hoc pacto: καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην, ἠγαπημένην, καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠλεημένην, ἠλεημένην. Atque haud me fallit, quod hunc errorem in me reiciet Stunica, qui sic prior retulerim. Equidem agnosco lapsum humanum, qui frequenter obrepit vel in multa distractis, vel properantibus, cui vtrique incommodo tum eramus obnoxii.
 145 Atque in huiusmodi lapsuum, quos in prima statim aeditione fassi sumus, LB 326 sarturam paraueramus tertiam aeditionem, multo antequam Stunicae librum nancisci licuit. Sed illud demiror talem Argum tam vbique vigilantem voluisse fidere duci nusquam non hallucinanti, nec saltem relegisse Hieronymi locum a me citatum atque indicatum. Qua quidem ex re satis liquet, quam ipse versetur
 150 assiduus in sacris voluminibus qui sic hallucinatur in loco commonstrato, praesertim quum carpendi libido soleat et ex lusciosis Lynceos reddere.

EODEM II.

Reliqui mihi septem milia virorum. Hic triplici nomine me reum agit Stunica, idque in lingua Hebraica, cum aequius fuerit crimina diuidere saltem
 155 cum Theseo meo. *Baal* scripsi per aleph, cum scribendum sit per ain. Deinde scripsi *Beelphegor* sonare *idolum cadaueris*, cum magis sonet *idolum hiatus*. Deinde quod *Beelsebul* pronunciarim, non *Beelzebub*.

Ad vltimum respondebo, caetera relinquens ei cuius interest, quem Stunica comperiet non esse mutum. Mihi vicio verti non debet, si dictionem
 160 Hebraicam corrupte protuli, quam corrupte scripsit ipse Paulus Hebraeus natus. Et fortasse sic tum Syrorum vulgus pronunciabat, vt scripsit Paulus.

EODEM III.

Sed illorum delicto salus est gentibus, vt illos emulentur. Cum id quod vertit
 165 interpretes aut nullum habeat sensum, aut absurdum, siquidem si *emulentur* sic referatur ad gentes vt agant, sensus est nullus, cum hoc Latina vox nulli

134 nusquam B BAS: nusquam non A.

144 vtrique BAS: vtroque A B.

157 Beelsebul A B: Beelzebub BAS.

163 Sed A B: Sic BAS.

- 133 *pars ... ex primo* Rom. 9,26 is a citation of Hos. 1,10 (according to chapter and verse-numbers of the Vg. = 2,1 LXX).
- 134 *cecuciat* Stun. had used this verb of Er. in his section on Act. 15,13: "... vt Er. caecutiens existimauit ...".
- 135 *Hieronymo* Hier. *Comm. in Hos.*, ad 1,10-11, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 76, p. 17. Jerome's words are quoted by Er. some lines further down, ll. 139-140.
- praesentem locum* That is, Hos. 2,24 Vg. Jerome had made his remark in question in discussing Hos. 1,10-11, not 2,24 Vg.
- 136 *duplicem lectionem* Two variant readings, viz. in Rom. 9,25, final clause.
- 140-142 *Stunica refert hoc pacto ... retulerim* The issue is whether Jerome's words just quoted mean: (1) some mss. read καλέσω ... τὴν οὐκ ἡγαπημένην ἡγαπημένην instead of καλέσω ... τὴν οὐκ ἡλεημένην ἡλεημένην, or: (2) some mss. have οὐκ ἡλεημένην instead of οὐκ ἡγαπημένην, so that they read καλέσω ... τὴν οὐκ ἡλεημένην ἡγαπημένην. The only difference lies in the last word. In the *Annot.* of 1516 Er. had quite naturally accepted interpretation (1), without being aware of (2). Stun. too had chosen interpretation (1), as Er. is arguing here. But presently Er. changes his mind and chooses (2); and he corrected his *Annot. ad Rom.* 9,25 accordingly. Yet, solution (1) seems to be correct, since the reading supposed in (1) is attested in the early mss. of the Vg., whereas that of (2) has never turned up.
- 144 *distractis ... properantibus* Er. wrote the *Annot. in NT* for the greater part while the work was already being printed. At the same time Er. had to see his Jerome edition through the press. For an account of the pressure and hurry in which the *Nov. Instr.* was brought about, see *Annot. in NT*, introduction to the annotations on *Mc.* ("haec simul et scribebantur a nobis, et typis excudebantur"), and Ep. 421, ll. 44-70. Cf. p. 61, n.l. 24, and p. 92, ll. 647-649 above. See also p. 138, l. 573.
- 145 *fassi sumus* Epp. 402, ll. 1-2; 421, ll. 67-70. Cf. Er.' proem, p. 60, l. 24.
- 146 *multo antequam* Er. received a copy of Stun.'s *Annot.* in June 1521. He had been planning the third ed. of the *Nov. Test.* from Oct. 1519 (Epp. 1029; 1030), and had taken it seriously in hand in Dec. 1520 (Allen, Ep. 1174, n.l. 15).
- 147 *Argum* Cf. *Adag.* 474, *LB* II, 211 B: "de homine praeter modum suspicaci et diffidenti". Argus was the hundred-eyed giant under whose care Hera placed Io, changed into a heifer by Zeus. Otto 162. See Er.' proem, p. 66, l. 132.
- 148 *ballucinanti* Stun. had frequently used this verb and the noun "hallucinatio" to characterize Er.' annotations.
- 151 *Lyncos* See p. 83, n.l. 475 above.
- 152 *Eodem ii* A slip for "Ex capite xi"; see *Rom.* 11,4.
- 155 *Theseo* See p. 67, n.l. 118 above.
- 156 *Beelphegor* See, e.g., *Nu.* 25,3 and 5: a god worshipped on a mount in Moab. Commenting on the sequel in *Rom.* 11,4 "... qui non curauerunt genua ante Baal", Oecolampadius had mentioned "Beelphegor" and "Beelzebul" as derivations of "Baal" and as illustrating its meaning "god, idol". He had explained "Beelphegor" as "idolum cadaueris", taking "phegor" as related to Hebr. "pēger", "dead body". Stun. had rightly connected "phegor" with the verb "p'r", "to have the mouth wide open, to gape, to be greedy".
- 158-159 *ei ... mutum* Oecolampadius. He never joined issue with Stun.
- 160 *Paulus* Er.' defence is certainly to the point, -βούλ being the normal ending of the name in the N.T. (for the various forms of the name, see Bauer, and W. Foerster, in: *TWNT*, s.v. Βεζζεβούλ). But Er. incorrectly appeals to Paul, for none of the seven occurrences of the word in the N.T. (*Mt.* 3 times, *Mc.* once, *Lc.* 3 times) is in Paul. He is possibly thinking of 2 *Cor.* 6,15 "Belial" Vg./Βελιάρ.
- 162 *Eodem iii* For "Eodem ii" (cf. n.l. 152 above): *Rom.* 11,11. The difficulty of the final words of this v. had already been discussed by Valla, who had proposed to interpret: "vt adduceret eos ad aemulationem, sc. Deus". Er. had adopted this solution from Valla.
- 163-167 *Cum ... potius* An anacoluthon: there does not follow a main clause. Originally Er. may have intended to complete the sentence as follows: "quo sermonis ambiguitatem excluderemus, verteram: in hoc vt eos ad aemulandum prouocaret", for this is how he had translated εἰς τὸ παραζηλώσαι αὐτούς (Er.' Greek text is identical with that of modern critical edd.). In his *Annot.* Er. observed that the subject of παραζηλώσαι is God. This, however, is not correct: the subject is σωτηρία, "salvation", and the sense is: "salvation has come to the gentiles to stir the Jews to emulation".
- 165 *vt agant...* That is, that they are the

declaret; sin ad Iudaeos vt agant, sensus est absurdus, non enim illi prouocant gentes, sed alienant potius. Sed Origenes ac Theophylactus, qui Stunicae est Athanasius, interpretantur ideo gentes admissas ad gratiam euangelicam, vt Iudaei illorum exemplo reuocentur ad Christum velut inuidentes illis, quos
 170 habebant contemptissimos. Horum interpretationem quum ipse recitet Stunica, tamen in elencho asscripserat: *Graeca hoc loco ab Erasmo minime intellecta*. Et in annotatione sua sic rem tractat, vt se declaret nec Latina intellexisse, nec Graeca. Dicit esse duos sensus, sed in vnum recidere, et sic proponit vnum altero omisso, vt neutrum videatur intelligere. Lege, lector,
 175 Stunicae nugas et res ipsa docebit esse verum quod dico. Nos in his tricis refellendis non sumemus operam.

Sed homo rhetoricus per occupationem me vocat in inuidiam, qui *Thomam ecclesiae doctorem percelebrem palam accusem imperitiae*. Quam celebris ecclesiae sit doctor Thomas, alii viderint. Certe fas est, opinor, ab illo dissentire. Et tamen
 180 in hominem me facit *contumeliosum*, quum hoc sane loco defendam eum in manifesto lapsu; sic enim claudio hanc annotationem: *quod haudquaquam illi, sed interpreti imputandum est*. Qui culpam reicit in interpretem, quo Thomam subleuet, an ille est *contumeliosus* in Thomam?

Nec hoc contentus Stunica meus etiam *fidefragium* obiicit, qui pollicitus me
 185 tecturum vicia doctorum, non praestem quod recepi. Imo dixeram alias me *tegere*, alias *excusare*, alias ciuilliter ab eis *dissentire*. Et hoc certe loco excuso. Neque vero Stunica haec dicit studio Thomae, quem non videtur legisse, sed quo satisfaciat his, a quibus subornatus est ad agendam hanc fabulam.

EODEM IIII.

190 *Vide ergo bonitatem Dei*. Qui vertit *vide*, legit ἴδε, ego qui legi ἰδέ, verto *ecce*. Sensus est idem vtruncumque legas, neque quicquam est incommodi, nisi quod aduerbium est vehementius. Quid igitur hic blaterat Stunica?

EX CAPITE XII.

Sed habentes donationes, χαρίσματα. Quoniam *donationes* non sit vsitata vox
 195 Latinis pro donis siue donariis, malui *dona* et verbulo notauī interpretem, LB 327 quod praeter rem *affectet copiam*. Hic mihi Stunica | meus instaurat nouam

177 me vocat *A B*: vocat me *BAS*.184 *fidefragium A B*: foedifragium *BAS*.194 sit *A B*: erat *BAS*.

subject of παραζηλώσαι, “to provoke to jealousy, or to emulation”. But, as Er. rightly points out, “in order that they (the gentiles) provoke them (the Jews) to emula-

tion” cannot be expressed in Latin by “vt illos aemulentur” (Vg.), since “aemulari” does not mean “provoke to emulation” but “to emulate”.

- 167 *Origenes* In *Comm. in Ep. ad Rom., ad loc.*, Migne PG 14, 1184 B-C.
Theophylactus In *Expositio in Ep. ad Rom., ad loc.*, Migne PG 124, 488 B-C.
- 168 *Athanasius* See p. 131, n.l. 437 above.
- 171-172 *Graeca ... intellecta* This is verbally Stun.'s side-note. By *Graeca* Stun. had of course meant the Greek of *Rom.* 11,11.
- 172-173 *Latina ... Graeca* The Latin translations of Origen and Theophylact and Paul's Greek expression παραζηλώσαι αὐτούς. It is true that Stun. had read two wrong interpretations of παραζηλώσαι αὐτούς into Origen and Theophylact.
- 173 *Dicit* Stun.'s words are: "verba haec apostolica duobus modis exponuntur, qui in eundem sensum recidunt. Ac primum quidem vt illud αὐτούς *Iudaeos* significet, vt intelligamus εἰς τὸ παραζηλώσαι αὐτούς, id est, vt *ipsi*, sc. Iudaei, *aemulentur* [precisely this is an impossible translation], hoc est, zelum capiant et aemulatione gentium permoti ad Christum conuertantur. Sic enim Origenes hunc locum exponit ... Athanasius ita haec exponit vt illud αὐτούς ad *gentes* referatur et in verbo παραζηλώσαι subaudiuntur Iudaei. Sic enim ait ...". Stun. means that Athanasius took εἰς τὸ παραζηλώσαι αὐτούς to mean: in order that they (the Jews) emulated them (αὐτούς, the gentiles). But this is neither an acceptable interpretation of the Greek, nor is it the interpretation of Athanasius (Theophylact).
- 174 *altero omissio* Er. is mistaken: Stun. had presented Origen as representant of the one, and 'Athanasius' as representant of the other possibility.
- 177 *occupationem* Er. himself explained this term as denoting the figure of speech by which an orator "in transcurso dicit, quod se negat velle dicere. Et haec figura pertinet ad eam speciem amplificationis, quae fit per comparationem. Nam si per se magna sunt quae dicimus nos nolle commemorare, vt citius ad id quod grauius est perueniamus, increscit illud, cuius comparatione illa negligimus. Velut: non hic commemorabo, quam ...", *Eccles.*, LB V, 990. A more usual term for this rhetorical figure is "praeteritio"; see Lausberg, §882.
- 177-178 *Thomam ... imperitiae* This is a fairly accurate citation of Stun. Er. himself had written: "Neque quicquam erat opus quadriga interpretationum quam in hunc locum inuexit Thomas Aquinas, ne sic quidem germanam attingens sententiam; quod haudquaquam illi sed interpreti imputan-
- dum est". Thomas Aquinas, *In omnes D. Pauli apostoli Epistolas Commentaria*, I, Leodii, 1857, pp. 208-209.
- 180 *contumeliosum* Stun. had begun his section as follows: "Vt omittam quod contumeliosus Erasmus est in Thomam ...".
- 184 *fidefragium* Stun. had gone on to say: "vtque illud non memorem fidefragum quoque manifesto apparere, qui magnifica illa Apologiae promissa de non prodendis sanctorum doctorum erratis ... ex fide non seruet ...". Stun. is referring to the *Apologia* preceding the *Nov. Instr.*, see Holborn, p. 172, where Er. observes that, although he disagreed frequently with the fathers and doctors of the church in exegetical questions, he would criticize them in the annotations with all discretion, and often correct a mistake silently, or excuse the maker of the mistake, or cover it up: "vt saepenumero ... eleuem errorem aut excusum aut tegam". Here Holborn reads "legam", but wrongly, as appears from the present passage in the *Apologia* against Stun.; see H.J. de Jonge, *Deux corrections aux textes d'Erasmus édités par Holborn*, HL 25 (1976), p. 285. See pp. 107-109, n.l. 965 above.
- 186 *ciuiliter ... dissentire* Holborn, p. 171, ll. 24-27.
- 187 *non videtur legisse* Stun. had not commented on Thomas' exegesis of *Rom.* 11,11 which Er. had criticized.
- 188 *subornatus* See on this stereotyped inuendo p. 63, n.ll. 39-40; p. 71, n.ll. 200-201; p. 143, n.ll. 639-641.
ad ... fabulam See for this imagery p. 266, l. 638, with the n.
- 189 *Eodem iiii* For "Eodem iiii" (cf. p. 173, n.l. 162): *Rom.* 11,22.
- 190 *ecce* The point is whether the Greek ἰδέ should be read as an imperative (ἰδέ = *vide*) or as an interjection (or an adverb, as Er. calls it: ἰδέ = *ecce*). Referring to the exegesis given by some patristic authors, Stun. had defended the reading "vide" of the Vg. Later Er. too adopted the reading ἰδέ, following the majority of the Greek mss., and switched to "vide".
- 193 *Ex capite xii Rom.* 12,6.
- 196 *affectet...* Er. had written: "Vt affectat copiam cum nihil sit opus". For "affectare copiam (sc. dicendi)", see p. 222, l. 943 below. It means: to vary too much one's choice of words. In *Rom.* (Er. means) the Vg. never translates χάρισμα by *donatio*, but twice by *donum*: 5,15 and 11,29. Since there was no cogent reason to use *donatio* here,

praefationem, imo primam illam, quippe bellam, hic repetit δις καὶ τρίς τὰ καλὰ. Ait ex hoc loco liquere, quod hoc opus *non susceperim charitatis affectu, neque iuuandi studio, sed tantum gloriae siti, quae sola, vt inquit Flaccus,*

200 *animos mentemque perurit,*

et carpendi libidine, quod vel *minima* reprehendam *in interprete,*

ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκην,

vt ait *Pindarus*. Ausim quamuis sancte deierare non alio consilio Stunicae praefationem hanc additam fuisse quam vt bene collocaret duo dicta quae tum
205 forte recens in Flacco ac Pindaro legerat. Alioqui quid hic est dignum huiusmodi praefatione? Caetera frigidiora sunt quam vt recensere libeat.

EX CAPITE XV.

Quum in Hispaniam proficisci coepero. Cum in libris Graecis viderem pro
Hispaniam scriptum constanter *Spaniam*, hoc admirans vnde accidisset, haec
210 verba subiicio: *coeterum Graeci fraudant Hispaniam prima regionis syllaba, quam illi solent huiusmodi dictionibus addere, dicentes espero pro spero, especto pro specto.* Simile quiddam dixeram annotans in Matthaenum: *nec est, inquam, Scariotes, quemadmodum habetur in nostris codicibus, sed Iscariotes. Nam idem faciunt Latini cognomento Iudae, quod Graeci faciunt Hispaniae, Σπανίαν pronunciantes, cum teste*
215 *Plinio terra sit insigni fertilitate.* Vides, lector, hic nihil esse dignum vlllo stomacho, et tamen dictu mirum quas tempestates excitet Stunica.

Primum incessit insignem inscitiam Graecarum litterarum, qui putem Hispaniam apud Graecos omnes esse dictionem trisyllabam, quum in libris Maccabeorum ac apud Suidam sit tetrasyllaba. Imo non sentit Stunica me hic
220 non agere de quibuslibet libris Graecis, sed conferre Paulinas epistolas Graece scriptas cum Latine versis. Et cum in Graecis sit Σπανία, Latinus interpres vertit *Hispaniam*. Quod si Paulus scripsit Σπανίαν, verisimile est sic vulgo solere pronuciari; si liber est deprauatus, proferat Stunica vel vnicum codicem, in quo secus habeatur. Simili modo quum loquor de dictione
225 *Iscariotes*, non ago de caeteris Graecorum libris, sed de euangeliis Graece scriptis ac Latine versis. Nihil igitur hic erat, vnde Stunica mihi Graecorum autorum impingeret inscitiam.

Quis autem nescit singulis pene regionibus esse quaedam in pronuciando peculiaria vulgo, veluti Gallis elidere s, Anglis e sonare i, Florentinis chorpus
230 pro corpus, nonnullis laldo pro laudo? Quorum tamen nihil pertineat ad eruditos, et tamen hinc clamitat Stunica me totam gentem Hispanorum inscitiae damnare, quod quidam sonent *espero pro spero*. Sed Stunicae verba subscribam, vt magis perspicua sit hominis impudentia. *Nam quod obiter, inquit, Hispanos taxat imperitiae, quum espero pro spero, especto pro specto illos*
235 *scribere dicat, haud mirum videri debet, si erga Hispanos viros ingeniosissimos, vtpote a*

240 *Graecis et Romanis originem ducentes, inuidia laboret homo Batauus. Et quum paupertatem ac ignauiam desidiamue obiicere nobis nequaquam possit, quippe qui vberriam omniumque rerum ad vitae vsum pertinentium affluentissimam ac proinde felicissimam regionem incolimus armisque ac potentia vniuersos prope excellimus mortales, id quod toti orbi iam pridem est notissimum, litterarum nobis ignorantiam ex professo imputet.*

Primum vanus est Stunica, cum ait me taxasse Hispanos, quod scribant *espero pro spero*, sed quod sonent. Atque ita sonant fortasse non omnes etiam

200 perurit *A* (sed per errorem sic diuidens: perur-|et in alia linea urit) *BAS*: peruertit *B*.

214 *Iudae A' BAS*: *Iudaei A* B*.

the translator *affectat copiam*. But see 2 *Cor.* 1,11, where χάρισμα is also translated as *donatio*, and for the translation of χάρισμα in general: Chr. Mohrmann, *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens*, I, Rome, 1961, p. 117; and *Annot. in NT, ad 1 Cor.* 12,4.

197-198 δις ... καλά Leutsch-Schneidewin I, pp. 66, 235; II, pp. 67, 369. Cf. *Adag.* 149: "bis ac ter quod pulchrum est", *LB* II, 89 E. 198-203 non ... *Pindarus* This is partly a correct paraphrase, partly a citation of Stun.'s words.

200 *animos mentemque perurit* Val. Fl. I, 76. But the text of Val. Fl. has "peruris", 2nd pers. Er. adapts the quotation to his own context.

202 ἐν ... δίκαν Pind. *Olymp.* II, 16 (*olim* 18).

207 *Ex capite xv Rom.* 15,24. For this whole section, see p. 64, ll. 94-97.

209 *constanter Spaniam* The variant reading 'Ισπανίαν for Σπανίαν in *Rom.* 15,24 is now known from dozens of minuscules, enumerated by Tischendorf and Von Soden, *ad loc.* But Σπανίαν is original here.

212 *annotans in Matthaeum Ad Mt.* 10,2, *LB* VI, 53 F.

214-215 *cum ... fertilitate* A pun on ἡ σπανία = ἡ σπάνις, "want, lack, poverty, scarcity". The reference to Plin. is to *Nat.* XXXVII, 203, where Spain is called the richest and most fertile land of the world next to Italy. Cf. *Ep.* 1701, l. 12.

217 *inscitiam ... litterarum* Stun. had written that from Er.' note on *Mt.* 10,2 "facile apparet quam diligens Erasmus fuerit in Graecis autoribus super *Hispaniae* nomine consulendis".

219 *Maccabeorum 1 Mcc.* 8,3, quoted by Stun. as an instance of 'Ισπανία. But it is a

secondary reading; modern critical editions have Σπανία here.

Suidam Suid. *Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, II, Leipzig, 1931, p. 672: 'Ισπανία: χώρα.

222-223 *sic ... pronunciari* Σπανία is indeed the current Hellenistic variant of 'Ισπανία. Cf. Blass-Debrunner, §41, 1.

223-224 *unicum codicem, in quo* Such codices are not rare (see Von Soden's crit. app.), and the Complutensian Polyglot had adopted 'Ισπανία in the text.

225 *Iscariotes* Er. means that Greek witnesses usually attest 'Ισκαριώτης (or -ιώθ), whereas Latin witnesses often read *Sc(h)ariotes* (or -ta, -tha, -th, -t). The shorter form is characteristic of Western witnesses of the gospel text. From the *Vetus Latina* it pervaded the text tradition of the Vg. But it occurs also in Greek witnesses in the form Σκαριώτης (or -ιώθ), e.g. in D.

229 *Gallis ... i Cf. De pronunt., ASD* I, 4, p. 82, ll. 248-252, where the *Galli* are said to pronounce "est dominus" as "eet dominuu"; and *De pronunt.* I, 4, p. 53, ll. 314-315: "Scoti quidam pro e sonant prope modum i, dicentes pro faciebat faciibat", etc.

229-230 *Florentinis ... laudo* Er. deals with the same particulars in *De pronunt., ASD* I, 4, p. 78, ll. 132-139. The *cb-* of *chorpus* represents here the fricative, as in New High German "ach", not the voiceless stop followed by a distinct aspiration, as in English "back-hand". The pronunciation *laldo* for *laudo* was that of Italians whose Latin was influenced by the vernacular.

232 *quod quidam sonent* Er. means: "quod dicam quosdam sonare ...".

235 *scribere* See Er.' objection, l. 242 below.

243 *sed quod* Er. means: "immo taxau quod".

vulgo, sed aliqui certe, nec Hispani solum, sed Galli etiam Hispanis finitimi.

245 An ideo damno totam Hispaniam *imperitiae*? An omnes Hispani docti sunt?

Deinde quur meminit *paupertatis*, *desidia* atque *ignaviae*? Si regio parum ferax esset Hispania, an quisquam vir doctus aut probus hoc illi velit exprobrare? An sola Hispania nullos habet tenues, sed Croesi Midaeque sunt omnes? An nullos habet ignauos? Nullos desides? Quorsum autem horum omnium

250 mentio, nisi quod homo captauit locum decantandi laudes Hispaniae suae,

LB 328 quas non | potuit auspicari dexterius, vt ipsi videtur, quam ab alienarum laudum deprauatione. Quid autem est *homo Batauus*, quod toties inculcat? An scelus est Batauum esse? Quid cogitaturi sunt eruditi, cum haec legent ab eo scripta, qui sacrarum litterarum absolutam cognitionem profitetur?

255 Mox igitur Hispaniae canit encomium, cuius laudes numquam sic attollet verbis, quin nos optaturi simus illi feliciora. Atque vtinam vbique sic efflorescant bonae litterae, sic reforescat studium pietatis, vt nos Bataui parum eruditi parumque pii videremur. Hac quidem in parte nulli regioni non fauemus. Sed Hispaniae peculiariter etiam fauemus, vel quod olim nobis

260 dederit viros eruditissimos, vel quod communi principe gaudemus, nisi hoc Batauis inuidebit Stunica. Porro Antonii Nebrissensis nomen apud omnes nos et graciosum est et celebre, quod videamus illum de studiis benemeritum ac benemereri. Quoque plures ex huius institutione, velut *ex equo Troiano*,

prosilient homines eruditi, hoc vehementius gaudebimus.

265 Alexandro Magno felix visus est Achilles, cui contigisset laudator Homerus. At mihi nihilominus felix futura fuisse videretur Hispania, si Stunicam aut non

habuisset laudum suarum praeconem, aut non genuisset alienae laudis tam

maliciosum obscuratorem. Non poterat hic encomiastes suam laudare

Hispaniam, nisi cum aliarum prouinciarum iniuria. *Eo*, inquit, *eruditionis*

270 *Hispani deuenere, vt vel cum Italis ipsis, qui arcem omnium bonarum artium sicut et virtutis possident, de re litteraria contendere haud dubie possint, nedum cum prouincialibus reliquis, apud quos vix vnus aut alter hodie reperitur, qui bonarum litterarum studio teneatur.* Quid dici poterat procacius? Imo quid impudentius? Tot habet Gallia

summa doctrina praeditos, tot habet Germania, tot hec regio, tot Britannia,

275 quos vel cum priscis illis possis conferre. Nusquam non florent ac regnant bonae literae, et ait *vix* esse duos aut tres, *qui studio litterarum teneantur*. Vt ne

quid dicam de aliis, in vna schola Louaniensi sunt supra mille qui non solum

studeant bonis litteris, sed in his feliciter progressi sint, et in his non pauci

280 principum liberalitas inuitat ad hec studia. Studiorum veterum proceres

manibus ac pedibus obnituntur. Quo sane nomine felicior est academia Complutensis, quae nihilo esset infortunatior, si Stunicam hominem tam maledicum non haberet.

Atque interim obiicit mihi, quod *quodam in loco* per occasionem laudem

285 aliquot eruditione celebres, quos per contemptum appellat *Eluetios nescio quos*.

Sed hoc nomine vinco Stunicae candorem, qui non modo Batauos meos

256 *simus A BAS: sumus A* B.*
266 *videretur A B: videtur BAS.*

274 *regio A B: add. in qua nunc agimus, nimirum Flandria et Brabantia, BAS.*

- 244 *Galli ... finitimi* The Gascons; see the useful discussion of this section by J.J. Bateman, *The Development of Er.' Views on the Correct Pronunciation of Latin and Greek in Classical Studies presented to Ben Edwin Perry* (Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit., 58), Urbana/Chicago/London, 1969, pp. 46-65, esp. 57-58.
- 248 *Croesi Midaeque* Otto 468, cf. *Adag.* 574, LB II, 251 D; Otto 1110, cf. *Adag.* 524, LB II, 230 D.
- 253-254 *Quid ... profitetur* For the idea that exegetical questions should be discussed in moderate language lest outsiders be scandalized, see p. 72, l. 218.
- 259-260 *olim ... eruditissimos* The same praise in *Apolog. c. Sanct. Caranz.*, LB IX, 432 C: "Hispania quondam doctissimis viris abundavit, et hodie se recipere coepit ad pristinam gloriam". Er. is of course thinking of such authors as the Senecas, Lucan, Columella, Quintilian and Martial. For this whole section on Spain: M. Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, Paris, 1937, pp. 99-101, 124-125.
- 261 *Nebrissensis* Praising Spain, Stun. had also given an impassioned panegyric on Nebrissensis as the father of the Renaissance in Spain. Er. held him in high and sincere esteem. See pp. 112-114, ll. 97-98 and p. 138, l. 574 above, with the nn.; and F.G. Olmedo, *Nebrija*, Madrid, 1942.
- 263 *velut ex equo Troiano* Stun. had written: "Ex huius [Nebrissensis] schola tanquam ex equo Troiano innumeri prodire discipuli ...". By quoting Stun.'s words Er. seems to suggest that he does not find the image very appropriate. The reason of this may be that in Cic. *Mur.* 78 and *Verr.* 2, 4, 23, 52 (Otto 610) the image of the Trojan horse denotes a great danger or disaster.
- 265 *Alexandro* Cf. *Apophth.* IV, sub Alex. M., 50, LB IV, 201 A; Plut. *Vita Alexandri* 15. Cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Vita Alexandri*, rec. L, I, 42, 6-7.
- 269-273 *Eo ... teneatur* A verbal quotation from Stun. For "Hispani" in l. 270 Stun. has "nostrates".
- 273-276 *Tot ... litterae* For a survey of the flourishing state of literary studies in the

- countries of Europe, cf. Ep. 1111, ll. 27-46, where Er. speaks highly of the rise of humanism in the field of theology at Oxford and Cambridge, in philology, medicine and law in Italy, in linguistic and literary studies at Alcalá, and in general in the German universities. The great exceptions are Cologne, dominated by Dominicans and Franciscans, and Louvain.
- 274 *hec regio* Flanders and Brabant (cf. *BAS*).
- 277 *supra mille* In Ep. 1221 (July 1521), l. 11, Er. estimated the total number of students at Louvain at c. 3000. In the 16th century their number fluctuated in fact between 1670 and 2190, see *550 jaar Universiteit Leuven, 1425-1975*, Leuven, 1976, pp. 109, 113. But of course not all students were well disposed to the *bonae litterae*. Er.' pronouncements on the state of the *bonae litterae* at Louvain are most inconsistent and contradictory, and obviously conditioned by his personal circumstances at the moments of writing. Cf., e.g., Ep. 886 (Oct. 1518), ll. 50-51: "Nihil est quod hic [Louanii] sperem. Nusquam gentium contemptiora studia aut destitutiora" with Ep. 1237 (Sept. 1521), ll. 16-18: "Iuventus nusquam magis [quam Louanii] ardet in bonas literas, et succedit res multis mira felicitate, frustra reluctantibus veteris inscitiae mystis".
- 280-281 *Studiorum ... obnituntur* Cf. *Spongia* (1523), *ASD IX*, 1, p. 146, ll. 606-607: "An ideo non est florentissima academia Louaniensis, quod illic aliquot stolidi pugnent aduersus bonas litteras?". Such "stolidi" were Iac. Latomus, Nic. Egmondanus, Vinc. Theodorici, and Lamb. Campester. For "manibus ac pedibus" see Otto 1034 and *Adag.* 315, LB II, 157 B, cf. 931 A.
- 284 *quodam in loco* Stun. had written that he would not enumerate all outstanding Greek and Latin scholars of Spain, "ne Erasmum imitari videar, qui quodam in loco suarum Annotationum vel Helueticos nescio quos hoc nomine miris extollit laudibus". I cannot find the passage. Possibly Stun. is alluding to the preface to the *Annot.* in which Er. describes Oecolampadius as "trium peritia linguarum eminens" (Ep. 373, ll. 73-74).

aliquot, sed Germanos, sed Eluetios, sed Gallos, sed Britannos laudibus veham, quocumque orbe nati sunt, modo promereantur. Quin et Hispanos praedicaui scriptis meis, praedicaturus et Iuuenos, si quis illinc extiterit laude dignus.

Sed encomio decantato, sic perorat Stunica: *quae cum ita sint, non est quur Hispanis tamquam indoctis ac plane barbaris Erasmus insultet.* Hanc linguae petulantiam tam effrenem non dubito quin omnes execrentur Hispani, si modo tales sunt, quales eos videri vult Stunica. Ego certe plurimos esse credo.

295

EX EPISTOLA AD CORINTHIOS.

Ab his qui sunt Chloes. Verto a familiaribus Chloes, iuxta sententiam eorum, qui putabant Chloen matronam esse nobilem, e cuius familiaribus Paulus cognouerit quod refert. Hic quod ego citaram e Theophylacto Graeco, nomine Vulgarii, Stunica docet ex eodem, nomine Athanasii, *Sciendum*, inquit quasi nouum aliquid adferat.

Cetera quae diuinat nihil ad me pertinent. |

LB 329

EX CAPITE IIII.

Mibi autem pro minimo est, vt a vobis et cetera. Hic Stunica putabat esse locum nouae praefationi. Nam post elenchum hunc: *locus ab Erasmo minime intellectus*, sic prae loquitur: *mirum est quam praepostero sit ingenio Erasmus iste Roterodamus. Nihil enim eorum, quae apud diuum Hieronymum et alios ecclesiae doctores legit, prorsus intelligit, velut ex hoc loco manifeste apparet.* Quam vero praefatio tam atrox rei non congruat, paucis expediam. In Annotationibus aeditionis primae scripseram hunc in modum: *hunc locum alicubi citat Hieronymus, vt ostendat Paulum non admodum elegantem fuisse in lingua Graeca, sed quedam Cilicum more dixisse. Nam Cilix erat.* Hieronymi verba subscribam ex epistolae ad Algasiam questione x: *illud*, inquit, *quod crebro diximus, etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientia, nequaquam Paulum de humilitate, sed de conscientiae veritate dixisse etiam nunc approbamus. Profundos enim et reconditos sensus lingua non explicat. Et cum ipse sentiat quod loquatur, in alienas aures puro non potest transferre sermone, quem cum in vernacula lingua habeat disertissimum, quippe Hebraeus ex Hebris et eruditus ad pedes Gamalielis, viri in lege doctissimi, se ipsum interpretari cupiens inuoluitur.* Nonne palam hic fatetur Hieronymus Paulum minus calluisse Graecam linguam quam Hebraicam, quod alteram didicisset a maioribus et a doctissimo praeceptore, alteram e commercio Cilicum? Nonne comprobatur hic, quod alias non semel ostendit, Paulum imperite loqui ob insciam sermonis Graeci? Porro qui puro sermone non potest eloqui quod sentit, nonne vtumque eloquitur sermone parum eleganti parumque puro? Ac mox Hieronymus ostendit illum ex idiomate Cilicum multa dixisse, quod genus sunt ἀπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας pro humano iudicio et ἀνθρώπινον λέγω, cum quid dicit humilior parumque

perfectum, et οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμᾶς, cum quis alteri grauis imminet, et καταβραβεύειν, vbi quis in certamine preripit alteri praemium iniuste. Hec Hieronymus ita vult esse dicta Paulo, vt Vergilio dictum est *sceleratum frigus*. Neque vero me fugit hec varie vafreque scribi ab Hieronymo, nec excutio

289 illinc *A B*: illic *BAS*.

303 vobis *BAS*: nobis *A B*.

327 καταβραβεύειν *BAS*: καταβρέειν *A B*.

288–289 *Hispanos praedicaui* But on what account! See *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 130: “Hispani bellicam gloriam nulli concedunt”; cf. Ep. 337, ll. 177–179: “Hispanis asscribo militiae laudem, Italis litteras et eloquentiam ...”.

289 *Iuuenos* Er. is making a playful use of an old cliché: certain ancient geographers describe the Irish as bellicose savages (Solinus, ed. Mommsen, p. 100), as rude and devoid of all virtues (Mela III, 53), and as incestuous cannibals (Strabo IV, 201). Er. ignores for a moment that from Caesar and Tacitus there are also more trustworthy, less unfavourable accounts of the Irish. See *Kleine Pauly*, s.v. Hibernia.

295 *Ex epistola ad Corinthios* 1 *Cor.* 1,11.

297 *eorum* Viz., Theophylact, *Expositio in Ep. I ad Cor.*, Migne PG 124, 572 A, and Thomas Aquinas, *Comm. in Ep. I ad Cor.*, ad 1,11, ed. Leodii, 1857, I, p. 297: “... vel Chloes potest esse nomen matronae in cuius domo erant multi fideles congregati”. Stun. however had maintained, without sufficient evidence, that Chloe was the name of a town in Cappadocia.

299 *Athanasii* See p. 131, n.l. 437 above.

Sciendum Stun., after reporting Er.’ opinion, had continued to write: “Sciendum igitur Athanasium de hoc ...”. The expression “sciendum” sounded too pedantic and presumptuous to Er.

301 *Cetera quae diuinat* Viz., that people from Chloe had moved to Corinth and had formed a clan there; or that merchants from Chloe, who had been in Corinth, had visited Paul at Ephesus on their way home.

302 *Ex capite* *iiii* 1 *Cor.* 4,3.

304–305 *locus ... intellectus* Stun.’s side-note runs: “Hieronymi locus ab Erasmo minime intellectus”.

305–307 *mirum ... apparet* Verbally quoted from Stun.

311 *Hieronymi* *Epist.* 121, ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 56, p. 41. Er. included the rest of the

present paragraph, from *Hieronymi* (l. 311) to *potuisset* (p. 182, l. 346), also in the *Annot. in NT*, ad 1 *Cor.* 4,3, see *LB* VI, 673–674.

312 *etsi ... scientia* 2 *Cor.* 11,6.

316 *Hebraeus* *Phil.* 3,5.

317 *Gamalielis* *Act.* 22,3.

317–318 *Nonne palam...* Er. forgets to mention the objection raised by Stun. Stun. had agreed with Er. that according to Jerome Paul’s Greek was not perfect. But the point is whether Jerome had meant to say that the deficiencies of Paul’s Greek were imputable to his being a Cilician or to his being a Hebrew-speaking Jew. Stun. had credited Er. with the former interpretation, and had himself defended the latter. The dilemma is false, for Jerome argues that owing to Paul’s being a native Hebrew speaker, he could not express himself in pure Greek, but let some features of Cilician Greek creep into his language. Jerome, then, ascribed the impurity of Paul’s Greek both to his Hebrew and his Cilician antecedents.

323 *Hieronymus* *Hier. Epist.* 121, 4–5.

324 ἀπό ... ἡμέρας 1 *Cor.* 4,3: “by a human court of judgement”.

325 ἀνθρώπινον λέγω *Rom.* 6,19.

326 οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμᾶς See 2 *Cor.* 12,14.

327 καταβραβεύειν *Col.* 2,18.

328 *vt Vergilio dictum est* Viz., as Jerome explains, “patriae suae sequens consuetudinem”. See Verg. *Georg.* II, 256. Jerome seems to regard Vergil’s use of “sceleratum” here as a feature of the regional dialect of Mantua.

329 *varie ... Hieronymo* At times Jerome frankly admitted that Paul’s Greek was imperfect, as in the passage just quoted, then again he defended Paul against those who reproached him with his faulty Greek; see, e.g., his *Comm. in Eph.*, ad 1,18, Migne *PL* 26, 488 A B. Cf. *Annot. in NT*, *LB* VI, 835 D. Er. had already reviewed Jerome’s opinions on Paul’s Greek in Ep. 844 (to John Eck, 1518), ll. 82–89.

330 quantum apud me valeant haec quae scribit; tantum indico me non temere
 indicasse locum. Si Paulus non potest explicare pure quod sentit, aut ipsius
 imperitia fuit in causa, aut ipse sermo parum expositus, aut res ipsa. Sed rem
 explicat in Hebraea lingua, in qua fuit disertissimus; superest vt aut Cilicum
 335 lingua minus fuerit elegans, aut eam minus calluerit Paulus. Et vtrumque
 fuisse verum subindicat Hieronymus, cum et fateatur Paulum imperitum fuisse
 sermonis Graeci, non quod more vulgari non potuerit loqui, sed quod animo
 declarando defuerit sermo purus et elegans, et ostendat quaedam esse
 peculiaria eius gentis, in qua natus est, quibus abusus sit ad explicandum
 vtrumque quod senserat. Neque vero contra me facit, si Tharsus prodidit
 340 aliquot eruditos viros, Aratum et Oppianum, quasi vero non et Scythia nobis
 dederit Anacharsidem. Non refert, vbi natus sis, sed vnde didiceris. Neque qui
 scribunt vtuntur omnibus quae vulgaris habet sermo. Nam et aetate Ciceronis
 vulgo quaedam ferebantur, a quibus ipse abstinet. At Pauli sermonem fuisse
 vulgarem, nemo puto negauerit. Disertius autem dicturus erat, opinor, si
 345 Athenis cum Demosthene, Platone et Isocrate versatus fuisset, et purius quae
 senserat eloqui potuisset.

Cumque Stunica totam hanc annotationem multis conuiciis condierit, addit
 huiusmodi clausulam: *haec est Hieronymi intentio illo in loco, quem Erasmus stupide
 simul ac imperite in Annotationibus retulit.* Quid optem isti blateroni, nisi paulo
 350 plus cordis, linguae multo minus, aliquanto plus verecundiae, multo minus
 arrogantiae? |

LB 330

EX CAPITE VI.

Empti estis precio magno. Annotaram *magno* hic non haberi apud Graecos et
 videri in nostris *additum ex epistola Petri*. Stunica negat additum in nostris et
 355 vult addi in Graecis. Et adducit Athanasium suum atque Ambrosium, qui
 interpretantes meminerint *magni precii*. Sed illud mihi dicat, an ideo scriptum
 fuit *magno precio*, si interpretes, id quod erat, magnum interpretentur? Certe
 Ambrosius citat hunc locum aliquoties non addens *magno*, vt libro De Cain et
 Abel secundo, capite iii; rursum epistolarum libro ii, capite ii ac mox iii.

341 sed vnde *A BAS*: et vnde *B*.353 hic non haberi *A B*: non haberi hic *BAS*.

337-338 *quaedam ... peculiaria* Whether the four "Cilicisms" mentioned by Jerome are really characteristic of Cilician Greek is very much open to doubt; see G.B. Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprach-*

idioms, Leipzig, 1867⁷, § 2, 2. From modern N.T. grammars the whole subject has disappeared for lack of comparable evidence, and the appearance of G. Laminger-Pascher, *Index grammaticus zu den griechischen*

- Inscripfen Kilikiens* ..., I-II, Vienna, 1973-1974, has thrown no new light on Paul's alleged Cilicisms.
- 339 *si Tharsus prodidit*... Stun. had argued that the Cilicians had an excellent command of Greek, witness Aratus of Soli and Oppian. At Rome Stun. lectured on Oppian, see Introduction, pp. 21-22.
- 340-341 *Scythia ... Anacharsidem* Cf. Ep. 1389, l. 20: "Habuit Scythia suum Anacharsidem". Er. means that even barbarous regions can incidentally produce men of refined character and language. Anacharsis was the Scythian prince who in the 6th cent. B.C. travelled in Greece and impressed his hearers by his wisdom and virtue. Er. collected his sayings in *Apophtib.* VII, LB IV, 329-331.
- 343-346 *At ... potuisset* For the views expressed here, see Introduction, p. 9. The distinction between literary and vernacular Greek is a step in the right direction. But the evaluation of Paul's Greek as belonging to the vernacular of daily life, the common language of the people, "sermo vulgaris", is incorrect. Paul's style is certainly not that of the Attic orators, but it does share certain features with, e.g., the stoic-cynic "diatribe", literary epistles, the technical prose of scientists, scholars and critics, and especially Asianic oratory. See J.H. Moulton and N. Turner, *A Grammar of N.T. Greek*, IV, Edinburgh, 1976, pp. 82-83; A. Deissmann, *Paulus*, Tübingen, 1925², p. 42.
- 347 *multis conuiciis* No other than those contained in the sentence quoted on p. 180, ll. 305-307 above (*mirum ... apparet*).
- 349 *blateroni* "Prater, babbler". The only occurrences of "blatero" registered in *Th.L.L.* are Gell. I, 15, 19 and a scholion on Hor. *Sat.* I, 2, 2.
- 352 *Ex capite vi* 1 *Cor.* 6,20. The Greek runs: ἡγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς.
- 354 *additum* ... *Petri* Valla had already observed: "... Graecorum codices non habent illud magno: neque enim attinet nunc loqui de pretii magnitudine ...". Er. cannot have meant that the word *magno* itself had crept in from 1 *Petr.* 1,18-19. In fact, the word does not occur there. He had meant that the notion of the greatness of the price at all was due to influence from 1 *Petr.* This theory is probably incorrect. The Vetus Latina quoted by Cyprian has "empti enim estis magno" (H. von Soden, *Das lateinische N.T. in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 595). "Magno" is also the reading of Tert. in the majority of his quotations of 1 *Cor.* 6,20, Hil. (*Comm. in Ps.* 135, 15), Paulinus of Nola (Epp. 20, 5; 23, 34) and ms. 64 of the Vetus Latina. Other Vetus Latina mss. (d=75, f=78, g=77), however, and fathers (e.g., Lucifer, Rufinus, Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine *partim*) read "pretio" without "magno" (I owe this information to the kindness of Dr H.J. Frede of Beuron). The Vg. reading "pretio magno" seems to be, therefore, a conflation of the two Vetus Latina readings of 1 *Cor.* 6,20. A similar development of the text can be observed in *Mt.* 26,9, where, as Prof. J. Smit Sibinga pointed out to me, some Vetus Latina mss. render πολλοῦ as "pretio", other Vetus Latina mss. and the Vg. as "multo", whereas some further Vetus Latina mss. read "multo practio" or "praetio multo". See Jülicher-Matzkow I, *Mt.* 26,9.
- 355 *vult* ... *Graecis* This is not what Stun. had said. Whether some equivalent of "magno" had to be added in the Greek text or τιμῆς had to be interpreted as including the idea of "magno", is a point on which Stun. had expressed no opinion.
- Athanasium suum* Theophylact (see p. 131, n.l. 437), *Expositio in Ep. I ad Cor.*, ad loc., Migne PG 124, 638 C. In Porsena's translation, which Stun. used, the words ἡγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς, quoted by Theophylact, had been rendered as "quippe qui pretio empti magno sitis". That Er. omits to point out that Stun. had been misled by the translation he used, is due to the fact that at Anderlecht Er. had no access to Theophylact's commentary in Greek; see pp. 192-193, n.l. 493 below.
- Ambrosium* Ambrosiaster, ad 1 *Cor.* 6,20, ed. H.I. Vogels, *CSEL* 81, 2, pp. 69-70, but this passage does not attest the reading "magno". It paraphrases Paul's words as follows: "caro pretio empti sumus" and "Quam enim carissimo pretio nos emit ...".
- 358-359 *De Cain et Abel* The reference is to II, 3, 11 (ed. C. Schenkl, *CSEL* 32, p. 387): "pretio empti estis". But Er. is mistaken: this is not 1 *Cor.* 6,20, but 1 *Cor.* 7,23.
- 359 *epistolarum* Er. is mistaken again. The references are to II, ep. vii, §§ 4, 15 and 45, ed. O. Faller, *CSEL* 82, pp. 45, 50, 66: "Praetio empti estis", but all these quotations are from 1 *Cor.* 7,23, not from 1 *Cor.* 6,20.

360

EX CAPITE VII.

Bonum est homini mulierem non tangere. Quum esset quaestio de ducenda vxore, ac Paulus respondeat optandum quidem, vt liberi absque vxoribus viuant christiani, tamen ob periculum inhonestae libidinis praestare, vt qui non temperant suam habeant vxorem, malui *vxorem* vertere quam *mulierem*.

365 Nam Graecis γυνή vox est anceps. Hic multa congerit Stunica ex Athanasio suo, ex Ambrosio, ex Hieronymo, quae si quis attentius excutiat, omnia pro me faciunt aduersus Stunicam. Lege et sic esse comperies, ne nos hoc laboris hic frustra sumamus, alioquin occupatissimi.

Sed bellam addit coronidem. *Si* Paulus, inquit, sensisset *de vxore, dixisset*
370 καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ γάμου μὴ ἄπτεσθαι. Sic enim Stunica docet et Paulum loqui Graece. Quasi Paulus cum peculiaria tradat vxoribus alio nomine vocet eas quam γυναῖκας. Neque quenquam fallat, quod apud Ambrosium aliquando *mulier* dicitur vxor.

EODEM II.

375 *Circumcisis aliquis et cetera, non adducat praeputium.* Nos certe verecundius vertimus: *ne asciscat praeputium.* Stunica in hoc rerum genere me peritior docet nos e suo pseudathanasio Paulum sentire de pellicula, quae si vel natura, vel amputatione desit, ac nuda sit glans, arte medicorum adducatur. Simulque indicat Celsum eius mali remedium ostendere. Vt demus esse verum
380 quod ait Stunica, qui alicunde sibi conciliat, quod non habebat, nonne Latinis *asciscit* sibi? Quanquam mihi probabilius est Paulum de animo loqui, non de corporis habitu: si circumcisis es, ne te poeniteat; si non es, ne tibi displiceas.

EX CAPITE IX.

Si alii potestatis vestrae. Hic annotaram, quod Graecis est ἐξουσίας, Latinis
385 *potestatis*, sic intelligendum, vt non accipiamus *quamlibet potestatem, sed facultatem metendi et circumducendi vxores, quam illi ceteris apostolis permittebant.* Hic duplici nomine me taxat Stunica: et quod cum Laurentio sentiam, qui putauit Paulum hic agere de vxoribus apostolorum; deinde quod ad apostolos referam quae dicta sunt in pseudapostolos.

369 dixisset *A BAS: om. B.*

375 adducat *BAS LB: adducet A B.*

382 displiceas *A B: add.* Certe Origenes libro περὶ ἀρχῶν quarto, putat nulla ratione fieri

posse, vt praeputium semel amputatum reuocetur. In eodem errore fuit Hieronymus priore aduersus Iouinianum libro. *BAS.*

360 *Ex capite vii 1 Cor. 7,1.*

364 *mulierem* Stun. had defended the reading of the Vg. "mulierem", since he felt that

Paul meant to say that it is good for a man to have no sexual intercourse with women at all. There is something in that. Careful

- exegesis might learn that Paul's thoughts narrow gradually from the theme of intercourse with women in general in v. 1b to marriage in particular in v. 2, so that in v.1 "vxorem" is prematurely introduced.
- 365 *Nam ... anceps* Cf. p. 138, l. 581, and p. 226, l. 6.
- 365-366 *Athanasio suo* Theophylact (see p. 131, n.l. 437), *Expositio in Ep. I ad Cor., ad 7,1*, Migne PG 124, 640, quoted by Stun. in Persona's Latin translation: "Bonum est, inquit, et egregium mortali cuique, non sacerdoti duntaxat, vt sentiunt multi, nil prorsus mulierem contingere; sed vitam coelibem ducere et castam seruare: quod tamen fieri si nequeat, matrimonium imbecillitati nostrae subueniet".
- 366 *Ambrosio* Ambrosiaster, *ad loc.*, ed. H.I. Vogels, *CSEL* 81,2, p. 70: "Prauus sensibus pseudapostolorum exagitati, qui nuptias per hypocrisim, vt priores ceteris videntur, spernendas docebant, haec per epistolam ab apostolo requirebant. quia enim non oblectabantur hac sententia, praetermissis ceteris hoc solum requirunt. quibus tamen respondit bonum esse quidem mulierem non contingere, quanquam non illi istud simpliciter asserant".
Hieronymo Adv. Iov. I, 7, Migne PL 23, 229 "Non dixit, *bonum est vxorem non habere*, sed ... *mulierem non tangere*, quasi in tactu periculum sit, quasi qui illam tetigerit non euadat; quae virorum pretiosas animas capit, quae facit adolescentium euolare corda ... Vnde et noster Ioseph, quia tangere nolebat illam Aegyptiam, fugit ex manibus eius ...".
- 366-367 *omnia pro me faciunt* Incorrect.
- 371 *peculiararia tradat Eph. 5,22-24; Col. 3, 18-19; 1 Tim. 2,9-15*.
- 372 *Ambrosium* Ambrosiaster, in the commentary on the Pauline passages referred to in the preceding note.
- 374 *Fodem ii 1 Cor. 7,18*.
- 376-377 *in hoc ... peritior* See for this innuendo Er.' sections on *Mt. 8,29* (with the n. at p. 95, l. 704) and *Lc. 3,1*.
- 377 *suo pseudathanasio* See p. 131, n.l. 437. The reference here is to Theophylact, *Expositio in I Ep. ad Cor., ad 7,18*, Migne PG 124, 648.
- 379 *Celsum* Cornelius Celsus, *Medicina* VII, 25, ed. F. Marx, *Corpus medicorum Latinorum*, I, Leipzig, 1915, pp. 344-345: "Cutis circa glandem prehenditur et extenditur, donec illam ipsam condat, ibique deligatur. Deinde iuxta pubem in orbem tergus inciditur, donec coles nudetur. ... Eo facto, cutis ad vinculum inclinatur, nudaturque circa pubem velut circulus; eoque linamenta dantur vt caro increscat et id impleat ...". For a discussion of this and other techniques of the operation, see E. Lerle, *Proselytenwerbung und Urchristentum*, Berlin, 1960, pp. 48 51 (I owe this reference to Prof. J. Smit Sibinga of Amsterdam).
- 381 *asciscit* Stun. had criticized the choice of this verb in the paraphrase of *μη ἐπιπάσθω* which Er. had given in the *Annot.*: "non *asciscat*, vt subaudias, praeputium". In his translation Er. had given: "ne *accersat* praeputium". Stun. had objected that both these verbs wrongly suggested that *ἐπιπάσθω* was "sibi aliunde praeputium parare", "to provide oneself with a prepuce from elsewhere". According to Stun., this was not an adequate description of the operation. He himself described it as "attrahere sibi praeputium". The difference lies in "aliunde". Apparently, Stun. felt that "aliunde ... parare" evoked the idea of what we would now call a transplantation: to his mind an absurdity. In ll. 379-381, Er. rightly maintains that *asciscere* need not necessarily be taken to signify such an absurdity; it can serve very well to denote the operation meant by Stun. and Paul.
de animo 1 Cor. 7,18 is mentioned in a passage, only preserved in Rufinus' translation, of Origen's *De principiis*, concerning the necessity of spiritual exegesis in cases where literal exegesis is impossible or unlikely.
- 382 *displiceas* The references added in *B.A.S.* are to Orig. *De principiis* IV, 3, 3 (19[18]), ed. P. Koetschau, *GCS*, Orig. V, p. 328: "Certe fieri id omni genere impossibile est" (*sc. reuocari praeputium*), and Hier. *Adv. Iov. I, 11*, Migne PL 23, 235 B: "Numquid qui semel amputatum habet praeputium potest si velit rursus illud adducere?".
- 383 *Ex capite ix 1 Cor. 9,12*.
- 385-386 *non ... permittebant* Quoted from the *Annot.* of 1516.
- 387 *Laurentio* Valla, *Annot. in NT, ad 1 Cor. 9,5*: "... Ex quo datur intelligi, fuisse apostolos suas vxores comitatos".
- 388-389 *ad apostolos ... pseudapostolos* The point at issue is whether *alii* refers to the other apostles or to false teachers at Corinth under whose influence the Corinthian christians had come and who were supported by the community. The question has not been settled.

390 Quid senserit Paulus incertum. Nec me fugit, quam abhorreant interpretes
 ab vxoribus, maxime Latini. Sed me non omnino subscribere sententiae
 Laurentianae, satis est argumenti, quod paulo ante refello illius rationem, qua
 colligit hic Paulum loqui de vxoribus. Sic enim ingredior recensere
 Laurentianum commentum: *Laurentius cauillatur hoc loco: cum dixisset sororem,*
 395 *quid opus erat addere mulierem? Quasi soror esse possit, quae mulier non est.* Mox
 ego: *imo sororem addidit, vt intelligas christianam.* At quur, inquiet, paulo post
 meministi vxorum? Quia non hoc agebam et puto non esse absurdum, si quis
 de vxoribus intelligat. Et tamen in secunda aeditione addidi *vxores siue mulieres,*
 1.B 331 *veluti olfaciens exoriturum Stunicam | Momum.*

400 Porro vtrum haec dixerit de pseudapostolis an veris apostolis, in praesentia
 non disputo. Certe paulo ante *Cepham et fratres Domini* expressit. Sed vtcunque
 est, etiam pseudapostoli vocari possunt apostoli, vt per me nemo cogatur de
 veris apostolis interpretari, qui nolit.

Et hic est ille *locus*, quem in elencho notat vt *perperam expositum*.

405

EX CAPITE X.

Bibebant autem de spiritali et cetera. Hic annotaram Graecae vocis eleganti-
 tiam ἀκολουθείσης, quae significat *itineris* velut assiduum *comitem*. Nam sequi
 potest et quod procul abest. Hic Stunica multa congerens docet petram illam,
 quae fuit in deserto Sin, non ambulasse cum Iudaeis per desertum, sed aquam
 410 euntibus suppeditasse. Multaque refert ex historia Veteris Testamenti, multa
 ex Athanasio suo, quae nihil aduersum me faciunt, siquidem Paulus de Christo
 loquitur, quem illa petra significat. Is nusquam deerat suis.

Sed habet hoc Stunica peculiare, quoties aliquid ex lectione nactus est quod
 cupiat referre, captat occasionem vbi illud infulciat. Sed poterat sua docere ac
 415 si libet etiam ostentare citra cuiusquam iniuriam. Hic certe nihil illi erat rei
 mecum, qui nec ab illo dissentio, neque quicquam dico quod ille possit
 reprehendere.

EX CAPITE XII.

Interpretationes sermonum. Indicaram hanc particulam non inueniri in
 420 Graecis codicibus, cum habeatur in Latinis. Vnde suspicor in nostris adiectum,
 praesertim cum ne apud interpretes quidem Graecos huius particulae fiat
 mentio. Atque adeo in superiori loco, vbi nos legimus *alii interpretatio*

399 Momum. *A: add.* Quid autem piaculi
 futurum erat, si fuissem in hac opinione,
 apostolis fuisse vxores, quum in ea senten-
 tia fuerit Clemens, qui Petro et Philippo
 tribuit vxores, et hunc ipsum locum adducit,
 ex quo docent Paulo fuisse vxorem?

Vanum me clamitet Stunica, nisi hoc com-
 pererit in Ecclesiastica historia, quam
 Eusebius texuit, libro iii. *B BAS.*

407 ἀκολουθείσης *A B: ακολουθούσης BAS.*

409 sed *A' BAS: se A* B, seu CS.*

412 significat *A B: significabat BAS.*

- 414 vbi *A B*: per quam *BAS*; Sed *A*: Verum *B BAS*.
- 390 *interpretes* Stun. had especially mentioned Athanasius (i.e., Theophylact) and Jerome.
- 393 *hic* In 1 *Cor.* 9,5; see p. 184, ll. 387–388.
- 394–395 *Laurentius ... est* Quoted from *Annot.*, ad 1 *Cor.* 9,5. The words *cum ... mulierem* are Valla's. *Quasi ... est* is a comment by Er. (1516: "Quasi soror sit quae mulier non sit").
- 396 *imo ... christianam* Er. *Annot. in NT*, *ibid.* Meanwhile Er. had left the question undecided whether ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν in 1 *Cor.* 9,5 means that the apostles took about with them christian women as wives, or as devoted followers and helpers, i.e., without marrying them.
- 397 *non hoc agebam* I. e., in dealing with v. 5, I simply did not go into the question whether γυναῖκα means "wife" there or not.
- 398 *uxores siue mulieres* In 1516, Er., in his annotation on 1 *Cor.* 9,12, had observed that ἐξουσία was, *inter alia*, the "facultas circumducendi uxores". In 1519 he had added to this "siue mulieres".
- 399 *Momum* This metonymy for "caviller, censurer, fault-finder" is very common in Er. In *Adag.* 474, *LB II*, 210B–211C, Er. relates *inter alia* that according to Hes. *Theog.* 214, Lucian and other authors Momus is a god "cui mos est, ipsum quidem nihil operis edere, sed aliorum deorum opera curiosis oculis contemplare, et si quid est omisum aut perperam factum, id summa cum libertate carpere". Cf. the section on *Eph.* 1,4 below. In *Ep.* 182, l. 71 Momus is synonymous with "acer censor", in *Ep.* 1171, l. 82 Momi are associated with "sycophantae". In *Ep.* 2172, l. 55, Er. complains of Stun.: "nihil facilius quam in magno opere Momum agere". Otto 1129. The testimony of Clem. Al. referred to in the addition in *B BAS* is found in *Eus. H.E.* III, 30. It is quoted from *Strom.* III, vi, 52, 5, ed. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel, and U. Treu, *GCS*, Clem. Al. III, p. 46, l. 1. On the whole subject of the apostles' wives, see pp. 138–140, ll. 578–589 above, with the nn. and the crit. app.
- 401 *paulo ante* 1 *Cor.* 9,5.
- 404 *locus ... expositum* Stun.'s side-note runs: "perperam hunc locum ab Erasmo expositum".
- 405 *Ex capite* × 1 *Cor.* 10,4.
- 407 *itineris ... comitem* In the *Annot.* Er. had observed: "sequente autem dixit tanquam itineris perpetua comite". ἀκολουθείσης is a slip of Er.' pen (for -θούσης), only corrected in *BAS*.
- 409 *Sin* The desert north and north-west of Mt Sinai. *Nu.* 20,1; cf. 7–13. *non ambulasse* Stun. had maintained that the *sensus literalis* of ἀκολουθούσης/consequente was not "eos comitante", but "desideriis eorum obsequente". In the *sensus mysticus* this meant: "Christum illis ubique affuisse". In order to explain away the notion of movement inevitably contained in ἀκολουθούσης, Stun. had argued that the Hebrews had also come at places where there was no water. From this he had inferred that the rock had not accompanied the Hebrews everywhere. This exposition does no justice to Paul's choice of the word ἀκολουθεῖν, which mirrors an exegetical tradition according to which the rock really accompanied the Hebrews through the desert (Strack-Billerbeck III, pp. 406–408). Er. on the other hand does not acknowledge any literal sense of ἀκολουθούσης whatever, recognizing only the mystical, spiritual, christological sense, on which he is in close agreement with Stun.
- 411 *Athanasio suo* Theophylact (cf. p. 131, n.l. 437 above), *Expositio in I Ep. ad Cor., ad loc.*, Migne *PG* 124, 680C. With this passage Stun. had illustrated the mystical sense of 1 *Cor.* 10,4.
- 418 *Ex capite xii* 1 *Cor.* 12,28.
- 420 *Graecis ... Latinis* Wordsworth-White and the Stuttgart Vg. read only "genera linguarum", but the text generally printed in 16th-century Vg. editions reads "genera linguarum, interpretationes sermonum". The longer reading has also been found in two Greek minuscules (547 and 1611), which read γένη γλωσσῶν, ἐρμηνεία (*sic*, sing.) γλωσσῶν. But it is secondary and due to influence of 1 *Cor.* 12,10.
- 422–423 *Atque ... linguarum* The meaning of this cryptic sentence is: "And moreover, if there has ever been any Greek counterpart of *interpretationes sermonum* at all, it must have been ἐρμηνείαι γλωσσῶν, cf. v. 10. But in that case v. 28 would have read: γένη γλωσσῶν, ἐρμηνείαι γλωσσῶν, with the same word twice. As the Vg., which in v. 28 reads *genera linguarum, interpretationes sermonum*, switches from one word to another, the longer text of v. 28 Vg. is questionable

sermonum, Graeci legunt *interpretatio linguarum*. Distinguit tamen *genera linguarum* ab *interpretatione linguarum*; ac paulo post repetens distinguit itidem:
 425 *nunquid omnes linguis loquuntur? Nunquid omnes interpretantur?* Ex his Stunica colligit in vetustis Graecorum codicibus asscriptum fuisse, quod in horum temporum libris deest. Atqui cum Stunica codices habeat *προσεληναίους*, praecipue Rhodiensem illum, cui tantum tribuit, proferat ex illis, si potest, et adiciemus quod deest. Fieri potest, vt eruditus apud Latinos videns non
 430 consentire partes in medio cum iis, quae praecesserant ac sequuntur, adiecerit quod suspicabatur deesse. Atqui cum huiusmodi scrupuli frequenter incidant in sacris libris, potius quaerendum erat, quo consilio Paulus hic non addidisset. Verum ego meo sum officio functus, indicaui quod apud Graecos minus est et adieci meam suspicionem citra cuiusquam iniuriam. Addendi de meo quae
 435 Graecis desunt prouinciam non susceperam.

In codicibus aliquot vetustissimis, quos mihi nuper praebuit Brugis collegium diui Donatiani, non asscribatur haec particula, quam indico apud Graecos non haberi.

EX CAPITE XIII.

440 *In lege enim scriptum est* et cetera. Quod est apud Esaiam, capite xxviii, citatum erat ex *capite xxii*, quod haud dubium est accidisse castigatorum et operarum incuria. Atque huiusmodi lapsus nobis citra collationes antitypi recognoscentibus haud facile deprehenduntur. Id esse verum videbit et Stunica, quum in aeditione secunda reposuerim verum numerum. Et hic velut
 LB 332 atrox | facinus sit admissum, elenchus habet: *Erasmi hallucinatio manifesta*, et in
 446 dissertatione: *delirauit Erasmus*. Malim ego centies labi memoria in numero capituli (quanquam hic qui potui, cum de codice scripserim quod tum scribebam?) quam semel sic labi lingua, vt nusquam non labitur Stunica, quamlibet leui de re maledicus in proximum suum.

450 Caeterum quod addit Paulus: *dicit Dominus*, cum non sit apud Esaiam, indico additum, vt impleretur forma prophetiae, nimirum sentiens hoc esse solemne in vaticiniis ad confirmationem, hanc addi clausulam: *dicit Dominus*. Id Stunica non intelligens flagellat *imperitiam* et incuriam meam, ostendens et hanc particulam *et nec sic exaudient me* paulo post sequi in eodem capite.
 455 Quur igitur, inquit, addidisti hanc particulam? Vt sciretur cui illa adhaereret: *dicit Dominus*. Nec affirmo locum hunc *aliunde sumptum*, sed addubitans dico:

423 linguarum, *A B*: *add.* quam tamen particulam non reperio additam in Graeco codice Theophylacti *BAS*; Distinguit *B BAS*: distinguens *A*; tamen *A B*: *add.* Apostolus

BAS.

433 quod *B BAS*: quid *A*.

438 haberi *A B*: *add.* ne quis somnium esse putet quod adfero *BAS*.

anyhow". For Er.' criticism of the inconsistency in the translation of *γλωσσαί* in v. 10,

see *Annot.* to that v. In this criticism Er. was dependent on Valla, who had ascribed

- the variation in v. 10 to textual corruption, *linguarum* being the correct reading, not *sermonum*, witness v. 30: "numquid omnes interpretantur?", *sc.* "linguas". The form of the abl. "superiori" is not uncommon in Er.; see D.F.S. Thomson, *The Latinity of Er.*, in: T.A. Dorey, ed., *Erasmus*, London, 1970, pp. 115-137, esp. p. 132: "veteri". But cf. p. 241, n.l. 229, *posteriore*.
- 423 *Distinguit* Viz. Paul. Here begins the paraphrase of Stun.'s objections: since Paul distinguishes between speaking in tongues and interpreting them in vv. 10 and 30, he must also have mentioned both in v. 28.
- 424 *paulo post* In v. 30, cf. previous n.
- 427 *προσεληναίους* I.e., alleged to be superior to any other mss. See p. 97, n.l. 725.
- 428 *Rhodiensem* See p. 147, n.l. 723 above, and p. 253, n.l. 449 below.
- 428-429 *proferat ... deest* This is rather like the promise which Er. is often supposed to have given with regard to the *Comma Iohanneum*, see p. 259, n.l. 541 below. Did the present passage contribute to the development of that legend? See also p. 222, l. 947 below: "Proferat ...".
- 430 *medio ... praecesserant ... sequuntur* Viz., in vv. 28, 10 and 30 respectively. Er. is giving here an eminent and indeed the correct explanation of the origin of the Vg. reading as generally received and printed in the 16th century.
- 432 *quaerendum erat* Er. had given the answer in the *Annot.*: "nisi forte haec duo [speaking in tongues and interpreting them] velut inter se cognata vnius loco posuit".
- 433-435 *indicaui ... susceperam* This passage, as indeed the whole section, is not only a fine specimen of Er.' good critical sense and sound judgement, it also shows the inflexibility with which he could stick to his position if he was convinced that he was right. His defence here greatly resembles that against Lee in the matter of the *Comma Iohanneum*; see LB IX, 275 B-C.
- 436-437 *codicibus ... Donatiani* See p. 169, n.ll. 73 74 above. *nuper*: in August 1521.
- 437 *non ascribebatur* The clause is also omitted in the Stuttgart Vg., as it is in Wordsworth-White.
- 439 *Ex capite xiiii* 1 *Cor.* 14,21.
- 440 *Esaia* 28,11-12.
- 441 *castigatorum* Nic. Gerbell and Joh. Oecolampadius, see p. 67, n.l. 131 and p. 133, n.l. 478.
- 442-443 *nobis ... recognoscentibus* "If we do the proof-reading without comparing the proofs with the copy".
- 445 *Erasmii hallucinatio manifesta* This is Stun.'s side-note verbally quoted.
- 446 *deliravit Erasmus* Stun.'s section opens as follows: "Non apud Esaiam cap. 22 hic locus est, vt Erasmus deliravit, sed cap. 28". For "dissertio", "discourse, disquisition", see Gell. XIX, 12, 3. The *Tb.L.L.* mentions only five occurrences of the word in this sense, many more in the sense of "exposition, interpretation".
- 447-448 *quanquam ... scribebam* "How could I have made a slip of the memory indeed, since I took what I wrote then over from a book?". Er. ignores Stun.'s remark that he (Stun.) would not have pointed out Er.' mistake "nisi errata huiuscemodi in aliis acriore censura et ipse adnotasset".
- 453 *Id Stunica ... flagellat* Er. is slightly misrepresenting the point at issue. He himself had somewhat imprudently written that Paul was responsible, not for "dicit Dominus" alone, but for "nec sic exaudient me, dicit Dominus". This had occasioned Stun. to object that the clause "nec sic exaudient me" was definitely not due to Paul, "vt Erasmus satis imperite ac indiligenter retulit; neque aliunde sumptum est hoc testimonium ...", but from *Is.* 28,12.
- 455 *addidisti* Er. means: "Why then, says Stun., did you quote 'et nec sic exaudient me, dicit Dominus' instead of 'dicit Dominus' only?".
- Vt ... adhaereret* This excuse does not sound convincing. Er.' mistake is more likely to be due to the considerable divergence between 1 *Cor.* 14,21 and *Is.* 28,11-12 LXX and Vg. Paul quotes *Is.* 28,11 and the end of v. 12, leaving out a long interjacent part of v. 12. Finding the beginning of the quotation in *Is.* 28,11, Er. failed to look somewhat further to find the passage corresponding to the end of Paul's quotation. Hence his premature supposition that Paul himself complemented the quotation. For the differences between 1 *Cor.* 14,21 and *Is.* 28,11 12, see H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 402.
- 456-458 *aliunde ... loco* Er. had written: "Nisi forte aliunde sumptum est hoc testimonium. Siquidem Hieronymus non audet affirmare, sed ait sibi videri, ex eo sumptum loco". Cf. Hier. *Comm. in Is.*, ad 28,11-12, Migne PL 24, 331 B, "Legimus in Apostolo ... [1 *Cor.* 14,21-22], quod mihi videtur iuxta Hebraicum de praesenti sumptum capitulo".

nisi forte, et addo argumentum, quod ipse *Hieronymus non affirmat, sed ait sibi videri sumptum ex hoc Esaiæ loco.*

EX CAPITE XVI.

- 460 *Permanebo autem Ephesi.* Quoniam in codicibus meis reppereram ἐπιμένω, verti *commoror*. In secunda aeditione nactus alios codices, verto *commorabor*. Ac ne tantulum quidem refert ad sensum, vtrum legas. Atque hic cum vno in loco multos errores commiserim, hic vnus est e multis. Alter est, quod *pentecosten* suspicor hic accipiendum non pro festo die Iudaeorum, quum iam
- 465 Paulus contemneret illorum festos dies, sed *diem quinquagesimum*. Atque in hanc sententiam disserit Theophylactus, qui Stunicae est Athanasius. Nam mihi frigidum videtur quod Beda in Actis putat diem paschae et pentecostes etiam apostolorum temporibus fuisse celebratum. Celebrabant quidem, sed
- quotidie. Stunica multis modis colligit Paulum sensisse de die festo, nec mihi
- 470 displicet hoc in loco hominis diligentia. Nec ego sic contendo Paulum non sensisse de die festo, vt reiiciam diuersam opinionem. Est enim hoc, opinor, ex eorum numero, in quibus liberum est cuique in suo sensu abundare.

EX SECUNDA AD CORINTHIOS, CAPITE I.

- Sine consolamur pro vestra.* In contextu primae aeditionis a librariis erant
- 475 admissa duo errata: pro εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα habebatur *sine consolationem accipitis*, pro accipimus; et pro ὑμῶν, vestri, habebatur *nostris*. Id si cura factum fuisset, admonissem in Annotationibus. Nunc quum nullum verbum faciam et in secunda aeditione castigarim, res ipsa clamat casu factum. Dicit, hoc erat tuum, prestare ne quid admitteretur in opere sacro. Belle monet
- 480 Stunica, atque vtinam liceret. Verum hoc numquam impetrabimus ab operis, etiamsi rumpamur. Cetera quae disserit Stunica nihil ad me pertinent.

EODEM II.

- Non quia dominamur fidei vestrae.* Quoniam Graecis est κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως, non autem κυριεύομεν τῆς ὑμῶν πίστεως, admoneo lectorem, dispiciat,
- 485 *num hic possit esse sensus: dominamur vobis nomine fidei*, quasi Paulus non habiturus esset in eos imperium, nisi credidissent. Quod si hic sensus redditur Graeco sermone, si pulchre quadrat, quid erat flagitii huius admonere? At hic,

462 Atque hic *A B*: Atque interim *BAS*.

468 celebratum *A B*: *add.* a christianis *BAS*.

476 accipimus *A' BAS*: accipiamus *A* B*.

459 *Ex capite xvi 1 Cor.* 16,8.

460 *codicibus meis* For the Greek text of Paul

Er. had used in 1516 four minuscules:

Gregory nos. 1, 2^{ap+paul} (used as printer's copy), 4^{ap+paul}, and 7^{paul} (see p. 131, n.l. 433 above). The reading ἐπιμένω occurs in

- ⁴ap+paul, witness Wettstein.
- 461 *alios codices* The Greek mss. which Er. used for the second ed. are (1) the minuscule Gregory no. 3^{ev+ap+paul} (Corsondonckensis, now Vienna, Nat. Bibl., gr. 52), and (2) a ms. of the gospels sent to Er. from the monastery St Agnes outside Zwolle (Epp. 504; 516), but not identified (was it the Greek gospel ms. which Wessel Gansfort had received from Sixtus IV, readings of which were incorporated in min. 90? Cf. C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des N.T.*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 149). It is impossible to trace all the N.T. mss. which Er. used. Allen (Ep. 597, n.l. 16) quotes a passage from Er.' first apology against Lee (March 1520) running: "Hinc Gandauum, mox Brugae profecti totum N.T. collatis vtriusque linguae voluminibus excussimus. Cutbertus Tunstallus vnum exemplar sat emendatum [Greek or Latin?] suppeditauit, et in conferendis Graecis codicibus [which codices?], quoniam id ab vno praestari non poterat, fidelissimam atque amicissimam nauauit operam, ...". These visits to Gent and Bruges took place in 1517, between the appearance of the first and the second ed. of the N.T.
- 463 *multos ... multis* Stun. had mentioned two errors; Er. deals with both of them in the present section.
- 465 *Paulus contemneret* Er. inferred this from such passages as *Rom.* 14,5-6; *Gal.* 4,10; *Col.* 2,16-17; see *Annot. in NT, ad 1 Cor.* 16,8.
diem quinquagesimum "Till the 50th day from to-day". This suggestion has found little, if any, approval. Paul probably used the term "Pentecost" as a mere date, borrowed from the Jewish calendar. See E. Lohse, in: *TWNT VI*, p. 49.
- 466 *Theophylactus Expositio in Ep. I ad Cor., ad loc.*, Migne PG 124,788: Καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα ἀγαπῶντος, τό τε εἰπεῖν ποῦ προσμενεῖ, καὶ ἕως πότε. It cannot be inferred from this that, as Er. claims, Theophylact took ἕως τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς to mean "up to the 50th day from to-day".
Athanasius See p. 131, n.l. 437.
- 467 *Beda* Bede had not been quoted by Stun. Er. had found his testimony in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, where he had obviously hoped to find support for his view, but saw his hopes deceived. See *Annot., ad loc.* Er.' criticism of Bede's view is very much to the point. There is no evidence for the celebration of a separate day of Pentecost by christians before the 3rd or 4th cent.: Pentecost was the festival period of fifty days after Easter. See G. Kretschmar, *Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 66 (1954-5), pp. 209-253, esp. p. 212; O. Casel, *Art und Sinn der ältesten chr. Osterfeier*, *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 14 (1934), pp. 1-78. For Bede's comment, see *Biblia sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria*, Paris, 1590, ad *Act.* 20,16: "Beda: Constat Paschae tempus et Pentecostes temporibus apostolorum celebratum esse".
diem ... pentecostes Bede wrote "tempus", not "diem". His words (see previous n.) seem to mean that the first generation of christians already celebrated Easter and Pentecost, not as Jewish, but as christian festivals. With regard to Easter he is probably right (see J. Jeremias, in: *TWNT V*, pp. 900-902; cf. VI, p. 49, n. 35). For the celebration of Pentecost as a christian festival there is no evidence before the 2nd cent. (see E. Lohse, in: *TWNT VI*, p. 52).
- 469 *die festo* The Jewish feast-day of Pentecost.
- 473 *Ex secunda ... capite i 2 Cor.* 1,6.
- 476 ὑμῶν The second ὑμῶν in the v. The whole clause, as printed in the *Nov. Instr.*, runs: "Siue consolationem accipitis, pro nostri consolatione ac salute".
- 478 *casu factum* This is likely to be true. But Stun. had given another explanation, viz., that Er. had misunderstood παρακαλούμεθα as a deponent, "we give (you) consolation" or "you are consoled by us", *consolationem accipitis*, and that, as a result, Er. had been obliged to change *vestri* into *nostris*.
- 481 *rumpamur* Viz., with rage. Otto 1558.
Cetera Some observations on the conflate reading of 2 *Cor.* 1,6 in certain editions of the Vg. and quotations from Theophylact and Ambrosiaster testifying against the translation given by Er.
- 482 *Eodem ii 2 Cor.* 1,24.
- 485 *num ... fidei* Er. had translated "Non quod dominemur vobis nomine fidei", and in the *Annot.* he had remarked: "Vide, num hic sensus accipi possit: dominamur vobis propter fidem vel fidei gratia". The suggestion is superfluous, see the nn. to ll. 490-491 below.
- 487-488 *hic ... loquendi modus* Viz., a mere genitive (τῆς πίστεως), without a preposition, meaning *propter (fidem)* or (*fidei*) *gratia*, "vt more Graecorum subaudias ἔνεχα", thus Er. in the *Annot., ad loc.*

inquit Stunica, *loquendi modus raro aut nunquam inuenitur apud apostolos*. Hoc mihi
 490 satis est, etsi nunquam reperiretur, ad coniecturam, apud Graecos etiam
 frequentem esse. Negat me *commoueri debuisse* scrupulo *articuli* praepositi, *cum*
 reperiantur *et alias articuli* simili modo *transpositi*. Doceat vbi id fiat et
 abiiciemus scrupulum. Caeterum ex Theophylacto Latine verso vix deprehen-
 das quid senserit. Mihi Graece lectus magis videbatur pro me facere. |

LB 333

EX CAPITE II.

495 *Vt non cum venero tristitiam* et cetera. Indicaram in Graecis exemplaribus
 hanc particulam *super tristitiam* non addi, sed ex alio Pauli loco huc
 adiectam a studioso quopiam, nimirum *ex epistolae ad Philippenses capite ii*,
 presertim cum nec *apud Ambrosium* addatur, nec apud Theophylactum. Stunica
 500 testatur additum fuisse in codice quodam Rhodiensi. At ego illi Rhodiensi
 oppono tot vetusta exemplaria, quae nos vidimus partim in Anglia, partim in
 Brabantia, partim Basileae, quorum nonnulla cardinalis quidam Roma secum
 adduxerat, cum illic esset synodus, et in itinere moriens legauit totam
 bibliothecam, quae Graeca erat, monasterio carthusiensium. Ac deprehendi
 quosdam Graecos codices ad nostros esse castigatos, quo de numero suspicor
 505 esse Rhodiensem illum. Quod si verum est, codex ille nihil aliud est quam
 amussis alba in albo lapide. Ego magis fiderem exemplari Graeco quod non
 vsquequaque consentiret cum nostris.

489 satis est, etsi nunquam reperiretur *A*:
add. alterum satis *A**, etsi nunquam reperire-
 tur satis est *B BAS*.

493 Mihi Graece ... *facere* *A B*: Post nactus
 Graeci voluminis copiam, deprehendi illum

interpretari, fidem alienam non esse in nos-
 tra potestate, quod nemo cogi possit ad
 credendum: sed reclamatur interim articulus
BAS.

488 *apostolos* Stun. had written "apostolum".
 490 *frequentem* But only with verbs meaning:
 to grieve, feel pity, be angry, envy, admire,
 praise, blame and hate (Kühner-Gerth, part
 II, vol. I, § 420, pp. 388–389), and not in the
 N.T., unless in *Act.* 19,40 *ἐγκαλεῖσθαι*
στάσεως (Moulton-Turner III, p. 231). This
loquendi modus has yielded to prepositional
 phrases.

490–491 *Negat ... transpositi* Stun.'s words
 are: "Neque Erasmus mouere debuisset
 articuli transpositio, cum et alias eo pacto
 articulos transpositos in Apostolo legerit".
 Stun. is right; see, e.g., *Rom.* 14,16 ὑμῶν τὸ
 ἀγαθόν, 1 *Cor.* 9,11 ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικά, 2 *Cor.*
 10,6 ὑμῶν ἡ ὑπακοή, *Col.* 2,5 ὑμῶν τὴν τάξιν,
 and 1 *Thess.* 3,10 ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον. Yet this
 word order is relatively rare in Paul. That

may be the reason why Er. proposed his
 alternative solution. He always stuck to it,
 also in the *Paraphr. in 1 Cor.*

492 *Theophylacto* From the Latin translation of
 Theophylact's commentary on 2 *Cor.* Stun.
 had quoted, *inter alia*, the following words:
 "non ... quod fidei vestrae imperitarem
 ...". But Er. is of course right in claiming
 that this Latin paraphrase, possibly influ-
 enced by the Vg., tells us nothing as to the
 way in which Theophylact himself had
 interpreted Paul's Greek.

493 *Mihi ... facere* This is incorrect, for
 Theophylact's paraphrase runs: οὐ διὰ τὸ
 ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, προαίρεσις
 γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ πίστις, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀναγκάζει
 πιστεῦσαι τὸν μὴ βουλόμενον, Migne PG 124,
 813 D. After 1522 Er. discovered that he

had misinterpreted Theophylact and replaced the present sentence by a new passage, included in *BAS* (see crit. app.), in which Er. correctly reported what Theophylact had meant, maintaining however that the article τῆς (in ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως) told against his interpretation.

The Greek ms. of Theophylact's commentary on Paul mentioned in the addition in *BAS* belonged to the monastery of the Dominicans at Basle. Er. had first used it for the second ed. of the *Nov. Instr.* At Anderlecht he had of course no access to the ms., but after his return to Basle he consulted it again. The ms. was afterwards lent to Paris for an edition (Allen, Ep. 846, n.l. 8; introd. Ep. 2065). It has long been thought to be lost (A. Vernet, *Les mss. grecs de Jean de Raguse*, Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde 61 (1961), pp. 75-108, esp. pp. 88-89, no. XXVIIb), but was identified as ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. E.1.6 (= Misc. gr. 20 in O. Coxe, *Catal. codd. mss. Bibl. Bodl.*, I, Oxford, 1853, col. 620, = min. Gregory no. 2105 of the Greek N.T., = Von Soden [I, i, p. XV], Θ⁷⁴⁰⁷), by R.W. Hunt, *Greek Mss. in the Bodl. Libr. from the Collection of John Stojković of Ragusa*, in: *Studia Patristica*, VII, i, TU 92, Berlin, 1966, pp. 75-82.

At Anderlecht Er. used Theophylact's commentary on Paul in the Latin translation by Porsena (see p. 131, n.l. 437 above), probably in the ed. by Nic. Bérault, *Athanasii ... opera*, Paris (Ioa. Paruus), 1519, or its reprint *ibid.*, 1520. One of these editions was in Er.'s possession, as appears from the "Versandliste" (F. Husner, *Die Bibliothek des Er.*, in: *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Er. von Rotterdam*, Basle, 1936, p. 240, no. 187, identified as the Paris 1519 or 1520 ed. by E. van Gulik, private communication).

494 *Ex capite ii 2 Cor.* 2,3.

496 *super tristicium* The Greek equivalent ἐπι λύπην is now found in a considerable number of mss. which Er. did not know yet, but Er.'s diagnosis that the longer reading is secondary and due to influence from *Phil.* 2,27 is correct.

498 *apud Ambrosium ... Theophylactum* In the *Annot.* of 1516 Er. had pointed out that Ambrosiaster (ed. H.I. Vogels, *CSEL* 81, p. 205) and Theophylact (Migne *PG* 124, 816C) support the shorter reading. This is correct.

499 *Rhodiensi* See p. 147, n.l. 723. Stun. had reported that this ms. had λύπην ἐπι λύπης.

This reading has not been found in any ms., but λύπην ἐπι λύπην is attested for a number of mss., *inter alia* DEFG 1739 (see N²⁶).

500 *exemplaria* See p. 191, n.l. 461.

501 *cardinalis* John de Ragusio (c. 1390-1443).

He became procurator generalis of the Dominicans under pope Martinus V (1417-1431). He took part in the Council of Basle (1431-1449) and was sent on a mission to Constantinople (1435-1437) by this Council. After this he was created cardinal by the schismatic pope Felix V (1440). He died at Lausanne in 1443. Among the mss. which he bequeathed to the Dominicans at Basle were the uncial E^{5v} and min. 1 of the Greek N.T. See J. Quetif and J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I, Paris, 1719, col. 797a and 206b; A. Krchňák, *De vita et operibus Ioannis de Ragusio* (Lateranum, N.S. 26, 3-4), Rome, 1960; A. Vernet, *Les mss. grecs de Jean de Raguse*, Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde 61 (1961), pp. 75-108; B. Duda, *Joannis Stojković, O.P. († 1443) doctrina de cognoscibilitate ecclesiae*, Rome, 1958; H.I. Marrou, *À Diognète*, *SC* 33 bis, Paris, 1965², pp. 6-7; *ODCC*², s.v. John of Ragusa.

503 *carthusiensium* A slip for "praedicatorum", corrected at 2 *Cor.* 11,1, p. 196, ll. 547-548.

504 *ad nostros esse castigatos* One of Er.'s stock theories, to which he often referred in evaluating Greek mss. of the N.T. He believed that many Greek mss. contained a text which had been revised after and adapted to the Vg., as a result of a decree of the Ecumenical Council of Ferrara and Florence (1438-45), whose chief object had been the reunion of the Latin and Greek churches. See on this theory (which is nothing but misconception and error) H.J. de Jonge, *Fr. and the Comma Johanneum*, *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 56 (1980), pp. 381-389, esp. pp. 386-389. That Greek mss. were influenced by Latin ones is not unlikely, however, for the earliest stages of the textual tradition of the N.T.; see p. 259, n.l. 542 below. See also p. 246, ll. 343-344 below.

506 *amussis alba in albo lapide* "Not a valid criterion". See for this proverb *Adag.* 488, *LB* II, 215 F: "Dicitur vel in eos qui nullo sunt iudicio, ... vel in eos qui incertis probant aut significant incerta. Solet enim funiculus ille minio oblini, quo discrimen faciat ...". At the present place the proverb means: if the Rhodiensis has been influenced by the Vg., it is useless when one has

EX CAPITE III.

510 *Aporiamur, sed non destituimur.* Quaeso te, lector, vt ex hoc loco perpendas quantum frontis habeat Stunica. Quoniam *aporiamur* vox est Latinis inaudita, verteram *laboramus*. In Annotationibus diligenter explico naturam Graecae vocis, quae *significat haerentem, perplexum, et inopem consilii*. Adde vocem eandem aliquando sonare egenum non consilii, sed rerum necessariarum, et ob id hoc loco Ambrosium vertisse *egentes*. Haec eadem quum
515 aliquanto deterius doceat Stunica in sua annotatione, nullam facit mentionem annotationis meae, quo nouum esse videatur, quod ipse adfert e suo Athanasio et Hesychio. Et in elencho adscripsit: *Erasmum non intellexisse significatum huius verbi aporiare*. Atque hac quidem in re vehementer a Stunica dissentio, siquidem illi verbum *aporiare* duo significat: dubitare et egere, mihi
520 neutrum, imo nihil omnino significat.

Iam scio Stunica negabit hos elenchos esse suos, et hoc praetextu fretus illic est virulentior, quod hic si quid inesset quod defendi non posset, liceret inficiari.

525 Fortasse dicet: tu non vertis quod interpretaris, vertis enim *laboramus*. Quasi Latinis non dicantur laborare, qui anxii sunt et ancipitis consilii, presertim in re periculosa.

EX CAPITE VI.

Et inambulabo inter eos. Sic annoto: *inter eos non est in Graecis, sed tamen conatus est exprimere verbum ἐμπεριπατήσω, quod significat in aliquo ambulare.*
530 Hic Stunica quum nihil habeat quod reprehendat, confert quid habeant Hebraei, quid verterint Septuaginta, quid Hieronymus. Hoc quid ad me pertinet? Et tamen in indice asscripsit: *recte interpretem hoc loco traduxisse, vt lector parum attentus suspicetur me reprehendisse interpretem, cum nihil tale sit.*

535

EX CAPITE X.

Que secundum faciem sunt videte. Cum βλέπετε Graeca vox possit esse vel indicatiui modi, vel imperatiui, doceo pronunciationem item esse variam: quosdam malle interrogationem, quod ea sit acrior ad obiurgandum, atque ita legendum: *videtis?* Hoc quod dixeram hauseram e Graecis scholiis, quae
540 huius pronunciationis autorem citant Theodoretum. Ceterum ex his quae citat

514 ob id hoc loco B BAS: ob id hoc A*, ob hoc A'.

to decide whether a reading of the Vg. is authentic or secondary. Appealing to the

Rhod. in such cases would amount to "incertis probare incerta". Er. will use the

- proverb again in the section on 2 *Cor.* 11,1 below. See also *Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.*, I.B IX, 399 B.
- 508 *Ex capite iii* 2 *Cor.* 4,8.
- 510–511 *inaudita* It occurs only in christian Latin.
- 514 *egentes* This is a slip, for Ambrosiaster reads “inopiam passi”, not “egentes”, as Er. had correctly stated in the *Annot.* See H.I. Vogels, ed., *CSEL* 81, p. 224.
- 516 *suo Athanasio* See p. 131, n.l. 437 and Theophylact, *Comm. in II Ep. ad Cor.*, ad loc., Migne PG 124, 841, a passage which Stun. had quoted to prove that ἀπορεῖν means *dubitare* as well as *indigere*.
- 517 *Hesychio* From his *Lexicon* Stun. had quoted the entry Ἀπορεῖ ἀδμονεῖ, ἀγωνιῶ, to show that *aporiari* had even a third meaning: “anxius esse, moleste ferre”. Stun.’s point is that *aporiari* means more than Er. had reported.
- elencho* Stun.’s side-note. In quoting it Er. changed the order of the first three words from “Non int. Er.” into “Er. non int.” Otherwise the quotation is correct.
- 520 *nihil ... significat* Since it does not belong to the *consuetudo* of the *probi auctores*. *Aporiari* is hardly more than a transliteration. Such transliterated loan-words from Greek were quite numerous in the early Latin versions of the bible; see Chr. Mohrmann, *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens*, I, Rome, 1961, p. 117; F. Kaulen, *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata*, Freiburg, 1904², pp. 98–110, 221–224. Valla had already proposed to translate: “afflicti, sed non destituti, siue: animo defecti”.
- 521 *negabit ... suos* Side-notes were often added by some *librarius*.
- 521–522 *illic ... hic* Both *illic* and *hic* mean “in the side-notes”.
- 527 *Ex capite vi* 2 *Cor.* 6,16.
- 528 *Graecis* The Greek has only ἐμπεριπατήσω and no equivalent for *inter eos*, the reading of the Vg. in many 16th-century editions.
- 530 *nihil* Stun. had in fact observed that in *Lv.* 26,12, which in his opinion was the source of Paul’s ἐμπεριπατήσω, the LXX did read ἐν ὑμῖν after ἐμπεριπατήσω and that the Hebrew too had “I shall walk about among them”. Consequently, thus Stun., Paul must have written ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν: “Ergo καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν Apostolus hic posuit”, and this reading was confirmed by that of the Vg. “inambulabo inter eos”.
- 531 *Hebraei ... Septuaginta* Viz., in *Lv.* 26,12, on the supposition that Paul is quoting that passage. Er. on the other hand saw that the use of *inambulare* here calls for such an addition as *inter eos* or *in eis*. However, the addition is not indispensable (Er. himself translated: “et inambulabo”, without any addition) and there is no Greek evidence for it. So the modern critical editions of the Vg., reading *inambulabo* only, would perhaps seem to justify Er.’ position.
- 532 *indice* The side-note is correctly quoted.
- 533–534 *nihil ... sit* This is true.
- 535 *Ex capite x* 2 *Cor.* 10,7.
- 537 *indicatini ... imperatini* For Er.’ interest in this sort of problems, see the section on *Iob.* 1,46 above. The interpretation of βλέπετε in 2 *Cor.* 10,7a and the punctuation of this clause is still a vexed question; see *The Greek NT*, 1975³, ad loc. Er.’ proposal to read it as a question penetrated, via the *textus receptus* and Beza, as far as the Authorized Version (1611), the Dutch States’ Version (1637), and the margin of the English Revised Version (1881) and the American Standard Version (1901). Er. followed Valla, whose note on *videte* in v. 7 Vg. runs: “Imo *videtis*. Est autem Graece ambiguum, sed plerique Graecorum etiam interrogatiue legunt, vt imperatium esse non possit βλέπετε”.
- 539 *Graecis scholiis* A catena-like commentary, anonymous and wrongly ascribed to Oecumenius, on Paul, contained in ms. Basle, Univ. Libr., A.N. III.11 = 7^{paul} of the Greek N.T. (see p. 190, n.l. 460 above). The ms. is no. XV in Vernet, *Les mss. grecs de Jean de Raguse* (see p. 193, n.l. 501 above), and no. 11 in H. Omont, *Catalogue des mss. grecs des bibliothèques de Suisse*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 8. On the nature of this Pseudo-Oecumenius commentary on Paul, see K. Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome, 1926, pp. 93–212 (Staab does not mention the ms. used by Er.), and H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des N.T.*, I, i, Göttingen, 1911, pp. 694–699, where the ms. presently referred to is designated as O¹⁸. The commentary is accessible in Migne PG 118–119. For Theodoretus’ comment on 2 *Cor.* 10,7, see Migne PG 118, 1032 C: κατὰ ἐρώτησιν ἀναγνωστῶν. Θεοδ. See also p. 220, n.l. 907–908 below.
- 540 *Theodoretum* See his *Interpretatio Ep. II ad Cor.*, ad loc., Migne PG 82, 436 B: τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον βλέπετε: κατ’ ἐρώτησιν ἀναγνωστῶν.

Stunica ex Athanasio suo Latine verso, nihil omnino certi colligitur. Imo magis videtur cum Theodoro sentire. Eat nunc Stunica et in elencho suo impudenti scribat: *euidens Erasmi hallucinatio*. |

LB 334

EX CAPITE XI.

- 545 *Sed et supportate me.* Ἀνέχεσθε Graecis vel sufferte sonat, vel suffertis. Mihi magis placet indicandi modus et in Annotationibus indico sic legere *Graecanica scholia*. Quae si volet legere Stunica, petat a monasterio praedicatorum Basiliensium. Liber est elegans ac vetustus, a cardinali de quo dictum est illic relictus. Stunica negat et docet alterum quoque sensum posse consistere.
- 550 Vt hoc euincat, non praestat tamen quod promiserat in indice: *perperam ab Erasmo translata*; iam vt *perperam* doceat me vertisse, nihil adfert nisi merum somnium suum. Nam quod adducit ex Theophylacto Latine verso, amussis est alba in albo lapide. Imo Theophylactus, si quis attendat, legit ἀνέχεσθε indicandi modo, subiicit enim: *confido enim in posterum vos me beneuolentia*
- 555 *prosequuturos*. Sic enim dicimus aliquem facere, quod illum confidimus futurum. Obsecro te, lector, quis est tam patienti stomacho, vt ferat huius hominis impudentiam, qui sibi videtur stipitibus scribere non hominibus?

EODEM II.

- 560 *Despondi enim vos vni viro.* Ἡρμოსάμην ego verteram *adiunxi* pro *despondi*, nimirum hoc sequutus, quod qui despondet, non idem iungit, et Graecis despondere est μνηστεύειν peculiare verbum ei rei. Hic Stunica docet apud Graecos ἡρμოსάμην frequenter vsurpari pro despondi, nec vllum adducit exemplum, et si adduceret nihil aduersum me faceret, cum quisquis iungit desponsam, iungat.
- 565 Ridiculum vero quod adducit Athanasium suum Latine versum, qui haud dubie legit ἡρμოსάμην et interpres Latinus sequutus vulgatam aeditionem reddit *despondi*. O hominem dialecticum!

Ceterum quod subiicit Theophylactus Athanasius: *non enim sponsus ipse futurus sum, sed sponsae ductor*, ac mox: *quin illos in sponsae modum, se vero pronubae*

542 sentire. *A B: add.* Quum enim interpretetur, Paulum non solum territare eos qui deciperent, verumetiam illos increpare qui deciperentur, dicens κρίνετε, id est iudicatis ex his quae apparent, si quis sit gloriosus, si diues, si virtutis personam gerens, quomodo quadrabit vt legamus, videte? *BAS.*

549 negat *A B: reclamat BAS.*

555 dicimus *B BAS: dicemus A.*

555 556 futurum. *A B: add.* Post nactus Graeci voluminis copiam, comperi in commentariis ἀνέχεσθε. *BAS.*

564 iungat *A BAS: iungit A* B CS.*

541 *Athanasio suo* Theophylact (see p. 131, n.l. 437), *Expositio in Ep. II ad Cor., ad 10,7,*

Migne *PG* 124, 904 A. Stun. had quoted from Porsena's translation: "Non solum

- seductoribus formidinem incutit, quietiam seductos obiurgat [*sc.* Paulus]. Et ideo inquit: 'Ex his quae secundum faciem sunt, hoc est, quae videntur, videte', id est, iudicate, si quis videlicet inflatus superbit, si quis opibus affluit, si quis demum virtutis figura vel umbra opertus est". This passage proved, according to Stun., that Paul's βλέπετε was an imperative, not an interrogatory indicative, as Er. had claimed. The interpretation of Theophylact's Greek comments added in *BAS* (see *crit. app.*) is neither the only possible, nor the most natural exegesis of Theophylact's words. In fact, κρίνετε can mean *indicate* just as well as *indicatis*?
- 542 *elencho* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Erasmii euidens hallucinatio".
- 544 *Ex capite xi 2 Cor.* 11,1. Here Er. had translated: "Imo et suffertis me".
- 547 *Graecanica scholia* See p. 195, n.l. 539. Pseudo-Oecumenius' commentary (Migne PG 118, 1041 A) runs: 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνέχεσθε μου. Οἶδα γάρ, φησίν, ὅτι ἀγαπᾶτέ με, καὶ πάντα μου ἀνέχεσθε.
- 547-548 *praedicatorum* Cf. p. 192, l. 503, with the n.
- 548 *vetustus* The ms. (see p. 195, n.l. 539) is usually dated to the 11th century; see, e.g., Omont, *Catalogue des mss. grecs des bibliothèques de Suisse*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 8. *cardinali* See p. 193, n.l. 501 above.
- 549 *Stunica* Stun. had insisted that ἀνέχεσθε was an imperative, but his only argument had been that after the wish expressed in v. 12, an urgent appeal in the form of an imperative matched better than an indicative. However, Greek exegetes, like Theodoretus (Migne PG 82, 440 A), had held the opposite view. *consistere* Cf. p. 153, n.l. 797 and p. 217, n.l. 860.
- 550 *indice* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Perperam hec ab Erasmo translata".
- 552 *quod adducit* Viz., "Inquit itaque, 'utinam sustineretis me in paucis delirantem. Quin potius me supportate'. Confido enim imposterum vos me benevolentia persecuturos, foreque ut me per omnia toleretis".
- 552-553 *amussis ... lapide* See p. 193, n.l. 506. Er. means that the Latin translator of Theophylact had been influenced by the interpretation implied in the Vg. (*supportate*, not *supportatis*), so that his testimony has no value.
- 553 *Theophylactus* At Anderlecht, where Er. wrote this, he could not consult Theophylact's commentary in Greek. He therefore quoted the Latin translation as given in Stun.'s annotation. After he had returned to Basle Er. checked the passage in Greek; see next n. From Theophylact's Greek text it is perfectly clear that he took indeed ἀνέχεσθε as an indicative, for he concluded his comment by the words: Θαρρῶ γὰρ ὅτι ἀγαπᾶτέ με, καὶ πάντα μου ἀνέχεσθε (Migne PG 124, 908 C).
- 555-556 *facturum* The reference to Theophylact in Greek inserted in *BAS* (see *crit. app.*) is to his commentary on Paul contained in the ms. of the Dominicans at Basle. Cf. p. 193, n.l. 493 above.
- 557 *stipitibus* A common metonymy for "blockhead", Otto 1695; I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter*, Heidelberg, 1965, *index*. See also Lewis-Short, *s.v.*
- 558 *Eodem ii 2 Cor.* 11,2.
- 560-561 *Graecis ... rei* Er. could not yet know what has become known since, viz. that ἀρμόζομαι, middle, occurs indeed, although very rarely, in the sense of the active "to betroth, promise in marriage"; Bauer, *s.v.*, refers to Philo *Leg. alleg.* II, 67: ᾧ (*sc.* τῷ Μωυσῆ) τὴν Αἰθιοπίσσαν ... ὁ θεὸς ἡρμόσατο.
- 562 *frequenter* Stun. had written: "hoc verbum saepissime apud Graccos in hunc sensum accipitur"; "saepissime" is definitely incorrect.
- 564 *desponsam* B and *BAS* have a comma before *desponsam*, A has no comma. If a comma is inserted at all, it should be placed after *desponsam*. Er. means: even if ἀρμόζεσθαι is proved to mean "despondere, iungere desponsam", then my translation *adiunxi* is still correct, for it can rightly be said of whoever "iungit desponsam" (= ἀρμόζεται) that he "iungit" or "adiungit". Consequently, *adiunxi* is a correct translation.
- 567 *dialecticum* "Master of logic", "logician". The error of reasoning for which Er. is blaming Stun. is the one designated above as "amussis alba in lapide albo", see p. 192, l. 506 and p. 196, ll. 552-553 (see the nn.).
- 568 *Theophylactus Athanasius* See p. 131, n.l. 437. Theophylact, *Expositio in Ep. II ad Cor.*, ad 11,2, Migne PG 124, 908 D. Stun. had quoted this passage in order to show that Theophylact's interpretation of ἡρμωσάμην agreed with that of the Vg. *despondi*. Theophylact's Greek runs: οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ νυμφαγωγός. ... ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἐν τάξει νύμφης, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐν χώρᾳ προμνηστρίας τάττει, σεμνύνων αὐτούς.

570 *loco constituit, nubentem compositurum*, ex his quamlibet male versis tamen perspicuum est Theophylactum facere contra Stunicam. Neque enim despondet νυμφόστολος, sed a parentibus desponsam deducit ac iungit sponso. Nec despondet pronuba, sed in manum dat sponso. Et hic est ille, qui mihi
 575 ista mouent conuicia, sed vereor ne hae tam foedae et scurriles rixae multorum animos alienent a sacris studiis.

EODEM III.

Damasci praepositus. In Annotationibus indicaram quod *Aretas* fuisset *socer Herodis*. Stunica carpit quod non addiderim qui fuerit is Herodes, cum eius
 580 nominis fuerint complures. Si hoc est peccare, nusquam non pecco. Nullus est enim locus, in quo non aliquid possit addi.

EX EPISTOLA AD GALATAS.

Continuo non acquieui carni et cetera. Indicaram ex Hieronymo, quod haec
 585 Stephani narratio multis modis dissentire videtur cum ea quae est in *Actis apostolicis, capite ix*. Addo non esse eius operis id prolixius persequi, quo lector si quid desideret ab Hieronymo petat. Hic Stunica: non haec, inquit, *Pauli narratio multis modis dissentire videtur ab ea quae est apud Lucam in Actis apostolicis, capite ix, ut Erasmus retulit, sed haec illam videtur exponere et ut ita dixerim ampliare, tametsi prima fronte videtur ab ea esse diuersa*. Quid ego audio? An quod videtur, non
 590 videtur? Nonne quod prima fronte videtur, videtur? Si non videtur, mentitus est Hieronymus.

Porro cum ego dicerem: *dissentit*, de spetie sentiebam, non de re. Caetera quae hic disserit Stunica nihil ad me pertinent. |

595 *O insensati Galatae, quis vos fascinavit?* Quoniam eadem verba in plerisque Latinis habebantur in huius epistolae capite v, obiter admiscueram haec in Annotationibus: *Hieronymus secundo aduersus Iouinianum libro vertit inpediuit*, suspicans illic esse idem Graecum verbum ἐβάσκηθεν, cum sit ἐνέκοψεν. Habes, lector, summam mei criminis. Hic obiici potest quod in tumultu non satis
 600 attente perpenderim Graeca. At Stunica in elencho obiicit quod *non intellexerim Hieronymum*. Porro duplicem fuisse lectionem apud Latinos in quinto capite docet etiam ipsa Glossa Ordinaria, atque exemplar mire vetustum ex bibliotheca collegii sancti Donatiani Brugis.

- 582 Galatas *A*: *add. capite I B BAS.* CS LB: illum *A B.*
- 588 *illam scripsi cum Stunica ipso cumque BAS* 594 Ex capite iii *B BAS: om. A.*
- 570 *male versis* Er. had to content himself with the translated fragments quoted by Stun., since at Anderlecht he could not consult Theophylact's Greek text; see pp. 192–193, n.l. 493.
- 572 *νυμφόστολος* This is Er.' retroversion of *sponsae ductor*, see l. 569. But Theophylact has *νυμφαγωγός*, see p. 197, n.l. 568.
- 574 *nihil ... autoribus* See Stun.'s section on 1 *Cor.* 4,3: "nihil eorum quae apud diuum Hieronymum et alios ecclesiae doctores legit prorsus intelligit", *sc.* Erasmus.
- 576 *animos alienent* The same idea in Er.' proem, p. 60, l. 20.
- 577 *Eodem iii 2 Cor.* 11,32.
- 578 *Aretas* Aretas IV (c. 9 B.C.–40 A.D.), king of Nabatea, father-in-law of Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, until the latter divorced Aretas' daughter to marry Herodias. Stun. had referred to the evidence in Fl. Ios. *Ant. Iud.* XVIII, 5, 1, §§ 109–112.
- 582 *Ex epistola ad Galatas Gal.* 1,16.
- 583 *Hieronymo* Hier. *Comm. in Gal.*, ad 1,16, Migne PL 26, 352–353, an extensive discussion of the discrepancies between *Gal.* 1 and *Act.* 9,19–30.
- 583–585 *quod ... operis* Quoted from the *Annot.*
- 584 *Stephani* In the *Annot.* Er. had written "Pauli" (see l. 586), not "Stephani" (so all editions of the present *Apolog.*). "Stephani" seems to be an attempt at variation. But Er. is mistaken: in *Gal.* and *Act.* 9 Stephen plays no role. Er. probably confused *Act.* 9 and *Act.* 6,8–8,1.
- 586–589 *non ... diuersa* Verbally quoted from Stun., except that Stun. had written "tametsi ... videatur", not *videtur*.
- 591 *Hieronymus* Jerome's words are: "Non sibi videtur historiae ordo concinere, referente Luca in Act. Ap. quod ... Hic autem dicit [*sc.* Paulus] ...".
- 592 *dissentit* This is indeed what Er. had written, not "dissentire videtur", cf. p. 198, l. 587.
Caetera... Stun. had in fact argued nothing at all, but only given an extensive excerpt from Jerome's commentary on *Gal.* 1,16.
- 594 *Ex capite iii Gal.* 3,1.
- 595 *eadem verba Sc.* "quis vos fascinavit".
- 595–596 *in ... capite v* In *Gal.* 5,7 the Vg. reads "quis vos impediuit", not "fascinavit", as in 3,1, although Wordsworth-White mention three uncials reading "fascinavit" there instead of "impediuit", owing to influence of 3,1. On the other hand, the text of 3,1 Vg. as generally received in the 16th century showed the influence of 5,7 in reading "quis vos fascinavit non obedire veritati?". The last three words come from 5,7. As a result, 3,1 resembled 5,7 much more in the 16th-century Vg. than in modern critical editions. This accounts for Er.' confusion of the two passages: it was something very apt to occur.
- 597 *Hieronymus* Hier. *Adv. Iov.* II, 3, Migne PL 23, 298 B: "currebatis bene, quis vos impediuit veritati non obedire?".
- 598 *ἐβάσκηγεν* In *Gal.* 3,1, all modern as well as many early printed editions (e.g. Beza's) read *ἐβάσκαγε*, the normal Hellenistic form of the weak aor. of *βάσκαίνω* (Moulton-Howard II, p. 214; Blass-Debrunner, § 72). But several other editions of the *textus receptus* have the pseudo-correct form *ἐβάσκηγε* or *ἐβάσκηγε*. Er.' own editions have *ἐβάσκηγε*. Stun., in his corresponding section, has *ἐβάσκηγεν*, and so has Er. at the present place according to *A B BAS* and *LB.*
ἐνέκοψεν That this is the reading of *Gal.* 5,7 is a correct observation which Er. copied from Stun.'s corresponding section. Er. himself, however, read *ἀνέκοψεν* in all his editions. From his editions *ἀνέκοψεν* was adopted in other editions and thus it became *textus receptus*. Yet, as far as can be judged from critical editions of the N.T., there is no ms. evidence whatever for *ἀνέκοψεν*.
- 599 *tumultu* See p. 61, n.l. 24 and p. 173, n.l. 144.
- 600 *elencho* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Non intellectum ab Erasmo Hieronymum".
- 602 *Glossa Ordinaria* See *Biblia sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria*, Paris, 1590, ad *Gal.* 5,7, interlinear gloss: "Alias impediuit".
- 602–603 *exemplar ... Brugis* See on this ms. p. 169, n.l. 73–74. In the *Annot.*, ad *Gal.* 5,7, Er. observed: "in codice Donatiani scriptum competi *fascinavit*".

EODEM II.

- 605 *Praeuidentem autem Deum. Scripseram apud Homerum a Penelope promitti praemium, hoc est euangelium, Vlyssi.* Stunica dicit Vlysses ab Eumeo petisse praemium laeti nuntii. Donemus me lapsum memoria, nondum enim inspexi locum (quanquam potest et hoc esse verum quod dico), quid aliud mihi accidit in Homero, nisi quod Ciceroni accidisse docet Aulus Gellius? Et tamen audi
610 Stunicae maledicam linguam: *ut Erasmus, inquit, butyro et patria ceruisia obrutus somniauit.*

EX CAPITE III.

- Quoniam confundor in vobis.* Annotaram Hieronymo non videri quicquam interesse inter ἀισχύνην et σύγχυσιν, quod hoc loco duas voces recensens rem
615 eandem declarantes ponit ἀισχύνην et σύγχυσιν. Stunica docet in aeditione Veneta, quae praecesserat Basiliensem, eum locum in quo nunc est σύγχυσιν fuisse vacuum, et suspicatur in spatio vacuo potius reponendum fuisse ἐντροπήν quam σύγχυσιν. Vt hoc largiamur esse probabile quod ait Stunica, qua fronte mihi imputet quod est in opere alieno? Atque omnino sic rem
620 tractat Stunica quasi Amerbachii non habuerint aliud exemplar quam datum ex aeditione Veneta, quum vsi sint vetustissimis voluminibus e monasterio quodam petitis, quibus hoc plus habebant fidei, quod qui scripserat nihil intelligebat. Nam nulli magis aut periculosius deprauant libros quam semidoc-ti aut docti etiam partim attenti.

625

EX CAPITE VI.

Alter alterius onera portate. Hic Stunica meus in elencho ponit: *perperam hunc locum ex Graeco Erasmus traduxisse*, cum in translatione nihil mutauerim, nisi quod pro *alter alterius* posuerim *inuicem onera vestra*. Quod quidem Stunica non reprehendit. Tantum improbat, quod in Annotationibus admo-

- 609 Gellius *A B*: *add.* lib. xv. cap. vi. qui versus, quos Homerus tribuit Hectori, translulit ad Aiace: nec miratur Gellius hunc memoriae lapsus in tanto viro. *BAS*; Et tamen audi *A B*: Nunc audi *BAS*.
619 imputet *A B CS*: imputat *BAS*.
620 Amerbachii *A BAS*: Amorbachii *B*.

- 624 partim *A*: parum *B BAS*; attenti. *A B*: *add.* Si falsum est, interpretem confundi vertere pro erubescere, et si Hieronymus non abutitur ad eundem modum his vocibus, habet Stunica quod refellat. Nunc quid aliud quam nodum in scyrpo quaerit? *BAS*.

- 604 *Eodem ii Gal.* 3,8.
606 *Stunica* Stun. was right; see Hom. *Od.* XIV, 152.
608 *quanquam ... dico* In *Od.* XIX, 310 Penelope promises Odysseus, whom she has not yet recognized, her friendship and many presents if his prediction that Odysseus will

soon return home will be fulfilled. These gifts might rightly be called εὐαγγέλια, but in this context Hom. speaks of δῶρα, not of εὐαγγέλια.

- 609 *Aulus Gellius* XV, 6. See the elucidation given in *BAS*, cited in the crit. app.
610-611 *ut ... somniauit* The quotation is ver-

- bally correct.
- 612 *Ex capite iiii Gal. 4,20.*
- 613 *Hieronymo Hier. Comm. in Gal., ad loc.,* Migne PL 26, 413: "ἀπορία enim non tam *confusionem*, quae apud illos ἀισχύνη siue σύγχυσις appellatur, quam *indigentiam* et *inopiam* sonat". See on the whole section p. 67, n.l. 129 above and on the significance of ἀπορεῖσθαι, p. 194, ll. 509-520 with notes, on 2 Cor. 4,8.
- 614-615 *rem eandem Sc. ἀπορία*, see previous n.
- 615 *Stunica* His point was: "Non potest ex Hieronymi verbis super hoc loco aliquo modo percipi putasse illum σύγχυσις et ἀισχύνην idem esse, quod falso ad Hieronymum Erasmus retulit".
- 615-617 *docet ... vacuum* This is so.
- 619 *opere alieno* Of the nine volumes of the Basle 1516 Jerome only the first four comprising the letters were edited by Er., the rest mainly by the three Amerbach brothers. Although Er. acted as an adviser for the whole edition, he did not claim editorial responsibility for anything but the letters, see Ep. 335, ll. 268-324 and Ep. I, p. 14, ll. 22-27. For the same excuse, see p. 66, ll. 129-130 above.
- 620-622 *quasi ... petitis* This is a confusing misrepresentation of what the editors of the Basle Jerome had done. The Basle edition contains Jerome's genuine commentary on *Gal., Eph., Phm.* and *Tit.* (= Migne PL 26, 307-618) and the Pseudo-Hieronymian commentary on all the Pauline letters except *Hebr.*, which is a work of the heretic Pelagius (= Migne PL 30, 645-902). It is an established fact that the Basle editors took the genuine commentary on *Gal., Eph., Phm.* and *Tit.* from the Venice 1497 edition of Jerome's works: "Dass als Druckvorlage für die Bibelkommentare des Hieronymus die von B. Gadolus Brixianus besorgte Veneta (Joh. und Greg. de Gregoriis 1497, ...) diente, zeigt der Zustand des Exemplars der UB Basel F.L. II.1. Es enthält eine grosse Zahl Textvarianten und Verbesserungen von der Hand Joh. Amerbachs, Reuchlin ... und Brunos, und weist viele Schwärzespuren auf", thus A. Hartmann, ed., *Amerbach-Korrespondenz*, II, Basle, 1943, pp. 66-67. Reuchlin assisted especially in correcting or supplying the Greek and Hebrew words and quotations which were corrupted or omitted in the Venice edition; see *ibid.*, I, 1942, pp. 400-401. But of the Pelagius commentary on all Paul's epistles except *Hebr.*, which does not occur in the Venice edition, the Basle editors gave the *editio princeps* on the basis of a transcript which their collaborator Gregor Reisch had made in 1513 after an 11th-century ms. from Echternach, now Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 9525; see A. Souter, *The Character and History of Pelagius' Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul*, Proceedings of the Brit. Ac. 1915-1916, pp. 261-296, esp. pp. 282-283; *id.*, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul*, Oxford, 1927, p. 208 (Souter incorrectly supposed that the Basle printers worked directly from the Echternach ms., instead of from Reisch' transcript); Hartmann, as quoted above; B. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*, III B, Steenbrugge, 1970, p. 386, no. 481. Since the passage on the synonymy of ἀισχύνη and σύγχυσις figures in the genuine commentary on *Gal.*, not in Pelagius' commentary, the Basle editors had certainly taken the passage in question from the Venice edition, not from the Echternach ms., as Er. is presently suggesting. The blank space after *siue*, left open in the Venice edition, was filled in with σύγχυσις in the Basle edition by one or other of the editors or correctors. Who precisely was responsible for this reading cannot be ascertained in the copy Basle, Univ. Libr., F.L. II.1, for in this copy the blank space has been filled in with the word ἐρῶθημα, probably (but not certainly) by Reuchlin, as Dr. M. Steinmann (Basle) kindly informed me. What Jerome himself actually wrote is still unknown, since his text in Migne PL 26, 413, running "ἀισχύνη siue σύγχυσις", derives via Vallarsi's edition from the Basle edition. A better edition does not exist. The conjectures ἐντροπή of Stun. and ἐρῶθημα of Reuchlin (?) deserve the attention of Jerome's future editor.
- 624 *attenti* For "nodum in scyrpo quaerit", i.e. he seeks difficulties where there are none, in the addition in *BAS* (crit. app.), see *Adag.* 1376, *LB* II, 546F, and Otto 1607.
- 625 *Ex capite vi Gal. 6,2*
- 626-627 *perperam ... traduxisse* An exact quotation of Stun.'s side-note.
- 628 *posuerim* The reason for this change is clear: "nam alter alterius de duobus dicitur", *Annot., ad loc.* In this criticism Er. is dependent on Valla.

630 nuerim: ἀναπληρώσατε *magis sonat redimplete* quam *implete*, non quod
 voluerim hic sonare iterationem, sed respectum ad aliud. Quod enim recon-
 cinnatur, non bis concinnatur, sed ab eo quod erat lacerum aut luxatum
 restituitur, et quod redditur non bis datur, sed datur ei, a quo fuit ablatum, et
 635 declararam in prima aeditione scribens hunc in modum: *quasi dicat quod alterius
 delicto diminutum fuit in legis obseruatione, id aliorum sarciat cbaritas*. Atque hic
 quoque sui similis est Stunica. Nam quod dixi *in legis obseruatione*, interpretatur
 me sensisse de lege euangelica, cum Hieronymus, quem (vt ille ait) *tumultuarie*
 legens non intellexi, sentiat de lege Mosaica. Sed vnde hoc diuinat Stunica?
 LB 336 Quod | si maxime sensissem, quid erat piaculi, cum Hieronymus in eo loco
 641 quem iactat a me non intellectum recenseat duplicem sententiam. Prior est, vt
 si quis christianus sit nondum perfectus, is qui firmior est illi sese accommodet
 ex affectu charitatis, quo proficiat. Altera est: qui nondum adeo firmus est, vt
 possit contemnere legem Mosaicam, huius imbecillitati succurrat christiana
 645 charitas, tolerans infirmum donec proficiat. Vbi nunc est quod iactat Stunica,
 vel gratis maledicus?

Caetera quae citat e suo Athanasio male Latine verso, quoniam nec arguunt
 quicquam, nec aduersum me faciunt, sino illius volumini accrescere.

Dixi quid re- sonet etiam Latinis. Quod si ἀνα- Latinis numquam vertitur in
 650 re-, sit Stunica aureus, ego ligneus, cum ἀναφορά dicatur relatio, et
 ἀνακεφαλαίωσις recapitulatio, et ἀνάλυσις resolutio.

EX EPISTOLA AD EPHESIOS, CAPITULE I.

Vt essemus sancti et immaculati. Pro *immaculati*, quod Graece est ἀμώμους,
 655 verti *irreprehensibiles*. Neque damno tamen quod vertit interpres. Si μῶμος
 tantum Graece sonat maculam, rogo cur deum illum reprehensorem appel-
 lant Momum. Aut quid venit in mentem Graeco artifice, qui suis operibus
 hunc inscripsit senarium:

μωμήσεται τις θᾶσσον ἢ μιμήσεται.

660 Non nego maculam vsurpari posse pro reprehensione aut vicio quod
 possit carpi. Sed an ideo non verum est quod annotaui? Siquidem et vitae
 animique vicium macula est, si metaphoram admittas. Sed Stunica congerit
 loca quaedam e sacris litteris, in quibus ἄμωμοι vertantur *immaculati*. Quis
 hoc aut negat, aut nescit? Porro quod huc etiam Hebraica confert in ordinem
 testium, liberalitatis est profecto.

630 redimplete *A* *B.A.S.*: reimplete *B*.
 631 hic *A*: hic praepositionem *B* *B.A.S.*

649 re- sonet *A*: resonet *B* *male*, re praepo-
 sitio sonet *B.A.S.*

630 *redimplete* In the *Annot.* Er. had in fact
 written "readimplete".

630-631 *non ... iterationem* *Sc.* the prefix ἀνα-;
 see *B.A.S.* In the *Annot.*, however, Er. had

- stated: "vox magis sonat *readimplete*, hoc est, denuo adimplete, quasi dicat quod alterius delicto diminutum fuit in legis obseruatione, id aliorum sarciat charitas". It is against "denuo" and the notation of iteration contained in it, that Stun. had objected.
- 631 *respectum ad aliud* The meaning is: but I meant that ἀνα- expresses "regard to, or relation to something different". *Respectum* is a noun.
- 635 *quasi...* See n.l. 630-631 above.
- 637-639 *interpretatur ... Mosaica* Stun. had written: "cuius [*sc.* Hieronymi] verba vltima cum tumultuarie, vt assolet, Erasmus perlegisset, quae ille de veteris legis obseruatione in alium sensum disseruit, haec iste [Er.] ad delictum in diminutione obseruationis nouae legis transtulit. Quam autem recte, iudicat lector prudens".
- 640 *Hieronymus* Hier. *Comm. in Gal.*, ad 6,2, Migne PL 26, 455 D-456 B. The relevant passages are quoted in the next two notes.
- 641 *Prior* This interpretation concurs with Jerome's remark: "Qui igitur fratris non desperat salutem, sed manum porrigit deprecanti et quantum in se est flet cum flente, infirmus est cum infirmo, suaque iudicat aliena peccata, iste per caritatem adimplet legem Christi". This is the interpretation followed by Er. in the *Annot.* of 1516, and Stun.'s reproach that Er. had misunderstood Jerome' is, therefore, unjustified.
- 643 *Altera* This interpretation concurs with Jerome's remark: "Si quis infirmus in fide est et adhuc lacte nutritur infantiae, nec potest tam cito a legali obseruatione ad spiritualia sacramenta transire, vos qui robustiores estis eius onera portate". This is the passage which, according to Stun., Er. had misunderstood.
- 647 *suo Athanasio* Theophylact; see p. 131, n.l. 437. Stun. had quoted from him a passage in which he argues that *Gal.* 6,2 means: fulfil together the law of Christ through mutual compensation of each other's moral shortcomings (Migne PG 124, 1024 A).
- 649 *Dixi* Viz., at p. 202, ll. 631-634 above.
- 650 *sit ... aureus, ego ligneus* "Let Stun. then be honoured with a golden, and I with a wooden statue", an allusion to the proverb Χρυσοῦς φασὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στήθητι, Leutsch-Schneidewin II, p. 728, with references to Lucian. *Pseudol.* 15 and *Tim.* 51; in Latin "Aureus, vt aiunt, in Olympia stato", *Adag.* 715, LB II, 306 B, where Er. refers *inter alia* to Verg. *Ecl.* 7,36: "Si fetura gregem suppleuerit, aureus esto".
- 652 *Ex epistola ad Ephesios, capite 1* *Eph.* 1,4.
- 654 *irreprehensibiles* Interestingly, this rendering of ἀμώμους occurs in the Vetus Latina tradition of *Eph.* 1,4, see *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlat. Bibel*, 24/1, ed. H.J. Frede, *Ep. ad Eph.*, Freiburg, 1962-1964, *ad loc.* There as well as in Er. the use of *irreprehensibiles* may be due to influence from *Col.* 1,22: ἀμώμους καὶ ἀνεγκλήτους (J. Smit Sibinga).
- 654-655 *Si ... maculam* Stun. had argued that "maculam significat, id est, defectum" and that μῶμος also means "reprehensio", so that *immaculati* could be retained as a good translation.
- 656 *Momum* See p. 187, n.l. 399 above.
- artifici* The anecdote is told of the painter Apollodorus (5th cent. B.C.) by Plut., *De gloria Atheniensium* 2 (346 A) and of the painter Zeuxis (c. 400 B.C.) by Plin. *Nat.* XXXV, 36, 63, see Leutsch-Schneidewin I, p. 281; II, 123.
- 660 *quod annotati* Viz., "Ἀμώμους magis *inculpato*s, siue *irreprehensibiles* quam *immaculato*s significat. *Momos* enim Graecis *reprehensio* est, siue *deus reprehensionis*".
- 662 *loca* E.g. *Ps.* 118(119),1.
- 662-663 *Quis ... nescit* In Er.' opinion it was of no importance at all that in biblical and ecclesiastical Latin *immaculatus* is a common rendering of μῶμος. What matters to Er. is that *immaculatus* does not occur in approved classical prose-writers. This example illustrates very well what the purpose of Er.' translation was: the Latin of the N.T. had to answer to the norm of good authors, not to that of late or ecclesiastical writers. At the same time, however, Er.' *irreprehensibiles* is an attempt at an improvement of the translation of ἀμώμους: in conformity with the meaning of μῶμος in classical Greek (viz. "blame, reproach") Er. prefers the meaning "blameless, irreproachable" to the cultic meaning "without blemish" which ἀμώμους often has in the LXX.
- 663 *Hebraica* Stun. had pointed out that Greek μῶμος seemed to derive from Hebrew *mum* (מום), which means "stain, defect", and had quoted *Lv.* 21,17 to illustrate its meaning. Modern Greek etymology does not subscribe to this theory, but connects μῶμος with ἀμύμων or μῶκος (see, e.g., P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, 1968-1980, s.v. μῶμος). However, the LXX does use μῶμος as a fixed rendering of Hebr. *mum* and *m'mum* because of the agreement in sound.
- 664 *liberalitatis* "Is a mark of generosity", a

665

EODEM II.

Et virtutem et dominationem. Pro *dominatione*, quod Grecis est κυριότης, verti *dominium*, nimirum id sequutus, quod *dominium* magis exprimat Grecam vocem, quae sonat ius possidentis. Nam *dominatio* potest esse tyranni. Stunica putat vtriusque vocis parem esse vim, et indignatur priorem
670 mutata, quod iam esset recepta pro ordine angelico. Atqui ego non puto angelicos ordines esse tam morosos, vt quum apud ethnicos Bacchus tot nominibus compelletur, indigne ferant pro *dominatione* dici *dominium*.

EX CAPITE II.

Et medium parietem maceriae. Quod Graece est μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, verteram *interstitium maceriae*, hoc offensus, quod cum *maceria* sit paries,
675 dure dici videatur *medium parietem parietis*. Sentit enim Paulus maceriam dirimentem duo aedificia. Hic Stunicae meo multis modis *hallucinor*, ac parum abest, quin homo ridiculus *risu* diffuat.

Μεσότοιχον, inquit, *proprie* sonat *medium parietem*. Imo *proprie* sonat
680 μεσοτοιχίαν, hoc est interiectum parietis seu maceriae dirimentis.

Deinde reprehendit, quod pro ἔχθραν, *inimicitiam*, verterim *simultatem*, nimirum hoc sequutus, quod *simultas* sonat vtriusque male affectum animum, hoc est odium mutuum. Nam *inimicitia* potest esse, vbi non sit mutuum odium. Quid hic igitur offendit Stunicam? Apud *theologos*, inquit, *de quorum*
685 *numero se esse iactat, simultas in alium sensum accipi solet*. Vbi iacto me esse de numero theologorum? Sed Stunica declarat se non esse de numero bonorum theologorum. Quamquam ego malo suspicari scurram aliquem huiusmodi naenias admiscuisse Stunicae illius admirandi viri scriptis qui in praefatione tot egregiis et heroicis dotibus instructus accessit ad hanc prouinciam. Etiamsi
690 nondum intelligo, quid aliud sonet theologis *simultas* quam nobis sonet.

Sed vt haec ioco dicta sint, in illo plane sum *hallucinatus*, quod duobus verbis
LB 337 annotarim *Graecos* ita *distinguere, vt τὴν ἔχθραν* pertineat ad verbum sequens *euacuans*, quod nos vertimus *abrogans*. | Atque hic obiicit suum Athanasium ψευδώνυμον, *quem ipse*, inquit, *Graecum doctorem non negabit*. Equidem agnosco

670 angelico *BAS* *LB*: euangelico *A B CS*.
693 abrogans *A B*: *add.* et consulto Graeco codice, plane comperi sic legere

Theophylactum *BAS*; Atque *A*: Atqui *B BAS*.

euphemism for: is superfluous. There may be something of the insinuation alluded to on p. 94, l. 704 above in this phrase; cf. also the sections on *Lc.* 3,1 and *1 Cor.* 7,18.
665 *Eodem ii Eph.* 1,21.

670 *recepta* Most characteristically, Stun. had written: "quia hoc nomen in ecclesia pro vno ex angelicis ordinibus vsitatum est, ... non debuisset illud Erasmus commutare". Stun. accepts as norm of correct Latin the

- consuetudo* of ecclesiastical writers, whereas to Er. the standard is the *consuetudo* of good classical authors, in whose Latin *dominatio* denotes despotism. Cf. p. 165, n.ll. 15–16 above.
- 671–672 *tot nominibus* E.g. Dionysus, Liber, Nysius and Nyseus, Lyaeus, Euhan, Bromius, Iacchus, Lenaeus, and Bassareus.
- 673 *Ex capite ii* *Eph.* 2,14–15.
- 675 *interstitium maceriae* By this Er. means the “middle wall” or “partition-wall” which has to be removed in order to make one house out of two (see *Annot.*). This is a correct interpretation of τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, literally “the middle wall consisting in the partition-wall”, τοῦ φραγμοῦ being a genitivus appositivus indicating that in which the matter designated by the preceding noun consists (Blass-Debrunner, § 167; Moulton-Turner III, p. 215). But Er.’ use of *interstitium* in the sense of “something interjacent” is strange, the proper meaning of *interstitium* being “intervening (and empty) space”. Yet the translation “interstitium maceriae” occurs already in the *Vetus Latina*: see *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlat. Bibel*, 24/1, ed. H.J. Frede, *Ep. ad Eph.*, Freiburg, 1962–1964, p. 79.
- 677 *hallucinor* Stun.’s side-note runs “Erasmi hallucinatio et male affectata traductio”; in his text he had written: “... aperte hallucinatus est”.
- 678 *risu* Stun. had written: “Soleo profecto non paruo perfundi risu cum in has Erasmi elegantias incido, ...”.
- 679 *sonat medium parietem* In this Stun. is right.
- 680 μεσοτοιχίαν ... *parietis* For μεσοτοιχία there seems to be no evidence. The word is meant as a nomen actionis, formed on the analogy of μισθός-ἀντιμισθία, μῦθος-παρμυθία, λόγος-πολυλογία, νόμος-παρανομία. Similarly, *interiectus* is a nomen actionis, meaning “the placing between”, and not a participle. Er. is suggesting that the proper meaning of μεσότοιχον is “the placing of a middle wall” (and that in *Eph.* 2,14 the word is not used in its proper sense). It remains unclear where he found his information; or is it mere speculation?
- 684–685 *theologos* ... *solet* Almost verbally quoted from Stun. For *simultas*, which in scholastic Latin means “simultaneity, coincidence, concurrence”, see, e.g., M. Fernandez Garcia, *Lexicon scholasticum philosophico-theologicum*, Quaracchi, 1910; S. Axters, *Scholastiek Lexicon*, Antwerpen, 1937.
- 685 *Vbi* Er. means: nowhere. He repeatedly dissociated himself indeed from the *ordo theologorum*, sometimes because his sincere respect for the *vera theologia* prevented him from claiming the dignity of theologian (e.g., *Ep.* 337, ll. 350–355), but more often because he disapproved of the ignorance and barbarism of the *vulgus theologorum* and their hostility to the *bonae literae* (e.g., *Ep.* 108, ll. 53–55). Yet there are many passages in Er.’ letters in which he presents himself as a theologian, e.g. *Epp.* 207, ll. 18–19; 211, ll. 25–26; 393, ll. 66–67: “ego theologus”. Cf. p. 143, n.ll. 619–620.
- 687–688 *scurram* ... *scriptis* Cf. p. 63, n.ll. 39 40.
- 688 *praefatione* See Er.’ proem, p. 70, ll. 192–198.
- 690 *nondum* ... *nobis sonet* Very characteristically, Er. pretends not to be aware of the meaning of a classical Latin word in scholastic Latin.
- 692 *annotarim* “Graeci ita distinguunt, vt accusatius inimicitias referatur ad inferius participium καταργήσας”. The problem at issue is that τὴν ἔχθραν can be taken as an object with καταργήσας or with λύσας. *Graecos* This does not apply to Theophylact (*Migne PG* 124, 1060–61), nor to Pseudo-Oecumenius’ commentary (*Migne PG* 118, 1196–1197), which are the two Greek exegetical authorities whom Er. regularly consulted. He may therefore have found the punctuation in question in some of his four Greek mss. of Paul (enumerated in the n. to p. 190, l. 460 above), but not in nos. 1, 2^{ap+Paul}, and 4^{ap+Paul}, since Wettstein observes explicitly that these mss. have no punctuation after λύσας, so that they make τὴν ἔχθραν the object of λύσας, not of καταργήσας. The only candidate that remains is 7^{Paul}. See next n.
- 693 *abrogans* After his return to Basle, Er. checked Theophylact’s comments on the present passage in the ms. of the Dominicans, see p. 193, n.l. 493 above. This led him to insert the passage added in *BAS* (crit. app.). But the information given in the addition is incorrect. Theophylact took τὴν ἔχθραν definitely with λύσας, not with καταργήσας (*Migne PG* 124, 1060–1061). Wettstein interpreted Theophylact more correctly (see his crit. app.). *Athanasium* I.e. Theophylact, see p. 131, n.l. 437 above.
- 694 *ipse* ... *negabit* The subject is Er.

- 695 Theophylactum, neque nego Graecum doctorem, sed nego a Stunica Graece lectum, quin potius male versum Latine. Proinde ex hoc non multum conficit Stunica. Qui si maxime sensisset quod interpretatur Stunica, cum vtrumque possit accipi, quid erat piaculi, si admonui quid Graecorum interpretarentur scholia?
- 700 Sed audi facundam sycophantiam. Superest adhuc vnum flagitium. Addideram in Annotationibus: *quaedam aeditio, quam citat Hieronymus, habet: in dogmatibus*. Hunc eiusdem *monetae* vocat errorem. *Quippe*, inquit, *nullam Hieronymus citat aeditionem, sed antiqua illa aeditio apostolicarum epistolarum quam ipse commentatur habet: in dogmatibus*. Quid ego audio? An non citat, quod adducit ex illa aeditione? An illa non potest dici *quaedam*, quae a nostra dissidet? Sed vtrum vult illam veterem esse castigatam ab Hieronymo, an hanc quam nos habemus? Illam non potest dicere, quum in ea multa reprehendat etiam ad sententiam pertinentia. Nec hanc potest, quum insint eadem quae illic reprehendit. Consequitur igitur neutram ab Hieronymo fuisse recognitam.
- 710 Proinde quum sit vna e multis, quid vetat eam dici *quandam*?

EODEM II.

Sed estis ciues. Cum Graecis sit *συμπολιται*, verti *conciues*. Hic Stunica pene vertitur in saxum prae stupore, quod alias curiosus elegantiarum, hic posuerim *vocem prorsus abhorrentem a lingua Latina*. Atqui alias ridet me, qui huiusmodi
715 obseruatiunculas postulem ab interprete. Nihil hic respondeo Stunicae, cum multa possim. Res est illi cum Valla, non mecum.

Sed tamen in calce huius praeclarae annotatiunculae fit subito ciuilior. *Denique*, inquit, *quantum memoria assequor, numquam apud Ciceronem conciuem memini me legere*. Sed quur ante pronunciauit *vocem esse prorsus abhorrentem a lingua Latina*?
720

EX CAPITE III.

Ex quo omnis paternitas. Quoniam Latinis *paternitas* nihil significat et, si quid significat, non sonat hoc quod sentit Paulus, verti *parentelam*, quam vocem Hieronymus testatur aetate sua fuisse receptam pro cognatione

700 facundam A: foecundam B BAS LB.

696 *conficit* "(Does not) demonstrate, prove, establish", OLD, s.v. conficio 6.

697 *Qui ... sensisset* Sc. Theophylact, who has indeed the punctuation which Stun. says he has.

699 *scholia* This term is Er.' usual designation of the Pseudo-Oecumenius commentary in

the ms. now Basle, Univ. Libr., A.N. III.11 = 7^{Paul} (see p. 195, n.l. 539 above). But this commentary, too, takes τὴν ἔχθραν with λύσας (Migne PG 118, 1196-1197). Obviously, Er. himself no longer remembers where he had found the alternative punctuation.

702 *monetae* "Of the same stamp, character".

Er. seems to draw attention to this expression of Stun. because the metonymy is post-classical (it occurs from Iuv. and Apul.). Cf. p. 159, n.l. 911, *elaborando*.

702-704 *Quippe ... dogmatibus* Correctly quoted from Stun. Stun. takes particular offence at Er.' term *quaedam*, since it suggests that there was a multitude of Latin translations before Jerome brought about the Vg. Stun. wants to stick to the less disturbing, but untenable view that there had been only one *Vetus Latina*, followed by Jerome's Vg. Er. was much better aware of the endless variation in the early Latin biblical texts than Stun. Er.' *Annot.* on *Eph.* 2,15 illustrates this: apart from the reading "decretis" Vg., Er. registers the *Vetus Latina* readings "edictis" and "in dogmatibus".

703 *Hieronymus* The text of *Eph.* 2,15 as quoted by Jerome in his *Comm. in Ep. ad Eph.*, ad 2,15, Migne *PL* 26, 504 A, has "dogmatibus" instead of the reading "decretis" of the Vg. The reading "dogmatibus" occurs almost exclusively in the quotations and allusions by Jerome; see *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlat. Bibel*, 24/1, ed. H.J. Frede, *Ep. ad Eph.*, Freiburg, 1962-1964, pp. 85, 88. The evidence presented by Frede strongly suggests that the reading "dogmatibus" was not that of a recension quoted by Jerome, but his own translation.

709 *neutram ab Hieronymo* A favourite topic in Er.' study of the bible; see p. 69, n.l. 170 above.

711 *Eodem ii Eph.* 2,19.

713 *vertitur in saxum* Otto 1594. I cannot find the locution in the *Adag.*

elegantiarum Cf. p. 148, l. 756 above (with the n.) and p. 75, l. 295 above.

716 *Valla* Stun. had objected that *conciuis* was a word "a Latina elegantia prorsus abhorrente", "neque apud Latinorum probatos autores *conciuis* alicubi reperitur". For that very reason Jerome had chosen *ciues*, not *conciues*, thus Stun. He had gone on to criticize Valla who in his *Elegantiae* IV (in: E. Garin, ed., L. Valla, *Opera Omnia*, Torino, 1962, I, pp. 149-150), had taught, *inter alia*, that "my fellow-citizen" should be rendered as "conciuis meus", not as "ciuis meus", and that the prefix *con-* should be omitted if *ciuis* was used without a possessive pronoun: "audite ciues". Stun. had insisted that all this was wrong, since *conciuis* did not occur in good authors, such as Cic., at all. Stun. is right. From the *Tb.L.L.*

it appears that *conciuis* occurs only in christian Latin from Tert., e.g. in *Adv. Marcion.* V, 17, a quotation of *Eph.* 2,19.

719 *Sed quur...* Er. means that once it has been established that a word is incompatible "with the Latin language", it is pointless to observe that Cic. did not use the word. However, Er. quotes Stun. incorrectly. Stun. had not stated that *conciuis* was incompatible with the "lingua Latina", but with the "elegantia Latina". That makes his remark on the absence of the word in Cic. less pointless.

721 *Ex capite iii Eph.* 3,15.

722 *nihil significat* Viz., since it does not occur in the *probati auctores*, but only in christian Latin; in the Vg. only here. Among the newly formed nouns derived from adjectives in the early Latin bible, the category of those ending on *-tas* was the most productive. It consists entirely of abstracts. See F. Kaulen, *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata*, Freiburg, 1904², pp. 53-56; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I, § 328. The word "paternitas" in *Eph.* 3,15 had already occasioned Valla to observe (*ad loc.*): "Quid est omnis paternitas? Quot enim sunt paternitates? Hoc equidem non intelligo. Graece est omnis familia, πατριά ...".

724 *Hieronymus* The reference is no doubt to Hier. *Adv. Helvidium*, Migne *PL* 23, 207 B. But Er. is entirely mistaken in what Jerome is arguing there. Firstly, Jerome does not say that in Latin a πατριά or family is called a *parentela*, but a *paternitas*, precisely the word rejected by Er. Secondly, Jerome does not mean that in his days *paternitas* was a current Latin word for "family", but that *paternitas* was the Latin translation of πατριά in *Eph.* 3,15. These are Jerome's words: "Porro cognatione fratres vocantur, qui sunt de vna familia, id est patriae [= πατριᾶ]: quas Latini *paternitates* interpretantur, cum ex vna radice generis turba diffunditur". Stun. had rightly seized the opportunity to object: "*parentela* ... absurdam videlicet esse vocem et qua nullus vnquam Latinorum vsus aliquando sit". The word is indeed extremely rare and late; it does not occur in classical Latin. Realizing that he had been mistaken, Er. recognized in the *Annot.* that *parentela* was not a "probum vocabulum", and in his translation he switched to "a communi patre cognatio", all this without acknowledgement to Stun.

725 profecta ab eodem generis autore. Hanc malui quam *paternitas*, in qua duplex erat incommodum et barbaries intolerabilior. Nam in hac certe conuenit analogia: quemadmodum a cliens dicitur clientela, sic a parens parentela. Quod si vertissem familiam, perierat *προσονομασία*, imo vigor sensus Paulini.

730

EX EODEM II.

Scire supereminentem scientiae charitatem. Indicaram sermonem apud Latinos esse ancipitem, quod incertum sit, an *scientiae* sit dandi casus, an gignendi. Si dandi casus sit, sensus erit charitatem Dei maiorem esse quam vt humana scientia comprehendere possit. Sin gignendi casus sensus est *eximiam* esse *dilectionem cognitionis* Christi. Quod dixi verum est et priorem sensum amplectitur Ambrosius; si quis dubitat, relegat ipsius commentarios, quamquam ille in contextu sequitur diuersam lectionem, et a Graecis et a nostra diuersam. Sic enim legit: *cognoscere quoque supereminentem scientiam charitatis Christi.* Quid igitur hic clamat Stunica? Vertis, inquit, *preeminentem cognitioni* et praefers tuam sententiam Hieronymiana. Sed que mea est, eadem est Ambrosii. Nec tamen est quicquam in Hieronymi commentariis quod pugnet cum hac mea sententia. Imo propemodum idem dicit quod ego, cum in fine docet aliquid *addendum* esse *scientiae*, nimirum *charitatem*. Quid autem noui sit, si apud Graecos *ὑπερβάλλω* sibi patiat *iungi* genitium, quemadmodum patitur *ὑπερασπίζω* et *ὑπερλογοῦμαι*? Neque huc lubet, etiamsi possum, confugere, vt dicam Paulum abusum casu nominis ob Graeci sermonis vel neglectum, vel inscitiam. |

LB 338

Theophylacti Graecus codex quum haec scriberem non erat ad manum, verum aut interpres parum bona fide reddidit Graeca, aut aliud legit autor quam nos legimus, aut putauit paternum casum recte coherere cum participio *ὑπερβάλλουσαν*.

Certe durus est sensus quem reddit sermo Latinus et video in hoc explicando inuolui et herere interpretes. Et tamen in tertia aeditione pro *cognitioni* reposuimus *cognitionis*. Vides, lector, me nec esse tam ignarum Graeci sermonis quam existimat Stunica, nec tam *singulari* praeditum *impudentia* quam ille facit.

739-740 preeminentem *A* = praecminentem
B: praeminentem *BAS LB*.

746 possum *A B*: possem *BAS*.

756 facit *A B*: *add.* Post ex Graeco

725-726 *duplex ... incommodum* Mentioned in the first sentence of this section.

728 *familiam* This is the translation of *πατριὰ* in *Lc.* 2,4 Vg., as Stun. had observed. Valla, too, had given the translation *familia*, see p. 207, n.l. 722 above.

προσονομασία Er. regularly used this term to designate what is generally called *paronoma-*

sia, see, e.g., *Annot.* on 2 *Cor.* 5,9 (LB VI, 767 C) and *Rom.* 2,2 (LB VI, 569 D), and *Eccles.* III (LB V, 1000 A).

730 *Ex eodem ii* *Eph.* 3,19.

733-734 *dandi ... gignendi* If it is a dative, *scientiae* is the object of *supereminentem*; if it is a genitive, it is an obj. gen. dependent on *charitatem*. The ambiguity had already been

- noted by Valla, *ad loc.*, who proposed to read a dative.
- 733 *Dei* A slip for "Christi".
- 734-735 *eximiam ... Christi* "That Christ's love of knowledge is extraordinary". Unbelievable though it may be, this is Jerome's exegesis, cited extensively by Stun. and rightly rejected by Er.
- 736 *Ambrosius* Ambrosiaster, *ad Eph.* 3,19, ed. H.I. Vogels, *CSEL* 81,3, pp. 93-94. See next n.
- 738 *scientiam* Vogels has restored "scientiae" in the text, and relegated "scientiam" to the crit. app.; he also has "caritatem" in the text and "caritatis" in the crit. app.
- 740 *praefers* Stun. had written with bitter irony: "Melius ergo Erasmus hunc locum intellexit quam Hieronymus. Nimirum quod doctior illo erat, quodque Graecarum literarum peritior et in s. scripturarum intelligentia peritior".
- 741 *Ambrosii* Ambrosiaster, *v.s.* n.l. 736, has the following comments: "[caritas Christi] supereminens est scientiae – et subintellegitur humanae –, vt super scientiam hominum habeatur dilectio Christi".
- 741-742 *Nec ... sententia* This is incorrect, as is clear from the *Annot.*: here he had distinguished two alternative solutions, calling the former "verior" and stating "tametsi posteriorem sequitur Hier.".
- 743 *addendum ... charitatem* In his *Comm. in Eph.*, *ad* 3,19, Migne *PL* 26, 523 B, Jerome argues that as christians we should not merely strive for knowledge of Christ's simple love, we should even try to understand his extraordinary love, and he goes on to say: "nec iste sit terminus, habere notitiam supereminentis charitatis Christi, nisi addamus et aliud, vt supereminentem charitatem scientiae consequamur".
- 744 *si ... genitium* See the passages quoted by Liddell-Scott, *s.v.* ὑπερβάλλω II, 2b; and Wettstein, *ad Eph.* 3,19.
- 746 *abusum casu nominis* "Has used the wrong case of the noun [*sc.* τῆς γνώσεως]". This is a reply to Stun.'s remark that if τῆς γνώσεως meant what Er. had said it meant, it should have been in the accusative.
- 747 *inscitiam* A bold expression. Generally, Er. used the less negative term *imperitia*, and if it was at all possible, he avoided giving this judgement as his own opinion but gave it as the view of Jerome. See, e.g., *Annot. in NT, ad 1 Cor.* 5,3, *LB VI*, 677 F: "Hoc est quod quodam in loco annotavit Hieronymus, Paulum ob imperitiam Graecanici sermonis, aliquoties non reddere ...". But cf. the section on *1 Cor.* 4,3 above ("ob *inscitiam* sermonis Graeci"), and on the whole topic *Epp.* 843, l. 119; 844, l. 83, and Introduction, p. 9. Er. included the sentence "Neque ... *inscitiam*" also in the *Annot.* (*LB VI*, 843 E).
- 748 *codex* The Greek ms. of Theophylact's commentary on Paul, belonging to the Dominicans at Basle. At Anderlecht Er. could not consult it; see p. 193, n.l. 493 and p. 183, n.l. 355. Instead, he consulted a copy of the printed edition of the Latin translation by Porsena, on which see p. 131, n.l. 437. In the present case Stun. had not mentioned it, since, just like the Greek Theophylact, it gives splendid support to Er.' exegesis.
- 749-751 *aut interpretes ... ὑπερβάλλουσαν* Porsena's Latin translation gives very clear expression to the interpretation advocated by Er.: "Quin etiam ... Christi charitatem noscatis, quae ... caeterarum rerum excedit cognitionem. ... Excedit quidem omnium scientiam". Of the three possibilities enumerated in the present paragraph, therefore, the third applies: Theophylact took the genitive τῆς γνώσεως as belonging to ὑπερβάλλουσαν, not to ἀγάπην. Er. cannot have failed to see that the Latin Theophylact supported his exegesis. Consequently, the present paragraph does not express disappointment with regard to Theophylact's exegesis or with the Latin translation, as it seems to do on the face of it. Er. means: Theophylact confirms my view, both in the original and in the Latin translation, unless his translator misunderstood him, or unless Theophylact had a Greek text different from ours.
- 751 ὑπερβάλλουσαν In the addition in *BAS* (see crit. app.), written after Er. had consulted the Theophylact ms. at Basle, he correctly summarizes Theophylact's interpretation; see Migne *PG* 124, 1077-1078.
- 752 *sermo Latinus* I.e., the Vg. text of *Eph.* 3,19.
- 754 *reposuimus* The third ed. has indeed "praeeminentem cognitionis", but later Er. switched back to "cognitioni".
- 754-755 *ignarum Graeci sermonis* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Graeca ab Erasmo hoc loco minime intellecta".
- 755 *singulari ... impudentia* Er.' remark that Jerome had chosen the less plausible interpretation had occasioned Stun. to write: "O impudentiam hominis singularem!".

EX CAPITE III.

Nolite locum dare diabolo. Admoneo lectorem consideret, *an hic pro diabolo*
 760 *verti possit calumniator*, cum Graece sit διάβολος. Sed interpretes exponunt de
 Satana. Istud me non preteribat, verum alter sensus quur reiiciatur, quum nihil
 habeat absurdi? An quia Satan appellatur Graece calumniator, non licebit
 hominem vocare calumniatorem? An quia Hebraei daemonem hostem
 salutis humanae vocant Satan, iccirco non licebat illis hominem vocare
 Satan, cum Christus Petrum appellet Satanam?

765 Sed finge nullo pacto posse accommodari ad hominem calumniatorem,
 an non licet diabolum Latine vocare calumniatorem? Plerique nunc
 daemonem diabolum appellant, neque sciunt quid dicant; certe calumnia-
 torem intelligunt Latini.

770 Nihil igitur admissum est in contextu. Ceterum in Annotationibus phas est
 inquirendi gratia varios sensus proponere, quando liberum est lectori sequi
 quod optimum iudicabit.

EX CAPITE V.

Sacramentum hoc magnum est. Admonueram Graecis esse μυστήριον, id est
arcanum. Et recipio matrimonium in numerum sacramentorum. Sed addo *ex*
 775 *hoc loco non magnopere colligi*, neque enim quicquid mysterium est protinus est
 vnum e septem ecclesiae sacramentis. Hic Stunica quoniam non versatur in sua
 arena, quo plura verba fundit, hoc se magis ridiculum prebet. Primum
 oportuit nosse sacramenti vocabulum largius acceptum competere in multa
 quae non sunt de numero septem ecclesiae sacramentorum, siquidem plurima
 780 signa sunt rerum sacrarum. At sacramentum appellatione peculiari constat
 visibilibus signis rei sacrae, sed quae necessario, velut ex pacto, comitetur
 gracia inuisibilis. Hoc docere debuerat Stunica, si voluisset hic mecum
 conserere manus.

Petrus Lombardus et cum hoc vetustiores theologi non numerant matrimo-

Theophylacto comperi illum interpretari,
 charitatem Christi humana scientia esse
 maiorem. *BAS.*

761 Satan *A B*: Satan dictus Hebraeis *BAS*;

Graece *A B*: *add.* διάβολος *BAS.*

765 accommodari *B BAS*: accommodare *A.*

781 comitetur *BAS*: commitetur *A B.*

757 *Ex capite iii Eph.* 4,27.

759 *calumniator* The implication of this exege-
 sis is that ὁ διάβολος is taken to designate a
 human being, or as a generic designation of
 human slanderers in general. The idea is
 not absurd, see W.C. van Unnik, *Die*
Rücksicht auf die Reaktion der Nichtchristen als
Motiv in der altchristlichen Paränese, in: id.,
Sparsa collecta, II, Leiden, 1980, pp.

307-322. But ὁ διάβολος is a specific term for
 the devil in the N.T. and does not admit of
 this interpretation.

759-760 *Sed ... Satana* This is the purport of
 Stun.'s corresponding section. He had cited
 Jerome, Ambrosiaster and Theophylact.

764 *Christus ... Satanam Mt.* 16,23; *Mc.* 8,33.

766-768 *non ... Latini* Er. signalizes an inter-
 esting and real problem: in christian Latin

- diabolus* or *zabolus*, a loan-word from the Greek, had become by far the most common word for the devil. But in Latin the connexion of *diabolus* with διαβάλλω, "to accuse, to accuse slanderously", which is still perceptible in the Greek N.T. (e.g., *Ap. Iob.* 12,9-10), had been lost. By his translation *calumniator*, "malicious accuser, slanderer", Er. tries to regain the semantic value of διάβολος. Cf. Tert. *Adv. Marcion.* II, 10: "diabolus id est delator", and the passages quoted by J.H. Waszink, *Q.S.F. Tertulliani De anima*, Amsterdam, 1947, p. 415, ad 35,3; see also Er., *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, ASD I, 4, p. 246: "Diabolus Graece, Latine criminator". *Calumniator* is indeed an eminent translation of διάβολος, but it was a serious drawback that it was by no means a usual term for the devil. Cassiod. *Inst.* 33 "quare nos cotidianis deceptionibus impius calumniator insequitur" is the only instance of *calumniator* as a term for the devil mentioned in the *Tb.L.L.* No instances are registered in Souter, *Glossary* or Blaise, *Lexicon* and *Dictionnaire*. Cf. p. 226, ll. 1000-1 below, with the n.
- 769-770 *phas ... proponere* A significant indication as to the nature and function of the genre "annotationes" as conceived by Er. Cf. Introduction, p. 49, with n. 195.
- 772 *Ex capite v Eph.* 5,32, where Er., in order to avoid the word *sacramentum*, had rendered μυστήριον by *mysterium*. The latter translation occurs in the Italian branch of the *Vetus Latina*, quoted by many fathers, e.g. Ambrosiaster and Jerome, see *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlat. Bibel*, 24/1, ed. H.J. Frede, *Ep. ad Eph.*, Freiburg, 1962-1964, ad loc.
- 774-775 *recipio ... colligi* Er. had written: "μυστήριον, id est mysterium. Id nolui eos nescire qui ex hoc loco faciunt matrimonium vnum ex sacramentis. Non quod de hoc sit dubitandum, sed quod ex hoc loco non magnopere colligitur ...".
- 776-777 *non ... harena* "He does not stay on his own ground". See for the phrase Ep. 211, ll. 25-27: "ibi tanquam in mea harena proprioque meae professionis munere mihi videbar versaturus". The context in Ep. 211 suggests that the image of *in sua harena versari* is that of athletes who, having specialized in one sport, should not think that they can measure themselves with colleagues specializing in other sports: the wrestler should not pit himself with the pugilist, nor the discus-thrower with the javelin-thrower, etc.: every athlete should stay on his own ground, that is, in his own specialism. Cf. Plin. *Epist.* VI, 12, 2: "quantum plurimum potuero praestabo, praesertim in harena mea, hoc est apud centumuiros" (reference kindly supplied by O.J. Schrier of Amsterdam). Er. is alleging that Stun. has exceeded his arena, that is, has not stuck to his own business, his business being dictionaries and grammatical observations written by others (see p. 212, ll. 793-794), and not the history of theology. Er. himself had become conversant with the questions concerning the sacramental status of matrimony through his dispute with Lee about the subject, see *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, LB IX, 225-228.
- 778 *multa* Augustine, e.g., applied the term to *formulae* such as the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; *ODCC*, s.v. sacrament.
- 780 *appellatione peculiari* Ablative absolute: "if the term is used as a specific one, in its specific sense".
- 780-782 *constat ... inuisibilis* This characterization of *sacramentum* agrees with that of Peter Lombard, whose *Sententiae* (c. 1155-58) became the standard textbook of systematic theology in the Middle Ages. The essential element in the definition is, according to Er., that the sacrament is said to convey grace. Cf. on the whole subject *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, LB IX, 227 C-D.
- 781 *quae* Acc. neutr. plur.
ex pacto, comitetur That the invisible grace is not contained in the elements of the sacrament, but accompanies it by virtue of a divine *pactio*, is a Franciscan view which became current in the later Middle Ages owing to the influence of Duns Scotus; see R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, III, Leipzig, 1930⁴, p. 511.
- 784 *Lombardus* On the contrary, Peter Lombard did reckon matrimony one of the seven sacraments of the church, *Sententiae* IV, 2, 1 (Migne *PL* 192, 841-842), but his appreciation of this sacrament was indeed rather restrained. Its function is the prevention of fornication, and in contradistinction to other sacraments it is not said to confer grace, but "in remedium tantum est" (IV, 2, 1), "remedium habet, non praemium" (IV, 26, 3). It is a sacrament, but in the restricted sense of "sacrum signum sacrae rei, scilicet coniunctionis Christi et ecclesiae" (IV, 26, 6). In the *Resp. ad ep. Alb. Pii* (1531), LB IX, 1130A, Er. qualified and elucidated the present statement: "Ecce,

785 nium inter ecclesiae sacramenta; recentiores numerare coeperunt, quibus ego
lubens assentior. Quod si indignatur Stunica, quod negarim esse *magnum*
sacramentum in coniunctione viri et mulieris, sciat Augustinum hac ipsa de
causa vocasse *minimum*, quod ego *magnum* esse nego.

Sed hac de re Leo pridem respondimus. Cum Stunica nihil agam, cum tota
790 hac disputatione extra oleas, quod aiunt, cucurrerit. Et tamen operaeprecium
est audire, quam sibi plaudat veluti feliciter ad metam peruenerit. *Quod*
ignorans, inquit, *Erasmus Roterodamus*. Me vocat ignarum, cum ipse nesciat
quid loquatur. Si sapiat Stunica, post hac se continebit intra pelliculam suam,
id est, intra lexica et adnotationes quinquagenarias. Id si fecerit, rectius
795 consulat suo nomini.

EX EPISTOLA AD PHILIPPENSES.

Paulus et Timotheus. Modestissimis verbis admoneo dictionem *Timotheus* in
templis perperam pronuciari penultima acuta, cum neque Graeci neque
Latini accentus ratio id patiatur. Hic Stunica religiosum existimat quicquam
LB 339 damnare, quod in templis sit | receptum. Ego contra sanctum existimo, si
801 multa receptissima mutantur. Quamquam ego nihil muto, tantum admoneo.
Et scio in paracletus, idola, Iacobus, Andreas, aliisque nonnullis
vocibus fuisse receptum accentum Graecum, in nonnullis etiam quantitatem
805 syllabae mutatam, presertim apud Prudentium in carmine. Sed hic color non
habet locum in Timotheo. Verum ab obliquis, inquit, potuit sumi accentus.
Qui tam ingeniosus esse vult ad defendendum ea, que vtrumque recepta sunt,
gratissimus erit patronus indoctis omnibus.

EODEM II.

810 *Cum episcopis et diaconibus*. Ostendo duplicem in Graecis codicibus lectio-
nem: *συνεπισκόποις*, quod sonet *coepiscopis*, et *σὺν ἐπισκόποις*, quod sonat *cum*
episcopis. Non placet Stunicae prior lectio; nec mihi placuit et iccirco in

785 sacramenta *A*: *add.* quae proprie hoc
vocabulo designantur *B BAS*.

789 agam, cum *A B*: agam, qui *BAS*.

801 ego nihil *A B*: ipse nihil *BAS*.

810 sonet *A B BAS LB*: sonat *CS*.

inquit [*sc.* Pius], *Petrus Lombardus commemorat matrimonium inter septem sacramenta*. Commemorat, iuxta vulgarem vsum sacramenti, iuxtaque communem opinionem. At in progressu aliter definit sacramentum quam Augustinus et semouet matrimonium e sacramentis proprie dictis ... Stunica ad eundem lapidem turpiter impigit'.
vetustiores Jerome and especially Augustine,

who could not see in matrimony a means of grace; *ODCC*, *s.v.* matrimony, and *Annot. in NT, ad Eph.* 5,32.

785 *recentiores* Matrimony was already reckoned a sacrament by Hincmar of Reims (d. 882), and from Thomas Aquinas onwards the Schoolmen taught that it was a sacrament which conferred grace; *ODCC*, *s.v.* matrimony.

- 786-787 *magnum sacramentum* Er. had written: "Neque enim in hoc magnum est sacramentum si vir iungatur vxori, quod et apud ethnicos fieri consuevit". Stun. had taken serious offence at this sentence.
- 787 *Augustinum* In *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, I, 21, Migne PL 44, 427, first quoted by Er. in the second ed. of the *Annot.*, Aug. wrote: "Quod magnum sacramentum dixit Apostolus in Christo et in ecclesia. Quod ergo est in Christo et in ecclesia magnum, hoc in singulis quibusque viris atque vxoribus minimum, sed tamen coniunctionis inseparabilis sacramentum".
- 787-788 *hac ipsa de causa* According to Aug., the unity of Christ and the church was the type of the union of husband and wife in matrimony. But the type is endlessly much greater than the antitype. Both were a *sacramentum*, but the type was a *magnum*, and matrimony a *minimum sacramentum*.
- 789 *Leo ... respondimus* In the *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, LB IX, 225-228.
- 790 *extra oleas* "Extra oleas fertur" or ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐλαιῶν φέρεται is said "vbi quis terminos praescriptos transgreditur aut aliena ... facit", *Adag.* 1110, LB II, 451 F, where Er. quotes Aristoph. *Ran.* 995 as his source. The image is that of a race-course. Interestingly, Er. did not imagine the olive-trees as standing at the end of the course, so that the saying "run beyond the olives" would mean "to go too far" (Liddell-Scott, s.v. ἐλαία), but as marking the long side-lines: "stadia, in quibus currendi certamina peragebantur, oleis per seriem positis, vtrinque sepiebantur, quas praeterire non licebat", so Er.
- 791-792 *Quod ... Roterodamus* Literally quoted.
- 793 *intra pelliculam* Mart. III, 16, 5-6 "memento in pellicula, cerdo, tenere tua", "cobler, stick to your last". Otto 462 and 1376.
- 794 *quinquagenarias* See p. 65, n.l. 75 and p. 113, n.l. 97-98.
- 795 *nomini* The sacramental status of matrimony was one of the points on which Carranza was to join issue with Er.; see Er.' reply in *Apolog. c. Sanct. Caranz.*, LB IX, 429-432.
- 796 *Ex epistola ad Philippenses Phil. 1,1.* J.J. Bateman, *The Development of Er.' Views on the Correct Pronunciation of Latin and Greek*, in: *Classical Studies presented to Ben Edwin Perry* (Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit., 58), Urbana/Chicago/London, 1969, pp. 46-65, esp. p. 58, has shown that the present

- section adumbrates issues which are going to appear later in *De pronunt.* and the expanded form of the note on *Phil. 1,1* in the *Annot.*
- 798 *perperam pronunciarī* Stun. had noticed that an observation of similar purport had been made by Valla, *Annot.* on *Mt. 1,16*. But Er. need not necessarily be considered to be dependent on Valla in this case. In his *Commentarius de abusione linguae Latinae*, Pforzheim, 1510, the humanist Henr. Bebelius (1472-1518) had given special attention to the quantity of syllables. Er. knew his work (*ASD* I, 4, pp. 8-9). One of the words dealt with by Bebelius (f^o 41 v^o) as well as by Er. in his *De pronunt.* (1528), *ASD* I, 4, p. 70, l. 865, is "Timotheus".
- 799 *religiosum* "Taboo". But Er. is misrepresenting Stun.'s argument. Stun. had argued that the wrong stress of Timotheus had become acceptable through the fact that in the course of centuries it had been accepted and passed on by numerous literate members of the church.
- 802 *paracletus ... Andreas* The provenance of these examples is probably as follows: *paracletus* and *idola* from Prudentius, see Er.' *De pronunt.*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 70, ll. 869-871: "christiani ... in metro" with the same examples, and *Comm. in Hymn. Prud.*, LB V, 1341 F, same examples; *Jacobus* and *Andreas* either from Valla's *Annot.* on *Mt. 1,16* or from Bebelius, *Commentarius* (v.s.), in the Pforzheim 1510 ed., f^{os} 71 r^o and 127 r^o.
- 803 *receptum ... Graecum* Er. means that it is incorrect to stress these words in Latin according to their Greek accent: παράκλητος, εἰδῶλα, Ἰάκωβος, Ἀνδρέας. In Latin polysyllables are paroxytone if the penultimate is long: *paracletus*, *idola*, *Jacobus*, and proparoxytone if the penultimate is short: *Andreas*.
- 803-804 *quantitatem ... mutatam* For instance, *paracletus* instead of *paracletus* in Prud. *Cathemerina* 5, 160 and *idolum* instead of *idolum* in Prud. *Contra Symmachum* II, 48. Cf. Er. *Comm. in Hymn. Prud.*, LB V, 1341 F.
- 804 *color* "Pretext, excuse". Cf. p. 238, l. 208; p. 128, l. 408.
- 805 *obliquis* The oblique cases; compare Τιμόθεος with Τιμοθέου and Τιμοθέω.
- 808 *Eodem ii Phil. 1,1.*
- 809 *duplicem* This is correct: both readings occur, see N²⁶. σὺν ἐπισκόποις is original.
- 810 *sonet* The subj. indicates a potential mood: "(if it were accepted as correct), it would mean ...".

vertendo sequor alteram. Et hic est *error Erasmi manifestus*, si credimus elencho Stunicae.

EX CAPITE II.

- 815 *Vt in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur.* Cum Graece sit κάμψη, ostendo verti posse *flectat, vt subaudias se.* Nec tamen reprehendo quod vertit interpres. Stunica putat pleraque verba transitiva sumi neutraliter. Scio, sed puto sumi per reciprocationem: precipitat pro precipitat se, reuertit pro reuertit se. Certe Hilarius libro de trinitate nono legit *flectat*, non *flectatur*. Sane
- 820 Latinis vsitate dicitur deflectere qui se deflectit. Cumque ciuilis sit huius annotationis clausula, siquidem veluti subleuans me dicit: *nisi forte existimauit vtroque modo transferri recte potuisse*, tamen elenchus habet: *falsa Erasmi interpretatio.*

EX CAPITE III.

- 825 *Ex genere Israel.* Annotaram *Israel* hic posse sumi vt sit rectus casus, sitque sensus: sum Israel, hoc est, Israhelita, non ex adoptione, sed *ex genere*, nimirum *ad distinctionem proselytorum*, siquidem superius Paulus se vocat *circumcisionem* pro circumciso, sic hic *Israel* pro Israhelita. Iam addideram Paulum hoc *et alias fecisse*, non quod, vt perperam interpretatur Stunica, se
- 830 vocauerit *Israhel*, sed quod pro Israhelita ponat *Israhel*. Iam crebrius est in sacris litteris, vt pro Israhelitico populo ponatur *Israhel*, quam vt debeat exemplis doceri. Sed quia durius est vnum aliquem pro Israhelita dici Israhel, iccirco adhibui simile quod erat durius, videlicet quod Paulus se pro circumciso vocat *circumcisionem*. Et in epistola ad Romanos, capite ix: *non enim omnes qui sunt ex Israhel sunt Israhelitae.* Hic negari non potest quin pro Israhelitis posuerit *Israhel*.

Stunica docet hic *Israhel* non posse sumi nominandi casu. Id si docuerit triumphet. Nam quod scurratur se *mirari quod non* eodem modo sim interpretatus *ex tribu Benjamin*, sciat Israhelitas fieri adoptione, Beniamitas non fieri,

840 siquidem proselyti Iudaei fiunt, Beniamitae aut Zebulonite non fiunt.

Postremo ad hoc ipsa Scripturae consuetudo respondebit Stunicae. Alioqui quur non vocat Hebraeos Abraham aut Dauid, sicut vocat *Iuda* aut *Israhel*?

EX CAPITE IIII.

- 845 *Etiam te rogo, compar germane.* Indico Graecos aliquot scriptores hunc locum accipere de vxore Pauli. Quod esse verum docet etiam ipse Theophylactus, qui Stunicae verso nomine factus est Athanasius. Sed ab his dissentit Theophylactus, quasi vero periculum sit, si Paulo credamus fuisse

- 812 *error ... manifestus* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Erasmi error manifestus".
- 814 *Ex capite ii Phil.* 2,10.
- 817 *pleraque ... neutraliter* "That very many transitive verbs are used in an intransitive sense". Stun.'s own words are: "Multa verba apud Graecos sunt quae, licet sunt actiua, ..., ita tamen interdum posita reperiuntur quasi neutra essent, h.e., quasi passiva carerent voce". This is indeed a characteristic feature of Hellenistic Greek and Stun.'s observation is excellent. Cf. Moulton-Turner III, pp. 51-52.
- 817-818 *puto ... reciprocationem* This is correct as well: the place of the object of such verbs is taken by a reflexive idea.
- 819 *Hilarius Hil. Trin.* IX, 8, Migne *PL* 10, 287 B: "vt in nomine suo omne genu flectat". *flectat* is the reading of recension D of the *Vetus Latina*, i.e., the type of text reflected in the bilingual mss. See *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlat. Bibel*, 24/2, ed. H.J. Frede, *Epp. ad Philip. et ad Col.*, Freiburg, 1966-1971, p. 148; for Hil.' text: p. 145. This is one case out of many in which a translation given by Er. agrees with a *Vetus Latina* reading.
- 820 *Latinis* For instance, Cic. *Off.* II, 3, 9: "deflexit de via".
- 821 *subleuans* "Consoling, encouraging".
- 821-822 *nisi ... potuisse* Literally quoted.
- 822-823 *falsa ... interpretatio* Correctly quoted.
- 824 *Ex capite iii Phil.* 3,5.
- 825 *posse* Er. had not written that "Israel" could be taken as a nominative, but "Israel hoc loco nominatiuus est, non genitiuus". Later he changed "est" into "esse potest".
- 827-828 *superius ... circumciso Phil.* 3,3. But Paul never applied this metonymy to himself, but either to "the Jews", e.g. *Rom.* 3,30; 4,9, or to "the christians", *Phil.* 3,3, as a collective noun. This is fatal to Er.' interpretation. But he never abandoned it, and repeated it in the *Paraphr. in NT*.
- 829 *perperam interpretatur* But Er. had written: "se hic nominat Israel pro Israelita, idque et alias saepenumero fecit", and this is hardly capable of more than one interpretation.
- 830 *pro Israhelita ... Israhel* Er. is no doubt thinking of the figure of speech of synecdoche, an instance of which he noted in *Rom.* 9,6 Ἰσραὴλ secundo loco (see the *Annot. on Rom.* 9,6).
- 832-833 *Sed ... videlicet* The meaning is: But since calling some individual "Israel" instead of "an Israelite" is not really an obvious and clear way of speaking, I aduced a parallel (*simile*) which is even less obvious so that it makes the expression in question ("Israel" for Israelite) more acceptable, viz. ...
- 834 *ad Romanos Rom.* 9,6, where the Vg. renders the second Ἰσραὴλ by *Israelitae*, and Er. himself by *Israel*.
- 836 *posuerit Sc.* in the Greek.
- 837 *hic In Phil.* 3,5, where the New English Bible has "Israelite by race", just as Er.: "Israel ex genere". Er. seems to have taken ἐκ γένους to mean "by birth, by race" = τῷ γένει.
- non ... casu* Cf. Blass-Debrunner, § 260, 2: as long as an indeclinable proper name is anarthrous, it can be any case.
- 839 *ex tribu Benjamin* These words follow immediately on *ex genere Israel* in *Phil.* 3,5. Stun. had rightly observed that Er. had been inconsistent in taking *Israel* as a nom. ("an Israelite by race") and *Benjamin* as a gen. ("of the tribe of Benjamin"). Er. presently defends himself by alleging that *Israel* must be a nom. because Paul wanted to say "I am an Israelite by race, not by adoption". The argument holds no water, for the sense is the same if *Israel* is taken to be a gen.
- 841 *ad hoc* "(With regard) to this point".
- 841-843 *Alioqui ... Israhel* Er. means that since in Scripture *Iuda* and *Israel* can stand for the Jewish people, in contradistinction to *Abraham* and *Dauid*, *Israel* can also stand for "Israelite". Modern exegetes, however, find no single instance of *Israel pro Israelita* in the N.T.
- 842 *Iuda Mt.* 2,6, a quotation of *Mch.* 5,1.
- 843 *Israhel Mc.* 12,29, a quotation of *Dt.* 6,4.
- 844 *Ex capite iiii Phil.* 4,3.
- 845 *Graecos* Er. had not mentioned them by name, but he is thinking of Clem. Al. (see p. 187, n.l. 399 and p. 140, n.l. 589 above) and Orig. *Comm. in Rom.*, ad 1,1, Migne *PG* 14, 839: "Paulus ergo, sicut quidam tradunt, cum vxore vocatus est".
- 847 *Theophylactus Comm. in Ep. ad Phil.*, ad 4,3, Migne *PG* 124, 1192 C: Τινὲς δὲ πλανηθέντες, τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναικῆ φασὶ τὸν Παῦλον παρακαλεῖν ἐνταῦθα. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν. Ἴνα γὰρ τἄλλα ἐάσω, ἔδει Γνησία σύζυγε, εἰπεῖν.
- Athanasius* See p. 131, n.l. 437.

vxorem. Et adeo ab vxore Theophylactus, vt malit hunc, de quo
 I.B. 340 loquitur Paulus, alteri | mulierum vel fratrem, vel maritum fuisse, vel denique
 851 carceris custodem. Audis meram diuinationem Theophylacti. At quanto
 probabilior est nostra coniectura, quam adferimus in Annotationibus. Nec
 habet Theophylactus quo refellat illorum opinionem, nisi vnus vocis argu-
 855 mento, quam Paulus masculino genere posuerit, faeminino positurus si de
 vxore loqueretur. Sentit autem, ni fallor, de γνήσιε. Nam de σύζυγος nemo
 nescit esse generis communis. Verum qui putarunt haec de vxore dici, nimirum
 Graeci erant, quos tamen nihil offendit quod offendit Theophylactum; vnde
 consequitur vt aut legerint γνησία, aut intellexerint iuxta morem Atticum
 860 masculinam vocem vsurpatam vice foemininae. Itaque vt hanc sententiam non
 arbitror explodendam vt absurdam, ita fateor et alteram posse consistere.
 Tantum offendit quod virum ceu comitem adiungit foeminis praeter morem
 suum. Deinde quis esset iste carceris custos, quem Paulus dignaretur tanto
 honore et eum γνήσιον σύζυγον vocaret, quem titulum ne Timotheo quidem
 vnquam tribuit, et tamen eidem praefert mulieres?

865

EODEM II.

Haec cogitate et agite. Hic rursus est *Erasmi hallucinatio manifesta*, hic *absens*
 fuit a seipso, cum Stunica sibi parum fuerit praesens, qui me somniat de priore
 parte loqui: *haec cogitate, quae et didicistis.* Hic tantum est λογίζεσθε,
 consentientibus inter se Latinis codicibus. Sed paulo post sequitur ταῦτα
 870 πράττετε. Quo loco quidam Latini codices repetunt: *cogitate et agite, et Deus*
pacis erit vobiscum. Sed isti, inquiet, codices sunt mendosi. Verum et ob eam
 rem annotauimus, ne mendum hoc serperet latius. Hoc loco Glossa Ordinaria,
 quae occupat interuallum versuum, *non solum*, inquit, *cogitate sed et actu implete.*
 Porro ne Stunica putet hoc mendum tantum in meo fuisse codice, quum haec
 875 scriberem consului volumen vetustae aeditionis, quod habebat Glossam
 Ordinarium, e bibliotheca cartusiensium non procul a Bruxella. In hoc
 habebatur: *haec cogitate et agite.* Eat nunc Stunica et clamet mihi non fuisse
 mentem quum haec scriberem.

849 vxorem. Et *A*: vxorem, cum hoc senserit
 Clemens Historiae ecclesiasticae libro iii
 huius loci testimonium adducens. Vtri vero
 plus tribuendum, Clementi viro probatae
 sanctimoniae, in Graeco sermone etiam fa-
 cundo, vicino temporibus apostolorum, an
 Theophylacto? Iam *B BAS*.

855 γνήσιε *A B*: *add.*, pro quo putant γνησία
 dicendum fuisse, si de vxore loqueretur
BAS.

861-862 morem suum. *A B*: *add.* Demiror

autem quur hic Theophylactum offendat
 γνήσιος pro γνησία, quum in epistolae ad
 Titum cap. 2 non offendat eum σωτήριος
 pro salutifera. Sic enim ibi tum legit, tum
 interpretatur. Porro quum Atticis sit pecu-
 liare, pro foemininis vocibus abuti masculi-
 nis, quemadmodum Homerus dixit κλυτός
 pro κλυτή, et Euripides γενναῖος pro γενναία,
 quid est quod hic offenditur Theo-
 phylactus? *BAS*.

863 γνήσιον σύζυγον *scripsi*: γνήσιον, σύζυγον

- sic interpungunt A B BAS I.B.*
 864 *eidem A: add. sic laudato B BAS.*
- 849 *uxorem* The reference to Clem. Al. in the addition in *B BAS* (crit. app.) is to Eus. *H.E.* III, 30. Cf. the additions to p. 140, l. 589 and p. 186, l. 399.
- 849 851 *malit ... custodem* Er. correctly paraphrases Theophylact.
- 852 *probabilior* Er. forgets to mention that Stun. had rejected his interpretation because Paul would have written *γνήσια* in that case, and because Theophylact had dismissed it.
- 855 *ni fallor* Er.' hesitation is due to the fact that at Anderlecht he could not consult Theophylact in Greek and had to rely on the Latin translation (see p. 193, n.l. 493) in which it is not wholly clear what precisely Theophylact had objected to; it runs: "*germana coniunx dicere debuisset si vxor illa fuisset*".
γνήσια Cf., e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia (ed. H. B. Swete, Cambridge, 1880, I, p. 246): τὸ γνήσια [εἶπεν] ὁ ἄνδρι μὲν ἀρμόττει, γυναικὶ δὲ οὐκέτι.
- 858 *γνήσια* This reading does not seem to have been transmitted, not even in Clem. Al. or Orig.
Atticum That the tendency to use adjectives of three terminations as adj. of two terminations was stronger in Attic than in other dialects, is correct; see Robertson, pp. 272–273, and G.B. Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, Leipzig, 1867, § 11, p. 66: "namentlich von den Attikern". But there is no evidence that *γνήσιος* was used as an adj. of two terminations.
- 860 *consistere* "Be applicable", cf. p. 153, n.l. 797 and p. 197, n.l. 549, *consistere*.
- 861–862 *offendit ... suum* Er. means that after the mention of the women Euodia and Syntyche in v. 2 the "true yoke-fellow" of v. 3 is best taken to be a woman. The argument means nothing in the light of, e.g., *Rom.* 16,15 and *Col.* 4,15. The interpretation which takes *σύσυγε* to mean Paul's wife is now generally rejected for the grammatical reason mentioned by Theophylact and Stun.; see G. Delling, in: *TWNT* VII, pp. 749–750. The references added in *BAS* are to Theophylact, *Comm. in Ep. ad Tit.*, ad 2,11, Migne *PG* 125, 256 A, *Hom. II*, 742; *Od.* V, 422 and *Eur. Hec.* 592.
- 862–863 *quem ... et eum* For this grammatical construction, cf. *Cic. Div.* I, 105: *quem ... eumque*.
- 865 *Eodem ii Phil.* 4,9.
- 866 *Erasmi ... manifesta* This is Stun.'s side-note, literally quoted.
- 866–867 *absens ... a seipso* Stun. had begun his section with the words: "Absens fortasse a semetipso Erasmus erat cum scripsit *cogitate hoc loco superesse*".
- 868 *haec ... didicistis* "haec cogitate" is the end of v. 8, what follows is the beginning of v. 9. Since Er. had observed that for the Greek ταῦτα πράττετε certain Latin witnesses had a redundant *cogitate*, he had clearly spoken of v. 9, not of v. 8. The mistake is entirely Stun.'s in this case.
Hic In v. 8; "cogitate" at the end of v. 8 has indeed no doublet in any of the witnesses used by Wordsworth-White.
- 870 *Quo loco* In v. 9, where certain witnesses of the Vg. render ταῦτα πράσσετε by a composite reading: "haec agite, haec cogitate", "haec cogitate, haec agite", or "haec cogitate et agite"; see Wordsworth-White, and *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlat. Bibel*, 24/2, ed. H.J. Frede, *Epp. ad Phil. et ad Col.*, Freiburg, 1966–1971, p. 244. For the reading "haec cogitate et agite" see below.
- 872 *Glossa Ordinaria* It has indeed the interlinear gloss reported by Er., not as a variant reading, but as an exposition of the words of the biblical text "Haec cogitate et agite"; see *Biblia sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria*, Paris, 1590, *ad Phil.* 4,9.
- 875 *aeditionis* Obviously the ed. pr. [Strasbourg, Adolf Rusch for Anton Koberger, 1481] (*Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* 4, 4282), as I argued in *Erasmus und die Glossa Ordinaria*, *NAK* 56 (1975), pp. 51–77, see pp. 71–75.
- 876 *cartusiensium* The Carthusian monastery at Scheut (Anderlecht) was called "Domus nostrae Dominae de Gratia" (O.L. Vrouw van Genade) and existed from 1455 to 1579/80, see Aub. Miraeus, *Origines Cartusianorum monasteriorum*, Coloniae, 1609, p. 31; Ant. Sanderus, *Chorographia sacra Brabantiae*, Hagae Comitum, 1729, II, pp. 350–370; and for Er.' contacts with this monastery, de Jonge, *art. cit.* (see previous n.), pp. 73–74.

EX EPISTOLA AD COLOSSENSIS.

- 880 *His qui sunt Colossis.* Dixeram hic Colossenses non accipi Rhodios. Stunica docet Rhodios esse dictos Κολοσσῆς, a colosso Solis, et eosdem dictos Lindos. Vt haec vera sint, nihil aduersum me faciunt, nisi forte Stunica putat his argumentis euinci, hanc epistolam scriptam fuisse Rhodiis.

EX CAPITE II.

- 885 *Quae omnia in interitu sunt ipso abusu.* Graece est ἀποχρήσει, quod ad verbum sonat *abusu*, quemadmodum nos vertimus. Stunica putat ἀπόχρησιν accipi posse pro χρήσει. Nec id sane negauimus, nec taxauimus interpretem, sed quoniam apud iureconsultos legeramus *abusum* proprie dici rerum quae vsu absumantur, velut esculentorum et poculentorum. Nam vsus est et aedium aut
890 gemmarum pecuniaeue. Cum igitur *abusus* propria vox esset ei rei quam sentiebat Paulus, et responderet aptius ad vocem Graecam, id maluimus ponere.

EX CAPITE III.

- LB 341 *Expoliantes vos veterem hominem.* Ἀπεκδυσάμενοι, quod interpres vertit
896 *expoliantes*, nos verteramus: *postquam exuistis veterem hominem.* Stunica docet expoliari et eum cui detrahuntur vestimenta. Adducit exemplum e Cicerone, qui *expoliatum* scripserit cui lictores detraxerant vestes. At Paulus non loquitur hic de vestibus vi detractis, sed sponte positis. Neque tamen diximus interpretem male vertisse.

900

EX CAPITE IIII.

- Et cum lecta fuerit.* Quod Latini legunt epistolam ad Laodicenses, Graecis est καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικαίας, id est, *eam quae est e Laodicaea*, citaueram Greca scholia, quae docerent hanc epistolam de qua agit hic Paulus non fuisse scriptam Laodicensibus, cum dicat: *e Laodicaea* scriptam. Et coniectant fuisse
905 epistolam quam Laodicensis aliquis scripserit Paulo, sed in qua inessent quae referret Colossensium scire. Stunica in elencho notat me *non intellexisse*

889-890 Nam ... pecuniaeue *AB: includitur in uncinis in BAS.* 890 igitur *AB: om. BAS.*

879 *Ex epistola ad Colossenses Col. 1,2.*

880 *non accipi Rhodios* According to Stun., the misconception alluded to here occurs in the lexicon of Ambrose of Calepio (Calepinus, 1440-1511), *s.v.* Colossus. It was first printed at Reggio in 1502 and soon went through one edition after another (Allen,

Ep. 1725, n.l. 12). In the Basle 1551 ed., which I consulted, the note identifying Colossians and Rhodians does not occur any more. For Calepinus' words see *ad ll.* 882-883 below.

881 *docet ... Lindos* From Suidas' *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Κολοσσαῖς and *s.v.* Ῥόδος, ed. A. Adler,

- III, Leipzig, 1933, p. 144; IV, Leipzig, 1935, p. 297. Stun. had used the form Κολασσαεῖς, not Κολοσσεῖς. For the latter form there seems to be very little, if any evidence, *pace* Moulton-Howard II, p. 350; for a discussion of the name, see J.B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Ep. to the Col.*, London, 1880, pp. 17-18.
- colosso Solis* The colossal statue of Helios built by Chares of Lindos, completed in 290 B.C. and thrown down by an earthquake in 224 B.C. Thirty-two meters high, it was the biggest statue of the ancient world and reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world.
- 882-883 *nisi ... Rhodiis* Stun. had left the question undecided. After mentioning that Er. had criticized Calepino, he had written: "Ego vero nescio an ad Rhodios sub Colossensium nomine Apostolus hanc epistolam scripsit". And he had gone on to show that Suidas too had called the Rhodians "Collossenses". All in all Stun. seems to agree with what he had quoted from Calepinus: "Ab hoc colosso Rhodii Colossenses appellati sunt, quibus scribit Apostolus".
- 884 *Ex capite ii Col. 2,22.*
- 885 *abusu* Just as elsewhere, Er.' lemma quotes the Vg., but by accident Er. presently writes *abusu* instead of "vsu" Vg. The reading *abusu* derives from Er.' own translation: "Quae omnia ipso pereunt abusu". The misquotation, which makes Er.' argument almost incomprehensible, went through all editions except CS. Whether or not the mistake should be retained in the text, is a debatable point.
- 888 *abusum proprie dici* From the *Th.L.L.* it appears that the normal meaning of *abusus* is "vsus qui rem consumit". Practically all the evidence quoted there is from juridical authors. An illustrative passage also adduced in the *Th.L.L.* is Boeth. *In topica Ciceronis* III, Migne PL 64, 1086D: "non potest esse vsus earum rerum quae vtendo pereunt, sed potius abusus". Since *abusus* also occurs in Cic. himself, it lent itself admirably to being used in Er.' translation.
- 889 *paculentorum* The sentence is an anacoluthon, remedied in *BAS*, see crit. app.
- 893 *Ex capite iii Col. 3,9.*
- 895 *exuistis* Valla had already preferred the same verb, probably because "exspoliare" was too much connected with the idea of violence and injury inflicted upon a victim.
- 897 *Cicerone* Cic. *Verr.* 2, 4, 40, 86: "Vix erāt hoc plane imperatum cum illum expoliatum stipatumque lictoribus videres", but modern editions read "spoliatum", not "expoliatum".
- 900 *Ex capite iii Col. 4,16.*
- 901 *epistolam ad Laodicenses* The Vg. reads: "eam (v.l.: ea) quae Laodicensium est". In his translation, Er. has "eam quae scripta est ex Laodicea". Here, however, his words seem to echo the passage from Jerome's *De viris illustribus* 5, concerning the apocryphal *Ep. ad Laodicenses* (Hennecke-Schneemelcher II, pp. 80-84; *ODCC*, s.v. Laodiceans), which Stun. had quoted: "Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses: sed ab omnibus expellitur" (Migne PL 23, 650 A). The passage in *Col. 4,16* is a traditional crux interpretum, for a good discussion of which see J.B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Ep. to the Col.*, London, 1880, pp. 274-300. Er. avoided pronouncing for one or another solution, but was very positive in rejecting the authenticity of the existing *Ep. ad Laod.* His judgement on the author of this letter is considered too hard by Lightfoot, p. 299, n. 1. On the whole Er. seems to agree with Photius' comment in *Pseudo-Oecumenius* (v.i.), according to which τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας applies to a letter from some Laodicean to Paul. Lightfoot aptly remarked (p. 275, n. 5) that "the motive which unconsciously led so many to adopt this unnatural interpretation of St. Paul's language" was that this position made it easier to condemn the *Ep. ad Laod.* as a forgery. For the contrast between "to the Laodiceans" and "from Laodicea", see H.B. Swete, ed., *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epp. B. Pauli Commentarii*, I, Cambridge, 1880, pp. 310-311.
- 902 *Λαοδικαίας* The spelling -αίας is a slip of Er. for -είας, although Wettstein rightly registered -αίας as the reading of ms. C. of the Greek N.T.; cf. C. Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi rescriptus*, Lipsiae, 1843, p. 267, l. 28.
- 902-903 *Grecaica scholia* I.e., *Pseudo-Oecumenius* (see p. 195, n.l. 539), *Comm. in Ep. ad Col.*, Migne PG 119, 53 D: τινές λέγουσιν ὅτι οὐχὶ τὴν Παύλου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεσταλμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν Παύλω. Φωτ. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπε τὴν πρὸς Λαοδικεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας γραφεῖσαν. ... Ἦν γὰρ τι πάντως ἐν αὐτῇ ὠφελοῦν τοὺς Κολοσσαεῖς.
- 906 *elencho* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Non intellexisse Erasmus quae de epistola ad Laodicenses Graecanica scholia referunt".

Greca scholia. At qui nouit hoc os impudens, cum Greca scholia non viderit?

Sed Athanasius dissentit. Imo Theophylactus, quem Stunica falso putat
 910 Athanasium. Quamquam Athanasius refert duas opiniones: vnam quae putat
 hanc epistolam a Paulo fuisse scriptam ad Timotheum e Laodicea, alteram
 quae dicit hanc epistolam fuisse scriptam ad Paulum a Laodicensi quopiam.
 Quaeso quid hic non intelligit Erasmus quod intelligit Stunica? Caetera nihil
 ad me pertinent.

915

EX EPISTOLA AD THESSALONICENSES, CAPITE II.

Cum possemus vobis oneri esse, ἐν βάρει. Iuxta Grecos interpretes bifariam
 accipi potest ἐν βάρει, id est, in autoritate et honore, aut ἐν βάρει, id est,
 onerosi propter sumptus. Prior sensus mihi magis probatur. Stunica ne
 quid illi mecum conueniat, multis verbis asserit posteriorem. Adducit quaedam
 920 loca, quibus testatur Paulus se non fuisse illis sumptui. Quid tum postea? Istud
 quaerebatur, quid hoc loco sentiret Paulus. Et indico quas ob causas mihi
 magis arriserit prior lectio, quoniam haec verba ἐν βάρει praecesserat: *non*
quaerentes gloriam, et sequitur: *sed facti fuimus paruuli* siue *placidi*. Ambrosius pro
oneri legit *honori*, sed vt demus hoc esse deprauatum, certe amplectitur in
 925 expositione sententiam quam nos secuti sumus. Athanasius sic vtramque
 recenset sententiam, quasi liberum sit vtram malis sequi. Vbi est igitur quod in
 suo ponit elencho Stunica: *perperam ab Erasmo hunc locum traductum?* An
perperam vertit, qui vertit iuxta Graecorum et Ambrosii sententiam, qui
 sequitur hoc quod rectius quadrat cum iis quae praecesserant et consequuntur?

930

EODEM II.

Sed facti sumus paruuli. Fatetur Stunica in omnibus Graecorum codicibus quos
 ipse viderit, scriptum fuisse ἥπιοι, non νήπιοι. Tamen indicat ex Athanasio olim
 fuisse duplicem lectionem. Quod Stunica docet ex falso Athanasio hoc ego in
 prima etiam aeditione docueram ex vero Theophylacto. Quid igitur hic agit
 935 aduersum me Stunica? *Recte*, inquit, *traduxit interpres*, quasi ego hoc negarim.

EX CAPITE V.

Vt integer spiritus vester. Hic quoniam nondum erat castigatus

912 quopiam *A B LB: copiam B.AS.*

915 Ex epistola *A: Ex I Epistola B B.AS.*

922 praecesserat *A B: add. illud B.AS.*

932 ἥπιοι *A M (vide NAK 58 [1978], p. 180)*

B.AS: πῆιοι per indiligentiam typothetae B.

907 *os impudens* See p. 73, n.l. 246 above.

907-908 *scholia non viderit* Pseudo-

Oecumenius' commentary was first printed
 in Greek at Verona in 1532; the editor was

- Bernardinus Donatus of Verona. His ed. is based on ms. Par. gr. 219 and has been reproduced, via an intermediary edition, in Migne PG 118-119 (K. Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome, 1926, pp. 151-153). See also p. 195, n.l. 539.
- 909 *Athanasius* Theophylact (see p. 131, n.l. 437), *Comm. in Ep. ad Col., ad Col.* 4,16, Migne PG 124, 1276D: Τίς δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐκ Λαοδικείας; Ἡ πρὸς Τιμόθεον πρώτη αὐτῆ γὰρ ἐκ Λαοδικείας ἐγράφη. Τινὲς δὲ φασιν, ὅτι ἦν οἱ Λαοδικεῖς Παύλῳ ἐπέστειλαν. From Porsena's Latin translation of this passage Stun. had inferred that Theophylact had understood τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας as an allusion to a letter from Paul to Laodicea.
- 913 *Caetera* In Stun.'s whole section there is no attempt to substantiate the accusation contained in the side-note. Stun. had only argued that Theophylact and Ambrose understood *Col.* 4,18 as alluding to a letter from Paul to Laodicea, and that Eusebius and Jerome had known letters from Paul not included in the canon. The discrepancy between Stun.'s exposition and the side-note seems to illustrate what has been observed about the authorship of the side-notes in the n. to p. 194, l. 521.
- 915 *Ex epistola ... capite ii 1 Thess.* 2,7.
- 916 *Grecos interpretes* Er. is referring to Pseudo-Oecumenius (whose "scholia" he had mentioned explicitly in the *Annot.* of 1516), *Comm. in I Ep. ad Thess., ad* 2,7, Migne PG 119, 68D: Ἡ ἐν τιμῆ καὶ δόξῃ, ἢ ἐν βάρει, τουτέστι, λαμβάνειν καὶ τρέφεισθαι. The dilemma, if it is one, is still an exegetical problem, although most exegetes are now inclined to agree with Er., as for instance G. Schrenk, in: *TWNT I*, p. 554.
- 920 *loca 1 Thess.* 2,9; *1 Cor.* 9,11 and 13 and 9; *1 Thess.* 2,5; and *2 Thess.* 3,7.
- 923 *Ambrosius* Ambrosiaster, ed. H.J. Vogels, *CSEL* 83, p. 216. Vogels has "onéri" in the text; "honori" does not appear in his crit. app., but it does in *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlat. Bibel*, 25/3, ed. H.J. Frede, *Thess.*, Freiburg i. Br., 1976, p. 190. There it appears that "honori" also occurs in several *Vetus Latina* and Vg. mss. and, as a variant reading, in the quotations of *1 Thess.* 2,7 in some other fathers than Ambrosiaster. Frede marks "honori" as an inner-Latin corruption of "onéri", via "honeri". Ambrosiaster's interpretation is indeed in entire agreement with that of Er.
- 925 *Athanasius* Theophylact (Er. uses ironically Stun.'s misnomer, see p. 131, n.l. 437), *Comm. in Ep. I ad Thess., ad* 2,7, Migne PG 124, 1290A: Ἡ ἐν τιμῆ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ὄγκῳ, ἢ δυνάμενοι λαμβάνειν καὶ τρέφεισθαι καὶ βαρεῖς ὑμῖν εἶναι. Theophylact expresses no preference for either of the two possibilities. (His text strongly suggests that in Pseudo-Oecumenius' comment just quoted the word δυνάμενοι has been lost. The passages are of course related: Theophylact is dependent on Pseudo-Oecumenius, see Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen ...*, pp. 234-245.)
- 927 *elencho* Er. quotes Stun.'s side-note wholly correctly.
- 928-929 *qui sequitur ... consequuntur* Stun. had used this very argument as turning the scales in favour of *his* interpretation.
- 930 *Eodem ii 1 Thess.* 2,7. The problem here is that some of the earliest witnesses read νήπιοι, while others have ἥπιοι. All the minuscule mss. accessible to Er. and Stun. had the latter reading. Er., as a result, had adopted and translated ἥπιοι. But since the Vg. follows νήπιοι, Stun. had stood up for the authenticity of νήπιοι, in spite of the Greek evidence he had seen. How embarrassing the textual problem at issue is appears from the fact that even modern critical editions are at variance: N²⁵, e.g., has ἥπιοι, but N²⁶ νήπιοι. Cf. B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek N.T.*, London/New York, 1971, pp. 629-630.
- 932 *Athanasio* See p. 131, n.l. 437.
- 934 *Theophylacto* *Comm. in I Ep. ad Thess., ad* 2,7, Migne PG 124, 1289B: Ἡπιοι, τουτέστι πρόχοι, ἀβαρεῖς. Ἡ καὶ: Νήπιοι.
- 935 *Recte ... interpretes* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Recte hoc loco interpretem traduxisse".
- 936 *Ex capite v 1 Thess.* 5,23, where the Greek has ὀλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα ... τηρηθῆιη. In the *Annot.* of 1516 Er. had contended "ὀλόκληρον Hieronymus videtur non legisse". Stun. had pointed out that this was incorrect, since in the exposition of *1 Thess.* 5,23 occurring in Jerome's *Ep. ad Heluidiam* (ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 55, no. 120, see p. 513), quaest. 12, the word "integer" recurs: "spiritus quoque in nobis integer conseruatur, quando ...".
- 937 *nondum erat castigatus* Jerome's *Ep. ad Heluidiam* appeared in vol. IV of the Basle 1516 edition of Jerome's works. The preface to this vol. is dated 1 March 1516. "castigatus" means "edited", either in the sense of "made ready for the press" or in that of "printed".

Hieronymus, sed libris dispunctis et cancellatis vteremur, nescio quo casu obrepsit imaginatio, vt putarem apud Hieronymum non attingi *ὀλόκληρον*.
 940 Atque id mox vbi sensimus restituimus integritati suae.

EX II AD THESSALONICENSES, CAPITE II.

Non retinetis quod cum. Cum Graece sit *μνημονεύετε*, id est, *meministis*, demiror *stultam affectationem copiae* in interprete, qui maluerit vti verbo et ambiguo et parum Latino quam proprio, vsitato et eleganti. Hic Stunica meus:
 LB 342 *o stultum*, inquit, *hominem Erasmus istum Roterodamum et Latinae linguae prorsus*
 946 *ignarum*. Imo quid hoc homine impudentius? Erasmus *prorsus est ignarus linguae*
Latinae, quia mauult dicere non memini quam non retineo. Proferat
 Stunica vel vnicum autorem probatum qui retinere dixerit pro meminisse.
 Id si non potest, fateatur se potius *ignarum linguae Latinae*, qui putet nihil
 950 interesse vtrum retinere dicas an meminisse. Si tenere dixisset pro
 meminisse fuerat tolerabilius. Quanquam tenere dicitur qui intelligit
 magis quam qui meminit, nisi dicas: memoria tenet. Sed longe aliud est
 retinere quam tenere. Ridiculum autem quod Stunica nobis obiicit epistolas
 Senecae ad Paulum, quasi quisquam eruditus credat eas a Seneca scriptas.
 955 Vide autem in causa tam iniqua quae congerat conuicia. *Quasi*, inquit, *aliquis*
tam rudis vsquam reperiri possit et tam Erasmo similis, id est, adeo ebeti ingenio et crasso
intellectu, vt non intelligat hoc loco non retinetis idem esse quod non meministis.

EX CAPITE III.

Hoc denunciabamus vobis. Παρηγγέλλομεν vertere malui *praecipiebamus*. Hic
 960 tribus verbis taxo interpretem, quod maluerit dicere *denunciabamus* quam
praecipiebamus, sine causa frequenter affectans copiam. Quid igitur vult
 Stunica, licere quouis loco ponere denunciare pro praecipere? Et feret si
 quis *γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα* Plutarchi vocet connubiales denunciations?
 Apud iureconsultos lego de noui operis denunciatione; an apud Latinos pro

938 vteremur *A B*: vtebatur *BAS*.
 956 vsquam *A B BAS*: vsque *LB*.

964–965 pro praecipio reperiatnr nescio *B*
BAS: reperiatnr nescio pro praecipio *A*.

938 *libris* Copies of early printed editions of Jerome's letters, the pages of which Er. during his work of years upon Jerome's text had covered with manuscript corrections, variant readings and deletions. There are at least 21 editions of Jerome's letters prior to 1515, but no copy of these figures

in the so-called "Versandliste" (See F. Husner, *Die Bibliothek des Er.*, in: *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Er. von Rotterdam*, Basle, 1936, pp. 228–259). It is impossible, therefore, to determine which editions of Jerome's letters Er. used before and in 1516.

- dispunctis et cancellatis* "Provided with (ms.) critical notes and deletions", resulting from, e.g., collations and the examination of the authenticity of certain passages or letters. For the real cause of Er.' mistake, see next n.
- 940 *restituimus integritati* That is, Er. dropped the remark concerning the possible absence of δλόκληρον in Jerome's Greek exemplar. It should be noticed that Er.' mistake was due to the fact that in *Epist.* 120, 12, 5 Jerome breaks off his quotation of 1 *Thess.* 5,23 just before καὶ δλόκληρον. Note the wordplay in *restituimus integritati*: both the Vg. and Er. translated δλόκληρον as *integer*.
- 941 *Ex ii ad Thessalonicenses ... ii 2 Thess.* 2,5.
- 943 *stultam ... copiae* In the *Annot.* of 1516 these words are an exclamation: "O stultam copiae affectationem, etiam cum iniuria sensus!". Later Er. changed "stultam" into "nouam". Only this makes Stun.'s reaction, literally quoted in ll. 945-946, understandable and relishable: Stun.'s exclamation is modelled on that of Er. "Affectatio copiae" is the inordinate straining after effect through the display of a wealth of words and other rhetorical means. Cf. p. 174, l. 196, with the n.
- 944-946 *Hic ... ignarum* See on this passage Er.' proem, p. 64, ll. 102-104, with the nn.
- 947 *Proferat* Cf. p. 188, l. 428.
- 948 *retinere* Without a word for memory present, this verb can mean "to remember, recollect" only in post-classical authors: the OLD mentions Gell., Apul. and Vlp.
- 951 *tolerabilius* See Lewis-Short, *s.v.* tenere B 2 d.
- 953-954 *epistolas Senecae ad Paulum* Valla seems to have been the first to say that the correspondence between Sen. and Paul could not be genuine, but his treatise on the subject was lost (R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850*, Oxford, 1976, p. 40). Er. published the letters in his Basle 1515 edition of Sen.'s works and proved once again that they are a forgery in a letter to the reader added to this apocryphal correspondence in the Basle 1529 edition of Sen.'s *Opera* (= Ep. 2092). Er. also pointed out the fictitious character of the letters between Sen. and Paul in Ep. 325, ll. 71-73 (the preface to the 1515 ed. of Sen.) and in Ep. 2091, ll. 137-140 (the preface to the 1529 ed. of Sen.). From the way in which Stun. quoted one of the letters from Sen. to Paul it is evident that he regarded the correspondence as genuine.
- The same applies, e.g., for Lefèvre d'Étaples, see his edition of the Pauline epistles with Latin translation and commentary, Paris, 1515², f^{os} 180-181. Cf. A. Kurfess, in: Hennecke-Schneemelcher II, pp. 84-89.
- 955-957 *Quasi ... meministis* Correctly quoted.
- 958 *Ex capite iii 2 Thess.* 3,10. The translation *praecipiebamus* chosen by Er. is the reading of the recensions D and I of the *Vetus Latina*, followed by, *inter alios*, Ambrosiaster and Augustine. See the Beuron *Vetus Latina*.
- 960 *taxo* Er.' comment had been somewhat rude and the joke he had permitted himself had of course fallen flat with Stun.: "vbi-que ostentat suam ineptam copiam, etiam antequam nos de copia prodidissemus". Here Er. is alluding to his *De duplici copia*, a manual of rhetoric first published in 1512.
- 961 *affectans copiam* Cf. the previous section, p. 222, l. 943, with the n.
- 962 *Stunica* He had argued that παραγγέλλειν means now "praecipere", now "denunciare" and that the translator of the Vg. had chosen with great care now the one, now the other translation according to what was meant.
- 963 γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα Usually called *Praecepta coniugalia*; Plut. *Mor.*, ed. W.R. Paton, I. Wegehaupt, M. Pohlenz, vol. I, Leipzig (Teubner), 1974², no. 12, pp. 283-299.
- 964 *iureconsultos* Corpus iuris ciuilis, Digesta XXXIX, tit. 1 "De operis noui nuntiatione", 10: "Si in suo quid faciat, quod nobis noceat, tunc operis noui denuntiatio erit necessaria" (*sc.* ne opus fiat); *ibid.* 19: "Sciendum est denegata executione operis noui nihilo minus integras legitimas actiones manere, sicut in his quoque causis manent, in quibus ab initio operis noui denuntiationem praetor denegat". "Operis noui denuntiatio" is a juridical protest, entered with the praetor, against a new building undertaken by someone else. H. Heumann and E. Seckel, *Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts*, Graz, 1958¹⁰, *s.v.* denuntiare: "Einspruch gegen einen Neubau".
- an apud Latinos ...* That *denuntiare vt* can indeed mean "to order (one to ...)", also in Cic. and Caes., is perfectly clear from OLD, *s.v.* denuntio 4 b, and Lewis-Short, *s.v.* denuntio I A (γ), (β) and II A (δ). Through the polemic Er. has worked himself into an untenable position.

965 praecipio reperiatur nescio. Quur igitur vertis, inquit, ipse similiter in eodem capite? Quia neglexi, quia putabam satis semel indicasse.

EX I AD TIMOTHEVM, CAPITE I.

Sicut rogavi te vt remaneres Ephesi. Quoniam orationi deest verbum, adieci de meo quod subaudiebatur: *sicut rogavi te vt maneres, mane*, siue vt nos
970 vertimus: *ita facito*. Stunica clamat admissum piaculum, quod ausus sim verbum de meo addere, quasi hoc nusquam fecerit interpres aut quasi non sit hoc aliquando necesse.

Caeterum quod Stunica προσημῖναι sic putat accipi posse, vt sit imperandi
975 modus, non satis intellexit quid dixerim. Non enim volebam imperandi modo accipi quod posuit Paulus, sed quod subauditur. Subauditur enim idem verbum προσημῖναι, sed alio modo.

Iam quod apud Ambrosium dixeram esse *vt denuncies*, cum illic habeatur *denunciare*s, quur non putavit hoc librariis asscribendum potius quam mihi?

Porro quod addit me simul cum meo Valla falsum, qui putem hoc loco *magis*
980 *quadrare hortandi* quam *rogandi* verbum, quod Graecis est παρεκάλεσα, plane fallitur Stunica, quum magis a Valla dissentiam. Sic enim loquor: *tamen hic magis quadrabat: hortatus sum vt Vallae placet; tametsi Paulus eo verbo nonnumquam usus est erga plebeios*. Id esse verum declarat mea translatio. Sic enim habet:
985 *quemadmodum rogavi te vt remaneres*. Quod si maxime cum illo sensissem, quid erat periculi cum sensus sit ambiguus, id quod negari non potest? An non licebit dissentire a Theophylacto?

EODEM II.

Ne aliter docerent. Quoniam ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν Graecis vox est anceps ac
990 magis pertinere videtur ad discipulos subinde variantes doctorem quam ad diuersa docentes, nos vertimus: *ne diuersam sequantur doctrinam*, qui sermo quadrat in vtrumque sensum. Hoc Stunica fortiter quidem negat, at nihil probat. Obiicit argumentum Graecum huius epistolae, quod videatur accom-

977 denuncies A BAS: denuncias A* B.

983 erga A BAS: ergo B inepte.

980 quadrare A BAS: quadrari B.

965 *inquit* Stun. had aptly noticed that in v. 6 of the same chapter Er. had retained "denunciamus" (Vg.) for παραγγέλλομεν. The only result was that there too Er. altered "denunciamus" into "praecipimus". Much of the polemic against Stun. found its way into the *Annot.* to 2 *Thess.* 3,10, LB VI, 920 D-E.

967 *Ex I ad Timotheum, capite i 1 Tim.* 1,3.

970 *Stunica ... piaculum* He had written: "Mira

est admodum Erasmi istius audacia, nisi temeritas potius appellanda est, cum ea verba Latine reddere non dubitauerit quae Apostolus Graece nequaquam protulit, siquidem illud *ita facito* in graeco non habetur".

973-974 *Caeterum ... dixerim* In the *Annot.* of 1516 Er. had given a strange comment which cannot mean much else but that προσημῖναι in 1 *Tim.* 1,3 stands at the same

- time for the infinitive and the imperative, so that it should be translated: "manere, maneto". The note runs: "Oratio plenior est Graece quam Latine, propterea quod προσμεῖναι potest esse vel infinitivi modi vel imperatiui, quantum ad sensum attinet: *Sicut te rogavi manere, maneto*". Stun. had objected that προσμεῖναι could only be an infinitive here, not an imperative. In the present paragraph Er. replies that Stun. had misunderstood him. See however the next n.
- 974-975 *Non ... subauditur* But in 1516 Er. had not said at all that something had to be supplied or understood. Er. seems to give a twist to his note without admitting that it had been at least unclear.
- 976 *alio modo* Viz., in the imperative.
- 977 *Ambrosium* In 1516 Er. had quoted Ambrosiaster to demonstrate that his biblical text too understood a missing imperative, since "vt denunties" there must mean "maneto, vt denunties". Stun. had objected that Er. had misquoted Ambr., since the latter's text had "vt denuntiares" (to be constructed with "rogavi te subremanere", sc. "vt denuntiares"). Stun. had of course meant by this that, if one reads "denuntiares" in Ambr., Ambr. cannot be supposed any more to have supplied the idea of an imperative "maneto". Er. presently misunderstands the point of Stun.'s objection. He takes it to be only a criticism of a misquotation, without seeing that if he had really misquoted Ambr. this would dispose of his whole argument based on Ambr. Without realizing the consequence, he willingly grants the misquotation (though ascribing it to the compositor and proof-readers). He also altered the text of the quotation of Ambr. in the *Annot., ad loc.* Yet, it is not certain that Er. had really misquoted Ambr. H.I. Vogels, ed., *Ambrosiaster* III, CSEL 81, p. 202 has Er.' original reading "denunties", without even reporting Stun.'s variant "denuntiares". By contrast, certain early editions of Ambr. do read "denuntiares".
- 979 *Valla* In his *Annot. ad loc.*, Valla had observed that παρεκάλεσα could better be translated as "hortatus sum" than as "rogavi" (Vg.). In 1516 Er. had mentioned Valla's opinion with approval, but also with the qualification quoted in ll. 982-983: *tametsi ... plebeios*. The meaning of the clause *tametsi ... plebeios* is not clear. It occasioned Jac. Revius, the 17th-cent. Dutch commentator of Valla's *Annot.* (also in *Critici sacri, ad loc.*), to remark: "vbi quid sibi velit vox *tametsi* non video: id enim ipsum confirmat sententiam Vallae, cum vsitatius sit plebeios *hortari* quam *rogare*". However, as Prof. J. Smit Sibinga pointed out to me, Er. may have meant to say: although Paul often used παρεκάλεῖν in addressing persons belonging to the common people (for whom the verb naturally had its later and Hellenistic meaning of "to ask", not its classical meaning of "to exhort"), yet in addressing Timothy Paul may well have used παρεκάλεῖν in the sense of "to exhort".
- 986 *Theophylacto* Stun. had observed that, according to "Athanasius" (Theophylact), Paul, in using παρεκάλεῖν, had not used the language of a master, but that of a slave: "non magistri sed serui vtitur voce". In Theophylact's Greek (Migne PG 125, 13 B) this note runs: Καθὼς παρεκάλεσα ...: Ὅρα τὸ ἐπεικὲς, πῶς οὐ διδασκάλου, ἀλλ' ἐκέτου κέχρηται φωνῇ. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν: Ἐπέταξα, ἀλλὰ: Παρεκάλεσα, κτλ. (Via Pseudo-Oecumenius this note goes back to Chrys., who, however, has οἰκέτου where Ps. Oec. and Theophylact have ἐκέτου. *serui* in "Athanasius" is a mistranslation or a learned correction; see H.B. Swete, ed., *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epist. B. Pauli Commentarii*, II, Cambridge, 1882, p. 69.) Er.' sentence *An ... Theophylacto*, though a casual remark, is significant indeed. As a theoretician of the method of biblical exegesis Er. championed the intellectual independence and the critical attitude of the exegete against the interpretation of the fathers of the church; see H.J. de Jonge, *Er. und die Glossa Ordinaria*, NAK 56 (1975), pp. 51-77, esp. pp. 62-67.
- 987 *Eodem* ii 1 *Tim.* 1,3.
- 989 *subinde variantes doctorem* In the *Annot.* Er. expressed it as follows: ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν "est nunc his, nunc illis vti doctoribus".
- 992 *argumentum* The so-called Euthalian hypothesis, a brief introduction containing some information concerning the author, the contents and the circumstances of composition of the book which it precedes. The Euthalian hypotheses figure in Er.' *Nov. Test.*; for that to 1 *Tim.* see LB VI, 923-924 and H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des N.T.*, I, 1, Göttingen, 1911, pp. 347-348. Stun. had pointed out that in the hypothesis to 1 *Tim.* ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν means "seduce to a false doctrine".

modare ad docentes diuersa. Quid isthuc noui est, quum ego fatear itidem
 995 interpretari Theophylactum et Chrysostomum? Nec ab his dissentio, nec illi a
 me. Nec enim illi docent non posse secus accipi. Nec ego damno quod illi
 sequuntur. |

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EX CAPITE III.

Non neophytum, ne in superbiam et cetera. Hic rursus pro *Diabolo* verto
 1000 *calumniatorem*. At Stunica multis interpretum testimoniis docet hunc locum
 intelligi posse de *Diabolo*. Id ego non negabam, sed non docuit de *calumnia-*
tore homine non posse accipi. Quanquam hac de re respondimus et antea
 nonnihil.

EODEM II.

Mulieres similiter pudicas. Cum Paulus hic agat de familia episcoporum,
 5 quae famulos et famulorum vxores ac liberos complectitur, dixeram *rectius verti*
vxores hoc loco *quam mulieres*, quum Graeca vox sit anceps, γυναικας. Neque
 nesciebam Theophylactum, Chrysostomum, praecipue vero Latinos abhorrere
 ab vxorum mentione, iam tum meditates coelibatum hunc, qui plus satis
 assertus est sacerdotibus, quum horum tantus sit numerus.

10 Ceterum non illic spectabam, quid interpretes exponerent, sed quid Paulus
 sensisse videretur. Quod si sensus meus nihil habet impium, nihil absurdum,
 dabitur, opinor, venia, quod citra religionis aut fidei periculum, a veteribus
 aliquot dissentiam. Nec dubito quin si extarent Origenis et aliorum in hunc
 locum commentarii, docerent aliud quam docet Ambrosius.

15 Cetera quae congerit hic quoniam nihil ad me pertinent, non est consilium
 excutere.

EX CAPITE IIII.

Abstinere a cibis quos Deus creauit. In prima aeditione pro *quos* operarum
 incuria deprauatum erat *quae*, quod correctum est in aeditione secunda. Hic
 20 Stunica mihi impingit *insignem hallucinationem*. Sed huiusmodi (vt ait) lapsus
 ipse alicubi impingo interpreti. Si interpretes vno aut altero loco sic lapsus esset,
 suspicarer scribarum vicio commissum. Nunc frequenter ille ad eundem
 impingit lapidem, vt casus videri non possit.

Hic admonet me Stunica, vt *hominem esse* meminerim. Bene monet, sed
 25 memorem monet. Admoneat seipsum potius, qui tanto fastu supercilioque
 flagellat etiam bene dicta aliorum, non solum errata. *Debet*, inquit, *omni vacare*

9 numerus *A*: *add.* et inter hos adeo multi qui
 minus caste viuunt quam si duxissent vxo-

res *B BAS*.

- 994 *Theophylactum Comm. in Ep. I ad Tim.*, ad 1,3, Migne PG 125, 13: ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν δέ· τὸ ἑτέρας διδασκαλίας παρεισάγειν. *Chrysostomum Hom. in Ep. I ad Tim.*, ad 1,3, Migne PG 62, 506: Ἐνταῦθα τινες ἦσαν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ψευδαπόστολοι, βουλόμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν νόμον ἔλκειν τοὺς πιστοὺς ...
- 995-996 *Nec enim ... sequuntur* The indecision is typical of Er. and does no justice, in the present case, to the evidence, which shows unequivocally that the verb in question means "to teach false doctrine". Cf. the n. to ll. 1000-1 below.
- 997 *Ex capite iii 1 Tim.* 3,6.
- 998 *rursus* See the section on *Eph.* 4,27 above.
- 999 *multis* Only two: Athanasius-Theophylact and Jerome.
- 1000-1 *Id ... accipi* Er.' indecision and his predilection for Latin renderings reflecting some etymological relationship with, or within the Greek (e.g., *abusus*, instead of *usus* Vg., for ἀπόχρησις in *Col.* 2,22; here *calumniator* because διάβολος is related to διαβάλλω, *calumnior*) make him fall short in the exegetical precision which is attainable here: in the N.T. ὁ διάβολος is the devil. Cf. the n. to ll. 995-996 above.
- 1 *antea* In the section on *Eph.* 4,27, p. 210.
- 3 *Eodem ii 1 Tim.* 3,11.
- 5 *famulus et famulorum* Er. is using the term "famuli" here for the "diaconi" of the Vg. and the διάκονοι of the Greek text. The "uxores" in question are the wives of deacons, therefore.
- 5-6 *rectius verti uxores* Whether or not this is correct here is still a vexed question. Valla's note *ad loc.* had raised the problem. The problem of the translation of γυνή is also discussed at *Act.* 1,14 and *1 Cor.* 7,1.
- 7 *Theophylactum, Chrysostomum* Stun. had quoted them in support of his view that the passage refers to "deaconesses". Theophylact, *Expositio in Ep. I ad Tim.*, ad 3,11, Migne PG 125, 48: οὐ περὶ τῶν τυχοῦσῶν γυναικῶν λέγει, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν διακονισσῶν. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. I ad Tim.* XI, ad 3,11, Migne PG 62,553: τινές ἀπλῶς περὶ γυναικῶν εἰρήσθαι τοῦτο φασι, οὐκ ἔστι δέ· ... ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς διακονίας ἐχοῦσῶν λέγει.
- Latinos* Stun. had only mentioned Ambrosiaster, who takes "mulieres" in *1 Tim.* 3,11 to refer neither to wives of deacons, nor to deaconesses, but to ordinary christian lay women (H.I. Vogels, ed., *Ambrosiaster*, CSEL 81, p. 268). Cf. p. 186, ll. 390-391.
- 8-9 *qui ... numerus* Er. means that the celibacy of priests needs no defence based on disputable biblical proof-texts, since there are already more than enough people who, in order to become priest, have preferred celibacy to marriage.
- 13 *Origenis* The reason why Er. believed that Origen and, e.g., Clement of Alexandria would have supported his interpretation, is that these early authors had also been more generous than later exegetes in the question of whether or not the apostles were married; see p. 187, n.l. 399; p. 215, n.l. 845 and the crit. app. to p. 140, l. 589; p. 186, l. 399; and p. 216, l. 849. Both Clement and Origen knew *1 Tim.* (J. Leipoldt, *Geschichte des ntl. Kanons*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 208), but left no commentary on this epistle. Nor did they quote or deal with *1 Tim.* 3,11 in those of their works which are preserved.
- 15 *Cetera* A harmonisation of the conflicting interpretations of Chrysostom and Ambrose.
- 17 *Ex capite iii 1 Tim.* 4,3.
- 20 *insignem...* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Insignis Erasmi hallucinatio".
- 22-23 *ad ... lapidem* See p. 171, n.l. 106 above, and the quotation on p. 212, n.l. 784 *Lombardus*, end.
- 24 *hominem esse* Stun. had written: "meminerit se imposterum Erasmus hominem esse et facile vel errare vel memoriola, qua nihil in humanis fragilius est, posse vacillare ...". The warning is reminiscent of that murmured by the slave standing behind the Roman triumphator: "hominem te esse memento", Plin. *Nat.* XXVIII, 39; Tert. *Apologeticum* 33, 4; Iuv. *Satura* X, 42. The warning also echoes the expression which, to the great annoyance of Stun., Er. had used with regard to Jerome: see the sections on *Mt.* 26,31 and *Rom.* 5,13, see p. 107, l. 962 and p. 166, l. 62.
- 25 *memorem monet* Plaut. *Stich.* 578; *Capt.* 191; Otto 1090; *Adag.* 112, LB II, 72 D-E. The same expression in the section on *Rom.* 5,13, p. 166, l. 62 above.
- 26-27 *Debet ... dicere* Stun. had written: "Carere enim omni vitio debet, vt quidam ait, qui in alterum paratus est dicere". Stun. was probably thinking of *Iob.* 8,7 "Qui sine peccato est vestrum, primus in illam lapidem mittat".

culpa, *qui paratus est in alium dicere*. Quur igitur Stunica tam insolenter debacchatur in alienas lucubrationes, qui ipse toties tam foede labitur in hoc exiguo libello, prima foetura ingenii sui? Quid autem sibi vult, ne corrigamus
 30 alienos lapsus, nisi simus ipsi prorsus immunes ab omni errore? Atqui cum nullus inueniatur huiusmodi, nemini phas erit emendare quod ab aliis fuerit deprauatum. Quur igitur Ambrosius, Hieronymus et Cyprianus scribunt aduersus hereticos errores, quum in ipsorum libris reperiantur nonnulla eiusdem notae? Huc fortasse valebit errorum nostrorum contemplatio, vt in
 35 alienos lapsus minus inclementer debacchemur, non etiam vt dissimulemus.

EODEM II.

Enutritus verbis fidei et bonae doctrinae. Graece est ἐντρεφόμενος τοῖς λόγοις τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς καλῆς διδασκαλίας. Damnat Stunica quod verterim: *enutritus in sermonibus fidei et bona doctrina*. Primum hoc ad sensum nihil
 40 refert. Deinde quum huius rei nullam mentionem faciam in Annotationibus videatque in secunda aeditione correctum, suspicari debebat hoc operarum incuria commissum.

Deinde admonueram ἐντρεφόμενος *actiue posse* intelligi. Et sensum videri non absurdum. Stunica docet interpretes secus exponere. Idque vt persuadeat
 45 multa refert ex Athanasio suo et Ambrosio. At quorsum opus erat hoc docere, quod neque nesciebam, neque negamus? An ideo non licet alterum indicare sensum, cum sermo Graecus vtrumque recipiat? |

LB 344

EODEM III.

Hec meditare, καὶ ταῦτα μελέτα. Nos vertimus: *hec excerce*. Ceterum in
 50 Annotationibus taxo Hugonem cardinalem, qui sic interpretetur meditando verbum: *meditare, id est, versa in corde per iugem memoriam*. Et addo epiphonema: *o mataeologum, hoc est plus quam theologum*. Est autem *meditari exerceri in re quapiam*. Hic Stunica quasi conductus vt Hugoni patrocinetur, atrocibus conuiciis debacchatur in me, qui tantum virum ausus sim appellare *mataeolo-*
 55 *gum, hoc est inanem ac vanum theologum*. Sic enim interpretatur Stunica, sed non recte; neque enim hoc sonat *mataeologus*, licet per iocum dixerim illum vna syllaba *plus esse quam theologum*.

Iam ad rem non faciunt quae plurima congerit Stunica e sacris libris, in quibus dicitur *meditatio cordis*. Nullus enim negat meditationem esse posse
 60 animi, veluti quum dicturus apud principem suo cum animo voluit, quid, quo ordine, quibus verbis sit dicturus, vtique corde meditatatur orationem. Sic qui hoc animo versatur in sacris litteris, vt quod illae docent vita praestet, meditatatur. Verum in hoc notavi Carrensem, quod hoc loco putarit *meditari* nihil aliud esse quam *memoria tenere*. At Ambrosius et Glossa Ordinaria
 65 exponunt de vitae actionibus.

- 46 negamus *A B*: negabam *BAS*.
- 29 *exiguo libello* Stun.'s *Ann. c. Er.* is a folio volume of 115 pp.
prima foetura An error, see p. 65, n.l. 73 above.
- 33–34 *quam ... notae* For doctrinal aberrations in Jerome and Cypr., see the nn. to p. 146, ll. 702–703 above. An unorthodox view in Ambrose (properly speaking Ambrosiaster) was his doctrine that, under certain circumstances, Christians could lawfully contract a second marriage after having divorced; see *Annot. in NT, ad 1 Cor. 7,39, LB VI, 694 A–C*.
- 36 *Eodem ii 1 Tim. 4,6*.
- 44 *interpretes* Stun. had quoted Athanasius-Theophylact (Migne *PG* 125, 56B) and Ambr(osiaster, ed. H.I. Vogels, *CSEL* 81, p. 273) who both take ἐντροφεύμενος in a reflexive or passive sense.
- 45 *Athanasio suo* See p. 131, n.l. 437.
- 46–47 *An ... sensum* See p. 225, n.l. 986, the final part.
- 47 *utrumque recipiat* Naturally the middle voice often has an active meaning, and ἐνθρέψασθαι is used in this way in Hes. *Erg.* 781 (“the 13th day of the month is an excellent day for cultivating plants”, φυτὰ δ’ ἐνθρέψασθαι ἀρίστη (Liddell-Scott)). But then the object is in the acc. With an obj. in the dat., the middle voice of this verb has reflexive or passive force, as appears from the examples quoted in Wettstein II, p. 336, and Bauer, *s.v.*
- 48 *Eodem iii 1 Tim. 4,15*.
- 49 καὶ ταῦτα A slip for ταῦτα.
- 50 *Hugonem* Hugo of St. Cher or Carrensis or Cardinalis (c. 1190–1263) wrote, *inter alia*, a commentary or *Postilla* on the whole bible. It is printed with J. Amerbach’s ed. of his works, Basle, 1498–1502, and in the six-volume bible edited by C. Leontorius, Basle, 1504 (cf. p. 135, n.l. 506 above); see vol. VI, *ad 1 Tim. 4,15*.
- 52 *mataeologum ... theologum* “plus quam” bears upon the syllable by which *mataeologus* is longer than *theologus*. Ματαιολόγος, “talking idly”, occurs in *Tit. 1,10* and ματαιολογία, “idle talk”, in *1 Tim. 1,6*. The wordplay *theologus/mataeologus* and the term *mataeologus* as an insulting corruption of *theologus* occur frequently in Er., e.g. *Epp.* 620, l. 20; 778, l. 23; 821, l. 16; 1172, ll. 11–12; 1173, ll. 112–113; 2170, l. 8; *Apolog. de loco Omn. resurg.*, *LB IX, 440 C*.
- 54 *conuiciis* The opening sentence of Stun.’s section is worth quoting: “Nescio quid magis in Erasmo isto Roterodamo reprehensione dignum censeam: sacrarumne literarum imperitiam, qua omnes prorsus despicit, contemnit, floccifacit ac nihili prae se aestimat, an effraenem istam ac non iam ferendam loquacitatem qua cunctos vno nomine non solum contumeliosissime compellat, verum etiam carpit, lacerat, dissecat, ridet, deridet, quasi solus ipse sapiat, caeteri vmbrae volitent, quod de Tiresia dixit Homerus [*Od. X, 495*]. *Mataeologum* appellat Hugonem Cardinalem, h.e. inanem aut vanum theologum, ...”. That answered indeed, for in later editions of the *Annot.* Er. dropped the exclamation on Hugh.
- 59 *meditatio cordis* *Ps. 18,15 Vg. iuxta LXX*. This is one of the five O.T. passages which Stun. had quoted to demonstrate that μελετᾶν and *meditari* could signify a purely mental activity. He felt that in *1 Tim. 4,15* μελετᾶν was said “de interiori cogitatione”. By contrast, Er. had only spoken of *meditari*, claiming that it also covered such nuances as “to practise, to cultivate, to train, to make something one’s business”. This was, Er. felt, the meaning required and intended in *1 Tim. 4,15* and misunderstood by Hugh. In all this Er. was right; see R. Schippers, *1 Tim. 4:15 Ταῦτα μελέτα*, in: *Schrift en uitleg* (Festschrift W.H. Gispen), Kampen, 1970, pp. 179–194. In his translation Er. could have retained *meditari*, for this verb is very well capable of conveying the idea of practice and exercise contained in μελετᾶν, cf. E. von Severus, *Das Wort “meditari” im Sprachgebrauch der hl. Schrift*, Geist und Leben 26 (1953), pp. 365–375.
- 60–61 *quid, quo ordine, quibus verbis* These categories correspond to the first three of the five “partes rhetorices”: “inuentio”, “dispositio” and “elocutio”; Cic. *De or. I, 31, 142*; Lausberg, § 255.
- 63–64 *putarit ... tenere* Hugh had only given a paraphrase of *meditare* in *1 Tim. 4,15*, without excluding other possible meanings of the verb.
- 64 *Ambrosius* Ambrosiaster, ed. H.I. Vogels, *CSEL* 81, p. 277: “apparere enim debere significat exercitii profectum in doctrina dumtaxat et in gestis”, etc.
Glossa Ordinaria See p. 79, n.l. 379. *Biblia sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria*, Paris, 1590, interlinear gloss *ad 1 Tim. 4,15*: “Haec exsequere

Ad extremum docet Stunica, si Paulus sensisset de actione corporali, dicturum fuisse γύμναζε, quo verbo vsus sit alibi, γύμναζε δὲ σεαυτόν et cetera. Quid igitur sibi vult Stunica? Μελετᾶν tantum esse animi et γυμνάζεσθαι corporis? Quod vtrumque palam est esse falsum. Nam et γυμνάσματα sunt animi et μελέται corporis.

EX II AD TIMOTHĒVM, CAPITE I.

Scio enim cui credidi. Ostenderam ὅτι quae sequitur referri ad particulam praecedentem ᾧ πεπίστευκα et sensum esse: *scio et certum habeo, quod is cui credidi potens est depositum meum seruare.* Neque quicquam interest inter
75 Stunicam et me, nisi quod ego idem dico explanatius, admonens interim et approbans alterum sensum si quis eum sequi malit, qui tamen ab hoc minimum absit. Et tamen *Erasmus* in elencho *perperam hunc locum traduxit*, quum verterit dilucidius. Et in annotatione Stunicae *non intellexit verba apostolica.* O hominem effrontem iuxta atque excordem.

80

EODEM II.

Det misericordiam Dominus Onesiphori domui. Ego malui vertere: *Onesiphori familiae.* Fatetur Stunica *domum* hic accipi pro familia. Tantum damnat *amphibologiam* in mea versione, propterea quod ea quae sequuntur, *quia saepe me refrigerauit* et cetera, referri possint vel ad *familiam* vel ad
85 *Onesiphorum.* Quid autem hoc Stunica nugacius, cum eadem amphibologia sit in iis quae reddidit interpret? Et tamen meam versionem vt ambiguam damnat, interpretis non damnat, imo defendit vt nulli obnoxiam vicio. Nec tamen ostendit, qua ratione vitari possit amphibologia. Vitari poterat addito pronomine is: *quoniam is saepe me refrigerauit.*
90 Onesiphorus dicitur Romae fuisse, quaesuisse Paulum et cetera. Nihil horum non competit in familiam, si Graeca legas. Sed demus ad Onesiphorum accommodari. Certe is solus Romae non erat, sed cum aliqua certe familiae parte.

EX CAPITE II.

95 *Recte tractantem verbum veritatis.* Hic quod Graecis est ὀρθοτομοῦντα verteram *recte secantem.* In hanc sententiam cum interpretentur magno consensu veteres orthodoxi, tamen visum est incessere, quod nos pro *tractantem* vertimus *secantem*, nequaquam reprehendentes quod verterat interpret, sed dilucidius explicantes quod scripsit ac sensit Paulus. An recte tractare
LB 345 sonet Graecis ὀρθοτομεῖν, quemadmodum docet | Stunica, in praesentia non
101 disputo; fortassis interpret non habebat alias voces quibus redderet Graecam. Certe Ambrosianam interpretationem nemo prorsus intelliget, nisi Graecae vocis emphasisim teneat. Huius commentum subscribam, quandoquidem mihi

videtur non in hunc vsum tantum conducibile. *Quoniam* (inquit) *sunt aliqui qui dicunt contentionem audientibus prodesse. Apostolus autem sciens magis obesse hoc mandat, ut unusquisque hoc curet, ut spreta altercatione semetipsum probabilem faciat et impudoratos appellans eos, qui contentionibus nituntur. Necessae est enim ut contentio extorqueat aliquid, imo multa quae dicantur contra conscientiam, ut intus in animo perdat, foris victor abscedat. Nemo enim patitur se vinci, licet sciat vera, quae audit. Recte autem tractat et bona conscientia, qui volentibus loquitur et pacificis. Collatio ergo inter Dei servos esse debet, non altercatio.* Hactenus Ambrosius. Qui quod hic monet, idem plurimis in locis admonet Chrysostomus. A qua quidem regula

70 animi et *A B A S*: animi *B*.

72 quae *A B*: coniunctionem quae *B A S*.

84 possint *A L B*: possit *B A S*.

89 me *A B A S*: om. *L B*.

92 Certe *C S*: certae *A B*, saltem *B A S*.

97 visum *A*: Stunicae visum *B A S*.

assiduo actu", also quoted in later editions of the *Annot. in NT*, ad loc.

67 alibi 1 *Tim.* 4,7.

71 *Ex ii ad Timotheum, capite i 2 Tim.* 1,12.

72 *Ostenderam...* Er. is thinking of the phenomenon of prolepsis of the type οἶδατε τὴν οἰκίαν Στεφανῶ, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαίας (1 *Cor.* 16,15; cf. Blass-Debrunner, §476; Moulton-Turner III, p. 325). His motive for resorting to this interpretation was that if ὅτι is not constructed with οἶδα, then ᾧ becomes an interrogative pronoun ("I know whom I have trusted"). This, he felt, was implausible since the interr. pron. should have been τίνι (see *Annot.*, ad loc.). But he is mistaken. Confusion of interrogative and relative pronouns is usual in Hellenistic Greek (Moulton-Turner III, pp. 49-50). This phenomenon dispenses with Er.' interpretation. For quae, nom. sg. fem., cf. crit. app.

75 *Stunicam* He had defended the natural and obvious interpretation "scio cui credidi, et certus sum quia potens est ... servare".

75-76 *admonens ... malit* For this ambivalence cf. p. 227, n.ll. 995-996.

77 *elencho* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Perperam Erasmus hunc locum traduxisse".

78-79 *non ... apostolica* Stun.'s section opens with the words: "Non intellexit hoc loco apostolica verba Erasmus".

80 *Eodem ii 2 Tim.* 1,16.

82 *Stunica* He had written: "Quamquam vero pro domo non hic intelligantur parietes et tecta, sed familia ipsa, vitanda tamen erat amphibologia ...".

83-84 *quia ... refrigeravit 2 Tim.* 1,16 b.

94 *Ex capite ii 2 Tim.* 2,15.

96 *recte secantem* Stun. had rightly objected

that this was too literal a rendering of the Greek, since, as Stun. pointed out, the metaphor "recte secare" for "recte tractare" did not exist in Latin.

97 *veteres orthodoxi* Mentioned and quoted below.

99 *explicantes quod ... sensit* Precisely that is the question. The metaphor is originally that of a road maker "cutting" or driving his road straight through an area with obstacles. But the point is whether the author of 2 *Tim.* was still aware of this imagery and whether he did not simply take the verb to mean "to carry out rightly, to practise correctly". This is a disputed question. If the answer has to be that the verb had lost its metaphorical force, as H. Köster has argued in *TWNT* VIII, pp. 112-113, "recte secare" is less good as a translation than "recte tractare" (Vg.).

102 *Ambrosianam* Ambrosiaster, ed. H.I. Vogels, *CSEL* 81, pp. 305-306.

104 *non in hunc vsum tantum* The quotation can serve two purposes: exegetically, it shows that according to Ambr. ὀρθοτομεῖν had to do with "secare", that is, the avoidance of quarrels; morally, it is a plea for the amicable settlement of controversies in the church and the prevention of disputes. Er. may have meant that the plea was especially applicable to Stun.

112 *Chrysostomus* Chrys. *Hom. in Gn.* XXXIII, 3, Migne *PG* 53, 308-309; *Adv. Iudaeos Orationes* III, 1-2, Migne *PG* 48, 863-864, passages in which Chrys. argues that in the church disputes should be avoided or settled in peace because nothing is so injurious to the church as quarrels.

quantum absint qui hodie virulentis libellis ac linguis sese lacerant, tam impie crudeles in proximum quam turpiter adulantes erga principes, viderint alii.
 115 Certe liquet Ambrosium interpretari quid sit recte secare: qui amputat contentiosa et relinquit placida atque vtilia, recte secat, nimirum amputatis iis, quae noxia sunt.

Chrysostomus scribit hunc in modum: *complures enim illud vndique lacerant atque discerpunt, plurimaeque illi immiscent noxia germina. Non ait dirigentem, sed*
 120 *recte tractantem, ac si dicat: amputa quaecunque adulterina oriuntur, et caetera huiusmodi summa cum vehementia incumbere ut resecentur, atque velut in loris atque corrigiis superflua quaeque atque a praedicatione aliena gladio Spiritus abscinde.* Hactenus Chrysostomus. Huic ita succinit Theophylactus. *Recte tractantem verbum veritatis. Etsi, inquit, plerique id verbum discerpunt traducuntque alio: tu*
 125 *tamen id ipsum recte pertracta. Vel pertracta, inquit, hoc est: dirige et circumcidito inutilia quaeque et deme gladio sermonis et verbi quae ab euangelii praedicatione sunt aliena.* Nec hinc abhorret glossema quod in rhapsodia quam nescio qua de causa vocant Ordinariam interiectum est in spatio dirimente versus; sic habet (haud scio an ex Bedae commentariis decerptum): *secundum competentiam*
 130 *singulorum, ut altis spiritalia, lac distribuat paruulis.*

Videmus omnes exponere Graecae vocis emphasis quae a secundo dicatur, cum nulli Latinorum tractare significet secare.

Sed tomi Graecis dicuntur volumina, quae Latini vocant tractatus. Fateor, sed tomi dicuntur a secundo, quod olim in pellibus scribebant, in hoc
 135 resectis ut conuolui possent in surculum. Sed tractantur etiam quae verbis disputantur. Et praesecta pars e lucanica aut petasone tomus dicitur Graecis.

EX CAPITE III.

Cupidi, elati. Quod Graecis est ἀλαζβνες, et interpres vertit *elati*, verteramus *fastuosi*, pro quo, ut indicarem, *Ambrosius legit insolentes. Hieronymus in*

125 circumcidito *A BAS*: circumcidito *B*.

128 est *A: om. B BAS*.

133 Sed *A B*: At *BAS*.

135 Sed tractantur *A B*: fateor: verum tractantur *BAS*.

113-114 *qui hodie ... principes* It is not clear what precisely Er. is alluding to. The passage is probably best taken to refer to the polemic pamphlets exchanged between conservative catholics and Lutherans. Er. repeatedly complained about the virulence with which both parties assailed each other in printed pamphlets. See, e.g., Er.'s condemnation of the vehemence on the catholic side in Ep. 1225, ll. 195-197: "Quid furiosius quam rem tantam [the Lutheran cause] maledicis libellis et insanis

clamoribus agi? Qua quidam in re primum vtrinque peccatum est". Cf. Ep. 1183, ll. 87-88, on "amarulenta scripta" written against Luther by catholics. For Er.'s criticism of Luther's vehemence, see Ep. 1156, l. 68: "scribit indies, ut audio, saeuiora"; Ep. 1202, ll. 58-62: "ille tot libellis praecipitatis simul effundit omnia ... ac frequenter impetu quodam immoderato ... fertur ultra iustum". Cf. Ep. 1236, ll. 107-108: "totus cum suis libellis Lutherus". One of Luther's recent works was addressed to the

- nobility of Germany, *An den christlichen Adel* (1520). In it Luther invited the princes and nobles to take the reform of the church into their own hands (*ODCC, s.v. Luther*). But it should be noticed that, as Prof. C. Augustijn (Amsterdam) kindly pointed out to me, there is no further evidence that Er. knew *An den christlichen Adel*.
- 118 *Chrysostomus Chrys. Hom. in Ep. II ad Tim., ad 2,15, Migne PG 62, 626 C-D*. In Louvain and Anderlecht Er. had no Chrys. in Greek at his disposal (*Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, LB IX, 140 F*). For the two Latin editions of Chrys. which he used there (*ibid.* 141 C), see p. 93, n.l. 652 above.
- 123 *Theophylactus Expositio in Ep. II ad Tim., ad 2,15, Migne PG 125, 109 A*, here quoted in Porsena's Latin translation, on which see p. 193, n.l. 493 and p. 131, n.l. 437 above.
- 127-128 *rhapsodia ... Ordinariam* On the Gloss, see p. 79, n.l. 379 above. In Anderlecht Er. used the ed. pr., Strasbourg, 1481 (see p. 217, n.l. 875). The metaphor *rhapsodia* for "rigmarole" occurs in Plut. *Mor. II, 514 C, De garrulitate 22*: the "praeter" avoids to profit from conversations on subjects with which he is unacquainted by learning from them, but prefers to lead the conversation to stale and threadbare rigmarole, turning in a circle: εἰς δὲ τὰς ἐώλους καὶ πολυπατήτους κύκλω περιῶν εἰσελαύνει βασιφθίας τὸν λόγον (*Liddell-Scott, s.v.*). Er. repeatedly used the term to characterize the Gloss contemptuously as a chaotic collection of disparate excerpts; see, e.g., the passage quoted in the n. to p. 145, ll. 665-666 above. In Ep. 993, l. 29 "rhapsodia" is a pejorative synonym of "cento". In *Biblia sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria*, VI, Paris, 1590, pp. 741-742, *ad 2 Tim. 2,15*, the interlinear gloss presently quoted by Er. occurs, but instead of "spiritalia" it reads "spiritualia".
- 129 *Beda* In the interlinear gloss the identity of the original commentators is not indicated. In the marginal gloss the original authors are identified by abbreviations of their names, but sometimes carelessly or unintelligibly. The whole system irritated Er. enormously (see NAK 56 (1975) p. 68). The gloss presently quoted does not come from Bede's commentary on *2 Tim.* I do not know from where it is.
- 131 *emphasim* Cf. p. 75, n.l. 294.
- 133 *Sed ... tractatus* In support of his view that "recte tractare" was a correct translation of ὀρθοτομεῖν, Stun. had argued that, in an analogous way, τόμοι were called "tractatus" in Latin and that "quod Graeci τομεῖν dicunt, id est secare siue diuidere, Latini tractare dicere solunt". Stun. could think himself lucky that Er. passed the sentence just quoted without comment. In fact τομεῖν is no Greek, nor does "tractare" ever mean "to cut, to divide".
- 134 *a secundo* Er. rightly derives τόμος from τέμνω. He is also right in supposing that the term τόμος signifies the cutting by which the writing-material was made fit for being rolled round a wooden stick. But he wrongly held that the material in question was leather or parchment. The standard writing-material in the Hellenistic period, when the term τόμος came into use, was papyrus (though leather scrolls were in use as well). Papyrus-makers sold their product in the form of big rolls, consisting of sheets of papyrus pasted together. From the big roll the book-maker cut a piece or τόμος of the length needed for the book he was producing. This τόμος, properly a "piece", viz. of the big roll, was afterwards rolled on a wooden stick and thus formed a smaller roll. Thence τόμος came to mean "roll of papyrus", "book roll". Th. Birt, *Kritik und Hermeneutik nebst Abriss des Antiken Buchwesens*, München, 1913, p. 274.
- 135 *surculum* In *LB (IX, 345)* this word is foot-noted "forsan, circulum". But the conjecture (of Clericus?) does not make much sense, and that *surculum* is correct is confirmed by the reading *surculum* in the *Annot., ad 2 Tim. 2,15 (LB VI, 956 C)*, where Er. inserted much of the material of the present section. "Surculus": twig, branch, *b.l.* wooden stick.
Sed Here begins Er.' reply to Stun.'s remark that *tractare* can mean "to divide a book into parts".
verbis Orally.
- 136 *lucanica* A meat sausage; see the dictionaries *s.v.* *lucanicus* or *-ica*.
petaso A leg of pork.
- 137 *Ex capite iii 2 Tim. 3,2*.
- 139 *Ambrosius* Ambrosiaster, *ad loc.*, ed. H.I. Vogels, *CSEL 81*, p. 311. *Ambrosius ... fastuosi* is quoted from the *Annot., ad 2 Tim. 3,2*.
Hieronymus Hier. *Comm. in Mch. II, ad 7,5-7*, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL 76*, p. 509, l. 181. In Adriaen's ed. Er.' conjecture *fastuosi* has not been registered, neither as a variant reading, nor as a conjecture.

140 *Micheam legit fastidiosi, et suspicor scriptum fuisse fastuosi.* Denique Plautus vertit gloriosi. Stunica stomachatur me mutasse verbum interpretis, cum prorsus idem valeant elatus ac fastuosus. Ego nonnihil arbitror esse discriminis. Nam elatus esse potest, qui non se iactitet ac venditet. Atqui id prope sonat fastuosus.

145 Sed demus nihil interesse, quur me magis accusat quam Ambrosium aut Hieronymum? Vt nihil aliud, *elati* certe anceps verbum erat, siquidem et sepulti dicuntur elati, si libeat iocari.

EODEM II.

150 *Quemadmodum autem Iambres et Mambres.* Indicaram *Iambres* et *Mambres* sic exponi in Libro vocum Hebraicarum quasi idem sonent Hebraeis. Quod indico Stunica non negat esse verum, sed ait falso sic exponi. Et hoc ego
LB 346 miratus indicaui, quo lectori da|rem occasionem vestigandi. Et tamen elenchus hic habet: *error Erasmi in lingua Hebraica.* An error est citare quod alius perperam scripsit? Non opinor, sed approbare error est.

155

EODEM III.

Ad corripiendum. Hic nihil habet Stunica, quod reprehendat in versione nostra. Tantum arrodit, quod in Annotationibus duobus verbis adiecerim apud Ambrosium videri additum *καταρτίωσιν*, aut quod magis probat Stunica *κατάρτισιν*. Stunica probat in contextu nihil addi. At ego sentiebam de illius
160 interpretatione, quam si quis excutiat, sentiet hoc me non temere admonuisse.

EX CAPITE IIII.

Ego enim iam delibor. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι verteram: *nam ipse iam immolor*, quod *delibor* Latinis verbum sit primum anceps, deinde nec omnibus notum. Et Ambrosius quamquam legit *delibor*, tamen interpretans
165 non abhorret a verbo immolandi. Sed Chrysostomus indicat hoc interesse,

143 Atqui *A'*: Atque *A* B B.A.S.*149 *prius* Iambres *A*: Iambes *B B.A.S LB.*159 *κατάρτισιν A*: *καρτάτισιν B, κατάρτησιν B.A.S I.B.*

140 *Plautus* His *Miles gloriosus* is taken from a Greek original called Ἀλαζών, see *Mil.* 86–87: “Ἀλαζών Graece huic nomen est comoediae, id nos Latine *Gloriosum*”. “Gloriosi” was indeed Beza’s translation of ἀλαζόνες in 2 *Tim.* 3,2 and *Rom.* 1,30; in his *Ann.* he rejected the renderings of both Vg. and Er.

141 *cum* The conjunction can be causal as

well as concessive. Yet it seems best to take it as concessive, since the clause “cum ... fastuosus” paraphrases a long sentence of Stun. in which he had argued that Er. had changed “elati” into “fastuosi” although these adjectives were synonyms.

143 *non se iactitet* R.C. Trench, *Synonyms of the N.T.*, London, 1880, § xxix, defines the ἀλαζών as “the exact antithesis of the εἶρων,

- who makes less of himself and his belongings than the reality would warrant, in the same way as the ἀλαζών makes more (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* II, 7, 12)".
- 146 *Vt* In *A* and *B* the clause *vt nihil aliud* is connected with the preceding sentence, the question-mark appearing after *aliud*, not after *Hieronymum*. But *vt nihil aliud* must be taken with *certe*: "To say nothing else, ... in any case". Cf. *Apophth.* II, Laconum anonymorum, 61 (*LB* IV, 141 A): "Vt nihil aliud, certe hostis gladium hebetabo", and *Ep.* 1235, ll. 37-38: "Vt nihil aliud, certe interim perit illa serenitas ...". *BAS* has the question-mark after *Hieronymum*.
- 147 *elati* "Efferre" can mean "to carry out for burial". E.g. *Liv.* XXX, 45, 4: "publico funere est elatus".
- 148 *Eodem ii 2 Tim.* 3,8.
- 150 *Libro* The "Liber interpretationis vocum Hebraicarum", printed at the end of many early Vg. editions (see p. 123, n.ll. 271-272). In the ed. Basle, Froben, 1491 (which Er. possessed), the entries run as follows: "Jamres: mare pelliceum vel mare in capite" and "Mambres: mare in capite vel mare pelliceum".
- 151 *ait ... exponi* Stun. had also tried to give better explanations, partly with success (Mambres = "rebelles", מַמְרֵי), partly in vain (Jambres = "mare in capite", etc., borrowed from Jerome, see P.A. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, Göttingen, 1870, p. 78).
- 151-152 *hoc ... vestigandi* After "... similiter exponi", Er.' annotation went on: "quasi nihil intersit Iambres sones an Mambres".
- 152 *elenchus* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Error Erasmi in Hebraica lingua".
- 155 *Eodem iii 2 Tim.* 3,16.
- 156-157 *versione nostra* It runs: "Omnis scriptura diuinitus inspirata, et vtilis ad doctrinam, ad redargutionem, ad correctionem, ad institutionem quae est in iustitia".
- 158 κατάρτισων For the existence of this word there is no evidence, as Stun. had pertinently observed. The correct terms are κατάρτισμός and κατάρτισις, for which see G. Delling, in: *TWNT* I, pp. 474-475.
- 159 *in contextu* I.e., in the lemma, consisting of a quotation in Latin of the biblical text of 2 *Tim.* 3,16, as opposed to the commentary following on the lemma.
- 159-160 *sentiebam ... interpretatione* This can hardly be true, as appears from the wording of Er.' annotation of 1516: "Hoc loco diuus Ambrosius addit *ad redintegrationem*, κατάρτισωιν, quo verbo Paulus est et alias vsus. Quamquam id neque in nostra Vulgata editione, nec in Graecis reperio codicibus". This cannot refer but to the biblical text of the lemma, for (1) "ad redintegrationem" does not occur in the commentary, but only in the lemma; (2) the remark that κατάρτισωις also occurs elsewhere in Paul is pointless if the annotation does not concern the lemma; (3) a comparison with the Vg. and Greek mss. is absurd unless it is the lemma which is compared; (4) the commentary does not add an element to those enumerated in the biblical text, but, the other way about, it condenses two elements of the biblical text ("ad arguendum" and "ad corripiendum" in the Vg.) to one single clause "vt instaurat deformes". In short, Er. had erroneously taken "ad redintegrationem" in Ambr.'s lemma to be an extra. It is in fact the pendant of "ad corripiendum" in the Vg., Greek πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν. In the *Annot.* Er. corrected his mistake as follows: "Hoc loco diuus Ambrosius πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν vertit *ad redintegrationem*" (*LB* VI, 960 C).
- 161 *Ex capite iii 2 Tim.* 4,6.
- 163 *anceps* "Delibare", properly "to take (something) away (from anything)", has many widely diverging meanings. The passive can mean such different things as "to be infringed" and "to be picked out as a choice specimen". Among the meanings mentioned in the *Tb.L.L.*, s.v., are: *demere, carpere; detrabere, frui, gustare; deminuerere; violare; sacrificare*. So Ambrosiaster (*v.i.*) and Thomas Aquinas (*Comm. in 2 Tim.*) take *delibor* here to mean "I am being sacrificed", but Lewis-Short understand it as "I am ripe for plucking, i.e. about to die".
- 164 *Ambrosius* Ambrosiaster, ed. H.I. Vogels, *CSEL* 81, p. 316: "passionem tamen suam delibationem appellat; deo enim immolatur".
- 165 *Chrysostomus* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. II ad Tim.*, ad 4,6, Migne *PG* 62, 652: Οὐκ εἶπε τῆς ἐμῆς θυσίας, ἀλλ' ὁ περισσόν ἐστίν. τῆς μὲν γὰρ θυσίας οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἀναφέρεται τῷ θεῷ, τῆς δὲ σπονδῆς τὸ ὅλον. Stun. had quoted this passage in the Latin version of Porsena: "Non enim *immolor* dixit, sed *delibor*, quod sane praestantius est. Siquidem haudquamquam quae immolationis sunt ad Deum omnia referuntur, libationis vero vniuersa". Er., too, used Chrys.' homilies on Paul in Latin (see p. 93, n.l. 652).

quod libamen totum offertur Deo, immolatio non item. Fortassis ea differentia est in verbis Graecis, iuxta vsurpationem Veteris Instrumenti, in vocibus Latinis non arbitror idem esse discrimen, nisi quod libat Latinis, qui effundit aliquid Deo antequam gustet.

170

EX EPISTOLA AD TITVM, CAPITE I.

Huius rei gratia reliqui te Cretae. Annotaram quod cum Grece sit ἐν Κρήτη, *interpres ab insulae vocabulo sustulisset praepositionem* contra praecepta grammaticorum. Horum nihil negat Stunica. Nec enim potest. Sed obiicit mihi Hieronymum, qui scripserit alicubi: *et in quibusdam insulis, praecipueque Siciliae et*
 175 *Rhodi.* Atqui ego non negaram Latine dici: insula Siciliae aut insula Rhodi. Sed negavi Latine dici: habitat Cretae, pro in Creta, aut: studet Rhodi, pro in Rhodo. Hoc si docuerit Latine dici Stunica, vicerit.

EODEM II.

Non superbum, μὴ αὐθάδη. Nos vertimus: *praefractum.* Stunica negat se scire
 180 quid sit praefractus. Imo ne me quidem existimat intelligere quod posui verbum. Demiror nouum esse Stunicae, viro tot saecula versato in optimis quibusque autoribus, quod reperitur apud Ciceronem officiorum libro iii: *ego,*
inquit, etiam cum Catone meo dissensi. Nimis mihi praefractum videbatur, aerarium vectigaliaque defendere. Exemplum consimile citat ex eiusdem Hortensio Nonius
 185 Marcellus: *his, inquit, contrarius Aristochius, praefractus, ferreus, nihil bonum, nisi quod rectum atque honestum est.*

Porro Graeca vox indicat αὐθάδη dici sibi plus satis placentem, suaeque sententiae plus aequo tenacem. Atque in hunc sensum accepisse Athanasium, hoc est, Theophylactum, indicant haec quae admiscet, *pro eius arbitrio et subditis*
 190 *inconsultis aliquid peragat.* Nam qui praefractus est, non audit aliorum suffragia. Et Hesychius cum αὐθάδης interpretatur αὐτάρεστος, plane mecum facit.

EX CAPITE III.

Haereticum hominem post vnam et cetera. Haeresis secta est, hereticus non
 195 habet quod respondeat, nisi factiosus. Cūpiens igitur Latine loqui, verti *factiosus.* Et obiter taxavi nostra tempora, in quibus haereticum vocant qui dissentit ab opinione quapiam scholastica. Stunica docet haereticos hic appellari qui essent magistri erroris. Verum est factiosum esse posse qui non errat in fide. Et tamen factiones sunt philosophorum inter se dissidentium et

167 Graecis, A B: *add.* quam et σπονδήν, B.A.S.; Instrumenti A B: testamenti
 Theophylactus refert inter θυσίαν et B.A.S.

- 177 in Rhodo *A B*: *add.* si modo Rhodus nobis declaret totam insulam *BAS*.
- 170 *Ex epistola ad Titum, capite 1 Tit.* 1,5.
- 172 *interpres ... praepositionem* This annotation is dependent on that of Valla, *ad loc.*: “Cur non in Creta potius quam Cretae? vt etiam Graece est: ἐν Κρήτῃ· etsi illi nominibus quoque vrbium praepositionem addunt, tam ad a regionis nomine sustulisti”.
- 172–173 *grammaticorum* Serv. *Comm. Aen.* III, 162: “non sic dicitur Cretae, quemadmodum Romae: neque enim bene, sicut dictum est, sine praepositione insulae ponuntur, nisi hae tantum, quae eiusdem nominis ciuitates habent”. The locative “Cretae” occurs in Varro *Rust.* I, 7, 6; Verg. *Aen.* III, 162; Vitruv. I, 4, 10; II, 9, 13 (*Th.L.L.*, *Onom.*, *s.v.* Creta), but according to Er. this usage is incorrect.
- 174 *Hieronymum* Hier. *Prologus in In Ir.* IV, ed. S. Reiter, *CCSL* 74, p. 174.
- 178 *Eodem ii Tit.* 1,7.
- 179 *Stunica* After having defended “superbus” as an appropriate rendering of αὐθάδης, on the ground that Hesychius explained the word as ὑπερήφανος, that is, “superbus”, Stun. had concluded his section as follows: “Quid autem praefractus hoc loco significet nec ego quidem intelligo, neque ipsum arbitror Erasmus qui id posuit prorsus intelligere”.
- 181–182 *tot ... autoribus* Cf. p. 70, ll. 192–198.
- 182 *Ciceronem* Cic. *Off.* III, 22, 88. Modern editions read *praefracte*, not *-ctum*. In the recent critical ed. by C. Atzert, Leipzig (Teubner), 1963, p. 112, the variant reading “-ctum” is not registered. Er. borrowed this instance of *praefractus* from Non. II, 155, 12 *s.v.* *praefractum*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, I, Leipzig, 1913, p. 228. It may be noticed that all edd., *A B BAS LB CS*, read *praefractum* and a comma after *videbatur*, and that Er. quoted the same passage of Cic. *Off.* in the *Annot. in NT, ad Tit.* 1,7 in the same form: *praefractum* and a comma after *videbatur*.
- 184 *Hortensio* Ed. C.F.W. Mueller (Teubner), 1898, fr. 38; ed. Alb. Grill, Milano/Varese, 1962, fr. 45, p. 30; ed. L. Straume-Zimmermann, Bern/Frankfurt, 1976, fr. 13, p. 50.
Nonius In the entry referred to in the n. to l. 182 above.
- 185 *Aristochius* A textual corruption of “Aristo Chius”, Aristo of Chios, a Stoic philosopher, fl. 250 B.C. (*Kleine Pauly* I, col. 572). His name has been garbled in the strangest ways, both in the textual tradition of the present passage in Nonius and in the quotation of this passage in the present section (corrected in *BAS*) and in the *Annot. ad Tit.* 1,7.
- 187 *sibi ... placentem* Cf. 2 *Petr.* 2,10 Vg.: “sibi placentes” for αὐθάδεις, and see Aristot. *M. mor.* I, 28–29, 1192b30 sqq.: αὐθάδης = αὐτοάδης, αὐτῷ ἄδῶν.
- 187–188 *suaeque ... tenacem* For the meaning “self-opiniated, stubborn” of αὐθάδης see Hippocr. *De aëribus* 24 and Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VII, 9, 2, 1151b5, where αὐθάδης is associated with ἰδιογνώμων and ἰσχυρογνώμων. Cf. R.C. Trench, *Synonym of the N.T.*, new ed. London, 1910, §xciii, p. 327.
- 188 *Athanasium* See p. 131, n.l. 437. Stun. had quoted him in support of his view that αὐθάδης meant “superbus”; see next n.
- 189 *Theophylactum* *Expositio in Ep. ad Tit.*, *ad 1,7*, Migne *PG* 125, 149. Stun. and Er. in Anderlecht used Porsena’s Latin translation (p. 193, n.l. 493 and p. 131, n.l. 437 above).
- 191 *Hesychius* Stun. had quoted the entry Αὐθάδης from his *Lexicon*: ὑπερήφανος, θυμώδης, παράνομος, αὐτάρεστος. For the last word the ed. K. Latte, I, Copenhagen, 1953, p. 278, reads αὐτάρεσκος.
- 193 *Ex capite iii Tit.* 3,10.
- 194 *hereticus* Er. means the Greek word αἰρετικός. On the countless Greek loanwords in early christian Latin, see Chr. Mohrmann, *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens*, I, Rome, 1961, pp. 108–111; for special literature on *haereticus*, see H.J. Sieben, *Voces*, Berlin/New York, 1980, p. 301.
- 195 *Cuptiens ... Latine loqui* A characteristic indication of the aim of Er.’ new translation. Cf., e.g., p. 165, n.ll. 15–16; p. 203, n.ll. 662–663; p. 207, n.l. 722.
- 196 *taxavi* Er. had written: “*haereticum* appellat non qui dissentiat a conclusionibus magistrorum nostrorum, sed factiosum”.
- 198 *magistri erroris* The emphasis is on *erroris*. On the authority of, among others, Jerome (*Comm. in Ep. ad Tit.*, *ad 3,10*: “... quod haeresis peruersum dogma habeat”), Stun. had felt that αἰρετικοί were characterized by their erroneous beliefs, not simply by their faction spirit: the term had a doctrinal, not a sociological import. The opposition is of course false.

200 haereticus qui est, idem esse potest et factiosus si alios sibi adiungat. Et tamen hoc mutaueramus in secunda aeditione. |

LB 347

EX EPISTOLA AD PHILEMONEM.

Propter charitatem magis obsecro. Παρακαλῶ τοιοῦτος ὢν ὡς Παῦλος πρεσβύτης. Interpres: *cum sis talis, vt Paulus senex.* Nos vertimus: *cum sim talis, nempe Paulus senex.* Ambrosius legisse videtur quod vertit interpres. Hieronymus contra quod nos vertimus. Hic Stunica videtur habere causam non optimam. Tantum enim pollicetur veterem interpretationem sustineri posse. Nec alio colore tuetur interpretem, nisi si concedas τοιοῦτος ὢν positum pro τοιοῦτον ὄντα. At mea sententia probabilius sit pro τοιούτου ὄντος. Nam 210 apud Graecos rectus casus aliquoties in consimilibus orationibus pro gignendi casu ponitur.

EX EPISTOLA AD HEBRAEOS, CAPITULO I.

Et cum iterum introducit, εισαγάγη. Ego verito *inducit.* Stunica putat rectius *introducitur.* Mihi contra videtur. Qui in conclaue penitus ducitur, introducitur 215 *tur.* At qui producit in theatrum, inducitur quidem, non introducitur. Sed εισαγωγαί vocantur introductiones. Verum, sed a male Latinis; a caeteris dicuntur institutiones. Nam quod aliis Scripturae locis vertit eodem modo interpres, nec me grauat, nec ipsius causam adiuuat.

EODEM II.

220 *Qui facit angelos suos spiritus.* Verteram: *qui creat angelos suos spiritus.* Graece ὁ ποιῶν. Stunica non negat ποιῶν aliquando verti create, vt *in principio creauit Deus celum* et cetera. At hic loquitur de angelis conditis. Certius igitur et lucidius explicui quod sentit Apostolus. Nam alioqui sensus esse poterat: *angelos suos* vertit in *spiritus, qui facit angelos suos spiritus.* Fit enim, 225 quod aliud fuerat antea.

EODEM III.

Ad Filium autem: thronus tuus Deus. Ostenderam Graeci sermonis amphibologiam et in prima aeditione sequutus eram sensum diuersum ab eo

201 aeditione *A B: add. propter τοὺς μικρολόγους B.A.S.*

204 Interpres *A B: add. vertit B.A.S.*

207 pollicetur *A B: add. homo non admodum verecundus, B.A.S.*

201 *mutaueramus* Viz., into "sectarum autorem hominem", from which it becomes clear

that Er. wished specifically to avoid the tainted term "haereticus" (Vg.).

- 202 *Ex epistola ad Philemonem* Phm. 9.
- 204 *Interpres* The unknown translator of the Vg.
- 204-205 *cum sim ... senex* Valla had translated "cum sim talis vt Paulus senex", Er. "cum talis sim, nempe Paulus senex".
- 205 *Ambrosius* Ambrosiaster, ed. H.I. Vogels, CSEL 81, p. 338: "cum talis sis vt Paulus senex".
- 206 *Hieronymus contra Hier. Comm. in Phm.*, ad 9, Migne PL 26, 647C: "vult magis petere quam iubere, grandi petentis auctoritate proposita; per quam et Apostolus obsecrat, et senex et victus Iesu Christi". *contra* is adverb, not preposition. Ambr. and Jerome had already been quoted by Stun.
- Stunica* He had argued that τοιοῦτος ὢν, in spite of its being a nominative, must be understood as an object of παρακαλῶ and as referring to Philemon. Stun. had felt that it would be pointless if Paul had meant *himself* when writing "being such a one, namely old", since everybody knew that he was old. Consequently, Stun. had taken τοιοῦτος ὢν to be a nominativus pro accusativo, which he had illustrated with parallels from Hebrew. The whole theory, only meant to support the incorrect translation of the Vg., is groundless and superfluous.
- 208 *colore* See p. 129, n.l. 408, *colore*.
- 209 *probabilius sit* The subjunctive indicates a potential mood: "Supposed that Stun.'s theory were correct, then the nom. would be more likely to stand for the gen.". But Er. does not subscribe to the theory in question.
- 210-211 *rectus ... ponitur* Er. is thinking of the nominative absolute which in the N.T. is sometimes found instead of the gen. abs.: Lc. 24,47 ἀρξάμενοι (corrected to -μένων in D lat), Act. 19,34 ἐπιγόντες (corrected to -των in the *textus receptus*), Mc. 9,20 ἰδών. But the nominative *pendens* can stand for all oblique cases (Moulton-Turner III, pp. 314-316; Blass-Debrunner, §466).
- 212 *Ex epistola ad Hebraeos, capite i* Hebr. 1,6.
- 214-215 *Qui ... introducitur* Such a difference between "inducere" (to lead in from outside) and "introducere" (to lead into the inner parts of something) cannot be substantiated from classical Latin. See, e.g., Cic. *Verr.* 2, 4, 23, 52 "qui videret equum Troianum introductum"; Cic. *Sest.* 85 "gladiatores ... in senatum introducti" (OLD). And, as Prof. J. Smit Sibinga pointed out to me, Valla (*Annot. ad Act.* 9,8) held that the proper word for "to lead in from outside" is "introducere", not "inducere", as Er. claimed.
- 216 *Sed ... introductiones* Stun. had observed that "εἰσαγωγαὶ introductiones ad quaslibet disciplinas solent appellari".
- male Latinis* In the sense of "an introduction to a discipline" *introductio* occurs only from the 6th century onward (Ps. Soranus, Cassiod., Boeth.; *Tb.L.L.*).
- 217 *institutiones* Cf. *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, ASD I, 4, p. 262: "Institutiones sunt rudimenta doctrinae. Vnde sunt libri institutionum, id est praeceptorum ab ipsis elementis".
- aliis ... locis* Stun. had observed that at Iob. 18,16 and Act. 9,8, 100, εἰσάγω had been rendered by "introduco" in the Vg. However, Stun. had failed to notice that at both places Er. himself had retained *introduco*, in flat contradiction to his theory just now expounded. Er.' conclusion "nec me grauat, etc." is somewhat inconsiderate, therefore.
- 218 *adnuat* It should be noticed that Stun. had also criticized Er.' translation "adorabunt", which was his rendering of προσκυνήσάτωσαν in 1516. Er. omits to reply to that criticism, but he had already changed "adorabunt" to "adorent" in 1519.
- 219 *Eodem ii* Hebr. 1,7.
- 221 *In principio...* Gn. 1,1.
- 222 *At ... conditis* This is not an objection of Stun., but an argument of Er.: since the angels were already in existence, God "created them spirits" means: "he invested them with the dignity of spirits", "appointed them spirits". Meanwhile Er. forgets to mention what Stun.'s objection had been, viz., that the normal Latin equivalent of ποιῆν is "facere". Seeing the ambiguity of "create" ("to bring into being" and "to invest with an office"), this objection is not out of place.
- 224-225 *Fit ... antea* This argument cuts no ice, for just like *create* the verb *facere* can mean "to appoint to an office, create" (OLD, s.v. facio 7) and *fit* can mean "to be appointed to an office" (OLD, s.v. fio 6b), all this in Cic.
- 226 *Eodem iii* Hebr. 1,8.
- 228 *amphibologiam* In the *Annot.* of 1516 Er. had written: "Incertum est an hic sit sensus: O Deus, sedes tua est in seculum seculi, an hic: Ipse Deus est ibi thronus in seculum seculi. Nam sermo Graecus anceps est". In 1516 Er.' translation was: "Ad

quem reddunt interpretes. In posteriore aeditione substuli pronomen *ipse*. Hic
 230 obicit mihi Stunica *imperitiam* Hebraici sermonis, iuxta cuius consuetudinem
 nominandi casus pro vocatiuo, quo carent, ponitur. Istud non ignorabam.
 Quod si nescissem, non erat locus amphibologiae.

EX CAPITE II.

Propterea abundantius oportet obseruare. Graece est διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ περισσοτέ-
 235 ρως ἡμᾶς προσέχειν. Nos verteramus: *propterea oportet nos vehementius*
attendere iis quae dicta sunt nobis. Hic elenchus Stunicae habet: *impropria*
Erasmi interpretatio. Quaeso te, lector, vtrum προσέχειν magis sonat *obseruare*
 quam *attendere*? Et vter nostrum *paraphrastes* est? An *improprie* vertit, qui
 240 praestat factis; obseruat, qui insidiatur aut obsequitur. Tamen in calce
 Stunica fatetur se non ob aliud annotasse haec, nisi ne quis suspicetur
 interpretem *improprie* vertisse, me vero *proprie*. O nugonem ociosum.

EX CAPITE III.

Quorum cadauera. Κῶλα verti *membra*, non *cadauera*. De sensu conuenit.
 245 Neque negari potest κῶλα Graecis sonare *membra*, non *cadauera*. Sed
 Stunica veretur ne quis accipiat Iudaeos concidisse in deserto *membratim*
 dissectos. O periculum. Imo grauius erat periculum, ne quis legens *quorum*
cadauera conciderunt suspicetur *cadauera* Iudaeorum primum ambulasse in
 deserto, postea concidisse. O graues annotationes et Stunica dignas. |

LB 348

EX CAPITE V.

251 *Omnis namque pontifex*, πᾶς γὰρ ἀρχιερεύς. Verteram: *nam omnis sacerdos*.
 Stunica sic agit quasi pontifex Latinis sonet summum sacerdotem. Atqui
 id verum non est. Alioqui quur Romanis dicitur pontifex maximus, qui
 summus est? Tametsi nostros ferme video pro ἀρχιερεύς ponere pontificem.
 255 Et sacerdos olim non quemuis presbyterum sonabat, sed episcopum. Ac fieri
 potest vt meus liber habuerit ἱερέύς, non ἀρχιερεύς, praecipue cum dicat *omnis*.
 Non omnes autem sacrifici sunt ἀρχιερεῖς. Et tamen in secunda aeditione
 reposuimus *pontificem* pro *sacerdote*, ne quid laudis hinc sibi vindicet
 Stunica.

260

EX CAPITE VI.

Proferens autem spinas et tribulos. In prima aeditione nostra erat *spinas et*

254 ferme video B BAS: ferunt A.

- Filium autem: Thronus tuus ipse Deus in seculum seculi". In 1519 Er. omitted "ipse". Cf. p. 128, l. 405.
- 229 *interpretes* E.g., Theophylact who reads in ὁ Θεός a testimony to Christ's godhead (Migne PG 125, 200 A). He had been quoted by Stun., first in his remarks on *Iob.* 1,1 and now again.
postiore For this form of the abl., cf. p. 186, l. 422 with the n., and *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei.* LB IX, 216 E: "posteriori".
- 230 *Stunica* His words are "... vt Erasmus ex imperitia Hebraicarum literarum existimauit".
- 232 *non erat...* Er. means that in that case it would not have occurred to him to point out the ambiguity of *Deus*, for he would only have envisaged the most obvious interpretation, according to which *Deus* is subject: "God will be your throne ...".
- 233 *Ex capite ii* *Hebr.* 2,1.
- 236-237 *impropria ... interpretatio* Literally quoted. Stun.'s unspecified remarks were probably not, as Er. supposed, directed against his choice of the verb *attendere*, nor, perhaps, against the use of *vehementius* instead of "abundantius" Vg. Er. also rendered τοῖς ἀκουσθεῖσιν by *quae dicta sunt* instead of "ea quae audiuius" Vg. This occasioned Stun.'s remark for the benefit of "those who have no knowledge of Greek": the Greek reads as the translator of the Vg. rendered it, not as Er. paraphrased.
- 237-238 *observare ... attendere* There is little difference in meaning, and both verbs occur in good classical authors. But Er. may have felt that *attendere* was a clearer and, in the context, a more exact rendering, seeing the wide range of meanings which *observare* can have.
- 238 *paraphrastes* Stun. had reproachfully called Er. a "paraphrastes" since Er. had varied the wording of the Vg. Er. presently retorts the charge, because Stun. preferred a vague, ambiguous translation (*observare*) to an exact one (*attendere*).
improprie The word resumes Stun.'s side-note.
- 241 *fatetur* Stun.'s words are: "Quanquam autem in eundem recidat sensum, volui tamen illud adnotare ne quispiam ex his qui Graece nesciunt fortassis existimaret veterem interpretem Graecorum verborum veram ac propriam interpretationem hoc loco praetermississe, ac Erasmus interpretatione sua illam expressisse".
- 243 *Ex capite iii* *Hebr.* 3,17.
- 245 *membra, non cadauera* The word κῶλον is borrowed from *Num.* 14,29 J.XX, as Stun. had rightly pointed out, and there it means "bodies, corpses". This seems to be the correct translation in *Hebr.* 3,17 as well. However, this meaning of κῶλον is not found in Liddell-Scott, and Bauer does not mention any non-biblical occurrence of it. Both Calvin and Castellio followed Er. in translating *membra*, and so emphasized the notion of disintegration (J. Smit Sibinga).
- 246-247 *Stunica ... dissectos* Is this fear really baseless? See next n.
- 247-248 *quorum ... conciderunt* Er. had translated: "quorum membra conciderunt in deserto".
- 250 *Ex capite v* *Hebr.* 5,1.
- 254 *Tametsi ... pontificem* "Although I often see that christians call their 'high-priests' (bishops) *pontifices*". Instances of "pontifex" for a christian bishop occur in Hier. *Epist.* 108, 6, 1 (Souter, *Glossary*) and Apoll. Sid. *Carmen* XVI, 6 (Forcellini). Er. himself used the term "pontifex" twice in addressing the bishop of Rome (Epp. 1304, 1310, superscriptions).
- 255 *sacerdos ... episcopum* From Tert. onwards *sacerdos* and *sacerdotium* came into use as designations of the bishop and his office (R.P.C. Hanson, "Amt", *TRE* II, pp. 539-542). Especially in Ambr. this terminology is quite usual; see his *De officiis* I, 2 "officium docendi ... nobis refugientibus inposuit sacerdotii necessitudo"; I, 216 "Haec omnia spectet sacerdos et quid cuique congruat, id officii deputet". Cf. Sulpicius Seuerus, *Chronica* II, 31, 4: "Hierosolymae ... ex circumcissione habebat ecclesia sacerdotem" (Forcellini).
- 256 *meus liber* The Greek ms. after which Er. made his translation; not identified. In no Greek ms. the reading ἱερεὺς has turned up in *Hebr.* 5,1.
cum ... omnis The word *omnis* implies that the number of officials concerned was considerable. Since there were always more priests than high-priests, *omnis* would rather be expected to be accompanied by ἱερεὺς than by ἀρχιερεὺς, at least in some mss.
- 257 *Non...* Er. means that in case his exemplar had ἱερεὺς, it was inadmissible to translate this by some term for high-priest, since not all priests are high-priests.
- 257-258 *Et ... pontificem* In 1519 Er. had indeed replaced *sacerdos* by *pontifex*; he retained *pontifex* in all subsequent editions.
- 260 *Ex capite vi* *Hebr.* 6,8.

tribula. Hic Stunica medium tenet Erasmus ac docet quid intersit inter tribulum instrumentum rusticum et tribulum fruticem siue herbam. Atqui hoc accidisse typographorum incuria vel hinc poterat colligere, quod nec in
 265 Annotationibus huius rei fecerim mentionem, et in secunda aeditione videat a me correctum quod illi admiserant.

EX CAPITE VII.

Primum quidem qui interpretatur rex iusticiae. Hic nihil est in quo mecum dissentiat Stunica. Libellum qui additur bibliis interpretis nominum
 270 Hebraicorum non esse Hieronymi, subindico cum aio: *qui Hieronymi titulo circumfertur*. Atque is titulus in quibusdam sane habetur. Stunica mecum facit ac plane negat illius esse. Cetera quia nihil ad me faciunt μάλα χαιρέτωσαν.

EX CAPITE VIII.

Sanctorum minister. Indicaram in Annotationibus λειτουργόν proprie dici
 275 ministrum sacrorum, nimirum sentiens quod sic a christianis fere vsurpetur, quandoquidem λειτουργείαν Graeci vocant quam nos vocamus missam. Stunica putat et prophanos ministros λειτουργούς dici posse. Quis hoc negat? Sic et diaconi prophani possunt esse, quum nos vsurpemus pro ministris sacrorum. Graeci putant λειτουργούς dici qui publice magistratibus inseruiunt
 280 in curia aut senatu.

EX CAPITE IX.

Super quae erant cherubim gloriae. Cum Graece sit ὑπεράνω αὐτῆς, non poterat verti *super quae*, sed ita sonat Graecus sermo vt vel ad *tabernaculum*, vel ad *arcam* posset referri. Et in vertendo sequor id quod placet Stunicae.
 285 Tantum in Annotationibus addo *mibi videri rectius referri posse ad tabernaculum*. Quur ita visum sit, prolixum sit hic recensere. Quare visum est hoc alteri tempori reseruare.

EX CAPITE XI.

Est autem fides sperandarum substantia rerum. Negaram hanc esse definitionem dialecticam, vt quibusdam visum est, sed ingressum encomii. Stunica negat. Non eram ignarus ab Hieronymo ac ceteris vocari definitionem, nec ego nego esse spetiem aliquam definitionis, sed irridebam glossema quod est in

263 tribulum fruticem A B: tribolum fruticem B.A.S.

284 posset A B: possit B.A.S.

- 262 *medium tenet* Cf. *Adag.* 496 “Medius tenetis”, *LB* II, 180 A, “de eo qui sic tenetur, vt extricare sese nulla ratione possit ...”. Cf. p. 137, n.ll. 552–553 above.
- 265 *in secunda* The second ed. has “tribolos” (*sic*), and the third has “tribulos”.
- 267 *Ex capite vii* *Hebr.* 7,2.
- 269 *Libellum* The appendix containing a table of proper names with their meanings, found in many Latin ms. bibles, printed for the first time in the Vg. edited by Joa. Andrea, Rome, 1471, and reprinted in many Vg. editions far into the 16th century. For its authorship and Er.’ reaction to Stun.’s corresponding section, see p. 122, ll. 271–272, with the n.
- 270–271 *qui ... circumfertur* Quoted from the *Annot.* of 1516.
- 271 *Atque ... habetur* The onomasticon is explicitly ascribed to Jerome in the Vg. edition printed at Vicenza in 1476: “Expliciunt interpretationes nominum hebraeorum secundum Hyeronimum”, see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, IV, Leipzig, 1930, no. 4224.
- 272 *Cetera* The onomasticon printed in early Latin bibles includes the entry “Melchisedec: Rex iustus siue Rex iustitiae aut Rex pacis siue Pacificus”. Er. had observed that the last two explanations were incorrect, since *Melchisedec* included no element meaning “peace”. Stun. had replied that the last two explanations had been deduced from *Hebr.* 7,2. Furthermore, Stun. had stated that Jerome’s authentic *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* (Migne *PL* 23, 815–903; P.A. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, Göttingen, 1870, pp. 1–159; *CCSL* 72, pp. 57–161) was not free from errors either, and that Ximénez had seen to it that an entirely new and reliable Hebrew onomasticon was included in vol. VI of the Complutensian Polyglot (1515). μάλα χαίρετωσαν Explained as “haud est meum negocium” in *Adag.* 1004, *LB* II, 686 C.
- 273 *Ex capite viii* *Hebr.* 8,2.
- 278 *diaconi ... esse* This cannot apply to the Latin word *diaconi* for this occurs only in ecclesiastical Latin as the standard term for “deacon”. Er.’ remark applies to the Greek word διάκονοι, which is used in non-christian Greek for various sorts of domestic servants and slaves such as cooks, scribes, table-servants, messengers, etc.; cf. Th. Klauser, in: *RAC* III, s.v. Diakon, cols. 905–906.
- 280 *curia* An allusion to the etymology of λειτ- as given in *Hdt.* VII, 197: λήιτον δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήιον οἱ Ἀχαιοί. Er. knew *Hdt.* in the Greek Aldine edition of 1502; see *Ep.* 841 of April 1518.
- 281 *Ex capite ix* *Hebr.* 9,5.
- 282 *Super quae erant* This is the reading of *Hebr.* 9,5 in many early Vg. editions, e.g. the Basle 1491 Froben edition which Er. possessed. The reading is registered in the crit. app. of Wordsworth-White. Modern critical editions read “Superque eam” without “erant”.
- 283–284 *tabernaculum ... arcam* *Hebr.* 9,4. In Greek both words are feminine: σκηνή and κιβωτός.
- 284 *quod placet Stunicae* Viz., “above the ark”. Er. had translated “Super hanc” which in Latin can only refer to the ark. Stun. had rejected the possibility of interpreting “super quae” as “above the tabernacle” on the ground that the cherubim were never spoken of as having their place above the tabernacle. But see next n.
- 286 *Quur ... recensere* Er. seems to hint at the possibility of identifying the cherubim with the cloud and the firelight which, according to *Num.* 9,15–23, were visible above the tabernacle. But he refrains from setting forth this enlightened and bold theory to save himself further difficulties.
- 286–287 *alteri tempori* As far as I know, Er. did not return to the subject. He even omitted the clause “Mihi videtur rectius referri ad tabernaculum” in later editions of the *Annot.*
- 288 *Ex capite xi* *Hebr.* 11,1.
- 290 *ingressum encomii* In 1516 Er. had written: “Hic quidam ridicule nugantur circa hanc definitionem, vt ipsi vocant, cum non sit finitio sed encomium fidei. Siquidem hoc exordiolo ingreditur fidei laudationem mox et exemplis ostendens quantam vim habeat fides”. A better characterization of *Hebr.* 11 is hardly possible; cf. *Sir.* 44,1 “Laus patrum. Laudemus ...”, followed by an enumeration of exempla in chs. 44–50.
- 291 *Hieronymo ac ceteris* *Hier. Comm. in Gal.* III, 5, Migne *PL* 26, 448 C: “cum ... Apostolus ad Hebraeos scribens definiat: Est autem fides...”, and Theophylact, quoted by Stun. as Athanasius (cf. p. 131, n.l. 437), *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, ad 11,1 in Porsena’s Latin translation: “Diffinit itaque nobis hanc fidem aitque ...”.
- 292 *glossema* See *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. S. Brant, Basle, 1500, *Decretalium Gregorii Noni*

decretalibus, quod hanc definitionem exigit ad exactam rationem dialectices. Sed hac de re Leo pridem respondimus.

295

EODEM II.

Fide muri Hiericho corruerunt circumitu dierum septem. Graece est: κυκλωθέντα ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας, quod nos verteramus: *cincta ad dies septem*. Hic Stunica clamat me *non intellexisse* Graecum sermonem, quasi vero non legerim vulgatissimam historiam que refert exercitum circumisse ciuitatem idque
LB 349 factum singulis | diebus vsque ad septimum, septimo circumlatam arcem et ad
301 sonitum tubarum sacerdotalium corruisse muros. Quid igitur reprehendit Stunica? Nimirum quod ambigue verterim. Videor enim de obsidione septem dierum loqui. At magis ambigue vertit interpres. Nam illud dicere videtur intra septem dies corruisse muros, hoc est, volentibus se septem diebus.

305

EX CAPITE XII.

Qui propter vnā escam vendidit primogenita. Quia Graecis est ἀπέδοτο, quod ad verbum sonat *reddidit*, verteram: *permutauit*, propius accedens ad vocem Graecam. Est autem permutatio venditionis genus, quo pro eo quod accipis, reddis id quod cupit quicum pacisceris. Et haec est *falsa Erasmi*
310 *interpretatio*, si credimus elencho Stunicae.

EX CAPITE XIII.

Cognoscite fratrem nostrum Timotheum. Γινώσκετε sonat vtrumlibet *cognoscite* siue *cognoscitis*. Nos indicandi modo vertimus *scitis*. Stunica clamat me *perperam* vertisse. Qui, queso, *perperam*, cum sermo Graecus sit anceps et
315 vterque sensus constet? Sed *Graeca ipsa phrasim apertissime demonstrat*, inquit Stunica. Quomodo *demonstrat*, quam ipse fatetur esse *ambiguam*? Aut quam phrasim hic sentit Stunica, tam peritus elegantiae Graecanicae, vt recte putet dici Graecis ἐλλογεῖτο pro ἐνελογεῖτο?

EX EPISTOLA IACOBI, CAPITE I.

320 *Et decor vultus illius deperit.* Quod Graecis est πρόσωπον malui *aspectum* vertere quam *vultum*, videlicet metaphora minus dura. Stunicae non displicet metaphora *vultus*. Digna vero res monomachia.

294 Sed hac A B: Verum hac B.A.S.

296 circumitu A B: circuitu B.A.S.

301 tubarum A B.A.S: turbarum B *perperam*.

303 illud A B: ille B.A.S.

304 diebus. A B: *add.* quum quotidie semel obambulauerint circum moenia vsque ad diem septimum. Quo septies circumierunt et circumitu septimo concenterunt moenia,

Iosue vi. *B.A.S.*
305 Ex capite xii *scripsi cum LB CS*: Ex capite

compilatio, I, tit. 1 "De summa trinitate et fide catholica", gloss on the title, f^o az r^o: "Sed videtur quod diffinitio ista [*sc. Hebr.* 11,1] non sit bona, quia vera diffinitio conuertibilis debet esse cum suo diffinito, sed haec non est conuertibilis ... Potest autem magistraliter diffiniri: Fides est voluntaria certitudo absentium infra scientiam et supra opinionem constituta".

294 *Leo* See *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ad Hebr.* 11,1, *LB IX*, 235-236, a section of practically the same contents as the present one.

295 *Eodem ii* *Hebr.* 11,30.

298 *Stunica* He had stated: "Non intellexit hunc locum Erasmus Roterodamus ..., pluribus enim quam septem diebus vrbs illa a Iosue et populo Israelitico obsessa fuit".

299 *historiam* *Ios.* 6.

304 *intra ... diebus* In this interpretation "circumitu dierum septem" is taken to mean "in the course of seven days", "in a period of seven days". "Cycle, period" is indeed a usual meaning of *circumitus*. However, Er.' translation *cincta* is no improvement either: it does not express the idea of circular movement described in *Ios.* 6,11; 14-15 and intended in *Hebr.* 11,30; nor does *circumdacta*, to which Er. switched in 1522. Er. was unacquainted with the meaning "to march round ..." of *κυκλῶω*.

305 *Ex capite xii* *Hebr.* 12,16.

307 *quod ... reddidit* Clauses like this (cf. p. 154, ll. 841-842) are only intended for readers whose knowledge of Greek was inadequate. Personally, Er. was a declared adversary of translating ad verbum, a method which he denounced as a form of superstition, resulting in "perversion rather than in a version". See his penetrating comments on the subject in *Capita argumentorum contra morosos*, *LB VI*, f^o **4v^o, and *Apologia*, Holborn, p. 169.

permutauit Stun. had objected that ἀπέδοτο had to be rendered by a verb meaning "he sold". This is probably correct (*pace* Bauer, *s.v. ἀποδίδωμι*), but it is exactly what Er. had tried to bring out in his translation *permutauit*, for "permutare" can mean "to sell and buy by exchange".

308-309 *Est ... pacisceris* Iustinianus, *Institutiones* III, 23, 2: "vulgo dicebatur per permutationem rerum emptionem et venditionem contrahi eamque speciem emptionis

xi *A B B.A.S.*

venditionisque vetustissimam esse"; *Dig.* XIX, 5, 5, 1: "sin autem rem do, vt rem accipiam, quia non placet permutationem rerum emptionem esse, dubium non est nasci ciuilem obligationem" (Iulius Paulus, c. 200 A.D.).

309-310 *falsa Erasmi interpretatio* This is literally Stun.'s side-note.

311 *Ex capite xiii* *Hebr.* 13,23.

313 *clamat* In his side-note running: "Perperam hunc locum Erasmus traduxisse". Stun. had opted for the imperative since he felt that it was a formula by which Paul wanted to inform the addressees of something they did not yet know. There is a good case for Stun.'s view; see *Gal.* 3,7; *Iac.* 5,20 N²⁵; O. Roller, *Das Formular der paulinischen Briefe*, Stuttgart, 1933, pp. 65, 467; J.L. White, *Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter* (SBL Dissertation Series, 2), Missoula, 1972, pp. 11-15, 81.

315 *Graeca ... demonstrat* Literally quoted.

316 *ambiguam* Stun. had begun his section as follows: "Quanquam dictio γινώσχετε ambigua est ...".

318 ἐλλογείτο See the section on *Rom.* 5,13 above, p. 166, ll. 44-64. The point of the present sneer is that Stun., as long as he makes such mistakes as ἐλλογείτο, has no right to express himself in terms like "the Greek expression proves ...". Cf. p. 68, ll. 137-140. Stun. had sneered at Er. in a similar way in his section on *Hebr.* 6,8.

319 *Ex epistola Iacobi, capite i* *Iac.* 1,11.

320 *aspectum* Under the influence of *Hebr.* פָּנִים (*panim*, "face") the LXX uses πρόσωπον in a range of meanings far exceeding those which this noun had in non-biblical Greek. One of these meanings is "outward appearance", e.g. in 1 *Rg.* 16,7 LXX, and especially in the common phrase πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, e.g. *Gn.* 2,6. This usage is also found in the N.T.: 2 *Cor.* 5,12; *Mt.* 16,3; *Lc.* 12,56 (Bauer). In the LXX and the N.T. the meaning "outward appearance, superficies" is so usual, that when πρόσωπον is used in this sense it can no longer be called a metaphor. Er.' translation "aspectus" is much better, therefore, than "vultus", not to say that "vultus" is a mistranslation, for in Latin "vultus" for "appearance, look" is rare, poetic and metaphorical.

EODEM II.

Ita et diues in itineribus suis marcescet. Graece est πορείαις. Quod si tollas ε
 325 erit πορίαις et sonabit *abundantiis*. Quod quoniam ad sensum magis quadra-
 bat, sequuti sumus. Stunicae magis placet vetus lectio. Nullus obstat quominus
 ea fruatur, quae nec a me damnatur.

Porro quod Stunica suspicatur me, cum per errorem vertissem *in abundan-*
tiis pro *in itineribus*, mox *in Annotationibus dissimulasse errorem*, non ita
 330 coniectaret nisi ex se metiretur alios.

EODEM III.

Deus enim intentator malorum est, ἀπειραστός ἐστι κακῶν. Stunica vult
 ἀπειραστός accipi actiue, vt sonet: *non est immissor malorum*. Sed reclamat
 analogia Graeca. Nec enim γνωστόν dicitur quod nouit, sed quod cognobile est
 335 aut cognitum. Reclamat et quod sequitur: *ipse autem neminem tentat*. Si
 ἀπειραστός sonat: *qui non tentat*, et sequitur *ipse autem neminem tentat*, plane bis
 idem dixit. Et Graeca coniunctio δέ notat diuersum esse quod subicitur.

Sed *vt* et *ita* de meo addidi duas voculas. Quid ni? Nam sensum malui
 clarius exprimere quam verbis seruatis obscurare sententiam. Atque hic
 340 elenchus notat *falsam* Erasmi traductionem.

EODEM IIII.

Estote autem factores verbi et non auditores tantum. Indicaram *tantum* non
 addi in Graecis codicibus. Stunica praedicat additum in codice Rhodiensi. At
 ego iam dixi mihi videri codicem illum ad nostros fuisse castigatum,
 345 praesertim cum Rhodienses commercium habeant cum Rhomana ecclesia. Et
 tamen nihil periculi siue addatur, siue subaudiatur.

Porro quod negaram esse in Graecis codicibus, haud dubie sentiebam de iis,
 quos mihi videre contigit. |

Ite in pace, calefacimini. Quod Graecis est θερμαίνεσθε, malui vertere
calescite quam *calefacimini*. Stunica docet interpretem secundum artem
 vertisse *calefacimini*. Nam Prisciano autore priscos illos dixisse facio et
 facior, pro quo nos fio dicimus. Quid his rationibus efficit Stunica? Nimirum
 vt tam excusate verterit *calefacimini* quam si quis dicat: virtus hoc seculo
 355 apud omnes *parui facitur* pro parui fit. O magnificum interpretis
 patronum. Poterat hanc annotatiunculam Prisciani Stunica paulo rectius
 annotare.

346 periculi *A*: periculi est *B BAS*.

357 annotare *A*: collocare *B BAS*.

323 *Eodem ii Iac.* 1,11 end.

325 *πορία* This reading has since been found in several uncials (8 *A*) and minuscules which Er. did not know (see Tischendorf's 8th ed. *maior*). But it is merely an orthographical variant of *πορεία*, since a word *πορία* "riches, wealth", the existence of which Er. supposes, is wholly unknown. Stun. had only objected that Er.' translation "diues in abundantia sua marcescet" was unfounded because all mss. had *πορεία*, and that *πορεία* should be taken to mean "ipse vitae processus". Stun. had not noticed that Er. had proposed a reading which amounted to impossible Greek. Er. himself, however, changed his translation in the third and later editions to "in viis suis", although in the *Annot.* he left his conjecture unaltered.

328 *suspiciatur* This theme runs through Stun.'s work like a continuous thread: he believed that Er., after the printing of his translation had been completed, had realized that the translation contained many mistakes due to rashness and thoughtlessness and that, since it was too late for making corrections, Er. had written numerous annotations to gloss over or explain away the mistakes in the translation. In general this theory is certainly baseless.

331 *Eodem iii Iac.* 1,13. Er. had translated: "Nam Deus vt a malis tentari non potest, ita nec ipse quenquam tentat".

333-335 *Sed ... cognitum* This argument is not conclusive, for there are verbal adjectives in -τος with an active meaning in the N.T., e.g. *συνετός* "intelligent", *ἀσύνετος*, *Rom.* 1,31 Vg.: "insipiens". See Moulton I, p. 222 (J. Smit Sibinga).

335-337 *Reclamat ... dixit* This argument is now regarded as decisive. The active meaning finds no defenders any more.

340 *elenchus* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Impropria ac falsa Erasmi tralatio".

341 *Eodem iii Iac.* 1,22, where Er. had translated: "et non auditores", without "tantum".

342-343 *tantum non addi* The omission of *μόνον* has only been established in a very few minuscules, viz. Gregory nos. 2^{AP}, 30^{AP} (Wettstein) and 431^{CV+AP+PAUL} (Von Soden, δ 268). But 2^{AP} served as printer's copy for the Greek text of Acts and the Epistles, including *Iac.*, in the *Nov. Instr.* and was, as

a result, unproportionally influential.

343 *codice Rhodiensi* See p. 147, n.l. 723.

344 *iam dixi* In the section on 2 *Cor.* 2,3, p. 192, ll. 503-507 above. See p. 193, n.l. 504.

345 *cum Rhodienses ... ecclesia* In 1309 the Knights Hospitallers, expelled from Palestine, conquered Rhodes, converted it into an almost impregnable fortress, and made it the basis of their activities for the next 200 years. After the suppression of the Knights Templars (1312) the pope assigned their possessions to the Hospitallers. In 1328 a Latin archbishopric was erected on Rhodes. At the Council of Florence (1439) the archbishop Andreas Chrysoberges of Rhodes defended the Roman-catholic rights on Rhodes. In June 1522, nine months after Er. wrote these lines, Rhodes was invested by the Turks. The catholics had to retreat and the Latin see was suppressed. The Hospitallers received the sovereignty of Malta from Charles V in 1530, which they kept until 1798. See R. Janin, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, VIII, s.v. Rhodos, and *ODCC*, s.v. Hospitallers.

347-348 *Porro ... contigit* This is a reply to Stun.'s allegation that, since in the Rhodiensis *μόνον* was found, there was no ground for Er. to claim "*tantum non inueniri apud Graecos*". For the argumentation, cf. p. 130, ll. 431-432.

349 *Ex capite ii Iac.* 2,16.

350 *malui* To avoid the passive "-facimini".

352 *Prisciano* Prisc. VIII, ed. M. Hertz, in: Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. II, pp. 398, 402: "Sunt alia, quae in compositione mutant significationem, vt *eo* neutrum. Similiter *facio*; quamuis vetustissimi etiam passiuè hoc protulisse inueniantur: Titinius in *Quinto*: 'bonum gratia parui vt faciat.' ... Sciendum tamen quod et *facio* et *facior*, vt ostendimus, vetustissimi proferebant".

356-357 *Poterat ... annotare* From the variant reading "collocare" (bring forward, put forth) in *B BAS* it appears that *annotare* simply means "to note, write down". The meaning of the sentence is: he could have noted down Priscian's words with a more correct purpose, or drawing a more correct conclusion from them, that is, he could have used the passage to demonstrate that the passive *facior* is in fact unclassical and, consequently, incorrect.

EX CAPITE III.

360 *Et serpentum et ceterorum.* Cum Graece sit ἐναλίωv, non potest verti *ceterorum*, et suspicor autore Valla ab interprete scriptum fuisse *cetorum*, non *ceterorum*, aut si scripsit *coeterorum*, legisse non ἐναλίωv, sed ἄλλωv. Stunica negat in vllis Latinis codicibus inueniri *cetorum*. Atqui hoc vidit Laurentius.

EX CAPITE V.

365 *Et oratio fidei saluabit infirmum.* Quoniam Graece est κάμνοντα, verti *saluabit laborantem*. Nam infirmus dici potest qui non egrotet. Stunica docet Graecis κάμνειν aliquando de morbo dici, et verum dicit, sed itidem fit apud Latinos, quibus laborat etiam egrotus. Quid igitur admissum est piaculi?

370

EX I PETRI, CAPITE II.

Si tamen gustastis, quoniam dulcis est Dominus. Graecis est χρηστός, nos vertimus *benignus est Dominus*. Stunica docet χρηστόν aliquando sonare dulce, nec id tamen alio probat argumento nisi quod sic et alibi verterit interpres. Non negat autem interim aliquoties sonare bonum aut benignum.
375 Sed ob verbum *gustastis* mauult hic suauis quam *benignus*. At quid faciet in psalmo: *gustate et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus*? Non videtur suauitas. Animo gustatur bonitas aut benignitas! An non licebit suauem dicere cantionem?

EODEM II.

380 *Superedificamini domos spirituales, οικοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικός.* E Graecis doceo Latinos codices fuisse deprauatos ac restituo pristinam lectionem sublato manifestario soloecismo. Stunica sic agit, quasi ego interpreti impegerim hunc soloecismum; imo deprauatoribus librorum imputo.

EODEM III.

385 *Vobis igitur credentibus honor, ὑμῶν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.* Nos verteramus: *vobis igitur preciosus est qui creditis*. Caeterum reiicio interpretationem Lyrani, qui sic reddit: *vobis erit honor in coelestibus, cum Petrus agat de lapide qui reiectus fuit a Iudaeis in precio habitus* ab iis qui fide salutem consequuntur, iuxta prophetam: *lapidem quem reprobauerant aedificantes, hic factus*
390 *est in caput anguli.* Stunica fatetur τιμή Graecis et precium significare et honorem. Hoc sane mihi cum illo conuenit. Sed *si voluisset*, inquit, significare *preciosum*, non dixisset ἡ τιμή, sed ἔντιμος, vt antea loquutus est. Quasi non

- 370 capite ii scripsi cum LB CS: capite i A B BAS.
- 358 *Ex capite iii Iac.* 3,7.
- 359–361 *Cum ... ἄλλων* This analysis is correct. Both conjectures, transmitted by a long chain of critics and commentators, still figure in *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlat. Bibel*, 26/1, ed. W. Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, Freiburg, 1956–1969, p. 39, and B. Fischer, in: B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the N.T.*, Oxford, 1977, p. 370. The reading ἄλλων is found in no Greek ms. presently known, nor is *ceterum* in any Latin ms., as far as can be judged from modern critical editions.
- 360 *Valla Valla's Annot. in NT* are completely silent upon *Iac.* 3,7, nor can I find any comment on *Iac.* 3,7 in his other works. The references to Valla in ll. 360 and 363 are probably due, therefore, to Er.' misinterpretation of his own annotation of 1516. Here he had positively asserted that the reading *cetorum* "... adhuc in nonnullis exstat codicibus", but without quoting any witness and possibly without having seen any witness reading *cetorum*. (Incidentally, Estius [1542–1613] is reported to have seen such mss.; see Mills and Küster, *N.T. Graecum, ad loc.*) After five years he thought that his assertion was based on Valla and did not check whether or not this assumption was correct. If this reconstruction is correct the conjectural readings *cetorum* and ἄλλων must be ascribed to Er., not to Valla.
- 362 *Stunica* From the fact that all Latin mss. read *ceterorum* Stun. had concluded that the Greek reading ἐναλίωv must be a corruption of ἄλλων or ἐνάλλων. This conclusion is typical of Stun.'s misplaced appreciation of the Vg.: it did not occur to him that, just the other way about, the unanimity of the Greek mss. against the Vg. could also be an indication of a corruption in the Vg. If the Greek text diverged from the Vg., the Greek was corrupt, Stun. believed. He expressed the same opinion in the case of the *Comma Iohanneum* (1 *Iob.* 5, 7–8).
- 364 *Ex capite v Iac.* 5,15.
- 366 *infirmus ... egrotet* The same objection can be raised against *laborantem*, a translation which is wholly correct but ambiguous. Er. had better chosen a word clearly meaning "being physically ill", e.g. "aegrotum" (so Calvin). But he never changed *laborantem*.
- 370 *Ex I Petri, capite ii* 1 *Petr.* 2,3.
- 378 *cantionem A B: add., quum Stunicae nihil sit suavius quam obtrectare BAS.*
- 373 *alibi* Stun. had quoted *Ps.* 24,8 Vg. *iuxta LXX.*
- 374 *bonum ... benignum* Stun. had quoted *Ps.* 118,68 and *Ps.* 68,17 Vg. *iuxta LXX* respectively.
- 375 *suavis* A mistake for "dulcis": Stun. wanted of course to retain the reading of the Vg., which, in 1 *Petr.* 2,3, is "dulcis".
- 376 *psalmo Ps.* 33,9 Vg. *iuxta LXX* (a verse of which 1 *Petr.* 2,3 is an adaptation). The emphasis is on *videte*. Er. means that *videte* proves that in the LXX and the Vg. χρηστόv and *suavis* do not carry on the imagery of "to taste".
- 377–378 *An ... cantionem* With this example Er. wants to make clear that *suavitas* does not necessarily belong to the domain of tasting: it can also be an experience of the ear. Χρηστόv need not be supposed, therefore, to answer to the metonymy in γεύομαι.
- 379 *Eodem ii* 1 *Petr.* 2,5.
- 381 *depravatos* Er. is referring to the reading "domos spirituales" which occurs in mss. and many early editions of the Vg. It is indeed a corruption of "domus spiritualis" (or "-talis"). He himself had correctly translated "domus spiritualis", nom. sing. This correction had already been proposed by Valla, *ad loc.*
- 382 *solecismo* The acc. *domos* is incompatible with the passive *superedificamini*.
- 382–383 *quasi ... imputo* In 1516 Er. had been silent about the question who was responsible for the solecism. Stun. had argued that it could not be imputed to the translator of the Vg.
- 384 *Eodem iii* 1 *Petr.* 2,7.
- 387 *Lyrani* See Lyra's *Postilla in Biblia sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria ... et Postilla Nicolai Lyrani*, Paris, 1590, *ad* 1 *Petr.* 2,7: "vobis igitur credentibus honor: erit, supple, in coelestibus".
- 387–388 *cum ... habitus* Partly a quotation, partly a paraphrase of the annotation of 1516.
- 389 *prophetam Ps.* 117 (118),22. For David as a prophet, see *Act.* 2,30.
- 390 τμη On the Latin renderings of τμη, see W. Thiele, *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes*, Freiburg, 1965, pp. 210–213.
- 392 *antea* 1 *Petr.* 2,6, in a quotation from *Is.* 28,16.

licuerit Petro variare sermonem, aut quasi non sit hoc Hebraeis peculiare abstractis abuti pro concretis.

395 Sed articulus contra me facit, ἡ τιμή. Imo pro me facit, notat enim illud precium, de quo paulo ante loquutus est, illud insigne precium, quod adfert salutem aeternam.

Iam Beda verbis quidem dissonat a nobis, re consentit. Et in elencho triumphat Stunica: *defensus*, inquit, *ab Erasmi calumnia Lyranus cum Erasmi*
400 *redargutione*. At vbi sunt ista magnifica praesidia, quibus et Lyranum tuetur et me prosternit? |

LB 351

EODEM IIII.

Sive ducibus tanquam ab eo missis. Cum Graece sit ἡγεμόσιν, malui
praesidibus quam *ducibus*, quod hic non agatur de bello, sed de iis qui
405 administrabant prouincias, quibus Petrus vult etiam christianos obtemperare. Porro quum Stunica fateatur esse verum, quod annoto interpretem solere sic vertere quemadmodum hic ego verteram, quum non damnem tamen quod vertit interpres, sed causam adferam quare maluerim *praesidis* quam *ducis* vocabulum, quid est quod mecum agit Stunica?

410

EX CAPITE IIII.

Nemo autem vestrum patiat. Πασχέτω verteram *affligatur*, non vt excluderem vltimum supplicium, sed vt carceres, flagra, lapidationes caeteraque malorum genera complecterer. Stunica docet nos autoritate sua *pati* hic nihil aliud esse quam affici supplicio capitis et ideo dicit me *improprie* vertisse.
415 Vicit Stunica, si non patitur nisi qui capite plectitur, et si qui occiditur non affligitur.

EX II PETRI, CAPITE II.

Et multi sequentur eorum luxurias. Quoniam in Graecis erat ἀπωλείαις, verteram *pernicies* pro *luxurias*. Addo coniecturam *interpretem* forte *legisse*
420 *ἀσωτίαις*, quae vox proprie significat luxuriam nec multum abest ab ἀπωλείαις,

401 prosternit? *A B: add.* O fumos, Stunicanos malo dicere quam Hispanienses. *BAS.*

409 Stunica? *A B: add.* Sic crescit voluminis modus. *BAS.*

394 *abstractis ... concretis* This is indeed a common phenomenon in Hebrew, see Ed. König, *Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1897, §§ 242–243, and id., *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 65–69; F.

Kaulen, *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata*, Freiburg, 1904², pp. 34–35. From this remark it must be inferred that “preciosus” in Er.’ translation stands for “the precious stone”, the idea “stone” being supplied from the previous verse. The

- meaning of Er.' translation is "To you who believe, the stone is the *precious* stone". The problem of this interpretation is that τιμή hardly ever occurs as an abstractum pro concreto, and when it does, it is in the sense of "toll, tax, impost", 1 *Mcc.* 10,29.
- 395 *Sed ... facit* This objection had been raised by Stun. The purport of the objection is that as a rule the predicate is without the article in Greek. But there are many exceptions to the rule (Robertson, pp. 766-769; L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentl. Grammatik*, Tübingen, 1925², p. 117; Moulton-Turner III, pp. 182-184). "When the article is used in the predicate the article is due to a previous mention of the noun" (Robertson, p. 768). This is exactly the way in which Er. presently accounts for the presence of the article.
- 396 *paulo ante* 1 *Petr.* 1,7: τιμή. For clearness' sake the point of difference between Stun. and Er. may be set out as follows. Stun. took τιμή in 1 *Petr.* 2,7 to mean the honour imparted in heaven to those who have faith, whereas Er. regarded this τιμή as referring to the great value or preciousness of the "stone" Christ. Er. had been led to this interpretation by Valla, who had suggested to interpret: "Vobis lapis est honorificus...", taking ἡ τιμή as nominal predicate and supplying "lapis" as subject. The passage is a true crux, but most exegetes tend nowadays to agree with Stun. that τιμή is the honour imparted to the faithful. See, e.g., H. Windisch, *Die katholischen Briefe*, Tübingen, 1911, 1930², *ad loc.*; E.G. Selwyn, *The First Ep. to St. Peter*, London, 1947², p. 164; J. Schneider, in: *TWNT* VIII, p. 176.
- 398 *Beda Bede, Expositio in I Ep. Petri, ad 2,7*, Migne *PL* 93, 50A: "Vobis igitur honor creditibus. Ille nimirum honor, vt non confundamini ab eo in aduentu eius, sed, sicut ipse ait: *Si quis mihi ministraverit, honorificabit eum Pater meus* (Iob. 12,26)". This exposition seems to support Stun.'s view equally well as that of Er.
- 399-400 *defensus ... redargutione* Literally quoted; *elenchus*: "side-note".
- 402 *Eodem* *iiii* 1 *Petr.* 2,14.
- 404 *praesidibus* Cf. p. 118, ll. 194-195, with the n.
- 406 *annoto* *Viz.*, in the *Annot.* of 1516.
- 406-407 *interpretem ... verteram* E.g., in *Mt.* 10,18; 27,2, etc. All in all, ἡγεμών occurs 22 times in the *textus receptus* of the N.T.; in 19 out of these 22 cases the Vg. has "praeses".
- Modern scholarship, to be sure, no longer considers the Vg. of the N.T. as the work of one *interpres*, see, e.g., B.M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the N.T.*, Oxford, 1977, p. 359, and p. 69, n.l. 170 above.
- 408 *causam* *Viz.*, the reason given in ll. 404-405 above.
- 409 *Stunica* He had extensively defended *ducibus* on the ground that the governors of Roman provinces were also in command of military forces.
- 410 *Ex capite* *iiii* 1 *Petr.* 4,15.
- 413 *Stunica* He had written: "πάσχω verbum non *afflictionem* sonat sed *passionem*; atque hoc quidem loco vltimum supplicium, id est mortem. ... *patiat*ur, id est, morte afficiatur". This interpretation is insecurely warranted; cf. Bauer, *s.v.* πάσχω 2 α β end.
- 414 *improprie* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Impropria Erasmi tralatio".
- 417 *Ex II Petri, capite* *ii* 2 *Petr.* 2,2.
- 418 ἀπωλείαις This is the reading of the printed *textus receptus* as emanated from Er.' *Nov. Instr.* of 1516. The ms. evidence on which the reading rests is extremely scanty; no single ms. supporting ἀπωλείαις is mentioned in the editions of Beza, Mills, Wettstein, C.F. Matthaei, Tischendorf ("cum minusculis, vt videtur, paucis", but without mentioning any ms. specifically), and Von Soden. The reading is reported to occur in min. 43 and 65 by J. de Zwaan, *II Petrus en Judas*, Leiden, 1909, p. 112, but this information, borrowed from the crit. app. of Scholz and Griesbach, is false: both min. Greg. 43^{AP} (= 76^{CV}) and 65^{AP} (= 218^{CV}) read ἀσελγείαις, with all other mss. now known, as Dr. K. Junack (Münster) kindly checked for me. ἀπωλείαις does occur in Pseudo-Oecumenius, both in the lemma and the commentary (Migne *PL* 119, 592-593), but here it can be suspected of having been introduced on the basis of the Erasmus N.T. text. Er. himself cannot have borrowed it from Pseudo-Oecumenius since his Oecumenius ms. did not include the commentary on the Catholic Epistles (cf. p. 195, n.l. 539). It is possible, then, that there is no ms. evidence for Er.' ἀπωλείαις whatsoever. The reading may have originated as an ordinary mistake, consisting in a repetition of ἀπόλειαν, the last word of the previous verse.
- 420 ἀσωτίαις ... *luxuriam* Cf. W. Thiele, *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes*, Freiburg, 1965, p. 166; "*luxuria* ist die allgemeine Übersetzung für ἀσωτία: Prv

nimirum duabus tantum litterulis. Hic Stunica perinde agit, quasi in multis vetustis codicibus legerit ἀσελγίας, non ἀσωτίας, quum in vno Rhodiensi legerit, si tamen ibi legit. Cuius apud me leuior est autoritas, quod suspicer ad nostros codices fuisse castigatum, quo congrueret cum Latina lectione. Sed
 425 demus ἀσελγίας legisse interpretem, etiamsi ἀσελγία non proprie sonat luxuriam, sed lasciuiam potius, quid hic erat quod merebatur inCESSI conuiciis? In indice est: *error Erasmi manifestus*; in annotatione Stunicae: *perperam diuinat Erasmus et falso refert Erasmus*. An non haec declarant insignem quendam maledicentiae morbum?

430

EX CAPITE III.

In quibus iusticia inhabitat. Ostendo in quibus posse referri ad nos qui *expectamus, nos in quibus iusticia inhabitat*. Hoc Stunicae non placet, nec refellit tamen quod nos proposuimus nisi hoc lemmate, quod proxime praecessit *coelos et terram*. Imo propius praecessit ἡμεῖς latens in verbo
 435 προσδοκῶμεν. Et hic elenchus habet: *euidentem Erasmi hallucinationem*.

EX I IOANNIS, CAPITE I.

Quod fuit ab initio, ὃ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. Ego verteram: *quod erat*, quod mallet sic fuisse vt adhuc esset. Fuisse enim dicitur fere, quod esse desiit. Stunica docet ἦν praeteritum imperfectum pro perfecto nonnunquam vsurpari. Id Erasmus
 440 non negat, verum ex hoc non euincit non esse commodius quod nos sequi maluimus.

EX CAPITE III.

In hoc cognouimus charitatem Dei. Indico *Dei* non addi in Graecis codicibus. Stunica rursus obiicit nobis codicem Rhodiensem, sed vnum, et eum, vt crebro
 445 iam dixi, suspectum. Mecum faciunt codices innumeri.

EX CAPITE V.

Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo. Hic ex autoritate Hieronymi docet Stunica Grecos codices palam esse deprauatos. Sed interim vbi dormit codex ille Rhodiensis? Porro nos non susceperamus negotium
 LB 352 emendandi Grecos codices, sed quod | in illis esset bona fide reddendi.

431 Ostendo *A B*: add. particulam hanc *BAS*.441 maluimus *A B*: add. in vertendo *BAS*.440 negat *A B*: add. sed apud Graecos *BAS*.

- 28,7; 2 Mcc 6,4; Eph 5,18; Tt 1,6; 1 Pt 4,4; vgl. ἀσωτως ...". Er. had seen this very well.
- 421-422 *Stunica* ... ἀσελγείαις According to Stun. ἀσελγείαις was what the maker of the Vg. read.
- 423-424 *suspicer* ... *lectione* See p. 193, n.l. 504 and p. 247, n.l. 344.
- 424-425 *Sed* ... *interpretem* In the *Annot.* of 1522 Er. expanded his annotation of 1516, running "Interpres legisse videtur ἀσωταίς", through the addition of "siue ἀσελγείαις".
- 425-426 *etiamsi* ... *potius* This reservation will not hold water since in the sense of "unruly behaviour, licentiousness" *luxuria* and *lasciuitia* are synonymous. In the Latin bible *lasciuitia* occurs once as a rendering of ἀσελγείαις, viz. in a quotation of *Gal.* 5,19 in Tert., see Thiele, *Die lat. Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes*, p. 166.
- 426-427 *inCESSI conuiciis* Suet. *Tib.* 11; *Ner.* 35 (Lewis-Short, s.v. *incesso*).
- 427 *indice* "Side-note". It runs: "Erasmi error manifestus".
- 428 *perperam* ... *refert* Stun.'s annot. begins as follows: "Non interpres legisse videtur ἀσωταίς, vt Erasmus perperam diuinat, neque Graeca exemplaria consentiunt vt ἀπωλείαις hic habeant, vt idem falso retulit, sed ...". - In the discussion on 2 *Petr.* 2,2 it was clearly Stun., not Er., who was right.
- 429 *maledicentiae morbum* For this theme, see p. 64, ll. 82-85.
- 430 *Ex capite iii 2 Petr.* 3,13.
- 432 *expectamus 2 Petr.* 3,13. Er. had proposed to interpret ἐν οἷς δικαιοσύνη κατοικεῖ as a conditional clause: "si iuste viuamus, vt mereamur frui nouitate creaturae". But that much cannot be read into the simple relative clause in question.
- 434 *propius* ... *verbo* Guessing that this was how Er. wanted to defend his interpretation, Stun. had already dismissed this solution as impossible; rightly so.
- 435 *elenchus* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Erasmi euidentem hallucinationem".
- 436 *Ex I Ioannis, capite i 1 Ioh.* 1,1.
- 437 *ueteram: quod erat* In this Er. had followed Valla, whose note on 1 *Ioh.* 1,1 runs: "Cur non quod erat, ἦν, sicut in euangelio, 1,1: In principio erat Verbum, ἦν;".
- 439 *pro perfecto* ... *usurpari* This is of course correct, for in itself the Greek imperfect tense says nothing with regard to the question whether or not the action described has come to an end. The impf. is used for untermi- nated action in the past, but the action may or may not have come to an end. For an example of imperfectum pro perfecto, see *Rom.* 6,17 ἦτε δοῦλοι, "fuistis serui" Vg., "you were slaves (but for a time past you are free)". Since the Latin perfect describes an action as completed and especially views the new situation in which it has resulted ("fuimus Troes", Verg. *Aen.* II, 325), Er.' translation *erat* is not equally good as *fuit*, as Stun. had admitted, but definitely better, for the subject is the unaltered "word of life".
- 442 *Ex capite iii 1 Ioh.* 3,16.
- 443 *Dei* This reading occurs in a number of mss. and many early editions of the Vg. In Wordsworth-White and the Stuttgart Vg. it has been relegated to the crit. app. The ms. evidence for τοῦ θεοῦ is exceptionally scanty. The only Greek ms. known to have read it is Stun.'s Codex Rhodiensis, figuring in the crit. app. of Wettstein, Tischendorf and Wordsworth-White as 52. The Beuron Vetus Latina mentions no Greek witness for τοῦ θεοῦ. In the Complutensian Polyglot τοῦ θεοῦ may have been taken from the Vg., or from the Cod. Rhod., but there is a good case here for Er.' suspicion that the Cod. Rhod. owed the reading τοῦ θεοῦ to influence of the Vg.
- 445 *suspectum* See p. 192, n.l. 504; p. 247, n.l. 344; and n.ll. 423-424 above.
- 446 *Ex capite v 1 Ioh.* 5,7-8.
- 448 *Hieronymi* The reference is to the so-called *Praefatio in septem Epistulas Canonicas* which Er. will quote on p. 254, ll. 479-488. See n. to that passage.
- deprauatos* The passage "in coelo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres vnum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra", the so-called *Comma Iohanneum*, is missing in practically all Greek mss., and where it occurs it has been translated from the Vg. The *Comma* originated as a Latin gloss on "tres sunt qui testimonium dant" in 1 *Ioh.* 5,7, possibly as early as the middle of the 3rd cent. (see W. Thiele, *Beobachtungen zum Comma Iohanneum*, ZNW 50 (1959), pp. 61-73). It was taken into the text of the Vetus Latina during the 5th cent., and appeared in mss. of the Vg. from about 500 A.D. Cf. B.M. Metzger, *The Text of the N.T.*, Oxford, 1968², pp. 101-102; id., *Textual Commentary on the Greek N.T.*, London/New York, 1971, *ad loc.*
- 449 *Rhodiensis* See p. 147, n.l. 723. This time Stun. had not said a word about the Cod.

451 Quod hic calumniatur Stunica, Leus huius πρόδρομος ante calumniatus est, cui cum libello edito responderimus, paucioribus hic agemus cum Stunica.

Diuus Hieronymus prae loquens in epistolas canonicas, suspicatur hunc locum fuisse deprauatum a Latinis interpretibus, et a nonnullis omissum fuisse
 455 testimonium Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Et tamen iuxta nostram aeditionem adducit hunc locum Cyrillus in opere cui titulum fecit De thesauro, libro xiiii, capite penultimo. Eius verba asscribam. *Rursum*, inquit, *Ioannes in eadem epistola ait: quis est qui vincit mundum nisi qui credit quia Iesus est Filius Dei? Hic venit per aquam et sanguinem et Spiritum, Iesus Christus, non in aqua solum, sed in aqua et*
 460 *sanguine. Et Spiritus est qui testimonium perhibet. Spiritus enim veritas est. Quia tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent, Spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et hi tres vnum sunt. Si testimonium hominum accipimus, testimonium Dei maius est et cetera.* Hactenus Cyrillus, vir, ni fallor, orthodoxus. Atque hic cum dimicet aduersus Arianos plurimaque in illos congerat e diuinis libris testimonia, probabile non est illum
 465 omissurum fuisse telum, quo maxime confici poterant illi, si aut scisset aut credidisset hoc fuisse scriptum ab Apostolo.

Iam Beda locum hunc diligenter enarrans cum accurate multisque verbis exponat testimonium triplex in terra, nullam mentionem fecit testimonii in coelo Patris, Verbi et Spiritus. Nec huic tamen viro defuit omnino linguarum
 470 peritia, nec in obseruandis antiquis exemplaribus diligentia. Imo ne hoc quidem addit *in terra*. Tantum legit: *tres sunt qui testimonium dant*. In codice qui mihi suppeditatus est e bibliotheca minoritarum Antuuerpiensium in margine scholium erat asscriptum de testimonio Patris, Verbi et Spiritus, sed manu recentiore, vt consentaneum sit hoc adiectum ab erudito quopiam, qui noluerit
 475 hanc particulam praetermitti.

Sed vrgemur autoritate Hieronymi, quam equidem nolim eleuare, quamquam ille sepenumero violentus est parumque pudens, saepe varius, parumque sibi constans. Tamen non satis video, quid sibi velit hoc loco Hieronymus. Verba ipsius subscribam. *Sed*, inquit, *sicut euangelistas dudum ad veritatis lineam*
 480 *correximus, ita has proprio ordini Deo iuuante reddidimus. Est enim prima earum vna Iacobi, duae Petri et tres Ioannis et Iudae vna. Quae si sicut ab eis digestae sunt, ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum verterentur eloquium, nec ambiguitatem legentibus facerent, nec sermonum sese varietas impugnaret. Illo praecipue loco vbi de vnitae trinitatis in prima Ioannis epistola positum legimus, in qua etiam ab infidelibus*
 485 *translatoribus multum erratum esse a fidei veritate comperimus trium tantummodo vocabula, hoc est, aquae, sanguinis et Spiritus in ipsa sua aeditione ponentibus et Patris, Verbi ac Spiritus testimonium omittentibus, in quo maxime et fides catholica*

472 minoritarum A B: minorum BAS.

Rhod., no doubt because it did not contain the *Comma*, as Er. shrewdly suggests here. See p. 258, ll. 530-533.

452 libello *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, which appeared in two parts in April and May 1520, LB IX, 123-200 and 199-284. The

- second part contains a lengthy discussion of the *Comma*, LB IX, 275-280.
- 453 *Hieronymus* See n.ll. 479-488 below.
- 455 *nostram* Erasmus' own edition of 1516 and 1519.
- 456 *Cyrillus* Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria from 412 to 444. See on him *ODCC*, s.v. Er. is referring to *Thesaurus*, Assertio 34, Migne PG 75, 616 A-B. But Er. used J. Clichthove's edition of G. Trapezontius' Latin translation, Paris, 1514, in which the work is divided into fourteen books (cf. Allen, Ep. 1877, n.l. 161).
- 458-462 *quis ... maius est* 1 *Ioh.* 5,5-7a, 8b-9. The *Comma*, 7b-8a, is missing.
- 463 *orthodoxus* Cyril was the great champion of orthodoxy against the heresy of Nestorius.
- Arianos* The *Thesaurus* is an extensive polemical exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity, directed against Arianism.
- 464-466 *probabile ... Apostolo* The argument is wholly to the point; cf. B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, p. 717: "The passage is quoted by none of the Greek Fathers, who, had they known it, would most certainly have employed it in the Trinitarian controversies (Sabellian and Arian)".
- 467 *Beda Comm. in I Ep. S. Ioh., ad 5,7-8*, Migne PL 93, 114. It is perfectly clear that Bede did not know the *Comma*: in the 8th century it had not yet been generally accepted in the Vg.
- 470-471 *ne ... addit* In the exposition, and perhaps in the lemma as well, but at any rate in the exposition.
- 471 *in terra* In Migne PL 93, 114 (see n.l. 467 above), in the lemma preceding Bede's exposition, these words occur. But the lemmata are naturally the most vulnerable part of the textual tradition, and little can be said, therefore, about the authenticity or inauthenticity of *in terra* until a critical edition is available. The whole lemma in Migne PL 93, 114 runs: "Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra et cetera". Strangely enough, this form of 1 *Ioh.* 5,7 (short text plus *in terra*) is precisely the one followed by Luther in his translation of 1545 (Wettstein II, p. 722).
- codice* No doubt a ms. of Bede's commentary on (at least) the Catholic Epistles. Allen (introd. Ep. 373) speaks of it as if it was a N.T. ms., a mistake also made by J. Mills and L. Küster, *N.T. Graecum*, Rotterdam, 1710, p. 580, and by others, but corrected by Wettstein II, p. 722, ll. 11-16. Wettstein pointed out that, in the fifth edition of the *Annot.*, the passage concerning the ms. of the Antwerp Franciscans, taken over from the apologia against Stun. into the *Annot.* on 1 *Ioh.* 5,7 in 1522 (or vice versa), was enlarged with a remark added after "praetermitti" (in our Latin text l. 475), running: "quandoquidem nec in editione Badiana vlla fit mentio Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti" (LB VI, 1079 D). This cannot refer but to the Paris 1521 ed. of Bede's N.T. commentaries published by Badius (a copy of this ed. is in Leiden, Univ. Libr.). Moreover, the mention of this ed. is followed by the statement: "Beda sequutus est Augustinum". The ms. belonging to the Franciscans of Antwerp, then, must have been a Bede. An entirely clear reference to it is found in the *Annot.* on 1 *Petr.* 2,2 (LB VI, 1045 C), as Wettstein observed. See also the 2nd n. ad p. 256, l. 509 below, *utrumque*.
- 476 *elevare* "Disparage, detract from".
- 477 *saepe varius* For the same criticism see p. 181, l. 329, with the n.
- 479-488 *Sed ... comprobatur* Ps. Hier. *Praefatio in septem Epistulas Canonicas*, ed. Wordsworth-White, III, pp. 230-231. Stun. had quoted the greater part of it (in our text: ll. 481-488 *Que ... comprobatur*). See for the complete text: Wettstein II, pp. 726-727. This prologue precedes the Catholic Epistles in all the Vg. editions from the Gutenberg bible (1452?) to Et.' time (H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vg.*, Rome/Paris, 1922, p. 76 sqq.). As early as the 6th century this prologue appeared in mss. of the Vg., e.g. in the Codex Fuldensis (*teste* Tischendorf, ed. oct. maior, II, p. 338). But that Jerome cannot be its author has been proved by Mills and Küster, *N.T. Graecum*, Rotterdam, 1710, pp. 582-583, and most brilliantly by R. Simon, *Histoire critique du texte du N.T.*, Rotterdam, 1689, pp. 206-210, and by others mentioned by Wettstein, p. 727. Strangely, Er. never questioned the genuineness of this prologue. On its origin, see A. Bludau, *Der Prolog des Ps.-Hieronymus zu den Kath. Briefen*, *Biblische Zeitschrift* 15 (1921), pp. 15-34; 125-138; S. Berger, *Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible*, Paris, 1902, pp. 11-13; K. Künstle, *Das Comma Ioanneum*, Freiburg Br., 1905, p. 27 sqq.; J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vg. Gospels*, Oxford, 1908, p. 262 sqq.

roboratur et Patris ac Filii et Spiritus Sancti vna diuinitatis essentia comprobatur.
 Hactenus Hieronymi verba retulimus. Ex quibus liquet Hieronymum nihil
 490 queri de codicibus Graecis, sed tantum de iis qui Graeca Latine verterunt. At
 nunc in Graecis codicibus hoc potissimum deest quod omissum queritur et
 habetur in codicibus Latinis licet non omnibus. Sed vnde Hieronymus
 castigauit errorem interpretum? Nimirum e Graecis exemplaribus. Sed illi aut
 495 habebant quod nos vertimus, aut variabant. Si variabant, quemadmodum et
 Latina, quonam argumento docet vtrum sit rectius vtrumue scriptum sit ab
 Apostolo, praesertim cum quod reprehendit tum haberet publicus vsus
 ecclesiae? Quod ni fuisset, non video qui possint habere locum quae
 sequuntur: *sed tu, virgo Christi Eustochium, dum a me impensius Scripturae veritatem*
inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem inuidorum dentibus corrodendam exponis, qui me
 500 *falsarium corruptoremque sacrarum pronunciant scripturarum.* Quis enim clamasset
falsarium, nisi publicam mutasset lectionem?

Cum proxime Brugis essemus in comitatu caesaris, consului duos mirae |
 1B 353 vetustatis codices ex bibliotheca Sancti Donatiani. Neuter habebat quod
 Hieronymus queritur sublatum.

Denique codex vetustissimus in Vaticana bibliotheca summi pontificis non
 505 habet testimonium triplex in coelo, nimirum nobiscum faciens. Nam Paulus
 Bombasius consulto libro locum mihi descripsit ad verbum.

Quod si apud Graecos legit Cyrillus quod nunc habent Graeci codices, si
 apud nos Augustinus ac Beda aut tantum hoc legit aut vtrumque legit, si
 510 codices tam vetusti vt aetate Hieronymi possint videri scripti cum Graecis
 consentiunt, non video quod adferat argumenti Hieronymus quo doceat
 germanam esse lectionem quam ipse nobis tradit.

Sed dicet aliquis: erat hoc efficax telum aduersus Arrianos. Primum cum
 constet et apud Graecos et apud Latinos olim variasse lectionem, nihil hoc
 515 telum aduersus illos valebit qui sine dubio pari iure sibi vindicabunt lectionem
 quae pro ipsis facit. Sed finge non esse controuersam lectionem, cum quod
 dictum est de testimonio aquae, sanguinis et Spiritus, *unum sunt*, referatur non
 ad eandem naturam, sed ad consensum testimonii, an putamus Arrianos tam
 520 stupide stupidos futuros, vt non idem hoc loco interpretentur de Patre, Verbo
 et Spiritu, praesertim cum in simili loco vere sic interpretentur orthodoxi in
 libris euangelicis, nec hanc interpretationem reiiciat Augustinus cum Arriano
 Maximino disputans, imo cum hunc ipsum locum sic interpretetur fragmen-

500 clamasset *A B*: damnasset *BAS*.

498–500 *sed ... scripturarum* This is the penultimate sentence of the prologue. Eustochium was the Roman virgin to whom Jerome addressed several of his letters and the genuine prologues to his translations of several books of the O.T.

(e.g. *Ios.*, *Esth.*, *Psalterium Gallicanum*, *Is.*, *Ir.*, the Twelve Prophets) incorporated in the Vg. On Eustochium, see *ODCC*, s.v.
 501 *nisi ... lectionem* This is an astute, but, *pace* Wettstein, not a correct interpretation of what the prologue says. In the fiction of the

- prologue Jerome complains that his enemies call him an adulterator of Scripture. This is a stock topic in Jerome's prologues and the meaning here is no doubt that he is called so in general, not especially because of his restoring the *Comma Iohanneum*. Er.' interpretation would have required "pronunciabunt" instead of *pronunciant*. Consequently, the passage in question cannot be taken to indicate, as Er. is suggesting, that the author – for Er.: Jerome – implicitly recognizes the current text of 1 *Ioh.* 5,7–8 in his time to be the short one.
- 502 *proxime Brugis* In Aug. 1521 (cf. p. 169, n.l. 73–74). The two mss. presently referred to may be identical with the Latin ms. of the whole N.T. and that of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, also in Latin, mentioned in the *Annot.* on *Mt.* 3,16 (LB VI, 21 F). The present paragraph must have been written in Sept. 1521 (see *Introd.*, p. 46). For the date of the Bruges mss., see l. 510: "aetate Hieronymi ... scripti". "This estimate has probably no more value than his [Er.] description of the Codex Reuchlini (12th cent.) as 'tantae vetustatis vt Apostolorum aetate scriptum videri posset', *Annot.*, in *Apoc. Ioh.* 3,7, added in 1527", so Allen, *Ep.* 1309, n.l. 33, apropos of a similar remark on mss. of Aug. Cf. p. 262, n.l. 574–575 below.
- 503 *Neuter habebat* The *Comma* is indeed not found in the original nor in the early recensions of the Vg. It is only owing to the great influence of the 13th-century Parisian standard text of the Vg. (established c. 1226) that the *Comma* gained almost general acceptance in late mediaeval mss. of the Vg. (F. Stummer, *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel*, Paderborn, 1928, pp. 152–153).
- 505 *codex* The Codex Vaticanus *par excellence*, now Gr. 1209, B in N.T. textual criticism. This is the very first time that this highly important ms. is appealed to for critical purposes. On 18 June 1521 Paul Bombasius, the secretary of the cardinal Lorenzo Pucci at Rome, sent a letter to Er. containing a copy of 1 *Ioh.* 4,1–3 and 5,7–11 from the Cod. Vatic. (*Ep.* 1213). In his *Annot.* on 1 *Ioh.* 5,7 Er. stated in 1522 that the *Comma* was missing from the Cod. Vat. according to a transcript which Bombasius had made at his, Er.'s, request ("meo rogatu") (LB VI, 1080 E). It appears from this that Er. himself had asked Bombasius to verify the passage in the Cod. Vat. It is with Er. that the Cod. Vat. began to play a role in the textual criticism of the N.T. (cf. H.J. de Jonge, *Er. and the Comma Iohanneum*, *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanicenses* 56 (1980), pp. 381–389, esp. p. 389).
- 506–507 *Paulus ... verbum* *Ep.* 1213, ll. 69–81.
- 509 *Augustinus* The first mention of Aug. in this section. From the *Annot.* on the *Comma* (LB VI, 1079 D) it appears that Er. is referring to Aug. *Collatio cum Maximino* II (olim III), 22,3 (Migne *PL* 42, 794–795), where Aug. explains the spirit, blood and water of 1 *Ioh.* 5,8 as symbolizing God, Son and Spirit, but obviously without knowing of the *Comma Iohanneum*. The cursory mention of Aug. here suggests that Er. is here abridging his own annotation in the *Annot.*, *ad loc.*, which runs for a great part parallel to the present section. Er. himself says that he copied his own *Annot.* on p. 108, ll. 987–988 above. For a more recent discussion of Augustine's testimony, see W. Thiele, *Beobachtungen zum Comma Iohanneum*, *ZNW* 50 (1959), pp. 61–73, esp. pp. 71–72.
- utrumque* Both the long and the short text: the ms. of Bede which Er. had consulted (see p. 254, ll. 467–475) had the short reading in context and the long one in margine.
- 510 *codices* The Bruges mss.; see ll. 502–504.
- 513 *Arrianos* They denied that the second Person of the Trinity was *homoousios* with the first. See *ODCC*, *s.v.* Arianism.
- 517 *unum sunt* 1 *Ioh.* 5,8.
- 519 *stipide stupidos* Cf. p. 116, l. 166: *germane germanam*.
- 519–520 *de Patre ... Spiritu* Not in the sense that they are *homoousioi*, but in the sense that they agree in the witness they bear to Christ.
- 520 *simili loco... Mt.* 28,19, discussed by Aug., *Collatio cum Maximino* II (olim III), 22, 3 (Migne *PL* 42, 794–795).
- orthodoxi* E.g. Augustine, mentioned in the next line. In his *Collatio cum Maximino* II 22, 3 (Migne *PL* 42, 794–795), Aug. explains *tres unum sunt* as "they signify, symbolize, testify to, one thing", viz. the Trinity. The spirit which Christ gave upon the cross and the water and blood from his side "are one" in as far as they symbolize one thing: the Trinity, the three Persons of which are one. (Er. omits to mention that Aug., in contradiction to what Er. makes him say, goes on to set forth that the three are also one because the substance of the three Persons of the Trinity is one: "sunt tres testes, et tres unum sunt, quia vnus substantiae sunt".)

tum Glossae Ordinariae in versuum intervallo additum: *unum sunt*, inquit, *id est, de re eadem testantes*. Hoc non est confirmare fidem, sed suspectam reddere, si
 525 nobis huiusmodi lemmatis blandiamur. Fortasse prestiterat hoc piis studiis agere, vt nos idem reddamur cum Deo, quam curiosis studiis decertare, quomodo differat a Patre Filius, aut ab vtroque Spiritus. Certe ego quod negant Ariani non video posse doceri nisi ratiocinatione. Postremo cum totus hic locus sit obscurus, non potest admodum valere ad reuincendos haereticos.

530 Sed hac de re copiosius respondimus Leo per apologiam. Illud addam, cum Stunica meus toties iactet Rhodiensem codicem, cui tantum tribuit autoritatis, mirum est non hic adduxisse illius oraculum, presertim cum ita fere consentiat cum nostris codicibus, vt videri possit Lesbia regula.

Verum tamen ne quid dissimulem, repertus est apud Anglos Graecus codex
 535 vnus, in quo habetur quod in vulgatis deest. Scriptum est enim hunc ad modum: ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πατήρ, λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσιν. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἶμα. Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων et cetera. Quanquam haud scio an casu factum sit, vt hoc loco non repetatur quod est in Graecis nostris: καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς
 540 τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. Ex hoc igitur codice Britannico reposuimus quod in nostris dicebatur deesse, ne cui sit causa calumniandi. Quanquam et hunc suspicor ad Latinorum codices fuisse castigatum. Posteaquam enim Graeci concordiam inierunt cum ecclesia Romana, studuerunt et hac in parte cum Romanis consentire.

545

EODEM II.

Vt cognoscamus verum Deum. Indicaram in Graecis non addi *Deum*, tantum

532 mirum est B BAS: om. A; fere A BAS: vere B.

523 *Glossae Ordinariae* See *Biblia sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria*, Paris, 1590, VI, col. 1414, ad 1 *Ioh.* 5,7, interlinear gloss to "vnum sunt": "Vnus Deus, de eadem re testantes".

525 *lemmatis* For this form of the abl. pl., see Lewis-Short, *s.v.* poema and problema, and Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I, p. 456: "geumatis, Plaut. *Poen.* 709, in poematis, Plaut. *As.* 174". Cf. p. 147, n.l. 711.

526 *nos idem ... cum Deo* A bold and unusual turn of phrase which recalls the definition of the supreme object of life as given by the Middle Platonists: becoming like unto God, ὁμοιωθῆναι τῷ θεῷ, a definition derived from Plat. *Tht.* 176 B. The ideal of likeness to God was adopted by Eudorus of Alexandria, Philo (e.g. *De Fuga* 63), Plut.,

Albinus and many later Platonists (J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, London, 1977, index, *s.v.* Likeness to God). Likeness to God could be attained by the practice of the virtues justice, piety and wisdom (Apul. *De Platone* 23). The idea was also adopted by christian authors, e.g., Clem. Al. and Orig., see H. Merki, 'Ὁμοίωσις Θεῷ. *Von der platonischen Angleichung an Gott zur Gottähnlichkeit bei Gregor von Nyssa*, Freiburg, 1952, pp. 44-64. In Plotinus' system ὁμοίωσις τῷ θεῷ becomes union with God and ταυτότης with God (*Enneades* I, 2, 5, 2; Merki, pp. 20-21). This Plotinian "identity with God" may be the root of Er.' notion "idem reddi cum Deo". He may have found the idea in Augustine (see

J.A.A.A. Stoop, *Die deificatio hominis in die Sermones en Epistolae van Augustinus*, Leiden, 1952) or in the sphere of the *Devotio Moderna* (see also E.-W. Kohls, *Die Theologie des Erasmus*, II, Basle, 1966, p. 100, n. 206). In *Apophth.* III, *sub* Socr. 1, Er. represented the ideal of $\delta\mu\acute{o}\iota\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ as proclaimed by Socrates, yet at the same time an essentially christian conception (*LB* IV, 155 C). For the phrase *idem cum Deo*, cf. also *Eccles.*, *LB* V, 772 A: "Ille [Christus] Deus ex Deo, in quo si permanemus, recte et nos appellamur dii. Quod enim ex Deo natum est, quod vnum et idem factum est cum Deo, id Deus aliqua ratione sit oportet".

curiosus Er. repeatedly warned against immoderate speculation in dogmatic matters (*curiositas*). An important and extraordinarily illuminating passage showing Er.' view of *curiositas* is *Annot.* on 1 *Tim.* 1,6, where he gives a catalogue of dozens of dogmatic questions which theologians, especially the scholastics, had tried to solve, whereas it would have been better to strive after a morally better life (*LB* VI, 926-928; "curioso studio" in 928 C). See also *Methodus*, Holborn, p. 151: "Absit impia curiositas"; *Rat. ver. theol.*, *ibid.*, p. 180. The warning against *curiositas* is traditional; on its significance in classical, patristic and mediæval literature see H.J. Sieben, *Voces*, Berlin/New York, 1980, pp. 166, *s.v.* περιεργία, and 268-269, *s.v.* curiositas; H.A. Oberman, *Contra vanam curiositatem*, Zürich, 1974; E.P. Meijering, *Calvin wider die Neugierde*, Nieuwkoop, 1980. Cf. also Ep. 1334, ll. 142-234.

528 *ratiocinatione* By theoretical, speculative reasoning, as opposed to demonstration by reference to biblical proof-texts.

530 *Leo* See p. 254, n.l. 452 above.

531 *Rhodiensem* See pp. 253-254, n.l. 449 above.

533 *Lesbia regula Adag.* 493 (*LB* II, 217 C-D): "Dicitur quoties praepostere non ad rationem factum, sed ratio ad factum accommodatur, etc.". The Lesbians were famous for their lack of practicality (*Leutsch-Schneidewin* I, p. 109; II, p. 502).

534 *codex* The famous Codex Montfortianus, produced especially for the purpose of confuting Er. It was written at Oxford about 1520 by a Franciscan friar named Roy or Froy, who inserted the *Comma* in a translation from the Vg. The ms. is now at Trinity College, Dublin (A 4.21) and is designated

as min. Gregory 61. See J. Rendel Harris, *The Origin of the Leicester Codex of the N.T.*, London, 1887, pp. 46-53. Er. was still unaware of the existence of a Greek text of the *Comma* in May 1520 (*Apolog. resp. annot. Ed. Lei*, *LB* IX, 275-280). But he included the *Comma* in Latin in a separate ed. of his Latin translation published by Froben at Basle in June 1521. Thus, he must have received evidence of the *Comma* in Greek between May 1520 and June 1521. How, and from whom, is not known.

541 *ne ... calumniandi* The current view that Er. promised to insert the *Comma* if it could be shown in a single Greek ms. and that he did so after the Codex Britannicus had turned up because he considered himself bound by his promise, has no foundation in Er.' works. See H.J. de Jonge, *Er. and the Comma Johanneum*, *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 56 (1980), pp. 381-389.

suspitor Er. did not suspect the Codex Britannicus of being written with a view to force him to include the *Comma*, as several writers on the subject maintain, but that in this ms. the *Comma Iohanneum* had been taken from the Vg. This suspicion was entirely justified. See the article referred to in the previous n.

542 *concordiam* Er. believed that the Ecumenical Council of Ferrara and Florence (1438-45), whose chief object had been the reunion of the Latin and Greek churches, had decided in favour of adapting the Greek mss. of the bible to the Vg. In this he was mistaken, as he admitted in 1534; see H.J. de Jonge, *Er. and the Comma Johanneum*, *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 56 (1980), pp. 387-388. Yet the idea that Greek mss. of the N.T. were adapted to Latin ones is not as implausible as it might seem. There are good grounds for believing that until the 5th or 6th century Latin versions of the N.T. influenced the Greek text; see, e.g., H.J. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des N.T.*, Bonn, 1968², p. 216 sqq.

544 *consentire* From his side, Stun. had contributed only a remarkably short section on 1 *Ioh.* 5,7-8. It consists of the assertion that at this point the Greek mss. are corrupt and, in justification of this, a quotation from the ps.-Hieronymian prologue to the Catholic Epistles (see above, p. 255, n.l. 479-488).

545 *Eodem ii 1 Ioh.* 5,20.

546 *Graecis* The Greek mss. are at variance here: some do read $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$, others do not. For

esse τὸν ἀληθινόν, id est, *illum qui verus est*. Sed habet codex Rhodiensis. Sed non habent innumeri codices fidei melioris. Et tamen non refert si addatur quod subauditur. Nam de Deo, aut certe de Christo sensit.

550

EX IOANNIS TERTIA.

Scriptissem forsitan ecclesiae. Cum Graece sit ἔγραψα, verti *scripsi ecclesiae*. Neque sensus quicquam patitur incommodi. Stunica non putat aliter potuisse verti quam vertit interpres. Id ita esse docet versiculo producto e psalmo 50: ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλησας θυσίαν, ἔδωκα ἅν. Pulchre docet Stunica, si addatur signum subijunctiuum aut si addatur expletiva coniunctio ἅν. Nunc hic nihil huiusmodi.

LB 354

556

EX EPISTOLA IVDAE.

Hi sunt in epulis suis maculae conuiuantes. Cum Graece sit ἐν ταῖς ἀγάταις demirabar vnde vox *epularum* irrepisset, cum ἀγάπη sonet *charitatem*.
560 Stunica docet olim *agapas* dictas conuiuia quae ex charitate exhibebantur pauperibus. Quod admonet Stunica, reppereram et apud Augustinum, libro contra Faustum 20, capite 4. Tametsi Faustus hoc verbo est vsus prior, non Augustinus. Itaque locum hunc in tertia aeditione restituimus.

EX APOCALYPSI, CAPITE I.

565 *Vestitum podere.* Graece est ποδήρης. Taxo Lyranum qui poderem dictum putet a pos et haereo, hoc est, Graeca voce et Latina. Stunica putat me non minus ridiculum esse quam Lyranum, qui diuinem esse dictum a πούς et ἄρω,

547 verus est. *A B: add.* Atque ita refert locum hunc Hilarius lib. De trinitate dei sexto. *BAS.*

547-548 Sed non *A B: At non BAS.*

563 restituimus. *A: add.* Nec tamen video quorū reprehendi debeat charitates, quum interpres non veritus sit vertere εὐλογίας benedictiones, pro munusculis pio studio datis. Ad haec quum Latina lectio habeat,

in epulis suis, nam Graeci legunt ὑμῶν, non potest ἀγάπη sonare conuiuium pauperibus exhibitum pietatis affectu. *B BAS.*

566 pos *scripsi cum Lyrano, cum Erasmo in Annotationibus ad loc., et cum Stunica ad loc.: pes A B BAS CS LB; Graeca A B: a Graeca BAS.*

567 ἄρω *scripsi cum CS: ἄρῶ A B BAS LB.*

the distribution of the witnesses and further variants, see K. Aland et al., edd., *The Greek N.T.*, New York etc., 1975³, *ad loc.* The short text is probably original; see B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek N.T.*, London/New York, 1971, *ad loc.* Yet G.D. Kilpatrick, *Two Johannine Idioms in the*

Johannine Epistles, J. Th. St., N.S. 12 (1961), pp. 272-273, has made a case for the originality of τὸν ἀληθινόν θεόν.

547 *verus est* The reference to Hil. inserted in *BAS* (crit. app.) is to *Trin.* VI, 43, Migne PL 10, 192 A: "vt intelligamus verum". In the *Annot.*, *ad loc.*, Er. deals more fully with

- the variant and also quotes Augustine and Jerome.
- Rhodiensis* See p. 147, n.l. 723.
- 548 *fidei melioris* For Er.' suspicion with regard to the Cod. Rhod., see p. 193, n.l. 504; p. 247, n.l. 344; p. 253, nn.ll. 423-424, 445.
- 550 *Ex Ioannis tertia 3 Iob. 9.*
- 551 *verti* In this Er. had followed Valla.
- 553 *psalmo Ps. 50,18 LXX.* This example showed, according to Stun., that it was normal Greek usage "to put an indicative of a past tense instead of an optative of a past tense" (ἔδωκα, "I should have given". Stun. meant the "unreal" indicative of the past in conditional sentences; Moulton-Turner III, p. 91). Stun. had also urged that the Ordinary Gloss supported the translation "scripsissem": a futile argument since the Gloss is dependent on the Vg.
- 554-555 *si ... ἄν* The remark would be valid for some early Attic authors, but already in Attic orators the ἄν which usually accompanies the unreal indicative of the past is often dispensed with (Moulton-Turner III, p. 91). All in all, Stun.'s interpretation of ἔγραψα as "scripsissem" is grammatically possible, but unnatural and improbable. It escaped both Er. and Stun., however, that "scripsissem" in the Vg. does not render ἔγραψα, but ἔγραψα ἄν. This secondary reading, unknown to Er. and Stun., has turned up in many witnesses to which the Vg. is related (see *The Greek N.T.* and B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary, ad loc.*).
- signum subiunctivum* "A connective word", in the example quoted from *Ps. 50,18*: the conjunction *ei*, which makes it clear that *ἐθέλησας* does not mean "you wanted", but "had you wanted". For "signum" = word, see p. 74, ll. 289-306.
- 557 *Ex epistola Iudae Iud. 12.*
- 559 *demirabar* Er. had clearly not known that *ἀγάπη* can mean "love-feast". But it should be borne in mind that the ed. pr. of Tertullian, whose works (esp. *Apologeticum* 39,14 and *De ieiuniis* 17) throw such a vivid light on the nature of the early christian "agapae", did not appear until July 1521 (ed. B. Rhenanus). At that moment Er. was already writing against Stun. In his *Annot.* of 1516, Er. had followed Valla's note: "Hi sunt in epulis suis: Graece, in dilectionibus vestris, ἐν ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν ...".
- 561 *Augustinum* Aug. *Contra Faustum* XX, 4, ed. I. Zycha, *CSEL* 25, p. 538: (Faustus:) "sacrificia vero eorum (paganorum) vertistis in agapes", with Aug.'s reply in XX, 20, pp. 560-561: "agapes ... nostrae pauperes pascunt siue frugibus, siue carnibus. ... in agapibus etiam carnes pauperibus erogantur".
- 563 *restituimus* Er. does not mean that he altered his translation, for that had run in 1516: "Hi sunt inter charitates vestras maculae" and remained the same from the first to the fifth ed. He means that he removed from the *Annot.* the sentences which showed his unacquaintance with *agape* in the sense of love-feast. After Er. had come to know the correct meaning of *ἀγάπη*, he stuck to his original translation *charitates*. He tried to justify this policy in an addition in *B* (see crit. app.), suggesting that Stun. had criticized his translation. This is not so: Stun. had only pointed out that Er. had not known what *ἀγάπαι* were. The reference to the *interpres* in *B* is to 2 *Cor.* 9,5-6 Vg. The point of the final sentence added in *B* (*Ad ... affectu*) is that, seeing ὑμῶν in ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν, ἀγάπη must mean "meal of the christian congregation in general" and not especially "meal for the poor". The conclusion itself is correct, but it does not follow from the presence of ὑμῶν, since, if necessary, this pronoun can mean "organized by you". The difference between ὑμῶν and "suis" Vg. which Er. signalizes is due to variation within the Greek textual tradition, some mss. reading αὐτῶν instead of ὑμῶν.
- 564 *Ex Apocalypsi, capite i Ap. Iob. 1,13.*
- 565 *Lyrarum* See his *Postilla in Biblia sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria*, Paris, 1590, VI, col. 1465: "poderis ... dicitur a *pos*, quod est pes, et *haereo*, *haeres*, quasi pedibus haerens: nam attingit vsque ad pedes" (*ad Ap. Iob. 1,13*).
- 567-568 *diuinem ... adapto* Er.' view is endorsed by, e.g., P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, I, Paris, 1968, p. 416: "Le grec possède un nombre considérable de composés (ou pseudo-composés) en -ήρης qui doivent être répartis en deux catégories: (1) La série la plus importante est issue de la racine de ἀραρίσκω, le second terme signifiant 'adapté à': ... ποδήρης 'qui va jusqu'aux pieds' ... La finale -ήρης est devenue un simple suffixe, dépourvue de sens propre, surtout lorsqu'il s'ajoute à un thème d'adjectif. ... (2) Second terme de composés -ήρης, reposant sur la racine de ἐρέτης, ἐρέσσω, ...". The verb ἄρα mentioned by Er. is the supposed unreduplicated form of ἀραρίσκω (see Liddell-Scott, *s.v. ἀραρίσκω*).

quod est adapto. Stunica putat -ήρης in huiusmodi dictionibus Graecis non aliud valere Graecis quam -mentum in testamentum et -aris in talaris.
 570 Hoc quum asseueret tantum, non etiam probet, tantum apud nos habebit ponderis quanta est Stunicae autoritas. Neque vero sit absurdum, si τριήρης et similia dicantur ab ἄρω.

EX CAPITE II.

Et inuenisti eos mendaces. In Apocalypsi non suppetebat nobis nisi vnicum
 575 exemplar, sed vetustissimum; quod nobis exhibuit eximius ille litterarum heros Ioannes Reuchlinus. Illic additum erat καὶ ἐβάπτισας. Indico mihi videri mendum, quod in commentariis nulla esset mentio de baptismo. Stunica docet in Rhodiensi fuisse ἐβάστασας, id est, *tulisti*. Debemus hoc Rhodiensi codici, tametsi in Latinis codicibus nihil est quod huic Graecae lectioni respondeat.

580

EODEM II.

Et in diebus illis Antiphas. Cum Graece sit *Antipas*, sic verti vt illi legunt. Stunica docet complures esse dictiones quibus interpres addiderit aspirationem, vt *Cleophe*, *Capharnaum*, *Ephaeneto*. Idem factum putat in *Antiphas*. Primum qui scit Stunica an hoc factum sit ab interprete? Deinde si in paucis
 585 factum est, non consequitur hoc licere in quibuslibet.

EX CAPITE VI.

Et vidi et ecce equus pallidus. Verto quod probat Stunica. Tantum indico in Annotationibus χλωρόν aliquando sonare viride, quemadmodum paulo post vertit interpres. Hoc cum non neget Stunica, nihil est hic mihi cum illo
 590 controuersiae.

572 ἄρω *scripsi cum CS: ἀρῶ A B BAS LB.**BAS.*581 illis Antiphas *A LB: illis Antipas B BAS; sit Antipas A B LB: sit Antiphas*583 Cleophe *A B: Cleophae BAS.*

568 *Stunica putat* His theory holds good in some other cases (examples quoted by Chantraine, see previous n., include δολιχ-, ἰσ-, λευκ-, μον- (this example is also quoted by Stun.), ὄμβρ- and πενθήρης). However, it does not apply to ποδήρης.

571-572 *si ... ἄρω* Here Er. himself is wrong: τριήρης is related to the root of ἐρέσσω (see p. 261, n.ll. 567-568).

573 *Ex capite ii Ap. Iob. 2,2.*

574-575 *unicum exemplar* Minuscule Gregory 1^{er}, a 12th-century ms. now at Schloss Harburg (Bavaria), Ottingen-Wallersteinsche Bibl., I,1; cf. p. 131, n.l. 433 above; C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des N.T.*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 316; Allen, introd. Ep. 373. Er. regarded the ms. as so old that it might have been written in the apostolic

- age (*Annot. on Ap. Iob. 3,7*). Cf. p. 257, n.l. 502 above. A good recent account of the ms. and its history is Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, II, München, 1956, pp. 1-6. Er. repeatedly says that he borrowed it from Reuchlin. What he did not know was that Reuchlin had more or less appropriated the ms. from the library of the Basle Dominicans, to which it had been bequeathed by John de Ragusio (cf. p. 193, n.l. 493 and n.l. 501 above). The ms. is no. XVI in A. Vernet, *Les mss. grecs de Jean de Raguse*, Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde 61 (1961), pp. 75-108, see p. 85.
- 576 *Illic additum* Instead of "et patientiam habes et sustinuisti" Vg. (Er. means), the ms. he used reads: *καὶ ἐβάπτισας καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις (textus receptus: καὶ ἐβάστασας καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις)*. See N²⁶ *ad loc.* and J. Schmid, *op. cit.*, I, 1, p. 24. It was of course difficult for Er. to express himself accurately since in 1516 he had no Greek text with which he could compare the reading of his ms.
- 577 *commentariis* Ms. 1^{rev} is properly a ms. of the commentary on Revelation of Andrew of Caesarea (6th cent.), in which the text of Revelation is completely imbedded. From the commentary it can be inferred that ἐβάπτισας in the biblical text is a corruption, but it is impossible to deduce the correct reading ἐβάστασας from the commentary.
- 578 *Debemus hoc* Er. substituted ἐβάστασας for ἐβάπτισας in his third ed., recorded the alteration in the *Annot.*, and took care not to mention that he owed the correct reading to Stun. For the Cod. Rhodiensis, see p. 147, n.l. 723.
- 579 *tametsi ... respondeat* An error resulting from the fact that the Vg. has a different word order: "et patientiam habes, et sustinuisti". The word *sustinuisti* represents ἐβάστασας. Er. later corrected his error in the *Annot.*
- 580 *Eodem ii Ap. Iob. 2,13.*
- 581 *Antiphas* A phonetically inferior form of *Antipas* (< Ἀντίπατρος), very common in later mss. and early printed edd. of the Vg., but not original.
- 582 *Stunica docet* That the Vg. sometimes has *-ph-* where one would expect to find *-p-* had already been observed by A. Nebrissensis, *Tertia quinquagena*, chs. 34-35. In all instances of the examples adduced by Stun., *Antiphas*, *Cleophas*, *Capbarnaum* and *Ephenetus*, Er. had written *-p-*, not *-ph-*, except in *Iob. 19,25*, where the *Nov. Instr.* of 1516, obviously by accident, reads *Cleophae*. In 1519 this was corrected to *Cleophae*.
- 583 *Cleophae Iob. 19,25; -phe = -phae*, dative. Cf. *Lc. 24,18*. In these cases too the aspiration is an inner-Latin, secondary phonetic development mirrored in many textual witnesses of the Vg. and the Vetus Latina.
- Capbarnaum* Indeclinable. This is a different case, for the variation of *Cap-* and *Caph-* goes back to the Greek mss. of the gospels, most Byzantine mss. as known to Er. and Stun. reading Καπ-, but many earlier mss. Καφ-. The aspirate in *Capbarnaum* in the Vg. is not an innovation due to early translators, but represents the *-φ-* of the primitive form Καφαρναούμ. The name also appears in several other forms.
- Eiphaeneto* Whether in *Rom. 16,5* Vg. *Ep-* or *Eph-* is the original reading has not been ascertained, but the majority of the early mss. has the aspirated form (see Wordsworth-White, who give *Ep-* in the text; and the Stuttgart Vg., which gives *Eph-*). If *Eph-* is original, this is the only case out of the four mentioned by Stun. in which his theory that the translator sometimes rendered *-π-* by *-ph-* holds good. However, it is true that the Vg. of the N.T. in several stages of its textual tradition has a tendency to aspirate the *p* in proper names. This may be due to influence from the Vg. of the O.T., where the letter *pe* in Hebrew proper names is almost always rendered by *ph*; see F. Kaulen, *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata*, Freiburg, 1904², p. 116.
- 586 *Ex capite vi Ap. Iob. 6,8.*
- 587 *Verto* Er. had translated: "equus pallidus", = Vg.
- 588 *aliquando sonare* This is not what Er. had written. He had expressed himself less cautiously and more generally: "Graece est χλωρός viridis".
- paulo post Ap. Iob. 8,7 and 9,4.*
- 589-590 *nihil ... controuersiae* Er. is trying to represent the point of difference and his own mistake as less important than they were. In his annotation of 1516 he had indeed narrowed down the meaning of χλωρός to "viridis". Stun. had rightly replied that χλωρός could also mean "pallidus", as in *Hom. Il. XI, 631 μέλι χλωρόν*. As a result, Er. changed the words "χλωρός, viridis" in his annot. to "χλωρός. Id sonat etiam viridis".

EX CAPITE X.

Et clamavit voce magna. Nec hic mihi res est cum Stunica de versione. Tantum annotaram quod Graecis est *μουᾶται*, id est, *mugit*, interpretem vertisse *rugit*, illud, opinor, sequutum quod mentio fiat leonis. Nec hic mihi
 595 controuersia est cum Stunica. Hoc non conuenit, quod annotaram fortassis apud Graecos non esse differentiam vocum quae est apud nos inter mugire quod boum est proprium et rugire quod non nisi leonibus tribuitur. Stunica docet et Graecis esse verbum quod sonet rugire, vt *ὠρύεσθαι*, verum in litteris sacris non obseruari differentiam, siquidem et hic *μουᾶται* vertit *rugit*, ita libri
 600 Sapientiae capite xvii *ὠροσμένων* vertit *mugientium*. |

LB 355

EX CAPITE XVI.

Et factus est sanguis, καὶ ἐγένετο αἷμα. Nos vertimus: *et factae sunt sanguis*, sentientes aquas versas in sanguinem. Stunica negat hoc posse fieri. Nam vt paulo ante dixit: *effudit phialam suam in mare et factus est sanguis*, ita hic dicendum
 605 erat: *factus est sanguis*. Imo sicut ibi intelligimus mare versum in sanguinem, ita hic intelligimus flumina et fontes versos in sanguinem, neque quicquam vetat quominus dicamus: *et aquae factae sunt sanguis*. Et tamen hic in elencho est: *euidens Erasmi hallucinatio*.

EX CAPITE XVII.

Et hic est sensus, ὧδε ὁ νοῦς. In prima aeditione scriptum erat, in Annotationibus duntaxat, *haec est mens*, haud dubium quin operarum aut castigatorum vitio, qui parum attenti *hic*, quod a me perperam suspicati sunt fuisse relictum, verterunt in *haec*. Certe hoc non accidisse meo vicio declarat aeditio secunda, quae habet: *et hic est mens*. Et in annotatione admoneo *hic*
 615 aduerbium esse non pronomen. Et tamen hic elenchus taxat: *Erasmi somnium* et annotatio clamat Erasmo nullam fuisse *mentem aut intellectum*, cum haec scriberet. At ego deierem non quidem nullam fuisse mentem Stunicae, sed malam fuisse, cum haec scriberet.

EX CAPITE XVIII.

Et in delitiis fuit, ἐστρηνίασε. Quoniam haec per tumultum scripsimus et in epistola ad Corinthios fit mentio de viduis recipiendis, suspicabar illic esse
 LB 356 quod | erat in epistola ad Timotheum priore. Debemus hoc Stunicae, ne non agnoscamus quamlibet leue officium.

EX CAPITE XXII.

625 *Etiam veni cito.* Adduxeram rationes aliquot, quare Apocalypsis mihi non

- 624 capite xxii *scripsi cum CS*: capite xx *A B BAS LB*.
- 591 *Ex capite x Ap. Ioh. 10,3.*
- 592 *versione* Er. had translated *μυῶνται* as *rugit* (= *Vg.*), although *μυῶσθαι* denotes the bellowing of oxen and *rugire* the roaring of lions, as Er. had correctly pointed out in his annot. Er. had borrowed his observation from Valla.
- 597-600 *Stunica ... mugientium* Er. records Stun.'s observation without comment, but it is disputable. Stun. had no doubt found *ὠρύσσαι* in 1 *Petr. 5,8*, where it is used of a lion. But *ὠρύσσαι* is properly said of wolves (and in a broader sense also of other animals), whereas the proper verb describing the roaring of lions is *βρυχάσμαι*.
- 600 *Sapientiae Sap. 17,18.*
- 601 *Ex capite xvi Ap. Ioh. 16,4.*
- 604 *paulo ante Ap. Ioh. 16,3.*
- 605 *factus ... sanguis* Stun. had felt that *ἐγένετο αἷμα* had to be taken independently in the sense of: "there appeared, arose blood". But Er. had interpreted *ἐγένετο* as a schema Atticum (which is grammatically possible, see *Ap. Ioh. 16,14*), taking *ἐγένετο αἷμα* to be the predicate of *τὰ ὕδατα*, "the waters" which "turned to blood", a reminiscence of the first Egyptian plague, *Ex. 7,17-21*.
- 608 *elencho* Stun.'s side-note runs: "Erasmii evidens hallucinatio".
- 609 *Ex capite xvii Ap. Ioh. 17,9.*
- 612 *castigatorum "Proof-readers"*. This function had been performed by Oecolampadius and Gerbell (see p. 133, n.l. 478; p. 189, n.l. 441). But Er. himself had glanced at the final proofs (*Ep. 421, ll. 53-58*). That he cannot have intended to read "haec" appears from the fact that his translation of 1516 as well as that of 1519 and 1522 reads "Et hic est mens".
- 615 *Erasmii somnium* Literally quoted.
- 616 *mentem ... cum* Stun. had begun his section as follows: "Profecto non erat Erasmo mens aut vllus prorsus intellectus cum pro ὄδε, quod est aduerbium loci, id est *hic* vt vetus habet tralatio, et vt ille in textu traduxerat, *haec* in Annotationibus posuit".
- 619 *Ex capite xviii Ap. Ioh. 18,7*. In his note to this verse Er. had observed that a compound of the verb *σπρηγιάω* occurred also "in epistola ad Corinthios".
- 620 *tumultum* Cf. p. 60, l. 24; p. 92, ll. 647-649; p. 138, l. 573; p. 172, l. 144 and esp. the introd. to the *Annot. on Mc.* (*LB VI, 151-152*).
- 625 *mihi A B LB*: *mi B.A.S.*
- 620-621 *in epistola ad Corinthios 1 Cor. 7,8* is the only passage in the Corinthian correspondence dealing with the position of the widows, but the passage cannot be characterized as concerned with the topic "de viduis recipiendis". The present section looks like having been written as much "per tumultum" as the original annotation.
- 622 *in epistola ad Timotheum 1 Tim. 5,11.*
- 624 *Ex capite xxii Ap. Ioh. 22,20.*
- 625-626 *non ... euangelistae* The ascription of *Ap. Ioh.* to the apostle John is as old as Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 81, 4, but in the 3rd century it was challenged by Anti-montanist circles in Asia Minor, who attributed the book to the gnostic Cerinth, and by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, who ascribed it to another John, not the apostle. The latter's linguistic and stylistic grounds for dissociating the author of *Ap. Ioh.* from that of the gospel are recorded at length in Eus. *H.E. VII, 25*. The authorship of John the apostle was only generally accepted in the East since Athanasius and in the West under the influence of Augustine. After the middle ages Er. was the first to draw attention again to the objections which ancient writers had raised against the authorship of John the apostle. His annotation on *Ap. Ioh. 22,20* in its definitive form is an exemplary description of the status quaestionis. That Er. was eminently informed about the ancient testimonies and discussions concerning the authorship of *Ap. Ioh.* from Papias of Hierapolis to Isidore of Seville, appears also from his apologia *Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.* (1532; *LB IX, 867-868*). All in all Er. remained clearly sceptical about the ascription to John the apostle. The reaction of a contemporary reader of his annotation on *Ap. Ioh. 22,20* was that it was such "vt quisquis hoc annotamentum perlegisset, non potuisset non vehementer super huius libri autoritate atque auctore addubitare" (*Ep. 2417, ll. 42-44*, from F. Titelmans, a Louvain theologian, who wrote a whole book to criticize Er.'s note: *Libri duo de autoritate libri Apocalypsis*, Antwerp, 1530). Modern criticism has fully endorsed Er.' view. On the whole subject see W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, Göttingen, 1906⁶, repr. 1966, pp. 34-49; J. Leipoldt, *Geschichte des ntl. Kanons*, II, Leipzig, 1908, repr.

videretur esse Ioannis euangelistae, quarum vnam improbat et in me retorquet Stunica. Ea est: in peruetusto codice quo tum vtebar *non erat* ascriptus *titulus Ioannis euangelistae, sed Ioannis theologi*. Imo, inquit Stunica, theologi cognomen proprie tribuitur Ioanni. Adducit Suidam, qui vocat eum *theologum*; 630 sed addit: καὶ εὐαγγελιστῆς. Similiter et Dionysius illi scribens: Ἰωάννη θεολόγῳ, ἀποστόλῳ καὶ εὐαγγελιστῇ. Nec mirum si Origenes aut quisquis alius earum homiliarum est autor, Ioannem θεόλογον appellet, hoc est *deiloquum*, quod sublimer scripserit de natura Christi diuina, quum eundem multis aliis huic similibus titulis honestet. Videt igitur Stunica rationem hanc in me non 635 posse retorqueri.

Sed hic tandem prolixae rixae finis esto. Et poenitet et pudet totos septem dies his nugis esse datos. Si tales habebimus spectatores qualis est hic Stunica, praestat non agere fabulam. Agant alii qui volent. Nos vicissim ociosi spectabimus et alieno fruemur periculo. Stunicam admoneo vt posthac melius 640 colloccet ocium et operam suam. Quod si non impetro, fortasse non defuturum est dignum patellae operculum. Certe me posthac non habebit colluctatorem. Quanquam et hic plane leui, quod aiunt, brachio rem gessimus, non tam respondentes homini quam indicantes quid possit responderi.

Leipzig, 1974, p. 16; W.G. Kümmel, *Einleitung in das N.T.*, Heidelberg, 1973¹⁷, pp. 414-417.

627 *codice* See p. 262, n.ll. 574-575.

627-628 *non ... theologi* Quoted from the *Annot.* of 1516. The superscription in the ms. used by Er. runs: Ἀνδρέου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἐρμηνεῖα εἰς τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου (see J. Schmid, *Studien zur Gesch. des gr. Apok.-Textes*, I, 1, p. 7). In the superscription of *Ap. Iob.* in Byzantine mss. the appellation τοῦ θεολόγου is very common (see Tischendorf and N²⁶), but there can be no doubt it always meant John the evangelist and apostle (see Lampe, *s.v.* θεόλογος B b-c). It does not belong to the original text of *Ap. Iob.*

629 *Suidam Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, II, Leipzig, 1931, p. 647, *s.v.* Ἰωάννης: ... ὁ θεόλογος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ εὐαγγελιστῆς ... συντάττει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

630 *Dionysius* Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *Epistula X, Ioanni Theologo et euangelistae*, Migne PG 3, 1118-1119. The authenticity of the writings under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite had been contested by Valla (*Annot.* on *Act.* 17,34) and by Er. himself (*Ep.* 916, ll. 50-54).

631 *Origenes* Stun. had quoted some passages

from a Latin *Homilia super In principio erat verbum* under Origen's name, in which John the evangelist is called "theologus". Er. sharply criticized the attribution of this homily to Origen in his *Annot.* on *Iob.* 1,3 (*LB VI*, 338 D-E). Er. was right; the author of the homily in question is John Scotus Erigena (9th cent.; *ODCC*, *s.v.* Erigena), and the ascription to Origen is probably due to a transcriptional error. In 1521 the homily had already been printed five times among the works of Origen; see E. Jeaneau, ed., *Jean Scot. Homélie sur le prologue de Jean*, SC 151, Paris, 1969, pp. 121-123, 343. For the passages quoted by Stun., see *ibid.*, p. 206: "Superuolat ... Iohannes theologus non solum quae intelligi ac dici possunt" and p. 218: "Spirituale igitur petasum (*v.l.* petaurum), citiuolum, deiuidum - Iohannem dico theologum - omnem visibilem et inuisibilem creaturam superat". Migne *PL* 122, 283-296, esp. 283 C and 285 B. For the title ὁ θεόλογος, applied to the evangelist in a genuine work of Origen, see, e.g., *Comm. in Iob.* 1,1, ed. E. Preuschen, *GCS*, Origen. IV, p. 483, 14: ὁ θεόλογος γράφει τὸ Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, and p. 484, 7 (Lampe *s.v.* θεόλογος).

633 *scripserit* *Sc.*, John the evangelist, in his prologue.

634 *titulis honestet* Sc., Pseudo-Origen, in the second passage quoted in the n. to p. 266, l. 631: "petasum (*v.l.* petaurum, as Stun. had read), citiuolum, deiuidum".

636 *rixae* Cf. p. 59, l. 9 *rixas*.

poenitet Cf. Ep. 1236 of 23 Sept. 1521: "Ei [Stunicae] respondimus apologia laconica. Cuius operae sane nos iam poenitet; nam opus est eius generis vt et Aleandro displiceat, nec meae famae fuerit effecturum, duntaxat apud aequos et eruditos" (cf. Introduction, passage corresponding to n. 187); Ep. 1294, ll. 4-5: "Dolet quod Stunicam dignatus sim vnquam responso, etc."; Ep. I, p. 23, ll. 22-23: "Huic [Stunicae] paucis respondimus, nec aequae poenituit vlli respondisse".

septem dies Ep. 1216 shows that Er. was at least making preparations for, if not already engaged on, the apologia against Stun. as early as 26 June 1521. The references to the Vg. mss. of the College of St. Donatian at Bruges, on the other hand, cannot have been included in the apologia before the beginning of Sept. The book was in the press on 23 Sept. True, it should be remembered that Er. was practically unable to work on the apologia from about the 12th until the end of Aug. when he was at Bruges in his capacity as imperial councillor. The estimate of seven days spent on the apologia seems nevertheless to be on the low side, and it may be useful to quote Allen (introd. Ep. 1223) on the break in Er.' correspondence from 5 July to 12 Aug.: "The gap of between five and six weeks in Er.' correspondence at this point is perhaps due to hard work ...".

The indication of the insignificant number of days spent on the apologia in question is *inter alia* meant to convey disdain for the opponent; cf., e.g., Ep. 952, ll. 19-20: "Apologia qua Latomi dialogo respondeo vix mihi tridui tempus absumpsit" (Er. called the same apologia a "libellum bidui labore effusum" in Ep. 948, l. 42). This slight against Stun. did not fail to strike home: Carranza expressed his indignation at Er.' remark on the seven days and caused Er. to reply (LB IX, 428 E): "Indignatur quod sacrosanctis Stunicae Annotationibus non impenderim nisi septem dies ... Me vero non semel poenituit, quod tres horas impenderim, vel illius, vel huius naeniis". In the *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 74, ll. 50-56, Folly accuses orators of fraudulent boast-

fulness in bragging about the ease and speed with which they wrote. Er. himself depreciated his *Moria* as hardly worth seven day's effort (see C.H. Miller, ASD IV, 3, p. 14, who rightly points out that Er. was indeed able to produce a *Responsio* of 80 quarto pp. to A. Pius in less than four days: Allen, introd. Ep. 1634). A conspicuous instance of the same commonplace is Jerome's *Prologus Tobiae* in which the translation of *Tob.* from Hebrew into Latin is called a "vnius diei laborem". Similarly, Er. called his apologia against Stun.'s *Conclusiones* the work of "one day", Ep. 1428, l. 11; LB IX, 383 B.

638 *fabulam* The metonymy "theater play" for "dispute" is quite common in Er. (see, e.g., p. 70, l. 201 and p. 174, l. 188 above), but he seldom sustained the imagery as long as here.

641 *dignum patellae operculum* *Adag.* 972, LB II, 387 C-E, "a lid that fits that little pan". The meaning of the proverb (Otto 1355, although the interpretations given by Otto do not fit the present passage) is: if Stun. will not give up his violent attacks on Er., he himself will be attacked with like vehemence by writers who want to defend Er. Er. had also threatened Lee with the hostilities of his supporters (e.g. Ep. 998, ll. 65-77) and several malicious pamphlets against Lee had indeed subsequently appeared (Allen, Epp. 998, n.l. 66; 1128, n.l. 1). Stun. too was soon attacked by a supporter and friend of Er., Jacob Ziegler, in a *Libellus aduersus Stunicae maledicentiam*, Basle, Froben, 1523 (see Allen, Ep. 1260, n.l. 203).

me ... colluctatorem The same promise in Epp. 1312, l. 10; 1330, l. 13; and *passim*. That Er. was not able to keep such promises if his opponents did not remain silent, has sufficiently been indicated in the Introduction, pp. 24-30.

642 *leui ... brachio* *Adag.* 327, LB II, 161 A; Otto 271; Lewis-Short, *s.v.* brachium II A 4. The same quasi modest, in fact boastful and intimidating excuse occurs at the end of the *Purgat. adv. ep. Lutb.*, ASD IX, 1, p. 478, l. 988. In Ep. 421 (to Budé), l. 44, Er. apologized for mistakes in the *Annot. in NT* on the ground that he had brought about the whole *Annot.* "leui brachio".

642-643 *non tam ... responderi* Cf. Introduction, p. 48.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. CLASSICAL AND PATRISTIC AUTHORS

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| <p>Ael. Claudius Aelianus <i>Epist.</i> <i>Epistulae</i> <i>Nat. an.</i> <i>De natura animalium</i> <i>Var. hist.</i> <i>Varia historia</i></p> <p>Ael. Arist. Aelius Aristides</p> <p>Aeschin. Aeschines</p> <p>Aeschyl. Aeschylus <i>Ag.</i> <i>Agamemnon</i> <i>Choeph.</i> <i>Choephoroi</i> <i>Eum.</i> <i>Eumenides</i> <i>Hic.</i> <i>Hicetides</i> <i>Pers.</i> <i>Persae</i> <i>Prom.</i> <i>Prometheus</i> <i>Sept.</i> <i>Septem</i></p> <p>Aesop. Aesopus</p> <p>Alciph. Alciphro</p> <p>Ambr. Ambrosius</p> <p>Amm. Marc. Ammianus Marcellinus</p> <p>Anacr. Anacreon <i>Anth. Pal.</i> <i>Anthologia Palatina</i> <i>Anth. Plan.</i> <i>Anthologia Planudea</i></p> <p>Apollod. Apollodorus</p> <p>Apoll. Rhod. Apollonius Rhodius</p> <p>Apoll. Sid. Apollinaris Sidonius</p> <p>Apost. Apostolius Byzantius (in <i>Paroem. Gr. II</i>)</p> <p>App. Appianus</p> <p>Apul. Apuleius <i>Apol.</i> <i>Apologia</i> <i>De deo Socr.</i> <i>De deo Socratis</i> <i>Flor.</i> <i>Florida</i> <i>Met.</i> <i>Metamorphoses</i></p> <p>Arat. Aratus</p> <p>Archil. Archilochus</p> <p>Aristaen. Aristaenetus</p> <p>Aristid. Aristides</p> <p>Aristoph. Aristophanes <i>Ach.</i> <i>Acharnenses</i> <i>Av.</i> <i>Aves</i> <i>Eccl.</i> <i>Ecclesiazusae</i></p> | <p><i>Equ.</i> <i>Equites</i> <i>Lys.</i> <i>Lysistrata</i> <i>Nub.</i> <i>Nubes</i> <i>Pax.</i> <i>Pax</i> <i>Plut.</i> <i>Plutus</i> <i>Ran.</i> <i>Ranae</i> <i>Thesm.</i> <i>Thesmophoriazusae</i> <i>Vesp.</i> <i>Vespae</i></p> <p>Aristoph. Byz. Aristophanes Byzantius</p> <p>Aristot. Aristoteles <i>An. post.</i> <i>Analytica posteriora</i> <i>An. pr.</i> <i>Analytica priora</i> <i>An.</i> <i>De anima</i> <i>Ath. pol.</i> <i>Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία</i> <i>Aud.</i> <i>De audibilibus</i> <i>Cael.</i> <i>De caelo</i> <i>Cat.</i> <i>Categoriae</i> <i>Col.</i> <i>De coloribus</i> <i>Div.</i> <i>De divinatione</i> <i>Eth. Eud.</i> <i>Ethica Eudemia</i> <i>Eth. Nic.</i> <i>Ethica Nicomachea</i> <i>Gen. an.</i> <i>De generatione animalium</i> <i>Gen. corr.</i> <i>De generatione et corruptione</i> <i>Hist. an.</i> <i>Historia animalium</i> <i>M. mor.</i> <i>Magna moralia</i> <i>Metaph.</i> <i>Metaphysica</i> <i>Meteor.</i> <i>Meteorologica</i> <i>Mir.</i> <i>Mirabilia</i> <i>Mot. an.</i> <i>De motu animalium</i> <i>Mund.</i> <i>De mundo</i> <i>Oec.</i> <i>Oeconomica</i> <i>Part. an.</i> <i>De partibus animalium</i> <i>Phys.</i> <i>Physica</i> <i>Phgn.</i> <i>Physiognomonica</i> <i>Poet.</i> <i>Poetica</i> <i>Pol.</i> <i>Politica</i> <i>Probl.</i> <i>Problemata</i> <i>Rhet.</i> <i>Rhetorica</i> <i>Rhet. Alex.</i> <i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i> <i>Sens.</i> <i>De sensu</i></p> |
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| <i>Somn.</i> | <i>De somno et vigilia</i> | <i>Cato</i> | <i>Cato maior de senectute</i> |
| <i>Soph. el.</i> | <i>Sophistici elenchi</i> | <i>Cluent.</i> | <i>Pro A. Cluentio</i> |
| <i>Spir.</i> | <i>De spiritu</i> | <i>Deiot.</i> | <i>Pro rege Deiotaro</i> |
| <i>Top.</i> | <i>Topica</i> | <i>Div.</i> | <i>De diuinatione</i> |
| Arnob. | Arnobius | <i>Div. in Caec.</i> | <i>Diuinatio in Q. Caecilium</i> |
| Arr. | Arrianus | <i>Dom.</i> | <i>De domo sua</i> |
| Artemid. | Artemidorus | <i>Fam.</i> | <i>Epistulae ad familiares</i> |
| Ascl. | (Apuleius) Asclepius | <i>Fat.</i> | <i>De fato</i> |
| Athan. | Athanasius | <i>Fin.</i> | <i>De finibus</i> |
| Athen. | Athenaeus | <i>Flacc.</i> | <i>Pro L. Valerio Flacco</i> |
| Athenag. | Athenagoras | <i>Font.</i> | <i>Pro M. Fonteio</i> |
| Aug. | Aurelius Augustinus | <i>Har.</i> | <i>De haruspicum responso</i> |
| <i>Civ.</i> | <i>De ciuitate Dei</i> | <i>Inv.</i> | <i>De inuentione</i> |
| <i>Conf.</i> | <i>Confessiones</i> | <i>Lael.</i> | <i>Laelius de amicitia</i> |
| <i>Doctr. chr.</i> | <i>De doctrina christiana</i> | <i>Leg.</i> | <i>De legibus</i> |
| <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Epistulae</i> | <i>Leg. agr.</i> | <i>De lege agraria</i> |
| <i>Hom.</i> | <i>Homiliae</i> | <i>Lig.</i> | <i>Pro Q. Ligario</i> |
| <i>Serm.</i> | <i>Sermones</i> | <i>Manil.</i> | <i>Pro lege Manilia</i> |
| Aur. Vict. | Aurelius Victor | <i>Marc.</i> | <i>Pro M. Marcello</i> |
| Auson. | Ausonius | <i>Mil.</i> | <i>Pro T. Annio Milone</i> |
| Babr. | Babrius | <i>Mur.</i> | <i>Pro L. Murena</i> |
| Basil. | Basilus | <i>Nat.</i> | <i>De natura deorum</i> |
| Batr. | <i>Batrachomyomachia</i> | <i>Off.</i> | <i>De officiis</i> |
| Boeth. | Boethius | <i>Opt. gen.</i> | <i>De optimo genere oratorum</i> |
| <i>Consol.</i> | <i>Consolatio philosophiae</i> | <i>Or.</i> | <i>Orator</i> |
| Caes. | C. Julius Caesar | <i>De or.</i> | <i>De oratore</i> |
| <i>Civ.</i> | <i>De bello ciuili</i> | <i>Parad.</i> | <i>Paradoxa</i> |
| <i>Gall.</i> | <i>De bello Gallico</i> | <i>Part.</i> | <i>Partitiones oratoriae</i> |
| Callim. | Callimachus | <i>Phil.</i> | <i>In M. Antonium oratio Philippica</i> |
| Callisth. | Callisthenes | <i>Phil. frg.</i> | <i>Librorum philosophicorum 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 prouinciis consularibus</i> |
| Cassiod. | Cassiodorus | <i>Ad Q. fr.</i> | <i>Epistulae ad Quintum fra- trem</i> |
| <i>Inst.</i> | <i>Institutiones</i> | <i>Quinct.</i> | <i>Pro Quinctio</i> |
| Cato | Cato | <i>Rab. perd.</i> | <i>Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis reo</i> |
| <i>Agr.</i> | <i>De agricultura</i> | <i>Rab. Post.</i> | <i>Pro C. Rabirio Postumo</i> |
| Catull. | Catullus | <i>P. red. in sen.</i> | <i>Oratio post reditum in senatu</i> |
| Cels. | Celsus | <i>P. red. ad Quir.</i> | <i>Oratio post reditum ad Quirites</i> |
| Cens. | Censorinus | <i>Rep.</i> | <i>De re publica</i> |
| Chrys. | Johannes Chrysostomus | <i>Q. Rosc.</i> | <i>Pro Q. Roscio comoedo</i> |
| <i>Hom.</i> | <i>Homiliae</i> | <i>S. Rosc.</i> | <i>Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino</i> |
| Cic. | Cicero | <i>Scaur.</i> | <i>Pro M. Aemilio Scauro</i> |
| <i>Ac. 1</i> | <i>Lucullus siue Academicorum priorum libri</i> | <i>Sest.</i> | <i>Pro P. Sestio</i> |
| <i>Ac. 2</i> | <i>Academicorum posteriorum libri</i> | <i>Sull.</i> | <i>Pro P. Sulla</i> |
| <i>Arat.</i> | <i>Aratea</i> | <i>Tim.</i> | <i>Timaeus</i> |
| <i>Arch.</i> | <i>Pro Archia poeta</i> | <i>Top.</i> | <i>Topica</i> |
| <i>Att.</i> | <i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i> | <i>Tull.</i> | <i>Pro M. Tullio</i> |
| <i>Balb.</i> | <i>Pro L. Balbo</i> | <i>Tusc.</i> | <i>Tusculanae disputationes</i> |
| <i>Brut.</i> | <i>Brutus</i> | <i>Vatin.</i> | <i>In P. Vatinius testem interrogatio</i> |
| <i>Ad Brut.</i> | <i>Epistulae ad Brutum</i> | <i>Verr. 1, 2</i> | <i>In Verrem actio 1, 2</i> |
| <i>Caec.</i> | <i>Pro A. Caecina</i> | | |
| <i>Cael.</i> | <i>Pro M. Caelio</i> | | |
| <i>Carm.</i> | <i>Carminum fragmenta</i> | | |
| <i>Catil.</i> | <i>In Catilinam</i> | | |

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| Claud. | Claudius Claudianus | Hipp. | <i>Hippolytus</i> |
| Clearch. | Clearchus | Ion | <i>Ion</i> |
| Clem. Al. | Clemens Alexandrinus | <i>Iph. A.</i> | <i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i> |
| <i>Strom.</i> | <i>Stromateis</i> | <i>Iph. T.</i> | <i>Iphigenia Taurica</i> |
| Clitarch. | Clitarchus | <i>Med.</i> | <i>Medea</i> |
| <i>Cod. Iust.</i> | <i>Codex Iustinianus</i> | <i>Or.</i> | <i>Orestes</i> |
| Colum. | Columella | <i>Phoen.</i> | <i>Phoenissae</i> |
| Cratin. | Cratinus | <i>Rhes.</i> | <i>Rhesus</i> |
| Curt. | Q. Curtius Rufus | <i>Suppl.</i> | <i>Supplices</i> |
| Cypr. | Cyprianus | <i>Tro.</i> | <i>Troades</i> |
| <i>Fort.</i> | <i>Ad Fortunatum</i> | Eus. | Eusebius |
| Demetr. | Demetrius | <i>H.E.</i> | <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> |
| <i>De eloc.</i> | <i>De elocutione</i> | Eust. | Eustathius |
| Democr. | Democritus | Eutr. | Eutropius |
| Demosth. | Demosthenes | Fest. | Festus |
| Dicaearch. | Dicaearchus | Firm. | Firmicus Maternus |
| <i>Dig.</i> | <i>Digesta</i> | Flor. | Florus |
| Dinarch. | Dinarchus | Front. | Fronto |
| Diod. | Diodorus Siculus | Frontin. | Frontinus |
| Diog. Laert. | Diogenes Laertius | Fulg. <i>Myth.</i> | Fulgentius <i>Mythologiae</i> |
| Diogen. | Diogenianus | Gal. | Galenus |
| Diogen. Vind. | Diogenianus Vindobonensis (in <i>Paroem. Gr.</i> II) | <i>In Hippocr.</i> | <i>Commentarius in Hippocratis Aphorismos</i> |
| Diom. | Diomedes <i>Ars grammatica</i> | <i>Aphor.</i> | |
| Dio Chrys. | Dio Chrysostomus | <i>De temperam.</i> | <i>De temperamentis</i> |
| Dion. Antioch. | Dionysius Antiochenus | Gell. | Aulus Gellius |
| Dion. Hal. | Dionysius Halicarnassensis | <i>Geop.</i> | <i>Geoponica</i> |
| <i>Ant.</i> | <i>Antiquitates Romanae</i> | Greg. Cypr. | Gregorius Cyprius (in <i>Paroem. Gr.</i>) |
| <i>Comp.</i> | <i>De compositione verborum</i> | Greg. M. | Gregorius Magnus |
| <i>Rhet.</i> | <i>Ars rhetorica</i> | Greg. Naz. | Gregorius Nazianzenus |
| Dion. Per. | Dionysius Periegetes | <i>Carm.</i> | <i>Carmina</i> |
| Dion. Thrax | Dionysius Thrax | <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Epistulae</i> |
| Diosc. | Dioscurides | <i>Or.</i> | <i>Orationes</i> |
| Don. | Aelius Donatus grammaticus | Greg. Nyss. | Gregorius Nyssenus |
| Enn. | Ennius | Greg. Tur. | Gregorius Turonensis |
| <i>Ann.</i> | <i>Annalium fragmenta</i> | Harpocrat. | Harpocratio |
| <i>Sat.</i> | <i>Saturarum fragmenta</i> | Hdt. | Herodotus |
| <i>Scaen.</i> | <i>Fragmenta scaenica</i> | Hecat. | Hecataeus |
| Epicharm. | Epicharmus | Hegesandr. | Hegesander |
| Epict. | Epictetus | Heracl. Pont. | Heraclides Ponticus |
| Epic. | Epicurus | Heraclit. | Heraclitus |
| Eratosth. | Eratosthenes | Herm. Trismeg. | Hermes Trismegistus |
| <i>Etym. Gud.</i> | <i>Etymologicum Gudianum</i> | Hermipp. | Hermippus |
| <i>Etym. mag.</i> | <i>Etymologicum magnum</i> | Herodian. | Herodianus |
| Eudem. | Eudemus <i>Dictiones rhetoricae</i> | Hes. | Hesiodus |
| Eun. | Eunapius | <i>Erg.</i> | <i>Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι</i> |
| Eur. | Euripides | <i>Theog.</i> | <i>Theogonia</i> |
| <i>Alc.</i> | <i>Alkestis</i> | Hesych. | Hesychius |
| <i>Andr.</i> | <i>Andromache</i> | Hier. | Hieronymus |
| <i>Bacch.</i> | <i>Bacchae</i> | <i>Adv. Iov.</i> | <i>Adversus Iovinianum</i> |
| <i>Cycl.</i> | <i>Cyclops</i> | <i>Adv. Ruf.</i> | <i>Adversus Rufinum</i> |
| <i>El.</i> | <i>Electra</i> | <i>Chron.</i> | <i>Chronicon</i> |
| <i>Hec.</i> | <i>Hecuba</i> | <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Epistulae</i> |
| <i>Hel.</i> | <i>Helena</i> | <i>Paralip.</i> | <i>Paralipomenon liber</i> |
| <i>Heraclid.</i> | <i>Heraclidae</i> | Hil. | Hilarius |
| <i>Herc.</i> | <i>Hercules</i> | <i>Trin.</i> | <i>De trinitate</i> |
| | | Hippocr. | Hippocrates |

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| Hist. Aug. | <i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i> | Icar. | <i>Icaromenippus</i> |
| Hom. | Homerus | Imag. | <i>Imagines</i> |
| Hymn. Hom. | <i>Hymni Homerici</i> | Iup. confut. | <i>Iuppiter confutatus</i> |
| Il. | <i>Ilias</i> | Iup. trag. | <i>Iuppiter tragicus</i> |
| Od. | <i>Odyssea</i> | De merc. cond. | <i>De mercede conductis</i> |
| Hor. | Horatius | Nauig. | <i>Nauigium</i> |
| Ars | <i>Ars poetica</i> | Nigr. | <i>Nigrinus</i> |
| Carm. | <i>Carmina</i> | Pisc. | <i>Piscator</i> |
| Carm. saec. | <i>Carmen saeculare</i> | Pro imag. | <i>Pro imaginibus</i> |
| Epist. | <i>Epistulae</i> | Pseudol. | <i>Pseudologista</i> |
| Epod. | <i>Epodi</i> | De sacr. | <i>De sacrificiis</i> |
| Serm. | <i>Sermones</i> | Tim. | <i>Timon</i> |
| Hyg. | Hyginus | Tox. | <i>Toxaris</i> |
| Astr. | <i>Astronomica</i> | Ver. hist. | <i>Verae historiae</i> |
| Fab. | <i>Fabulae</i> | Vit. auct. | <i>Vitarum auctio</i> |
| Hyp. | Hyperides | Lucil. | Lucilius |
| Iambl. | Iamblichus | Lucr. | Lucretius |
| Iord. | Iordanes | Lyd. | Ioannes Laurentius Lydus |
| Ios. | Iosephus | Mag. | <i>De magistratibus</i> |
| Ant. Ind. | <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> | Mens. | <i>De mensibus</i> |
| Bell. | <i>Bellum Iudaicum</i> | Lycophr. | Lycophon |
| Iren. | Irenaeus | Lycurg. | Lycurgus |
| Haer. | <i>Aduersus haereses</i> | Lys. | Lysias |
| Isid. | Isidorus | Macar. | Macarius (in <i>Paroem. Gr. II</i>) |
| Orig. | <i>Origines</i> | Macr. | Macrobius |
| Isocr. | Isocrates | Sat. | <i>Saturnalia</i> |
| Iul. | Iulianus | Somn. | <i>Commentarius in Ciceronis somnium Scipionis</i> |
| Epist. | <i>Epistulae</i> | M. Aur. | Marcus Aurelius |
| Misopog. | <i>Misopogon</i> | Manil. | Manilius |
| Iust. | Iustinus | Mar. Vict. | Marius Victorinus |
| Iuv. | Iuuenalis | Martial. | Martialis |
| Lact. | Lactantius | Mart. Cap. | Martianus Capella |
| Inst. | <i>Institutiones diuinae</i> | Max. Conf. | Maximus Confessor |
| Liv. | Liuius | Loci comm. | <i>Loci communes</i> |
| Lucan. | Lucanus | Mela | Pomponius Mela |
| Lucian. | Lucianus | Menandr. | Menander |
| Alex. | <i>Alexander</i> | Citharist. | <i>Citharista</i> |
| Anach. | <i>Anacharsis</i> | Epir. | <i>Epitrepontes</i> |
| Asin. | <i>Asinus</i> | Monost. | <i>Monosticha</i> |
| Astr. | <i>De astrologia</i> | Mimn. | Mimnermus |
| Bis accus. | <i>Bis accusatus</i> | Min. Fel. | Minucius Felix |
| Calumn. | <i>Calumniae non temere credendum</i> | Mon. Anc. | <i>Monumentum Ancyranum</i> |
| Char. | <i>Charidemus</i> | Mosch. | Moschus |
| Conniv. | <i>Connuium</i> | Nem. | Nemesianus |
| Demosth. encom. | <i>Demosthenis encomium</i> | Nep. | Cornelius Nepos |
| Deor. conc. | <i>Deorum concilium</i> | Alc. | <i>Alcibiades</i> |
| Deor. dial. | <i>Deorum dialogi</i> | Nicandr. | Nicander |
| Dial. mar. | <i>Dialogi marini</i> | Alex. | <i>Alexipharmaca</i> |
| Epigr. | <i>Epigrammata</i> | Ther. | <i>Theriaca</i> |
| Epist. Sat. | <i>Epistulae Saturnales</i> | Nicom. | Nicomachus |
| Eun. | <i>Eunuchus</i> | Non. | Nonius Marcellus |
| Gall. | <i>Gallus</i> | Nonn. | Nonnus |
| Herc. | <i>Hercules</i> | Dion. | <i>Dionysiaca</i> |
| Herm. | <i>Hermotimus</i> | Exp. in Greg. | <i>Expositio in Gregorium Nazianzenum</i> |
| Hist. conscr. | <i>Quomodo historia conscribenda sit</i> | Naz. | |

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| Oppian. | Oppianus | <i>Epin.</i> | <i>Epinomis</i> |
| <i>Hal.</i> | <i>Halientica</i> | <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Epistulae</i> |
| Orib. | Oribasius | <i>Erast.</i> | <i>Erastai</i> |
| Orig. | Origenes | <i>Eryx.</i> | <i>Eryxias</i> |
| <i>Contra Cels.</i> | <i>Contra Celsum</i> | <i>Euthyd.</i> | <i>Euthydemus</i> |
| <i>Comm. in Rom.</i> | <i>Commentarius in Pauli</i> <i>Epistulam ad Romanos</i> | <i>Euthyphr.</i> | <i>Euthyphro</i> |
| <i>Hom. in Ex.</i> | <i>Homilia in Exodum</i> | <i>Gorg.</i> | <i>Gorgias</i> |
| <i>Hom. in Ez.</i> | <i>Homilia in Ezechiel</i> | <i>Hipparch.</i> | <i>Hipparchus</i> |
| <i>Hom. in Lv.</i> | <i>Homilia in Leuiticum</i> | <i>Hipp. mai.</i> | <i>Hippias maior</i> |
| Oros. | Orosius | <i>Hipp. min.</i> | <i>Hippias minor</i> |
| <i>Or. Sib.</i> | <i>Oracula Sibyllina</i> | <i>Io</i> | <i>Io</i> |
| Orph. | [Orpheus] | <i>Lach.</i> | <i>Laches</i> |
| <i>Arg.</i> | <i>Argonautica</i> | <i>Leg.</i> | <i>Leges</i> |
| <i>Hymn.</i> | <i>Hymni</i> | <i>Lys.</i> | <i>Lysis</i> |
| Ov. | Ovidius | <i>Men.</i> | <i>Meno</i> |
| <i>Am.</i> | <i>Amores</i> | <i>Menex.</i> | <i>Menexenus</i> |
| <i>Ars</i> | <i>Ars amatoria</i> | <i>Min.</i> | <i>Minos</i> |
| <i>Fast.</i> | <i>Fasti</i> | <i>Parm.</i> | <i>Parmenides</i> |
| <i>Her.</i> | <i>Heroides</i> | <i>Phaed.</i> | <i>Phaedo</i> |
| <i>Ib.</i> | <i>Ibis</i> | <i>Phaedr.</i> | <i>Phaedrus</i> |
| <i>Met.</i> | <i>Metamorphoses</i> | <i>Phil.</i> | <i>Philebus</i> |
| <i>Pont.</i> | <i>Ex Ponto</i> | <i>Polit.</i> | <i>Politicus</i> |
| <i>Rem.</i> | <i>Remedia amoris</i> | <i>Prot.</i> | <i>Protagoras</i> |
| <i>Trist.</i> | <i>Tristia</i> | <i>Rep.</i> | <i>De re publica</i> |
| <i>Paneg. Lat.</i> | <i>Panegyrici Latini</i> | <i>Sis.</i> | <i>Sisyphus</i> |
| <i>Paul. Fest.</i> | <i>Pauli Diaconi Epitoma Festi</i> | <i>Soph.</i> | <i>Sophistes</i> |
| <i>Paul. Nol.</i> | <i>Paulinus Nolanus</i> | <i>Symp.</i> | <i>Symposium</i> |
| <i>Paus.</i> | <i>Pausanias</i> | <i>Tbg.</i> | <i>Theages</i> |
| <i>Pers.</i> | <i>Persius</i> | <i>Tbt.</i> | <i>Theatetus</i> |
| <i>Petron.</i> | <i>Petronius</i> | <i>Tim.</i> | <i>Timaeus</i> |
| <i>Phaedr.</i> | <i>Phaedrus</i> | Plaut. | Plautus |
| <i>Philo</i> | <i>Philo</i> | <i>Amph.</i> | <i>Amphitruo</i> |
| <i>Leg. alleg.</i> | <i>Legum allegoriae</i> | <i>Asin.</i> | <i>Asinaria</i> |
| <i>Philostr.</i> | <i>Philostratus</i> | <i>Aul.</i> | <i>Aulularia</i> |
| <i>Vit. Apollon.</i> | <i>Vita Apollonii</i> | <i>Bacch.</i> | <i>Bacchides</i> |
| <i>Vit. soph.</i> | <i>Vitae sophistarum</i> | <i>Capt.</i> | <i>Captini</i> |
| Phot. | Photius | <i>Cas.</i> | <i>Casina</i> |
| <i>Bibl.</i> | <i>Bibliotheca</i> | <i>Cist.</i> | <i>Cistellaria</i> |
| <i>Lex.</i> | <i>Lexicon</i> | <i>Curc.</i> | <i>Curculio</i> |
| Pind. | Pindarus | <i>Epid.</i> | <i>Epidicus</i> |
| <i>Isthm.</i> | <i>Isthmia</i> | <i>Men.</i> | <i>Menaechmi</i> |
| <i>Nem.</i> | <i>Nemea</i> | <i>Merc.</i> | <i>Mercator</i> |
| <i>Olymp.</i> | <i>Olympia</i> | <i>Mil.</i> | <i>Miles</i> |
| <i>Pyth.</i> | <i>Pythia</i> | <i>Most.</i> | <i>Mostellaria</i> |
| <i>Plan.</i> | <i>Anthologia Planudea</i> | <i>Persa</i> | <i>Persa</i> |
| Plat. | Plato | <i>Poen.</i> | <i>Poenulus</i> |
| <i>Alc. 1, 2</i> | <i>Alcibiades 1, 2</i> | <i>Pseud.</i> | <i>Pseudolus</i> |
| <i>Apol.</i> | <i>Apologia</i> | <i>Rud.</i> | <i>Rudens</i> |
| <i>Ax.</i> | <i>Axiochus</i> | <i>Stich.</i> | <i>Stichus</i> |
| <i>Charm.</i> | <i>Charmides</i> | <i>Trin.</i> | <i>Trinummus</i> |
| <i>Clit.</i> | <i>Clitophon</i> | <i>Truc.</i> | <i>Truculentus</i> |
| <i>Crat.</i> | <i>Cratylus</i> | <i>Vid.</i> | <i>Vidularia</i> |
| <i>Crit.</i> | <i>Critias</i> | Plin. | Plinius (maior et minor) |
| <i>Crito</i> | <i>Crito</i> | <i>Nat.</i> | <i>Naturalis historia</i> (Plin. maior) |
| <i>Def.</i> | <i>Definitiones</i> | <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Epistulae</i> (Plin. minor) |
| <i>Dem.</i> | <i>Demodocus</i> | <i>Paneg.</i> | <i>Panegyricus</i> (Plin. minor) |

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| Plot. | Plotinus | Publil. Syr. | Publilius Syrus |
| Plut. | Plutarchus | Quint. | Quintilianus |
| <i>Alcib.</i> | <i>Alcibiades</i> | <i>Decl.</i> | <i>Declamationes</i> |
| <i>Anton.</i> | <i>Antonius</i> | <i>Inst.</i> | <i>Institutio oratoria</i> |
| <i>C. Gracch.</i> | <i>Gaius Gracchus</i> | Rhet. Her. | <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i> |
| <i>Fab. Max.</i> | <i>Fabius Maximus</i> | Sall. | Sallustius |
| <i>Lyc.</i> | <i>Lycurgus</i> | <i>Cat.</i> | <i>Conturatio Catilinae</i> |
| <i>Lys.</i> | <i>Lysander</i> | <i>Hist. frag.</i> | <i>Historiarum fragmenta</i> |
| <i>Mor.</i> | <i>Moralia</i> | <i>Iug.</i> | <i>Bellum Iugurthinum</i> |
| <i>Paroem.</i> | <i>Paroemiae</i> (in <i>Paroem.</i> <i>Gr. I</i>) | Sapph. | Sappho |
| <i>Per.</i> | <i>Pericles</i> | <i>Scol. anon.</i> | <i>Scolia anonyma</i> (in Diehl, <i>Anth. lyr. Gr. II</i>) |
| <i>Pomp.</i> | <i>Pompeius</i> | Sen. | Seneca (maior) |
| <i>Prov. Alex.</i> | <i>Proverbia Alexandrinorum</i> (in <i>Suppl. Paroem.</i>) | <i>Contr.</i> | <i>Controversiae</i> |
| <i>Pyrrh.</i> | <i>Pyrrhus</i> | <i>Suas.</i> | <i>Suasoriae</i> |
| <i>Rom.</i> | <i>Romulus</i> | Sen. (minor) | Seneca (minor) |
| <i>Sol.</i> | <i>Solon</i> | <i>Ag.</i> | <i>Agamemnon</i> |
| <i>Them.</i> | <i>Themistocles</i> | <i>Apocol.</i> | <i>Apocolocyntosis</i> |
| <i>Thes.</i> | <i>Theseus</i> | <i>Benef.</i> | <i>De beneficiis</i> |
| <i>Timol.</i> | <i>Timoleon</i> | <i>Brev. vit.</i> | <i>De breuitate vitae</i> |
| <i>Tit.</i> | <i>Titus Quinctius Flamininus</i> | <i>Clem.</i> | <i>De clementia</i> |
| <i>Vit.</i> | <i>Vitae</i> | <i>Dial.</i> | <i>Dialogi</i> |
| Poll. | Pollux | <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Epistulae ad Lucilium</i> |
| Polyb. | Polybius | <i>Herc. f.</i> | <i>Hercules furens</i> |
| Pomp. Trog. | Pompeius Trogus | <i>Herc. Oet.</i> | <i>Hercules Oetaeus</i> |
| Porph. | Porphyrius | <i>Med.</i> | <i>Medea</i> |
| <i>Quaest. Hom.</i> | <i>Quaestiones Homericae</i> | <i>Nat.</i> | <i>Naturales quaestiones</i> |
| <i>Vit. Pyth.</i> | <i>Vita Pythagorae</i> | <i>Phaedr.</i> | <i>Phaedra</i> |
| Posid. | Posidonius | <i>Phoen.</i> | <i>Phoenissae</i> |
| <i>Priap.</i> | <i>Priapea</i> | <i>Oed.</i> | <i>Oedipus</i> |
| Prisc. | Priscianus | <i>Thy.</i> | <i>Thyestes</i> |
| Prob. | M. Valerius Probus | <i>Tro.</i> | <i>Troades</i> |
| Procl. | Proclus | Serv. | Seruius |
| Procop. | Procopius | <i>Comm. Aen.</i> | <i>Commentarius in Vergilii</i> <i>Aeneida</i> |
| Prop. | Propertius | <i>Comm. Ecl.</i> | <i>Commentarius in Vergilii</i> <i>Eclogas</i> |
| Prud. | Prudentius | <i>Comm. Georg.</i> | <i>Commentarius in Vergilii</i> <i>Georgica</i> |
| <i>Psychom.</i> | <i>Psychomachia</i> | Sext. Emp. | Sextus Empiricus |
| Ps. Ascon. | Pseudo-Asconius | Sil. | Silius Italicus |
| Ps. Aug. | Pseudo-Augustinus | Socr. | Socrates <i>Hist. eccles.</i> |
| Ps. Babr. | Pseudo-Babrius | Sol. | Solon |
| <i>Tetrast.</i> | <i>Tetrasticha</i> | Solin. | Solinus |
| Ps. Clem. | Pseudo-Clemens | Soph. | Sophocles |
| Ps. Diosc. | Pseudo-Dioscurides | <i>Ai.</i> | <i>Aias</i> |
| <i>Alexiph.</i> | <i>Alexipharmaca</i> | <i>Ant.</i> | <i>Antigone</i> |
| Ps. Eratosth. | Pseudo-Eratosthenes | <i>El.</i> | <i>Electra</i> |
| <i>Catast.</i> | <i>Catasterismi</i> | <i>Ichn.</i> | <i>Ichneutae</i> |
| Ps. Phocyl. | Pseudo-Phocylides | <i>Oed. Col.</i> | <i>Oedipus Coloneus</i> |
| Ps. Pythag. | Pseudo-Pythagoras | <i>Oed. T.</i> | <i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i> |
| Ps. Sall. | Pseudo-Sallustius | <i>Phil.</i> | <i>Philoctetes</i> |
| <i>In Cic.</i> | <i>In Ciceronem</i> | <i>Trach.</i> | <i>Trachiniae</i> |
| Ps. Sen. | Pseudo-Seneca | Stat. | Stattius |
| <i>De mor.</i> | <i>De moribus</i> | <i>Ach.</i> | <i>Achilleis</i> |
| Ptol. | Claudius Ptolemaeus | <i>Silv.</i> | <i>Siluae</i> |
| <i>Cosm.</i> | <i>Cosmographia</i> | <i>Theb.</i> | <i>Thebais</i> |
| <i>Geogr.</i> | <i>Geographia</i> | Steph. Byz. | Stephanus Byzantius |
| <i>Quadr.</i> | <i>Quadripartitum</i> | | |
| Ptol. Euerg. | Ptolemaeus Euergetes | | |

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| Stob. | Stobaeus | Thuc. | Thucydides |
| Strab. | Strabo | Tib. | Tibullus |
| Suet. | Suetonius | Tzetz. | Tzetzes |
| <i>Aug.</i> | <i>Augustus</i> | <i>Anteb.</i> | <i>Antebomerica</i> |
| <i>Caes.</i> | <i>Caesar</i> | <i>Chil.</i> | <i>Chiliades</i> |
| <i>Cal.</i> | <i>Caligula</i> | <i>Postb.</i> | <i>Postbomerica</i> |
| <i>Claud.</i> | <i>Claudius</i> | Vlp. | Vlpianus (<i>Vlpiani regulae</i>) |
| <i>Dom.</i> | <i>Domitianus</i> | Val. Fl. | Valerius Flaccus |
| <i>Galb.</i> | <i>Galba</i> | Val. Max. | Valerius Maximus |
| <i>Ner.</i> | <i>Nero</i> | Varro | Varro |
| <i>Oth.</i> | <i>Otho</i> | <i>Ling. lat.</i> | <i>De lingua latina</i> |
| <i>Tib.</i> | <i>Tiberius</i> | <i>Men.</i> | <i>Menippeae</i> |
| <i>Tit.</i> | <i>Titus</i> | <i>Rust.</i> | <i>Res rusticae</i> |
| <i>Vesp.</i> | <i>Vespasianus</i> | Veg. | Vegetius |
| <i>Vit.</i> | <i>Vitellius</i> | <i>Mil.</i> | <i>De re militari</i> |
| Suid. | Suidas | Vell. Pat. | Velleius Paterculus |
| Symm. | Symmachus | Ven. Fort. | Venantius Fortunatus |
| Synes. | Synesi ^{us} Cyrena ^{eus} | Verg. | Vergili ^{us} |
| <i>Calv.</i> | <i>Calvitii encomium</i> | <i>Aen.</i> | <i>Aeneis</i> |
| <i>Epist.</i> | <i>Epistulae</i> | <i>Aet.</i> | <i>Aetna</i> |
| Syrian. | Syrianus | <i>Cat.</i> | <i>Catalepton</i> |
| <i>In Hermog.</i> | <i>In Hermogenem commentaria</i> | <i>Cir.</i> | <i>Ciris</i> |
| Tac. | Tacitus | <i>Cul.</i> | <i>Culex</i> |
| <i>Agr.</i> | <i>Agricola</i> | <i>Ecl.</i> | <i>Eclogae</i> |
| <i>Ann.</i> | <i>Annales</i> | <i>Georg.</i> | <i>Georgica</i> |
| <i>Dial. or.</i> | <i>Dialogus de oratoribus</i> | <i>Mor.</i> | <i>Moretum</i> |
| <i>Germ.</i> | <i>Germania</i> | Vitr. | Vitruvius |
| <i>Hist.</i> | <i>Historiae</i> | Xen. | Xenophon |
| Tat. | Tatianus | <i>Ag.</i> | <i>Agésilau^s</i> |
| Ter. | Terentius | <i>An.</i> | <i>Anabasis</i> |
| <i>Ad.</i> | <i>Adelphoe</i> | <i>Apol.</i> | <i>Apologia</i> |
| <i>Andr.</i> | <i>Andria</i> | <i>Ath. pol.</i> | <i>Athenensium politeia</i> |
| <i>Eun.</i> | <i>Eunuchus</i> | <i>Equ.</i> | <i>De equitandi ratione</i> |
| <i>Heaut.</i> | <i>Heautontimorumenos</i> | <i>Hell.</i> | <i>Hellenica</i> |
| <i>Hec.</i> | <i>Hecyra</i> | <i>Hier.</i> | <i>Hiero</i> |
| <i>Phorm.</i> | <i>Phormio</i> | <i>Hipp.</i> | <i>Hipparchicus</i> |
| Tert. | Tertullianus | <i>Cyn.</i> | <i>Cynegeticus</i> |
| <i>Adv. Ind.</i> | <i>Adversus Iudaeos</i> | <i>Cyr.</i> | <i>Cyropaedia</i> |
| <i>Adv. Marcion.</i> | <i>Adversus Marcionem</i> | <i>Lac. pol.</i> | <i>Lacedaemoniorum politeia</i> |
| <i>Adv. Val.</i> | <i>Adversus Valentinianos</i> | <i>Mem.</i> | <i>Memorabilia</i> |
| <i>De pud.</i> | <i>De pudicitia</i> | <i>Oec.</i> | <i>Oeconomicus</i> |
| Themist. | Themistius | <i>Symp.</i> | <i>Symposium</i> |
| Theocr. | Theocritus | <i>Vect.</i> | <i>De vectigalibus</i> |
| Theodrt. | Theodoretus | Zenob. | Zenobius |
| Thgn. | Theognis | Zon. | Zonaras |
| Thphr. | Theophrastus | Zos. | Zosimus |
| <i>Caus. plant.</i> | <i>De causis plantarum</i> | | |
| <i>Char.</i> | <i>Characteres</i> | | |
| <i>Hist. plant.</i> | <i>Historia plantarum</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>Iudic.</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>Nehemia</i> |
| <i>Esth.</i> | <i>Esther</i> |
| <i>Iob</i> | <i>Iob</i> |
| <i>Ps.</i> | <i>Psalmi</i> |
| <i>Prv.</i> | <i>Proverbia</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>Zcb.</i> | <i>Zacharias</i> |
| <i>Mal.</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>Ioh.</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>Pbm.</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>Ioh.</i> | <i>Iohannis Epistola</i> 1., 2., 3. |
| <i>Iud.</i> | <i>Iudae Epistola</i> |
| <i>Ap. Ioh.</i> | <i>Apocalypsis Iohannis</i> |

C. THE WORKS OF ERASMUS

- Act. Acad. Lov. c. Luth.*
Adag.
Admon. adv. mendac.
Annot. in leges pontif.
Annot. in NT
Antibarbari.
Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.
Apolog. pro declam. laud. matrim.
Apolog. duae
Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.
Apolog. c. Iac. Latomi dialog.
Apolog. resp. inuect. Ed. Lei
Apolog. de loco Omn. resurg.
Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.
Apolog. monast. relig.
Apolog. omnes
Apolog. pro piet.
Apolog. de In princip. erat sermo
Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii
Apolog. c. Sancti. Caranz.
Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.

Apolog. adv. Stun. Blasph. et imp.

Apolog. ad Prodr. Stun.
Apolog. ad Stun. Concl.
Apologia
Apophth.
De lib. arbit.
Axiom. pro causa Luth.
Carm.
Cat. lucubr.
Cato
Ciceron.
De ciuil.
Coll.
Collect.
Comm. in Hymn. Prud.
Comp. rhet.
Conc. de Dei misericord.
Conc. de puero Iesu
De conscr. ep.
De construct.
Consult. de bell. turc.
De contemptu mundi
De cop. verb.
Declam. de morte
Declamationes
Declamatiuncula
Declamatiunculae
Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.
Detect. praestig.
Dilut. Clichthov.

Disputatiunc.
- Acta academiae Louaniensis contra Lutherum*
Adagiorum Cbiliades
Admonitio aduersus mendacium et obtrectationem
Annotationes in leges pontificias et caesareas de haereticis
Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum
Antibarbari
Apologia aduersus debacchationes Petri Sutoris
Apologia pro declamatione de laude matrimonii
Apologiae duae
Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem
Apologia contra Iacobi Latomi dialogum de tribus linguis
Apologia qua respondet inuectiuis Eduardi Lei
Apologia de loco 'Omnes quidem resurgemus'
Apologia aduersus monachos quosdam hispanos
Apologia monasticae religionis
Apologiae omnes
Apologia pro pietate
Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo'
Apologia aduersus rhapsodias Alberti Pii
Apologia contra Sanctium Caranzam
Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iac. Lopis Stunica taxauerat in
prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione
Apologia aduersus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit
Blasphemiae et impietates Erasmi
Apologia ad Prodromon Stunicae
Apologia ad Stunicae Conclusiones
Apologia
Apophthegmata
De libero arbitrio diatribe
Axiomata pro causa Martini Lutheri
Carmina
Catalogus lucubrationum
Cato pro pueris
Dialogus Ciceronianus
De ciuilitate morum puerilium
Colloquia
Collectanea adagiorum
Commentarius in duos Hymnos Prudentii
Compendium rhetorices
Concio de immensa Dei misericordia
Concio de puero Iesu
De conscribendis epistolis
De constructione octo partium orationis
Consultatio de bello turcico
De contemptu mundi
De copia verborum ac rerum
Declamatio de morte
Declamationes
Declamatiuncula
Declamatiunculae
Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas
Detectio praestigarum cuiusdam libelli...
Dilutio eorum quae Iodocus Clichthouens scripsit aduersus
declamationem suasoriam matrimonii
Disputatiuncula de tedio, pauore, tristitia Iesu

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Eccles.</i> | <i>Ecclesiastes siue de ratione concionandi</i> |
| <i>Elenchus</i> | <i>Elenchus in censuras erroneas Natalis Bedae</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. apolog. adv. Stun.</i> | <i>Epistola apologetica aduersus Stunicam</i> |
| <i>Epist. de apolog. Petr. Curs.</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 (= Resp. ad frat. Infer. Germ.)</i> |
| <i>Epist. de modest. profit. ling.</i> | <i>Epistola de modestia profitendi linguas</i> |
| <i>Epist. c. pseudeuang.</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>Lucubrationc.</i> | <i>Lucubrationculae</i> |
| <i>Mod. orandi Deum</i> | <i>Modus orandi Deum</i> |
| <i>Moria</i> | <i>Moriae encomium</i> |
| <i>Nov. Instr.</i> | <i>Nouum Instrumentum</i> |
| <i>Nov. Test.</i> | <i>Nouum Testamentum</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>Parabolae siue similia</i> |
| <i>Paracl.</i> | <i>Paraclesis</i> |
| <i>Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae</i> | <i>Paraphrasis in Elegantiis 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>Prologus supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae</i> | <i>Prologus in supputationem calunniarum Natalis Bedae</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 collat. iuv. geront.</i> | <i>Responsio ad collationes cuiusdam iuuenis gerontodidascali</i> |

Resp. ad disp. Phimost.
Resp. ad ep. Alb. Pii
Resp. ep. frat. Infer. Germ.

Resp. adv. febricit. lib.
Resp. c. Sylv. Egranum
De sarc. eccles. concord.
Scholia
Spongia
Supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae
Vidua christ.
Virg. et mart. comp.
Vita Hier.

Responsio ad disputationem cuiusdam Phimostomi de diuortio
Responsio ad epistolam paraeneticam Alberti Pii
Responsio ad fratres Germaniae Inferioris ad epistolam apolo-
geticam incerto autore proditam (= Epist. ad frat. Infer.
Germ.)
Responsio aduersus febricitantis cuiusdam libellum
Responsio apologetica contra Syluium Egranum
De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia
In epistolam de delectu ciborum scholia
Spongia aduersus aspergines Huiteni
Supputatio calumniarum Natalis Bedae
Vidua christiana
Virginis et martyris comparatio
Vita diui Hieronymi Stridonensis

D. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Some self-evident abbreviations are not included.

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| <i>A</i> | See the <i>conspectus siglorum</i> |
| <i>Annot.</i> | <i>Annotationes</i> |
| <i>Ann. c. Er.</i> | J.L. Stunica, <i>Annotationes contra Erasmus Roterodamum in defensionem tralationis Novi Testamenti</i> , Alcalá, 1520. |
| a.o. | and others |
| <i>ASD</i> | Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Opera omnia</i> , Amsterdam, 1969— |
| <i>B</i> | See the <i>conspectus siglorum</i> |
| Bardenhewer | O. Bardenhewer, <i>Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur</i> , 2. Auflage, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1913–1932, 5 vols. |
| <i>BAS</i> | Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Omnia opera</i> , Basileae, 1540, 9 vols. |
| Bauer | W. Bauer, <i>Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur</i> , durchgesehener Nachdruck der 5. Auflage, Berlin, 1963. |
| <i>BB</i> | <i>Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas</i> fondée par F. Vander Haeghen, rééditée (par) M.-Th. Lenger, Bruxelles, 1964–1975, 7 vols. |
| Blass-Debrunner | F. Blass and A. Debrunner, <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i> , 12. Auflage, Göttingen, 1965; 15. Auflage bearbeitet von F. Rehkopf, Göttingen, 1979. |
| Bludau | A. Bludau, <i>Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments und ihre Gegner</i> , Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902. |
| c. | circa |
| <i>CCSL</i> | <i>Corpus Christianorum</i> , Series Latina, Turnholti, 1953— |
| cent. | century |
| Cod. | Codex |
| <i>Comm.</i> | <i>Commentarius, -rii</i> |
| crit. app. | critical apparatus |
| <i>CS</i> | <i>Critici sacri</i> , ed. J. Pearson et al., Londini, 1660, 9 vols. |
| <i>CSEL</i> | <i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Vindobonae, 1866— |
| d. | died |
| Dekkers | E. Dekkers, <i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , Sacris eruditi, III, 1961, Steenbrugis, 1961. |
| De Santos | A. de Santos Otero, <i>Los Evangelios Apocrifos</i> , Segunda edicion, Madrid, 1963 (Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 148). |
| Diefenbach | L. Diefenbach, <i>Glossarium Latino-Germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis</i> , Francofoerti, 1857. |
| Du Cange | <i>Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis</i> conditum a Carolo du Fresne domino du Cange, auctum a monachis Ordinis S. Benedicti ... Ed. noua aucta ... a Leopold Favre. Nouveau tirage, Paris, 1937–1938, 10 vols. |
| ed. | edited by, edition, editio, edidit |
| ed. pr. | editio princeps |
| e.g. | <i>exempli gratia</i> , for instance |
| Ep., <i>Ep.</i> | Epistola |
| Epp. | Epistolae |
| Er. | Erasmus |
| et al. | et alii |
| <i>Ev. Hebr.</i> | <i>Euangelium Hebraeorum</i> |
| <i>Ev. Naz.</i> | <i>Euangelium Nazarenorum</i> |
| <i>fl.</i> | <i>floruit</i> |
| Forcellini | <i>Lexicon totius Latinitatis</i> ab Aegidio Forcellini lucubra- |

- tum, a I. Furlanetto, F. Corradini et I. Perin ... redactum. Quarta ed., Patauii, 1864-1926, 6 vols.
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Leipzig, 1897-1941; Berlin and Leipzig, 1953; Berlin, 1954-
- Geerard M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. II, Turnhout, 1974.
- Gesenius-Kautzsch W. Gesenius and E. Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1896.
- Gregory C.R. Gregory, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1908.
- Hatch-Redpath E. Hatch and H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, Oxford, 1897, 2 vols.
- Häussler R. Häussler, *Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer*, Darmstadt, 1968.
- Hennecke-Schneemelcher E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 3.-4. Auflage, Tübingen, 1964-1968, 2 vols.
- HL Humanistica Louaniensia, Louvain, 1928-
- b.l.* *hoc loco*
- Holborn Desiderius Erasmus, *Ausgewählte Werke ...*, hrsg. von H. Holborn, München, 1933.
- ibid. ibidem
- id. idem
- i.e. *id est*
- J.Th.St. Journal of Theological Studies, London, 1900-1905; Oxford, 1906-1949; N.S. Oxford, 1950-
- Jülicher-Matzkow *Itala. Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung* hrsg. von A. Jülicher, durchgesehen ... von W. Matzkow und K. Aland, 2. verbesserte Aufl., I Matthäusevangelium, Berlin and New York, 1972; II Marcusevangelium, Berlin, 1970; III Lucasevangelium, Berlin and New York, 1976; IV Johannes-evangelium, Berlin, 1963.
- Keil, *Grammatici Latini* *Grammatici Latini* ex recensione H. Keilii, Lipsiae, 1857-1870, 7 vols. and a supplement.
- Kleine Pauly* K. Ziegler, W. Sontheimer and H. Gärtner, edd., *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike*, Stuttgart, 1964-1975, 5 vols.
- Kühner R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, Erster Band, neubearb., Hannover, 1912.
- Kühner-Gerth R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, besorgt von Fr. Blass und B. Gerth, Hannover and Leipzig, 1890-1904, 4 vols.
- Kühner-Stegmann R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Satzlehre*, 4. Auflage, Darmstadt, 1962, 2 vols.
- Lampe G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961.
- Latham R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*, London, 1965.
- Lausberg H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, München, 1960, 2 vols.
- LB Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Clericus, Lugduni Batauorum, 1703-1706, 10 vols.
- Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr *Lateinische Grammatik*. Erster Band, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* von M. Leumann, München, 1977; Zweiter Band, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* von J.B. Hofmann, A. Szantyr, verbesserte Nachdruck, München, 1972.

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| Leutsch-Schneidewin | E.L. Leutsch and F.G. Schneidewin, <i>Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum</i> , Gottingae, 1839-1851, 2 vols. |
| Lewis-Short | C. T. Lewis and C.S. Short, <i>A Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford, 1879. |
| Liddell-Scott | H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . New Edition by H.S. Jones and R. McKenzie, 9th ed., Oxford, 1940. |
| LXX | Septuagint |
| M | See the <i>conspectus siglorum</i> |
| Manitius | M. Manitius, <i>Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters</i> , München 1911-1931, 3 vols. |
| Migne PG | <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1857-1866, 162 vols. |
| Migne PL | <i>Patrologia Latina</i> ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1844-1864, 221 vols. |
| min. | minuscule |
| Moulton I | J.H. Moulton, <i>A Grammar of New Testament Greek</i> , vol. I, Prolegomena, Edinburgh, 1906. |
| Moulton-Howard II | J.H. Moulton and W. Howard, <i>A Grammar of New Testament Greek</i> , vol. II, Accidence and Wordformation, Edinburgh, 1929. |
| Moulton-Turner III | J.H. Moulton and N. Turner, <i>A Grammar of New Testament Greek</i> , vol. III, Syntax, Edinburgh, 1963. |
| Moulton-Milligan | J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, <i>The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament illustrated from the Papyri ...</i> , London, 1914-1929. |
| ms., mss. | manuscript(s) |
| MT | Masoretic Text |
| n. | note |
| N ²⁵ | <i>Nouum Testamentum Graece...</i> curavit Eb. Nestle, nouis curis elaborauerunt Er. Nestle et K. Aland. Editio vicesima quinta, Stuttgart, 1963. |
| N ²⁶ | <i>Nouum Testamentum Graece</i> post Eb. Nestle et Er. Nestle ... ediderunt K. Aland, M. Black, C.M. Martini, B.M. Metzger, A. Wikgren; ... nouis curis elaborauerunt K. Aland et B. Aland ... Stuttgart, 1979 (= 26. neu bearbeitete Auflage). |
| NAK | Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis, Nieuwe Serie, vol. I, 's-Gravenhage, 1902- . (From 1950: Nederlands Archief, etc.; from N.S. IIL: Leiden, 1967-). |
| Niermeyer | <i>Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus</i> composuit J.F. Niermeyer, perfecit C. van de Kieft, Leiden, 1976. |
| NK | <i>Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540</i> door W. Nijhoff en M.E. Kronenberg, 's-Gravenhage, 1923- . |
| n.l. | note to line |
| <i>Nov. Instr.</i> | Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Nouum Instrumentum</i> , Basiliae, 1516. |
| n.p. | no place mentioned |
| N.T. | New Testament, Nouum Testamentum, Neues Testament, Nouveau Testament, etc. |
| ODCC | <i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> ed. by F.L. Cross. Second Edition ed. by F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, Oxford 1977 (with corrections). |
| OLD | <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford, 1968-1982. |

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| Otto | A. Otto, <i>Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer</i> , Leipzig, 1890 (quoted according to Otto's nos.). |
| PRE ² | <i>Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i> , hrsg. von J. J. Herzog und G. L. Plitt, Leipzig, 1877-1888, 18 vols. |
| PW | <i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , hrsg. von G. Wissowa, W. Kroll et al., Stuttgart, 1894-1980. |
| RAC | <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , edd. F. J. Dölger, H. Lietzmann, J. H. Waszink, T. Klauser, Stuttgart, 1950- |
| RLN | Republica Literaria Neerlandica, edd. F. F. Blok, C. M. Bruhl, et al., Assen and Amsterdam, 1976- |
| Robertson | A. T. Robertson, <i>A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research</i> , 4th edition, Nashville, 1934. |
| SC | <i>Sources chrétiennes</i> , Paris, 1942- |
| sc. | <i>scilicet, scire licet</i> |
| Souter, <i>Glossary</i> | A. Souter, <i>A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.</i> , Oxford, 1949. |
| Strack-Billerbeck | H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> , München, 1926-1928, 5 vols. |
| Stun. | Stunica |
| Stuttgart Vg. | Rob. Weber, ed., <i>Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem</i> , 2. Auflage, Stuttgart, 1975, 2 vols. |
| s.v. | <i>sub voce</i> |
| Tb.L.G. | <i>Thesaurus Graecae Linguae</i> ab Henrico Stephano constructus. Tertio ed. C. B. Hase, G. Dindorfius et L. Dindorfius, Parisiis, 1831-1865, 8 vols. |
| Tb.L.L. | <i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> , Lipsiae, 1900- |
| Tischendorf | C. Tischendorfius, ed., <i>Nouum Testamentum Graecae</i> . Editio octaua critica maior, Lipsiae, 1872. 2 vols. |
| TRE | <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> , Berlin and New York, 1977- |
| TU | <i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i> , hrsg. von O. von Gebhardt und A. Harnack, Leipzig, 1882- |
| TWNT | G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, edd., <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> , Stuttgart etc., 1933-1979, 11 vols. |
| v(v). | verse(s) |
| Vander Haeghen | Ferd. Vander Haeghen, <i>Bibliotheca Erasiana. Répertoire des œuvres d'Erasmus</i> . 1 ^{re} série, Gand, 1893. |
| Vg. | Vulgate |
| v.i. | <i>vide infra</i> |
| viz. | <i>videlicet</i> , namely |
| v.l. | <i>varia lectio</i> |
| Von Soden | Hermann Freiherr von Soden, <i>Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt</i> , 2. Teil: Text und Apparat, Göttingen, 1913. |
| v.s. | <i>vide supra</i> |
| Walther | H. Walther, <i>Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aeni. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters</i> , Göttingen, 1963-1967, 5 vols. |
| Wettstein | J. J. Wettstenius, ed., <i>Nouum Testamentum Graecum</i> , Amstelaedami, 1751-1752, 2 vols. |
| Wordsworth-White | <i>Nouum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi Latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi, ad codicum</i> |

- manuscriptorum fidem recensuit I. Wordsworth, H.I. White, H.F.D. Sparks, et al., I Euangelia, Oxonii, 1889-1898; II Epistulae Paulinae, Oxonii, 1913-1941; III Act. Apostolorum, Epistulae Canonicae, Apoc. Iohannis, 1954.
- Wutz, *Onomastica sacra* F. Wutz, *Onomastica sacra*. Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum des Hl. Hieronymus, Leipzig, 1914-1915, 2 vols (*TU* 3. Reihe, 11. Bd). Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, vol. 1- , Giessen, 1900-1932; Berlin, 1933- .
- ZNW
- *... supposed, or hypothetically reconstructed, form or word

INDEX NOMINVM

This index includes names occurring in the Latin text, the critical apparatus, the Introduction with its footnotes and the commentary, but for none of these constituents does it claim to be exhaustive. Some names of very frequent occurrence, such as Erasmus, J. L. Stunica, Graecus, Latinus, Hebraeus, and the names of the authors of the books of the New Testament, are not included. In the case of Christus, Jesus, Paulus, Hieronymus/Jerome and Hebraica only a few noteworthy occurrences are mentioned. Names of modern critics and scholars are only given when the reference is of special importance. When a name occurs in a footnote or in the commentary the page number is followed by the letter 'n'.

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