

OPERA OMNIA DESIDERII ERASMI

OPERA OMNIA
DESIDERII ERASMI
ROTERODAMI

RECOGNITA ET ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRVCTA
NOTISQVE ILLVSTRATA

ORDINIS PRIMI TOMVS SEPTIMVS



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Constantijn Huygens Instituut

Boîte Postale 90754, 2509 LT La Haye, Pays-Bas

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IN HOC VOLVMINE CONTINENTVR

CARMINA

ed. Harry Vredeveld

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PREFACE

This twenty-second volume in Erasmus' *Opera omnia* (ASD) contains the *Carmina*, edited by Harry Vredeveld (Ohio State University). Professor Vredeveld edited and annotated the translation by Clarence H. Miller of Erasmus' poems which appeared in the *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vols. 85–86 (University of Toronto Press, Toronto/Buffalo/London, 1993).

The present volume is the seventh within 'ordo' I, the "ordo librorum qui spectant ad institutionem literarum". The division into 'ordines' – each 'ordo' being devoted to a specific literary or thematic category – was laid down by Erasmus himself for the posthumous publication of his works (see his letters to Botzheim and Boece; cf. *General introduction*, ASD I, pp. x, xvii–xviii, and C. Reedijk, *Tandem bona causa triumphat. Zur geschichte des Gesamtwerkes des Erasmus von Rotterdam*. Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel, XVI, Basel/Stuttgart, 1980, pp. 12 sqq., 21–22). Erasmus assigned his *carmina* to 'ordo' I, except for some poems he preferred to be printed in 'ordines' IV and V. In the Leiden edition (*LB*, 1703–1706) the poems are to be found scattered in volumes I–V and VIII. For this new edition it was thought most appropriate to collect all the poems into one volume.

The order of succession in which the editor of this volume presents the *carmina* differs from the one adopted by C. Reedijk, the first editor of the poems, who had arranged them chronologically (*The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus*, Leiden, 1956). After careful consideration Professor Vredeveld and Dr. Reedijk agreed upon the new arrangement presented in this volume. This means that the traditional numeration of the *carmina* had to be changed. This should not cause any inconvenience since a 'concordance of poem numbers' has been added on pp. 489–491.

For reasons of health and his advanced age Professor Craig Thompson resigned from the Conseil international of which he had been a member since 1966. The Conseil is greatly indebted to Professor Thompson for the support and advice he has given to the Erasmus edition over a period of more than twenty-five years.

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

Finally, the Board wishes to express its gratitude to the University of Toronto Press and to the Editorial Board of *Collected Works of Erasmus*. The publication of this volume testifies again to the excellent relations between both Erasmus projects.

Constantijn Huygens Instituut
Postbus 90754
2509 LT Den Haag
September 1995

The Editorial Board

CARMINA

edited by

HARRY VREDEVELD

Columbus, Ohio

De casa natalitia Jesu et paupere puerperio diue virginis marie Carmen.



De casa natalitia Iesu et paupere puerperio diue virginis Marie carmen. Parisiis, Anthonius Denidel,
[mense Ian. 1496?].

Ex. British Library, London

Erasmi Roterodami Varia epigrammata.

Ad guilielmum Copum Basiliensem artis medicę principem Erasmi Roterodami Carmen de fuga vite humane.



Nica nobiliū medicorum gloria Cope:
Seu quis requirat artem;
Siue sidem ipse tet; seu curam in quolibet horum
Vel iniquus ipse nostro

Precipuos tribuit guilielmo liuor honores,
Cedit fugitq; morbi

Ingenio genui sionne tuo. Teterima porro

Senecta morbu ingens:

Nallit arceſſe poteſt pellueme dets.

Quin de ſepente aborti.

Corruptis opoteſt ſuccos: anteaq; vigorem

Ebena ſibi ſecentis

Hinc aliquid ſapere malis. quibus omnia carpiunt

Vellunt de ſimpe

Commoda que ſuboleſcens veterat clar

Formam ſuam: colorem

Parum ſolam memoreſcum peſſore lumina ſomnoſa

Vitæ ſuaſtarem:

Authorem vite ſigmiculum: deſeruit: & huius

Interitus liquorem:

Vitales admiſit ſtatus: cum ſanguine corpus:

Riſus: ſocor ſepores.

Deniq; totum hominem paulatim ſurripit ipſe

Neq; de priore tandem

Poſterq; nomen ſituliq; relinquit inanem.

Cuiuſmodi tuemur

Paſſim marmoris inſculpta cadauera buſtis

Vtrum hec ſenecta queſo:

An mors lenta magis dicenda eſt / inuida fata: et

Impendio maligna:

Vt que deſenora labantis ſtamina vite

Permiciter ante

Ardeſſe vidit: aptiſſe pallier alit.

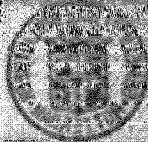
At ſtolidam iuuentam

Vt ſoſo mole precipiti decurre ſilo:

Vt illius puiſſe

Cogitata ſibi ſonſ ſincera nos fugiua relinquant.

Et curas inſpiciant



De Rami: Rotterdam.

Silua carminū antehac nūq̄ impressorū.

Supra iter.

Supra prima in cetero hominū degeneranti
et plurimocicilijs bono uarijs saluū bonos species
implegenti.

Supra secūda In funere locuta de hinc
atq̄ motus admonitio.

Supra tertia in diuitē auari.

Metri phalenticū de Rūmo.

Apologia Heralmi sub dyalogo laudabili at-
supra aduersus barbaros q̄ ueterū eloquentia cōcū-
niter doctrā Hoesium derident.

Guiljmi Goudari.

Proseponcia hollande. de hōpenuria mo-
hōtariū tamou uerac de hōtariū rālarū hōt-
sōtū.

A. F. Gerardus

1

DE OPTI
MO REIP. STATV DEQVE
 noua insula Vtopia libellus uer
 re aureus, nec minus salutaris
 quam Iulianus, clarissimū disertis
 simiq; uiri THOMAE MORI in
 dyta ciuitatis Londinensis cuius
 & Vicecomitis.
 EPIGRAMMATA clarissimi
 disertissimiq; uiri THOMAE
 MORI, pleraq; e Graecis uerba
 EPIGRAMMATA, Des. Etal
 mi Rotrodami.
 Apud indyano Basileam.



*Emman. G. 204
158*

Epigrammata. Basiliae, Ioannes Frobenius, mense Martio 1518.

Ex. Gemeentebibliotheek, Rotterdam

PROGYMNAS
MATA QVAEDAM PR
mae adolescentiae Erasmi

Louani apud Theodoricum Martinu
Aloftensium Anno, M.D. XXI.

Progyrnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae Erasmi. Louanii, Theodoricus Martinus, 1521.

Ex. Gemeentebibliotheek, Rotterdam

Ah tibi setosi ne candida rolla lateat
 Barba ah ne tenevnd tibi gterat. hyspida mentu.
 Huc ades o gumifolda / hic vitrea flumina iuxta :
Bramine floriges viridi recubabim? Umbra.
 Rosphame quid sterili iuuat indulgere labori? Amantur
istabilis.
 Desine : nō tanto certasse licet amanti.
 Et certasse tamē / qd tu si vertice ciclops
 Sidera sublimi feriat? licet / audiat ipse
 Quātuscūq; : nec illi cessero carmine / sola
 Vore velit : velit arguta recinisse cicuta.
 Nolle perq / minei sūt et mihi vallib; agri :
 Corpe Dametas / Voltu m̄ cedit amyntas.
 Nō mihi taurinis revuix viget horrida pilis :
 Verticā s̄ nobis candentia / lemnia nobis
 Qua : quid āplex? quid amas isana carinos?
 Rosphame litq; aras / anversis aspera (cerne) iterū rela
tur a cepe.
 Aurib; effusas r: fugit gumifolda quelas.
 Quid speras? s; et esto velit : vetat ille volentē.
 Qm̄ movere / et longos cōponito morte dolos.
 Extremū hoc gumifolda tui cape mim; amatis.
 Eternū gumifolda vale : dix necis aurtrix.
 Sic ait / et pulse referebant carmina rupes.
 Anne nem; gumifolda sonat / sonat audus ether.
 Thetidos iterea titonis ab equor: conump
 Paulati roreis subuecta iugalib; : alto
 Jā varescentē pellebat ab ethere noctem.
 Et iā phebez ferivntia sidera rupis .j. p̄nassi
 Culmia vix dubio cepe vubescere sole.

Obduxitq; suam nube nigra facem:
Ne indigna cernat funera.
Et tellus oneris impatiens grauis:
Imis tremit radicibus.
At quam pene summi tota per infera.
Regem sequuta tartara.

002 Verum quisq; id est, nil cadit omnium
Christi necem gementium:

Non solum solidum perdere non verit,
Verum imbecille ut roborat.

Quae te qua maneat iudicis vltio
Gens caeca saxo durior.

En Sol turpe scelus tectus abhorruit,
Et ellus q; sensit stolidi:

At tu sola animis caeca prociabus,
Quem perdis ignoras Deum.

Carmen heroicum de solemnitate paschali
atq; de triumphali Christi resurgens
Pompa. & descensu eius ad inferos.

Clara serenati latentur sidera cali,
Sidera quae quondam Domino moriente chorus
Condiderat radios: caligine turbida tristi
Latentur.

Tenti nec acuro
 Et hinc vultu decantat ora liquoris
 Nihil appelle Chitum
 Amantem dicit: Et verba plerumque sorores
 Inq. tuis labris
 Dulce hinc refert suadela liquore
 De tibi Colloque
 Infudit totum: incedunt vultu storem
 Cedit et ipse tibi
 Vitro perverta in hanc Redipuit orphum
 Tu molitanti hinc
 Et materiam fitat et dicit dicit quibus
 Tu potes et rapides
 Fluxumque fletum: fluxumque sistere vultus
 Fluxum saxapit
 Quia inquit quod dicitur Homine
 Mantua vultus
 Tanti Et hinc iam si dicitur fuit
 Tanta vultus fuit
 Perant in hanc Lira deduxit et tibi Cameris
 Perant in hanc
 Exant per hanc log Te patre Chitum
 Anglia in hanc
 Vel omni hanc vultu in hanc vultu
 Vultu vultu dicit
 In Calligantibus vultu con multu vultu
 vultu dicitur
 Plus p. q. Vultu vultu Tanti hanc
 In vultu punit vultu vultu vultu
 Hic vultu vultu hanc vultu vultu
 Fodit vultu et vultu vultu vultu
 Vultu quod hanc vultu vultu: vultu

INTRODUCTION

“Rhetorum colores / Blandaue mellifluæ
deamo figmenta poesis.”

Erasmus, *Carm.* 2, 92–93

“From boyhood”, Erasmus told Cornelis Gerard in 1489, “I have loved literature, and still love it, so much that it seems to me rightly to be preferred even to all the treasures of Arabia, and I would not give it up in exchange for Croesus’ entire fortune, however great.”¹ And in his famous *Carmen de senectutis incommodis*, composed in August 1506, he recalled how already as a beardless youth he had been “passionately devoted to reading and writing” and “madly in love with the figures of the rhetoricians and the beguiling fictions of mellifluous poetry” (*Carm.* 2, 90–93). As a young man, Erasmus found that his greatest strength lay in verse – a natural talent which, however, did not stop him from also writing in prose, even if it meant forcing himself to the task at first.² His teachers at ’s-Hertogenbosch might frown on his avid studies and try to cool his enthusiasm for imitating the ancients;³ his fellow monks at Steyn might look askance at his immoderate desire for assimilating all manner of books, both pagan and Christian, and for writing in all sorts of genres, both poetry and prose. And yet, as he told Johann von Botzheim many years later,⁴ it was as if “a kind of secret natural force” kept drawing him on to study literature and exercise his pen – all the more so, no doubt, because of his arduous struggles: “difficilia quæ pulchra”, as he was fond of saying.

Why he might have been so attracted to literary studies Erasmus does not explain. A good part of this fascination must have been owing to his father Gerard, who knew Latin and Greek, had worked as a scribe in Italy, heard Guarino lecture in Ferrara, and copied out a small library of classical works with his own hand.⁵ Erasmus’ six years of schooling at Deventer (1478–1484) and his two-odd years at ’s-Hertogenbosch (1484–1487) must also have inspired him more than he

¹ Ep. 23, ll. 37–39. The translation, like that in the following quotations, is taken from *CWE*.

² Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 3, ll. 16–18.

³ Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 2, ll. 31–32; Ep. 1110, ll. 4–5.

⁴ Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 2, ll. 29–32. See also Ep. 47, ll. 20–21; Ep. 1110, ll. 1–19.

⁵ Allen, *Op. ep.* I, pp. 47–48, ll. 19–24. Some of these biographical details were confirmed by Giuseppe Avarucci, *Due codici scritti da “Gerardus Helye” padre di Erasmo*, *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 26 (1983), pp. 215–255.

was afterwards prepared to admit. At Deventer he received instruction in the writing of Latin prose and verse and learned the rudiments of Greek; and even at 's-Hertogenbosch, medieval-minded though it was, he found new books to read – works of excellent Latinity from which he was able to acquire some fluency of style.⁶ Looking back at those early days, the mature Erasmus could discern only the bleaker picture of Dutch barbarism. But in Deventer he could admire, if only from afar, the great humanist Rodolphus Agricola, who visited the school several times between his return from Italy in 1479 and his departure from Groningen to Heidelberg in April 1484. And in his last year at Deventer (1483–1484) he could also look up to the school's new headmaster, the renowned scholar and poet Alexander Hegius, who lectured to all the boys on high days. Through them and the progressive teacher Jan Synthen, Erasmus found his imagination stirred by the new ideal of classical eloquence that the Italians were even then reviving.⁷ Already at Deventer and later at 's-Hertogenbosch he tried his hand at imitating the writers of antiquity; but of these early exercises in poetry and prose nothing has survived.

I. ERASMUS' CAREER AS A POET

At Steyn, 1487–1492

Erasmus joined the canons regular of St. Augustine at Steyn, most probably in 1487, and took his vows there in late 1488. He had been ready for the university since leaving Deventer; but after his parents' death in mid-1484 the guardians steered him and his brother Pieter instead to the school of the Brethren of the Common Life in 's-Hertogenbosch. In later years he blamed all his troubles on the executors who had wasted the youths' patrimony, prevented them from attending university, and finally pressured them into a monastic life for which Erasmus, at least, was quite unsuited.⁸ We must be careful, however, not to take the piteous story completely at face value.⁹

For the twenty-one-year-old the probationary year was naturally a time of anxiety, but also of new friendships and intellectual ferment. After the depressing years spent at 's-Hertogenbosch, Steyn must have seemed a very garden of the

⁶ Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 49, ll. 58–59.

⁷ Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 2, ll. 20–27; p. 48, ll. 36–40; see also Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 57, ll. 11–32. For an admirable survey of the development of Netherlandish humanism see Jozef IJsewijn, *The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries*, in: *Itinerarium Italicum*, ed. Heiko A. Oberman and Thomas A. Brady jr., Leiden, 1975, pp. 193–301.

⁸ Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 49, ll. 46–51.

⁹ DeMolen, *Spirituality* too readily accepts the self-serving stories of the letter to Grunnius (Ep. 447) and the *Compendium vitae*. The “premise” of his book is that Er. was born in 1469 and entered the monastery at age sixteen in 1485–1486. But DeMolen's reasoning is not borne out by historical evidence. Er. was born in 1466; see Vredeveld, *Ages*. He was twenty years old when he entered Steyn as a postulant in mid-1487 and twenty-two when he took his vows in late 1488.

Muses. That, at least, is the phrase he uses in his letter to the papal official “Lambertus Grunnius”, and that is how he idealized monastic life as late as 1491 in *De contemptu mundi*.¹⁰ The library at Steyn was stocked not only with a wide range of Christian authors, but also with the principal ancient writers.¹¹ Here, for instance, he could read Terence, whom he had already learned by heart along with Horace.¹² Moreover, there were at Steyn several young monks who, like him, had tasted the old wine of classical learning. “Arridebat puero aequalium grata sodalitas. Canebatur, ludebatur, certabatur versiculis.”¹³ Among them were Cornelis of Woerden – in the letter to Grunnius he is the *bête noire* “Cantelius”¹⁴ – and above all Servatius Rogerus. Initially Erasmus was allowed to spend much time reading and speaking with his friends night and day. Later, after he took the habit, this was apparently not always possible, since the house rules discouraged monks from conversing.¹⁵ They were permitted to write as often as they pleased, however. Erasmus for one never tired of letter-writing: “Crescit scribendo scribendi studium”,¹⁶ as he used to say. And in letter after letter, couched in the florid rhetoric of passionate love, he strove first to win Servatius as a bosom friend and then to confirm him as a partner in his studies.

Erasmus’ letters to Servatius are surely expressions of true friendship. “Fere solet ea aetas feruidos amores in sodales quosdam concipere”, he later told Grunnius.¹⁷ That these same letters, which run the gamut of love’s emotions, are undoubtedly also literary-rhetorical *progymnasmata* is by no means a contradiction to this. Rhetorical form colours, but does not necessarily exclude, sincerity and autobiographical authenticity. The fact is that the scholarly Erasmus could form no deep and lasting attachment except on the common ground of humanistic studies. “Quo litteras amo vehementius, eo me literatorum studia delectant iucundius”, he once confided to Cornelis Gerard.¹⁸ Having all things in common, reading and discussing the same works, composing verses together in friendly

¹⁰ Ep. 447, ll. 317–318; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 80, ll. 92–120. For the traditional image of the monastery as a “garden of delights” see R. Bultot, *Erasmie, Fpicure et le “De contemptu mundi”*, in: *Scrinium*, vol. 2, pp. 220–225.

¹¹ For an idea of the range of authors in the Steyn monastery library see Ep. 447, l. 315; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 80, ll. 96–108. A good many of the authors mentioned in Ep. 20, ll. 97–101 and Ep. 23 must also have been at Steyn. See further Hyma, *Youth*, pp. 164–166.

¹² See Ep. 447, ll. 346–349; Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 55, l. 84; p. 70, ll. 540–541.

¹³ Ep. 447, ll. 352–354.

¹⁴ Er. identifies him in Ep. 296, ll. 14–15. In Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 50, ll. 81–84 Er. says that this Cornelis was his roommate in Deventer. Later he went to Italy for a time; but worthless fellow that he was, according to Er., he learned precious little there.

¹⁵ See Ep. 4, ll. 5–14. J. K. Sowards, *The Youth of Erasmus: Some Reconsiderations*, ERSY 9 (1989), p. 18, n. 76 reminds us that we know nothing about the house rules at Steyn. But such a rule was in effect “at Sion near Delft, the head of the congregation of which Steyn was a priory” (introd. CWE Ep. 3). At Sion the monks were allowed to converse only on Sundays and feast-days; see Eelko Ypma, *Het Generaal Kapittel van Sion*, Nijmegen, 1949, p. 100.

¹⁶ Ep. 23, l. 5.

¹⁷ Ep. 447, ll. 320–321.

¹⁸ Ep. 23, ll. 40–41.

rivalry, writing elegant letters to each other when conversation was not possible: that was Erasmus' vision of friendship.¹⁹

For a while the course of true friendship did run smooth. In a letter to his brother Pieter, Erasmus praised Servatius as a young man of great personal charm, deeply devoted to literary studies.²⁰ The two young men basked in each other's friendship and exchanged a series of letters, of which some of Erasmus' have survived. From these letters we gain the impression, however, that Servatius soon wearied of his friend's unbounded enthusiasm. He began to be slow in responding to Erasmus' letters, so full of the passionate eloquence that he could not and would not match. When pleading proved fruitless, Erasmus took to chiding Servatius for his laziness in not pursuing his studies more avidly and spontaneously.²¹ He turned now to other monks more willing to match their pens with his, first and foremost Willem Hermans and Cornelis Gerard. It was to them above all that Erasmus was referring when he told Botzheim in 1523 how he loved to challenge his friends in literary rivalry.

Like the early letters to Servatius, Erasmus' earliest poems are exercises in the rhetoric of friendship. Two of them are evidently intended to persuade a reluctant friend – quite possibly Servatius – to make the most of their youth. The *Elegia de collatione doloris et leticiae* (*Carm.* 99) demonstrates the commonplace that joy – the joy of friendship shared – is the only thing that can extend the span of youth and increase the brilliance of intellect. The sorrow and cares of unrequited love, on the other hand, are detrimental to body and soul and hasten the onset of old age. Therefore the poet exhorts his friend to embrace joy together with him and cast sorrow and grief into the underworld, where they belong. This poem of friendship is thus in essence a variation on the *carpe diem* theme. Another variation on this theme, the *Elegia querula doloris* (*Carm.* 101), goes a step further. Grief and sorrow, the young poet laments, have so worn him out that he expects to see all the signs of old age visited upon him before long. These verses, which are based on the elegy that opens Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*, may well have been intended to persuade the reluctant friend to convict himself of hard-heartedness, feel pity for the poet, and at last return his affection.

The *Carmen buccolicum* (*Carm.* 102), traditionally assigned to the Deventer period, should more probably be placed among the early poems to Servatius (late 1487?). When his love for Gunifolda is not returned, the shepherd Rosphamus loses all interest in what was once his only concern, his flock – just as the lovelorn Erasmus gives up reading and writing literature, formerly his only concern, when Servatius refuses to respond to his ardent appeals. And just as Gunifolda prefers the “*amplexus caninos*” of uncouth, cave-dwelling Polyphemus to

¹⁹ See, for example, Ep. 12, ll. 7–9; Ep. 14, ll. 2–4; Ep. 20, ll. 61–73; and Ep. 23, ll. 1–46.

²⁰ See Ep. 3, ll. 33–35.

²¹ See Epp. 13 and 15.

the ardent songs of Rosphamus, so Servatius cannot bring himself to devote his heart to classical letters and would rather take his case among the “barbarians” in the monastery. Rosphamus, therefore – like Erasmus in his letters to Servatius – laments that he is but ploughing the seashore and (quoting Vergil) prays for death to release him from his sorrows. If this interpretation is correct, the poem stands in the tradition of the allegorical eclogue. Indeed, though it also borrows eclectically from Ovid, Theocritus, and Boccaccio, it is at bottom an imitation of Vergil’s second bucolic – a pastoral that Erasmus read as a poem of disparate friendship.²² But just as Vergil’s second eclogue lets Corydon reject his unfulfillable passion at the end, so too the shepherd Rosphamus may yet come to his senses and reject the hard-hearted Gunifolda.

That obviously does not happen in the eclogue itself. The possibility, here only intimated by Corydon’s example, is brought home in the *Oda amatoria* (*Carm.* 103). This poem opens with a pastoral scene reminiscent of Vergil’s second eclogue. Like Corydon, the hapless lover Amyntas wanders about disconsolately and laments his fate. And like Corydon, Erasmus’ Amyntas rebels in the end against the tyranny of passion. In language closely following Horace’s fifteenth epode, he warns the beloved to mend his ways. If not, so be it! The friend will learn to regret his hard-heartedness – if he does not relent before then.

Erasmus’ rhetorical-literary attempts to induce Servatius to return his friendship in an exchange of letters and poems ended in failure. After berating him for his laziness and exhorting him to pursue his studies, Erasmus allowed his friendship to turn first into regretful defiance and finally into amiable indifference. Servatius’ place in Erasmus’ affections was soon occupied by another young monk at Steyn, his kinsman Willem Hermans, who had earlier studied with him at Deventer. In the manuscript version of *Antibarbari* Erasmus praises him as “equalium meorum vnus et optimus et doctissimus et de quo dubitare possis, moribus ne sit amabilior an ingenio admirabilior”.²³ And as late as 1496 he can still speak of him as the closest of friends, a very Patroclus and Pirithous, “qum omnibus in rebus tum liberalibus studiis”.²⁴ Willem, in short, fulfilled for a time Erasmus’ dream of friendship based not just on personal charm but also on a spirited intellectual and poetic rivalry. Beatus Rhenanus well describes their relationship at Steyn: “In eo loco Guilielmum Hermannum Goudensem literis deditissimum iuuenem aliquot annis studiorum sodalem habuit, cuius extat Odarum Sylua. Hoc socio adiutus et accensus nullum Latinorum autorum volumen non excussit. Diu noctuque erant in literis. Tempus quod aequales alii iocis somno comessationibus ignauiter absumebant, hii duo libris euoluendis et exercendo stilo impendebant.”²⁵

²² *De rat. stud.*, ASD I, 2, p. 139, ll. 5–9; p. 142, ll. 7–12.

²³ ASD I, 1, p. 38, l. 9–p. 39, l. 2; see also Ep. 23, ll. 68–70.

²⁴ See Ep. 49, ll. 21–23.

²⁵ Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 57, ll. 32–38.

Among the fruits of their friendly competition we may certainly reckon the spring poem (*Carm.* 106), in which Erasmus and Willem, like two shepherds in amoebean contest, strive mightily to outdo each other in alternating distichs praising the joys of springtime and youth. Another poem of this period (early 1488?), entitled *Ad amicum suum* (*Carm.* 109), is quite possibly also addressed to Willem. In these verses Erasmus depicts the cares and sorrows that incessantly burden his soul. For all its laments, however, this ode is an elaborate compliment to a new friend without whom, the poet confesses, he would long since have succumbed to grief. Shakespeare was to use the very same conceit in sonnet 30, the concluding lines of which read: "But if the while I think on thee, dear friend, / All losses are restored and sorrows end." The underlying pattern returns in later letters and poems to other new-found friends, beginning with the ode to Cornelis (*Carm.* 93), written in the same metre as *Carm.* 109.

This *Carmen lamentabile super contemptu artis poeticae: Oda ad Cornelium*, as it seems to have been entitled originally,²⁶ was composed in early 1489 when Erasmus was very eager to get into contact with Cornelis Gerard, a learned monk in Hieronymusdal (Lopsen) outside the gates of Leiden. In the poem Erasmus recounts the many hardships that would surely have broken his spirit had not his new friend restored his soul. Erasmus' concerns, however, have evidently changed. Whereas the earlier ode *Ad amicum suum* (*Carm.* 109) still complains of the unabating "furor" of love, the *Oda ad Cornelium* laments the depression brought on by the "barbarians" who constantly harass him in his classical studies and who condemn his fascination with pagan letters. Erasmus professes that these sorrows have forced him to abandon literature, formerly his greatest joy. But the report of Cornelis' enormous fame as a poet has so heartened him that he has once more taken up the pen to oppose the barbarians.

To Erasmus' delight Cornelis not only approved of the ode but also paid him the compliment of converting it into a dialogue by inserting three new sections of his own and adding an epilogue, written in hexameters. In this way the joint poem put into practice one of Erasmus' favourite maxims, later to be placed at the head of the *Adagia*: "Amicorum communia omnia". The ode to Cornelis became an *Apologia aduersus barbaros* (*Carm.* 93, with the epilogue, *Carm.* 135). Of course, in changing Erasmus' original ode of friendship into a dialogue, Cornelis also altered the poem's tone and emphasis. While Erasmus' exempla are drawn wholly from the sphere of classical poetry and mythology, Cornelis adds numerous examples from the Bible. He furthermore calls for a classicizing Christian poetry, garbed not in the cowl but in the toga, and so transforms Erasmus' ode into a manifesto hurled against the obscurantist enemies of biblical humanism.²⁷

²⁶ See Ep. 19, l. 6; Ep. 23, ll. 111–113. Part of the heading was written in Greek characters.

²⁷ Cf. Ep. 22, ll. 1–3, referring to the *Apologia*: "Gratias ago immortales tuac humanitati, Corneli dulcissime, cui me vsque adeo curae esse video, vt inermi mihi iaculum, quo derisorum latera perfodiám (sic enim scribis), tanto studio paraueris."

In 1489 Erasmus was not yet ready to follow Cornelis' lead and become a poet of Christian themes. His major concern for the time being remained the defence of classical eloquence and learning. We can see this concern clearly in his other works of that year. Closely recalling the terms employed in the ode to Cornelis, he hails the well-known (and, apparently, well-to-do) scholar Engelbert Schut of Leiden as a bulwark against the forces of barbarism (*Carm.* 98). His *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* pits the classical Muse Thalia against Barbaries, the anti-Muse of medieval learning.²⁸ And in the first draft of *Antibarbari*, which dates from early 1490, Erasmus has Cornelis declaim against the barbarians who in their ignorance and laziness deride the humanists for studying the ancient writers and emulating their eloquence.

Through Cornelis, Erasmus became acquainted with at least some of the poetry of Girolamo Balbi. While he did not share Cornelis' enthusiasm for this expatriate Italian humanist, Erasmus thought well enough of him to take a *carpe diem* poem of his as the model for an elegy to a friend (perhaps Cornelis or Willem Hermans), urging him to take advantage of the spring of life, while it yet lasts, and to make good use of that time of youth that is so peculiarly suited to the study of literature.²⁹ He entitled it *Elegia de mutabilitate temporum: Ad amicum* (*Carm.* 104). Evidently stimulated by Cornelis' ideals and by his own ever-widening circle of knowledge, Erasmus began to extend his thematic range in 1490, first of all into the sphere of popular philosophy and moral satire. The *Elegia de patientia* (*Carm.* 105) was followed in the winter of 1490–1491 by a series of hortatory elegies on false goals, lechery, and greed (*Carmm.* 94–96). These poems, to which Erasmus had planned to add two more elegies on worldly ambition and sinful curiosity, shortly afterwards became the core of his *De contemptu mundi* (c. spring 1491), a *suasoria* addressed to a "cousin" who is exhorted to disdain the stormy seas of this world and enter the tranquil harbour of the monastery.

The themes of the three moral elegies – these *progymnasmata*, as Erasmus later termed them – do show the direction in which his interests were moving at the start of the decade. From writing sermons in verse to composing poems on sacred themes it is, after all, but a step. In Ep. 28 (which is to be redated to c. March 1491) Erasmus announces to Cornelis that he has taken that step.³⁰ Glancing back at the poetry that he wrote in the one or two years after he had entered Steyn, when he was only a lad ("puero") and still little more than a layman ("prope-modum adhuc seculari"), he apologizes if any of the verses he is sending should be sentimental to a fault ("aequo mollius"). More recently, he says, he composed a verse satire – the tripartite satire on the folly of mankind (*Carmm.* 94–96). He had also written an *Oratio funebris* for Berta van Heyen along with two epitaphs (*Carmm.* 113–114). And at the moment he is working on a lyric ode. At the

²⁸ For the authorship of *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* see introd. *Carm.* 128.

²⁹ Ep. 16, ll. 31–32.

³⁰ Reasons for the redating of Ep. 28 are given in introd. *Carm.* 50.

urging of his friend, however, he intends to write henceforth only on sacred themes: "Nihil posthac (quandoquidem id me tam benigne mones) condere statui, quod non aut sanctorum praeconia aut sanctitatem ipsam redolet."³¹

It is at least in part to Cornelis' influence, then, that we may attribute Erasmus' turn to moral-philosophical and sacred themes. In that most productive winter and spring of 1490–1491 he wrote not only the three satires on vices and follies, but also the Christmas poem *De casa natalitia pueri Iesu* (*Carm.* 42), a *Rhythmus iambicus in laudem Annae* (*Carm.* 1), another hymn in praise of the patron saint of his monastery, Pope Gregory the Great (*Carm.* 107), and a short meditation on the popular late-medieval theme *De quatuor nouissimis* (*Carm.* 108). To Cornelis, who had earlier written a history of the civil war in the diocese of Utrecht, Erasmus furthermore dedicated an *Oratio de pace*, written in c. 1489, during the civil war that had once again flared up in Holland in 1488 and was not to end until 1492. The theme of war and peace found its place also in *Carm.* 50, *In laudem Michaelis et angelorum omnium* (early spring 1491). The section devoted to St. Michael, the "angel of peace", concludes with a prayer for an end to the bloody furore of war. The following two parts on the archangels Gabriel and Raphael likewise end with the thought of peace on earth. In his letter to Johann von Botzheim Erasmus does not mention the civil war, but does recall that he wrote this sapphic ode at the urging of the prior of a church dedicated to St. Michael (probably the one at Den Hem near Schoonhoven and Gouda). It was a sign of the times, he says, that the man did not dare post it up in his church because it was so poetical as to seem Greek to him.³²

From 1492 to 1506

Erasmus' poetic output, as we have seen, peaked in 1490–1491. We shall have to wait until 1499 before we encounter another such efflorescence of poetry from him. Before that could happen, however, he had first to spread his wings and leave the small circle of friends he had been cultivating. On 25 April 1492 Erasmus was ordained priest. Sometime thereafter, probably still in 1492, he was granted leave from the monastery to become secretary to Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai and chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece. In this wider world he made many new friends, particularly Jacob Batt of Bergen op Zoom. Still, he took care to keep up contacts with the friends he had left behind in Holland. When he revised his *Antibarbari* in 1495, he named Willem Hermans and Jacob Batt among the interlocutors of book I; and in book II, now lost, he planned to depict Cornelis Gerard conversing with other scholars about the glory of literary studies.³³

³¹ See Ep. 28, ll. 8–17.

³² Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 3, l. 30–p. 4, l. 2.

³³ See Ep. 37, ll. 13–14. For the date of composition see C.G. van Leijenhorst, *A Note on the Date of the "Antibarbari"*, Erasmus in English II (1981–1982), p. 7.

We know of no poetry written during these first years outside the monastery walls. This is not surprising, if we consider how little free time Erasmus enjoyed at the bustling court of a bishop who never stayed in any one place for long. To Willem Hermans, who had urged him to resume his writing, he remonstrated: "Et tu in tanto circumstrepentium agmine Pierio me iubes vacare labori?"³⁴ It is not until the early autumn of 1495, after the bishop had given him permission to study theology in Paris, that we find Erasmus the poet once more making an appearance.

Having arrived in Paris, he immediately took the opportunity of introducing himself to Robert Gaguin, general of the Trinitarian order and the most prominent humanist in France. He did so both in *Carm.* 5 and in a now-lost prose letter, the effusive flattery of which Gaguin modestly declined. Impressed by Erasmus' genius, Gaguin quickly accepted the Dutchman into his literary circle and introduced him to the Italian expatriate poet Fausto Andrelini, with whose collection of amatory elegies, *Liuvia*, Paris, 1490, Erasmus had already become acquainted at Steyn. To both of these humanists Erasmus addressed a charming poem (*Carm.* 6) – a kind of dream-vision in which he lauds Gaguin's history of France, *De origine et gestis Francorum compendium*, Paris, 1495, and announces Andrelini's forthcoming *Eglogae*. He published the two complimentary poems, along with two of his earlier religious odes, *De casa natalitia pueri Iesu* and *In laudem Michaelis et angelorum omnium*, in a little collection entitled *De casa natalitia Iesu*, Paris, [January 1496?].

To his edition of Willem Hermans' *Sylvia odarum*, Paris, 1497, Erasmus contributed not only a prose letter of introduction to his tight-fisted patron Hendrik van Bergen (Ep. 49) but also two new specimens of his own poetic skill: a liminary epigram commending the moral purity of his friend's work (*Carm.* 30) and *In morbo de fatiis suis querela* (*Carm.* 7). In spite of the title, the latter poem is not primarily concerned with Erasmus' low spirits during an illness, real as they no doubt were. Following a by now familiar pattern, Erasmus first rhetorically amplifies his unceasing hardships and then turns this long preamble into an elegantly understated compliment to Gaguin, now both friend and patron, without whom he must quickly sink into the slough of despond.

During his often interrupted theological studies in Paris Erasmus found time to produce a series of occasional poems, partly to exercise his pen, partly also to seek much-needed patronage: two epitaphs (*Carmm.* 14–15) for David of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht, who had died on 16 April 1496, a eulogy (*Carm.* 38) for the singer and composer Jan Ockeghem, who had died on 6 February 1497, an epitaph for the otherwise unknown Margaret Honora (*Carm.* 13), and three for the equally unidentified Odilia and her son (*Carmm.* 9–11). Patronage continued to be a most uncertain source of income. Like so many penniless poets before him, Erasmus could always take his revenge on a stingy patron in a

³⁴ Ep. 39, ll. 135–136.

sarcastic epigram (*Carm.* 41); but whether he liked it or not, he had no choice but to go on looking for benefactors willing to give a little money in exchange for much praise. He worked especially hard to obtain the patronage of Anna van Borssele in the winter of 1498–1499, churning out a *Paeon Virgini Matri dicendus* in prose and several other prayers when he was staying at her castle at Tournehem.³⁵ To please her, Erasmus also expanded a hymn to St. Ann (*Carm.* 1) that he had written as a young man at Steyn and presented it to her on 27 January 1501. His verse paraphrase of the antiphon *Salve, regina* (*Carm.* 118) may also have been intended for her.

After returning to Paris by way of Holland in the early spring of 1499, Erasmus found his zest for writing poetry reawakened. With an enthusiasm unmatched since the beginning of the decade he threw himself once more into the writing of verse. On 2 May 1499 he wrote Jacob Batt: “Cum Fausto [Andrelino] mihi et altero quodam nouo poeta summa familiaritas; cum Delio certamen acerrimum.”³⁶ This “Delius” is most probably the theologian Gillis van Delft, who had arrived in Paris some years before. Erasmus’ contribution to the contest was the lengthy *Paeon diuae Mariae* (*Carm.* 110). Gillis’ poem, also a sapphic ode, is entitled *In vitam diue virginis Marie* and is addressed “ad Herasimum poetam”.³⁷

Late in the spring of 1499 Erasmus was invited by Lord Mountjoy, one of his pupils, to visit England. In that “world apart” he made the acquaintance of men such as he had not met before: Thomas More and John Colet, William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre. The quickest and best way to impress them was undoubtedly through his verse. So it was that in the summer and autumn of 1499 he composed a remarkable series of occasional and religious poems. As if to complete a cycle on the birth, life, and death of Christ, begun with the ode *De casa natalitia pueri Iesu* (*Carm.* 42) and continued with the *Paeon diuae Mariae* (*Carm.* 110), Erasmus now produced a *Carmen de monstrosis signis Christo moriente factis* (*Carm.* 111) and an epyllion *De solemnitate paschali atque de triumphali Christi resurgentis pompa et descensu eius ad inferos* (*Carm.* 112), the latter in imitation of Macarius Mutius’ *De triumpho Christi*, Venice, 29 March 1499. The *Contestatio saluatoris ad hominem sua culpa pereuntem* (*Carm.* 117), which carries on a late-medieval tradition, may also have been written around that time. Greatly expanded later in 1499, this poem became the very popular *Expostulatio Iesu* (*Carm.* 43), first published in 1511. Two other poems, composed in the autumn of 1499, are evidently the work of a young scholar eager to win powerful backers. The first is the remarkable *Ode de laudibus Britanniae Regisque Henrici septimi ac regionum liberorum* (*Carm.* 4), which he offered as a token of his esteem to the eight-year-old Prince Henry. The second, entitled *Carmen extemporale*

³⁵ Ep. 93, ll. 101–102.

³⁶ Ep. 95, ll. 20–21.

³⁷ See introd. *Carm.* 110.

(*Carm.* 115), repays in kind the compliments that Henry's tutor, the poet-scholar John Skelton, had earlier paid Erasmus.

Between late January 1500, when he returned to Paris, and 4 September 1506, when he received a doctorate in theology at Turin, Erasmus' goals were becoming more sharply defined: he was going to aim at nothing less than the marriage of classical philology to Christian theology.³⁸ He was learning Greek night and day, honing his skills with translations of Euripides and Lucian. As the first fruits of these theological and philological studies he published *Enchiridion militis christiani*, together with some other short works and a liminary poem (*Carm.* 36), in *Lucubratiunculae aliquot*, Antwerp, 1503 (which may be 1504 n.s.).

In striving for his great goals he found himself, again and again, strapped for money. If only he had the resources to tide him over the lean years! In the meantime he did what he could to live by his pen. In addition to a series of epigrams (*Carmm.* 24–27) interpreting various mythological depictions either for some wealthy collector or, less probably, at the request of an artist, he wrote several brief poems to important personages. One of these epigrams (*Carm.* 35) thanks a patron for a gift; another (*Carm.* 65), accompanying his verse translations of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulide*, asks William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, for his patronage; and a third (*Carm.* 8) praises Hammes castle near Calais, where he stayed for a time as the guest of Lord Mountjoy in June 1506. His verse encomium of Philip the Handsome (*Carm.* 64), which accompanied the long prose *Panegyricus* of 1504, was no doubt written against the grain, as Erasmus sighed;³⁹ but his work did bring him fifty gold florins – a handsome gratuity indeed.⁴⁰

Of the poems that Erasmus composed in the years following his second stay in England, one in particular merits attention: the moving *Carmen de senectutis incommodis* (*Carm.* 2). Erasmus wrote it in August 1506, a few months before his fortieth birthday, while he was travelling through the Alpine passes to Italy. In this *carpe diem* meditation on the flight of youth and the rapid approach of old age, Erasmus at the midpoint of life introduces as the central exemplum the story of his own career and concludes by exhorting himself to devote his life henceforth wholly to Christ, without whom all his studies and aspirations are vain.

³⁸ On Er.' development from "poeta" and "declamator" to a philologist-theologian see IJsewijn, *Erasmus*; Erika Rummel, *Erasmus' "Annotations" on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian*, Toronto, 1986, pp. 3–18. Cf. Ep. 138, ll. 44–48 and Ep. 181, ll. 24–26, dated 11 December 1500 and c. December 1504 respectively, where Er. tells first Jacob Batt and then John Colet that only a shortage of cash prevents him from devoting himself wholly to sacred literature, as he hopes to do soon. The shifting of Er.' priorities was obviously constrained by financial worries. He had to secure a living first through his secular writings.

³⁹ Ep. 176, l. 6: "quid enim molestius quam alieno scribere stomacho?" Er. is saying that it is tiresome business to write against one's own inclinations. Cf. Hier., preface to Orig. *Hom. in Lc.*, PL 26, 229–230: "molestam rem et tormento similem alieno, vt ait Tullius, stomacho et non suo scribere"; Er., Ep. 181, ll. 52–53; 1194, l. 20.

⁴⁰ Allen, *Op. ep.* 1, p. 44, ll. 25–27.

From 1507 to 1536

The publication of his collected verse in *Varia epigrammata*, printed together with the revised *Adagiorum collectanea*, Paris, 24 December 1506–8 January 1507, marks the end of the first half of Erasmus' career. For the last time poetry receives, so to speak, equal billing with his prose. Hitherto Erasmus' verse had always balanced out his prose in importance, if not necessarily in length. His need for friendship at Steyn had found expression in poems and letters alike; the attacks on the "barbarians" occurred not only in the poems to Cornelis Gerard and Engelbert Schut but also in *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* and *Antibarbari*. The funeral oration for Berta van Heyen was accompanied by two verse epitaphs. *De contemptu mundi* had its counterpart in the three moral satires. And the theme of *Oratio de pace* was reflected in the ode *In laudem Michaelis et angelorum omnium*. This relative balance continued throughout the 1490s. Occasional poems were matched by the letters he was even then beginning to collect; the prose prayers to Christ and the Virgin and the paeon to Mary were counterbalanced by the verse paeon to Mary and the epyllion on Christ's descent into hell. Likewise the steady flow of original poems and the verse translations from the Greek between the autumn of 1499 and the autumn of 1506 corresponded to an equally steady output of prose works: *Adagiorum collectanea*, *Enchiridion*, *Panegyricus*, and, of course, the ever-growing body of letters. But after the publication of the *Adagia* and *Epigrammata* in the winter of 1506–1507 the earlier balance between poetry and prose in Erasmus' writing shifts suddenly and dramatically in favour of prose. Henceforth, whether he was inserting metrical translations from Greek into the *Adagia*, writing complimentary poems or epitaphs, or recording his reaction to one event or another, poetry would be mostly reduced to a pastime for himself, a service to his friends, a handmaiden to his prose.

Erasmus' satirical bent, evident well before 1507 in his hammer-blows against Hemmerlin's edition of Vergil (*Carm.* 116), his caustic epigrams on an uncourtly courtier who despised clerics (*Carmm.* 21–23), and his ridicule of the "blind" corrector of his Euripides translations (*Carm.* 33), naturally manifested itself also in the verses he wrote at the time of his *Moriae encomium* and *Iulius exclusus*. One may well wonder if the three witty pasquinades on the rape of Europa by the monks (*Carmm.* 138–140) did indeed come from his pen while he was at Rome in 1509. Almost certainly, however, he was the author of one or two vitriolic epigrams against the warrior-pope Julius II. The first (*Carm.* 119) must have been written in the late spring of 1511; the second (if Erasmus was indeed its author) came hard on the heels of news that the pope had recovered from a near-fatal illness in November of that same year (*Carm.* 141). Two years later, in the autumn of 1513, Erasmus pleased his English friends by mocking the rout of the French in the Battle of the Spurs (*Carm.* 58).

Closely related to satirical pieces like these are the tongue-in-cheek poems that Erasmus could write as well as any, when the spirit moved him. His mock

Epitaphium scurrulae temulenti (*Carm.* 52) – probably at the death of Henrique Caiado of Lisbon – dates from the summer of 1509. And in June 1515, after it had rained for months on end, he penned a note to the rain-god Jupiter (*Carm.* 59), threatening to repeal his title “optimus maximus” and replace it with “pessimus infimusque diuum”.

Most of Erasmus’ verse in the years of his greatest fame was written for his friends. His triumphal journey to Basel by way of Alsace in 1514 brought him much adulation, in prose and verse, which he had to repay in like coin: to the schoolmaster Johannes Sapidus (*Carm.* 3), for example, or the famed humanist Sebastian Brant (*Carm.* 54), and all the scholars of Sélestat (*Carm.* 53). Almost overrun by Spanish visitors in Brussels during the winter of 1516–1517, he was asked by Álvaro Gómez to compose an epigram for his poem on the Order of the Golden Fleece (*Carm.* 120). Not long afterwards, during a brief stay at London in April 1517, Erasmus wrote two more liminary epigrams, this time for Bernard André, Henry VII’s poet laureate, for whom he did not care very much. One (*Carm.* 121) compliments the blind scholar for shedding light on St. Augustine’s *De ciuitate Dei*; the other (*Carm.* 67) praises his collection of hymns, which are Christian-medieval in content and (alas) also in style. Sometimes his verse serves as a kind of covering letter for a gift: the young Wilhelm Nesen receives an epigram (*Carm.* 61) along with a reed pen; and a newly wed couple in Basel get some punning verses (*Carm.* 80) along with a rooster, a hen, and their chicks – a joke that was frustrated when his housekeeper gave the birds away to someone else. And as the ageing humanist paid tribute to his friends in life, so he remembered them in death, in epitaph after epitaph: the theologian Maarten van Dorp (*Carm.* 71), the printers Johann Froben and Dirk Martens (*Carm.* 73–74 and 126), the councillors Nicolaas Utenhove (*Carm.* 78–79) and Antonius Clava (*Carm.* 86), his patron Jérôme de Busleyden (*Carm.* 68–69), his friend Bruno Amerbach and his young wife (*Carm.* 70), the two wives of Pieter Gillis (*Carm.* 83–85), and the legal scholar Ulrich Zasius (*Carm.* 92).

New in Erasmus’ poetry after 1507 are his original Greek verses. Before this time we possess from his pen only a two-line Greek epitaph for Jacob Batt (*Carm.* 16) and a brief cento stitched together (not entirely according to the rules of the genre) from Homeric verses, half-lines, and verse fragments (*Carm.* 63). Longer Greek poems of his own composition make their first appearance in the votive poem to Our Lady of Walsingham (*Carm.* 51), dating from the spring of 1512. Like the much later verses to Ste. Geneviève, this votive poem presents itself as a model of how to venerate a saint without falling into popular superstition: not by expecting worldly rewards, but by praying for a clean heart devoted to Christ. Several other Greek poems were to follow: an epitaph for Jérôme de Busleyden (*Carm.* 68), another for Johann Froben (*Carm.* 74), and a third for Nicolaas Utenhove (*Carm.* 79). Among the poetic variations presented in the colloquy *Conuiuuium poeticum* and dealing with the theme that one should first and foremost tend the garden of learning, there is a four-line Greek epigram (*Carm.* 130,

ll. 34–37). Erasmus' last Greek poem – a dialogue between a scholar and a bookseller (*Carm.* 87) – graced the title-page of Simon Grynaeus' edition of Aristotle's works (Basel, 1531).

A good deal of Erasmus' religious poetry in the latter half of his career was likewise written at the request of friends. It was for John Colet's new school for boys that he composed the series of epigrams on the boy Jesus (*Carmm.* 44–48). Designed to inculcate the virtues of clean living and pure Latinity, they were first published together with *Concio de puero Iesu*, [Paris?], 1 September [1511?]. In the same collection he included a greatly expanded version of his *Expostulatio Iesu cum homine suapte culpa pereunte* (*Carm.* 43). His lengthy *Christiani hominis institutum* (*Carm.* 49), also written at the request of John Colet, was first published in a collection of ancient proverbs and maxims entitled *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore*, Louvain, 1514. Actually it is not an original work as such, but a versification of Colet's English catechism. Half a decade later Jan van Merleberge asked Erasmus to write him a poem praising Mary Magdalen and containing an acrostic of his name. Erasmus obliged the ageing monk with the epigram (*Carm.* 124) in the summer of 1520. And the *Virginis matris apud Laurentum cultae liturgia*, with its exquisite verses in many different metres (*Carm.* 133), was written in 1523, not on Erasmus' own initiative, but at the request of the Swiss priest Thiébaud Biétry.

Even Erasmus' last religious poem, the graceful votive poem to Ste. Geneviève (*Carm.* 88), is at least in part a tribute to Guillaume Cop – the same physician to whom he had earlier dedicated his *Carmen de senectutis incommodis*. Perhaps it was the old Cop who gently prodded Erasmus to fulfil his vow after so many years.⁴¹ Be that as it may, the poem, which describes how he was miraculously cured of quartan fever in the winter of 1496–1497, is not an outpouring of devotion like that of the earlier *Rhythmus iambicus in laudem Annae* or the *Paeon diuae Mariae*. After so long a delay in fulfilling his vow, after so much harsh criticism of the popular cult of the saints, we can hardly expect such lyrics from him now. Instead, the votive poem is written in a measured, low-key style. Its metre, the dactylic hexameter, does not readily lend itself to lyric flights. So Erasmus' tribute to the saint is placed between a beautifully evocative description of the sacred landscape in which Geneviève once moved and a narration of the cure she performed. At the end of the poem the focus is not on Ste. Geneviève, but on Christ. It is as if the old humanist is telling his readers one last time: this is how you should venerate a saint, by attributing all her glory to its true source, Christ.

⁴¹ See Nicolaas van der Blom, "Remitte exemplar epistole ad Copum": On Allen, *Epistle 2509*, ERSY 5 (1985), p. 62.

II. IMITATION AND MODELS

In his handbook for preachers, *Ecclesiastes siue de ratione concionandi*, Erasmus makes one of his rare comments on the art of poetry. Poetry, he explains, is not just the art of versifying. The poet must also invest his words with dignity, gravity, charm, seductive imagery, and a certain divine inspiration (ἐνθουσιασμός). Only he who has universal knowledge can be a poet. He concludes: “Vera poesis nihil aliud est quam ex omnium disciplinarum delitiis ac medullis condita placenta aut, vt melius dicam, ex electissimis quibusque flosculis compositum mellificium.”⁴²

Erasmus' characterization of poetry as an erudite, highly refined compilation, drawn and distilled from many sources and models and presented in metrical form and eloquent language, should remind us of the gulf that separates Renaissance poetics from the romantic and neoromantic theories of poetry to which we are heir and from which we have only in the past few decades begun to break away. While the romantic tradition conditioned the reader to look for originality and individual genius, the Renaissance reader expected variations on commonplace themes, expressed in an elegant style and modelled on the great masters of the past and present. Writing poetry was, to be sure, an art that requires a measure of divine inspiration.⁴³ But the *poeta doctus* also understood that the Muses grant their aid only in exchange for hard work and consequently applied Varro's dictum to his own craft: “Quoniam dii facientes adiuant, prius inuocabo deos” (*Adag.* 517). Poetry, in short, had to be learned by assiduous study of handbooks and by tireless practice in imitating the finest models that tradition had to offer.

The honey-bee image that Erasmus employs to describe the making of poetry has a long history.⁴⁴ It received its classic expression in Horace, *Carm.* IV, 2, 25–32. In this passage Horace likens Pindar to a swan and himself to a bee that flits from flower to flower, culling from them only the very best to make his own honey.⁴⁵ Later Seneca took up the image in *Epist.* 84, a lengthy discussion of the process by which thinkers and writers gain their universal knowledge. Such erudition, Seneca explains, is acquired from many disparate sources just as the bee gathers nectar from flowers of all kinds. Once we have imbibed the nectar of learning, however, we must digest and transform it within us into honey of our own.

⁴² See *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 258, ll. 256–263. The first of the two images was later used in Thomas Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, in: Ronald B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1904; repr. 1958, p. 26: “... neither is there almost any poeticall fygment, wherein there is not some thing comprehended, taken out either of Histories, or out of the Phisicks or Ethicks; wher vpon *Erasmus Roterodamus* very wittilie termes Poetry, a daintie dish seasoned with delights of euery kind of discipline.”

⁴³ On the ancient theory of “*furor poeticus*” see n. *Carm.* 6, 4 below. The Platonic doctrine was revived in the Italian Renaissance. See Marsilio Ficino, *De diuino furore*, in: *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, Basel, 1576; repr. Turin, 1962, pp. 612–615; and Poliz., *Sylu.* 4, 146–169.

⁴⁴ See n. *Carm.* 2, 97–98 below.

⁴⁵ Cf. Et.' commentary on this passage in *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 625, ll. 16–20.

Imitation in Renaissance Latin verse takes many forms, ranging from simple borrowing to the most subtle and sophisticated textual interplay.⁴⁶ On the lowest, least demanding level the poet follows one model throughout. Since this sort of imitation was considered apprentice work, the mature Erasmus tended to avoid it. But even he could make an exception when the pressure of the moment forced him to come up with an extempore composition. In a last-minute rush to fill a blank space in a presentation copy of his translation of Euripides' *Hecuba*, which he wanted to give to Archbishop William Warham, he versified a brief letter by Angelo Poliziano to his patron Lorenzo de' Medici.⁴⁷ There Poliziano had used the learned conceit of the poet as a swan who can sing only when the fair breezes of patronage blow. Erasmus had already borrowed this argument once before, in one of his own letters (Ep. 144). In *Carm.* 65 he does the same in verse, following his model freely, changing or adding details to suit the specific situation, adorning the material with poetic language and metre.

Closely related to this kind of adaptation from prose into verse is translation from Greek to Latin or transposition from one metrical pattern into another. Erasmus recommended all three kinds of transformation as useful exercises for the aspiring writer: "Vertendis Graecis autoribus non mediocriter augebimus sermonis copiam, propterea quod haec lingua rerum verborumque ditissima est. Fuerit autem vtilius interdum paraphrasi quoque cum illis certare. Profuerit plurimum carmina poetarum oratione prosa retexere, rursus orationem solutam numeris astringere, atque idem argumentum in aliud atque aliud carminis genus transfundere. Magnopere iuuabit et illud, si eum locum qui maxime videbitur scaterere copia ex autore quopiam aemulemur, et eum nostro Marte vel aequare vel etiam superare contendamus."⁴⁸

One can see the results of such training in many Renaissance poems. More's and Erasmus' translations from the *Greek Anthology* and Euripides were, in part at least, exercises in competing with the Greek poets.⁴⁹ Transpositions from one

⁴⁶ For some recent discussions, which deal with the subject in far greater detail than is possible here, see G.W. Pigman, *Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance*, RQ 23 (1980), pp. 1-32; and his *Neo-Latin Imitation of the Latin Classics*, in: *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. P. Godman and O. Murray, Oxford, 1990, pp. 199-210; Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*, New Haven, 1982, pp. 1-53; Arthur F. Kinney, *Continental Humanist Poetics*, Amherst, 1989, pp. 3-45; *Intertextuality*, ed. Heinrich F. Plett, Berlin, 1991.

⁴⁷ *Epistolae*, book VII, in: *Omnia opera Angeli Politiani*, Venice, Aldo Manuzio, 1498, sig. 16^v.

⁴⁸ *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 34, ll. 168-176; Quint. *Inst.* X, 5, 2-11. See also Er. *De rat. stud.*, ASD I, 2, p. 131, l. 5-p. 132, l. 15.

⁴⁹ Nineteen translations by Er. from the *Greek Anthology* appeared in *Selecta epigrammata Graeca Latine versa, ex septem Epigrammatum Graecorum libris*, Basel, Io. Bebelius, 1529. Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 103 mistakenly says that "only a few" of them can be traced back to the *Adagia*. In fact, every one of them is taken from the *Adagia*. See Maria Cytowska, *Erasmus traducteur de l' "Anthologie Grecque"*, Eos 67 (1979), pp. 143-149. The same holds true for his translations from Homer, published in *Prouerbia quaedam Homerica D. Erasmi Roterodami labore exquisitissimo e Graeco in linguam Latinam versa, ingenii ac eruditionis plenissima*, Antwerp, M. de Keyzere, 1529. See ASD II, 6, p. 483.

metre into another are very common in humanist poetry and occur frequently in Erasmus' practice as well. His *Precatio 'Salve, regina'* (*Carm.* 118), for example, paraphrases the antiphon *Salve, regina* into elegiac distichs; and the *Paeon diuinae Mariae* (*Carm.* 110) includes several quite extensive adaptations from Prudentius' hymn on Christmas. Cornelis Gerard too, in one of his sections of the *Apologia aduersus barbaros* (*Carm.* 93), paraphrases a lengthy section of Silius Italicus' *Punica*, while changing the metre from the epic hexameter into the second Asclepiadean strophe. And in the epilogue to the *Apologia* (*Carm.* 135, 29–33) his St. Jerome urges the Christian poet to turn biblical stories into verse: "Historias imitare sacras quum scribere tentas; / Ornet Musa stilum, scriptura paret tibi sensum."

As the bee metaphor implies, the most widely practised and admired form of poetic imitation was the eclectic variety in which many models – some of them meant to be recognized by the reader, others consciously dissembled and estranged, still others followed more or less unconsciously – are reconstituted into a new, distinctively different whole. In composing this kind of recombinant poetry, writers gather together themes, motifs, images, allusions, set phrases, and so forth, from the great storehouse of literature. This is the form of imitation that we find practically everywhere in Erasmus' poetry. The rule of thumb in successful imitations of this sort is to conceal the models carefully, by taking them out of their original context, for example, or by varying their phrasing and metre or overlaying them with other models.⁵⁰ But the sources need not always be so carefully hidden. Sometimes the poet wants them to be recognized, whether to demonstrate that he is outdoing a renowned master or to extend the resonance of his verse.

The *Ode de laudibus Britanniae Regisque Henrici septimi ac regionum liberorum* (*Carm.* 4) is a good example of such eclectic imitation. During a dinner at Eltham Palace early in the autumn of 1499, the eight-year-old Prince Henry asked Erasmus to write some complimentary verses for him. Unable to produce them extempore, he spent the next three days (or so he says) sweating out this ode. The poem abounds in classical and contemporary reminiscences and allusions. Some of them serve as literary ornaments; others, alluding to great rulers of the past, are intended as extensions of the encomium; and still others are so dissembled that (as E.K. writes in his preface to Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*) only "well scented" trackers can ferret them out.⁵¹

Among the associations for which Erasmus could count on recognition, if not from the young Henry, then at least from his more cultivated audience, is his choice of the second Pythiambic strophe. The metre is clearly meant to remind the reader of Horace's sixteenth epode.⁵² In that poem Horace expresses

⁵⁰ Cf. *Cicero*., *ASD* I, 2, p. 625, ll. 31–32: "Si feliciter Ciceronem imitari volumus, dissimulanda cum primis est ipsa Ciceronis imitatio."

⁵¹ See *Selections from the Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. S.K. Heninger jr., Boston, 1970, p. 8.

⁵² Er. uses the metre with similar intent also in *Carm.* 122, on the concord between Charles V and Henry VIII.

his revulsion at the civil wars and his longing for the fabled Isles of the Blessed in the western ocean – a realm that Jupiter has reserved for the pious remnant of the golden age. Erasmus' choice of metre thus links Rome's civil wars, finally ended by Caesar Augustus, with Britain's Wars of the Roses, ended by Henry VII, and identifies the Blessed Isles of ancient myth with its modern realization in the British Isles. The theme of the golden age renewed, subtly suggested by the choice of metre, is amplified by verbal allusions within the poem itself. Here Erasmus reminds the reader primarily of Vergil's fourth eclogue – the famous prophecy of the return of the golden age that is to be inaugurated with the birth of a marvellous baby. Under Henry VII, he assures us, England is enjoying a renewed golden age. The iron race which for so many years battled in the Wars of the Roses has been vanquished. Astraea has returned, and Henry VII, an Augustus redivivus, is inaugurating a new era of peace. At this point the associations with Vergil's "messianic" eclogue begin to blend with some verbal reminiscences of Horace's odes that in their original context refer to Augustus.⁵³ At the end of the poem, however, Erasmus returns to the theme of the golden age as developed in Vergil's fourth eclogue. The baby hailed by Vergil is here associated with Edmund. Erasmus describes him as lying in a cradle that is to be sprinkled with the very same flowers that the earth is to lavish on the child in Vergil's prophecy.

To the flowers listed in Vergil's fourth eclogue Erasmus adds white and red roses. The symbolism, of course, recalls Henry VII's union of the red rose of Lancaster with the white rose of York and the end of the Wars of the Roses. Earlier in the poem Erasmus elaborated on this symbolism in an allegory portraying the king's five children as red or white roses in various stages of growth and development. Here he borrows extensively from one of his favourite poems: *De rosas nascentibus*, formerly attributed to Vergil but much more probably the work of Ausonius.

It should by no means be imagined, as people sometimes do, that Erasmus imitated only the ancient poets. Just as he was no Ciceronian in his prose but drew eclectically on the whole range of Latin vocabulary,⁵⁴ so in his poetry he often availed himself of medieval and contemporary models. We have already noted his imitation of Poliziano in the poem to William Warham. The *Ode de laudibus Britanniae* provides us with a further instance. For in the passage where the personified Britain praises herself by comparing herself to other countries, Erasmus is in fact imitating a section in Willem Hermans' *Hollandia* – a passage that in its turn is partially modelled on a description of Italy in Vergil's *Georgica*.

⁵³ See n. *Carm.* 4, 57–58 and n. *Carm.* 4, 63.

⁵⁴ See D.F.S. Thomson, *The Latinity of Erasmus*, in: *Erasmus*, ed. T.A. Dorey, London, 1970, pp. 115–137. Cf. Et.' self-characterization in *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 681, ll. 14–16: "Quid quod ne affectat quidem Tulliano more dicere, non abstinens a vocibus theologicis, interim ne a sordidis quidem?"

Allusions to and borrowings from the great works in the literary canon add lustre to neo-Latin poetry and increase its resonance. But there are also numerous cases of imitation that are not to be regarded as deliberate on the part of the poet or recognizable in cursory reading. Many phrases, images, figures of speech, and the like, whose pedigree may be traced, say, to Vergil, Horace, or Ovid, must have become almost second nature to Erasmus over the years. They were part and parcel of the treasure-house of his mind, ready to be retrieved when needed, without necessarily conjuring up a specific model.⁵⁵ The modern commentator duly records such more or less unconscious borrowings, in part to demonstrate the imitative eclecticism of neo-Latin poetry, in part to show the reader from which gemstones the Renaissance poet put together the mosaic of his verse, in part also to shed light on the precise meaning of this phrase or that.

Who were Erasmus' favourite poets? In *Ciceronianus* Bulephorus-Erasmus says: "Adolescens adamabam poetas omnes. Verum simul atque sum Horatio factus familiarior, prae hoc omnes caeteri putere coeperunt, alioqui per se mirabiles."⁵⁶ Elsewhere he speaks of a certain affinity between himself and Horace.⁵⁷ What drew him so much to Horace? Erasmus himself singles out the ancient poet's elegant simplicity of style. In a letter written in 1495 he says that he is personally more attracted to Horace's "simplicitas ac siccitas" than to the more exalted, learned, and fluent style of Vergil, Lucan, Ovid, or Baptista Mantuanus.⁵⁸ And in *Virginis et martyris comparatio* he praises Horace's "inimitable elegance".⁵⁹ We should not make too much of this preference, however, and start thinking of some problematic kinship between Erasmus' personality and that of the pagan-epicurean Horace.⁶⁰ To him Horace was the supreme lyric poet and satirist. Naturally he was the one to imitate if you wanted to write odes or satires, as Erasmus liked to do in his youth. But if you were writing pastoral or epic, you would want to imitate Vergil, the king of Latin poets.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Cf. *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 34, ll. 177–181: "Praecipuam ... vtilitatem adferet, si bonos autores nocturna diurnaue manu versabimus, ... atque in his vigilantibus oculis figuras omnes obscrue-mus, obseruatas memoria recondamus, reconditas imitemur, crebraque vsurpatione consuescamus habere in promptu"; see also *De rat. stud.*, ASD I, 2, p. 116, l. 18–p. 119, l. 8.

⁵⁶ ASD I, 2, p. 703, ll. 27–29.

⁵⁷ Ep. 2611, ll. 17–20.

⁵⁸ Ep. 47, ll. 77–81, the preface to *De casa natalitia Iesu*. Er. always felt that the ideal style for his temperament and purpose was a kind of middle flight between the colloquial-unlearned style and the majestic-learned – the style of Horace, not just of the *Carmina* but also of the *Sermones* and *Epistulae*. See, for instance, Ep. 283, ll. 92–95: "Sunt qui poema non putent, nisi deos omnis e coelo mari terraque subinde aduoces, nisi sexcentas infulcias fabulas. Mihi semper placuit carmen quod a prosa, sed optima, non longe recederet." See also *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 221, ll. 9–11, where he advocates "eruditam sermonis simplicitatem ..., quae mea sententia saepenumero plus habet artis quam operosa structura".

⁵⁹ *LB V*, 594 D.

⁶⁰ As Eckart Schäfer suggests in *Erasmus und Horaz*, *Antike und Abendland* 16 (1970), pp. 54–55. Chomarat, vol. 1, pp. 402–403 makes the same suggestion.

⁶¹ See *Ciceron.*, ASD I, 2, pp. 648–649, app. crit. to ll. 19–20; also *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 92, l. 9: "Quis iam Vergilio palmam inter poetas inuidet?" See further: Jean-Claude Margolin, *Erasmus, lecteur et exégète de Virgile*, in: *Présence de Virgile. Actes du Colloque des 9, 11 et 12 décembre 1976*

Later Erasmus also reserved a special place in his heart for the “prince of poets”, Homer.⁶²

As early as 1489 Erasmus mentioned to Cornelis Gerard that his authorities in poetry were Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Statius, Martial, Claudian, Persius, Lucan, Tibullus, and Propertius.⁶³ This canon of poets, evidently arranged in order of their importance rather than chronology, would remain fairly constant throughout his life. In *De ratione studii* he still commends Vergil and Horace as models of pure Latin speech – after Terence and Plautus, who as writers of comedy are naturally superior in everyday language.⁶⁴ And in *Ciceronianus* he suggests that the best Latin poets are Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Persius. Later in the same dialogue he ranks them as follows: Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Martial.⁶⁵

These, then, are the poets whom Erasmus acknowledged as guiding stars in his own writing. As we have noted, however, it would be erroneous to assume that he looked only to the ancients for inspiration and guidance. He himself argued that modern poets should not hesitate to model themselves also on biblical and early Christian writers. In a letter written in 1496 to Bishop Hendrik van Bergen, he says that one should as a matter of course avoid imitating the erotic poems of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid and look instead to St. Ambrose, Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, and Iuvenius, as well as to the Old Testament poets Moses, David, and Solomon.⁶⁶ The Christian, to be sure, may borrow from even the most lascivious of the pagan poets, just as the Hebrews at their exodus took with them the treasures of Egypt. “Equidem cum meo Gaguino libens sentio, qui ecclesiasticas quoque materias vernaculis opibus splendescere posse putat, modo pura adsit oratio. Neque improbauerim Aegyptiam adhiberi supellectilem; verum totam Aegyptum transferri non placet.”⁶⁷ Of the Christian poets, Prudentius was Erasmus’ favourite. He praised him as “vnum inter Christianos vere facundum poetam” and frequently imitated him.⁶⁸ But he also drew on Sedulius’ *Paschale carmen* and the poems of Venantius Fortunatus, especially the latter’s well-known poem on Easter (*Carm.* III, 9). And of course

(*Paris E.N.S., Tours*), ed. R. Chevallier, Paris, 1978, pp. 289–304; repr. in: J.-C. Margolin, *Erasmus: le prix des mots et de l’homme*, London, 1986, article 1.

⁶² See Maria Cytowska, *Homer bei Erasmus*, *Philologus* 118 (1974), pp. 143–157; also n. *Carm.* 2, 135 below.

⁶³ Ep. 20, ll. 97–100.

⁶⁴ *ASD* I, 2, p. 116, ll. 3–4.

⁶⁵ *ASD* I, 2, p. 624, ll. 4–6; p. 658, ll. 21–22.

⁶⁶ Ep. 49, ll. 85–90.

⁶⁷ Ep. 49, ll. 92–96. The phrase “vernaculis opibus” refers to Egyptian, pagan treasures. As he does explicitly in the next sentence, Er. alludes to the topos of “spoliatio Aegyptiorum”. Cf. *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 117, ll. 5–6 and *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 25 F: “Aegyptias opes”; *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 129, l. 18: “ethnicis opibus”; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 66 B: “exoticis opibus”. See also n. *Carm.* 93, 174 below.

⁶⁸ *De rat. stud.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 124, ll. 3–4. See also Ep. 1885, ll. 127–129; *Virg. et mart. comp.*, *LB* V, 594 D; *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 701, ll. 7–8; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 176, ll. 183–184; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 268, ll. 465–466; *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, *LB* V, 1337–1358. Er. borrows most frequently from the lyrics in *Cathemerinon*, less frequently from *Psychomachia*, *Apotheosis*, and *Amartigenia*.

he admired the verses in Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae* and liked to borrow from them, even in his earliest works.

Among the modern Italian poets Erasmus singled out Baptista Mantuanus, praising him as "Christianus Maro".⁶⁹ In his youth he thought highly of Boccaccio's first two eclogues and imitated them in his own bucolic poem (*Carm.* 102). In this same youthful effort he also borrows from another Italian work, Antonio Geraldini's sacred eclogues of 1485. From Marcantonio Sabellico's elegies on the birth of the Virgin Mary he later adopted many phrases and motifs, especially in his *Paeon diuiae Mariae* (*Carm.* 110). Macarius Mutius' epyllion on the harrowing of hell (Venice, 1499) inspired Erasmus to write a similar one on the same subject (*Carm.* 112). With Cornelis Gerard he discussed the merits of the expatriate Italian poet Girolamo Balbi (see Epp. 23, 25, and 27, written in 1489). Another Italian poet living in Paris was Fausto Andrelini. Erasmus borrowed phrases from the latter's collection of amatory poems, *Liuiia*, Paris, 1490, as early as the winter of 1490–1491. In the autumn of 1495 he acclaimed Andrelini's allegorical eclogues for their moral purity (*Carm.* 6) – so much in contrast with the lascivious tone of his *Liuiia*.

But there were many other modern poets for the young Erasmus to read and admire. We should, of course, not fail to mention Rodolphus Agricola, whom he hailed as "Maronem alterum" in *Adag.* 339 and with whose poem on St. Ann (Deventer, 1484) he was much impressed.⁷⁰ Alexander Hegius of Westphalia, Agricola's disciple and headmaster of St. Lebuin's school in Deventer during Erasmus' last year there, also wrote much lyric poetry, which Erasmus appreciated.⁷¹ At Steyn there was his friend Willem Hermans, whose odes he was to edit at Paris. Erasmus lauds him in *Carm.* 30 and Ep. 49 as a truly Christian writer and praises him in *Ciceronianus* as a fine poet.⁷² He also approved of Cornelis Gerard's poems and welcomed his long *Marias* (Ep. 40). Among the neo-Latin poets of Germany he deeply respected Sebastian Brant, author not only of *Das Narrenschiff* (translated into Latin hexameters by Jacob Locher) but also of a collection of miscellaneous poems, entitled *Varia carmina*, Basel, 1498.⁷³

Apart from such early-medieval Christians as Iuvenius, Paulinus of Nola, Ambrose, Prudentius, and Arator, Erasmus rarely mentions medieval poets.⁷⁴ In

⁶⁹ See Ep. 49, ll. 96–104; cf. *Ciceron.*, ASD I, 2, p. 700, ll. 27–29.

⁷⁰ In Ep. 145, ll. 10–11 he mentions the poem in the same breath with Mantuanus' *Parthenice Mariana*.

⁷¹ Er. speaks highly of both Agricola and Hegius in Ep. 23, ll. 56–63 and quotes from a poem by Hegius in *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 66, ll. 714–715. He again praises both of them in *Adag.* 339 and *Ciceron.*, ASD I, 2, p. 682, l. 8–p. 683, l. 11; see also *Adag.* 1181, quoting from Hegius. He does minimize his debt to these men in his bitter *Spongia*, ASD IX, 1, p. 196, ll. 786–788 but insists nevertheless that he has been unstinting in praising them. See further Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print*, Princeton, 1993, chapt. 3, pp. 83–98.

⁷² ASD I, 2, p. 681, ll. 16–18.

⁷³ See introd. *Carm.* 54 and the poem itself.

⁷⁴ See further Paul Gerhard Schmidt, *Erasmus und die mittellateinische Literatur*, in: *Erasmus und Europa*, ed. August Buck, Wiesbaden, 1988, pp. 129–137.

his youth he held Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria noua* in high esteem; and in later years he commended Jean Gerson's writings, in particular his prosimetric *Consolatio theologiae*.⁷⁵ Among the medieval poets whom Erasmus never mentions but from whom he did borrow on occasion we may point, for example, to Walter of Châtillon, author of the greatest medieval Latin epic, the *Alexandreis*. He was also thoroughly familiar with the eleventh-century medical poem *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* and the twelfth-century "comedy" *Pamphilus*, whether in one of the many manuscripts then circulating or in an early printed edition. There are, moreover, indications that he was acquainted with at least some of Alcuin's poems, with John of Salisbury's *Entheticus maior* and *minor*, and with Alain de Lille's prosimetric work *De planctu Naturae*. And of course he knew many medieval hymns and sequences by heart and often used them in composing his own sacred verse.

Just as Erasmus flitted bee-like through the gardens and meadows of his predecessors, so too his admirers sought out his poetic flowers and distilled from them a honey of their own. The German humanist Helius Eobanus Hessus (1488–1540), for instance, frequently looked to Erasmus' poems for themes, motifs, and phrasing.⁷⁶ In 1515 Eobanus published two mock epitaphs for a drunkard that are plainly variations on Erasmus' *Epitaphium scurrulae temulenti* (*Carm.* 52). And in one of his heroic epistles, a verse letter from St. Paula to St. Jerome at Bethlehem, first published in *Heroidum christianarum epistolae*, Leipzig, 1514, he closely imitates portions of Erasmus' ode *De casa natalitia pueri Iesu* (*Carm.* 42). Another German who imitated parts of this same ode in a poem on the nativity was the Baroque poet Paul Fleming (1609–1640).⁷⁷ Erasmus' friend Andrea Ammonio was sufficiently impressed by the *Ode de laudibus Britanniae* (*Carm.* 4) to draw on it for his own praises of Henry VII and Henry VIII.⁷⁸ Other contemporaries – Philip Melanchthon among them – seem to have been deeply moved by the *Carmen de senectutis incommodis* (*Carm.* 2).⁷⁹ Indeed, no less a poet than Janus Secundus borrowed phrases from it and praised it as exquisitely Horatian, worthy of comparison with the song of the dying swan.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ See Ep. 27, ll. 42–45; Ep. 1581, ll. 87–88; *De cop. verb.*, ASD 1, 6, p. 50, ll. 487–488.

⁷⁶ See Vredeveld, *Traces*.

⁷⁷ See the notes to *Carm.* 42.

⁷⁸ See the notes to *Carm.* 4, ll. 33–34 and ll. 37–41.

⁷⁹ Melanchthon is reported to have read the poem with great delight and urged young people to commit it to memory. See Jacobus Monaw, preface to *Erasmii Roterodami de incommodis senectutis carmen*. Görlitz, 1595, sig. A2^r: "Audiui praeterea ab amicis sanctissimi viri Philippi Melanchtonis, eum saepenumero solitum iisdem [versibus] sese oblectare, quin etiam adolescentibus ad eos legendos et memoriae mandandos hortatorem fuisse." Monaw continues (sig. A2^r–A2^v): "Memini quoque Ioannem Cratonem, archiatrum et consiliarium trium Caesarum ... valde hoc carmen amasse et praesertim morbi sui postremi tempore assidue tum legisse ipsum, tum ut sibi praelegeretur curasse. Et quid est melius et salubrius, obsecro, quam tum de conditione mortalitatis nostrae, tum de senectute, quae est πρόδρομος mortis, saepe multumque cogitare et ad utrumque ita sese mature comparare et instruere, ne cum venient imparatos nos inueniant atque opprimant?"

⁸⁰ See the notes to *Carm.* 2, ll. 45, 57, and 95. For his praise of *Carm. de senect.* see Ioann. Sec. *Eleg.* III, 18, 29–32: "Quin et Erasmiacae carmen quoque lene senectae / Exhibuit, Flaccus quale sonare solet, / Quale sua natum cupiant et in vrbe Quirites, / Quale canit tremulo gutture blandus olor."

III. POETRY AND RHETORIC

To Erasmus and his fellow humanists, poetry and rhetoric were so closely interconnected as to seem inseparable: "Me vehementer delectat poema rhetoricum et rhetor poeticus, vt et in oratione soluta carmen agnoscas et in carmine rhetoricam phrasin."⁸¹ And in a letter to Cornelis Gerard he maintains that only he who has mastered the art of rhetoric can compose good poetry: "In poematibus condendis quam plurima obseruari necesse est, vt laudem mereantur. Necessaria in primis accommoda rerum inuentio, artificiosa dispositio, elocutio concinna, memoria tenax, deinde colorum quoque splendor accedat necesse est."⁸²

As an example of the rhetorical poetry that Erasmus had in mind when he wrote Cornelis we may take the early elegy *De praepotenti virtute Cupidinis pharetrati* (*Carm.* 100). The poem begins on a personal note and so arouses in the modern reader the expectation that Erasmus will pour out his deepest feelings: "Nunc scio quid sit amor: amor est insania mentis." Our humanist, however, is not writing a romantic poem expressive of his own, private distress; his verses are audience-centred. Like a lawyer in a court of law, he intends to prove that Amor is guilty as charged. Having suffered the overwhelming power of love, the rhetorical poet sets out to persuade us that his sufferings reflect an eternal truth. He therefore universalizes the experience, tying it to traditional wisdom and literary models by borrowing his first half-line from one of Vergil's eclogues: "Nunc scio quid sit amor." The second hemistich is also not Erasmus' own, but is taken word for word from a medieval adage: "amor est insania mentis." The next verse likewise presents the feeling that love is an overpowering force by expressing it in a traditional image coupled with a proverbial comparison: love is a fire hotter than Aetna. So the private experience that gave rise to the poem – quite possibly Erasmus' love for Servatius – is raised to the level of universal experience and placed in a literary, gnomic tradition.

The opening two verses indeed serve as a *propositio* to the poem as a whole. They accuse Amor of being a madness of the mind, a burning fire in the heart.⁸³

⁸¹ Ep. 283, ll. 98–100.

⁸² Ep. 27, ll. 32–35. For a compendium of ancient rhetorical theory see Lausberg. Much information can also be gleaned from Er.' *De conscr. ep.*, *De cop. verb.*, and *Eccles.* For an introduction to the history and importance of rhetoric in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance see Curtius; James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance*, Berkeley, 1974; George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, Chapel Hill, 1980; Gert Ueding and Bernd Steinbrink, *Grundriß der Rhetorik: Geschichte. Technik. Methode*, Stuttgart, 1986. The place of rhetoric in Er.' works is discussed authoritatively by Chomarar. See further: A. Leigh DeNeef, *Epideictic Rhetoric and the Renaissance Lyric*, *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1973), pp. 203–231; John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521*, Durham, 1979; and Hardison.

⁸³ On this sort of opening, which gives a summary of the theme, see *Comm. in Ov.*, ASD I, 1, p. 147, l. 11–p. 150, l. 3. Er. cites *Ov. Am.* I, 9, 1–2 as an example of a "propositio" that is subse-

In the following verses the poet-litigant will prove his case to the reader-judge by means of a series of commonplace arguments and mythological or biblical exempla, carefully arranged along the lines of a judicial speech. The *narratio* tells how love begins innocuously enough but in the end consumes body and mind (ll. 3–18). The *argumentatio* proves that love is all-powerful by adducing a series of classical and biblical exempla (ll. 19–48). The *peroratio* or epilogue sums up the argument and repeats the charge: Amor, the cause of so much pain and suffering, is both wicked and cruel (ll. 49–52). Thus the opening thesis is rhetorically amplified in order to arouse fear and loathing against the defendant. Such amplification, as Erasmus says elsewhere, is the strongest factor in stirring the emotions.⁸⁴

Of course Erasmus could not be content simply to instruct and persuade. He was not presenting a lawyer's brief but a rhetorical poem, and such poetry requires that the subject be treated in a way that gives readers pleasure and excites their admiration. To avoid tedium, therefore, the commonplace arguments, drawn from the storehouse of literary tradition and arranged according to the pattern of a forensic speech, had now to be embellished with elegant language, learned allusions, and rhetorical figures. A few instances may give the reader some appreciation of the laboured quality of these verses. Very prominent are the devices of reiteration. Even at first reading one cannot fail to notice the replication of phrases and half-lines from distich to distich or line to line (*anadiplosis*, ll. 6–7, 8–9, 16–17, 32–33, and 50–51), or within the distich itself (*epanadiplosis*, ll. 15–16, 31–32, and 51–52), or at the beginning of two consecutive distichs (*anaphora*, ll. 19–21 and 35–37). This, however, by no means exhausts the variety of repetition in the elegy. Each of the pentameters up to l. 48 ends with the word "amor" (*epiphora*). There is chiasmic arrangement of words in ll. 13–14: "vnus amor ... duo / duo ... vnus amor", in ll. 41–42: "amor temnit / temnit amor", and in ll. 51–52: "Seua parens ... puer improbus ille / Improbus ille puer ... seua parens". Nor is the repetition always verbally exact. As in the Psalms we find here much parallelism of thought and language from verse to verse within the distich (*interpretatio*), for instance in ll. 7–8, 13–14, and 31–32. These devices of repetition have the dual function of driving home the poet's charge against Amor and of adorning the expression through an artful arrangement of the words. There are many other figures of speech as well: *antithesis* in ll. 17–18 and 35–40, *apostrophe* in ll. 47, 50, and 52, and play on the root of words (*annominatio*), as for example in l. 22 "domat indomitos non domitandus amor", l. 26 "vincere, vicit", and l. 38 "amarus amor". Rhetorical questions (*interrogatio*) enliven the argument in ll. 27–28, 29, 43, and 49 and arouse pathos. Indignation against love's power is also stirred by the device of *dubitatio* (l. 51).⁸⁵ The device of passing over (*praeteritio*)

quently amplified rhetorically in the poem itself: "Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido; / Attrice, crede mihi, militat omnis amans."

⁸⁴ *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 343, ll. 12–13.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 110, ll. 116–131.

in l. 49 (“Singula quid memorem?”) demonstrates that the poet knows the virtue of making a long story short. There is no lack of telling epithets, in particular those for “amor”, varied from distich to distich. Other devices flatter the reader’s ability to recognize classical and biblical allusions and reminiscences of Vergil, Ovid, Statius, Juvenal: Vergilian metaphors like “pascuntur”, applied to love’s fire in l. 3, or maxims like those in the opening half-line or in ll. 19 and 21: “Omnia vincit amor”,⁸⁶ or the Ovidian adage half-hidden in l. 7: “tacitisque edit intima flammis.”⁸⁷ The poem concludes with an extensive borrowing from Vergil’s eighth eclogue that serves as an *epiphonema* – a figure that Erasmus defines as “quicquid in clausula argute additum ferit aurem”.⁸⁸

This early elegy, which Erasmus to his credit never published, strikes us as little more than a rhetorical exercise. An apprentice in the workshop of the masters, the poet is only beginning to learn his craft. Lacking a personal voice to express universal experience in a compelling way, he appears to manipulate language as an end in itself. His rhetoric, too much in love with itself, fails to kindle our indignation against Love. But as we judge work like this, we should remember that it fails as a rhetorical poem, not as a romantic elegy wanting romance.

Rhetorically far more successful is *Carm.* 104, *Elegia de mutabilitate temporum: Ad amicum*. A *carpe diem* poem, this elegy begins by describing the flight of time and the imagined onset of wintry old age and then urges a friend to take advantage of youth, while it lasts: “Ergo ferox dum Parca sinet, patiantur et anni, / Dum vireat vicibus laeta iuuenta suis, / Vtatur, ne frustra abeat torpentibus, aevo, / Carpat primos, dulcis amice, dies.” To convince the friend to whom these verses are addressed, the poet amplifies the infirmities of old age. But we should observe in passing that the old-age theme is here introduced primarily for rhetorical purposes, not because the poet wishes to demonstrate some “neurotic fear of becoming old”.⁸⁹ His purpose is to persuade his friend to join him in taking advantage of fleeting youth; and to this end he amplifies the “incommoda” of old age.

The very same *carpe diem* theme – or so it would seem at first reading – also occurs at the beginning of the hortatory *Elegia in iuuenem luxuria defluentem atque mortis admonitio* (*Carm.* 95). Lines 7–20 of this poem present the classic structure of the argument that Erasmus is combating: the hedonistic philosophy that we should “eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we shall die”. Here then is the foolish young man exhorting himself and his companions: “Dextra ... dum fata sinant, dum floreat aetas, / Pascamus placidis mollia vota modis. / ... / Vtatur, ne frustra abeat torpentibus, aevo, / Dum vernat teneris laeta iuuenta

⁸⁶ See *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 250, l. 306.

⁸⁷ In *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 252, ll. 334–335 Er. quotes Verg. *Aen.* IV, 2 “et caeco carpitur igni” as an example of a half-hidden adage expressed in full as “tectus magis aestuat ignis” (Ov. *Met.* IV, 64).

⁸⁸ *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 252, ll. 344–345.

⁸⁹ Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 122.

genis.” In this passage Erasmus recycles many lines from the somewhat earlier poem on the mutability of time. It may seem strange that our poet used the very same verses in arguing first for the premise that we should enjoy youth, while it lasts, and later against the same point of view.⁹⁰ The repetition will appear less curious when we remember that a *locus communis* is, rhetorically speaking, an argument that can be used *in utramque partem*. The two poems are directed at different readers and have dissimilar intentions. In the earlier poem Erasmus exhorts his friend to make good use of the springtime of life, whereas in the moral elegy he is inveighing against the pleasures of the flesh. The first is a poem of friendship, the second a sermon in verse, which does not just reject the epicurean *carpe diem* argument but turns it on its head: since old age is inevitable, we should use our youth wisely and meditate on death, so as to prepare ourselves for the life hereafter.

We may go further yet. The *Elegia de mutabilitate temporum* does indeed stand in the tradition of the *carpe diem* exhortation as exemplified by Erasmus’ putative model, a poem by Girolamo Balbi. Yet the resemblance is quite superficial. For how are we to imagine Erasmus and his friend making good use of life’s spring? Most certainly not in lechery, drinking, and merrymaking like the dissipated young man addressed in *Carm.* 95. When Erasmus counsels his friend in *Carm.* 104 to make good use of this time in their lives, “ne frustra abeat torpentibus”, he can hardly be speaking as a hedonist. He must be urging his friend to take advantage of youth by studying the ancients, imitating and emulating the masters, and rivalling each other in writing verse and prose. In effect, he is turning the *carpe diem* argument topsy-turvy in this poem too. Let us devote our youth to studies, he is telling his friend, for soon enough old age and death will befall us.

Within the context of Erasmus’ other writings, then, the poem on the mutability of time is at bottom very similar to the paraenetic *Elegia in iuuenem luxuria defluentem*. Both present an inverted *carpe diem* argument in which the hedonistic exhortation is turned on its head – as an argument against lethargy and hedonism and for a life of studies, virtue, and godliness. Erasmus himself analysed this inversion of the *carpe diem* argument many years later in his *Ecclesiastes*.⁹¹ In a lengthy discussion of rhetorical figures useful in sermons he mentions among others the device of βλασιον (*violentum, reflexio*). He explains this figure as wresting the opponent’s weapon out of his hands and using it against him.⁹² The example he offers is the Christian inversion of the hedonistic *carpe diem* theme: “Horatius

⁹⁰ Cf. Reedijk, *Poems*, pp. 146–147.

⁹¹ *ASD* V, 4, p. 440, ll. 804–806.

⁹² Cf. *Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*, *LB* IX, 747 A, where the figure is explained as “Goliath suo iugulare gladio”. See *Adag.* 51; and, for instance, *Ep.* 39, ll. 57–58; *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 105, ll. 21–22. The same rhetorical figure underlies the much-discussed passage of *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 73, l. 926–p. 76, l. 17, where monastic life is praised because it best fulfils Epicurus’ doctrine that we should pursue pleasure: not the false pleasures of the flesh but the true pleasures of mind and soul. Cf. R. Bultot, *Erasmus, Epicure et le “De contemptu mundi”*, in: *Scrinium*, vol. 2, pp. 205–238.

frequenter hortatur ad voluptates hoc argumento, quod hominis vita tum brevis est, tum incerta. Imo hoc minus aliqua vitae pars luxu perdenda est, sed ob id ipsum tota virtuti danda, quod brevis est et incerta.”

The inversion of the *carpe diem* argument is an ancient device. *Ecclesiastes* 12, 1–7 lists the disasters of old age in order to admonish the young to “remember also your Creator in the days of your youth, before the evil days come, and the years draw nigh, when you will say, ‘I have no pleasure in them’.” Ovid uses the same inverted argument in his *Ars amatoria* II, 113–122 to exhort the young to cultivate the intellect by studying the humanities and the two languages, Latin and Greek. He reminds them that they must not rely on youthful beauty, for good looks will soon wilt and give way to the grey hair and wrinkles of old age. Only the things of the mind can last a lifetime:

forma bonum fragile est, quantumque accedit ad annos,
 fit minor et spatio carpitur ipsa suo.
 nec violae semper nec hiantia lilia florent,
 et riget amissa spina relicta rosa;
 et tibi iam venient cani, formose, capilli,
 iam venient rugae, quae tibi corpus arent.
 iam molire animum, qui duret, et adstrue formae:
 solus ad extremos permanet ille rogos.
 nec leuis ingenuas pectus coluisse per artes
 cura sit et linguas edidicisse duas.

Ovid’s argument resurfaces from time to time during the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, for instance in the poetry of Alcuin and the correspondence of Enea Silvio de’ Piccolomini.⁹³ In Erasmus’ educational and moral writings it becomes a leitmotiv. At Steyn he urges Servatius to shake off his sluggishness, pursue literary studies, and start writing: “Antequam pernix igitur fugiat adolescentia, nunc tibi parare contende quo senex gaudeas.” And quoting Ovid he adds: “Iam molire animum qui duret, et instrue formam, / Solus ad extremos permanet ille rogos.”⁹⁴ He gives the same advice to Sasbout: “Possem tibi ... memorare quamplurimos, et quidem e nostris, qui iam quid gloriae literae, quid dedecoris habeat imperitia experti, maxima quidem sed sera afficiuntur poenitentia, quod aptum literarum studio adolescentiae tempus inter digitos fluxisse conspiciant. Itaque et tu, Sasboude suauissime, dum integra tibi floreat aetas, formicae exemplo tibi parare contende quod senium tuum oblectet alatque; adolescens collige quo senex gaudeas.”⁹⁵ In a letter, written in the spring of 1497, he advises

⁹³ See Alcuin. *Carm.* 80; Enea Silvio, *Epist.* 37, in: Rudolf Wolkan, ed., *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, Vienna, 1909, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 112–114. The argument was proverbial; see Walther 5837; 5853; 5872–5879a.

⁹⁴ Ep. 15, ll. 60–64. For “adstrue formae” in Ov. *Ars* II, 119 Er. reads “instrue formam”; in this he follows a different manuscript tradition.

⁹⁵ Ep. 16, ll. 27–35.

his pupil Christian Northoff: "Plinianum illud semper animo insideat tuo, omne perire tempus quod studio non impertias. Cogita iuuenta nihil esse fugacius, quae vbi semel auolarit, redit nunquam."⁹⁶ And in *De pueris instituendis*, written in Italy around 1509, he once again takes up the argument, in words that closely recall the ones he had employed a few years earlier in his *Carmen de senectutis incommotis*: "Aetas vbi semel auolarit, auolat autem quam ocysissime, nullis incantamentis reuocari potest. Nugantur enim poetae, qui fontem memorant, e quo veluti repubescant grandaeui; fallunt medici, qui per nescio quam quintam essentiam pollicentur senibus repubescentiam. Hic igitur oportebat adhibere summam parsimoniam, quod aetatis iactura nulla ratione pensari queat."⁹⁷

IV. "CARMEN DE SENECTVTIS INCOMMOTIS"

Written in August 1506, a few months before his fortieth birthday, when the humanist was on his way to Turin to receive the degree of doctor of theology, the *Carmen de senectutis incommotis* (*Carm.* 2) has always been Erasmus' best known and best loved poetic work. In our own century it has received special attention, not only for its aesthetic qualities but also for its unusually personal tone and autobiographical character. Indeed, some modern critics have hailed the work as a romantic poem before romanticism: introspective and melancholy at the thought of fleeting youth, centred on the poet rather than the audience, lyrical rather than rhetorical.⁹⁸ We do well to recall, however, that in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507 Erasmus gave it the title *Carmen de fuga vitae humanae*. And in later years, when he began to arrange his writings in preparation for a complete edition, he wanted the poem placed in the fourth group, among the moral works that contribute to the building of character. Philip Melanchthon understood this when he urged young people to commit it to memory.⁹⁹ The church historian Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls understood this when he recognized that the poem is in part a meditation on death and the life to come.¹⁰⁰ We too should move beyond our interest in the autobiographical and psychological elements to see the poem within the broader context of Erasmus' rhetorical poetics and paraenetic intentions. Approaching the halfway point in life's arc, the nearly forty-year-old poet meditates on the rapid approach of old age and on the flight of youth. He thereupon exhorts himself – and implicitly his reader as

⁹⁶ Ep. 56, ll. 63–65. For other instances of the inverted *carpe diem* argument see *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 239, l. 11–p. 240, l. 16; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 358, ll. 465–467.

⁹⁷ ASD I, 2, p. 74, l. 27–p. 75, l. 3.

⁹⁸ See introd. *Carm.* 2.

⁹⁹ See n. 79 above.

¹⁰⁰ See Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls, *Petrarca und Erasmus*, in: *Reformation und Humanismus: Robert Stupperich zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Greschat and J.F.G. Goeters, Witten, 1969, pp. 229–232; *Meditatio mortis chez Pétrarque et Erasme*, in: *Colloquia Erasiana Yuronensia*, vol. 1, Toronto, 1972, pp. 306–307; and Kohls, vol. 1, p. 23; vol. 2, p. 42.

well – to make good use of the time left to him. While he is still of sound mind and body, before the winter of decrepit old age arrives, he resolves henceforward to devote himself wholly to Christ.

True to its author's character, the *Carmen de senectutis incommodis* is a deeply Christian and profoundly experienced piece of work. As in his earlier poetry, however, personal experience is realized in conventional rhetorical structures and is universalized by being cast in a traditional literary mould. The poem's opening passage detailing the horrors of decrepitude confesses, to be sure, a very human fear at the approach of old age; Reedijk even senses here something like a "sudden panic" on the poet's part.¹⁰¹ But that fear, precisely by being both personal and universal, lends this passage its profoundly rhetorical pathos and, by that token, its power to attract our attention and open our eyes to the brevity of youth. The description of decrepitude, in other words, plays an important functional role within the poem. From a rhetorical perspective, the section is not so much an unbosoming of private emotion as an argument calculated to move the reader to take advantage of what is left of youth and life and use it wisely. The theme of old age thus becomes once again the fundamental argument in an inverted *carpe diem* poem. It is thematically no different from the argument Erasmus had offered fifteen years earlier in his hortatory elegy urging a dissipated young man to meditate on old age and death, so as to commit himself henceforward to a life of Christian piety. The difference between the two poems is not in theme or argument, but rather in the greater intensity of Erasmus' language and above all in the far deeper subtlety of his rhetorical technique. Instead of berating the foolish readers who slumber in their belief that youth will last forever and that they will never grow old and die, as he did in the earlier paraenetic poem,¹⁰² Erasmus now shrewdly introduces himself as one of those fools caught up in the dream of eternal youth. But having been roused at last from his delusion by being confronted with the horrors of old age, the poet as exemplary Everyman also shows us the way out. Converted, he exhorts himself to give up the trifling pleasures of youth and devote himself to Christ.

Structure

In keeping with the inverted *carpe diem* argument, the poem is divided into two main parts. The first may be labelled the *dissuasio*, for here the poet dissuades himself from staying on his present course. The second is the *exhortatio*, in which the speaker urges himself (and, through his own example, the reader) to make up for lost time and use it wisely. These two central sections are framed by a brief introduction addressed to the physician Guillaume Cop and an equally brief epilogue directed to Christ.

¹⁰¹ Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 122.

¹⁰² See *Carm.* 94, 93–96.

Part I, *exordium* (ll. 1–9). The poem is in the first instance addressed to Guillaume Cop and seeks to gain his attention and favour (*captatio benevolentiae*) through hyperbolic praise: Cop is able to cure all diseases save one – old age, the only disease for which medicine has found no cure. The compliments to Cop are not superfluous to the argument, as is sometimes asserted, and cannot be dropped from the poem without doing violence to its rhetorical structure and argument.¹⁰³ The famed physician, Erasmus assures us, will vouch for the accuracy of his description of the aetiology, symptoms, and course of the disease known as old age and will moreover attest that it is incurable. As the poet reminds us in the epilogue, only the heavenly physician, Christ, can grant us eternal youth.

Part II, *dissuasio* (ll. 10–185). In this section Erasmus seeks to awaken his readers from their lethargy and persuade them to abandon their present way of thinking. He does this by relentlessly listing the “incommoda” of old age and thereupon disabusing his shocked readers of any and all false hopes that youth can be eternal. In order to gain our confidence and cure us of our delusion that we will not grow old and die, Erasmus throughout this section wears the mask of Everyman. He thus pretends that he is suffering from the same delusion of which he is trying to cure his reader. In this regard it is worthwhile to study the enlightening passage in *De conscribendis epistolis*, where Erasmus explains his rhetorical strategy as follows: “Qui his mederi student, nonnunquam simulant sese eodem teneri malo. Porro contracta benevolentia, facile persuadent remedium, ac paulatim obrepentes, tandem eximunt falsam imaginationem.”¹⁰⁴ He recommends the same technique in *Ecclesiastes*, adding that wearing a mask like this is not hypocrisy, but Christian charity.¹⁰⁵

We might add parenthetically here that Boethius’ *Consolatio philosophiae* uses essentially the same device of insinuation. Languishing in his jail cell, Boethius finds himself aged prematurely because of his sorrows. And while lamenting his fate, this Everyman is confronted by Philosophy, who gradually opens his eyes and wakes him out of his slumber and delusions. Erasmus follows the same underlying strategy also in his *Moriae encomium*, though of course the personae are in each case quite different. There too he wears a mask – the mask of folly –

¹⁰³ Karl August Meissinger, *Erasmus von Rotterdam*, Berlin, 1948², p. 115 omits the introductory six and a half verses in his paraphrasing translation of the poem.

¹⁰⁴ *ASD* I, 2, p. 433, ll. 24–26.

¹⁰⁵ See *ASD* V, 4, p. 332, ll. 146–154. That Er., like Boethius, sets out by wearing a mask in this poem ought to be self-evident. As a man about to take his doctorate in theology, as author of *De contemptu mundi*, *Enchiridion*, and numerous inverted *carpe diem* exhortations in prose and verse, he certainly had not wallowed in lethargy or failed to meditate on old age and death. See Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls, “Vbi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere?” *Zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte eines Vergänglichkeits-Topos und zu seinem Gebrauch bei Erasmus von Rotterdam*, in: *Reformatio und Confessio: Festschrift für D. Wilhelm Maurer*, ed. F.W. Kantzenbach and G. Müller, Berlin, 1965, pp. 30–32. Also see n. *Carm.* 2, 211–230 below.

in order to reach and cure the deluded. And by gradually, humorously, paradoxically unmasking the wisdom of man, which is mere foolishness in the eyes of God, he ultimately leads his readers to see the wisdom of God, which is folly to unredeemed mankind.¹⁰⁶

Because Erasmus adopts the persona of Everyman – the fool caught up in the pleasures and ambitions of youth – the tone in this portion of the poem is that of a melancholy lament for the rapid flight of life's springtime.¹⁰⁷ He thus amplifies a commonplace expressed succinctly in Vergil's famous complaint: "Sed fugit interea, fugit inreparabile tempus, / singula dum capti circumuectamur amore"¹⁰⁸ – a passage to which he pointedly alludes in l. 101.

The dominant emotions that Erasmus intends to arouse in the *dissuasio* are fear and a sense of hopelessness.¹⁰⁹ In accordance with these goals the section is subdivided further, the first part amplifying the proverbial thought that youth flies, the second elaborating the maxim that youth, once lost, is irrecoverable.

In the first section (ll. 10–114) Erasmus artfully amplifies the commonplace that youth flies by focusing first on the loss of youth's blessings in old age and then, in a twofold variation of perspective, on the rapidity with which youth is lost. The dominant emotion that Erasmus intends to arouse is fear.

(i) Since the poem began by addressing a physician, Erasmus goes on to describe the aetiology, symptoms, and course of that dread disease, old age (ll. 10–29). The troubles of old age, presented as the progressive loss of the blessings of youth, are listed cumulatively to increase the pathos. For the positive aspects of ageing, of which Erasmus was well aware, this is clearly not the place.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ In Ep. 337, ll. 86–120 Er. tells Maarten van Dorp that his purpose in *Moria* is to cure fools of their delusions by insinuating himself into their minds through the paradoxical persona of Folly. The book's underlying purpose, he explains, is the same as that of *Enchiridion*. The two works differ only in the persona, not the message. In other words, *Enchiridion* is to *Moria* as the hortatory elegies 94–96 are to *Carmen de senectutis incommodis*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Chomarat, vol. 2, p. 797.

¹⁰⁸ Verg. *Georg.* III, 284–285.

¹⁰⁹ The second main part of the poem will in its turn raise the readers' hopes in order to encourage them to change their ways. For the use of the polar emotions fear and hope in exhortations see *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 326, ll. 1–19; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, pp. 328–329, ll. 21–59; n. *Carm.* 94, 65–90.

¹¹⁰ Since Er.' aim is to dissuade people from thinking that youth can be eternal or that old age is a harbour, he heaps up the "incommoda" of old age and ignores all its "commoda"; see *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 429, l. 5: "In dissuasione omnia incommoda colligemus"; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, pp. 314–315, ll. 669–672. Er., in fact, neglects everything positive that can be and has been said about ageing and old age: the experience, authority, and wisdom of old age, the leisure to pursue philosophy, the freedom from carnal temptations. Such praises of old age are an established rhetorical genre; see, for example, Plat. *Rep.* 329; Cic. *Cato*; Sen. *Epist.* 30. See also, for instance, *Pru.* 16, 31; 20, 29. In Christianity old age was prized for its wisdom and virtue as well as its nearness to death and heaven; see Christian Gnifka, *Altersklage und Jenseitssehnsucht*, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 14 (1971), pp. 5–23; Burrow, pp. 150–151. Er., of course, was no stranger to the positive aspects of old age and could praise this season of life when rhetorically appropriate; see, for example, *Apophth.*, *LB* IV, 154 E–F. But in this context he obviously cannot present a balanced picture of old age. His aim is to gain the readers' attention by shocking them out of their lethargy, so as to wake them up to the brevity of life and the consequences of wasting time. For the tradition of vituperating old age, which is also at the heart of the *carpe diem* tradition, see n. *Carm.* 2, 7–22 below.

The catalogue of the ills of decrepitude, based on numerous literary models, culminates in a rhetorical question: should we not call this decline a slow death? The Ovidian phrase “*mors lenta*” recalls similar definitions of old age in ancient and medieval literature.

(ii) Envious Fates! Unlike the deer and the crow, man soon grows old. Old age attacks the body at thirty-five, the mind at forty-nine, according to Aristotle. The poet’s own experience confirms the ancient philosopher’s observation: at nearly forty Erasmus is indeed beginning to see the effects of old age on his own body. His spring has come to an end, his winter is about to begin (ll. 29–69).

(iii) The theme already amplified in the preceding section is now restated through a change of perspective, from the point of view of youth. How youth flies! (ll. 70–114) The commonplace is amplified rhetorically (ll. 70–78): “youth” is restated five times, “flies” two times. A series of comparisons follows (ll. 79–88). The first series is negative (“not so fast are ...”), with two similes; the second series is positive (“just so fast are ...”), with two more similes. Like the preceding one, this segment concludes with an exemplum: Erasmus’ youth has been flying away all the while; old age has been creeping up on him as he was growing up and becoming a scholar.

The second section of the *dissuasio* (ll. 115–185) also amplifies the commonplace that time flies, but with emphasis on the fact that time, the greatest treasure, can never be recovered once it has been lost. One by one our foolish fancies are stripped from us. In the end we must admit with the poet: there can be no hope of eternal youth. The basic emotion aroused in this section is hopelessness. The argument is threefold.

(i) Youth is a treasure (ll. 115–125). It is more valuable than all the purple, gems, and gold in the world. Why do we waste youth, our “golden age”, on trifles?

(ii) Youth cannot be recovered once lost (ll. 126–171). While other treasures can be restored or recovered, nothing can bring back our youth once it has passed: no sorceresses, no gods and goddesses, no demigod-physician like Chiron. Magic rings, drugs, and incantations are of no avail against old age. Sun and moon and spring return in their cycles and are perpetually renewed. But once man’s brief spring is over, he grows old and dies.

(iii) We realize these facts too late (ll. 172–185). Only when youth has flown do we become aware of its value. Then we suddenly discover that we have squandered a treasure we should have invested wisely. The section concludes with an exemplum: Erasmus has been caught unawares by the stealthy advance of time. He has spent the first half of his life on trifles.

Part III, *exhortatio* (ll. 186–242). The exhortation amplifies the adage: use your time wisely. Erasmus continues to wear the mask of Everyman by urging himself to action. The dominant emotion to be aroused in the exhortation is hope: it is not too late to mend our ways. This second main section of the poem is subdivided into three parts.

(i) Wake up, Erasmus, while there is still time (ll. 186–210). While you still have breath in you, strive with might and main to make up for lost time. You are only on the threshold of old age! The symptoms of old age are still only very slight. You have only begun the autumn of life, but remember that your winter is drawing ever closer.

(ii) Therefore use your time wisely by devoting the remainder of your life to Christ, not the things of this world (ll. 211–232). Farewell to the pleasures and pursuits of youth! These have no meaning except through Christ. Make him your all in all, let him be your Muses, your honour, your delight! Devote yourself wholly to Christ!

(iii) Do not worry about the body (ll. 233–242). Christ will be your all in all. The body will be of no concern (as they say) to Hippocleides, as long as the soul remains pure. The body will be reunited with the mind on Judgment Day, at the resurrection of the dead. Then we shall enjoy spring eternal.

Part IV, *epilogus* (ll. 243–246). The epilogue is in the form of a prayer. May Christ, the true author and redeemer of life, the giver of strength, make these resolutions come true.

Models and Traditions

Like so much of neo-Latin poetry, Erasmus' *Carmen de senectutis incommodis* stands squarely within literary tradition. Its structure, as we saw, is that of the traditional *carpe diem* argument, inverted to Christian use. In its rhetorical strategy it follows Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*. But in its use of autobiographical elements, so captivating to the modern reader, it is modelled above all on Prudentius' *Praefatio*.

Prudentius' *Praefatio* is a poetic foreword to an edition of his collected poems. Its argument develops along the following lines: I have lived fifty-seven years and am on the threshold of old age. What profitable thing have I done in all this time? I went to grammar school and then studied rhetoric. As a young man I indulged in the pleasures of the flesh. After that I became a lawyer eager for victory. I twice rose to the rank of governor of famous cities and later became an important member of the emperor's court. And while I was thus engaged in all kinds of activities, white-haired old age suddenly stole upon me. Now I realize how life has sped away. What will these things profit me after I am dead? My sinning soul must put off her folly. Let me henceforth devote myself wholly to God and write only on sacred themes. And while I write or speak of these themes, O may I fly forth in freedom from the bonds of the body to heaven!¹³³

Here, if anywhere, is the inspiration for the *Carmen de senectutis incommodis*. The conventional inverted *carpe diem* argument had, of course, been in Erasmus'

¹³³ Some of the phrasing in this summary of the *Praefatio* comes from the translation by H.J. Thomson in the Loeb Classical Library, London, 1949; repr. 1969, part 1, pp. 3–5.

mind for a long time already. He may well have been involuntarily reminded of the theme as he rode through the Alps in that August of 1506 and listened in dismay to the foolish quarrels of his companions. Withdrawing from them, he began to meditate on the delusions of mankind, so oblivious to life's flight into old age and death. He thought of his own studies thus far, the flight of his youth, the great goals he had set for himself. And then it must have come to him in a burst of creative insight. Upon the stock of the inverted *carpe diem* exhortation he would graft the outline of Prudentius' *Praefatio*. Like Prudentius he would use the details of his own life's story as an exemplum of the flight of human life and the need to make wise use of it, while there is still time. And like Boethius he would make himself a fool in order to cure the delusions of his readers.

Erasmus' main problem in adapting Prudentius' *Praefatio* to his own use must have lain in the fact that the early-Christian poet was fifty-seven years old at the time of writing and actually, according to classical terminology, on the threshold of old age. Erasmus, on the other hand, was just approaching his fortieth birthday. By the classical and patristic standard of the four seasons or ages of man – the system he uses everywhere else in his writings – Erasmus was just then about to leave the summer of life (“iuuentus”) and enter its autumn (“virilitas”). By that standard, of course, he could not very well present himself as the exemplum of a man on the threshold of old age. But there were other traditions on which he could fall back. The simplest scheme of all was the division of life into two parts: youth, up to age thirty-five or forty, followed by old age until age seventy or eighty (*Ps.* 89, 10). This division of life into two halves also underlies the late-medieval nomenclature for the four ages of man. In this originally Arabic scheme, widely diffused since its introduction into the Latin West in the eleventh century, the autumn of life was said to begin at either age thirty-five or forty and was called “senectus”. The winter of life, known as “senium”, set in at age sixty.¹¹²

Thus, by replacing the standard ancient terms for the autumn and winter of life with the corresponding late-medieval ones, Erasmus was able to introduce himself not only as an example of the flight of life but also of the sudden transition from youth to old age. At nearly age forty he could now offer himself as proof that life's spring and summer pass all too quickly into autumn and winter. In other words, he was not at all *fancying* himself across the threshold of old age, as Huizinga once put it,¹¹³ but was describing an objective, inevitable, irreversible event. Ageing, he says, is an insidious process that no one can escape. It must of necessity befall every one of us – even you, dear reader of this poem, who may still be caught up in your slumber. Therefore, wake up! Youth does not last. No miracle drugs, no fountain of youth, no magic arts can bring it back once it is gone. Therefore make good use of it while you still may, before old age comes and death. Devote your life to Christ!

¹¹² See n. *Carm.* 2, 43–53.

¹¹³ Huizinga, p. 61.

Horace, in his *Ars poetica* 102–103, tells writers: “si vis me flere, dolendum est / primum ipsi tibi.” Erasmus held the same opinion. A preacher who wishes to convert his flock must have a pure and Christian heart himself, for the word is the mirror of the soul.¹¹⁴ Of Erasmus’ sincerity in expressing his disdain for the world and meditating on the hereafter there can be no question: they are the cardinal themes of his writings throughout his career,¹¹⁵ beginning with his turn toward sacred poetry in the winter of 1490–1491. When he says that he will give up everything that has been dear to him – his secular studies and ambitions, philosophy, poetry, and rhetoric – he is using the language of the *contemptus mundi* tradition to say that he will not see these pursuits as ends in themselves, but will, like Prudentius before him, put his talents wholly in the service of Christ, to adorn his temple. Christ will be his all in all: his studies, his Muses, his Apollo, his Peitho.¹¹⁶ It is a pledge he had made years before at Steyn; it is a commitment he hereby exemplarily renews. For, as he declares in his *Ciceronianus*: “Huc discuntur disciplinae, huc philosophia, huc eloquentia, vt Christum intelligamus, vt Christi gloriam celebremus. Hic est totius eruditionis et eloquentiae scopus.”¹¹⁷

V. ARRANGEMENT

In 1524 Erasmus took stock of his writings and arranged them into volumes, in case someone should wish to do for him what Tiro had done for Cicero. “Carmina diuersi generis, praeter ea quae faciunt ad pietatem” were to be included in the first volume of his works, “quae spectant ad institutionem literarum”. The “Carmen de senectute ad Copum medicum” (*Carm.* 2) was to be placed in the fourth volume, among the works “quae faciunt ad morum institutionem”. The fifth volume was to be allocated to works “quae instituunt ad pietatem”. Among the devotional poems in this group he singled out “Expostulatio Iesu” (*Carm.* 43), “Casa natalitia” (*Carm.* 42), and “Michaelis Encomium” (*Carm.* 50).¹¹⁸

Erasmus’ wishes were faithfully carried out in the *Opera omnia* published by Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius at Basel in 1538–1542 (*BAS*) and again in the *Opera omnia* edited by Jean Leclerc and printed by Pieter vander Aa

¹¹⁴ See *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, pp. 40–46, ll. 117–221. For the proverbial saying “sermo mentis imago est” see Otto 1299; Er. *Adag.* 98; 550; 1554, *ASD* II, 4, p. 61, l. 17; *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 74, l. 68; Ep. 531, ll. 323–324; *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 703, ll. 19–21; *Lingua*, *ASD* IV, 1A, p. 93, ll. 219–220; *Inst. christ. matrim.*, *LB* V, 675 B; *Apophth.* III, 70, *LB* IV, 162 D; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 38, ll. 98–99; p. 40, l. 135; cf. *Carm.* 44, 10–16 (n.).

¹¹⁵ See Richard L. DeMolen, “*Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi*”: *Rungs on the Ladder to the “Philosophia Christi”*, in: DeMolen, *Essays*, pp. 1–50; reprinted in DeMolen, *Spirituality*, pp. 69–124.

¹¹⁶ He had earlier said this also in *Carm.* 36, 5–6 – the liminary epigram for his *Lucubratiunculae aliquot*, Antwerp, 1503, containing among other small works the *Enchiridion*.

¹¹⁷ *ASD* I, 2, p. 709, ll. 25–27.

¹¹⁸ See Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 38, l. 19–p. 41, l. 3. The revision of 1530 (Ep. 2283, ll. 41–149) makes no change in the disposition of the poems.

at Leiden in 1703–1706 (*LB*). Naturally, only the poems published by Erasmus himself were included in volumes I–V of the Basel and Leiden editions. By 1706, however, Leclerc had come into possession of a hitherto unpublished manuscript, copied in 1570, formerly belonging to Petrus Scriverius and containing among other writings of Erasmus a series of early poems. These were published in volume VIII of *LB*.¹¹⁹

Since 1706 many more of Erasmus' juvenilia have come to light – poems that the mature humanist would certainly have preferred to keep slumbering in oblivion.¹²⁰ Preserved Smith, for example, printed three unpublished poems from Ms. Egerton 1651 (British Library) in his *Erasmus: A Study of His Life, Ideals, and Place in History*, New York, 1923, App. 3, pp. 453–457. Albert Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus*, Ann Arbor, 1930, App. A, pp. 221–237 published five more poems from Gouda Ms. 1323 in the Municipal Library of Gouda (the “Librije”). These and other poems not included in *LB* were gathered together in Wallace K. Ferguson, *Erasmi opuscula: A Supplement to the Opera omnia*, The Hague, 1933, pp. 1–37 and 362–367. It was not until 1956, however, that Cornelis Reedijk took the momentous step of collecting all the known poems in his published doctoral dissertation, *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus*, Leiden, 1956.¹²¹ This book has been the standard edition of Erasmus' poetry ever since. Recently, however, Dr. Reedijk's text has been criticized for a number of editorial lapses.¹²² The present volume, accordingly, offers a new text of the poems, in an arrangement quite different from the one adopted in *BAS* and *LB* on the one hand and Reedijk's edition on the other.

Whereas the basic organizing principle in Erasmus' own scheme was thematic, Reedijk arranged the poems according to the dates of their composition. This chronological arrangement was intended to give the reader a clearer picture of Erasmus' development as a poet. “For”, as Reedijk put it, “apart from their literary qualities ... Erasmus' poems may prove to have a certain value as documents marking the successive phases of his intellectual and spiritual development and of his relations with his contemporaries.”¹²³ In practice, the chronological arrangement of the poems has been fraught with problems. Like so many of the early prose works and letters, the poems are largely undated. The provisional datings assigned to them are subject to sometimes quite drastic revision as research

¹¹⁹ On the great Basel and Leiden editions of the collected works see *ASD* I, 1, pp. VII–XIV; Cornelis Reedijk, *Tandem bona causa triumphat: Zur Geschichte des Gesamtwerkes des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, Basel, 1980; and his article *The Leiden Edition of Erasmus' "Opera Omnia" in a European Context*, in: *Erasmus und Europa*, ed. August Buck, Wiesbaden, 1988, pp. 163–182.

¹²⁰ See Allen, *Op. ep.*, I, p. 3, ll. 20–21.

¹²¹ Reedijk's edition was reprinted and translated in: M.L. Gasparov, S.V. Shervinskii, and Iu. F. Sjul'ts, *Desiderii Erasmi Rotterodami Epigrammata. Iohannis Secundi Basia / Эразм Поммердамский, Стихотворения. Иоани Секунд, Поцелуи*, Moscow, 1983. A selection of the poems (with facing German translation) was reprinted from Reedijk's edition by Schmidt-Dengler.

¹²² See Vredeveld, *Edition*.

¹²³ Reedijk, *Poems*, p. ix.

uncovers further evidence. For example, *Paeon diuae Mariae*, *Carmen de monstrosis signis Christo moriente factis*, and *Carmen heroicum de solemnitatem paschali* (*Poems* 19–21 / *Carmm.* 110–112) have now been redated from 1489 to 1499. The bucolic poem, which Reedijk placed at the head of his edition as the oldest of Erasmus' poems (Deventer, 1483), was more probably written at Steyn in late 1487; and his turn to paraenetic and sacred poetry seems to have taken place in the winter of 1490–1491 rather than in 1489. Such revisions in the chronology seriously dislocate Reedijk's chronological numbering.

Erasmus himself published less than half of his total poetic output. Many of his early efforts were *progymnasmata*, intended for a small circle of friends and superiors, not for dissemination in print. Accordingly, when such poems as the apologetic dialogue against the barbarians (*Carm.* 93) and the three moral satires (*Carmm.* 94–96) were printed at Gouda by Reyner Snoy in 1513, Erasmus was understandably embarrassed and offended. Even though Reedijk takes considerable pains to point out circumstances like these, the chronological principle forces him to disregard the mature humanist's discomfiture. Hence poems that Erasmus was loath to see printed now stand next to those that he gladly published of his own accord. In Reedijk's edition, for instance, we have to work our way through a sizeable number of juvenilia before we come to an ode like *De casa natalitia pueri Iesu* (*Poems* 33 / *Carm.* 42), the first poem that Erasmus published. That the mass of apprentice works has tended to cloud the modern reader's judgment of Erasmus' more finished and mature pieces is as undeniable as it is unfortunate.

To avoid difficulties of the sort just described, we have adopted the following arrangement. We begin with the poems printed during Erasmus' lifetime and then present those published after his death. These two main groups are divided into the following categories: Poems in *Epigrammata*, Basel, J. Froben, March 1518 (*K*); Poems published by Erasmus elsewhere; Poems published in Erasmus' lifetime without his prior consent; Poems published after Erasmus' death. To these four groups, which constitute the main body of his poems, we append two others: Poems embedded in Erasmus' prose works; and Poems dubiously ascribed to Erasmus.

1. Poems in *Epigrammata*, Basel, J. Froben, March 1518: *Carmm.* 1–61

Either before travelling to Italy in August 1506 or later that autumn, Erasmus collected a number of his previously published and unpublished poems and had them printed at Paris by Josse Bade and Jean Petit. The slim volume of devotional and occasional verse was published under the title *Varia epigrammata* on 8 January 1507. It was bound together with his *Adagiorum collectanea*, dated 24 December 1506, though the two parts also circulated as separate books.

Almost a decade later, in 1515, Erasmus seems to have been planning to update his collected poems and publish them in conjunction with epigrams by Andrea Ammonio.¹²⁴ If so, nothing came of the project. During 1517, however, Erasmus

¹²⁴ See Allen, Ep. 360, n.l. 21.

oversaw the publication of Thomas More's *Vtopia* and *Epigrammata* together with some of his own works.¹²⁵ The fruits of this planning were two handsome volumes, published at Basel by Johann Froben in 1517–1518. Froben had originally intended to publish a single volume including translations of Lucian by More and Erasmus, Erasmus' *Querela pacis*, *Declamatio de morte*, and *Epigrammata*, alongside More's *Vtopia* and *Epigrammata*. But as the volume grew too large, it had to be divided into two parts, the first of which was published in December 1517. The second part, which included *Vtopia* and the two sets of epigrams, came out in March 1518 under the title: *De optimo reip. statu deque noua insula Vtopia libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festiuus, clarissimi disertissimique viri Thomae Mori inclytæ ciuitatis Londinensis ciuis et vicecomitis. Epigrammata clarissimi disertissimique viri Thomae Mori, pleraque e Graecis versa. Epigrammata Des. Erasmi Roterodami.*

Nowhere in the extant correspondence does Erasmus specifically mention that he was planning to include a new collection of his own poems. In fact Froben's preface says that in response to popular demand it was he who gathered up Erasmus' poems with the assistance of Beatus Rhenanus and Bruno Amerbach. Erasmus follows the same line in his letter to Johann von Botzheim: "Nullo in genere me minus exercui quam in epigrammatis, et tamen interdum inter ambulandum aut etiam in comotationibus lusimus aliquot diuersis temporibus, quorum nonnulla ab amicis nimium mei nominis studiosis collecta sunt et aedita Basileae; quoque magis riderentur, adiunxerunt Thomae Mori epigrammatis, in hoc genere felicissimi."¹²⁶ That Erasmus' epigrams were published by over-zealous friends without his express approval is almost certainly a fiction. It is a formula of affected modesty that he uses as early as November 1495 in Ep. 47, the preface to his first collection of verse, *De casa natalitia Iesu*.¹²⁷ When we consider his deep involvement in the publication of the joint volume, we can scarcely doubt that Erasmus had, at the very least, a hand in selecting and arranging his own poems.¹²⁸ At no time did he express regret or dismay at their publication, neither in March 1518, nor in November–December of the same year, when Froben reprinted the volume.

The *Epigrammata* of 1518, in any case, incorporates most of the poems that Erasmus had already published of his own accord and adds seven previously unpublished ones. We print the poems here in the order of *K*. The backbone of this collection is a reprint of the *Varia epigrammata* of 8 January 1507 (*Carmm.* 2

¹²⁵ See in particular Ep. 584, ll. 15–17; Ep. 597, ll. 43–46; Ep. 628, ll. 58–59; Ep. 634, ll. 1–7; Ep. 635; Ep. 733, ll. 19–20; Ep. 726, ll. 11–12; and Ep. 732, ll. 13–29.

¹²⁶ Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 4, ll. 2–7. Erasmus is once again disingenuously modest about the quality of his epigrams. In point of fact, it was More's epigrams that gained in stature by being associated with those of the far more famous Erasmus. See Carlson, *Books*, pp. 149–153.

¹²⁷ Er. uses the same device in his preface to Willem Hermans' *Sylua odorum* (Ep. 49), asserting that he is publishing his friend's poems on his own initiative, against Willem's wishes. For the commonplace of "affected modesty" see Curtius, pp. 83–85; H.J. de Jonge, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 59, n.ll. 6–7, "instigantibus amicis".

¹²⁸ Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 91 comes to the same conclusion.

and 4–42 in the present edition). Following this series are *Expostulatio Iesu* (*Carm.* 43), the “carmina scholaria” written for John Colet’s school for boys at St. Paul’s (*Carmm.* 44–48), and the *Epitaphium scurrulae temulenti* (*Carm.* 52), which were first published in *Concio de puero Iesu*, [Paris, 1511?]. *Christiani hominis institutum* (*Carm.* 49) was originally published in *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore et interprete*, Louvain, 1514. Next comes *In laudem Michaelis et angelorum omnium* (*Carm.* 50), which had been printed in Erasmus’ *De casa natalitia Iesu*, Paris, [1496?], but had not been included in *Varia epigrammata*, perhaps because of its length. *K* then adds a number of poems more recently published. The Greek *Carmen iambicum, ex voto dicatum virgini Vualsingamicae apud Britannos* (*Carm.* 51) comes from *Lucubrationes*, Strasbourg, 1515. The *Encomium Selestadii* (*Carm.* 53) was first printed with four of Erasmus’ letters in *Iani Damiani Senensis ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. de expeditione in Turcas Elegeia*, Basel, 1515. The epigrams for the Alsatian humanists Johannes Sapidus, Sebastian Brant, and Thomas Vogler (*Carmm.* 3 and 54–55) had earlier appeared together with *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*, Strasbourg, 1514. Seven of the poems in *K* had never been printed before. To underline their newness – and to help the book sell better – they were placed at the beginning and end of the collection: *Rhythmus iambicus in laudem Annae* (*Carm.* 1), probably written in 1491 and revised a decade later, and six epigrams (*Carmm.* 56–61) composed between 1511 and 1516.

2. Poems not in *K*, but published by Erasmus elsewhere: *Carmm.* 62–92

Our copy-text for the poems in this section is their editio princeps. They are arranged in chronological order, according to the date of their composition. Four of them were already in print before the *Varia epigrammata* of 8 January 1507 but were not included in that collection. The poem to Antoon van Bergen on the death of his brother Hendrik (*Carm.* 62) may have been omitted because of Antoon’s stinginess as a patron. The cento from Homer (*Carm.* 63) and the welcome-back poem to Philip the Handsome (*Carm.* 64), printed at Antwerp in early 1504, were too closely associated with the *Panegyricus* to be separated from it; the encomiastic poem, like the prose panegyric, was in any case written against the grain. The verses to Archbishop William Warham (*Carm.* 65) had just been printed by Bade in September 1506 and did not need to be reprinted in the *Varia epigrammata*. The epitaph for Jacques de Croy (*Carm.* 66), though written in c. November 1516, was first published in *Auctarium selectarum aliquot epistolarum*, Basel, August 1518. *Carm.* 67, a liminary poem for Bernard André’s collection of hymns, Paris, July 1517, may have been deliberately excluded from the *Epigrammata* of March 1518.¹²⁹ The remaining poems in this section – mainly

¹²⁹ These two poems leave a bitter-sweet taste in the mouth. The subtly ironic tone of the epigrams may well reflect Er.’ aversion to André. After André’s death Er. referred to him as “caccus adulator, nec adulator tantum sed et delator pessimus”; see Ep. 2422, ll. 67–73.

epitaphs and occasional verses, but also the votive poem to Ste. Geneviève (*Carm.* 88) – were composed after the publication of the March 1518 edition of the *Epigrammata*.

3. Poems published without Erasmus' consent: *Carmm.* 93–97

This group comprises five early poems originally published without Erasmus' consent by Reyner Snoy in *Silua carminum antehac nunquam impressorum*, Gouda, 1513. They are: *Carm.* 93, written half by Erasmus, half by his friend Cornelis Gerard, against the barbarians who decry ancient eloquence; *Carmm.* 94–96, three moral satires on false goals, lechery, and greed; and *Carm.* 97, a set-piece on the power of money. Erasmus later revised *Carmm.* 94–97 slightly and published them, albeit with a show of embarrassment, in *Progymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae Erasmi*, Louvain, 1521. We have adopted the authorized edition of 1521 as the copy-text of the three hortatory elegies (*Carmm.* 94–96) and *De nummo* (*Carm.* 97). The *Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii aduersus barbaros* (*Carm.* 93) is not included in the authorized edition. We therefore print it according to Snoy's text.

4. Poems published after Erasmus' death: *Carmm.* 98–127

Here we include poems that Erasmus for one reason or another did not publish himself. Most of them have come down to us in sixteenth-century manuscripts; several are known only in editions printed in the first hundred years after Erasmus' death. Poems found in the three principal manuscripts are reprinted in the same order in which they occur there; the remaining poems have been arranged in chronological order, according to the conjectural or known dates of composition. The section is arranged as follows:

(i) Poems in Gouda Ms. 1323 (*Go*): *Carmm.* 98–102. This manuscript, which is kept in the Municipal Library of Gouda (Librije coll. 1323), contains a miscellany of letters and poems by Erasmus, Cornelis Gerard, Willem Hermans, and others, as well as extracts from books by various authors. The first third of it was written by a canon regular at Steyn monastery ("Hand A") in the early 1520s, while the remaining two-thirds were written by another canon ("Hand B") in about 1590. The earlier part, written by Hand A, is our only source for *Carmm.* 98–101 and offers a version of *Carmen buccolicum* (*Carm.* 102) that appears to be closer to the archetype than that given in the later Ms. Scriverius. It also contains the epigram to Johannes Sapidus (*Carm.* 3), first published in 1514. The manuscript has been described by P.S. Allen and Dalmatius van Heel; further information is provided by J.W.E. Klein and K. Goudriaan.¹³⁰ After Steyn burned down in 1549

¹³⁰ See Allen, *Op. ep.* I, App. 9, pp. 609–613; *Op. ep.* VI, p. xix, addendum to vol. I, p. 609; Dalmatius van Heel, *Handschriften berustende in de Goudse Librije*, Gouda, 1949, pp. 36–39. J.W.E. Klein, *New Light on the Gouda Erasmiana Manuscripts*, Quaerendo 18 (1988), pp. 87–95 and Goudriaan, pp. 241–264 demonstrate conclusively that the copyist of Er.' poems (Hand A) cannot have been

the monks moved the monastery library to Gouda. For a time the library was kept at the house of one of the monks from Steyn, Herman Jacobsz Blij. After Blij's death in 1599 the town magistrates confiscated the library and had a catalogue drawn up. They left the books and manuscripts for the time being in the charge of the last canon regular from Steyn, Cornelis Adriaensz Diephorst. Part of this library, as Klein notes, was moved to the Librije, the Gouda Town Library, in 1611. When Diephorst died in 1637, a new inventory was drawn up; in 1641 the remainder of the old Steyn library was moved to the Gouda Librije. Among the manuscripts of Erasmus' works transferred in 1641 were *Go* as well as Gouda Ms. 1324 (Librije coll. 1324), copied by Hand A around 1524. The poems by Erasmus (*Carmm.* 98–102) and two poems by Willem Hermans were first published from *Go* in Hyma, App. A, pp. 221–237.

(ii) Poems in Ms. Scriverius (*Scri*): *Carmm.* 103–114. The title-page of *Scri* indicates that this manuscript was compiled for publication in 1570 by "a certain Philomusus" from a manuscript or manuscripts in the Steyn library: "D. Erasmi Roterodami epistolae aliquot hactenus non impressae, quas admodum adolescens scripsit ad sui ordinis sodales quos doctissimos habebat in caenobio prope Goudam, quod vulgato nomine Steyn dicitur, vbi et ipse olim vitam monasticam professus est. His additae sunt eiusdem duae orationes, vna funebris in laudem Barthae [*sic*] Heyden viduae probissimae, quondam alumnae Erasmi, et altera de pace et discordia, vna cum carminibus quibusdam ab eodem authore adhuc fere puero conscriptis, quae omnia manu scripta in caenobio illo hactenus latuerunt, et iam opera cuiusdam Philomusi in lucem sunt prolata. Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo." According to Tilmans, p. 45, n. 15, "Philomusus" may be identified as the Dutch scholar Bonaventura Vulcanius.

The title-page of *Scri* states that all the poems contained in it are juvenilia taken from the Steyn monastery library. This assertion cannot be accepted completely at face value. Though most of these poems are indeed juvenilia, some of them are not; see the headnotes to *Carmm.* 36, 110, 111, and 112. *Scri*'s version of *Carmen bucolicum*, moreover, may well have been taken from an edition by Alaard of Amsterdam that was first published in 1538; see introd. *Carm.* 102.¹³¹

The manuscript subsequently came into the possession of Petrus Scriverius (1576–1660); later it served as Leclerc's copy-text for the early works and poems printed in *LB VIII*. The manuscript was rediscovered in 's-Hertogenbosch and thoroughly described by A.A.J. Karthon.¹³² It is now housed in the

the physician Reyner Snoy, as Reedijk, *Poems*, pp. 133–134 supposed, but must have been a canon regular at Steyn. Dalmatius van Heel, *Handschriften*, p. 36 had earlier come to the same conclusion; cf. Allen, *Op. ep.* I, App. 9, p. 612.

¹³¹ Goudriaan, pp. 247–252 thinks that *Scri* might have been copied from a manuscript collection made in Steyn at about the same time as *Go*, i.e. in the early 1520s, possibly at the instigation of prior Servatius Rogerus.

¹³² See A.A.J. Karthon, *Het verloren Erasmiaansch handschrift van P. Scriverius, teruggevonden in 's Hertogenbosch*, Het Boek 5 (1916), pp. 113–129; see also Allen, *Op. ep.* IV, p. xxiii (addendum to *Op. ep.* I, p. 608, n. 17); Reedijk, *Poems*, pp. 131–135.

Brabant collection of the Katholieke Universiteit Brabant, Tilburg (shelf mark D 141).

Scri contains numerous letters to and from Erasmus, the latest dating from 1506 (Ep. 203), as well as his *Oratio de pace et discordia*, *Oratio funebris* (with *Carmm.* 113–114), and *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* (see introd. *Carm.* 128). Following the *Conflictus* is a revised version of *Carmen buccolicum* (*Carm.* 102), as well as *Carmm.* 103–106, 93, 135, 107, 108, 36, 109–112, most of which are known only from this source. At the end of the poems, immediately after *Carm.* 112, are two odes mourning the premature death of Galterus Goudanus. Though reprinted in *LB* VIII, 584 as Erasmus' work, they were in fact written by Willem Hermans, having been published earlier in his *Sylva odorum*, Paris, 1497. See Allen, Ep. 13, n.l. 59; Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 395; *Contemporaries* s.v. Gualterus.

(iii) Poems in British Library Ms. Egerton 1651 (*Eg*): *Carmm.* 115–117. This manuscript begins with an early version of Ep. 104 (the dedicatory letter for Erasmus' poem in praise of Britain and her royal family, *Carm.* 4), followed by *Carmm.* 50, 5, 6, 115, 116, 7, 117, 1, 115 (title and first three lines only). Allen suggests that this "illuminated MS ... is very likely a special copy of some of Erasmus' poems prepared for presentation to Prince Henry" after Erasmus' visit to Eltham Palace in the autumn of 1499.¹³³ But the manuscript, despite Allen's assertion, is not illuminated; indeed, it is so carelessly written that the scribe even began copying out the poem to Skelton (*Carm.* 115) which he had already finished a few leaves before. It is therefore quite unlikely that the manuscript was ever intended to be a presentation copy. The fact that the poem in praise of Britain (*Carm.* 4) is missing also argues against Allen's assumption. Moreover the manuscript contains two poems addressed to Gaguin (*Carmm.* 5 and 6) as well as an epigram by Gaguin who, as Erasmus must surely have known, had written a Latin epigram in early 1490 rudely accusing the English and Henry VII of deceitfulness, ingratitude, and bellicosity, and warning them to prepare for war. Gaguin, in turn, had been severely taken to task for this by Bernard André and other writers at the English court.¹³⁴ Since we may assume that Erasmus would not have wanted to raise memories of that incident at the royal court in 1499, the manuscript as we have it cannot have been intended for presentation to the prince. *Eg* was probably copied in the autumn or early winter of 1499–1500, for it includes an early version of Ep. 104 (written in c. October 1499 and published in revised form in July 1500). No doubt it derives from one or more manuscripts that Erasmus had circulated among his friends (at Oxford?) before his return to the Continent in late January 1500.¹³⁵

¹³³ Allen, *Op. ep.* IV, p. xxi (addendum to Ep. 104).

¹³⁴ See David Carlson, *Politicizing Tudor Court Literature: Gaguin's Embassy and Henry VII's Humanists' Response*, *Studies in Philology* 85 (1988), pp. 279–304.

¹³⁵ Another manuscript of Er.' poems, probably containing *Carmm.* 110–112 as well as some or all of the poems in *Eg*, was circulating in Oxford by October 1499; see Epp. 112 and 113; Vredeveld, *Lost Poems*. For a description and analysis of Ms. Egerton 1651 see Carlson, *Erasmus*, pp. 199–232. See also Carlson, *Books*, pp. 87–98.

(iv) Poems from other sources: *Carmm.* 118–127. These have been arranged in chronological order, according to their conjectural or known dates of composition. Their provenance is described in the headnotes to each of the poems.

5. Poems embedded in Erasmus' prose works: *Carmm.* 128–134

In this section we gather together the verses that occur in *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei*, *Colloquia* (in the order of their publication), the introit and sequence of *Virginis matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia*, and *Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem*. Like Reedijk, we have excluded the series of isolated verses in the colloquy *Impostura* (*ASD* I, 3, pp. 601–602), written in different metres but disguised as prose; we have also excluded the countless verse translations that Erasmus inserted into his *Adagia* and other prose works.

6. Poems dubiously ascribed to Erasmus: *Carmm.* 135–144

These are poems that have been ascribed with varying degrees of probability to Erasmus. They are arranged in their presumed chronological order of composition.

VI. LOST POEMS

Several poems that Erasmus mentions in his correspondence seem to have disappeared without a trace. Cornelis Reedijk has catalogued them in *Verdwenen poëzie van Erasmus*, Het boek 31 (1952–1954), pp. 113–120; *Poems*, App. 4, pp. 397–400. Some of these poems, discussed in two letters exchanged between Johannes Sixtinus and Erasmus in late October 1499 (Epp. 112–113), have now been identified with extant ones and can be struck from Reedijk's list.¹³⁶ A few others, hitherto regarded as lost, were in all likelihood never written:

(i) Both Allen and Reedijk suggest that Ep. 28, ll. 18–23 might refer to “some verses to win the favour of David of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht”.¹³⁷ The context of the letter, however, does not bear this out. Erasmus says only that some of his poems were taken partly to Alexander Hegius and Bartholomäus Zehender in Deventer and partly to Utrecht (presumably to impress the bishop). These may well have included the three moral satires (*Carmm.* 94–96) and the early poems on moral and sacred themes preserved in *Scri*.

(ii) Reedijk further assumes that the reference to an “epitaphium” for Philip the Handsome in Ep. 205, ll. 24–26 means that Erasmus must have written a now-lost verse epitaph: “Tum autem, bone Deus, quot mihi Panegyricos, quam copiosos pollicebar! Et en repente commutatis rebus epitaphium paro miser.”

¹³⁶ See Vredeveld, *Lost Poems*, and introd. *Carmm.* 110, 111, and 112 below.

¹³⁷ See Allen, Ep. 28, n.l. 22; Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 59. Ep. 28 is to be redated to c. March 1491; see introd. *Carm.* 50 below.

But the word “epitaphium” here means “eulogy”, not “epitaph in verse”. Thus St. Jerome’s famous letter eulogizing St. Paula (*Epist.* 108) is entitled “Epitaphium sanctae Paulae”. Erasmus uses this term also in Ep. 1991, l. 3 to describe his prose eulogy for Albrecht Dürer in *De pronunt.*, ASD I, 4, p. 40, ll. 887–905. The word “epitaphium” in Ep. 205, then, may be safely taken to mean the letter itself. First published in 1506 as a preface to some of Lucian’s dialogues, this letter is indeed a eulogy for the archduke. Caspar Ursinus Velius’ *Genethliacon Erasmi*, reprinted among the *Encomia in laudem Erasmi* in LB I, does mention Erasmus’ lament for the archduke on p. (20), col. 2, as Reedijk points out; but Ursinus does not say that it was written in verse. Indeed, his catalogue of Erasmus’ writings nowhere singles out a specific poem.

(iii) The same reasoning may serve to dismiss the idea that Erasmus wrote an epitaph for Peace. In the colloquy *Charon*, ASD I, 3, p. 578, ll. 47–48, written in 1523 but not published until March 1529, it is said that Erasmus once wrote a lament for downtrodden Peace (the *Querela pacis*). Now that Peace has perished, however, he is writing her “epitaphium”. Dekker, pp. 120 and 135 believes that this must refer to a verse epitaph entitled *Epitaphium Pacis extinctae*. But the “epitaphium” to which Erasmus is referring is the colloquy *Charon* itself.

Thus only the following poems are at present known to be lost:

(i) In *Adag.* 1474, “Vorare hamum”, Erasmus quotes five hendecasyllables from an otherwise unknown epigram of his: “Nos item in epigrammate quodam ad hanc paroemiam sic allusimus:

Non stulti¹³⁸ vsque adeo sumus futuri, vt
Gustatum toties voremus hamum,
Vnco plus semel aere sauciati.
Vel sero sapiemus, et nocentem
Tandem carpere desinemus escam.”

Since Erasmus does not mention these verses in his discussion of the adage in *Adagiorum collectanea*, Paris, 1500, and first quotes them in *Adagiorum chiliades tres*, Venice, 1508, we may assume that they were written between 1500 and 1508. They probably derive from some epigram in which the Christian humanist expresses his disdain for the pleasures of the flesh. In his *Enchiridion* Erasmus describes the fatal attraction of erotic love, which the wise man avoids, in words strongly reminiscent of the poem fragment: “Illa et illa voluptas tam male cessit, tantum damni, tantum dedecoris, taedii, laboris, morborum attulit, et iterum stultissimus hamum vorabo prudens?”¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Instead of “stulti” the Venice edition of September 1508 (*Adag.* 1476, f^o 155^r) prints “lari”. For this Graecism (“a greedy seabird” or “gull” and hence metaphorically “a greedy person”, “a fool”) see *Adag.* 1133 and 1948; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 108, l. 973: “laro stultior”; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 435, l. 66: “Vbi sensero larum hiantem, escam paro”; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 256, ll. 228–229. The reading “stulti” first appears in the Basel edition of 1515.

¹³⁹ LB V, 57 C. For the idea that sensual pleasure is the bait of evil, a traditional metaphor that goes back to Plat. *Tim.* 69 d (via Cic. *Cato* 13, 44), see, for instance, Er., *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V,

(ii) In Ep. 129, ll. 62–64, written at Paris in early September 1500, Erasmus mentions a “Carmen in Delium”. This Delius may be identified as Gillis van Delft, the same theologian with whom Erasmus engaged in a poetic “certamen” in April–May 1499; see introd. *Carm.* 110. Reedijk infers from the preposition “in” that the poem may have been a piece of invective verse. This preposition is, however, very commonly used in a neutral sense, to inform the reader about the theme of the poem, and does not necessarily suggest animadversion against the poem’s subject.

(iii) Of the four epitaphs for Hendrik van Bergen only two have survived; see introd. *Carmm.* 39 and 137. The Greek epitaph and one of the three Latin epitaphs are lost.

(iv) In *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 218, ll. 2–7 Erasmus mentions that he once wrote a letter to Thomas Linacre in trochaic tetrameters disguised as prose. The learned English physician did not notice the trick that was being played on him until Erasmus pointed it out to him. This verse letter has not come down to us.¹⁴⁰

(v) A similar letter, also written in a trochaic metre, is mentioned in Ep. 2241, ll. 21–22, dated 10 December 1529.

(vi) In Ep. 1239, l. 2, dated 14 October [1521], Erasmus wrote the Carthusian Gabriël Ofhuys: “Mitto tibi tuos versiculos.” Ofhuys had apparently asked Erasmus to contribute a metrical inscription for an engraving of some biblical scene on which he was working.

VII. THE PRINCIPAL EDITIONS CONTAINING POEMS BY ERASMUS

The following list includes only the more important editions containing poems by Erasmus. Other sources may be mentioned in the headnotes to the poems themselves. For the exceedingly numerous reprints the reader should consult the splendid survey in Reedijk, *Poems*, pp. 360–380. For the three principal manuscripts of the poems see pp. 50–52 above.

1. *De casa natalitia Iesu et paupere puerperio diue virginis Marie carmen*, Paris., A. Denidel, [mense Ian. 1496?] (*GW* 9375). (= *A*¹)
Copy: British Library, London
Contains *Carmm.* 42, 50, 6, 5. The dedicatory letter to Hector Boece (Ep. 47) is dated 8 November [1495].

1, p. 48, ll. 231–236; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 14 A; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 251, l. 9; p. 431, l. 7; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 410, l. 60; *Adag.* 1473. For the phrase “sero sapiemus” in the fourth verse of the fragment compare *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 57 F: “quam sero sapuerint”; cf. also *Carm.* 2, 173 (with n.l. 172–173).
¹⁴⁰ For another example of this literary game see *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, pp. 601–602, with verses in many different metres disguised as prose.

2. *De casa natalitia Iesu et paupere puerperio diue virginis Marie carmen nouiter emendatum*, Paris., A. Denidel, [1496?] (GW 9376). (= A²)
Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam
Contains *Carmm.* 42, 50, 6, 5. As the title indicates, the book is a corrected reprint of A¹. The colophon on sig. B^{5v} also draws attention to this: "Explicit liber iste a vitiis et mendis correctus et diligenter castigatus, cum quibus primitus fuerat impressus."
3. *Lucubratiunculae aliquot*, Antwerp., Theod. Martinus, 15 Feb. 1503 (NK 835). (= B)
Copy: Cambridge University Library
Contains *Carmm.* 36, 42, 50.
The book was reprinted at Antwerp by Dirk Martens, 6 November 1509 (NK 836).
4. *Varia epigrammata*, [Paris.], Iod. Badius et Io. Paruus, 6 Id. Ian. 1507 (BB E. 56). (= C)
Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam
Contains *Carmm.* 2, 4–42. This collection was published together with *Veterum maxime insignium paroemiarum. i. adagiorum collectanea*, dated 24 December 1506, though the two parts also circulated separately.
The combined adages and epigrams were reprinted at Paris by D. Roce et J. Barbier, March 1507 n.s. (BB E. 57), and by N. de Pratis, February 1508 n.s. (BB E. 58).
5. *Concio de puero Iesu a puero in schola Coletica nuper Londini instituta pronuncianda*, [Paris., G. Biermantius?], Kal. Sept. [1511?] (NK 2887). (= D)
Copy: The Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal.
Contains *Carmm.* 43, 46, 47, 44, 48, 45, 52. For the book's place of printing, publisher, and date see J. Machiels, *Robert en Pieter de Keyser als drukker*, Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique 46 (1975), pp. 1–16.
The *Concio* and poems were reprinted by M. Schürer together with an unauthorized reprint of *De ratione studii*, Strasbourg, July 1512 (Bezzel 1704). The July edition was reprinted in August 1513 (see no. 7 below).
6. *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo. De ratione studii ... De puero Iesu concio scholastica et quaedam carmina ad eandem rem pertinentia*, [Paris.], Iod. Badius, ad Idus Iulias 1512 (Bezzel 734). (= E)
Copy: Harvard University Library
Contains *Carmm.* 43, 46, 47, 44, 48, 45.
7. *De ratione studii ac legendi interpretandique auctores libellus aureus ... Concio de puero Iesu ... Expostulatio Iesu ad mortales ... Carmina scholaria. Ex*

secunda recognitione, Argent., M. Schürerius, mense Aug. 1513 (Bezzel 1705). (= *F*)

Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam

Contains *Carmm.* 4, 46, 47, 44, 48, 45, 52. The book is a corrected, if unauthorized reprint of Schürer's edition of July 1512.

8. *De ratione studii ac legendi interpretandique auctores libellus aureus ... Concio de puero Iesu ... Expostulatio Iesu ad mortales ... Carmina scholaria. Ex recognitione auctoris, dum mense Augusto Argentinae degeret, Anno M.D. XIII*, Argent., M. Schürerius, mense Aug. 1514 (Bezzel 1708). (= *G*)

Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam

Contains *Carmm.* 43, 46, 47, 44, 48, 45, 52.

This is the authorized, revised edition of *F*. The poems were reprinted in successive editions of *De ratione studii*.

9. *Silua carminum antehac nunquam impressorum*, Goudae, A. Gauter, 15 Kal. Iunii 1513 (*NK* 871). (= *H*)

Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam. I have also consulted a photolithographic reprint (made from a different copy), introduced by Ch. Ruelens, Brussels, 1864.

Contains *Carmm.* 94–96, 93, 97; also Willem Hermans, *Prosopopeia Hollandie*.

10. *Lucubrationes*, Argent., M. Schurerius, mense Sept. 1515 (Bezzel 846). (= *I*)

Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam

Contains *Carmm.* 36, 42–48, 50, 51.

The volume was reprinted at Strasbourg by M. Schürer, June 1516 (Bezzel 848 and 849) and November 1517 (Bezzel 850).

11. *Epigrammata*, Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Martio 1518. (= *K*¹)

Copies: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam; Yale University Library

Contains *Carmm.* 1–61.

For a description of this edition, published together with Thomas More's *Vtopia* and *Epigrammata*, see Gibson, pp. 7–9, no. 3; see also Bezzel 912. At the head of Erasmus' poems, preceding Froben's letter to the reader, is a Greek poem by Philip Melanchthon, written in August 1516; see Ep. 454.

12. *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, Basil., Io. Frobenius, Quintili mense 1518 (*BB* E. 1003; Bezzel 852). (= *L*)

Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam

Contains *Carmm.* 36, 42–48, 50, 51, 1.

The volume was reprinted at Strasbourg by M. Schrürer, January 1519 (*BB* E. 1004; Bezzel 857); at Basel by Joh. Froben, October 1519 (*BB* E. 1006; Bezzel 853 and 854); and at Cologne by E. Ceruicornus, 1519 (*BB* E. 1007; Bezzel 855).

13. *Epigrammata*, Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Dec. 1518 (= *K*²)
 Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam
 This book, a corrected reprint of *K*¹, contains *Carmm.* 1–61. For a description of this edition, published together with Thomas More's *Vtopia* and *Epigrammata*, see Gibson, pp. 10–12, no. 4; see also Bezzel 913. Erasmus' poems were reprinted from this source in *Epigrammata Des. Erasmi Roterdami, nunquam amplius visa*, Venice, Io. Antonius et Fratres de Sabbio, November 1527 (Bezzel 914). In the dedicatory letter to the volume (printed in Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 403) Constantinus Brixius Taruisinus, borrowing from Froben's foreword in *K*, insinuates that he is publishing Erasmus' epigrams for the first time.
14. *Progymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae Erasmi*, Louan., Theod. Martinus, 1521 (*NK* 855). (= *M*)
 Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam
 Contains *Carmm.* 94–97, 43, 44.
 This work was reprinted at Deventer by A. Pafraet, May 1521 (*NK* 854; see also *NK* 4150).
15. *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione ... dialogus ... Dialogus cui titulus Ciceronianus*, Basil., off. Frobeniana, mense Martio 1528 (Bezzel 1763). (= *N*)
 Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam. I have also consulted the facsimile reprint, Menston, Scolar Press, 1971
 Contains *Carmm.* 73, 74, 70, 72, 71.
16. *Opus epistolarum*, Basil., off. Frobeniana, 1529 (Bezzel 1004 and 1005). (= *O*)
 Copy: Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam
 Contains *Carmm.* 68, 69, 71, 75, 66, 73, 74, 82, 81, 80.
17. *Omnia opera*, Basil., H. Frobenius et N. Episcopius, 1538–1542, in tomis I–V et IX. (= *BAS*)
 Vol. I contains *Carmm.* 129–132, 65, 4–8, 12–41, 52–54, 3, 55–61, 70, 92; vol. II contains *Carm.* 91; vol. III contains *Carmm.* 68, 69, 66, 56, 71, 75, 73, 74, 82, 81, 80, 89, 90, 78, 79; vol. IV contains *Carmm.* 64, 2; vol. V contains *Carmm.* 42–48, 50, 51, 1, 133, 88, 49, 9–11; vol. IX contains *Carm.* 134.
18. *Opera omnia*, Lugd. Batauorum, Petrus vander Aa, 1703–1706, in tomis I–V, VIII, et X. (= *LB*)
 Vol. I contains *Carmm.* 129–132, 128, 65, 4–8, 12–41, 52–54, 3, 55–61, 70, 92; vol. II contains *Carm.* 91; vol. III/1 contains *Carmm.* 56, 66, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74; vol. III/2 contains *Carmm.* 75, 78, 79, 82, 81, 80, 69, 89, 90; vol. IV contains *Carmm.* 64, 2; vol. V contains *Carmm.* 42–48, 50, 51, 1, 133, 88, 49,

9–11; vol. VIII contains *Carmm.* 113, 114, 102–106, 93, 135, 107, 108, 36, 109–112; vol. X contains *Carm.* 134.

LB reprints the poems according to *BAS* in vols. I, II, IV, V, and X; the copy-text of the poems in *LB* VIII is *Scri*.

VIII. THE PRESENT EDITION

The editorial principles for the *Carmina* are those given in *ASD* I, 1, pp. xviii–xix. The apparatus criticus is limited to substantive variants. Minor differences in orthography as well as obvious transcription or printing errors go unmentioned. I have not attempted to record the numerous orthographic changes which the copy editor for *LB* VIII imposed on *Scri*. In the edition of the main text the termination -e has been changed to -ae; such changes have been listed in the app. crit., except in the case of *Carm.* 93, where -ae in the present edition invariably replaces -e in the copy-text (*H*). The division into paragraphs is mine, as is the indentation of the various verse forms. Only quotations attributed to a specific author have been italicized. For the textual history of poems that are embedded in Erasmus' correspondence or other prose works, the reader should also consult Allen or the relevant critical edition in *ASD*.

At the end of each of the headnotes to the poems I have indicated the source or sources used in establishing the text. If more than one source is given, the base text is identified with an asterisk.

To accommodate the special requirements of a commentary on poetic texts, I have used the following symbols in the lemmata of the commentary:

1. Suspension points (...) indicate "from ... to"; the words omitted are to be supplied by the reader.
2. A virgule (/) signifies that intervening words in the Latin or Greek text are to be ignored for the purposes of the note.
3. An equal sign (=) means that the words in the lemma occupy the same metrical position in the verse as the words referred to in the commentary note.

The introduction, headnotes, text, commentary, and appendixes were, in large part, first published in *CWE* 85 and 86 and are here reprinted with the kind permission of the University of Toronto Press. I have taken the opportunity, however, to revise and, where warranted, to expand the introduction, headnotes, and commentary.

Some corrigenda to the *CWE* volumes may be noted here: On p. xl read "βίαιον" for "βιαιου". On pp. 180–181 the publication date of *Silua carminum* should be "18 May 1513". In *Carm.* 92, 3 the manuscript reading "parcissima" is to be preferred to the printed version "paucissima". In the title of *Carm.* 124 read "Magdalene" (the manuscript reading), not the expanded form "Magdalena". On p. 534, n. *Carm.* 63, 3, read "Σωός" for "Σωός". *Carm.* 117 (the first draft of

Expost. Iesu) is more probably to be placed in 1499 than in winter 1490–1491. On p. 698 the correct version of l. 1 of the epigram “In eundem Ligurem” is: “Vt iure, vt ex re nomen est tibi Iulio!” Finally, the phrase “nota ad symbola” in *Carm.* 8, 16 should be understood as a medievalism and translated as “at his familiar meal”.

Iucundi, vt aiunt, acti labores. As I look back on the years spent preparing the *CWE / ASD* edition of Erasmus’ poems, I recall with particular pleasure the help and encouragement of many dear friends and colleagues. Clarence H. Miller, who produced the excellent translation of the poems in *CWE* 85, was a guiding force and an inspiration throughout this project. Nicolaas van der Blom, Alexander Dalzell, Klaus-Dietrich Fischer, Gerard Huijing Daniel Kinney, and Terence Tunberg generously shared their expertise and saved me from error time and time again. Jozef IJsewijn, Johanna van de Roer-Meyers, Karin Tilmans, and Johannes Trapman cheerfully obtained various source materials for me. To all of them I offer my heartiest thanks.

Without Cornelis Reedijk’s pioneering edition of the poems, my labours would have been immensely more difficult. I therefore gratefully acknowledge my many debts to him.

CARMINA

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

- A:* *A*¹ et *A*²
*A*¹: *De casa natalitia Iesu ... carmen*, Paris., A. Denidel [mense Ian. 1496?].
*A*²: *De casa natalitia Iesu ... carmen nouiter emendatum*, Paris., A. Denidel, [1496?].
B: *Lucubratiunculae aliquot*, Antuerp., Theod. Martinus, 15 Feb. 1503.
C: *Varia epigrammata*, [Paris.], Iod. Badius et Io. Paruus, 6 Id. Ian. 1507.
D: *Concio de puero Iesu*, [Paris., G. Biermantius?], Kal. Sept. [1511?].
E: *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum*, [Paris.], Iod. Badius, ad Idus Iulias 1512.
F: *De ratione studii*, Argent., M. Schürerius, mense Aug. 1513.
G: *De ratione studii*, Argent., M. Schürerius, mense Aug. 1514.
H: *Silua carminum*, Goudae, A. Gauter, 15 Kal. Iunii 1513.
I: *Lucubrationes*, Argent., M. Schurerius, mense Sept. 1515.
K: *K*¹ et *K*²
*K*¹: *Epigrammata*, Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Mart. 1518.
*K*²: *Epigrammata*, Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Dec. 1518.
L: *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, Basil., Io. Frobenius, Quintili mense 1518.
M: *Progymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae Erasmi*, Louan., Theod. Martinus, 1521.
N: *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*, Basil., off. Frobeniana, mense Mart. 1528.
O: *Opus epistolarum*, Basil., off. Frobeniana, 1529.
BAS: *Omnia opera*, Basil., H. Frobenius et N. Episcopius, 1538–1542.
LB: *Opera omnia*, Lugd. Batauorum, P. vander Aa, 1703–1706.

Eg: Ms. Egerton 1651, Bibl. Britann., Londini.
Go: Ms. 1323, Bibl. municip., Goudae.
Scri: Ms. Scriuerius, Vniuers. Cathol. Brabant., Tilliburgi.

CARMINA

POEMS IN
EPIGRAMMATA DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI,
Basel, J. Froben, March 1518

IOANNES FROBENIVS CANDIDO LECTORI S. D.

Accepimus iam pridem Erasmi Roterodami compatris nostri epigrammata a studiosis summopere flagitari. Proinde dedimus operam, vt quicquid illius versiculorum aut apud Beatum nostrum Rhenanum esset aut Brunonem Amorbacchium, id omne vno complexi libello typis nostris excuderemus. Quaquam intelligebamus plurimum nos hac re studiosis, Erasmo vero minimum gratificaturos. Nam magnam horum epigrammatum partem non in hoc scripsit vt aederentur, sed vt amiculis suis (vt est minime morosus) obsequeretur. Quin ipsi vidimus, cum abhinc sesquiannum apud nos ageret, euangelica et apostolica monumenta partim Latine vertens, partim recognoscens, et doctissimas illas in Nouum Instrumentum annotationes nec non in diuum Hieronymum scholia scriberet – deum immortalem, quam laboriosis lucubrationibus, quam pertinaci studio, quantum sudoris illi cotidie exhauriebatur! – ipsi, inquam, vidimus non defuisse e magnatibus, qui virum occupatissimum (si quisquam in literis vnquam fuit occupatus) interpellare

1 IOANNES FROBENIVS Johann Froben (c. 1460–1527) was born in Hammelburg, north of Würzburg. He became a citizen of Basel in 1490 and established a printing shop there. By 1518 he had printed many of Er.'s works, including the *Adagiorum Chiliades* (1513), *Nouum Instrumentum* (1516), and the annotated edition of St. Jerome's *Opera omnia* (1516). See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Johann) Froben. Later Er. wrote two epitaphs for him (*Carmm.* 73 and 74). Since Froben knew little Latin, his letter to the reader was ghostwritten for him, perhaps by Bruno Amerbach or (more probably) by Beatus Rhenanus; cf. n.l. 23 below.

4 *Beatum ... Rhenanum* A native of Sélestat in Upper Alsace, Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547) received his M.A. from the University of Paris in 1507. After working for the printers

Henri Estienne (Stephanus) and Matthias Schürer, he moved to Basel in 1511, studied Greek with Johannes Cono, and helped Froben and Amerbach with various editorial projects. He became a close friend of Er. after the latter moved to Basel in 1514. See *Contemporaries* s.v. Beatus Rhenanus.

Brunonem Amorbacchium Bruno Amerbach (1484–1519) was the eldest son of the printer Johann Amerbach, Froben's partner since 1500. He obtained his B.A. from the University of Paris in 1505, his M.A. in 1506. From 1508 he worked at his father's press and collaborated with Er. in editing the collected works of St. Jerome. Er. wrote an epitaph for him in Nov. 1519 (*Carm.* 70). See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Bruno) Amerbach.

9 *abhinc sesquiannum* Er. had left Basel for Antwerp in the spring of 1516.

15 de nugis auderent, aliquod epigrammation aut epistolium eblandientes. Sed enim
 quid ageret vir suauissima morum facilitate praeditus? Negaret? Inciuile hoc
 exigentibus videretur. Scriberet? At animus aliis cogitationibus impediabatur, nec
 ab inceptis laboribus quicquam respirare licebat. Nihilo secius scribebat, sed ex
 20 tempore et obiter ad Musarum sacra diuertens. Quanquam huius extemporalia
 plane talia sunt, vt aliorum diu meditatatis anteponi mereantur. Et veniet nunc
 triobolaris aliquis paedagogulus, qui instar Momi, tantum carpendi studio sin-
 gulis curiosissime exploratis, verbulum aliquod reperiet quod sibi non probetur vt
 non Baptistinianicum aut Faustinum aut denique, si diis placet, Marullicum, hic
 statim succlamabit, 'O virum carminis indoctum!' Regererem in illum ego, si
 25 quem superbe sic ineptientem audirem: 'O nebulonem, o furciferum! Tune tan-
 tum tibi tribuis, vt tanti viri censorem agas? Decem totis mensibus non posses vel
 vnum versiculum scribere, caput scabens et arrosis ante digitis, quod genus hic
 multos (vt Horatius inquit) *stans pede in vno*, minima parte horae, amanuensi
 suo dictat.' Sed haec in malignos istos. Candidi vel infeliciora boni consulunt,
 30 tantum abest vt quae docta sunt vellicent. Bene vale.

Basileae Cal. Martiis, anno M.D.XVIII.

15 aliquod *K*²: aliquot *K*¹.

21 *Momi* See *Adag.* 474.

23 *Baptistinianicum ... Faustinum ... Marullicum* Froben is referring to several neo-Latin poets: Baptista Mantuanus (1447–1516), Fausto Andrelini (c. 1462–1518), and Michael Marullus (c. 1453–1500). Er. was fond of the first two; but (like other Christian humanists, such as Beatus Rhenanus and Eobanus Hessus) he detested Marullus' paganism. See *Ep.* 385, ll. 5–6; 1479, ll. 118–120; *Apolog.* c.

Iac. Latomi dialog., *LB IX*, 93 B; *Ciceron.*, *ASD I*, 2, p. 666, l. 2.

27 *versiculum ... digitis* Cf. *Hor. Serm.* I, 10, 70–71; *Er. Adag.* 2596; *Ep.* 126, ll. 84–85.

28–29 *stans ... dictat* Cf. *Hor. Serm.* I, 4, 9–10, disapproving of such facility. Er., however, cheerfully agreed with Froben's description; see *Allen, Op. ep.* I, p. 4, ll. 2–5; *Ciceron.*, *ASD I*, 2, p. 681, ll. 11–12.

I. A HYMN IN PRAISE OF ST. ANN

c. 1491?

In Ep. 145, ll. 137–139, dated 27 January 1501, Er. tells his patroness Anna van Borssele: “Misi te tibi, Annam Annae, carmen vel rithmos potius a me puero admodum lusos; nam iam inde a tenellis vnguiculis eius Diuae pietate flagraui.” Although Er. here states emphatically that the hymn is an early piece of work, we should nevertheless note that he composed it, not as a “mere lad”, but as a young man, perhaps shortly after he turned to sacred subjects in the winter of 1490–1491. See Ep. 28, ll. 8–10, written in c. March 1491 (for the redating of Ep. 28 see introd. *Carm.* 50); for “puer” as a term describing Er. during the Steyn years see n. *Carm.* 109, 31. At that time he was twenty-four years old. This underestimation of his age fits Er.’ usual pattern of understating the true age at which he wrote his juvenilia; see Vredeveld, *Ages*, pp. 784–802.

While Reedijk assigned the poem to Er.’ Steyn period, other scholars have suggested that it might have been written in the later 1490s. In the second half of the decade there was an enormous interest in St. Ann because of the controversy about the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin. The topic was discussed with particular intensity at the University of Paris, just when Er. was beginning his theological studies there. The Sorbonne finally endorsed the doctrine on 3 March 1497. See *DTC* VII, 1, p. 1126; Renaudet, pp. 251–252; Jean Dilenge de Saint Joseph, *Robert Gaguin: Poète et défenseur de l’Immaculée Conception*, Rome, 1960, pp. 39–67. Among those vigorously defending the doctrine was the Carmelite monk Arnoldus Bostius of Ghent (1446–1499). Seeking support against Vincenzo Bandello, Bostius asked his friends in c. 1497–1498 to sing the praises of Sts. Joachim and Ann. Er.’ hymn to St. Ann might thus conceivably have been intended as a contribution to the friendly competition; see *Contemporaries* s.v. Bostius.

This theory, though attractive, is weakened by the fact that Er.’ hymn does not figure in the extant collections of the poems sent to Bostius; see Ms. 618, f^o 486–497 and Ms. 1149–1150, f^o 82–86 and 92–93 in Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Paris; Tilmans, p. 27, n. 70. Might he, then, have written the poem for the express purpose of gaining the patronage of St. Ann’s namesake, Anna van Borssele, in the winter of 1498–1499? That date would place the hymn in roughly the same time-frame as the prose prayers to the Virgin that Er. wrote for Anna van Borssele’s son in the winter of 1498–1499 (*LB* V, 1227–1240; cf. Ep. 94, ll. 100–106) and the verse paean to the Virgin Mary (*Carm.* 110, written in the spring of 1499). In the hymn’s concluding lines (ll. 87–94) there is indeed a close parallel to the conclusion of *Obsecratio* and *Carm.* 110. But this parallel occurs in a section that is not found in *Eg* (probably copied in late 1499 or early 1500) and hence may well be a later addition.

The various pieces of evidence presented thus far seem to indicate that the shorter and presumably earlier version found in *Eg* was revised and augmented sometime in the winter of 1500–1501 for presentation to Anna van Borssele. The

first version could date back either to c. 1491 or to 1497–1499. It is difficult to decide which of these dates is the correct one. Since Er., however, emphasizes that he wrote the poem when he was still only a lad (“puer”) and because there is no direct evidence connecting the hymn to Bostius’ poetic competition, the earlier date appears more likely. The hymn’s theme certainly fits in well with Er.’ other poems of that time: *De casa natalitia pueri Iesu* (*Carm.* 42) and *In laudem Michaelis et angelorum omnium*, particularly the section in praise of Gabriel (*Carm.* 50, 97–156). It should be noted also that the noun “stupor”, which is, as it were, personified in l. 61 below, is used in a similar way also in *Carm.* 93, 113 (spring 1489), in one of Cornelis’ sections.

The story of Ann and Joachim goes back to the apocryphal *Proteuangelium Iacobi* and *Euangelium de natiuitate S. Mariae*; but it was also familiar from *Legenda aurea* (chapt. 131) and numerous medieval hymns. Er. may have been inspired originally by Rodolphus Agricola’s lengthy poem, *Anna mater*, Deventer, R. Paffraet, first published in c. April 1484 (for the date see P.S. Allen, *The Letters of Rudolph Agricola*, *The English Historical Review* 21 (1906), p. 314, nos. 37 and 38). But he would also have studied the first two books of Baptista Mantuanus’ *Parthenice Mariana* (1481), which tell the story at epic length; see Ep. 145, ll. 10–11, where Er. praises Mantuanus’ and Agricola’s poems on St. Ann. There is thus no reason to assume that he had to wait until 1497–1499 to be moved to write a hymn in her honour.

The poem was first published in *Epigrammata*, Basel, March 1518. Jakob Spiegel of Sélestat reprinted it, with commentary, in: *In hymnum auiae Christi Annae dictum ab Erasmo Roteradamo* [sic] *scholia*, Augsburg, S. Grimm and M. Wirsung, 4 March 1519.

Metre: iambic dimeter.

Sources: *Eg*; *K*^{1*}; *L*; *K*²; *BAS* V, 1109–1110; *LB* V, 1325–1326.

DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI RHYTHMVS IAMBICVS
IN LAVDEM ANNAE, AVIAE IESV CHRISTI

Salue, parens sanctissima,
Sacro beata coniuge,

Tit. DES. ERASMI ... CHRISTI *K L*: In diue

Anne laudem rithmi iambici *Eg*.

Tit. RHYTHMVS In medieval Latin “rhythmus” generally refers to accentual, rhymed verse. That is clearly not true of this poem, which is strictly quantitative and shows no trace of rhyme. Still, as in the hymns of Ambrosius and Prudentius, Er.’ lines could in many places also be read as accentuated verse. In any case, the word “rhythmus” was closely associated with the hymns of the mass and breviary.

1 *Salue, parens sanctissima* Cf. *AH* 23, 188, 1; 43, 119, 1: “Salue, parens Anna”; 23, 194, 1: “Salue, parens matris Christi”; *Sedul. Pasch.* II, 63 (to Mary) and *AH* 52, 106, 1 (to St. Ann): “Salue, sancta parens”; *Verg. Aen.* V, 80: “salue, sancte parens.”
2–4 *beata ... sacratissimo* Cf. *AH* 52, 111, 3 (to St. Ann): “Tali beata pignore, / Nepote sed beator”.

Sacratiore filia,
 Nepote sacratissimo.
 5 Domo quid hac illustrius
 Ornatusue? Quae altera
 Tam multiplex habuit decus,
 Tantum vna monstrorum tulit?
 Hic hic maritum annis grauem
 10 Effoeta anus facit patrem.
 Est virgo foeta filia,
 Nepos dei verbum ac deus.
 Gener pudicus se negat
 Partus parentem vxorii.
 15 At integram iurat, neque
 Riuale pallet suspicax.
 Ergo, Anna, mater optima,
 Cumulatus multo tuas
 Lachrymas deus solatus est
 20 Quam vel Rebecca vel Sarae
 Vel illius quae te refert
 Et rebus et vocabulo,
 Quae dum silenter anxii
 Proferret aestus pectoris
 25 Visa est Heli multo mero
 Amens parumque sobria.
 At te pio cum coniuge
 Amore prolis annua
 Templis ferentem munera
 30 Procax sacerdos reppulit.
 'Heus', inquit, 'hinc mihi ocyus

12 deus *KL*: decus *Eg*.

31 mihi *om. Eg*.

9–10 *maritum / facit patrem* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* I, 75, mentioned as Er.' model in Spiegel's commentary, sig. br'.

9 *annis grauem* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 246; Hor. *Serm.* I, 1, 4; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 54, l. 378.

11 *virgo foeta* Prud. *Cath.* II, 98.

13 *Gener pudicus* Cf. *Carm.* 42, 50.

16 *Riuale* For metrical reasons Er. uses this rare ablative form (Ov. *Rem.* 791), instead of the expected accusative or dative with "pallet".

17 *mater optima* LHL IV, 58–59.

20 *Rebecca* See *Gn.* 25, 20–21.

Sarae See *Gn.* II, 30; 16, 1; 17, 15–21; 18, 10–15; 21, 1–7.

21–26 *Vel ... sobria* For the story of Samuel's mother, Hannah, see 1. *Sm.* I, 1–20; Er. *Ep.* 145, ll. 3–6.

21–22 *quae ... vocabulo* Cf. *Carm.* 4, 70 (n.) and 4, 106.

24 *aestus pectoris* Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 275–276; Lucan. VIII, 166; Prud. *Contra Symm.* II, 1045; but the metaphor is a common one. Cf. Er. *Carm.* 110, 248.

28–29 *annua / munera* *Carm.* 6, 20.

30 *sacerdos* Ruben, according to *Proteuangelium Iacobi*, or Isachar, according to *Euangelium de natiuitate S. Mariae*.

Prophana vota tollite.
 Ipsi simul procul procul
 Aris sacris absistite.
 35 Vestran' deo donaria
 Futura grata creditis,
 Quorum pudendae nuptiae
 Praeter libidinem nihil
 Luxum et senilem scilicet
 40 Tanto tulere tempore?
 Quo se locorum verterent
 Vultus pudentum coniugum,
 Repulsa quos tam foeda, tam
 Insignis exanimauerat?
 45 Ioachim pudorem non ferens
 Gregum ad suorum pascua
 Se proripit, tristes suam
 Recepit Anna se domum.
 Largis vterque fletibus
 50 Votisque pertinacibus
 Orare non cessat deum
 Vt prole probrum tolleret.
 Caelum penetrarunt preces.
 Adest ab astris angelus
 55 Qui prole promissa graues
 Luctus iuberet ponere.
 Surgunt alacres, inuicem
 Narrare visa gestiunt.
 Porta maritus aurea
 60 Se quaeritantem coniugem
 Offendit. Hic laetus stupor
 Dulces vtrique lachrymas
 Excussit. Hinc modicos lares
 Iunctis reuisunt gressibus.
 65 Haud vana vox oraculi

35 Vestran' *KL*: Isthec *Eg*.

38–39 Praeter ... senilem *KL*: Praeter nihil libidinem ac / Luxum senilem *Eg*.

52 prole *Eg*: probe *KL*; probrum *KL*: proborum *Eg*.

49 Largis / fletibus Verg. *Aen.* II, 271.

53 Caelum penetrarunt preces Cf. *Sir.* 35, 21: "Oratio humiliantis se nubes penetrabit"; *Er. Carm.* 136, 1–3 (where see headnote for

57 inuicem *KL*: mutuo *Eg*.

60 quaeritantem *LK*²: queritantem *EgK*¹.

63 modicos *KL*: leti *Eg*.

65 vana *KL*: vna *Eg*.

further parallels): "coelum ... penetrat ... oratio"; *Carm.* 50, 249 (n.).
 62–63 lachrymas Excussit Plaut. *Capt.* 419; *Ter. Heaut.* 167; *Er. Ep.* 58, l. 11.

- Lusit piam senum fidem.
 Bis luna nata quinquies
 Anum videt puerperam.
 Tanto quidem felicius
 70 Foecunda quanto serius
 Fit Anna filiae parens,
 Nec filiae cuiuslibet,
 Sed filiae, quae fertilis
 Eademque virgo gigneret.
 75 At quem beata gigneret?
 Summi parentis filium,
 Qui scepra terrae et aetheris
 Cum patre habet communia,
 Qui, deus et idem homo, necis
 80 Autore victo per necem
 Vitam reduxit mortuis,
 Aperuit in caelos iter.
 O terque quaterque et amplius
 Parens beata, nam potes,
 85 Iuua preces mortalium
 Tuo vacantum cultui,
 Nam te patrona quidlibet

68 videt *KL*: vidit *Eg*.

74–76 gigneret ... filium *KL*: gignere [*pro gigneret*] / Summi parentis filium *Eg*.

77–94 Qui ... filium *add. KL*.

69–71 *Tanto ... parens* Cf. *Euangelium de natiuitate S. Mariae* 3, 2: "Crede dilatos diu conceptus et steriles partus mirabiliores esse solere"; Agric. *Anna*, p. 298: "Quod venit ex facili, faciles segnesque tenemus; / Quod spe quodque metu torsit, habere iuuat"; Cornelis Gerard, *Marias* I, f° 9^v, on the birth of Mary: "Quod darur e facili sic assolet ora rogantis / Claudere, vt acceptum nil putet esse datum. / Verum inopinatum plus ornat gratia votum, / Et remorata salus dulcior esse solet."

77–94 *Qui ... filium* These verses, which first appear in the 1518 *Epigrammata*, were probably already in the version presented to Anna van Borssele in Jan. 1501. Note the parallels to *Carm.* 110 (spring 1499), cited in n.ll. 79–81, 87–94, and 90 below, and the close parallel to *Obsecratio*, written for Anna's son Adolph of Burgundy in the winter of 1498–1499, cited in n.ll. 87–94 below.

79–81 *necis ... mortuis* Cf. *Carm.* 11, 9–10 (July 1498?); 110, 209 (n.); *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 5, p. 278, l. 749 (with note): "Moritur, sed ea morte mundo vitam reparauit."

83–84 *O terque ... beata* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* I, 94; Hor. *Carm.* I, 13, 17; Prud. *Perist.* 2, 529–530; *LHL* V, 433; Et. *Adag.* 1805; *Carm.* 6, 58; 88, 29–30 (n.); 110, 14.

84 *nam potes* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 117; Hor. *Epod.* 17, 45.

87–94 *Nam ... filium* The thought is closely paralleled in *Obsecratio*, *LB* V, 1235 E: Christ loves his mother so much that he will grant her whatever she wishes; God loves Christ so much that he will grant his Son whatever he desires; cf. *Carm.* 110, 373–376 (with n.ll. 373–374); *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, *ASD* V, 2, p. 203, ll. 321–322; Bernardus, *In natiuitate B. Mariae* 7, in: *Opera*, V, p. 279: "Exaudiet vtique Matrem Filius, et exaudiet Filium Pater."

Speramus assequi, modo
 Voles voletque et filia.
 90 Nec huic petenti pusio
 Negare quicquam nouerit.
 Amat parentem filius,
 Neque filio negat pater,
 Amans et ipse filium.

Amen.

Postscr. Amen *add. KL, om. BAS LB.*

88–91 *modo ... nouerit* Cf. Agric. *Anna*, p. 302:
 “Nil tibi nata negat, nil et negat ille parenti; /
 Ille colit matrem, te quoque nata colit.”
 90–91 *Nec ... nouerit* Cf. *Coll., ASD* I, 3, p. 473.

ll. 84–85, criticizing this attitude: “neque
 quicquam ausit negare petenti.”
 90 *pusio* See *Carm.* 110, 318 (n.).
 93–94 *pater ... filium* Cf. *Ioh.* 3, 35; 5, 20.

2. A MEDITATION ON THE BREVIETY OF YOUTH AND THE TRIBULATIONS OF OLD AGE

August 1506

Er. wrote this, the best known of his poems, in August 1506, when he was nearing his fortieth birthday. The poem's genesis is described in Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 4, ll. 8–27. He was riding on horseback through the Alps on his way to Italy. Annoyed by the quarrelling of his companions, he drew back and began to meditate on the need to use time wisely in the face of approaching old age. When he reached the inn, he worked out the notes he had jotted down on the ride. Hence Er. also referred to the work as his “carmen equestre vel potius alpestre”.

Twentieth-century critics have tended to read the poem in the light of its autobiographical elements. They suspect that its melancholy tone at the flight of youth might be the result of some kind of mid-life crisis, an outpouring of deep-seated fears of old age. Seeking confirmation for this view, Reedijk and Margolin point to Er.' letter to Johann von Botzheim (Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 4, l. 15), in which the humanist confides that 1506 was for him a most unpleasant year (“nullum enim annum vixi insuauius”). But the context of this phrase speaks only of “misfortune”, and the word “insuaue” hardly suggests psychological depression or crisis. Er.' letters of 1506 do, however, give us a pretty clear idea why he remembered that year as most unpleasant. The crossing of the English Channel at the beginning of June took four days and was so rough that he contracted a painful illness; see Ep. 194, ll. 1–8 and Ep. 196, ll. 8–11. In Italy he was distressed to learn of the death of his patron, Archduke Philip the Handsome (Ep. 205); and his studies there were interrupted by war; see Ep. 200, ll. 1–7; Ep. 203; and Ep. 205, ll. 35–39.

In part following Huizinga (pp. 59–61), Reedijk and Margolin also adduce Ep. 189 (1 April 1506) as evidence of an emotional crisis. In that letter Er. tells his prior at Steyn, Servatius Rogerus, that he is conscious of the flight of human life, feels himself frail and weakened, and is therefore planning to devote his remaining years to the contemplation of death – once he has completed his studies of Greek:

Ego id etiam atque etiam in animo verso, quemadmodum possim id quod mihi superest aevi (quod quidem quantum sit futurum nescio) totum pietati, totum Christo impartire. Video vitam hominis, etiam vt longa sit, rem esse fugacem et euanidem, tum me corpusculo esse delicato, cuius viribus non parum etiam studiorum labor detraxit, nonnihil infortunia. Video in studiis nullum esse exitum; fierique vt quotidie videamur incipere. Quare decreui hac mea mediocritate contentus (praesertim cum Graecitatis quantum sat est adhibuerim) meditandae morti et animo fingendo operam dare. Oportebat quidem iam olim id agere et annis, id est rei pretiosissimae, tum parcere cum esset optima. Verum tametsi sera in fundo parsimonia, tamen hoc nunc parcius dispensanda, quo minor est, quo deterior.

This paragraph does indeed closely parallel the *Carmen de senectutis incommodis* but contains no evidence of a “mid-life crisis”. It is preceded by an introductory paragraph that chides Servatius for his lethargy in not replying to Er.’ letters: “Dedi ad te iam epistolas aliquot, ad quas te ne literam quidem referre demiror.” The introduction then speaks of Er.’ own success and prospects. The greatest men and finest scholars in all England, he says, hold him in high regard; the king has promised him a benefice, though this idea has been shelved for the time being. Moreover – a circumstance too readily overlooked in arguments of this kind – the letter is directed to a specific person and serves a specific end. Er. wants his prior to know that there is no need to recall him to the monastery. He has enjoyed wonderful success in England, certainly, but these triumphs have not turned his head. He remains humble, convinced of the vanity of this world. In short, the letter serves a rhetorical purpose. That is why its language is not personal but echoes the commonplaces of antiquity and the Christian church: the brevity of life and the vanity of human achievement, the meditation on old age and death as the beginning of wisdom. It is, in fact, the same inverted *carpe diem* argument that he had earlier employed in Ep. 15, when he reproached Servatius for his failure to write and exhorted him to shape his mind, before fleeting youth gave way to old age.

For representative examples of the autobiographical-aesthetic, non-rhetorical approach to the *Carmen de senectutis incommodis* see Georg Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, I, Berlin, 1929, p. 419; Huizinga, pp. 60–61; Karl August Meissinger, *Erasmus von Rotterdam*, Berlin, 1948², pp. 112–115, with a paraphrasing translation of the poem on pp. 115–119; Ferdinand Weckerle, *Carmen alpestre: Ein Gespräch selbdrift um den alternden Erasmus*, in: *Festschrift Eugen Stollreither*, ed. Fritz Redenbacher, Erlan-

gen, 1950, pp. 367–381 (based not on Er.’ Latin text but on Meissinger’s romanticizing paraphrase); Reedijk, *Poems*, pp. 121–123 and 281; Margolin, pp. 37–48 and 69–71; Thomson, pp. 204–210; George Faludy, *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, London, 1970, pp. 106–107; James D. Tracy, *Erasmus: The Growth of a Mind*, Geneva, 1972, pp. 114–115; Schmidt-Dengler, pp. xxxi and xxxv; Clarence H. Miller, introd. to More, *Latin Poems*, CW III, 2, pp. 48–49; R.J. Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe: The Prince of Humanists, 1501–1536*, Edinburgh, 1993, pp. 63–64. Anthologizers help to perpetuate this kind of interpretation by selecting only the autobiographical passages and leaving out the rhetorical-hortatory elements; see Harry C. Schnur, *Lateinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten*, Stuttgart, 1967, pp. 112–121; Pierre Laurens, *Musae reduces: Anthologie de la poésie latine dans l’Europe de la Renaissance*, II, Leiden, 1975, pp. 112–119; Alessandro Perosa and John Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse: An Anthology*, London, 1979, pp. 472–476. Roland H. Bainton takes the same tack in his condensed verse translation in: *Erasmus of Christendom*, New York, 1969, p. 79; so does Léon-E. Halkin, *Erasmus: A Critical Biography*, trans. John Tonkin, Oxford, 1993, p. 65.

For an analysis of the poem’s structure and models see Introd., pp. 38–45.

The poem was first published at the end of *Luciani viri quam disertissimi compluria opuscula longe festiuisima ab Erasmo Roterodamo et Thoma Moro interpretibus optimis in Latinorum linguam traducta*, Paris, J. Bade, 13 November 1506 (α), sigs. 114^r–116^v. This version was reprinted in *Ad illustrissimum principem Philippum Austriae ducem ... panegyricus Erasmi Roterodami*, [Paris], J. Bade, [1507] (β ; Bezzel 16). A lightly revised text occurs in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507 (γ), also printed by Bade. The poem reappears in Er.’ *Hecuba et Iphigenia in Aulide Euripidis tragoediae in Latinum tralatae Erasmo Roterodamo interprete*, Venice, Aldo Manuzio, December 1507 (γ), reprinted Venice, Aldo Manuzio, May 1516. This corrected version follows α , not γ . The *Epigrammata* of 1518 (K), while generally accepting the readings of γ , occasionally adopts those of α .

The precise publication date of β is not known. It must have been printed sometime after August 1507, however, because Bade here uses a mark not employed before that date; see Philippe Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462–1535*, II, Paris, 1908, p. 415. An analysis of the variant readings of *Carmen de senectute* shows that the text of the poem in β is a corrected reprint of α (November 1506), not of γ (December 1507) as Reedijk, p. 282 assumes. Hence his conclusion that β “must ... be placed after December 1507” is unwarranted.

Metre: hexameter alternating with an iambic dimeter catalectic. This combination, unique in Latin literature, is a variation on the first Pythiambic strophe (an hexameter followed by an iambic dimeter acatalectic, as in Hor. *Epod.* 14 and 15). Thomson, p. 210 suggests that Er. uses this pattern here to combine the sacred and the profane (cf. l. 103 below): the profane, because the combination of metres recalls Horace’s fourteenth and fifteenth epodes; the sacred, because his

use of the iambic dimeter catalectic recalls Prudentius' Christian hymn before sleep (*Cath.* 6). This intriguing suggestion is undermined somewhat by several circumstances. Er. uses the first Pythiambic strophe not only for profane-Horatian poetry, as in the reproachful *Carm.* 103, but also for sacred poetry, as in *Carmm.* 42 and 43 (117). Furthermore, he cannot have associated the iambic dimeter catalectic solely with Prudentius' sacred poetry, since he uses this metre also in *Euripides*, *ASD* I, 1, pp. 261–262, ll. 1146–1169 (a lament in which catalectic and acatalectic iambic dimeters alternate) and, for instance, p. 302, ll. 751–778. And in his discussion of *Adag.* 912 “Non est curae Hippocliidi” Er. quotes and then translates a Greek example in this very metre: “Haud [*in later editions*: Non] curat Hippocliides.” This adage, we should note, also occurs in ll. 233–234 below.

The rising and falling pattern of the couplets, in any case, admirably suggests both the rapid flight of time (in the swiftly moving dactylic hexameters) and the idea of youth abruptly cut off by old age and death (in the halting catalectic iambic dimeters, themselves cut short, so to speak, before their time).

Sources: *a*; *C*; *β*; *γ*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* IV, 595–599; *LB* IV, 755–758.

DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI CARMEN AD GVILIELMVM
COPVM BASILEIENSEM DE SENECTVTIS INCOMMODO,
HEROICO CARMINE ET IAMBICO DIMETRO CATALECTICO

Vnica nobilium medicorum gloria, Cope,

Tit. DES. ERASMI ... CATALECTICO *K*: Ad Gulielmum Copum, medicorum eruditissimum, Erasmi Roterodami, sacrae theologiae professoris, de senectute subrepente deque reliquo vitae Christo, cui totum debebatur, dicendo carmen *a*, Ad Gulielmum Copum Basiliensem, artis medicae principem [*sic*],

Erasmi Roterodami carmen de fuga vitae humanae *C*, Ad Gulielmum Copum, medicorum eruditissimum, Erasmi Roterodami de senectute carmen *β*, Erasmi Roterodami ad Gulielmum Copum Basiliensem de senectutis incommotis, heroico carmine et iambico dimetro catalectico *γ*.

Tit. GVILIELMVM COPVM Guillaume Cop (Wilhelm Kopp) of Basel (c. 1463–1532) earned his M.A. from the University of Basel in 1483 and his doctorate in medicine from the University of Paris in 1496. By 1497 he was a regent of the university. From 1497 to 1512 he was physician to the German nation and from 1512 personal physician to King Louis XII. He later served as physician at the court of Francis I. Cop's excellent command of both Latin and Greek is evident in his translations of Paul of Aegina (Paris, 1511), Galen (Paris, 1513), and Hippocrates (Paris, 1511–1512). In the winter of 1496–1497 and again in early 1500 Cop treated Er. during

attacks of the quartan fever. The first occasion is described in *Carm.* 88; cf. *Ep.* 50. The second is referred to in *Ep.* 124. Er. also praises Cop in *Ep.* 305, ll. 202–205; 326, ll. 28–37; 529, ll. 22–24; *Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*, *LB* IX, 788 D; and *Carm.* 88, 91–97 below. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Guillaume) Cop.

1–7 *Vnica ... tuo* The *captatio benevolentiae* praising Cop as physician is intended to lend weight to the following description of the ravages of old age. Just as Cop in the votive poem to Ste. Geneviève (*Carm.* 88) bears witness to Er.' miraculous cure, so he vouches here for the accuracy of Er.' account

Seu quis requirat artem
 Siue fidem spectet seu curam, in quolibet horum
 Vel iniquus ipse nostro
 5 Praecipuos tribuit Gulielmo liuor honores.
 Cedit fugitique morbi
 Ingenio genus omne tuo. Teterrima porro
 Senecta, morbus ingens,
 Nullis arceriue potest pelliue medelis.
 10 Quin derepente oborta

of the ageing process. The poem, which begins wholly in the physiological, natural sphere to prove that old age is both inevitable and incurable, will lead us to the same conclusion as that reached in the votive poem to Ste. Geneviève, that we need a physician greater than Cop: Christ. Cf. Ep. 867, ll. 232–233: “Iratu medicis Christo medico me commendo”; 1381, ll. 115–191.

2–3 *artem / fidem / curam* Er. often mentions these and similar virtues in a physician; see Ep. 124, ll. 16–17; 132, ll. 24–25 and 40–42; 1381, ll. 46–47; *Encom. medic.*, ASD I, 4, p. 166, l. 36; p. 172, l. 183; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 290, ll. 16–17; *Adag.* 69, ASD II, 1, p. 182, ll. 897–900; *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 172, ll. 189–193.

4–5 *Vel ... honores* Cf. Ov. *Met.* X, 515: “laudaret ... Liuor quoque”; Er. *Carm.* 93, 165 (n.); 110, 145–146.

6–9 *Cedit ... medelis* Cf. *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 128, ll. 535–536: “Morbis omnibus arte succurritur. Soli senectuti subueniri non potest.”

6–7 *Cedit ... tuo* Cf. Agric. *Anna*, p. 303: “Te cuncti fugiunt morbi.”

morbi / genus omne Cf. Iuv. 10, 219 (of the ills afflicting old age): “morborum omne genus”; Er. *Carm.* 95, 77.

7–22 *Teterrima ... lepores* Catalogues of the ravages of old age are an ancient literary tradition. See, e.g., *Eccl.* 12, 1–5; Plin. *Nat.* VII, 51, 168 (quoted in Er. *Adag.* 1248, *LB* II, 500 D); Iuv. 10, 188–245; Maximian. *Eleg.* 1. Because of their power to arouse fear and disgust, such lists were a favourite argument in Christian *contemptus mundi* and wisdom literature; see Christian Gnllka, *Altersklage und Jenseitssehnsucht*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 14 (1971), pp. 5–23, with patristic examples; Ps. Neckam, *Vita monach.*, pp. 183–184; Innoc. *Miseria* I, 9, “De incommodis senectutis”; Petrarca, *Rem.*

I, 2. They naturally also figure in medieval medical treatises; see, e.g., Roger Bacon, *De retardatione accidentium senectutis*, chapt. 2, particularly p. 18; and Arnaldus de Villanova, *Speculum introductionum medicinalium*, col. 28 A–B, speaking about the autumn (“senectus”) and winter (“senium”) of life.

Er. took his place in this tradition long before he wrote the present poem. His earlier depictions of old age, full of borrowings from Juvenal’s tenth satire, always occur, as here, in a strongly rhetorical context; see *Carm.* 95, 55–68; 101, 1–7; 104, 15–22; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 54, ll. 377–381; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 58 D and 59 B. For later examples see *Adag.* 436, ASD II, 1, p. 510, ll. 838–845; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, pp. 82–84, ll. 215–231; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 215, ll. 645–651.

7–12 *Teterrima ... Hebetet* Quoted in *Adag.* 1537.

8 *Senecta, morbus* Otto 1623; Walther 28004d; 28006; Er. *Adag.* 1537. That old age is an incurable disease is stated by Sen. *Epist.* 108, 28 and is often repeated by Er.; see *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 128, ll. 535–536; *Adag.* 3001, *LB* II, 958 B; *Epist. consolat.*, *LB* V, 610 C; *Epist. c. pseudeuang.*, ASD IX, 1, p. 284, ll. 23–25; Ep. 1381, ll. 124–125; 3000, ll. 16–17. The frequency with which Er. uses adages in this poem underscores its rhetorical, hortatory nature. Cf. Clarence H. Miller, *The Logic and Rhetoric of Proverbs in Erasmus’s “Praise of Folly”*, in: DeMolen, *Essays*, pp. 83–98.

10 *derepente oborta* The onset of old age was proverbially rapid. See Walther 697: “Euo repente venit, ecce, senecta repente”; also ll. 56–59 and 110–111 (n.) below; *Carm.* 95, ll. 52, 61, and 65; *Carm.* 104, 16. However, it is shockingly sudden only for those who imagined that old age could be safely put out of mind and now find that old age has stolen

Corporis epotet succos animique vigorem
 Hebetet, simul trecentis
 Hinc atque hinc stipata malis, quibus omnia carptim
 Vellitque deteritque
 15 Commoda, quae secum subolescens vexerit aetas,
 Formam, statum, colorem,
 Partem animi memorem cum pectore, lumina, somnos,
 Vires, alacritatem.

15 *secum om. C; vexerit α β γ K; vexerat C.*

upon them unawares; cf. Cic. *Cato* 2, 4; Sen. *Dial.* X, 9, 4; Hier. *Epist.* 140, 9; Prud. *Praef.* 23.

11–12 *Corporis ... Hebetet* Imitated in Eob. Hess. *Bon. val.* 145–146, of drunkenness: “Corporis exhaurit succos, animique vigorem / Opprimat.” Cf. Er. *Adag.* 2001, *ASD* II, 5, p. 32, ll. 254–255 (of boredom); *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 431, ll. 7–8 (of sensual pleasures).

11 *Corporis epotet succos* Cf. *Adag.* 1767, *ASD* II, 4, p. 194, l. 953: “inualidum et flaccidum esse senile corpus exhausto succo”; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 251, ll. 11–12: “ebibere succum vitalem, accelerare senium”.

11–12 *animique vigorem Hebetet* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IX, 610–611: “tarda senectus / debilitat viris animi mutatque vigorem”; Er. *Paraphr. in 1. Cor.* 7, 5, *LB* VII, 879 B (referring to sexual intercourse): “hebetare soleat animi vigorem”.

12–13 *trecentis / stipata malis* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* III, 67–68 (expounded in Sen. *Epist.* 108, 24–29); Hor. *Ars* 169; Iuv. 10, 190–191; *Ps.* 89, 10; Walther 708; 28007a1; Er. *Adag.* 1537; *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 380, ll. 184–185; p. 727, ll. 251 and 254–255; see also *Carm.* 95, 55–58; 104, 17. The number “trecentis” here stands for “very many”, as it often does; cf. *Adag.* 1805. It is an ancient thought that the number of diseases is legion; see, e.g., Hor. *Carm.* I, 3, 30–31; Sen. *Epist.* 95, 23; Plin. *Nat.* VII, 52, 172; Iuv. 10, 218–226.

13 *Hinc atque hinc* = *LHL* II, 494.

13–15 *quibus ... aetas* Cf. Hor. *Ars* 175–176. Like Horace, Er. describes the physical signs of senescence as the loss of the blessings enjoyed in youth.

16–18 *Formam ... alacritatem* Cf. *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 82, ll. 195–197.

16 *Formam* The brevity of youthful beauty was proverbial; see Otto 688; cf. Er. *Carm.* 95, 63; 99, 14; 104, 15.

statum Cf., e.g., Sedul. *Pasch.* III, 200: “senio ... incurua”; Maximian. *Eleg.* I, 217–218; Innoc. *Miseria* I, 9: “statura curuatur”; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 54, l. 378: “senio incurui”; *Carm.* 95, 56 (n.).

colorem Cf., e.g., Hor. *Carm.* IV, 10, 4–5; IV, 13, 17; *Epod.* 17, 21; Ov. *Ars* III, 74; Maximian. *Eleg.* I, ll. 133–134 and 211; Er. *Carm.* 104, 21–22.

17 *Partem animi memorem* The loss of memory is a traditional complaint against old age. See, e.g., Cic. *Cato* 7, 21; Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 51: “Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque”, which Seruius glosses with the phrase “etiam memoriam”; Iuv. 10, 233–236; Maximian. *Eleg.* I, 123–124; Er. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 380, l. 186. The thought is amplified in ll. 46–51 below. Er. seems to be adopting an essentially two-part division of the mental powers into memory and intellect or understanding; cf. *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 105, ll. 8–9: “intellectum, ingenium, memoriam caeterasque animi dotes”; *Lingua*, *ASD* IV, 1A, p. 30, ll. 154–156. Elsewhere he adds the power of the will; see *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 191, l. 195; *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 460, ll. 260–261.

pectore The seat of the intellect was traditionally thought to be the heart, though others argued for the brain. Cf. *Carm.* 24, 4; *Adag.* 980; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 247, l. 7; *Lingua*, *ASD* IV, 1A, p. 30, ll. 145–147.

lumina, somnos For the hexameter tag cf. *LHL* III, 255–256. For “lumina” in old age see Er. *Carm.* 101, 3; for “somnos” see, e.g., Hor. *Carm.* II, 11, 8; Ov. *Trist.* III, 8, 27; Er. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 380, l. 186.

18 *Vires* Cic. *Cato* 9, 27; Lucr. II, 1131; III, 451–452; Ov. *Trist.* IV, 6, 41; IV, 8, 23; and often; see also Er. *Carm.* 95, 63; 104, 15.

- Autorem vitae igniculum decerpit et huius
 20 Nutricium liquorem,
 Vitaleis adimit flatus, cum sanguine corpus,
 Risus, iocos, lepores.
 Denique totum hominem paulatim surripit ipsi,
 Neque de priore tandem
 25 Praeterquam nomen titulumque relinquit inanem,

20 Nutricium $\alpha \beta \gamma$ K: Interitus C.

19–20 *Autorem ... liquorem* These lines offer a summary of contemporary medical thinking concerning the causes of ageing in man. According to ancient and medieval physiology, the body's radical moisture is the fuel that nourishes the innate heat. As we age, more and more of this "fuel" is consumed, so that the body becomes progressively drier and cooler and the spirits and powers of the soul weaken. The process was frequently compared to the way a burning lamp consumes oil. See Peter H. Niebyl, *Old Age, Fever, and the Lamp Metaphor*, *Journal of the History of Medicine* 26 (1971), pp. 351–368; Burrow, p. 21. The metaphor remained popular in the Renaissance; see, e.g., Marsilio Ficino, *De vita* II, 3; More, *Carm.* 75, 8–9; Er. *Adag.* 1677, *ASD* II, 4, p. 136, ll. 130–132. On the concept of "radical moisture" see Thomas S. Hall, *Life, Death and the Radical Moisture*, *Clio Medica* 6 (1971), pp. 3–23; and Michael McVaugh, *The "Humidum Radicale" in Thirteenth-century Medicine*, *Traditio* 30 (1974), pp. 259–283; Er. *Ep.* 2493, ll. 40–43. In the ascending arc of life (childhood and youth, up to age thirty-five or forty) the flame of life burns hot because the body still has plenty of fuel. But in the descending arc of manhood and old age the flame burns cooler and cooler as the body's vital moisture is gradually depleted. The symptoms of this process of cooling and desiccation are the "incommoda" of old age.

19 *Autorem vitae* Cf. l. 243 (n.) below.

igniculum In *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 243, l. 5, Er. uses the word for the fire that Prometheus instilled in man's clay body.

21 *Vitaleis / flatus* Cf. *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 85, l. 383: "flatus viuificus". The vital spirit was one of the body's three spirits, along with the natural and animal spirits. It was believed to be produced in the left ventricle of the heart through mixing of inhaled air

and vaporization of the humours in the blood and was thought essential for maintaining the natural heat. See Rudolph E. Siegel, *Galen's System of Physiology and Medicine*, Basel, 1968, pp. 155 and 185–188; E. Ruth Harvey, *The Inward Wits*, London, 1975, pp. 4–7; James J. Bono, *Medical Spirits and the Medieval Language of Life*, *Traditio* 40 (1984), pp. 91–130.

21–22 *cum sanguine ... lepores* Together with choler (yellow bile), black bile, and phlegm, blood was considered one of the four "humours". Blood was dominant in the spring of life. It was thought to produce the "sanguine" temperament, also known as "jovial" because influenced by the planet Jupiter. Hence, as blood is diminished with respect to the other humours, we lose our joviality and find it replaced at mid-life first by melancholy autumn and later by the phlegmatic winter of decrepit old age.

21 *sanguine corpus* = Ov. *Met.* X, 721; Lucan. VIII, 68.

22 *Risus ... lepores* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 55–56; also l. 223 (n.) below; and *Carm.* 56, 10.

23 *totum ... ipsi* Cf. Ps. Neckam, *Vita monach.*, p. 184, concluding a catalogue of the ravages of old age: "Sic igitur se quisque senex miserabilis, ipsum / Cotidie perdit subtrahiturque sibi."

totum hominem That is, "body and soul"; see, e.g., Prud. *Apoth.* 779; Petrarca, *Secretum* II (p. 124): "corpus atque animam et breuiter totum hominem"; Er. *Encom. medic.*, *ASD* I, 4, pp. 168–170, ll. 119–120; p. 170, l. 132; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 251, l. 13; and *Ep.* 1381, l. 189.

25 *nomen ... inanem* Cf. Prop. II, 1, 72: "breue in exiguo marmore nomen ero"; Boeth. *Consol.* II, m. 7, 17–18; Ps. Neckam, *Vita monach.*, p. 193, of Aristotle: "nunc / Philosophus cinis est, nomen inane manet"; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 51,

Cuiusmodi tuemur

Passim marmoreis inscalpta vocabula bustis.

Vtrum haec senecta, quaeso,

An mors lenta magis dicenda est? Inuida fata et

30 Impendio maligna,

Vt quae deteriora labantis stamina vitae

Pernicitate tanta

Accelerare velint rapidisque allabier alis,

At floridam iuuentam

35 Vsqueadeo male praecipiti decurrere filo,

Vt illius priusquam

Cognita sat bona sint, iam nos fugitiua relinquant,

Et citius atque nosmet

27 inscalpta γ K: insculpta α C β ; vocabula α β
 γ K: cadauera C.

34 iuuentam C γ K: inuentam α β .

ll. 319–320: “Quid de tanto rerum splendore atque maiestate superest, praeter inanem quandam hominum fabulam?”; and *Carm.* 10, 1–2. Ioann. Sec. *Fun.* 7, 20 asks: What is left of our body after death? – “Ossa, cinis, puluis, nomen inane, nihil”. For the *vbi sunt* topos see Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 51, ll. 313–320; E.-W. Kohls, “Vbi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere?” *Zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte eines Vergänglichkeits-Topos und zu seinem Gebrauch bei Erasmus von Rotterdam*, in: *Reformatio und Confessio: Festschrift für D. Wilhelm Maurer*, ed. F.W. Kantzenbach and G. Müller, Berlin, 1965, pp. 23–36.

28–29 *Vtrum ... dicenda est* Er. brings his enumeration of the ravages of old age to a climax with a *correctio* (Lausberg, §§ 784–786) couched in the form of a *dubitatio* (Lausberg, §§ 776–778). Cf. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 215, ll. 650–651, at the end of a catalogue of the horrors of decrepitude: “An non haec longa mors est verius quam vita?”; Gal. *De temperam.* II, 2 (Kühn, I, p. 582): “καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ὁδὸς ἐπὶ θάνατόν ἐστι τὸ γῆρας;” Cf. also Hier. *Tract. in Ps.* 89, 10, CCSL 78, 122: “In septuaginta annis contracti sumus: si autem multum, octoginta. Si autem plus vixerimus, iam non est vita, sed mors”; Er. Ep. 2615, ll. 318–319, of his own old age: “Vixi diu: quod superest, perpetuis egrotationibus obnoxium, non est vita sed lenta mors.”

29 *mors lenta* Ov. *Met.* XV, 236 (time and old

age destroy all in a slow death). Ovid’s phrase is borrowed, e.g., in Sen. *Herc. f.* 420; Lucan. III, 578; Stat. *Silv.* II, 1, 154; Er. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 538, l. 40; *Paraphr. in Mc.* 2, 12, LB VII, 172 C; *Inst. christ. matrim.*, LB V, 668 A; *Vidua christ.*, LB V, 724 E; Ep. 2615, l. 319 (quoted above). The thought that old age is a living death is proverbial; see Walther 15144a; Maximian. *Eleg.* 1, 117–118; 1, 263–266; 6, 12; Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale* V, 102: “[Senectus est] spirans mors”; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 56, l. 452: “Sua cuique senecta mors est”; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, LB V, 582 A: “corpus senio praemortuum”; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 108, l. 688: “anus longo iam senio mortuus”; *Carm.* 95, 61: “Corpora ... moribunda” (in old age).

29–35 *Inuida ... filo* The three Fates were thought to spin the thread of life (Clotho), measure it out (Lachesis), and cut it off (Atropos). See Hes. *Theog.* 217–222; cf. l. 127 below; *Carm.* 4, ll. 64 and 149–150 (n.); 7, 17–20; 84, 6; 93, 219–220; *Adag.* 567.

29 *Inuida fata* = Verg. *Lydia* 61; cf. Stat. *Theb.* X, 384.

31 *labantis / vitae* Stat. *Theb.* XI, 565.

32–33 *Pernicitate ... alis* Cf. Otto 530; Walther 10790a: “tempus rapidis volat irreparabile penis.” Cf. ll. 76–78 (n.) below.

36–39 *illius ... senserimus* Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 449, ll. 2–3: “Nam prima pars aevi, quae quidem optima putatur, sese nescit”; p. 450, ll. 3–4: “Alius in ipso statim aevi flore, vix dum percepto vitae sensu, perit.”

Plane viuere senserimus, iam viuere fracti
 40 Repente desinamus.
 At cerui volucres et cornix garrula viuunt
 Tot saeculis vigentque.
 Vni porro homini post septima protinus idque

41–42 *cerui* ... *vigentque* The longevity of stags and crows was proverbial. Hesiod, in a fragment quoted in Plut. *Mor.* 415 c, says that a crow lives nine times longer than a man, a stag four times longer than a crow. This is also cited by Plin. *Nat.* VII, 49, 153; Er. *Adag.* 564; cf. *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 108, ll. 964–965; and *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 216, l. 711. The longevity of these animals was frequently contrasted with the brevity of human life; see Cic. *Tusc.* III, 28, 69 (paraphrased in Er. *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 92, ll. 3–5); *Eleg. in Maec.* 1, 115–118; Sen. *Dial.* X, 1, 2; Auson. *Ecl.* 22, 1–6; Mantuan. *Ad Falc.*, in: *Opera*, I, f^o 108^r: “Saccula tot ceruus, tot viuunt saecula cornix. / Ast hominum paucis vita diebus abit”; Andrel. *Eleg.* I, sig. b6^r: “Longaque producat viuax cum secula cornix, / Solus ab angusto tempore clausus homo est.” Cf. Er. *Carm.* 132, 4.

41 *cerui volucres* Sil. III, 297; Stat. *Ach.* II, III. *cornix garrula* Ov. *Am.* III, 5, 21–22; *Met.* II, 547–548.

43–53 *Vni* ... *Aristoteli* See Arist. *Rhet.* II, 14, 4; *Pol.* VII, 14, II. Both texts are mentioned in Er. *Adag.* 1248, LB II, 500 B; cf. *Adag.* 436, ASD II, 1, p. 510, ll. 845–847; *Inst. christ. matrim.*, LB V, 709 C. Aristotle says that bodily prime occurs at about age thirty-five (5 × 7), mental prime at about age forty-nine (the “perfect” age, 7 × 7). He does not suggest that “cariosa senectra” deprives us of bodily strength at mid-life. Where did Er. get that idea? While Aristotle bases his terms on a scheme that divides life into ten periods lasting seven years each, Er. here contaminates Aristotle’s system with the one very commonly used in medical and poetic literature since ancient times: the four seasons of life. See, e.g., Hor. *Ars* 158–178; Ov. *Met.* XV, 199–213. This system was Er.’s customary way of dividing the ages of man. That he is thinking of the four seasons of life in the present poem is clear from his use of the terms “spring” (l. 169; cf. l. 67), “summer” (l. 165), “autumn” (l. 205), and “winter” (ll. 69, 167, and 209–210).

In the ancient terminology of the four ages of man the autumn of life is called

“aetas virilis”, beginning at either age thirty-five or age forty – half the traditional span of life lasting “threescore and ten” or “fourscore” years (*Ps.* 89, 10). The winter of life was called “senectus” and was thought to set in at age fifty-five or sixty. Er. himself almost always adopts this terminology. See, e.g., *Precat. nov.*, LB V, 1201 F; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 82, ll. 186–199, with the sidenotes; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 216, ll. 682–683; and *De imm. Dei misericord.*, LB V, 569 C–D, where he comments that few even reach old age. Quite rarely he follows patristic usage in calling the autumn of life “iuuentus”; see *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, ASD V, 2, p. 251, ll. 874–876. On the ancient and patristic terms for the four ages of man see E. Eyben, *Die Einteilung des menschlichen Lebens im römischen Altertum*, Rhein. Mus. 116 (1973), pp. 156–158.

That Er. here calls the autumn of life “old age” does not reflect private, subjective feelings. At almost age forty Er. is not feeling old: he *is* old. In the medical terminology of the later Middle Ages “senectus” started at age thirty-five or forty, while “senium” (decrepitude) began at age fifty-five or sixty. This system was widely accepted in the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It was popularized by Johannicius’ *Isagoge ad Technē Galieni*. This originally Arabic summary of Galenic medicine was translated into Latin in the eleventh century and printed at Padua in 1476, at Venice in 1487 and 1491. See Gregor Maurach, *Johannicius “Isagoge ad Technē Galieni”*, Sudhoffs Archiv 62 (1978), p. 149. On p. 155 of Maurach’s edition, § 18, we read: “Quattuor sunt aetates, i. adolescentia, iuuentus, senectus et senium. ... In [adolescencia] crescit et augetur corpus vsque ad vicesimum quantum vel tricesimum annum. Hanc iuuentus insequitur ..., quae vel tricesimo quinto vel quadragesimo anno finitur. Huic succedit senectus ..., in qua quidem minui et decrescere corpus incipit, tamen virtus non deficit quinquagesimo quinto vel sexagesimo persistens anno. Huic succedit senium ..., in quo virtutis apparet defectus, quod suos annos vitae termino metitur.”

Vixdum peracta lustra
 45 Corporeum robur cariota senecta fatigat.
 Neque id satis, sed ante
 Quam decimum lustrum volitans absoluerit aetas,
 Tentare non veretur
 Immortalem hominis ductamque ex aethere partem
 50 Et hanc lacessit audax
 Nec timet ingenii sacros incessere neruos,
 Sua si fides probato
 Constat Aristoteli. Sed quorsum opus, obsecro, tanto
 Autore, quando certam
 55 Ipsa fidem, heu nimium facit experientia certam?

51 sacros ... neruos $\alpha \beta \gamma$ K: neruos ... sacros

C.

The technical terms "senectus" and "senium", as applied to the autumn and winter of life, were widely used in the later Middle Ages. See, e.g. Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale* XIII, 14: the third age of life, beginning at age thirty-five or forty, is "aetas senectutis"; it is followed by "aetas senum", beginning at age sixty; Arnaldus de Villanova (see n.ll. 7-22 above); Sears, pp. 28-31, 100, 105, and 115. Johannicius' terminology remained popular in the Renaissance period; see Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth*, London, Thomas Berthelet, 1539, f^o 10^v-11^r: "Adolescence to .xxv. yeris Iuuentute unto .xl. yeris Senectute, unto .lx. yeris, ... wherin the body begyneth to decreace. Age decrepitate, untyll the laste tyme of lyfe, ... wherin the powers and strength of the body be more and more mynished."

In ll. 59, 111, and 135 of the present poem Er. uses the term "senium" in a non-technical, poetic way, to refer to "old age" in general (as opposed to "youth").

45 *cariota senecta* = Lucianus, ASD I, 1, p. 593, l. 1, translating Hom. *Il.* VIII, 103. The phrase comes from Ov. *Am.* I, 12, 29.

senecta fatigat Borrowed by Ioann. Sec. *Fun.* 21, 29: "homines, quos aegra senecta fatigat". Cf. Sen. *Contr.* 1, praef. 2: "senectus ... neruorum firmitatem fatigauerit".

49 *Immortalem hominis / partem* Plato calls the mind or rational soul the immortal part of man; see, e.g., *Tim.* 41 c and *Leg.* 967 d. The rational soul itself, according to Platonic and Neoplatonic thought, is immortal and hence not subject to ageing; but its corporeal instru-

ments, such as the brain and animal spirits, do age; see Er. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 461, ll. 289-291; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 94, ll. 680-681.

ductamque ex aethere partem For the phrasing cf. Stat. *Theb.* IX, 445; for the thought cf. Prud. *Cath.* 6, 33-35; Er. *Enchir.*, LB V, 11 F-14 E; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 243, ll. 8-9; p. 246, l. 8; p. 453, l. 15; *Adag.* 3974, LB II, 1177 B; *Carm.* 53, 31.

52-53 *Sua ... Aristoteli* Cf. *Inst. christ. matrim.*, LB V, 711 A and *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 731, l. 406: "si quid Aristoteli credimus"; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 461, l. 286; *Adag.* 2601, ASD II, 6, p. 403, l. 170; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 183, ll. 999-1000: "si qua fides ... Hieronymo"; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 132, ll. 622-623 (among the formulae for citing authorities): "si Terentio credimus". The expression is not "somewhat ironic", as Thomson, p. 206 suggests, since Er. himself subscribed to these views; see n.ll. 43-53 above. He considered Aristotle to be Plato's equal in philosophy and regularly quotes from his works. See, e.g., *De rat. stud.*, ASD I, 2, p. 120, l. 12: "Philosophiam optime docebit Plato et Aristoteles"; *Explan. symboli*, ASD V, 1, p. 236, l. 924; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 384, l. 122; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 304, ll. 352-354; *Ep.* 2432, ll. 1-2.

53-55 *Sed ... certam* Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 447, l. 19-p. 448, l. 2: "Sed quid nos haec ex priscorum annalibus repetimus, quasi vero non quotidiana vita satis exemplorum suppeditet?" Appealing to experience is an old rhetorical device for demonstrating a point; cf. Otto 615.

55 *fidem / facit* Ov. *Met.* VI, 566; Mantuan. *Ecl.* 4, 150: "His facient exempla fidem."

- Quam nuper hunc Erasmum
 Vidisti media viridem florere iuuenta!
 Nunc is repente versus
 Incipit vrgentis senii sentiscere damna
 60 Et alius esse tendit
 Dissimilisque sui, nec adhuc Phoebeius orbis
 Quadragies reuexit
 Natalem lucem, quae bruma ineunte Calendas
 Quinta anteit Nouembreis.
 65 Nunc mihi iam raris sparguntur tempora canis,
 Et albicare mentum
 Incipiens, iam praeteritis vernantibus annis,

facit experientia = Mantuan. *Ecl.* 9, 195: "facit experientia cautos."

- 56 *Quam nuper* Cop had last seen Er. in the winter of 1504–1505, when the latter was giving him Greek lessons. See Huizinga, p. 49; George Faludy, *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, London, 1970, p. 98.

- 57 *media viridem florere iuuenta* Borrowed in Ioann. Sec. *Epigr.* II, 6, 3.

media / iuuenta = Stat. *Silv.* III, 3, 126.

florere iuuenta Cf. *LHL* II, 303.

- 58 *repente versus* See n.l. 10 above.

- 59 *vrgentis senii* Cf. Cic. *Cato* I, 2: "vrgentis ... senectutis". Er. uses Cicero's phrase again in Ep. 596, ll. 2–3, also with reference to himself; but by that time he was fifty years old; cf. l. 47 and n.ll. 43–53 above. Cf. also Ep. 2329, l. 60, speaking of Ulrich Zasius, who was then approaching age seventy: "Vrget senectus."

- 60–61 *alius ... sui* It is a commonplace that the ravages of time ceaselessly change us, so that we eventually become another person. See, e.g., Ov. *Met.* XV, 214–216; Sen. *Epist.* 58, 22–23; 104, 12; Hier. *Epist.* 140, 9; Alcuin., *Carm.* 9, 114–115: "Nec cognoscit homo propria membra senex. / Quod fuit, alter erit, iam nec erit ipse, quod ipse"; Walther 18521 (in part following Hor. *Carm.* IV, 1, 3 and Ov. *Trist.* III, 11, 25); Er. *Carm.* 95, 68.

- 61 *Dissimilisque sui* = Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, 314; cf. Iuv. 10, 192, of one's appearance in old age: "dissimilemque sui"; Er. Ep. 1139, ll. 61–62: "senex ... sui dissimilis"; *Carm.* 95, ll. 51 and 68.

- 61–64 *nec adhuc ... Nouembreis* Er. was born in the night of 27–28 October and celebrated his birthday on the twenty-eighth. The year

of his birth has been the subject of much controversy. The most probable date now appears to be 1466 (not 1467 or 1469); see Vredeveld, *Ages*. He was thus nearly forty years old when he wrote these lines and could consider himself on the threshold of decline or old age (see n.ll. 43–53 above). The winter of life, beginning at age fifty-five or sixty, is still only approaching from afar (ll. 195–210 below). In *Annot. in NT*; *LB* VI, 904 F, Er. recalls that in early 1506 he was already getting on in years, being almost forty years old ("prouectiori iam et ad quadragesimum deurgenti annum"). And in Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 51, ll. 123–124 he says that in 1506–1507 he was entering the decline of his age, being already some forty years old ("iam vergente aetate, hoc est ferme quadragenarius"). Cf. Ep. 3032, ll. 203–204 and 506–507, where he also asserts that he was going on forty when he went to Italy in the summer of 1506.

- 61 *Phoebeius orbis* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* V, 46: "annuus ... orbis".

- 63 *Natalem lucem* Ov. *lb.* 215.

- 65 *raris ... canis* Cf. Ov. *Met.* VIII, 568. The half-line "sparguntur tempora canis" was borrowed by Murmellius in *Elegiae morales* I, 2, 47; cf. Er. *Carm.* 95, 59; 104, 19–20.

- 67–69 *praeteritis ... senectam* Er. draws on the familiar comparison of the ages of man with the four seasons. See Burrow, pp. 12–36; Sears, pp. 9–37.

- 67 *vernantibus* For this metaphorical sense see Prop. IV, 5, 59; Prud. *Contra Symm.* II, 7; Er. *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 64, l. 783: "vernat aetas"; *Carm.* 95, 20.

Vitae monet cadentis
 Aduentare hyemem gelidamque instare senectam.
 70 Eheu fugacis, ohe,
 Pars veluti melior, sic et properantior aeuī,
 O saeculi caduci
 Flos nimium breuis et nulla reparabilis arte,
 Tenerae o viror iuuentae,
 75 O dulces anni, o felicia tempora vitae,
 Vt clanculum excidistis,
 Vt sensum fallente fuga lapsuque volucris
 Furtim auolastis, ohe!
 Haud simili properant vndosa relinquere cursu
 80 Virideis fluenta ripas.
 Impete nec simili fugiunt caua nubila, siccis

75 o felicia α β γ K: proh aurea C.

79 cursu α β γ K: curru C.

68–69 *monet / instare senectam* Cf. Marull. *Epigr.* I, 21, 3: “Lilia [mitto], vt instantis monearis virgo senectae”; Hor. *Carm.* IV, 7, 7.

70 *Eheu / ohe Euripides*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 261, l. 1146.

Eheu fugacis Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 14, 1: “Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume, / Labuntur anni.”

71 *Pars ... aeuī* Er. often remarks that the first part of life is the best and happiest; see, e.g., *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 53, l. 21; *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 82, ll. 186–193; p. 116, l. 857; *De pueris*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 75, l. 4; p. 78, l. 8; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 449, ll. 2–3; *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 640, ll. 109 and 117; p. 641, ll. 151–152. In *Adag.* 2463, *ASD* II, 5, p. 330, ll. 37–38 he says that we foolishly waste the first part of life, even though it is the best. The lament that the best part of life is also the quickest to leave us is a commonplace; see, e.g., Verg. *Georg.* III, 66–67 (quoted in Er. *Adag.* 1249); Sen. *Epist.* 108, 24–25; *Dial.* X, 9, 2–4; Er. *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 53, ll. 27–28; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 59 A: “annos optimos vereque aureos, qui et fugiunt perniciosissime et recurrunt numquam”; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 94, ll. 690–691; *De pueris*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 75, ll. 8–9; Ep. 1798, l. 5; 1826, l. 25; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 248, l. 59.

72–73 *saeculi ... breuis* Cf. Marull. *Epigr.* IV, 34, 43: “caduci ... flos aeuī breuis”.

73 *Flos nimium breuis* Hor. *Carm.* II, 3, 13–14; cf. Er. *Carm.* 95, 32 (n.).

nulla reparabilis arte = Ov. *Her.* 5, 103; cf. Verg. *Georg.* III, 284.

74 *Tenerae / iuuentae* See *Carm.* 95, 17 (n.).

75 *dulces anni* Ov. *Met.* VII, 752; Stat. *Theb.* IV, 354.

felicia tempora = Iuv. 2, 38.

tempora vitae = *LHL* V, 405–408.

76–78 *Vt clanculum ... auolastis* For the commonplace that time, especially the time of youth, flies in deceptive silence see, e.g., Ov. *Am.* I, 8, 49; *Met.* X, 519; Er. *Adag.* 1004 (quoting Ov. *Fast.* VI, 771 and Colum. X, 159–160); *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5, p. 290, ll. 118–120. Cf. ll. 110–111 (n.) below.

79–80 *Haud ... ripas* Time’s swift flow is often compared to that of streams or torrents; see, e.g., Ov. *Ars* III, 62; *Met.* XV, 179–184; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 53, ll. 369–370: “Rapidissimi in morem amnis omnes in occasum praecipites voluimur”; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 216, ll. 702–703; *Carm.* 95, 26.

79 *properant / cursu* Sen. *Herc. f.* 178: “properat cursu / vita citato.”

81–82 *Impete ... Euris* Cf. Sil. XV, 713–714; Hor. *Carm.* II, 16, 23–24. The swift lapse of youth and life is traditionally compared to the wind; see, e.g., Walther 5314; 17055; 22259; 32399; 33876; 33876a; Er. *Carm.* 95, 25.

81 *caua nubila* = Verg. *Aen.* IX, 671; Ov. *Met.* V, 623; IX, 271.

- Quoties aguntur Euris.
 Sic sic effugiunt tacitae vaga somnia noctis
 Simul auolante somno,
 85 Quae desyderium curas et praeter inaneis
 Sui nihil relinquunt.
 Sic rosa, quae tenero modo murice tincta rubebat,
 Tenui senescit Haustro.
 Atque ita, me miserum, nucibus dum ludo puellus,
 90 Dum literas ephebus

- 82 *Euris* The east wind, being a storm wind, was proverbial for rapidity; see Otto 1867; Er. *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 74, l. 7; also *Carm.* 95, 25; 105, 8.
- 83–84 *Sic ... somno* Cf. *Iob* 20, 8 (of the hypocrite): “Velut somnium auolans non inuenietur, Transiet sicut visio nocturna”; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 51, ll. 312–313: “subito omnis illa rerum illustrium imago euauerit insomniorum more, quae vna cum sopore auolant.” The image is traditional; cf., e.g., Hier. *Epist.* 140, 9, expounding *Ps.* 89, 5–6; Walther 26677; 26683; Er. *Carm.* 95, 101–102.
- 83 *Sic sic* = *Carm.* 95, 53; 104, 13, both in similar context. For the rhetorical doubling of the adverb, intended to arouse pathos (Lausberg, §§ 612–618), see, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* IV, 660; Sen. *Herc. f.* 1218; *LHL* V, 140–141; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 59, l. 540; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 360, l. 26; *Carm.* 25, 3; 97, 22; 112, 183.
- tacitae / somnia noctis* Mantuan. *Dion. Areop.* III, in: *Opera*, II, f° 189r: “tacitae ... insomnia noctis”. For the phrase “tacitae ... noctis” see, e.g., Tib. I, 6, 6; Ov. *Her.* 17(18), 78; *Fast.* II, 552; Er. *Carm.* 102, 2.
vaga somnia = Stat. *Theb.* X, 112.
- 85 *desyderium curas et* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 14, 18: “desiderium curaque”. Both “desiderium” and “cura” are often used in the language of love; cf., e.g., Marull. *Epigr.* II, 32, 90: “O desiderii vnica cura meis”; Andrel. *Liv.* I, 4, 2: “O desyderii maxima cura mei”; Er. *Ep.* 6, l. 8: “In desiderii enim est omnis otiosus.” We should nevertheless be wary of interpreting the phrase in a romantic-psychological way, as if it were “one of the few glimpses we have of Erasmus’s suppressed sensuous consciousness” (Thomson, p. 207; cf. Chomarat, p. 402 together with n. 29). We are dealing here with a traditional theme: dreams fill the soul with seductive vanities that pollute body

- and soul and hence cause much anguish. See Plat. *Rep.* 571 c–d; *Sir.* 34, 1–7; Innoc. *Miseria* I, 23. Therefore Christians pray that they may not be tempted in their dreams by the devil and may instead wake up to the vanity of earthly life; see, e.g., Prud. *Cath.* 1, 89–96; 6, 137–152; *AH* 51, 18, 3–4; 51, 33, 2; 51, 46, 3–4.
- 87–88 *Sic ... Haustro* The rose in its pre-modern form bloomed in the morning and wilted in the evening and so became a proverbial symbol of fleeting youth. See, e.g., Prop. IV, 5, 61–62; Auson. *De rosas* 43–46; Alan., *De vanitate mundi rhythmus* 7–24; Walther 2946; 14900b; 32539c; 32540; Er. *Adag.* 1248, *LB* II, 501 D; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 358, ll. 466–467.
- 87 *murice tincta* *LHL* III, 478; cf. Er. *Carm.* 4, 100–101 (with n.l. 101).
- 89–114 *Atque ... iuuentae* The theme and structure of this long sentence, with its series of “dum”-clauses capped with the reminder that old age was all the while stealing upon him, varies and amplifies Iuv. 9, 128–129: “dum bibimus, dum sarta, vnguenta, puellas / poscimus, obrepit non intellecta senectus.” For the hortatory counterpart to these retrospective “dum”-clauses see ll. 195–200 below.
- If the basic structure and theme of ll. 89–114 come from Juvenal’s ninth satire, the idea of filling the series of “dum”-clauses with autobiographical material derives from Prud. *Praef.* 7–27. See *Introd.*, pp. 43–44. Cf. also Sen. *Epist.* 49, 2.
- 89 *nucibus* For a description of games with nuts see *Comm. in Ou.*, ASD I, 1, p. 163, l. 27–p. 165, l. 17; cf. also *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 562, ll. 48–49; p. 622, ll. 64–65; *De pronunt.*, ASD I, 4, p. 41, l. 922. They were proverbially children’s games, abandoned when we grow up; see Otto 1257; Er. *Adag.* 435; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 182, ll. 1867–1871.
- 90–91 *litteras / Ardeo* Cf. *Ep.* 23, ll. 37–39.

Ardeo, dum scrutor pugnasque viasque sophorum,
 Dum rhetorum colores
 Blandaque mellifluae deamo figmenta poesis,
 Dum necto syllogismos,
 95 Pingere dum meditor tenuis sine corpore formas,
 Dum sedulus per omne
 Autorum voluor genus, impiger vndique carpo

95 tenuis C γ K: tenui α β.

97 genus, impiger C K: genus impiger, α β γ.

91 *pugnasque / sophorum* See *Querela*, ASD IV, 2, p. 66, ll. 143–156, concerning the battles among scholars, rhetoricians, logicians, and theologians, particularly those between Scotists and Thomists, Nominalists and Realists, Platonists and Peripatetics.

viasque sophorum The word “vias” shows that Er. is thinking of the scholastic theologians. They were divided into various schools belonging to the “via antiqua”, represented by Thomas Aquinas and other philosophical realists, and “via moderna”, represented by William of Occam and other nominalists. Cf. *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 148, l. 417: “tot scholasticorum viae”. For the meaning of “sophorum” here cf. l. 225 (with n.) below.

92 *colores* The figures of speech taught by the rhetoricians. They are essential to good poetry, Er. says in Ep. 27, l. 35. Cf. l. 228 (n.) below.

93 *Blandaque mellifluae* = Eob. Hess. *Her.* I, 5, 27. *mellifluae / poesis* Ep. 22, l. 14; cf. Boeth. *Consol.* V, m. 2, 3: “melliflui ... oris Homerus”.

deamo figmenta poesis Cf. Ep. IIII, l. 35; 1581, ll. 524–525. The phrase “figmenta poesis” is a variation on the stock phrase “figmenta poetarum”; see, e.g., *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 333, l. 4; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 236, ll. 944–945; *Adag.* 524, LB II, 230 E. It was frequently used by Christian writers in a pejorative sense, especially of heathen poetry. But others employed it in a much more positive way, arguing that works like the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* were in fact allegories – a view that Er. shared; see n. *Carm.* 93, 58–60. See Ludwig Gompf, *Figmenta poetarum*, in: *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, 1973, pp. 53–62.

94 *Dum necto syllogismos* A reference to the study of dialectics. The phrase “necto syllogismos” also occurs in *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 99, l. 9; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 609, l. 203 (the customary activity of theologians). Cf. Ep.

64, l. 36; *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 125, l. 23.

95 *Pingere* Er. often uses this verb in the sense of tracing geometrical and mathematical figures; see, e.g., *Adag.* 3495, LB II, 1075 A–B; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 164, ll. 605–606; *Ex Plut. versa*, ASD IV, 2, p. 128, ll. 180–181; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 259, l. 884; *Comm. in Ov.*, ASD I, 1, p. 165, l. 5: “E creta pingitur ampla figura triangula.” The once widely accepted belief that Er. painted as a youth has been discredited; see Jacques Chomarat, *A propos d'Erasmus et de la peinture: une légende?*, *Latomus* 32 (1973), pp. 868–872.

tenuis sine corpore formas Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 292–293: “tenuis sine corpore vitas / ... volitare caua sub imagine formae”. Vergil means the insubstantial shades of the dead; Er. is speaking of the abstract figures of mathematics and geometry. Cf., e.g., *Hyperasp.*, LB X, 1329 D: “Mathematici [disputant] de formis abstractis a materia”; see further Vredeveld, *Puzzles*, pp. 600–604.

Ioann. Sec. *Od.* 3, 15–16 employs Vergil's phrase (via Er.) to praise Aegidius Busleyden jr. as a painter: “[solers] facili manu / Tabellae sine corpore / Tenuis indere formas”. We cannot infer from this, however, that Er. too must necessarily be referring to painting (Dekker, p. 73, n. 52). Just as Er. borrows Vergil's phrasing and uses it in a different context to refer to the drawing of geometrical figures, so Ioannes Secundus borrows Er.'s phrase and applies it to the painting of human figures.

corpore formas = Prop. IV, 2, 1.

96–97 *per omne ... genus* Cf. *Adag.* 2.iii, ASD II, 1, p. 92, ll. 837–838: “hominem inexplibili legendi auiditate per omne genus autorum circumuolitantem”.

97–98 *vndique ... Matinae* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV, 2, 27–29. Horace employs the simile to describe the process of poetic imitation. For this familiar image see Jürgen von Stackel-

Apis in modum Matinae,
 Paedias solidum cupiens absoluere cyclum,
 100 Sine fine gestienti
 Singula correptus dum circumuector amore,
 Dum nil placet relinqui,
 Dumque prophana sacris, dum iungere Graeca Latinis

100 gestienti C γ K: concitanti α β.

103 sacris C β γ K: saccis α.

berg, *Das Bienengleichnis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen "Imitatio"*, *Romanische Forschungen* 68 (1956), pp. 271–293; G.W. Pigman, *Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance*, *RQ* 23 (1980), pp. 4–7; Er. *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 625, ll. 16–20. In the present passage, however, Er. is not using the image primarily in the sense of literary imitation, *pace* Eckart Schäfer, *Erasmus und Horaz*, *Antike und Abendland* 16 (1970), p. 59; nor is he still regarding his education purely “as the formation of a poet” (Thomson, p. 207). The emphasis here is on the selective acquisition of wide-ranging knowledge in all sorts of fields as the essential foundation of a career as scholar and writer; cf. *Sen. Epist.* 84, 3–5. For the humanist, this sort of reading naturally included studies both sacred and profane (see l. 103 below). Those who objected to this linking were invited to recall the main thesis of Basil. *Ad adulesc.*: Christians may read the pagan authors, provided they follow the example of the honey-bee by selecting from their reading what is good and rejecting what is unwholesome. (For Er.’ use of St. Basil’s work see Schucan, pp. 176–180.) Baptista Mantuanus uses the image that way in *Parthen. Mar.* I, 653–655 to describe the Virgin’s studies of sacred and pagan literature; and Er. himself elaborates on it in *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 9 D. See also, e.g., *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 395, ll. 14–18; *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5, p. 296, ll. 207–212. In *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 262, ll. 613–617 and *Ep.* 173, ll. 61–63 he uses the image in much the same way as in the present passage, to describe how a writer acquires encyclopaedic learning. Jerome, he remarks in *Ep.* 396, ll. 199–204, drew his wide-ranging learning from innumerable sources, just as a honey-bee gathers nectar from everywhere.

99 *Paedias / absoluere cyclum* Cf. *Orat. de virt.*, *LB* V, 71 B: “cyclopaediam illam omnium disciplinarum ansulis absolutam”; *De pueris*,

ASD I, 2, p. 76, l. 2; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 223, l. 974; *Adag.* 1586, *ASD* II, 4, p. 78, ll. 411–412, with n.l. 411; *Ep.* 118, l. 22. The phrase “*Paedias ... cyclum*” refers to the “*cyclopaedia*” of knowledge or “*orbis doctrinae*”; see *Quint. Inst.* I, 10, 1; *Plin. Nat.*, praef. 14, where it is based on the Greek ideal of the well-rounded education necessary before one specializes in a given field. Er. describes this circle of learning in *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 198, ll. 29–46 and refers to it often elsewhere. Encyclopaedic erudition was to remain his ideal, as long as it was sought for the sake of Christ and did not become an end in itself; see *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 223, ll. 960–982. He considered St. Jerome the embodiment of the ideal; see *Ep.* 396, ll. 123–137, 199–213, and 329–330.

In the present passage the “*cyclopaedia*” is summed up by means of representative examples. First comes the trivium: grammar, i.e. the study of Latin language and literature (l. 90), rhetoric (l. 92), and dialectics (l. 94). Next are two subjects from the quadrivium: mathematics and geometry (l. 95); music and astronomy are omitted. To these subjects Er. adds philosophy and theology (l. 91), as well as advanced studies in Greek and Latin language and literature, both pagan and Christian (ll. 103–104).

101 *Singula ... amore* Cf. *Verg. Georg.* III, 284–285: “*Sed fugit interea, fugit inreparabile tempus, / singula dum capti circumuectamur amore.*”

102 *Dum ... relinqui* Cf. *Adag.* 330, *ASD* II, 1, p. 429, l. 543: “*Nihil ... intentatum relinque.*”

103 *prophana sacris / iungere* Cf. *Adag.* 282: “*Miscebis sacra prophanis*”, said disapprovingly of people who stop at nothing. In the present passage, however, Er. is not speaking of mixing the sacred and the profane in an impious way, but rather of combining them. He admired this very achievement in St. Jerome; see *Ep.* 396, ll. 129–130 and 201–202; also n.l. 97–98 above. See further

Studeoque moliorque,
 105 Dum cognoscendi studio terraque marique
 Volitare, dum niuosas
 Cordi est et iuuat et libet ereptare per Alpeis,
 Dulceis parare amicos
 Dum studeo atque viris iuuat innotescere doctis,
 110 Furtim inter ista pigrum
 Obrepsit senium, et subito segnescere vireis
 Mirorque sentioque
 Vixque mihi spatium iam defluxisse valentis
 Persuadeo iuuentae.
 115 Quur adeo circumspecte parceque lapillis,

108 Dulceis $\alpha \beta \gamma$ K: Dulcis C.

111 segnescere $\alpha C \gamma$ K: senescere β ; vireis γ K:
 corpus $\alpha C \beta$.

113 Vixque C γ K: Vix $\alpha \beta$.

115 circumspecte $\alpha \beta \gamma$ K: circumspectae C.

Enchir., LB V, 66 B, where Er. explains that he acquired his knowledge of Greek and Latin literature for the sole purpose of adorning God's temple; cf. *Carm.* 45, 6–8.

Graeca Latinis = Hor. *Serm.* 1, 10, 20 (of intermingling Latin and Greek). Cf. Er. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 221, l. 19; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 50, ll. 460 and 477–478 (approvingly, of using Greek in Latin texts).

105–106 *terraque marique Volitare* Cf. Ep. 197, l. 2; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 380, l. 168; p. 386, l. 384. Cf. also *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 91, l. 20–p. 92, l. 3; *Peregrin. apost.*, LB VI, 425–426 (of the Apostle Paul). Er. commonly applies the phrase to the merchant seeking temporal profit; see *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 335, ll. 14–15; p. 362, l. 22; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 136, l. 210: “Per omnia maria volitat”; *Paraphr. in Iac.* 4, 15, LB VII, 1137 B; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 631, ll. 76–77; *Adag.* 2202, ASD II, 5, p. 190, l. 653: “per omnia maria volitantem”. For the thought cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1, 1, 45–46: the trader rushes to the Indies in order to flee poverty through sea, rock, and flame; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 64, l. 697; *Carm.* 96, 5–14.

105 *terraque marique* LHL V, 435–437; Otto 1762; Er. *Adag.* 325.

106–107 *niuosas / Alpeis* Petrarca, *Africa* II, 162; Bocc. *Ecl.* 1, 6–7; Er. *Ep.* 1352, l. 17.

108–109 *Dulceis ... doctis* The desire to make friends and gain renown and honour are characteristic of the third age of man's life (“aetas virilis”), according to Hor. *Ars* 166–167. For an account of Er.' aspirations at

this time see L.-E. Halkin, *Erasmus en Italie*, in: *Colloquia Erasmi Turonensia*, I, Toronto, 1972, pp. 37–53.

108 *Dulceis / amicos* LHL II, 155–156; Er. *Carm.* 104, 13 (n.).

110–111 *Furtim ... senium* Cf. Prud. *Praef.* 22–23, following a summary of the poet's activities in youth and manhood: “Haec dum vita volans agit, / inrepsit subito canities seni.” The thought that old age steals upon the unwary is a commonplace; see, e.g., Cic. *Cato* 2, 4; Tib. 1, 1, 71; Iuv. 9, 129; Walther 28018a; Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, ASD V, 2, p. 251, l. 876; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 354, l. 315. Cf. n.l. 10 above; also ll. 76–78 (n.).

110 *pigrum* A conventional epithet of old age; see, e.g., Tib. 1, 10, 40; Ov. *Met.* X, 396; Er. *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 130, ll. 512 and 514.

111 *subito* Cf. l. 10 (n.) above.

113–114 *Vixque ... iuuentae* Cf. ll. 199–200 below.

spatium / iuuentae Ov. *Met.* XV, 225, of the transition from youth to the autumn of middle age and the winter of old age.

valentis / iuuentae Catull. 61, 227–228.

115–185 *Quur ... vitae* For the commonplace that people foolishly hold wealth in higher regard than time cf. Sen. *Epist.* 1, 3; Er. *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, pp. 245–246, ll. 178–202; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 639, ll. 85–87; pp. 640–641, ll. 117–152; *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, p. 74, l. 26–p. 75, l. 3; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, ASD V, 2, p. 249, ll. 815–817; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 144, ll. 277–279.

Quir purpuris et ostro
 Mortales vtuntur, et aetas aurea, tanto
 Preciosior lapillis
 Et quouis auro, quouis preciosior ostro,
 120 Prodigitur inque nugis
 Conteritur miseris nullo vecorditer vsu
 Siniturque abire frustra?
 Adde quod illa queant sarciri perdita, Crassos
 Spires tibi licebit
 125 Et Lydos spires Croesos, iam Codrus et Irus.
 Sed quod semel seuera
 Pensilibus fuis Clotho deuoluerit aeuum,
 Id nec venena Circes
 Nec magicum, Maia nati gestamina, sceptrum

118 *Preciosior a C γ K; Praeciosior β.*

124–125 *Spires ... spires BAS LB: Speres ... speres a C β γ K.*

117 *aetas aurea* Cf. Otto 208.

118–119 *Preciosior ... auro* Proverbial; see Otto 217; *Nachträge*, pp. 138–139; Walther 31299a; *Prv.* 8, 19; 16, 16; *Is.* 13, 12; 1. *Petr.* 1, 7; *Er. Carm.* 87, 11.

119 *auro / ostro* = *Stat. Theb.* VI, 62; cf. *Hor. Ars* 228; *Verg. Aen.* IV, 134.

121 *vecorditer* A neologism.

123 *Adde ... perdita* Cf. *Sen. Epist.* 1, 3; Gerson, *In Dominica Septuagesimae*, in: *Oeuvres*, V, p. 365, on the flight of human life: “Adde quod aliarum rerum perditioni vticumque succurritur; temporis iactura irreparabilis est.” The thought was proverbial; see Walther 2838; 25485a.

Adde quod = *LHL* I, 13–14; *Er. Carm.* 94, 43; 96, 79.

123–125 *Crassos ... Irus* Marcus Licinius Crassus Dives, the triumvir, and Croesus, the last king of Lydia in Asia Minor, were proverbial examples of rich men; see Otto 457 and 468; *Er. Adag.* 574; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 106, l. 952. Codrus and Irus were proverbially poor men. See Otto 875; *Er. Adag.* 576; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 76, ll. 76–77; p. 104, l. 943; p. 106, l. 952. See also *Carm.* 42, 14; 96, 105–108 (n.); 96, 121; 105, 19.

Crassos ... Croesos The model is *Hier. Contra Ruf.* 1, 17, *CCSL* 79, 16: “Quamuis Croesos quis spiret et Darios ...”. This is cited in *Er. Adag.* 574 as: “Croesos licet spires, et Darios”. Cf. *Adag.* 262, *ASD* II, 1, p. 372,

ll. 672–675; *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 118, ll. 899–900: “si quis pauperculus infimo loco natus Croesum Lydorum regem esse se credat”. Instead of “spires” in ll. 124–125, all the early edd. read “speres”; but in view of the parallels cited above, this must be an error.

127 *fuis / deuoluerit* *Verg. Georg.* IV, 348–349.

128–139 *Id ... vndas* In *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, pp. 84–86, ll. 257–261 Folly notes that foolish mortals seek to restore their youth with the aid of a Medea, Circe, Venus, or Aurora, and then asserts: “Apud me succus est ille mirificus, quo Memnonis filia Tithoni aui sui iuentam prorogauit. Ego sum Venus illa, cuius fauore Phaon ille repubuit, ita vt a Saphone tantopere deamaretur.” In *Precat. ad Iesum*, *LB* V, 1213 A, *Er.* says that Christ is that gracious enchanter and wizard who not only can restore the body’s youth but can also give immortal life to the soul, not with Thessalian or Colchian (that is, Medea’s) potions but through his victory over death.

128–141 *venena ... herbas* Cf. *Tib.* II, 4, 55–56, mentioning Circe’s and Medea’s potions and Thessaly’s herbs.

128 *Circes* In restoring their human shape, Circe made Odysseus’ men younger than before; see *Hom. Od.* X, 388–399.

129 *magicum / sceptrum* Mercury’s magic wand, which *Er.* identified with his caduceus; see *Adag.* 97; *Paracl.*, *LB* V, 137 E; *Carm.* 27, 2.

- 130 Neque dira Thessalorum
 Medeae succis reuocare precamina possint,
 Non si vel ipse diuum
 Nectare te saturet pater ambrosioque liquore
 (Nanque his ali iuuentam
 135 Arceri senium scripsit nugator Homerus),
 Non si tibi efficaci
 Rore riget corpus Tithoni lutea coniunx,
 Non si ter octiesque

Magic wands like this had the power of rejuvenation. In *Adag.* 97 Er. cites as examples Hom. *Od.* XIII, 429; XVI, 172 and 455–456, where Odysseus is transformed by Athene's magic wand into a young man and vice versa.

Maia nati Hor. *Serm.* II, 6, 5.

- 130–131 *dira* ... *precamina* Medea, the Colchian sorceress, rejuvenated Jason's father Aeson with magic formulas and potions; see Ov. *Met.* VII, 251–293. The Thessalians were reputed to be masters of magic and witchcraft; see Ov. *Am.* III, 7, 27; Lucan. VI, 434–568; Sen. *Phaedr.* 791: "Thessalicis carminibus"; Er. Ep. 143, ll. 198–199.

- 131 *succis* Ovid uses this word of Medea's magic rejuvenating drug in *Met.* VII, 215 and 287; cf. Er. *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 86, l. 259.

precamina The word is late Latin. It is used in similar context in *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 86, l. 262. For the meaning ("magic incantations") see also *Precat. ad Iesum*, LB V, 1212 E; *Obsecratio*, LB V, 1236 B; Ep. 143, l. 196; 145, ll. 139–140; *Enchir.*, LB V, 9 B; *Lucianus*, ASD I, 1, p. 533, l. 20; *Adag.* 136, ASD II, 1, p. 250, l. 883. The word is used in a Christian sense in *Carm.* 9, 32.

- 132–133 *diuum* / *pater* Verg. *Aen.* I, 65; II, 648; X, 2 and 743.

- 133 *Nectare* / *ambrosioque liquore* Nectar and ambrosia were the gods' food and drink, served to them by Hebe. Occasionally nectar and ambrosia were also given to men (Hom. *Il.* XIX, 352–354). While Homer does not specifically assert that they can maintain mortal men's youth, he does mention that Ganymede, Zeus' cupbearer, enjoyed eternal youth. The goddess Calypso gave Odysseus food (nectar and ambrosia, presumably), promising him eternal youth (*Od.* V, 135–136). When he was about to leave, however, she offered him such food as mortals eat, while she herself partook of the customary nectar and ambrosia (*Od.* V, 196–199).

ambrosio / *liquore* Stat. *Theb.* IX, 731; Prud. *Cath.* 3, 23; *Perist.* 13, 12.

- 135 *nugator* Homerus Cf. *Lucianus*, ASD I, 1, p. 475, l. 17 (of Homer): "nugatorem illum poetam". In *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 112, l. 783 Er. calls Homer "nugarum pater". So Aristotle, whom Er. ranks with Plato as the greatest of philosophers, is an unlearned, foolish "nugator" in comparison with those who, like John the Baptist, are inspired by the wisdom of God; see *Adag.* 2201, ASD II, 5, p. 165, ll. 109–111. Elsewhere, where there is no rhetorical need to belittle Homer's fables, Er. praises Homer as the prince of poets, the father of all poetry, learning, and philosophy; see, e.g., *Adag.* 1408, LB II, 556 F; *Adag.* 2823; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 336, l. 14–p. 337, l. 3; *Orat. de virt.*, LB V, 67 F; *Lingua*, ASD IV, 1A, p. 72, l. 506. That view is based on the traditional idea that Homer's fables are in fact to be understood as allegories conveying a deeper wisdom; see Maria Cytowska, *Homer bei Erasmus*, Philologus 118 (1974), pp. 143–157; also n. *Carm.* 93, 58–60 below.

- 136–137 *Non si* ... *coniunx* See *Adag.* 565, where it is explained that Aurora prolonged her husband Tithonus' life for many years with her life-giving elixir ("illius succo"); *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 86, ll. 259–260 (with a garbled allusion; cf. n.ll. 128–139 above); Listrius' commentary on the *Moria* passage in LB IV, 415, n. 4: "Aurora succo suo iuuentutem produxit in plurimos annos suo Tithono." Er.' (and Listrius') version is not classical. According to Hom. *Hymn. Hom.* 5, 218–238 it was Zeus who gave Tithonus immortality at Eos' request; but since she forgot to ask Zeus also for eternal youth, her husband wasted away in his old age. He thus became a byword for a very old man; see Otto 1789; Er. *Carm.* 4, 68 and notes.

- 137 *lutea* A conventional epithet of Aurora; see, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* VII, 26; Ov. *Met.* VII, 703.

- Phaon per Chias Venerem transuexeris vndas,
 140 Non si tibi ipse Chiron
 Omneis admoueat quas tellus proserit herbas.
 Nec anulus nec vlla
 Pharmaca cum neruis annos remorantur eunteis.
 Atqui ferunt magorum
 145 Monstrifico sisti torrentia flumina cantu.
 Iisdem ferunt relabi
 Praecipites amnes verso in contraria cursu,
 Et Cynthiae volucres
 Et rapidas Phoebi sisti figique quadrigas.
 150 Sed vt haec stupenda possint
 Carmina, non speres tamen improbus vt tibi quondam
 Aut iam peracta vitae
 Saecla iterum referant aut praetereuntia sistant.
 Sol mergitur vicissimque
 155 Exoritur nouus et nitido redit ore serenus.

139 per Chias γ K : per Siculas α β , aequoreas C .
 141 Omneis admoueat α β γ K : Omnis

admoneat C .
 153 referant C β γ K : referunt α .

- 139 *Phaon ... vndas* Venus rejuvenated the old ferryman Phaon, who had taken her across the straits of Chios for free; see *Lucianus*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 582, ll. 14–16.
 140 *Chiron* A centaur famed as physician and as tutor of Achilles, Asclepius, and others.
 142–153 *Nec anulus ... sistant* Cf. *De pueris*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 74, l. 27–p. 75, l. 3: “Aetas vbi semel auolat, auolat autem quam ocysime, nullis incantamentis reuocari potest. Nugantur enim poetae, qui fontem memorant, e quo veluti repubescant grandaeui; fallunt medici, qui per nescio quam quintam essentiam pollicentur senibus repubescantiam. Hic igitur oportebat adhibere summam parsimoniam, quod aetatis iactura nulla ratione pensari queat.”
 142 *anulus* On the magic power of rings see *Adag.* 96 and 1529.
 143 *annos / eunteis* *Hor. Epist.* II, 2, 55.
 144–149 *Atqui ... quadrigas* Stopping rivers or reversing their flow and staying the heavenly bodies in their course were conventional feats of the ancient magicians; see, e.g., *Verg. Aen.* IV, 489; *Tib.* I, 2, 43–44; *Ov. Met.* VII, 199–209. Cf. *Ios.* 10, 12–13.
 144–145 *magorum / cantu* *Ov. Met.* VII, 195.
 145 *sisti / flumina cantu* *Andrel. Eleg.* I, sig. br¹, of Orpheus’ song: “Concita Threicio qui sistere flumina cantu [potuit].”

- torrentia flumina* = *Verg. Ecl.* 7, 52.
 147 *verso in contraria* *Ov. Met.* XII, 179; *Trist.* I, 3, 75.
 148–149 *Cynthiae / quadrigas* Whereas the sun-god has four horses, the less powerful moon-goddess has a two-horse chariot; see, e.g., *Manil.* V, 3: “quadriiugis et Phoebus equis et Delia bigis”; *Sen. Phaedr.* 312; *Ag.* 819; *Lucan.* I, 77–78; *Stat. Theb.* XII, 297. Stylistic and metrical constraints prevent *Er.* from following this convention here.
volucres / sisti / quadrigas Cf. *Mutius, Triumph.*, sig. c4¹, referring to *Ios.* 10, 12–13: “volucres Phoebi potuit ... sistere currus.” For the phrase “volucres quadrigas” see *Claud. Paneg. M. Theod.* 283; *Er. Euripides*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 286, ll. 315–316.
 149 *rapidus ... quadrigas* *Prud. Contra Symm.* I, 344 (of the sun’s car); *Sedul. Pasch.* IV, 293. *Phoebi / quadrigas* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 45–46.
 151 *non speres* An echo of *Hor. Carm.* IV, 7, 7; see n.ll. 154–171 below.
 152–153 *vitae Saecla* *Ov. Met.* III, 444; XV, 395.
 154–171 *Sol ... finem* The passage is inspired primarily by *Hor. Carm.* IV, 7, 7–16; cf. *Er. Adag.* 3694, *LB* II, 1121 E; *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5, p. 262, ll. 688–691.
 154–155 *Sol / serenus* *Carm.* 4, 122 (n.).
 155 *ore serenus* = *LHL* IV, 69.

Extincta luna rursum
 Nascitur inque vices nunc decrescente minuta
 Sensim senescit orbe,
 Nunc vegeta arridet tenero iuueniliter ore.
 160 Redit ad suam iuuentam,
 Bruma vbi consenuit, Zephyris redeuntibus annus,
 Et post gelu niueisque
 Ver nitidum floresque reuersa reducit hirundo.
 At nostra posteaquam
 165 Feruida praeteriit saeculis labentibus aestas,
 Vbi tristis occupauit
 Corpus hyems capitisque horrentia tempora postquam
 Niue canuere densa,
 Nulla recursuri spes aut successio veris,
 170 Verum malis supremum
 Imponit mors vna, malorum maxima, finem.

161 redeuntibus $\alpha \beta \gamma$ *K*: spirantibus *C*.

161 *Zephyris redeuntibus* For the reading “Zephyris spirantibus” in *C* cf. *Carm.* 64, 28 (n.). The zephyr conventionally heralds the coming of spring; see, e.g., *Hor. Carm.* IV, 7, 9; *Epist.* I, 7, 13 (recalled in *Er. Ep.* 2846, l. 174; 2860, ll. 21–22), mentioning both the zephyr and the swallow; *Ov. Trist.* III, 12, 1. See also *Er. Carm.* 64, 28; 104, 7.

163 *Ver / reducit hirundo* = Walther 33034: “Ver ... non vna reducit hirundo”; Mantuan. *Somnium Romanum*, in: *Opera*, III, f° 208r: “Ver non vna dies, non vna reducit hirundo.” Like the zephyr, the swallow was a traditional harbinger of spring; see *Er. Adag.* 2.xxi, *ASD* II, 1, p. 106, ll. 131–132; *Adag.* 559; 694; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 171, l. 580. *reuersa / hirundo* = *Calp. Sic.* 5, 17.

165 *Feruida / aestas* *Lucan.* I, 214; *Boeth. Consol.* I, m. 5, 16 and IV, m. 6, 27; cf. *Er. Carm.* 95, 88. The epithet “feruidus” is used to describe hot-blooded youth in *Hor. Carm.* IV, 13, 26; *Ars* 116; *Sil.* XVII, 413. *saeculis labentibus aestas* Cf. *Verg. Aen.* I, 283.

166–167 *tristis / hyems* *Verg. Georg.* IV, 135; *Ov. Ars* I, 409; *Trist.* III, 10, 9; and often; also *Er. Carm.* 64, 24; 106, ll. 1, 78, and 82; cf. *Carm.* 104, 12 (n.). The epithet “tristis” is traditionally applied to old age; see n.ll. 195–196 below.

167–168 *tempora / canuere* Cf. *Ov. Fast.* II, 109–110; *Verg. Aen.* V, 416.

168 *Niue* *Hor. Carm.* IV, 13, 12; *Quint. Inst.* VIII, 6, 17; *Prud. Praef.* 27; *Er. Enchir.*, *LB* V, 59 B: “canos et capitis niues”.

170–171 *malis ... finem* Cf. *Andrel. Ecl.* 1, 67–68, in a prayer to God: “finemque supremum / His impone malis.” The thought that death ends all our afflictions is proverbial; see, e.g., *Cic. Catil.* 4 4; *Ps. Bernardus, Liber de modo bene viuendi* 70, 164, *PL* 184, 1303: “Mors ponit finem omnibus malis in hac vita”; *Walther* 15118; 15152; 15156; 15173; *Er. Lucianus, ASD* I, 1, p. 512, l. 28; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 453, l. 14; *Adag.* 2540, *ASD* II, 6, p. 365, l. 400: “Mors finis [est] omnium huius vitae malorum”; *Adag.* 3018, *LB* II, 974 E: “mors finem doloribus imponere videatur”; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 212, ll. 527–528; p. 214, ll. 598–599; *De praep. ad mort.*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 370, ll. 751–752. For the idea that death is itself the greatest of all afflictions cf. *Arist. Eth. Nic.* III, 6, 6 (quoted in *Er. De praep. ad mort.*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 339, l. 3 and alluded to in *Vidua christ.*, *LB* V, 723 F); cf. also *Er. De contemptu mundi, ASD* V, 1, p. 51, l. 312: “rerum amarissima mors”; *Euripides, ASD* I, 1, p. 348, l. 2021; *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 723, ll. 111–112; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 239, l. 599: “mors ..., res omnium tristium tristissima”.

171 *mors vna* = *Stat. Theb.* I, 109; cf. *Theb.* IX, 280 (quoted in *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*,

- More Phrygum inter ista
 Incipimus sero sapere et dispendia vitae
 Incogitanter actae
 175 Ploramus miseri et consumptos turpiter annos
 Horremus, execramur.
 Quae quondam heu nimium placuere et quae vehementer
 Mellita visa dudum,
 Tum tristi cruciant recolentia pectora felle,
 180 Frustraque maceramur
 Tam rarum sine fruge bonum fluxisse, quod omni
 Bene collocare cura
 Par erat et nullam temere disperdere partem.
 At nunc mihi oscitanti

177 Quae a C β γ K²: Que K¹.

181 bonum a β γ K: bouum C.

- LB VIII, 550 E; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 348, l. 182); Lucan. III, 689; Walther 9356; 14866: "Mille modis miseros mors rapit vna homines"; 14865.
- 172–173 *More ... sapere* For the proverb "sero sapiunt Phryges" see Otto 1410; Er. *Adag.* 28. For the thought cf. *Adag.* 1474, LB II, 574 B, in a fragment from a now-lost epigram of Er.: "Vel sero sapiemus"; *Enchir.*, LB V, 57 F: "Cogita, ... quam sero sapuerint, quam sero coeperint odisse sua mortifera gaudia"; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 227, l. 18.
- 173 *dispendia vitae* = LHL II, 95; cf. Er. *Carm.* 43, 56.
- 174 *Incogitanter* A neologism.
- 177 *Quae quondam* = Verg. *Aen.* XII, 863.
- 177–179 *quae vehementer ... felle* Honey-covered gall or poison is a proverbial image for the pleasures of this world, sweet on the outside, bitter and poisonous within. See Otto 1083 and 1085; *Nachträge*, pp. 279–280; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 48, ll. 235–236; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, LB V, 607 E; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, pp. 732–733, ll. 465–466; also *Carm.* 30, 3; 43, 43; 105, 40. For the dialectic of inversion cf. *Carm.* 108, 5–10 (n.).
- 179 *tristi / felle* Tib. II, 4, 12; Andrel. *Liv.* I, 9, 88: "tristi gaudia felle madent."
pectora felle = Sil. XI, 548: "vndantia pectora felle".
- 182 *collocare* Cf. *Apolog. c. Iac. Latomi dialog.*, LB IX, 79 B: "Quo minus mihi superest aetatis ..., hoc parcius vt et circumspectius collocare decreueram."
- 184–213 *At nunc ... sequamur* The same thought is expressed, albeit in an ironically inverted form, in *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 131, ll. 4–8, spoken by a lazy theologian who, instead of spending his youth, the best time of life, in studying and writing, prefers to wait for the Holy Spirit to inspire him: "Resipiscamus vel sero et moniti meliora sequamur. ... Nos cutem curemus ac vini somnique benigni (vt ait Flaccus) coelitus expectemus, donec oscitantibus nobis spiritus illabatur aethereus."
- 184–189 *mibi ... mente* For the idea that people who live for momentary pleasures are "slumbering" and should be roused from their dreams see, e.g., Sen. *Epist.* 108, 24; *Mt.* 25, 1–13; *Mc.* 13, 33–37; *Lc.* 12, 35–48; *Rom.* 13, 11; 1. *Thess.* 5, 2–6; Prud. *Cath.* 1; Petrarca, *Rem.* I, 1: "Expergiscimini, consopiti, tempus est, calligantesque oculos aperite, assuescite iam tandem aeterna cogitare et amare et optare, simul autem peritura contemnere." Er. returns to this thought time and again; see, e.g., *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 60, ll. 571–572; *Rat. ver. theol.*, LB V, 118 D–E; *Paraphr. in Rom.* 13, 11, LB VII, 822 A; *Paraphr. in Phil.* 2, 12, LB VII, 997 A; *Carm.* 94, 49–50.
- 184–185 *mibi ... vitae* In *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, pp. 352–353, ll. 277–291 Er. makes the point that those who pursue pleasures and vices waste a large part of their lives. Those who pursue frivolous trifles waste a much larger portion of life ("vitae portio"). But those who go about their tasks yawning, as it were ("oscitanter"), waste their entire lives. Cf. *De*

- 185 Qualibus heu nugis quanta est data portio vitae!
 Satis hactenus, miselle,
 Cessatum, satis est dormitum! Pellere somnos
 Nunc tempus est, Erasme,
 Nunc expergisci et tota respiscere mente.
 190 Velis dehinc equisque
 Et pedibus manibusque et totis denique neruis
 Nitendum, vt anteacti
 Temporis et studio iactura volubilis aeui
 Vigilante sarciatur,
 195 Dum licet ac dum tristis adhuc in limine primo
 Consistimus senectae,

193 et *C K*: vt $\alpha \beta \gamma$.

conscr. ep., ASD I, 2, p. 228, l. 8 (in similar context: people waste the better and greater part of their lives and then begin too late to be wise): "Aetatis bonam partem iam aliis in nugis perdiderunt." In *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 144, ll. 254–273 Er. cites Gregory the Great, Basil, Chrysostom, and Augustine as examples of people who wasted no part ("nulla portio") of their time, the most precious thing we have.

- 185 *quanta / portio vitae* Maximian. *Eleg.* 1, 16: "heu scribis vitae portio quanta manet"; Er. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 641, l. 139, of time lost in excessive sleeping: "quantam vitae portionem sibi resecat"; cf. Iuv. 9, 127–128; *LHL* IV, 300.
 186–189 *Satis ... mente* Cf. Thomas a Kempis, *Imit.* 1, 22, 24–26: "Quare vis procrastinare propositum tuum? Surge et in instanti incipe et dic: Nunc tempus est faciendi, nunc tempus est pugnandi, nunc aptum tempus est emendandi."
 186 *miselle* An adjective in the vocative case. Cf., e.g., Ep. 1248, l. 29; 1249, l. 12.
 187 *Pellere somnos* Stat. *Theb.* 1, 306–307.
 189 *tota / mente* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 100; Ov. *Met.* V, 275. Cf. l. 229 (n.) below.
respiscere Cf. *Carm.* 94, 49; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, ASD V, 2, p. 251, l. 876; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 418, ll. 419–420; *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 17 F; *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, ASD I, 4, p. 243, l. 991.
 190 *Velis / equisque* *Adag.* 317.
 191 *pedibus manibusque* *Adag.* 315.
totis / neruis *Adag.* 316 and 2868; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 146, l. 991; *Carm.* 112, 222.
 192–194 *Nitendum ... sarciatur* Cf. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 642, ll. 183–185.

193 *Temporis / iactura* Liv. XXXIX, 4, 4; Walther 13016: "Iactura nulla grauior est quam temporis"; 31282g–31283a; Gerson, cited in n.l. 123 above; cf. Sen. *Epist.* 1, 1; Er. *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, p. 75, l. 3: "Aetatis iactura nulla ratione pensari queat"; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 642, l. 185; *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 60, ll. 15–18.

195 *Dum licet* The phrase is part of the conventions of *carpe diem* poetry; see Tib. I, 5, 76; Hor. *Carm.* II, 11, 16; IV, 12, 26; Ov. *Ars* III, 61; Prop. I, 19, 25; Sen. *Phaedr.* 774. Cf. Er. *Carm.* 95, 7; 104, 25–26.

in limine primo = *LHL* III, 200–201.

195–196 *tristis / senectae* Manil. IV, 156; cf. Verg. *Georg.* III, 67; *Aen.* VI, 275; Er. *Carm.* 95, 55 (n.); 99, 21–22; also ll. 166–167 (n.) above. In *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, ASD V, 2, p. 236, ll. 378–390 Er. gives physiological reasons why youth is cheerful, old age gloomy, attributing the change to the loss of innate heat.

in limine primo / senectae Er. here means the transition from summer to autumn, which according to medieval and Renaissance thinking occurs at age thirty-five or forty. Cf. *Apophth.*, LB IV, 304 F, where a man about to enter the *winter* of life is said to be "in extremo senectutis limine".

The phrase "limen senectae" goes back to Hom. *Il.* XXII, 60; XXIV, 487; *Od.* XV, 348; Hes. *Erg.* 331. In *Adag.* 1946 (as he does everywhere else) Er. uses the phrase to refer to the transition from the autumn of life to its winter (decrepitude), occurring at age fifty-five or sixty. Cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 30, ll. 115–116, where people in their early fifties are said to be nearing the

- Dum noua canicies et adhuc numerabilis et dum
 Pilis notata raris
 Tempora duntaxat spatium effluxisse virentis
 200 Iam clamitant iuuentae,
 Nec tam praesentem iam testificantur adesse
 Quam nunciant citatum
 Ferre gradum et sterilem procul aduentare senectam.
 Cuiusmodi videtur
 205 Tum rerum facies, quum autumnii frigore primo
 Iam vernus ille pratis
 Decessit decor ac languescunt lumina florum,
 Iam iam minus nitentis
 Herbas affirmes Boreasque geluque nocentis
 210 Iam praetimere brumae.
 Ergo animus dum totus adhuc constatque vigetque

200 clamitant *CK*: clamitat $\alpha \beta \gamma$.

threshold of old age; and Ep. 2260, ll. 26–27, where Pieter Gillis at about age forty-three is said to be still far from the threshold of old age. In *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 450, ll. 4–6 Er. writes that few ever reach the threshold of old age; to him this means one’s fifties or sixties: cf. Ep. 867, ll. 270–271; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 54, ll. 397–398; *Adag.* 2843; *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, p. 24, ll. 19–20.

It is thus for purely rhetorical reasons that Er. uses the phrase here to refer to the transition from the summer of life to its autumn. Cf. the “epistola familiariter iocosa”, Ep. 283, l. 28 (21 Dec. 1513), where Er. at age forty-seven hyperbolically suggests he is enduring the burden of poverty on the threshold of old age. See also ll. 43–53 (n.) above, where he adopts the late-medieval view of the ages of man in order to make himself the exemplum in his poem on old age. A few lines later Er. acknowledges that he is only entering the autumn of his life. Old age (“decrepitude”), he now says, is “approaching from afar”.

- 197–203 *Dum noua ... senectam* Cf. ll. 65–69 above. The model is Iuv. 3, 26–28: “dum noua canities, dum prima et recta senectus, / dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat et pedibus me / porto meis nullo dextram subeunte bacillo”. Cf. Hier. *Epist.* 58, 11 (with the Christian inversion of the pagan *carpe diem* theme): “Praepara tibi diuitias quas cotidie eroges et numquam deficiant, dum viget aetas, dum adhuc canis spargitur caput, ante-

quam subeant morbi tristisque senectus [Verg. *Georg.* III, 67].”

199–200 *Tempora ... iuuentae* Cf. ll. 113–114 (with notes) above.

203 *Ferre gradum* Stat. *Theb.* II, 547. For “gradum” in the context of approaching old age see n. *Carm.* 95, 56.

aduentare senectam Cic. *Cato* 1, 2: “onere ... aduentantis senectutis”.

204–210 *Cuiusmodi ... brumae* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 35–52; 104, 1–12.

205 *rerum facies* Plin. *Nat.* III, 4; Agric. *Ad Rodolphum Langium*, p. 294: “Formosa rerum iam facies perit, / Nudasque sternunt arboreae comae / Terras”; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 45, l. 141; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 33, l. 220; p. 50, l. 762; p. 87, l. 998; and elsewhere.

autumni frigore primo = Verg. *Aen.* VI, 309; cf. Ov. *Trist.* III, 8, 29 (of his old age).

207 *lumina florum* = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 13, also imitated in Er. *Carm.* 133, 19; cf. Er. *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 164, l. 216.

208–209 *nitentis Herbas* Ov. *Met.* XV, 202 (according to one ms. tradition): “tunc herba nitens”, referring to the spring of life.

211–230 *Ergo ...* CHRISTO Cf. *Carm.* 95, 107–110; 104, 25–28. This resolution to dedicate his life and work wholly to Christ had for some time already been central to Er.’ thinking. See *Carm.* 36, 5–6; *Enchir.*, LB V, 25 A: “Haec tibi quarta sit regula, vt totius vitae tuae Christum velut vnicum scopum

Et corporis pusillum
 Detrimenta nocent, age iam meliora sequamur.
 Quicquid mihi deinceps
 215 Fata aevi superesse volent, id protinus omne
 CHRISTO dicitur vni,
 Quo, cui vel solidam decuit sacrarier, vt cui
 Bis terque debeat,ur,
 Principio gratis donata, hinc reddita gratis
 220 Totiesque vindicata,
 Huic saltem pars deterior breuiorque dicitur.
 Posthac valete, nugae
 Fucataeque voluptates risusque iocique,

215 volent C γ K: volunt α β.
 219 hinc α β γ K: huic C.

222 valete C β γ K: valere α.

praefigas, ad quem vnum omnia studia, omnes conatus, omne otium ac negotium conferas"; Kohls, I, pp. 82–83; DeMolen, *Spirituality*, pp. 69–124. In bidding farewell to the world's pleasures, both physical and intellectual, Er. is using the language of the *contemptus mundi* tradition to say that he has "died to the world". Cf. *Precat. ad Iesum*, LB V, 1213 B–C: "In te vno tibique vni vivam, mihi mundoque mortuus. ... Aufer me mihi, imo me mihi restitue, vnice salutis auctor Iesu Christe ...: in me nihil esse incipiam, vt in te sim omnia"; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, pp. 186–188, ll. 707–745.

To reject everything he has worked for – his poetry, his rhetoric, his studies in Latin and Greek, in theology and philosophy – does not, of course, mean that he intends to give them up. "Henceforth", he is saying, "I must regard these studies in the light of eternity; they are not ends in themselves but only means by which I may adorn God's temple." In this he is reaffirming a vow made many years before. Cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 66 B.

For the paradox of "despising" one's most cherished studies cf. *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 78, ll. 1–2 (in a non-theological context): "Vbi summam literaturam mihi comparauero, tum demum incipiam cum laude contemnere, non quo minus vtar, sed ne quid insolescam."

213 *meliora sequamur* = Verg. *Aen.* III, 188.

214–215 *Quicquid ... volent* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* I, 18, 108.

215 *protinus omne* = Verg. *Aen.* VII, 514; *LHL* IV, 394–395.

217 *solidam* Sc. "vitam".

217–219 *vt cui ... gratis* Cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 3 B, where Er. is speaking of birth and the second birth, baptism: "Christo, cui bis vitam debebas, pariter et donatam et restitutam"; E.-W. Kohls, *The Principal Theological Thoughts in the "Enchiridion Militis Christiani"*, in: DeMolen, *Essays*, p. 61.

218 *Bis terque* Hor. *Epod.* 5, 33; *Ars* 440; Ov. *Met.* IV, 517.

221 *pars deterior* Ov. *Trist.* IV, 8, 34 (of the latter part of life); cf. *Pont.* I, 4, 1: "deterior ... aetas"; Sen. *Epist.* 108, 25: "Meliora praeteruolant, deteriora succedunt"; cf. also l. 71 (n.) above.

222–224 *nugae ... illecebrae* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 9–12, of the pleasures of the flesh; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 114, ll. 810–812 and 826.

222 *nugae* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 60, ll. 568–569: "'Vah', inquires, 'adeone delirasse me vnquam vt hae atque illae nugae me delectauerint?'" (in similar context); *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 220, l. 870: man's studies, which do not provide the peace of mind that only Christ can give, are mere "nugae".

223 *Fucatae / voluptates* *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 727, l. 238, of bodily pleasures contrasted with the true goods of the mind; cf. also *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 48, ll. 228–229, of the pleasures of the flesh: "fucata sua specie"; *Enchir.*, LB V, 62 A: "fucata commoda"; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, LB V, 607 E–F. *risusque iocique* Hor. *Serm.* I, 5, 98; l. 22 (n.) above. For the connotations of "ioci" cf. Er. *Carm.* 95, 95.

- Lusus et illecebrae,
 225 Splendida nobilium decreta, valete, sophorum,
 Valete, syllogismi,
 Blandae Pegasides animosque trahentia Pithus
 Pigmenta flosculique.
 Pectore iam soli toto penitusque dicato
 230 Certum est vacare CHRISTO.
 Hic mihi solus erit studium dulcesque Camoenae,
 Honos, decus, voluptas.
 Omnia solus erit, neque quicquam ea cura (quod aiunt)
 Mouebit Hippoclidem,
 235 Terrea si moles compagoque corporis huius

234 Hippoclidem α C β K: Hippoclidem γ .

- 225 *decreta / sophorum* The term “decreta” can apply to the doctrines of both philosophy and scholastic theology. For the association with philosophy see Sen. *Epist.* 94, 2 and 4: “decreta philosophiae”; Er. *Parab.*, ASD I, 5, p. 236, ll. 244–245; *Paraphr. in Lc.* 19, 40, LB VII, 434 C; and *Enarrat. in Ps.* 1, ASD V, 2, p. 54, l. 634. For the association with scholastic theology see Ep. 334, l. 197; 337, ll. 424 and 743; *Adag.* 1368, LB II, 545 A: “theologorum decretis”. The word “sophorum”, as in l. 91 above, refers to the wise of this world, whose wisdom is folly in God’s eyes; cf. 1. *Cor.* 1, 19–25; 3, 19. Er. is in effect saying that he will place his trust in the folly of the cross.
- 227 *Pegasides / Pithus* Er. bids poetry and rhetoric farewell in their pagan, mythological personifications. Christ, not the ancient Greek goddesses, will be his inspiration. Cf. *Carm.* 88, 2–3 (with notes). The “Pegasides” are the Muses, nymphs of the spring Hippocrene that was created at the spot where Pegasus struck Mount Helicon with his hoof. Peitho is the personification of eloquence and persuasion; cf. *Carm.* 115, 11.
- 228 *Pigmenta flosculique* The ornaments and figures of a rhetorical style; see *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 151, l. 114; cf. l. 92 above.
- 229 *Pectore / toto* Otto 1368; Er. *Adag.* 326; cf. l. 189 (n.) above.
- 230 *vacare CHRISTO* Cf. Ep. 74, ll. 4–5: “Desidero illam vitam qua in sancto otio possim mihi et vni Deo vacare”; Ep. 75, ll. 6–7: “Nihil aliud cupio quam mihi dari otium, in quo possim totus vni Deo viuere.”
- 231–233 *Hic mihi ... solus erit* Er. expresses the same thought in *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 225, ll. 56–58: “Ille nobis est vnus omnia, diuitiae, robur, forma, honos, sapientia et iusticia, modo totam spem in illo figamus”; cf. *Rom.* 8, 32; Er. *Carm.* 36, 5–6.
- 231 *dulces / Camoenae* Verg. *Cat.* 5, 12, where the poet says farewell to the Muses; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 19, 5.
- 233 *Omnia solus erit* Cf. Ov. *Her.* 12, 162.
- 233–234 *neque ... Hippoclidem* *Adag.* 912. Hippocleides was the proverbially unconcerned man who, dancing on a table with his feet in the air, did not care a fig that his indecorous behaviour would cost him a marriage with a rich princess.
- 233 *neque ... quod* Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 118 notes the unpleasant accumulation of *k*-sounds – a sign of hasty composition and lack of careful revision – and compares *Carm.* 105, 133: “Tu quoque, quicumque es cui pax et gaudia curae”.
quod aiunt Er. recommends the use of a phrase such as this to introduce an adage that might otherwise jar the reader in some way; see *Adag.*, prolegomena xiv, ASD II, 1, p. 82, ll. 667–683.
- 235 *moles* For the commonplace that the body is a burden for the soul see, e.g., Plat. *Phaed.* 81 c; Sen. *Epist.* 24, 17; 65, 16; 102, 22; Prud. *Cath.* 10, 27; Er. *Enchir.*, LB V, 13 A; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 192, l. 216; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 280, ll. 800–801.
compago / corporis huius Cf. Cic. *Cato* 21, 77: “dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis”; AH 51, 23, 6: “Compago nostri corporis”.
corporis huius = Ov. *Met.* XV, 873.

Marcescet obsolescens,
 Mens modo pura mihi scelerumque ignara per illum
 Niteatque floreatque,
 Donec summa dies pariter cum corpore mentem
 240 Ad pristinum nouata
 Conuictum reuocabit et hinc iam vere perenni
 Pars vtraque fruetur.
 Haec facito vt rata sint, vitae exorabilis autor
 Vitaeque restitutor,
 245 Quo sine nil possunt vnquam mortalia vota et
 Vires labant caducae.

238 Niteatque *a C γ K*: Niteat *β*.

241 hinc *C β γ K*: huic *a*.

244 restitutor *C K*: vindicator *a β γ*.

In fine: Τέλος *a C β*, Finis *γ*.

237 *Mens ... pura* Cato, *Dist.* I, 1 (a favourite of Er.): "Si deus est animus ..., / hic tibi praecipue sit pura mente colendus." But the phrase is very common. See also, e.g., Prud. *Cath.* 2, 49; *Missale Romanum*, I, p. 198; Er. *Enchir.*, LB V, 37 C–D and 56 C; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 728, l. 308; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, ASD V, 2, p. 200, l. 205; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 185, l. 531.

pura / scelerumque ignara Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 22, 1: "scelerisque purus". For the phrase "scelerum ignara" see Verg. *Aen.* II, 106; Lucan. V, 35; for "scelus" see n. *Carm.* 110, 398 below. For the sentiment cf. *Ps.* 50, 12; *Act.* 24, 16; Er. *Carm.* 51, 13–14.

239–242 *Donec ... fruetur* The poem now shifts from a meditation on old age to a meditation on the life to come; cf. Kohls, I, p. 23; II, p. 43, n. 70. For the thought and phrasing cf. Er. *Carm.* 49, 30–31.

239 *corpore mentem* = LHL I, 471.

240 *nouata* A neuter accusative plural, summing up "cum corpore mentem": both body and soul are to be renewed on the last day. For the grammatical construction cf. *Carm.* 112, 138 (n.).

241 *vere perenni* = Dracont., *Laud.* I, 185, of paradise. For the thought cf. Er. *Carm.* 9, 14; 110, 121 (n.).

243 *vitae / autor* *Act.* 3, 15; Iuenc. III, 503; and often; Er. *Carm.* 11, 9; 43, 37. The flame of life is also called "autor vitae" (see l. 19 above), but it is merely the source of physical life.

244–246 *Vitaeque ... caducae* Cf. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 217, ll. 722–725.

245 *Quo sine nil* = Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 5, 13; 27, 87 (paraphrasing *Iob.* 1, 3); Er. *Carm.* 135, 26; cf. *Carm.* 99, 20.

246 *Vires ... caducae* Sen. *Dial.* V, 3, 4.

3. A PARTING GIFT FOR JOHANNES SAPIDUS

August 1514

On his way to Basel in August 1514, Er. stopped over in Sélestat, Upper Alsace; see Ep. 305, ll. 171–179. There he was warmly received by the town magistrates and the local humanists, among them the headmaster of the famous town school, Johannes Sapidus (1490–1561). Sapidus accompanied Er. for the rest of the journey to Basel. Er. also praises him in his encomium of Sélestat and her scholars; see *Carm.* 53, 23. See further *Contemporaries* s.v. (Johannes) Sapidus.

The poem was sent to Jakob Wimpfeling along with Ep. 305 (21 September 1514) and *Carmm.* 54 and 55. At the end of the letter (Ep. 305, ll. 252–254) Er. explains: “Ioannem Sapidum, cum viderem a nobis vix auelli posse, tetrastichon consolatus. Et quo pignus esset charius amanti, vel deamanti ac depereunti magis, meis digitis scripsi; id ad te mitto.” The epigram was first printed at the end of *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*, Strasbourg, M. Schürer, December 1514 (a; Bezzel 738), together with Ep. 305 and *Carmm.* 54 and 55. Its position in *K* (immediately after *Carm.* 2, rather than with *Carmm.* 54 and 55) may be attributed to the printer’s desire to use up an otherwise blank space on the page.

For the poem’s theme cf. Ep. 3086, ll. 11–16 (the preface to *De purit. tabernac.*, addressed to Christoph Eschenfelder): “Me ... quum in Christo, non tantum supra meritum, sed prope etiam supra modum diligas, tamen charitati tuae non est satis, quod amore mutuo tecum paria facio; vis apud te extare proprium ac perpetuum aliquod nostrae amicitiae pignus, quo Erasmum tibi praesentemingas, et absentis desiderium leues.” For the related thought, that only letter-writing can make absent friends present, see Hier. *Epist.* 8, 1, quoting Turpilius; Er. Ep. 9, ll. 17–19; 17, ll. 16–21; 20, ll. 70–73; 23, ll. 6–18. Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 225, ll. 7–9; I. *Cor.* 5, 3: “absens corpore, praesens autem spiritu”.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: a; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *Go*, f^o 32^r; *BAS* I, 1031; *LB* I, 1223–1224.

ERASMVS AD IOANNEM SAPIIDVM SVVM, IN DISCESSV

Quando distrahimur, absens absentis amici,
Candide Ioannes, hoc tibi pignus habe,
Quoque magis spatium seiunget corpora nostra,
Mutuus hoc propius pectora iungat amor.

Tit. ERASMVS [ERASMVS *deest* a] ... DISCESSV 1 distrahimur a *K Go BAS*: distrahimus
a *K*: Tetrastichon Erasmi ad Ioannem
Sapidum in discessu suo ab vrbe Basillaea
Go.

1–4 *Quando ... amor* Cf. Ep. 312, ll. 7–16.
1 *absens absentis* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 83: “illum
absens absentem auditque videtque”, quoted
and explained in Er. *Adag.* 1684. This verse
was often cited or adapted in humanist let-
ters to friends; see Ep. 9, l. 19; 222, l. 6;

Franz Römer, *Ein “Freundschaftsbrief” des
Battista Guarini an Albrecht von Bonstetten*,
HL 36 (1987), p. 142.
3 *Quoque magis* = *LHL* IV, 450.
corpora nostra = Lucr. I, 122.
4 *pectora iungat amor* Cf. *Carm.* 100, 12 (n.).

4. IN PRAISE OF BRITAIN AND HER ROYAL FAMILY

late September? 1499

Accompanied by Thomas More and (Richard?) Arnold, Er. visited the younger children of the royal family at Eltham Palace in September 1499; Prince Arthur was elsewhere at the time. When More presented the eight-year-old Prince Henry – the future Henry VIII – with some literary compliment, Er. was both annoyed and embarrassed, since he had not been forewarned and had come empty-handed. His embarrassment was compounded when Henry asked him at dinner to produce some verses for him. Unable to compose them there and then, he spent the next three days (so he tells us) sweating out this poem in praise of Britain, King Henry VII, and his children. See Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 6, ll. 4–28.

Er. mentions the panegyric also in a letter to Johannes Sixtinus, who had complimented him on some of his “extemporaneous” poems in various metres. With obligatory modesty Er. first denigrates his poetic skill and then writes (*Ep.* 113, ll. 148–152, dated 28 October 1499): “Excitauimus [Musas nostras] nuper, et quidem iratas, a somno plusquam decenni, compulimusque liberorum regionum laudes dicere. Dixerunt et inuitae et semisomnes cantilenam nescio quam, adeo somnolentam vt cuiuis somnum conciliare possit. Quae cum mihi vehementer displiceret, facile illas redormiscere sum passus.”

No doubt Er. regarded the writing of panegyrics as a distinctly unpleasant, if necessary, chore. But the claim that he had not written any poetry for over a decade should be taken with a grain of salt. *Carmm.* 5 and 6, for example, were written in 1495, *Carmm.* 7, 14, and 15 in 1496, *Carmm.* 9, 10, 11, 13, 38, and 116 in 1497–1499. In 1499 alone Er. composed *Carmm.* 110, 111, 112, 115, and 117. Nevertheless he asserts in Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 6, ll. 7–8 that he found the writing of this panegyric difficult because he had neither read nor written any verse for several years prior to this occasion.

The poem was first printed in *Adagiorum collectanea*, Paris, J. Philippi, 1500 (α ; *BB* E. 54; *GW* 9374), reprinted in *Adagiorum collectanea*, Paris, J. Philippi, 1505 (*BB* E. 55). It was also reprinted, minus the dedicatory letter, in *Euripidis ... Hecuba et Iphigenia, Latinae factae Erasmo Roterodamo interprete*, Paris, J. Bade, 13 September 1506. Unhappy with the way Bade had produced this work (see introd. *Carm.* 33), Er. published a corrected edition in *Hecuba et Iphigenia in Aulide Euripidis tragoediae in Latinum tralatae Erasmo Roterodamo interprete*, Venice, Aldo Manuzio, December 1507 (β). The text of *Carm.* 4 in β nearly always follows that of α , rarely that of C . As in C , the dedicatory letter to Prince Henry is omitted. This letter (*Ep.* 104) was probably composed shortly after the panegyric poem and later revised for publication. An earlier, shorter version of it is contained in *Eg.*

Metre: second Pythiambic strophe, as in Hor. *Epod.* 16. In that poem Horace laments the ongoing civil wars and expresses his longing for the fabled Isles of the

Blessed in the western ocean. By his choice of metre Er. subtly associates Henry VII, who ended the Wars of the Roses, with Caesar Augustus, who ended the Roman civil wars, and identifies Britain with the Isles of the Blessed, reserved by Jupiter for the pious remnant of the golden age (cf. ll. 52–54 below). Er. uses the metre also in *Carm.* 122, with similar intent.

Sources for the dedicatory letter (Ep. 104): *Eg*; *α*; *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1018–1019; *LB* I, 1213–1214; sources for the ode: *α*; *C*; *β*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1019–1022; *LB* I, 1215–1217.

ILLVSTRISSIMO PVERO DVCI HENRICO ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S. P. D.

Memnisse debes, Henrice Dux illustrissime, eos qui te gemmis auroue honorant, dare primum aliena, quippe fortunae munera, praeterea caduca, deinde qualia
 5 quaeque donare aliis quam accipere magno principi longe sit pulchrius. At qui carmen suo ingenio, suis vigiliis elucubraturum nomini tuo dicat, is mihi non paulo praestantiora videtur offerre; vtpote qui non aliena, sed propria largiatur, nec paucis annis intermoritura, sed quae gloriam etiam tuam immortalem queant
 10 efficere, tum ea quae perquam pauci possint donare (neque enim pecuniosorum et bonorum poetarum par copia), denique quae non minus sit regibus pulchrum accipere quam remunerari. Et opibus quidem nemo non regum abundauit, nominis immortalitatem non ita multi sunt assequuti; quam quidem illi pulcherrimis facinoribus emereri possunt, at soli vates eruditus carminibus praestare; siquidem et ceras et imagines et stemmata et aureas statuas et incisos in

1 ILLVSTRISSIMO ... ROTERODAMVS S. P. D.
C K: Generosissimo Duci Henrico Herasmus
 < ..?.. > *Eg* (*vix legibile*), Generosissimo
 puero Duci Henrico Herasmus theologus
 S. D. *α*.
 2 te *om. α*; honorant *α C K*: colunt *Eg*.
 3 praeterea caduca *α C K*: tum caduca etiam *Eg*.
 4 quam ... possint [possunt *α*] *α C K*: possunt
 quam plurimi mortales *Eg*; postremo *C K*:

postremo ea *Eg α*; ipsi *om. α*.
 9 perquam pauci *α C K*: perpauci *Eg*; possint
Eg C K: possunt *α*.
 10 denique quae *C K*: et que denique *Eg*, que
 denique *α*; sit regibus pulchrum *α C K*:
 pulchrum sit regibus *Eg*.
 13 soli *α C K*: vnus *Eg*.
 14 et ceras ... statuas *add. α C K*.

2–3 eos ... aliena Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2,
 p. 249, ll. 15–17.
 3 aliena ... munera See, e.g., Arist. *Rhet.* I, 5, 4;
 Publil. Syr. 1 (quoted in Sen. *Epist.* 8, 9):
 “Alienum est omne quicquid optando
 euenit”; John of Salisbury, *Entheticus minor*
 III: “Quod Fortuna dedit, et quod dabit, est
 alienum”; Er. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 60 C–D.

5 donare / quam accipere / pulchrius Cf. *Act.* 20,
 35; Er. *Ep.* 31, ll. 7–8.
 9 quae ... donare The thought that poetry per-
 petuates the fame of those whom it cele-
 brates is an ancient and medieval common-
 place; see Curtius, pp. 476–477; cf. Er.
Carm. 6, 59–62.
 14 ceras / stemmata *Carm.* 43, 13.

15 aes titulos et operosas pyramidas longa annorum series demolitur, sola poetarum
 monumenta ipsa aetate, quae res omneis debilitat, inualescunt. Quod prudenter
 intelligens Alexander ille, cognomento Magnus, a Cherylo, poeta non admodum
 sane bono, singulos versiculos tolerabileis singulis Philippicis ex pacto redimebat.
 20 Prospiciebat nimirum et Apellis tabulas et Lysippi statuas paucis annis interituras,
 nec quicquam omnino fortium virorum memoriam aeternam posse reddere
 praeter immortalitate dignas eruditorum hominum literas, nec vllum esse gloriae
 genus syncerius ac praestantius quam quod a posteris virtuti datur hominum,
 non fortunae, non ab amore, non a metu, non ab assentatione, sed libero iudicio
 profectum. Age iam, qui malos versus tam chare prodigus emit, nonne optet
 25 Homericos non singulis aureis, sed singulis vrbibus emercari? Quem quidem
 poetam et in delitiis habuisse et Achilli inuidisse legitur, beatum illum pron-
 uncians non solum virtute, sed potissimum tali virtutum suarum praecone.

30 Quanquam non me clam est hac nostra memoria principes plerosque literis tam
 non delectari quam eas non intelligunt; qui vtrunque iuxta ineptum existimant,
 imo pudendum, optimatem virum vel scire literas vel a literatis laudari, quasi
 vero sint ipsi vel cum Alexandro, vel cum Caesare, vel omnino cum vllo veterum
 aut grauitate aut sapientia aut benefactorum gloria conferendi. Ineptum putant a
 poeta laudari, quia desierunt facere laudanda, nec tamen a gnatonibus suis lau-

15 et operosas *Eg C K*; ei operosas *a*; pyramidas
C K; pyramides *Eg a*; poetarum *a C K*;
 vatum *Eg*.

16 monumenta *Eg C K*; momenta *a*; res

omneis *K²*; omnia *Eg*, res omnis *a C K¹*.

18 tolerabileis *add. a C K*; Philippicis *Eg a C
 K¹*; Philippiis *K²*.

19 Prospiciebat nimirum *a C K*; Sciebat enim
Eg.

20 virorum *add. a C K*; posse *add. a C K*.

21–24 nec vllum ... profectum *add. a C K*.

24 optet *C K*; optauerit *Eg*, optinent *a*.

25–40 Quem quidem ... cupias *a C K*: Quem
 quidem poetam tam egregium preconem
 Achilli legitur inuidisse. Ab hac igitur tam
 generosa, tam regia Alexandri mente cum
 perspexissem pulcherrimam indolem tuam
 non abhorreere *Eg*.

29 eas *add. C K*.

32 aut sapientia *om. LB*.

15 *aes / et / pyramidas* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 30,
 1–2. See also Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD*
 IV, 1, p. 92, ll. 177–182.

16–21 *Quod ... literas* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 1,
 232–244. Horace concludes from this that
 Alexander the Great had excellent judgment
 in painters and sculptors but no literary
 taste. Er.' point is different: paintings and
 statues soon perish, but men celebrated in
 song are immortal. In this he follows Mar-
 tial. VII, 84.

17 *Cherylo* Choerilus was a mediocre poet com-
 missioned to write an epic in praise of Alexan-
 der the Great. According to Porphyrio's com-
 mentary on Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 234, Alexander
 paid Choerilus one Philippus per line.

18 *Philippicis* Gold coins bearing the image of
 King Philip of Macedon.

19 *Apellis / et Lysippi* Apelles painted a portrait

of Alexander brandishing a thunderbolt.
 Lysippus created several bronze statues of
 Alexander.

25–27 *Quem ... praecone* Cic. *Arch.* 10, 24; Er.
 Ep. 45, ll. 102–104.

31 *vllo* Allen reports the reading "illo" in *a*; in
 the two copies of *a* that I have inspected
 (John Rylands Library and Freiburg im
 Breisgau) the reading is "vlllo".

32–33 *Ineptum ... laudanda* Cf. Plin. *Epist.* III,
 21, 3 (after stating that poets who celebrate
 individuals or cities are no longer being
 rewarded with honours or money): "Nam
 postquam desiimus facere laudanda, laudari
 quoque ineptum putamus"; Er. Ep. 180,
 ll. 98–100; *Carm.* 41.

33–35 *nec tamen ... oportet* Cf. *Moria*, *ASD* IV,
 3, pp. 72–74, ll. 34–43. Er. defended the flat-
 tery in his panegyric of Philip the Handsome

dari refugiant; a quibus rideri se aut sciunt, aut id si nesciunt, stultissimi sint
 35 oportet. Quos quidem ego vel ipso Mida stolidiores iudico, qui asininis auriculis
 deturpatus est, non quod carmina contemneret, sed quod agrestia praeferret
 eruditis. Midae itaque non tam animus defuit quam iudicium; at his nostris
 vtrunque. A quorum stultitia quum intelligerem generosam tuam indolem vehe-
 40 menter abhorrere, dux clarissime, eoque iam nunc a puero tuos conatus spectare,
 vt non tam tuorum temporum quam veterum similis euadere cupias, non veritus
 sum hunc qualemcunque panegyricum nomini tuo nuncupare. Qui si tuae celsi-
 tudini longe impar (vt est) videbitur, memineris facito et Artaxersem, regem
 praestantissimum, aquam a rusticano quodam operario, quam ille manu vtraque
 45 haustam obequitanti obtulerat, hilarem subridentemque accepisse, et eiusdem
 nominis alium (vt opinor) pro malo a pauperculo quopiam allato perinde vt pro
 magnificentissimo munere gratias egisse, ratum videlicet non minus esse regale
 parua prompte accipere quam magna munifice elargiri. Quid? Nonne etiam

34 rideri ... aut id *C K*: se rideri aut sciunt, si
 quid sapiunt, aut *a*.

34-35 sint oportet *C K*: sunt *a*.

35 ipso *a K*: ipse *C*.

39 nunc a puero *C K*: inde a puericia *a*.

41 hunc ... panegyricum *C K*: hoc quale-
 cunque panegyricum *Eg*, hunc qualemcunque
 panegyricum *a*; nomini tuo *a C K*: tuo

nomini illustrissimo *Eg*; Qui *a C K*: Quod
Eg.

44 haustam *Eg C K*: haustum *a*.

45 alium (vt opinor) *a C K*: alterum *Eg*.

47-48 Quid? ... ipsi *a C K*: Quineciam
 superos ipsos *Eg*.

by saying that it was intended to instruct both him and his subjects by holding up to them the pattern of the perfect ruler and urging them to measure the actual by the ideal; see Ep. 179, ll. 42-46; 180, ll. 39-115; 337, ll. 89-91. That is why he wanted this speech placed among his works "quae faciunt ad morum institutionem"; see Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 40, ll. 11-12. Er.' defence of excessive flattery is a traditional one; see Plin. *Paneg.* 4, 1; Hardison, pp. 30-32; cf. Curtius, pp. 163-164. Er. employs the argument also in *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 488, ll. 17-24; and *Inst. princ. christ.*, *ASD* IV, 1, pp. 178-179, ll. 403-406. Thomas More does so in *De tristitia Christi*, *CW* XIV, 1, p. 375, ll. 3-9.

33 *gnatonibus* Hangers-on, parasites; see Ter. *Eun.* 264. Gnatho, a parasite in Terence's play, became a byword for flattery; see, e.g., Cic. *Lael.* 25, 93-94; Er. Ep. 26, ll. 5 and 55-59; 44, l. 20; *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 55, ll. 11 and 28.

35-37 *Quos ... eruditis* Called on to judge a musical contest between Apollo and Pan, Midas ruled in favour of Pan. As punishment Apollo gave him ass's ears; see Ov.

Met. XI, 146-193. His stupidity was proverbial; see Otto 1111; Er. *Adag.* 267; *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 72, l. 21-p. 73, l. 2; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 283, l. 21; also *Carm.* 21, 1; 22, 1; 144, 2.

42-47 *memineris ... elargiri* The two anecdotes concerning King Artaxerxes II (c. 436-358 B.C.) are told in Plut. *Mor.* 172 b and 174 a, the first one being used to excuse the author for dedicating so small a work to so great a man as the emperor Trajan. Since Plutarch calls Artaxerxes the king of the Persians in *Mor.* 172 but refers to him in *Mor.* 174 as Cyrus' brother (known as Mnemon), Er. was at first led to believe that they were different kings of the same name. From Plut. *Artax.* 1013 b-c, however, it is plain that Artaxerxes II is meant in both anecdotes. In *Apophth.* V, 24-25, *LB* IV, 232 B-C, Er. correctly refers both stories to Artaxerxes II.

44-51 *eiusdem nominis ... metientes* Cf. Ep. 177, ll. 46-52.

47-51 *Nonne ... metientes* For the commonplace that God is well pleased with the poor man's mite, as long as it is sincere, see, e.g., Hor. *Carm.* III, 23, 13-20; *Mc.* 12, 42-44;

superi ipsi, qui nullis mortalium opibus egent, ita muneribus huiusmodi delectantur vt contempta interim diuitum hecatombe rusticana mica et thusculo paupere placentur, animo nimirum offerentis, non rerum precio, nostra donaria metientes?

Et haec quidem interea tanquam ludicra munuscula tuae pueritiae dicauiamus, vberiora largituri vbi tua virtus vna cum aetate accrescens vberiore carminum materiam suppeditabit. Ad quod equidem te adhortarer, nisi et ipse iam dudum sponte tua velis remisque (vt aiunt) eo tenderes et domi haberes Skeltonum, vnum Britannicarum literarum lumen ac decus, qui tua studia possit non solum accendere sed etiam consummare. Bene vale, et bonas literas splendore tuo illustra, autoritate tuere, liberalitate foue.

48 opibus *Eg C K*: opibus *a*.
 48–49 ita ... huiusmodi [huiusmodi *add. C K*]
 delectantur vt *add. a C K*.
 49–50 thusculo ... offerentis *a C K*: thusculo
 placari, nimirum offerentis animo *Eg*.
 51 metientes *a C K*: metietis [pro metiētes] *Eg*.
 52 Et *a C K*: Atque *Eg*.
 54 et ipse iam dudum *a C K*: ipse *Eg*.

55 vt aiunt *add. a C K*; Skeltonum *C K*:
 Stelkonum *Eg*, Sheltonum *a*.
 56 tua studia *a C K*: studia tua *Eg*.
 57 sed etiam consummare *a C K*: verum eciam
 iuuare *Eg*.
 57–58 et bonas ... foue *add. a C K*.

Lc. 21, 2–4; *Er. Adag.* 1605. It is often used to excuse the writer's trifling present to a powerful patron. See in particular *Ov. Trist.* II, 75–76 (the gods delight just as much in the poor man's little incense as in the rich man's hecatomb); also *Ov. Pont.* IV, 8, 39–42; *Prop.* II, 10, 21–24; *Tib.* IV, 1, 14–17; *Stat. Silv.* I, 4, 127–131; *Andrel. Liv.*, liminary poem to King Louis XII, l. 10; Willem Hermans, concluding lines of his poem of gratitude to Alexander Hegius, in: *Hyma*, p. 233; *Er. Ep.* 384, ll. 69–75; *Carm.* 35, 3–8 (n.); *Carm.* 37.
 48 opibus For the thought cf. *Carm.* 88, 72.
 49 rusticana mica The "mola salsa" (grains of spelt mixed with salt) that poor peasants offered to the gods instead of expensive incense. Cf. *Hor. Carm.* III, 23, 20; *Plin. Nat.*, praef. 11: "Mola litant salsa qui non habent tura", discussed as an adage in *Er. Collect.* of 1500, sig. g4^v, but not in *Adag.*; *Er.* does quote the saying in *Adag.* 1605.

54–55 *Ad quod ... tenderes* For the device of "toning down the encouragement" see *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 341, ll. 2–9; cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 60, ll. 100–102.
 55 velis remisque *Adag.* 318.
Skeltonum The English poet John Skelton (c. 1460–1529) was Prince Henry's tutor from about 1495 to about 1502. By the time *Er.* met him in 1499, Skelton was poet laureate and had gained considerable renown as a court poet. Many of his English verses praise members of the royal family or the nobility; but he was also known for his love lyrics and his religious poems. He had written a Latin grammar as well as a comedy in Latin and had translated into English a number of Cicero's letters and Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca historica* (from Poggio's Latin version). See *Contemporaries* s.v. Skelton. He is also praised in *Carm.* 4, 130 and is lauded to the skies in the contemporaneous *Carm.* 115.

ODE ERASMI ROTERODAMI DE LAVDIBVS
BRITANNIAE REGISQVE HENRICI SEPTIMI
AC REGIORVM LIBERORVM, CARMINE HEXAMETRO
ET IAMBICO TRIMETRO ACATALECTICO

Britannia loquitur.

Si iactare licet magnorum munera diuum
Sibique veris fas placere dotibus,
Quur mihi non videar fortunatissima tellus?
Digna est malis, bona quae parum nouit sua.
5 Vltima lanigeris animosa est India lucis,
Suis superbus est Arabs odoribus,
Thuriferis gaudet Panchaia diues harenis,

Tit. ODE [deest β] ERASMI ... Britannia loquitur β *K*: Prosopopoeia Britanniae maioris que quondam Albion dicta, nunc Anglia dicitur, sibi de inuictissimi regis Henrici virtute deque regiae sobobolis [sic] eximia indole gratulantis. Odae [sic] dicolos distrophos hexametro heroico iambicoque trimetro alternans α, Britannia ipsa loquitur

de regis sui Henrici Septimi deque liberorum illius deque suis ipsis laudibus. Carmen dicolon, distrophon, hexametro heroico iambicoque trimetro alternans. Carmen C.
5 India extrema* α *K*, India* *BAS LB*.
6 Arabia* α *K*.
7 Panchaia* α *K*; Thuriferis α β *K*: Turiferis C.

Tit. *Britannia loquitur* The rhetorical device of having the personified country praise herself (*prosopopoeia*) is used again in *Carm.* 64, 57–65; cf. *Carmm.* 8 and 125. In one section of Hermans' *Hollandia*, first published in 1497, Holland praises herself in much the same way as Britain praises herself here; see n.ll. 5–26 below. Er. discusses "prosopopoeia" in *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 5, pp. 124–126, ll. 406–436.

1–4 *Si ... sua* Since Britain is praising herself, she must first excuse her immodesty in doing so. Folly, in her *captatio beneuolentiae*, tackles the same problem in her own, more foolish way; see *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, pp. 72–74, ll. 30–44.

3–4 *Quur ... sua* Cf. *Adag.* 3404, citing Verg. *Georg.* II, 458: "O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint"; also *Adag.* 2206, *ASD* II, 5, p. 193, ll. 723–726; Ep. 531, l. 50; 862, ll. 1–2; 870, ll. 5–6; 2367, ll. 29–30.

5–26 *Vltima ... alterum* Er.' model is Hermans, *Hollandia*, sig. b7^r–b7^v. There Holland boasts that she yields to no other region on earth. She is more fertile than North Africa; no other country has more cattle. India exports ivory, Arabia Felix its myrrh; India

has the golden river Hydaspes; others have a Pactolus or Tagus; Holland abounds in noble metals ("Clarissae haec foecunda metallis"). Other shores have gems; Holland has splendid marbles. Who does not know of the Rhine's vineyards or the saffron perfumes ("odores") of Mount Tmolus in Lydia or the silks of China ("vellera Saerum")? Every country, she concludes, has its blessings, but none dares claim superiority over Holland. Hermans' praise of Holland and Er.' praise of Britain are ultimately modelled on Vergil's praise of Italy, *Georg.* II, 136–176 (especially ll. 136–139).

5 *Vltima / India* India traditionally represented the eastern end of the world. See, e.g., Catull. II, 2; Hor. *Epist.* I, 1, 45; Er. *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 56, ll. 4–5 and 23; Ep. 61, l. 240. Britain was the western limit; cf. l. 26 (n.) below.

lanigeris / lucis = Sil. VI, 4.

6 *Suis ... odoribus* Cf. Tib. II, 2, 3–4; IV, 2, 18; Prop. II, 29, 17; III, 13, 8.

7 *Thuriferis ... harenis* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* II, 139; Tib. III, 2, 23. Panchaia was a mythical island in the Indian Ocean, famed for its myrrh; see Plin. *Nat.* X, 2, 4; Ov. *Met.* X, 307–310.

Ibera flumen terra iactat aureum,
 Aegypto faciunt animos septem ostia Nili,
 10 Laudata Rheni vina tollunt accolas,
 Laeta nec vberibus sibi displicet Africa glebis,
 Haec portubus superbit, illa mercibus.
 At mihi nec fontes nec ditia flumina desunt
 Sulciue pingues prata nec ridentia.
 15 Foeta viris, foecunda feris, foecunda metallis,
 Ne glorier quod ambiens largas opes
 Porrigit Oceanus, neu quod nec amicus vlla
 Caelum nec aura dulcius spirat plaga.
 Serus in occiduas mihi Phoebus conditur vndas,
 20 Sororque nocteis blanda ducit lucidas.
 Possem ego laudati contemnere vellera Betis:
 Vbi villus albis mollior bidentibus?
 Et tua non nequeam miracula temnere, Memphi,
 Verum illa maior iustiorque gloria,
 25 Quod Latiis, quod sum celebrata Britannia Graiis,
 Orbem vetustas quod vocauit alterum.

8 Hispaniae Tagus* a K, Tagus* BAS LB.
 9 Aegypti Nilus* a K, Nilus* BAS LB.
 10 Vina Rheni* a K.
 11 Aphricae fertilitas* a K.
 13 Angliae dotes* a K.
 17 Temperies Angliae* a K.

19 Longi dies* a K.
 20 Noctes lucidae* a K.
 21 Lana Angliae* a K; Betis C BAS LB: Boeti a
 β, Beti K.
 23 Miracula Angliae* a K.
 25-26 Alter mundus Anglia* a K.

8 *flumen / aureum* The Tagus (Tejo in modern Portugal) was proverbial for its golden sands. See Otto 1737; Er. *Adag.* 575; Ep. 132, ll. 54-55.
 9 *septem ostia Nili* = Prud. *Contra Symm.* II, 607; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 800; Ov. *Met.* V, 324; *Am.* III, 6, 39.
 11 *vberibus / glebis* = Cypr. *Carm.* I, 143; cf. Iuuenc. II, 751.
Africa In antiquity North Africa was proverbial for its rich grain-harvests; see Otto 36.
 13-17 *At mihi ... Oceanus* Isid. *Orig.* XIV, 6, 2 says that Britain has many large rivers and hot springs and is rich in metals and pearls.
 15 *Foeta ... metallis* Cf. Claud. *Carm. min.* 30, 54-55 (in praise of Spain): "diues equis, frugum facilis, pretiosa metallis, / principibus fecunda piis".
Foeta viris So Verg. *Georg.* II, 173-174 praises Italy as "magna parens ... virum".
foecunda metallis = Hermans, *Hollandia*, sig. b7^v (see n.ll. 5-26 above); cf. Verg. *Aen.* X, 174; Ov. *Met.* X, 220.

16-17 *ambiens / Oceanus* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* II, 158, praising Italy for the Mediterranean Sea, which laps its eastern and western shores.
 16 *largas opes* Ov. *Ars* III, 408; Martial. V, 25, 4.
 17-18 *nec amicus ... plaga* Similarly Vergil praises Italy's temperate climate in *Georg.* II, 149.
 19 *Serus ... vndas* For the phrasing cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII, 719; for the thought see Caes. *Gall.* V, 13, 4.
 21 *laudati / vellera Betis* The province Bactica (now Andalusia) in the valley of the Baetis river (now Guadalquivir) was famous for its excellent, golden-hued wool; see, e.g., Martial. V, 37, 7; IX, 61, 3; XII, 98, 2.
 23 *tua / miracula / Memphi* The pyramids were one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. Cf. Martial. *De spectaculis* 1, 1 (Rome's amphitheatre outdoes the pyramids of Memphis); Er. Ep. 990, l. 19; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 234, ll. 380-381.
 26 *Orbem / alterum* Britain was proverbially a world apart - a term that in ancient times

Non tamen haec iacto, nam sunt antiqua, sed inde
 Attollo cristas ac triumpho serio,
 Quod mihi rex pulchri pars est pulcherrima regni,
 30 Rex vnicum huius saeculi miraculum.
 Instructus pariter Martisque et Palladis armis,
 Belli peritus, pacis est amantior.
 Indulgens aliis, sibi nil permittit; habenas
 Suis relaxans ciuibus, stringit sibi.
 35 Hoc regnum ille putat: patriae charissimus esse,
 Blandus bonis, solis timendus impiis.
 Non Deciis sua Roma, suo non Attica Codro

29 Regis Henrici laudes* a K.

31 Artes belli et pacis* a K; Martisque a β K;
 Martique C.

33 Regis moderatio* a K.

34 Regis clementia* a K.

37–38 Regis in patriam pietas* a K.

carried no suggestion of praise. See Claud. *Cons. Stil.* III, 149: “alio ... in orbe Britannos”; Er. *Adag.* 197; 1349, *LB* II, 539 D: “Britannos, quos auctores extra mundi terminos ponunt, quod Oceano separentur”; Ep. 102, ll. 3–4; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, I, p. 56, l. 937; *De consecr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 412, l. 8.

28 *Auollo cristas* Andrei. *Liv.* I, 1, 49; cf. Er. *Adag.* 769.

29 rex Henry VII (1457–1509), king since 1485. See *Contemporaries* s.v.

pulchri ... regni Cf. Boeth. *Consol.* II, 5, 11: “pulcherrimi operis pulchra portio”; III, m. 9, 7 (of God; cf. l. 51 and n. below): “pulchrum pulcherrimum ipse / mundum mente gerens”; Petrus Carmelianus, *Ad Edwardum illustrem Walliae principem* 11 (written in 1482): “Es decus ipse tui, princeps pulcherrime, regni”; cf. Er. *Carm.* 49, 39.

31–32 *Instructus ... amantior* Cf. Stat. *Silv.* IV, 3, 134; Calp. Sic. 7, 83–84; Er. Ep. 93, ll. 38–39; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, I, p. 52, l. 857; pp. 70–80, ll. 392–772; *Orat. de virt.*, *LB* V, 68 E. The theme was a commonplace in the Italian Renaissance; see Francesco Tateo, *Le armi e le lettere: per la storia di un 'topos' umanistico*, in: *Acta conuentus Neo-Latini Torontonensis*, ed. Alexander Dalzell et al., Binghamton, NY, 1991, pp. 63–81; Carlson, *Books*, pp. 28–31, with notes 24–25 on pp. 192–193.

31 *Palladis armis* Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 435; Er. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 10 A.

32 *pacis / amantior* Hermans, *Sylv.*, sig. d4^v, in praise of Philip the Handsome: “Quantus ... dux proauus, nomine quem refers / Nec

bello inferior, sed genito pacis amantior”. In the latter part of his reign Henry VII did pursue peace; see Adams, pp. 39–41. But Er.’ panegyric of Henry VII, like his praise of Philip the Handsome (*Carm.* 64), is an idealizing mirror, held up to admonish the prince rather than to reflect the reality.

33–34 *Indulgens ... stringit sibi* Cf. *Inst. princ. christ.*, *ASD* IV, I, p. 149, ll. 412–413: “Quo tibi plus licet per alios, hoc minus ipse tibi permitas oportet et hoc in teipsum sis seuerior, quo magis indulgent omnes”; *Carm.* 40, 4 (n.). Er.’ verses were imitated by Ammonio, *Carm.* 3, 81–82, in praise of Henry VIII: “Cum quicquid libeat licet, constringit habenas / Permittitque aliis, quod negat ipse sibi.”

37–50 *Non Deciis ... corpore* For the rhetorical figure of comparing the subject of the panegyric to the famous examples of antiquity see Lausberg, § 404. For the closely related commonplace of “outdoing” the ancient paragons see Curtius, pp. 162–164.

37–41 *Non Deciis ... regi* The passage was imitated by Ammonio, *Carm.* 2, 142–145 (a pastoral praise of Henry VII): “Huic par Nestoreo distillat nectar ab ore. / Quare fide Attilios aequat, probitate Catones, / Religione Numam, Decios pietate, suamque / Tam sibi deuinxit patriam quam Codrus Athenas.”

37 *Deciis / Codro* The stories about the two Publii Decii and Codrus are presented as laudable exempla of patriotism in Val. Max. V, 6, 5–6 and V, 6, ext. 1. Cf. Er. *Disputatiunc.*, *LB* V, 1273 A; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 238, ll. 997–998; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, I, p. 254, ll. 461–462; *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2,

Pluris fuit, fatis redempta mutuis.
 Numinis ac caeli tanta est reuerentia, quanta
 40 Nec erat Metello nec marito Aegeriae.
 Non mellita magis Pylio facundia regi,
 Nec Caesari mens maior aut sublimior,
 Nec Mecoenati vel dextra benignior vnquam
 Vel sanguinis tam magna parsimonia.
 45 Creditus Aeneas Veneris de semine cretus,
 Dictus parente Scipio satus Ioue.
 Quid si prisca meum vidissent saecula regem,
 Hoc ore tam decente, tali pectore?
 Nonne Iouem humanis ipsum succurrere rebus
 50 Nostro latentem credidissent corpore?
 Atque hic semper erit magni mihi numinis instar,

38 fatis *C K*: factis *α β*.

39 Regis religio* *α K*.

41 Regis facundia* *α K*.

43–44 Regis liberalissimi summa sanguinis parsimonia* *α K*.

45 semine *α β K*: sanguine *C*.

p. 638, ll. 14–17 (where “Cecropen” refers to “Codrus”); *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 5, p. 74, l. 428. The Decii (Publius Decius Mus), father and son, were consuls who sacrificed their lives in the Samnite wars to save their country; cf. *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 102, l. 543; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 350, l. 27–p. 351, l. 2. Codrus, supposedly the last Athenian king (eleventh century B.C.), sacrificed his life to prevent a victory by the Dorians; cf. *De rat. stud.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 127, ll. 4–5; *Adag.* 1733.

38 fatis / mutuis Lucan. IV, 556–557.

39–40 Numinis ... Aegeriae Cf. Martial. XI, 5, 1–2.

39 Numinis / tanta est reuerentia Cf. Stat. *Silv.* I, 2, 101–102; Prud. *Psychom.* 394–395. tanta est reuerentia = Martial. IX, 79, 5.

40 Metello The victorious general Lucius Caecilius Metellus was pontifex maximus from 243 to 221 B.C. He was blinded while rescuing the sacred image of Pallas from the burning temple of Vesta in 241. marito Aegeriae Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome. His devotion to religion was proverbial; see Liv. I, 18, 1; Plut. *Numa* 63 f–70 f; Er. *Adag.*, prolegomena xiii, *ASD* II, 1, p. 80, ll. 652–653; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 106, l. 951. The nymph Egeria was said to have been his wife and adviser.

41 Pylio / regi Iuv. 10, 246. Nestor’s “honeyed eloquence” was proverbial; see Otto 1224; Er. *Adag.* 156. Cf. *Carm.* 92, 5–6 (n.).

43 Mecoenati Gaius Maecenas (c. 70–8 B.C.), the patron of Vergil, Horace, and Propertius. For the spelling of the name see, e.g., Ep. 145, ll. 76–77, 83, 86, and 89; *Adag.* 155, *ASD* II, 1, p. 271, App. crit. to l. 338. On Henry VII as a patron of the arts see Gordon Kipling, *Henry VII and the Origins of Tudor Patronage*, in: *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel, Princeton, 1981, pp. 117–164; Carlson, *Books*, pp. 3–59.

44 sanguinis ... parsimonia Cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 58, ll. 28–29.

45 Veneris ... cretus Cf. Ennodius, *Dictiones* 28, *CSEL* 6, 506, referring to Aeneas: “Veneris se semine cretum / lactat”; *LHL* V, 86.

46 Scipio Scipio Africanus was reputed to be Jupiter’s son, the god being supposed to have entered the bed of Scipio’s mother in the guise of a snake. See Liv. XXVI, 19, 7; Sil. XIII, 615–644; XVII, 653–654; Gell. VI, 1, 3–4. Cf. Er. *Adag.* 499, *ASD* II, 1, p. 568, ll. 130–134.

47 Quid si prisca Hor. *Carm.* III, 9, 17.

49 succurrere rebus = *LHL* V, 301.

51 magni mihi numinis instar = Ov. *Am.* III, 11, 47; Martial. VII, 12, 11. For the idea that a beneficent king is the living likeness of God see Plut. *Mor.* 780 e; Er. Ep. 657, ll. 30–31; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 59, ll. 47–52; *Inst. princ. christ.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 150, ll. 441–442; p. 162, l. 839; p. 174,

Meus hic Apollo saeculi pater aurei.
 Hoc oriente meis gens ferrea cessit ab oris,
 Fraudes reuera Astrea distulit malas,
 55 Non secus ac toto vanescunt sydera caelo
 Simul ore Titan emicauit igneo.
 Claudere iam Ianum fas est, iam ducere longas
 Custode rerum tam potente ferias.

52 Meus *C β K*: Heus *a*.

53 Alludit ad assertum imperium [imperium
*a]** *a K*.

54 Alludit ad victum eum qui se regis filium

ementiebatu* *a K*; distulit *a β K*: dispulit *C*.
 57–58 Pax Angliae* *a K*.

- ll. 237–238; *Adag.* 201, *ASD* II, 1, p. 309, ll. 136–138; cf. *Carm.* 64, 32–41 (n.).
- 52–54 *Meus ... malas* Er. is alluding to Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 6–10. In Vergil's text Apollo appears to be associated with Caesar Augustus, under whose rule the iron race is disappearing and the golden age is beginning afresh with the return of Astraea, the goddess of justice. Cf. also Verg. *Aen.* VI, 792–793: "Augustus Caesar ... aurea condet / saecula." Panegyrics commonly praise the ruler or his heir for heralding or bringing back the golden age; see, e.g., Calp. Sic. 1, 42–45; Andrel. *Ecl.* 4, 124–129; Hermans, *Sylv.*, sig. d5^r (of Philip the Handsome); Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 68, ll. 330–333; p. 83, ll. 868–869; Ep. 335, ll. 76–77; cf. *Carm.* 110, 315–316 (n.). See further Harry Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance*, New York, 1969, pp. 18 and 112; Sydney Anglo, *The "British History" in Early Tudor Propaganda*, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 44 (1961), pp. 29–31; Carlson, *Arthur*, pp. 158–162 and 167.
- 52 *saeculi pater aurei* Cf. Ep. 333, l. 57, referring to Henry VIII.
- 53 *Hoc oriente* As the sidenote explains, this phrase alludes to Henry's seizure of power. Henry VII defeated and killed Richard III at Bosworth on 22 Aug. 1485 and was crowned king on 30 Oct.
- 54 *Fraudes ... malas* The sidenote says that this refers to Henry's victory over someone who pretended to be the king's son. The line may thus be taken as an allusion to the Yorkist plots organized first around Lambert Simnel and later around Perkin Warbeck. Both impersonated the sons of Edward IV, who had been imprisoned in the Tower. Simnel was defeated in

1487; Warbeck did not surrender until 1497.

Fraudes / malas See n.l. 114 below.

Astrea The goddess of justice, the last of the gods to leave the earth at the end of the golden age; see Ov. *Met.* I, 149–150; Verg. *Georg.* II, 473–474; Ps. Sen. *Octavia* 423–425. Her return means that a new golden age has dawned; see Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 6. For some medieval and Renaissance interpretations and uses of the Astraea myth see Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1975, pp. 29–87 and 208–214.

- 55–56 *Non secus ... igneo* Cf. Sen. *Epist.* 66, 20; Er. *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5, p. 212, l. 847: "Vt sol minora obscurat lumina ...".
- 55 *Non secus ac* = Verg. *Georg.* III, 346; *Aen.* VIII, 243; and elsewhere; Er. *Carm.* 96, 93; cf. *Carm.* 49, 105 (n.).
- sydera caelo* = *LHL* V, 142–143.
- 56 *Titan emicauit* Cf. Val. Fl. IV, 97; Prud. *Cath.* 2, 56; Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 3, 9; cf. Er. *Carm.* 42, 35 (n.); 110, 317. For the comparison ruler–sun see n. *Carm.* 64, 32–41; for the cosmological imagery see n.ll. 105–106 below.
- 57–58 *Claudere ... ferias* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV, 15, 9–18, in praise of Augustus.
- 57 *Claudere / Ianum* The doors of Janus' temple in the Forum stood open in time of war but were shut in time of peace; cf., e.g., Verg. *Aen.* I, 294; VII, 601–622; Lucan. I, 61–62; Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 78, ll. 673–678. The doors were shut once in Numa's reign, once at the end of the First Punic War, but three times during Augustus' reign.
- 57–58 *longas / ferias* A holiday from war. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV, 5, 37, in praise of Augustus; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 57, ll. 476–477; *Carm.* 50, 95.

Me miseram, quur huic aeternos, Iuppiter, annos
 60 Non addidisti, cuncta quum donaueris?
 Nolunt nostra suis aequari numina regnis.
 At si qua magnos vota tangunt caelites,
 Serus sydereas certe referatur in arces,
 Fatale sera stamen amputet Atropos.
 65 Finiit Alcides speciosos morte labores,
 Debetur altum regibus caelum bonis.
 Hunc repetant superi, sed tum, quum Nestoris aeuum,
 Vbi senectam vicerit Tithoniam.
 Et viuet tamen vsque mihi, dum regia proles
 70 Referet parentis nomen, os et indolem.
 Quae mihi purpureis iam quina adolescit in aulis,
 Regum futuri tres patres, matres duae.
 Non aliter pictis Pesti vernantis in hortis
 Almo nitentes rore pubescunt rosae,
 75 Formosae Veneri flos acceptissimus, et quo
 Nec spirat alter aut renidet blandius,
 Nec cui nexilibus sit gratia tanta coronis,

59–60 Optat regi immortalitatem* a K.
 63 referatur a C K: reseratur β.
 67 aeuum a β K: annos C.
 69–70 Laus quinque regis liberorum* a K.
 73–74 Comparatio de rosis Pestanis [Pescanis

a]* a K.
 74 nitentes a C β BAS LB: nitentis K.
 75 Rosae laudes* a K.
 77 nexilibus a β K: textilibus C.

59 *Me miseram* = LHL III, 306.
aeternos / annos Ps. 76, 6; Er. *Carm.* 98, 27;
 cf. *Carm.* 94, 96; 98, 28; 114, 6.
Iuppiter, annos = Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 560; Stat.
Silv. IV, 1, 47; Iuv. 10, 188: “multos da, Iup-
 piter, annos.”
 61 *Nolunt ... regnis* For the idea that the great
 and virtuous man would be immortal were it
 not for the ill will of the gods cf. Ep. 1137,
 ll. 47–49.
 63 *Serus ... arces* Once again Er. associates
 Henry VII with Augustus, this time by para-
 phrasing Horace’s wish for the emperor in
Carm. I, 2, 45: “Serus in caelum redeas.”
sydereas / arces Ov. *Am.* III, 10, 21; Val. Fl. I,
 498.
 64 *Fatale / stamen* Tib. I, 7, 1–2; Ov. *Met.* VIII,
 453; *Trist.* V, 3, 25–26.
Atropos Cf. *Carm.* 2, 29–35 (n.); also ll. 149–
 150 (n.) below.
 67–68 *Nestoris ... Tithoniam* Nestor and Titho-
 nus were proverbial examples of longevity,
 often mentioned together; see Otto 1223 and
 1789; Er. *Adag.* 565 and 566. Nestor was said to

have lived through three lifetimes; cf. *Carm.*
 51, 9; 102, 47. On Tithonus see n. *Carm.* 2,
 136–137.
 68 *senectam / Tithoniam* Cf. Stat. *Silv.* IV, 3,
 151.
 69 *regia proles* = LHL IV, 482.
 70 *Referet ... indolem* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV,
 328–329; XII, 348; Er. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I,
 2, p. 422, l. 19; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV,
 1, p. 33, ll. 217–218; Ep. 2202, ll. 48–49;
Carm. 1, 21–22; ll. 106 and 132–133 below;
 also *Carm.* 12, 4.
 71 *quina* The children alluded to are: Ed-
 mund (1499–1500), Mary (1496–1533), Henry
 (1491–1547), Margaret (1489–1541), and
 Arthur (1486–1502).
 73 *Pesti / hortis* = Mantuan. *Calam.*, p. 46:
 “Qualis odoratis Paesti quae nascitur hortis /
 Est rosa confusus rutilante coloribus albo”.
 Pacstum in southern Italy was famed for its
 roses, which bloomed twice a year; cf. Verg.
Georg. IV, 119; Auson. *De rosis* 11; Er. Ep. 177,
 ll. 55–56.
 75 *Formosae Veneri* Ov. *Fast.* IV, 129.

- Ambire solus regiam dignus comam.
 Hic vbi cultoris lasciua industria docti
 80 Miscere gaudet punicanteis candidis
 Plurimaque in spina rutilat rosa et albicat vna,
 Vt lacteum si murici iungas ebur,
 Omnibus idem odor est, ros omneis educat idem,
 Eadem iuuenta, forma par, idem frutex,
 85 Atque eadem tellus succo nutrit eodem,
 Fouentur auris iisdem, eodem sydere.
 Sunt duo quae variant cognataque germina pulchro,
 Aetas colorque, diuidunt discrimine.
 Haec modo nata latet prope cortice tota virenti,
 90 Tenuique rima tenera lucet purpura.
 Haec niuei tantum fastigia protulit oris,
 Sensim at dehiscens turgidos rumpit sinus.
 Exerit haec totum discissa veste mucronem,
 Clausas minata iam comas euoluere.
 95 Illaque lacteolos nondum exinuauit amictus,
 Vix credit auris tam rudeis adhuc opes,

- 78 solus *a C β K*: solis *BAS LB*; dignus *a C*:
 dignis *β K BAS LB*.
 81 Rubra rosa et alba* *a K*; albicat vna, *a C*:
 albicat, vna *β K*.
 83 omneis *C β K*: omnis *a*.
 84 iuuenta *β K*: iuuentas *a C*; par *a β K*:
 pax *C*.
 87 pulchro *a C*: pulchros *β K*.

- 80 *Miscere ... candidis* Cf. *Carm.* 106, 84 (n.).
 Henry VII and his queen Elizabeth, daughter
 of Edward IV, united the houses of Lancaster
 (the red rose) and York (the white rose); cf.
 l. 147 below.
 81 *Plurima / rosa* *Ov. Fast.* IV, 441; l. 146 below.
 82 *Vt lacteum ... ebur* For the ancient practice
 of colouring ivory with purple dye see *Hom.*
Il. IV, 141–142; *Verg. Aen.* I, 592; XII, 67–68;
Ov. Am. II, 5, 39–40; *Met.* IV, 332.
 83–98 *Omnibus ... color* In this passage *Er.* imi-
 tates *Auson.* *De rosīs* 17–34:
 ros vnus, color vnus et vnum mane duorum;
 sideris et floris nam domina vna Venus.
 forsan et vnus odor ...

 communis Paphie dea sideris et dea floris
 praecipit vnus muricis esse habitum. [...]
 haec virt angusto foliorum tecta galero,

- 89 Rosa Edmundi* *a K*.
 90 lucet *C β K*: luce *a*.
 91 Rosa Mariae* *a K*.
 93 Rosa Henrici* *a K*.
 94 euoluere *a C β K*: exoluere *BAS*, exsoluere
LB.
 95 Rosa Margaritae [Margarete *a*]* *a K*; exi-
 nuauit *a C β K*: exinaniuit *BAS LB*.

- hanc tenui folio purpura rubra notat,
 haec aperit primi fastigia celsa obelisci
 mucronem absoluens purpurei capitis.
 vertice collectos illa exsinuabat amictus,
 iam meditans foliis se numerare suis.
 nec mora, ridentis calathi patefecit honorem
 prodens inclusi semina densa croci.
 haec modo, quae toto rutilauerat igne
 comarum,
 pallida collapsis deseritur foliis.
 83 *Omnibus idem* = *Verg. Aen.* III, 60; cf. *LHL*
 IV, 43–44.
 89–104 *Haec ... semina* The lines allude to the
 royal children; see n.l. 71 above. The boys are
 assigned the colour red (after their father's
 red rose of Lancaster); the girls appear as
 white (after their mother's white rose of
 York).
 95 *Illaque ... amictus* Cf. *Carm.* 13, 6.

Candida sed tenui suffunditur ora rubore,
 Seu fratris hic est siue syderis color.
 Maxima bis seno foliorum gaudet honore,
 100 Tyrio micantes explicans ostro comas.
 Non sic lana rubet bis concha imbuta marina,
 Non sic Eois Phoebus emergens aquis.
 Nec solum arridet pulchro venientibus ore,
 Luteola sed iam pollicetur semina.
 105 Hic meus Arcturus qui nominis omine felix

99 Rosa Arcturi* a K; bis a C: ter β K.

105 Arcturi laus* a K.

97 *Candida / ora rubore* Stat. *Theb.* II, 231 (in some mss. and edd.); cf. *Ov. Am.* III, 3, 5–6. *tenui / rubore* *Ov. Met.* III, 482 (in one ms. tradition).

suffunditur ora rubore = *Ov. Met.* I, 484; cf. *Verg. Georg.* I, 430.

98 *syderis* The planet Venus; see *Auson.* *De rosīs* 18 and 21. Venus' flower was the rose; cf. also, e.g., *Martial.* VII, 89, 1–4; *Maximian. Eleg.* I, 92.

99 *bis seno* According to a and C, Arthur's rose has "twelve petals", that is, he has completed twelve full years (he turned thirteen on 19 Sept. 1499). This age fits the description of l. 104, where Arthur is described as pubescent, the peach fuzz on his cheeks being likened to the yellow fibres at the centre of an open rose. But in β (Dec. 1507) Arthur's rose is incongruously said to have "eighteen petals". Could Er. have remained unaware of Arthur's premature death in 1502? That is difficult to believe. Nevertheless, when the poem was "updated" for publication in late 1507, this event was forgotten. The subsequent edd. all read "ter seno".

100–101 *Tyrio ... marina* For the image cf. *Carm.* 2, 87.

100 *Tyrio / ostro* *Verg. Georg.* III, 17; *Stat. Theb.* VI, 62; and elsewhere. The purple produced in ancient Tyre was especially desirable and costly. *explicans / comas* *Claud. In Ruf.* I, praef. 8.

101 *lana ... marina* Cf. *Hor. Carm.* II, 16, 35–37: "*bis Afro / Murice tinctae / ... lanae*". The ancients produced the costly purple dye from the molluscs *Murex brandaris* and *Purpura haemastoma*. For the practice of double-dyeing wool by consecutive steeping in two different varieties of purple see *Plin. Nat.* IX, 38, 135 and IX, 39, 137.

concha / marina *Ov. Met.* XV, 264.

102 *Eois / aquis* *Tib.* IV, 2, 20; *Ov. Fast.* VI,

474; and elsewhere.

105–106 *Arcturus ... vocabulo* Er. is referring both to the star Arcturus (the brightest star in the constellation Bootes) and to the prowess of the legendary King Arthur, from whom Henry VII claimed descent. For the association of Arthur with the star Arcturus notice the verb "lucer" in l. 108 and the epithet "ardens" in l. 110. Elsewhere Prince Arthur is likened to the sun-god Phoebus (ll. 102 and 127). In keeping with this cosmological imagery, his sister Margaret is said to have an affinity with the heavens and is compared with the moon (ll. 121–127); Henry shines forth like his father Henry VII, himself a sun (ll. 132–134; 53–56); and Mary takes her name from the star that never sets (ll. 135–136). Edmund, while not explicitly associated with a celestial object, is linked to the baby in Vergil's "messianic" eclogue and hence with Christ, the true sun; see n.l. 140 and n.ll. 141–144 below. Er.'s wording is so crafted, however, that one is also invited to connect the name with King Arthur. The noun "virtute" in l. 106 and the subsequent comparison with the brave and wise kings David and Solomon certainly point in that direction. The linking of Prince Arthur with both the star Arcturus and King Arthur was very common during his lifetime; see Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 55–97; Carlson, *Arthur*. Outside the realm of panegyric Er. had only disdain for Arthurianism; see *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, pp. 179–180, ll. 427–430. In *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 128, ll. 31–32 Folly mocks the Tudors' claim to Arthurian ancestry.

105 *nominis omine* Proverbial; see *Otto* 1235; *Walther* 17164: "Nomen et omen habet."

- Virtute reddet quem refert vocabulo.
 Aspice quod specimen generosae frontis in illo est,
 Vt lucet oculis viuudus mentis vigor.
 Praecoqua nec tardam expectat sapientia pubem,
 110 Praeuertit annos indoles ardens suos.
 Talis lesides illique simillima proles,
 Hic quum timendas dissecat puer feras,
 Haec quando ancipitem potuit dissoluere litem
 Malamque fraudem fraude docta prodere.
 115 Proxima consequitur nymphe quae nomina ducit
 Ab vnione, Persici foetu maris.
 Omine delector: blando candore lapillus
 Placet, pudore Margarita lacteo.
 Hic teres est nec inaequali leuore rotundus,
 120 In Margaritae moribus scabrum nihil.
 Est noua cum liquido gemmae cognatio caelo:

106 reddet *C β K*: redde *a*.

107 Arcturi indoles* *a K*.

109 Arcturi [Arcturici *a*] praematura prudentia* *a K*.

111–112 Dauid puer* *a K*.

113–114 Salomon puer* *a K*¹, Solomon puer* *K*².

115 Margaritae laus* *a K*.

116 vnione *C β K*: Iunone *a*.

117 Vnionis natura* *a K*.

121 cognatio *C β K*: cognitio *a*.

106 *Virtute ... vocabulo* Cf. *Carm.* 1, 21–22; l. 70 (n.) above.

107 *generosae frontis* Lucan. VIII, 680.

109–110 *Praecoqua ... suos* For the Christian ideal of the “puer senex” see Curtius, pp. 98–105; Christian Gnlika, *Aetas Spiritalis: Die Überwindung der natürlichen Altersstufen als Ideal frühchristlichen Lebens*, Bonn, 1972; Burrow, pp. 95–109.

109 *Praecoqua / sapientia* Cf. *Adag.* 3100: “Odi puerulos praecoci sapientia”, a proverb also quoted in *Adag.* 2210 and *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 82, l. 212. Here, of course, the phrase has only positive associations; cf. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, *LB* VIII, 554 C.

111–114 *Talis ... prodere* While guarding his father’s sheep, Jesse’s son David killed a lion and a bear; see 1. *Sm.* 17, 34–37. For the judgment of Solomon see 1. *Rg.* 3, 16–28.

111 *simillima proles* = Verg. *Aen.* X, 391.

114 *Malam / fraudem* Hor. *Carm.* I, 3, 28; cf. l. 54 above.

116 *Persici foetu maris* In ancient times the Persian Gulf was believed to be fabulously rich in jewels and pearls; see, e.g., Tib. II, 2, 15–16; II, 4, 30; III, 3, 17; IV, 2, 19–20; Plin. *Nat.* IX, 35, 106; also Er. *Carm.* 28, 4; 64, 3.

117–118 *blando ... lacteo* Because of its luminous whiteness, the pearl was a symbol of chastity. The symbolism seemed especially apt when the lady being lauded bore the name Margaret (“margarita”); see E. de Jongh, *Pearls of Virtue and Pearls of Vice*, Simiolus 8 (1975–1976), pp. 84–85. Cf. Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 46, ll. 633–636, where Er. praises another Margaret, the sister of Philip the Handsome; Ep. 364, l. 53.

119 *teres / rotundus* These epithets were traditionally applied to the Stoic wiseman who is self-sufficient and remains unmoved by the vicissitudes of fortune. See Hor. *Serm.* II, 7, 86: “teres atque rotundus”; Auson. *Ecl.* 20, 5 (quoted in Er. *Adag.* 1586 and rephrased in *Adag.* 1437); Er. *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5, p. 266, ll. 733–734: “Sicuti mundus vndique teres ac rotundus sibi constat, ita sapiens nihil extra se quaerit, seipso contentus.”

121–122 *Est ... nubilo* See Plin. *Nat.* IX, 35, 107. The same allegory, which appears to be original with Er., is developed in *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5, p. 288, ll. 81–83. Perhaps Er. also alludes to it in *Carm.* 53, 29.

121 *liquido / caelo* Ov. *Met.* I, 23; Stat. *Theb.* IV, 7.

Claret sereno sole, pallet nubilo.
 At mea virgo piis est addictissima diuis
 Caelumque mauult quam vagum pelagus sequi.
 125 Hanc qui cum sociis vidisset ludere nymphis
 Habilique fratrem tela torquentem manu,
 'Aureus hic Phoebus, soror haec argentea Phoebi est',
 Per ipsa iuret alma Phoebi lumina.
 Iam puer Henricus genitoris nomine laetus,
 130 Monstrante fonteis vate Skeltono sacros,
 Palladias teneris meditatur ab vnguibus arteis.
 Quam multus illi lucet in vultu pater!
 Talis in Ascanio renitebat imago parentis,
 Sic pulchram Achilles ore reddebat Thetin.
 135 Nescio quid Maria praeclari spondet ab ipso
 Nunquam occidentis syderis cognomine.
 Sed cunas, Edmonde, tuas quo carmine dicam?
 Adeste plectris huc, sorores, aureis
 Et puero fidibus placidos accersite somnos

123 *addictissima* C β K: *deuotissima* a.
 127 *est om.* C.
 128 *iuret* C β K: *viret* a.
 129 *Henrici laus** a K.

130 *Skeltono* a C K: *laurigero* β.
 134 *Thetin* C K: *Tethim* a, *Tethyn* β.
 135 *Mariae laus** a K.
 137 *Edmondi* [Elmondi a] *laus** a K.

122 *sereno sole* Ov. *Pont.* II, 1, 27; Er. *Carm.* 2, 154–155.
 123 *piis / diuis* = Verg. *Cir.* 219.
 126 *tela torquentem manu* Ov. *Met.* XII, 99 (where the meaning of "tela" is "spear"). Here arrows are meant (as in Verg. *Aen.* V, 520; XII, 858), since they are the weapons of Phoebus Apollo; see l. 127 below; *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 132, ll. 151–152.
 127 *Aureus / Phoebus* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 61 (n.).
 130 *Skeltono* On John Skelton see n.l. 55 of the dedicatory letter to this poem. In β the name Skelton is replaced with the laudatory paraphrase "laurigero". This change, intended for Italian ears, should not be interpreted to indicate disaffection with Skelton. Certainly no reader in England would have failed to recognize Skelton from the title "laureate" – a title that had been conferred on him by three universities, Oxford (c. 1488), Louvain (c. 1492), and Cambridge (1493). See introd. *Carm.* 115.
 131 *Palladias / arteis* Prop. III, 9, 42; Martial. VI, 13, 2.
teneris / ab vnguibus Otto 1826; Er. *Adag.* 652.
 132–133 *Quam ... parentis* Cf. l. 70 (n.) above.

136 *Nunquam ... cognomine* According to a well-known medieval explanation, the Virgin Mary's name means "stella maris", a corruption of "stilla maris". Cf., e.g., Cornelis Gerard, *Marias* I, f^o 12: "Mariam ... / De maris excelso deductum sidere nomen". By adding the phrase "nunquam occidentis" Er. implies that Mary is the polestar by which mariners on the sea of life should set their course. For this familiar image see Salzer, pp. 400–418; Er. *Obsecratio*, *LB* V, 1233 E–1236 A and 1240 A; *Carm.* 110, 381–388; O'Rourke Boyle, p. 81. Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 12, 18 (of Christ, the true polestar): "haec stella numquam mergitur."
 137 *quo carmine dicam* Verg. *Georg.* II, 95.
 138 *Adeste / huc* See n. *Carm.* 110, 1.
plectris / aureis Hor. *Carm.* II, 13, 26–27; cf. Er. *Carm.* 110, 2 (n.).
sorores The Muses, as in *Carm.* 5, 20; 7, 46; 115, ll. 5 and 9; *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 63, l. 6; *Orat. de virt.*, *LB* V, 70 E and 71 D.
 139 *placidos / somnos* = Ov. *Met.* VII, 153; *Fast.* II, 635.
accersite somnos Stat. *Silv.* V, 5, 85.

- 140 Ac fesceninis insonate versibus.
 Muneribus blandis cunabula spargite, nymphae,
 Aggerite, quicquid est odori graminis:
 Ambrosiam, casiam calthamque thymumque crocumque
 Et Syra amoma nec insuauem amaracum,
 145 Tum florum mille species ac mille colores,
 Sed plurima omneis inter ardeat rosa.
 Hanc rubram, hanc niueam pulchris miscete corollis;
 Gaudet paternis parua proles floribus.
 Vos precor o puero date vellera candida, Parcae,
 150 Eatque fausto molle stamen pollice.

147 rubram *a* C: turbam β K.
 149 vellera candida *a* β K: candida vellera
 C.

In fine: Panegyrici finis *a*, Finitum in Britannia
 anno a Christo nato M.CCCC. nonagesimo
 nono C, Finis β .

140 *fesceninis / versibus* Not to be confused with the ribald, apotropaic wedding songs known as "Fescennine verses". In the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, cradle-songs ("fescenini") – especially those in praise of a baby – were believed to ward off evil ("fascinum"). The word was particularly associated with the angels' song at the birth of Christ; see Vredeveld, *Notes*, p. 608; also *AH* 7, 10, 3 (= 53, 11, 4); 46, 46, 4: "Pro Fescenninis gloria / Ab angelis concinitur"; Cornelis Gerard, *Marias* VII, f^o 80^v: "Pro fescenninis [angeli] ... carmina grata dedere." Er. recommended Prudentius' hymns for Christmas and Epiphany as lullabies ("pro fesceninis") for Margaret Roper's child; see Ep. 1404, ll. 12–16.

141–144 *Muneribus ... amaracum* In *Ecl.* 4, 18–25 Vergil says that the earth will lavish her gifts ("munuscula") on the baby: ivy, foxgloves, Egyptian lilies, acanthus. The cradle itself will spring into lovely blossoms ("blandos flores"), and Assyrian cardamom ("Assyrium amomum") will grow everywhere.

142 *odori graminis* Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 18, 137; Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* I, 445.

143 *Ambrosiam* Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae*, sig. E2^r says that "ambrosia [is] an herbe of the kynd of Mugwort. it is proprely tansy."

casiam Perhaps Cneorum, mezereon, or lavender. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 49; *Georg.* II, 213; Tib. I, 3, 61; Plin. *Nat.* XXI, 41, 70.

144 *Syra amoma* *Carm.* 110, 351–352 below; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 25; *Cir.* 512.

nec insuauem amaracum Cf. Catull. 61, 7.

145 *mille colores* = Ov. *Met.* VI, 65; *Rem.* 353.

146 *plurima / rosa* See n.l. 81 above.

149–150 *date ... pollice* Cf. *Adag.* 1248, *LB* II, 501 E. The white wool that the Fates are to spin into the thread of his life indicates good fortune and long life; see Catull. 64, 311–319; Stat. *Silv.* I, 2, 24–25. The Fates' sable threads were associated with bad luck and death; see Hor. *Carm.* II, 3, 15–16; Ov. *Trist.* IV, 1, 64; V, 13, 24; *Ib.* 242; Martial. IV, 73, 4; VI, 58, 7–8. Cf. Er. *Carm.* 2, 29–35 (n.); 64, ll. 2 and 92–94.

150 *Eatque ... pollice* Cf. Ov. *Met.* VIII, 453; Martial. VI, 3, 5.

molle stamen Cf. *Carm.* 7, 19.

5. A POEM OF INTRODUCTION TO ROBERT GAGUIN

c. September 1495

With this poem Er. introduces himself to the distinguished French humanist Robert Gaguin (1433–1501), general of the Trinitarian order since 1473; see *Contemporaries* s.v. The epigram was probably sent in c. September 1495, shortly after Er.' arrival in Paris, along with a lengthy complimentary letter, now lost, and other verses. Ep. 43 is Gaguin's response. He soon became Er.' friend and patron. See also *Carmin.* 6 and 7.

The poem was first published in *De casa natalitia Iesu*, Paris, A. Denidel, [January 1496?].

Metre: hendecasyllable.

Sources: *A*; *Eg*; *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1022; *LB* I, 1217.

DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI AD GAGVINVM
NONDVM VISVM CARMEN HENDECASYLLABVM

Alloquitur Musas suas.

Quid dum mittimini verenda ad ora
Gaguini, lacerae ac leues Camoenae,
Restatis trepidaeque pallidaeque
Nec non Parmeno vti Terentianus
5 Causas nectitis: 'Ecquis? ecquid? ecquo?'
Vos solas adeo fugit Roberti
Nomen, scripta diserta cuius ingens
Nouit, suspicit ac adorat orbis?
'Ergo nos humilesque barbaraeque
10 Ad tanti patris irruemus altas

Tit. DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI *K*: Herasmi
C, *deest A Eg*; AD GAGVINVM NONDVM
[NON DVM *K*¹] ... HENDECASYLLABVM.
Alloquitur Musas suas *C K*: Carmen
hendecasyllabum, quo primum Herasmus
Gaguinum nondum visum compellat.

Loquitur suis Musis *A*, Hendecasyllabum
carmen *Eg*.

4 Nec ... vti *C K*: Ac Parmeno velut *A Eg*.

5 ecquo *Eg C K*: ad quem *A*.

9 Ergo *Eg C K*: Num nam *A*.

4 *Parmeno* In *Ter. Hec.* 803–805 Parmeno is sent out on a fool's errand to look for someone he has never seen before. He then spends all day asking passers-by where they come from, who they are, or if they have a friend named Pamphilus. Cf. *Er. Ep.* 3032, ll. 37–39.
5 *Causas nectitis* *Verg. Aen.* IX, 219.

7 *scripta diserta* Among his Latin works published before 1495 we should mention *De arte metricandi* (1473) as well as a poem (1488) and a treatise (1492) on the Immaculate Conception. He had also written poems in French and made translations of Caesar (1485) and the third decade of Livy (1493).

- Docti, nobilis ac potentis aedes?
 Magna est rusticitas, nihil pudere;
 Summa est rusticitas, nimis pudere.
 Ecquem fingitis, obsecro, Robertum?
 15 Personam tragicam? Cauete cultum
 Tam raris studiis et expolitum
 Vulgi moribus aestimare pectus.
 Sunt fastidia tetra barbarorum.
 Sunt commercia Gratiis solutis
 20 Cum blando Aonidum choro sororum.
 Vanum ponite pectoris timorem
 Et doctum celeres adite vatem.
 Vos quamuis humilesque barbarasque
 Blando comiter ille candidoque
 25 Exceptabit (vt est benignus) ore.
 Si dictaque salute redditaque
 Percontabitur illico, 'Vnde, cuiae?',
 Ne crassum pudeat solum fateri
 Obscuriue vocabulum magistri.
 30 Si quid veneritis rogabit, hoc o-
 ratum carminis huius vt poetam
 Commendatum habeat suumque scribat.

11 ac *C K*: et *A Eg*.

16 Tam *A C K*: Tum *Eg*.

24–28 Blando ... fateri *C K*: Exceptabit (vt est benignus) ille / Blando comiter ore candidoque. / Si dictaque salute redditaque / Percontabitur, 'Vnde? quoue? cuiue?', / Ne sit barbaricum solum pudori *A*, Blando comiter

ore candidoque / Si dictaque salute redditaque / Percontabitur illico, 'Vnde, cuiae?', / Ne crassum pudeat solum fateri *Eg*.

30–31 o- / ratum *Eg*: o / Oratum *A*, ora- / tum *C K*.

In fine: Finis *A*, τέλος *C*.

12–13 *Magna ... pudere* Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* II, 7, 14; IV, 9, 1–8; Er. Ep. 1663, ll. 1–20.

15 *Personam tragicam* Ep. 2500, l. 25; 2720, l. 37; *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 654, l. 47; *Adag.* 2201, *ASD* II, 5, p. 166, l. 128. The phrase occurs in Phaedr. *Fab. Aes.* 1, 7, where it is applied to those who have great fame but no common sense. Phaedrus' original text, to be sure, was not published until 1596, but the Middle Ages knew his fables in various prose versions.

19–20 *Sunt ... sororum* In *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 210, ll. 362–363 Er. says that the Muses are "simplices ac blandiores", the Graces

"iunctas ac zonis solutis". See also *Adag.* 1650; Hor. *Carm.* I, 30, 5–6.

In l. 19 Er. plays on several senses of "solutis". Applied to a writer like Gaguin, the epithet means that his style is untrammelled and pellucid; cf. Serv. *Comm. Aen.* I, 720; Sen. *Benef.* I, 3, 5; Er. Ep. 15, ll. 27–29; 1342, ll. 348–349. But "solutis" also recalls the phrase "verba soluta", i.e., "prose unfettered by metre" (cf. *Carm.* 6, 22). The meaning of these lines, accordingly, is that writers of graceful, lucid prose can get along well with winsome poets.

6. ON GAGUIN'S HISTORY OF FRANCE AND
ANDRELINI'S ECLOGUES

autumn 1495

Through Robert Gaguin Er. met the Italian poet Fausto Andrelini (c. 1462–1518) in the autumn of 1495. Andrelini had been teaching poetry in Paris on and off since 1489. Already at Steyn monastery Er. had read his *Liuvia*, Paris, G. Marchant, 1 October 1490; see introd. *Carmm.* 94–97, p. 284 below. On Andrelini see *Contemporaries* s.v.

The central device of this poem, the dream-vision, has a long history in ancient and medieval poetry. See *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 256, ll. 466–475, concluding with an allusion to some youthful work of Er. (perhaps the present poem or Ep. 61): “Et nos item pueri in hoc genere lusimus.”

The poem was first published in *De casa natalitia Iesu*, Paris, A. Denidel, [January 1496?].

Metre: first Archilochian strophe.

Sources: *A*; *Eg*; *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1022–1024; *LB* I, 1217–1218.

IN ANNALES GAGVINI ET EGLOGAS FAVSTINAS,
EIVSDEM CARMEN RVRI SCRIPTVM ET AVTVMNO

Nuper quum viridis nemoroso in margine ripae
Irrigua spatiarer in herba,

Tit. IN ... AVTVMNO *C K*: Carmen lyricum de hystoriis Roberti Gaguini atque eglogis Fausti. Inducit secum loquentem Faustinum Musam *A*, In Ga<guinum> et Fau<stum>

HE<rasmus> *Eg*.
1 quum viridis ... ripae *Eg C K*: quom vitree ... lymphe *A*.
2 in herba *om. Eg*.

Tit. ANNALES ... FAVSTINAS The *Annales* are Gaguin's history of France, *De origine et gestis Francorum compendium*, Paris, P. Le Dru, 30 Sept. 1495, a work for which Er. had already written a complimentary letter (Ep. 45). The *Eglogae* are Andrelini's allegorical pastorals. Andrelini had been working on them for some time but did not publish them until 3 March 1501. They have been edited by Wilfred P. Mustard, *The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Ioannes Arnolletus*, Baltimore, 1918.
EGLOGAS This spelling was common in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, owing to an imagined connection with αἴξ, αἰγός; see Helen Cooper, *The Goat and the Eclogue*, PQ

53 (1974), pp. 363–379. Er. uses the spelling also in the postscript to *Carm.* 102 (see App. crit. there) and in *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 700, l. 23.
RVRI SCRIPTVM Cf. Ep. 47, ll. 75–77, referring to the verses in *De casa natalitia Iesu*: “vnum atque alterum carminum meorum ... que nuper, dum ruri ad amnem spatiarimur, per otium lusimus”. According to the postscript, this letter was also “scriptum ruri”.
1 *viridis / margine ripae* Cf. Andrel. *Ecl.* 5, 2: “Sederunt viridi fluuialis margine ripae.”
in margine ripae = *Ov. Met.* 1, 729; cf. *LHL* III, 290.
2 *Irrigua / herba* Plaut. *Trin.* 31.

- Errabam tacitae per amica silentia syluae,
 Dulci tactus corda furore.
 5 Iam nemora et fontes, iam rustica vita placebat
 Turbam et fumida tecta peroso.
 Cumque Marone meo gelidis in vallibus Hemi
 Sisti terque quaterque precabar,
 Quum subito affulgens Venerique simillima pulchrae
 10 Obuia fit tua, Fauste, Thalia.
 Protinus illa oculis est eminus agnita nostris,
 Comi arrisit molliter ore.
 Vt coram stetit, 'Ecquid agit meus', occupo, 'Faustus?
 Quidue decus commune Gaguinus?'
 15 'Viuit vterque, et vterque suo deuinctus Erasmo
 Aut eadem aut meliora precatur.'
 'Gaudeo. Verum age dic, quidnam molitur vterque
 Quod cantet schola Franca legatue?
 Quae, reor, a tam ditibus atque feracibus aruis
 20 Iamdudum annua munera sperat

3 Errabam *C K*: Errarem *A Eg*.

5 fontes *Eg C K*: campi *A*.

6 peroso *A C K*: perose *Eg*.

9 Quum *Eg C K*: En *A*.

11–13 Protinus ... Ecquid *Eg C K*: Aemius illa oculis est ilico cognita nostris, / Blando arrisit comiter ore. / Nil tetricum sedet in vultu, nil corpore durum, / Tota venusta et candida tota. / Vt coram venit, 'Quid *A*.

13 occupo *A C K*: occupe *Eg*.

15 Thalia* *A*; deuinctus *C K*: deuotus *A Eg*.

17 Heras.* *A*¹, Herasque* *A*²; molitur *A Eg K*: mollitur *C*; vterque *Eg C K*: vternis [*pro vteruis*] *A*.

19 Nam hoc carmen et ruri et autumnno scriptum est* *A*¹.

3 tacitae ... silentia = Verg. *Aen.* II, 255. per / silentia syluae = Claud. *Cons. Stil.* I, 228: "Hercyniae per vasta silentia siluae".

4 Dulci / furore Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 4, 5–6: "amabilis / Insania". The poet's divine frenzy ("furor poeticus") is an ancient and medieval commonplace; see Curtius, pp. 474–475; and, e.g., Plat. *Phaedr.* 245 a; Cic. *Div.* I, 31, 66; *De or.* II, 46, 194; Stat. *Silv.* II, 7, 76; Andrel. *Liv.* IV, 7, 61; Er. Ep. 948, ll. 50–55; *Adag.* 2154, *ASD* II, 5, p. 136, ll. 758–759; *Carm.* 120, 15. In *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 68, ll. 792–795 Er. says: "Poetae ipsi nescio quas rupes ac lucos sibi finxerunt, in quibus versarentur quoties eos diuinus ille furor corripuisset, hoc significantes eum qui aliquod egregium ac venustum carmen condere cupiat a turba semotum esse oportere."

5–6 Iam ... peroso Cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 77: "scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit vrbem."

6 fumida tecta Ov. *Met.* IV, 405. Cf. Er. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 68, ll. 769–770 (arguing for withdrawing from the hubbub of the world): "Neque fumantia tecta sed deserta virentia incolentibus manna depluit"; *De rat. stud.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 127, l. 8: "Musae fontibus ac nemoribus vnice gaudent, a fumosis vrbibus abhorrent"; also *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 221, ll. 3–4 (= p. 231, ll. 3–4): "Quum omnia nunc vernent ac rideant in agris, demiror esse, qui fumosis vrbibus delectentur."

7–8 Cumque Marone ... Sisti An allusion to Verg. *Georg.* II, 488–489: "o qui me gelidis in vallibus [*modern edd.*: gelidis conuallibus] Haemi / sistat."

8 terque quaterque *LHI* V, 432–434.

10 Thalia She is among other things the Muse of pastoral and lyric poetry and of amatory verse.

20 annua munera *Carm.* I, 28–29.

Autumnumque suum.' 'Primum tuus ille Robertus
 Exaequat sermone soluto
 Stemmata Francorum et decus et fera praelia regum.
 Iam nihil est, quod Gallia docto
 25 Inuideat Latio, suus ipsi contigit alter
 Liuius ac Salustius alter.'
 'Quid tuus ille parat vates? Quonam monumento
 Faustum nigris inuidet vmbris?
 An silet, alterna cupiens recreare quiete
 30 Longis hausta laboribus arua?'
 'Ille quidem felix agit ocia, qualia quondam
 Scipiades agitare solebat
 Vrbe procul tacitis solus, neque solus, in agris,
 Ocia pulchri plena negoci.
 35 Quippe inter colles vinetaque Gallica solus,
 Parisiis vagus errat in agris.
 Sunt comites pingui gaudentes rure Camoenae.
 Illic raptus Apolline toto
 Et sese et Musis dignum Phoeboque poema
 40 Agresti meditatur auena,
 Quale nec aequari doleat sibi Tityrus ipse
 Qui patulae sub tegmine fagi

21 Thalia* A.
 22 soluto *Eg C K*: pedestri A.
 23 Stemmata *Eg C K*: Schemmata A.
 25 ipsi A C K: illi *Eg*; contigit A¹ *Eg C K*: con-
 tingit A².
 26 ac C K: atque A *Eg*.
 27 Heras.* A; parat ... monumento *Eg C K*:
 parat? Qua piramide aut [a A¹, pro abbrev. ā]
 monumento A.

23 *fera praelia* = *LHL* II, 250.
 24–26 *Iam ... alter* Cf. *Carm.* 115, 27–29.
 28 *nigris inuidet vmbris* Cf. *Hor. Carm.* IV, 2,
 22–24 (of Pindar); *Er. Carm.* 120, 14. The
 meaning is: "With what literary monument
 is he making himself immortal?"
 29–30 *alterna ... arua* Cf. *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5,
 pp. 312–314, ll. 487–489; *Carm.* 57, 1–4 (n.).
 29 *alterna / quiete* *Ov. Her.* 4, 89 (quoted in *Er.*
Ep. 2431, l. 264); cf. *Er. Carm.* 109, 22.
 31–34 *Ille ... negoci* According to *Cic. Off.* III,
 1, 1, Scipio Africanus used to say "numquam
 se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus,
 nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset"; cf.
Cic. Rep. I, 17, 27. *Er.* alludes to the *bon mot*

30 *Translatio** A.
 31–33 *qualia ... agris C K*: sed Scipionis A *Eg*.
 34 *negoci Eg C K*: negotii A.
 35 *Quippe [Nunc Eg] inter ... Gallica Eg C K*:
 Collibus atque inter vineta silentia A.
 36 *vagus errat A C K*: correptat *Eg*.
 39 *sese ... dignum Eg C K*: lauro dignum et
 Musis A.
 40 *Agresti C K*: Arguta A, Buccolica *Eg*.

as early as *Ep.* 6, ll. 6–8 and *Antibarb.*, *ASD*
 I, 1, p. 42, ll. 8–9 and 27–28. He paraphrases
 it in *Inst. princ. christ.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 210,
 ll. 349–351, and *Apophth.* V, *LB* IV, 257 A. See
 further Karl Gross, *Numquam minus otiosus,
 quam cum otiosus: Das Weiterleben eines
 antiken Sprichwortes im Abendland, Antike
 und Abendland* 26 (1980), pp. 122–137.
 37 *gaudentes rure Camoenae* = *Hor. Serm.* I, 10,
 45, alluding to Vergil's bucolics.
 39 *Musis dignum Phoeboque* *Sil.* XIV, 28, of the
 Sicilian poets, including Theocritus.
 40–43 *Agresti ... musam* Cf. *Verg. Ecl.* 1, 1–2.
 Tityrus was traditionally identified with
 Vergil himself.

- Syluestrem tenui tentabat arundine musam,
 Quale trahat camposque pecusque,
 45 Quale queat rigidas deducere montibus ornos,
 Sistere flumina, flectere saxa,
 Reddere quale queat placidos tigresque luposque,
 Quale feros euincere manes,
 Denique (quod proprie tecum laetabere) castum:
 50 Nulla hic Liuia, nulla Columba,
 Nusquam hic formosum Corydon ardebit Alexin,
 Phyllis toto in carmine nulla,
 Quod neque Sorbonae nequeat censura probare
 (Et multos habet illa Catones),
 55 Quod neque grammaticus tenerae dictare iuuentae
 Plagoso vereatur in antro,
 Nec tetrico Hippolytum pudeat recitare parenti.
 Felicem ter et amplius illum,

43 tenui tentabat *Eg C K*: gracili tentauit *A*.
 44–48 Quale trahat ... manes *Eg C K*: Quale
 feros euincere manes, / Quale queat rigidas
 deducere montibus ornos, / Sistere flumina,
 flectere saxa *A*.
 47 placidos *C K*: placidas *Eg*.
 49 proprie tecum *C K*: scio tute magis *A*, pro-
 prie demum *Eg*; laetabere *A*¹ *Eg C K*: latebre
*A*².

44–48 *Quale ... manes* Andrelini is a second
 Orpheus; cf. *Carm.* 93, 90–120; 115, 14–20.
 45 *rigidas ... ornos* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 71 (of
 Hesiod).
 46 *Sistere flumina* Andrelini's song can halt
 rivers. In this he rivals Orpheus; see, e.g.,
 Prop. III, 2, 3–4; Hor. *Carm.* I, 12, 9–10.
flectere saxa Euripides, *ASD* I, 1, p. 338,
 l. 1715 (of Orpheus' song); also *Carm.* 38, 18;
 115, 20. That Orpheus made stones follow
 him is mentioned, e.g., in Ov. *Met.* XI, 2.
 47 *Reddere ... tigres* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 510 (of
 Orpheus).
 50 *Liuia* She was Andrelini's mistress in his
Liuia, Paris, G. Marchant, 1490.
Columba Is a specific girlfriend meant here?
 The dove, as the bird sacred to Venus, was
 often used as a term of endearment.
 51 *formosum ... Alexin* An allusion to Verg. *Ecl.*
 2, 1.
 52 *Phyllis* The name of several shepherd girls in
 Vergil's eclogues; cf. Ov. *Trist.* II, 537.
 54 *Catones* The censors at the Sorbonne are as
 severe as Cato the Censor (second century

51–52 Nusquam ... nulla *om. Eg*.
 51 ardebit *A*¹ *C K*: ardebat *A*²; Alexin *C K*:
 Alexim *A*.
 52 Phyllis ... nulla *C K*: Cipria ... nulla est *A*.
 56 Plagoso *Eg BAS LB*: Clamoso *A*, Plagosa *C*
K.
 57 tetrico ... pudeat *Eg C K*: pudeat tetrico
 Hippolytum *A*.

B.C.). Cato was proverbial for his rigid sense
 of morality; see Otto 358; cf. Er. *Antibarb.*,
ASD I, 1, p. 76, l. 29; p. 105, l. 24; also *Carm.*
 58, 3.
 55 *tenerae / iuuentae* *Carm.* 95, 17 (n.).
 56 *Plagoso* Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 70, of the teacher
 Orbilius, who was always flogging his pupils;
 Er. Ep. 277, l. 41; 843, ll. 9–10; *De conscr. ep.*,
ASD I, 2, p. 259, ll. 16–17. The flogging
 schoolmaster is a commonplace; see also,
 e.g., Quint. *Inst.* I, 3, 14; Prud. *Praef.* 7–8;
 Er. *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 138, ll. 250–251; *De*
pueris, *ASD* I, 2, p. 54, l. 24–p. 62, l. 2.
antro Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 259,
 ll. 16–18: “Regnare iam passim videas plago-
 sum hoc et indoctorum grammatarum
 genus, antra illa in quibus deblaterant, ceu
 furiarum regnum, misero eiulatu vndique
 personare”; *Inst. christ. matrim.*, *LB* V, 713 D.
 57 *Hippolytum* The proverbially chaste son of
 Theseus; see Otto 810.
 58 *Felicem ter et amplius* Hor. *Carm.* I, 13, 17;
 cf. Er. *Carm.* I, 83–84 (n.); 110, 291 (n.).

Quisquis Faustina dicitur arundine Gallus,
 60 Vel Varus vel Pollio quisquis,
 Viuet et aeternum pulchro cum carmine notus
 Quadrifido cantabitur orbe.’

59 arundine *A C K*: Appolline *Eg.*
 59–60 Gallus, Vel Varus *Eg C K*: Varus, Vel
 Gallus *A.*
Post 62 Hec ait, ac me plura volentem dicere

linquens, / In tenues euanuit auras *A, om.*
cett.
In fine: Τέλος *C.*

59–60 *Gallus / Varus / Pollio* Friends and patrons of Vergil, whom he honoured in eclogues 10, 6, and 4, respectively. Andrelini’s pastorals will likewise immortalize his friends and patrons. For the thought see n. *Carm.* 4, ded., ll. 12–13, above.
 59 *Gallus A* play on two senses of the word. At first sight, the name seems to mean “Frenchman”; it is not until the next line that we

realize that it is the ancient poet Gallus who is being referred to. In the ed. princ. the wording is much more straightforward.
 62 *Quadrifido cantabitur orbe* Cf. *Ov. Am.* I, 15, 13. For the two verses added at the end of the poem in the ed. princ. cf. *Verg. Aen.* II, 790–791; IV, 276–278; V, 740; IX, 656–658; *Ov. Fast.* II, 509.

7. A COMPLIMENT TO ROBERT GAGUIN
spring? 1496

According to its title, the poem was composed during a prolonged illness. This may well have been the illness that afflicted Er. in the spring of 1496, after he had spent the winter semester at the Collège de Montaigu (cf. Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 50, ll. 103–105). The poem was first published with Ep. 49 at the end of Willem Hermans, *Sylua odorum*, Paris, G. Marchant, 20 January 1497 (*a*), a book edited by Er. For a bibliographic description see *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, VIII, London, 1949, pp. 62–63. In some copies of the *Sylua odorum* the title page bears the name and device of Denis Rocce.

Although almost all of Er.’ “querela” deals with the poet’s troubles, whether caused by the stars, or fate, or fortune, or some malefic god, or some evil genius, it is not a “passionate outburst” brought on by “low spirits” (Reedijk, *Poems*, pp. 238 and 243), real as his troubles no doubt were. Nor does it bear witness to his Stoic resignation to the ills brought on by the planets or fate, as Eugene F. Rice argues in *Erasmus and the Religious Tradition, 1495–1499*, JHI 11 (1950), pp. 389–390. Richard J. Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe: The Making of a Humanist 1467–1500*, Edinburgh, 1990, p. 31 comes closer to the truth: “Poetry of this kind is operating through a *persona*, whose relationship with the poet himself may not be simple or unequivocal, and the tone of the poem ultimately suggests that the poet is playing with the nexus of feelings and ideas revolving around a concept of fate. At the very least, it cannot be read as purely autobiographical.”

The poem, indeed, is an elaborate tribute to Gaguin, whose friendship and patronage (l. 3, with n.) make all the troubles of Er.’ life bearable, whatever their

ultimate cause may have been. Precisely the same pattern is to be found both in the earlier *Carm.* 109 and in the original version of *Carm.* 93, an ode to Cornelis Gerard written in 1489. For this pattern cf. Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 29 (“When in disgrace with fortune and men’s eyes”) and *Sonnets* 30, which ends: “But if the while I think on thee, dear friend, / All losses are restored and sorrows end.”

The verses are on the first level an inversion of Hor. *Carm.* IV, 3. Er. alludes to this poem not only by borrowing Horace’s metre, but also by pointedly playing on the ode’s opening lines. Whereas the fortunate poet Horace could hail the Muse Melpomene, who had looked upon him with kindly eye at his birth (“Quem tu, Melpomene, semel / Nascentem placido lumine videris”), the unfortunate poet Er. can only conclude that the stars looked upon him at his birth with unkindly light (“Miror, quae mihi sydera / Nascenti implacido lumine fulserint”). And while Melpomene has given Horace a peaceful life and elevated him to the rank of Rome’s greatest lyric poet, Er.’ god-given genius (ll. 11–13, with n.) has not kept him from suffering one disaster after another – an unbearable life, had not his friend and patron Gaguin stepped in and become to some extent his Melpomene.

On another level of allusion, Er.’ “querela” inverts a compliment to Gaguin published about a decade earlier by Girolamo Balbi in his *Epigrammata* (1486–1487). Er. had become acquainted with at least some of these poems at Steyn; see Ep. 23, ll. 47–51. Among them is a praise of Gaguin’s poetic genius, *Carm.* 77. In ll. 3–6 of this poem of friendship Balbi exclaims:

O dilecta Deis, o felicissima tellus,
 In qua tu fausto sidere progenitus.
 Tunc Venus, et fuluis volucer Tegeaticus alis
 Fulsit, et igniuomi stella benigna Iouis.

Er. was especially familiar with these verses since they – as indeed almost all of Balbi’s poem – reappear in Bartholomäus Zehender’s homage to the Frisian scholar Theodorich Ulsenius; see Zehender, *Silua carminum*, Deventer, 16 February 1491, sigs. b3^v–b4^r. That Er. knew Zehender’s collection of poems is apparent from Ep. 23, ll. 66–68 and Ep. 28, ll. 20–22.

Balbi’s verses are turned topsy-turvy in the first part of Er.’ poem. Unlike Gaguin, Er. did not have the benign planets Jupiter, Venus, or Mercury shining down upon him at birth. Mercury, to be sure, had granted him the gifts of eloquence and scholarship – as indeed he had also to Gaguin; but their enjoyment was spoiled by the malefic planets Mars and Saturn that bring war (Holland’s civil wars, just ended; see introd. *Carm.* 50) as well as melancholy and quartan fever (see n.l. 14 below). At the end of the poem, however, Er. recalls Balbi’s compliment to Gaguin, for in l. 48 he writes: “O fatis genite prosperioribus”.

Metre: fourth Asclepiadean strophe.

Sources: *a*; *Eg*; *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1024; *LB* I, 1218–1219.

EIVSDEM IN MORBO DE FATIS SVIS QVERELA

Mirror, quae mihi sydera
 Nascenti implacido lumine fulserint,
 O Gaguine meum decus.
 Nam seu iure aliquo nostra negotia
 5 Ignes aetherei regunt,
 Me primum teneras lumen ad insolens
 Aedentem querimonias
 Nec mitis rutilo sydere Iuppiter
 Aspexit, neque prospera
 10 Arrisit radiis mi Venus aureis.
 Tantum Mercurius celer
 Adfulgens nitidis eminus ignibus
 Adflarat sua munera,

Tit. EIVSDEM ... QVERELA *C K:* Desyderii Herasmi Rotterdammensis sacrae Theologiae studiosi ad Robertum Gaguinum sibi amicis-

simum carmen de suis fatis *a*, Ad Gaguinum de suis etc. *Eg.*
 8 Nec *C K:* Non *a Eg.*

1-16 *Mirror ... sene* The chief model is *Ov. Ib.* 207-214: There were no favouring stars in the sky at your birth; Venus and Jupiter were absent; moon and sun were not propitious; Mercury did not give you his gifts, but Mars and Saturn weighed heavily on you. Cf. *Andrel. Liv.* II, 5, 17-18: "In me tota ruit nascentem regia coeli; / Falcifero Mauors cum sene iunctus erat." Astrology regarded Jupiter and Venus as beneficent planets; see *Er. Antibarb., ASD* I, 1, p. 97, ll. 4-5; *Carm.* 122. Mars and Saturn were considered malefic planets. Mercury was ambivalent ("mercurial"), being attracted now to the one side, now to the other.
 1-2 *quae ... fulserint* Cf. *Carm.* 53, 4; 101, 8-10; 109, 25-28. In *Ep.* 31, ll. 5-6 *Er.* speaks of the "mala quae mille me vel syderis natalis vi vel Dei iussu a puero vsque prosequuntur". Cf. *Ep.* 181, ll. 26-27; also *Ep.* 1437, ll. 119-121, where *Er.* calls the story of his life an "ἠνάδρα κακῶν".
 2 *Nascenti ... fulserint* Cf. *Hor. Carm.* IV, 3, 2 (quoted in the headnote above).
implacido lumine Cf. *Stat. Silv.* II, 1, 216: "implacido ... Sirius igni".
 3 *O / meum decus* *Hor. Carm.* I, 1, 2; cf. *Carm.* II, 17, 4; *Verg. Georg.* II, 40; *Er. Ep.* 45, l. 138 (to Gaguin): "decus litterarum et meum". Since both Horace and Vergil use "decus" to refer to their patron Maecenas, *Er.* is in effect

praising Gaguin as his Maecenas; cf. n.l. 49 below. In *Ep.* 93, l. 93 *Er.* uses *Hor. Carm.* I, 1, 2, to describe Adolph of Burgundy as a future patron of the arts; see also *Ep.* 208, l. 28; 781, ll. 1-2; 1861, l. 1 (all of William Warham); and *Ep.* 154, ll. 11-12 (of Hendrik van Bergen); *Carm.* 86, 4 (of Antonius Clava).
 4-23 *Nam seu ... miser* These lines adapt and amplify *Ov. Trist.* V, 3, 13-14: "siue mihi casus siue hoc dedit ira deorum, / nubila nascenti seu mihi Parca fuit"; cf. *Er. Ep.* 58, ll. 138-139: "O fata iniqua, o sydera inimica, o superos male propicios!"
 5 *Ignes aetherei* *Ov. Fast.* I, 473 (different sense); cf. *Er. Carm.* 98, 1-2 (n.).
 10 *aureis* Venus conventionally received the epithet "golden"; see, e.g., *Verg. Aen.* X, 16; *Ov. Her.* 15(16), ll. 35 and 291; *Met.* X, 277.
 11 *Mercurius celer* *Hor. Carm.* II, 7, 13; cf. *Lucan.* I, 662, where Mars is said to be in the ascendant and the benign planets Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury are remote.
 11-13 *Tantum ... munera* Mercury was, among other things, the patron of merchants and material riches. Cf. *Ep.* 225, l. 16, in a letter in which *Er.* complains of his poverty: "Mercurio irato natus"; and *Ep.* 1862, ll. 5-8. It is in this sense that Reedijk understands these lines: "Perhaps an allusion to the loss of his inheritance, due to the machinations of his

Sed stella vetuit falcifer inuida
 15 Vulcanique minax rubens
 Riualis, calidus cum gelido sene.
 Seu tres terrigenum deae
 Fortunas triplici numine temperant,
 Sum durissima stamina
 20 Sortitus. Volucrem seu potius deam
 Versare omnia credimus,
 Hanc in perniciem certe ego deierem
 Coniurasse meam miser.
 Felicis mihi nec fata Polycratis

16 sene *BAS LB*: scnex a *Eg C K*.

22 certe *Eg C K*: certo a.

24 mihi nec *Eg C K*: neque mi a.

- guardians" a decade earlier. But the primary and obvious allusion here is to Mercury as the god of cultural life, eloquence, philology, poetry. See Ptol. *Quadr.* IV, 4, 178; Firm. III, 7, 4 (of the planet Mercury): "Facit philologos aut laboriosarum litterarum peritos"; Isid. *Orig.* V, 30, 8: Mercury is supposed to grant intelligence and eloquence; Er. *Adag.* 1910; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 86, ll. 957–958; *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 132, l. 148; Vredeveld, *Notes*, p. 604.
- 14 *falcifer* The sickle is Saturn's attribute. For the epithet see Ov. *Fast.* I, 234; V, 627; *Ib.* 214; Martial. XI, 6, 1. Saturn was thought to bring on melancholy, fevers (in particular, the quartan fever), and other bodily ills; see Ptol. *Quadr.* II, 8, 83; Firm. III, 2, 4; III, 2, 8; III, 2, 26; cf. Erich Schöner, *Das Viererschema in der antiken Humoralpathologie*, Sudhoffs Archiv, 1964, Beiheft 4, p. 92 and the plate after p. 115. Brant, *Varia carm.*, sig. 88^v calls Saturn "morbifer ille"; cf. sig. Dr: "Astra Saturni moribunda".
- 15–16 *Vulcani / Riualis* Mars seduced Vulcan's wife Venus; see Hom. *Od.* VIII, 267–366.
- 16 *calidus cum gelido sene* Cf. Andrel. *De influenza syderum* (first published at Paris, 10 May 1496), sig. a3^v: "calidi feruens Martis ... astrum / Cum rigida gelidi frigiditate senis"; also Boeth. *Consol.* IV, m. 1, 11–12: "comitetur iter gelidi senis / miles corusci sideris". Saturn was traditionally portrayed as a cold old man. Mars was associated with the hot and dry humour cholera (yellow bile) and with fiery youth.
- 18 *triplici numine* Prud. *Cath.* 5, 163 (of the Trinity); cf. Ov. *Met.* II, 654 (of the Fates): "triplices ... deae"; VIII, 481 (of the Furies).
- 19 *durissima stamina* Cf. *Carm.* 4, 149–150 (n.).
- 20 *Volucrem / deam* Fortuna was often depicted as winged because she is fleeting. See Hor. *Carm.* III, 29, 53–54; cf. *Carm.* I, 34, 15; *Myth. Lex.* I, 2, col. 1507, ll. 33–54; Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, 1927, repr. New York, 1967, p. 45; Er. *Adag.* 1538, *ASD* II, 4, p. 49, ll. 728–729, of Rhamnusia, who was often identified with Fortuna: "Huic antiquitas addidit pennas, celeritatis symbolum."
- 21 *Versare omnia* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 5: "fors omnia versat"; Sen. *Epist.* 44, 4 (of pedigree): "Omnia ... sursum deorsum fortuna versavit"; Sil. X, 574–575: "nostros Fortuna labores / versat"; Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 5, 28–29: "cur tantas lubrica versat / Fortuna vices?"; Otto 698. The thought that inconstant Fortuna rules the world is proverbial; see Otto 699; Walther 9847b; 9869a. See further Howard R. Patch, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–80; Jerold C. Frakes, *The Fate of Fortune in the Early Middle Ages: The Boethian Tradition*, Leiden, 1988, pp. 15–20 and 28–33. Er. *Adag.* 1538, *ASD* II, 4, p. 49, l. 726, freely citing Amm. Marc. XIV, 11, 26, says that Nemesis or Rhamnusia (identified with Fortuna) is "reginam et arbitram rerum omnium". Cf. also *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 176, ll. 861–862: "Rhamnusia, rerum humanarum fortunatrix".
- 24 *Felicis / Polycratis* Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos from 532 to 522 B.C., was celebrated for his good fortune and hence called "felix"; see Cic. *Fin.* V, 30, 92; Er. Ep. 858, l. 19; *De*

25 Nec Scyllae precor improbus.
 Arpinas toties consul iniquius
 Fortunam insimulat suam,
 Quae tot prospera, tot dulcia paululo
 Fermento vitiauerit.
 30 Ingrate ille quidem rusticus ac foro
 Rerum nescius vtier,
 Alternas dominae qui queritur vices.
 Sat felicem ego iudico,
 Qui praesentia lenire potest mala
 35 Actis prosperius memor
 Ac sperare iterum iam fore, quod fuit.
 At me matris ab vberē
 Fati persequitur tristis et asperi
 Idem ac perpetuus tenor.
 40 In me, crediderim, proruit improbi

25 Scyllae a *Eg C K*: Syllae *BAS LB*.

26 toties *C K*: totiens a *Eg*; iniquius a *BAS LB*:
 iniquus *Eg C K*.

28 Quae *Eg C K*: Quot a.

32 Alternas a *Eg BAS LB*: Alterius *C K*.

cop. verb., *ASD I*, 6, p. 106, l. 950; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, *LB V*, 567 B; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD IV*, 1, p. 37, ll. 367–368. But in the end his good fortune deserted him, for he was lured to the mainland by the satrap Oroetes and killed in 522 B.C. See *Hdt.* III, 120–125; *Er. Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD IV*, 1, p. 56, ll. 967–969.

25 *Scyllae* The Roman general and dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138–78 B.C.). He assumed the name “Felix” to celebrate and perpetuate his good fortune; see *Plin. Nat.* VII, 44, 137; XXII, 6, 12; *Sen. Benef.* V, 16, 2; *Suet. Tib.* 59, 2; cf. *Er. Adag.* 520, *LB II*, 229 E; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD I*, 2, p. 330, l. 17; p. 447, l. 2; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD IV*, 1, p. 54, ll. 898–900; p. 56, ll. 972–973; *Lingua*, *ASD IV*, 1A, p. 112, ll. 816–817. The spelling “Scylla” is a medievalism for “Sylla” or “Sulla”; see, e.g., *Hermans, Sylv.*, sig. dr: “fortunatum Marium Scyllamque beatum”.

26–29 *Arpinas* ... *vitiauerit* For this judgment cf. *Plut. Marius* 432 f–433 b. Gaius Marius (c. 157–86 B.C.), born near Arpinum, was consul seven times.

28–29 *paululo* ... *vitiauerit* As if the sweetness of the wine were being turned to vinegar by fermentation; cf. *Moria*, *ASD IV*, 3, p. 96, ll. 441–442; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD I*, 2, p. 251,

l. 18–p. 252, l. 1; *Coll.*, *ASD I*, 3, p. 725, l. 167; *Eccles.*, *ASD V*, 4, p. 70, ll. 730–731; *Spongia*, *ASD IX*, 1, p. 171, ll. 124–125; *Ep.* 531, ll. 171–173; 1225, ll. 253–254; 1238, ll. 119–120. For the image cf. *1. Cor.* 5, 6, and *Gal.* 5, 9.

30–31 *foro / vtier* Proverbial; see *Adag.* 92; *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, *ASD I*, 4, p. 332, l. 444: “Vti foro est se accommodare loco, tempori, rebus, et personis”; *Moria*, *ASD IV*, 3, p. 106, l. 614.

32 *Alternas dominae / vices* See *Adag.* 663 and 2872; cf. *Carm.* 109, 19 (n.). *dominae* In *Consol.* II, 1, 18 and II, 2, 6 Boethius calls *Fortuna* “domina”, as does *Er.* in *Carm.* 105, 117.

37 *matris ab vberē* *Hor. Carm.* IV, 4, 14; *LHI V*, 512.

38–39 *Fati persequitur / tenor* Cf. *Ov. Her.* 7, 112; *Stat. Silv.* V, 1, 165.

40–41 *In me / proruit / tota* Cf. *Hor. Carm.* I, 19, 9: “In me tota ruens Venus”; *Andrel. Liv.* II, 5, 17: “In me tota ruit nascentem regia coeli.”

improbi / Promethei Prometheus’ crime was to steal fire from heaven. As punishment Zeus created Pandora and sent her with a storage jar full of all kinds of diseases and afflictions to Prometheus’ brother Epime-

Pixis tota Promethei
 Et quicquid stabulat triste vel asperum
 Nigri in limine Tartari.
 Heu quod simplicibus vatibus inuidum
 45 Numen, quis genius malus
 Quaeue infesta nouem Iuno sororibus
 Sic nostrum caput impetit?
 O fatis genite prosperioribus,
 Bis, Gaguine, meum decus,

44 quod a *Eg* BAS LB: quid C K.

46 Quaeue C K: Quoue *Eg*, Que ne a;

sororibus a *Eg* K: sonoribu C.

47 Sic ... impetit? *om. a.*

theus. In spite of Prometheus' warning, Epimetheus married Pandora, whereupon she opened the jar and released all the evils in it. See Hes. *Erg.* 42–105; Hor. *Carm.* I, 3, 27–33.

41 *Pixis / Promethei* The famous "Pandora's box". This is the first time that Er. mentions the "box" ("pixis" or "pyxis") of Pandora; it is, indeed, the first known instance of the modern misconception. The ancients always spoke of "the large storage jar" (πίθος) of Pandora.

The notion of Pandora's "box" may well have originated with Er. For later instances see Ep. 55, l. 5; *Enchir.*, LB V, 26 B; *Adag.* 31, ASD II, I, p. 145, ll. 994–998; *Adag.* 235, ASD II, I, p. 346, ll. 24–25; *Lingua*, ASD IV, IA, p. 26, ll. 36–37. In their book *Pandora's Box*, New York, 1962², chapt. 2, Dora and Erwin Panofsky suggest that it was Er. who first "mistranslated" the Greek by fusing (or confusing) the Pandora myth with the similar Psyche story in Apul. *Met.* VI, 16–21. Psyche too cannot resist temptation and opens a box ("pyxis"), to her own detriment. The Panofskys identify the *Adagia* passage as the source of the modern conception of the "box". Dieter Wuttke, in *Erasmus und die Büchse der Pandora*, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 37 (1974), pp. 157–159, later pointed out that Er. was using "pyxis" already in the present poem – that is to say, in 1496 when he still had very little Greek. Wuttke infers from this that Er. drew on some hitherto unidentified medieval or early Renaissance source. (The Hesiod translation of Niccolò della Valle, first published in 1471 and reprinted about twenty-five times in the next fifty years, renders πίθος in *Erg.* 94 correctly as "urna"; the

word recurs in ll. 97 and 98 of Hesiod's poem but is not translated in the neo-Latin version.)

42–43 *quicquid ... Tartari* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 273–281; Sen. *Oed.* 586–594; Sil. XIII, 579–594, especially XIII, 579–580: "Quanta cohors, omni stabulante per atria monstro, / excubat ...!"

45 *genius malus Adag.* 72. Cf. *Carm.* 53, 3 (a good genius).

46 *Iuno* Juno pursued Hercules relentlessly throughout his life and also tried to thwart Aeneas' quest to found a new city. She thus became the type of the savage, hateful goddess. In Ep. 88, ll. 3–4 Er. says: "Pugnabat Iuno semper poeticis viris infesta"; cf. also Ep. 119, ll. 9–10; 335, ll. 57–58. The notion that she is hostile to the Muses and poets is, to my knowledge, unparalleled in ancient literature.

48 *fatis genite prosperioribus* Cf. Ov. *Pont.* IV, 9, 9.

genite The final syllable is here lengthened before the diaeresis. This device, used occasionally by classical and late Latin poets, was much favoured by medieval poets. Er. makes frequent use of it in his early poetry, especially at the masculine caesura of the hexameter and the pentameter. See, e.g., *Carm.* 99, ll. 19 and 23; 100, ll. 15, 19, 24, and 43; 101, 3; 102, 82; 104, 14 (n.); 105, ll. 13, 81, and 106; 106, ll. 6, 29, 32, 50, 66, 88, and 96. The practice occurs also in the later poetry; see, e.g., *Carm.* 112, ll. 273, 295, and 318 (written in 1499).

49 *Bis / meum decus* Gaguin will be Er.' glory twice over: first as his patron (see l. 3, with n.), now as his friend in times of trouble.

50 Hunc si tu minime temnis amiculum,
 Non totus fuero miser,
 Nec cedent grauibus pectora casibus.

52 Nec ... casibus *add. Eg C K; grauibus C K; In fine: Τέλος C.*
 miseris *Eg.*

50 *amiculum* The diminutive occurs, e.g., in *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 40, l. 3; p. 42, l. 17; Cic. *Verr.* 2 III, 34, 79; Catull. 30, 2; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 17, 3. Er., always fond of diminutives, uses this one very often; see, e.g., *Ep.* 76, l. 7; 83, l. 6; 161, l. 52. Froben uses it in l. 8 of his preface to the *Epigrammata*, p. 65 above.

8. HAMMES CASTLE

June 1506?

At the beginning of June 1506 Er. left London on his way to Italy. After a stormy crossing he stopped over at Hammes Castle near Calais to visit its commander, his former student and now friend and patron Lord Mountjoy. The poem was probably written during the visit. It was first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507. The humorous idea of describing the ever-watchful geese as soldiery is also, but more briefly, developed in *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, pp. 53–54, ll. 686–690.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: *C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS* I, 1024–1025; *LB* I, 1219.

ARX VVLGO DICTA HAMMENSIS

Me, quia sim non magna, caue contempseris, hostis:

Arx Tarpeia Remi non mage tuta fuit.

Quam bene defensat primum hic qui sustinet agger,

Tum quae me cingit non inamoena palus!

5 Istam quidem omnigenos mihi commoda seruit in vsus,

² *Arx Tarpeia* According to the legend, the sacred geese of Juno awakened the defenders of the citadel on the Capitoline hill during a nocturnal attack by the Gauls in 390 B.C. See Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 655–656; Plin. *Nat.* X, 26, 51; XXIX, 14, 57; Liv. V, 47; Er. *Adag.* 69,

ASD II, 1, p. 180, ll. 833–835; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 206, ll. 2625–2628.

Remi In poetry Remus is sometimes said to be the ancestor of the Romans (instead of Romulus). See, e.g., Catull. 58, 5; Prop. II, 1, 23; IV, 1, 9; IV, 6, 80; Iuv. 10, 73; Martial. X, 76, 4.

At subito infusus, quum volo, stagnat aquis.
 Iam vero vt cesset vigilum custodia pernox,
 Stertat vt aerea Lynceus in specula,
 Attamen excubias grus officiosa diurnas
 10 Intus, nocte foris peruigil anser agit.
 Grus neque docta nec admonita, speculantis ad aera
 Responsans, acri clangit in astra tuba.
 Et procul insidias (nam praesentire videtur)
 Fida sono vigili prodit et arcet auis.
 15 Anser item non doctus obit sua munia; quum fas
 Pabulat et nota ad symbola rursus adest.
 Ast vbi vicino se condidit aequore Titan,
 Milite tum denso moenia nostra subit,
 Partiturque aliquis mira arte locosque vicesque
 20 Quiue aetate prior sorteue lectus erit.
 Nec cedunt statione sua, dum rursus ab vndis
 Emicet et clarum lux agat alma diem.
 Adde quod hic miles tam fidus et impiger annos
 Complures nullo iam meret aere mihi.

6 quum *CK*: quam *BAS I.B.*

In fine: Τέλος *C.*

8 *Lynceus* The proverbially sharp-eyed Argonaut; see Otto 1003; Er. *Adag.* 1054; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 106, l. 954.

16 *Pabulat* Since the deponent form “pabulatur” does not fit the metre here, Er. uses the active form, a medievalism.

nota ad symbola In *CWE* 85–86 this phrase is understood to mean “at the well-known signals”, that is, when the geese “are called to return from their feeding”. Much more probably, however, Er. is using “symbola” here in the medieval sense “a meal”, “a feast”. See Blaise, p. 897, s.v. “symbolum”. Originally “symbola” (fem. sing.) or “symbolum” meant the sum that a person contributed towards the expenses of a common meal; by metonymy it came to stand for the meal itself. Cf. *Prv.* 23, 21: “dantes symbola”; Er.

Coll., *ASD* I, 3, p. 55, l. 752: “Symbolum ... huius coenae dedi”; p. 56, l. 774: “Symbolum reddas oportet” (both instances changed in the authorized version, p. 99); also p. 644, l. 25. If this interpretation is right – and the contrasting “Ast” in l. 17 suggests that it is –, then ll. 15–16 should be translated as: “When it is proper, he feeds and is back again at his familiar meal.” For “nota ad symbola” cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 266: “ad pabula nota”.

17 *se condidit aequore Titan* = *Carm.* 64, 32; cf. Verg. *Georg.* I, 438; Stat. *Ach.* I, 242.

22 *clarum ... diem* Cf. *Carm.* 106, ll. 44 and 94.

lux / alma Verg. *Aen.* I, 306; III, 311; VIII, 455.

23–24 *annos Complures / meret* Caes. *Gall.* VII, 17, 5.

9-II. THREE EPITAPHS FOR ODILIA AND HER SON
July 1498?

These epitaphs were first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507. It cannot be determined with certainty whether they were written on two separate occasions (after the mother's death and, later, the son's) or at the same time, upon a single commission. The latter possibility is inherently more likely.

Carm. 9 was later printed, with a brief introduction, in Sweertius, pp. 387–388 (α). According to the information provided there, the epitaph had been inscribed on a tomb formerly in the church of Ste. Gudule in Brussels. Sweertius gives the date of the epitaph as “M.DXVII. XIII. Maii”, but the year is manifestly misquoted. Reedijk conjectures that Er. wrote *Carm.* 9 in Brussels, possibly in May 1494, and wrote *Carmm.* 10 and 11 at the son's death either “at the same moment” as *Carm.* 9 or later (as late as summer 1495). There is, however, no compelling evidence that Er. stayed in Brussels for any length of time during 1494–1495 (cf. Epp. 39–42 and Allen, *Op. ep.* I, App. 5, pp. 587–590). On the other hand, we do know for certain that he spent a number of weeks in Brussels around July 1498 and was in great need of money (see Epp. 76 and 77). It is thus conceivable that he accepted a commission to write some epitaphs for a family tomb just then being erected for a son who had died not long after his mother (see *Carm.* 11, 1). If so, the mother died on 13 May of the preceding year, 1497. In fact, that is also the date which Sweertius gives for her death – if we transpose two of the Roman numerals and read “MXDVII” instead of the erroneous “MDXVII”. The son presumably died about a year after his mother, perhaps in June 1498. Neither Odilia nor her son has been identified.

Metre of *Carm.* 9: iambic senarius; of *Carmm.* 10–11: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS V, 1144–1146; LB V, 1360; for *Carm.* 9 also α.

9 EPITAPHIVM ODILLAE, FIGENDVM IN
 CIMITERIO SVB SIGNO CRVCIFIXI

Sepulta viuum te salutat Odilia.
 Quid ad sepultae verba mox fugit color?

Tit. EPITAPHIVM ... CRVCIFIXI C K: Bruxellis in

D. Gudulae α.

1 *te salutat* That the dead person addresses the passer-by is an ancient convention in epitaphs; see Lattimore, pp. 230–237 and 328–329. Er. employs the convention more or less subtly also in *Carm.* 10, 1–2 and *Carm.*

11, 7–20; he does so also in *Carmm.* 12, 52, 83, 85, 113, and 114; cf. *Carm.* 60 (with head-note).

2 *Quid ... color* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 250 (n.).

Viuum saluto viua. Quur lubitum est rei
 Placidae bonaque dira dare vocabula?
 5 Mala vita mors est et sepulchrum et inferi.
 Vna haec tibi timenda, si mortem times.
 Nam quod vocant mori, est piis renascier.
 Nostri peribit nihil et haud pilus, nisi
 Perit feraci semen abditum scrobe,
 10 Mox se benigno redditurum foenore.
 Si rem putaris, quid mori est nisi seri?
 Condi sepulchro, quid nisi occari sata?
 Iamque in propinquo est ille fatalis dies,
 Quum vere nostro flantibus Fauoniis
 15 Haec ossa sicca, siccus hic cinisculus,
 Rediuiua putri pullulabunt e cauo
 Moxque emicabit laeta corporum seges,
 Quorum viror perennis haud vnquam amplius
 Marcescet. Hanc in spem fidelis interim
 20 Sopita gremio terra seruat fragmina.
 At mens caducis expedita vinculis,
 Inuisa quanquam, viuut ac te cominus
 Sentit videtque, triplici discrimine
 Vitae anteactae merita carpens praemia

3-4 Quur lubitum ... dira ... vocabula? *C K*:
 Cur? Libitum ... dura ... vocabula. *a*.
 8 peribit ... haud *C K*: nihil peribit, nec *a*.

14 Quum *C K*: Dum *a*.
 15 Haec ... cinisculus *a*: om. *C K*.

3-10 *Viuum ... foenore* See n. *Carm.* 62, 17.
 5 *Mala vita mors est* Cf. *Carm.* 48, 4; 94, 84;
Enchir., *LB V*, 4 B-5 B; *Vidua christ.*, *LB V*,
 750 D; 754 E-755 A; 765 D; *Enarrat. in Ps.*
 33, *ASD V*, 3, p. 143, ll. 844-850; p. 159,
 ll. 469-471. The thought is biblical; see *Rom.*
 6, 23; *Eph.* 2, 1; *Col.* 2, 13; *1. Tim.* 5, 6.
 7-19 *Nam ... Marcescet* Cf. *Prud. Cath.* 10,
 120-124; *Er. Carmm.* 16 and 17; Lattimore,
 pp. 301-311.
 8 *Nostri ... pilus* Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD I*, 2,
 p. 453, ll. 18-20; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 1, *ASD V*, 2,
 p. 68, l. 69: "Vestri autem ne pilus quidem
 capitis peribit"; *De sarc. eccl. concord.*, *ASD*
V, 3, p. 277, ll. 673-674; *Lc.* 21, 18; *Act.* 27,
 34.
 8-12 *nisi ... sata* Cf. *Ioh.* 12, 24-25; *1. Cor.* 15,
 36-43; *Er. Paraphr. in 1. Cor.* 15, 37-44, *LB*
 VII, 909 D-910 E.
 14 *vere nostro* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 241.

15 *ossa sicca* Cf. *Ex.* 37, 4: "Ossa arida" (of the
 dry bones that are clothed in flesh, tradition-
 ally interpreted as a prophecy of the resurrec-
 tion), quoted and explained in *Er. Eccles.*,
ASD V, 5, p. 252, ll. 167-179. Cf. *Precat. ad*
Iesum, *LB V*, 1212 E: "arentia ... ossa"; *Carm.*
 10, 3-4; 73, 1; 112, 291-292; 114, 27.
siccus / cinisculus Cf. *Prud. Cath.* 10, 143:
 "cinisculus arens".
 17 *corporum seges* Cf. *Ov. Her.* 6, 11; *Er. Carm.*
 120, 19 (with notes).
 20 *Sopita ... fragmina* Cf. *Prud. Cath.* 10,
 125-128; *Er. Carm.* 10, 4.
 22-23 *te ... videtque* Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD I*,
 2, p. 454, ll. 3-5: "Viuut profecto, mihi crede,
 viuut ille, adestque praesens nobis, et hoc
 ipsum nostrum colloquium audit sentitque."
 23 *triplici discrimine* Heaven, hell, or purgatory.
 24 *Vitae ... praemia* Cf. *Carm.* 113, 3-5; 137, 23.

- 25 Messemque pro semente quam fecit metens.
 Sua cuique nostrum nota sors, at vos latet.
 Bona pars relictis artubus circumuolans
 Captat pias hac commeantium preces,
 Vt a luendis expiata noxiis,
 30 Quas terreo contraxit e contagio,
 Iam pura purum adire possit aethera.
 Has flagitato subleua precamine,
 Memor vices te mox manere mutuas.
 Pendentis alto victimae de stipite
 35 Mors obsecranda est, obsecranda vulnera.
 Hoc fonte si quod efficax piaculum
 Viuisque manat, manat hinc et mortuis.
 Si porro properas, tum precatus verbulo
 Lucem et quietem, perge cursum. Te quoque
 40 Para sepulchro, mox sequuturus. Vale.

26 Sua ... latet *a*: *om.* C K.
 40 mox C K: moxque *a*.

In fine: Τέλος C, M.DXVII. XIII. Maii *a*.

- 25 *Messem ... metens* Proverbial: "As you have sown, so shall you reap." See Otto 1104; Er. *Adag.* 778.
 27–30 *Bona ... contagio* Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 81 b–d.
 30 *terreo / contagio* For this Platonic image see also Cic. *Tusc.* I, 30, 72; Prud. *Cath.* 10, 30; Boeth. *Consol.* III, 4, 10 and 17; III, 12, 1; and, e.g. Er. *Orat. de virt.*, LB V, 67 E; *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1230 F; *Enchir.*, LB V, 55 D: "peccati ... contagio"; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 190, l. 170; *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 121, l. 1131: "mundi contagiis"; *Rat. ver. theol.*, LB V, 88 D; Ep. 858, ll. 246–247; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, ASD V, 2, p. 341, l. 410: "terrenis contagiis"; *Adag.* 2201, ASD II, 5, p. 178, l. 389.
 32 *precamine* See n. *Carm.* 2, 131.
 33 *Memor ... mutuas* The *memento mori* theme, so common in medieval and Renaissance epitaphs, also occurs in ancient ones; see Latimore, pp. 256–258; see also ll. 39–40 below; cf. *Carm.* 12, 10; 83, 12–14; 85, 7.
 34 *victimae* See n. *Carm.* 64, 89.
 36 *Hoc fonte* The water and blood flowing from Christ's side, foreshadowed by the water flowing from the rock struck by Moses. See n. tit. *Carm.* 11.
 38–39 *precatus ... quietem* The prayer was very familiar because it was said several times in the mass for the burial of the dead: "Requiem eternam dona eis, domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis." See *Missale Romanum*, I, pp. 483 and 485–486; *Sarum Missal*, pp. 431–433. Cf. Er. Ep. 2466, ll. 114–115; *Carm.* 12, 9; 143, 2.

10 EIVSDEM QVERELA DE FILIO SVPERSTITTE

Dictum erat ad sacras mihi nomen Odilia lymphas,
 Idque mei solum iam superesse vides.

2 *Idque ... vides* See n. *Carm.* 2, 25.

- Caetera mors rapuit, cineres atque arida tantum
 Terra parens gremio confouet ossa suo.
 5 Quid tibi te dignum nisi te, mors saeua, precemur,
 Scindere cui cordi est quae bene iunxit amor?
 Iam nihil est charam a membris discerpere vitam;
 Quiddam etiam dulci dulcius est anima.
 Tu potes a gnato dilectam auellere matrem,
 10 Impia, vel centum rumpere vincla potes.
 Quos natura potens, te praeter in omnia victrix,
 Mutua quos pietas, quos ita rara fides,
 Quos mores placiti et dulcis concordia vitae
 Tam bene, tam multis nexibus vnierant,
 15 Hos tu vt distraheres tollis sine pignore matrem,
 Atque ita pars melior orba relicta mei est.
 Sed bene, quod mors nostra scidit, tua, CHRISTE, resarcit,
 Plusque boni reddit quam dedit ista mali.

18 ista K: illa C.

- 3-4 *arida / ossa* Ez. 37, 4; Er. *Carm.* 73, 1; cf. *Carm.* 9, 15 (n.).
 4 *Terra ... suo* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 10, 125-126; Er. *Carm.* 9, 20. The phrase "gremio confouet" is a variation on the formulaic "gremio fouet"; see, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* I, 692 and 718; Stat. *Silv.* II, 1, 121; Er. *Carm.* 42, 61 (n.); 88, 36.
Terra parens Verg. *Aen.* IV, 178; Iuv. 8, 257.
 5-16 *Quid ... mei est* The passage is closely paralleled in *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen, LB VIII, 552 F-553 A*. Cf. *Carm.* 83, 9-10. For the apostrophe to death in Er.' epitaphs see *Carm.* 38, ll. 15 and 25-31; *Carm.* 71, 7-11; 83, 9-12; 92, 1-6.
 5 *Quid tibi / precemur* Lucan. VIII, 827.
mors saeua *Carm.* 71, 7-8; 96, 123.
 6 *iunxit amor* Cf. *Carm.* 100, 12 (n.).
 8 *dulci dulcius* Plaut. *Truc.* 371: "melle dulci dulcius"; cf. *Asin.* 614.
dulcius / anima Proverbial; see Otto 1914 (of a beloved person); cf. Er. Ep. 5, l. 27: "hac anima chariorem"; Ep. 7, ll. 2-3: "hac anima, denique etiam me ipso chariorem"; *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen, LB VIII, 553 A*: "mater mea, mihi charior anima".
 10 *rumpere vincla* = *LHL IV, 542-543*.
 11 *natura potens* Ov. *Met.* X, 352-353.
 15 *pignore matrem* = *Carm.* 11, 19; cf. *Carm.* 112, 235.
 16 *pars melior / mei* Cf. Ov. *Her.* 10, 58; Otto 111. Cf. Er. *Carm.* 13, 7; 93, 158 (n.); 109, 42 (with n.ll. 42-43).

II RESPONDET FILIVS SVB PICTVRA CHRISTI
CRVCIFIXI, MOYSI ET SERPENTIS.

Vita fugax haud longa dedit diuortia nostri:
 En mors aequa tibi quod tulit ipsa refert.
 Vna duos pietas viuos bene iunxerat, vt nunc
 Amborum cineres vna recondit humus.
 5 Amborum vultus tabula visuntur eadem;
 Subripuit leto hoc ingeniosa manus.
 At tu, spectator, sortis memor omnibus aequae,
 Haec saltem ex animo fundito vota sitis:
 'CHRISTE, necis domitor ac vitae perpetis autor,
 10 Iugem animis vitam morte reponere tua.
 Tu sacra illa silex, teretis quae verberare virgae
 Vitaleis scatebras gentibus icta dedit,
 Tuque salutiferum serpentis in arbore signum,
 Quod veteris colubri cuncta venena domat.
 15 Quin hodieque piis vitae fons ille perennis
 Pectore defosso sanguis et vnda scatet.

8 fundito *K*: fundite *C*.

Tit. PICTVRA ... SERPENTIS If the picture above the tomb was a triptych, as appears likely, the crucifixion would be portrayed in the centre. Christ's side has been pierced by the soldier's spear, and blood and water are flowing from it (*Ioh.* 19, 34). The side panels must have shown two prefigurations of Christ's saving power: the bronze serpent set up in the desert to heal the Israelites who had been bitten by snakes (*Nu.* 21, 8-9) and the water streaming from the rock struck by Moses (*Ex.* 17, 5-6; *Nu.* 20, 11). On the bronze serpent as a prefiguration of the crucified Christ see *Ioh.* 3, 14-15; also, e.g., Aug. *Serm.* 6, 5, 7, *PL* 38, 62; Isid. *Quaest.* 36, 2-3, *PL* 83, 355; Albert. M. *Serm.* 39, 2, in: *Opera*, XIII, p. 568; Er. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 368, ll. 163-165; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 293, ll. 562-564; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 33, *ASD* V, 3, p. 98, ll. 132-135; p. 101, ll. 244-249; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 196, ll. 172-173; *De praep. ad mort.*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 380, ll. 13-16. For the parallel between the water gushing from the rock and the water and blood streaming from Christ's side see 1. *Cor.* 10, 4; Sedul. *Pasch.* I, 152-159; Hugo Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche: Die Ekklesiologie der Väter*, Salzburg,

1964, pp. 185, 207-208, and 214-215; Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 33, *ASD* V, 3, p. 100, ll. 210-212; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 196, ll. 190-191. Odilia and her son were probably painted as small worshipping figures at the bottom of the side panels (ll. 5-6 below); cf. introd. *Carm.* 124.
 1 *haud longa* Cf. the heading of *Carm.* 72, where the phrase "paulo post defunctum" refers to a span of about one year.
diuortia Er. calls death "triste diuortium" in *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, *LB* VIII, 553 A.
 6 *ingeniosa manus* = John of Salisbury, *Enthetiscus maior* 1334; Agric., untitled epigram in *Lucubrationes*, p. 314; Gaguin, *Carm.* 53, 2, first printed in Aug. 1498; Er. *Adag.* 670, *LB* II, 290 B: "sculptoris ingeniosa manus"; cf. Ep. 2212, l. 9: "ingeniosa pictoris manus".
 7 *sortis / omnibus aequae* Proverbial; see Otto 1141; Er. *Adag.* 2812; *Carm.* 38, 27.
 8 *sitis* That is, "those who lie buried here".
 9-10 *necis ... tua* Cf. *Carm.* 1, 79-81 (n.).
 9 *vitae / autor* See n. *Carm.* 2, 243.
 11 *verberare virgae* = Ov. *Met.* XIV, 300.
 14 *veteris colubri* Cf. *Ap. Ioh.* 12, 9; 20, 2.
 16 *sanguis et vnda* *Ioh.* 19, 34. Here the blood stands for the Eucharist, the water for bap-

Ille dat exanimis reduci recalescere flatu,
 Haec animae maculas abluit omnigenas.
 His age muneribus dulci cum pignore matrem
 20 In dextrum referens assere, CHRISTE, gregem.’

tism; see, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *In Ioann.* 19, 5, 4, in: *Opera omnia*, X, p. 622; Albert M. *Enarr. in Ioann.* 19, 34, in: *Opera omnia*, XXIV, pp. 663–664; Er. *Precat. ad Iesum*, LB V, 1214 C.
 17 *recalescere flatu* = Prud. *Psychom.* 59 (of a corpse); cf. *Cath.* 10, 95; Er. *Precat. ad Iesum*,

LB V, 1212 E: “Quis hoc putre cadauer in vitae nouitatem restituet, nisi tu qui solus arentia deplorataque ossa vitali flatu animas?”
 19 *pignore matrem* = *Carm.* 10, 15; cf. *Carm.* 112, 235.
 20 *In ... gregem* Cf. *Mt.* 25, 32–33.

12. AN EPITAPH FOR WILHELMINA BEKA

1502–1504

Wilhelmina was the daughter of Arnoldus Beka, senior professor of law at Louvain from 1481 to 1487. Wilhelmina’s husband, Antoon Ysbrandtsz, had been town secretary of Antwerp from 1486 to 1488 and was pensionary (legal consultant) from 1489 to his death in 1505. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Arnoldus) Beka and (Antoon) Ysbrandtsz. The epitaph, which must have been composed during Er.’ first stay in Louvain in 1502–1504, was first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507. It bears some similarities in structure and language to *Carmm.* 83 and 84, also cast in the first person.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS I, 1025; LB I, 1219.

IN FILIAM BEKAE, QVOD SONAT RIVVM LINGVA NOSTRATE

Sum Gulielma, patre Arnolde cognomine Beka; is
 Iuris fons gemini, non modo riuus erat.
 Cui gener, Antoni, placuisti ex omnibus vnus,
 Isbrandum referens ore animoque patrem.
 5 Nec minus est mea vita tibi quam forma probata;
 Templa, domus, proles, haec mea cura fuit.
 Quatuor enixam pueros totidemque puellas
 Mors rapit intra aeu septima lustra mei.
 Lector, age huic requiem cinerique animaeque precatus
 10 Viue diu, imo diu est hic nihil, ergo bene.

Tit. BEKAE ... NOSTRATE The Dutch word “beek” means “brook”.

3 *ex omnibus vnus* = Ov. *Met.* III, 513; cf. *LHL* IV, 45–48.

4 *referens ... patrem* Cf. *Carm.* 4, 70 (n.).

6 *Templa ... proles* Cf. *Carm.* 83, 4–8; 84, 7.
 9 *huic ... precatus* Cf. *Carm.* 9, 38–39 (n.).

10 *Viue ... bene* What counts is not the length of life, but its quality. For this commonplace see, e.g., Sen. *Epist.* 22, 17; 77, 20 (Er. *Parab.*,

ASD I, 5, p. 220, l. 959): "Quomodo fabula, sic vita non quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit, refert"; 93, 2; 101, 15; Er. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 450, ll. 20–24; *Parab.*, ASD I, 5, p. 192, l. 504; *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 144, ll. 243–245.

diu est hic nihil For the commonplace see, e.g., Cic. *Cato* 19, 69; Ov. *Met.* XV, 177; Otto 1915; Walther 4606; 16640; 33872; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, pp. 52–56, ll. 354–467.

13. AN EPITAPH FOR MARGARET HONORA

1497–1499?

The identity of Margaret Honora and her husband has not been established. Reedijk suggests that she might be Berta van Heyen's daughter Margaret, who died only six weeks after her wedding (c. 1489); see *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 557 C–D and introd. *Carmm.* 113–114. But the Margaret referred to in the present poem had the "cognomen" (cf. *Carm.* 12, 1) Honora, which cannot be a Latinization of Heyen. Er. does not mention the name Honora in *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*.

A *terminus post quem* for the poem is provided by several echoes of Fausto Andrelini's poetry – *Liuiia*, published on 1 October 1490 (see n.l. 4 below), and *Elegiae*, first published in 1494 (see n.l. 8 below). The close parallels in ll. 4 and 6 to texts written in 1498–1499 point to the later 1490s.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS I, 1025; LB I, 1219.

EPITAPHIVM MARGARETAE HONORAE

Hic sita Margareta est, merito cognomine Honora,
 Fiscini, tedis digna, Guihelme, tuis.
 Quam bene congruerant et forma et pectus et anni
 Et ne morte quidem dissoluendus amor.

2 Guihelme C K¹: Gulielme K².

1 *Hic sita / est* A stock phrase in both actual and literary epitaphs; cf. *Carm.* 14, 1 (n.). Variations are common; see *Carm.* 15, 1; 39, 1; 40, 1–2; 60, 3; 66, 2; 70, 1; 73, 1; 75, 1; 78, 1; 83, 1; 84, 1; 85, 1; 86, 1; 126, 1; 137, 1; and 143, 1.
 2 *Fiscini* The second syllable of the name is scanned long. For this reason it is probably not related to "fiscina", the second syllable of which is short, or to the Dutch name De

Corver ("the basket-maker"), as Reedijk suggests.
 4 *ne ... amor* Cf. Andreli. *Liv.* IV, 2, 10 (of the bond between husband and wife): "vix ipsa dissoluenda nece". The thought also occurs in Er. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 421, ll. 14–16: "Vxoriam charitas ... sola morte, imo ne morte quidem distrahitur"; p. 422, ll. 20–21: "Iam accesserit coniugali charitati vinculum adamantinum, quod ne mors quidem ipsa queat

- 5 Rapta sed est viridis primaueo in flore iuuentae,
 Vt rosa lacteolis semadaperta comis.
 Dimidius superest dulci sine coniuge coniunx,
 Moerens vt viduus compare turtur aue.

abruptere." These two passages (also in *ASD* I, 5, p. 406, ll. 270–272; p. 408, ll. 306–307) come from *Encom. matrim.*, written in 1498–1499. See further *Vidua christ.*, *LB* V, 747 B and 747 D. In *Inst. christ. matrim.*, *LB* V, 624 B, Er. explains that physical death cannot dissolve the matrimonial knot because true love resides in the soul, not the body.

5 *viridis / iuuentae* Verg. *Aen.* V, 295; Ov. *Ars* III, 557; and often; Er. *Carm.* 99, 9; cf. *Carm.* 2, 57 and 2, 199–200.

primaueo ... iuuentae Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII, 162; Sil. I, 376.

6 *rosa ... comis* Cf. *Carm.* 4, 94–95.

semadaperta = Ov. *Am.* I, 6, 4 (the only occurrence of the word in ancient poetry).

7 *Dimidius* See *Carm.* 109, 42, with n.ll. 42–43; cf. *Carm.* 10, 16 (n.).

coniuge coniunx = *LHL* I, 424–425.

8 *viduus ... aue* Cf. Poliz. *Sylv.* 2, 9: "Dum gemit erepta viduatus compare turtur".

viduus / turtur = Andrel. *Eleg.* I, sig. a8^v. The turtle-dove was a stock emblem of marital love and fidelity; see T. Peach, *Sources et fortunes d'une image: "sur l'arbre sec la veufve tourterelle"*, *BHR* 48 (1986), pp. 735–745; Er. *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 412, l. 11; *Carm.* 70, 3–4; 132, 3.

14–15. TWO EPITAPHS FOR DAVID OF BURGUNDY, BISHOP OF UTRECHT

May? 1496

David of Burgundy (c. 1427–16 April 1496), one of the natural sons of Duke Philip the Good, became bishop of Utrecht in 1456. Er. seems to have sent him a small bundle of moral and religious poems in early 1491, no doubt to win his favour, as Allen suggests in Ep. 28, n.l. 22 (for the date of this letter see introd. *Carm.* 50). Er.' ordination on 25 April 1492 was probably not by David himself, but by the Carmelite Jan van Riet (Johannes de Arundine), bishop of Usbite; in *Epist. c. pseudeuang.*, *ASD* IX, 1, p. 283, ll. 5–6 Er. says only that the ordination took place during ("sub") David's administration. See A.J. van de Ven, *David van Bourgondië, bisschop van Utrecht, en de priesterwijding van Erasmus*, *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* (1970), pp. 196–209. J.K. Sowards, *The Youth of Erasmus: Some Reconsiderations*, *ERSY* 9 (1989), p. 22, pointing to an anecdote in *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 134, ll. 37–49, disputes this conclusion. In the anecdote, David does indeed prove to be a severe examiner of candidates for ordination; but Er. does not mention that he himself was present at the occasion. David did give Er. leave to join Bishop Hendrik van Bergen at Cambrai. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (David of) Burgundy.

Carmm. 14 and 15 were first printed in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; *K*¹*; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1025; *LB* I, 1219.

14 EPISCOPO TRAIECTENSI DAVID, NOTHO PHILIPPI
DVCIS BORGONDIONVM

Hic situs est praesul, non tantum nomine, Daudid,
Digna patre proles, magne Philippe, tua.
Iste gregem plusquam patria pietate fouebat,
Pacis amans, virtuti ingeniisque fauens.

Tit. BORGONDIONVM C K¹: Borgundionum K².

1 *Hic situs est* = *Ov. Met.* II, 327; *Lucan.* VIII, 793; cf. *Er. Carm.* 13, 1 (n.).
non tantum nomine The phrase belongs with "praesul", not with "Daudid", a name which *Er.* understood to mean "fortis manu"; see, e.g., *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, *ASD V*, 2, p. 224, ll. 21-22; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, *ASD V*, 2, p. 329, l. 14; p. 336, l. 227; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 33, *ASD V*, 3, p. 101, ll. 254-255; p. 108, l. 522; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, *ASD V*, 3, p. 263, ll. 179-180. For the meanings of the name David - "fortis manu" and "desiderabilis" - see *Hier. Hebr. nom.*, I. *Rg.*, *CCSL* 72, p. 103; *Isid.*

Orig. VII, 6, 64. Because of his genuine concern for his flock David was a true bishop, in name and deed. Cf. ll. 3-4 below; *Carm.* 15, 2; *Eccles.*, *ASD V*, 4, p. 130, ll. 991-995. Cf. also *Carm.* 39, 3-4; 40, 3-4; 137, 7-12 (epitaphs for Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai); 107, 19-20 (referring to Gregory the Great); *Moria*, *ASD IV*, 3, pp. 170-172, ll. 739-752; *Rat. ver. theol.*, *LB V*, 116 F: a bishop should care only for the welfare of his flock and the glory of Christ.

2 *Digna ... tua* Cf. *Ov. Pont.* II, 2, 81-82.
3 *pietate fouebat* *LHL IV*, 247.

15 EIDEM

Hic Daudid ille, duci proles iactanda Philippo.
Commissum patrio fouit amore gregem.

2 *fouit amore* = *LHL II*, 342.

16-17. TWO EPITAPHS FOR JACOB BATT

1502

Jacob Batt of Bergen op Zoom (c. 1466-1502) studied in Paris. After his return to Bergen, where he became a citizen on 1 February 1494, he befriended *Er.*, who at the time was in the service of Bishop Hendrik van Bergen. Batt became one of the main characters in *Antibarbari*. He left Bergen op Zoom in c. 1496, but remained a faithful friend to *Er.* As tutor to Anna van Borssele's son Adolph of Burgundy, Batt helped *Er.* secure her patronage (cf. introd. *Carm.* 1). See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Jacob) Batt.

The two poems were first printed in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507. For the theme cf. *Carm.* 9, 7-19 (n.).

Metre: iambic dimeter.

Sources: *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1025; *LB* I, 1219–1220.

16 IACOBO BATTO, GRAECO DIMETRO IAMBICO

Ἰάκωβε Βάττε, θάρσσο,
Καλῶς θανῶν παλιμφύει.

1 *θάρσσο* For metrical reasons (and to avoid rhyme) Er. here employs an unusual form of the imperative, instead of *θάρσει* – the form that recurs in ancient Greek epitaphs and in

the Greek N.T. (e.g. *Mt.* 9, 2 and 22); see also Er. *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 5, p. 254, ll. 245–246.
2 *Καλῶς ... παλιμφύει* Cf. *Carm.* 62, 17 (n.); 17, 2.

17 IIDEM LATINI VERSVS

Iacobe Batte, ne time,
Bene moriens renascitur.

2 *Bene moriens* Cf. Sen. *Epist.* 61, 2: “In senectute [curo], vt bene moriar; bene autem mori est libenter mori.” Er., of course, understands the phrase in a Christian sense. Cf. *Coll.*,

ASD I, 3, p. 228, ll. 49–50: “Apud Christianos miser non est, qui bene moritur”; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 256, ll. 244–245: “Non potest non bene mori, qui pie vixerit.”

18. AN EX LIBRIS FOR JACOB BATT
before 1502

On Jacob Batt see introd. *Carmm.* 16–17. The epigram was first printed in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1026; *LB* I, 1220.

IN TERGO CODICIS BATTICI

Sum Batti. Qui me manibus subduxerit vncis,
Huic ne quo Battus defuat opto loco.

Tit. CODICIS In Renaissance usage the word can also refer to a printed book; see, e.g., Jean Auber’s epigram (1498), quoted in introd. *Carm.* 116.

1 *manibus / vncis* In Verg. *Aen.* III, 217 the phrase is applied to the Harpies’ talons. It occurs in a different context also in Verg. *Georg.* II, 365–366. Cf. Er. *Ep.* 447, l. 75, where Florentius is said to be exposed to the

“harpyarum vnguibus” of greedy people; *Adag.* 1291, *LB* II, 519 A: “rapaces et vncis vnguibus homines”; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 200, l. 87: “manus ad rapinam incuruas”.

2 *Battus* The herdsman who betrayed a theft by Mercury; see Ov. *Met.* II, 687–707.
defuat For this unusual form see Plaut. *Mil.* 595.

19. TWO SILVER SALT-CELLARS FROM MAIDENDALE
autumn 1497?

The epigrams were evidently intended to be engraved on two salt-cellars sent as a present by the inmates of the convent *Vallis virginum* to the abbot of an unnamed monastery. They were first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Reedijk thinks that the presents might have come from the Abbey of Ghislenghien near Ath in Hainault, also known as “Val des Vierges”, and that the verses must hence have been composed during the time Er. was in the service of Bishop Hendrik van Bergen (summer 1492–summer 1495). The name “Val des Vierges”, however, seems to have been applied to the abbey only at its founding in 1126. In Er.’ day it was known as “Guilenghien”. See U. Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*, I, Bruges, 1890, pp. 316–317. The convent to which Er. refers is perhaps the “Vallis virginum” in Amsterdam, known as “Maagdendaal” in Dutch. This house was founded by Gijsbrecht Douwe before 1432. In 1475 the Franciscan Tertiaries who lived there joined the Windesheim congregation. See Michael Schoengen, *Monasticon Batauum*, II, *De Augustijnsche Orden benevens de Broeders en Zusters van het Gemeene Leven*, Amsterdam, 1941, pp. 16 and 19. The Windesheim congregation had close ties with the smaller Sion congregation to which Er.’ monastery Steyn belonged, since both were chapters of the Augustinian order. Cornelis Gerard could have taken the salt-cellars along as a gift to the abbot of St. Victor at Paris in late October 1497, when he served as one of the representatives of the Windesheim congregation who were helping to reform the abbey. If so, he must have asked Er. to compose these verses; the abbot, to whom the salt-cellars were presented, might then be identified as Nicaise Delorme, abbot of St. Victor and, like Cornelis and Er., a canon regular of St. Augustine; see *Contemporaries* s.v. (Nicaise) Delorme.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS I, 1026; LB I, 1220.

DVO SALINA ARGENTEA ABBATI CVIDAM DONO MISSA A
 MONIALIBVS MONASTERII VVLGO DICTI VALLIS VIRGINVM

Virginea de valle duo sine labe salilla
 Adsumus; hanc mensam non nisi pura decent.

In altero salino

Virginitas nitor argenti, sapientia sal est.
 Virgo dat argentum, tu, pater, adde salem.

1 *sine labe* = LHL V, 181; cf. Er. *Carm.* 40, 8 (n.). 3 *sapientia sal est* Cf. *Adag.* 1251; *Mt.* 5, 13; *Mc.* 9, 49; *Lc.* 14, 34–35.

20. EPIGRAPHS FOR SIX NEW CHURCH BELLS

1497–1501?

For which church were these bell epigrams written? Two possibilities have been advanced thus far. Reedijk proposes St. Michael's of Den Hem near Schoonhoven. This convent and church were destroyed by lightning on 14 June 1495; see Dalmatius van Heel, *Het klooster der reguliere kanunniken te Den Hem bij Schoonhoven*, Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht 69 (1950), pp. 164–198. Since there were close ties between Steyn and Den Hem (cf. introd. *Carm.* 50), we can readily understand that Er. was asked to compose verses for the new bells. He could have written them on one of his visits to Holland in the summer of 1498, early 1499, or late spring 1501. In this regard it is worth while to note the close verbal parallel in l. 15 to *Orat. de virt.*, written in c. March 1499.

Reedijk's suggestion, though plausible, is not without its problems. According to Dalmatius van Heel (p. 183) the rebuilding of the convent and church went on for many decades, owing to a lack of funds. Yet ll. 3–4 of the epigrams – first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507 – speak of the church and the bells as already restored. Given the lack of money available for restoration, could Den Hem have afforded an expensive set of new bells? Furthermore, as N. van der Blom points out in a private letter, a monastery dedicated to St. Michael might be expected to have at least one of its bells placed under the archangel's protection. (For medieval and Renaissance examples of bells dedicated to St. Michael see Walter, pp. 232, 275–276, and 329.) Yet not one of Er.' epigrams mentions the archangel or, for that matter, any of the angels. Even Girardus Scastus, the abbot or prior under whose auspices the church and its bells were restored, has not been identified. Dalmatius van Heel mentions no such name in his article on Den Hem. Reedijk proposes that Er. might have been thinking of the suffragan Hendrik Schadehoet through confusion with Gerard Scadde of Calcar, who in c. 1424 founded the school at 's-Hertogenbosch that Er. attended in the mid-1480s. But this is clearly a grasping at straws.

Nicolaas van der Blom, *On a Verse of Erasmus*, ERSY 1 (1981), pp. 148–153, citing difficulties such as these, follows up a suggestion earlier rejected by Reedijk: that the church in question might be the Cathedral of Our Lady at Chartres. The north tower of this church was destroyed by lightning on 26 July 1506, along with its six bells. But much speaks against this identification also. Lines 3–4 of the bell poems imply that the church or part of the church had to be rebuilt, not just one tower, as was the case at Chartres. The bishop of Chartres at the time was René d'Illiers (d. 8 April 1507), not Gerard Scastus. Van der Blom ingeniously theorizes that Er. first wrote the name "Renati" but changed it to "Erardi" in the autumn of 1506 after learning that René was seriously ill and that the king would name Erard de la Marck as his successor. In order to lay "the ghost" Scastus to rest, Van der Blom emends the name "Scasti" to "Sanctis" and

assumes that “Girardi” is a spelling variant or printer’s error for “Erardi”. His emendation, however, has the effect of making the church in question sacred to All Saints rather than the Virgin Mary – a difficulty not overcome by Alfred M.M. Dekker’s idea in *Twee epigrammen van Erasmus* (*R* 49, 50), *Hermeneus* 53 (1981), pp. 366–367, that the emended word “Sanctis” be taken instead as the indirect object of “restituit”. In any case, the restoration of the north tower was not begun until 24 March 1507 and not completed until 1513. See Marcel J. Bulteau, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 3 vols., Chartres 1887–1892², II, p. 100. Er., however, speaks of both the church and the tower as already rebuilt (ll. 3–4) and of the bells as already recast (heading). Erard de la Marck was not elected bishop of Chartres until 28 June 1507, six months after these epigrams were published.

Perhaps the church in question was the abbey church of Ste. Geneviève in Paris, which belonged to Er.’ own order, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. Er. lived close by this church during his student days in Paris. He may even have preached some sermons on the saints there. It was to Ste. Geneviève that he turned for relief from an attack of the quartan fever in the winter of 1496–1497; see introd. *Carm.* 88. The church’s bell tower – it survives to the present day as “Tour Clovis” – was hit by lightning on 6 June 1483. The ensuing fire destroyed the upper part of the belfry, melted the bells, and damaged the church. To repair the damage, abbot Philippe Langlois (d. 1488) obtained from Pope Sixtus IV indulgences for five years. These were renewed by Pope Innocent VIII for another three years. The tower was restored and the bells recast during the reign of Charles VIII (d. 1498). See Aubin-Louis Millin, *Antiquités nationales ou recueil de monumens*, 5 vols., Paris, 1790–1795, V, section 60, “Abbaye Sainte-Geneviève à Paris”, pp. 39 and 58. But there are difficulties with this possibility also. The abbot under whom the tower was actually reconstructed was Philippe Cousin (abbot from 1488 to 1517), not “Girardus Scastus”; the prior of the Augustinians in Paris around 1497, however, was Pierre Gérard; see Renaudet, p. 286, n. 2. According to Claude Du Molinet, *Histoire de Sainte-Geneviève et de son église royale et apostolique à Paris* (seventeenth-century ms. in Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 610), p. 400, only “four good bells” were cast for the rebuilt tower. And none of the bells mentioned by Er. is dedicated to Ste. Geneviève herself.

Er.’ verses are written in several different metres: ll. 1–6, 9–12, and 15–18 are elegiac distichs; ll. 7–8 are iambic senarii; ll. 13–14 are choliamb.

Sources: *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1026; *LB* I, 1220.

IN SEX TINTINABVLA RESTITVTA, QVAE FVLGINE
CONFLAGRARANT

Concinimus sex aera, at ego cui maxima vox est
Alpha et ω triadi rite dicata vocor.
Nos aedemque sacram Scasti pia cura Girardi
Praesulis absumptam fulmine restituit.

In tintinabulum Mariae sacrum

5 Aenea mi vox est, ac sic nulla aenea vox est,
Vt par Christiparae laudibus esse queat.

2 ω K: o C.

- 2 *Alpha et ω* Since “ω” is long, we must read the phrase with hiatus after “Alpha” (a poetic license sanctioned by Greek authority). The phrase occurs in this form also in *Adag.* 8, *ASD* II, 1, p. 121, l. 427. Cf. *Ap. Ioh.* 1, 8: “Ego sum alpha et omega”; *Ap. Ioh.* 21, 6; 22, 13. The inscription “Alpha and Omega”, written either in Greek characters or in transcription, is often found on medieval church bells; see Walter, pp. 203 and 229.
- triadi* Like other humanists, Er. preferred this Greek term for the Trinity to the more traditional “trinitas” (used in *Carm.* 20, 8, for metrical reasons); see, e.g., *Precat. nov.*, *LB* V, 1199 E; *Ep.* 143, ll. 93 and 98; *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 164, l. 599; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 228, l. 665.
- rite dicata* = *Ov. Fast.* I, 610.
- vocor* In the late Middle Ages bells often bore inscriptions speaking of themselves in the first person. A bell in Blaricum, Holland, for example, bears the inscription: “Vocor Maria. Ic heyt Maria.” See Walter, pp. 204, 211, 213, 214, 216, 218–219, and elsewhere.
- 3–4 *Nos ... restituit* Walter gives several examples of inscriptions that indicate the name of the prelate responsible for having the bell restored or cast. See p. 206: “Me veterem fidus renouat abbas Godefridus”; p. 207: “Sub Hainrico praeposito ... facta sum”; p. 271: “Unter dem erwidrigen apt Caspar Schiegg ist dise glogg gegosen.”
- 3 *Scasti / Girardi* N. van der Blom (p. 150) objects that “the ‘administrative’ order of

the names ... is hardly compatible with a poem”. This is his principal argument for emending “Scasti” to “Sanctis”. The inversion of names, however, is quite common in poetry for metrical reasons. See, e.g., *Carm.* 13, 2: “Fiscini ... Guihelme”; 78, 2: “Vtenhouius ... Nicolaus”; 86, 1–2: “Claua ... Antonius”; 132, 5: “Gracchum Tiberium”. But Van der Blom’s feeling that we need to “get rid” of “Scasti” may be sound, since this name seems to be totally unknown. If so, we might emend the word to “sancti”, as an adjective with “Girardi praesulis”. For this usage in Er.’s writing see *Enarrat. in Ps.* 33, *ASD* V, 3, p. 138, ll. 655–656: “Sancti sunt praesules, qui sedulo curant gregem Dominicum”; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 289, l. 25: “sanctissime praesul”; *In fun. Bert. de Heyen*, *LB* VIII, 554 F: “sancta coniuge”; *LB* VIII, 555 B: “sanctissima coniunx”; cf. also *Carm.* 20, 14: “pius praesul”. The printer could conceivably have expanded Er.’s contracted form “sc̄ti” (= “sancti”) incorrectly to “Scasti”. Alternatively the correct reading might be “casti”, but this seems less likely.

pia cura = *Ov. Am.* II, 16, 47.

5–6 *Aenea ... queat* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 625–627 (imitating Hom. *Il.* II, 488–490): not even a hundred tongues and a voice of iron would suffice. On the “inexpressibility topos” see Curtius, pp. 159–160.

5 *Aenea / vox* Serv. *Comm. Aen.* VI, 626 (“ferrea vox”) quotes a now-lost passage in Lucretius, which spoke of “aerea vox”.

In idem

Maria nomen inditum est mihi mutuum,
Qua trinitati nil sedet vicinius.

Tertium Baptistae sacrum

Vox clamantis erat, cuius gero nomina; plebem
10 Ad CHRISTI cultum nocte dieque voco.

Quartum Petro sacrum

Petro sacra fugo cacodaemonas, arceo fulmen,
Funeraque et festos cantibus orno dies.

Quintum Magdalenae sacrum. Scazon

Sum Magdalenae; iuuit impium fulmen,
Meliora quando cuncta dat pius praesul.

9 *Vox clamantis* Mt. 3, 3; Lc. 3, 4; Ioh. 1, 23; based on Is. 40, 3. Walter, p. 265 cites the following epigraph: "Ioh. baptista ego vox clamantis in deserto".

10 *nocte dieque voco* Ov. Met. II, 343; cf. LHL III, 520–524; Er. Adag. 324.

11 *sacra* The change of gender indicates that here "campana" or "nola" is understood, instead of "tintinabulum".

11–12 *fugo ... dies* In the late Middle Ages bells often bore inscriptions asserting that they ward off demons and lightning. A bell in the cathedral at Erfurt, cast in 1497 by Gerrit van Wou of Kampen, boasts: "Fulgur arcens et demones malignos"; see Walter, p. 278. Often these boasts are combined, as here, with the bell's function of rolling at funerals and feast-days. See Walter, pp. 185–187, 209–210, and 214; p. 234: "defunctos plango. festa colo. fulgura frango"; also pp. 243–244, 251, 261, 266, 287, and 297; cf. Er. Eccles., ASD V, 4, p. 450, ll. 17–19 (criticizing the practice): "Nec solum euocant [nolae] populum, in quem vsium primitus receptae sunt, sed salutant episcopum peregre redeuntem, obstrepunt tonitruis." The epigraph of Schiller's "Das Lied von der Glocke" quotes the inscription on the big bell in the church of Schaffhausen (1486): "Viuos voco. Mortuos plango. Fulgura frango." See Walter, p. 266.

12 *Funera ... dies* Cf. Walter, p. 213: "Fleo funera. Festa decoro"; p. 225: "Festa pulsoque funera mesta signoque"; p. 232: "Nuntio festa, ... flebile laethum."

13–14 *Sum ... praesul* The "limping" metre (scazon or choliamb) is so named because the line's last foot is not, as expected, an iamb but rather a spondee or a trochee. The verse form, with its reversal of metre at the end, may have been deliberately chosen here to underscore the reversal in fortune not only of the bells which, through a fortunate kind of fall, were much improved, but also of the fallen woman who, precisely because she fell, became a great saint. The same metre appears in Carm. 28, possibly for a similar reason: to suggest the change in fortune of the little book which, if it should please the bishop, would be more precious than pearls. Scazons were originally used in lampoons; later they were commonly employed in comic or satiric verse. Er. uses it for this purpose in his "Epitaphium scurrulae temulentis" (Carm. 52) and "In fugam Gallorum" (Carm. 58).

Claude Du Molinet, *Histoire de Sainte-Geneviève et de son église royale et apostolique à Paris*, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, Ms. 610, p. 400 likewise says that the calamity that befell Sainte-Geneviève turned

Sextum omnibus sanctis sacrum

- 15 Exilis mihi vox, sed quae ferit eminus aures;
Dat mihi caelicolum nomina tota cohors.

Aliter

Non mihi Dodones, non aera prophana Corinthi
Certent, nam cunctis tinnio caelitibus.

- out to have been a blessing in disguise, for the restoration, which gave the tower a new spire and “four good bells”, put everything in better condition than it had been before: “ensorte que toutes choses furent remises en un meilleur estat, quelles n’estoient avant que cet incendie et ce malheur fust arrivé”.
- 15 *ferit eminus aures* *Orat. de virt.*, *LB* V, 70 E: “vox illa hominis dulcis ac tinnula ... eminus ... aures feriens”; cf. Verg. *Aen.* X, 346: “ferit eminus hasta.”
- 16 *caelicolum / cohors* Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* III, 127.
- 17 *Dodones / aera* The bronze cauldrons of Dodona in Epirus were hung so closely together that when one was struck all rang in turn. Cf. *Adag.* 7 (which also mentions Corinthian bronze).
- aera / Corinthi* Corinthian bronze, a highly prized alloy of gold, silver, and copper, was in ancient times used for costly ornaments and vessels.

21–23. AGAINST A PRIEST-BAITING COURTIER
before 8 January 1507

Reedijk suggests that the courtier whom Er. lampoons in these three epigrams might be the dissolute soldier for whom Er. began writing the *Enchiridion* at Tournehem in 1501. According to Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 20, ll. 3–4, he despised all theologians, Er. excepted; and according to Ep. 858, l. 2 he was an illiterate, which certainly fits *Carm.* 23. The prefatory letter to the *Enchiridion* addresses him, moreover, as a friend at court (“amicus aulicus”). Otto Schottenloher identified this man as the gunsmith Johann Poppenruyter of Nürnberg, who for all we know might already then have been living in Mechelen; see introd. *CWE* Ep. 164; *Contemporaries* s.v. (Johann) Poppenruyter. If he were indeed the courtier who is attacked here, the poems must have been written very early during Er.’s stay at Tournehem, before the two men became friends; see Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 20, l. 1; Ep. 858, l. 2. Schottenloher’s identification was roundly rejected by A.J. Festugière, *Erasmus, Enchiridion militis christiani*, Paris, 1971, pp. 29–34. The surname “Poppenruyter”, in any case, does not lend itself to the punning reference of *Carm.* 22, 7–8 – at least not in Latin, Dutch, or German.

The three poems were first printed in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1027; *LB* I, 1220.

21 IN AVLICVM QVENDAM CLERO INFESTVM

Vrsalus ecce Midas, sed Lydo stultior illo,
 Se properat quouis nobilitare modo
 Et furit in clerum; capit hinc exordia famae
 Eque Mida subito vertitur in Phalarim.
 5 Sic quondam exusto peperit sibi nomina templo,
 Credo, autor generis Graeculus ille mali.
 Tam stolidam mentem nullis aboleueris vndis,
 At rabiem solus tollere mucro queat.

- 1 *Midas* He was proverbial, not only for his riches (Otto 1110) but also for his stupidity. See n. *Carm.* 4, ded., ll. 35–37.
 4 *Phalarim* The tyrant of Acragas (Agrigentum) in Sicily (570–554 B.C.), he became proverbial for his cruelty. See Otto 1405; Er. *Adag.* 986.
 5–6 *Sic ... mali* In 356 B.C. Herostratus set fire to the great temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus in order to make his name immortal. That is why the Ephesians decreed that his name should never be mentioned; see Val. Max. VIII, 14, ext. 5; Gell. II, 6, 18. According to Valerius Maximus, the only ancient writer who recorded his name was Theopompus. Afterwards his name was mentioned by Ael. *Nat. an.* VI, 40, Solin. 40, 3, and Strab. XIV, 1, 22; but other ancient writers deliberately passed over his name in

- silence. Er. mentions him by name in Ep. 47, ll. 65–66; 1053, ll. 204–205; 1967, ll. 52–53; *Adag.*, prolegomena xiii, ASD II, 1, p. 80, l. 654; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 106, l. 953; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 668, ll. 22–23; and elsewhere. But in Ep. 337, ll. 583–584 he alludes to him only as “Ephesium illum iuuenem”.
 7 *stolidam mentem* Ov. *Met.* XI, 149, referring to Midas (some edd. here read “stultae ... mentis”); cf. Er. *Carm.* 22, 1.
nullis aboleueris vndis Cf. Verg. *Georg.* III, 559–560; Er. *Spongia*, ASD IX, 1, p. 192, l. 709.
 8 *rabiem ... queat* Cf. *Parab.*, ASD I, 5, p. 282, l. 979: “Quaedam vitia sola morte sanari possunt”; *Adag.* 736; Ep. 1515, l. 25 (of Nicolaas Baechem): “Tale ingenium solis fustibus corrigi poterat”; *Carm.* 22, 7; 119, 24.

22 IN EVNDEM

Tam stolidum, credo, nec te, Mida, pectus habebat,
 Malce, nec in clerum tam violentus eras,
 Quam quidam – non est sententia dicere nomen,
 Nam famam affectat qualibet ille via.
 5 Huic vtinam aut aliquis asininas addat Apollo
 Aut ambas Petrus demetat auriculas,

- 1 *stolidum / pectus* Cf. *Carm.* 21, 7 (n.).
 2 *Malce* Malchus was the high priest’s slave whose right ear was cut off by Peter (*Ioh.* 18, 10).
 3–4 *quidam ... via* This modern Herostratus, unlike the ancient one (see n. *Carm.* 21, 5–6),

- is to remain forever nameless – at least, if Er. can help it. Ovid likewise refuses to identify the object of his wrath in *Ibis*.
 5–6 *asininas / auriculas* Cf. n. *Carm.* 4, ded., ll. 35–37.

Aut certe crepet ipse magis faciatque paterni
Quod cognomenti syllaba prima monet.

7 *crepet* See n. *Carm.* 96, 39–40. Reedijk suggests some connection to the name “Borsele” (Dutch “borsten” or “bersten” means “to burst”).

8 *syllaba prima* = Ov. *Pont.* IV, 12, 12 (of a family name).

23 IN EVNDEM

Bacchanti in clerum tibi dixerat, Vrsale, quidam
Et ius Caesareum laedier atque sacrum.
Hic tu ridebas hominem multumque diuque –
Et merito, quid enim hoc stultius ac leuius? –
5 Qui praeter tibi iura coqui notissima iuris
Auditum nomen crederet esse aliud.

2 *ius Caesareum / atque sacrum* Civil and canon law; cf. *Carm.* 12, 2.

3 *multumque diuque* *LHL* III, 451; cf. Ov. *Am.* II, 19, 49.

4 *Et merito, quid enim* = Ov. *Am.* III, 12, 9; *Met.* IX, 585.

5 *iura / iuris* For the punning on “ius” in the sense of “law” and “broth” see, e.g., Plaut. *Cist.* 473; Cic. *Verr.* 2 I, 46, 121; *Fam.* IX, 18, 3; Claud. *In Eutr.* II, 348.

24–27. EPIGRAMS FOR SOME PAINTINGS
ON MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS

before 8 January 1507

The epigrams were probably intended to interpret a series of actual paintings. Neither the painter(s) nor the paintings are known. The question, formerly taken seriously, whether the paintings might have been Er.’, can be dismissed out of hand; see n. *Carm.* 2, 95.

The poems were first printed in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Metre of *Carmm.* 24 and 25: hexameter; of *Carm.* 26: dactylic tetrameter catalectic *in syllabam*; of *Carm.* 27: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS I, 1027–1028; LB I, 1220–1221.

24 IN PICTVRAM FABVLAE GIGANTEAE

En stolidi sine patre sati tellure Gigantes
 Montibus accumulunt montes ipsumque minantur
 Caelicolum regem supera detrudere ab arce.
 Sed male vaesanae cedent sine pectore vires.

The Giants – the sons of Earth (Gaea) and the drops of blood from the castrated Uranus – tried to storm the heavens by piling mountains on top of mountains, but were smitten by Zeus' lightning bolts. See Verg. *Georg.* I, 278–283; Hor. *Carm.* III, 4, 42–68; Ov. *Met.* I, 151–155; Er. *Adag.* 2993; *Enchir.*, LB V, 29 C (interpreted allegorically); *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 410, l. 12–p. 411, l. 4 (interpreted allegorically); Ep. 143, l. 227; *Carm.* 59, 15.

1 *stolida / tellure* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 19 (n.).
 3 *Caelicolum regem* Verg. *Aen.* III, 21.
supera / arce Stat. *Silv.* III, 3, 138 (of heaven).
 4 *male ... vires* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 4, 65: "Vis consili expers mole ruit sua." Horace had earlier cited the Giants as an example of brawn without brains; cf. Er. *Adag.* 2993; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 313, ll. 944–946; *Carm.* 25, 3–4.
pectore vires = LHL IV, 194.

25 IN EOSDEM FVLGINE DEPVLVSOS

Iuppiter exstructas disturbat fulmine moles,
 Ignibus inuoluens rapidis monteisque virosque.
 Sic sic vis sine consilio, sic impia facta
 Praecipitata ruunt superis vltoribus vsque.

3 sine K: siue C.

1 *Iuppiter ... moles* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* I, 283.
 2 *Ignibus / rapidis* Verg. *Georg.* IV, 263; *Aen.* I, 42 (lightning); Ov. *Met.* VII, 326.

3 *Sic sic* See n. *Carm.* 2, 83.
 3–4 *vis ... ruunt* Cf. *Carm.* 24, 4 (n.).

26 IN TABVLAM PENTHEI TRVCIDATI

Pentheia cernis Echioniden,
 Hospitis orgia qui Bromii
 Spreuerat. Impius ecce deo
 Vindice iam malefacta luit.
 5 Matris enim Orgiadumque manu,
 Dum fera creditur esse, perit.
 Quam sceleri bene poena suo
 Congruit et mala digna malis!

Pentheus, son of Echion and Agaue and king of Thebes, attempted to stop the introduction of the ecstatic religion of Dionysus. But his mother and her sisters in their frenzy took him for a wild animal and tore him to

pieces. The story is told in Eur. *Bacch.*; cf. Ov. *Met.* III, 511–733.
 1 *Pentheia / Echioniden* Ov. *Met.* III, 513–514.
 7–8 *Quam ... malis* Cf. *Adag.* 89.

27 IN PICTVRAM EVROPAE STVPRATAE

Hic qui a monte boues ad proxima littora vertit,
 Aurea te quis sit virga monere potest.
 Tum testes alae neque non talaria, testis
 In flauo bicolor crine galerus erit.
 5 Si rogitas quid agat, patrio subseruit amori
 Inscius, obsequio furta dolosa tegens.
 Raptor enim niuei latitat sub imagine tauri
 Improbis ac praedam per freta longa vehet.
 Vt Cretam attigerit, mox taurus desinet esse
 10 Iuppiter, et virgo non erit ista diu.
 Quid non caecus amor mortalia pectora cogat,
 Si taurum aethereum non piget esse Iouem?
 Aut quae formosis satis est cautela puellis,
 Hic quoque stuprator si metuendus erat?

13 Aut *C K BAS*: At *LB*.

The scene is based on Ov. *Met.* II, 836–875. Mercury, at his father Jupiter's behest, has just driven a herd of bulls from the mountain to the shore. He does not realize that his father is among them and is about to carry Europa to Crete.

1 *proxima littora* = Verg. *Aen.* I, 157.2–4 *Aurea ... erit* For these attributes of Mercury see Verg. *Aen.* IV, 239–242; Ov. *Met.* I, 671–672; Stat. *Theb.* I, 303–306; Apul. *Met.* X, 30; Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* I, 77–78.2 *Aurea / virga* Ov. *Her.* 15(16), 64, of Mercury's magic wand; Verg. *Aen.* VII, 190, of Circe's wand; cf. Er. *Carm.* 2, 129 (n.).3 *talaria* Cf. *Adag.* 142.4 *bicolor / galerus* The phrase also occurs in *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 265, l. 728. As a herald, Mercury wore a broad-brimmed felt hat

(“petasos”). In later art, this hat is often depicted as winged. I have not found ancient authority for the epithet “bicolor”; perhaps Er. means that the hat and wings are of a contrasting colour.

7 *imagine tauri* = Ov. *Met.* III, 1 and VIII, 122, both of Jupiter.8 *per freta longa* = Ov. *Her.* 7, 46; cf. *Met.* VIII, 142.9 *desinet esse* *LHL* II, 44–45.11 *Quid ... cogat* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 412: “improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis”; cf. also *Aen.* III, 56.*caecus amor* Catull. 67, 25; Ov. *Fast.* II, 762; Otto 99; Walther 15538; 16676; Er. *Carm.* 100, 36.13 *formosis / puellis* *LHL* II, 331–332.28. LIMINARY VERSES FOR A BOOK PRESENTED TO
NICOLAS RUISTRE, BISHOP OF ARRAS*autumn 1503*

This epigram was written to introduce Er.' translation of three declamations by Libanius, completed in 1503; see *ASD* I, 1, pp. 175–192. They were presented, in Er.' autograph, on 17 November 1503 to the bishop of Arras, Nicolas Ruistre of Luxembourg (c. 1442–1509). See Ep. 177; *Contemporaries* s.v. (Nicolas) Ruistre.

In the illustrated presentation copy (*a*), now at Trinity College, Cambridge (Ms. R. 9. 26), the verses appear on a separate sheet at the head of the booklet. The translations, with facing Greek text, were first published in *Aliquot declamatiunculae Graecae eademque Latinae per Des. Erasmus Roterodamum*, Louvain, Dirk Martens, July 1519 (β ; NK 1367). The long interval between composition and publication may have been owing to the booklet's insignificant size. As Allen and Reedijk note, the translations could have been fleshed out with a Greek text in 1503 also; but at that time Martens was not yet able to print Greek texts of any great length.

The epigram was first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507. Its central thought, that a paper gift which touches the reader's heart is worth more than precious stones, is also presented in Ep. 3086, ll. 19–21 (the preface to *Enarrat. in Ps.* 14).

Metre: choliamb; cf. n. *Carm.* 20, 13–14.

Sources: *a*; *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; β ; *BAS* I, 1028; *LB* I, 1221.

IN FRONTE LIBELLI DONO MISSI EPISCOPO
ATREBATENSI. SCAZON

Auibus sequundis vade, charteum munus,
Exile quanquam te brevis dicat vates.
Liceat modo placere praesuli docto,
Precio lapillos viceris et Erithreos.

Tit. IN ... SCAZON *C K*: Scazon trimeter ad libellum *a* β .

1 sequundis *C K*: secundis *a* β .

4 Erithreos *C K*¹ β : Erythraeos *a*, Erythreos *K*².

1 *Auibus sequundis* Cf. Er. *Adag.* 75; *Carm.* 45, 1.

charteum munus Cf. Ep. 187, l. 8: "chartaceam strenam"; Ep. 3086, l. 19: "chartaceum munus"; l. 17 of Snoy's preface to *Carmm.* 93–97: "carthaceo munere".

2 *Exile* In Ep. 178, ll. 4–5 Er. refers to the work as "nostro munusculo ... perquam pusillo".

3 *praesuli* Nicolas Ruistre of Luxembourg (c. 1442–1509) became chancellor of the University of Louvain in 1487 and was consecrated bishop of Arras on 7 Aug. 1502. See *Contemporaries* s.v.

4 *lapillos / Erithreos* Martial. V, 37, 4; IX, 2, 9; cf. Er. *Carm.* 64, 3 (n.); also *Carm.* 4, 116 (n.).

29. LIMINARY VERSES FOR JACOB ANTHONISZOOM'S
DE PRAECELLENTIA POTESTATIS IMPERATORIAE

13 February 1503

Er. composed this complimentary epigram for the title page of Jacob Anthoniszoon's treatise *De praecellentia potestatis imperatoriae*, Antwerp, D. Martens, 1 April 1502, n.s. 1503 (*a*; *NK* 120). To this work he also contributed the semi-complimentary Ep. 173 (dated 13 February 1503), as well as *Carm.* 62.

Jacob Anthoniszoon of Middelburg, a doctor of canon law and vicar-general to Bishop Hendrik van Bergen, was an old friend of Er.; see *CWE* Ep. 60, n.l. 11; *Contemporaries* s.v. (Jacob) Anthoniszoon. His treatise on the power of the emperor was already complete by June 1501. Er., who at that time was staying at Anthoniszoon's house, had apparently been asked to find a publisher for it in Antwerp; see Ep. 153, ll. 1–19.

The theme of the epigram is also expressed in Ep. 173, ll. 35–39: "Quod enim vel splendidius vel magis pium munus obuenerit poterat, quam ut pro Caesarea maiestate calumum sumeres, quae pro omnibus sumit arma; eamque ingenii tui clypeo a calumniae telis defenderes, quae pacem Christianam a belli calamitate defendit?"

Metre: trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

Sources: *a*; *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1028; *LB* I, 1221.

IN FRONTE LIBELLI DE IMPERATORIA MAIESTATE

Christianum orbem tuenti qui fauetis Caesari,
 Huic fauebitis libello, qui tuetur Caesarem.

Tit. IN ... MAIESTATE *C K*: Ad lectores dis- tichon *a*.

30. A LIMINARY EPIGRAM FOR WILLEM HERMANS' *SYLVA ODARVM*

20 January 1497

Willem Hermans (c. 1466–1510) of Gouda studied with Er. at Deventer; later both became canons regular at Steyn. *Carm.* 106, probably written in spring 1488, is a tribute to the closeness of their friendship. *Carmm.* 104 and 109 may also have been addressed to him. The two friends kept in contact after Hermans left Steyn for Haarlem in autumn 1490; see Ep. 28 and introd. *Carm.* 50, p. 191. See further *Contemporaries* s.v. (Willem) Hermans.

Hermans sent Er. some poems at the end of 1493 (see Ep. 34, ll. 21–22) and gave him more when he visited Steyn in 1496. Er. published them in *Guielermi*

Hermani Goudensis theologi ac poetae clarissimi Sylua odarum, Paris, G. Marchant, 20 January 1497 (a). See *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, VIII, London, 1949, pp. 62–63. (In some copies of Hermans' book the title page bears the name and device of Denis Rocce.) The present verses served as a liminary epigram to this collection. Er. also contributed Ep. 49 and *Carm.* 7.

Metre: hendecasyllable.

Sources: *a*; *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1028; *LB* I, 1221.

IN FRONTE ODARVM GVILIELMI

Huc, siquem pia, si pudica musa
Delectat: nihil hic vel inquinatum
Vel quod melle nocens tegat venenum.
CHRISTVM tota sonat chelis Guihelmi.

Tit. IN ... GVILIELMI [Guielmi C] C K: Hendecasyllabum Herasmi ad studiosos a.

1 siquem a C: siquidem K.

4 Guihelmi C K¹: Guielmi a, Guilhelmi K².

3 *melle ... venenum* For the commonplace of the honey-covered poison see n. *Carm.* 2, 177–179.

31. COMPLIMENTARY VERSES IN A BOOK
PRESENTED TO JÉRÔME DE BUSLEYDEN
November 1503?

P.S. Allen, Ep. 178, n.l. 16 surmises that the book presented with this inscription to Jérôme de Busleyden was Willem Hermans' *Apologi*, a prose version of Avianus' fables. In Ep. 178, ll. 16–17 Er. tells Willem: "Donau illi Apologos tuos cum epistola laudatrice ingenii morumque tuorum." Hermans' book seems to have been first published in c. 1502 (see Ep. 172, l. 12), but no copy of this edition is known; for later editions of the work see *NK* 2243; 2245–2246; 4108. The fact that the present epigram immediately follows Er.'s liminary poem for Willem Hermans' odes in *C* and *K* lends weight to Allen's view. Reedijk, however, thinks that Hermans' book could not have been the one in which this epigram appeared, on the grounds that the verses belittle the merits of the book. "It seems to be more plausible", he argues, "that Erasmus wrote it in a presentation copy of a work either by himself or by a complete stranger." But Er. had already praised the book's author sufficiently in his letter; in his epigram he lauds its recipient. The purpose of the poem is to compliment Busleyden on his great library (cf.

Ep. 388, l. 145) and by this *captatio benevolentiae* to ingratiate both Willem and Er. with an important patron. *Carm.* 32 makes the same compliment about another library. See also Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 2, ll. 3–6, of Er.' books in Botzheim's library: "Ornare gaudes, vt ais, tuam bibliothecam Erasmi monumentis; ego vero meos libros arbitror ornari tua bibliotheca, qua vix quicquam videre contigit ornatius; dicas Musarum esse domicilium."

Jérôme de Busleyden, the third son of Gilles de Busleyden and the younger brother of Archbishop François de Busleyden, was born in c. 1470. Having earned a doctorate in civil and canon law at Padua in 1503, he became archdeacon of Cambrai in the same year. On 24 June 1517 he was appointed councillor to King Charles I (the future Emperor Charles V). While travelling with him to Spain Jérôme fell ill in Bordeaux; he died there on 27 August 1517. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Jérôme de) Busleyden.

Er. first met Jérôme in 1500 in Orléans, where the latter was studying law. They met again in Brabant in 1503, at which time Er. presented the book inscribed with this epigram. The verses were first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS I, 1028; LB I, 122I.

IN FRONTE LIBELLI BVSLIDIO DONO MISSI

Non ego Buslidiae decus adfero bibliothecae,
Sed decus apponit bibliotheca mihi.

32. COMPLIMENTARY VERSES IN A BOOK PRESENTED TO ANTONIUS CLAVA (?)

November 1503?

Reedijk proposes to identify the Antonius to whom this epigram is addressed with either Antoon van Bergen (1455–1532), abbot of St. Bertin and since 1500 councillor to Archduke Philip the Handsome, or with his steward, Antonius of Luxembourg. Neither of them, however, was noted as a collector of books. Indeed, in Ep. 130, ll. 52–55 Er. complains that Antonius of Luxembourg lacks education. It seems much more likely that the epigram was addressed to Antonius Clava of Bruges. Clava had served as pensionary (legal consultant) of Ghent from 1493 to 1496 and from 1499 to 1502 and had been a member of the Council of Flanders since spring 1502 or 1503. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Antonius) Clava. Er. first mentions him in a letter to Robert de Keyserre of September 1503

(Ep. 175, l. 10). He met him again in 1514 (Ep. 301, ll. 36–37), together with a number of other old friends. Later, in January 1530, Er. was to write his epitaph; see *Carm.* 86. What struck him in particular about this man was his love of books and his wonderful library, full of gilded and richly illustrated volumes; see Ep. 2260, ll. 42–45. We know of one other book that Er. presented to him: a Herodotus in Greek, sent with Ep. 841 in April 1518.

The similarity of this poem to the preceding one makes it probable that both were written in Louvain, at about the same time (c. November 1503), for another copy of the same book (presumably Hermans' *Apologi*). Er. would have had several copies to distribute; cf. Ep. 172, l. 12, where he asks Willem Hermans to send him several copies of his book ("libros aliquot"). The epigram was first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS I, 1028; LB I, 1221.

IN FRONTE ALIERIVS

Non equidem ornabis tu Antoni bibliothecam.
Te magis ornabit bibliotheca, liber.

33. AGAINST A BLIND CORRECTOR OF SOME TRAGEDIES

autumn 1506

Who is the blind corrector attacked here? Samuel Knight, *The Life of Erasmus*, Cambridge, 1726, p. 119 pointed to the blind poet Bernard André of Toulouse (see introd. *Carm.* 67), adding that the tragedies alluded to in the heading might be "those of Euripides, which Erasmus publish'd and dedicated to Arch Bishop Warham". John Noble Johnson, *The Life of Thomas Linacre*, London, 1835, p. 172 and Reedijk, *Poems*, pp. 256–257 also assume that the corrector was Bernard André. Gilbert Tournoy has argued instead for the blind humanist Charles Fernand who, together with Girolamo Balbi, published an edition of Seneca's tragedies in c. 1487; see G. Tournoy, *Two Poems written by Erasmus for Bernard André*, HL 27 (1978), pp. 45–47; cf. *Contemporaries*, I, p. 89; II, p. 21. Blindness, however, would quite obviously have prevented André and Fernand from being a corrector. Nicolaas van der Blom, *On Another Verse of Erasmus*, ERSY 1 (1981), pp. 154–156 accordingly considers the epigram "a joke", intended for the circle of friends around Thomas More, and identifies the "blind" corrector with the one-eyed copyist, corrector, and messenger Pieter Meghen of 's-Hertogenbosch.

Alfred M.M. Dekker, *Twee epigrammen van Erasmus (R 49, 50)*, Hermeneus 53 (1981), pp. 367–370 rightly criticizes all these explanations. He observes that the

second half of l. 2 is a quotation from Ov. *Fast.* VI, 204, describing the blind but mentally clear-sighted censor Appius Claudius Caecus: "Appius ... / multum animo vidit, lumine captus erat." Er.' epigram thus contrasts the sighted but unseeing corrector of his Euripides translations (Paris, J. Bade, 13 September 1506) with Appius Claudius, who was blind, but mentally clear-sighted. For the thought cf. also *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 397, ll. 24–26: "Non est solus caecus, qui caret oculis, nam multos tametsi oculos habent, tamen caecos appellare non dubitamus"; *Vidua christ.*, LB V, 750 F: "senio lusciosam, sed oculis animi perspiciasissimam". In truth, Bade's edition of the Euripides translations contains a high number of printer's errors; see ASD I, 1, p. 197. Er. refers to them with some bitterness in two letters written in October–November 1507; see Ep. 207, ll. 26–31 and Ep. 209, ll. 64–66.

The epigram was first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507, also printed by J. Bade.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS I, 1028; LB I, 1221.

IN CAECVM TRAGOEDIARVM CASTIGATOREM

Quir adeo, lector, crebris offendere mendis?
Qui castigauit, lumine captus erat.

34. AN EPIGRAM FOR A PAINTING OF CHRIST'S FACE

1503?

These verses, as Reedijk notes, may well have been intended for a painting in Robert de Keyser's school in Ghent, which he opened in late 1500; see *Contemporaries* s.v. Keyser. Er. later composed similar poems for Colet's school (*Carmm.* 44–48), published in *Concio de puero Iesu*, [Paris, 1511?]. For the thought expressed in this epigram see, e.g., 1. *Sm.* 16, 7; *Ps.* 43, 22; *Ir.* 17, 10; *Rom.* 8, 27. See also Er. Ep. 153, ll. 23–24 (12 July 1501); *Enchir.*, LB V, 58 C; *Paraphr. in Mt.* 3, 12, LB VII, 16 A: "Perspicit ... intimos recessus animorum"; *Explan. symboli*, ASD V, 1, p. 282, ll. 261–262.

The epigram was first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS I, 1028; LB I, 1221.

SVB PICTVRA VVLTVS CHRISTI

Hic intuetur et intimos mentis sinus.
Fac tota niteant pectoris penetralia.

2 *pectoris penetralia* Apul. *Met.* III, 15; cf. Er. *Carm.* 49, 64 (n.); 49, 96 (n.).

35. A THANK-YOU NOTE TO PETRUS CARMELIANUS
1505–1506

Petrus Carmelianus of Brescia (1451–1527) was an Italian humanist who, after much travelling throughout Europe, eventually settled in England. By 1495 he was Latin secretary to King Henry VII, by 1500 his chaplain. Er. probably first met him in 1505–1506. By this time Carmelianus had written three long poems and a number of occasional poems. See *Contemporaries* s.v.; David Carlson, *The Occasional Poetry of Pietro Carmeliano*, *Aevum* 61 (1987), pp. 495–502.

The epigram was first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Metre: hendecasyllable.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS I, 1028; LB I, 1221.

AGIT CARMINE GRATIAS PRO MISSO MVNERE

Antistes sacer elegantiorum ac
Princeps, Carmiliane, literarum,
En versus tenuis tibi poeta
Hos pro munere splendido rependit.
5 Hoc est scilicet, aere mutat aurum.

Tit. PRO MISSO C K²: promisso K¹.

1–2 *Antistes / ac Princeps / literarum* Ep. 49, ll. 57–58; 1352, ll. 35–36; cf. Ep. 305, ll. 7–8; 384, l. 79; 396, l. 2; 441, l. 27; 457, l. 2; 1697, l. 103; *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 244 D; also *Orat. de virt.*, LB V, 70 E (of the Muses): “studiorum atque elegantioris litteraturae praesides”.

elegantiorum / literarum Ep. 862, l. 39; 1558, l. 292; 1716, l. 36; 2093, l. 32.

3–8 *En ... modosque* These verses are closely paralleled in Ep. 140, ll. 20–27; cf. also *Adag.* 4075, LB II, 1196 A: “Poetae praeter versus nihil habent”; *Carm.* 51, 10–14; 4, ded.,

ll. 47–51 (n.) The model is Prud. *Epilog.* 1–12: being neither holy nor rich, Prudentius has only verses to offer; but God also gladly accepts an uninspired poem as an offering.
5 *aere mutat aurum* An allusion to Hom. *Il.* VI, 234–236, where Glaucus impulsively exchanges his gold armour for the bronze armour of Diomedes. The unequal bartering of gold for bronze became proverbial; see Otto 384; Er. *Adag.* 101; cf. Ep. 140, ll. 24–27; 145, ll. 131–133; 234, ll. 2–4; 531, ll. 2–3; 620, ll. 41–43.

At quid tandem aliud deis vel ipsis
 Gratus sed tenuis referre vates
 Possit quam numeros modosque? Verum
 Largiri numeros tibi, Petre, hoc est
 10 Syluae ligna, vago mari addere vndas.

9–10 *Largiri ... vndas* Cf. *Adag.* III, *ASD* II, 1,
 p. 222, ll. 217–221.
 10 *Syluae ... vndas* Otto 1649; 1060; Er. *Adag.*

657 (quoting ll. 9–10 of the present poem).
 The two proverbs are frequently coupled; see
Nachträge, pp. 184–185.

36. A LIMINARY EPIGRAM FOR *ENCHIRIDION MILITIS CHRISTIANI* 15 February 1503

The poem was originally used to introduce *Lucubrationculae aliquot*, Antwerp, D. Martens, 15 February 1503 (which may be 1504 n.s.). This is a collection of small works including *Oratio de virtute amplectenda* and *Enchiridion*. Later the epigram was regularly prefixed to the *Enchiridion* itself. It is also found in *Scri*, f^o 19^v. According to the title page of *Scri*, written in 1570, all the poems in it were composed by Er. while he was still little more than a lad (“adhuc fere puero”). Relying on this statement, Reedijk placed the poem in c. 1489. However, the ms. also contains several poems which in fact date from 1499 (see introd. *Carm.* 110, 111, and 112). We may therefore discard Reedijk’s dating and assume that the epigram was composed either for the *Lucubrationculae* or for the *Enchiridion* itself. The Christocentrism of this poem, which is in noticeable contrast to the earlier poems on St. Ann (*Carm.* 1) and the Virgin Mary (*Carm.* 110), closely agrees with the attitude expressed in the *Enchiridion* and in the conclusion of the poem on old age (*Carm.* 2). Cf. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 60 D: “Verus honos est laudari a laudatis, summus honos est placuisse Christo”; also Ep. 402, ll. 5–6 and Ep. 876, ll. 5–7.

The poem was translated into German by Ioannes Adelphus in *Enchiridion oder handbüchlin eins christenlichen vnd ritterlichen lebens*, Basel, Adam Petri, 1520 (Bezzel 882). There is an English version in *A book called in latyn Enchiridion militis christiani and in englysshe the manuell of the christen knyght*, London, Wynkyn de Worde for John Byddell, 15 November 1533; a revised version of this book, first published on 12 February 1534, was often reprinted.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: *B*; *C*; *I*; *K*^{1*}; *L*; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1028; *Scri*; *LB* I, 1221–1222; *LB* VIII, 571.

IN FRONTE ENCHIRIDIJ

Nil moror aut laudes leuis aut conuicia vulgi:
 Pulchrum est vel doctis vel placuisse piis.
 Spe quoque maius erit, mihi si contingat vtrunque;
 Cui CHRISTVS sapit, huic si placeo, bene habet.
 5 Vnicus ille mihi venae largitor Apollo,
 Sunt Helicon huius mystica verba meus.

Tit. IN ... ENCHIRIDIJ C K: Libellus loquitur 2 piis B C I-L: viris Scri.
 B I L Scri. In fine: finis. τέλος Scri.
 1 conuicia B C I-L Scri: comitia LB VIII.

1 *Nil moror* = Verg. *Aen.* XI, 365; Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 264.
 3 *Spe / maius* Ov. *Met.* VII, 648.
 4 *Cui CHRISTVS sapit* Cf. *Carm.* 48, 3 (n.).
 5 *Vnicus ... Apollo* For the commonplace that Christian poets are inspired by God or the saints rather than by the Muses or Apollo see n. *Carm.* 88, 2; cf. Hegius, *Carm.*, sig. C4^v, addressing God as his inspiration: "Tu mihi Phoebus eris." Cf. Er. *Carm.* 2, 231; Ep. 1404, l. 15.
venae See n. *Carm.* 56, 15.
 6 *mystica verba* = LHL III, 486.

37. A LITTLE BOOK PRESENTED TO A POWERFUL FRIEND

1 January 1506?

This epigram was evidently written in a presentation copy of one of Er.'s slighter works. Which little book and which powerful friend are meant? Reedijk conjectures that "it might have accompanied a ms. copy of the *Adages* sent to the young Adolphus of Veere in 1500" (cf. Allen, Ep. 124, n.l. 67). But at 152 pages the *Adagiorum collectanea* does not fit the characterization "leue munus". Er. himself spoke of that work – his longest to date – as a "volumen iustum", not a trifling gift, when he came to dedicate it to Lord Mountjoy; see Ep. 126, ll. 1–2. Moreover, Adolph of Burgundy was at this time only ten or eleven years old and could scarcely have been referred to as "magno ... amico". The verses were more probably sent instead to Richard Foxe (c. 1448–1528). As keeper of the privy seal since 1487 and bishop of Winchester since 1501, he was one of the patrons whom Er. courted during his second stay in England; see *Contemporaries* s.v. (Richard) Foxe. On 1 January 1506 Er. sent him a translation of Lucian's dialogue *Toxaris* (*ASD* I, 1, pp. 425–448), together with a dedicatory letter (Ep. 187). In language closely matching the present epigram's title and first verse, Er. tells the bishop that he is "sending" (ll. 3, 8, and 9) "hoc munusculum" (l. 15) "ad tantum patronum, ad tam potentem amicum" (l. 6).

The verses were first printed in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; K^{1*}; K²; BAS I, 1029; LB I, 1222.

LIBELLVS DONO MISSVS

Mittere quur verear magno leue munus amico,
 Quum capiant summos thuscula pauca deos?

1 *leue munus* Ov. *Met.* I, 620.

2 *capiant ... deos* Cf. Ov. *Trist.* II, 76; Er. *Adag.* 218; *Carm.* 4, ded., ll. 47–51 (n.).

38. AN EPITAPH FOR JAN OCKEGHEM

c. February 1497

The Flemish musician Jan Ockeghem was born between 1420 and 1425. From 1453 on he served successive French kings as singer, composer, chaplain, and master of the royal chapel, and held the lucrative sinecure of treasurer of the abbey of St. Martin of Tours. He composed polyphonic masses of considerable originality and influence, as well as motets and chansons. Perhaps Er. met him during his years with the bishop of Cambrai (1492–1495) or shortly after he went to study in Paris in the late summer of 1495. Ockeghem died on 6 February 1497 (n.s.) in Tours; see the note by Bernard Chevalier in: *Johannes Ockeghem en zijn tijd*, [Dendermonde, 1970], pp. 279–280; *Contemporaries* s.v. (Jan) Ockeghem.

The poem was first printed in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507. Johannes Lupi set it to music (first published in 1547); see Jean-Claude Margolin, *Erasmus et la musique*, Paris, 1965, pp. 81–93 and 121–125.

Metre: elegiambus. The dactylic penthemimer and the iambic dimeter, which together make up an elegiambus, are here printed as separate lines. Line 31, a dactylic penthemimer, is not followed by the expected iambic dimeter. The poem ends abruptly, silenced like the golden voice of Ockeghem.

Sources: C; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1029; *LB* I, 1222.

IOANNI OKEGO MVSICO SVMMO EPITAPHIVM

Ergone conticuit
 Vox illa quondam nobilis,
 Aurea vox Okegi?

3 *Aurea vox Okegi* = l. 17 below; cf. l. 16. In the same way l. 25 serves as an echo to l. 15. Such echoes recall the repetitiousness of ancient dirges; see Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 135–137. Er.' emphasis on the "golden

voice" does not refer metaphorically to Ockeghem's finished musical compositions, as Reedijk suggests, for these can scarcely be said to have died with their composer. He is referring to Ockeghem's beautiful bass voice. His skill in singing was indeed often

Sic musicae extinctum decus?
 5 Dic age, dic fidibus
 Tristes, Apollo, naenias.
 Tu quoque, Calliope,
 Pullata cum sororibus,
 Funde pias lachrymas.
 10 Lugete, quotquot musicae
 Dulce rapit studium,
 Virumque ferte laudibus.
 Artis Apollineae
 Sacer ille Phoenix occidit.
 15 Quid facis, inuida mors?
 Obmutuit vox aurea,
 Aurea vox Okegi,
 Vel saxa flectere efficax,
 Quae toties liquidis
 20 Et arte flexilibus modis
 Per sacra tecta sonans
 Demulsit aures caelitum
 Terrigenumque simul
 Penitusque mouit pectora.
 25 Quid facis, inuida mors?
 Vel hoc iniqua maxime,
 Aequa quod omnibus es.
 Sat erat tibi promiscue
 Tollere res hominum.
 30 Diuina res est musica.
 Numina quur violas?

24 pectora. *scripsi*: pectora? C K.

In fine: Τέλος C.

remarked upon by his contemporaries. See Clement A. Miller, *Erasmus on Music*, *The Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966), p. 342; and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XIII (1981), p. 490.

6 *naenias* The ancient "nenia" was a dirge, sung to the accompaniment of a flute; see Cic. *Leg.* II, 24, 62; Hor. *Carm.* II, 1, 38; II, 20, 21; Ov. *Fast.* VI, 668.

15 *inuida mors* Nem. I, 47; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV, 5, 1; Er. Ep. 205, l. 13; *Carm.* 71, 7-8;

83, 11; 92, 1; cf. *Carm.* 62, 1; Lattimore, pp. 147-154.

18 *Vel saxa flectere Adag.* 2601, *ASD* II, 6, p. 402, ll. 148-149 (of songbirds). Here the phrase recalls the wondrous singing of Orpheus; see n. *Carm.* 6, 46.

22-24 *Demulsit ... pectora* Ockeghem was a second Orpheus; cf. Sil. XI, 460; Er. *Carm.* 93, 99.

27 *Aequa ... es* See n. *Carm.* II, 7.

39-40. TWO EPIITAPHS FOR HENDRIK VAN BERGEN,
BISHOP OF CAMBRAI

autumn 1502

Hendrik van Bergen (b. 1449) studied at Louvain, Orléans, Perugia, and Rome. Having earned a doctorate in laws, he became canon of Liège in 1473, abbot of St. Denis-en-Broqueroie near Mons in 1477, and bishop of Cambrai in 1480. In 1492-1493, when he was planning to travel to Italy in hopes of gaining a cardinal's hat, he took Er. into his service as a secretary, releasing him in mid-1495 to study theology in Paris. Er. soon had reason to complain about his stinginess as a patron; see Epp. 75-77; also Ep. 81, ll. 14-16; 128, l. 17; 135, ll. 13-29; Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 50, ll. 102-103.

After the bishop's death on 6-7 October 1502 Er. was commissioned to write some epitaphs for him. In Ep. 178, ll. 49-51, dated 27 November [1503], he tells Willem Hermans: "Episcopum Cameracensem tribus Latinis epitaphiis celebraui, vno Graeco; miserunt sex florenos tantum, vt etiam mortuus sui similis esset." A contemporary list of expenses for the erection of the tomb in the metropolitan church of Cambrai mentions that it was the bishop's brother, Antoon van Bergen, who authorized payment of "vj livres" to Er. for the epitaphs; see Gilbert Tournoy, *The "Lost" Third Epitaph for Henry of Bergen, written by Erasmus*, HL 33 (1984), p. 109. See further *Contemporaries* s.v. (Hendrik van) Bergen; and Richard Walsh, *The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries: Some Italian Influences at the Court of Charles the Bold*, HL 25 (1976), p. 188.

Of the four epitaphs Er. mentions, only two are extant: *Carmm.* 39 and 40, first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507. The Greek epitaph and one of the Latin poems are lost. *Carm.* 62, which Allen and Reedijk regarded as the third Latin epitaph, is not an epitaph, as Tournoy rightly points out, but a poem of consolation to Antoon van Bergen, probably written to accompany the epitaphs themselves.

The bishop's tomb was situated at the right entrance to the choir. See F. Tranchant, *Collectio epitaphiorum ecclesiae Cameracensis (a)*, pp. 69-70; this manuscript was compiled in 1764 and is now in Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale (Ms. 1049). *Carm.* 40 was inscribed on a brass plate, affixed to the stone slab that covered the bishop's remains. The other epitaphs by Er. seem not to have been used at all. For another, much longer epitaph inscribed on the monument itself see *Carm.* 137 below. The tomb disappeared after the metropolitan church of Cambrai was torn down in 1796.

Metre of *Carm.* 39: iambic senarius; of *Carm.* 40: elegiac distich.

Sources: C; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1029; *LB* I, 1222. A somewhat different version of *Carm.* 40, reflecting the wording actually inscribed on the brass tablet, occurs in *a* (p. 20) and in an eighteenth-century manuscript, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, Ms. 21.050 (*β*), f^o 163^v. The changes recorded in *a β* are probably not from Er.' pen.

39 HENRICI EPISCOPI CAMERACENSIS EPITAPHIVM

Henricus hic est, Bergicae stirpis decus,
 Qui laude morum auita vicit stemmata.
 Gregis salute nil habuit antiquius,
 In quem pius paterna gessit viscera.
 5 Hic incitatus amore miro caelitum,
 Iacobe, sedem visit impiger tuam,
 Arcemque Petri visit et Solymas sacras.

- 2 *Qui ... stemmata* Living up to or surpassing the standards of illustrious forebears was a rhetorical category of praise; see, e.g., *Rhet. Her.* III, 7, 13; Quint. *Inst.* III, 7, 10.
 3–4 *Gregis ... viscera* Cf. *Carm.* 14, 1 (n.); 40, 3–4.
 3 *Gregis ... antiquius* Cf. *Annot. in NT, LB* VI, 927 E (of Pope Leo X): “Tanquam verus pastor nihil habet antiquius salute gregis Christiani.”
 6 *Iacobe ... tuam* Hendrik twice visited the

- shrine of St. James at Compostela in Spain (see *Carm.* 40, 5), probably first in the autumn of 1496, when he was in Spain to celebrate the wedding of Philip the Handsome and Joanna of Castile, and again in the spring of 1502, when he accompanied the couple on their voyage to Spain (see *Carm.* 64).
 7 *Arcemque Petri visit* He visited Rome in late 1487, on his return journey from Jerusalem. Cf. *Carm.* 137, 16.

40 DE EODEM

Berganae stirpis septem de fratribus vnum
 Condidit Henricum hoc inuida Parca loco.
 Ille gregis Cameracini praesulque paterque,
 Cui simul et patriae, non sibi natus erat,
 5 Bisque Iacobaeam visit pius aduena sedem,
 Dehinc Romam et Solymas vectus adusque sacras.
 Sic pietate vagus, virtute grauissimus, aeuum
 Exegit felix et sine labe suum.

- Tit.* DE EODEM *deest* α β.
 2 loco *C K*: solo α β.
 3 Cameracini *C K*: Cameraceni α β; paterque *C K*¹ α β: paterque loco *K*².
 5 Bisque *C K*: Inde α β.
 6 Dehinc *C K*: Tum α β.

- 7–8 *Sic ... suum C K*: Anno milleno C. quin-
 quies octuogeno [quinies atque secundo β, *ad
 quam lectionem nota in calce paginae declarat:*
 “Male ponitur auctuogeno”] / Septena Octo-
 bris transiit ad Dominum α β.

- 1 *de fratribus vnum* = Ov. *Met.* III, 118.
 3–4 *Ille ... erat* Cf. *Carm.* 14, 1 (n.); 39, 3–4.
 4 *Cui ... erat* Cf. Cic. *Fin.* II, 14, 45, citing
 Plat. *Epist.* 9: “non sibi se soli natum memi-
 nerit sed patriae, sed suis”; Er. *Orat. de virt.*,
LB V, 69 A: “Principi ... qui patriae, non
 sibi nascitur”; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 1, *ASD* V, 2,

- p. 66, l. 14: “non sibi natus sit, sed patriae,
 sed amicis”.
 7 *vagus / grauissimus* Note the subdued para-
 dox.
 8 *sine labe* = Ov. *Her.* 16(17), 14: “dum ... tenor
 vitae sit sine labe meae”; *LHL* V, 181; cf. Ov.
Pont. II, 7, 49; Er. *Carm.* 19, 1 (n.).

41. A PATRON UNWORTHY OF THE NAME

1498–1500?

This poem is directed against a patron who had commissioned a panegyric of himself and then paid very little for it. Reedijk tentatively identifies him as Antoon van Bergen, since it was he who authorized only a small payment for Er.'s epitaphs on Hendrik van Bergen (*Carmm.* 39 and 40) and apparently gave him no reward for the accompanying verse letter of consolation (*Carm.* 62); cf. Allen, *Ep.* 178, n.l. 51. But, as Reedijk grants, the circumstances described in the present epigram hardly correspond to those of the epitaphs or the letter of consolation. Wholly fanciful is Schmidt-Dengler's supposition (p. 333, n. 1) that Er. might have composed the epigram to vent his spite at the prior of a St. Michael's church who had offered to reward him for the ode *In laudem Michaelis et angelorum omnium* with only enough money to buy a pint of wine; for this story see introd. *Carm.* 50.

If the juxtaposition of the present verses and the epitaphs on Hendrik van Bergen in *C* and *K* was deliberate, we may speculate that it was the stingy bishop himself whom Er. had in mind. Er. often complained about his tight-fistedness; see introd. *Carmm.* 39–40. If this reasoning is correct, we can place the epigram in c. 1498–1500. It would then be loosely contemporaneous with the very similar argument presented to Prince Henry in *Carm.* 4, ded., ll. 32–35, as published in mid-1500: flattery can be shockingly unflattering when the reality is too far removed from the ideal pattern.

The poet's complaint against stingy patrons is a stock theme. See, for instance, Theocr. 16, Iuv. 7, Martial. VIII, 56, and Mantuan. *Ecl.* 5. Er. deals with the subject also in *Antibarbari*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 55, l. 20–p. 56, l. 12.

The poem was first published in *Varia epigrammata*, 8 January 1507.

Metre: iambic dimeter.

Sources: *C*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1029; *LB* I, 1222–1223.

IN MAGNATEM QVENDAM, SED FICTO
NOMINE, QVI LAVDES SVAS EXIGVO
MVNVSCVLO PENSARAT

Correxit errorem meum
Lepide Marullus, nam mihi
Laudatus aequo largius
Nimium pusillo prodigum
5 Vatem redonat munere.
O pectus, o memorabilem
Huius modestiam viri!

Non vult cani quae non facit,
 Vult et sileri quae facit.
 10 Proin pudendis praemiis
 Inuitat ad palinodiam,
 Inuitat ad silentium.
 Non suadet hoc frugalitas
 Tenaxque parsimonia,
 15 Quum sannionibus quoque
 Foedisque morionibus
 Prolixa donet munera.
 Quod ista donat vatibus,
 Quae dare minus quam nil dare est,
 20 Pudore, non vitio facit.

In fine: Τέλος C.

11 *palinodiam* Cf. *Adag.* 859.

15–17 *Quum ... munera* Cf. *Antibarb.*, ASD I,
 I, p. 56, ll. 9–11: “Munera ferunt moriones,

palpones, voluptatum architecti. Pluris est
 qui canem bellum adducat quam qui librum
 eruditum porrigat.”

42. AN ODE ON THE SHED WHERE JESUS WAS BORN

c. Christmas 1490?

Together with *Carmm.* 5, 6, and 50, this ode was first published in Er., *De casa natalitia Iesu ... carmen*, Paris, A. Denidel, [January 1496?]. The little volume is introduced by a letter to Hector Boece (Ep. 47, dated 8 November [1495]). In this preface Er. swears that he has not written any poetry for a long time and that, if he ever wrote poems as a lad, he has left them all behind in Holland. He adds that he recently composed these few poems extempore (Ep. 47, ll. 5–9 and 75–77). Taking these statements at face value, Reedijk places *Carm.* 42 (as well as *Carmm.* 5, 6, and 50) in the early autumn of 1495, not long after Er.’ arrival in Paris.

Er.’ assertions in this tongue-in-cheek letter cannot be trusted as a matter of course, unless there is corroborating evidence. From Ep. 34, ll. 21–22 we learn that Er. had indeed left his poems behind at Steyn – but also that he had since obtained copies of a good many of them from his friend Willem Hermans. The statement that *De casa natalitia* contains only some recent trifles, thrown off while he was walking in the country (Ep. 47, ll. 76–77), is patently misleading. That Er. threw off *one* poem in a pastoral setting does not stretch our credulity. *Carm.* 6 does indeed invite us to imagine just such a rustic scene. But who can take Er. at his word when he says that on the same walk he also “threw off” his poem of introduction to Gaguin (*Carm.* 5), the ode on the shed where Jesus was

born, and the long hymn in praise of St. Michael (*Carm.* 50)? The letter to Botzheim (Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 3, ll. 30–p. 4, l. 2) tells a different story about the hymn to St. Michael. It was written at the request of the prior of a church dedicated to St. Michael, presumably the one in Den Hem; other evidence points to the winter of 1490–1491; see introd. *Carm.* 50. We may therefore safely assume that Er. wrote *Carm.* 42 at about the same time that he composed his other devotional poems: the ode on St. Michael (*Carm.* 50), the hymns to St. Ann and St. Gregory (*Carmm.* 1 and 107), and the *Epigramma de quatuor nouissimis* (*Carm.* 108). Perhaps Er. wrote *Carm.* 42 for Christmas 1490.

Parts of the ode were imitated by Helius Eobanus Hessus in *Her. chr.* 21 (*Her.* II, 2); see Vredeveld, *Traces*, pp. 55–56. The ode also influenced Paul Fleming's lengthy poem on the birth of Christ, *Sylv.* IX, 2 (dated 1 February 1631). See the notes below.

Metre: first Pythiambic strophe.

Sources: A–C; I; K^{1*}; L; K²; BAS V, 1103–1104; LB V, 1317–1319.

ODE DICOLOS, DISTROPHOS, ALTERO VERSV HEROICO
HEXAMETRO, ALTERO IAMBICO DIMETRO. DE CASA
NATALITIA PVERI IESV DEQVE PAVPERE PVERPERIO
VIRGINIS DEIPARAE MARIAE

Ecquid adhuc veterum sequimur spectacula rerum?
Huc huc frequentes currite.
Haec casa, quae lacera et stat agrestibus horrida culmis,
Nouum dabit spectaculum,
5 Quale nihil saeculis proavi videre vetustis,
Nihil videbunt posteri.
Hic cuius tonitru tellusque tremiscit et aether

Tit. ODE ... MARIAE B C I–L: Carmen Herasmi
Rotterdamensis, canonici ordinis diui
Augustini, de casa natalicia Iesu ac paupere

puerperio diuc virginis Marie lyricum, altero
versu hexametro, altero iambico dimetro
feliciter incipit A.

- 1 *spectacula rerum* = Verg. *Georg.* IV, 3.
2 *Huc ... currite* Cf. Poliz. *Hymni* 2, 13: "Huc huc omnes accurrite / Emanuelem visere, / Quem iacentem praesepio / Bos adorant et asinus"; also Prud. *Perist.* 10, 463.
3 *agrestibus horrida culmis* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 348.
5 *saeculis / vetustis* Prud. *Cath.* 9, 25; Er. *Carm.* 110, 313–314 (n.).
7–10 *Hic ... vbera* The paradox of the Almighty as a squalling infant in the cradle

or at his mother's breast is a favourite theme in medieval poetry. See, e.g., Sedul. *Pasch.* II, 55–62; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* II, 2, 11–15; *AH* 7, 23, 4b; 53, 17, 7; Hegius, *Carm.*, sig. D4^v: "Vagiit in cunis mundi fabricator Iesus. / Qui ditione tenet mundum vagiuit Iesus. / Vbere lactauit proprio sua mater Iesum. / Lacte suae matris rex pascitur orbis Iesus"; Er. *Carm.* 110, 357–368; cf. also *Carm.* 110, 293–304 (n.).

Teneris crepat vagitibus.
 Hic orbis magni moderator maximus infans
 10 Virginea mulget vbera.
 His ego non stabulis augusta palatia Romae
 Feliciora iudicem,
 Non (operosa licet) Solomonia templa nec auream
 Lydi tyranni regiam.
 15 Salue, clara domus caeloque beatior ipso,
 Partus sacrati conscia.
 Iure tibi Iouis inuideant Capitolia falsi,
 Diuis superba saxeis.
 Aegyptus sancta inuideat cunabula, monstribus
 20 Finem datura turpibus.
 Nec minus apta deo es, quod hiantibus vndique rimis

10 Virginea *B C I-L*: Materna *A*.

11 Casa natalitia praefertur palatiis regum* *L*.

13 Solomonia *B C I-L*: Salomonia *A*.

17 Iure ... falsi *om. A*¹.

7-8 *Hic ... vagitibus* Cf. *AH* 48, 141, 4: "In praesaepi / vagit vt paruulus, / Qui concutit / caelum ronitribus"; *AH* 48, 282, 2b: "Tonans in aethere / Vagit in stabulo."

7 *tonitru ... aether* Cf. Cornelis Gerard, *Marias* VII, f^o 78^r (Christ in the manger): "puer ille sacer, quem terra tremiscit et aether"; Verg. *Aen.* V, 694-695.

tellus / et aether = Sabell. *In natal.* 1, sig. a3^r: "Hunc immensa colat tellus, hunc pontus et aether."

9 *orbis magni moderator maximus* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 26; *Ov. Pont.* II, 5, 75 (of Augustus); Prud. *Perist.* 5, 21: "Rex ... orbis maximus".

maximus infans = Sedul. *Pasch.* II, 44 (of Christ); Poliz. *Sylv.* 3, 224 (of Achilles). In Er.' verse the epithet "maximus" belongs more closely with "moderator", but the juxtaposition with "infans" recalls Sedulius' phrase.

10 *Virginea / vbera* *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 478, l. 310 (referring to Mary). The phrase replaces "Materna ... vbera" in *A. Er.* probably revised the wording to reduce the alliteration of *m* in ll. 9-10.

11-18 *His ... saxeis* The passage was imitated by Paul Fleming in *Sylv.* IX, 2, 423-428. Cf. Hier. *Epist.* 108, 1: St. Paula preferred a mud hut in Bethlehem to the gilded palaces of Rome.

11 *palatia Romae* = Mutian. *Epist.* 82 (Krause, p. 88), 21 Dec. 1507?, in similar context: "Ipse etenim genitor rerum, moderator

Olympi, / dum peteret terras, non alta palatia Romae, / ast adiit seruile genus stabulumque pudicum"; Eob. Hess. *Her. chr.* 21, 203 (*Her.* II, 2, 201): "Huic ego nec veteris celebrata palatia Rhomae / Praetulerim et Latio templa superba Ioue." The "palatia" to which Er. refers is the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill.

13 *operosa / templa* *Ov. Met.* XV, 666-667.

Solomonia templa Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* III, 233; cf. Prud. *Apoth.* 512: "Solomonia saxa".

13-14 *auream / regiam* Verg. *Aen.* VII, 210.

14 *Lydi tyranni* Croesus; see n. *Carm.* 2, 123-125.

15-16 *clara ... conscia* Cf. Sabell. *In natal.* 4, sig. a6^r, of Mary's birthplace Nazareth: "Clarior vna quidem terraque beatior omni / Nascentis dominae conscia terra meae".

16 *Partus sacrati conscia* Cf. Sabell. *In natal.* 1, sig. a2^r, of the day that Mary was born: "sacri lux conscia partus"; Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* III, 114, where the ox and ass at the cradle are said to be "diuini conscia partus".

19-20 *Aegyptus ... turpibus* The apocryphal *Euangelium Matthaei* 23 relates how the Egyptian idols tumbled down when the infant Jesus entered the temple of Memphis. Cf. *Is.* 19, 1; Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* III, 397-411; Er. *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 5, p. 276, ll. 702-703: "Profugit in Aegyptum, sed Aegyptiorum idola proffligat."

19 *sancta / cunabula* Prud. *Cath.* II, 77-78.

21 *hiantibus / rimis* Lucan. I, 624.

- Imbres et Euros accipis,
 Quod lodicis egens rigidoque incommoda foeno
 Foetus rubenteis excipis.
 25 Talia nascentem decuere cubilia CHRISTVM, vt
 Qui dedocere venerit
 Fastum nullaque non suadentem turpia luxum.
 Non hic renident purpurae
 Sertaue frondea, non imitantes fulmina taedae,
 30 Non mensa sumptuosior,
 Nec strepit officiis domus ambitiosa, nec alti
 Fouent puerperam thori.
 Pannosus iacet in duris praesepibus infans,
 Diuinus attamen vigor
 35 Emicat et patrios vagitu dispuit ignes.
 Sensere praesentem deum
 Quodque licet puero iumenta tepentibus auris
 Frigus Decembre temperant.
 Vpilio calamis iisdem, quibus ante capellis,
 40 Agreste, sed pium canit,

22 accipis *A-C I-L*: excipis *BAS LB*.

25 Abiecto loco Christum nasci decuit* *L*.

36 Deus agnoscitur* *L*.

38 Frigus *A¹ B C I-L*: Frigidus *A²*; temperant
A² B C I-L: temperat *A¹*.

39 Vpilio *B C I-L*: Opilio *A*.

25–27 *Talia ... luxum* Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.*

III, 116–119 says that Christ's birth in a lowly stable should teach the great lords of this world to be humble. The same thought occurs in Gerald. *Ecl.* 2, 47–48: "Hic tegitur laceris vix membra infantia pannis, / Vt doceat proceres nimios contemnere luxus"; Er. *Paraphr. in Lc.* 2, 7, *LB VII*, 298 F–299 A; Paul Fleming, *Sylv.* IX, 2, 296–316.

31 *Nec ... ambitiosa* Cf. Paul Fleming, *Sylv.* IX, 2, 289 (of the stable in Bethlehem): "Non domus officiis strepitat."
domus ambitiosa Lucan. X, 488 (in one ms. tradition).

33 *in duris ... infans* Gerald. *Ecl.* 2, 63: "Qui tener in duris vagit praesepibus infans."

35 *Emicat* The verb is often used to describe the sun's light at dawn; see n. *Carm.* 4, 56. Since Christ is the sun of salvation (*Carm.* III, 76 and n.; 112, 244), "emicare" is also used to describe his birth; see, e.g., Prud. *Cath.* 9, 27; Arator II, 301; *AH* 50, 63, 7; Er. *Carm.* 110, 317.

vagitu dispuit ignes Er.' model is Claud. *De rapi. Pros.* II, 52, describing the infant Sun in

the arms of his mother Iethys: "vagitu despuit ignem."

36–37 *Sensere / deum / iumenta* According to *Is.* 1, 3, "Cognouit bos possessorem suum, Et asinus praesepe domini sui; Israel autem me non cognouit." Cf. Er. *Carm.* 43, 57–60; 110, 337–338; also *Comm. in Hymn. Prud.*, *LB V*, 1346 C; *Eccles.*, *ASD V*, 5, p. 54, ll. 3–9; *Carm.* III, 95–100.

36 *Sensere praesentem deum* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 134: "praesentia numina sentit"; Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* III, 476–477 (Jesus in Egypt): "praesentia numina tellus / sensit." For the phrase "sensere deum" see Ov. *Her.* 11, 26; *Trist.* III, 8, 14.

praesentem deum = Prud. *Cath.* 11, 90 (Jesus in the crib); cf. Ov. *Trist.* II, 54 (of Augustus).

37 *Quodque licet* = Ov. *Met.* VI, 203.

37–38 *iumenta ... temperant* The thought also occurs in Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* III, 102–104; Paul Fleming, *Sylv.* IX, 2, 292: "tepidio gelidas spiramine temperat auras."

37 *tepentibus auris* = Verg. *Georg.* II, 330 (in one ms. tradition).

Aethereique chori volitant cunabula circum.
 Vt mensibus vernis apum
 Degenerem simul ac pepulere examina regem,
 Regi nouo fauentibus
 45 Applaudunt alis sublimemque agmine tollunt:
 Sic turma caelitum, duci
 Circumfusa suo, gaudens stupet atque iacentem
 Pronis adorat vultibus
 Et natalitium sonat ad praesaepia carmen.
 50 Coniux pudicus interim,
 Fusus humi, magnum trepidus veneratur alumnum.
 Porro puella, nobilis
 Pars bona spectaclī, defixis haeret ocellis
 Primumque sese non capit
 55 Scque suumque stupens genitrix virguncula partum,
 Nulli marito debitum.
 At simul eiecit pietas materna stuporem,
 Praedulce pignus corripit
 Ac modo porrectis prohibet vagire papillis,
 60 Modo tepente frigidum
 Blanda fouet gremio paruisque dat oscula labris.

42 vernis A-C I K: vermis L.

43 ac A² B C I-L: at A¹.

47 atque A C I-L: adque B.

50 Coniux [Coniux B C] ... interim B C I-L:
 Grandeuus inter hec Ioseph A.

52 Maria ipsa miratur* L; puella, nobilis A-C
 I-L: puella nobilis, BAS LB.

53 defixis A² B C I-L: defixis A¹.

54 Primumque ... non B C I-L: Seseque pri-
 mum vix A.

55-56 suumque ... partum ... debitum B C
 I-L: suosque ... partus ... debitos A.

59 prohibet A-C I-L: cohibet BAS LB.

61 Officia puero exhibet* L.

41 *Aethereique* ... *circum* Imitated by Paul
 Fleming, *Sylv.* IX, 2, 434-435.

43-44 *examina* ... *nouo* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 21:
 "cum prima noui ducent examina reges".
 Until the end of the sixteenth century it
 was assumed that bees were ruled by a king
 rather than a queen. See, e.g., Aristot.
Hist. an. V, 21; Verg. *Georg.* IV, 68; Plin. *Nat.*
 XI, 16, 46-XI, 17, 54; Er. *Inst. princ. christ.*,
ASD IV, 1, p. 142, l. 206; pp. 156-157,
 ll. 632-638; *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5, p. 298,
 ll. 225-229.

44-45 *fauentibus Applaudunt alis* Cf. Ov. *Ars* I,
 148; Verg. *Aen.* V, 515-516.

46-47 *duci Circumfusa* Lucan. V, 680.

50 *Coniux pudicus* Cf. Ov. *Pont.* IV, II, 7-8; Er.
Carm. I, 13.

51 *Fusus humi* = Verg. *Aen.* VI, 423.

53 *haeret ocellis* Prop. I, 3, 19; I, 19, 5.

54 *sese non capit* Cf. Lucr. III, 298; Verg. *Aen.*
 VII, 466 (literal sense, of water).

55 *genitrix virguncula* Cf. Mantuan. *Ioann. Bapt.*,
 in: *Opera*, II, f^o 230^r: "mater virguncula";
 Salzer, pp. 106-109. The young Mary was
 often called "virguncula"; see, e.g., *AH* I, 31, 1;
 4, 93, 4; 51, 122, 2; Er. *Paraphr. in Mt.* 1, 18, *LB*
 VII, 5 F; *Paraphr. in Lc.* I, 27; 2, 7; 2, 17; and
 2, 19, *LB* VII, 288 E, 298 E, 300 A, and 300 C.
 59-63 *Ac modo* ... *somnos* Closely imitated by
 Paul Fleming, *Sylv.* IX, 2, 459-464.

61 *fouet gremio* See n. *Carm.* 10, 4. Cf. Bernar-
 dus, *In laud. Virg.* 2, 9: "cum tenera adhuc
 infantis Dei membra mater blando ...
 foueret in gremio"; Mantuan. *Oratio ad Vir-
 ginem Mariam*, in: *Opera*, II, f^o 56^v: "non
 abnuit vberē pasci / Atque sinus haurire tuos
 gremioque foueri."

oscula labris = Lucr. IV, 1194; *LHL* IV, 87.

Nunc pectori adprimit suo,
 Nunc bleso teneros inuitat murmure somnos.
 Amabili inuicem modo
 65 Laetam prole deo videas gestire parentem,
 Prolem parente virgine.

In fine: Finis A, Finis odae natalitiae B I, Finis
 odae natalitiae in aedibus Ascensianis. VI.

Idus Ianuarii. M.DVII C, Odae natalitiae
 finis L.

63 *inuitat murmure somnos* Cf. Ov. *Met.* XI, 603–604; Hor. *Epod.* 2, 28.

43. JESUS EXPOSTULATING WITH MAN

late 1499?

The poem was first published in Er. *Concio de puero Iesu a puero in schola Coletica nuper Londini instituta pronuncianda*, [Paris, Joris Biermans?], 1 September [1511?]. For an earlier version of the poem see *Carm.* 117 below.

It is not easy to determine when the two versions were composed. Ferguson, p. 28 argues that the poem originated during Er.' days at Steyn, on the grounds that it "shows many resemblances in thought and style" to *Carm.* 94 and "would fit very well into the conventual period". It is certainly possible to place the earlier version in c. winter 1490–1491, around the time of *Carmm.* 42 and 50, which deal with the birth of Christ. The poem, moreover, is written in the first Pythiambic strophe, a metre that Er. used also in two other poems written at Steyn: the reproachful *Oda amatoria* (*Carm.* 103) and *De casa natalitia* (*Carm.* 42). Thematically, however, the poem fits better with *Precat. ad Iesum* (winter 1498–1499) and *Carmm.* 110–112 (1499), which focus on the birth, passion, and resurrection of Christ. Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 255, rejecting Ferguson's argument, thinks that "in spirit and in tone the poem shows a marked change when compared with the much more conventional religious poetry of *De casa natalitia*" (*Carmm.* 42 and 50). Assuming that this change might have been due to Colet's influence, he assigns the poem to the autumn of 1499. But Colet's influence on Er.' religious thinking at this stage in his career may not have been as significant as once thought; see Gleason, pp. 93–125; cf. A.G. Dickens and W.R.D. Jones, *Erasmus the Reformer*, London, 1994, pp. 35–40. Er.' poem, furthermore – particularly the earlier, shorter version – is a rather traditional piece of work. Christ's reproaches and appeals to man from the cross are the subject of numerous late-medieval poems, the model being the "improperia" of the Good Friday liturgy. There the crucified Christ asks: "Quid ultra debui facere tibi et non feci?" and reproves his chosen people for their cruel ingratitude; see *Missale Romanum*, I, pp. 170–171. In Sebastian Brant's *Elegia Christi collaphis cesi*, in: *Varia carm.*, sigs.

C1^r–C2^r, Christ reproaches his people for repaying his numerous blessings with insults and crucifixion and exclaims: “Quid potui, o mea gens, facere vltorius neque feci?” Willem Hermans wrote a similar poem, printed in his *Sylua odorum*, Paris, G. Marchant, 1497, sigs. e5^r–f3^r, and entitled *Saluator e cruce iam iam animam exhalaturus affatur hominem*. There are many English poems of this sort; see *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown, Oxford, 1939, pp. 151–176. Cf. Er. *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 84, ll. 625–631.

On balance, I am now inclined to agree with Reedijk that the first version of the poem originated in 1499, possibly in the summer of that year. By late 1499, however, Er. must have been busy revising the poem, for the subheading of *Carm.* 117 in *Eg* (copied at the turn of the century) reads: “Carminis futuri rudimentum”. This conclusion is corroborated by the rather close parallels in the expanded version (*Carm.* 43) to *Precat. ad Iesum* (written in winter 1498–1499) and *Conc. de puero Iesu*; see n.ll. 1–69 and n.ll. 47–56 below. The *Concio de puero Iesu*, as James D. Tracy has argued, may well have been composed in 1503 (rather than c. 1511), for Robert de Keyser’s school; see his *On the Composition Dates of Seven of Erasmus’ Writings*, BHR 31 (1969), pp. 361–362; cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 175. If so, there is no need to assume that the poem underwent a third revision in 1510–1511.

Er.’ poem soon became popular, enjoying numerous reprints. P.C. Boeren, *Tilburgs kleingoed*, Het Boek 31 (1952–1954), pp. 41–44 describes a trace of one such reprint, published sometime between 1512 and 1519 together with *Philippi Beroaldi Bononiensis carmen lugubre de dominice passionis die*. The poem was translated into German in: *Ein expostulation oder klag Jhesu zû dem menschen der vß eygnem mûtwill verdampt würt. In latin durch Erasmus von Rotterdam beschriben/ durch meister Leo Jud Pfarherr zû Eynsidlen vertütscht*, Zürich, C. Froschouer, 1522 (Bezzel 1104–1105). This translation was reprinted in *Ain Ernstliche ermanung Jhesu Christi/ vnsers lieben Haylands/ an dye vnsfleyssigen Christen/ Durch ... Erasmus von Rotterdam im Latein beschriben Vnnd durch D. Michaelen Weynmar zû Augspurg mit andacht zû singen verordnet*, Augsburg, H. Steyner, 1532 (Bezzel 1106). For a different (partial) translation see *Ein heilsame ermanung des kindlein Jesu an den sunder getzogen ausz Erasmo. Hieronymus Emser* [Leipzig, M. Landsberg, c. 1522] (Bezzel 1107).

The poem’s first eight lines were given a monophonic musical setting by Heinrich Glarean in *Dodecachordon* (1547), trans. Clement A. Miller, 2 vols. (s.l., 1965), I, pp. 220–221. Huldrych Zwingli recalled in 1523 that he first read this “comforting poem” (“trostlich gedicht”) eight or nine years before. Even though Er. also wrote poems to such intercessors as St. Ann and St. Michael, Zwingli tells us, the “Expostulation of Jesus” became the source of his conviction that Christ is the sole true mediator between God and man. See *Corp. ref.*, LXXXIX, p. 217; *Contemporaries*, III, p. 483.

Metre: first Pythiambic strophe.

Sources: D–G; I; K^{1*}; L; K²; M; BAS V, 1104–1106; LB V, 1319–1320.

DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI EXPOSTVLATIO IESV
CVM HOMINE SVAPTE CVLPA PEREVNTE

- Cum mihi sint vni bona quae vel frondea tellus
Vel Olympus ingens continet,
Dicite, mortales, quae vos dementia cepit,
Haec aucupari vt vndeus
5 Malitis quam de proprio deposcere fonte,
Adeo benigno et obuio,
Mendacesque iuuet trepido miseroque tumultu
Vmbras bonorum persequi,
Pauci me, qui sum verae largitor et autor
10 Felicitatis, expetant?
Forma rapit multos: me nil formosius vsquam est,
Formam ardet hanc nemo tamen.
Suspiciunt ceras antiquaque stemmata multi,
At me quid est illustrius,
15 Vt qui sim genitore deo deus ipse profectus,

Tit. DES. ERASMI ... PEREVNTE I-L: D. Erasmi Rott. [Rot. E, Roterodami F G], vtriusque linguae doctissimi, expostulatio Iesu cum homine suapte culpa pereunte D-G, Expostulatio Iesu cum homine suapte culpa pereunte Des. Erasmo Roterod. autore M.

4 vndeus E-G I L M: vndenis D, vnde vis K.

1-69 *Cum ... mitto* Cf. *Conc. de puero Iesu*, LB V, 601 A-D: "Quid illo ditius, qui summum illud est bonum, a quo bona promanant omnia, nec tamen ipse diminui potest? Quid illustrius eo, qui splendor est Paternae gloriae ...? Quid illo potentius ...? Quid efficacius eo ...? Quid augustius eo ...? Quid eo fortius atque inuictius ...? ... Quid illo sapientius ...? ... Quid perinde formidandum atque ille, qui solo nutu potest et animam et corpus in Tartara mittere? Quid autem formosius eo, cuius vultum intueri summa est felicitas? Denique ... quid illo antiquius, qui nec initium habet, nec finem est habiturus?"

1-8 *Cum ... persequi* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 1-6.

3 *quae ... cepit* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 69; 6, 47; *Aen.* V, 465.

7-8 *Mendaces ... persequi* Cf. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 1, ASD V, 2, p. 36, ll. 105-106; *Carm.* 94, 35-36. *Mendaces / Vmbras* Ov. *Met.* IX, 460.

5 Deum negligunt* L M.

9 verae F G I-M: vere D, vero E.

10 expetant E-G I-M: expetunt D.

11 Formosi* L M.

13 Nobiles* L M; antiquaque D-G I K¹ L M: antiqua K².

15 Vt D-G I K M: At L; deo om. F G.

7 *trepido / tumultu* Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 4-5; Lucan. VII, 127; Stat. *Theb.* II, 311; Er. *Carm.* 110, 318.

8 *Umbras bonorum* Sen. *Epist.* 92, 27.

11 *Forma rapit* Prop. II, 25, 44; cf. Er. *Carm.* 117, 5 (n.).

me nil formosius God is often addressed as "the most beautiful one"; see, e.g., Aug. *Conf.* I, 4, 4, CCSL 27, 2: "pulcherrime"; I, 7, 12, CCSL 27, 7: "formosissime"; Boeth. *Consol.* III, m. 9, 7: "pulcherrimus". Christ too is frequently so called; see, eg., Er. *Precat. ad Iesum*, LB V, 1211 F: "pulcherrimus ipse". This is in part based on the Christological interpretation of *Ps.* 44, 3: "Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum"; see Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 410, ll. 174-181; *Carm.* 110, 369 (n.).

13 *ceras / stemmata* Er. uses the same combination of words in *Carm.* 4, ded. 14 (written in autumn 1499).

Genitrice natus virgine?
 Vnde fit, vt mecum vix gestiat vnus et alter
 Affinitatem iungere?
 Maximus ille ego sum caelique solique monarcha:
 20 Seruire nobis cur pudet?
 Diues item et facilis dare magna et multa roganti,
 Rogari amo: nemo rogat.
 Sumque vocorque patris summi sapientia: nemo
 Me consulit mortalium.
 25 Ipse ego sum aetherei splendorque decusque parentis:
 Me nemo stupet aut suspicit.
 Sum firmus iuxta ac iucundus amicus amico,
 Me pariter ac meas opes
 Candidus atque lubens charis impertio: nemo hanc
 30 Ambit necessitudinem.
 Sum via qua sola caeli itur ad astra, tamen me
 Terit viator infrequens.
 Cur tandem ignarum dubitat mihi credere vulgus,
 Aeterna cum sim veritas?
 35 Pollicitis cur, stulte, meis diffidere perstas,
 Cum sit nihil fidelius?

19 Christus est monarcha* *L M.*

21 Diues* *L M.*; item *E-G I-M*: idem *D.*

23 Sapientia* *L M.*

25 Splendor Patris* *L M.*

27 Amicus candidus* *L M.*

29 impertio *E-G I-M*: impartio *D.*

31 Via* *L M.*

33 Veritas* *L M.*

35 Fidelis* *L M.*

17 vnus et alter = *LHL V*, 711–712.

18 *Affinitatem iungere* Christ is traditionally the “bridegroom of the soul”. This is based on the Christological interpretation of *Ps.* 18, 6, “In sole posuit tabernaculum suum; Et ipse tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo”, the *Canticum Canticorum*, and the parable of the bridegroom in *Mt.* 25, 1–13.

19 *ille ego sum* = *Ov. Met.* XV, 500; cf. *LHL III*, 21–22.
caelique solique monarcha Cf. *Gn.* 24, 3; *Act.* 17, 24.

21 *facilis dare magna* Cf. *Lucan.* I, 510: “faciles dare summa deos”.

23–25 *Sumque ... parentis* Cf. *Enchir.*, *LB V*, 11 A–B: “sapientiae auctor, atque ipsa adeo sapientia Christus Iesus, qui verum est lumen [cf. *l. 39 below*], ... splendor Paternae gloriae”.

23 *patris summi sapientia* *Alcuin.*, *Carm.* I, 1;

Hrabanus, Carm. 34, 1; *Agric. Anna*, p. 298; *Cornelis Gerard, Marias*, praef., f° 7; *Er. Coll.*, *ASD I*, 3, p. 174, ll. 1581–1582; cf. *Carm.* 110, 194, with n.ll. 194–196. The doctrine is based on *1. Cor.* 1, 24.

25 *splendorque decusque parentis* Cf. *Hebr.* 1, 3: “splendor gloriae, et figura substantiae [Dei]”; *AH* 54, 100, 1 (and elsewhere): “Splendor patris et figura”.

27 *amicus amico* = *Carm.* 96, 27; see also *Adag.* 217.

31–37 *via / veritas / vita* *Iob.* 14, 6.

31 *Sum ... astra* Cf. *Enchir.*, *LB V*, 23 D: “Christi via ... sola ducit ad felicitatem.” For the phrase “via ad astra” see *Sen. Herc. f.* 437; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* VIII, 3, 54; cf. *Ov. Her.* 15(16), 72.

itur ad astra *Verg. Aen.* IX, 641; *Sen. Epist.* 48, 11; 73, 15.

Autor ad haec vitae cum sim vnicus ipsaque vita,
 Cur sordeo mortalibus?
 Lux ego sum: cur huc vertunt sua lumina pauci?
 40 Dux: cur grauantur insequi?
 Viuendi recte certissima regula solus:
 Aliunde formas cur petunt?
 Ipse ego sum solus vera et sine felle voluptas:
 Quid est quod ita fastidior?
 45 Vnica pax animi: quin huc deponitis aegri
 Curas edaces pectoris?
 Si benefacta truces etiam meminere leones
 Referuntque beluae vicem,
 Respondere feri merito didicere dracones,
 50 Si meminit officii canis,
 Si redamant aquilae, redamant delphines amantem,

37 Vita* *L M.*

39 Lux* *L M.*

40 Dux* *L M.*

41 Regula vitae* *L M.*

43 Voluptas* *L M.*; felle *D-G I K M.*: velle *L.*
Post 43 inseritur in D turbato ordine versus 68.

45 Pax* *L M.*

47 Nobis bene fecit* *L M.*

37 *Autor / vitae* See n. *Carm.* 2, 243.

39 *Lux ego sum* See *Ioh.* 1, 4–5 and 9; 8, 12; 9, 5.

40 *Dux* See *Mt.* 2, 6.

41 *Viuendi ... regula* Cf. *Carm.* 48, 2.

43 *sine felle voluptas* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 177–179 (n.); *Enchir.*, *LB V*, 55 E: “aeternus ille fons et Idea ... summae voluptatis”.

45–46 *Vnica ... pectoris* Cf. *Mt.* 11, 28; *Er. Enchir.* 15 E: “Christus verae pacis auctor”.

46 *Curas edaces* *Hor. Carm.* II, 11, 18.

47–56 *Si benefacta ... volens* Cf. *Conc. de puero Iesu*, *LB V*, 603 C: “Aquilae, leones, pardi, delphines, dracones agnoscunt ac referunt beneficium, et o duritiam cordis humani plus quam adamantinam, si tam inaudita caritate non mitescit, o ingratitude plus quam belluinam, si tantorum meritorum potest obliuisci, o singularem impudentiam dicam an potius dementiam, sic conditus, sic restitutus, sic locupletatus, tanta obrutus beneficentia, ad tantas vocatus spes, quidquam amare potest, praeter illum vnum, in quo et a quo sunt omnia quique nobis omnia secum imperit”; *Adag.* 2601, *ASD II*, 6, p. 410, ll. 350–366.

47 *leones* *Gell.* V, 14 tells the story of Androclus, a slave who removed a splinter from a lion’s paw and was later spared by the same

lion in the arena. See also *Sen. Benef.* II, 19, 1; *Plin. Nat.* VIII, 21, 56–58. Stories like this, according to *Er. De conscr. ep.*, *ASD I*, 2, p. 334, ll. 20–23, are to be in every writer’s memory. *Er.* himself liked to use these fables to contrast the brutes’ gratitude with man’s hard-heartedness and ingratitude toward others. See *De cop. verb.*, *ASD I*, 6, p. 240, ll. 44–46; and, e.g., *Ep.* 8, ll. 16–30; 58, ll. 57–59; *Adag.* 796, *LB II*, 332 E; *Eccles.*, *ASD V*, 4, p. 288, ll. 931–958.

49 *dracones* *Plin. Nat.* VIII, 22, 61. *Er.* retells the story of the grateful snake in *Ep.* 8, ll. 21–27. See also *De cop. verb.*, *ASD I*, 6, p. 240, ll. 46–47; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD V*, 1, p. 315, ll. 285–286.

50 *canis* Dogs, along with serpents and lions, are mentioned in *Ep.* 8, ll. 27–28 as examples of animals who return affection. Cf. *Coll.*, *ASD I*, 3, p. 704, ll. 118–119; *Plin. Nat.* VIII, 61, 142–145.

51–53 *Si redamant ... homo* Cf. *Ep.* 1633, l. 1. 51 *aquilae* *Plin. Nat.* X, 6, 18; *Er. Adag.* 2601, *ASD II*, 6, p. 410, ll. 365–366; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD I*, 6, p. 240, l. 49; p. 256, ll. 449–450; *Coll.*, *ASD I*, 3, p. 704, ll. 112–114.

delphines *Plin. Nat.* IX, 8, 25–28; *Gell.* VI, 8. *Er.* alludes to these legends in *De cop. verb.*, *ASD I*, 6, p. 240, ll. 47–49; *Coll.*, *ASD I*, 3,

Cur efferacior feris
 Me me non redamas homo, cui semel omnia feci,
 Quem condidi, quem sanguine
 55 Asserui proprio propriaeque a morte recepi
 Dispendio vitae volens?
 Si bos agnoscit dominum, si brutus asellus
 Agnoscit altorem suum,
 Cur me solus, homo, male gratus nosse recusas
 60 Et conditorem et vindicem?
 Vnus ego hic tibi sum cunctorum summa bonorum:
 Quid est quod extra me petas?
 Quorsum distraheris per tot dispendia, grassans
 Laboriosa inertia?
 65 Sum placabilis et pronus miserescere: quin hoc
 Miser ad asylum confugis?
 Idem iustus et implacabilis vltor iniqui:
 Cur non times offendere?
 Corpus ego atque animum nutu sub Tartara mitto:
 70 Nostri metus vix vllum habet.
 Proinde, mei desertor homo, secordia si te
 Adducet in mortem tua,
 Praeteritum nihil est. In me ne reiice culpam,
 Malorum es ipse autor tibi.

57 Dominus* *L M.*

61 Summum bonum* *L M.*

65 Misericors* *L M.*

68 Cur ... offendere *hic om. D.*

69 Potens* *L M.*

71 mei *E-G I-M: me D.*

73 Praeteritum *E-G I-M: Pretectum D.*

p. 703, ll. 82–83. The most familiar one is the story of Arion and the dolphin; see *Hdt.* I, 23–24; *Ov. Fast.* II, 83–118; *Gell.* XVI, 19.

56 *Dispendio vitae* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 173 (n.).

57–60 *Si bos ... vindicem* See *Carm.* 42, 36–37 (n.).

61 *cunctorum summa bonorum* Cf. *Enchir.*, *LB V*, 25 B and 42 A; *Precat. ad Iesum*, *LB V*, 1211 D; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD V*, I, p. 232, l. 788; *Carm.* 94, 73 (n.).

63–64 *Quorsum ... inertia* Cf. *Carm.* 105, 13–16 (n.).

grassans Laboriosa inertia Cf. *Hor. Epist.* I, 11, 28: “strenua nos exercet inertia.” There is a similar oxymoron in *Sen. Dial.* IX, 12, 3: “inquietam inertiam”; cf. *Er. Carm.* 94, 39; 105, 46: “Mixta labore quies”.

69 *Corpus ... mitto* Cf. *Mt.* 10, 28; *Lc.* 12, 5; *Er. Conc. de puero Iesu*, *LB V*, 601 D; *Epist. con-*

solat., *LB V*, 611 B; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD V*, 3, p. 231, ll. 280–282; p. 232, ll. 311–313; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD V*, I, p. 295, ll. 633–634. In *Moria*, *ASD IV*, 3, p. 174, ll. 800–801 this power is mockingly attributed to the pope: “fulmen illud terrificum, quo solo nutu mortalium animas vel vltra tartara mittunt”.

nutu See n. *Carm.* 110, 293.

sub Tartara mitto Cf. *Verg. Aen.* IV, 243; VIII, 563; XI, 397; XII, 14; *LHL V*, 356–357.

71–72 *Proinde ... mortem tua* Cf. *Euripides*, *ASD I*, I, p. 349, ll. 2043–2044: “Proinde nequaquam sinam / Iua perire ... te socordia.”

73–74 *Praeteritum ... tibi* In his *Paraphr. in NT* *Er.* often expresses the thought that Christ has done everything possible to save mankind; therefore we have only ourselves to blame if we are damned to hell. See, e.g.,

- 75 Nam quid adhuc superest, si te neque prouocat ardens
 Suique prodiga charitas,
 O bis marmoreum pectus, neque mitigat vnquam
 Adeo profusa benignitas,
 Si neque tantarum vel spes certissima rerum
 80 Expergefacerit et allicit,
 Si neque Tartareae cohibet formido gehennae,
 Nec vllus admonet pudor,
 Immo si durant magis haec adduntque stuporem
 Tam multa tamque insignia,
 85 Vt facile immanesque feras chalybemque petramque
 Rigore victo molliant,
 Quid faciat pietas, quibus artibus abstrahat vltro
 Deuota morti pectora?
 Inuitum seruare nec est mentis, puto, sanae
 90 Et patria prohibet aequitas.

75 Charitas* *L M*.

76 prodiga *E-G I-M*: prodigia *D*.

77 Benignitas* *L M*.

79 Spes vitae* *L M*; vel spes *I-M*: spes vel *D-G*.

81 Timor poenae* *L M*.

82 admonet *E-G I-M*: admoneat *D*.

85 immanesque *D-G I-M*: immitesque *BAS LB*.

89 puto *D-F I-M*: puro *G*.

In fine: Telos *D*, τέλος *E-G*, Finis *I L M*.

Paraphr. in Mt. 11, 15; 23, 37; and 28, 20, *LB VII*, 67 E, 124 B, 146 C; *Paraphr. in Iob.* 15, 22 and 16, 9, *LB VII*, 617 F and 621 A. The expression "praeteritum nihil est" also occurs in *Paraphr. in Iob.* 17, 12 and 17, 25, *LB VII*, 627 A and 629 C. In both passages Er. says that Christ has left no stone unturned to save man.

74 *Malorum ... tibi* Cf. *Euripides*, *ASD I*, 1, p. 293, ll. 495-496: "tuorum tu tibi / Ipsus autor es malorum."

75-80 *Nam quid ... allicit* Cf. *Precat. ad Iesum*, *LB V*, 1212 D-E: "Vae hiemi pectorum nostrorum, ... si tua tam inaudita nostri caritate non incalescunt ad te redamandum, qui sic

adamasti prior. Vae lethargo mentium nostrarum, si tantis meritis excitatae non expergefunt. Vae duritiae cordis humanae plusquam adamantini, si tanta tua indulgentia non potest mollescere [cf. l. 86 below]. Sed quisnam, o sola spes nostra, reuellet hoc cor saxeam ..., nisi tu solus ...?"

77 *marmoreum pectus* Cf. Otto 1645. In *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD V*, 1, p. 58, ll. 529-530 Er. speaks of "animus ... marmoreus".

79-81 *Si ... gehennae* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 75-77.

85-86 *chalybemque ... molliant* Cf. Otto 19 and 1647.

88 *Deuota morti pectora* Hor. *Carm.* IV, 14, 18.

89 *Inuitum seruare* Hor. *Ars* 467.

44-48. EPIGRAMS FOR JOHN COLET'S SCHOOL FOR BOYS

1511

Carmm. 44-48 were written for John Colet's school for boys at St. Paul's, London, which opened in late 1511 or early 1512. On this school see Ep. 1211, ll. 339-361; Gleason, pp. 217-234. Most, if not all, of these "carmina scholaria"

were intended to be affixed at appropriate places throughout the school. *Carm.* 46 (perhaps also *Carm.* 48) was to be placed beneath or near the image of the boy Jesus. Er. was a great believer in the educational value of such inscriptions; see *De rat. stud.*, ASD I, 2, p. 118, l. 15–p. 119, l. 5; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, pp. 233–234, ll. 66–91.

The epigrams were first published in Er. *Concio de puero Iesu a puero in schola Coletica nuper Londini instituta pronuncianda*, [Paris, Joris Biermans?], 1 Sept. [1511?], and were often reprinted. Colet had evidently not yet received a copy of the book by March 1512, for in Ep. 258, ll. 16–18 he reminds his friend to be “memor illorum carminum pro pueris nostris”. The poems have been analysed and, in part, translated in James H. Rieger, *Erasmus, Colet, and the Schoolboy Jesus*, *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962), pp. 187–194.

Metre of *Carm.* 44: iambic senarius alternating with an iambic dimeter; of *Carm.* 45: Sapphic strophe; of *Carm.* 46: elegiac distich; of *Carm.* 47: hendecasyllable; of *Carm.* 48: elegiac distich.

Sources: *D–G*; *I*; *K**; *L*; *K*²; *BAS* V, 1106; *LB* V, 1320–1321. *Carm.* 44 also occurs at the end of *M*.

44 CARMEN IAMBICVM

Non inuenusto antiquitas aenigmate
 Studii magistram virginem
 Finxit Mineruam, ac literarum praesides
 Finxit Camoenas virgines.
 5 Nunc ipse virgo matre natus virgine
 Praesideo virgineo gregi,
 Et sospitator huius et custos scholae.
 Adsunt ministri virgines,
 Pueros meos mecum tuentes angeli.
 10 Mihi grata vbique puritas,

Tit. CARMEN IAMBICVM *D–G I K:* Carmen iambicum. Sub persona pueri Iesu praesidentis scholae Coleticae *L M.*

4 Finxit *F–G I–M:* Fingit *D.*
 6 virgineo *G I–M:* virgineae *D–F.*

Like *Carm.* 43, this poem is a prosopopeia in which Jesus addresses the reader. The *Enchiridion* of 1518 and the *Progymnasmata* of 1521 (*L* and *M*) specify that it is the boy Jesus who is addressing the boys of Colet’s school; see App. crit.

8 *ministri* The angels are “administratorii spiritus” according to *Hebr.* 1, 14. For “ministri” see, e.g., *Lact. Inst.* 1, 7, 4–8, *CSEL* 19, 26; *Iuuenc.* 1, 52; Er. *Paraphr. in Hebr.* 1, 4, *LB* VII, 1166 E: “Angelus ministri vocabulum

est”; *Mod. orandi Deum*, ASD V, 1, p. 150, ll. 25–26: “Angelus nihil aliud est quam minister.” Here the boys’ guardian angels are meant; cf. *Conc. de puero Iesu*, *LB* V, 602 B: “angelis in nostri tutelam designatis”; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 376, ll. 293–307; *Carm.* 50, 221–228; *DTC* I, 1, 1216–1219; *LThK* IX, 522–524. 10–16 *Mihi ... mea* The emphasis on moral and linguistic purity, a leitmotif in this series of epigrams, was also characteristic of Colet’s own attitude. See the Statutes of St. Paul’s

Decetque studia literarum puritas.
 Procul ergo sacro a limine
 Morum arceant mihi literatores luem,
 Nihil huc recipiant barbarum.
 15 Procul arceant illiteratas literas,
 Nec regna polluant mea.

14 Nihil *G I-M*: Nil *D-F*.

In fine: Finis *M*.

School (Lupton, p. 280): "I say that ffylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which more rather may be callid blotterature thenne literature I vterly abbanysch and Exclude oute of this scole"; Er. Ep. 1211, ll. 329–330 (describing Colet): "Impatiens erat omnium sordium, adeo vt nec sermonem ferret soloeum ac barbarie spurcum." Er. explains this kind of attitude in Ep. 531, ll. 323–326, in a different context: "Nam vt sermo praecipua mentis imago est, mentem vero decet esse purissimam, cum vicio detur vestis immun-

dior, magis arbitror orationis puritatem ac mundiciem bono viro praestandam esse." On the proverbial saying "sermo mentis imago est" see Introd., p. 45, n. 114.

15 *illiteratas literas* In Ep. 843, ll. 10–11 Er. complains that schoolmasters nowadays teach nothing but "illiteratas ... literas"; in *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 211, l. 4 he calls such pedants "indoctum doctorum genus et illiterata literatorum turba". For the wordplay see also Ep. 529, l. 91; 1223, l. 19; 1234, l. 21; cf. *Carm.* 47, 4–5 (n.).

45 SAPPHICVM

Coeperit faustis auibus precamur,
 Semper augescens meliore fato,
 Hic nouae sudor nouus officinae,
 Auspice IESV.
 5 Hic rudis (tanquam noua testa) pubes
 Literas Graias simul et Latinas
 Et fidem sacram tenerisque CHRISTVM
 Combibet annis.

1 *faustis auibus* Cf. *Carm.* 28, 1 (n.).

5 *tanquam noua testa* The comparison of the unglazed, porous wine jar with the retentiveness of young learners was proverbial. The first contents of such vessels had to be of high quality, lest they spoil what was poured in later. See Otto 1770; Er. *Adag.* 1320; Ep. 93, ll. 66–68; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 81, ll. 803–804; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 248, ll. 13–14; *De pronunt.*, ASD I, 4, p. 44, ll. 5–6; *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, p. 33, ll. 11–12; p. 75, ll. 16–17; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 458, ll. 185–191; *Inst. christ. matrim.*, LB V, 713 B; *Eccles.*,

ASD V, 4, p. 348, ll. 571–573; p. 464, ll. 375–380.

6 *Graias ... Latinas* According to the Statutes of St. Paul's School (Lupton, p. 279) the boys were to be "taught all way in good literature both laten and greke". Colet's statute thus accepts Er.' recommendation that both languages be acquired while the pupil is still young; see Ep. 93, ll. 78–80; *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, p. 50, ll. 3–15; *De pronunt.*, ASD I, 4, p. 30, ll. 559–560. In the early years of the school, however, Colet's intention seems to have been carried out only fitfully; see Gleason, p. 228.

Quid fuit laeta sobolem dedisse
 10 Corporis forma, nisi mens et ipsa
 Rite fingatur studiisque castis
 Culta nitescat?
 Stirpe ab hac sensim noua pullulabit
 Ciuium proles, pietate iuxta ac
 15 Literis pollens breuiterque regno
 Digna Britanno.
 Ludus hic syluae pariet futurae
 Semina; hinc diues nemus vndequaue
 Densius surgens decorabit Anglum
 20 Latius orbem.

14 iuxta *G I-L*: mixta *D-F*.

18 Semina *E-G I-L*: Stemma *D*; hinc *D-G I-L*: hic *BAS LB*.

In fine: Finis *E*.

9–12 *Quid ... nitescat* Cf. *De pueris*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 26, l. 29–p. 27, l. 2; p. 32, l. 12–p. 33, l. 8.
 13–20 *Stirpe ... orbem* Cf. *Ep.* 1211, ll. 360–361

(of Colet): “Vidit hoc vir perspicacissimus, in hoc esse praecipuam reipublicae spem, si prima aetas bonis rationibus institueretur.”

46 IMAGO PVERI IESV IN LVDO LITERARIO, QVEM
 NVPER INSTITVIT COLETVS

Discite me primum, pueri, atque effingite puris
 Moribus, inde pias addite literulas.

Tit. IN LVDO *I-L*: posita in ludo *D-G*.

The couplet was intended to be placed under or near a statue of the boy Jesus, seated and gesturing like a teacher. The image was located above the high master's desk. As the boys entered and left the school they would greet the image with a hymn. Over the boy Jesus was the countenance of the Father. At *Er.*' suggestion Colet added the words “*Ipsum audite*” (*Mt.* 17, 5; *Lc.* 9, 35), spoken by the Father. See *Ep.* 1211, ll. 350–353; cf. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, pp. 173–174, ll. 1578–1581. That the image was a statue and not a painting is apparent from Gardiner's “Admission Registers” for the school, which on p. 9 records: “1556–7. The picture of Jesus set up agayne”; and: “For payenting and gilding the same picture”. See Lupton, p. 237, n. 1, who

explains that the word “picture” in contemporary usage can mean statue. Cf. also the heading of this poem in the ed. princ., where the phrase “*Imago ... posita*” suggests a statue. One receives the same impression from the language used in the title of Ammonio, *Carm.* 18: “*scholam in qua Christi pueri docentis imago locata est*”.

In *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 264, ll. 1037–1040 (published in 1522, a year after *Ep.* 1211) *Er.* describes a painting that at first glance resembles the image in Colet's school. In this painting Christ is seated on a mountain, his hand stretched out. Above Christ is God's face, saying: “*Ipsum audite*.” The Holy Spirit, his wings spread out, surrounds him with great light. But this painting depicts the

transfiguration of Christ (*Mt.* 17, 1-5; *Lc.* 9, 28-35); the statue in Colet's school represents the boy Jesus in the temple (*Lc.* 2, 46).

1-2 *Discite ... Moribus* Cf. *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 134, ll. 168-169, where Folly says: "Ego me tum religiosissime coli puto, cum passim ... animo complectuntur, moribus expriment, vita repraesentant"; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, LB V, 607 A: "Hoc magis [Christum] red-

amabimus, quo magis vita ac moribus exprimemus"; *LB* V, 610 A: "Hunc penitus sapiamus, hunc loquamur, hunc moribus exprimamus"; *Enchir.*, LB, V, 39 C and 51 B; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 1, ASD V, 2, p. 66, ll. 2-3; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 606, l. 96: "Nemo penitus amat, nisi qui moribus exprimit Euangelium."

47 CARMEN PHALECIVM

Sedes haec puero sacra est IESV,
 Formandis pueris dicata. Quare
 Edico procul hinc facessat aut qui
 Spurcis moribus aut inerudita
 5 Ludum hunc inquinat eruditione.

4-5 *inerudita / eruditione* Cf. *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 47, l. 35; p. 84, l. 24: "eruditio ... ineruditissima"; *Carm.* 44, 15 (n.).

48 ALIVD

Quin hunc ad puerum, pueri, concurritis omnes?
 Vnus hic est vitae regula fonsque piae.
 Hunc qui non sapiat, huius sapientia stulta est,
 Absque hoc vita hominis mors (mihī crede) mera est.

2 *vitae regula / piae* Cf. *Carm.* 43, 41.
vitae / fons *Ps.* 35, 10; *Pru.* 13, 14; 14, 27; 16, 22; *Sir.* 21, 16.

3 *Hunc ... stulta est* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 1, 20; *Is.* 44, 25; *Rom.* 1, 22; *Er. Enchir.*, LB V, 51 A: "Misere

desipit, qui Christum non sapit"; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, LB V, 605 E: "Is vero demum sapit, qui mundo desipit et nil nisi Christum sapit"; *Carm.* 36, 4.

4 *Absque ... est* Cf. *Carm.* 9, 5 (n.).

49. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN CONDUCT

1514

Like the preceding series of poems (*Carmm.* 44–48), *Christiani hominis institutum* was composed for use in St. Paul's school for boys; see Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 6, ll. 28–32. According to the school's statutes, written by Colet, the first Latin poem that the students were to study was "Institutum Christiani hominis which that lerynd Erasmus made at my request" (Lupton, p. 279). In the preface to the ed. princ. (Ep. 298, ll. 31–33, dated 1 August 1514) Er. explains that he wrote the poem "carmine dilucido magis quam elaborato" from an English text by John Colet. The English version, edited by Lupton, pp. 286–288, first appeared in *Ioannis Coleti theologi ... aeditio vna cum quibusdam G. Lili Grammatices rudimentis* (s.l., 1527; repr. Menston, 1971). Johannes Vatellus published a text of Er.' poem with an extensive commentary in: *Christiani hominis institutum per D. Erasmum Roterodamum Ioanne Vatelto Coeniliano interprete ad foelices catholicae ecclesiae successus*, [Paris], N. de Barra, [1519].

Relying on W.H. Woodward, *Des. Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, Cambridge, 1904, p. 238, Reedijk says that Er.' poem was translated back into English as *The Institution of a Christen Man*, London, Thom. Berthelet, 1537 (repr. Amsterdam / Norwood, N.J., 1976). However, this is an official catechism issued by the bishops; it is not translated from Er. (though it probably borrows his title) and has no connection with Colet; see Gleason, p. 231.

The *Institutum* was first published in *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore et interprete*, Louvain, D. Martens, September 1514 (α ; NK 534), a much-reprinted volume which includes editions of *Disticha Catonis*, *Mimi Publiliani* (the monostichs of Publilius Syrus) [*et*] *Septem sapientum celebria dicta*. A complete copy of this rare book is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the copy in the Royal Library, The Hague, lacks sigs. k3^r–l^r with ll. 9–133 of the poem. The ed. princ. was reprinted at Louvain by Dirk Martens in September 1515 (NK 2603). In *Catonis praecepta moralia recognita atque interpretata ab Erasmo Roterodamo*, M. Schürer, Strasbourg, [October–November 1515] (β ; Schmidt 167), sig. Fr^r, Er. added a brief preface to the poem:

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS LECTORI S. D.

Fac memineris, lector, que hactenus legisti, ethnicorum esse decreta, vt scias cum iudicio esse legenda. Que nunc legas [leges ?], ipsius Christi et sanctae ecclesiae sunt oracula, quae tuto sequi possis, imo quae sola beatum possint efficere. Proinde sic lege vt rem seriam, ac vale.

P.S. Allen and *CWE* 5 incorrectly state that this letter (Ep. 679) first occurs in *Disticha moralia, titulo Catonis*, D. Martens, Louvain, [1517] (γ ; NK 535). See Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 306.

Metre: hexameter.

Sources: α ; β ; γ ; K^{1*}; K²; BAS V, 1141–1144; LB V, 1357–1359.

CHRISTIANI HOMINIS INSTITVTVM ERASMI ROTERODAMI
Ad Galat. Quinto: *Valet in CHRISTO fides, quae per
dilectionem operatur.*

Fides

Credo. Primus articulus

Confiteor primum ore pio venerorque fideli
Mente deum patrem vel nutu cuncta potentem,
Hunc qui stelligeri spaciola volumina caeli
Et solidum omniparae telluris condidit orbem.

Et in Iesum. II

- 5 Eius item gnatum IESVM, cognomine CHRISTVM,
Quem dominum nobis agnoscimus ac veneramur.

Tit. ERASMI ROTERODAMI β *K*: Erasmi α , per
Erasmus Roterodamum γ . 6 ac α β *K*: et γ .

Tit. *Valet ... operatur* These words also stand at the head of Colet's catechism. They are taken from *Gal.* 5, 6: "Nam in Christo Iesu ... valet ... fides, quae per charitatem operatur." Following patristic example (e.g. *Aug. Civ.* XIX, 23 and 27; XXI, 25), Er. habitually writes "dilectionem" instead of "charitatem" when quoting or paraphrasing this biblical verse; see, e.g., *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, *ASD* V, 2, p. 261, ll. 205 and 217; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, *ASD* V, 2, p. 349, l. 678; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 33, *ASD* V, 3, p. 148, l. 46; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, *ASD* V, 3, p. 282, l. 860; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, *ASD* V, 3, p. 386, l. 536. He does so also in his translation of the text in *Nov. Test.*, *LB* VI, 822 B.

1-31 *Confiteor ... perennem* Colet's version of the Apostles' Creed, which Er. versifies here, is nearly always a close rendering of the original text; divergences are noted below. Er. discusses the Apostles' Creed and other creeds in his colloquy *Inquisitio de fide*, *ASD* I, 3, pp. 363-374 and in *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, pp. 205-320.

2 *nutu* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 293 (n.).

3 *stelligeri / caeli* *Sil.* II, 289; *LHL* V, 261.

spaciola volumina = *Lucan.* III, 505 (different sense).

volumina caeli Borrowed in *Eob. Hess. Her. chr.* 19, 135 (*Her.* I, 5, 143): "extremi ... volumina caeli"; and *Vict. Chr.* 341: "Multiplicis ... volumina caeli"; both of these passages refer to the heavenly spheres. For the (unclassical) sense of "volumina" as "spheres" cf. *Vatellus'* commentary (referred to on p. 179 above), sig. a3^v: "Sphaeras volubiles, sinuosas, amplasque, quae et orbes nuncupantur"; *Hermann Buschius, Lipsica* 398: "super octavae flammata volumina sphaerae"; for the concept see also *Er. Carm.* 76, 2-4 (n.); 110, 366.

4 *condidit orbem* = *LHL* I, 415. In *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 230, ll. 742-752 Er. explains that he prefers "condidit" to "creavit", because the former more clearly indicates that God did not create the world "ex nihilo" but formed it out of chaos instead.

Qui conceptus. III

Hunc MARIA afflatu diuini numinis aluo
 Conceptit virgo, peperit purissima virgo.

Passus sub Pontio. IIII

Et graue supplicium immeritus damnante Pilato
 10 Pertulit, infami suffixus in arbore mortem
 Oppetiit, tumultatus humo est claususque sepulchro.
 Interea penetrat populator ad infera regna.

Tertia die. V

Mox vbi tertia lux moesto se prompserat orbi,
 Emersit tumulto superas rediuuius in auras.

Ascendit. VI

15 Inde palam aetheream scandit sublimis in arcem.
 Illic iam dexter patri assidet omnipotenti.

Iterum venturus est. VII

Idem olim rediturus vt omnem iudicet orbem,
 Et viuos pariter vitaeque ac lumine cassos.

11 humo *a BAS LB*: homo $\beta \gamma K$.
 Post 16 est *om. \gamma*.

18 ac $\alpha \beta K$: et γ .

7-8 *Hunc ... purissima virgo* Colet has:
 "Whiche was conceyued by the holy goost &
 borne of the clene virgyn Marie".

7 *diuini numinis* *LHL* II, 105.

8 *purissima virgo* *Conc. de puero Iesu, LB* V,
 605 A: "de purissima Virgine natus".

11 *tumulatus humo* *LHL* V, 482.

12 *infera regna* = *Anth. Lat.* 596, 3: "post haec
 adit [sc. Asclepiades] infera regna"; cf. *Er.*
Carm. 112, ll. 61 and 323-324.

13-14 *Mox ... auras* Colet has: "Whiche rose
 againe the thyerde daye from deth to lyfe".

13 *tertia lux* See n. *Carm.* 112, 301.

14 *superas / auras* = Verg. *Georg.* IV, 486 (of
 Eurydice's return to the upper world); *Aen.*
 VI, 128 (Aeneas' return to the upper world),

mentioned in Vatellus' commentary, sig. br^v;
 Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* I, 278 (Pluto makes his
 way to the upper air); see also *LHL* V, 317.

15 *Inde* Vatellus (sig. br^v) says that this is not a
 spatial adverb ("thence") but a temporal
 adverb ("then") referring to the time between
 the resurrection and the ascension. Colet has
 no comparable adverb or phrase here.

aetheream / arcem *Ov. Trist.* IV, 3, 5; *Val.*
Fl. II, 444; *Stat. Theb.* III, 222.

sublimis Vatellus (sig. br^v) glosses the word
 with "gloriosus" and compares Verg. *Aen.* I,
 259-260.

18 *lumine cassos* Verg. *Aen.* II, 85 (cited in Vatel-
 lus' commentary, sig. b2^v); *LHL* III, 243.

Credo in spiritum. VIII

Te quoque credo fide simili, spirabile numen,
20 Halitus afflatusque dei sacer, omnia lustrans.

Sanctam ecclesiam. IX

Et te confiteor, sanctissima concio, qua gens
Christigena arcano nexu coit omnis in vnum
Corpus et vnanimis capiti sociatur IESV.
Hinc proprium nescit, sed habet communia cuncta.

19–20 *Te ... lustrans* Quoted by Er. in Ep. 1877, ll. 112–113 and *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX, 1027 A. Er. explains in the letter that he called the Holy Spirit “numen” rather than “Deus” only because of the metre. In the *Apologia* he says that he used “numen” here because it unambiguously refers to God, while in the Bible “Deus” is sometimes also applied to men.

19 *spirabile numen* The phrase is a variation on Verg. *Aen.* III, 600: “hoc caeli spirabile lumen”. Cf. Er. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 370, ll. 234–235: just as the body lives through breathing, so the soul is enlivened by the breath of the Holy Spirit; *Explan. symboli*, ASD V, 1, pp. 267–268, ll. 829–843; also ll. 63–65 below.

20 *Halitus ... sacer* Cf. Colet: “And I byleue in the holi goost the holy spirite of god.”

omnia lustrans = Lucr. VI, 737: “radiis sol omnia lustrans”; cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 607 (of the sun’s light). The Holy Spirit illuminates all things; cf. AH 53, 70, 4: “Spiritus alme, / illustrator hominum”; Gerald. *Ecl.* 10, 60–61: “Esse Deum hunc credo, qui nos modo lumine sancto / Lustrauit”; Er. *Paraphr. in Act.* 2, 1, LB VII, 666 D: “spiritus ... et ignis, qui ... mentes illuminet”. The verb “lustrare” has several other meanings that are also relevant here. It can, e.g., mean “examine closely”; cf. 1. *Cor.* 2, 10: “Spiritus ... omnia scrutatur”; AH 52, 30, 10: “Omnia scrutatur, intima nostra videt”; Er. *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 46, ll. 225–226: “Spiritus ... scrutator est cordium”; ASD V, 5, p. 366, l. 103: “Spiritus omnia scrutans”. Vatellus (sig. b2^v) offers two further explanations: the Holy Ghost, being a spirit, penetrates all things; and the Holy Spirit, being pure, purifies all things. For the former explanation cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 887; Er. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 370, ll. 241–242;

Explan. symboli, ASD V, 1, p. 272, l. 963: the Holy Spirit fills all things (“implens omnia”). For the latter reading cf. AH 53, 70, 8–9: “Tu purificator / omnium / flagitiorum, / spiritus, / Purifica nostri / oculum / interioris / hominis”; Er. *Explan. symboli*, ASD V, 1, p. 268, l. 860: the Holy Spirit sanctifies all things holy (“ex se sanctificans omnia ... sancta”); Rufin. *In symb.* 33, CCSL 20, 169: “Spiritus Sanctus ... cuncta sanctificans”.

21–23 *Et te ... IESV* Er.’ version is different from Colet’s: “I byleue the holy Chyrche of Christ, whiche is the clene congregacyon of faytfull people in grace, & comunyony of sayntes onely in Chryst Iesu.” Er. focuses on the church as the mystical body of Christ; cf. 1. *Cor.* 12, 12–13; Er. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 371, ll. 256–260; *Adag.* 3001, LB II, 960 B–C; *Explan. symboli*, ASD V, 1, p. 274, ll. 40–64; pp. 280–283, ll. 224–285.

21 *concio* Er. uses the word in the sense of “ecclesia”.

22 *coit omnis in vnum* = Verg. *Aen.* IX, 801; X, 410; cf. l. 69 below.

24 *habet communia cuncta* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 29; *Adag.* 1: “Amicorum communia omnia”. In *Paraphr. in Col.* 2, 10, LB VII, 1010 B, Er. says that whoever lives in Christ desires nothing else. For just as Christ was lacking in nothing and wanted to have everything in common with his believers, so we too should be complete in him. In *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 372, ll. 272–277 he explains that the phrase “communio sanctorum” means that believers share one God, one gospel, one faith, one creed, the same spirit, and the same sacraments, so that one can speak of a certain “communio bonorum omnium inter omnes pios”, existing since the beginning of the world.

Remissionem peccatorum. X

- 25 Hoc equidem in coetu sancto peccata remitti
Credo, vel iis sacro fuerint qui fonte renati
Vel qui diluerint vltro sua crimina fletu.

Carnis resurrectionem. XI

Nec dubito quin exanimata cadauera sursum
In vitam redeant, animas sortita priores.

Vitam aeternam. XII

- 30 Vtraque pars nostri, corpusque animusque deinceps
Iuncta simul vitam ducent sine fine perennem.

Sacramenta VII

- Hoc quoque persuasum est, ecclesia mystica septem
Munera dispensat, quae sacramenta vocantur.
Hinc variae dotes et gratia plurima menti
35 Caelitus inseritur, si quis modo sumpserit apte.

27 qui *a* γ *K*: quid β ; diluerint *a* β *K*: diluerit γ .
28 sursum *K*: rursum *a*- γ .

Post 31 Amen *a*, *deest cert.*; Sacramenta VII *K*:
VII sacramenta *a* β , Septem sacramenta γ .

25-27 *Hoc ... fletu* Colet has: "I byleue that in the chirche of Chryst is remyssion of synnes bothe by baptyrm and by penaunce." In *Explan. symboli*, ASD V, 1, pp. 285-286, ll. 353-375 Er. outlines how the phrase "the remission of sin" came to include not only baptism but also penance. See also *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 372, ll. 279-283.

25 *peccata remitti* = Iuenc. II, 627; cf. *LHL* IV, 169.

26 *sacro / fonte renati* Hrabanus, *Carm.* 97, 3; cf. *Tit.* 3, 5; *LHL* II, 325-326; Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, ASD V, 2, p. 349, ll. 678-679: "Renati sumus sacro lauacro"; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 380, l. 382: "Sacro lauacro renascuntur"; *Explan. symboli*, ASD V, 1, p. 212, l. 184: "Sacro lauacro renascuntur"; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 73, l. 819; Ep. 2157, l. 561: "sacro lauacro renatus"; cf. also ll. 40-41 (n.) below.

27 *diluerint ... fletu* Cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 22, 117: "... lauuit sua crimina fletu".

28-29 *Nec ... priores* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 10, 41-44: "Quae pigra cadauera pridem / tumultis

putrefacta iacebant / volucres rapiuntur in auras / animas comitata priores." Colet has simply: "I byleue after this lyfe resurreccyon of our deed bodyes." Er. elsewhere emphasizes that each resurrected soul will receive the same body it had before, however improved; see *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 372, ll. 290-293; *Explan. symboli*, ASD V, 1, p. 288, ll. 442-444.

30-31 *Vtraque ... perennem* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 239-242. Colet has: "I byleue at the last euerlastinge lyfe of bodi & soule."

31 *sine fine perennem* *LHL* V, 176-177.

32-35 *Hoc ... apte* Colet has: "I bileue also that by the seuen sacramentes of the chirche cometh grete grace to all that taketh them accordyngly."

32 *mystica* Vatellus (sig. b4^r) takes this to be an adjective with "ecclesia" and glosses the phrase with: "Ecclesia militans". But the epithet surely belongs with "munera" instead. Cf. Er. *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 276, ll. 700-701; *LHL* III, 485. Cf. l. 44 below.

Ordo. I

Ordine nanque sacro confertur sacra potestas
Vt fungare ministeriis CHRISTO auspice sanctis.

Matrimonium. II

Munere coniugii nati hunc prodimus in orbem,
Vsque adeo pulchri pulcherrima portio mundi.

Baptismus. III

40 Munere baptismi longe felicius iidem
Quam prius in te, CHRISTE, renascimur atque nouamur.

Confirmatio. IIII

Deinde in amore dei nos confirmatio sacra
Constabit mentemque inuicto robore durat.

Eucharistia. V

Mysticus ille cibus (Graeci dixere synaxin),
45 Qui panis vinique palam sub imagine CHRISTVM

41 prius α - γ *K BAS*: primus *LB*; renascimur γ *K*: renascitur α β . 44 synaxin β γ *K*: synaxim α .

38-41 *Munere ... nouamur* Cf. *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 284, ll. 305-306 (also beginning a list of the seven sacraments): "matrimonium quo nascimur huic mundo, baptismus quo renascimur Christo."

38-39 *Munere ... mundi* Colet has: "By gracious matrimony we be borne into this worlde to god." Er. later adduced this passage to refute the charge that he, like Luther, denied that marriage was a sacrament; see *Apolog. c. Sanct. Caranz.*, *LB* IX, 429 B.

39 *pulchri ... mundi* Cf. *Carm.* 4, 29 (n.).

40-41 *Munere ... nouamur* Cf. *Adag.* 12, *ASD* II, 1, p. 128, ll. 606-607: "baptismi, quo renascimur ac denuo gignimur ad salutem"; l. 26 (n.) above.

44-48 *Mysticus ... adultos* Colet has: "By gracious Eucharistye, where is the very presence of the persone of Chryst vnder forme of breed, we be nourysshed spirytually

in god." Colet does not mention the wine; Er. does.

44-46 *Mysticus ... exhibit* The passage is quoted and discussed in *Detect. praestig.*, *ASD* IX, 1, pp. 236-238, ll. 71-108.

44 *Mysticus ille cibus* Cf. Ep. 916, l. 62: "panis ille mysticus"; *Querela*, *ASD* IV, 2, p. 76, ll. 373-374: "caelestis ille panis ac mysticus ille calix".

synaxin Following Origen, Chrysostom, and other Greek Fathers, Er. frequently uses this word (literally "gathering", "assembly") in the sense of mass or Eucharist; it was first Latinized in Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VIII, 12, 1. See, e.g., Er. *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 146, l. 398 (with n.); p. 150, ll. 427 and 430; p. 192, l. 217; Ep. 916, l. 58; *Mod. orandi Deum*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 125, ll. 138-139; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, pp. 281-282, ll. 236-241 (with an explanation of the Greek word).

Ipsum praesentem vere exhibet, intima nostri
Viscera caelesti saginat et educat esca
Inque deo reddit vegetos et reddit adultos.

Poenitentia. VI

Si quem forte deo capitalis reddidit hostem
50 Noxia, continuo metanoea medebitur illi.
Restituet lapsum rescissaque foedera rursus
Sarciet, offensi placabit numinis iram,
Commissi modo poeniteat pigeatque nocentem
Isque volens peragat praescripta piamina culpae.

Vnctio. VII

Vnguinis extremi munus nos munit et armat
Migrantemque animam per summa pericula tuto
Transmittit patriae et superis commendat euntem.

Amor dei

Haec est indubitata fides. Cui pectore certo
Nixus amabo patrem super omnia cunctipotentem,
60 Qui me condideritque et in hunc produxerit orbem.
Rursus amore pari dominum complectar IESVM,
Qui nos asseruit precioque redemit amico,
Spiritus item sanctum, qui me sine fine benigno
Afflatu fouet atque animi penetralia ditans
65 Dotibus arcanis vitali recreat aura.
Atque hic ternio sanctus et omni laude ferendus
Toto ex corde mihi, tota de mente, supremis

49–54 *Si ... culpae* Colet has only: “By gracious penance we ryse agayne from synne to grace in god.” Er. elaborates considerably, mentioning two of the three traditional parts of the sacrament of penance: contrition, confession, and satisfaction.

50 *metanoea* Cf. Er.’ annotation on *Mt.* 3, 2, *LB* VI, 17 E–18 B; Erika Rummel, *Erasmus’ “Annotations” on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian*, Toronto, 1986, pp. 152–156; Er. *Adag.* 238, *ASD* II, 1, p. 352, ll. 211–212.

52 *numinis iram* = *LHL* III, 585–586.

55–57 *Vnguinis ... euntem* Colet has: “By gracious Enealynge and the last anoyntyng we be in our deth commended to god.”

56 *per summa pericula* = *Lucan.* V, 302.

58 *indubitata fides* *Prud. Psychom.* 621.

59 *super omnia* *Carm.* 88, 42 (n.).

63 *sine fine benigno* *Ven. Fort. Carm.* IV, 7, 11.

64 *animi penetralia* *Stat. Silv.* III, 5, 56; cf. Er. *Carm.* 34, 2 (n.).

66–71 *Atque ... vnus* Quoted in *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, *LB* IX, 1027 B.

66–68 *hic ... honore* Cf. *Dt.* 6, 5; *Mt.* 22, 37; *Mc.* 12, 30; 12, 33; *Lc.* 10, 27.

- Viribus, obsequio meritoque coletur honore.
 Hunc vnum reuerebor et hoc semel omnis in vno
 70 Spes mea figetur, hoc omnia metiar vno,
 Hic propter sese mihi semper amabitur vnus.

Amor sui

Post hunc haud alia ratione ac nomine charus
 Ipse mihi fuero, nisi quatenus omnis in illum
 Ille mei referatur amor fontemque reuisat.

Fuga peccati

- 75 Culpam praeterea fugiam pro viribus omnem,
 Praecipue capitale tamen vitauero crimen,
 Quod necat atque animam letali vulnerat ictu.

Superbia. Inuidia. Ira

Ne fastu tumeam, ne vel liuore maligno
 Torquear aut bili rapiar feruente, cauebo.

Gula. Luxuria. Pigritia

- 80 Ne vel spurca libido vel insatiabilis aluus
 Imperet, enitar, ne turpis inertia vincat,

Auaritia

Ne nunquam saturanda fames me vexet habendi,
 Plus satis vt cupiam fallacis munera mundi.

Post 71 Amor sui *a* γ : *om.* β *K*.
 Post 74 Fuga peccati *add.* β γ *K*.

77 vulnerat *a* γ *K*²: vulneret β *K*¹.
 81 ne *a*- γ *K*: nec *BAS LB*.

69 *omnis in vno* Cf. *LHL* IV, 54; l. 22 (n.)
 above.

Post 72 *Amor sui* Colet has: "The loue of thyne
 owne selfe".

77 *vulnerat ictu* *Ov. Pont.* II, 7, 41.

79 *bili / feruente* Cf. *Hor. Carm.* I, 13, 4; *Er.*

Carm. 103, 9 (n.).

82-83 *Ne ... mundi* Colet has: "I shall not be
 couetous desyrynge superfluyte of worldly
 thynges."

82 *nunquam ... habendi* Cf. *Carm.* 96, 2 (n.);
 96, 33-34 (n.).

Fuga malorum hominum

85 Improbata pestiferi fugiam commertia coetus
 Omnia summo animi conatu proque virili.

Studium pietatis

Atque huc incumbam neruis ac pectore toto,
 Ut magis atque magis superet mihi gratia, virtus,
 Augescatque pia diuina scientia menti.

Oratio

90 Orabo superosque precum libamine puro
 Placare adnitur, cum tempore sedulus omni,
 Tum vero eximie quoties lux festa recurret.

Frugalitas victus

Frugales epulae semper, mensaeque placebit
 Sobria mundicies et auari nescia luxus.

Ieiunium

95 Seruabo reuerens quoties ieiunia nobis
 Indicit certis ecclesia sancta diebus.

Mentis custodia

Sancta vti sint mihi secretae penetralia mentis,
 Ne quid eo subeat foedumue nocensue, studebo.

Linguae custodia

Ne temere iuret, ne vnquam mendacia promat,
 Turpia ne dictu dicat mea lingua, cauebo.

Post 83 hominum *add.* β γ K.

87 atque magis *om.* K²; mihi α β K: mea γ.

Post 88 Oratio α β K: Deprecatio γ.

89 puro α γ K: puto β.

84–85 *Improbata ... virili* Cf. Otto 1148; Er. *Adag.* 973 and 974; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, pp. 58–60, ll. 509–549.

86 *pectore toto* = LHL IV, 191–192. The phrase was proverbial; see Otto 1368; Er. *Adag.* 326.

89–91 *Orabo ... recurret* Colet has: “I shall praye often, specyally on the holy dayes.”

92–93 *Frugales ... luxus* Colet has: “I shall lyue alwaye temperatly & sober of my mouth.”

95 *ecclesia sancta* = l. 129 below.

96 *secretae penetralia mentis* Cf. *Carm.* 34, 2 (n.); 88, 75; LHL IV, 207–208.

Manus custodia

- 100 A furto cohibebo manus, nec ad vlla minuta
 Viscatos mittam digitos, et si quid ademptum
 Cuiquam erit, id domino properabo reddere iusto.

Restitutio rei forte repertae

Id quoque restituum, si quid mihi forte repertum est;
 Me penes haud patiar prudens aliena morari.

Amor proximi

- 105 Nec secus atque mihi sum charus, amabitur omnis
 Proximus (est autem, ni fallor, proximus ille
 Quisquis homo est), ac sic vt amor referatur amici
 In CHRISTVM vitamque piam veramque salutem.
 Huic igitur, fuerit quoties opus atque necesse,
 110 Sedulus officio corpusque animumque iuuabo,
 Vt mihi succurri cupiam, si fors an egerem.
 Id tamen in primis praestabo vtrique parenti,
 Per quos corporeo hoc nasci mihi contigit orbe.
 Tum praeceptorum, qui me erudit instituitque,
 115 Morigerus fuero ac merito reuerebor honore.
 At rursus dulcisque scholae studiique sodales
 Semper (vti par est) syncero amplectar amore.

Assidua confessio

- Si quando crimen fuero prolapsus in vllum,
 Protinus enitar, pura vt confessio lapsum
 120 Erigat ac iusta tergatur noxia poena.

Post 102 rei ... repertae *add.* β γ K.
 107 ac β γ K: at α; vt *om.* γ.

116 rursus α γ: rursusque β K; dulcisque α β
 K: dulcique γ.

100–102 *A furto ... iusto* Colet has: "I shall kepe my handes from stelynge and pykyng. Thynges taken awaye I shall restore agayne."

101 *Viscatos / digitos* Cf. Lucil. 796 (of a pilferer): "omnia viscatis manibus leget."

103–104 *Id ... morari* Here Colet has simply: "Thynges founde I shall rendre agayne."

104 *prudens* In *Adag.* 3756 Er. explains why honesty is the best policy.

105 *Nec secus atque* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 391; Er. *Carm.* 4, 55 (n.).

105–106 *amabitur omnis Proximus* Mt. 19, 19; 22, 39; Mc. 12, 31; 12, 33; and elsewhere.

106–107 *proximus ille ... est* Lc. 10, 29–37.

112 *vtrique parenti* See n. *Carm.* 117, 7.

Sumptio corporis CHRISTI in vita

Ast vbi sacrati me ad corporis atque cruoris
 Caelestes epulas pietasque diesque vocabit,
 Illotis manibus metuens accedere, pectus
 Ante meum quanta cura studioque licebit
 125 Purgabo maculis, virtutum ornabo nitelis.

Morbus

Porro vbi fatalis iam terminus ingruet aevi
 Extremumque diem cum morbus adesse monebit,
 Mature sacramentis me armare studebo
 Atque his muneribus quae ecclesia sancta ministrat
 130 Christigenis: reteget confessio crimina vitae
 Sacrificio, sumam CHRISTI venerabile corpus.

Mors

Quod si vicinae propius discrimina mortis
 Vrgebunt, supplex accersam qui mihi rite
 Oblinat ac signet sacro ceromate corpus.
 135 Atque his praesidiis armatus, sic vti dignum est
 Christicola, forti ac fidenti pectore vita
 Decedam, bonitate dei super omnia fretus.

Hoc fac et viues.

Post 120 Sumptio $\alpha \gamma K$: Sumpto β .
 128 Mature γK : Maturae $\alpha \beta$.

133 rite $\alpha \gamma K$: ritae β .

Post 120 *Sumptio ... vita* Colet has only "Howselinge" (i.e., "Receiving Holy Communion"). The added "in vita" is in contrast with receiving Communion at the time of death.
 121-122 *Ast ... vocabit* Quoted in *Detect. praestig.*, ASD IX, 1, p. 237, ll. 92-93.
 122 *dies* In Er.' time, receiving Communion once a year, between Easter and Trinity Sunday, was the norm. Vatelus (sig. d3?) explains that "dies" means "feast-day, especially Easter". Colet says only: "As often as I shall receyue my lord in sacrament, I shall with all study dispose me to pure clenness & deuocyon."
 123 *Illotis manibus* *Adag.* 855. Cf. Ep. 1053, ll. 422-423: "Non dubitant protinus illotis

animis ad sacrosanctam Christi mensam accedere."
 126 *terminus ... aevi* LHL V, 432.
 129 *ecclesia sancta* = l. 95 above.
 130 *crimina vitae* = LHL I, 502-503.
 131 *sumam ... corpus* Quoted in *Detect. praestig.*, ASD IX, 1, p. 237, l. 95.
venerabile corpus = LHL V, 524.
 132 *discrimina mortis* = Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 16, 252.
 137 *super omnia* = *Carm.* 88, 42 (n.).
 Postscr. *Hoc ... viues* Lc. 10, 28. The word "hoc" in the biblical text refers to Christ's command to love God with all one's heart, soul, strength, and mind, and one's neighbour as one's own self.

50. AN ODE TO ST. MICHAEL AND ALL THE ANGELS

early spring 1491?

In his letter to Botzheim (Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 3, l. 30–p. 4, l. 2) Er. recalls that he wrote the sapphic ode to St. Michael “many years” before the *Expostulatio Iesu* (*Carm.* 43, revised in c. 1499–1500 and first published in 1511). He adds that he did so at the insistence of the prior of a church dedicated to St. Michael. Even though the young humanist had deliberately written it in a prosaic style, the prior found it so poetical that it seemed Greek to him and did not dare post it up in his church. For his trouble Er. was offered enough money to buy a pint of wine, an offer he politely refused. The ode was first printed in *De casa natalitia Iesu*, Paris, A. Denidel [January 1496?].

Allen identifies the poem with the “carmine lyrico” mentioned in Ep. 28, ll. 13–14 – a letter he conjecturally places in 1489. If so, the ode would have been written in 1489 and the church referred to would most naturally be the priory church of St. Michael’s at Den Hem, near Schoonhoven. Reedijk, on the other hand, argues that the ode was composed a few months after Er.’ arrival in Paris. He notes that in the preface to *De casa natalitia* (Ep. 47, ll. 5–7) Er. swears that he left all his early poems behind in Holland. The poems in *De casa natalitia*, he infers, must all have been written in the autumn of 1495.

Neither Allen’s argument for 1489 nor Reedijk’s for 1495 is very strong. As Reedijk observes, there is nothing that compels us to associate this sacred ode with the one mentioned in Ep. 28. But it must also be admitted that Er. cannot be taken at his word when he asserts in Ep. 47 that he has left his earlier poems in Holland and implies that those published in the 1496 volume were all composed during the preceding year; see introd. *Carm.* 42 above.

There is, fortunately, some further evidence that has hitherto escaped notice. Two of the sections addressed to the archangels end with a passionate prayer for peace on earth (ll. 85–96 and 177–180); the section about Gabriel also makes a reference to peace on earth (ll. 153–156). These repeated allusions to the pestilence of war may well reflect the historical situation at the time of composition. During 1488–1492 Holland was again in the throes of civil war. The suffering in the Rotterdam–Gouda area was especially severe; see Hyma, pp. 16–17. It is thus no wonder that Er. and his friends often lament the war and its consequences; see *Orat. de pace*, LB VIII, 550 C–F (c. 1489); *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, pp. 56–57, ll. 473–485 (probably written in the spring of 1491; see introd. *Carmm.* 94–97); cf. also Ep. 35, ll. 49–51; *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 44, l. 31. Willem Hermans made it the subject of his *Hollandia*, the third poem in the *Sylua odorum*. Hence it is likely that Er. composed this ode during a period when the civil war had been going on for some time and seemed so interminable that only prayers offered hope (see n.l. 95 below). On this evidence we can estimate the date of composition as sometime in 1490 or 1491. Er. in this period was still at Steyn, which, as Allen has noted, had strong ties to the priory church of St. Michael’s

at Den Hem. For a close verbal parallel to two passages written in c. 1489–1491 see n.l. 139 below.

The composition date 1490–1491 seems at first glance not to fit the allusion to the “lyric ode” in Ep. 28, since Allen conjecturally places this letter in c. 1489. Internal evidence, however, reveals that Ep. 28 must in fact have been written in the late winter or early spring of 1491. This date can be inferred from two allusions in the letter itself. In Ep. 28, ll. 3–8 Er. speaks of Willem Hermans’ new poem on St. Bavo. Since St. Bavo was the patron saint of Haarlem, Hermans’ choice of theme suggests a close connection with that town. And since Hermans left Steyn sometime after October 1490 to help organize the new Augustinian monastery in Haarlem, this means that Ep. 28 was composed several months after October 1490. See Tilmans, p. 22 and n. 50; also the headnote to *Carmm.* 94–97, p. 284 below. A different allusion in the same letter may permit a more precise dating. In Ep. 28, ll. 20–22 Er. mentions that he has in his possession the poems of Bartholomäus Zehender of Cologne. A collection of his poems was first published under the title *Silua carminum* at Deventer on 16 February 1491. Unless Er. is referring to a manuscript copy of Zehender’s poems – always a possibility in this period (cf. Ep. 23, ll. 66–68; Allen, *Op. ep.* I, App. 4, p. 587) – Ep. 28 must have been written sometime after 16 February, possibly in March, 1491. The date thus arrived at fits the composition date of *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, mentioned as a recent production in Ep. 28, ll. 14–16 and probably written in late October 1490; see introd. *Carmm.* 113–114.

To all appearances, then, Er. completed *In laudem Michaelis et angelorum omnium* in the early spring of 1491 – well in time for the feast of the Apparition of St. Michael on May 8.

Metre: Sapphic strophe.

Sources: A; Eg; B; I; K^{1*}; L; K²; BAS V, 1106–1109; LB V, 1321–1325.

IN LAVDEM MICHAELIS ET ANGELORVM OMNIVM,
ODE DICOLOS HENDECASYLLABA SAPPHICA,
SVFFIGENDA IN TEMPLO MICHAELI SACRO

Caelitum princeps, Michael, et omnes
Spiritus sacri, libeat precamur

Tit. IN LAVDEM ... SACRO B I–L: Carmen ad orationem solutam plurimum accedens. Ode dicolos hendecasyllaba Saphica in laudem beatissimorum angelorum feliciter

incipit A, In laudem ang. in marg. Eg. *Ante r:* Inuocatio propositionem complectens A, *deest cett.*
1 Michael A¹ Eg L BAS LB: Michaelae A² B I K.

1–16 *Caelitum ... verba* These lines are a proem to the hymn as a whole. In the ed. princ. the

section has its own heading; see app. crit. 1 *princeps* Dn. 10, 13; 10, 21; 12, 1.

Supplicum votis tribuisse pronas
 Caelitus aures.
 5 Sordidae sed ne merito canentum
 Sordeant odae, citus huc ab arce
 Deuolet fulgente Seraph decoris
 Igneus alis,
 Qui foco sacro vsque calentis arae
 10 Calculum viuum rapiens (vt olim)
 Applicet nostris placidus labellis
 Oraque tergat.
 Luridae quicquid maculae perurat,
 Desidem pellens animo teporem.
 15 Igneas cantent acies (vt aequum est)
 Ignea verba.

De Michaelē

Porro tu primas tibi vindicato
 Carminis partes, Michael beate,
 Primipilari duce quo triumphant
 20 Agmina caeli.
 In quibus luces, itidem vt pyropus
 Nobiles inter radiat lapillos,
 Vtue formosus socia inter ardet
 Lucifer astra.
 25 Ius tibi summum necis atque vitae

7 fulgente *AB I-L*: stellunte [*pro* stellante] *Eg*.
 11 Applicet *AB I-L*: Applice *Eg*; labellis *A Eg B*
K: libellis *I L*.
 15 Igneas *A Eg B K*: Ignes *I L*.

Post 16 De Michaelē scripsi: De Michaelē Eg
deest cett.
 23 Vtue *AB I-L*: Vtque *Eg*.

6–14 *citus ... teporem* See *Is.* 6, 1–7. The episode was especially familiar because it was referred to in the priest's prayer before the reading of the gospel: "Munda cor meum ac labia mea, omnipotens deus, qui labia Ysaie prophete calculo mundasti ignito"; see *Missale Romanum*, I, p. 199.
 17–18 *tu ... partes* Cf. Hor. *Serm.* II, 6, 22–23: "tu carminis esto / principium."
 20 *Agmina caeli* = *AH* 50, 135, 2; 51, 181, 6 (in a hymn to St. Michael).
 21 *pyropus* A fiery red stone; cf. Hermans, *Sylv.*, sig. a7': "Aemulum ... ignis rutuli pyropum"; Er. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 485, ll. 530–531 (in a list of precious stones); Ep.

1342, l. 475 (Burgundy wine has the same colour); Ov. *Met.* II, 2 (probably of an alloy of gold and bronze, though some interpret it as a stone). Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae*, sig. Jii6^v says that "pyropus" is a kind of carbuncle stone.
 23–24 *Vtue ... astra* The morning star Lucifer (Hesperus as the evening star) is often mentioned in relative comparisons of beauty. See, e.g., Ov. *Met.* II, 722–725; Sil. VII, 639–640; Poliz. *Eleg.* 7, 83–84: "Tamque suas vincit comites, quam Lucifer ore / Purpureo rutilans astra minora premit"; Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 29, ll. 94–96: "Inter pulchros pulcherrimus sic procul eminebas,

Tradidit magni moderator orbis,
 Tu potes seruare probos et idem
 Perdere sontes.
 Tu piorum tutor et aduocatus,
 30 Tu dei in templo nitidas ad aras
 Visus es dextra tenuisse plenam
 Thuris acerram.
 Inde surgens fumus odore multo
 Ibat ad summi solium tonantis,
 35 Ac dei nares liquidi iuuabant
 Dona vaporis.
 Tu pias laetis animas reponis
 Sedibus, cantu procul audiendo
 Squalidis olim gelida exciebis
 40 Funera bustis.
 Quam dedit laetos pia turba plausus,
 Cum graui caelum quateret ruina
 Hostis et serpens veterator, acri

33 surgens *Eg I-L*: scandens *A*, scadens *B*.

39 olim *A B I-L*: idem *Eg*; exciebis *B I-L*: exciturus *A*, excitabis *Eg*.

vt inter reliquos syderum ignes aureus elucet Hesperus"; *Carm.* 102, 74-77 (n.); 133, 17-18. The image is also used to describe the angel Lucifer before his fall; see n.ll. 197-198 below.
 26 *magni moderator orbis* See n. *Carm.* 42, 9.
 27-28 *Tu ... sontes* In Christian iconography Michael was commonly represented at the Last Judgment with a pair of scales in his hand, weighing the souls to determine their final lot. See Réau, II, 1, pp. 49-50. Medieval hymns also refer to Michael's scales; see, e.g., *AH* 29, 164, 6; 48, 353, 24.
 30-36 *Tu ... vaporis* Reedijk has pointed out the striking parallel to Alcuin's well-known sequence for the feast of St. Michael, *AH* 53, 192, 7-8: "Tu in templo Dei / turibulum aureum / visus es / habuisse manibus. / Inde scandens vapor / aromate plurimo / peruenit / ante conspectum Dei." This is based on *Ap. Ioh.* 8, 3-4, verses traditionally applied to St. Michael; see *Hereford Breviary*, II, pp. 339-342; *Missale Romanum*, II, p. 275; *Sarum Missal*, p. 329.
 31-32 *plenam Thuris acerram* *Hor. Carm.* III, 8, 2-3.
 33 *fumus odore multo* Cf. *Hor. Carm.* III, 18, 7-8: "ara multo / Fumat odore."

37-38 *Tu ... Sedibus* = *Hor. Carm.* I, 10, 17-18 (of Mercury). Michael, partly because he defended the body of Moses against the devil (*Jud.* 9), was assigned the role of guide of the souls of the dead. Medieval hymns frequently refer to his function as the conductor of souls into heaven; see, e.g., *AH* 15, 210, 1-3; 29, 164, 6; 29, 229, 1; 43, 428, 6; 43, 431, 4; also *Missale Romanum*, II, p. 275; *Leg. aurea*, chapt. 145 (p. 642). Michael was thus the Christian Mercury in his role as psychopompos; see Réau, II, 1, p. 44. The borrowing from Horace's hymn to Mercury underscores this identification. It might be added that Er. seems to identify each of the archangels with Mercury in one of his functions: Gabriel as the messenger of God (see n.ll. 106 and 131) and Raphael as the restorer to life (n.ll. 173-176).
 38-40 *cantu ... bustis* According to medieval belief, Michael will blow the trumpet to announce the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgment; see *AH* 16, 404, 10; 29, 164, 3; 33, 180, 5; 48, 353, 13; *Leg. aurea*, chapt. 145 (p. 642).
 42-44 *Cum ... pugna* See *Ap. Ioh.* 12, 7-9.
 42 *grauis / ruina* *Ov. Trist.* IV, 8, 36.

Non sine pugna.
 45 Ille sublimes subito sub auras
 Emicans septem (stupuere cuncti)
 Ora tollebat, colubris tuebant
 Colla trecentis.
 Flammeis ardens oculis, Auernum
 50 Virus efflabat furiale monstrum
 Fulminisque instar piceos vomebat
 Faucibus ignes.
 Te nihil terret rabies minacis
 Beluae, sed vi domitam superna
 55 Cogis absorptam superas ad auras
 Reddere praedam.
 Quae tuas fuluas fugitat sub alas
 Laeta, praesenti sed adhuc periclo
 Palpitans, elapsa velut rapaci
 60 Ales ab vngui.
 Ergo ne quid iam trepident, cadauer
 Triste deturbas. Labat, ac labantis
 Pondus exhorrens aperit profunda
 Tartara tellus.
 65 Non secus quam si Siculo Peloro

45 Ille *A Eg B I L BAS LB*: Illi *K*.
 46 stupuere *A Eg I-L*: stupere *B*.
 51 Fulminisque *A B I-L*: Fulminis *Eg*.
 53 terret *A B I-L*: terre *Eg*.
 54 superna *A¹ Eg B I-L*: suprema *A²*.
 57 fuluas *A¹ Eg B I-L*: saluas *A²*.

60 vngui *Eg B I-L*: vngue *A*.
 61 Ergo ... trepident *A B I-L*: Deinde ...
 metuant *Eg*.
 62 ac *B I-L*: at *A*, et *Eg*; labantis *A¹ Eg B I-L*:
 labentis *A²*.

46–47 *septem / Ora* See *Ap. Ioh.* 12, 3.
 47–48 *colubris ... trecentis* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI,
 419, of the three-headed dog Cerberus, the
 gatekeeper of hell; Er. *Carm.* 110, 34–35 (n.),
 referring to the snaky locks of the Furies.
tuebant Colla Verg. *Georg.* III, 421; *Aen.* II,
 381 (of snakes).
 49–50 *Auernum Virus efflabat* Cf. Ep. 61, l. 212:
 “Tartareum virus efflabat”; *De contemptu*
mundi, *ASD* V, I, p. 58, l. 514: “Sua venena
 afflabit.”
 50 *Virus ... monstrum* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 58; 112,
 175 (with notes), of the ancient serpent.
 51 *Fulminis / instar* Ov. *Ars* III, 490; *LHL* II,
 373; Er. Ep. 45, l. 128; cf. *Carm.* 110, 107 (n.).
 51–52 *piceos ... ignes* A reminiscence of Verg.
Aen. VIII, 198–199, describing the monster
 Cacus: “atros / ore vomens ignis”. For the

oxymoron of the “black flames” see also Er.
Carm. 112, 144 (n.).
 52 *Faucibus ignes* = Verg. *Aen.* VII, 786; VIII,
 267.
 54 *Beluae* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 32 (death); 112, 90
 (the Leviathan, Tartarus).
 55–56 *Cogis ... praedam* Cf. Alcuin’s sequence
 for the feast of St. Michael, *AH* 53, 192, 9:
 “Quando cum dracone magnum / perfecisti
 proelium, / faucibus illius animas / eruisti
 plurimas.”
 57 *fuluas / alas* Ov. *Met.* V, 546; VI, 707; VIII,
 146.
fugitat sub alas The image is biblical; see,
 e.g., *Ps.* 16, 8; 35, 8; 60, 5; 62, 8; 90, 4; *Mt.*
 23, 37.
 62–64 *Labat ... tellus* See *Ap. Ioh.* 12, 9; 20, 3.
 65 *Siculo Peloro* Ov. *Met.* XV, 706.

- Pendulum in fluctus abeat cacumen,
Territum cedit refluumque late
Dissilit aequor.
Ferreis illic domitus catenis
70 Horridum quassat caput, ac minatus
Multa nequicquam, furibundus iras
Voluit inanes.
Te manet palma, o Michael, suprema,
Te noui plausus. Tibi non iniquas
75 Impius poenas dabit Antichristus,
Orbe leuato.
Lactus idcirco meritos vterque
Orbis en hymnos canit, altus aether
Inclyto gaudet duce, gaudet aequae
80 Praeside tellus.
At meri cantus celebrantur isthic,
Hic (vti res sunt variae atque mixtae)
Reddimus proni querulis remixta
Carmina votis.
85 En vides quantis miseri premamur
Cladibus (nostro merito, fatemur),
Tota proh caeci terimus nefandis
Saecula bellis.
Si tibi haud frustra data cura nostri est,
90 Si tibi pax non temere vocablum
Mutuat, belli procul o cruentos

67 *Territum* *A*¹ *Eg B I-L*: *Tertium* *A*²; *refluum* *que A Eg B I K*: *refluuntque L*.

71 *Multa ... iras om.* *A*².

72 *inanes* *A*² *Eg B I-L*: *manes* *A*¹.

73 *manet* *Eg B I-L*: *mane A*.

77 *perinde** *Eg*; *Laetus idcirco A B I-L*: *Ergo certatim Eg*.

81 *celebrantur A B I-L*: *referuntur Eg*.

82 *res A B I-L*: *des Eg*.

84 *votis* *A*² *Eg B I-L*: *notis* *A*¹.

87 *terimus A B I-L*: *terminus Eg*.

90 *vocablum* *A*¹ *B I-L*: *vocabulum* *A*² *Eg*.

67–68 *refluum / aequor* *Sil.* II, 307.

69 *Ferreis ... catenis* See *Ap. Ioh.* 20, 1–2.

71–72 *iras / inanes* *Verg. Aen.* X, 758.

74–75 *Tibi ... Antichristus* According to a widely held belief, St. Michael will slay the Antichrist on the Mount of Olives; see *Leg. aurea*, chapt. 145 (pp. 642 and 648).

76 *Orbe leuato* Cf. l. 146 below: “*mundo ... leuato*”.

80 *Praeside* Michael is the guardian angel of the true Israel, the Christian church; cf. *Dn.* 10, 13; 12, 1; *Iud.* 9; *Ap. Ioh.* 12, 7; *AH*

27, 159, 5. Hence prayers for peace are addressed to him; see *AH* 14a, 74, 4; 27, 158, 15.

87–88 *Tota ... bellis* Cf. *Verg. Aen.* IX, 609: “*omne aeuum ferro teritur*”; *Hor. Epod.* 16, 1: “*Alteram iam teritur bellis ciuilibus aetas*” (referring to Rome’s civil wars, just as Er. is alluding to the civil wars in Holland).
nefandis / bellis *Verg. Aen.* XII, 572.

90–91 *Si tibi pax ... Mutuat* The verb “*mutuat*” is here used in the medieval sense “lends”, rather than the classical sense “borrows”.

Pelle furores.
 Fac tua lenis prece rex Olympi
 Vindicem condat miseratus ensem,
 95 Ferias donet referatque fessis
 Ocia terris.

De singulari laude Gabrielis angeli

Te quibus digne recinemus odis,
 Gabriel, quem rite chorus supernus
 Proximum primo colit? O tonantis
 100 Armiger alti,
 Illius tu strenuus administras
 Bella, nec quisquam melior piorum
 Castra tutari et rabidas nocentum
 Frangere vires.

93 lenis *Eg B I-L*: leuis *A*.

Post 96 De ... angeli [archangeli] *A B I-L*:
 Gabrielis laus *Eg*.

101 administras *A¹ Eg B I-L*: administres *A²*.

102 piorum *A¹ Eg B I-L*: priorum *A²*.

St. Michael, as protector of the people of God, bears the title "angelus pacis"; see *AH* 1, 59, 4; 2, 76, 2; 50, 146, 2; Jérôme de Busleyden, poem on the angel's message to the shepherds at Christ's birth in: De Vocht, *Busleyden*, p. 212, *Carm.* 4, 5. See further Harry Vredeveld, *An Obscure Allusion in Erasmus' Ode on St. Michael*, *BHR* 48 (1986), pp. 91-92.

93 *rex Olympi* Verg. *Aen.* V, 533; X, 621; XII, 791.

95 *Ferias donet* In *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 57, ll. 475-477 Er. laments that in all his twenty-four years he has never experienced a holiday ("ferias") from war. The reference there is plainly to the seemingly endless civil wars of Holland. For the idea that peace is a holiday from war see Hor. *Carm.* IV, 5, 37; Er. *Carm.* 4, 57-58. In the latter two instances, however, both Horace and Er. celebrate the ruler who has given his realms a vacation from war. The passage in *De contemptu mundi* and the present line lament an ongoing war and pray that it may end soon.

96 *Ocia terris* = Sabell. In *natal.* 13, sig. c3^v, addressing the Virgin: "Per te tuta quies, per

te sunt ocia terris, / Pressa iacent merito bella nefanda tuo."

terris This word concludes each of the sections on the archangels.

99 *Proximum primo* Cf. l. 157 below.

99-100 *tonantis Armiger* This recalls the poetic phrase "Iouis armiger" (the eagle as bearer of Jove's thunderbolts); see, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* V, 255; Ov. *Met.* XV, 386. In medieval Latin "armiger" was also used in a wider sense to mean any warrior who took up arms for his lord. We may thus see an allusion here (and in the next stanza) to Gabriel's name, which means "Man of God" or "Strength of God". Er. also plays on the meaning of Raphael's name ("God's healing"); but he could do nothing with Michael's ("Who is as God is?"). For the meanings and appropriateness of these names see Greg. M. *Hom.* II, 34, 9, *PL* 76, 1251.

102-104 *nec quisquam ... vires* Cf. 2. *Rg.* 19, 35; there the angel of the Lord (traditionally identified with Gabriel) slays the Assyrian army and forces Sennacherib to raise his siege of Jerusalem.

103-104 *rabidas / vires* Prud. *Psychom.* 159: "rabidas ... extinguere vires".

105 Tu tenes oracula sacra. Te olim
 Nuncio casus didicit futuros
 Ille quem insonti leo gaudet atrox
 Lambere rictu.
 Tu Zachariae vetulo marito,
 110 Thura dum festis adolet sacellis,
 Pignoris seri subitus stupenti
 Nuncius adstas.
 Cuncta quid frustra sequimur canendo?
 Illius dulce est meminisse nunci,
 115 Laetius quo nil lachrymosus vnquam
 Audiit orbis.
 Nec salus olim neque spes salutis
 Villa erat, sed mors Stygiis profecta
 Sedibus gentem rapiebat omnem
 120 Vindice nullo.
 Tum nouas autor meditatus artes,

107 Circuitio* *A*; insonti leo gaudet *A*¹ *Eg B*
I-L: insoluti leo audet *A*².
 113 canendo *A B I-L*: canentes *Eg*.
 114 est *om. A*; nunci *K*: nuncii *A Eg B I L*.

115 nil *A B I-L*: nihil *Eg*.
 117 Narratio* *A*.
 121 Tum *A B I-L*: Tu *Eg*.

105–108 *Tu ... rictu* Gabriel was the angel who interpreted Daniel's visions; see *Dn.* 8, 15–26; 9, 21–27. The story of Daniel in the lions' den is told in *Dn.* 6, 16–23.
 105 *tenes oracula* *Ov. Met.* I, 321.
 106 *Nuncio* *A* translation of ἄγγελος; cf. ll. 112 and 237 below. The word "nuntius" was frequently applied to Gabriel; see, e.g., Iuuen. I, ll. 12, 31, 57, and 161; Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* II, 173 and 586. In ancient literature it was also commonly used to describe Mercury, the messenger of the gods. For the association Mercury–Gabriel see also n.ll. 131 and 173–176 below.
casus / futuros *Ov. Met.* XV, 559; *Ib.* 267.
 108 *Lambere* This detail, not mentioned in *Dn.* 6, is taken from Prud. *Cath.* 4, 47; cf. Plin. *Nat.* VIII, 21, 56 (a variant of the Androclus story).
 109–112 *Tu ... adstas* For Gabriel's prophesy that the aged priest Zechariah would become the father of John the Baptist see *Lc.* 1, 8–20.
 113 *Cuncta ... canendo* Cf. *Carm.* 100, 49 (n.); 110, 25. Er. confines himself to the messages of Gabriel that are recorded in Scripture. Here he only alludes to the other messages, which were sometimes included in the medieval

hymns, such as informing Joseph that Mary was not adulterous (cf. *Paraphr. in Mt.* 1, 18–20, *LB VII*, 6 A–7 B), telling the shepherds of Christ's birth (cf. *Paraphr. in Lc.* 2, 9–13, *LB VII*, 299 B–D), warning Joseph to flee into Egypt and the Magi not to return to Herod, consoling Christ in Gethsemane, comforting Mary after Christ's death, and telling the women that Christ had risen from the tomb. See, e.g., *AH* 16, 230, 3–5; 19, 237, 2–6; 23, 298, 4–6; 34, 236, 2b–5a.
 118–119 *Stygiis profecta Sedibus* Cf. *Carm.* 103, 8; *Ov. Met.* XIV, 155.
 120 *Vindice nullo* = *Ov. Met.* I, 89; Iuv. 4, 152.
 121 *artes* Cf. *Carm.* 110, ll. 191 and 197–200; 112, 111–127 (with notes). Er., basing himself on medieval tradition, often says that it was part of God's plan to deceive the great deceiver; see *Paraphr. in Lc.* 4, 2, *LB VII*, 318 E; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, *LB V*, 561 E; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 2, *ASD V*, 2, p. 126, ll. 920–925; also ll. 127–128 below. Satan is not to discover the incarnation while Christ is alive on earth, lest he prevent the crucifixion (1. *Cor.* 2, 8). On this "deception of Satan" see J.A. MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell*, Edinburgh, 1930, pp. 199–216.

Ipse vt inuisat homo factus orbem,
 Te rei tantae, Gabriel, ministrum
 Deligit vnum.
 125 'Aduola terris', ait, 'et saluta
 Virginem, matrem mihi mox futuram.
 Fac sacramentum tege, ne ille sciscat
 Callidus hostis.
 Sic opus facto.' Neque plura fatus
 130 Ille, tu lapsu placido volucres
 Dissecas nubes decorasque pictis
 Aethera pennis,
 Qualis aduersos feriente nimbos
 Sole resplendet, monumenta pacti,
 135 Iris, antiqui, varioque caelum
 Cingit amictu.
 Vidit obliquis oculis volantem
 Dextero caelo metuitque latis
 Incubans terris draco luridoque
 140 Palluit ore.
 Tecta tu pernix Nazaraea tangis
 Mox et illapsus thalamis pudicae

124 Deligit *A B I-L*: Delegit *Eg*.
 127 ne ille sciscat *B I-L*: ne resciscat *A*, sentiat
 ne *Eg*.
 130 placido *A B I-L*: placito *Eg*.

133 Commiscet physicam rationem cum byblie
 hystoria* *A*¹.
 138 metuitque *A B I-L*: ferus ille *Eg*.
 141 tu *A Eg I-L*: tui *B*.

125 *Aduola terris* Prud. *Cath.* 4, 55.
 127–128 *Fac ... hostis* Cf. Monc 374, 2–4:
 "misit archangelum / clam ad sponsam, tem-
 plum / Vt gignat clandestine"; *Er. Carm.* 110,
 239–240.
 128 *Callidus hostis* = *LHL* I, 252.
 130 *lapsu placido* *Ov. Fast.* VI, 500.
 131–132 *Dissecas ... pennis* Cf. *Carm.* 110,
 283–284 (n.).
 131 *Dissecas nubes* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 257 (of the
 messenger Mercury): "ventos ... secabat";
 also *Er. Carm.* 95, 31 (n.). For the association
 of Gabriel with Mercury cf. n.l. 106 above
 and n.l. 173–176 below; *Carm.* 110, 254 (n.).
 131–132 *pictis / pennis* See n. *Carm.* 106, 100.
 132 *Aethera pennis* = Verg. *Georg.* I, 406; *Ov.*
Met. II, 835.
 133–135 *Qualis ... antiqui* The simile combines
 several levels of allusion. Iris is Juno's mes-
 senger; as such she corresponds to Gabriel,
 the messenger of God. Her path across the

heavens is marked by a rainbow (Verg. *Aen.*
 IV, 700–702; *Ov. Met.* XI, 590 and 632; XIV,
 838); her cloak too is multi-coloured (*Ov.*
Met. I, 270; XI, 589). In the O.T., however,
 the rainbow is a sign of God's covenant with
 Noah not to flood the world again. The rain-
 bow of *Gn.* 9, 8–17, by mythological
 metonymy, is also called "Iris" in *Ecloga*
Theoduli 76.
 137 *obliquis oculis* *Hor. Ep.* I, 14, 37; cf.
Ov. Met. II, 787 (of Envy personified):
 "obliquo ... lumine".
 139 *Incubans terris draco* Cf. *Ep.* 29, l. 46:
 "quibus ... ceu draco quispiam Hesperius
 incubas"; *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1,
 p. 47, l. 201: "non aliter quam hesperius ille
 serpens malis aureis ... incubas." Cf. also
Carm. III, 14.
 140 *Palluit ore* Cf. *Ov. Met.* IV, 106; VI, 602.
 142–143 *pudicae Virginis* Salzer, pp. 362–364.

- Virginis mandata refers sereno
 Regia vultu.
 145 Nostra cui primum hic lyra gratuletur
 Haesitat, mundone malis leuato,
 An deo foetae potius puellae,
 An tibi, diuae
 Conscio mentis meritoque summis
 150 Rebus accersi. Tibi tam sacrato
 Tamque felici licuit vel vni
 Munere fungi.
 Noster, o salue, bone pacifer, qui
 Surculum adportans oleae virentem
 155 Nuncias primus meliora mersis
 Saecula terris.

De laude Raphaelis

- Proxime primis, Raphael, canere,
 Ordinis pars non humilis superni,
 Tute nam clarum comitem duobus
 160 Tertius addis.
 O salus ac certa hominum medela
 Rebus afflictis, ope cuius olim
 Reddito vidit reducem Thobias
 Lumine gnatum,
 165 Nec modo saluum, sed et aere largo

145 Dubitatio* A.

148 diuae *Eg B L BAS LB*: diue *A I K*.150–151 Tibi tam [tam *om. B*] ... vni *A*² *Eg B I-L*: tamque felici licuit vel vni *A*¹ (*in textu, corr. in Erratis*).143–144 mandata ... vultu *Lc.* 1, 26–38.

146 mundo / leuato Cf. l. 76 above.

153 pacifer Gabriel is repeatedly praised as the harbinger of peace in *AH* 18, 25.154–156 Surculum ... terris So the second dove brought a leafy olive branch to Noah to show that the flood was over and a new age of the world was at hand (*Gn.* 8, 10–11). Cf. ll. 133–135 (n.) above; *Paeon Virg.*, *LB V*, 1231 F, with a typological interpretation. But *Er.* no doubt also remembered that in ancient times envoys suing for peace held out an olive branch; cf. *Adag.* 4074; Cornelis153 bone *A B I-L*: bene *Eg*.*Post* 156 De ... Raphaelis *B I-L*: De singulari laude Raphaelis *A*, Raphaelis laus *Eg*.Gerard, *Marias* IV, f° 45^v: “Paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit oliuae.” In late-medieval paintings Gabriel was sometimes shown carrying an olive branch at the Annunciation; see Réau, II, 1, p. 52.154 Surculum / oleae Cf. *Prud. Apoth.* 342–343: “oliui / surculus”.155–156 meliora ... terris Cf. *Carm.* 110, 71–72; 110, 315–316 (n.).

157 Proxime primis Cf. l. 99 above.

162 Rebus afflictis *Verg. Aen.* I, 452.162–168 ope ... laetum *Tob.* 6, 1–11, 19; cf. *Er. Encom. medic.*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 180, ll. 292–293.

Diuitem, multa serie clientum
 Diuitem ac longis gregibus nouaque
 Coniuge laetum.
 Ethnici Phoebumque genusque Phoebi
 170 Saxeos olim coluere diuos,
 Hos rati morbis dubiis rogatam
 Ferre salutem.
 Nos magis nos te colimus, potentem
 Vel nigro manes reuocare ab Orco,
 175 Rursus et pigris animam liquentem
 Spargere venis.
 Tu simul membris, simul o medere
 Mentibus, praesens opifer, luemque
 In tuos euheu male saeuientem
 180 Exige terris.

166–167 multa ... longis *A B I-L*: longa ...
 multis *Eg*.
 167 ac *add. B I-L*.
 169 Circuitio* *A*; Phoebumque *A B I-L*:
 Phebum *Eg*.

169–170 *Ethnici ... diuos* Apollo and his son
 Asclepius were venerated as gods of medicine;
 cf. *Encom. medic.*, *ASD* I, 4, pp. 164–165,
 ll. 31–33; *Adag.* 1522, *ASD* II, 4, p. 34,
 ll. 365–371.

172 *Ferre salutem* = *LHL* II, 257.

173–176 *potentem ... venis* Raphael's name
 means "God's healing". The archangel
 accordingly is often praised for his ability to
 heal man. Unlike Asclepius, however,
 Raphael is not known for recalling the dead
 to life. Possibly *Er.* is associating him with
 Mercury, just as he associates Michael with
 Mercury as the guide of souls (ll. 37–38 with
 n.) and Gabriel with Mercury as the messen-
 ger of God (n.ll. 106 and 131). Mercury was
 able to call back souls from the underworld;
 see *Verg. Aen.* IV, 242–243: "hac [virga] ani-
 mas ille euocat Orco pallentis." Physicians,
 in any case, were commonly lauded for call-
 ing back the shades from the nether world,
 since curing people who have one foot in the
 grave is, hyperbolically speaking, tantamount
 to bringing them back from the dead. See *Er.*
Encom. medic., *ASD* I, 4, p. 167, ll. 79–83.
 Cf. *Ter. Hec.* 852; *Ov. Trist.* V, 9, 19; *Er. Ep.*
 132, ll. 45–46 (to a physician): "tua ... arte
 tanquam ab Orco reuocatus"; *Ep.* 1809, l. 16.

170 *Aesculapium** *A*.

173 *Nos magis A B I-L*: *Rectius Eg*.

179 *euheu Eg B I-L*: *eheu A*.

174 *nigro / Orco* *Hor. Carm.* IV, 2, 23–24.

178 *opifer* This is also the epithet of the healing
 gods Apollo and Asclepius in *Ov. Met.* I, 521
 and XV, 653.

178–179 *luemque ... saeuientem* The "plague"
 referred to is not so much a physical plague
 ("membris") as a spiritual disease ("medere
 mentibus"); cf. *Ep.* 993, ll. 53–55; *Supputat.*
calumn. Nat. Bedae, *LB* IX, 515 C–D. We
 should remember that each of the preceding
 sections on the archangels concludes with
 the thought of peace on earth ("terris").
 Peace is what *Er.* probably has in mind here
 too. He is praying that the physician-angel
 Raphael may heal body and soul so that the
 pestilence of war that rages against the peo-
 ple of God ("in tuos") may be banished from
 the earth. The image of war as a plague that
 in turn engenders a multitude of spiritual
 diseases recurs in *Er.*' writings; see, e.g., *Orat.*
de pace, *LB* VIII, 547 C; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*,
ASD IV, 1, p. 74, ll. 539–541 and 566–568;
Inst. princ. christ., *ASD* IV, 1, p. 213, ll.
 460–462; *Adag.* 3001, *LB* II, 953 D–E;
Moria, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 174, ll. 815–816;
Querela, *ASD* IV, 2, p. 62, l. 25.

De omnibus angelis

- Nec tacendi estis, proceres ducesque
 Caeteri, nobis, breuiterque cuncti
 Milites regis ditione late
 Cuncta tenentis,
 185 Ambitu quem ter triplici triformem
 Dextera leuaque frequentiores
 Cingitis quam nocte silente plenam
 Sydera lunam.
 O salutandi nouies beati,
 190 Ocium quorum mala nulla terrent,
 Certa quos diui beat intuentes
 Copia vultus.
 Inuidet vestrae miser ille sorti,
 Eminus sedes quotiens ademptas
 195 Suspicit frendens et inauspicati
 Poenitet ausus.
 Vespero quondam similis rubenti
 Inter aeternos rutilabat ignes,
 At simul regis diadema miles
 200 Ambiit audax.
 Iam pares voluens animo cathedras,
 Flammeo telo grege cum sequaci

Post 180 De ... angelis *B I-L*: De vniuersis angelis *A*, De angelis in genere *Eg*.
 185 *ter om. BAS LB*.
 187 plenam *A B I-L*: pulchram *Eg*.
 194 quotiens *A Eg B I K¹ L*: quoties *K²*.

185 *ter triplici* Paul mentions seven groups of angels; see *Rom.* 8, 38; *Eph.* 1, 21; *Col.* 1, 16; 2, 15; 1. *Thess.* 4, 15. To these were later added the cherubim and seraphim mentioned in the O.T. See *DTC* I, 1, 1206–1211. The doctrine was first worked out in Ps. Dion. Areop. *Hier.* This treatise, translated into Latin by Johannes Scotus Erigena in the ninth century, became very popular in the later Middle Ages. Hugh of St. Victor, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas, for example, wrote commentaries on it. The nine choirs of angels are often referred to in medieval hymns; see, e.g., *AH* 7, 178, 4a; 12, 353, 1; 16, 404, 14; 27, 158, 5; 49, 313, 2; 50, 191, 3.

186–188 *frequentiores / quam / Sydera* Otto 1643;

197 Vespero quondam *A B I-L*: Vespere quoniam *Eg*.
 198 rutilabat *A B I-L*: rutilabit *Eg*.
 201 Iam ... voluens *B I-L*: Et pares voluit *A*, Compares voluens *Eg*.

see also *Er. Carm.* 93, ll. 24 and 149–150; 98, 1–2.

187 *nocte silente* *Tib.* 1, 5, 16; *Verg. Aen.* IV, 527; VII, 87; and often; *Er. Carm.* 112, 70.
 197–198 *Vespero ... ignes* Cf. *Is.* 14, 12, of the morning star Lucifer (Venus); as the evening star, Venus-Lucifer is called “Hesperus” or “Vesper”. Isaiah applies the metaphor to the once resplendent king of Babylon who fell into Sheol. Theologians often associated this passage with *Lc.* 10, 18 and *Ap. Ioh.* 12, 7–9. Cf. *Er. Carm.* 110, 106–108.

197 *Vespero / rubenti* *Verg. Georg.* 1, 251.

Vespero / similis *Hor. Carm.* III, 19, 26.

198 *aeternos / ignes* *Verg. Aen.* II, 154.

202 *grege cum sequaci* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 106.

- Ictus eiectusque rudem ruina
Terruit orbem.
205 Excipit partim caua Styx ruenteis,
Abditur lucis bona pars opacis,
Cursitat magnum per inane multo
Plurima turba,
Densior quam Cecropiis in hortis
210 Tinnulos aeris crepitus secuta
Euolant examina quamque caelo
Decidit imber.
Pugnat hoc vnum haec vigil improboque
Omnis incumbit studio, pios vt
215 Distrahat, tundat geminoque raptos
Funere perdat.
Ah nefas, quantam daret illa stragem!
Cui salus tandem, nisi frangeretur
Obuiis vobis furor et nocendi
220 Dira libido?
Vestra nos tutela fidelis ortos

205 caua *A B I-L*: nigra *Eg*.

206 Abditur *Eg B I-L*: Additur *A*.

210 Tinnulos *A*² *Eg B I-L*: Tumulos *A*¹.

211 Euolant *Eg B I-L*: Conuolant *A*; quamque
A B I-L: quamue *Eg*.

212 Decidit *A B I-L*: Depluit *Eg*.

213 Pugnat ... haec *A B I-L*: Querit hec vnum
hoc *Eg*.

215 tundat *B I-L*: tondat *A Eg*.

217 quantam *A Eg B BAS LB*: quantum *I-L*.

203–204 *rudem / orbem* The world is still “formless” because Lucifer’s fall occurred before God created the world; cf. *Carm.* 110, 105–116; *Paeon. Virg.*, *LB* V, 1229 F: “in ipsis rudis adhuc mundi primordiis”; *Gn.* 1, 2. The epithet “rudis” specifically recalls Ovid’s description of primeval chaos in *Met.* I, 7. In *Comm. in Hymn. Prud.*, *LB* V, 1342 C, Er. also links the biblical and Ovidian descriptions of chaos.

204 *Terruit orbem* = *Ov. Met.* XIV, 817; cf. *Hor. Carm.* I, 2, 2–4.

205–208 *Excipit ... turba* Medieval theologians were not sure where the fallen angels dwell. Were they cast down into the air or under the earth? See Jeffrey B. Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca, 1984, p. 180. Er., declining to take sides, combines the various ideas.

206 *lucis / opacis* *Verg. Aen.* VI, 673.

207 *magnum per inane* *Verg. Ecl.* 6, 31.

208 *Plurima turba* = *Verg. Aen.* VI, 667.

209–211 *Densior ... examina* For the compari-

son with bees cf. *Ov. Ars* II, 517; III, 150; *Frist.* V, 6, 38.

209 *Cecropiis / hortis* Attica and Mount Hymettus near Athens were said to be especially rich in bees. Cf. Otto 838; *Verg. Georg.* IV, 177: “Cecropias ... apes”; IV, 270; *Marzial.* IX, 13, 2; XIII, 24, 1. The epithet “Cecropiis” is derived from the legendary king of Attica and founder of Athens, Cecrops.

210 *Tinnulos ... secuta* Cf. *Verg. Georg.* IV, 64 and 151. Bees were thought to be attracted to the sound of bronze cymbals; see also, e.g., *Ov. Fast.* III, 741–742; *Lucan.* IX, 288; *Plin. Nat.* XI, 22, 68.

212 *Decidit imber* = *Hor. Epist.* I, 14, 29; cf. *Ov. Fast.* II, 494.

215–216 *gemino / Funere* Death of body and soul; cf. *Carm.* 43, 69 (n.).

220 *Dira libido* = *Lucr.* IV, 1046; cf. *Prud. Cath.* 2, 84.

221–228 *Vestra ... tuti* For the doctrine of the guardian angels see n. *Carm.* 44, 8.

Excipit nec luce prius relinquit.
 Semper hac freti nihili furentem
 Ducimus hostem.
 225 Imus hac tuti tumidum per aequor,
 Asperas tuti penetramus Alpeis,
 Viuimus vestro morimurque demum
 Munere tuti.
 Vos parum firmis dare robur, iidem
 230 Anxios nostis gemitus leuare
 Nunciis felicibus ac subinde
 Visere castos.
 Caelici ciues, adeone vobis
 Exules curae sumus, vt vacet sic
 235 Obsequi nobis pigeatque nunquam
 Sortis iniquae?
 Nuncii crebri volitatis inter
 Arduos caelos humilesque terras,
 Hinc preces fertis querulas, at istinc
 240 Dona refertis.
 Porro nos tantis meritis (quod vnum
 Possumus) gratos memori Camoena
 Reddimus cantus ferimusque templis
 Dona dicatis.
 245 Ferias anno referente sacras,
 Celat hic festus simulacra fumus,
 Hic chorus supplex manibus facessit
 Vota supinis.

222 nec A Eg I-L: ne B.

223 hac A' Eg B I-L: hac at A².

Post 228 inseruntur versus 237-240 in Eg.

230 nostis A Eg I-L: nostris B.

231 ac A B I-L: et Eg.

237-240 hic desunt in Eg.

246 Celat A Eg: Caelat B K, Coelat I L.

225 *tumidum* / *aequor* Verg. *Aen.* III, 157; Ov.

Her. 17(18), ll. 35 and 193; *Met.* XIV, 544.

236 *Sortis iniquae* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 332; XII, 243.

237-240 *Nuncii* ... *refertis* Cf. Plat. *Symp.* 202 c.

237 *Nuncii* See n.l. 106 above.

239 *preces* / *querulas* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 377-378.

243-244 *ferimusque* ... *dicatis* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* V, 59-60: "sacra quotannis / ... templis ... ferre dicatis".

245 *Ferias* Though there was no feast of all the angels, there was a votive mass of the angels which could be said at various times. Michael had two feast-days (Dedication,

Sept. 29, and Apparition, May 8). Gabriel's feast-day was March 24. Raphael's feast-day was celebrated on various dates in different places but was not yet universally established on Oct. 24.

246 *simulacra fumus* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 6, 4: "simulacra fumo". The incense indicates that the special feast was to be celebrated with a solemn high mass, with celebrant, deacon, and subdeacon; see *Missale Romanum*, I, pp. 198-201.

247-248 *supplex* ... *supinis* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 205. Raising one's hands with open palms

Quae patris summi penetrent ad aures
 250 Semper ac per vos rata sint precamur,
 O patroni praesidiumque felix
 Christigenarum.

250 vos rata A¹ Eg B I-L: vox rara A².

252 Christigenarum A¹ B I-L: Christi gen-
 erum A², Christicolarum Eg.

In fine: Τέλος. Τῶ θεῶ [Τῶ θεῶ B] χάρις B I L.

turned upwards was a common gesture of prayer in Greek and Roman antiquity. It was also a Jewish and early Christian custom; see, e.g., *Ps.* 62, 5; 1. *Tim.* 2, 8. The gesture was eventually abandoned in Christianity, but memory of it lived on in the mass. During the incensing of the altar and at certain times in the liturgical year the priest (using the words of *Ps.* 140, 2) prayed: "Dirigatur, domine, oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo; eleuatio manuum mearum

sacrificium vespertinum"; see *Missale Romanum*, I, p. 201; *Sarum Missal*, pp. 58, 190, and 200; Er. *Mod. orandi Deum*, ASD V, 1, p. 166, l. 583.

249 patris summi Verg. *Aen.* I, 665.

penetrent ad aures Ov. *Met.* XII, 42; cf. Er. *Carm.* I, 53 (n.).

251 O patroni praesidiumque The phrase recalls Hor. *Carm.* I, 1, 2 (of his patron Maecenas): "O et praesidium et dulce decus meum".

51. A VOTIVE OFFERING TO THE VIRGIN OF WALSINGHAM

spring 1512

Er. probably composed this poem in the spring of 1512. He mentions it in Ep. 262, ll. 6–8, written at Cambridge on 9 May [1512] and addressed to Andrea Ammonio: "Visam virginem Vualsingamicam atque illic Graecum carmen votiuum suspendam. Id, si quando te illo contuleris, require." He later described this pilgrimage in the colloquy *Peregrinatio religionis ergo* (1526); see ASD I, 3, pp. 474–486.

The shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, some 100 kilometers from Cambridge, is said to date back to 1061. In Er.' day it ranked among the most famous pilgrimage places in Europe. See J.C. Dickinson, *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham*, Cambridge, 1956; D.J. Hall, *English Mediaeval Pilgrimage*, London, 1965, pp. 104–119. On the subject of Er.' pilgrimages see Léon-E. Halkin, *Erasmus pèlerin*, in: *Scrinium*, II, pp. 239–252; and *Le thème du pèlerinage dans les Colloques d'Erasmus*, in: *Actes du Congrès Erasme, Rotterdam 27–29 octobre 1969*, Amsterdam, 1971, pp. 88–98. On the place of the Virgin Mary in Er.' works see Léon-E. Halkin, *La Mariologie d'Erasmus*, ARG 68 (1977), pp. 32–55; and Joaquín María Alonso, *Erasmii Corpus Mariologicum*, 2 vols. (numbered continuously), Dayton, 1979–1980. Alonso discusses the poem on pp. 67–68 and reprints it, together with some versions in Latin, Spanish, and English, on pp. 109–112.

The poem was first published in *Lucubrationes*, Strasbourg, M. Schürer, September 1515. Alaard of Amsterdam translated it into Latin the following year; see Ep. 433, ll. 32–34, to which letter it was appended. Alaard's Latin version was first

printed, together with his edition of *Carm.* 102, in: *De vitando pernicioso libidinosoque aspectu carmen bucolicum*, Leiden, P. van Balen, 13 February 1538, sig. D6^r–D6^v. For this text see *LB* III, 1561.

In *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*, *ASD* I, 3, pp. 479–480, ll. 348–353, Er. restates the essential theme of this poem. There Ogygius prays to Our Lady of Walsingham: Grant through your son that we may imitate your saintly way of life in a worthy manner and that the Lord Jesus may dwell forever in our hearts.

Metre: iambic trimeter.

Sources: *I*; *K*^{1*}; *L*; *K*²; *BAS* V, 1109; *LB* V, 1325.

ERASMI ROTERODAMI CARMEN IAMBICVM, EX VOTO
DICATVM VIRGINI VVALSINGAMICAE APVD BRITANNOS

Ἦ χαῖρ' Ἰησοῦ μητερ εὐλογημένη,
Μόνη γυναικῶν θεοτόκος καὶ παρθένος.
Ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλας σοὶ διδῶσι δωρεάς,
Ὁ μὲν γε χρυσόν, ὁ δὲ πάλιν τὸν ἄργυρον,
5 Ὁ δὲ τιμίους φέρων χαρίζεται λίθους.
Ἄνθ' ὧν ἀπαιτοῦσ' οἱ μὲν ὑγιαίνειν δέμας,
Ἄλλοι δὲ πλουτεῖν, καὶ τινες γυναικίου
Κυοῦντος ἐρατὸν οὖνομ' ἐλπίζειν πατρός,
Πυλίου τινὲς γέροντος αἰῶνας λαχεῖν.
10 Αὐτὸς δ' αἰοιδός, εὐμενής, πένης γ' ὄμωσ
Στίχους ἐνέγκας, οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστ' ἄλλο τι,
Δόσεως ἀμοιβὴν εὐτελεστάτης, γέρας
Μέγιστον αἰτῶ, θεοσεβῆ τὴν καρδίαν
Πασῶν θ' ἄπαξ ἀμαρτιῶν ἐλευθέραν.

Εὐχὴ τοῦ Ἑράσμου.

8 Κυοῦντος *scriptis*: Κυῶντος *I–I.*
12 ἀμοιβὴν *KL*: ἀμειβὴν *I.*

13 αἰτῶ *ILK*²: αἰτῶ *K*¹.

1–2 χαῖρ' / θεοτόκος καὶ παρθένος This is a variation on the words of the “Gregorian” antiphony: Χαῖρε ... θεοτόκε παρθένε. See Meersseman, *I*, p. 83; cf. the antiphon for the feast of Purification in the Latin church: “Aue O Theotocos virgo Maria”; *Hereford Breviary*, II, p. 103; cf. *AH* 7, 99, 5a; 37, 76, 5a: “Aue, o theotocos, / virgo peperisti”; Er. *Paean Virg.*, *LB* V, 1227 F–1228 E: “Virgo Theotocos”.
χαῖρ' ... γυναικῶν Cf. *Lc.* 1, 28 (angel to Mary in the Greek text); *Lc.* 1, 42.
6–9 Ἄνθ' ... λαχεῖν A similar list of frivolous wishes that people address to the Virgin

occurs in the colloquy *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 473, ll. 82–104; cf. p. 474, ll. 140–141.
7–8 γυναικίου ... πατρός Cf. *Adag.* 1249, *LB* II, 504 C: “Si tibi dulce patris cognomen pignora nata / Donant”; cf. also *Carm.* 83, 3–4; 84, 3–4.
9 Πυλίου ... αἰῶνας Nestor’s longevity was proverbial; see n. *Carm.* 4, 67–68.
10–13 Αὐτὸς ... αἰτῶ Cf. *Carm.* 35, 3–8 and notes.
13–14 θεοσεβῆ ... ἐλευθέραν Cf. *Pz.* 50, 12; Er. *Carm.* 2, 237 (n.).

52. AN EPITAPH FOR A DRUNKEN JOKESTER

summer 1509?

The "scurrula temulentus" for whom this mock epitaph was written was probably the Portuguese poet and humanist Henrique (Hermicus) Caiado of Lisbon, who died at Rome in 1509. This identification, however, has been questioned by Marcel Bataillon in his *La mort d'Henrique Caiado*, in: *Etudes sur le Portugal au temps de l'humanisme*, Coimbra, 1952, pp. 1-8, though without compelling reasons. Er., who had met Caiado in Rome, describes his death in *Adag.* 3702. He seems to have been an unusually obese man, much given to drink. When suffering from a slight fever he was told by Er.' good friend Christopher Fisher, a papal official, that such a fever could be "washed away" by drinking good wine. He enthusiastically followed this advice, drank the four-year-old Corsican wine that Fisher had sent him, and died soon thereafter. Er. mentions Caiado again in *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 692, ll. 1-2, describing him as "in epigrammatibus felicem, in oratione soluta promptum ac facilem, ad argutandum dexterrimae dicacitatis". See *Contemporaries* s.v. Caiado.

The poem is evidently alluded to in Ep. 216, ll. 41-43 (a letter from Jacob Piso, written at Rome on 30 June 1509): "Expecto abs te epitaphia scurrulae istius merobibi. Te precor ne me fallas. Ab aliis doctis tuis amicis alia super eo impetrabis et ad me mittes." It was first printed at the end of *Concio de puero Iesu*, [Paris, Joris Biermans?], 1 September [1511?], where it adds a measure of jollity to an otherwise grave and sober book.

The model for this mock epitaph is perhaps the one that Gaetulicus wrote on the death of the Greek satirist Archilochus (*Anth. Pal.* VII, 71). Er. quotes and translates the concluding lines of this "epitaphium Archilochi poetae maledici" in *Adag.* 60: "Ne fors crabrones qui huic insedere sepulchro / Irrites, tacitum carpe, viator, iter." Er.' fictitious epitaph in turn was twice imitated by Helius Eobanus Hessus, at the end of his *Hymnus paschalis*, Erfurt, J. Knappe, 1515, sigs. B2^v-B3^v; see Vredeveld, *Traces*, pp. 56-59. Like Er., Eobanus prints the profane mock epitaphs together with a work on a sacred theme, explaining that his purpose is to avoid tedium (sig. B4^r). Another humanist who imitated the epigram was Er.' amanuensis, Gilbert Cousin (Cognatus); see his *Opera multifarii argumenti*, I, Basel, H. Petri, 1562, p. 405:

IACOBI NORMANI HIPPOCRATIS, VENTRIS
ET TEMVLENTI, EPITAPHIVM

Me (vt fit) silenter hic, viator, aspice,
Ne placidus hic si me reliquerit somnus
Rursum atra miseris occupet sitis fauces;
Nam quod loquor, nunc somniare me credas.

For the convention in which the dead person addresses the passer-by see n. *Carm.* 9, 1.

Metre: choliamb; see n. *Carm.* 20, 13–14.

Sources: *D*; *F*; *G*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1030; *LB* I, 1223.

EPITAPHIVM SCVRRVLAE TEMVLENTI. SCAZON

Pax sit, viator, tacitus hos legas versus,
 Vt sacra verba mussitant sacerdotes,
 Ne mihi suaue[m] strepitus auferat somnum
 Repetatque vigiles ilico sitis fauces.
 5 Nam scurrula hocce sterto conditus saxo,
 Quondam ille magni clarus Euii mystes,
 Vt qui bis octo lustra perbibit tota.
 Oculis profundus deinde somnus obrepsit,
 Vt fit, benigno membra cum madent Baccho.
 10 Atque ita peractis suauiter bonis annis
 Idem bibendi finis atque viuendi
 Fuit. Sed etiam me aliquis ebrium credat
 Aut somniare, qui ista dormiens dicam.
 Vale, viator. Iam silenter abscede.

4 Repetatque *D G K*: Repetetque *F*.
 7 qui bis *G K*: quibus *D F*.
 8 deinde *D G K*: dein *F*.

12 Fuit *G K*: Finit *D F*; me aliquis *D G K*:
 aliquis me *F*.
In fine: Finis *D F G*.

2 *sacra verba* The breviary or parts of the mass.
 5 *hocce / conditus saxo* Cf. *Carm.* 73, 1 (n.).
 7 *bis octo lustra* A hyperbole. Caiado died
 before he was forty years old.
 11 *bibendi / viuendi* Cf. *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3,
 p. 194, l. 276 (Folly's valediction to her fol-
 lowers): "Viuite, bibite." In *De pronunt.*,
ASD I, 4, pp. 75–76, ll. 45–48 Er. mentions

that some speakers, particularly those from
 Spain, say "b" for "v" and vice versa, pro-
 nouncing "viuit" instead of "bibit" and
 "bibit" instead of "viuit". Er. may thus be
 making fun of one of the toper's speech
 habits.
 13 *dormiens* Cf. *Carm.* 83, 1 (n.).

53. IN PRAISE OF SÉLESTAT

1514–1515

In this poem Er. repays the hospitality that Sélestat and its humanists extended to him as he was travelling to Basel in August 1514; see introd. *Carm.* 3. It is loosely contemporaneous with his other poems to Alsatian humanists (*Carmm.* 3, 54, and 55), though it was originally not published with them. Instead it was first

printed at the end of *Iani Damiani Senensis ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. de expeditione in Turcas Elegeia*, Basel, J. Froben, August 1515 (a). The theme of the poem is already expressed in Ep. 305, ll. 137–142, where Er. praises the printer Matthias Schürer as “virum cum aliis multis nominibus egregie mihi charum, tum hoc etiam chariorem quod hunc quoque fertilis illa tot eruditorum hominum, tot foelicium ingeniorum, edidit Selestadium, cui et Beatum Rhenanum et Ioannem Sapidum debeo et ipsum denique Wimphelingum”.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: a; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1030–1031; *LB* I, 1223.

ENCOMIVM SELESTADII CARMINE ELEGIACO
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

Nobile Selestadium, tua quis pomeria primus
Signans tam dextris condidit auspiciis?
Vnde tibi genius tam felix tamque benignus?
Sydera nascenti quae micuere tibi?
5 Cum videaris enim neque muro insigne capaci,
Plebe nec innumera diuitiisue scatens,
Vrbibus in cunctis tamen haud felicior vlla est,
Quotquot Caesarea sub ditione vigent.
Non ego iam memoro, quod fertilis vndique campus
10 Adiacet et segetem prosperat alma Ceres,
Quodque hinc vitiferos monteis, hinc ditia Rheni
Flumina prospectas, grata quod aura fouet.
Commoda bella, sed haec tecum communia multis,
Dotibus hisce simul vinceris et superas.
15 Illa tibi propria est, quod et vna et parua tot aedis
Virtute insignis ingenioque viros.
Tot pariter gemmas, tot lumina fundis in orbem,
Quot multis aliis vix genuisse datum est.
Doctrinae proceres tot habes, quot proditor ille
20 Vix belli proceres occulisset equus.
Quam non Vuimphlingus, quam non Spiegellius vrbem,

3 *genius* See n. *Carm.* 7, 45.

4 *Sydera ... tibi* Cf. *Carm.* 7, 1–2 (with notes).

10 *alma Ceres* Verg. *Georg.* I, 7; *Ov. Met.* V, 572.

11 *vitiferos monteis* Sil. IV, 347; cf. Er. *Carm.* 88, 10 (n.).

19–20 *Doctrinae ... equus* Cf. Cic. *De or.* II, 22, 94: “[Isocratis] e ludo, tanquam ex equo Troiano, meri principes exierunt”; Er. *Adag.*

3101; *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 178, ll. 263–264; Ep. 335, ll. 21–23, to Pope Leo X: “Ex qua [familia] nobis velut ex equo Troiano tot eximii in omni doctrinae genere proceres paucis iam annis exilierunt”; Ep. 1554, ll. 40–43; 2157, ll. 599–601.

21 *Vuimphlingus* The well-known humanist Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528) was a native

- Quam non Kirherus nobilitare queat?
 Vnde tibi Sapidus, doctis quoque dignus Athenis?
 Vnde sacer Phrygio, Storkius vnde tibi?
 25 Vnde tibi Arnoldus, Musis excultus, et vnde
 Matthias niueo pectore Schurerius?
 Vt sileam reliquos, non te satis ille Beatus
 Rhenanus, lingua doctus vtraque, beat?
 Quae tibi cum liquido tacita est cognatio caelo?
 30 Num quod Palladia numen ab vrbe fauet?
 Corpora gignit humus, mens aethere manat ab alto.
 Membra aliae pariunt, tu paris ingenia.
 Quis non inuideat tam splendida commoda, ni quod
 Non tibi sed mundo fertilis ista paris?
 35 Gloria te penes est vnam, sed fructus ad omnes
 Peruenit, humanum qua patet orbe genus.
 Haec memor hospitii tibi carmina panxit Erasmus
 Haud lepida, at grata qualiacunque cheli.

32 tu a *KBAS*: vt *LB*.

In fine: Finis a.

of Sélestat. At the time of Er.' visit he was living in Strasbourg; but in 1515 he returned to his home town. See *Contemporaries* s.v. Wimpfeling.

Spiegeliius Jakob Spiegel (c. 1483–after 1547) was Jakob Wimpfeling's nephew. In 1513 he was appointed professor of law at the University of Vienna. There he published a translation of Isocr. *De regno gubernando* (1514). He also served as secretary to Maximilian I until the emperor's death in 1519. See *Contemporaries* s.v. Spiegel; see also introd. *Carm.* 1, p. 68 above.

22 *Kirherus* Johann Kierher (d. 1519), a minor humanist, received his M.A. from Paris in 1510. By 1515 he was vicar in the cathedral of Speyer. See Ep. 355; *Contemporaries* s.v. Kierher.

23 *Sapidus* Johann Witz; see introd. *Carm.* 3. Witz thanks Er. for the compliment in Ep. 353, ll. 8–14.

doctis / Athenis Ov. *Her.* 2, 83.

24 *Phrygio* Paulus Constantinus Phrygio (c. 1485–1543) earned a doctorate in theology at Basel in 1513. See *Contemporaries* s.v. Phrygio. *Storkius* Johann Storck (documented 1482–1525). He received his M.A. from Basel in 1487. See *Contemporaries* s.v. Storck.

25 *Arnoldus* Beat Arnold (1485–1532) worked

for the printers of Strasbourg from 1507 to 1511 and contributed verses to many of their books. Afterwards he became a secretary to Maximilian I, subsequently also to Charles V. See *Contemporaries* s.v. Arnold.

26 *Schurerius* Matthias Schürer (c. 1470–1519/1520), the Strasbourg printer of numerous Greek and Latin classics as well as of books by humanist authors. See *Contemporaries* s.v. Schürer.

27–28 *Beatus / beat* For Beatus Rhenanus see n.l. 4 of Froben's letter to the reader (p. 65 above). Er. puns on his name also in Ep. 322, l. 11 and Ep. 327, l. 16. The latter instance occurs in the preface to *Enarrat. in Ps.* 1, the first words of which are "Beatus vir" and which Er. for this reason dedicated to Beatus.

28 *lingua doctus vtraque* Martial. X, 76, 6.

29 *Quae ... caelo* Cf. *Carm.* 4, 121–122 (n.), referring to pearls. Er. insinuates that Sélestat is a pearl among cities. For this concealed image cf. l. 17 above, where the city's humanists are called "gems".

30 *Palladia / vrbe* Celtis, *Amores* IV, 1, 42, referring to Athens.

31 *mens ... alto* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 49 (n.).

37–38 *carmina / qualiacunque* = Ov. *Frist.* I, 7, 11–12.

37 *carmina panxit* Lucret. IV, 8–9; *LHL* I, 282.

54. TO SEBASTIAN BRANT

August 1514

The poem is contemporaneous with *Carmm.* 3, 53, and 55, addressed to other Alsatian humanists. It was first published together with *Carmm.* 3 and 55 in *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*, Strasbourg, M. Schürer, December 1514 (*α*; Bezzel 738).

Sebastian Brant of Strasbourg (1457–1521), a student of Reuchlin, received a doctorate in civil and canon law from the University of Basel in 1489. He became dean of the faculty of law at Basel in 1492 and professor of civil and canon law in 1496, but remained a practising lawyer. Having returned to Strasbourg in 1500, he served his native city first as syndic (legal consultant) and later, from 1503, as chief secretary or chancellor. Brant was the author of *Das Narrenschiff*, Basel, J. Bergmann, 1494, the first European best seller in the German language, translated into Latin, Low German, Dutch, French, and English. He also published a collection of religious Latin verse in various metres, *In laudem gloriosae virginis Mariae multorumque sanctorum*, Basel, J. Bergmann, 1494, later expanded to include political poems and hence entitled *Varia carmina*, Basel, J. Bergmann, 1498. He produced numerous editions of Latin authors, among them St. Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* (1489), Baptista Mantuanus (1498), Vergil (1502), and Hrabanus Maurus (1503). See *Contemporaries* s.v. Brant.

Er. first met Brant in August 1514 when travelling through Strasbourg on his way to Basel; see Ep. 302. He expresses his profound admiration in Ep. 305, ll. 165–169: “Sebastianum Brant, vt eximium, extra omnem et ordinem et aleam pono; quem ego virum ... tanti facio, sic amo, sic suspicio, sic veneror, vt magna quaedam foelicitatis pars accessisse mihi videatur, quod illum coram intueri, coram alloqui et amplecti contigerit.”

Metre: hendecasyllable.

Sources: *α*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1031; *LB* I, 1223.

AD SEBASTIANVM BRANT, ARCHIGRAMMATEVM
VRBIS ARGENTINENSIS. PHALECIVM ERASMI

Ornarunt alios suae Camoenae,
Ornas ipse tuas magis Camoenas.
Multos patria reddidit celebres,

Tit. ARCHIGRAMMATEVM ... ARGENTINENSIS *add. K.*

3 *Multos ... celebres* Praising a man on account of his native country is a rhetorical category of praise; see Lausberg, § 245 I A; cf. Er. *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 198, l. 49; *Enarrat. in*

Ps. 33, *ASD* V, 3, p. 124, ll. 94–95; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 319, ll. 794–797. Folly mocks the convention in *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 78, ll. 112–115.

Vrbem tu celebrem celebriorem
 5 Multo constituis, Sebastiane,
 Lingua, moribus, eruditione,
 Libris, consilio, seueritate.
 Sic cum foenore plurimo rependis
 Acceptum decus, e tuo vicissim
 10 Illustrans patriamque literasque.

10 Illustrans *a* *KBAS*: Illustras *LB*.

In fine: τέλος *a*.

4-5 *Vrbem ... constituis* Cf. Allen, *Op. ep.* X, App. 22, p. 403, ll. 179-181: "Externa quoniam ad laudem proprie non pertinent, arte huc sunt accommodanda. Si patriam illustrem sua virtute reddidit illustriorem."

8 *cum foenore plurimo* Cf. *Carm.* 113, 10: "multo cum faenore"; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 74, ll. 952-953: "quanto cum foenore". For the image see, e.g., Cic. *Cato* 15, 51; Tib. II, 6, 22.

55. TO THOMAS DIDYMUS VOGLER

August 1514

Thomas Didymus Vogler (Aucuparius) of Obernai in Alsace was by 1501 almoner to the cathedral chapter in Strasbourg. He received a degree in law from the University of Freiburg in 1511. His Latin verse earned him the title, among the Strasbourg humanists, of "poet laureate"; Er. alludes to this title in Ep. 305, ll. 132-133 as well as in l. 8 below. He published an edition of Terence for use in schools in 1511 and edited some writings of Poggio Bracciolini in 1513. He died in 1532. See *Contemporaries* s.v. Vogler.

The poem was included with Ep. 305, for in ll. 256-257 Er. writes: "Adieci quod ad Aucuparium non scripseram sed effutieram." It was intended to repay Vogler for the six distichs that lavished praises on Er. at his arrival in Strasbourg in mid-August 1514; see Ep. 305, ll. 134-137. Vogler's verses, along with Er.'s response, were published at the end of *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*, Strasbourg, M. Schürer, December 1514 (*a*; Bezzel 738):

PRAESTANTI ET CLARISSIMO VIRO D. DESYDERIO
 ERASMO ROTERODAMO THOMAS DIDIMVS AVCVPARIVS,
 POE'IA LAVREATVS

Theutonicae splendor, decus et lux palmaque terrae,
 Inter Germanos gloria prima viros,
 Inter et egregios, salue, praestantior omnes,
 Quos nostro Pallas tempore docta dedit.
 Sit tuus aduentus foelix, praesentia salua:
 Gaudet in aduentu turba diserta tuo.

Gaudet et exultat, iubilat, laetatur ouatque,
 Excipiens celebri nomen honore tuum.
 Te genuit Phoebus, magnus nutriuit Apollo,
 Lactauitque suo sacra Minerua sinu.
 Te colit, obseruat, veneratur, honorat amatque
 Communi voto iam studiosa cohors.

Metre: hexameter.

Sources: *α*; *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1031; *LB* I, 1224.

AD THOMAM DIDYMVM AVCVPARIVM, POETAM
 LAVREATVM, ERASMI ROT. CARMEN

Quas mihi transcribis, doctissime Didyme, laudes,
 Vt sunt maiores quam quas agnoscere possim,
 Ni prorsus frons nulla foret, sic rursus eadem
 Sunt adeo doctae talique e pectore natae,
 5 Vt minime libeat quas das rescribere, veras
 Esse perinde optans quam sunt lepidae atque venustae.
 His ego non sane placeo mihi. Tu mihi, vates
 Lauro digne, places, nam dum me reddere magnum
 Carmine magnifico docte conniteris, ipsum
 10 Te ostendis vere magnum vereque stupendum,
 Vt qui viribus ingenii possis elephantum
 Reddere de musca nihilique attollere tricas.
 Sed quo iudicium minus approbo, maxime vates,
 Hoc mage laetor amore tuo candoreque mentis.

In fine: τέλος α.

1-3 *Quas ... foret* Cf. Ep. 531, ll. 125-127: "Me laudibus immodicis onerat, quas nec agnoscere possim, nisi sim aut egregie φιλαυτοῦς aut insigniter impudens." Er.' model is Cic. *Lael.* 2, 9: "Mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec agnosco nec postulo."

11-12 *elephantum ... musca* *Adag.* 869. Er. often employs this expression to fend off praise; see, e.g., Ep. 245, ll. 7-8; 916, ll. 10-11; 1148, ll. 1-2; 1178, l. 15; 1216, ll. 9-10.

12 *attollere tricas* Cf. Otto 127; Er. *Adag.* 143.

56. IAMBIC VERSES FOR ANDREA AMMONIO

c. 20 October 1511

Er. sent these verses in a letter to Andrea Ammonio (Ep. 234), written at Cambridge on c. 20 October 1511. The poem is there introduced as follows: "Remitto lagenam tuam, quam vacuum diutius apud me detinui, quo vel odore vini fruerer Graecanici. Tu pro optimo vino versiculos accipies pessimos, hoc est plane κατὰ τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν ἐκεῖνο, χάλκεα χρυσείων. Porro iambi me autore iam discunt ἐγκωμιάζειν." (Iambic verses were originally used by Archilochus and Callimachus in lampoons, later also in comedy and tragedy; see Aristot. *Poet.* 4, 10–12; Hor. *Ars* 79–82; Ov. *Rem.* 377; *Ib.* 51–52; Er. *Comm. in Hymn. Prud.*, LB V, 1337 C; *Carm.* 130, 9–10.)

Andrea Ammonio of Lucca (c. 1478–1517) had come to England in 1504 or 1505. He soon became one of Er.' most trusted confidants. By July 1511 he was Latin secretary to Henry VIII. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Andrea) Ammonio; and Gilbert Tournoy, *The Unrecorded Poetical Production of Andreas Ammonius*, HL 37 (1988), pp. 255–264. Ammonio responded to Er.' verses with iambs of his own; see Ep. 236 and Er.' response in Ep. 245, ll. 1–18. Er. praises him also in Ep. 1347, ll. 278–285.

The poem was first published in *Epigrammata*, March 1518. Later it was printed with Ep. 234 in *Farrago noua epistolarum*, Basel, J. Froben, October 1519 (β; Bezzel 1017), p. 219.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Sources: α = Ms. 452, Bibliothèque humaniste, Sélestat, written by Beatus Rhenanus in the flyleaf of a copy of Er., *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo*, [Paris], J. Bade, 15 July 1512 (a book he acquired in the year of its publication); K^{1*}; K²; β; BAS I, 1031–1032; LB I, 1224.

DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI CARMEN IAMBICVM
AD ANDREAM AMMONIVM LVCENSEM, INVICTISSIMI
REGIS ANGLORVM A LIBELLIS

Quicumque dotes reputet, Ammoni, tuas
Oculisque totum lustret admotis prope

Tit. DES. ERASMI ... LIBELLIS K: Carmen
iambicum Erasmi Roterodami ad Andream
Ammonium Lucensem α, deest β.

The epigram amplifies and varies the phrase
"Omnibus naturae fortunaequae dotibus

praeditus"; see *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6,
p. 198, ll. 47–50. See also Ep. 874, ll. 1–15.

- Oris decus, proceritatem heroicam
 Vultuque toto et vniuerso corpore
 5 Bene temperatam dignitate gratiam,
 Nitentium blandum vigorem luminum
 Linguaeque plectrum tam suaue tinniens,
 Mores dehinc horas ad omneis commodos,
 Facileis, amicos, melle melleos magis,
 10 Veneres, lepores, gratias, risus, iocos,
 Mitem indolem mentisque candorem nouum
 Mireque mixtam simplicem prudentiam –
 His pectus adde sordido auersum lucro
 Dextramque quam pro sorte largiusculam!
 15 Iam quam benigni vena diues ingeni,
 Quot animus vnus expolitus literis!
 Ac rursus his par addita est facundia,
 Demum vniuersa haec rara condit comitas,
 Et improbi liuoris arcet fascinum
 20 Modestiae iucunditas, cum dotibus
 In tam superbis nil superbum in moribus –
 Haec quisquis, inquam, pensitet tot affatim
 Congesta in vnum, nonne merito dixerit

20 iucunditas α K: iocunditas β .

- 3–6 *Oris ... luminum* Cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 52, ll. 851–856; *Adag.* 1248, LB II, 502 B, praising Philip the Handsome: “Quam heroica corporis proceritas, quanta formae tum dignitas, tum gratia! Quis oculorum vigor!”; *Adag.* 1401, LB II, 554 B, referring to Alexander Stewart, the natural son of James IV of Scotland: “iuuenis ..., in quo nullam consummati viri laudem desiderares. Mira formae gratia, mira dignitas, heroica proceritas” (Er. goes on to praise him in terms similar to those he uses here for Andrea Ammonio).
 7 *Linguae / plectrum* The phrase recurs in Er.’ works. See *Lingua*, ASD IV, 1A, p. 31, l. 201; p. 32, l. 216; p. 176, l. 980; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 260, l. 325; cf. *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 42, ll. 169–170: “oris plectrum”. Cf. also Cic. *Nat.* II, 59, 149: “plectri similem linguam”; Isid. *Orig.* XI, 1, 51 (of the tongue): “plectrum cordis”.
 8 *horas ad omneis commodos* See *Adag.* 286, ASD II, 1, pp. 389–390, ll. 103–104: “Qui seriis pariter ac iocis esset accommodatus et quicum assidue libeat conuiuere, eum veteres omnium

- horarum hominem* appellabant.” Elsewhere he applies the adage to Henricus Glareanus (Ep. 394, ll. 19–22) and Thomas More (Ep. 222, ll. 18–21, in the preface to *Moria*). The familiar phrase “a man for all seasons” first appears in Robert Whittington, *Vulgaria*, London, R. Pynson, 1520, f^o 14^r, in a description of Thomas More (“vir ... omnium horarum”).
 9 *melle melleos magis* Otto 1081; *Nachträge*, pp. 185, 240, and 279; Er. *Carm.* 115, 11.
 10 *Veneres, lepores, gratias* Ep. 282, l. 1 (to Andrea Ammonio).
lepores, / risus, iocos Cf. *Carm.* 2, 22 (n.).
 12 *simplicem prudentiam* *Rat. ver. theol.*, LB V, 105 C; Ep. 1220, l. 16; *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 55 C; cf. Martial. X, 47, 7: “prudens simplicitas”; *Mt.* 10, 16.
 13 *sordido auersum lucro* Cf. 1. *Tim.* 3, 8.
 14 *largiusculam* Er. uses this diminutive as if it were a comparative.
 15 *benigni vena diues ingeni* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 18, 9–10: “ingeni / Benigna vena”; *Ars* 409; Er. *Adag.* 1576; also *Carm.* 36, 5; 88, 2 (n.).
 22–23 *tot / Congesta in vnum* Ep. 2681, l. 11; cf. *Carm.* 64, 11; 68, 8.

24–25 Soli parentem fuisse naturam tibi,
 25 Contra nouercam caeteris mortalibus? –
 Horum licet tibi ipse debes pleraque.
 Restant tuae, Fortuna, iam partes, vti
 Dotes ita amplas opibus exaeques tuis,
 Nisi vis videri aut caeca plane aut inuida.

24–25 *Soli ... mortalibus* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* VII, 1, 1.

25 *nouercam* The stepmother's malignity was proverbial; see Otto 1239; Er. *Adag.* 1195; *Carm.* 96, ll. 20 and 29.

29 *caeca plane* Otto 694.

inuida Cf. Sen. *Herc. f.* 524: "O Fortuna viris inuida fortibus."

57. TO LUKAS KLETT OF ROUFFACH

c. 1515

Lukas Klett of Rouffach in Upper Alsace received his M.A. from the University of Basel in 1512 and a doctorate in civil and canon law in 1515. His humanist name "Paliurus" ("Christ's thorn") is a loose translation of the German "Klett" ("burdock"). He died after 1538. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Lukas) Klett.

Er. had already made his acquaintance in November 1514; see Ep. 316. The epigram was probably written in the following year, before Er.' departure from Basel in the spring of 1516. That would help explain why the poem received a double heading when it was published in *Epigrammata*, March 1518. The first of these headings (the one reprinted in our text) includes mention of Klett's position as chancellor to the bishop of Basel, Christoph von Utenheim, a post he had assumed by 1517. The second heading, which lacks the reference to this position, can be considered the original heading; see App. crit. The doubling, as Reedijk notes, probably resulted from some misunderstanding on the printer's part.

Metre: hendecasyllable.

Sources: *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1032; *LB* I, 1224.

AD LVCAM PALIVRVM RVBEAQVENSEM,
 EPISCOPI BASILEIENSIS CANCELLARIVM,
 ERAS. ROT. CARMEN

Exhaustum immodico nouale cultu
 Mentitur queruli spei coloni.
 Effoetum ingenium labore longo
 Nil dignum parit hoc amore nostro,
 5 Quo te prosequor vnice inter omneis,
 Mellitissime Paliure, amicos,
 Nec dignum meritis tuis nec ipsi
 Quod respondeat eruditioni.
 Quod solum licet, hoc in omne tempus
 10 Praestabo: ex animo medullitusque
 Nostrum (sic meritum est) amabo Lucam.

Post tit.: Lucae Paliuro Rubeaquensi Erasmus
 Roterodamus ex tempore *K*, ex tempore *BAS*
LB.

1-4 *Exhaustum ... nostro* Cf. Ep. 531, ll. 378-383; 952, ll. 4-7; *Carm.* 6, 29-30 (n.). 10-11 *ex animo medullitusque / amabo* Cf. *Adag.* 1619 and 4062.
 1-2 *Exhaustum ... coloni* Cf. Sil. VII, 160; also Hor. *Epist.* I, 7, 87.

58. THE FLIGHT OF THE FRENCH AT THE BATTLE OF THE SPURS *autumn 1513*

The epigram mocks the flight of the French in the Battle of the Spurs near Théroutanne in northern France on 16 August 1513. For an account of the battle see C. G. Cruickshank, *Army Royal: Henry VIII's Invasion of France 1513*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 105-118. Er. sent the verses with Ep. 283 (21 December 1513) to Andrea Ammonio, who had witnessed the rout and described it in a *Panegyricus ad Henricum VIII*; see Ep. 283, ll. 84-92. In ll. 138-140 of this letter Er. explains: "Lusimus et nos pridem in fugam Gallorum, sed Musis et Apolline nullo; carmen ad te misimus: non potest nisi semel esse molestum, cum sit breuissimum." The verses were first published in *Epigrammata*, March 1518. Later it was printed with Ep. 283 in *Farrago noua epistolarum*, Basel, J. Froben, October 1519 (β ; Bezzel 1017), p. 218.

Metre: choliamb; see n. *Carm.* 20, 13-14.

Sources: α = Ms. 452, Bibliothèque humaniste, Sélestat, written by Beatus Rhenanus in a copy of Er., *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo*,

[Paris], J. Bade, 15 July 1512 (a book he acquired in the year of its publication); *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *β*; *BAS* I, 1032–1033; *LB* I, 1224–1225.

IN FVGAM GALLORVM INSEQVENTIBVS
 ANGLIS APVD MORINVM, AN. M.D.XIII.
 SCAZON DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI.
 ALLVDIT AD CARMEN MARTIALIS DE CATONE.

Audiuit olim censor ille Romanus:
 ‘Ludos iocosae quando noueras Florae,
 Cur in theatrum, Cato seure, venisti?
 An ideo tantum veneras, vt exires?’
 5 At iure nunc imbellis audiat Gallus:
 ‘Ludum cruenti quando noueras Martis,
 Animos ferocis quando noueras Angli,
 Quid, quaeso, in aciem, timide Galle, prodisti,
 Ferro minaci splendidas agens turmas?
 10 An ideo tantum veneras, vti foede
 Fugiens sequenti terga verteres hosti,
 Ac si pedum certamen esset, haud dextrae?’
 Cato foeminas videre non potest, Gallus
 Viros. Cato mutare non potest vultum,
 15 Gallus nequit mutare pectus ignauum.

Tit. IN FVGAM ... ROTERODAMI *K*: In fugam Gallorum. Scazon Erasmi Roterodami *α β*; ALLVDIT ... CATONE *add. α K*.
 8 Quid *α K*: Cur *β*; timide *α K*: pauide *β*.

12 Ac si ... dextrae *add. α K*.
 13 potest *α K*: tulit *β*.
 14 non potest *α β*: potest non *K* (*contra metrum*).

1–4 *Audiuit ... exires* These lines allude to the well-known story about Cato, told in Val. Max. II, 10, 8. At the licentious festival of Flora, the censor Cato left the theatre when he realized that he was inhibiting the actors by his presence; cf. Er. *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 100, ll. 518–520; *Adag.* 947, *LB* II, 381 C. The language of ll. 2–4 is drawn from Martial. I, praef. The first two verses of Mar-

tial’s epigram are summarized in l. 2; ll. 3–4 are straight quotations.
 3 *Cato seure* Cato’s moral severity was proverbial; see n. *Carm.* 6, 54.
 6 *cruenti / Martis* Hor. *Carm.* II, 14, 13; cf. Er. *Carm.* 100, 25.
 7 *Animos ... Angli* Reedijk mistakenly says in his app. crit. that this verse is lacking in *α*.

59. IOVIS PLVVIVS

late June 1515

The epigram refers to the rains that plagued Er.'s voyage from England to Basel in June 1515; cf. Ep. 345, ll. 2–3; 348, ll. 8–10. It was first published in *Epigrammata*, March 1518.

Metre: hendecasyllable.

Sources: *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1033; *LB* I, 1225.

CVM MVLTOS MENSES PERPETVO PLVVISSET
 ET PER VNAM MODO DIECVLAM SE MVNDO
 SOL OSTENDISSET RVRSVSQVE NON MINVS
 ODIOSE QVAM ANTEA PLVERET, ERASMVS
 BASILEAM REPETENS IN ITINERE SIC
 LVSIT IN IOVEM, AN. M.D.XV.

Menses cum prope Iuppiter per octo
 Vota surdus ad omnium pluisset,
 Agros iam male perdidisset omneis,
 Vexasset segetesque vineasque,
 5 Tandem desierat, pudore credo,
 Et tandem licuit videre solem,
 Quem migrasse polo timebat orbis,
 Aeternam ratus imminere noctem.
 Vix dum sesquidiem nitere passus
 10 Obducit nebulisque nubibusque
 Totum qua patet vndequaue mundum,
 Ac rursus similis sui esse pergit.
 Istoc si moderere pacto Olympum,
 Nec quicquam es nisi nubium coactor,
 15 Quis non officium probet Gigantum
 Et cognomina consueta vertens
 Pessimum vocet infimumque diuum?

1 *Iuppiter* As a weather-god Jupiter was commonly associated with rain.

14 *nubium coactor* Cf. Hom. *Il.* I, 511 and elsewhere: “νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς”.

15 *Gigantum* See n. *Carm.* 24, 1.

16 *cognomina consueta* His standing epithet was “Optimus Maximus”.

60. AN EPITAPH FOR PHILIPPE BOURGOING (?)

1514–1515?

The Philippe who is praised in this epitaph is most probably Philippe Bourgoing. A prominent member of the reform group at Paris, he became prior major of the abbey of Cluny in 1505, a post he resigned in December 1508. He died on 25 September 1514. See Renaudet, pp. 456 and 665, n. 4. Er.' poem varies a traditional form of the epitaph in which the living are imagined as speaking with the dead. Pontano's *De tumulis* (first published in 1505) contains several examples of this type of grave-side dialogue between the visitor and one of the Virtues or the deceased's Genius. For the more conventional pattern (dialogue between the visitor and the dead) see *Carmm.* 79 and 86 below; Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 138–139. Related to this convention is the dead person's address to the passer-by. See n. *Carm.* 9, 1.

The epitaph was first printed in *Epigrammata*, March 1518.

Metre: hendecasyllable.

Sources: *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1033; *LB* I, 1225–1226.

EPITAPHIVM PHILIPPI COENOBITAE CLVNIACENSIS

Viator	Isti cur lubet assidere saxo Cum toto, Pietas, choro sororum?
Pietas	Hic nostrae iacet vnicus cateruae Vindex, ille Philippus, ille dudum
5	Coetus gloria prima Cluniaci.
Viator	Luctum at pulla solet decere vestis; Vos albis video nitere totas.
Pietas	Cuius tam niuei fuere mores, Cui tam candida sit peracta vita,
10	Huius funera non puto decere Aut pulla aut lachrymis nigrandum <amictum>.

3 nostrae scripsi: noster *K*.

11 amictum *addidi metri et sensus gratia*.

2 *Cum ... sororum* Cf. *Carm.* 38, 7–8.

6 *pulla / decere vestis* Cf. *Ov. Ars* III, 189–190.

8 *niuei / mores* The phrase occurs also in *Carm.* 62, 18; 73, 3.

11 *amictum* For this conjecture see Harry Vredeveld, *A Verse of Erasmus' Restored: Carm.*

99, 11, Daphnis 15 (1986), pp. 123–124. Cf. Er. *Euripides, ASD* I, 1, p. 349, l. 2058 (in mourning): "pullos amictus". In view of l. 6 one might be tempted to supply "luctum", in the sense of "mourning apparel"; but this noun does not fit the metre here.

61. A REED PEN FOR WILHELM NESEN

spring 1516?

Wilhelm Nesen of Nastätten between Koblenz and Mainz (1493–1524) studied at Basel, earning his M.A. in 1515. As a corrector for Froben's press he proofread Er.' edition of Seneca, *Lucubrationes omnes*, Basel, J. Froben, 1515; see Ep. 328, ll. 2–4 and Ep. 329. Er. became very fond of Nesen and dedicated a new edition of *De copia verborum ac rerum* to him (Ep. 462, dated 5 September 1516). See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Wilhelm) Nesen. The Nile reed pen that Er. herewith presents was apparently one of the three that he had earlier received from Johannes Reuchlin; see Ep. 457, l. 22. Perhaps, as Reedijk suggests, Er. gave the pen away as a souvenir when he was leaving Basel in the spring of 1516. The poem was first printed in the *Epigrammata* of March 1518.

Upon presenting a reed pen to Nesen in 1523, Philip Melanchthon explicitly recalls Er.' earlier gift and compares it with his own (*Corp. ref.*, X, p. 487, *Carm.* I, 23):

AD GVILIELMVM NESENVVM

Hunc etiam calamum tibi, docte Nesene, Philippus
 Sincerae mittit pignus amicitiae.
 Non tantum hic sese confert cum munere Erasmi,
 Sed calamo longe cedit Erasmiaco.
 Frigida coenoso tulit hunc Saxonia stagno,
 In Nili ripis aeditus ille fuit.
 Lethaeum excussit mundo tandem ille veternum,
 Pingebat domini cum monumenta sui.
 Aurea Mercurii non tantum virga meretur,
 Illa sibi quantum laudis arundo feret.
 Hos tantum versus mea pinxit arundo, placere
 Quantum ipsos versus, hanc etiam opto tibi.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: *K*^{1*}; *K*²; *BAS* I, 1033–1034; *LB* I, 1226.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS GVILIELMO NESENO
CALAMVM DONO DEDIT CVM HOC EPIGRAMMATE.

Calamus loquitur.

Tantillus calamus tot tanta volumina scripsi
Solutus, at articulis ductus Erasmiacis.
Aediderat Nilus, dederat Reuchlinus Erasmo,
Nunc rude donatum me Gulielmus habet,
5 Isque sacrum Musis seruat Phoeboque dicatum,
Aeternae charum pignus amicitiae,
Ne peream obscurus, per quem tot nomina noscet
Posteritas, longo nunquam abolenda die.

EPIGRAMMATVM
DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI
FINIS

1 *Tantillus / tanta* Plaut. *Poen.* 273: "tantilla
tanta verba funditat."

4 *rude donatum* *Adag.* 824.

6 *pignus amicitiae* = Martial. IX, 99, 6; *LHL*
IV, 260.

POEMS NOT IN THE
EPIGRAMMATA OF 1518 BUT PUBLISHED
ELSEWHERE BY ERASMUS

62. TO ANTOON VAN BERGEN,
ON THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER HENDRIK
autumn 1502

For the circumstances in which this elegy was composed see introd. *Carm.* 39. A letter of consolation to Hendrik's brother Antoon, the poem probably accompanied the four epitaphs that Antoon had commissioned from Er. It was published in Jacob Anthoniszoon's treatise, *De praecellentia potestatis imperatoriae*, Antwerp, D. Martens, 1 April 1502, which is 1503 n.s. (a; NK 120). To this volume Er. also contributed *Carm.* 29 and Ep. 173. The elegy was first edited in Cornelis Reedijk, *Erasmus' verzen op het overlijden van Hendrik van Bergen, bisschop van Kamerijk*, Het Boek 30 (1949–1951), pp. 297–305.

Antoon van Bergen (1455–1532) was the fourth son of Jan van Bergen. He became abbot of St. Bertin at Saint-Omer in 1493. In 1500 he was appointed ducal councillor by Philip the Handsome. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Antoon [I] van) Bergen.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: *a*.

AD AMPLISSIMUM PATREM ANTONIVM DE BERGHES,
ABBATEM DIVI BERTINI, DE MORTE FRATRIS EPISCOPI
CAMERACENSIS CARMEN ELEGIACVM ERASMI

Mors, gnata inuidiae sed matre nocentior ipsa,
Taelo eodem cupiens plurima damna dare,
Sustulit eximium generosa ex arbore ramum:
Berghanae Henricum spemque decusque domus.

1 *Mors, gnata inuidiae* Cf. *Sap.* 2, 24: "Inuidia autem diaboli mors introiit in orbem terrarum"; Er. *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1276 D.

3 *arbore ramum* LHL I, 114.

4 *spemque decusque* = Ep. 174, l. 24, in an epitaph for Rodolphus Agricola written by

5 Sic varios luctus de funere suscitāt vno,
 Dum flet patronum patria moesta pium,
 Pastoremque bonum dum grex desiderat orbis,
 Dum consultorem principis aula grauem,
 Dum Mœcaenam paupertas docta benignum
 10 Turbaque subsidium plorat egena suum,
 Denique dum pullata suae dispendia stirpis
 Bergica gens iustis prosequitur lachrymis.
 Tu quoque iam toties, praesul Bertinice, fratrem
 Luges, heu tanto tercius ex numero.
 15 Iusta doles, verum et iusto modus esto dolori;
 Gaude habuisse quod haut semper habere licet.
 Non periit, verum precessit ad aethera frater:
 Hoc niuei mores, hoc pia vita meret.
 Vos modo relliquias generis seruate perhennes,
 20 Numina magnanimis non inimica viris.

In fine: Finis a.

- Ermolao Barbaro (quoted there from *Adagiorum collectanea*, sig. a4^v; see also *Adag.* 339, ASD II, 1, p. 440, l. 799).
- 6-12 *Dum flet ... lachrymis* Cf. *Carm.* 69, 3-4; 71, 1-7.
- 7 *Pastorem / bonum* Cf. *Ioh.* 10, 11-14; 21, 15-17.
- 8 *consultorem ... grauem* Hendrik had served as ducal councillor since 1500.
- 9 *paupertas docta* Er. is tactfully reminding Antoon to continue Hendrik's patronage of penniless scholars like himself.
- 12 *iustis / lachrymis* *Ov. Her.* 11, 115. *prosequitur lachrymis* = *Verg. Aen.* VI, 476.
- 13-14 *iam toties ... Luges* Only three of Jan's seven legitimate sons survived Hendrik.
- 15-16 *Iusta ... licet* For these commonplaces of consolation see *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 442, l. 13-p. 444, l. 3; p. 451, l. 9-p. 452, l. 5.
- 15 *iusto ... dolori* Cf. *Carm.* 92, 11. The phrase "iustus dolor" occurs in *Verg. Aen.* VIII, 500-501; *Ov. Her.* 12, 133; *Trist.* IV, 3, 21.
- 17 *Non periit ... frater* For the Christian topos of consolation, "he is not dead but has gone before us to heaven", see Lattimore, pp. 301-307; Er. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 453, l. 15-p. 454, l. 5; *Carm.* 9, 3-10; 71, 12-13; cf. also *Carm.* 16, 2; 17, 2.
- 18 *niuei mores* Cf. *Carm.* 60, 8; 73, 3.
- 19-20 *Vos ... viris* Cf. *Carm.* 73, 7-8.
- 19 *relliquias generis* *Ter. Ad.* 444.
- 20 *Numina / non inimica* = *Ov. Pont.* II, 8, 38.

63-64. TWO WELCOME-BACK POEMS FOR PHILIP THE HANDSOME
c. February 1504

In November 1503 Philip the Handsome (1478-1506), archduke of Austria and duke of Burgundy, returned to the Low Countries from a voyage to Spain. He had left Brussels on 4 November 1501 with his wife Joanna, who had unexpectedly become the heiress of the Spanish kingdoms. In France they were enter-

tained by King Louis XII and, later, by John d'Albret, king of Navarre. Philip was crowned heir to Castile on 22 May and received the homage of the Cortes of Aragon on 27 October 1502. Leaving Joanna at Alcalá, he left Spain in early 1503. The return voyage took him first to Savoy, where he visited his sister Margaret and her husband, Philibert II, and then to Innsbruck, where he met his father, Maximilian of Hapsburg. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Philip the Handsome, duke of) Burgundy; introd. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, pp. 15–16; *CWE* 27, p. 2.

Meanwhile Er. had agreed to write a panegyric for the archduke, to be delivered upon his return. He was working on it “night and day” during September 1503 (Ep. 175, ll. 10–11). A portion of the laudation was delivered in Brussels on 6 January 1504; the entire work was published a month later as *Ad illustrissimum principem Philippum ... gratulatorius panaegyricus*, Antwerp, Dirk Martens, 1504 (NK 837). The ed. princ. (*a*), the printing of which Er. supervised himself, is introduced by a *Homerocenton* (*Carm.* 63) and a dedication to Nicolas Ruistre (Ep. 179). At the end of the book Er. placed an apologetic letter to Jean Desmarez (Ep. 180) and the *Gratulatorium carmen* (*Carm.* 64).

Like the *Gratulatorium panaegyricus*, but without its lengthy digressions, the *Gratulatorium carmen* is structured around the twin emotions of joy and sorrow: the country's grief at Philip's absence and her elation at his return. Joy is the dominant emotion, rhetorically amplified in the opening section (ll. 1–41). In the middle part this renewed joy is contrasted with the grief and solicitude occasioned by his long voyage (ll. 42–65). The final section (ll. 66–101) returns to the motive of joy. Throughout the poem Er. praises Philip indirectly; the ruler's greatness is to be inferred from the exuberant joy and passionate grief of his subjects. For the rhetorical figure employed (“ratiocinatio”) see Lausberg, § 405; Er. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 345, l. 20–p. 347, l. 7; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, pp. 58–61, ll. 133–185.

In Ep. 180, ll. 186–187 Er. says that the congratulatory poem, like the panegyric, was quite obviously written extempore. Certainly Er. composed both of them in a feverish hurry. He was already putting the finishing touches to the oration by late September 1503 (Ep. 176, ll. 3–4). However, as more information about the archduke's voyage trickled in, he continued to revise and augment it in the following months; see Ep. 178, l. 10; 179, ll. 24–38; 180, ll. 140–153.

Metre of both poems: hexameter.

Sources: *a**; *β* = *Ad illustrissimum principem Philippum Austriae ducem ... panegyricus*, [Paris], J. Bade, [1507] (Bezzel 16; see introd. *Carm.* 2, p. 74 above); *γ* = *Institutio principis christiani*, Basel, J. Froben, April–May 1516 (*BB* E. 1253), reprinted at Louvain by D. Martens, August 1516 (*BB* E. 1255; *NK* 830) and at Basel by J. Froben, July 1518 (*BB* E. 1257). In *γ* *Carm.* 63 is printed on sig. O4^v, after *Carm.* 64 and Ep. 179. *BAS* IV, 428–429 and *LB* IV, 553–554 reprint *Carm.* 64 according to *γ* (or one of its derivatives) but do not include the liminary poem, *Carm.* 63.

63 ILLVSTRISSIMO PRINCIPI PHILIPPO REDVCI HOMEROCENTON

Χαῖρε Φίλιππε, πάτρας γλυκερὸν φάος, ὄρχαμε λαῶν.
 Ὡ φίλ', ἐπεὶ νόστῃσας ἐελδομένοισι μάλ' ἡμῖν
 Σῶς τ' ἡὺς τε μέγας τε, θεοὶ δέ σε ἤγαγον αὐτοί,
 Οὔλέ τε καὶ μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν,
 5 Καὶ παισὶν παίδων καὶ τοι μετόπισθε γένωνται.
 Ἄλκιμος ἔσσ' αἰεὶ, καὶ σου κλέος οὐκ ἀπολεῖται.

Tit. ILLVSTRISSIMO PRINCIPI [Il. Prin. a β]
 ... HOMEROCENTON a β: Εἰς Φίλιππον
 Ὀμηρόκεντρον γ.
 1 πάτρας a β: πάτρης γ.

2 ἡμῖν γ: ἡμεῖν α β.
 3 Σῶς *scripsi*: Σῶός α-γ.
 6 ἔσσ' *scripsi*: εσσ' α β, ἔσσ' γ.
In fine: Τέλος α-γ.

This cento from Homer is the first Greek poem that Er. published. The genre of patchwork poetry is ancient, apparently beginning in Hellenistic times and becoming quite popular in later antiquity. Especially common were centos from Vergil; see Er. *Adag.* 1358. A good example is Auson. *Cent. nupt.*, the preface of which discusses the rules of the genre. Among other things, Ausonius requires that only verse fragments be used. Er. violates this rule in ll. 2–4 by using a block of verses largely taken from *Od.* XXIV, 400–402, where they apply to Odysseus. Line 5 is not so much quoted as adapted from *Il.* XX, 308; there the verse refers to Aeneas as the future ruler of Troy.

A reproduction of the title-page of *a* with the cento poem may be found in *ASD* IV, 1, p. 2. For Er.' later opinion of the genre of patchwork poetry see *Adag.* 1551; *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 625, l. 37–p. 626, l. 3. For an account of his early Greek studies see Erika Rummel, *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics*, Toronto, 1985, pp. 3–19.

1 *Χαῖρε* = *Od.* I, 123; XIII, 229 (as welcome).
πάτρας Instead of the Homeric genitive form *πάτρης*.
γλυκερὸν φάος = *Od.* XVI, 23; XVII, 41.
ὄρχαμε λαῶν = *Il.* XIV, 102; XVII, 12; XIX, 289; XXI, 221; *Od.* IV, ll. 156, 291, and 316; X, 538; XV, ll. 64, 87, and 167.
 2 Ὡ ... ἡμῖν = *Od.* XXIV, 400.
 3 Σῶς The reading Σῶός in α-γ is a post-Homeric form; it does not fit the metre, unless we assume synizesis.
ἡὺς τε μέγας τε *Il.* II, 653; III, 167; XI, 221; XXIII, 664; *Od.* IX, 508.
 3–4 *θεοὶ ... δοῖεν* = *Od.* XXIV, 401–402; modern edd. of *Od.* XXIV, 402 read *μέγας* instead of *μάλα*.
 5 *Καὶ ... γένωνται* This verse is an adaptation of *Il.* XX, 308 (Vergil adapts the Homeric line in *Aen.* III, 98).
 6 Ἄλκιμος ἔσσ' = *Od.* I, 302; III, 200.
κλέος ... ἀπολεῖται = *Il.* II, 325 (in older edd.; also quoted in this form in Er. Ep. 2422, l. 75); cf. *Il.* VII, 91.

64 ILLUSTRISIMO PRINCIPI PHILIPPO FOELICITER
IN PATRIAM REDEVNTI GRATVLATORIVM CARMEN
ERASMI, SVB PERSONA PATRIAE

O semper memoranda dies plaudendaque semper,
Quam niueo faciles ducunt mihi vellere Parcae!
Ecquis Erithraeis tam candidus vnio conchis
Innitet, vt merita queat huius munera lucis
5 Insignire nota, quae te, optatissime princeps,
Iam lassis desideriiis votisque tuorum
Restituit? Nunc nunc videor mihi reddita demum,
Te, mea spes, decus ac votorum summa, recepto.
Scilicet vna parum est tam festae gemma diei,
10 Quae semel anteactae nouat omnia commoda vitae,
Quae tot laeta simul cumulo mihi congerit vno.
Lingua deest animo, neque enim in sua gaudia pectus
Sufficit, ad iustos desunt sua brachia plausus.
Sospes ab Hispano rediit meus orbe Philippus,

Tit. ILLUSTRISIMO PRINCIPI *scripsi*: *Illust. Prin. a* 14 Hispano β γ : Hispanio *a*.
 β : *Illustriss. Principi* γ .

- For the prosopopoeia cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, pp. 35–36, ll. 292–335 (the country's grief at the archduke's absence) and pp. 91–93, ll. 140–218 (her joy at his return). See also *Carm.* 4.
- 1 *O / memoranda dies* = Stat. *Silv.* I, 3, 13.
- 1–5 *dies ... nota* Cf. Balbi, *Carm.* 163, 35–36 (p. 223): “Festa dies aderit meliori stamine nexa, / Quam niuea signet lactea gemma nota.”
- 2 *Quam ... Parcae* Cf. Stat. *Silv.* I, 2, 24–25; Balbi, *Carm.* 38, 1 (p. 162): “Laeta dies, albo quam vellere Parca secundet”. On the white thread of life see n. *Carm.* 4, 149–150.
- 3 *Erithraeis / vnio conchis* Cf. Tib. III, 3, 17; Er. *Carm.* 4, 116 (n.); 28, 4 (n.). For the motif of marking the return of a beloved person with a pearl see Martial. VIII, 45, 1–2; XI, 36, 1–2; Er. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 566, ll. 4–7; also ll. 9–10 below; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 84, ll. 911–912. The Thracian custom of marking propitious days with a white stone, unlucky days with a black one, was proverbial: see Otto 299; Er. *Adag.* 454, ASD II, 1, p. 528, ll. 238–248; Ep. 17, ll. 27–29; *Declamatiuncula*, LB IV, 623 B; *Carm.* 110, 161–162.
- 4 *munera lucis* = *LHL* III, 465.
- 5 *nota* Hor. *Carm.* I, 36, 10 (quoted in Er. *Adag.* 454): “Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota”; Marull. *Epigr.* III, 17, 5: “Hic dies nota meliorem dignus / Leniet longas patriae querelas.”
- 7–8 *Nunc ... recepto* Cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 91, ll. 154–155, where the personified country tells Philip: “[Diuina benignitas] me mihi tecumque restituit vniuersa. Omnia enim mihi reddita existimo te recepto.”
- 8 *mea spes* A term of endearment; see, e.g., Plaut. *Rud.* 247; *Stich.* 583; Er. Ep. 9, l. 43; cf. *Carm.* 109, 42 (n.).
- votorum summa* = *luv.* 5, 18; Er. *Carm.* 84, 9; cf. Plin. *Epist.* VII, 26, 3; Er. *Carm.* 83, 8.
- 9 *vna ... diei* Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 566, l. 8: “O diem terque quaterque laetum, nec vnico margarito mihi signandum.”
- 10 *commoda vitae* = *LHL* I, 392–393.
- 11 *tot ... vno* Cf. *Carm.* 56, 22–23 (n.).
- 12 *Lingua deest animo* For the commonplace that the speaker lacks words to celebrate the ruler's virtue see Curtius, pp. 159–160; cf. Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 86, ll. 948–986.
- gaudia pectus* = Verg. *Aen.* I, 502.
- 14–21 *Sospes ... Philippum* The repetitions are intended to evoke not only the enthusiasm

- 15 Sospes, cunq̄ue meo redierunt cuncta Philippo.
 Ecce canunt reducem populusque patresque Philippum,
 Clamat io reducem laeta vndique turba Philippum,
 Responsant reducem vocalia tecta Philippum.
 Nec fallax ista est iteratae vocis imago:
 20 Saxa etiam reducem sentiscunt muta Philippum
 Et recinunt reducem minime iam muta Philippum.
 Quum procul hinc aberas, squalebant omnia luctu;
 Mox vt saluus ades, renitescunt omnia cultu.
 Sic vbi tristes hyems Aquilonibus asperat auras,
 25 Nuda senescit humus, moerent sine floribus horti,
 Torpescunt amnes, languet sine frondibus arbos,
 Stat sine fruge seges, marcent sine gramine campi.
 Rursus vbi Zephyris tepidum spirantibus anni
 Leta iuuenta redit, gemmantur floribus horti,

of the cheering crowds lining the streets, but also the echoes that the houses return.

- 15 *cunq̄ue ... Philippo* Cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 91, ll. 154–156; l. 41 below.
 16–21 *Ecce ... Philippum* For the “processional topos” in panegyric literature see James D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric*, Berkeley, 1975, pp. 85–88.
 16 *populusque patresque* Martial. IX, 48, 7 (in the same metrical position); *LHL* IV, 297–298.
 17 *Clamat io* = Verg. *Aen.* VII, 400; Ov. *Met.* III, 728; IV, 513.
 18 *vocalia tecta* Cf. Ov. *Met.* VIII, 14.
 19 *fallax / imago* Stat. *Silu.* I, 3, 18.
vocis imago Verg. *Georg.* IV, 50; Ov. *Met.* III, 385.
 20–21 *Saxa ... Philippum* Cf. *Lc.* 19, 40; Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 26, ll. 32–34.
 22–41 *Quum procul ... reddis* These lines are an amplification of Hor. *Carm.* IV, 5, 5–8, addressed to the long-absent Augustus: “Lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae: / Instar veris enim voltus vbi tuus / Adfulsit populo, gratior it dies / Et soles melius nitent.” Cf. Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, pp. 91–92, ll. 151–182; p. 50, ll. 758–763. Folly produces the same effect upon her followers in *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, pp. 71–72, ll. 13–17; so does God’s Spirit when he enters man’s heart: see *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, pp. 163–164, ll. 213–220. For the commonplace cf. also *Carm.* 100, 17–18 (n.).

The renewal of nature at the arrival of the

- prince is an ancient motif. Besides Vergil’s fourth eclogue see, e.g., Calp. Sic. 4, 107–116; Er. *Carm.* 110, 325–352 (at the birth of Christ). A similar impetus underlies many medieval and Renaissance Easter poems in which the resurrection of Christ brings back joyous spring after the dead of winter; see *Carm.* 112, 1–21 and notes; Garrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–72.
 22 *Quum ... luctu* Cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 29, ll. 106–109.
procul hinc = Verg. *Aen.* I, 469; and elsewhere.
 22–23 *luctu / cultu* Note the wordplay (*paronomasia*), in which the reversal of the letters *l* and *c* parallels the reversal of the sense.
 24–31 *Sic ... campi* Cf. Ep. 542, ll. 6–12.
 24 *tristes hyems* See n. *Carm.* 2, 166–167.
hyems ... auras Cf. Verg. *Aen.* III, 285.
 25 *Nuda / humus* Cf. *Carm.* 106, 69 (n.).
senescit humus = Ov. *Pont.* I, 4, 14.
moerent sine floribus horti Cf. *Carm.* 95, 47. For the tag see Verg. *Georg.* IV, 109; l. 29 below.
 26 *sine frondibus arbos* = Ov. *Met.* XIII, 690 and 847; Er. *Carm.* 95, 47.
 27 *sine gramine campi* = *Carm.* 104, 5 (n.).
 28 *Zephyris / spirantibus* Cf. *Anth. Lat.* 576, 1: “Vere tepet picto Zephyris spirantibus aer”; the phrase also occurs in Er. *Carm.* 2, 161, but only in C (see App. crit.).
tepidum spirantibus Ov. *Pont.* IV, 10, 43; cf. Er. *Carm.* 93, 151.
 29 *Leta iuuenta* See n. *Carm.* 95, 20.

- 30 Effugiunt amnes, reürescit frondibus arbos,
Früge nitent segetes, hilaescunt gramine campi.
Sic simul auricomus se condidit aequore Titan,
Mox perit haec nitidi facies pulcherrima mundi,
Pigra quies subit, et nigrantibus horrida pennis
35 Nox operit mortique simillimus omnia torpor.
Rursum vbi purpureis Aurora reuecta quadrigis
Rorantes tenero detexit lumine terras,
Cuique repente sua species redit atque renasci
Quaeque putes blandoque magis iuuenescere vultu.
40 Tu ver dulce meum, tu lumen amabile, solus
Cuncta rapis fugiens ac redditus omnia reddis.
Quam misere absentem lugebant cuncta Philippum,
Quam mihi sollicitis trepidabant viscera curis,
Dum tibi nunc iterum peragratur Gallia triplex,
45 Nunc magni lustras soceri latissima regna,
Nunc tumidum visis Rhodanum gelidisque propinqua
Arua iugis, dulci placide regnata sorori,

39 Quaeque a β: Cuncta γ.

42 misere a γ: miser β.

30 *frondibus arbos* = *Carm.* 95, 39 (n.).

31 *nitent* See n. *Carm.* 95, 43.

32–41 *Sic ... reddis* For the comparison of the prince with the sun see *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 29, ll. 106–109; p. 50, ll. 758–760. Cf. *Inst. princ. christ.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 171, ll. 133–134; *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5, p. 122, ll. 371–373. See also *Adag.* 201, *ASD* II, 1, p. 308, ll. 132–133; cf. *Carm.* 4, 51 (n.); 4, 55–56.

32 *auricomus* This adjective is used as an epithet of the sun also in Val. Fl. IV, 92 (in older edd.); Marull. *Hymn. nat.* III, 1, 31; Er. *Euripides*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 247, ll. 685–686. *se ... Titan* = *Carm.* 8, 17 (n.).

33 *nitidi / pulcherrima mundi* Martial. X, 28, 1; cf. Prud. *Contra Symm.* I, 544. *facies / mundi* Mart. IX, 24, 3.

34 *Pigra quies* Stat. *Silu.* I, 6, 91; II, 2, 7; II, 3, 66; Martial. XII, 62, 2.

34–35 *nigrantibus ... Nox* For the image of Night's dark wings cf. Manil. V, 60; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VIII, 3, 235; Er. *Carm.* 106, 41. For the phrase "nigrantibus pennis" cf. Ov. *Met.* II, 535; Sil. XVII, 248.

35 *Nox operit* = Verg. *Aen.* IV, 352; Stat. *Theb.* I, 455; Er. *Carm.* 112, 323.

mortique simillimus / torpor Cf. Ov. *Pont.* I, 2, 28; Verg. *Aen.* VI, 522.

36 *purpureis Aurora / quadrigis* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 535; Er. *Carm.* 102, 38–39.

Aurora reuecta quadrigis Cf. Balbi, *Carm.* 113, 56 (p. 195): "Inficit Eois Aurora cuecta quadrigis."

37 *lumine terras* = *LHL* III, 257.

38 *Cuique / sua species* Ov. *Met.* XV, 252.

39 *blandoque / vultu* = Stat. *Silu.* I, 1, 31.

40 *lumen amabile* Macr. *Sat.* I, 17, 49 (of the rising sun-god); Er. Ep. 8, l. 67; *Precat. ad Iesum*, LB V, 1211 B; *Carm.* 109, 17; cf. *Carm.* 112, 8. In *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 29, ll. 105 and 111 Er. calls Philip the country's "lucem vnicam" and "lumen suum".

41 *Cuncta ... reddis* Cf. l. 15 (n.) above.

44 *iterum* As far as we know, this was Philip's first voyage through France.

Gallia triplex Andrel. *Ecl.* 4, 80; cf. Er. *Carm.* 88, 5. The source is Caes. *Gall.* I, 1, 1.

45 *soceri* Ferdinand II, king of Aragon and regent of Castile (1452–1516); see *Contemporaries* s.v. *latissima regna* Ov. *Her.* 2, 111.

46–47 *tumidum ... sorori* On 11 Apr. 1503 Philip was welcomed to Savoy by his sister Margaret and her husband Philibert II.

gelidis / iugis Verg. *Cul.* 113.

47 *Arua / regnata sorori* Cf. Ov. *Met.* VIII, 623.

Nunc rapidum superans Rhenum petis ampla parentis
 Imperia et varias gentesque vrbesque pererras,
 50 Illarum studio ac pro rerum pondere velox,
 Ad mea vota tamen lentissimus. Vt mihi segnes
 Torpidius solito visi prorepere menses!
 Vt geminae noctes, vt tardius ire videri
 Inuitis sol fessus equis! Quin saepe fathiscens
 55 Impatiensque morae pietas haec aeminus in te
 Latrabat calidis conuicia mixta querelis:
 'O nimium saecure mei, iam tertia bruma
 Appetit, et cessas etiam lentusque lubensque,
 Atque oculos sine fine tuos peregrina morantur,
 60 Nec sentis quod sola malisque metuque fatigor.
 Num tibi nuper inest adamas in pectore natus?
 Nuncubi somniferae gustasti flumina Lethes,
 Qui dulcis patriae terraeque altricis alumnus
 Non meminisse potes? Tam longo ferreus aeuo
 65 Non meminisse potes? Sic te regna extera tangunt?'
 Esto bis affinis se tollat in aethera Betis

57 O nimium β γ: Oninium a.

63 Qui a γ: Quid β; terraeque β γ: terreque a.

48–49 *rapidum* ... *pererras* Er. is alluding to Philip's stay with his father Maximilian in Innsbruck.
 49 *varias gentes* = LHL V, 508.
gentesque vrbesque Hor. *Carm.* I, 35, 10.
 51 *Ad mea vota* = Ov. *Pont.* IV, 12, 50.
 51–54 *Vt mihi ... equis* Cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, pp. 34–35, ll. 277–285; *Carm.* 112, 287 (n.).
 53 *tardius ire* LHL V, 355.
ire videri = Ov. *Met.* XIV, 360.
 54 *sol fessus* Cf. Manil. II, 796; Sil. I, 209.
 55 *Impatiensque morae* = LHL III, 35.
Impatiens / pietas Cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 36, ll. 335–336: "impatiens ... amor".
 56 *Latrabat* Cf. Boeth. *Consol.* I, 5, 1: "Haec vbi continuato dolore delatraui ..."; Quint. *Inst.* VIII, 6, 9; Er. *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 63, l. 772.
conuicia mixta querelis Cf. Petrarca, *Ecl.* 3, 39 (in the same metrical position): "iurgia mixta querelis".
 57–65 *O nimium ... tangunt* A similar prosopopoeia is inserted in *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, pp. 35–36, ll. 292–335; there too the country addresses the

long-absent Philip "piis conuiciis stomachans".
 57 *nimium saecure* Ov. *Am.* II, 19, 37.
tertia bruma Ov. *Fast.* I, 394.
 61 *adamas in pectore* Cf. Ov. *Met.* IX, 614–615; Otto 17; Er. *Adag.* 643.
 62–64 *Nuncubi ... potes* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 53, ll. 362–364; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 435, l. 31–p. 436, l. 2: "Quis tantum obliuionis ex illo Letheo flumine bibit vnquam, vt nullo natalis terrae ... desiderio teneretur?"
 62 *somniferae ... Lethes* Cf. Ov. *Trist.* IV, 1, 47; Otto 943.
flumina Lethes = Stat. *Silv.* V, 1, 161; Martial. X, 2, 7.
 63 *terrae / altricis* Verg. *Aen.* III, 273.
 64 *ferreus* Proverbial; see Otto 655.
 65 *regna extera* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 350.
 66 *bis affinis* By his marriage to Joanna (1479–1555), the daughter of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella the Catholic, queen of Castile; and through his sister Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), who had been the wife of Joanna's brother, Juan (d. 1497), heir to Aragon and Castile.
tollat in aethera Ov. *Fast.* IV, 315.

- Et geminis tumeat titulis. Germania iure,
 Haud ego diffiteor, magno genitore superbit.
 Nec domina temere Sabaudia leta sorore est.
- 70 Francia iam tritauros cognataque stemmata centum
 Ostentare potest. Vno hoc ego nomine primas
 Assero nec cedo socero neque cedo sorori
 Nec centum cedo vinclis neque cedo parenti,
 Numinibus tantum superisque secunda beatis,
- 75 Hoc, inquam, titulo quod te mihi protinus vni
 Elapsum arcanis vteri Lucina latebris
 Tradidit in gremium, quod dulcia murmura primae
 Auribus vna meis hausit letissima vocis
 Reptastique sinu generosus pusio nostro.
- 80 Qualibus o mihi tum saliebant pectora votis!
 Qualibus o mihi nunc saliant praecordia votis!
 Tunc ego plaudebam natum festiua Philippum,
 Nunc ego plaudo magis reducem festiua Philippum;
 Illo quanta die praesens gaudia mente!
- 85 Hoc maiora die persentio gaudia mente.
 Vicisti mea vota, bonis gratissime diuis,
 Optatis mihi maior ades. Nunc thure Sabaeo
 Templa vaporentur, nunc omnis luceat ara,
 Victima nunc dextro properet votiua tonanti.
- 90 Is mihi te quondam dederat, mihi reddidit idem;
 Et dederat magnum, at maiorem reddidit idem.
 Perge, precor, Lachesis, simili de vellere totam

67 *geminis / titulis* The kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, united by Ferdinand II of Aragon through marriage with Isabella of Castile.

70–71 *Francia ... potest* Philip was French by his maternal ancestry.

75–79 *Hoc ... nostro* Philip was born in Bruges in 1478.

76 *uteri / latebris* Verg. *Aen.* II, 38 (of the Trojan horse pregnant with warriors). Er. liked the phrase, but always used it of the womb itself; see *Carm.* 110, 317; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, *LB* V, 603 D; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 450, ll. 1–2; *Paraphr. in Mt.* 1, 3, *LB* VII, 4 C; *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 503, l. 288; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, *LB* V, 568 F; *Hyperasp.*, *LB* X, 1430 D; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 5, p. 48, l. 873.

78 *Auribus / hausit* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 359; *Ov. Met.* XIII, 787; XIV, 309.

80 *Qualibus ... votis* Cf. *Stat. Silu.* I, 2, 210; *Er. Carm.* 110, 353–355.

84, 85 *gaudia mente* = *LHL* II, 398–399.

87–89 *Nunc ... tonanti* That is, “let a solemn high mass be celebrated”.

87–88 *thure / Templa vaporentur* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI, 481; Hermans, *Hollandia*, sig. b8^r: “Thure ego centum templa vaporo.”

87 *thure Sabaeo* Verg. *Aen.* I, 416–417; *Prud. Cath.* 12, 71; *LHL* V, 483; cf. *Er. Carm.* 110, 43–44.

88 *omnis / ara Ov. Pont.* III, 3, 90.

luceat ara Mantuan. Calam., p. 19: “nouis altaria lucent / Ignibus”; p. 25: “extinctis non lucent ignibus arae”; cf. *Stat. Theb.* I, 556.

89 *Victima* The Lamb, offered as a victim to the Father. Cf. *Sedul. Pasch.* V, 356; also the famous Easter sequence attributed to Wipo (*AH* 54, 7) that opens with the lines: “Victimae paschali laudes / immolent christiani.” See also *Er. Carm.* 9, 34.

92–94 *Perge ... filis* Cf. *Carm.* 4, 149–150 (n.); l. 2 (n.) above.

Principis in longumque velis deducere vitam,
 Nec pullis vnquam vicies bona stamina filis.
 95 Tuque, pater, qui digna soles immittere dignis
 Eque πῆθοις misces mortalia fata duobus,
 Huic nihil aut certe minimum de tristibus addas,
 Sed mihi perpetuo sit, vt est, laetissimus ille.
 Contra ego perpetuo sim, vt sum, letabilis illi,
 100 Mutuaque haec nobis ac tam pia gaudia nunquam
 Humanis infesta bonis turbauerit Ate.

96 Eque πῆθοις α: Ἐκ τε πῆθοιν β, Eque *In fine*: Finis β γ.
 pithis γ.

96 *Eque ... duobus* Hom. *Il.* XXIV, 527–533; see also Er. *Adag.* 663 and 766; Ep. 2192, ll. 3–6; 3089, ll. 8–9.
mortalia fata = Ov. *Her.* 12, 3.
 100 *pia gaudia* = Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 23, 6.

101 *Humanis infesta bonis* Cf. Ov. *Am.* III, 10, 6.
Ate The goddess of disaster and ruin; see Hom. *Il.* IX, 505–512; XIX, 90–131; Er. *Adag.* 613.

65. TO WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

January 1506

William Warham (c. 1452–1532) became archbishop of Canterbury in 1503; he was lord chancellor of England from 1504 to 1515 and chancellor of Oxford University from 1506 until his death. Er. was introduced to him by William Grocyn at Lambeth in January 1506. At that time he presented the archbishop with a manuscript (no longer extant) of his translation of Euripides' *Hecuba*, together with a dedicatory letter (Ep. 188) and this poem. Since Warham gave him only a small reward for the work, Grocyn later joked that Warham might have suspected Er. of dedicating the same work to several patrons. Stung by the suggestion, Er. dedicated the combined translations of *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulide* to Warham when they were printed (implicitly in the ed. princ., Paris, J. Bade, 13 September 1506, explicitly in the edition Venice, Aldo Manuzio, December 1507). See Epp. 188 and 208; Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 4, l. 29–p. 5, l. 32. Warham subsequently became one of Er.' chief patrons. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (William) Warham.

As Er. recalled in his letter to Botzheim, the verses were added at the last moment in order to fill up a blank page in the presentation copy. The argument in this "carmen ... plus quam extemporarium" (Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 5, l. 1) had already been rehearsed in Er.' letter to Nicholas of Burgundy, a request for help in getting money from Anna van Borssele (Ep. 144, dated 26 January [1501]).

The model for both Ep. 144 and the present poem is a letter by Angelo Poliziano to Lorenzo de' Medici, *Epistolae*, VII, in: *Omnia opera*, sig. i6^v: "Cycno

poeta similis: vterque candidus, vterque canorus, vterque fluuios amans, vterque Phoebō gratus. Sed negatur canere cygnus, nisi cum Zephyrus spirat. Quid igitur mirum si taceo tamdiu tuus poeta, cum tu tamdiu non spires meus Zephyrus?"

The copy-text of Er.'s poem is the ed. princ., *Euripidis ... Hecuba et Iphigenia, Latinae factae Erasmo Roterodamo interprete*, Paris, J. Bade, 13 September 1506 (α), sig. A3^r. A corrected version appears in *Hecuba et Iphigenia in Aulide Euripidis tragoediae in Latinum tralatae Erasmo Roterodamo interprete*, Venice, Aldo Manuzio, December 1507 (β).

Metre: iambic senarius.

Sources: α*; β; *BAS* I, 936; *LB* I, 1131–1132.

AD R. P. GVILHELMVM ARCHIEPISCOPVM CANTVARIENSEM
ERASMI CARMEN IAMBICVM TRIMETRVM

Scite poetas doctus appellat Maro
Cygnos, Guilhelme, praesulum eximium decus.
Res mira dictu, vt cuncta consensu nouo
Vati atque holori congruant diuinitus.
5 Niueus vtrique candor: alter lacteis
Plumis, amico candet alter pectore.
Musis vterque gratus ac Phoebō sacer,
Et limpidis vterque gaudet amnibus,
Ripis adaeque vterque gaudet herbidis,
10 Pariter canorus vterque, tum potissimum,
Vicina seram mors senectam quum premit.
Sed qui tenent arcana naturae, negant
Audiri holorem, ni sonent Fauonii.
Nil ergo mirum, barbaro hoc si saeculo
15 Canorus olim obmutuit vatum chorus,

Tit. AD R. P. GVILHELMVM ... CANTVARIENSEM
[CANTVARENSEM α] ERASMI α *BAS LB*: Ad
cundem β.

2 Guilhelme α: Guielme β, Guilielme *BAS LB*.
10 Pariter β *BAS LB*: Pariter adaeque α.
12 Aelianus Graecus* *BAS LB*.

1–2 *poetas ... Cygnos* Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 29, where Vergil not only calls poets swans, but also asserts that poets can extol their patrons to the stars. The swan metaphor is traditional; see, e.g., Hor. *Carm.* II, 20, 1–16; IV, 2, 25; cf. Er. *Carm.* 115, 13 (n.).

7 *Musis ... sacer* Swans were sacred to Apollo and hence to the Muses as well; cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 85 a–b; Cic. *Tusc.* I, 30, 73.

10–11 *canorus ... premit* See *Adag.* 155.

11 *seram / senectam* Cf. *Carm.* 102, 48.

12–13 *qui ... Fauonii* In Ep. 144, ll. 8–10 Er. attributes this assertion to unnamed “naturalists”, just as he does here. In *Adag.* 155 and 622 he wrongly points to Aelian as his authority. The zephyr is mentioned in this connection, however, only in Philostr. *Imagines* I, 9, 4 – Poliziano’s source in his letter to Lorenzo de’ Medici.

12 *arcana naturae* Sen. *Dial.* VI, 25, 2.

Quum tot procaces vndique obstrepant Noti
 Boreaeque tristes inuidorum et pinguium,
 Nulli fauentum prouocent Fauonii.
 Quod si bonis clementer ingeniis tuae
 20 Benignitatis blandus aspiret fauor,
 Ita vt facit, tota statim Britannia
 Vates videbis exoriri candidos,
 Adeo canoros atque vocales vti
 In alta fundant astra cygnaeum melos,
 25 Quod ipsa et aetas posterorum exaudiat.

19 ingeniis β *BAS LB*: ingenii et *a*.
 21 facit *a* β : fauit *BAS LB*.

24 cygnaeum *a* *BAS LB*: cynorum β .
In fine: Finis *a* β .

18–20 *fauentum* / *Fauonii* / *fauor* Er. plays on the root syllable of these words.

19–25 *Quod ... exaudiat* For the thought cf. Martial. VIII, 56, 5–6.
 22–25 *Vates ... exaudiat* Quoted in *Adag.* 155.

66. AN EPITAPH FOR JACQUES DE CROY, BISHOP OF CAMBRAI c. November 1516?

The epitaph was sent to Jean Desmarez in Ep. 497 (November 1516?). Er. introduces it as follows: “Mitto epitaphium, ne vsquam non obsequar Paludano. Si displicebit, quod scio fore, cogita scriptum a theologo; cui generi scis quam iniquae sint Musae.” It was first printed in *Auctarium selectarum aliquot epistolarum Erasmi Roterodami*, Basel, J. Froben, August 1518 (*a*; Bezzel 1015), p. 184. This book was reprinted at Basel by J. Froben, March 1519 (Bezzel 1016).

Jacques de Croy (1445–15 August 1516) was the younger son of Jean de Croy, count of Chimay, and Marie de Lalaing. After the death of Hendrik van Bergen (see introd. *Carm.* 39) he was elected bishop of Cambrai on 22 October 1502; but the city revolted against him. Created duke of Cambrai by Maximilian on 28 June 1510, he entered Cambrai as bishop-duke on 10 February 1511. He was buried in the church of St. Géry, Cambrai; in 1544 his remains were moved to the church of St. Vaast. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Jacques de) Croy.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Source: *a*.

EPITAPHIVM CARMINE IAMBICO TRIMETRO D. IACOBI
DE CROY, DVCIS ET EPISCOPI CAMERACENSIS

Vtriusque gentis Croicae et Lalaingicae
Decus perenne, Iacobus hoc situs loco.
Praesulne fuerit melior an dux clarior,
Tibi, Camerace, nemo facile dixerit.
5 Euectae ad astra virgini matri sacer,
Cui fuerat vsque pectore addictus pio,
Euexit hunc e rebus humanis dies.

1 Lalaingicae *scripsi*: Calaingicae *a*.

5-7 *Euectae* ... *dies* Aug. 15, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. 5 *Euectae ad astra* Cf. *Carm.* 120, 5.

67. COMMENDATORY VERSES FOR
BERNARD ANDRÉ'S BOOK OF HYMNS
April 1517?

Bernard André of Toulouse (c. 1452–c. 1522) came to England in 1485. A blind man, he taught at Oxford, became Prince Arthur's tutor in 1496, and served as poet laureate at the court of Henry VII. In 1510 he was appointed royal historiographer and in that capacity wrote a life of Henry VII. He also composed works on grammar and rhetoric, annotations to the classics, and an extensive commentary on St. Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*, for which Er. wrote a subtly ironic liminary epigram (*Carm.* 121). See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Bernard) André.

The epigram was published in André's book of hymns for the liturgical year, *Hymni christiani ... multiuigo metrorum genere compositi per totius anni circulum*, Paris, J. Bade, 7 July 1517 (*a*), sig. A2^v. There it follows commendatory epigrams by Fausto Andrelini, Thomas More (*Carm.* 148), and William Lily. According to the dedicatory epistle, André's collection of hymns was written after Christmas 1509, during the second year of the reign of Henry VIII (which began in April 1509). Er. probably wrote the poem during his brief stay with Andrea Ammonio in London in April 1517. He may well have done so at the request of Ammonio, who himself provided some complimentary verses for the *Hymni christiani*; see Gilbert Tournoy, *The Unrecorded Poetical Production of Andreas Ammonius*, HL 37 (1988), pp. 260–261. The verses were first reprinted by Nelson, p. 34, n. 69; see also Gilbert Tournoy, *Two Poems Written by Erasmus for Bernard André*, HL 27 (1978), pp. 50–51.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: *a*.

IN HYMNOS BERNARDI ANDREAE TOLOSATIS,
POETAE REGII, ERASMI ROTERODAMI HEXASTICHON

Maeonius vates ac Thracius Orpheus olim
Hymnidicis cecinit numina vana modis.
Bernardina chelys veros canit ordine diuos,
Gaudens omniugis diuariare metris.
5 Haec lege, cui pietas, cui sunt coelestia cordi:
Illa iuuant aures, haec refovent animum.

Tit. HEXASTICHON *scripsi:* Hexastichon a.

- 1–2 *Maeonius ... modis* The Homeric and Orphic hymns.
1 *Maeonius vates* Homer was said to have been a native of Maeonia in Asia Minor. *Thracius Orpheus* Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 55; Stat. *Silv.* V, 5, 54; Sen. *Med.* 358.
2 *numina vana* Arator II, 750.
3–4 *Bernardina ... metris* This paraphrases the book's subtitle: "Hymni christiani ... multiuigo metrorum genere compositi per totius anni circulum". In the dedicatory epistle André says he has imitated the metres of Horace and Boethius.
4 *omniugis diuariare* The two medievalisms vary the classical "multiuigus" and "uariare". Er. uses the epithet "omniuigus" also in *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 141, l. 864; Ep. 334, l. 143; *Adag.* 2001, ASD II, 5, p. 28, l. 154; p. 32, l. 255; *Adag.* 4028, LB II, 1186 E. The verb "diuariare", which has overtones of variation through deformation, here has an ironic ring; see Blaise, p. 318.
6 *Illa ... animum* Er. may well have intended the line to be ironic: Pagan verses are not good for the soul but are pleasant to hear; André's hymns grate on humanist ears but

are good for the soul. Er. had a lingering animosity toward André, whom he accused of machinations against Thomas Linacre (during Henry VII's reign, in c. 1500); see Ep. 2422, ll. 65–73. His epigram for André's commentary on Aug. *Civ.* may also be read as ironic; see introd. *Carm.* 121. And Er. was not the only one who subtly ridiculed André's poetry. Thomas More's epigram for the *Hymni christiani*, on the surface a commendation, is in fact a condemnation of the work, as More makes brutally clear in the 1518 *Epigrammata* (*Carm.* 148); see Carlson, *Books*, pp. 160–162. However, it was a commonplace that Christian poets are superior to their pagan counterparts only in their subject-matter, not their poetic skill; see Klopsch, pp. 9–18; Eob. Hess., *Her. chr.*, liminary epigram: "Cedite gentiles meritis, non arte, poetae: / Materia vates nos meliorem sumus"; Er. *Virg. et mart. comp.*, LB V, 594 C–E. André's own epigram *Ad lectorem* (sig. A3^v) draws on this commonplace, as do the other commendatory poems in the volume.

68–69. TWO EPITAPHS FOR JÉRÔME DE BUSLEYDEN

c. 26 March 1518

Concerning Jérôme de Busleyden see introd. *Carm.* 31. Jérôme died in Bordeaux on 27 August 1517, while travelling to Spain. At his death he left a large bequest for the founding of the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, in which Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were to be taught.

A first version of the Latin epitaph was composed around November 1517 and enclosed in a letter to Jérôme's oldest brother, Gilles de Busleyden; see Ms. 91,

fol. 82^v in the Stads- of Athenaeumbibliotheek, Deventer (*Ms*), edited by Allen as Ep. 699. In the same letter Er. promised to produce other epitaphs as soon as he knew whether Gilles liked this one. In Ep. 804 (c. 26 March 1518) he sent a formal letter of condolence to Gilles, enclosing a Greek epitaph (*Carm.* 68) and a revised version of the Latin one; this is the version reprinted in our text of *Carm.* 69. A transcript of the two epitaphs was also enclosed in Ep. 805 to Jan Robbys, dean of Mechelen. In Epp. 804 and 805 Er. modestly says that the poems do justice neither to Jérôme's merits nor to his own good intentions. Ep. 804 with the two epitaphs was first published in *Auctarium selectarum aliquot epistolarum Erasmi Roterodami*, Basel, J. Froben, August 1518 (*a*; Bezzel 1015), pp. 140–142. This book was reprinted at Basel by J. Froben, March 1519 (Bezzel 1016).

Although the Greek epitaph was specifically written to interpret the portrait of Jérôme de Busleyden affixed near his tombstone in St. Rombaut's at Mechelen, it was apparently not used for that purpose. Contemporary descriptions of the funeral mention only one epitaph and do not remark that it was in Greek; see De Vocht, *Busleyden*, pp. 99–100. Sweertius, pp. 254–255 prints the Latin epitaph only, but with a large portion of the heading of *Carm.* 68, even though this heading does not fit the Latin epitaph. Sweertius, furthermore, mentions in a sidenote that Er. was the poem's author. This suggests that his source was not the inscription itself but some printed edition. At any rate, neither he nor his contemporaries are likely to have seen the actual inscription, because the portrait and the accompanying epitaph were, to all appearances, destroyed in the iconoclastic riots of 1580; see J. Laenen, *Histoire de l'Eglise Métropolitaine de Saint-Rombaut à Malines*, Mechelen, 1919–1920, I, p. 258; II, pp. 126–127.

Metre of *Carm.* 68: iambic trimeter; of *Carm.* 69: trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

Source: *a**; for *Carm.* 69 also *Ms*.

68 EPITAPHIVM AD PICTAM IMAGINEM CLARISSIMI VIRI HIERONYMI
 BVSLIDIANI, PRAEPOSITI ARIENSIS ET CONSILIARII REGIS
 CATHOLICI, FRATRIS REVERENDISSIMI PATRIS AC DOMINI
 FRANCISCI, ARCHIEPISCOPI QVONDAM BIZONTINI, QVI LOVANII
 MAGNIS IMPENDIIS INSTITVIT COLLEGIVM, IN QVO PVBLICE TRES
 LINGVAE DOCEANTVR, HEBRAICA, GRAECA, LATINA

IAMBOI TPIMETPOI

Ὁ τήνδε γράψας σώματος μορφήν καλῶς,

Tit. CONSILIARII REGIS CATHOLICI Charles I of Spain (the future emperor Charles V) had

appointed Jérôme to the royal council on 24 June 1517.

Ἦφελες ἄγαλμα ζωγραφεῖν καὶ τοῦ νοός.
 Ἔσιδεῖν ἂν εἶη πίνακος ἐν μιᾷς πέδῳ
 Ἄρετῶν ἀπασῶν ἐρατὸν ἐγγύθεν χορόν
 5 Τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν ἱεροπρεπῆ πάνυ,
 Τὴν σεμνότητα τὴν τε σωφροσύνην ἕμα,
 Τὴν χρηστότητα τὴν τε παιδείαν καλήν –
 Καὶ ταῦτα κάλλα μόνος ὑπῆρχ' Ἱερώνυμος,
 Ὁ Βουσλεδιακῆς οἰκίας σέλας μέγα.

1-2 Ὁ τήνδε ... νοός Ever since Plin. *Nat.* XXXV, 98 it has been a commonplace to say that the best artists are able to portray not just the body but also the mind: "Aristides Thebanus ... omnium primus animum pinxit et sensus hominis expressit, quae vocant Graeci ἕθη, item perturbationes." Er. follows this convention in his famous description of Albrecht Dürer in *De pronunt.*, ASD I, 4, p. 40, ll. 897-900: "Ille pingit et quae pingi non possunt, ... sensus, affectus omnes, denique totum hominis animum in habitu corporis relucemtem." He does so also in Ep. 2212, ll. 10-12 (about a painting of Margaret Roper): "Videre mihi videbar per pulcherrimum domicilium relu-

centem animum multo pulchriorem." But in the present lines he denies the possibility. No painter, he is saying, could ever portray all the marvellous virtues of Jérôme de Busleyden's mind. Er.' amanuensis Gilbert Cousin makes the same point in an epigram *In effigiem D. Erasmi Roterodami*, first printed in 1533; see LB I, (24); Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print*, Princeton, 1993, chapt. 1, pp. 27-53, esp. p. 50.
 4 Ἄρετῶν ἀπασῶν / χορόν Cf. Cic. *Off.* III, 33, 116: "virtutum choro"; *Tusc.* V, 5, 13: "chorus virtutum"; Er. *Paraphr. in Rom.* 6, 16, LB VII, 796 D: "omnium virtutum chorum".
 8 Καὶ ... μόνος Cf. *Carm.* 56, 22-23 (n.).

69 TROCHAICI TETRAMETRI

Nominis Buslidiani proximum primo decus,
 Itane nos orbas virenti raptus aeuo, Hieronyme?
 Literae, genus, senatus, aula, plebs, ecclesia

Tit. TROCHAICI TETRAMETRI α: Carmen trochaicum *Ms.*

2 Itane nos orbas α: Sic tuos $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{linquis} \\ \text{orbas} \end{array} \right\}$ *Ms.*

1 *proximum primo decus* The highest ornament of the Busleyden family was Jérôme's older brother, François de Busleyden, since he attained the rank of archbishop of

Besançon and, just before his death in 1502, of cardinal.
 3-4 *Literae ... flagitant* Cf. *Carm.* 62, 6-12; 71, 1-7.

- Aut suum sydus requirunt aut patronum flagitant.
 5 Nescit interire quisquis vitam honeste finiit:
 Fama virtutum perennis viuet vsque posteris.
 Eruditio trilinguis triplici facundia
 Te loquetur, cuius opibus restituta refluuit.

4 sydus *a*: $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{lumen} \\ \text{sydus} \end{array} \right\} Ms.$

7 facundia *a*: $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{facundia} \\ \text{praeconio} \end{array} \right\} Ms.$

5 Nescit ... finiit *add. a*.

8 restituta *a*: rediit *ac Ms.*

5 *Nescit ... finiit* The idea that fame provides
 immortality is common in the epitaphs of

late antiquity; see Lattimore, pp. 241–246; cf.
Er. Carm. 74, 3–4.

70. AN EPITAPH FOR BRUNO AMERBACH

November 1519

On Bruno Amerbach see n.l. 4 of Froben's preface to *Epigrammata*, March 1518, p. 65 above. Bruno died of the plague on 22 October 1519, at age thirty-four. His wife Anna, aged twenty-one, had died in mid-May. The epitaph was first printed, together with *Carmm.* 71–74, in *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione ... dialogus Dialogus cui titulus Ciceronianus*, Basel, Froben, March 1528, p. 433. An autograph draft of the poem (*Ms*) is in the University Library, Basel (A N III 15, f^o 95^r).

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: *Ms*; *N**; *BAS* I, 1034; *LB* I, 1226.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS IN BRVNONEM AMERBACHIVM

Hic iacet, ante diem fatis ereptus iniquis,

Tit. ERASMVS ... AMERBACHIVM *add. N.*

1 ereptus *N*: praereptus *Ms.*

1 *Hic / ante diem* = *Carm.* 95, 89.
ante diem / ereptus Ep. 393, l. 54. For the
 pleonastic expression "ante diem ...
 praereptus" in the ms., cf. Ps. Aur. Vict. *De*
viris illustribus 5, 5: "immatura morte
 praereptus", borrowed in Er. Ep. 1706, l. 3:
 "immatura morte praereptum"; cf. also Er.
Adag. 4, *ASD* II, I, p. 116, l. 304: "primo
 aetatis flore praereptum". In *De conscr. ep.*,

ASD I, 2, p. 449, l. 14–p. 450, l. 14 Er. argues
 against the notion that one dies "before one's
 time"; cf. Sen. *Dial.* VI, 21, 1–7; Er. *Carm.*
 71, 9–13.

ante diem = Verg. *Aen.* IV, 620 and 697; Ov.
Met. I, 148; VI, 675; cf. Er. *Carm.* 99, 10
 and 11.

fatis / iniquis = Verg. *Aen.* III, 17; X, 380;
LHL II, 233–234.

Gentis Amerbachiae gloria prima Bruno.
 Non tulit vxori superesse maritus amatae,
 Turtur vt ereptae commoriens sociae.
 5 Hunc blandae lugent Charites Musaeque trilingues
 Canaque cum casta simplicitate fides.

5 blandae *N*: nudae *Ms*.

6 Canaque cum casta *N*:

{ Iunctaque }
 { Canaque } cum niuca *Ms*.

fatis ereptus Verg. *Aen.* II, 738; Ov. *Met.* I, 358 (same metrical position, but different meaning); cf. Er. *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 74, ll. 203–204; Ep. 1347, l. 225.

2 *Gentis / gloria prima* Sabell. *In natal.* 2, sig. a3^r: "Ille senex gentis gloria prima tuae; cf. *LHL* II, 439.

4 *Turtur ... sociae* Cf. *Carm.* 13, 8 (n.).

5 *trilingues* Bruno Amerbach was proficient in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

6 *Cana / fides* Verg. *Aen.* I, 292.

71. AN EPITAPH FOR MAARTEN VAN DORP

8 November 1525

The epitaph was sent with Ep. 1646 (8 November 1525) to Jan of Heemstede at the Charterhouse in Louvain. Er. says that he wrote it "ex tempore quidem sed non absque cura", adding that he would do everything in his power to keep the memory of Dorp alive forever. The epitaph was subsequently inscribed on his tomb. See Sweertius, pp. 237–238 (*α*); Valerius Andreas, *Fasti academici studii generalis Louaniensis*, Louvain, I. Oliuerius and C. Coenesteyn, 1635 (*β*), p. 67, who introduces his text of the epitaph with the words: "Ad tumulum [Dorpii] in porticu Cartusianorum legitur Erasmi elogium." The funeral monument disappeared after the charterhouse was suppressed in 1783; see De Vocht, *MHL*, p. 347. Er.' epitaph was first printed in *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione ... dialogus Dialogus cui titulus Ciceronianus*, Basel, Froben, March 1528, pp. 435–436.

Maarten van Dorp (1485–31 May 1525) was born at Naaldwijk, north-west of Rotterdam. He received his M.A. from Louvain in 1504 and a doctorate in theology in 1515. Shortly thereafter he became president of the College of the Holy Ghost and was appointed full professor at Louvain. In 1523 he was rector of the university. His interests in theology and philosophy were balanced with an enthusiasm for humanistic studies which, despite his disagreements with Er., he never forsook. In September 1514 he began a famous exchange of letters with Er. about the *Moria* and the ongoing edition of the Greek N.T. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Maarten van) Dorp.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Sources: *N**; *O*; *α*; *β*.

ERASMI ROT. EPITAPHIVM IN MORTEM MARTINI DORPII

- Martinus vbi terras reliquit Dorpius,
 Suum orba partum flet parens Hollandia,
 Theologus ordo luget extinctum decus,
 Tristes Camoenae candidis cum Gratiis
 5 Tantum patronum lachrymis desiderant,
 Louaniensis omnis opplorans schola
 Sidus suum requirit, 'O mors', inquiens,
 'Crudelis, atrox, saeua, iniqua et inuida,
 Itan' ante tempus floridam arborem secans,
 10 Tot dotibus, tot spebus orbas, omnium
 Suspensa vota?' Premite voces impias.
 Non periit ille: viuut ac dotes suas
 Nunc tuto habet, subductus aeuo pessimo.
 Sors nostra flenda est, gratulandum est Dorpio.
 15 Haec terra seruat, mentis hospitium piaie,
 Corpusculum, quod ad canorae buccinae
 Vocem resignans optima reddet fide.

Tit. ERASMI ... DORPII *N*: Epitaphium *O*,
 Ibidem *a*, *deest* β .
 1 Auctore Erasmo Roterodamo* *a*.
 2 Hollandia *N a* β : Holandia *O*.
 9 Itan' *N O a*: Ita β .

11 voces impias *N O a*: luctus impios β .
 17 resignans *N O*: refundens *a* β .
In fine: Obiit anno M.D.XXV. Prid. Kal.
 Iunias *a*.

1-7 *Martinus ... requirit* Cf. *Carm.* 62, 6-12;
 69, 3-4.
 3 *Theologus* Er. uses this noun as an adjective.
 4 *Tristes Camoenae* Iuv. 7, 2.
 9-14 *Itan' ... Dorpio* Cf. Ep. 1646, ll. 5-9.
 9 *ante tempus* See n. *Carm.* 70, 1.
 11 *Premite voces* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 324.
 12 *Non periit ille* For the commonplace see n.
Carm. 62, 17.
 14 *gratulandum est* Cf. *Carm.* 72, 3. For the
 commonplace see also *Orat. funebr. Bert. de*
Heyen, LB VIII, 560 A; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I,
 2, p. 448, ll. 4-9; p. 453, l. 15-p. 454, l. 5; Ep.
 1027, ll. 6-8, at Colet's death.
 15-16 *mentis hospitium / Corpusculum* Cf. *Orat.*
funebr. Bert. de Heyen, LB VIII, 559 B: "Cor-
 pusculum, sanctissimae quondam animae
 non indignum habitaculum"; *De imm. Dei*
miseriord., LB V, 568 F: "corpusculum ...,
 animi nostri ... domicilium". For the image
 of the body as an inn for the soul, in which

it stays a while before travelling on, cf. Cic.
Cato 23, 84 (life as an inn, not a home); also
 Er. *Carm.* 114, 30 (n.).
 16-17 *Corpusculum ... fide* I. Cor. 15, 52.
 16 *Corpusculum* The diminutive is pejorative
 here, expressing contempt for our mortal
 clay. See, e.g., Iuv. 10, 172-173; Sen. *Epist.* 23,
 6; 24, 16; *Dial.* XII, 11, 7; Er. *De contemptu*
mundi, ASD V, 1, p. 75, l. 985; *Enarrat. in Ps.*
 4, ASD V, 2, p. 274, ll. 612-613; *De sarc.*
eccles. concord., ASD V, 3, p. 280, ll. 800-801;
Coll., ASD I, 3, p. 551, l. 486; *De praep. ad*
mort., ASD V, 1, p. 344, ll. 100-101. Er. often
 uses the word of his own frail body; see
 Maria Cytowska, *Erasme et son petit corps*,
Eos 62 (1974), pp. 129-138. In medieval usage
 "corpusculum" also meant simply "corpse";
 see J.W. Fuchs, O. Weijers, and M. Gum-
 bert, *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae medii*
aevi, II, Leiden, 1981, s.v. "corpusculum",
 p. 1226, ll. 45-49.

72. AN EPITAPH FOR JACOB VOLKAERD

autumn 1526?

This epitaph was printed in *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione ... dialogus ... Dialogus cui titulus Ciceronianus*, Basel, Froben, March 1528, pp. 433–434. Since it immediately follows two epitaphs for Maarten van Dorp written by Jacob Volkaerd, it is plain that the present verses “in Iacobum” must be intended for Volkaerd. The poem was not reprinted in the subsequent authorized editions, nor was it included in *BAS*; cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 2261.

Jacob Volkaerd was born in Geertruidenberg, north of Breda. It is possible that he earned his M.A. at Louvain in 1519. In the following years he worked as a tutor to the sons of patrician families in The Hague. From October 1522 he was in Louvain, teaching Greek and Latin privately. Ioannes Secundus, his student and friend, wrote an elegy and an epitaph on his premature death; see *Funera* 7 and 8. The date of Volkaerd’s death is unknown. He was reported to be seriously ill in the autumn of 1526; see De Vocht, *MHL*, pp. 505–506; *Contemporaries* s.v. Volkaerd.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Source: *N*.

ERASMI ROT. IN IACOBVM, PAVLO POST DEFVNCTVM

Dum Dorpium assidere mensis coelitum,
Iacobe, gaudes, ille eodem te vocat.
Ita nos vicissim gratulamur et tibi
Datum esse mensis assidere coelitum.

3 *gratulamur* See n. *Carm.* 71, 14.

73–74. TWO EPITAPHS FOR JOHANN FROBEN

c. November 1527

Johann Froben died on 26 October 1527; for his life see the introductory note to Froben’s preface to *Epigrammata*, 1518, p. 65 above. The two epitaphs for him were appended to Er.’ *Deploratio mortis Ioannis Frobenii* (Ep. 1900) and were first published in *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione ... dialogus ... Dialogus cui titulus Ciceronianus*, Basel, Froben, March 1528, p. 431. They were engraved on Froben’s tombstone in St. Peter’s Church in Basel, along with an epitaph in Hebrew. See Alfred Hartmann, *Basilea Latina*, Basel, 1931, pp. 199–200. The Hebrew epitaph is not by Er. (as is assumed by Allen, Ep.

1900, n.l. 132 and Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 338) but by Sebastian Münster, who began his tenure as professor of Hebrew at the University of Basel in 1529. The Hebrew epitaph was first published in Er. *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione ... dialogus, ab autore recognitus*, Basel, H. Froben, I. Heruagius, and N. Episcopius, October 1529 (repr. March 1530); there it immediately follows *Carmm.* 73-74.

Metre of *Carm.* 73: elegiac distich; of *Carm.* 74: trochaic tetrameter catalectic.
Sources: *N**; *O*.

73 EPITAPHIVM IOANNIS FROBENII PER ERASMVVM ROTEROD.

Arīda Ioannis tegit hic lapis ossa Frobeni,
Orbe viret toto nescia fama mori.
Moribus hanc niueis meruit studiisque iuuandis,
Quae nunc moesta iacent orba parente suo.
5 Rettulit, ornauit veterum monumenta sophorum
Arte, manu, curis, aere, fauore, fide.
Huic vitam in coelis date, numina iusta, perhennem;
Per nos in terris fama perhennis erit.

1 *Arīda / ossa* Ez. 37, 4; cf. Er. *Carm.* 9, 15 (n.).
tegit ... ossa Cf. *Carm.* 52, 5; 78, 1; 83, 1; 84,
1; 85, 1.

3 *Moribus / niueis* Cf. *Carm.* 60, 8; 62, 18.

5 *veterum monumenta sophorum* Cf. Verg. *Aen.*
III, 102; VIII, 356.

7-8 *Huic ... erit* Cf. *Carm.* 62, 19-20.

8 *fama perhennis erit* = Ov. *Am.* I, X, 62.

74 EIVSDEM IN EVNDEM GRAECE

᾿Ωδ' Ἰωάννης καθεύδει τυπογράφος Φροβέννιος.
Οὐδέν' ἄλλω πλέον ὀφείλει τῶν λόγων σπουδάσματα.
Μὴ νεκρὸν ὀρηνεῖτε, ζῆ γὰρ καὶ πνέει, πνεύσων ἀεί,
Τῆ τε ψυχῆ τῆ τε φήμη τοῖς τε βίβλων λειψάνοις.

2 τῶν λόγων *O*: τὸν λόγον *N*.

3 ζῆ *O*: ζῆ *N*.

3-4 *Μὴ νεκρὸν ... λειψάνοις* For the common-
place see n. *Carm.* 69, 5.

75. AN EPITAPH FOR PHILIPPE HANETON

c. May 1528?

Philippe Haneton, seigneur of Lindt, was appointed secretary to the Grand Council at Mechelen in 1494. From 1500 to 1522 he served as first secretary and "audiencier" (the chief official of the court who called up and heard cases in the proper order). He became treasurer of the Golden Fleece in 1520; see *Contemporaries* s.v. (Philippe) Haneton. It is known that he died on 18 April, but the year of his death is uncertain, some documents giving 1522, others 1528. Allen supports 1522 in introd. Ep. 1280; Reedijk, in his introd. to the epitaph (*Poems*, pp. 341–342), more persuasively argues for 1528. *CWE* will publish Ep. 1280 in vol. 14, among the letters of 1528.

Er. wrote the epitaph at the request of Maarten Davidts, a canon of Ste. Gudule's in Brussels, where Haneton was buried (cf. *CWE* Ep. 532, n.l. 35). It was sent to Davidts in Ep. 1280. In Ep. 2571 (dated 19 November 1531) Davidts thanks Er. for it, in case he had not done so earlier. This circumstance lends weight to Reedijk's argument that the poem must have been composed in 1528, rather than 1522. It was first published in *Opus epistolarum*, Basel, Froben, 1529, p. 835.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Source: *O*.

Philippus Haneton, clarus auro hic est eques.
 Regi Philippo Caesarique Carolo
 Cum laude gessit audientiarium.
 Sacer ordo, quem vellus decorat aureum,
 5 Voluit eundem praesesse thesauris suis.
 Virtus in vno hoc vicit inuidiam viro,
 Tanta erat in omnes et fides et comitas
 Animique candor. Maximis et infimis
 Desideratus vnice, coelum tenet.

1 *clarus auro / eques* This paraphrases the standard term for a Christian knight, "eques auratus" ("a knight wearing gilt spurs"); cf. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 545, l. 270: "pedibus aurea

calcaria (erat enim eques auratus)". The phrase is especially appropriate in this case, since Haneton was a knight of the Golden Fleece.

76. IN PRAISE OF JOACHIM VAN RINGELBERG'S
INSTITVTIONES ASTRONOMICAE

31 October 1528

This is a commendatory poem for Joachim van Ringelberg, *Institutiones astronomicae*, Basel, Valentinus Curio, 31 October 1528 (a), a book first published at Cologne earlier that year. Er.' verses, printed with other poems to the reader at the end of the Basel edition (sig. G6^v), were prefixed to Ringelberg's *Institutiones* in the reprints published by Christian Wechel at Paris in 1530 and Sebastian Gryphius at Lyons in 1531.

Joachim Sterck van Ringelberg of Antwerp (c. 1499–after 1 January 1531) studied at the University of Louvain and very probably also at the Collegium Trilingue. In 1527–1528 he travelled to Germany, finally meeting Er. in Basel. See Ep. 2058, ll. 4–7 and Ep. 2079, l. 40; *Contemporaries* s.v. (Joachim van) Ringelberg.

Metre: hexameter.

Source: a.

DES. ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS

Si cupis astrigeri primordia discere mundi,
 Ac mox aethereos implexos orbibus orbes,
 Denique quam vario cinctu quae ducitur arte
 Linea conuexi spatium secet: haec, age, pubes,
 5 Perlege, quae triplici Ioachimi cura libello
 Tradidit, ac facilem patefecit ad ardua callem.
 Surrige te, qui repis humi, patriamque reuise,
 Astra: leuis repete astra, genus qui ducis ab astris.

7–8 reuise, Astra: *scripsi*: reuise. Astra a.

- 1 *primordia / mundi* LHL IV, 353. For the meaning "rudiments of the universe" cf. Quint. *Inst.* I, 9, 1; XII, 10, 3.
 2–4 *aethereos ... secet* The cosmological view presented in Ringelberg's book is the traditional, Ptolemaic one. Cf. n. *Carm.* 49, 3; *Carm.* 110, 366.
 2 *orbibus orbes* = Verg. *Aen.* V, 584; VIII, 448 (different sense).
 6 *facilem ... callem* Cf. Sen. *Herc. f.* 437: "Non est ad astra mollis e terris via"; cf. Otto 161. Ringelberg's book will make the ascent to the stars easy (for students of astronomy, not necessarily for pursuers of fame).
 7–8 *Surridge ... astris* Er. draws on the ancient idea that the contemplation of the harmony of the stars leads us to an understanding of eternal truth and God; see, e.g., Plat. *Tim.* 47

- a–c; *Rep.* 528 e–530 c; *Epin.* 990 a–991 e; *Ov. Fast.* I, 297–308; cf. Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 2. In *Carm.* 94, 13–14 Er. does mention astronomy as one of man's vain pursuits; but there he means astronomy studied for its own sake, not as the path to heaven and God. A few lines later in the same moral satire he speaks of the necessity to leave earthbound things behind and contemplate our true fatherland, the starry heavens; see *Carm.* 94, 19–22, amplified in *Carm.* 94, 51–74.
 7 *patriam* See n. *Carm.* 94, 20.
 8 *Astra ... astris* Cf. the first line of Walther 1618: "Astra caue spernas, vitam qui ducis ab astris; / Astra regunt homines, sed regit astra Deus."
leuis repete astra Cf. *Carm.* 94, 63.
genus ... astris Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 834.

77. ON A DIAGRAM IN JOACHIM VAN RINGELBERG'S
INSTITVTIONES ASTRONOMICAE

c. October 1528?

The epigram, rediscovered by Reedijk, was first printed in Joachim van Ringelberg, *Institutiones astronomicae. Liber de tempore. Experimenta. Geomanteia. Quaedam de vrina non visa. Liber de ratione studii*, Paris, Christian Wechel, 1530 (α). It occurs at the end of *Liber de tempore*, sig. D2^v, where, however, there is no diagram in sight. The earlier editions of the *Institutiones*, published in 1528 at Cologne and Basel, also do not contain the sort of astronomical diagram lauded here. Reedijk surmises that this may have been the reason why Er.' epigram was not immediately used in the Basel edition of 1528.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Source: α.

DES. ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS

Quae vix loquaci disceres volumine,
Breuis en tabella ponit ob oculos tibi.
Labor vnus laborem ademit omnibus.
Ioachimus haec dat; fruere, lector, ac vale.

³ *Labor ... omnibus* Cf. *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 256, l. 226: "Vnius labor multis laborem adimet."

78–79. TWO EPITAPHS FOR NICOLAAS UUTENHOVE

1 February 1529

Carmm. 78 and 79 occur at the end of Ep. 2093 (1 February 1529). This letter is addressed to Uutenhove's son, Karel, who lived at Er.' house in Basel from July 1528 to February 1529; see *Contemporaries* s.v. (Karel) Uutenhove. The letter with the epitaphs was published as the preface to Er.' edition of *Aliquot opuscula diui Chrysostomi Graeca*, Basel, Froben, 1529 (α), sig. a4^v. The Greek epitaph, with a translation into Latin by Ioannes Consardus, was reprinted at the end of Arnoldus Oridryus, *Summa linguae Graecae*, Paris, Christian Wechel, 1531 and 1538.

Nicolaas Uutenhove of Ghent, lord of Marckeghem, was a member of the Council of Flanders from at least 1498 and its president from 1515. He died on 11 February 1527. Er. praises him highly in Ep. 2093, especially ll. 29–40. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Nicolaas) Uutenhove.

Metre of *Carm.* 78: hendecasyllable; of *Carm.* 79: iambic trimeter.
Source: *a.*

78

Hoc saxo tegitur celebris heros
Vtenhouius ille Nicolaus,
Quo sub praeside Flandriae senatus
Multos floruit vnice per annos.
5 Hoc patri orphana turba liberorum
Μνημεῖον posuit, pio quidem illa
Sed casso officio. Quid attinebat
Haec illi monumenta comparare,
Cuius scilicet approbata virtus
10 Haeret mentibus omnium, nec vlla
Illam vis abolebit aut vetustas?

Ante 1: Latinum sic habet *a.*

1 *Hoc saxo tegitur* Cf. *Carm.* 73, 1 (n.).

5 *turba liberorum* Nicolaas was survived by his son Karel and two daughters; he was also foster-father of the two sons of his brother Antoon (d. 1524).

10 *Haeret mentibus omnium* Cic. *Catil.* 4 22.
10–11 *nec vlla ... vetustas* Cf. Ov. *Met.* XV, 872.

79

Τίς εἶ θεάων; ‘Οὔνομ’ ἐστὶ μοι Δίκη.’
Τί θαυρῦεις οὔν; ‘Τὸν δικαίταρχον καλὸν
Τὸν Νικόλαον Οὐθενώβιον ποθῶ,
‘Ὅς ἦν ἀπάσης Φλανδρίας κλέος μέγα.
5 Τοῦτου γὰρ οὐδεὶς βελτίων πέφυκ’ ἀνήρ.
Φιλῶ θανόντι συναπέθανον, ὥς μοι δοκῶ.
Οὐκ ἦν δίκαιος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ Δίκη.’

Ante 1: Graecum sic habet *a.*

For the dialogue form see introd. *Carm.* 60.

80. A PARTING GIFT FOR NICOLAUS AND JUSTINA EPISCOPIUS

early April 1529

When Er. was about to depart from Basel on 13 April 1529, he left behind a token of friendship for the new tenants of his house, Nicolaus and Justina Episcopius (Bischoff). The gift consisted of a rooster, a hen, and their young, for that was all that was left of Er.' belongings in Basel. The gesture was frustrated, however, when Er.' housekeeper Margaret gave the birds to someone else; see Ep. 2202. The newly-weds did receive the epigram, for which they were deeply grateful. The verses were first published as part of Ep. 2202 in *Opus epistolarum*, Basel, Froben, 1529, p. 1001.

Nicolaus Episcopius (1501–1564), a native of Rittershoffen in Lower Alsace, became a citizen of Basel in 1520. In the summer of 1529 he married Johann Froben's daughter, Justina (1512–1564), and entered the Froben firm. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Nicolaus) Episcopius; (Justina) Froben.

Metre: hexameter.

Source: *O*.

Gallus es, et gallina tibi est; fausto omine dono
Gallum, cui coniunx teneros fouet anxia foetus.

1–2 *Gallus ... foetus* For the punning on “Gallus” cf. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 381, ll. 205–206; p. 137, ll. 405–409. As an Alsatian Nicolaus could be considered French.

2 *coniunx ... foetus* For the image cf. *Mt.* 23, 37.

81. FAREWELL TO BASEL

13 April 1529

In a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer of Nürnberg (Ep. 2196, dated 15 July 1529) Er. inserted two epigrams. The one (*Carm.* 81) had been composed at his departure from Basel on 13 April 1529; the other (*Carm.* 82), written some time later at Freiburg, was prompted by the dismal weather there. The letter with the two epigrams was first printed in *Opus epistolarum*, Basel, Froben, 1529, p. 995. Concerning Er.' motives for leaving Basel, now a Protestant city, to seek refuge in Freiburg see Ep. 2158; Cornelis Reedijk, *Erasmus' Final Modesty*, in: *Actes du congrès Erasme*, Amsterdam, 1971, pp. 180–181; and Cornelis Augustijn, *Erasmus: His Life, Works, and Influence*, trans. J.C. Grayson, Toronto, 1991, pp. 150–160.

Christian Wurstisen, after quoting the epigram, translates it as follows in his *Baszler Chronik*, Basel, S. Henricpetri, 1580, pp. 574–575: “Nun bhüt dich Gott, fürgliebte Statt, / Die mich so lang bherbergen that: / Ich wünsch dir Heil, und das kein Gast / Dir mehr bring dann Erasmus Last.”

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: *O*.

Iam, Basilea, vale, qua non vrbs altera multis
 Annis exhibuit gratius hospitium.
 Hinc precor omnia laeta tibi, simul illud, Erasmo
 Hospes vti ne vnquam tristior adueniat.

1–2 *Iam ... hospitium* Cf. Ep. 2151, ll. 6–8; 2196, ll. 21–31.

multis Annis Seven and a half years, from Nov. 1521 to Apr. 1529; cf. Ep. 2196, ll. 22–24.

4 *Hospes ... adueniat* Christian Wurstisen (see the headnote) interprets the verse to mean: “May no guest ever bring you [Basel] more trouble than Erasmus did.” His reading,

however, is not borne out by the context, for in introducing these verses Er. comments: “Ciuitatem illam propemodum adoptaram in patriae locum. Nec ego, nisi fallor, illi fui grauis aut incommodus hospes.” And afterwards he adds: “Certe arbitror in ea ciuitate neminem esse cui sit quod iure de me queri possit.” See Ep. 2196, ll. 27–29 and 37–38.

82. ENDLESS RAINS IN FREIBURG

July 1529

For the background see introd. *Carm.* 81. Er. also had occasion to write about the heavy rains earlier, in 1515 (see *Carm.* 59). In those days, however, he could still make light of the weather. Now that the religious upheavals of the age have once more uprooted him and driven him from Basel, the rains seem to him a sign of heaven’s grief.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: *O*.

Obsecro, quid sibi vult, ingens quod ab aethere nymbus
 Noctes atque dies sic sine fine ruit?
 Terrigenae quoniam nolunt sua crimina flere,
 Coelum pro nobis soluitur in lacrymas.

1 *ingens / nymbus* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 110–111.
ab aethere nymbus Ov. *Met.* I, 269; cf. *LHL* I, 41.

2 *Noctes atque dies* = *LHL* III, 526; Er. *Carm.* 112, 277; cf. *Carm.* 112, 283 (n.).

3 *sua crimina flere* = Alcuin. *Carm.* 90, 6, 3.

4 *soluitur in lacrymas* = Bede, *Vita Cuth.*, chapters 2 and 14, *PL* 94, 577 C and 583 B; cf. Lucan. VIII, 106–107.

83–85. EPITAPHS FOR THE WIVES OF PIETER GILLIS

January 1530

Carmm. 83, 84, and 85 were sent with Ep. 2260 (dated 28 January 1530) to Er.' friend Pieter Gillis of Antwerp (c. 1486–1533). Pieter married Cornelia Sandrien in July 1514. Er. marked that occasion with an epithalamium; see introd. *Carm.* 132. Cornelia died in c. August 1526, at about age thirty. After her death Pieter married the widow Maria Denys, who probably died in the winter of 1529–1530. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Pieter) Gillis, (Cornelia) Sandrien, and (Maria) Denys.

The epitaphs for Pieter's wives were printed only once, at the end of Er.' translation of Xenophon, *Hieron siue tyrannus*, Basel, Froben, 1530 (a), sig. F3^r–F3^v. *Carmm.* 83 and 84 bear some similarities in structure and language to *Carm.* 12, also cast in the first person.

Metre of *Carmm.* 83 and 85: iambic senarius; of *Carm.* 84: elegiac distich.

Source: *a*.

83 EPITAPHIVM CORNELIAE SANDRIAE, QVONDAM
PETRI AEGIDII CONIVGIS

Cornelia hoc sub lapide dormio Sandria,
Olim Petro Gillo beata coniuge,
Cui parentis dulce nomen octies
Mater dedi. Domum atque dulces liberos
5 Fouere et vni casto amore et integra
Fide marito complacere in omnibus
Vnica voluptas, cura mi fuit vnica,
Solatium hoc, haec summa votorum fuit.
Praepropera mors, quam arctos amores, quam bene
10 Conglutinata distrahis tu pectora!
Per te mihi sextum negatum est, inuida,
Peragere lustrum. Quisquis haec, hospes, legis,
I nunc et vmbris fidito fugacibus.
Manet vna pietas, reliqua fumus auolant.

1 *hoc sub lapide* Cf. *Carm.* 73, 1 (n.).
dormio Cf. Latimore, pp. 164–165 and 306–310; Er. *Carm.* 52, 13 (mock epitaph).
3–4 *Cui ... dedi* Cf. *Carm.* 51, 7–8; 84, 3–4.
According to *Contemporaries*, III, p. 193, Cornelia bore Pieter nine children, not eight.
4–8 *Domum ... fuit* Cf. *Carm.* 12, 6 (n.).
4 *Domum ... liberos* Hor. *Epod.* 2, 40; cf. Er. *Carm.* 85, 6.
8 *summa votorum* See n. *Carm.* 64, 8.
9–10 *mors ... pectora* Cf. *Carm.* 10, 5–16 (n.).

13–14 *vmbris / fumus* Traditional images for the brevity of life and the vanity of things human; see Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII, 12, 60: “fumus et vmbra sumus”; Walther 32114a; Er. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 57 E; *Adag.* 1248, *LB* II, 501 B–C; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 216, l. 701. For “vmbra” see, e.g., *Iob* 8, 9; 14, 2; *Ps.* 101, 12; 143, 4; Hor. *Carm.* IV, 7, 16. For “fumus” see, e.g., *Ps.* 101, 4; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 52, ll. 336–337; *Carm.* 95, 33 (n.). Cf. also *Carm.* 85, 7 (n.); 108, 9 (n.).

84 ALIVD IN EANDEM

Hac sita quae iaceo Cornelia condita petra,
 Petro olim Aegidio coniuge clara fui.
 Bis quater huic enixa parentis amabile nomen
 Donauī toties, non fruitura diu.
 5 Nam prius ac sextum licuisset claudere lustrum,
 Filum aei secuit Parca maligna mei.
 Cura fuit domus et charissima pignora, fama
 Integra et obsequiis demeruisse virum.
 Hoc studium fuit, haec votorum summa meorum,
 10 Extra haec in vita nil mihi dulce fuit.

1 *condita petra* Cf. *Carm.* 73, 1 (n.).

1–2 *petra, Petro* The wordplay derives from *Mt.* 16, 18 and thence made its way also into medieval epitaphs. An epitaph for Pierre d'Ailly (d. 1425) in the cathedral of Cambrai, for example, began as follows: "Mors rapuit Petrum, petram subiit putre corpus, / Sed petram Christus spiritus ipse petit." See A. Le Glay, *Recherches sur l'église métropolitaine de Cambrai*, Paris, 1825, p. 60.

3–4 *huic ... Donauī* Cf. *Carm.* 51, 7–8; 83, 3–4 (n.).

4 *fruitura diu* Cf. *Carm.* 85, 5.

5 *sextum / claudere lustrum* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 4, 23–24.

6 *Filum ... mei* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 29–35 (n.).

7 *Cura ... pignora* Cf. *Carm.* 12, 6 (n.).

charissima pignora Cf. *Carm.* 112, 235 (n.).

9 *votorum summa* = *Carm.* 64, 8 (n.).

85 EPITAPHIVM SECVNDAE CONIVGIS

Hic ossa Mariae lapis habet Dionysiae.
 Digamam digamus hanc Petrus Aegidius sibi
 Asciiuit, ex qua est filia auctus vnica.
 Interiit a partu diebus pauculis,
 5 Aeuo virens, nec est datum diu frui
 Charo marito dulcibusque liberis.
 Aeterna quaere, tenuis est vita haec vapor.

1 *Hic ... habet* Cf. *Carm.* 73, 1 (n.).

5 *diu frui* Cf. *Carm.* 84, 4.

6 *dulcibus / liberis* See n. *Carm.* 83, 4.

7 *tenuis ... vapor* Cf. *Iac.* 4, 15 (14): "Quae est

enim vita vestra? vapor est ad modicum parens, et deinceps exterminabitur"; cf. *Er. Carm.* 83, 13–14 (n.); 95, 29; 95, 101 (n.); 108, 9 (n.).

86. AN EPITAPH FOR ANTONIUS CLAVA

January 1530

On Antonius Clava of Bruges, the friend of Pieter Gillis and Robert de Keyser, see introd. *Carm.* 32. He died on 31 May 1529. Er.' epitaph for him may have been sent, together with *Carmm.* 83, 84, and 85, to Pieter Gillis in Ep. 2260. At any rate it was printed with them at the end of Er.' translation of Xenophon, *Hieron siue tyrannus*, Basel, Froben, 1530 (*α*), sig. F3^v–F4^r. For the dialogue form of the epitaph see introd. *Carm.* 60.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Source: *α*.

EPITAPHIVM ANTONII CLVAE SENATORIS GANDAVENSIS

Quis hic quiescis? 'Clava cognomen mihi est,
Antonius nomen.' Quid audio miser?
Itane occidisti, lux senatus Gandici
Et literarum dulce praesidium ac decus?
5 'Vixi satis, nam lustra quatuordecim
Peregeram.' Tibi quidem satis diu,
Sed literis et patriae parum diu.
O coelites, quur talibus saltem viris
Non est perhennis addita immortalitas?
10 Quod restat vnum, Clava, tristi carmine
Et lachrymis moestis parentamus tibi.

4 *dulce praesidium ac decus* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1, 1, 2; Er. *Carm.* 7, 3 (n.).

5–7 *Vixi ... parum diu* Cf. Cic. *Marc.* 8, 25: "Satis diu vel naturae vixi vel gloriae." Satis, si ita vis, fortasse naturae ...; at, quod maximum est, patriae certe parum"; Er. *Ciceron.*,

ASD 1, 2, p. 674, ll. 9–11, referring to François Deloynes: "Hunc nuper mors terris eripuit, ipsi quidem matura, senex enim mortuus est, studiis vero quibus euehendis ornandisque vir optimus natus videbatur praepropera."

87. A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A SCHOLAR AND A BOOKSELLER

winter 1530–1531

The poem was first printed on the title-page of Simon Grynaeus' edition of *Aristotelis ... opera ... omnia*, Basel, Johann Bebel, 13 May 1531 (*α*), to which Er. also contributed the preface (Ep. 2432). From Ep. 2433, ll. 28–33 we may infer that the epigram, despite its attribution to Er. on the title-page, was at least in part composed by Grynaeus. In that letter Grynaeus discusses some readings in the epigram, speaking of them as "sczontibus nostris"; Er. responds in Ep. 2434.

ll. 34–37. The liminary poem also occurs on the title-page of the editions printed at Basel by Joh. Bebel and Michael Isengrin in 1539 and 1550.

Simon Grynaeus (c. 1494–1541) of Veringendorf in Swabia became professor of Greek at Heidelberg in 1524. In May 1529 he was appointed professor of Greek at Basel. There he became personally acquainted with Er. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Simon) Grynaeus.

Metre: iambic trimeter.

Source: *α*.

PER DES. ERAS. ROTERODAMVM
ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΠΩΛΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ

	Φιλ.	Τί νέον κομίζεις; Βίβλον;
	Βιβ.	Οὐδαμῶς.
	Φιλ.	Τί δῆ;
	Βιβ.	Χρυσοῦ ῥέεθρα.
	Φιλ.	Ναί σὺ πλουσίως λέγεις, Ταχύτερον εἰπέ.
	Βιβ.	Τὸν Σταγειρίτην λέγω, "Ὄν ἔλαθεν οὐδὲν τῶν μαθημάτων μέρος.
5		Οὗτός γ' ἀνέζησ' ὡς πρὸ τοῦ πολὺ καλλίων.
	Φιλ.	Λέγεις ἀληθῆως τ' Ἀμαλθείας κέρασ.
	Βιβ.	Οὐ μὲν γ' ὀπίωρας μεστόν, ἀλλ' ἀμεινόνων.
	Φιλ.	Καὶ τίς τοσοῦτον πλοῦτον ἡμῖν ἐμφέρει;
	Βιβ.	Τοῦτόν γε παρέχει φιλόπονος Βεβέλλιος.
10	Φιλ.	Χρυσέμπορος γοῦν ἔστιν, οὐ λογέμπορος.
	Βιβ.	Ναί, καί τι χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων προφερέστερον, Θείας δὲ σοφίας οὐδὲν ἔστ' ἀντάξιον.

6 ἀληθῆως *scripsi* (*metri gratia*): ἀληθῶς *α*.

2 *Χρυσοῦ ῥέεθρα* The phrase comes from Cic. *Ac.* 2 38, 119: "flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles". For the image, applied to literary endeavours, see also Er. *Ep.* 149, l. 20; 396, l. 358; 1604, l. 6; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 26, l. 4; *Vita Hier.*, in: Ferguson, p. 179, ll. 1221–1222; *Rat. ver. theol.*, *LB* V, 82 A. Grynaeus and Er. discuss the Greek phrase in *Ep.* 2433, ll. 32–33 and *Ep.* 2434, ll. 34–37.

6 *Ἀμαλθείας κέρασ* For the story of Amalthea's horn and its proverbial application see *Adag.* 502.

7 *ὀπίωρας* The reprints of 1539 and 1550 change this form to the more usual *ὀπίωρας*.

9 *Βεβέλλιος* The Basel printer Johann Bebel; see *Contemporaries* s.v.

11 *τι χρυσοῦ ... προφερέστερον* The comparison is proverbial; see n. *Carm.* 2, 118–119.

88. A VOTIVE POEM TO STE. GENEVIEVE

late spring 1531?

In Ep. 50, ll. 3–7, written at Paris in January 1497, Er. tells his prior at Steyn, Claes Warnerszoon (Nicolaus Wernerus): “Nuper in quartanam incideramus, sed conualuimus confirmatique sumus non opera medici, tametsi adhibeamus, sed vnus diuae Genouefae, virginis nobilissimae, cuius ossa penes canonicos regulares seruata cotidie monstris choruscant et adorantur: nihil illa dignius, mihi salutaris.” On 12 April 1500, once more suffering from the fever, he again alludes to the incident (Ep. 124, ll. 13–17), telling his friend Jacob Batt: “Non pessima tamen in spe sumus, diua Genouefa freti, cuius praesentem opem iam semel atque iterum sumus experti; maxime medicum nacti Guilhelmum Copum non modo peritissimum, verumetiam amicum, fidum et Musarum, quod rarissimum est, cultorem.” From ll. 91–99 of the present poem it appears that Cop had treated Er. also during the earlier attack of the fever, in the winter of 1496–1497. Er. held him in high esteem and dedicated the *Carmen de senectutis incommodis* to him; see introd. *Carm.* 2.

According to l. 73, Er. made a vow during that first attack in the winter of 1496–1497 to sing Ste. Geneviève’s praises if she would help him recover. The votive poem to her was not published until 1532, however, in a separate booklet entitled *Des. Erasmi Roterodami diuae Genouefae praesidio a quartana febre liberati carmen votiuum, nunquam antehac excusum*, Freiburg i.Br., Io. Emmeus, 1532 (α). The booklet was reprinted later that year, under the same title, by Christian Wechel in Paris (β). Georg Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, I, Berlin 1929, p. 418 thinks that Er. composed the poem in 1497 and later revised it. This is repeated by Renaudet, p. 279 and Roland H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom*, New York, 1969, p. 256. Internal evidence, however, contradicts this assumption. In ll. 91–97 Er. says that his physician Cop is now an old man at King Francis’ court; and in ll. 110–111 he expresses regret that so many years have elapsed between his miraculous cure and the fulfilment of his vow.

Why Er. waited so long to compose the poem has been a matter of much conjecture. No doubt he was at first simply too busy and so put off the writing to some time of leisure that never seemed to come. What then prompted him to return to his old vow? Perhaps, as Reedijk suggests, a coincidence of events jogged his memory. In January 1497 and January 1531 the Seine flooded its banks. As was the custom whenever disaster struck Paris, the shrine of Ste. Geneviève was carried in solemn procession to the cathedral of Notre Dame; see Ep. 50, ll. 8–14; *Adag.* 3856 (*LB* II, 1156 F, a passage added in the 1535 edition). Nicolaas van der Blom agrees in essence with Reedijk’s theory. From a letter by Er. to Cop (written in June 1531, but not extant) and other clues he infers that it may well have been Cop who, in an earlier letter (also lost), first told Er. about the flooding and the solemn procession and gently reminded his friend about the votive

poem he had promised to write so long ago. If so, the poem would have been written in about May 1531 and sent with the now-lost letter to Cop in June. See N. van der Blom, "Remitte exemplar epistole ad Copum": *On Allen, Epistle 2509*, ERSY 5 (1985), pp. 52–64, especially pp. 62–63; Erasmus' "Carmen Votiuum" *ter ere van Ste-Geneviève*, Hermeneus 58 (1986), pp. 191–198, with a verse translation; and *Rotterdam and Erasmus. Some Remarks*, in: *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Man and the Scholar*, ed. J. Sperna Weiland and W.Th.M. Frijhoff, Leiden, 1988, p. 251, n. 2.

Concerning Er.'s sincerity in writing a votive poem to a saint there has likewise been a good deal of debate. Some see Er. – the Er. of the *Moria* and *Colloquia* – as a liberal theologian who had little use for the traditional veneration of the saints. Others regard him as one who wanted only to curb the excesses of popular belief and redirect Christianity back toward Christ. The latter view is surely correct; see, for example, *Enchir.*, LB V, 26 E–27 A; 31 C–33 E; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 358, ll. 782–795; *Apolog. adv. Stun. Blasph. et imp.*, LB IX, 366 D–E and 368 B; Ep. 2037, ll. 306–316. It should be kept in mind that Er. also wrote a votive poem to Our Lady of Walsingham (*Carm.* 51) in 1512. And after suffering a severe back injury in 1514, he made a vow to St. Paul to complete a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, if he should recover; see Ep. 301, ll. 18–20; introd. *CWE* 42, pp. xiii–xiv.

In the winter and spring of 1531 – the very time he appears to have composed the present poem – Er. was being questioned closely regarding his attitude toward the saints. He defends his views in Ep. 2443, ll. 196–249 (dated 7 March 1531) and Ep. 2465, ll. 310–336 (dated 27 March 1531); see also *Enarrat. in Ps.* 33, ASD V, 3, pp. 118–120, ll. 886–941; pp. 123–124, ll. 88–92 (published in March 1531). The saints, he asserts, may be justly praised and revered, so long as the praise redounds to the greater glory of God. They must not, however, be allowed to usurp the place of Christ. Accordingly we may understand this votive poem as Er.'s way of demonstrating how a Christian may revere a saint without falling into superstition and deviating from a Christocentric theology; see particularly ll. 100–108 below.

On the poem see also: Jean-Claude Margolin, *Paris through a Gothic Window at the End of the Fifteenth Century: A Poem of Erasmus in Honor of St. Geneviève*, Res Publica Litterarum 1 (1978), pp. 207–220, repr. as article 2 in his *Erasme dans son miroir et dans son sillage*, London, 1987; Cornelis Reedijk, *Erasmus' Final Modesty*, in: *Actes du Congrès Erasme*, Amsterdam, 1971, pp. 181–182; and Clarence H. Miller, *Erasmus's Poem to St. Genevieve: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, in: *Miscellanea Moreana: Essays for Germain Marc'hadour* (= *Moreana* 100, vol. 26), ed. C.M. Murphy, H. Gibaud, and M.A. di Cesare, Binghamton, 1989, pp. 481–515. C.H. Miller's article also provides the text of a French translation of the poem by Paschal Robin (1586) as well as the complete text (with English translation) of an anonymous scholion on ll. 66–67, arguing that saints are more powerful in heaven than on earth. This note was first printed in *Des. Erasmi*

Roterod. Carmen D. Genouefae sacrum Scholion ad idem Erasmi carmen de ss. precibus, Paris, apud viduam Guil. Morelii, 1566, sigs. b2^v–b4^v.

Metre: hexameter.

Sources: α*; β; *BAS* V, 1118–1120; *LB* V, 1335–1338.

DFS. ERASMI ROTERODAMI DIVAE GENOVEFAE PRAESIDIO
A QVARTANA FEBRE LIBERATI CARMEN VOTIVVM

Diua, pii vatis votium soluere carmen
Qui cupit aspirans votis sterilem imbue venam
Mentis, et vt te digna canat, tu suggere vires,
Protectrix Genouefa tuae fidissima gentis,
5 Gallia quam late triplici discrimine secta
Porrigitur; sed praecipue tibi pars ea cordi est,
Sequana qua hospitibus factus iam animosior vndis,
Matrona quas defert fluuioque admiscet amico,
Pomiferos per agros, per prata virentia perque
10 Vitiferos colles adopertaque frugibus arua

1 *pii vatis* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 662.

2 *aspirans* The verb is used of poetic inspiration in Verg. *Aen.* IX, 525; *Cir.* 99; Ov. *Met.* I, 3; and later poets; cf. Er. *Carm.* 93, 217. The idea that God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, or a saint should be the muse of Christian poetry is a commonplace in Christian poetry since Iuuenius (see n.l. 3 below). See Curtius, pp. 235–237; Klopsch, pp. 21–30; Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Classical Influences on Medieval Latin Views of Poetic Inspiration*, in: *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. P. Godman and O. Murray, Oxford, 1990, pp. 23–29. The Christian poets of the Renaissance continued this tradition; see, e.g., Mantuan. *Calam.* p. 19; *Parthen. Mar.* I, 6–28; Cornelis Gerard, *Marias*, praef., f^o 8^r (see n. *Carm.* 93, 122–124 below). See also Er. *Carm.* 2, 211–230 (n.); 2, 231; 36, 5–6; 112, 220–227; cf. *Carm.* 110, 1–12 (n.). In *Virg. et mart. comp.*, *LB* V, 594 C–E Er. says that Christian poets and orators who praise martyrs and virgins are superior to their pagan counterparts, because the Christians are inspired by the Holy Spirit. He also discusses the question at some length in *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, pp. 301–303, ll. 283–340. *sterilem / venam* For the modesty formula cf.

Ov. *Trist.* III, 14, 34; *Pont.* II, 5, 21; Curtius, pp. 83 and 411; Er. *Carm.* 93, 199 (n.). For the image of the poetic vein see n. *Carm.* 56, 15. The epithet “sterilem” is also intended to remind the reader of the poet’s old age, as N. van der Blom points out in *Hermeneus* 58 (1986), p. 192.

3 *vt ... vires* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 226–227, addressing his muse, Christ. The model, both here and there, is Iuuenius, praef. 25–27: “sanctificus adsit mihi carminis auctor / Spiritus ... / ..., vt Christo digna loquamur.”

4 *Protectrix* Ste. Geneviève is the patron saint of Paris and hence, by extension, of France as well.

5 *triplici ... secta* Cf. *Carm.* 64, 44 (n.).

7–25 *Sequana ... flumen* The description of the Seine is inspired not only by Er.’s own memories but also by Auson. *Mos.* For the description of the confluence of the Seine with the Marne cf. *Mos.* 354–358 and 418–430; for a verbal borrowing see n.l. 22 below.

9 *per prata virentia* = *LHL* IV, 342.

10 *Vitiferos colles* Plin. *Nat.* III, 9, 60; Auson. *Epist.* 24, 84; cf. Er. *Carm.* 53, 11 (n.). *adopertaque ... arua* Cf. Ov. *Met.* VIII, 702. *frugibus arua* Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IX, 1, 142: “Frugibus arua micent.”

Vitreus incedit et ad amplam Parisiorum
 Metropolim properans ad leuam pronus adorat
 Arcem, virgo, tuam, mox brachia diuidit atque
 Virgineae matris spatiosam amplectitur aedem,
 15 Ac flexu augustam veneratus supplice diuam,
 In sese redit adque tui cunabula partus
 Ac praedulce solum, quo sacra infantula primos
 Vagitus dederas, festinat alacrior amnis.
 Viculus est humilis, sed tali prole beatus.
 20 Huc igitur properans, obiter vicina salutat
 Phana dicata tibi, Celtarum lux, Dionysi.
 Hac regione diu sinuosis flexibus errans,
 In se voluitur atque reuoluitur, ora subinde
 Ad cunas, Genouefa, tuas vrbemque relictam
 25 Reflectens, dicas inuitum abscedere flumen.
 Est merito cunctis venerabile Namethodorum,
 Cui licet hospitibus monumenta ostendere prisca
 Ortus, diua, tui fontemque liquore salubri

11 *Vitreus* Lakes and rivers are conventionally "glassy" because of their greenish sheen, their smooth surface, or their translucency; see, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* VII, 759; Auson. *Mos.* 28; Er. *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 65, l. 822; *Carm.* 102, 17; 106, 102 (n.).

12 *pronus adorat* = *LHL* IV, 380.

13 *Arcem / tuam* Mont Ste-Geneviève, the site of the church where she was buried.

13–15 *brachia ... diuam* Cf. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 481, ll. 391–392 (of the Seine as it flows around Notre-Dame): "Amnis ipse videtur honoris gratia decedere numini Virginis."

15 *veneratus supplice* = Stat. *Ach.* I, 365 (in one ms. tradition).

16 *In sese redit adque* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 444 (Proteus returning to his usual form): "in sese redit atque ..."; Er. Ep. 1342, l. 400 (of the Rhine river after it has flowed around an island bearing a nunnery): "in sese coiens"; Eob. Hess. *Nor.* 369 (of the Pegnitz river after it has flowed around an island): "Inde in se rediens vnum coit amnis in alueum."

19 *Viculus ... beatus* Cf. *Mch.* 5, 2; *Mt.* 2, 6. The reference here is to Nanterre. *prole beatus* = *LHL* IV, 375; cf. Er. *Carm.* 110, 14.

21 *Celtarum lux, Dionysi* St. Denis, the apostle to the Gauls and the first bishop of Paris (third century), is the patron saint of France.

In the seventh century his relics were moved to the Benedictine abbey at St. Denis.

22 *sinuosis flexibus errans* = Auson. *Mos.* 285; cf. *LHL* II, 300.

26 *Namethodorum* Ste. Geneviève was born in Nanterre about 422; cf. l. 19 above. As a young girl she accepted St. Germain's call to dedicate her life to Christ. After her parents' death she went to live with her godmother in Paris. She was buried around the year 512 in the church of the Holy Apostles in Paris, later popularly known as the church of Ste. Geneviève; cf. l. 13 above. In the Renaissance period this church belonged to Er.' own order, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. Er. may have preached some sermons there in honour of the saints; see Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 37, ll. 14–16 (with n.). From 1764 to 1790 a new church was built over Ste. Geneviève's grave; this church was turned into the Panthéon in 1791.

28–29 *fontemque ... Vndantem* According to the legend, Ste. Geneviève performed her first miracle with water from this well. Her mother had slapped her for insisting on going to church on a feast-day and was immediately struck blind. After nearly two years Geneviève was told to get water from the well. There, blaming herself for her mother's blindness, she wept bitter tears. But having collected herself, she brought the

Vndantem. At potius bis terque quaterque videtur
 30 Pracsidae te felix populosa Lutetia, virgo,
 Cuius tutelam pariter cum virgine matre
 Iugibus excubiis peragis, nec enim illa grauat
 Muneris eiusdem collegam. Tu quidem in alta
 Sublimis specula late circumspicis agros
 35 Ac mala propulsas charis minitantia Gallis.
 Illa fouet gremio miseros mediamque per urbem
 Audit egenorum ploratus, hic quoque natum
 Clementem mater referens, nihilo secus ac tu
 Sponsa tuum, Genouefa, refers mitissima sponsum.
 40 Interea paribus studiis defenditis ambae
 Germanos Druidas ac maiestate senatum

36 *mediamque a β: mediam BAS LB.*

bucket of water back and made the sign of the cross over it. When her mother had washed her eyes with the water several times, her sight was restored.

29–30 *terque quaterque / felix* Cf. *Carm.* 1, 83–84 (n.); 6, 58; 110, 291 (n.).

31 *virgine matre* = *LHL V*, 621.

33–34 *in ... specula* Cf. *Adag.* 3295; *Moria, ASD IV*, 3, p. 106, l. 655; *Ep.* 1819, l. 154. From heaven Ste. Geneviève now watches over all of France.

36 *fouet gremio* A stock expression; see n. *Carm.* 10, 4.

mediamque per urbem = *Ov. Met.* XV, 689.

39 *Sponsa ... sponsum* When St. Germain picked her out of a crowd as a young girl, he asked her whether she wished to become “the bride of Christ”. This common title of virgin saints was very often applied to Ste. Geneviève in hymns; see, e.g., *AH* 8, 168, 5a; 8, 171, 1b; 8, 174, 2b; 11, 245, 6; and several times in 18, 26 (pp. 77–80).

41–42 *Germanos ... regem* Er. is referring to the ecclesiastical establishment of Paris, the Parliament of Paris, and the king of France. Cf. *Elenchus, LB IX*, 513 B: “Christianissimum Galliarum regem Franciscum, senatum Parisiensem, ordinem theologorum appello.”

41 *Germanos Druidas* Reedijk and others assume that this unusual phrase harbours an ironic barb at the Paris theologians, who had condemned a large number of Er.’ pronouncements in Dec. 1527 (not published until 7 July 1531). Sarcasm, however, would be quite out of place in this passage, an

encomium of Paris, her priests and theologians, her Parliament, and her “most Christian king”. The Virgin Mary and Ste. Geneviève, of course, extend their protection only to those who are genuinely Christian. Though the Paris theologians condemned many of his positions, Er. maintained publicly that they were being misled by a few fame-seeking fanatics like Noël Beda. See, e.g., *Ep.* 1902, ll. 52–55; *Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.*, *LB IX*, 815 B–816 C.

The word “Druid” in the sense of “priest” or “teacher of religion” was in contemporary usage entirely honourable in connotation; see Noel L. Brann, *Conrad Celtis and the “Druid” Abbot Trithemius: An Inquiry into Patriotic Humanism, Renaissance and Reformation* 3 (1979), pp. 16–28; Vredevelde, *Notes*, pp. 611–613. It is understood in this positive sense also by Paschal Robin in his 1586 translation (my italics): “vous defendez ensemble en voeux pareils / *Les saints estats unis, le Conseil des Conseils, / Le Parlement sacré.*”

In *Erasmus’ “Carmen Votiuum” ter ere van Ste-Geneviève*, *Hermeneus* 58 (1986), p. 193 and *Morcana* 106–107 (1991), p. 179, Nicolaas van der Blom maintains that the phrase “germanos Druidas” in l. 41 does not consist of an adjective and noun (“genuine Druids”), but rather of two nouns in apposition (“the brethren, the Druids”). To buttress his interpretation, he adduces *Cic. Cael.* 11, 26: “Fera quaedam sodalitas et plane pastoricia atque agrestis germanorum Lupercorum, quorum coitio illa siluestris ante instituta quam

- Regali, sed Christophilum super omnia regem,
 Illos qui populo reserent oracula mentis
 Diuinae, hos variis vt mixtam gentibus vrbem
 45 Aequo iure regant. Est vestri muneris ergo
 Nulla quod hoc aeuo respublica floreat vsquam
 Prosperius.
 Sed tempus adest, vt carmine grates
 Persoluam, Genouefa, tibi pro munere vitae
 Ac paeana canam, multis e millibus vnus
 50 Quos ope praesenti seruasti. Languida febris,
 Triste tenaxque malum, quod quarto quoque recurrit

humanitas atque leges." But Cicero's phrase "sodalitas ... germanorum Luperorum", which Reedijk had earlier cited to support his view that "germani" in l. 41 means "genuine", probably does not have the somewhat tautological sense "the fraternity ... of the brethren, the Luperci" (as Jean Cousin translates in *Cicéron: Discours*, XV, Paris, 1962, p. 104: "confrérie ... de ces frères Luperques"). R. G. Austin, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro M. Caelio oratio*, Oxford, 1960, p. 81 renders the passage as follows (my italics): "a quite savage brotherhood this, downright rustic and uncouth, consisting of those genuine wolf-men, whose famous woodland pack was founded long before civilization and law." J. G. Frazer, *Publii Ouidii Nasonis Fastorum libri sex*, II, London, 1929, p. 339, translates: "a sort of wild and thoroughly pastoral and rustic brotherhood of regular Wolves"; and R. Gardner, *Cicero. The Speeches: Pro Caelio - De prouinciis consularibus - Pro Balbo*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, p. 439 takes the meaning to be: "The genuine wolf-men were a sort of savage fraternity."

Er. himself commonly uses "germanus" as an adjective in the familiar sense of "true", "genuine". See, e.g., Ep. 1885, ll. 147-148: "germani ... Ciceroniani"; Ep. 2441, ll. 99-100 and *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, ASD V, 2, p. 232, l. 246: "germani Christi discipuli"; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 74, l. 862: "veri germanique Christi discipuli"; ASD V, 4, p. 374, l. 190: "veros ac germanos Dei filios"; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, LB V, 585 E: "[Dei] germani ... filii". The ancient Druids he regarded as false teachers of religion, opposed to the genuine faith of Christianity. See *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 266, ll. 280-281, published in 1533: "Habebat et

Gallia Druidas propriae cuiusdam religionis magistros, sed cum vera religione pugnantibus." Over against the false Druids of ancient Gaul Er. is now setting the "genuine Druids" of modern France - "genuine", because they teach the true faith and "reveal to the people the mysteries of the divine mind" (ll. 43-44).

- 42 *Christophilum / regem* I.e., "rex Christianissimus" (King Francis I). "Christophilum" appears to be a neologism.
super omnia = LHL V, 316; Er. *Carm.* 49, 137; 112, ll. 120 and 125; cf. *Carm.* 49, 59.
 43-44 *Illos ... Diuinae* Cf. *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 184, l. 39 (ironically, referring to a theologian): "diuinae mentis interpres"; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 38, l. 95: "diuinae voluntatis interpres".
 43 *reserent oracula mentis* Ov. *Met.* XV, 145.
 43-44 *mentis Diuinae* Verg. *Georg.* IV, 220; LHL II, 103.
 45 *Est vestri muneris* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV, 3, 21; Ov. *Trist.* I, 6, 6; Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 344, l. 390; p. 421, l. 479; ll. 102-103 below.
 47 *tempus adest* = Verg. *Aen.* XII, 96; Ov. *Ars* I, 607.
 47-48 *grates Persoluam* Verg. *Aen.* I, 600; II, 537.
 48 *munere vitae* = LHL III, 471-472.
 49 *paeana* A "paeon" was originally a hymn to Apollo as god of healing; later it was used more generally also as a hymn of praise. N. van der Blom points out in *Moreana* 106-107 (1991), p. 179 that both senses of the term reverberate here. Er.' poem is a hymn of praise to a saint who, through "Christus medicus", has brought healing.
multis e millibus vnus Cf. Ov. *Pont.* II, 3, 11.
 51-52 *quarto / die* The quartan fever, as N. van der Blom notes in *Hermeneus* 58 (1986),

Vsque die, miseros penitus peruaserat artus.
 Consultus medicus sic consolatur, abesse
 Diceret vt vitae discrimen, sed fore morbum
 55 Lentum. Mox haec vox me non secus enecat ac si
 Dixisset, 'Prius atque quater sol occidat, alta
 In cruce pendebis.' Siquidem est renouata cicatrix,
 Dum mihi post multos animus reminiscitur annos
 Quod puerum toto febris me haec torserat anno.
 60 Proin erat in votis mihi mors, quia tristius omni
 Morte malum medicus denunciat. Hic mihi numen,
 Diua, tuum venit in mentem, simul optima quaedam
 Spes animum reficit, tacitoque haec pectore voluo:
 'Virgo, sponsa deo gratissima, corpore terram
 65 Quum premeres, semper miseris succurrere sueta,
 Et nunc plura potes, postquam te regia coeli
 Coepit et es Christo sponso vicinior, huc huc
 Flecte oculos, Genouefa, tuos et corpore febrim
 Pellito. Me studiis, sine queis nec viuere dulce est,
 70 Obsecro, restituas, etenim leuius puto vitam
 Exhalare semel quam lento arescere morbo.

63 haec *om. LB.*

p. 198, n. 16, recurs every four days according to the Roman system of *inclusive* reckoning: 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 and so forth; cf. l. 79 below.
 52 *miseros / artus* = Verg. *Aen.* II, 215; cf. *Georg.* III, 483.
 54-55 *morbum Lentum* Cf. l. 71 below.
 56 *sol occidat* Cic. *Div.* I, 14, 24; Catull. 5, 4; *Is.* 60, 20; and elsewhere; Er. *Enchir.*, LB V, 27 F; *Carm.* III, 76 (in a wordplay on the two senses of the verb).
 57 *renouata cicatrix* Cf. *Adag.* 580.
 58 *multos / annos* = *LHL* III, 449.
 59 *Quod ... anno* See Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 49, ll. 57-62; Ep. 447, ll. 240-244; 1436, l. 35; 2997, ll. 80-82. From these passages it appears that Er. first suffered from the quartan fever during 1486-1487. He was then nineteen to twenty years old.
 60 *erat ... mors* Ep. 1411, l. 6 (during an attack of stone in Jan. 1524); 1422, l. 20; 1423, l. 2; 1426, l. 16; 1434, l. 32.
erat in votis = Hor. *Serm.* II, 6, 1; cf. Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 21, l. 34: "Illud erat in votis."
 63 *tacitoque / pectore* = Ov. *Her.* 13, 89; cf. *Her.* 20(21), 201; *Ars* I, 110; Verg. *Aen.* I, 502; Sil.

XI, 309: "tacito voluebat pectore"; Er. *Carm.* 110, 243-244.
haec pectore voluo Cf. Lucan. VIII, 621.
 64 *corpore terram* = *LHL* I, 477.
 65 *miseris succurrere* = Verg. *Aen.* I, 630; Ov. *Met.* XV, 632.
 66-67 *Et nunc ... vicinior* Er. contrasts Ste. Geneviève's former power as a saint on earth with her far greater power as Christ's bride in heaven. That is how the anonymous author of the scholion in the 1566 edition understands the passage (sig. b2^v, quoting Bernardus, *In Vigil. Apost.* 2): "Qui potens fuit in terra, potentior est in caelis ante faciem Domini Dei sui."
 66 *regia coeli* = *LHL* IV, 479-480.
 68 *Flecte oculos* Ov. *Met.* VIII, 696; X, 57.
corpore febrim = l. 87 below; cf. *LHL* I, 468.
 69 *studiis ... est* Cf. Ep. 1311, ll. 2-3; Sen. *Epist.* 82, 3 (quoted in Er. *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 244, ll. 8-9).
 70-71 *vitam Exhalare* Verg. *Aen.* II, 562; Ov. *Met.* V, 62; cf. Er. *Carm.* 112, 104.
 71 *lento / morbo* Cf. ll. 54-55 above.
arescere Fever was believed to dry out the body and its vital fluid, much as excessive

- Quod tibi pollicear, nihil est, nec tu indiga nostri es.
 Quod superest, grato recinam tibi carmine laudes.⁷
 Vix ea fatus eram nullo cum murmure linguae,
 75 Verum intra arcanae mecum penetralia mentis
 (Prodigiosa loquar, sed compertissima), stratis
 Exilio, reddor studiis, vestigia nulla
 Sentio languoris nec inertis taedia febris.
 Septima lux aderat, qua se quartana recurrens
 80 Prodere debuerat, sed corpus alacrius omne
 Quam fuit ante viget. Medicus redit atque quid actum
 Miratur, vultum speculatur et ore latentem
 Explorat linguam, tum quem vesica liquorem
 Reddiderat poscit, quin brachia denique summis
 85 Pertentat digitis. Vbi nullas comperit vsquam
 Morbi reliquias, 'Et quis deus', inquit, 'Erasmé,
 Te subito fecit alium? Quis corpore febrim
 Depulit ac vatem me, quo de gaudeo, vanum
 Reddidit? Is, quisquis diuum fuit, arte medendi
 90 Plus nostra, fateor, multo valet: haud ope post hac
 Nostra opus est.' Nomen medici vis nosse? Guihelmus
 Copus erat, iam tum florens iuuenilibus annis

87 febrim β BAS LB: febrin a.

- heat causes a plant to wither; see Peter H. Niebyl, *Old Age, Fever, and the Lamp Metaphor*, *Journal of the History of Medicine* 26 (1971), pp. 351–368; cf. *Iob* 30, 30. Ageing was thought to have the same effect on the body; see n. *Carm.* 2, 19–20.
- 72 *nec tu indiga nostri es* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* II, 428: "opisque haud indiga nostrae"; Er. *Carm.* 4, ded., l. 48: "superi ..., qui nullis mortalium opibus egent".
- 73 *Quod superest* = *LHL* IV, 449–450; Er. *Carm.* 92, 10.
grato / carmine Hor. *Carm.* III, 11, 23–24.
carmine laudes = Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 287; cf. *LHL* I, 279.
- 74 *Vix ea fatus eram* = Verg. *Aen.* II, 323; III, 90; cf. Ov. *Met.* XV, 843.
murmure linguae = *LHL* III, 479.
- 75 *arcanae / penetralia mentis* Cf. *Carm.* 34, 2 (n.); 49, 96 (n.).
- 76–77 *stratis Exilio* Ov. *Met.* V, 34–35; Lucan. V, 791.
- 78 *languoris* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 390; *Annot. in NT*, LB VI, 25 E.
- 79 *Septima lux aderat* = Claud. *Epith.*, praef. 15. For an explanation why Er. mentions the *seventh* day see n.ll. 51–52 above.
- 86 *quis deus* Verg. *Georg.* IV, 315; *Aen.* IX, 77; and elsewhere. Cf. Er. *Adag.* 69, *ASD* II, 1, p. 180, ll. 852–853: "Vulgo quoque qui in rebus perplexis ac desperatis aut ancipiti periculo seruantur, a deo quopiam aiunt sese seruatos."
- 87 *Tē / fecit alium* Cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 160–161: "quam cito / alium fecisti me."
corpore febrim = l. 68 (n.) above.
- 88 *quo de* To avoid the repetition of sounds in "me, de", Er. here inverts the normal word order.
- 89 *arte medendi* = *LHL* I, 136.
- 91–92 *Guihelmus Copus* See n. *Carm.* 2, tit.
- 92 *iuuenilibus annis* = *LHL* III, 145; Er. *Carm.* 95, 69.

Me quamuis aetate prior, perfectus ad vnguem
 Dotibus ingenii, sophiaequae mathemata callens
 95 Vt si quisquam alius. Senio nunc fessus in aula
 Francisci regis, procerum inter lumina, cunctis
 Charus adoratur fruiturque laboribus actis.
 Hic igitur mihi testis erit grauis atque locuples
 Munere, diua, tuo reuocatae, virgo, salutis.
 100 Quanquam quicquid id est, auctori gloria Christo
 In solidum debetur honosque perhennis in aeuum.
 Muneris huius erat, quod viuua deo placuisti;
 Muneris eiusdem est, quod mortua pluribus aegris
 Praesidio es. Sponso sic visum est omnipotenti.
 105 Per te largiri gaudet sua munera, per te
 Gaudet honorari, veluti lux ignea Phoebi
 Per vitrum splendet iucundius, ac veluti fons
 Per puras transfusus amat manare canales.
 Hoc vnum superest, vt te precer, optima virgo,
 110 Ne mihi sit fraudi, quod tanto tempore votum

93 *ad vnguem* *Adag.* 491.

94 *Dotibus ingenii* = Tito Strozzi, *Eroticon* III, II, 132: "Ornatus tantis dotibus ingenii"; Eob. Hess. *Bon. val.* 10; cf. *Ov. Ars* II, 112.

95 *Senio / fessus* = *Stat. Silv.* II, 4, 36: "senio nec fessus inertis"; cf. *Er. Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, I, p. 30, l. 115; *Lucianus*, *ASD* I, I, p. 527, l. 12; *Adag.* 47, *ASD* II, I, p. 164, l. 475; *Adag.* 901, *LB* II, 367 E; *Ep.* 1885, l. 2; 2209, l. 30.

96 *Francisci* Francis I (1494–1547), king of France from 1515. Guillaume Cop was royal physician from 1512 until his death in 1532.

98 *testis / locuples* *Cic. Off.* III, 2, 10; *Flacc.* 17, 40.

100 *quicquid id est* *LHL* IV, 444–445; *Er. Carm.* 111, 91.

gloria Christo = *LHL* II, 435–436.

102–104 *Muneris ... Praesidio es* Cf. *Virg. et mart. comp.*, *LB* V, 590 B: "Quidquid ... in sanctis gloriosum est, Christi munus est." *Er.* is careful to emphasize the grace of God and to stress that the saints are only instruments in his hands.

106–108 *veluti lux ... canales* The comparisons draw on Biblical and traditional metaphors. Christ is the "light" (see n. *Carm.* 43, 39; cf. *Carm.* 112, 244–256), the "sun of righteousness" (*Ml.* 4, 2), the "true sun" (*Carm.* 111, 76 and n.). The miracle of the virgin birth was

often likened to a beam of sunlight, which, in passing through glass, does not violate it; see n. *Carm.* 110, 273–274. The colouring of light as it passes through tinted glass was likewise traditionally used as an analogy to explain how Christ, the sun, took on human flesh without changing his essential nature. See Salzer, p. 74, ll. 25–29 (vernacular examples are given on p. 72, ll. 15–21 and 24–28; p. 73, ll. 7–18 and 24–29). Furthermore, Christ is the well of living water (cf. *Ioh.* 4, 10; 7, 37–38), and from his wounds flow the water and blood of grace (cf. *Carm.* 9, 36; 11, 15–16). Mary too is commonly likened to a well or spring; see Salzer, pp. 9–10, 322–324, and 520–523; but she is also the conduit or "aqueduct" through whom Christ's grace flowed to mankind; cf. *Sir.* 24, 41; Salzer, p. 9, l. 39; pp. 533–534; p. 567, ll. 1–2; p. 597, ll. 4–7; *Er. Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1233 B.

107 *Per ... iucundius* The art of making clear glass, lost in the Middle Ages, was rediscovered in Venice during the fifteenth century; but most of the window glass in *Er.*' day was still tinted.

107–108 *fons ... canales* Cf. Albert. M. *Enarr. in Lc.* 1, 28, in: *Opera*, XXII, p. 57, speaking of the Virgin Mary: "Canalis autem munda esse debet, ne aquam mundam turbet."

Soluere distulerim. Patere hanc accedere laudem
 Tot titulis, Genouefa, tuis: vt castior vsquam
 Nulla fuit, toto non vlla modestior orbe,
 Sic nec in aethereis clementior vlla feratur.

In fine: Finis a β.

111–112 *accedere / titulis* Ov. *Her.* 9, 1; *Fast.* III,
 420.

89. TO PIERRE DU CHASTEL, WHO SENT HIM SOME PARTRIDGES
 24 September 1532

The epigram is contained in Ep. 2720 to Pierre Du Chastel (Freiburg, 24 September [1532]). Du Chastel had on several occasions sent Er. some partridges. In the letter Er. asked him to stop sending the birds, because his health no longer permitted him to digest them. This distich is Er.' thanks for the gift.

Pierre Du Chastel had lived for several months in Er.' house at Basel in 1527. The two renewed their acquaintance in June 1532, when the young man matriculated at Freiburg. He later became a favourite of King Francis I and was appointed successively bishop of Tulle (1539), Mâcon (1544), and Orléans (1551). He died in 1552. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Pierre) Du Chastel.

Ep. 2720, which also contains *Carm.* 90, was first published in *De praeparatione ad mortem*, Basel, H. Froben and N. Episcopius, 1534 (α; Bezzel 1578); the distich is found there on p. 128.

Metre: elegiac distich.
 Source: α.

Lauta mihi, Petre, mittis edulia, sed stomachus deest.
 Vis mage quod placeat mittere, mitte famem.

90–91. THE DIFFICULTY OF COLLECTING PROVERBS
 BY THE THOUSANDS
 24 September 1532–March 1533

Like the preceding epigram, *Carm.* 90 was sent in Ep. 2720 (24 September [1532]) and first published in *De praeparatione ad mortem*, Basel, H. Froben and N. Episcopius, 1534 (α; Bezzel 1578); the distich is found there on p. 129. Er. introduces it by saying: "Sunt quibus facile videtur Apophthegmata aut Prouer-

bia scribere, sed libros et chiliadas scribere difficile est.” His model is Martial. VII, 85, 3–4 (partially quoted in Er. Ep. 27, l. 65): “facile est epigrammata belle / scribere, sed librum scribere difficile est.” In *Adag.* 2001, “Herculei labores”, Er. talks at length about the Herculean task of collecting and explaining proverbs.

The distich was later expanded to four lines (*Carm.* 91). This version was first published in *Adagiorum opus*, Basel, H. Froben and N. Episcopus, March 1533 (β ; Bezzel 79), tit. v^o.

Metre of both epigrams: elegiac distich.

Source for *Carm.* 90: *a*; sources for *Carm.* 91: β^* ; *BAS* II, tit. v^o; *LB* II, tit. v^o.

90

Perfacile est, fateor, prouerbia scribere cuiuis,
At perdifficile est scribere chiliadas.

91

Perfacile est, aiunt, prouerbia scribere cuiuis.
Haud nego, sed durum est scribere chiliadas.
Qui mihi non credit, faciat licet ipse periculum.
Mox fuerit studiis aequior ille meis.

Ante 1: Erasmus loquitur *add.* *BAS LB*.

92. AN EPITAPH FOR ULRICH ZASIUS

early April 1536

Vdalricus Zasius of Constance (1461–24 November 1535) received a doctorate in civil law from Freiburg (1501). He was appointed professor of civil law at Freiburg in 1506, a position he held until his death. Maximilian I made him imperial councillor in 1508. A gifted teacher and eminent legal scholar, Zasius maintained extensive contacts with the humanists of his day. His correspondence with Er. began with his letter of 7 September 1514 (Ep. 303). The two men met in the summer of 1518, probably at Basel. See Epp. 857 and 859; *Contemporaries* s.v. (Vdalricus) Zasius.

A manuscript copy of the epitaph, corrected by Er. himself, is extant in the University Library, Basel (Erasmuslade C 8). This manuscript (*Ms*), which also contains *Carm.* 127, is reproduced in Reedijk, *Poems*, before p. 357. The epitaph was first printed in Vdalricus Zasius, *In tit. institutionum de actionibus enarratio*, Basel, Johann Bebel and Michael Isengrin, 1536 (*a*), sig. $\beta 5^v$.

Metre: hexameter.

Sources: *Ms*; *α**; *BAS* I, 1034; *LB* I, 1226.

EPITAPHIVM D. VDALRICI ZASII PER ERASMVVM ROT.

- Siccine, mors crudelis et inuida, praeripis orbi
 Vlrichum Zasium, decus admirabile iuris
 Caesarei simul et sacri (parcissima dixi),
 Imo doctrinae totius et artis honestae
 5 Thesaurum ac mundum locupletem, cuius ab ore
 Manabat sermo vel melle suauior omni?
 Quid nunc collaudem summum pietatis amorem
 Et mentem coelo dignam, quo iam illa soluta
 Corporis inuolucris fruitur sine fine beata?
 10 Quod superest: te compello, studiosa iuuentus,
 Tandem pone modum lachrymis iustoque dolori.
 Vocis adempta tibi est Zasianae copia, verum
 Extant ingenii monumenta perennia. Quae si
 Assidue manibusque teras oculisque frequentes,
 15 Spirat in his loquiturque viri pars optima semper.

Tit. EPITAPHIVM ... ROT. *add. α.*

3 *parcissima Ms BAS LB: paucissima α.*

12 *est om. α.*

13 *perennia α: insignia Ms (scripsit manus scribae), perhennia Ms (add. manus Erasmi supra lineam).*

1 *mors / inuida* See n. *Carm.* 38, 15.

3 *parcissima dixi* Cf. Quint. *Inst.* X, 1, 101: "vt parcissime dicam"; Er. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 685, ll. 329–330: "vt dicam parcissime".

5–6 *cuius ... omni* Cf. Hom. *Il.* I, 247–249, transl. in Er. *Adag.* 156; Er. *Carm.* 4, 41 (n.). *ab ore Manabat* Stat. *Silv.* V, 5, 37 (an epicedion for his son).

7 *pietatis amorem* = *LHL* IV, 254–255.

9 *sine fine beata* = *LHL* V, 170–171.

15 *Spirat ... semper Ms (add. manus Erasmi infra lineam) α: Nec prorsum tibi mutus erit, nec mortuus ille Ms (qui versus deletus est).*

In fine: Finis Ms (add. manus Erasmi).

10 *Quod superest* = *Carm.* 88, 73 (n.).

11 *pone ... dolori* Cf. *Carm.* 62, 15.

pone modum lachrymis Petrarca, *Africa* V, 683: "Pone modum lacrimis metamque impone querelis"; Walther 21907a.

13 *ingenii monumenta* Poliz. *Epigr.* 90, 4; *Eleg.* 6, 4.

15 *pars optima* = Lucan. V, 757: "... maneat pars optima Magni"; cf. Ov. *Met.* XIV, 604.

POEMS PUBLISHED DURING ERASMUS' LIFETIME
WITHOUT HIS CONSENT

From *Silua carminum*, ed. Reyner Snoy,
Gouda, A. Gauter, 18 May 1513

REYNER SNOY'S PREFACE
May 1513

Reyner Snoy of Gouda (c. 1477–1537) studied at Louvain and Bologna, where he received a doctorate in medicine. After returning to Gouda not long before 1509 he became personal physician to Adolph of Burgundy, lord of Veere. Deeply interested in literature and history – he was the author of a (posthumously printed) history of Holland –, he soon became the patron of Er.' old friend, Cornelis Gerard. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Reyner) Snoy. A few years later he published *Herasmi Roterodami Silua carminum antehac nunquam impressorum*, Gouda, A. Gauter, 18 May 1513. Besides Snoy's preface, the little volume contains *Carmm.* 93–97 and Willem Hermans' *Hollandia*.

It is not known when Snoy first met Er. or how he obtained a manuscript containing Er.' early poems. Er. does not mention him in his correspondence until 1506; see Ep. 190, ll. 10–11; Ep. 202, ll. 5–6. That they met in Gouda or at Steyn by 1492, as is suggested in *Contemporaries*, III, p. 262, cannot be ruled out. It must be remembered, however, that Snoy in his boyhood demonstrated so little intellectual promise that for a while he was made a blacksmith's apprentice; but later he became a brilliant student in school. Alard of Amsterdam does seem to say in his edition of *Carm.* 102, *De vitando pernicioso libidinosoque aspectu carmen bucolicum*, Leiden, P. van Balen, 1538, sig. B1^r, that the *Carmen bucolicum* and other early poems by Er. lay unpublished among Snoy's papers for over forty years before his death in 1537. It is hard to believe, however, that Snoy actually acquired the manuscript when he was still a teenager in Gouda and Er. not yet a famous figure. More probably he obtained it after Er.' rise to fame had created an interest in his juvenilia. Perhaps he obtained it from his friend Cornelis Gerard; he could also have discovered it among the papers he acquired after Willem Hermans' death in 1510; see Tilmans, pp. 88–89. Goudriaan, pp. 249–250 suggests

that Snoy might have obtained the manuscript through his close contacts with the canons regular in Steyn.

From ll. 27-28 of his prefatory letter we learn that Snoy was eager to publish more of Er.' early poems, if his first edition should prove to be a success. But the book, printed in an unattractive black letter, evidently did not sell as well as expected (very few copies are still extant). Er.' return from England in the summer of 1514 may also have deterred Snoy; see Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 6, ll. 1-2. At any rate, he prepared no further edition. After Snoy's death the manuscript with other early poems by Er. came into the hands of Alaard of Amsterdam, who used it to prepare his text of the *Carmen buccolicum* (*Carm.* 102).

An early version of Snoy's letter to the reader, copied by a canon at Steyn in about 1524, is contained in Ms. 1324, f^o 50^v-51^r, Municipal Library of Gouda (*Ms.*).

Sources: *Ms.*; *H**.

M. REYNERIVS SNOY LECTORI SALVTEM.

Habes, candide lector, primam feturam Herasmi Roterodami, viri vndecunque doctissimi. Quum Steynico rure canonicum regularem ageret, has ingenii sui primitias admodum adolescens (nondum annum agebat vigesimum) felicissimo
 5 auspiciu delibavit atque prelusit, eximiam animi indolem, precoci suffragante ingenio, palestrae poetices desudatione et instruens et exprimens. Indidem Guielmus noster Goudanus vt alter Theseus cum Herasmo suo in Steynico rure (vbi professione canonici erant regulares) annis ferme decem conuixit haud minore animorum obseruantia atque studiorum similitudine. Profecto felix Steynicum
 10 illud rus religione et doctrina conspicuum, quod hos educavit alumnos de litteraria republica optime meritos quosque omnis est admiratura posteritas. Vtroque

1 LECTORI *H*: studioso lectori *Ms.*

2 Praefatio honorifica in aedicionem carminum Erasmi et Guelmi* *Ms.*; feturam ... Roterodami *H*: Erasmi Roterodami feturam *Ms.*

3 Quum ... ageret *H*: Is quum in rure Steynico vitam ageret monasticam *Ms.*

6 palestrae *scripsi*: palestricae *Ms.*, palestre *H*.

2 *primam feturam* Cf. Plin. *Nat.*, praef. 1: "proxima fetura".

3-4 *ingenii sui primitias* Cf. Conrad Celtis, *Amores*, praef. 1: "primitias ... mei ingenii".

4 *nondum ... vigesimum* The earliest poem in Snoy's ed., *Carm.* 93, was composed in 1489, when Er. was twenty-two. *Carmm.* 94-97 were written in 1490-1491.

6-7 *Guielmus ... Goudanus* For Willem Hermans see introd. *Carm.* 30.

7-8 suo ... erant *H*: suo (nam erant professione canonici *Ms.*

9-10 Laus cenobii Steynici* *Ms.*

9 Profecto felix *H*: Felix profecto *Ms.*

10 hos *H*: tam insignes *Ms.*

11 republica *Ms*: rep. *H*; posteritas *H*: potesterritas [*sic*], ac videntur laudibus omnium eruditorum centuriae *Ms.*

7 *Theseus* This legendary king of Athens was so attached to his friend Pirithous that he became a byword for true friendship; see Otto 1779.

8 *annis ferme decem* Willem Hermans and Er. had known each other at least since their school days in Deventer, but they were together at Steyn only from c. 1487 to autumn 1490.

dicendi genere (quod inuentu rarum) adeo absoluta itemque elaborata suorum ingeniorum monumenta reliquerunt, vt suffragium Mineruae emeritos omnibus in confesso sit. Vter palmariam operam nauauerit hisce pauculis poematum
 15 eorum lucubratiunculis, candide lector, (vt voles) pro arbitratu percense, nam tibi suffragium supposcens pallium trahit nemo. Sedulo si perlegeris, haud facile diiudicatu estimabis. Hoc carthaceo munere te donamus; propediem plura accepturus, si hec aequi bonique consulueris. Sin minus, susque deque habendo in spongiam (vt aiunt) incumbent.
 20 Vale.

12-13 itemque ... Mineruae [Minerue H] emeritos H: elaborataque ingeniorum suorum reliquere monumenta, vt Mineruae suffragium praemeritos Ms.
 14 sit Ms: est H; Vter ... pauculis H: Vter vero palmariam nauarit operam hisce Ms.
 15 arbitratu H: tuo arbitratu Ms.
 16 supposcens H: poscens Ms; Sedulo ... facile

H: Si non oscitanter legeris, sed oculis lynceis omnia lustraris, haud facile (puto) Ms.
 17 Hoc ... te H: Hoc te charthaceo munere te [te *deletum* Ms] nunc Ms.
 18 Adagium* Ms; aequi Ms: equi H.
 19 spongiam Ms: spongia H; (vt aiunt) *add.* H.
In fine: Goudae, ex officina chalcographica Ms.

13 *suffragium Mineruae* See *Adag.* 2353.
 14-16 *Vter ... nemo* Clarence H. Miller (*CWE* 85) translates: "Which of them has succeeded in winning the prize in these little poetic products of their midnight oil, judge for yourself, kind reader, just as you please, for no one secretly asks how you voted or uncloaks the choice you made." The verb "supposcens" cannot be documented in ancient or medieval Latin; but as the ms. here reads "poscens", one may imagine that "supposcens" means "secretly asking".
 14 *palmariam ... nauauerit* Cf. *Adag.* 204.

17 *carthaceo munere* Cf. *Carm.* 28, 1 (n.).
 18 *susque deque* *Adag.* 283.
 18-19 *in spongiam ... incumbent* Suet. *Aug.* 85, 2 says that Augustus began writing a tragedy on Ajax, the Greek hero who went mad and committed suicide by falling on his sword. Before long, Augustus grew dissatisfied with his rough draft and wiped the slate clean with a sponge. When friends inquired how the tragedy was progressing, "respondit Aiacem suum in spongiam incubuisse". The story is also told in Macr. *Sat.* II, 4, 1-2; cf. *Er. Adag.* 458.

93. A DIALOGUE AGAINST THE BARBARIANS

late winter–May 1489

The poem in its present form is the product of collaboration between Er. and his friend Cornelis Gerard. Its genesis is described in Epp. 19 and 20 (early and mid-May 1489?). In Ep. 19 Cornelis says that he has finally received a copy of Er.' "carmen lamentabile super contemtu artis poeticae". He liked it so well that he decided to turn it into an apologetic dialogue between the two of them (Ep. 19, ll. 17–28):

Carmen tuum debita recommendatione celebrandum nostra licet rudi confabulatione subdiuidens, Dialogum Apologeticum feci, prout titulus huic tuo et nostro communi libello praefixus facile manifestat. Nec hoc tibi, quaeso, indignationem faciat, me tuos versus paucissimis interdum verbis commutasse et ad aliud metri genus in finem retorsisse: sed plurima velim ratione et suavi quadam nostrae charitatis praesumptione id factum esse non ambigas. Nam vt carmen illud eleganti a te stylo compositum omnes et singulos vehementius delectaret, satégi vt a legentibus si libuisset etiam suavi modulatione decantari posset. Quod vt liberius quoque inoffensa voce posset fieri, omnes hiatus vocalium diligenti studio praetermisi.

In his response Er. says that he wrote the poem expressly to win Cornelis' friendship. Unfortunately, he continues, it was not delivered as soon as it should have been. Now that Cornelis has not only received and approved of the poem but also interspersed it with his own verses (Ep. 20, ll. 45–49), Er. expresses his delight at this act of friendship (Ep. 20, ll. 65–70):

Atque sicut iucundissimo tuae erga me beneuolentiae argumento ex meis tuisque versibus vnum compegisti Apologeticum, ita duos (si tamen id fieri potest vt quidquam inter amicos diuisum reperiamus) duorum animos vnum amoris mutui vinculum connectat; vt, sicut tui meo carmini et tuis mei intexti sint versibus, ita et tuus in me et meus in te semper habitet animus.

Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 161 interprets Cornelis' comments to mean that the latter's "share in the undertaking was limited to casting the poem into the form of a dialogue and to a few slight alterations in the text". Béné, pp. 48–52 has shown, however, that this view greatly underestimates Cornelis' share in the work. In its original form, as we learn from Ep. 19, l. 6, the poem lamented the barbarians' contempt for the art of poetry. In Cornelis' hands the lament becomes an "apologeticum", defending Christian poetry and exhorting poets to adorn God's temple with their art. Cornelis therefore did more than just touch up a few of Er.' verses. He must also have contributed many verses of his own, indeed quite probably the three sections labelled as his.

Béné's argument finds ample support in the correspondence. In Ep. 19, ll. 30–31 Cornelis tells Er. that the latter's "carmen" has now become a "libellus"; Cornelis, in other words, must have added numerous lines. Er. acknowledges his friend's contributions to the poem in Ep. 20, l. 3, when he refers to the revision as "libellus tuus"

– a phrase which certainly does not refer to Cornelis' *De morte*, as a note in *CWE* explains, since Er. says later on in the letter (Ep. 20, ll. 107–108) that he has long since (“iam pridem”) read *De morte*, while at the beginning of the same letter he expresses surprise and delight that the promised booklet is now finished. In Ep. 20, l. 49 Er. thanks his friend for inserting (“immiscere”) his own “splendid” verses into the poem. In Ep. 22, ll. 30–34 he quotes ll. 181–184 from one of Cornelis' sections and praises them as “tuos elegantes versiculos”. And in Ep. 23, l. 31 Er. calls the poem, which has afforded him incredible pleasure, “tuus Apologeticus”. He would hardly have praised the new poem so highly if it had been mostly his own work.

A close reading of Cornelis' sections of the poem confirms Béné's view that they are indeed additions to the original ode. Cornelis' replies are invariably an amplification and redirection of Er.' themes:

(1) In ll. 33–64 Cornelis echoes Er.' lament about the present-day barbarians, adding biblical and patristic exempla.

(2) In ll. 97–128 Cornelis amplifies Er.' verses concerning the power of song in antiquity (note the phrase “Plus dicam” in ll. 97 and 117). He then transforms Er.' argument by adducing three O.T. exempla of the power of song. These exempla also occur in the prologue to Cornelis' *Marias*, where they are likewise introduced by the phrase “Plus dicam”.

(3) In ll. 161–192 Cornelis repeats Er.' attack on the malicious envy of the barbarians and urges Christian poets to imitate the literary masters of antiquity. The argument is buttressed with some O.T. exempla traditionally used to defend Christian poetry.

(4) The last of Cornelis' sections, which answers Er.' fourth section and serves as an epilogue to the dialogue as a whole, is the “Judgment of St. Jerome”. This part, not included in Snoy's edition, is printed as *Carm.* 135 below.

Cornelis' three central portions are characterized by the use of biblical exempla. Er.' sections – even his last one, which follows Cornelis' call for producing Christian poetry – contain only classical allusions. It was indeed not until the winter of 1490–1491 that Er. began following Cornelis' lead in choosing sacred themes for his song. See Ep. 28, ll. 8–10; for the date of this letter see introd. *Carm.* 50. We might add here that Cornelis' style, in contrast to Er.', is in several places quite turgid, causing many difficulties for the interpreter. The close imitation of other poets that marks Cornelis' *Marias* is also found in the present poem, particularly in ll. 97–120. Note also the awkward repetition of “Plus dicam” (ll. 97 and 117), the unusual neologisms in l. 61 (“moricanis”) and l. 98 (“Eagrides”), and the metrical error in l. 184 (“pūlices”).

If it is admitted that Cornelis' sections were in fact written by him, we can reconstruct much of Er.' original poem by simply removing Cornelis' insertions. Cornelis, as he himself indicates, apparently altered only a few of Er.' own verses. These must have included ll. 65–68 (“Et quid? ... iudice”) and l. 129 (“Quid ni? Vera refers”). The argument of Er.' original ode was thus as follows:

- (1) I am writing to you, brother, to lament my misfortune: the malicious envy of present-day barbarism has caused me to abandon poetry (ll. 1–32).
- (2) The modern barbarians scorn the great poets of antiquity who were formerly revered everywhere, both here on earth and in the underworld – witness the example of Orpheus (ll. 65–96).
- (3) Alas, the present-day barbarians are more hard-hearted than the underworld; Pluto at least was moved by Orpheus' song. They have exiled the Muses and laugh Apollo to scorn. That is why I have given up poetry, my poetic friend (ll. 129–160).
- (4) But you, my dear friend, dispel these gloomy thoughts; for just as Hercules once stirred Orpheus to song, so you, a second Hercules ("Tyrrhinus alter"), move me to take up the lyre again. In poetry you are a Vergil, in prose a Cicero. May you live a long and happy life and enjoy immortal fame after death! Farewell (ll. 193–224).

With this we have recovered most of the *Carmen lamentabile super contemptu artis poeticae: Oda ad Cornelium* that Cornelis acknowledges receiving in Ep. 19 and that Er. explicitly mentions in Ep. 23, ll. 111–116. Its underlying argument is not original with Er. but derives from the preface to book II of Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae*. There Claudian relates how Orpheus, who for a long time had ceased to sing, was moved by Hercules' great deeds to take up the lyre again. Claudian, like Orpheus, has long let his muses slumber; but now his patron Florentinus – a second Hercules ("Tyrrhinus alter") – stirs him to take up the lyre once more. Er. uses the argument also in the preface to the first draft of his *Antibarbari*, addressed to Cornelis (Ep. 30, ll. 1–30), and in a letter to Willem Hermans (Ep. 39, ll. 125–147). The underlying pattern is similar to that of the earlier *Carm.* 109, a compliment to an unnamed friend, as well as to that of the later *Carm.* 7, a tribute to Gaguin. In those two poems Er. adopts the persona of the man dejected, at odds with himself and the world, the victim of fate and omnipresent malice, who is healed and restored to his own true self by the help of a friend. Cf. also the contemporaneous verse letter to Engelbert Schut (*Carm.* 98), which bears particularly close similarities to the present poem in phrasing and thought.

Since both Er. and Cornelis express regret that the *Oda ad Cornelium* did not arrive at its intended destination until "long" after Er. had sent it (Ep. 19, ll. 1–6 and Ep. 20, ll. 15–43), we may estimate that the first version was composed in early 1489. Cornelis then turned this poem into a dialogue in April–May.

Cornelis Gerard (c. 1460–1531) was a native of Gouda; because Dutch "goud" means "gold", he styled himself "Cornelius Aurelius". After studying in Deventer, Cologne, Louvain, and Paris (where he earned his B.A. in 1484 and his M.A. in 1485), he returned to Holland in the winter of 1485–1486. He became a canon regular, probably in 1486, at Sint-Maartensdonk (Hemdonk) near Schoonhoven; but by 1488 he was at Sint-Hieronymusdal (Lopsen) outside the walls of Leiden.

Around 1489–1490 he exchanged a series of letters with Er., full of mutual admiration and love, filled too with discussions about classical literature and the “barbarians” who feared and opposed it; see Epp. 17–30. The first version of Er.’ *Antibarbari* was a declamation put in the mouth of Cornelis; it was inspired by their contempt for the barbarians (Ep. 30). Cornelis, however, is most probably not the author of *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei*; see introd. *Carm.* 128. The friends remained in touch throughout the 1490s. Later they went their separate ways. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Cornelis) Gerard; Tilmans, pp. 11–76.

Carm. 93 is also found in *Scri*. In this manuscript – but not in the *Silua carminum* edited by Snoy – the poem is completed by an epilogue written in hexameters and ascribed to Cornelis. This epilogue is reprinted as *Carm.* 135 below.

Metre: second Asclepiadean strophe.

Sources: *H**; *Scri*; *LB VIII*, 567–570.

APOLOGIA HERASMI ET CORNELII SVB DYALOGO
LAMENTABILI ASSVMPTA ADVERSVS BARBAROS
QVI VETERVM ELOQVEN’TIAM CONTEMNVNT ET
DOCTAM POESIM DERIDENT. TRES PRIMI VERSVS
ASCLEPIADEI SVNT. QVARTVS EST GLICONIVS.

Herasmus

Ad te, sola michi quem dedit agnitum
Nuper fama tui splendida nominis,
Scribo, docte. Tuas me sine paululum
Aures questibus impleam.
5 Assuetos numeris, frater, ab ordine
Scribendis calamos cunctaque carmina
Cogit liuor edax ponere. Proh dolor,
Iam pridem posui quidem.
Ex hoc sacra Ioui non tero limina,
10 Non secreta diu visa michi domus,

11 amat *Scri*: ornet *H*.

2 *fama / splendida* Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IX, 16, 2. Cornelis’ fame is hailed again in ll. 205–212 below. By early 1489 he had written a history of the civil war in the diocese of Utrecht, a *Diui Nicolai historia*, and a lengthy *Carmen de morte*. The first two of these works are lost, but the third is still partially extant; see introd. *Carm.* 94. In Ep. 20, ll. 107–111 Er. says that he has read all three of them.

3–4 *Tuas / Aures questibus impleam* Prosper Tiro, *Carmen de ingratis* I, 148, *PL* 51, 105; cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 515; *Aen.* IX, 480.

7 *liuor edax* For this familiar poetic phrase see *LHL* III, 216; also ll. 21 and 168 below.

Proh dolor *LHL* IV, 372–374; l. 129 below.

9 *sacra / limina* *LHL* III, 201.

terro limina Martial. X, 10, 2.

10 *secreta / domus* Verg. *Aen.* II, 299–300.

Doctum qua viridis laurus amat caput.
 Reieci procul omnia.
 Demum nulla michi Pieridum sacros
 Collustrare choros, non bifidi iuga
 15 Montis cura fuit visere, denique
 Non amnes Helyconios.
 Dixi, Musa, vale, non sine lachrimis,
 Et tu, Phebe pater, perpetuum vale.
 Olim nostra quies, noster eras amor.
 20 Te nunc desero non volens.
 Cogit liuor edax, diua poemata
 Quod norunt minime, collacerantium.
 Cogit (sed pudor est) Archadiae cohors
 Iam stellis numerosior.
 25 Hec, semper stimulis acta ferocibus,
 Priscis chara (nephas) carmina seculis
 Facundamque stilo Calliopen tumens
 Indignis pedibus terit.
 Doctos illa viros inuidiae nigris
 30 Incandens facibus dente venefico

18 pater *H*: mater *Scri*.

27 Calliopen *Scri*: Calliopen *H*.

14 *bifidi* Mount Parnassus, sacred to Apollo and the Muses, was said to have two peaks; see, e.g., *Ov. Met.* I, 316–317; II, 221; cf. *Er. Carm.* 102, 42.
 16 *amnes Helyconios* Aganippe and Hippocrene on the Helicon, sacred to the Muses.
 17 *non sine lachrimis* *Hor. Carm.* III, 7, 7–8; *Er. Ep.* 4, l. 10; *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD V*, 1, p. 42, l. 49.
 18 *perpetuum vale* Alcuin., *Carm.* 12, 10; 48, 4; cf. *Catull.* 101, 10: “in perpetuum ... vale”; *Er. Carm.* 102, 35 (n.).
 21–22 *Cogit ... collacerantium* The idea that the barbarians carp at liberal studies because they are ignorant of them is discussed at length in *Antibarb.*, *ASD I*, 1, p. 71, l. 18–p. 78, l. 32. See also *Antibarb.*, *ASD I*, 1, p. 46, l. 13–p. 47, l. 1 (p. 46, l. 39–p. 47, ll. 9–11); *Ep.* 20, ll. 86–87; 30, ll. 24–30; *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, *LB I*, 892 E: “Haec tui quum nesciant, lacerant, mordent, inuident”; cf. *LB I*, 892 E, where *Barbaries* uses the same argument: “Qui cum nostra nesciant poemata, nil aliud norunt, quam ridere et illudere”; *Parab.*, *ASD I*, 5, p. 284, ll. 29–30: “Vt ignaui canes omnibus ignotis allatrant, ita barbari quic-

30 Incandens *H*: Incendens *Scri*.

quid non intelligunt, carpunt ac damnant.” Cf. also ll. 29–32 below.
 21 *liuor edax* See n.l. 7 above.
diua poemata = l. 59 below; cf. l. 155.
 23 *Archadiae cohors* The Arcadians were proverbially stupid and uncultivated; see *Otto* 156; *Er. Adag.* 2227. They did breed fine asses, however. *Er.* thus seems to be calling the barbarians both a host of bumpkins and a herd of asses. Cf. *Pers.* 3, 9. *Er.* often refers to the barbarians as “asini”; see, e.g., *Antibarb.*, *ASD I*, 1, p. 51, ll. 1–2 and 14–16; p. 73, l. 1; *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, *LB I*, 891 F; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD I*, 2, p. 258, l. 9, of an ignorant schoolmaster: “Arcadicus quispiam asinus”.
 24 *stellis numerosior* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 186–188 (n.).
 26 *Priscis / seculis* *Ep.* 23, l. 86, where *Er.* laments that the eloquence which flourished in ancient times has disappeared with the rise of barbarism.
 29–30 *inuidiae / facibus* *Cic. Mil.* 35, 98.
nigris / facibus Cf. *Verg. Aen.* IX, 74: “facibus ... atris”. *Ovid* associates Envy with the colour black; see *Met.* II, 760–764.
 30–31 *dente / rodere* Cf. *Adag.* 1155 and 1532; *Otto* 507.

Nunquam (crede michi) rodere desinit,
Nunquam carpere desinit.

Cornelius

Hec mecum tacitus sepe reuolueram,
Communi cupiens mesticia virum,
35 Diuae qui cytharae carperet inuidos.
Te letor comitem michi.
Obstringit (fateor) me vehemens dolor.
Plenos barbariae et pectinis emulos
Mecum, queso, Iouis plangite filiae,
40 Nam fletum locus exigit.
Sacris turba modis inscia detrahit,
Contemnens placidos Castalidum sonos.
O sensu vacuum vel cerebro caput,
Musa, dum reprobas, eges.
45 En confert furiis, mitigat asperam
Cordis seuciam, demona comprimit.
Tu quum sis similis carmina dilige,
Placantem repetens lyram.
Sed iam tanta tui pectoris abdita
50 Inuasit rabies omne premens iecur,

40 exigit *HLB*: postulat exigit *Scri*.

43 cerebro *Scri*: cerebrum *H*.

31–32 *Nunquam ... desinit* Closely paralleled in *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, *LB* I, 890 E: “Nunquam inuidere nobis, nunquam lacerare desinit.” Cf. also *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 56, ll. 466–467: “Virtus nunquam comitari, nunquam tueri desinit.”

39 *Iouis / filiae* For the phrase see *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 106, l. 623. The Muses are the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne.

40 *locus exigit* *Ov. Fast.* IV, 417.

43–64 *O sensu ... Leo* Cornelis may be singling out one barbarian in particular – a poet who, in his mad envy, has turned against the Muses and maligned Cornelis and Er. See ll. 47–48 (he is urged to take up the lyre once more); ll. 126–128 (he is a man of talent who nevertheless continues to disparage poetry); also ll. 169–173. In ll. 187–188 Cornelis threatens to ridicule him with a lampoon. This barbarian may perhaps be identified with the loathsome person to whom Cornelis

and Er. refer in Ep. 19, ll. 35–36 and Ep. 20, ll. 76–78 as one who has tried hard to stir up envy and rivalry between the two poet-friends.

43 *sensu vacuum* *Sedul. Pasch.* I, 303.

vacuum / cerebro caput *Iuv.* 14, 57–58; *Er. Adag.* 2340.

45–46 *confert ... comprimit* Cornelis is thinking specifically of David, whose singing soothed Saul whenever the evil spirit came upon him; see 1. *Sm.* 16, 14–23. Cf. *Er. Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 174, ll. 135–136; l. 123 below.

47 *Tu quum sis similis* Cf. *Hor. Serm.* I, 4, 69.

48 *repetens lyram* Cornelis borrows this phrase from Er.; see l. 200 (n.) below.

49 *pectoris abdita* *Prud. Amart.* 537.

50 *Inuasit rabies* *Sedul. Pasch.* IV, 144 (referring to the seven devils that Christ cast out of Mary Magdalen).

rabies ... iecur Cf. *Iuv.* 6, 648: “rabie iecur

Vt nec Peonia disperiat manu,
 Nec speranda tibi salus.
 Eheu quam miser es! Qui tibi congrua
 Contemnens reducis dona malagmatis
 55 Corrodis medicum, num medicabere?
 Non viuus capies necem.
 Cur torquere (cedo) dum canimus, miser?
 En scribens Galatis Paulus apostolus
 Infert Meonii diua poemata,
 60 Fedantem reprobans gulam.
 Quin et moricanis sepius in libris

incendente". The liver was regarded as the seat of the passions, sometimes also of understanding.

51 *Peonia / manu* Paean was a god of healing; later he was often identified with Apollo.

disperiat This spelling occurs both in Snoy's printed ed. and *Scri.* In ancient colloquial Latin as well as in medieval Latin the short *e* and short *i* in hiatus were often interchanged. So we find "iamus" for "eamus", "aleum" for "alium", and "syderius" for "sydereus" (as in l. 147 below). See C.H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, 1934, repr. New York, 1962, § 224, pp. 93-94.

58-64 *En ... Leo* Cf. *Rat. ver. theol.*, LB V, 82 D-E.

58-60 *En ... gulam* This puzzling passage has been explained in various ways. Reedijk understands it "in the general sense that even when holding forth against the sins of the flesh, the Apostle does not shrink from expressing himself in poetical language" in *Gal.* 5. N. van der Blom, *On a Verse of Erasmus*, ERSY 1 (1981), pp. 152-153, n. 4a disagrees: "In my opinion Cornelius thinks of the quotation from Epimenides in Titus 1, 12: 'The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies', the 'bellies' forming the bridge to the 'ebrietates' and 'commessiones' of Galatians 5, 21. But one has to ask: was this verse ever ascribed to Homer?"

In 1489 neither Er. nor Cornelis could read much Greek. There was a Latin prose translation of *Il.* I-XVI, written by Lorenzo Valla and printed at Brescia in 1474 (repr. 1497); but the two young monks nowhere mention this work in their writings and correspondence of 1489-1491. What they knew of Homer at that time must have been at second hand, derived from such summaries as

Ilias Latina and Hyg. *Fab.* and especially from references in ancient and patristic literature that interpreted the Homeric epics allegorically and regarded their author as the "father of all knowledge". It is thus entirely possible that Cornelis, in mentioning that Paul "brings in Homer", was in fact thinking in particular of the method of allegorical interpretation that Paul introduces in *Gal.* 4, 21-31. There Paul interprets the O.T. story of Hagar and Sarah allegorically - the same method that in his day was already widely used to interpret Homer. Jerome, in his commentary on *Gal.* 4, 24, *PL* 26, 416, makes the same connection between Paul's allegorism and his knowledge of ancient poets. Cf. Er. *Enchir.*, LB V, 7 E-F: "Sed vti diuina Scriptura non multum habet fructus, si in littera persistas haereasque, ita non parum vilis est Homericas Virgilianaque poesis, si memineris eam totam esse allegoricam"; and LB V, 29 F: "Paulus autem Apostolus post Christum fontes quosdam aperuit allegoriarum." See further Vredeveld, *Notes*, pp. 590-593.

59 *Meonii* Homer was said to have been a native of Maeonia in Asia Minor; cf. ll. 70 and 197 (n.) below.

diua poemata = l. 21 above.

60 *gulam* The vice of gluttony here stands for many other sins of the flesh that Paul castigates in *Gal.* 5, 16-21.

61-64 *Quin ... Leo* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 80, ll. 97-99: "Si veritas per se honesta eloquentiae nitore honestior facta delectat, ad Hieronymum, Augustinum, Ambrosium, Cyprianum atque eius modi curritur."

61 *moricanis* The word seems to be a neologism, a cross between "morigerus" and "faticanus" (*Ov. Met.* IX, 418).

Aptant laurigeros ecclesiae modos
 Doctores nitidi scematibus stili
 Lucas, Iheronimus, Leo.

Herasmus

- 65 Et quid? nonne tibi iusta videbitur
 Vrgens causa stilum? Nonne per omnia
 Dixi vera, comes? Vera per omnia
 Dixi, te quoque iudice.
 Nusquam grandisonam Virgillii tubam,
 70 Nusquam blandisonam Meonii lyram,
 Nusquam (crede michi) compta Papinii
 Audis carmina concini.
 Docto Flaccus vbi, queso, poemate?
 Seu Lucanus vbi, qui generi necem
 75 Scribens Pindarico concrepat organo?
 Sordent heu sine nomine.
 Phebeae regio lucis in ambitu
 Olim non vigit, nec fuit insula
 Per quas non ierat conscia carminum
 80 Pulchro Calliope pede.

63 *nitidi scematibus stili* Cf. *Carm.* 135, 17–18. Properly used, rhetorical figures confer elegance and polish upon style (“nitidi ... stili”); see Lausberg, §§ 600–604; Chomarat, pp. 562–579; Er. Ep. 27, l. 35: “colorum quoque splendor accedat necesse est”; *Carm.* 2, 92 (n.).

64 *Lucas* Luke’s Greek style is praised in Hier. *Comm. in Es.* III, 6, 9–10, *CCSL* 73, 91–92; see also Hier. *Epist.* 20, 4; Isid. *Orig.* VI, 2, 37. The idea that the Bible (not just Luke) furnishes examples of all sorts of rhetorical figures is a patristic and medieval commonplace; see Curtius, pp. 46–48; R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, New York, 1964, pp. 53–54.

Iheronimus St. Jerome (c. 347–419/420), an elegant stylist, is one of the Doctors of the western church.

Leo St. Leo I, known as the Great, was pope from 440 to 461. He too ranks among the Doctors of the western church. Like Cornelis, Er. regarded him as an eloquent writer; see *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 660, ll. 26–28; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 268, ll. 469–470.

70 *blandisonam* A medieval word, also used in l. 118 below.

Meonii Homer, as in l. 59 (n.) above.

71 *Papinii* P. Papinius Stadius (c. 45–96 A.D.).

73 *Flaccus* Q. Horatius Flaccus (65–8 B.C.).
 74–75 *Lucanus* ... *Scribens* Pompey’s death is described in Lucan. VIII, 610–636. He was Julius Caesar’s son-in-law, having married Julia in 59 B.C.

75 *Pindarico / organo* Cf. Prop. III, 17, 40: “Pindarico ... ore”; Ov. *Pont.* IV, 16, 28 and Stat. *Silv.* V, 3, 152: “Pindaricae ... lyrae”. The noun “organo” in the present verse refers to the voice or tongue; cf. Prud. *Perist.* 10, 2; Er. *Apolog. de In princip. erat sermo*, *LB* IX, 117 B: “oris organo”; *Carm.* 107, 2.

concrepat In patristic and medieval Latin this verb often has the sense “sing” or “chant”; see, e.g., *AH* II, 246, 2: “voce hymnidica / Concrepet carmina dicens”; 50, 121, 1; 50, 156, 1; also *Carm.* 135, 7 below (Cornelis’ epilogue to *Carm.* 93); cf. l. 120 (n.) below: “concrepitans”.

80 *pede* With a pun on “metrical feet”; cf. Ov. *Trist.* I, 1, 16; III, 1, 11–12.

- Indus labra tumens et cute decolor,
 Qui Phebum liquidis aurea fluctibus
 Primus progreditur cornua cernere
 Tollentem, coluit modos.
 85 Nouit Thespiadum carmina Gadium
 Tellus, occiduis proxima solibus
 Et postrema suos tergere pulueres
 Spectans oceano diem.
 Et quid plura feram? Nouit et vltima
 90 Thyle, nec vacua sub Styge pallidi
 Manes despiciunt carmina; testis est
 En vates Rhodopeius.
 Is raptam numeris Euridicen querens
 Mulcebat placidis infera cantibus.
 95 Commouisse ferunt Tartareum caput
 Plutonem cytharae modis.

Cornelius

Plus dicam. Rapidis Strymona fluctibus

- 81–90 *Indus ... Thyle* The model may be Hegius, *Carm.*, sig. A7':
 Indus, Eoo rubicunda ponto
 Ora qui solem videt exerentem,
 Decolor vultum tumidisque labris
 Vincula gestat,
 Tuque Gaditane propinque Phaebo,
 Cerulas cum Tethyos intrat vndas,
 Lora captiuo perhibere collo
 Turpia ferre.
 After another stanza, Hegius goes on to speak of "Vltimae Tyles habitator". Cf. Er. *Carm.* 110, 41–48.
- 81 *Indus / decolor* Prop. IV, 3, 10; Ov. *Ars* III, 130; *Frist.* V, 3, 24.
labra ... decolor Cf. Verg. *Mor.* 33.
- 83 *cornua* The horns signify the first rays of the sun at dawn. Cf. *Hab.* 3, 4; Er. *Carm.* 111, 83–84.
- 86 *occiduis / solibus* Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 63; *Fast.* V, 558.
- 89 *Et quid plura* = Stat. *Theb.* IX, 799.
- 89–90 *vltima Thyle* Proverbial for "extreme north"; see Otto 1781.
- 90 *vacua / Styge* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 153 (n.).
- 92 *vates Rhodopeius* Orpheus is meant, as in Ov. *Met.* X, 11–12.
- 94 *Mulcebat ... cantibus* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 11, 23–24 (the power of Mercury's song in the underworld).
- 97 *Plus dicam* = l. 117 below. The phrase also introduces the biblical exempla of the power of song in Cornelis Gerard, *Marias*, praef., f^o 8'; see n.ll. 122–124 below.
- 97–120 *Rapidis ... onus* The chief model for these lines detailing the wonders worked by Orpheus' music is Sil. XI, 459–474, as the close verbal and thematic parallels show:
 ... quos pulsabat Riphaeum ad Strymona,
 nerui,
 auditus superis, auditus manibus Orpheus,
 emerito fulgent clara inter sidera caelo. [...]
 cum siluis venere ferae, cum montibus amnes,
 immemor et dulcis nidi positoque volatu
 non mota volucris captiuia pependit in aethra.
 quin etiam, Pagasaea ratis cum caerula,
 nondum
 cognita terrenae, pontumque intrare negaret,
 ad puppim sacrae, cithara eliciente, carinae
 adductum cantu venit mare. pallida regna
 Bistonius vates flammisque Acheronta
 sonantem
 placauit plectro et fixit reuolubile saxum.

Spumantem numeris flexit Eagrides.
 Auditus superis, manibus insuper,
 100 Sedem commeruit poli.
 Vates Bistonius nuper Apolline
 Compertam genito dante sibi lyram
 Traxit percutiens pectine barbiton
 Siluas et nemorum deas.
 105 Aduenere ferae cantibus excitae
 Contractisque iubis colla ferocia
 Summittunt manibus dum canit Orpheus
 Mansuescuntque viri iugo.
 Pastus immemorem tardat et alitem,
 110 Escas dum soboli querit amabili
 Suspensisque volis captat in ethere
 Argutos cytharae modos.
 Auget dicta stupor: veliuolam ratem
 Immotam validis tractibus omnium
 115 Plectris elicitem soluit a littore
 Ad puppim veniens mare.
 Plus dicam: superos regnaque pallida
 Idem blandisono gutture carmina
 Placauit recinens et Sisiphi graue
 120 Fixit concrepitans onus.
 Ad sacros venio commemorans libros.

Cf. also *Ov. Met.* X, 1–144; *Sen. Herc. Oet.* 1031–1082; *Verg. Georg.* IV, 453–484; *Claud. De rapt. Pros.* II, praef. 17–28; *Boeth. Consol.* III, m. 12, 5–51.

97–98 *Strymona* ... *Eagrides* For the ancient motif of Orpheus' stopping rivers see n. *Carm.* 6, 46. Renaissance poets sometimes intensify this motif by saying that Orpheus turned rivers back to their source; for this feat, which is otherwise the preserve of magicians (cf. *Carm.* 2, 147 and notes), see *Poliz. Sylv.* 4, 285–286 (first published in 1491) and *Ioann. Sec. Od.* 7, 2–3.

100 *Sedem commeruit poli* Orpheus' lyre was regularly identified with the constellation Lyra. The neighbouring constellation of the Kneeling Man (Engonasin) was sometimes identified with Orpheus falling down before the onslaught of the women; see *Hyg. Astr.* II, 6, 3.

101–102 *Apolline* ... *lyram* Orpheus' father was Oeagrus (see l. 98), but some authors say allegorically that his true father (like that of

all singers and lyre-players) was Apollo; see, e.g., *Hes. Theog.* 94–95; *Ov. Met.* X, 89 and 167. According to one story, the lyre was invented by Mercury, who then allowed Apollo to claim credit for the discovery. Apollo in turn gave it to Orpheus; see *Hyg. Astr.* II, 7, 2–3.

103–104 *Traxit / Siluas* *Ov. Trist.* IV, 1, 17; *Sen. Med.* 229.

104 *nemorum deas* This is also mentioned by *Sen. Herc. Oet.* 1052–1053.

111 *volis* Cf. *Isid. Orig.* XII, 7, 4: “Vola [dicitur] pars media alarum, quarum motu pinnac agitantur.”

113 *veliuolam ratem* *Ov. Pont.* IV, 5, 42.

117 *Plus dicam* = l. 97 (n.) above.

regna / pallida *Lucan.* I, 456.

118 *blandisono* See n.l. 70 above.

119–120 *Sisiphi* ... *onus* Cf. *Ov. Met.* X, 44.

120 *concrepitans* *Prud. Perist.* II, 56, in a somewhat different sense. The verb is a relatively rare intensive form of “concrepo” (which does not fit the metre here); cf. n.l. 75 above.

Victor fit Gedeon dum resonat tuba,
 Et Dauid Saulem carmine mitigat
 Et flammam posuit rogos.
 125 Hec, vt rite probem cantibus omnia
 Placari, recito. Proh genio fruens
 Tantum desipuit, pergat vt inclita
 Demens spernere carmina.

Herasmus

Quid ni? Vera refers, proh dolor et pudor!
 130 Ipsi constat homo crudior inferis;
 Flecti dulcisono carmine non valet,
 Sed dulces refugit modos.
 Nunquam quinetiam desinit insequi
 Torua bile, lupis peior edacibus
 135 Et quae plumifera pascitur vndique
 Preda seuior alite.
 Conculcata iacent docta poemata.
 Lumen Pegasei Calliope chori
 Iam neglecta locis exulat omnibus,
 140 Rupes incolit inuias.

125 probem *Scri:* prodem *H.*

122–124 *Victor ... rogos* In *Marias*, praef., f° 8^r
 Cornelis invokes the Holy Spirit, who once
 inspired such O.T. singers and musicians as
 Miriam (*Ex.* 15, 20–21) and Judith (*Idth.* 16).
 He goes on to mention Gideon, David,
 Elisha (the son of Shaphat; cf. 2. *Rg.* 3, 15),
 and the three young men in the fiery oven:

Plus dicam. Tu castra tubis inserte canoris
 Vincis, et hymnidica voce triumphus adest.
 Per Dauidis cytharam demulces principis iram
 Dum solet insanum precipitare furor.
 Psaltis in officio superum deductus ab arce
 Implet Saphatidem rege petente pio
 Tuque in Chaldei positus fornace tyranni
 Carmine sparsisti robur ab igne procul.

122 *Victor ... tuba* See *Iudic.* 7, 15–23.

123 *Dauid ... mitigat* See n.ll. 45–46 above.

123–124 *carmine / flammam posuit rogos* This
 refers to the song of the three young men
 (*Dn.* 3, 24–90). Cf. *AH* 50, 164, 51–52, of the

three young men in the fiery oven: “Cum
 rapidis cincti canerent haec carmina flammis, /
 Vimque suam oblitus sanctos non laederet
 ignis.”

126 *genio fruens* Cf. *Ov. Trist.* III, 7, 47: “ingenuo ...
 meo comitorque fruorque”; see
 n.ll. 43–64 above.

129 *proh ... pudor* Cf. l. 7 (n.) above; *Carm.*
 98, 22 (n.).

130–132 *Ipsi ... modos* In Et.’ original version
 of the poem these verses were meant to con-
 trast with ll. 93–96.

132 *dulces / modos* *Ov. Fast.* I, 444.

134 *Torua bile* Cf. *Hor. Carm.* I, 13, 4; *Pers.* 2,
 13–14; *Stat. Silv.* II, 1, 58.

137–140 *Conculcata ... inuias* Cf. *Carm.* 98,
 21–22.

138 *Calliope* The Muse of epic poetry and
 Orpheus’ mother. She was considered chief
 among the nine Muses; see *Hes. Theog.* 79;
Ov. Met. V, 662.

Regnat barbaries horrida, regio
 Sublimis solio ridet Apollinis
 Artem laurigeram. Carmina rusticus
 Docto barbarus imperat.
 145 Et quid cuncta meis crimina persequar
 Stultorum numeris? Ante diem, puto,
 Ornans syderium luminibus polum
 Vesper subripiet michi.
 Nec si quot placidis ignea noctibus
 150 Scintillant tacito sydera culmine,
 Nec si quot tepidum flante Fauonio
 Ver suffundit humo rosas,
 Tot sint ora michi, tot moueam sonos,
 Nunquam (crede) tamen sufficiam queri,
 155 Quantis pressa diu sacra poemata
 Hoc seculo iaceant malis.
 Hinc venere michi tedia carminum,
 Vates, pars animae non tenuis meae,
 Hinc, inquam, studium destitui meum,
 160 Musarum tepuit calor.

Cornelius

Quod nunc Aonidum negligitur chorus,
 Hoc vesana facit mens sine litteris.
 Insanire putat, carmina qui canunt,
 Ridens ac digito notans.

150 Scintillant *Scri*: Sintillant *H*.

156 seculo *scripsi* (*metri gratia*): seculo *H Scri*.

163 putat *Scri*: putent *H*.

147 *syderium / polum* Hegius, *Carm.*, sig. B3^v: "Scandit sidereum polum"; sig. E6^v: "sidereo ... polo"; cf. *Er. Carm.* 112, 148 (n.). For the spelling "syderium" see n.l. 51 above; *Scri* reads "sydereum".

149–156 *Nec si ... malis* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* II, 42–44; *Aen.* VI, 625–627.

149–152 *Nec si ... rosas* Cf. Hegius, *Carm.*, sig. C2^r: "Non tot stelliferis polo / Lucent sidera noctibus / [two lines] / Nec tot prata nitentibus / Verno tempore floribus / Albent, cum Zephyri tepor / Terris gramina sparscrit"; *Er. Carm.* 98, 1–4.

149–150 *quot ... culmine* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 186–188 (n.).

149 *placidis / noctibus* Verg. *Aen.* VII, 427.

149–150 *ignea / sydera* *Ov. Her.* 19(20), 55–56; *Stat. Theb.* I, 499; cf. *Er. Carm.* 98, 1–2.

151 *tepidum flante* Cf. *Carm.* 64, 28 (n.).

158 *pars ... meae* *Ep.* 17, l. 29 (to Cornelis); cf. *Ov. Pont.* I, 8, 2; *Er. Carm.* 10, 16 (n.).

162 *vesana / mens* Lucan. X, 333–334.

163–164 *Insanire ... notans* Cf. *Hor. Ars* 455–456.

164 *digito notans* Proverbial; see Otto 549.

- 165 En rara inuidiam prouocat ars sibi,
Sed vincet superans. Cedite, pallida
Confecti macie, ponito turgidum
Fastu, liuor edax, caput.
Dic quaecunq̄ue volēs: dummodo carmina
- 170 Oblectare suo nos properent sono,
Tu ride, nichil est; pluris habebimur,
Et frons excipiet decus.
Buccis parce tuis! Hactenus, inuide,
Nil sacris dedimus carminis edibus,
- 175 Sed iam sceptrā michi Dāuidis in vicem
Melchom de spoliis feram.
Gomer Debelaym coniugio fruar,
De scorto generans Israhel inclitum,

167 ponito *Scri*: ponite *H*.

176 Melchom *scripsi*: Melchor *H*, Melchior *Scri*.

165 *rara ... sibi* Proverbial; see Otto 871; cf. Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 50, ll. 295–297; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 262, l. 641; Ep. 658, ll. 5–6; 1451, ll. 69–70; *Adag.* 2001, ASD II, 5, pp. 24–27, ll. 14–116; *Carm.* 132, 23–24; cf. also *Carm.* 2, 4–5; 110, 145–146.

166–167 *pallida Confecti macie* Cf. Ov. *Met.* II, 775 (describing Inuidia); Verg. *Aen.* III, 590.

167–168 *turgidum Fastu* Claud. *Cons. Stil.* II, 159.

168 *liuor edax* See n.l. 7 above.

172 *frons excipiet decus* They will wear the laurel wreath, as poets (cf. l. 11 above) and as victors.

174 *Nil ... edibus* Here Cornelis alludes to the commonplace of the “spoliatio Aegyptiorum”. When the Jews left Egypt they took the country’s treasures in order to adorn their tabernacle and, eventually, their temple; see *Ex.* 3, 20–22; 11, 1–2; 12, 35–36. According to an analogy first advanced by Origen, Christians may despoil the works of pagan authors so long as they use these treasures to adorn the church of Christ; see especially Aug. *Doctr. chr.* II, 40, 60–61, CCSL 32, 73–75. Er. also drew on this commonplace. See *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 116, l. 21–p. 117, l. 6; p. 129, ll. 17–18; Ep. 49, ll. 92–96; *Enchir.*, LB V, 7 D, 25 F, and 66 B. Cf. Kohls, I, pp. 35–37; and Er. *Carm.* 135, 18–19. Henceforth Cornelis did indeed devote his

muse to religious themes, the most ambitious work being his *Marias* in thirty books. For other devotional poems by Cornelis see Tilmans, pp. 351–356. Er. was to follow Cornelis’ lead in the winter of 1490–1491.

175–176 *sceptrā ... spoliis* After David conquered the Ammonites, “he took the crown of their king from his head” and had it placed on his own. See 2. *Sm.* 12, 30. In 1. *Chr.* 20, 2 the crown is said to have been taken from the head of Melchom; from the gold and precious stones in it a new crown was made for David. In 2. *Rg.* 23, 13 Melchom is the name of the idol of the Ammonites. Jerome reconciled these versions in *Quaest. Hebr. in 2 Rg.*, 12, 29–30, PL 23, 1417, by explaining: “Melchom interpretatur rex eorum. Rex eorum vocatur idolum eorum.” Thus David, having melted down the gold and cleansed the gems according to the Law, made himself a crown from the crown of an idol.

177–178 *Gomer ... inclitum* See *Os.* 1–2. Jerome, in his famous letter to the orator Magnus at Rome (*Epist.* 70, 2), draws the analogy between Hosea’s marriage to the harlot Gomer and a Christian author’s use of secular literature. The example became a commonplace in the defence of pagan letters. See also Er. *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 112, ll. 13–23; cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 8 B.

177 *coniugio fruar* Ov. *Fast.* V, 528.

Quo semen domini pulchrius emicet
 180 Dulci Lybetrinum sinu.
 In nos ore fero, liuide, garras,
 Consumens proprios inuidia sinus.
 En summos sequimur per studium viros,
 Nec sentit pulices equus.
 185 Nostro sub studio plus cruciabere,
 Vel nunc destituas carmina persequi,
 Ne cantatus eas carmine pessimo,
 Confusas referens genas.
 Quod si perstiteris nostra ciconia,
 190 Tantum feda potes rostra reducere.
 Serpentes comedas per nemus aspidum,
 Nec sacras aquilas vora.

Herasmus

Nunc olim calamos vt Rhodopeios
 Musam non aliter (crede michi) meam,
 195 Tu Tyrinthius hic alter in omine
 Torpentes animos moues.

182 inuidia scripsi (vt in Ep. 22): inuida H Scri.
 184 pulices H: culices Scri.

194 Musam H: Musa Scri.

180 *Lybetrinum* Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 21.

181-184 *In nos ... equus* Quoted by Er. in Ep. 22, ll. 31-34.

184 *Nec ... equus* Cf. *Adag.* 966: "Indus elephantus haud curat culicem"; Ep. 175, ll. 4-5; 178, ll. 36-37; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 108, ll. 988-989; and elsewhere. The present passage follows a variant cited in Walther 22869a: "Pulices elephas non curat." This variant entails a metrical error in Cornelis' line, since the first syllable of "pulices", here scanned short, should according to classical usage be long. For this reason *Scri* corrects the form "pulices" to "culices". That "pulices" does indeed represent the original reading is shown by its occurrence also in Ep. 22, l. 34.

187 *Ne ... pessimo* So Ovid attacks an unnamed enemy in his *Ibis* (named after the long-billed wading bird closely related to the stork). The title of Ovid's satiric poem

inspired Cornelis to compare his own enemy to a stork in the following lines.

189-191 *ciconia ... aspidum* Storks were said to feed on snakes and toads; see, e.g., Verg. *Georg.* II, 320; Plin. *Nat.* X, 31, 62; Iuv. 14, 74-75; Er. *Adag.* 2.xxi, ASD II, 1, p. 106, ll. 117-119; *Parab.*, ASD I, 5, p. 292, ll. 121-122; *Lingua*, ASD IV, 1A, p. 88, l. 77.

192 *sacras aquilas* Cf. *Adag.* 2601, especially ASD II, 6, p. 412, ll. 403-422. In ancient symbolism the eagle, king of birds, was associated with Zeus and victory; in Christian symbolism the eagle stood for Christ, divine love, and the evangelist John.

193-196 *Nunc ... moues* Cf. Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, praef. 49-52, where the poet says that he stopped singing, just as Orpheus once did; but as Orpheus was moved to take up the lyre again by the exploits of Hercules, so Claudian now feels himself moved to song by Florentinus, a "Tyrinthius alter".

Sacrarum rediit Meonidum calor,
 Et quam sepe dolens mestaque reppulit,
 Nunc (quamquam tenuis) musa tamen mea
 200 Exultans repetit lyram.
 Et quis, rere, fuit leticiae modus,
 Quam post dicta deae grandia denique
 Versus dulcisonos lumine candido,
 Vates, aspicerem tuos?
 205 Ingens fama quidem, sed meritis minor,
 Ingens fama quidem, iudice me tamen
 Vincunt et, fateor, carmina gloriam
 Et docti numeri tuam.
 Reddis Virgilium versibus alterum,
 210 Seu prosam libuit texere liberam,
 Iam prosa (fateor) Tullius alter es:
 Tantum scripta placent tua.
 Ceptos ergo, precor, pergito tramites,
 Nostrī non tenuis gloria seculi
 215 Et spes vna mei flammaque pectoris,
 Vatum reliquiae prium.
 Aspirant studiis Pierides tuis,
 Te nobisque diu fata superstitem
 Seruent, et spacii stamina plurimi
 220 Producat Lachesis tibi.
 Et cum lethificus te tulerit dies,
 Nobis perpetuum tu nichilominus
 Preclari titulis ora per omnium
 Viues ingenii. Vale.

206 iudice *scripsi*: indice *H Scri*.

197 *Meonidum* The Muses are so called because they inspired the Maeonian poet Homer (cf. l. 59 above).
 199 (*quamquam tenuis*) *musa* For the modesty formula cf. *Carm.* 88, 2 (n.); Hor. *Carm.* II, 16, 38; also Er. *Carm.* 110, 11–12; 112, 50–51.
 200 *repetit lyram* Cornelis borrows this phrase in l. 48 above. Cf. Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, praef. 14: “desuetae repetit fila canora lyrae”.
 201–208 *Et quis ... tuam* Cf. *Carm.* 98, 13–20.
 201 *quis ... modus* Cf. Agric., *Anna*, p. 301 (at the Virgin’s birth): “quis fuit illic / ... laetitia ... modus?”; Er. *Carm.* 110, 353–355; 112, 206–207.

202 *deae* The goddess is Fama; cf. ll. 1–2 above and *Carm.* 98, 7–16.

205 *Ingens ... minor* Cf. Hermans’ poem of gratitude to Alexander Hegius, in: Hyma, p. 232: “Ne dic iam meritis fama minora caue”; Er. *Carm.* 98, 17–18.

213 *Ceptos ... tramites* Cf. *Carm.* 98, 23.

214 *non tenuis gloria* Verg. *Georg.* IV, 6. *gloria seculi* LHL II, 446–447.

217 *Aspirant* See n. *Carm.* 88, 2.

218–220 *Te ... tibi* Cf. *Carm.* 4, 59–60; 98, 27–28.

218 *fata superstitem* Hor. *Carm.* III, 9, 12.

219–220 *spacii ... tibi* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 29–35 (n.). 223–224 *ora ... Viues* Cf. *Carm.* 105, 54 (n.).

From *Progymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae Erasmi*,
Louvain, D. Martens, 1521

94–97. “WHAT FOOLS THESE MORTALS BE!”

winter 1490–1491

Like *Carm.* 93, *Carmm.* 94–97 were first published without Er.’ consent by Reyner Snoy in *Herasmi Roterodami Silua carminum*, Gouda, A. Gauter, 1513. While Er. declined to reprint *Carm.* 93 – in Cornelis’ redaction it was, after all, not his own work –, he did of his own accord (though very reluctantly) have the present series of poems printed in *Progymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae Erasmi*, Louvain, D. Martens, 1521. Added to these early poems were reprints of *Carmm.* 43 and 44. We have adopted the 1521 authorized edition as our copy-text for *Carmm.* 94–97.

Carmm. 94–96, labelled “satyrae” in Snoy’s edition, are announced on tit. v^o of the 1521 edition as “Elegiae protrepticae, ad capessendam virtutem, relictis viciorum alimentis. Opus ceptum tantum.” They were probably composed in the winter of 1490–1491. This date contradicts both Snoy’s testimony in his preface to *Silua carminum* that Er. at the time of writing *Carmm.* 93–97 was not yet twenty (“nondum agebat annum vigesimum”) and Er.’ statement in the letter to Botzheim (Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 5, ll. 33–35) that he was not yet eighteen years old (“nondum annos natus octodecim”) when he began declaiming against the vices of lechery, avarice, and ambition in order to improve his skill in writing elegiac distichs. If taken at face value these indications would have us assume a composition date in c. 1484–1486, since he was in fact born in 1466. But Er. habitually understated the true age at which he composed his early works; see Vredevelde, *Ages*, pp. 784–802.

The three elegies are closely related in theme and language to certain chapters of *De contemptu mundi*. Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 206 therefore rightly assigns both the poems and the prose work to roughly the same time period. Thus, to determine the composition date of one work is to know the approximate date of the other.

Er. himself does not assign a precise date to *De contemptu mundi* but does give two conflicting age references for it. In the preface to the printed edition (Louvain, D. Martens, 1521) he asserts that he was “vix annos natus viginti” when he wrote the book. See *ASD* V, 1, p. 39, ll. 8–11; he repeats this in his letter to Botzheim, Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 18, ll. 16–17. Er.’ statement, if taken literally, places the work in 1486–1487 (twenty years after 1466). Internal evidence, however, reveals that he in fact wrote it some four years later. In *ASD* V, 1, p. 57, ll. 475–476 Er. writes that he and his “cousin” are now twenty-four years old: “Iam quartum et vigesimum annum agimus”. Since Er. was born in 1466, this points to a composition date sometime between autumn 1490 and autumn 1491.

A more precise indication, which pushes the date of composition to at least the spring of 1491, may be derived from Er.' apparent source for the thought and the phrasing of "Vlysses ... cera aures oppleuerit" in *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 42, ll. 75–77. The model seems to be Bartholomäus Zehender, *Silua carminum*, Deventer, Iacobus Bredensis, 16 February 1491, sig. [c4^v]: "Auribus oppletis caera ... Vlysses". Both Zehender and Er. (contrary to Hom. *Od.* XII, ll. 39–54 and 166–200) say that Odysseus stopped his own ears with wax and both use the verb "oppleo" rather than the usual "obturo" or "claudio" (cf. Otto 213 and 1657). Zehender's source was Basil. *Ad adulesc.* 4. Because Er., however, never adduces this booklet in his attacks on barbarism of 1489–1495, we may conclude that it was still unknown to him at the time; see Schucan, pp. 176–180. According to Ep. 28, ll. 20–22 (written in c. March 1491; see introd. *Carm.* 50), Er. had a copy of Zehender's poems. If Er.' source was indeed Zehender's printed book of poems and not a manuscript circulating before publication, *De contemptu mundi* must have been written some time after 16 February 1491. This is consistent with the fact that Ep. 28, which does mention the verse satire, is silent about its prose counterpart.

This brings us back to the three moral elegies. In *Carm.* 96 there is an evident borrowing from Fausto Andrelini's *Liuvia* (see n. *Carm.* 96, 8 below). Since this book of amatory poems was published on 1 October 1490, this reminiscence gives us a *terminus post quem*. And in Ep. 28, l. 16, written in c. March 1491 (see introd. *Carm.* 50), Er. mentions the one solitary satire ("ea sola satyra") that he had written not long before. In all likelihood this phrase refers to the present tripartite moral satire. We can thus assign the date winter 1490–1491 to *Carmm.* 94–96.

In view of its evident relationship to *Carm.* 96, we may also place *Carm.* 97 in c. winter 1490–1491. Like the moral elegies which precede it, the epigram is a set piece on a commonplace theme.

Metre of *Carmm.* 94–96: elegiac distich; of *Carm.* 97: hendecasyllable.

Sources: for Er.' preface (Ep. 1193): *M*; for *Carmm.* 94–97: *H*; *M**.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS STVDIOSAE IVENTVTI S. D.

Impudenter faciunt, qui mea me viuo publicant formulis typographorum, sed multo impudentius, qui pueriles etiam naenias meas euulgant. Omnium autem impudentissime, qui nugis alienis meum praefigunt nomen, id quod nuper fecit

2–3 *Impudenter ... euulgant* For similar protests see Ép. 1194, ll. 1–8 (the preface to *De contemptu mundi*); Ep. 1284, ll. 1–19 (the preface to *De conscr. ep.*).

2 *mea* Er.' books in unauthorized editions.

4–7 *id quod ... Paludano* Er. is referring to a book printed under his name in 1519–1520 and several times thereafter, entitled *Breuisima maximeque compendiaria conficiendarum epistolarum formula*. This book is based on

- 5 nescio quis, qui libellum emisit de ratione conscribendi epistolas, in quo praeter
 pauculas voces furtiuas nihil est meum. Nec vnquam mihi quisquam notus fuit,
 cui nomen esset Petro Paludano. Olim puer quia minus valebam carmine
 elegiaco, caeperam exercere me ceu declamatiunculis aliquot in eo genere, et has
 10 semel atque iterum euulgatas video. In quibus non intelligo quid sit quod merea-
 tur publicum, nisi forte vt exemplo pueri puerorum ingenia prouocentur, vt
 malint exercere stilum in argumentis huiusmodi quam, quod quidam eruditi
 pulchrum ducunt, in decantandis amoribus suis. Sed tamen hoc, quicquid est
 nugamenti, recognouimus ac rursus excudi sumus passi. Quid enim aliud pos-
 sum?
- 15 Bene vale, lector, et si quid me audis, melioribus incumbe.

some early notes by Er. on the art of letter-writing. Er. later revised and expanded these notes in *De conscribendis epistolis*. The unauthorized editions of the *Formula* contain a dedicatory letter, allegedly written by Er. and closely resembling Ep. 71. It is addressed to a certain Petrus Paludanus (see *Contemporaries* s.v.). Even earlier, Johannes Despauterius had quoted extensively from Er.' ms. on letter-writing; see Judith Rice Henderson, *Despauterius' "Syntaxis" (1509): The Earliest Publication of Erasmus' "De conscribendis epistolis"*, HL 37 (1988), pp. 175–210.

- 9 *semel atque iterum Carmm.* 94–96 were first published by Reyner Snoy in *Silua carminum*, Gouda, 1513, while Er. was in

England. No other unauthorized ed. is known. Er. also complains about the publication of these poems in Ep. 341, ll. 8–10, dated 30 July 1515. Since he there calls the poems “epigrammata” (a term much wider in meaning than our “epigrams”), Allen assumes that Er. was referring to the *Varia epigrammata* of 8 Jan. 1507. But, as M. Cytowska points out (*ASD* I, 4, pp. 119–120, n.l. 24), those *Epigrammata* were published of Er.' own accord and were later reprinted in the *Epigrammata* of 1518. They were clearly not the poems that had been filched by some servant and sold to the printers, as he complains in Ep. 341.

ELEGIAE PROTREPTICAE,
DETESTANTES ERRORES MORTALIVM ET ADHORTANTES
AD VERAM PIETATEM, ERASMI ROTERODAMI

- 94 ELEGIA PRIMA, IN ERRORES HOMINVM DEGENERANTIVM
ET PRO SVMMO CAELESTIQVE BONO VARIAS FALSORVM
BONORVM SPECIES AMPLECTENTIVM, INCIPIT.

Heu quantum caecae mortalia pectora noctis,
Heu quam terrigenas noxius error habet!
Vera quibus cum sint et coelica danda, perhenni
Inuigilant vacuis anxietate bonis,
5 Nec summum nouere bonum quo fluxit ab vno
Quicquid inest pulchri, quicquid in orbe boni.
Ecce sed hic Stygiis admotas effodit vmbris
Condit et effossas insatiatus opes.
Mollibus hic studet illecebris, indulget amori

Superscriptio ELEGIAE ... ROTERODAMI *add. M.* 7 Auaricia* *M.*
Tit. ELEGIA *M.*: Herasmi Roterodami satyra *H.* 9 Voluptas* *M.*

The theme of *Carmm.* 94 and 95 loosely parallels that of Cornelis Gerard's *De morte* (1488–1489); cf. *Ep.* 19, l. 33; 20, ll. 107–108 and 126–131. Cornelis' poem, consisting of two books of leonine hexameters and rhyming couplets, is still partially extant in Ms. 183 D 2:4, f° 34–36, Municipal Library, Haarlem. It should not be confused with his later, much shorter poem *De improuisa morte et proposito melioris vitae ad Celsum*, ed. P.C. Molhuysen, in: *Cornelius Aurelius, nieuwe bescheiden*, NAKG 4 (1907), p. 72 (cf. *CWE Ep.* 19, n.l. 33; *Contemporaries*, II, p. 88). See Tilmans, p. 24, n. 57. The thematic parallel to Cornelis' earlier poem does not necessarily imply that *Carmm.* 94 and 95 are merely "an elaboration on a theme suggested by the *De Morte*", as Ferguson, p. II proposes. Both Cornelis' and Er.' poems stand in a long tradition of *memento mori* and *contemptus mundi* poems and tracts; see also *Carm.* 108 below.

1–6 *Heu ... boni* Cf. *Carm.* 43, 1–8; 117, 1–4; *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD V*, I, p. 52, ll. 327–329.

1 *quantum ... noctis* Cf. *Ov. Met.* VI, 472–473.

2 *noxius error habet* = *Pamphilus* 638: "Insipiens temere, male perdis gaudia vite, / Teque tuosque dies noxius error habet."

3–4 *perhenni / anxietate* Cf. *Iuv.* 13, 211: "perpetua anxietas"; *Er. De contemptu mundi*, *ASD V*, I, p. 44, l. 129; p. 50, l. 303; p. 72, l. 877.

6 *Quicquid inest / quicquid* = Mantuan. *Parthen. sec.* III, in *Opera*, II, f° 87^r (ed. princ.: Bologna, 1489): "Quicquid inest pelago, quicquid secat aera pennis".
quicquid in orbe = *Ov. Her.* 20(21), 148; *Fast.* I, 494.

7–14 *Ecce ... nouas* This is a list of topics for subsequent elegies. The theme of avarice (ll. 7–8) is treated in *Carm.* 96; the topic of lechery (ll. 9–10) is dealt with in *Carm.* 95. The other two satires, on ambition and sinful curiosity, were not completed, though *Er.* was apparently still planning to write a poem on ambition as late as ll. 99–100 below. In *De contemptu mundi* there is a chapter on ambition (*ASD V*, I, pp. 50–52) but not on curiosity.

7 *hic ... vmbris* Cf. *Ov. Met.* I, 139–140; *Er. Carm.* 96, 57.

Stygiis / vmbris = *Stat. Theb.* XI, 85; cf. *LHL V*, 286–287.

8 *insatiatus* See n. *Carm.* 96, 2.

9 *Mollibus / illecebris* *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 19, 43. *indulget amori* = *Val. Fl.* II, 356; cf. *Ov. Met.* IX, 595–596.

10 Blandaue mortiferae gaudia carnis amat.
 Ambitione tumens fasces petit ille superbos
 Et quaerit summum summus habere gradum.
 Est quem sydereos iuuet apprendisse meatus
 Et rerum causas edidicisse nouas.
 15 Hic petit hoc, ille illud; agit sua quenque libido,
 Nauigat et ventis in freta quisque suis.
 Quo raperis, mortale genus, vacuoque labore
 Dona quibus pereas quid peritura legis?
 Quae (cedo) cum stolidis tibi sunt commercia terris,
 20 Cui coelum patria est, cui pater ipse deus?
 Quaeris in exilio patrio tibi condita coelo:
 Non hic quas sequeris inueniuntur opes.
 Quid per squamigeros saxosa cacumina pisces

10 gaudia *M*: gaudia *H*.
 11 Ambitio* *M*.

13 Curiositas* *M*.

10 Blandaue ... amat Cf. *Carm.* 95, 6.
 Blanda / gaudia Verg. *Aen.* V, 827–828.
 mortiferae / carnis Sedulius Scottus, *Carminum app.* 2, 33.
 gaudia carnis *LHL* II, 393.
 11 fasces / superbos Hor. *Carm.* I, 12, 34–35.
 12 gradum Cf. *Carm.* 105, 15.
 13–14 Est ... nouas For the phrasing cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 849–850. For the sentiment cf. Er. *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 97, ll. 19–21; *Adag.* 569; *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 110, ll. 727–737, where the innocent folk of the golden age are said to have been too pious to develop a curiosity for probing the inmost secrets of nature or discovering the movements and influence of the stars, or learning “abditas rerum causas”. This attitude, raised to a doctrine by the Cynics, was naturally also congenial to the writers of *contemptus mundi* literature; see, e.g., Innoc. *Miseria* I, 11; cf. also *Sir.* 3, 22. Outside of these traditions, however, the study of the stars is a symbol of man’s divinity and intelligence; see n. *Carm.* 76, 7–8 above. On the subject of curiosity in Er.’ later works see André Godin, *Erasmus: “pia / impia curiositas”*, in: *La curiosité à la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Céard, Paris, 1986, pp. 25–36.
 14 Et rerum causas = Ov. *Met.* XV, 68; cf. Verg. *Georg.* II, 490.
 15 agit ... libido Proverbial; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 65: “trahit sua quemque voluptas”; Ov. *Ars* I, 749; Walther 4739c; 31520.

sua quenque libido = Prud. *Amart.* 776.
 16 Nauigat ... suis Cf. Ov. *Rem.* 14.
 17 Quo ... labore Cf. Auitus, *Carm.* 4, 118: “Cum fureret mortale genus cassoque labore / Inrita transcensis caementa inferret in altum / Nubibus”; Arator I, 424: “Quo capitur mortale genus...”.
 mortale genus = Ov. *Met.* I, 188; Stat. *Silv.* II, 1, 212; *LHL* III, 426.
 18 Dona ... legis Cf. *Carm.* 96, 14.
 19 stolidis / terris Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 2, 27 (in a Neoplatonic sense, of the dull, material world opposed to the world of truth and ideas); l. 55 below; cf. Er. *Carm.* 24, 1; III, 98. sunt commercia terris Cf. Ov. *Ars* III, 549; Manil. I, 88; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 21, 426.
 20 Cui ... est For the commonplace that heaven is our true homeland see, e.g., Cic. *Tusc.* I, II, 24; Sen. *Epist.* 86, 1; Boeth. *Consol.* I, 5, 3; III, m. 6, 5; III, 12, 9; IV, 1, 9; IV, m. 1, 25; V, 1, 4; cf. Er. *Carm.* 2, 49 (n.); 76, 7–8 (with notes); ll. 51–58 below.
 21 patrio / coelo Stat. *Ach.* I, 2.
 23–26 Quid ... rubis The model is Boeth. *Consol.* III, m. 8, 3–8 (explicitly referred to in Er. *Collect.*, 1500, sig. a8’).
 23–24 per ... Sectare Cf. Otto 27; Er. *Adag.* 374.
 23 squamigeros / pisces Cic. *Arat.* 574, referring to the constellation Pisces.
 saxosa cacumina = Sil. XIII, 882; Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* II, 723.

Sectare et leporem per freta vasta vagum,
 25 Quaeris et in sterili flauentia mala salicto,
 Quaeritur incultis fertilis vua rubis?
 Gaudia nequicquam reperire quid angeris illic,
 Nil nisi moeror vbi est, nil nisi planctus vbi est?
 Et quid amas molles luctus in carcere luxus?
 30 Nil nisi (crede mihi) flebile mundus habet.
 Ast bona, te quorum vexat male sana cupido,
 Ah tibi (si credes) nil bonitatis habent.
 Sed quae te totum tegit ignorantia veri,
 Haec bona cum non sint, vt videantur agit.
 35 Quin mage verorum sunt haec simulachra bonorum,
 Et fallax oculos fascinat vmbra tuos.
 Gaudia (nonne vides?) stimulis viciantur amaris,
 Vertitur in lachrymas risus et iste graues.
 Mixta labore quies, nulla est sincera voluptas
 40 Nec diuturna nihilue anxietatis habens.
 Et quid opes, quid honor, quid purpura, quid diadema?
 Quid nisi sunt animi pondera pulchra tui?
 Adde quod ista leui fortunae agitata tumultu
 Fallant et dominis sint male fida suis.
 45 Haec bona carpis, homo, multo nocitura periclo,
 Nulla sed est summi sollicitudo boni,
 Nulla dei, sed cuique deus sua dira cupido,
 In mala quisque, suus quo trahit error, abit.

32 credes *M*: credis *H*.

40 nihilue *M*: nichil *H*.

24 *Sectare / leporem* Hor. *Serm.* I, 2, 105–106;
Ov. Rem. 201.

freta vasta *Ov. Trist.* III, 10, 28; *Pont.* III, 4,
 58.

25–26 *Quaeris ... rubis* Cf. *Mt.* 7, 16.

26 *fertilis vua* = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* X, 9, 38.

29 *luctus / luxus* The wordplay occurs also in
 l. 83 below.

30 *Nil / mundus habet* *Ov. Pont.* III, 1, 127–128.

31 *te / vexat / cupido* Hor. *Epist.* I, 18, 98.

33 *ignorantia veri* = *Ov. Met.* VII, 92.

35–36 *simulachra bonorum, Et fallax / vmbra*
 Cf. *Carm.* 43, 7–8 (n.).

36 *fallax ... tuos* Cf. *Carm.* 96, 34; *De contemptu*
mundi, *ASD* V, 1, pp. 44–45, ll. 139–140:
 “Tibi fascinat oculos male blanda mundi
 species.” For “fascinat” see also *Gal.* 3, 1.

37 *nonne vides* = Verg. *Georg.* I, 56; Stat. *Theb.*
 XII, 766; cf. Er. *Carm.* 95, 87 (n.).

stimulis / amaris = Verg. *Aen.* XI, 337; Prud.
Amart. 187.

viciantur amaris *Ov. Met.* XV, 286; *Pont.* I,
 10, 3.

38 *Vertitur ... risus* Cf. *Iac.* 4, 9: risus vester in
 luctum conuertatur, et gaudium in moe-
 rorem”; Alan., *De planct. Nat.* I, 1: “In
 lacrimas risus, in luctus gaudia verto”. Cf.
 also Er. Ep. 8, ll. 77–79: “Tu vnus es ... qui
 dolores in gaudia, qui luctus in risum vertere
 facillime queas.”

39 *Mixta labore quies* = l. 68 below; *Carm.* 105,
 46.

nulla ... voluptas = *Ov. Met.* VII, 453.

42 *pondera pulchra* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*,
ASD V, 1, p. 46, l. 186: “ista pretiosa pon-
 dera”; *Carm.* 96, 59 (n.): “preciosa pericula”.

43 *Adde quod* = *Carm.* 2, 123 (n.).

47 *cuique ... cupido* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IX, 185.

Iam tandem resipisce, precor, radiisque receptis
 50 Hanc noctem ex oculis discute, quaeso, tuis.
 Sursum duc oculos: illic patriamque patremque
 Suspice quo mentem, quo tua vota feras.
 Illic cerne tui generosos sanguinis ortus,
 Illic cerne animi semina prima tui.
 55 Non es enim indigena stolidae licet incola terrae,
 Coelica progenies aethereumque genus.
 Conditor, ignifluo cuius procedis ab ore,
 (Quid maius?) statuam te vocat ipse suam.
 Ergo, homo, terrenis quid inhaeres degener istis
 60 Oblitusque dei nec memor ipse tui?
 Terrea terrigenis age linque caduca caducis,
 Tu pete perpetuas non moriturus opes.
 Sydera scande leuis et inertes despice sedes,
 Iam pudeat collo sustinuisse iugum.
 65 Est illic quod ames, est illic rite quod optes,
 Illic sunt votis omnia plena tuis.
 Gaudia vera illic et amari nescia luctus,
 Et placida est nullo mixta labore quies,
 Pax segura, procul strepitus bellique tumultus.
 70 Exundant quae non attenuentur opes,
 Inuidiae securus honor, diademata, sceptrum
 Ignibus astrigeri splendida poli.

57 cuius procedis *M*: procedis cuius *H*.

58 Ad imaginem nostram* *M*.

49 *resipisce* See n. *Carm.* 2, 189.

53 *sanguinis ortus* = Stat. *Silv.* V, 3, 116.

54 *semina prima* = Mantuan. *Contra poet.*, in: *Opera*, I, f° 99': "Deus ... / Vnde trahunt rerum semina prima genus".

55 *stolidae / terrae* See n.l. 19 above.
incola terrae = *LHL* III, 52.

57 *procedis ab ore* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 10, 129–130: "Animae ... / factoris ab ore creatae"; *Apoth.* 778; *Gn.* 2, 7; *Er. Carm.* 110, 223–224 (n.).

58 *statuam / suam* Cf. *Gn.* 1, 26–27; *Er. Carm.* 110, 221.

60 *memor ipse tui* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 336.

63 *Sydera ... leuis* Cf. *Carm.* 76, 8.

Sydera scande *LHL* V, 147.

65–90 *Est ... iter* For the use of the twin emotions of hope and fear in exhortations of this sort see *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 326, ll. 1–19; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, pp. 328–329, ll. 21–59: hope is aroused, for example, by the promise of such rewards as immortality,

happiness, tranquillity; fear, by the amplification of such terrors as hell and everlasting torment. See also *Introd.*, pp. 41–42 above.

66 *omnia plena tuis* Cf. *Ov. Her.* 12, 64; *LHL* IV, 38.

67 *Gaudia / nescia luctus* Cf. *Carm.* 108, 3–4 (heaven): "luctus ignara ... / Gaudia".

68 *placida / quies* *Lucr.* I, 463; *LHL* IV, 265–266.

mixta labore quies = l. 39 above; *Carm.* 105, 46.

69 *Pax segura* = Stat. *Silv.* III, 5, 85.

strepitus belli Cf. *Lucan.* V, 726; *Liv.* IV, 1, 5: "inter strepitum tot bellorum"; *Er. De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 57, ll. 476–477: "bellorum strepitu".

bellique tumultus *Lucan.* VI, 53; cf. *Ov. Her.* 15(16), 371.

70 *attenuentur opes* *Ov. Pont.* IV, 5, 38.

72 *Ignibus* See n. *Carm.* 98, 1–2.

astrigeri / poli *Ven. Fort. Carm. spuria* 1, 260.

- Denique cunctorum finisque et origo bonorum,
 Vt videas, aderit, vt potiare, deus.
 75 Quod si nulla mouet tantarum gloria rerum,
 Nec capiunt animum praemia tanta tuum,
 Vindicis extimulent saltem tormenta gehennae:
 Quem non ducit amor vel trahat ipse timor.
 Susplicere aethereum si mole vetaris Olympum,
 80 Saltem Tartareae despice regna Stygis.
 Aspice quam maneant sceleratos horrida manes
 Supplicia, aeternus quos Herebi ignis edit.
 Quos pendant breuibus pro luxibus aspice luctus,
 Quorum hic in vitiis mortua vita fuit.
 85 Vita manet, fugiat ne sensus et ipse malorum,
 Sed mors morte carens tempus in omne premat.
 Aspice quam rapido voluantur tempora lapsu,
 Quam veniat celeri mors inopina pede.
 Dura heus conditio nimium miserandaque, pandat
 90 Altera vt alterius mors tibi mortis iter.

85 et *om. H.*

- 73 *cunctorum ... bonorum* Cf. *LHL* II, 322, s.v. "fons et origo"; Cornelis Gerard, *Marias* VIII, f° 85^v: "cunctorum fons est et origo bonorum"; Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* I, *ASD* V, 2, p. 38, ll. 159–160; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, *ASD* V, 2, p. 340, l. 366; p. 365, l. 223; and elsewhere; cf. *Carm.* 43, 61 (n.).
- 75 *si ... rerum* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 272.
- 76 *praemia tanta* = Auitus, *App. carminum* 12, 18 (of heaven); Mantuan. *De cont. morte*, in: *Opera*, I, f° 121^r: "Est deus, est aether pretium certaminis huius; / Haec faciant pugnam praemia tanta leuam." Cf. Verg. *Aen.* V, 353.
- 77 *tormenta gehennae* = Mantuan. *De cont. morte*, in: *Opera*, I, f° 122^v: "Quod si forte cauae metuis tormenta gehennae"; cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 5, 56.
- 78 *Quem ... timor* Cf. Thomas a Kempis, *Imit.* I, 24, 44: "Bonum tamen est, vt si necdum amor a malo te reuocat, saltem timor gehennalis coerceat." The thought is central to the meditation on the four last things; see introd. *Carm.* 108.
- ducit / trahat* The opposition of these verbs recalls the proverb cited in Sen. *Epist.* 107, 11 (quoted in Er. *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 462, l. 26): "Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt."
ducit amor = Verg. *Georg.* III, 269.
- 79 *Susplicere aethereum / Olympum* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 579.
- 83–84 *Quos ... fuit* Cf. Walter, *Alex.* X, 114–116 (of the damned in hell): "quorum hic mortua vita / In culpa fuerit, ibi viuere semper eorum / Mors in suppliciis." For the thought see n. *Carm.* 9, 5 above.
- 83 *luxibus / luctus* Cf. l. 29 above.
- 86 *mors ... premat* This recalls a traditional formula for eternal death; see Ps. Aug. *De spiritu et anima* 56, *PL* 40, 821: "Miseris mors est sine morte, finis sine fine"; Greg. M. *Mor.* IX, 66, 100, *CCSL* 143, 528; Krummacher, pp. 539–540.
morte carens Hor. *Carm.* II, 8, 12; Ov. *Am.* I, 15, 32; *Trist.* III, 3, 61; *Met.* XV, 158.
tempus in omne = *LHL* V, 418.
- 87 *voluantur / lapsu* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 524; Lucan. II, 268.
- 88 *celeri / pede* = Ov. *Fast.* IV, 782; *Ib.* 456; Er. *Carm.* 95, 54.
mors inopina = Baudri de Bourgeuil, *Carm.* 30, 6; 66, 4; Nigel de Longchamps, *Speculum stultorum* 1050; Andrej. *Liv.* IV, 3, 2; cf. *LHL* III, 425.
- 90 *Altera vt alterius* *LHL* I, 70–71.
mortis iter = *LHL* III, 442; Er. *Carm.* 96, 42 (n.); cf. Prud. *Psychom.* 89; *Contra Symm.* II, 898.

Nostra sed, vt video, surdis canit auribus ista
 Musa, leuis monitus dissipat aura meos.
 Quid causae stolidis mortalibus obstruit aures?
 Colligo, luminibus iam liquet illa meis.
 95 Quippe sibi duram promittunt fallere mortem,
 Sperant perpetuos viuere posse dies.
 Hic iuuenis valido fidit temerarius aeuo,
 Diuitiis locuples nititur ille suis,
 Fallit purpureos inuicta potentia reges.
 100 Acrius ergo mihi quisque monendus erit.

93 causae *M*: causa *H*.

91 *surdis canit auribus* Proverbial; see Otto 212 and 1715.
 93 *obstruit aures* = Verg. *Aen.* IV, 440. The idea is proverbial; see Otto 213.
 95 *duram / mortem* Verg. *Georg.* III, 68; *Aen.* X, 791; and often; Er. *Carm.* 110, 141; cf. *Carm.* III, 75.

96 *perpetuos / dies* Cf. *Carm.* 98, 28. *viuere posse* = Ov. *Trist.* III, 1, 24; IV, 8, 30.
 97–98 *Hic ... suis* These verses announce the theme of *Carmm.* 95 and 96.
 99 *purpureos / reges* Ov. *Met.* VII, 102–103; Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, 300.

95 ELEGIA SECVNDA, IN IUVENEM LVXVRIA
 DEFLVENTEM ATQVE MORTIS ADMONITIO

Stulte, quid imberbi spem tu tibi fingis ab aeuo
 Et gaudes tremulos iam procul esse dies,
 Longeuae numerans restantia tempora vitae,
 Et spondes capiti tempora cana tuo,
 5 Luxibus interea iuuat indulgere cupitis,
 Gaudia lasciuiae carnis amica sequi?

Tit. ELEGIA *M*: Satyra *H*.

1 imberbi *M*: imbarbi *H*.

The satire closely parallels the chapter on the inevitability of death in *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, pp. 52–56. *Carm.* 2 deals with essentially the same topic but uses Er. himself as the chief exemplum of the flight of youth. Like the earlier *Carm.* 104, the present elegy is an inverted *carpe diem* poem exhorting the reader to make wise use of time while it lasts, because old age and death are drawing near with silent step. See *Introd.*, pp. 35–38 above.
 1–20 *Stulte ... genis* Cf. *Lc.* 12, 19–20: “Dicam animae meae: Anima, habes multa bona

posita in annos plurimos: requiesce, comede, bibe, cpulare. Dixit autem illi Deus: Stulte, hac nocte animam tuam repetunt a te”; Thomas a Kempis, *Imit.* I, 23, 37: “Stulte, quid cogitas te diu victurum ...?”
 1 *Stulte, quid* = Martial. III, 85, 3; Walther 30388b–30390; Er. *Carm.* 96, 15; 105, 11.
 2 *tremulos / dies* Cf. Prop. IV, 7, 73.
 3 *tempora vitae* = LHL V, 405–408.
 4 *capiti / tuo* = Ov. *Ars* I, 582; *Ib.* 446.
 5 *iuuat indulgere* = Verg. *Aen.* II, 776; VI, 135; Er. *Carm.* 102, 19.
 6 *Gaudia ... sequi* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 10.

- 'Dextra', inquis, 'dum fata sinant, dum floreat aetas,
 Pascamus placidis mollia vota modis.
 Adsint laetitiae, choreae, conuiuia, lusus,
 10 Plausus, complexus, basia grata, Venus
 Gaudiaque et Veneris tenerique Cupidinis ignes,
 Adsint innumeris ludicra mixta iocis.
 Tibia nec desit, adsint citharaeque lyraeque;
 Cura dolorque procul, tristia cuncta procul.
 15 Vt curent superis permittite caetera diuis,
 Et stimulet vacuos sollicitudo deos.
 Ocia nos tenerae peragamus blanda iuuentae,
 Tradatur tumidis noxia cura fretis.
 Vtamur, ne frustra abeat torpentibus, aeuo,
 20 Dum vernat teneris laeta iuuenta genis.
 Dic quid arundineae, infelix, innitere cannae,
 Qua scissa pereas, qua recidente cadas?
 Tune iuuentuti fidis, male sane, fugaci,
 Qua nil mobilius maximus orbis habet?
 25 Illa Noto leuior celerique volucrior Euro,

7 sinant *M*: sinunt *H*.
 19 abeat *H*: abeant *M*.

20 vernat teneris *M*: vernet primis *H*.

- 7–20 *Dextra ... genis* This is the quintessentially hedonistic *carpe diem* argument: "Comedamus et bibamus, Cras enim moriemur" (*Is.* 22, 13; 1. *Cor.* 15, 32; cf. *Sap.* 2, 1–9). Numerous verses and phrases from the earlier friendship poem, *Carm.* 104, reappear in the present elegy.
 7–8 *Dextra ... modis* Cf. *Carm.* 104, 25–28.
 7 *dum fata ... aetas* See n. *Carm.* 2, 195.
dum fata sinant Tib. I, 1, 69; Prop. II, 15, 23 (in similar context); Ov. *Trist.* V, 3, 5; Stat. *Theb.* X, 216; cf. Er. *Carm.* 109, 27.
dum floreat aetas Martial. X, 86, 3; cf. Ov. *Fast.* V, 353.
 9–12 *laetitiae ... iocis* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 56; *Carm.* I, 9, 15–16; Er. *Carm.* 2, 222–224 (n.).
 11 *tenerique Cupidinis ignes* Cf. Ov. *Trist.* II, 537.
 14 *Cura dolorque procul* = *Carm.* 99, 8 and 9; cf. *Carm.* 99, 2 (n.).
tristia cuncta = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 13, 34; Maximian. *Eleg.* 1, 52.
 15 *superis / diuis* Verg. *Aen.* XII, 817.
permittite caetera diuis Hor. *Carm.* I, 9, 9; Er. *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 47, l. 2; cf. *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 168, l. 697.
 17 *Ocia / iuuentae* = Stat. *Silv.* III, 5, 61; cf. *Silv.* I, 2, 182.
Ocia / peragamus Ov. *Met.* I, 100.
tenerae / iuuentae = Stat. *Theb.* II, 707; *Silv.* V, 5, 18; cf. Er. *Carm.* 2, 74; 6, 55.
 18 *Tradatur ... fretis* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 26, 1–3.
tumidis / fretis Cf. *Carm.* 110, 294.
noxia cura Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 2, 5.
 19–20 *Vtamur ... genis* Cf. Prop. IV, 5, 59–60; Er. *Carm.* 104, 26–27.
 19 *Vtamur / aeuo* Cf. Ov. *Trist.* IV, 3, 83; *Fast.* V, 353; Tib. I, 8, 47–48.
ne ... torpentibus See n. *Carm.* 104, 27.
 20 *vernat* See n. *Carm.* 2, 67.
teneris / genis = Ov. *Medicamina* 100; cf. *LHL* V, 424.
laeta iuuenta = Walther 8616b; Er. *Carm.* 104, 26. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* III, 63; *Aen.* II, 394–395; Er. *Carm.* 64, 29.
 21–22 *quid ... cadas* *Adag.* 1570; Ep. 126, ll. 175–176; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 224, ll. 10–11. The image is based on 2. *Rg.* 18, 21; *Is.* 36, 6; *Ex.* 29, 6–7.
 24 *maximus orbis habet* = Ov. *Fast.* I, 600.
 25–27 *Noto ... sagitta* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* V, 242; Er. *Carm.* 105, 5–8 (n.); 110, 237.

Labilior liquidis quas habet Hebrus aquis,
 Ocyor emissa neruo crepitante sagitta,
 Illa magis veris flore caduca noui,
 Vanior et nebula et tenui fallacior vmbra
 30 Et niue quae in liquidas sole tepescit aquas
 Quaeque secat medium perniciosior alite coelum.
 Flos velut illa viret, vt leuis aura perit.
 Illa perit, tenuis rapitur ceu fumus in auras
 Et standi nullam seruat amata fidem.
 35 Si leuis autor ego, natura disce magistra.
 En docet illa breues temporis esse vices.
 Aspice purpureis vt humus lasciuuiat omnis
 Floribus, in campos ver vbi molle venit.
 Luxuriat vestita suis tum frondibus arbor,
 40 Et rediuuiua nouis cingitur herba comis,
 Mollia sanguinei pingunt violaria partus,
 Induitur placidis aspera spina rosis,
 Multicolore nitent densissima gramina flore,
 Denique resplendent cuncta decore nouo.

33 tenuis *M*: tenuis *H*.

- 25–26 *Noto ... aquis* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 79–82 (with notes).
 26 *liquidis / aquis* = *Ov. Rem.* 448; *Fast.* V, 82; and often; cf. l. 30 (n.) below; *Carm.* 106, 102 (n.).
Hebrus aquis = *Claud. De rapt. Pros.* II, praef. 18.
 27 *Ocyor ... sagitta* Cf. *Sil.* XVI, 481.
neruo ... sagitta Cf. *Verg. Aen.* V, 502; *Georg.* IV, 313.
 28 *veris / noui* See n. *Carm.* 106, 67.
 29 *nebula* See n. *Carm.* 108, 9; cf. *Carm.* 85, 7 (n.).
 30 *Et ... aquas* Cf. *Ov. Fast.* II, 220.
liquidus / aquas = *Tib.* I, 9, 12; *Ov. Am.* I, 8, 6; cf. l. 26 (n.) above.
sole tepescit *Ov. Met.* I, 63; III, 412.
 31 *secat / coelum* *Sen. Oed.* 605.
medium / coelum = *Verg. Aen.* IX, 20; cf. *Er. Carm.* 102, 57 (n.).
perniciosior alite = *Stat. Theb.* IV, 312.
 32 *Flos* A conventional metaphor; see, e.g., *Iob* 14, 2; *Ps.* 102, 15; *Is.* 40, 6–7; cf. *Er. Carm.* 2, 73 (n.).
 33 *tenuis ... auras* Cf. *Verg. Aen.* V, 740; *Georg.* IV, 499–500; *Er. Carm.* 83, 13–14 (n.).

- 35–52 *Si leuis ... cadit* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 204–210; 104, 1–12.
 37–38 *purpureis / Floribus* *Verg. Georg.* IV, 54; *Aen.* V, 79; VI, 884; and often; l. 49 below; *Carm.* 104, 3.
 37 *humus lasciuuiat* *Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria noua* 901.
 39–40 *Luxuriat ... comis* Cf. *Carm.* 104, 1–2; *Hor. Carm.* IV, 7, 1–2.
 39 *frondibus arbor* = *Ov. Met.* XI, 46; XIII, 690 and 847; *Fast.* I, 153; *Er. Carm.* 64, ll. 26 and 30; l. 47 below.
 40 *herba comis* = *Ven. Fort. Carm.* I, 20, 14; cf. *Er. Carm.* 104, 2.
 41 *Mollia ... partus* Cf. *Ven. Fort. Carm.* III, 9, 11: “mollia purpureum pingunt violaria campum”; cf. l. 49 below; *Carm.* 104, 3.
 42 *aspera spina rosis* = *AH* 52, 30, 16: “Fulget purpureis aspera spina rosis”; l. 50 below; *Carm.* 104, 4; cf. *Carm.* 106, 68. The model is *Ov. Pont.* II, 2, 34 (in older edd.): “saepe creat molles aspera spina rosas.”
 43–44 *nitent ... nouo* Cf. *Carm.* 106, 60.
 43 *nitent / gramina flore* Cf. *Ven. Fort. Carm.* III, 9, 34; *Er. Carm.* 106, ll. 7, 88, 92, and 97.

- 45 At mora parua, cadunt redolentia tempora veris,
 Et properat nymbis horrida bruma suis.
 Iam neque prata virent, moeret sine frondibus arbos,
 Et ponit virides languida sylua comas.
 Iam non purpurei pingunt violaria flores,
 50 Iam riget elapsis aspera spina rosis.
 Turpes dissimilesque sui sine gramine campi,
 Atque omnis subito flosque venusque cadit.
 Sic sic flos aeuī, sic sic male blanda iuuenta
 Labitur, heu celeri non reditura pede.
 55 Tristior inde ruit ac plena doloribus aetas,
 Inde subit tremulo curua senecta gradu,
 Et grauibus curis et tristibus aspera morbis,
 Luctibus et centum conglomerata malis.
 Haec tibi temporibus canos sparsura capillos,
 60 Haec tibi pendentem contrahet hirta cutem.
 Corpora tum subito linquit moribunda voluptas,
 Omnis et ingenii visque calorque cadit.
 Forma perit, pereunt agiles in corpore vires,

61 linquit *M*: linquet *H*.

- 45 *tempora veris* = *LHL* V, 404; cf. *Er. Carm.* 106, ll. 29, 57, and 75.
 46 *horrida bruma* Verg. *Georg.* III, 442–443.
 47–65 *Iam ... rugis* Most of these verses also occur in *Carm.* 104. For ll. 47–52 cf. *Carm.* 104, 1–6; for ll. 53–65 cf. *Carm.* 104, 13–22.
 47 *Iam ... virent* Cf. *Hor. Carm.* IV, 12, 3; *Er. Carm.* 106, 92 (n.).
moeret ... arbos Cf. *Carm.* 64, 25 and 26 (n.); 109, 11–12.
 48 *Et / virides / comas* = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VI, 1, 4; cf. *Martial.* XIII, 19, 2; *Tib.* I, 7, 34.
 49–50 *Iam ... rosis* See ll. 41–42 (with notes); cf. also *Ov. Ars* II, 115–116.
 49 *purpurei / flores* See n.ll. 37–38 above.
 51 *dissimilesque sui* See n. *Carm.* 2, 61.
sine gramine campi = *Carm.* 104, 5 (n.).
 52 *subito* See n. *Carm.* 2, 10.
 53 *Sic sic* = *Carm.* 2, 83 (n.); 104, 13, in similar context.
male blanda Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 42, l. 69: “male blandas saeculi illecebras”; p. 44, l. 139: “male blanda mundi species”; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 64, l. 183 (of the Sirens’ song).
 53–54 *iuuenta ... pede* Cf. *Tib.* I, 8, 47–48.
 54 *celeri / pede* = *Carm.* 94, 88 (n.).
 55–58 *Tristior ... malis* See n. *Carm.* 2, 12–13.
 55 *Tristior / aetas* *Stat. Silv.* I, 2, 165: “veniet iam tristior aetas”; cf. *Er. Carm.* 2, 195–196 (n.).
 56 *Inde ... gradu* Cf. *Ov. Met.* XIV, 143; *Ars* II, 670; *Andrel. Liv.* I, 3, 20: “festinat iter ... / Non intellectu curua senecta gradu.”
 57 *grauibus curis* = *Claud. Paneg. Prob.* 154; cf. *Er. Carm.* 106, 59 (n.).
tristibus / morbis *Tib.* I, 5, 9; IV, 11, 3; Verg. *Georg.* IV, 252; *Ov. Met.* VII, 601.
tristibus aspera = *Claud. De rapt. Pros.* II, 20: “tristibus aspera bellis”.
 59–68 *Haec ... tui* See n. *Carm.* 2, 7–22.
 59 *temporibus ... capillos* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 65 (n.).
 60 *pendentem ... cutem* Cf. *Hier. Epist.* 140, 9; *Iuv.* 10, 192–193; *Er. Carm.* 101, 6.
 61 *Corpora / moribunda* *Stat. Theb.* VII, 760–761. For the idea that old age is a living death see n. *Carm.* 2, 29.
subito See n. *Carm.* 2, 10.
 63 *Forma perit, pereunt* = *Balbi, Carm.* 94, 7 (p. 185): “Forma perit, pereunt et opes, vorat omnia tempus”; cf. *Er. Carm.* 99, 14. For the commonplace see n. *Carm.* 2, 16.
in corpore vires = Verg. *Aen.* V, 396 and 475; *LHL* I, 480.

Et rosa purpureis excidit ista genis.
 65 Finditur annosis subito frons aspera rugis,
 Decrescunt oculis lumina fusca cauis.
 Pro mento fit leue caput, fis simia tandem,
 Ignotusque tibi dissimilisque tui.
 I modo, confide, infelix, iuuenilibus annis
 70 Et sponde votis gaudia longa tuis,
 Si tamen et saluam tribuent egisse iuuentam
 Maturosque sinent fata videre dies.
 Sed gaudet tenerae fera mors primordia vitae
 Saepius atque ortus praesecuisse rudes.
 75 Lurida Tartareis circumuolat omnia pennis,
 Quam circum tenebris nox spatiosa cauis,
 Mille neces circum et morbi genus omne tremendi,
 Mille humeris succo spicula tincta nigro.
 Dentibus infrendet horrendum semper ahenis,
 80 Insanam cupiens exaturare famem.
 Haec te loetiferis sequitur metuenda sagittis,
 Haec sequitur laqueis insidiosa suis.
 Parcere nec formae nec parcere gnara iuuentae,
 Sed vorat imberbes insatiata genas.

67 *leue scripsi: lene HM.*

84 *imberbes M: imbarbes H.*

64 *purpureis / genis* Ov. *Am.* I, 4, 22; Stat. *Theb.* I, 538.
 65 *Finditur / frons / rugis* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII, 417; Hor. *Epod.* 8, 3-4; Ov. *Met.* III, 276; XIV, 96; Er. *Carm.* 104, 20.
subito See n. *Carm.* 2, 10.
 67 *leue caput* Iuv. 10, 199.
 67-68 *fis simia ... tui* Cf. Iuv. 10, 191-195.
 68 *Ignotusque ... tui* See n. *Carm.* 2, 60-61.
 69 *iuuenilibus annis* = *Carm.* 88, 92 (n.).
 70 *gaudia longa* = *LHL* II, 396.
 71-94 *Si tamen ... suis* One cannot count on reaching a ripe old age, for death can strike at any time. For this commonplace see, e.g., Cic. *Cato* 19, 67; Hor. *Carm.* IV, 7, 17-18; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, pp. 54-55, ll. 383-425; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 2, ASD V, 2, p. 155, ll. 853-854.
 73 *primordia vitae* = *LHL* IV, 354.
 75-82 *Lurida ... suis* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 55, ll. 423-424.
 75-76 *Tartareis ... cauis* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 360; VI, 866; Er. *Carm.* 64, 34-35 (n.); cf. also Hor. *Serm.* II, 1, 58; Hermans, *Sylu.*, sig. b4^v:

"Tartareis volitat pennis metus omnia circum."
 76 *nox spatiosa* Ov. *Her.* I, 9.
 77 *morbi genus omne* See n. *Carm.* 2, 6-7.
 78 *succo ... nigro* Cf. Ov. *Pont.* III, 3, 106; IV, 10, 31. Death-dealing poisons are conventionally "black"; see, e.g., Hor. *Carm.* I, 37, 27-28; Verg. *Aen.* II, 221.
 79 *Dentibus ... horrendum* Cf. Stat. *Theb.* VI, 790; Verg. *Aen.* III, 664; VIII, 230; X, 718.
 80 *Insanam / famem* Lucan. VII, 413.
 82 *Haec ... suis* Cf. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 56 D: "Cogita ... quam vndique imminens insidiosa mors"; *LB* V, 57 E: "Perpende ... quot laqueos nobis struat mors, nullo non loco, nullo non tempore insidians"; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 54, l. 412: "mille mortis laquei"; p. 55, ll. 423-424; *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 97, l. 30-p. 98, l. 1; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 362, l. 553. The image of death's snares is ancient; see, e.g., Hor. *Carm.* III, 24, 8; *Ps.* 17, 6; *Prv.* 21, 6; *Eccl.* 9, 12 (quoted in Er. *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 364, ll. 599-601).

- 85 Quid dubitas, male sane, meis confidere verbis?
 Sis vel luminibus credulus ipse tuis.
 Nonne vides passim vt pereant iuuenesque senesque,
 Feruidus effoeto cum genitore puer?
 Hic perit ante diem clauso praegnantis in aluo,
 90 Sarcophagum miserae viscera matris habens.
 Ille cadit dulci genetricis ab vbere raptus,
 Hic infans moritur, tollitur ille puer.
 Multos iam calidos mediis a luxibus ecce
 Abrumpit iaculis mors truculenta suis.
 95 Tum dic, vane iocis adolescens dedite vanis,
 Gaudia carnis vbi pristina, luxus vbi?
 Spes vbi, quaeso, modo longaeuae prisca senectae
 Temporaque in seros iam numerata dies?
 Omnia nonne brevis subito necis abstulit hora?
 100 Non sequitur dominum gloria vana suum.
 Cuncta leuis nebulae vanique simillima somni
 Effugiunt, vt iam nulla fuisse putes,
 Et tu, perpetuis luiturus crimina flammis,
 Mitteris in Stygios flebilis vmbra lacus.
 105 Clauditur hoc mundi leuis oblectatio fine,
 Et sequitur risum aeterna querela breuem.
 Ergo age, dum liceat, tibi consule: nautica sera est

85 sane *scripsi*: sana *H M*.

91 genetricis *M*: genitricis *H*.

- 85 *Quid dubitas* = Verg. *Aen.* IX, 12; Ov. *Her.* 7, 125; 19(20), 234; *Trist.* V, 2, 37.
 87 *Nonne vides* = *LHL* III, 564; Er. *Carm.* 105, 53; cf. *Carm.* 94, 37 (n.).
pereant ... senesque Proverbial; see Walther 15170–15171; cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 28, 19 (quoted in Er. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 53, l. 371).
iuuenesque senesque = *LHL* III, 142–144.
 88 *Feruidus* See n. *Carm.* 2, 165.
 89–94 *Hic ... suis* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 54, ll. 385–390; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 450, ll. 1–4; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 5, p. 48, ll. 872–874.
 89 *Hic / ante diem* = *Carm.* 70, 1.
 90 *miserae ... habens* Cf. Ps. Ov. *Epic. Drusi* 264.
 91 *genetricis ab vbere* = Ven. Fort. *Carminum app.* 21, 3.
ab vbere raptus *LHL* V, 513.
 97 *longaeuae / senectae* Prop. II, 13, 47.
 98 *seros / dies* Ov. *lb.* 130; Boeth. *Consol.* II, m. 7, 25.

- 99 *brevis / abstulit hora* Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria noua* 401; cf. Lucr. IV, 178; Ov. *Met.* IV, 696.
 100 *Non sequitur ... suum* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 14, 22–24; Er. *Carm.* 96, 112 (n.).
 101–102 *Cuncta ... Effugiunt* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 81–84 (with notes).
 101 *nebulae* Cf. *Sap.* 2, 3: “Vita nostra ... sicut nebula dissoluetur”; Er. *Carm.* 85, 7 (n.).
vani / somni Ov. *Met.* XI, 614; Prud. *Cath.* 1, 88 (in a comparison with the things of this world).
simillima somni Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 794; VI, 702.
 104 *Stygios ... lacus* = Auson. *Epigr.* 53, 6.
 106 *sequitur ... breuem* Cf. *AH* 48, 63, 7: “breuem voluptatem / perpes poena sequitur”; Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria noua* 430: “Quam brevis est risus, quam longa est lacrima mundi.”
 107–110 *Ergo ... tibi* For this conclusion to the *carpe diem* argument cf. *Carm.* 2, 211–213; 104, 25–28.

Fluctibus elisa sollicitudo rate.

Sed prius ac veniat venturam prospice mortem.

110 Sic facis vt veniat non metuenda tibi.

108 rate *H*: rate *M*.

107–108 *nautica* ... *rate* Cf. Ov. *Am.* II, 11, 23–24; Er. *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, p. 40, ll. 3–4: “Quam infelix prudentia est, quum nauclerus crebris naufragiis didicit artem nauigandi.” For the thought cf. also *Adag.* 30–31; 201, ASD II, 1, p. 314, ll. 251–252: “Misera est omnis prudentia, quae colligitur vsu rerum”; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 741, l. 22:

“experientia, stultorum magistra”; *Liturg. Virg. Lauret.*, ASD V, 1, p. 102, ll. 178–179; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 250, l. 90.

109–110 *venturam* ... *Sic* Cf. Ov. *Ars* III, 59–60.

110 *veniat non metuenda* Cf. Dionysius Cartusianus, *De iudicio mortis* 2: “Mors ... nec metuenda venit.”

96 ELEGIA TERCIA, IN DIVITEM AVARVM

Tu quoque, nescio qua rerum spe lusus inani,

Cogis, auare, tuas insatiatus opes,

Ausus et ipse tibi vitam spondere beatam,

Tantum si votis arca sit aequa tuis.

5 Hinc domus, hinc teneri chara cum coniuge nati

Linquuntur, patrium linquitur ergo solum.

Quaeritur Aeoo quaecunq; est proxima soli,

Quaecunq; occiduo terra sub axe latet.

Temnuntur scopuli et ratibus metuenda Charybdis,

Tit. ELEGIA *M*: Satyra *H*.

3 tibi vitam *M*: vitam tibi *H*.

9 metuenda *M*: metuende *H*.

The third poem in this cycle of moral satires deals with the stock theme of avarice. Er. expatiates on this topic also in *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, pp. 46–48.

1 *spe lusus inani* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI, 49.

2 *Cogis ... opes* Cf. Boeth. *Consol.* III, m. 3, 2; Walther 27920: “Semper cogit opes numquam satiandus auarus.” Insatiability is the essence of greed; cf., e.g., *Ecl.* 5, 9; Sen. *Dial.* X, 2, 1: “insatiabilis ... auaritia”; Prud. *Psychom.* 478: “amor insatiatus habendi”; Er. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 554 E: “auaritia inexplata Charybdis”; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 42, l. 86; *Adag.*, prolegomena xii, ASD II, 1, p. 66, ll. 452–453; *Adag.* 933, LB II, 377 A–B; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, ASD V, 2, p. 364, l. 183; *Carm.* 49,

82; 94, 8. See also ll. 34, 79–82 (n.), and 96 below.

5–10 *Hinc ... Notis* It is an ancient commonplace that men will risk their lives on the high seas in hopes of gaining a fortune. See, e.g., Tib. I, 3, 39–40; I, 9, 9–10; II, 3, 39–40; Hor. *Epist.* I, 1, 45–46; Sen. *Dial.* X, 2, 1; Er. *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 136, ll. 209–211; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 249, ll. 15–17; p. 362, ll. 22–23.

5 *chara ... nati* Cf. Ov. *Pont.* I, 8, 32; *LHL* I, 424 and 425.

8 *occiduo / sub axe latet* = Andrel. *Liv.* II, 1, 66: “Vrsa nec occiduo mersa sub axe latet.”

9 *metuenda Charybdis* = Verg. *Cul.* 332 (var. lect. for: “Zanclaea Charybdis”); cf. Er. *Adag.* 404.

- 10 Temnitur hymbriferis acta procella Notis.
 Mille per vndarum, per mille pericula terrae,
 Per phas perque nephas, per necis omne genus,
 Quaeritur innumeris nocitura pecunia curis,
 Quaeque queat dominum perdere parta suum.
 15 Stulte, quid attonita refugis noua nomina fronte?
 Lumina cur tollis cum 'nocitura' legis?
 Hac nihil est (neque enim mirere) nocentius, inquam,
 Saeuius haud vllum Styx dedit atra malum.
 Ipsa est cunctorum genitrix et alumna malorum,
 20 Fomentum vitii, saeua nouerca boni.
 Illa peregrinos prima intulit horrida mores
 Primaque vipereum sparsit in orbe malum.
 Haec docuit tacitis aliena capessere furtis
 Cognataque feras tingere caede manus.
 25 Suasit adulterium, periuria, bella, rapinas;
 Lenonem illa facit, prostibulum illa facit.

10 *hymbriferis / Notis* *Obsecratio*, LB V, 1234 E; cf. *Ov. Met.* XIII, 725; *Er. Carm.* 104, 8.

11 *per mille pericula* = Val. Fl. VII, 271; *Dracont. Laud.* I, 727.

12 *Per phas perque nephas* Proverbial; see Otto 644; *Nachträge*, pp. 56, 72–73, 160, and 270–271; *Er. De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 113, ll. 100–101; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 249, l. 5; *Adag.* 1024, LB II, 415 D. The phrase is particularly apt to express the rapaciousness of greed, which stops at nothing to satisfy its hunger. See, e.g., Tac. *Hist.* II, 56: “in omne fas nefasque auidi”; Walther 16554: “Per fas atque nefas querit auarus opes.” *Er.* often turns to this phrase when writing on the subject of hoarding money and hunting for temporal goods; see *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 47, ll. 209–210; *Enchir.*, LB V, 24 D and 50 B; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 136, l. 226; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 253, ll. 670–671; p. 255, l. 740; *Ep.* 1304, l. 416; *Adag.* 201, ASD II, 1, p. 304, l. 39; 422, ASD II, 1, p. 496, ll. 501–502; 812, LB II, 336 F; 3303, LB II, 1025 E; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 14, ASD V, 2, p. 288, ll. 34–35; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 33, ASD V, 3, p. 138, l. 666; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 277, l. 670; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, LB V, 560 A; *Lingua*, ASD IV, 1A, p. 104, l. 600; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 198, l. 933.

13 *Quaeritur ... curis* Cf. l. 79 (n.) below.

14 *Quaeque ... suum* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 18.

15 *Stulte, quid* = *Carm.* 95, 1 (n.).

17–34 *Hac ... fames* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 46, ll. 165–174.

17 *Hac nihil est / nocentius* Cf. *Sir.* 10, 9–10.

18 *Styx / atra* Verg. *Georg.* I, 243; cf. *Er. Carm.* 110, 29.

19–20 *Ipsa ... boni* The thought is proverbial; see Otto 229; *i. Tim.* 6, 10; Walther 20263; Claud. *Cons. Stil.* II, 111–113; Prud. *Amart.* 258; *Er. Ep.* 143, ll. 221–222; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 144, ll. 928–929; p. 246, ll. 190–191; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 249, ll. 24–25; *Paraphr. in i. Tim.* 6, 10, LB VII, 1054 E; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 24, l. 377: “auaritiam ... fontem ac radicem malorum omnium”; l. 60 (n.) below.

19 *alumna* The sense “nourisher” is late Latin usage.

20 *Fomentum vitii* = Walter, *Alex.* IV, 423: “Fomentum vitii genitrixque Pecunia luxus”. *saeua nouerca* = *Ov. Her.* 6, 126; cf. Verg. *Georg.* II, 128; Lucan. IV, 637; l. 29 below. The stepmother’s hatred for her stepchildren was proverbial; see n. *Carm.* 56, 25 above.

21 *Illu ... mores* Cf. *Iuv.* 6, 298–299.

22 *vipereum ... malum* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 175 (with notes).

23 *tacitis / furtis* *Ov. Fast.* I, 549.

25 *periuria, bella, rapinas* Cf. Walther 27908: “Semper auarus amat mendacia, furta, rapinas”; 8263a: “Ex his [sc. diuitiis] procedunt periuria, furta, rapinae”; *LHL* I, 203.

Sit facit illa suo malefidus amicus amico,
 Rectaque ne iudex censeat illa facit.
 Illa docet saeuas miscere aconita nouercas,
 30 Illa beat reprobos, deprimit illa pios.
 Schisma aurum parit, ambitio quoque nascitur auro,
 Iurgia, proditio, liuor et ira nocens.
 Illius humanos caecat caligine sensus,
 Fascinat atque oculos insatiata fames.
 35 Hac Achar populo dominum succendit Hebraeo,
 Hac Giesi lepra ceu niue tectus abit.
 Ipsa Philisteo Sampsonem prodidit hosti,
 Coniuge delusos ingeminante dolos.
 Hac quoque tu, innocui saeuissime venditor agni,
 40 Complexo medius guttura fune crepas.
 Et quid cuncta feram? Haec est totius vna vorago
 Criminis, inferni ianua, mortis iter.

27 Sit *M*: Sic *H*.

34 Fascinat atque *M*: Allucinatque *H*.

27 *amicus amico* = *Carm.* 43, 27 (n).
 28 *Rectaque ... facit* For the commonplace see, e.g., Prop. III, 13, 49–50; Prud. *Contra Symm.* II, 180.
 29 *saeuas ... nouercas* Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 147.
 32 *Iurgia ... ira* Cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 6, 244 (listing the results of such vices as greed): “hinc lites, hinc fraus, hinc liuor et irae”.
proditio Mentioned among the seven daughters of avarice in Greg. M. *Mor.* XXXI, 45, 87, in: *CCSL* 143 B, p. 1610, together with “fraus, fallacia, periuria, inquietudo, violentiae, et contra misericordiam obdurations cordis.”
 33–34 *Illius / fames* “Illius” is an objective genitive with “fames” in l. 34. Hunger is a conventional metaphor for greed; see, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* III, 57; Hor. *Carm.* III, 16, 18; Er. *Carm.* 49, 82; also ll. 57, 80, and 91–92 below.
 33 *humanos / sensus* Prud. *Apoth.* 260.
caligine sensus = Claud. *Cons. Stil.* II, 133.
 34 *Fascinat ... fames* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 36 (n); l. 2 (n.) above.
 35–40 *Hac ... crepas* Innoc. *Miseria* II, 9 mentions among others Achan, Gehazi, and Judas as exempla of cupidity; Prud. *Psychom.* 529–546 speaks of Achan and Judas.
 35 *Hac ... Hebraeo* See *Ios.* 7.
Achar This is the form of the name in 1.

Chr. 2, 7; Prud. *Psychom.* 537; and Innoc. *Miseria* II, 9 (spelled “Achor”). In *Ios.* 7 the name is given as “Achan”.
 36 *Hac ... abit* See 2. *Rg.* 5, 20–27.
 37–38 *Ipsa ... dolos* See *Iudic.* 16, 4–21. Cf. Er. *Carm.* 100, 27–28.
 39–40 *Hac ... crepas* See *Mt.* 26, 15. Judas’ end is recounted in two somewhat different versions. According to *Mt.* 27, 5 he threw down the money in the temple and hanged himself. *Act.* 1, 18 says: “Possedit agrum de mercede iniquitatis, et suspensus crepuit medius: et diffusa sunt omnia viscera eius.” Er., following a traditional explanation, combines the two versions of Judas’ end. Cf. *De imm. Dei misericord.*, LB V, 574 F: “Confugit ad infelicem laqueum et crepuit medius.”
 41–42 *vorago Criminis* Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2 III, 9, 23: “vorago ... aut gurgis vitiorum”; Val. Max. IX, 4, praef.: “auaritia ... manifestae praedae audissima vorago”; Liv. XXIX, 17, 13.
 42 *inferni ianua* = Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria* I, 58, 38: “inferni ianua, triste Chaos”.
mortis iter = John of Salisbury, *Entheticus minor* 108 and Walther 15669: “Munera Fortunae ... vitiorum / semina sunt, scelerum pabula, mortis iter”; Er. *Carm.* 94, 90 (n.).

- Id quoque natura didicisse docente licebit,
 Quae tanto nocuas obice clausit opes.
 45 Surgere flaua Ceres praecepta patentibus aruis,
 Laetaque pampineo palmite vina fluunt,
 Et mala in patulis flauescunt mollia ramis,
 Diues mille palam munera fundit humus.
 At natura, olim cunctarum praescia rerum,
 50 Noxia terrigenis dona latere iubet.
 Terrae visceribus nocitura recondidit auri
 Pondera, et obscoenas in Styga mersit opes.
 Gemmea marmoreo latitare sub equore saxa
 Iussit et obscurum gurgite clausit iter.
 55 Nec latuisse licet quantumlibet abdita: auari
 Effodit e latebris improba cura suis.
 Quo non dira fames? Stygias penetratur ad vmbas
 Inque procellosi tenditur ima freti.
 Promuntur tecti preciosa pericula census,
 60 Pernicies hominum materiesque mali.
 Mentior at forsan. Sed tu quae commoda lucris

49 At *M*: Ast *H*.

58 tenditur *M*: pergitur *H*.

- 43–60 *Id quoque ... mali* Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 137–142; *Am.* III, 8, 35–54; Hor. *Carm.* III, 3, 49–52; Sen. *Epist.* 94, 57; Plin. *Nat.* XXXIII, 1, 1–2.
 44 *obice* See n. *Carm.* III, 20.
 45 *flaua Ceres* = Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* II, 867. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* I, 96; Tib. I, 1, 15; Ov. *Am.* III, 10, 3; Er. *Carm.* 98, 3.
patentibus aruis = Stat. *Theb.* VIII, 360.
 46 *pampineo palmite* Prud. *Cath.* 3, 53–54.
 47 *patulis / ramis* = Verg. *Cul.* 146; cf. Ov. *Met.* VII, 622.
 48 *Diues / humus* Ov. *Met.* I, 137–138 (in similar context); Martial. XII, 62, 4 (in the golden age, when there was no mining for gold and silver): “scissa nec ad Manes sed sibi diues humus”.
munera fundit humus Cf. *Carm.* 106, 91 (n.); 112, 11; Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 41.
 49 *natura / praescia* Lucan. II, 3; cf. Er. *Carm.* 109, 23 (n.).
praescia rerum = Iuuenc. I, 191.
 51–52 *auri Pondera* Tib. I, 9, 31–32; Boeth. *Consol.* II, m. 5, 28.
 52 *obscoenas / opes* Cf. Iuv. 6, 298.
 53 *marmoreo / sub equore* = Verg. *Aen.* VI, 729.
 57 *Quo non dira fames* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* III, 56–57.
dira fames = Verg. *Aen.* III, 256; Ov. *Met.* VIII, 845; cf. *Anth. Lat.* 649, 3: “Auri dira fames”; Mantuan. *Calam.*, p. 43: “Dira fames auri”.
Stygias / ad vmbas = Lucan. VI, 568; Stat. *Silv.* III, 5, 37; cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 139 (in similar context); Er. *Carm.* 94, 7.
 59 *preciosa pericula* Boeth. *Consol.* II, m. 5, 30 (in similar context); cf. Er. *Carm.* 94, 42 (n.).
 60 *materiesque mali* = Pamphilus 716 (of love); cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 24, 49 (quoted in Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 46, l. 173): “Summi materiem mali”; ll. 19–20 (n.) above.
 61 *Mentior at* = Hor. *Serm.* I, 8, 37.
 61–70 *Sed tu ... quies* It is proverbial wisdom that riches do not bring happiness, only cares and worries; see Walther 6059; 6108; 6112b; 6125; Er. *Adag.* 2602. See also Hor. *Carm.* III, 16, 17 (quoted in Er. Ep. 1460, l. 1); *Serm.* I, 1, 76–78; Sen. *Dial.* IX, 8, 1; Iuv. 14, 303–304; Boeth. *Consol.* III, 3, 5; III, m. 3, 5; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 46, ll. 185–187; *Enchir.*, LB V, 60 F; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 249, ll. 26–27: “[opes] magno

Experiare, miser, profer, amabo, tuis.
 Nulla, reor, nisi forte tuas tu commoda curas
 Dixeris. Et quid enim, quid nisi cura tuum est?
 65 Arca beata quidem; miserum te copia rerum
 Strangulat, innumeris accumulata malis.
 Sollicito quaesita metu, querenda fatigat
 Curis, te miserum spesque metusque premunt.
 Lux est, assiduo mens anxia fluctuat estu.
 70 Nox venit, ipsa quoque est irrequieta quies.
 Nec tam crediderim Titii derodere fibras
 Vultura, quam pectus improba vota tuum,
 Ut iam haud immerito diuesque vocere miserque,
 Ille velut quondam perditus aere Midas.
 75 Omnia cui quamuis fuluum vertantur in aurum,
 Vota tamen votis damnat auara nouis

72 Vultura *M*: Vltura *H*.

73 diuesque *M*: diues *H*.

sudore congeri, maiore cura congestas seruari, maximo dolore diu seruatas amitti"; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, *ASD* V, 2, p. 380, ll. 752–755.

65–66 *Arca ... Strangulat* Cf. *Stat. Silv.* II, 2, 151–152: "non tibi sepositas infelix strangulat arca / diuitias"; *Iuv.* 10, 12–13.

65 *Arca beata quidem* For the half-line cf. *Carm.* 93, ll. 205 and 206; 98, 17. It is also possible to read "arca beata" as paralleling "copia rerum": "Arca beata [= copia rerum] te quidem strangulat"; in that case the semicolon after "quidem" should be changed to a comma, as in the *Progymnasmata* of 1521 (Snoy prints a virgule there). For "arca beata" cf. *Carm.* 97, 8–9: "beata ... crumena".

miserum ... rerum Walther 31098: "Te faciet miserum multarum copia rerum." For the tag "copia rerum" see *LHL* I, 445–446; l. 113 below.

67 *Sollicito / metu* *Ov. Trist.* III, 11, 10; *Pont.* III, 2, 12.

68 *spesque metusque* = *Iucan.* VII, 211; *Andrel. Liv.* II, 9, 36; *Er. Carm.* 105, 44; cf. *Verg. Aen.* I, 218; *Ov. Fast.* I, 486; III, 362.

69–70 *Lux est / Nox venit* Cf. *Eleg. in Maec.* 1, 99: "lux est; ... nox est ...".

69 *mens / fluctuat estu* *Prud. Amart.* 278; cf. *LHL* II, 308.

70 *Nox ... quies* Cf. *Eccl.* 5, 11; Walther 6299 and 29913.

Nox venit = *Ov. Fast.* IV, 662.

irrequieta quies The phrase occurs also in *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 71, App. crit. l. 845 (Basel ed., 1529); the ed. princ. reads "quietem inquietam".

71–72 *Titii ... Vultura* Tityus, a son of Earth, assaulted Zeus' mistress Leto. He was thereupon killed and thrown into Hades, where vultures constantly tore at his liver (the seat of passion). See *Hom. Od.* XI, 576–581; *Lucr.* III, 984–994; *Verg. Aen.* VI, 595–600. The miser is also likened to Tityus in *Mantuan. Calam.*, p. 41.

71 *Nec ... crediderim* = *Tib.* III, 4, 83.

fibras *Verg. Aen.* VI, 600, referring to Tityus' liver.

72 *Vultura* With a Greek accusative singular ending. For a similar unclassical use of this ending see *Carm.* 104, 7: "Aquilona".

improba vota = *Martial.* IV, 1, 10.

73–74 *diuesque ... Midas* Cf. Walther 8126: "Et miser et diues fuit olim rex Mida, diues / Auro, sed vite conditione miser." For the story of Midas' golden touch see *Ov. Met.* XI, 85–143. In *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 236, ll. 960–961 *Er.* interprets the tale as an allegory of avarice: "Quid [aliud sibi vult] Midae votum, nisi auaros et insatiabiles suis ipsorum opibus praefocari?"

75 *fuluum ... aurum* *Ov. Met.* XI, 103 (Midas speaking).

- Moxque perosus opes syluas et rura colebat,
 Grande docens opibus grandibus esse malum.
 Adde quod ingenti congesta pecunia cura
 80 Nec sopire famem nec releuare potest.
 Auri dira sitis crescit crescentibus arcis,
 Et cum iam tulerit plurima, plura cupit.
 Vtque solum omne salum in sinuosam congerit aluum,
 Vndique collectis nec satiatur aquis,
 85 Nutrit et vt pinguis rapidas alimonia flammis,
 Noxia sic auido crescit edendo fames.
 Quid iuuat immenso disrumpere scrinia censu,
 Cum satis esse animus nesciat ipse sibi?
 Omnis eget cupidus nec habet quod habet, sed et ipsa
 90 Inter opes medias degit auarus inops.

84 nec *M*: non *H*.

88 animus *M*: quidem *H*.

77 *perosus ... colebat* = Ov. *Met.* XI, 146 (of Midas).

79 *Adde quod* = *Carm.* 2, 123 (n.).

79–82 *ingenti ... cupit* It is a commonplace that the thirst for possessions is never slaked, but increases with increasing wealth; see, e.g., Hor. *Carm.* II, 2, 13–16; III, 16, 17–18; III, 24, 62–64; Ov. *Fast.* I, 211–212; Iuv. I, 139; Prud. *Amart.* 257; Walther 3734; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 46, ll. 192–193; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 281, ll. 813–815; l. 2 (n.) above.

79 *congesta pecunia cura* = Iuv. 10, 12; cf. I. 13 above.

81 *Auri ... arcis* Er. imitates Iuv. 14, 139: “crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia creuit [or: crescit].”

Auri dira sitis Cf. I. 57 (n.) above: “dira fames”. Greed is often likened to burning thirst or to dropsy; see, e.g., Hor. *Carm.* II, 2, 13–16; *Epist.* I, 18, 23; II, 2, 146–148; Ov. *Fast.* I, 215–216; Boeth. *Consol.* II, m. 2, 18; Walther 6422; 11319–11319b; 21663; Curtius, pp. 280–281; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 47, ll. 206–207; *Enchir.*, LB V, 61 A; Ep. 1593, ll. 23–24; 2476, ll. 14–15.

crescit crescentibus = Walther 9911: “crescit crescentibus annis”; 21396a (*Pamphilus* 261): “lignis crescit crescentibus ignis.”

82–92 *Er ... famem* The passage in part paraphrases Ov. *Met.* VIII, 834–842 (of Erysichthon’s insatiable hunger; see n.ll. 95–96 below).

82 *Et ... cupit* Cf. Ov. *Fast.* I, 212.

83–84 *Vique ... aquis* Cf. also *Ecl.* 1, 7.

83 *solum / salum* See n. *Carm.* 109, 21.

84 *Vndique collectis* Verg. *Aen.* II, 414; VII, 582.

85 *Nutrit ... flammis* For the image cf. *Prv.* 30, 16, adapted by Er. to characterize avarice in *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, ASD V, 2, p. 366, ll. 250–251.

rapidas / flammis Ov. *Pont.* IV, 8, 29 (in the same metrical position); *Ib.* 473.

86 *crescit edendo fames* = Walther 3735; cf. Walther 2704.

87 *Quid ... censu* Cf. Hor. *Serm.* I, 1, 41–42.

89–94 *Omnis ... aquis* Cf. *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 235, ll. 935–937: “Si quis proponat hominem auarum tam non habere quod habet quam id quod non habet, praefatus adhibebit Tantali fabulam.”

89 *Omnis ... quod habet* Proverbial; see Otto 225 and 226; Walther 1876a and 1879; Er. *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 235, ll. 936–937; p. 251, ll. 327–328; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, ASD V, 2, p. 365, l. 231; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 33, ASD V, 3, p. 139, ll. 712–713; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 150, l. 912; Allen, *Op. ep.* X, App. 22, p. 404, l. 214.

Omnis eget cupidus Proverbial; see Otto 227; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 47, ll. 207–208: “Quisquis plura quaerit, is se egere declarat”; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 160, l. 311.

90 *Inter ... inops* Cf. Walther 1883b, 1885, and 14229: “Auarus inter opes magnas inops”; Hor. *Carm.* III, 16, 28: “Magnas inter opes inops”, quoted in Er. *De contemptu mundi*,

Esurit et plenis patitur ieiunia mensis,
 Irritant ravidam fercula visa famem,
 Non secus ac refugis cruciatur Tantalus vndis
 Et sitit in mediis guttura siccus aquis,
 95 Illeue ieiuno qui deuorat omnia ventre
 Et proprios artus insatiatus edit.
 Ergo quid argentum, quid inutile congeris aurum,
 Perdite, quod dominum non beat, immo grauat,
 Loraque quod captis innectens vincula collis
 100 Te seruuum statuatur, qui modo liber eras?
 Seruus enim, seruus rerum est, mihi crede, suarum,
 Obsceno quisquis victus amore iacet.
 Custos, non dominus, nec habet, sed habetur ab illis,
 Nilque in eas diues iuris auarus habet.
 105 Mox etenim vt volucrem fortuna reuoluerit orbem,

95 ieiuno *H*: ieiunio *M*.

101 seruus rerum est *M*: est ille rerum *H*.

102 quisquis *M*: quicquid *H*.

104 eas *M*: eis *H*.

105 vt *om. H*.

ASD V, 1, p. 46, l. 179 and *Adag.* 1514; cf. Er. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 43 F: "congestis opibus inops custos incubaret".

91 *plenis / mensis* = *Carm.* 105, 27; cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI, 738.

ieiunia mensis = Ov. *Met.* VIII, 831 (of Erysichthon; see n.ll. 95–96 below).

93–94 *Non ... aquis* See Hom. *Od.* XI, 582–592. The miser's lot is frequently likened to that of Tantalus; see Hor. *Serm.* I, 1, 68–72; Ov. *Am.* III, 7, 49–52; Alan., *De planct. Nat.* XIII, 10–11; Walther 31043; Innoc. *Miseria* II, 14; Er. *Adag.* 522 and 1514; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 29 D; *De rat. stud.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 138, l. 8–p. 139, l. 1; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 238, ll. 2–3; *Rat. ver. theol.*, *LB* V, 80 E and 126 D.

93 *Non secus ac* = *Carm.* 4, 55 (n.).

refugis / Tantalus vndis Ov. *Met.* X, 41–42.

94 *in mediis / aquis* = Ov. *Her.* 15(16), 212, of Tantalus; *Trist.* IV, 8, 18; *Pont.* I, 6, 34.

95–96 *Illeue ... edit* Here Er. alludes to the fate of Erysichthon, who, having cut down trees in a grove sacred to Ceres, was punished with insatiable hunger; see Ov. *Met.* VIII, 738–878. In the end he was reduced to eating his own flesh. The story is also alluded to in ll. 82–92 above.

97 *inutile / aurum* Hor. *Carm.* III, 24, 48.

congeris aurum *LHL* I, 423.

99 *vincula collis* *LHL* V, 611.

100 *qui modo / eras* = Ov. *Met.* II, 648; Martial. III, 43, 2; cf. Ov. *Ars* I, 618; *Trist.* I, 5, 30; III, 7, 42.

101–104 *Seruus ... habet* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 46, l. 178: "Alter rei seruus, non dominus est Alter habetur, non habet." The thought is proverbial; cf. *Mt.* 6, 24; Walther 28167a–28168; 28183.

101 *mihi crede* = *LHL* III, 355.

102 *Obsceno / amore* Lucan. X, 363.

victus amore = *LHL* V, 600.

103 *Custos, non dominus* = Walther 4813a: "Custos, non dominus exstat auarus opum."

nec ... illis Alan., *De planct. Nat.* XIII, 54–56: "Diuicias non diues habet sed habetur ab ipsis. / Non est possessor nummi, sed possidet ipsum / Nummus"; cf. Walther 28168.

104 *Nil / iuris / habet* Ov. *Trist.* III, 7, 48.

diues / auarus Ov. *Am.* III, 7, 50; Iuv. 7, 30; Walther 6054–6055 and 19303.

105–116 *Mox ... breui* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, pp. 47–48, ll. 208–216.

105–108 *Mox ... fame* Cf. Boeth. *Consol.* II, 2, 9–11; Balbi, *Carm.* 51, 9–10 (p. 166): "Quique Midam superas opibus Croesumque beatiss, / Pendula sors currum si roter, Iruis eris."

105 *orbem* Proverbial; see Otto 695; Er. *Adag.* 663, *LB* II, 287 A.

Quae tua sunt hodie, cras subito huius erunt,
 Teque Irum ex ipso faciet lux vnica Craeso.
 Plenus eras opibus, iam moriere fame.
 Finge sed immensas votisque capacibus aequas
 110 Et semper stabili finge manere gradu.
 Quid tum, cum veniet mors, meta nouissima rerum?
 Defunctum faciles iamne sequentur opes?
 Quid tum contulerit largarum copia rerum?
 Tartara tu nudus nec rediturus adis,
 115 Sudoresque tuos peregrinus deuorat haeres,
 Te velo in tumultum vix comitante breui.
 An te forte putas non exorabile fatum
 Mortis et extremum fallere posse diem?
 Posse puta, sperare licet, si tempora quenquam
 120 Inuenias opibus perpetuasse suis,
 Et si quid Crasso, si quid sua copia Craeso
 Profuit et cineres ille vel ille fugit,
 Si mors felici Solomoni saeua pepercit,
 Si non et Phrygium Laomedonta tulit.

Finiunt elegiae tres.

123 Solomoni *M*: Salomoni *H*.

Postscr. elegiae tres *M*: satyre *H*.

106 *hodie, cras* = Ov. *Rem.* 94; Martial. XI, 65, 6.

107 *Teque ... Craeso* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 123–125 (n.);
Ov. *Trist.* III, 7, 41–42.

110 *stabili / gradu* = Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 1, 22:
“Qui cecidit, stabili non erat ille gradu.”

111 *mors ... rerum* Proverbial; cf. Sen. *Tro.*
397–398: “mors ... / velocis spatii meta
nouissima”; Hor. *Epist.* I, 16, 79: “Mors
ultima linea rerum est”; Verg. *Aen.* XII, 546:
“mortis ... metae”; Walther 5561 and 7490;
Er. *Carm.* 105, 137.

112 *Defunctum ... opes* Cf. Boeth. *Consol.* III,
m. 3, 6: “defunctum ... leues non comitan-
tur opes.” The thought is a commonplace;
see, e.g., Prop. III, 5, 13; 1. *Tim.* 6, 7; Er.
Carm. 95, 100 (n.).

113 *copia rerum* = l. 65 (n.) above.

114 *Tartara ... adis* Cf. Prop. III, 5, 13–14; Tib.
III, 3, 10; *Iob* I, 21; *Eccl.* 5, 14; Walther
18878–18879; 18880; 18881a; 18885; 18887.

115 *Sudoresque ... haeres* Cf., e.g., *Eccl.* 2, 18–19;
Hor. *Carm.* II, 3, 17–20; II, 14, 25–28; III, 24,
61–62; IV, 7, 19–20.

117 *non exorabile fatum* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* II, 491.

118 *Mortis / extremum / diem* Cf. Ov. *Her.* I,
114.

119 *sperare licet* = Martial. IX, 61, 21.

121–123 *Crasso / Craeso / Solomoni* These three
exempla of rich men whose wealth failed to
save them from death are also found in Her-
mans, *Sylv.*, sig. d2^v. For Crassus and Croesus
see n. *Carm.* 2, 123–125 above.

122 *ille vel ille* = Ov. *Am.* I, 8, 84; *Fast.* V, 188;
Martial. VII, 10, 2.

123 *mors / saeua* Cf. *Carm.* 10, 5; 71, 7–8.

124 *Laomedonta* = Ov. *Fast.* VI, 430; *Met.* XI,
200. Laomedon was a legendary king of
Troy. He cheated Apollo and Poseidon of the
wage they earned by building the walls of
Troy and treacherously withheld Hercules’
reward for killing the sea monster and saving
Laomedon’s daughter. In revenge for his
greed Hercules killed him and sacked the
city.

97 AD LESBIVM. METRVM PHALOCIVM
HENDECASYLLABVM, DE NVMMO THEMATION

Vt quicquid cupis assequare, Lesbi,
Non magnos opus est pares patronos,
Si rubris tumeat crumena nummis.
Nummo non melior patronus vllus.
5 Sin vero tibi desit ille tutor,
Nequicquam (mihi crede), amice Lesbi,
Facundus Cicero patrocinetur.
Persuadet citius nihil beata,
Impetrat citius nihil crumena.
10 Hac quodcunque voles eris repente:
Facundus, generosus atque bellus,
Inuictus, sapiens amabilisque.
Hac et consul eris et imperator,
Haec te si cupies deum creabit
15 Aequabitque Ioui. Sed vt tumentes
Cessabit loculos grauare nummus,
Fies rursus, eras quod ante, Lesbi.
Tam gratus venies tuis amicis
Quam primum puto parsimoniarum
20 Aduentare diem his, madens lagena
Quos et semper olens iuuat culina.
Sic sic dum loculos habere, Lesbi,
Cessas, desinis esse charus. Aera
Desisti dare? Desiisti amari.

Tit. PHALOCIVM *M:* Phalenticum [*pro* Phaleu-
ticum] *H;* THEMATION *add. M.*
2 pares *M:* paras *H.*

3 rubris tumeat *M:* turgēt rubeis *H.*
In fine: Finis *M.*

The epigram amplifies the proverbial thought that "everything bows to money"; see *Adag.* 287; *Moria, ASD* IV, 3, p. 76, ll. 94–102; Otto 775; Walther 6013; 6075b–6078; 8095; 19159; 19163a; 19170–19174; and often. "Sir Penny" was a popular topic in the later Middle Ages; see, e.g., Nigel de Longchamps, *Speculum stultorum* 2585–2650; *Carmina Burana* II; Marbod, *Carm. varia*, 2nd series 38, entitled *Quomodo seruitur nummo* (*PL* 171, 1727); Alan., *De planct. Nat.* XII, ll. 87–125; *Miles gloriosus* 81–90; Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, chapt. 17.
1 *Lesbi* The name occurs in Catull. 79, 1. Er may be using it here to suggest the easy standards and superficial morality of the island of Lesbos; cf. *Adag.* 493 and 1943.

3 *tumeat crumena nummis* Cf. Cornelis Gerard, *Ironia in huius mundi amatores* 3: "nummis ... repleta crumena". According to Tilmans, p. 351, Cornelis wrote this poem in c. 1489.
5–7 *Sin ... patrocinetur* Cf., e.g., Alan., *De planct. Nat.* XII, l. 91: "Vbi nummus loquitur, Tulliani eloquii tuba raucescit"; *Miles gloriosus* 82 and Walther 19217: "Nummus vbi loquitur, Tullius ipse tacet [or: silet]."
8–9 *beata / crumena* Cf. *Carm.* 96, 65.
11–12 *Facundus ... amabilisque* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* I, 6, 36–38.
12 *sapiens* Cf. Walther 19204; 19219–19220.
22 *Sic sic* *Carm.* 2, 83 (n.).

POEMS PUBLISHED AFTER ERASMUS' DEATH

Poems from Gouda Ms. 1323

98. TO ENGELBERT SCHUT OF LEIDEN

summer 1489?

In this poem Er. introduces himself to Engelbert Ysbrandtz Schut of Leiden (1410/1415–c. 1503). Engelbert Schut studied at Cologne, where he received his B.A. in 1436 and his M.A. around 1438. From 1458 to 1464 he was rector of the town school in Leiden. Thereafter he was headmaster of a private school (“bij-school”). In 1483 the town restricted the enrolment at his school to those pupils who were boarding with him; but this restriction was lifted in 1488. Engelbert occasionally translated and composed Latin documents for the town government. He was the author of *De moribus mensae* (106 hexameters) on table manners as well as of *De pane dyalogus* (96 lines), in which Bread complains to Baker and Eater about his treatment at their hands. These were published posthumously at Leiden by Johannes Severi in 1509 (*NK* 1708). He was also the author of a longer work on the art of writing letters, *De arte dictandi*, composed in hexameters, as well as a shorter prose treatise on rhetorical figures, *Tractatus quidam de elegancia, compositione, dignitate dictatus*, which were published together by Gerard Leeu at Gouda around 1484. As a scholar of some renown and (apparently) substantial means, he was a man worth cultivating as a potential patron. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Engelbert Ysbrandtz) Schut; and A.M. Coebergh van den Braak, *Meer dan zes eeuwen Leids Gymnasium*, Leiden, 1988, pp. 4–7, with a text and Dutch translation of *Carm.* 98 on p. 179.

Er. probably sent this verse letter in the middle of 1489. This date can be inferred from several circumstances. First of all, there is a series of close verbal and thematic parallels to *Carm.* 93, which in its original form was a poem of introduction to Cornelis Gerard, written in early 1489 and revised and expanded by Cornelis in April–May of the same year. Then too, *Carm.* 98 is very similar in concept and language to Ep. 32, written sometime after September 1489. Like *Carm.* 98, Ep. 32 is a letter of introduction to an as yet unseen friend (Jacob Canter). Both laud the addressee on the basis of his splendid reputation as a

writer, a patron of humanistic studies, and a staunch opponent of the barbarism now ruling the world. For other parallels see the notes to ll. 10, 11–12, and 21–22 below. In l. 24 there is a parallel to Marullus' *Epigrammata*; this parallel, however, is either fortuitous or owing to a common model, since the book was probably not published in early 1489, as Alessandro Perosa assumes in his *Michaelis Marulli carmina*, Zürich, 1951, pp. viii–ix and xxxvi, but sometime in 1490; see Carol Kidwell, *Marullus: Soldier Poet of the Renaissance*, London, 1989, pp. 156–157.

Allen tentatively identifies the present elegy with the letter mentioned in Ep. 28, ll. 23–27, sent to Cornelis Gerard in c. March 1491 (see introd. *Carm.* 50): “Epistolae ... exemplar, quam olim rogatus ad magistrum Engelbertum, virum vita venerabilem, misi, ad te dare curavi, si forte te intercessore aliquam ex eo vicissitudinem accipere merear, quam hactenus nequii.” In Ep. 28 Er. blames his lack of success in securing Engelbert's patronage on “amicorum meorum loquaces linguas, quae meam apud illum famam quam inimicissime commacularunt”. It is hard to say what sort of calumny Er. had in mind. Had word gotten back to Engelbert that Er., despite his hyperbolic praise in the poem, in truth thought very little of the schoolmaster's poetic talents? In Ep. 29, ll. 28–30 Er. had indeed disparaged the way Engelbert could spout verses at will. Or perhaps the Leiden scholar had learned of Er.' *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* (see introd. *Carm.* 128), which attacked Engelbert's alma mater, the Zwolle school, for its barbaric education. Many years later Er. wrote in *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 231, ll. 2–4: “Apud Hollandos, orbis lumen habebatur Engelbertus quidam, qui suis epistoliis nihil aliud docebat pueros quam inepte scribere.”

According to a suggestion by Reedijk, Engelbert might be the “literator ... qui gregem recens collegerat” and for whom Er. composed *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*; see ASD I, 4, p. 193, n. 7. Since Er. seems to have compiled this work in the late summer of 1489 (see Vredeveld, *Ages*, pp. 794–795) and Engelbert had just begun to expand his private school, Reedijk's suggestion seems plausible. For another poetic letter of introduction, written in 1495 to Robert Gaguin, see *Carm.* 5.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: *Go.*

ERASMVS MAGISTRO ENGHELBERTO LEYDENSI

Ethere quot placidis rutilant sub noctibus ignes
Siderei, guttas quot capit vnda freti,

1–6 *Ethere ... tuae* In this *captatio benevolentiae* Er. is following a late medieval mannerism; see H. Walther, *Quot-tot. Mittelalterliche Liebesgrüße und Verwandtes*, Zeitschrift

für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur 65 (1928), pp. 257–289. This kind of hyperbolic greeting, though popular, was sometimes criticized in manuals of epistolog-

- Quot flauae segetes Cereris, quot pocula Bacchi
 Et quot verna virens gramina campus habet,
 5 Tantas et plures, vates diuine, salutes
 Exoptat vitae nostra Camena tuae.
 Fama loquax, populos late diffusa per omnes,
 Ignarum quemquam non sinit esse tui.
 Qui licet vsque loco maneas immotus eodem,
 10 Hac tamen immenso notus in orbe volas.
 Hec facit vt nil te dubitem me noscere, quamquam
 Non vnquam facies sit tua visa mihi.
 Illa meas quoniam delapsa est nuper ad aures
 Laudis et ingenii nuncia multa tui,
 15 Insigni virtute virum Musis et amicum
 Praedicat ac superi tollit ad astra poli.

3 Cereris *scripsi*: Cereri *Go*.

- raphy. See Boncompagno da Signa, *Rota Veneris*, facsimile reproduction of the Strasbourg incunabulum, introd., trans., and annotated by J. Purkart, Delmar, N.Y., 1975, chapt. 2, p. 50 (f^o 2^v): "Consueuerunt quidam ponere quandam rusticanam salutationem, qua forte posset quis beniuolenciam captare: tot salutes et seruicia, quot in arboribus folia, quot in celo fulgent sidera et quot arene circa maris littora"; Er. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 284, ll. 13-14: "Eiusdem ineptiae sunt illa: 'Quot habet coelum stellae, quot habet mare guttas, tot tibi mitto salutes.'" The salutation is satirized in *Epistulae obscurorum virorum* I, 11: "Salutes tot, quot habet caelum stellae et mare arenas"; and I, 31: "Quot in mari sunt guttae et quot in Colonia sancta Beguttiae, / Quot pilos habent asinorum cutes, tot et plures tibi mitto salutes."
- 1-4 *Ethere ... habet* Cf. Ov. *Ars*. I, 57-59; *Trist.* V, 1, 31-32; *Pont.* IV, 15, 7-10; for ll. 1-2 cf. Ov. *Trist.* I, 5, 47; Er. *Carm.* 50, 186-188 (n.); 93, 149-150 (with notes).
- 1-2 *ignes Siderei* Ov. *Met.* I, 778-779 (of the sun's rays); XV, 665 (stars); cf. Er. *Carm.* 7, 5; 93, 149-150 (n.); 94, 72.
- 2 *vnda freti* = Martial. V, 1, 4.
- 3 *Quot ... Bacchi* Cf. Ov. *Pont.* IV, 15, 9.
- flauae segetes Cereris* Cf. Lucan. IV, 412; Er. *Carm.* 96, 45 (n.).
- pocula Bacchi* = LHL IV, 275-276.
- 5 *vates diuine* Hor. *Ars* 400; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 45; 10, 17.
- 7 *Fama loquax* = Ov. *Pont.* II, 9, 3; cf. *Met.* IX, 137; Lucan. VIII, 782; Martial. XII, 4, 4. Engelbert Schut uses the phrase in *De arte dictandi*, sig. a8^r: "Dicit fama loquax"
- 8 *Ignarum ... tui* Cf. Ov. *Trist.* IV, 3, 24: "oblitam non sinit esse mei"; LHL III, 560.
- 9 *immotus eodem* = Verg. *Aen.* V, 437; Ov. *Met.* III, 418.
- 10 *immense / orbe* = Ov. *Fast.* IV, 944; cf. *Am.* II, 9, 17; *Met.* XV, 435; *Trist.* IV, 8, 38; Er. *Carm.* 110, 355.
- volas* This recalls a famous line by Ennius; see n. *Carm.* 105, 54 below; Ep. 32, l. 21: "Volitant per omnium ora vestrae familiae laudes."
- 11-12 *Hec ... mihi* Cf. Ep. 32, ll. 11-21.
- 11 *Hec facit vt* = Ov. *Pont.* I, 6, 31.
- 13-20 *Ille ... tuos* Cf. *Carm.* 93, 201-208 (with notes).
- 13-14 *Ille ... tui* Cf. Ov. *Pont.* IV, 4, 15-16: "en ego laetarum venio tibi nuntia rerum / Fama, per inmensas aere lapsa vias"; Er. Ep. 39, ll. 22-23: "Admiror ... cur non Iunonia Iris tanti serii nuncia ad te delapsa sit."
- 13 *quoniam* For the sense "as soon as", "after", see, e.g., Plaut. *Asin.* 350; *Cas.* 583. There is thus no need to emend the ms. reading "qm̄" to "quando" ("qñ"); cf. Vredevelde, *Edition*, p. 126.
- 15 *Musis / amicum* Hor. *Carm.* I, 26, 1; Verg. *Aen.* IX, 774.
- 16 *tollit ad astra* Hor. *Serm.* II, 7, 29; cf. l. 26 (n.) below.
- ad astra poli* = LHL I, 149.

Ingens fama quidem atque viro bene digna perito,
 Sed longe meritis est minor ipsa tuis.
 Nam (nunc suspectae dubitem ne credere linguae)
 20 Hauserunt versus lumina nostra tuos.
 In quibus oppressae lucet spaes multa Camenae,
 Quae misere toto, proh pudor, orbe iacet.
 Ergo, precor, ceptos fac perge, vir optime, calles,
 Inque dies crescat haec tua cura tibi.
 25 Barbaries indocta cadat, facunda poesis
 Te duce sublime tollat in astra caput.
 Iamque vale, eternos dent numina viuere in annos,
 Atque immortales det tibi Parca dies.

20 *Hauserunt / lumina* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 661; XII, 945–946; Er. *Carm.* 112, 103.
versus / tuos Presumably Engelbert's *De arte dictandi*.
lumina nostra = LHL III, 252.
 21–22 *In ... iacet* Cf. Iuv. 7, 1–3; Er. *Ep.* 32, ll. 49–50; *Carm.* 93, 137–140.
 22 *proh pudor* = LHL IV, 374; Er. *Carm.* 138, 4; cf. *Carm.* 93, 129.
 23 *Ergo ... calles* Cf. *Carm.* 93, 213.
 24 *Inque dies* = Lucr. V, 1370; Verg. *Georg.* III, 553.
 26 *tollat in astra* Cf. Ov. *Her.* 15(16), 72; also

I. 16 (n.) above.
 27–28 *Iamque ... dies* Cf. *Carm.* 4, 59–60; 93, 218–220.
 27 *Iamque vale* = Verg. *Georg.* IV, 497; *Aen.* II, 789; and elsewhere.
eternos ... annos Cf. Engelbert Schut, *De arte dictandi*, sig. a3", as a formula for thanking someone "in a reverent tone" ("reuerenter"): "Hoc tu si facies, dominum rogo quod tibi donet / Eternam vitam, vel det tibi munera celi." For the phrasing cf. Ov. *Pont.* II, 8, 41–42; Er. *Carm.* 4, 59 (n.).
 28 *immortales / dies* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 96.

99. AN ELEGY COMPARING GRIEF AND JOY *latter half of 1487?*

This poem, which contrasts the effects of sorrow and happiness in order to urge the reader to embrace the joys of youth, while they last, amplifies *Prv.* 17, 22: "Animus gaudens aetatem floridam facit; Spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa." The biblical verse was often adduced in the later Middle Ages to buttress the contention that joyfulness maintains the bloom of youth, while sorrow and grief hasten the onset of old age. See, for example, the widely read medical poem *Flos medicinae scholae Salerni* (*Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*) 14–17: "Triste cor, ira frequens, ... labor ingens / Vitam consumunt haec tria fine breui: / Haec namque ad mortis cogunt te currere metas. / Spiritus exultans facit vt tua floreat aetas". See also Walther 30235; 31576–31577; Arnaldus de Villanoua, *Commentum super Regimen Salernitanum*, col. 1875 A–G (emphasis mine): "Homo sanus volens viuere, debet ab eo remouere graues curas: nam curae exiccant corpora ex quo tristificant spiritus vitales, modo *spiritus tristes exiccant ossa*. ... *Animus* hominis debet esse laetus et *gaudens*, quia laetitia siue gaudium *aetatem floridam facit*, hominem in

iuuentute conseruat, virtutem confortat, vitam prolongat, ingenium acuit, et ad singulos actus habiliorem reddit.” Heinrich Bebel says in *Prouerbia Germanica* 188 (first published in 1508): “Tria sunt, quae tollunt pulchritudinem corporis: Morbus, senium et anxietas siue curae. Dicit enim Salomon Prouerbiorum decimo septimo: *Animus gaudens aetatem floridam facit: spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa.*” Mutianus Rufus likewise alludes to the biblical verse in two letters of 1509; see *Der Briefwechsel des Mutianus Rufus*, ed. Carl Krause, Kassel, 1885, no. 116, p. 145: “Sanguis hilaritate crescat, auferatur tristis siccans ossa spiritus”; and no. 127, p. 163: “Illae monstrabunt non esse dolendum, quod *spiritus tristis*, vt inquit Solomon, *ossa exsiccat*, corpus sic conficiat, vt macescat, tabescat, senescat.” Er. quotes the verse in this context in *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 727, ll. 265–266 and *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, ASD V, 2, p. 236, ll. 389–390. In *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 84, ll. 247–249 he playfully alludes to it by identifying Folly with merriment and joy: “Accedit ad haec vulgati prouerbii non leue testimonium, quo dictitant Stulticiam vnam esse rem, quae et iuuentam alioqui fugacissimam remoretur et improbam senectam procul arceat.” See Harry Vredeveld, “*That Familiar Proverb*”: *Folly as the Elixir of Youth in Erasmus’s “Moriae Encomium”*, RQ 42 (1989), pp. 78–91.

In Er.’ earliest letters the polar emotions of joy and grief are again and again aroused by sentimental friendship – in particular the love he cherished for Servatius; see Epp. 4–9, 11, and 13; *Contemporaries* s.v. (Servatius) Rogerus. He may well be the friend implicitly addressed in this poem.

The somewhat clumsy development of the theme and the insistent repetitions of phrases and half-lines mark the poem as one of Er.’ earliest surviving efforts. It may therefore be assigned to the group of poems that the young humanist mentions in Ep. 28, ll. 10–17 and characterizes as “aequo mollius”. This phrase, translated in *CWE* 1 as “more self-indulgent than is proper” should instead be interpreted as “sentimental to a fault”, “smacking more than is proper of sentimental love”. The word “mollis” often refers to tender love poetry (in contrast to “hard” epic poetry); see, e.g., Prop. I, 7, 19; Ov. *Trist.* II, 307 and 349; cf. Er. *Adag.* 1548, where “mollia” is equated with “voluptatem”, and *Carm.* 100, 5 (n.) below. Looking back at his early poems in c. March 1491 (for the date of Ep. 28 see introd. *Carm.* 50), Er. adds apologetically: “Caetera omnia a me puero et propemodum adhuc seculari composita sunt.” The poem may thus be placed in the latter half of 1487, some months after Er. began his novitiate at Steyn.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: *Go.*

ELEGIA ERASMI DE COLLATIONE DOLORIS ET LETICIAE

Nimbus et obscurae pellantur ab aethere nubes:
 Pectoribus nostris cura dolorque cadat.
 Affricus aequoreos cesset sustollere fluctus:
 Pectoribus nostris cura dolorque cadat.
 5 Frondiferae Boreas agitare cacumina syluae:
 Pectoribus nostris cura dolorque cadat.
 Cura dolorque cadat, surgant noua gaudia, cedant
 Luctus et Eumenides, cura dolorque procul.
 Cura dolorque procul: viridem solet ille iuuentam
 10 Ante diem rugis commaculare suis.
 Ante diem solet ille grauem celerare senectam,
 Ille solet dulces abbreviare dies.
 Ille rapit vires, vorat ossibus ille medullas,
 Fronte perempta perit forma dolore suo.
 15 Pectoribus sensum furor aufert pessimus ille,
 Eripit ingenium pessimus ille furor.
 Ergo procul Stigias, procul hinc demigret in vndas
 Tartareumque cahos, cura dolorque cadat.

18 cadat *scripsi*: cadant *Go*.

1-5 *Nimbus ... syluae* As in *Carm.* 109, 1-8, Er. imitates Hor. *Carm.* II, 9, 1-8, where the poet urges a friend to stop lamenting.
 1 *pellantur ... nubes* Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 269; Er. *Carm.* 102, 40.
 2 *cura dolorque* = Ov. *Met.* X, 75, where the phrase expresses Orpheus' grief at the loss of Eurydice; Martial. VI, 52, 2 (of a beloved youth, "domini cura dolorque sui"); Er. *Carm.* 101, 12 (of the sorrow and grief that prematurely age the poet); cf. Ov. *Ars* I, 736 (love's sorrows).
 3 *Affricus ... fluctus* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 18-19. *aequoreos / fluctus* Ov. *Met.* XV, 604-605.
 5 *Frondiferae / syluae* Lucr. I, 256. *cacumina syluae* = *LHL* I, 222-223.
 7 *noua gaudia* = Verg. *Aen.* X, 325; *LHL* III, 568; Er. *Carm.* 112, 21; 112, 27.
 8 *Luctus et Eumenides* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 274: "Luctus et vltrices ... Curae", monsters who dwell with their companions in the forecourt of Hades. They are also alluded to in Er. *Carm.* 7, 42-43.
 9-16 *viridem ... furor* The thought that cares make one grow old before one's time is proverbial; see, e.g., *Sir.* 30, 22-26; Ov. *Trist.*

III, 8, 24-34; IV, 6, 39-50; *Pont.* I, 4, 1-20; Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 1, 9-12 (imitated in Er. *Carm.* 101); Walther 2287b; 2292a; 31596; Er. *Adag.* 2286, *ASD* II, 5, p. 232, ll. 586-593; *Adag.* 2962; Bebel, *Prov.* 436. Cf. also Er. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 57 B; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 251, ll. 11-12; and *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, pp. 377-382, ll. 56-235, with special reference to the cares of passionate love.
 9-10 *Cura ... suis* Cf. *Carm.* 101, 11-12.
 9 *viridem / iuuentam* See n. *Carm.* 13, 5.
 10 *Ante diem* See n. *Carm.* 70, 1.
 11-13 *Ante ... vires* Cf. Walther 31596: "Tristitiam fugias, quia vires corporis aufert / Atque solet teneros abbreviare dies."
 13 *vorat ... medullas* Cf. *Prv.* 17, 22: "Spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa"; Sen. *Phaedr.* 282, of passionate love: "vorat tectas penitus medullas."
 14 *perit forma* See n. *Carm.* 95, 63.
 15 *furor* Cf. *Adag.* 2.vi, *ASD* II, 1, p. 95, l. 894: "Amor enim per se furor est"; *Carm.* 102, 10; 102, 92 (n.); 109, 25.
 17 *Stigias / vndas* Verg. *Aen.* III, 215; VII, 773; and often.
 18 *Tartareumque cahos* = Aug. *Civ.* XVIII, 23 (quoting a Sibylline oracle); cf. Stat. *Theb.*

- Adsit leticia: pulchram decet illa iuuentam,
 20 Qua sine nil pulchrum, nil queat esse bonum.
 Corporis illa iuuat vires seniumque moratur
 Tristius, et letos protrahit illa dies.
 Leticia maior est forma, serenior est frons,
 Leticia ingenium clarius esse solet.

22 *illa scripsi: ille Go.*

- XII, 772; *Silv.* V, 1, 206; *Er. Carm.* III, 19.
 The spelling "cahos" for "chaos" is common
 in Renaissance writings; see also *Carm.* III,
 19; II2, 144.
 23 *Leticia ... forma* Cf. *Pamphilus* 104 (Walther
 7372): "Est cum letitia pulchrior omnis
 homo."

Leticia / serenior est frons Cf. *Adag.* 748;
Moria, ASD IV, 3, p. 71, l. 10, at the arrival of
 Folly, the embodiment of good cheer: "fron-
 tem exporrexistis"; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, ASD V,
 2, p. 236, ll. 381-382: "Qui gaudent, dicuntur
 exporrigere frontem."

100. ON THE OVERMASTERING POWER OF CUPID *latter half of 1487?*

This is a rhetorical exercise, the work of a young man beholden to the medieval arts of poetry. Symptomatic are not only the many borrowings from medieval wisdom literature, but also the device of repeating half-lines from one verse to the next, as in *Carm.* 99, and the mannerism of repeating "amor" at the end of each distich (except the final two, which have their own set of repetitions). See *Intro.*, pp. 33-35. The poem may well be contemporaneous with such other poems of friendship and love as *Carmm.* 99, 101, 102, and 103, which for various reasons we have placed in the latter half of 1487.

Metre: elegiac distich.
 Source: *Go.*

ELEGIA ERASMI DE PRAEPOTENTI VIRIVTE CVPIDINIS PHARETRATI

Nunc scio quid sit amor: amor est insania mentis,
 Ethna feruidior pectoris ignis amor.

- 1 *Nunc ... mentis* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 43: "nunc scio quid sit Amor"; Walther 5567: "Dic mihi, quid sit amor! Amor est insania mentis"; 5579a: "Dicam, quid sit amor: Amor est insania mentis." Cf. also the medieval verse quoted in Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in*

Iconology, 1939, repr. New York, 1967, p. 107, n. 42: "Disce, quid sit amor. Amor est insania mentis"; Walther, *Initia* 15787: "Quid est amor? mentis insania."
 2 *Ethna feruidior* Proverbial; see Otto 34; cf. *Er. Carm.* II2, 145.

- Nutibus et signis teneri pascuntur amores,
 Inter blanda oritur suauius stultus amor.
 5 Lumina mollis amor primum subit, inde medullis
 Figitur atque potens ossa penetrat amor.
 Ossa penetrat amor tacitisque edit intima flammis,
 Ima suis facibus viscera torret amor.
 Viscera torret amor, mentem vetat esse quietam
 10 Atque adimit somnos irrequietus amor.
 Non requiescit amor, sed mutua victor amantum
 Corpora si nequeat, pectora iungit amor.
 Sit licet vnus amor, necit duo corda duorum;
 Vt duo iam non sint efficit vnus amor.
 15 Quem ferus vrit amor, in amati pectore totus;

pectoris ignis Ov. *Trist.* III, 7, 19; *LHL* IV, 199.
 3 *Nutibus ... amores* Cf. Maximian. *Eleg.* 3, 69: "vnguibus et morsu teneri pascuntur amores"; Ov. *Met.* IV, 63; Walther 6371. *Nutibus et signis* These gestures are discussed in Boncompagno da Signa, *Rota Veneris*, facsimile reproduction of the Strasbourg incunabulum, introd., trans., and annotated by J. Purkart, Delmar, N.Y., 1975, chapt. 10, pp. 65–66 (f^o 10^r–10^v).
 5 *Lumina ... subit* An ancient and medieval commonplace; see *Adag.* 179; Curtius, pp. 512–514; Schnell, pp. 241–274; Er. *Carm.* 102, 67 (n.).
mollis amor = Ov. *Epist. Sapph.* 179; cf. *Ars* II, 152.
 6 *ossa penetrat amor* Cf. Ov. *Her.* 4, 70.
 7 *Ossa / intima* Ov. *Met.* XI, 416–417. *tacitis / flammis* = Stat. *Theb.* V, 445; cf. Ov. *Rem.* 105; *Met.* IV, 64 (cited in Er. Ep. 5, l. 22); Verg. *Aen.* IV, 2; Er. *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 252, ll. 334–335. *intima flammis* = *Carm.* 102, 93.
 8 *facibus ... amor* Cf. Ov. *Am.* III, 2, 40; Hor. *Carm.* I, 33, 6; III, 9, 13; III, 19, 28; also Er. *Carm.* 103, 1–2. The torch with which Cupid and Venus light the flames of love is frequently mentioned; see, e.g., Tib. II, 1, 82; II, 6, 16; Prop. II, 29, 5; III, 16, 16; Ov. *Am.* II, 9, 5. Cf. Er. *Carm.* 102, 71; 102, 86.
 9 *mentem / quietam* Martial. X, 47, 5.
 10 *adimit somnos* Hor. *Carm.* I, 25, 3; Verg. *Aen.* IV, 244. Sleeplessness is a conventional symptom of lovesickness; see, e.g., Ov. *Am.* I, 2, 3; *Met.* VI, 493; Er. *Carm.* 102, 7; 103, 6; Ep. 8, l. 9, where Servatius' neglect is said to cause Er. terrible distress and make his sleep

"irrequietus"; Ep. 2079, l. 58.
irrequietus amor = Baudri de Bourgueil, *Carm.* 252, 6–8: "... carmina nostra, / Que tibi delegat irrequietus amor. / Irrequietus amor ad te rescribere cogit, / Nam tibi me iungit irrequietus amor."
 11 *requiescit amor* = Tib. I, 2, 4.
 11–12 *victor / amor* Cf. l. 30 below.
 12 *Corpora si nequeat* Ov. *Ars.* II, 633. *iungit amor* = Ov. *Her.* 19(20), 226; cf. Er. *Carm.* 3, 4; 10, 6.
 13–14 *Sit ... amor* Cf. *Gn.* 2, 24; *Mt.* 19, 5–6; *Eph.* 5, 31. The commonplace was often varied in later medieval literature; see, e.g., John of Salisbury, *Entheticus maior* 1481–1482: "concliliatus amor animos ligat, imperat, vrget, / vt duo non duo sint, quos pius vnit amor"; Matthew of Vendôme, *Piramus et Tisbe* 3–6: "Piramus et Tisbe duo sunt nec sunt duo: iungit / Ambos vnus amor nec sinit esse duos. / Sunt duo nec duo sunt, quia mens est vna duorum, / Vna fides, vnus spiritus, vnus amor"; Walther 30716a; Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria noua* 538–539. See further Esther Bréguet, "In vna parce duobus": *Thème et clichés*, in: *Hommages à Léon Herrmann*, Brussels, 1960, pp. 205–214; Otto III; Er. *Adag.* 2; Ep. 15, ll. 30–31; 20, ll. 67–69.
 15 *Quem ferus vrit amor* = Ov. *Am.* III, 1, 20. *in amati pectore totus* This old image became very popular in medieval Latin and vernacular poetry; see Friedrich Ohly, *Cor amantis non angustum: Vom Wohnen im Herzen*, in his: *Schriften zur mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung*, Darmstadt, 1977, pp. 128–155. Er. uses the phrase in Ep. 7, l. 28 to describe his love for Servatius: "Tu in pectore semper." See also Ep. 20, l. 70; *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 279, ll. 80–82.

- Absens ipse sibi est, quem ferus vrit amor.
 Quem ferus vrit amor, nil dulce vbi desit amatum,
 At qum rursus adest, nil graue sentit amor.
 Omnia vincit amor: adamantea claustra relaxat,
 20 Ferrea ceu stipulam vincula rumpit amor.
 Omnia vincit amor sine cede et sanguine certans,
 Et domat indomitos non domitandus amor.
 Mollia nodosae valido pro robore clauae
 Alciden trahere pensa coegit amor.
 25 Praelia Mauortis quem non potuere cruenti
 Magnanimum Eaciden vincere, vicit amor.

23 *valido scripsi: valide Go.*

- 17–18 *Quem ... amor* Cf. Ep. 7, ll. 29–30, to Servatius Rogerus: “Te absente, dulce mihi est nihil; te praesente, amarum nihil.” This is a favourite topic in the language of love; see, e.g., Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 53–60; Calp. Sic. 3, 51–54; Thomas a Kempis, *Imit.* IV (III), 34, 6: “Te siquidem presente iocunda sunt omnia: te autem absente, fastidiunt cuncta.” Cf. Er. *Carm.* 64, 22–41 (n.).
- 17 *nil ... amatum* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* XII, 882–883; Claud. *In Ruf.* II, 268: “te sine dulce nihil”; Prud. *Cath.* 3, 11: “Te sine dulce nihil, domine.”
- 19 *Omnia vincit amor* = Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 69; *LHL* IV, 41; l. 44 below; cf. Walther 990 and 998. *amor / claustra relaxat* = Pamphilus 597: “Ingeniosus amor portas et claustra relaxat, / Vincit quicquid obest ingeniosus amor.” *adamantea claustra relaxat* Cf. Apul. *Met.* IX, 18: “auro ... soleant adamantinae etiam perfringi fores”; Ven. Fort. *De vita Martini* I, 5: “Stygis omnipotens adamantina claustra reuellit”; cf. also Er. *Carm.* 112, 213 (n.); Ov. *Am.* 1, 6, 17: “claustra relaxa.”
- 20 *Ferrea / vincula* Tib. IV, 3, 14; and often; Er. *Carm.* 112, 174. *vincula rumpit amor* Prop. I, 15, 16; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV, 26, 10.
- 21 *sine cede et sanguine* = Iuv. 10, 112 (var. lect. for: “sine caede ac vulnere”). Cf. Er. *Carm.* 119, 8 (n.). *et sanguine certans* Verg. *Aen.* XII, 765.
- 23–30 *Mollia ... amor* These four pagan and biblical exempla are frequently adduced in medieval diatribes against passionate love.
- 23–24 *Mollia ... amor* After Hercules had killed Iphitus, Apollo agreed to purify him

only if he were sold as a slave and the proceeds given to Iphitus’ father, Eurytus. Omphale, queen of Lydia, bought him and set him to labours of all kinds, including women’s work, and dressed him in women’s clothes. See Ov. *Her.* 9, 53–80; *Fast.* II, 305–326; Er. *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5, p. 106, ll. 153–154. In a well-known medieval and Renaissance variant of this story, it is Iole who humiliates Hercules by making him spin wool while dressed in women’s clothes; see Paul G. Schmidt, *Hercules indutus vestibus Ioles*, in: *From Wolfram and Petrarch to Goethe and Grass: Studies in Literature in Honour of Leonard Forster*, ed. D.H. Green et al., Baden-Baden, 1982, pp. 103–107. *Mollia / trahere pensa* Prop. III, 11, 20 (of Hercules).

23 *nodosae ... clauae* Cf. Stat. *Theb.* II, 619: “pineae nodosae ... robora clauae”; cf. also Er. *Vita Hier.*, in: Ferguson, p. 169, l. 951 (based on Verg. *Aen.* IV, 441): “annosa valido cum robore quercus”; *Carm.* 112, 160. See further Vredeveld, *Edition*, p. 121.

valido / robore Ov. *Trist.* V, 12, 11.

25–26 *Praelia ... amor* Since it had been foretold that Achilles would die at Troy, his mother Thetis hid him in Scyros, dressed as a girl. Achilles then fell in love with the king’s daughter Deidameia and willingly spun wool among the women. See Ov. *Ars* I, 681–704; Stat. *Ach.* I, 560–674. The phrasing of ll. 25–26 closely imitates Ov. *Her.* 9, 25–26 (of Hercules): “quem ... / non potuit Iuno vincere, vincit amor”; cf. also Walther 23746.

25 *Mauortis / cruenti* Cf. *Carm.* 58, 6 (n.).

26 *Magnanimum Eaciden* = Stat. *Ach.* I, 1.

Denique quid vastus Sampsonē valentius orbis
 Edidit? Hunc potuit sternere solus amor.
 Quidue tulit totus Salomone peritius orbis?
 30 Hunc quoque quo lubuit victor abegit amor.
 Doctus amor vigiles custodum fallere curas,
 Noctis et excubias ludere doctus amor.
 Cardine doctus amor nullum faciente tumultum
 Scit reserare fores, claudere nouit amor.
 35 Omnia vertit amor: facit insipidos sapientes,
 Atque Argi cecus lumina cecat amor.
 Omnia vertit amor: mutum facit esse disertum,
 In puerosque senes vertit amarus amor.

38 *amarus scripsi: amatus Go.*

27–28 *quid ... amor* See n. *Carm.* 96, 37–38.
 27 *vastus / orbis* Ov. *Ars* II, 18.
 27–29 *Sampsonē / Salomone* Proverbial exempla, often linked, of love’s power over strength and wisdom. See, e.g., Hier. *Epist.* 22, 12; Walther 519–521; 5026a; 9216–9219; 25592; 28585; Schnell, pp. 476–490.
 29–30 *Quidue ... amor* See I. *Rg.* II, 1–8; *Neh.* 13, 26.
 30 *victor / amor* Cf. ll. 11–12 above.
 31–34 *Doctus ... amor* Cf. Tib. I, 6, 9–12; I, 8, 55–60; for ll. 31–32 cf. Ov. *Am.* I, 9, 27–28.
 31 *vigiles / curas* Ov. *Met.* III, 396; Stat. *Silv.* I, 4, 55.
custodum fallere curas Cf. Ov. *Met.* IV, 85 (of Pyramus and Thisbe): “Fallere custodes”.
 33–34 *Cardine ... amor* Cf. Tib. I, 2, 10; I, 6, 12; I, 8, 60. Ancient hinges were often made of hardwood and squeaked loudly; cf. Ov. *Am.* I, 6, 49–50. One way lovers overcame the problem was to lubricate the hinges with water; see, e.g., Plaut. *Curc.* 160.
 35–40 *Omnia ... amor* Alan., *De planct. Nat.* IX, 21–36 amplifies the theme that Cupid can metamorphose all sorts of people (“Cupido / ... hominum protheat omne genus”). For example: love can turn pious Aeneas into a Nero and old Nestor into a youth; it makes the rich poor, the poor rich; it inspires a Bavius to poetry and deadens Vergil’s muse; it befuddles Ulysses and gives reason to maddened Ajax. Cf. Er. *Adag.* 192, *ASD* II, 1, pp. 296–297, ll. 994–997: “Plutarchus [*Mor.* 762 b–c] ... hoc quoque inter caeteras Cupidinis siue Amoris laudes commemorat, quod e sordido splendidum, e

parco liberalem, e tristi ciuilem, e timido audacem reddit hominem.”
 35 *facit insipidos sapientes* Cf. Otto 79; Walther 914 and 936–937.
 36 *Argi ... amor* Cf. Ov. *Am.* III, 4, 19–20.
Argi / lumina Otto 162.
cecus / amor See n. *Carm.* 27, II.
cecat amor = Walther 4735: “vesana furens pectora cecat amor”; cf. Walther 2208: “Cecat amor mentes ac interdum sapientes.”
 37 *mutum ... disertum* Cf. Catull. 51, 6–9.
facit esse disertum = Walther 19204 and 19219: “Nummus ... stultum facit esse disertum.”
 38 *In ... vertit* Cf. Walther 23763a: “Quem puer arripuit, puerum facit esse cupido.” The thought also occurs in Marull. *Epigr.* I, 59, 4 (first published in c. 1490): “Vnde puer?” “Pueros quod facit ipse senes.” The “senex amans” was often ridiculed; see, e.g., Plaut. *Merc.* 283–325; Ov. *Am.* I, 9, 4; Er. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 58 D and 59 A–B; *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 82, ll. 217–218; pp. 108–110, ll. 678–699; Burrow, pp. 156–162 and 184.
amarus amor The reading “amatus amor” in *Go* cannot be right despite Aug. *Conf.* III, 1, 1, *CCSL* 27, 27: “amare amabam” and “amans amare”. The emended phrase “amarus amor”, which makes far better sense, recurs in medieval poetry. See Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 23a, 12: “carnis amarus amor”; Walther 2387; 10775; 17235; 24034; 25547; 29000; Landino, *Xandra* I, 14, 6. The word-play on which the phrase “amarus amor” rests is equally traditional. See, e.g., Plaut. *Cist.* 68; *Trin.* 259; Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 109–110; *Rhet. Her.* IV, 14, 21; Quint. *Inst.* IX, 3, 70

- Fortia frangit amor, fragiles docet esse potentes,
 40 Audaces timidos reddere nouit amor.
 Vulnera dirus amor temnit crudelia, ventis
 Turbida nymbriferis aequora temnit amor.
 Quid non fortis amor? Et morte valentior ipsa est:
 Mortem quam trepidant omnia vincit amor.
 45 Didonis egit amor miserae per viscera ferrum,
 Insanus laqueo Phillida strinxit amor.
 Per te, fortis amor, moritur Babilonia Tysbe,
 Pyramus et per te sub Styga pergit, amor.
 Singula quid memorem? Vincit puer improbus ille
 50 Omnia, tu pueri tu quoque sua parens.
 Sua parens pueri magis an puer improbus ille?
 Improbus ille puer, tu quoque sua parens.

- (who criticizes this wordplay); Matthew of Vendôme, *Epistole* II, 2, 15; Walther 6384a; 22430; 24548; 29000; Er. *Adag.* 3001, *LB* II, 951 C: "quantum amori insit amari".
- 39 *Fortia frangit amor* Cf. Walter, *Alex.* I, 165: "nec fortia pectora frangat / Mentis morbus amor"; Ov. *Am.* II, 18, 4.
- 40 *Audaces ... amor* Cf. Ov. *Met.* IV, 96 (of Thisbe).
- 41 *Vulnera / crudelia* Verg. *Aen.* II, 561; Ov. *Met.* XIII, 531.
dirus amor = Bocc. *Ecl.* 7, 84; cf. Sen. *Ag.* 590; Lucan. I, 355; Er. *Carm.* 102, 99.
- 41–42 *ventis Turbida* = Ov. *Her.* 17(18), 7–8.
- 42 *nymbriferis* A medievalism, combining the classical "imbrifer" and "nimbrifer". See *Nouum glossarium mediae Latinitatis*, Copenhagen, 1957–, s.v. "nimbrifer". The adjective occurs also in *Carm.* 104, 8.
- 43 *Quid non fortis amor?* Cf. Ov. *Fast.* II, 331 and Walther 25110: "quid non amor improbus audet?" The phrase "Quid non ... amor" occurs in the same metrical position in Ov. *Met.* IV, 68 (Walther 25117); Martial. V, 48, 1 (Walther 25112); Walther 25111a.
- 44 *omnia vincit amor* = l. 19 (n.).
- 45 *Didonis ... ferrum* See Verg. *Aen.* IV, 663–665.
Didonis / miserae Verg. *Aen.* IV, 117; Ov. *Her.* 7, 7.
per viscera ferrum = Lucan. II, 148; cf. Ov. *Met.* VIII, 532.
- 46 *Insanus ... amor* Phyllis, having waited in vain for her lover Demophoon to return, hanged herself in despair. See Ov. *Her.* 2. *Insanus / amor* Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 44; and often; Er. *Carm.* 102, 1 (n.); cf. l. 1 (n.) above.
- 47–48 *Per ... amor* For the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, often retold in the later Middle Ages, see Ov. *Met.* IV, 55–166.
- 47 *Babilonia Tysbe* = Ov. *Met.* IV, 99.
- 49 *Singula quid memorem* = Hor. *Serm.* I, 8, 40; cf. Er. *Carm.* 50, 113; 110, 25.
- 49–52 *Vincit ... parens* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 48–50; Er. *Carm.* 102, 84. For ll. 51–52 cf. also Sedul. *Pasch.* II, 7–8, referring to Eve: "Noxia tu coniux magis an draco perfidus ille? / Perfidus ille draco, sed tu quoque noxia coniux."

101. GRIEF AND SORROW

late 1487?

In theme and intention the poem appears to be a pendant to *Carm.* 99. Both elegies are concerned with the problem of premature ageing on account of "cura dolorque". *Carm.* 99 explicitly says that grief, which robs youth of its joys, should be avoided at all costs and be replaced by joy. In the context of Er.' other early

poems and letters, which centre on sentimental friendship, we may infer that the cares and griefs lamented here (just as in *Carm.* 99) are the ones caused by a friend's hard-heartedness. This friend may well have been Servatius Rogerus. If so, this poem, like the next two, was written at a later stage in their friendship, after the first flush of love had given way to the pale cast of sorrow.

An important model for the poem is Boeth. *Cons.* I, m. 1, an elegy in which Boethius laments that cares have prematurely caused his hair to go white and his skin to become lax and wrinkled.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: *Go.*

ELEGIA ERASMI QVERVLA DOLORIS

Quam nondum albenti surgant mihi vertice cani,
 Candeat aut pilis frons viduata suis,
 Luminibusue hebetet aciem numerosior aetas,
 Aut dens squalenti decidat ore niger,
 5 Atque acuant rigidae nondum mihi brachia setae, aut
 Pendeat arenti corpore laxa cutis,
 Denique nulla meae videam argumenta senectae,
 Nescio quid misero sorsque deusque parent.
 Me mala ferre senum teneris voluere sub annis
 10 Iamque senem esse volunt nec senuisse sinunt.
 Iam quae canicie spergant mea tempora tristi
 Praeuenero diem cura dolorque suum.

3 hebetet *scripsi*: hebet *Go.*

- 1 *albenti / vertice cani* Cf. Ov. *Met.* III, 516. *vertice cani* = Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 1, 11: "Intempestiui funduntur vertice cani"; cf. Ov. *Met.* VIII, 9.
 2 *Candeat ... suis* Cf. *Carm.* 102, 46 (and notes).
pilis / viduata suis Cf. Martial. XI, 21, 8; Er. *Carm.* 106, 19 (n.). In Er.' verse the first syllable of "pilis" is scanned long; this unclassical scansion also occurs in the contemporary *Carm.* 102, 27.
 3 *Luminibus* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 17.
 4 *dens / niger* Ov. *Ars* III, 279–280; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 8, 3; Iuv. 6, 145.
 5 *acuant ... setae* Cf. *Carm.* 102, 27.
rigidae / setae Ov. *Met.* VIII, 428; XIII, 846.
brachia setae = Iuv. 2, 11.
 6 *Pendeat ... cutis* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 60 (n.).

- arenti / laxa cutis* Cf. Iuv. 6, 144; Maximian. *Eleg.* 1, 135.
corpore laxa cutis = Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 1, 12.
 7 *nulla ... senectae* Cf. Sen. *Epist.* 12, 1: "Quocumque me verti, argumenta senectutis meae video."
 8–10 *Nescio ... sinunt* Cf. *Carm.* 7, 1–2 (n.).
 9–10 *Me ... volunt* Cf. Ov. *Pont.* I, 4, 19–20.
 9 *Me ... senum* Cf. Tib. I, 6, 82.
teneris / annis = Ov. *Trist.* III, 7, 17; *Pont.* II, 3, 73.
 11–12 *Iam ... suum* Cf. *Carm.* 99, 9–10.
 11 *canicie spergant* Cf. *Carm.* 104, 19–20.
tristi See n. *Carm.* 2, 195–196.
 12 *Praeuenero ... suum* Cf. Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 1, 10: "dolor aetatem iussit inesse suam."
cura dolorque = *Carm.* 99, 2 (n.).

102. A PASTORAL POEM OF UNREQUITED LOVE

late 1487?

Alaard of Amsterdam, who first printed this bucolic poem with some scholia of his own in *De vitando pernicioso libidinosoque aspectu carmen bucolicum, lectu dignissimum, cum scholiis Alardi Aemstelredami*, Leiden, P.C. van Balen, 1538 (NK 786), sigs. A4^r–A7^r, asserts that Er. wrote it when he was still a schoolboy at Deventer during Alexander Hegius' tenure: "Erasmio Rot. perquam adolescente et adhuc Dauentriae Alexandro Hegio preceptore vteute" (sig. A7^v). The heading of the eclogue in *Scri* is similar to Alaard's but adds that Er. was fourteen years old when he composed the poem at Deventer under Hegius' tutelage: "quod lusit natus annos quatuordecim, quum adhuc Dauentriae sub Alexandro Hegio literis operam daret". Since Hegius arrived in Deventer in 1483 and Er. left in 1484, Reedijk concludes that the poem must have been written in 1483; this also fits the stated age "fourteen" if Er. were born in 1469 (as seems to be assumed in the biographical notes in *Scri*; cf. introd. *Carmm.* 106 and 113–114). Schmidt-Dengler, p. 215, n. 1, assuming that Er. was born in 1467 and believing that Hegius might have come to Deventer earlier than 1483, adds fourteen years to the presumed year of birth and so arrives at the composition date 1481.

The statement that Er. wrote the pastoral poem at Deventer under Hegius' tutelage does not occur in *Go*. This manuscript evidently represents an older tradition in which the unusual names Gunifolda and Rosphamus have not yet been replaced with Galataea and Pamphilus, as in Alaard's *Carmen buccolicum* and *Scri*. We thus have reasonable grounds for at least questioning the relatively late association of the bucolic poem with Er.' Deventer years. Let us see if internal evidence corroborates or undermines the current consensus that the poem was written in the early 1480s.

On the face of it, the *Carmen buccolicum* is a simple poem – the sort of work one might expect of a precocious teenager at the end of the Middle Ages. There are some notable medievalisms in diction and metre; and, as Alaard suggests, the poet never seems to stray far from his main models, Vergil and Ovid. Hyma, *Youth*, p. 221 thinks that the eclogue "reveals a lack of knowledge of classical literature on the part of Erasmus". Reedijk says that in this "immature and pedantic" poem the adolescent zealously followed "his great model as closely as possible", making not "the slightest attempt to express any idea or feeling of his own" (*Poems*, pp. 113–114 and 119); and this judgment is borrowed almost verbatim in W. Leonard Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, Chapel Hill, 1965, pp. 175–176. Béné, p. 26 terms the poem a "pastiche" of borrowings from Vergil and a few other classical poets, while IJsewijn, *Erasmus*, pp. 379–380 dismisses it as little more than a Vergilian cento.

There may be a fallacy of expectations at work here. We see this as the work of a fourteen-year-old boy; and we expect such a youth, however precocious, to

imitate a model in a fairly straightforward way. A closer study of the poem's sources, however, reveals a greater complexity than hitherto suspected – greater than might reasonably be expected from a talented fourteen- or seventeen-year-old. Er. in truth wove this eclogue together from three or four major models. The story of his pastoral poem is ultimately based on Theocritus' Polyphemus-Galatea idyll (*Id.* 11) – not directly, of course, because Er. knew little Greek in the 1480s, but by way of Vergil's second eclogue and Ov. *Met.* XIII. Ovid's influence manifests itself not only in the theme, but also in the phrasing, the setting (the vicinity of Mount Aetna), and the character of Rosphamus' rival, Polyphemus. The lover's lament is primarily modelled on Vergil's second eclogue; but the older shepherd who lends a sympathetic ear appears to have come from Boccaccio's first eclogue. Some details of Rosphamus' story are also borrowed from Boccaccio's first and second eclogues. Boccaccio's *Carmen bucolicum* was, to be sure, not published until 1504, but manuscripts of the work were circulating throughout Europe during the fifteenth century; see Janet L. Smarr, trans., *Giovanni Boccaccio, Eclogues*, New York, 1987, p. lxi. Perhaps Er.' father, who supported himself as a scribe in Italy and heard Guarino lecture in Ferrara (Allen, *Op. ep.* I, pp. 47–48, ll. 19–24), had returned to Holland with a manuscript of Boccaccio's eclogues.

The study of Er.' sources reveals further that he was acquainted with the first seven idylls of Theocritus in the verse translation of Martino Filetico, originally published in c. 1470; cf. *Ep.* 188, ll. 39–40. He in fact borrows several phrases from Filetico's translation of *Id.* 6, which contains a treatment of the Polyphemus-Galatea story.

In its imitation of Vergil's second eclogue, the Polyphemus-Galatea episode in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Boccaccio's pastorals, and Filetico's translation of Theocritus' *Idylls*, Er.' eclogue is remarkably similar to numerous fifteenth-century Italian love-pastorals; see Antonia Tissoni Benvenuti, *La restauration humaniste de l'églogue: l'école Guarinienne à Ferrare*, in: *Le genre pastoral en Europe du XVe au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Claude Longeon, Saint-Etienne, 1980, pp. 28–31.

The knowledge that Er. had immersed himself in these and other ancient and modern poets leads us to imagine him at the time of composition to have been considerably older than a schoolboy of seventeen (as he would have been in 1483–1484). This inference is to all appearances corroborated by several verbal parallels to a text first published in 1485: Antonio Geraldini's eclogues, collectively entitled *Carmen bucolicum* (Rome, 6 June 1485). These parallels are most readily explained as borrowings by Er. The wording of l. 82, "Candidiorque niue, superis rutilantior astris" (describing Gunifolda), closely parallels Geraldini, *Ecl.* 3, 3 (of Jesus): "Candidior niuibus, caeli rutilantior astris". And the phrasing of l. 8, "Rore ... madida ... herba", may well derive from Geraldini, *Ecl.* 10, 8–9: "madidas ... herbas / Rore" (each of these words occurring in the same metrical position as in Er.' line).

This evidence can give us a terminus post quem. Since it is quite unlikely that Er. had access to Geraldini's poem in manuscript and since it would have taken several months at the fastest for the printed book to arrive in Holland, the earliest Er. could have seen the work would be in the autumn of 1485. Quite possibly he did not get it in his hands until much later, say in 1486 or 1487. If so, the eclogue would be roughly contemporaneous with Er.' other poems of passionate love and friendship (*Carmm.* 99, 100, 101, and 103), which we have conjecturally placed in the latter half of 1487. *Carmm.* 103, though couched in the form of Horace's fifteenth epode, does indeed bear a number of striking similarities to the eclogue; see introd. *Carmm.* 103. *Carmm.* 102 and 103 have, furthermore, close parallels to Epp. 4–9 – those highly rhetorical letters to Servatius Rogerus (1487?) which alternately celebrate their love and lament the friend's hard-heartedness. The phrase "quondam vnica cura" (l. 4), which in the pastoral poem refers to the lovelorn swain's neglect of his sheep, "once his only concern", has its close parallel in Ep. 8, ll. 10–11, where it refers to Er.' neglect of literary studies, "quondam vnicum vitae solatium". In ll. 30–31 Rosphamus laments that Gunifolda closes her ears and flees from the plaintive pleas he pours out to her ("effusas querelas") and uses the adage "litus aras" to express his despair at winning over Gunifolda. Very similar phrasing is used in Ep. 7, ll. 46–48 to describe Er.' fruitless attempts to gain Servatius' friendship: "Sed quid ego has incassum effundo querelas? Iam scio te aurem minime praebiturum. Quid inani studio littus arare aut abluere laterem contendo?" Rosphamus in l. 109 of the bucolic poem prays for death ("Mortem oro"). This Vergilian phrase is also found in two of Er.' letters to Servatius. It is adapted from Vergil in Ep. 8, ll. 7–9: "Tanto me confecere dolore, ... vt iam vitam exosus crudelem, mortem non semel orauerim"; and it is quoted outright in Ep. 9, l. 42: "Mortem oro."

It appears, therefore, that the *Carmen bucolicum* represents, in the conventional and "safe" form of the allegorical eclogue, a literary reworking of Er.' own unhappy friendship for Servatius. The reader who objects that Servatius cannot very well be represented by the girl Gunifolda should recall that in Ep. 7, ll. 16–17 Er. himself compares Servatius' nature to that of obdurate girls: "An forte eo ingenio es, quo pertinaces esse puellac solent, vt voluptati tibi sit cruciatu meus ...?"

Our copy-text is *Go*, which represents an earlier textual tradition. The later version, in which the names "Rosphamus" and "Gunifolda" have been changed to the more conventional "Pamphilus" and "Galataea", was first published in Alaard's 1538 edition (*a*), repr. Cologne, H. Alopecius, 1539 (Bezzel 274). The eclogue was subsequently included in Petrus Papeus, *Samarites comoedia de Samaritano Euangelico. Additum est Carmen bucolicum per D. Eras. Roterodamum*, Cologne, J. Gymnich, 1539 (repr. 1540), and Ioannes Secundus, *Cymba Amoris. Insomnium. ... Basia*, Utrecht, H. Borculous, August 1540 (*NK* 3267).

Alaard took his text of *Carmen buccolicum* from a manuscript formerly belonging to Reyner Snoy; see introd. to Snoy's letter prefacing *Carmm.* 93–97. Alaard's text, in turn, may well have been the copy-text of *Scri*, since *Scri* accepts Alaard's emendation "Tethys" for "Thetidos" in l. 38. Indeed, apart from the expanded title and some minor differences in punctuation and spelling, the text of *Scri* is identical to Alaard's. *LB* takes its text from *Scri*.

Metre: hexameter.

Sources: *Go**; *a*; *Scri*; *LB* VIII, 561–562.

CARMEN BVCCOLICVM EΡΑΣΜΙ

Rosphamus insano Gunifoldae captus amore
Stridenti tacita solus sub nocte cicuta

Tit. CARMEN ... EΡΑΣΜΙ *Go*: D. Erasmi Roterodami carmen buccolicum. Pamphilus. ἔρωϛ α, Carmen buccolicum Erasmi Roterodami, quod lusit natus annos quatuordecim, quum adhuc

Dauentriae sub Alexandro Hegio literis operam daret. Pamphilus. ἔρωϛ *Scri*.
1 Rosphamus ... Gunifoldae *Go*: Pamphilus ... Galataeae α *Scri*.

1 *Rosphamus ... amore* Cf. *Ov. Fast.* II, 585: "Iuppiter immodico Iuturnae captus amore" (some mss. read "victus amore"). Renaudet, p. 735 (also in his *Erasme et l'Italie*, Geneva, 1954, p. 12) says that this line, in the form found in *Scri* and *LB*, is taken from the opening verse of the twelfth-century "comedy" *Pamphilus*, but this is not the case.

Rosphamus / Gunifoldae In Alaard's ed. and *Scri* the names are given throughout as "Pamphilus" and "Galataeae". Alaard, who retained medievalisms in the text of the poem and pointed out the one form he did change ("Thetidos", in l. 38), was most probably not the one who introduced the revisions (cf. Allen, *Op. ep.* I, App. 9, p. 610).

The origin and meaning of the two names have not been explained. Perhaps "Rosphamus" is a deliberately distorted form for Erasmus (= "Eros-phamus"?). The linkage Erasmus–Eros is not as fanciful as it may seem at first blush. Alaard's edition and *Scri*, which entitle the eclogue "Pamphilus" ("All-loving"), immediately follow this name with "ἔρωϛ", as if the second name were an equivalent of the first. In *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 529, l. 1248 "Eros" is, in fact, used as a pseudonym for Desiderius Erasmus himself (Desiderius = "Erasmus" = "beloved" or "desired"); cf. also *Ep.* 245, l. 16.

The change from the unusual names to the more obvious ones could have been made by the copyist of the ms. which Alaard used (cf. introd. above) or by Er. himself – for instance, when sending copies of his poems to such friends as Cornelis Gerard (see *Ep.* 28, ll. 10–17) or to such respected poets as Alexander Hegius and Bartholomäus Zehender (cf. *Ep.* 28, ll. 18–23). The name Galatea was, of course, in Er.' mind from the outset (see introd. above). She is, however, also the heroine in the popular medieval schoolbook *Pamphilus*, often printed in the last third of the fifteenth century. This Galatea in turn may have caused the young swain to be rebaptized as Pamphilus. Pamphilus is also the name of the successful lover in Boccaccio's first eclogue; another Pamphilus occurs in his third eclogue.

insano / amore = Verg. *Aen.* II, 343; *Ov. Ars* II, 563; cf. Er. *Carm.* 100, 46 (n.).

captus amore = *LHL* I, 260.

2 *Stridenti / cicuta* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 27 (mentioned by Alaard in his scholium on the phrase); l. 24 (n.) below.

tacita / nocte See n. *Carm.* 2, 83.

solus sub nocte Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 268.

Rumpebat longo lucubrantia sidera questu.
 Quem circum simeae, quondam vnica cura, capellae
 5 Errant et gelidis neglecti in vallibus agni.
 Nec stabulis egisse pecus nec culmina tecti
 Vel sera meminit deserta reuisere nocte.
 Rore procul tantum madida proiectus in herba
 Crudeles querula meditatatur arundine flammās:
 10 'Huc ades, o Gunifolda, mei medicina furoris,
 Huc ades extremum vel visere funus amantis.
 Rosphamus ecce vocat tuus, o Gunifolda, peritque,
 Et tu flammiumae duris in collibus Ethnae
 Mollibus indignum refoues Poliphemon in vlnis.
 15 Ah tibi setosi ne candida colla lacerti,

3 lucubrantia *Go*: rutilantia *a Scri*.

4 simeae *Go*: niueae *a Scri*.

7 Vel *Go*: Nec *a Scri*.

10 Gunifolda *Go*: Galataea *a Scri*.

11 visere *Go*: visito *a Scri*.

12 Rosphamus ... Gunifolda *Go*: Pamphilus ... Galataea *a Scri*.

14 Poliphemon *Go a Scri*: Polyphemum *LB*.

3 *Rumpebat / lucubrantia sidera* The awkward hyperbole involved in "splitting the stars" (that is, "rending the air") is combined with the unusual epithet "lucubrantia" ("working by lamplight", "late at night").

4-6 *Quem ... pecus* Lovesick shepherds neglect their normal duties; for this conventional motif cf. *Ov. Met.* II, 683-685; XIII, 762-763 (of Polyphemos); *Bocc. Ecl.* 2, 13. In Er.' poem this may well refer to the poet's neglect of literary studies while his love for Servatius was not returned. Cf. *Ep.* 8, ll. 10-II: "Ipsium ... Musarum studium, quondam vnicum vitae solatium, fastidio fuit"; *Ep.* 39, ll. 138-142, written to Willem Hermans (1494?): "Nos rerum decet nihil praeter lacrumare et gemere, quibus adeo iam haebuit ingenium, adeo emarcuit animus, vt pristinorum studiorum collibuerit nihil. Non me delectat Pierius vatium lepos, sordent (quondam vnica cura) Camenae."

4 *Quem circum* = Verg. *Aen.* IX, 440.
simeae / capellae Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 7: "simeae ... capellae". The form "simeae" is a medievalism for "simeae". See Harry Vredeweld, "Simeae capellae": *A Note on the Text of Erasmus carm.* 1,4, *HL* 33 (1984), pp. 103-105.
quondam / capellae Verg. *Ecl.* 1, 74.
cura, capellae Theocr. 5, 1, transl. Filetico: "... mea cura, capellae".

5 *Errant ... agni* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 21; *Ov. Met.* XIII, 821, referring to Polyphemos.

gelidis / in vallibus Verg. *Georg.* II, 488 (in one ms. tradition).

vallibus agni = l. 25 below.

6 *culmina tecti* = *LHL* I, 516.

7 *Vel ... nocte* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 88.

8 *Rore / madida / herba* Cf. *Gerald. Ecl.* 10, 8-9: "Et iam Sol radii madidas siccauerat herbas / Rore poli."

tantum Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 3.

proiectus in herba = *Sil.* XIV, 468, of the shepherd Daphnis; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1, 75.

9 *meditatatur arundine* = *Auson. Precat.* 1, 13: "meditatatur harundine carmen"; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 8.

10 *Huc ... Gunifolda* = l. 17 below; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 39: "huc ades, o Galatea."

mei medicina furoris Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 60; *Otto* 101. In *Ep.* 8, ll. 77-79 Er. tells Servatius: "Tu vnus es qui medelam ferre possis, qui dolores in gaudia, qui luctus in risum vertere facillime queas."

11 *extremum / funus amantis* Cf. l. 34 (n.) below.

13 *duris in collibus* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI, 318-319; *Ecl.* 8, 43: "duris in cotibus" (in the same metrical position and in similar context: the hard-heartedness of Amor).

14 *Mollibus / vlnis* *Ov. Met.* VII, 847-848; *Poliz. Sylv.* 3, 225.

refoues / in vlnis Cf. *Prop.* II, 18, 9.

15-16 *setosi ... mentum* For Polyphemos' hirsuteness see *Ov. Met.* XIII, 765-766 and 844-850.

Barba ah ne tenerum tibi conterat hispida mentum.
 Huc ades, o Gunifolda, hic vitrea flumina iuxta
 Gramine florifero viridi recubabimus vmbra.

‘Rosphame, quid sterili iuuat indulgere labori?’

- 20 Desine: non tanto certasse licebit amanti.
 Et certasse tamen (quid tum si vertice Ciclops
 Sidera sublimi feriat?) licet; audiat ipse
 Quantuscumque, nec illi cessero carmine, sola
 Voce velit, velit arguta cecinisse cicuta.
 25 Molle pecus, niuei sunt et mihi vallibus agni.
 Corpore Dametas, voltu mihi cedit Amyntas.
 Non mihi taurinis ceruix riget horrida pilis,

17 Gunifolda *Go*: Galataea *a Scri*.
 19 Secum loquitur* *in marg. laeuo Go*;
 Amantium instabilitas* *in marg. dextro Go*;
 Rosphame *Go*: Pamphile *a Scri*.

26 voltu *Go*: vultu *a Scri*.
 27 Forte villis* *a*.

15 *candida colla lacerti* *Ov. Ars* II, 457; cf. *LHL* I, 374.
candida colla = Auson. *Epist.* 13, 45; Theocr. 5, 91, transl. Filetico: “Cumque mouet flauos per candida colla capillos”.
 16 *Barba ... mentum* Cf. Tib. I, 8, 31–32; Sil. XIII, 333.
 17–18 *Huc ... vmbra* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 39–42; 10, 42–43; Nem. 4, 46–47.
 17 *Huc ... Gunifolda* = l. 10 (n.) above.
vitrea See n. *Carm.* 88, 11.
 18 *Gramine florifero* Cf. *Carm.* 106, 55.
viridi / vmbra Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 20; *Cir.* 4; Stat. *Theb.* IX, 592.
 19 *quid ... labori* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 776; Er. *Ep.* 7, l. 46: “Sed quid ego has incassum effundo querelas?”
iuuat indulgere labori = Verg. *Aen.* VI, 135; cf. Er. *Carm.* 95, 5.
 21 *quid tum si* = Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 38 (in an interjection).
 21–22 *vertice ... feriat* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 1, 36: “Sublimi feriam sidera vertice” (quoted in Er. *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 74, l. 8). The phrase was proverbial; see Otto 289; *Ov. Met.* VII, 61; Sen. *Thy.* 886. It is used to characterize Barbaries in Er. *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, *LB* I, 889 E: “Prope est vt vertice sidera pulset.” If the eclogue is indeed an expression of Er.’ unfulfilled friendship for Servatius, Gunifolda’s love for the huge, uncouth, bristling, cave-dwelling Polyphemus could be interpreted as Servatius’ continued preference for barbaric, medieval liter-

ature – the “barbaries horrida” of *Carm.* 93, 141 – and his reluctance to embrace classical letters; see especially Epp. 13 and 15.
 22 *licet; audiat ipse* Cf. *Ov. Met.* II, 429: “audiat ipse licet”; XIV, 491: “audiat ipsa licet”. Despite these parallels, “licet” belongs more probably with “certasse” in l. 21 than with “audiat”. For “audiat” without “licet” see Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 50: “audiat haec tantum ... Palaemon.” The punctuation of ll. 21–23 in our ed. reflects that in *Go*: “Et certasse tamen / quid tum si vertice Ciclops || Sidera sublimi feriat? licet / audiat ipse || Quantuscumque: nec ...”. In *a* and *Scri* the verses are punctuated as follows: “Et certasse tamen, quid tum si vertice Cyclops || Sidera sublimi feriat, licet audiat ipse || Quantuscunq[ue] nec...”. If we take “licet” with “audiat”, we have to supply “licebit” with “certasse” in l. 21 (cf. l. 20).
 23 *Quantuscumque* Cf. *Ov. Met.* XIII, 842, of Polyphemus.
 23–29 *nec illi ... Ora* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 19–27.
 24 *arguta / cicuta* Calp. Sic. 7, 12; cf. l. 2 above (with n.).
 25 *Molle pecus* = Verg. *Georg.* III, 299; *Aen.* IX, 341.
vallibus agni = l. 5 above.
 26 *Dametas / Amyntas* = Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 39.
mibi cedit Amyntas Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 18.
 27 *ceruix ... pilis* Cf. *Ov. Met.* VIII, 284–285 (of bulls): “riget horrida ceruix / Et saetae similes rigidis hastilibus horrent”; Martial. VI, 56, 1: “tibi crura rigent saetis et pectora villis”; Er. *Carm.* 101, 5. Perhaps “pilis”,

Pectora sunt nobis candentia, leuia nobis
 Ora: quid amplexus, quid amas, insana, caninos?
 30 'Rosphame, litus aras, auersis aspera (cerne)
 Auribus effusas refugit Gunifolda querelas.
 Quid speras? Sed et esto velit, vetat ille volentem.
 Quin morere et longos componito morte dolores.
 Extremum hoc, Gunifolda, tui cape munus amantis.
 35 Eternum, Gunifolda, vale, dirae necis auctrix.⁷
 Sic ait, et pulsae referebant carmina rupes.
 Omne nemus 'Gunifolda' sonat, sonat arduus aether.
 Thetidos interea Titonis ab aequore coniunx
 Paulatim croceis subuecta iugalibus alto

28 *leuia scripsi*: lenia *Go a Scri*

30 Iterum rela<bi>tur a cept<o>* *Go*; Forte ceruix* *a*; Rosphame ... auersis *Go*: Pamphile ... crudelibus *a Scri*.

31 Gunifolda *Go*: Galataea *a Scri*.

34 Gunifolda *Go*: Galataea *a Scri*.

35 Eternum ... auctrix *Go*: Extremum, Galataea, vale, Galataea valetto *a Scri*.

37 Gunifolda *Go*: Galataea *a Scri*.

38 Thetidos *Go*: Tethys *a Scri*, Thetis *LB*.

which is here scanned with a long first syllable (instead of a short one, according to classical usage), was intended to correspond to "hastilibus" in *Ov. Met.* VIII, 285, but this seems unlikely. Er. also writes "pilis" with a long first syllable in *Carm.* 101, 2. Alaard (sig. A8^o) suggests that we ought perhaps to read something like "villis".

28–29 *leuia / Ora / amplexus* = *Tib.* I, 8, 31–32: "carior est auro iuuenis cui leuia fulgent / ora nec amplexus aspera barba terit."

29 *quid amplexus ... caninos* Cf. *Ov. Met.* XIII, 860–861.

30–31 *litus ... querelas* Cf. *Ep.* 7, ll. 46–48. The phrase "litus arare" is proverbial: see *Otto* 789; *Er. Adag.* 351; cf. also *Adag.* 352.

31 *effusas / querelas* *Lucan.* II, 44.

33 *Quin ... dolores* For the death-wish cf. l. 109 (n.) below. Er.' language recalls Dido's tragic fate after her love affair with Aeneas. Cf. *Verg. Aen.* IV, 547: "quin morere vt merita es, ferroque auerte dolorem." The lover's death-wish is also found in pastoral. Cf. *Theocr.* 3, 25–27 (in tragicomic posturing); *Verg. Ecl.* 2, 7 (an option rejected by *Corydon*); 8, 59–60; and *Bocc. Ecl.* 1–2.

longos / dolores *Ov. Met.* XIV, 716, where Iphis resolves to commit suicide in order to end the torments of unrequited love. *morte dolores* = *Ov. Met.* I, 661; III, 471.

34 *Extremum ... amantis* The verse combines *Verg. Ecl.* 8, 60: "extremum hoc munus morientis habeto" and *Bocc. Ecl.* 2, 143

(farewell of the dying lover): "sumum iam munus amantis / tolle volens."

35 *Eternum / vale* *Verg. Aen.* XI, 98; *Martial.* V, 66, 2; *Er. Vidua christ.*, *LB* V, 725 D; cf. *Carm.* 93, 18 (n.).

necis auctrix Cf. *Ov. Met.* IX, 214.

36 *Sic ait, et* = *LHL* V, 134–135.

pulsae referebant *Verg. Ecl.* 6, 84; cf. *Georg.* IV, 527.

carmina rupes = *Verg. Ecl.* 5, 63.

37 *Omne ... 'Gunifolda' sonat* Cf. *Verg. Ecl.* 1, 5; *Aen.* VIII, 305; *Prop.* I, 18, 31; *Bocc. Ecl.* 2, 23–25.

sonat arduus aether = *Stat. Theb.* IX, 30.

38 *Thetidos* A medievalism for "Tethyos"; see *Vredeveld, Edition*, pp. 118–119. Alaard reports that his ms. had "Thetydis". He therefore emends the text to read "Tethys", the form subsequently also found in *Scri*. Tethys was the wife of Oceanus; here she stands for the ocean itself.

Titonis / coniunx "Titonis" is used here as an adjective; cf. *Stat. Silv.* V, 1, 34. Er.' phrase is a variation on *Verg. Aen.* VIII, 384: "Tithonia ... coniunx" (in the same metrical position); cf. *Ov. Fast.* III, 403; *Sil.* V, 25.

39 *croceis subuecta iugalibus* Cf. *Carm.* 64, 36 (and notes). The epithet "croceus" is conventionally associated with Aurora; see, e.g., *Verg. Georg.* I, 447; *Aen.* IV, 585; *Ov. Am.* II, 4, 43.

39–40 *alto / ab aethere* *Ov. Met.* I, 80–81; *X.* 720.

40 Iam rarescentem pellebat ab aethere noctem.
 Et iam Phebeae ferientia sidera rupis
 Culmina vix dubio cepere rubescere sole,
 Cinctus et ecce senex viridanti tempora mirto
 Letus agit teneras ad pascua nota capellas
 45 Drales, pastorum quo non annosior alter,
 Cui iam depositis niteat frons nuda capillis,
 Qui iam tergeminos cum Nestore computet annos.
 Vna viro serae requies et cura senectae,
 Tortilis hirsuto pendebat fistula collo.
 50 Hic vbi roranti resupinum Rosphamon herba
 Conspicit, his miserum dictis compellat amantem:
 'Quaenam sub gelido tenuit Ioue, Rosphame, causa
 Teque pecusque tuum? fluitas quia totus, et ecce
 Nocturno madet omne pecus sua vellera rore.'
 55 'Si vacat, o Siculum pastorum gloria Drales

41 Parnassi* *Go*; ferientia *Go*: feruentia *a Scri*.
 43 senex *Go*: Damon *a Scri*.
 45 Drales *Go*: Damon *a Scri*.
 47 tergeminos *Go*: ter centum *a Scri*.
 50 Rosphamon *Go*: Pamphilon *a Scri*.

51 Conspicit *Go*: Aspicit *a Scri*.
 52 Drales* *Go*, Damon* *a Scri*; Quaenam *a Scri*:
 Quenam *Go*; Rosphame *Go*: Pamphile *a Scri*.
 55 Pamphilus* *a*, Pamph.* *Scri*; Drales *Go*:
 Damon *a Scri*.

40 *rarescentem / noctem* Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, 331; Er. *Carm.* 112, 72; cf. *Carm.* 112, 301 (n.).
pellebat ... noctem Cf. *Carm.* 99, 1 (n.); Ov. *Fast.* VI, 729-730: "noctem / pellit."
 41-42 *ferientia ... sole* Cf. Ov. *Met.* VII, 804; IX, 93.
 41 *Phebeae / rupis* Mount Parnassus; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 29.
ferientia sidera Hor. *Carm.* I, 1, 36.
 42 *Culmina* Mount Parnassus was said to have twin peaks; see n. *Carm.* 93, 14-15.
dubio / sole Cf. *Carm.* 112, 305 (n.).
cepere rubescere Ov. *Met.* III, 600-601; *Fast.* IV, 165-166.
 43 *Cinctus ... mirto* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* I, 28; Ov. *Am.* I, 1, 29; Er. *Carm.* 112, 56-57 (n.).
 44 *ad pascua nota* = Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, 319; cf. Stat. *Theb.* III, 330.
 45 *quo ... alter* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 164; IX, 772.
 46 *depositis ... capillis* Cf. *Carm.* 101, 2; Auitus, *Carm.* I, 204: "refugo careat frons nuda capillo"; Auianus 10, 7: "deiecto nituit frons nuda galero."
 47 *tergeminos ... annos* See n. *Carm.* 4, 67-68.
computet annos Iuv. 6, 199; 10, 249; cf. Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 54, ll. 380-381: "dextra suos annos computant."

48 *serae / senectae* Cf. *Carm.* 65, 11.
requies / senectae = Martial. IV, 25, 7; Stat. *Silv.* II, 1, 70; cf. Verg. *Aen.* IX, 481-482; XII, 57-58.
 49 *Tortilis / fistula* Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 335-336: "bucina ... / Tortilis".
hirsuto ... collo Cf. Theocr. 6, 8, in Filetico's paraphrasing translation: "Sic tibi ludentem sic cernere toruus amicam / Non potes, hirsuto pendet cum fistula collo."
pendebat fistula = Nem. 3, 5; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 24.
fistula collo = Bocc. *Ecl.* 13, 58.
 51 *his / dictis compellat* Val. Fl. VII, 451; cf. Ov. *Met.* XII, 585.
miserum / amantem Plaut. *Bacch.* 208; *Curc.* 152; Tib. I, 8, 61 and 71; and often; Er. *Carm.* 103, 21.
 52 *sub gelido / Ioue* Claud. *Paneg. Prob.* 36-37.
 53-54 *fluitas / rore* For this relatively rare construction cf. Quint. *Decl.* 8, 17: "fluitat nimis aeger humoribus"; Tert. *Adu. Marcion.* IV, 20, CSEL 47, 486: "femina, quae sanguine fluitabat"; More, *Carm.* 227, 1: "Ora ... fluitantia tabo".
 54 *Nocturno / rore* Calp. Sic. 5, 54.
 55 *Si vacat* = Ov. *Pont.* I, 1, 3.

- Vna, tibi nostros referam moriturus amores.
 Quum sol hesternus medium transmensus Olympum
 Vereret igniuomis arentes aestibus herbas,
 Atque ego, ne noceat quicquam calor ille capellis,
 60 Condensi nemoris capto sicientibus vmbra,
 Illic forte sacrae video sub tegmine lauri
 Naiades Aonidesque simul Driadesque puellas
 Ducere solemnes cantu modulante choreas.
 Pan calamo, pulcher cythara ludebat Apollo,
 65 Omnis et in numeros agitabat brachia cetus
 Pulsabatque humiles pedibus salientibus herbas.
 Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammae.
 'Ibat formosis formosior addita nymphis
 Et gracilis toti extabat Gunifolda coronae,
 70 Digna dea facies, ipso dignus Ioue voltus.

59 noceat quicquam *Go*: quicquam noceat a *Scri*.
 60 Condensi *Go*: Formosi a *Scri*.

69 Gunifolda *Go*: Galataea a *Scri*.
 70 dea *Go*: deo a *Scri*; voltus *Go*: vultus a *Scri*.

56 *tibi ... amores* Cf. Stat. *Silv.* III, 5, 105.
moriturus = Bocc. *Ecl.* 1, 21; 2, 4.
 57–58 *sol ... herbas* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 426–427.
 57 *medium / Olympum* = Verg. *Aen.* X, 216; cf. Lucan. I, 540; Er. *Carm.* 95, 31 (n.); III, 5.
 61 *sacrae / lauri* Verg. *Aen.* VII, 59–60; Tib. II, 5, 63; Hor. *Carm.* III, 4, 18–19; Er. *Carm.* 112, 56–57. The laurel was sacred to Apollo.
sub tegmine lauri = Bocc. *Ecl.* 8, 136; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1, 1.
 62–63 *Naiades ... choreas* Cf. Bocc. *Ecl.* 1, 59–60 (the shepherd sees his beloved Galla dancing): “mixta puellis / Galla choros antro festos lasciuia trahebat”; II, 144–146; Ov. *Met.* VIII, 746; XIV, 520.
 62 *Naiades / Driadesque* Ov. *Met.* VI, 453; XI, 49.
Driadesque puellas = Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 59; cf. *Georg.* I, 11.
 63 *cantu modulante choreas* Iuuenec. III, 57, describing Salome’s dancing.
 64 *Pan ... Apollo* Cf. Nem. I, 24–26: “carmine Phoebus, / Pan calamis ... / concinerent.” Pan was the inventor of the panpipe or syrinx; Apollo’s instrument was the lyre (Er. *Adag.* 1716).
pulcher / Apollo Verg. *Aen.* III, 119; Calp. Sic. 4, 57.
 65 *in ... brachia* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 58, ll. 530–531.

66 *Pulsabat / pedibus / herbas* Cf. Theocr. 6, 45, in Filetico’s translation: “Hinc pedibus pingues pulsabant prata iuuencae / Et teneras duris pressabant vnguibus herbas”; Bocc. *Ecl.* 11, 144 (of dancing satyrs and nymphs): “pedibus pulsare solum”; Ov. *Fast.* VI, 330; Hor. *Carm.* I, 4, 7.
humiles / herbas Bocc. *Ecl.* 11, 25–26.
 67 *Viderunt ... flammae* The line, repeated four times, becomes a refrain, reminiscent of the refrains in Verg. *Ecl.* 8. The model for the thought (as Alaard points out on sig. A8^r) is Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 41: “vt vidi, vt perii.” Cf. also Ov. *Met.* II, 574 (*Met.* III, 371; *Fast.* II, 307): “Vidit et incaluit.”
Viderunt oculi = Ov. *Met.* VII, 680. For the commonplace that love first enters through the eyes see n. *Carm.* 100, 5 above.
pectora flammae = Ov. *Met.* VII, 803; cf. *LHL* IV, 177–178.
 68–77 *Ibat ... puellas* Cf. Ov. *Met.* II, 722–725; Stat. *Ach.* I, 293–299; Bocc. *Ecl.* 1, 31–34: “Nympha fuit siluis totis pulcherrima nostris; / et quantum lauro cedit funesta cupressus, / cupresso mirtus bicolor, mirtoue mirice, / ... huic tantum cedit Galathea Miconis.”
 68 *formosis formosior* = Ov. *Her.* 17(18), 73; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 44.
 70 *Digna dea facies* = Ov. *Met.* VI, 182.

Non illi igniferi Citherea parens pueri (me
Iudice), non illi certarit pulchra Dyana.

Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammae.

‘Germanam quantum Phebi lux aurea Pheben,

75 Luciferum roseo quantum Phebe aurea voltu,
Caetera quam radians praecellit Lucifer astra,
Tam forma socias vincit Gunifolda puellas.

Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammae.

‘Caesaries capitis fuluo crispantior auro

80 Vndique ceruicem circumuolitabat eburnam,
Ardentes oculi, liquido caro leuior amne
Candidiorque niue, superis rutilantior astris.

Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammae.

‘Adfuit et mediis puer improbus ille choreis,

85 Nudus membra, genas leuisque et captus ocellis,

74 Phebi ... Pheben *Go*: Phoeben ... Phoebi *a Scri*.

75 voltu *Go*: vultu *a Scri*.

77 Gunifolda *Go*: Galataea *a Scri*.

81 leuior *a Scri*: lenior *Go*.

85 genas leuisque *scripsi*: genas lenisque *Go*:
genasque leuisque *a Scri*.

71 *igniferi* See n. *Carm.* 100, 8.

74–77 *Germanam ... puellas* In this conventional pattern of praise the person extolled is said to outdo all rivals just as the sun, moon, and morning star outshine the other stars. Besides the examples noted above cf. *Hor. Carm.* I, 12, 46–48; *Ov. Her.* 17(18), 71–74; *Sil. XVI*, 35–37 (mentioned by *Alaard*, sig. B7*); *Er. Carm.* 50, 23–24 (n.); 133, 17–18.

74 *Germanam / Phebi* *Mantuan. Parthen. Mar.* I, 193.

74–75 *quantum / quantum* = *Verg. Ecl.* 5, 16–17.

74 *lux aurea* = *LHL* III, 264.

75 *roseo / voltu* = *Stat. Ach.* I, 297.

Phebe aurea *Verg. Georg.* I, 431; *Ov. Met.* II, 723.

77 *forma / vincit* *Ov. Her.* 15(16), 70; *Hor. Epod.* 15, 22.

79–80 *Caesaries ... eburnam* Cf. *Verg. Georg.* IV, 337; *Maximian. Eleg.* I, 93.

79 *Caesaries capitis* *Ov. Met.* I, 179–180.

fuluo / auro = *Ov. Trist.* I, 7, 7; *Pont.* III, 8, 3. *crispantior auro* This odd phrase literally means “curlier than gold”. Apparently *Er.* is combining the idea that the girl’s hair is curly with the notion that it is gold-coloured or adorned with gold. Cf. *Stat. Theb.* VIII,

568: “crispauerat aurum”; *Verg. Aen.* VIII, 659: “aurea caesaries”; *Bocc. Ecl.* I, 78 (of the beloved *Galla*): “auricomi capitis”.

81–82 *Ardentes ... niue* Cf. *Pamphilus* 707: “Ardentes oculi, caro candida”.

liquido ... astris Cf. *Ov. Met.* XIII, 789–792 (of *Galatea*), cited by *Alaard*, sig. B8*. In both *Ovid’s* and *Er.’* account, the initially positive series of comparisons is followed by a negative series; see ll. 103–104 (n.) below. Cf. also *Verg. Ecl.* 7, 37–38.

81 *liquido / amne* *Ov. Met.* VI, 400.

82 *Candidior ... astris* Cf. *Gerald. Ecl.* 3, 3: “Candidior niuibus, caeli rutilantior astris”.

Candidior / niue Proverbial; see *Otto* 1231.

84 *puer improbus ille* *Verg. Ecl.* 8, 49; *Er. Carm.* 100, ll. 49, 51, and 52.

85 *Nudus membra* *Verg. Aen.* VIII, 425; *Poliz.*, *Amor fug.* 15, referring to *Amor*: “Membra quidem nudus”. *Cupid* was conventionally portrayed as a naked boy.

genas leuis *Nem.* 2, 17.

captus ocellis For the phrase cf., e.g., *Cic. Div.* II, 3, 9: “oculis captus”; *Tusc.* V, 40, 117; *Verg. Georg.* I, 183; *Ov. Fast.* VI, 204; *Er. De contemptu mundi, ASD* V, 1, p. 44, l. 127; *Carm.* 33, 2. In ancient and early medieval descriptions *Cupid* is always clear-sighted. It is not until the thirteenth century that he is

- Armatus facibus leuibusque volatilis alis.
 Adfuit et medius medio stetit improbus orbe.
 Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammae.
 'Is mihi fulgenti promens sua tela pharetra
 90 Flammifera stupidum traiecit arundine pectus.
 Pectora traiecit, calidumque per ossa cucurrit
 Virus, et in medias serpsit furor ille medullas.
 Serpsit, et insuetis caluerunt intima flammis.
 Hinc perii, atque grauis cepit mihi vita videri.
 95 Et iam virgineas me conspectante choreas
 Ibat supremi spacia vltima Phebus Olympi.
 Quid facerem? Iam tempus erat quo septa capellae,
 Quo repetant pasti praesepia nota iuueni.
 Me dirus retinebat amor, sequor inuia saltus
 100 Perditus et questu Gunifoldam sector inani
 Et vano clamore voco: fugit illa vocantem.
 Nil lacrimas miserata meas, nil flexa querelis,
 Cautibus Hismariis immotior, aspide seu a

89 Is *Go*: Hic a *Scri*.

91 Pectora traiecit *Go* a *Scri*: Traiecit pectus
LB.

95 Vel coronas* *Go*.

100 Gunifoldam *Go*: Galataeam a *Scri*.

103 Cautibus *Go Scri*: Cantibus a.

- presented as blind (or blindfolded). See Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, 1939, repr. New York, 1967, pp. 95–128.
- 86 *Armatus facibus* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 472. The torch, along with the wings, bow, and quiver, is a standing attribute of Cupid; see n. *Carm.* 100, 8 above.
- leuibus / alis* Ov. *Met.* XIV, 501.
volatilis = Ov. *Am.* II, 7, 27, of Cupid.
- 87 *medio / orbe* = Verg. *Georg.* I, 442; Ov. *Met.* XIV, 53.
- 89 *fulgenti ... pharetra* Cf. Verg. *Cir.* 160: "aurea fulgenti depromens tela pharetra"; Ov. *Met.* I, 468.
- 90 *Flammifera / arundine* Cf. Sil. XI, 412.
- traiecit arundine* = Ov. *Met.* XI, 325; Stat. *Theb.* IX, 761.
- 91–92 *calidum ... medullas* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 388–390 (cited by Alaaard, sig. Cr¹).
- 92 *serpsit* Ov. *Rem.* 105: "serpunt in viscera flammae."
furor ille = Ov. *Her.* 4, 51; cf. *Met.* XIII, 43.
- 93 *intima flammis* = *Carm.* 100, 7.
- 94 *Hinc perii* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 41: "vt vidi, vt perii."
- 95 *Et / virgineas / choreas* Prud. *Psychom.* 242.
- 96 *Phebus Olympi* = Bocc. *Ecl.* 13, 13; cf. Sil. XI, 267 (mentioned by Alaaard, sig. Cr¹).
- 97 *Quid facerem?* = *LHL* IV, 433.
tempus erat quo = *LHL* V, 416.
- 98 *Quo ... iuueni* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 39 and 44.
- 99 *dirus / amor* See n. *Carm.* 100, 41.
sequor inuia saltus The distraught lover typically wanders about and can find no rest; cf., e.g., Verg. *Aen.* IV, 68–73 and 300–303; Prop. I, 1, 11–12; Ov. *Ars* I, 731; Nem. 4, 5–6; Bocc. *Ecl.* 2, 9–16.
- 100 *Perditus et* = Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 59.
questu / inani Verg. *Cir.* 401.
- 101 *clamore ... vocantem* Cf. Ov. *Met.* III, 382.
clamore voco Verg. *Georg.* I, 347; Ov. *Met.* IX, 294.
- 102–104 *Nil ... Surdior* Cf. Ep. 7, ll. 8–11, 10 Servatius Rogerus; *Carm.* 103, 19–21 (with notes).
- 103–104 *Cautibus ... Surdior* Cf. Ov. *Met.* XIII, 801–804, where Polyphemus describes Galatea (cited by Alaaard, sig. Cr¹).
- 103 *Cautibus Hismariis* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 350. In antiquity Thrace was a byword for hard-hearted barbarism.
- 103–104 *aspide seu a Surdior* Cf. Arator I, 734: "crudelior aspide surda"; Walter, *Alex.* I, 90:

Surdior, aerae summis in rupibus Ethnae
 105 Immani sese Polyphemi condidit antro.
 Hinc perii, atque grauis cepit mihi vita videri.
 Tum redeo tandem, sequitur grex tristis euntem,
 Atque hic, qum iam spes misero mihi nulla supersit,
 Mortem oro superos, certe aut (quod gratius esset)
 110 Improba permutent Gunifoldae pectora nostrae.'

104 *Surdior, aerae Go: Durior, aerae a Scri. In fine: Finis eglogae buccolicae Go, Finis a Scri.*
 110 *Gunifoldae Go: Galatae a Scri.*

"truculentior aspide surda"; *Ps.* 57, 5; *Er. Adag.* 2085.
 104 *summis / rupibus Verg. Georg.* II, 187.
rupibus Ethnae = Ov. Met. XIV, 160; *Stat. Ach.* I, 824.
 105 *Immani / Polyphemi / antro Cf. Verg. Aen.* III, 641: "cauo Polyphemus in antro"; VI, 11: "antrum immane"; *Ov. Pont.* II, 2, 113: "vasto Polyphemus in antro".
sese / condidit antro Lucan. V, 84: "sacris se condidit antris"; *Bocc. Ecl.* 12, 126: "celso se condidit antro."
 107 *sequitur / euntem = Ov. Met.* IX, 786.
 108 *misero mihi = Verg. Ecl.* 2, 58; *Aen.* II, 70.
 109 *Mortem oro Verg. Aen.* IV, 451, of Dido: "mortem orat." *Cf. Er. Ep.* 8, ll. 8-9 and *Ep.* 9, l. 42.

Poems from Ms. Scriverius

103. THE TORMENTS OF UNREQUITED LOVE

late 1487?

Whereas *Carmen buccolicum* (*Carm.* 102) occurs in both *Go* and *Scri*, *Carmm.* 103-114 are to be found only in *Scri*.

According to the title page of *Scri*, the poems contained in it were all written by *Er.* when he was still quite young ("adhuc fere puero"; see n. *Carm.* 109, 31). This statement, while not accurate in the case of *Carmm.* 36 and 110-112, does, roughly speaking, hold true for the other poems in the collection. *Carm.* 103 certainly belongs to the group of *Er.*' earliest compositions (*Carmm.* 99-102). As in *Carmen buccolicum*, the hapless lover is said to wander about disconsolately at night, driven by unrequited love and lamenting his fate. A pastoral setting is furthermore suggested by the bucolic names Menalcas and Amyntas, lovers in Vergil's third eclogue. The erotic language of the first part of the poem recalls both Vergil's second eclogue and the Polyphemus-Galatea story in *Ov. Met.* XIII. As in Vergil's second eclogue, the love that is at first desperately sought and is at last rejected is that of one young man for another. The poem's metre and the language of Amyntas' final rejection of the hard-hearted Menalcas is taken from Horace's fifteenth epode. Reedijk rightly suggests a connection between this poem and *Er.*' letters to Servatius of c. 1487 (*Epp.* 4-9). Compare in particular

ll. 14–22 with Ep. 7, ll. 8–18, addressed to Servatius Rogerus: “Tune vnus es quem nec monita mouent neque flectunt preces, neque vel amantis emolliunt lachrimae? Adeone ferus es vt non miserescere possis? Quibus ego te non hortatibus, quibus non precibus, quibus non tentauit lachrimis? at tu saxis durior durissimis, quo rogaris amplius, eo obfirmas animum durius, eo inexorabilior redderis. . . . An forte eo ingenio es, quo pertinaces esse puellae solent, vt voluptati tibi sit cruciatus meus, et sodalis tui tibi gaudia dolor risumque pariant lachrimae?”

Lines 1–22 of the poem were first published in *Veneres Blyenburgicae, siue Amorum hortus*, Dordrecht, I. Caninus, 1600, pp. 457–458. In this anthology of Renaissance love-poetry, edited by Damas van Blijenburgh, the first line begins as follows: “Heu mihi . . .”. Beyond this slight variant, the text is the same as that in *Scri*. Since Van Blijenburgh is known to have corresponded with Bonaventura Vulcanius, the copyist of *Scri*, it is conceivable that he took the verses, either directly or indirectly, from this manuscript. For an account of his life see P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok, eds., *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, IV, Leiden, 1918, pp. 175–176.

Metre: first Pythiambic strophe.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 562–563.

ODA AMATORIA. PRIMVS VERSVS HEXAMETER,
SECVNDVS EST IAMBICVS.

Hei mihi, quem flamma puer ille sagittifer vnquam
Crudeliore torruit?

Sol cadit, et seras inducit Vesperus vmbas,
Somnum ferens mortalibus.

5 At mihi sollicito pectus tamen aestuat igne,
Nec accipit somnos amor.

Plurima labitur ecce dies, nox multa vicissim
Nigris profecta manibus.

At iecur vsque mihi lasso sub pectore siccum

1–2 *flamma puer / torruit* Cf. *Carm.* 100, 8 (n.).

1 *puer ille* The phrase is commonly used for Cupid; see, e.g., Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 49 and 50; Ov. *Rem.* 149 and 168; Er. *Carm.* 100, ll. 49 and 51–52; 102, 84.

3–6 *Sol . . . amor* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 522–532.

3 *et seras / vmbas* = Bocc. *Ecl.* 11, 237: “Hesperus oceanum cantu detentus Olympo / respuit et seras concessit montibus vmbas”; cf. Boeth. *Consol.* IV, m. 6, 14: “Vesper seras nuntiat vmbas.”

inducit Vesperus vmbas = Sedul. *Pasch.* III,

221 (in one ms. tradition). The form “Vesperus” is a medieval hybrid, combining “vesper” with “Hesperus”.

5 *aestuat igne* Cf. Lucan. V, 173; Ov. *Met.* IV, 64 (quoted in Er. Ep. 5, l. 22, to Servatius Rogerus).

6 *Nec . . . amor* See n. *Carm.* 100, 10.

8 *Nigris profecta manibus* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 118–119.

9 *iecur / siccum* Iuv. 1, 45. The liver was believed to be the seat of such violent emotions as anger, grief, and passion; cf. Er. *Adag.* 40, *ASD* II, 1, p. 154, ll. 221–222. The

10 Aegris anhelat ignibus.
 Atqui ego cuncta ratus mollescere stultus amore
 Vltro simul fio tuus
 Victaque dedo tuis stultissimus ora capistris.
 Quas non dedi supplex preces!
 15 Testis luna meis aderat taciturna querelis
 Totusque syderum chorus.
 Consciis ipse quibus, quibus heu nostrosque tuosque
 Sinus rigarim lachrimis –
 Frustra, nam scopulis tu surdior vsque marinis,
 20 Tu rupe quauis durior,
 Nec prece nec lachrimis miseri mollescis amantis,
 Tormenta te iuuant mea.
 O doliture mea multum virtute Menalca,
 Nam virium si quid mihi est,
 25 Sis licet et Venere et Ganymede nitentior ipso
 Totusque spires balsama
 Isque color tibi sit, tenero quo vere videmus
 Flores rubere punicos,
 Quem vel Apelleas memorant habuisse tabellas
 30 Viua experimentem corpora:
 Vt tamen haecce tuis subduxero colla cathenis
 Spem praeter omnem strennuus,
 Heu heu, te nimium domiti tedeat amoris
 Nimisque sani pectoris,

25 nitentior *Scri:* intentior *LB*.

32 strennuus *Scri:* strenuis *LB*.

heat built up by these emotions could cause this organ to become desiccated; cf., e.g., Hor. *Carm.* I, 13, 4; IV, 1, 12; Er. *Carm.* 49, 79.

13 *dedo ... capistris* Cf. Iuv. 6, 43; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 50, ll. 273–274; *Enchir.*, LB V, 57 E; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 80, ll. 161–162.

ora capistris = Verg. *Georg.* III, 188 and 399 (literally, of horses and young goats).

14–22 *Quas ... mea* Cf. Ep. 7, ll. 8–17 (quoted in the headnote).

15–16 *Testis ... chorus* Cf. Stat. *Ach.* I, 643–644.

15 *Testis luna* Iuv. 6, 311; cf. Prop. II, 32, 28.

18 *rigarim lachrimis* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 251.

19 *Frustra, nam scopulis / surdior* Hor. *Carm.* III, 7, 21; cf. Otto 1610.

19–21 *scopulis ... amantis* Cf. *Carm.* 102, 102–104 (with notes).

20 *rupe / durior* Proverbial; see Otto 1593; Er. *Carm.* III, 96 (n.).

21 *miseri / amantis* See *Carm.* 102, 51 (n.).

22 *Tormenta te iuuant mea* Cf. Iuv. 6, 209.

23–24 *O doliture ... est* Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 15, 11–12: “O dolitura mea multum virtute Neaera! / Nam si quid in Flacco virium est [*var. lect. for: viri est*] / Non feret adsiduas potiori te dare noctes.”

25–36 *Sis ... pendero* Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 15, 19–24.

27–28 *Isque ... punicos* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV, 10, 4.

29–30 *Quem ... corpora* Cf. Prop. I, 2, 22.

30 *Viua* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 848.

31 *colla cathenis* = *LHL* I, 372–373; Er. *Carm.* 110, 392.

33 *domiti / amoris* Ov. *Am.* III, 11, 5.

35 Mutatumque tuum subito maerebis Amyntam,
Egoque flocci pendero.

36 *Egoque flocci pendero* Cf. Ter. *Eun.* 411: "ego non flocci pendere"; Er. *Adag.* 706. For the unusual perfect stem of "pendero" see Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 14, 122: "penderit".

104. "GATHER YE ROSE-BUDS WHILE YE MAY."
late autumn 1489?

In this poem Er. develops the traditional argument that youthful strength and good looks soon fade. Since the winter of old age will inevitably beset us, we should take advantage of youth while it lasts; cf. introd. *Carmm.* 99 and 101. For ancient variations on the *carpe diem* argument see, e.g., Catull. 5, 1-6; Tib. I, 4, 27-38; Hor. *Carm.* IV, 10; Prop. IV, 5, 59-62; Ov. *Ars* III, 59-88; Sen. *Phaedr.* 761-776; Nem. 4, 20-24; Auson. *De rosīs*. The argument was revived in the Renaissance. Cf. in particular Balbi, *Carm.* 11 (published in 1486-1487), since it may well have served as Er.' model. Balbi's poem, like Er.' begins with a detailed description of the coming of winter. Thereupon the poet reminds his lover that her beauty too will be ruined by the rapid flow of time and urges her to make good use of her springtime, while the Fates permit. For some verbal parallels to Balbi's poem see n.l. 3 and n.ll. 7-8 below.

If Balbi's *carpe diem* poem did indeed serve as a model for Er.' elegy, we have a good indication regarding the date of its composition. In Ep. 23, ll. 47-52, written to Cornelis Gerard in June 1489(?), Er. says that, besides a brief epitaph by Balbi supplied by Cornelis, he knows nothing about the Italian poet. He therefore asks his friend to send him more of Balbi's poems. Epp. 25 and 27 (July 1489?) are largely devoted to a discussion of Balbi's work. The present poem seems, then, to have been written sometime after mid-1489, perhaps in the late autumn of 1489, if the poem's introductory section can be taken to refer to the season in which it was composed. The identity of the friend to whom it was addressed cannot be determined with certainty. Cornelis is a possibility; so is Willem Hermans.

Though on the face of it a hedonistic poem, the elegy should more probably be reckoned among Er.' inverted *carpe diem* poems; see Introd., pp. 35-37.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 563.

ELEGIA DE MVTABILITATE TEMPORVM. AD AMICVM

Aspicias vt densas ponant arbusta coronas
 Et linquant virides vitis et herba comas,
 Arida purpurei fugiant violaria flores,
 Horreat elapsis aspera spina rosis,
 5 Cernis et vt nudi iaceant sine gramine campi,
 Quos florum quondam pinxerat ampla Venus.
 Pro placidis Zephyris audis Aquilona frementem,
 Audis nymbriferi flamina saeua Nothi.
 Nec solitum placidus blanditur in aethere Phaebus,
 10 Pendet in oceanas quin mage pronus aquas,
 Succedentis vbi brumae vice labitur aestas
 Tristeque sorte venit vere cadente gelu.
 Sic sic flos aeuī, sic, dulcis amice, iuuentus

1-12 *Aspicias ... gelu* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 204-210; 95, 35-52. For ll. 1-6 cf. especially *Carm.* 95, 47-52 (with notes); for ll. 1-2 cf. *Carm.* 95, 39-40 (n.).
 1-5 *Aspicias vt / Cernis / vt* *Ov. Trist.* V, 14, 35-37.
 1 *Aspicias vt* = *Ov. Trist.* I, 9, 7; V, 14, 35; *Stat. Silv.* IV, 1, 23. Cf. *Hor. Carm.* I, 9, 1, introducing a *carpe diem* poem by describing a wintry scene: "Vides vt ...".
 3-4 *Arida ... rosis* Cf. *Ov. Ars* II, 115-116 (in a *carpe diem* exhortation): "nec violae semper nec hiantia lilia florent, / et riget amissa spina relicta rosa"; *Er. Carm.* 95, 41-42 and 49-50.
 3 *Arida ... flores* Cf. Balbi, *Carm.* 11, 7 (p. 151): "Fusca nec albescentes pingunt violaria campos."
purpurei / flores See n. *Carm.* 95, 37-38.
 5 *Cernis ... campi* Cf. *Ov. Trist.* III, 10, 75: "aspiceres nudos sine fronde, sine arbore, campos."
nudi / campi Cf. *Carm.* 106, 69 (n.).
sine gramine campi = *Carm.* 64, 27; 95, 51; cf. *Ov. Ars* III, 249.
 6 *florum / ampla Venus* Cf. *Carm.* 106, 53 (n.). The construction "florum ampla" is a genitive of specification; cf. *Hor. Carm.* III, 30, 11: "pauper aquae".
pinxerat For the image cf. *Lucret.* V, 1396; *Ov. Fast.* IV, 430; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* III, 9, 11. Geoffrey of Vinsauf recommends the metaphor in *Poetria noua* 791-792: "Tempora veris / Pingere flore solum". See also

Er. Carm. 95, 41; 95, 49; 106, 7; 106, 83; 112, 341.
 7-8 *Pro ... Nothi* Cf. Balbi, *Carm.* 11, 15 (p. 151): "Pro Zephyris gelidus Boreas et nubilus Auster / Regnat, et Eurus atrox."
 7 *placidis Zephyris* *Ov. Met.* I, 107-108; cf. *Er. Carm.* 2, 161 (n.).
Aquilona frementem Cf. *Ven. Fort. Carm.* XI, 26, 11: "Aquilone fremente". The Greek accusative singular ending of "Aquilona" is not classical; cf. *Er. Carm.* 96, 72: "vultura".
 8 *nymbriferi / Nothi* Cf. *Carm.* 96, 10 (n.); 100, 42 (n.).
flamina saeua Nothi Cf. *Sedulius Scottus, Carm.* II, 70, 8: "... flamina dira Nothi".
 9 *placidus / Phaebus* Cf. *Carm.* 109, 17-18.
in aethere Phaebus = *Ov. Met.* X, 162.
 9-10 *Phaebus / pronus* *Stat. Ach.* I, 689-690.
 10 *oceanas / aquas* = *Ven. Fort. Carm.* III, 9, 4: "solem ... / qui vagus Oceanas exit et intrat aquas"; III, 18, 6.
 11 *Succedentis / brumae* Cf. *Carm.* 109, 34.
brumae vice Cf. *Hor. Carm.* I, 4, 1: "vice veris"; *Er. Carm.* 109, 13-14.
 12 *Triste / gelu* The phrase occurs in *Carm.* 106, ll. 3, 17, and 31; cf. *Carm.* 2, 166-167 (n.); 106, 21 and 35.
 13-22 *Sic sic ... genis* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 53-65 (with notes).
 13 *dulcis amice* = *Hor. Epist.* I, 7, 12; cf. *Er. Carm.* 2, 108 (n.); l. 28 (n.) below.

- Heu properante cadit irreparata pede.
 15 Forma perit, pereunt agiles in corpore vires,
 Et subito ingenii visque calorque cadit.
 Tristior inde ruit ac plena doloribus aetas,
 Inde subit propero curua senecta pede.
 Haec tibi canicie est flauos, formose, capillos
 20 Sparsura et frontem findet amara tuam.
 Candida deformi pallore tibi induet ora,
 Et rosa purpureis excidet ista genis.
 Iamque abient nunquam redeuntia gaudia vitae,
 Succedent quorum morsque laborque locis.
 25 Ergo ferox dum Parca sinet, patiantur et anni,
 Dum vireat vicibus laeta iuuenta suis,
 Vtatur, ne frustra abeat torpentibus, aeuo,
 Carpamus primos, dulcis amice, dies.

14 *cadit Scri*: cadunt *LB*.

19 *canicie scripsi*: caniciae *Scri*.

23 *nunquam scripsi*: nonquam *Scri*.

14 *properante / pede* Catull. 63, 30.

cadit Because the second syllable of this verb is short, a later hand (most probably the copy-editor for *LB VIII*) corrected the reading of *Scri* to "cadunt". But the singular form is correct as it stands. The syllable is here, as so often in *Er.*' early poetry, lengthened before the caesura; see n. *Carm.* 7, 48.

16 *subito* See n. *Carm.* 2, 10.

19–20 *Haec ... tuam* Cf. *Ov. Ars II*, 117–118.
canicie / Sparsura Cf. *Carm.* 101, 11.

19 *flauos / capillos* = *Ov. Fast.* V, 609; cf. *Fast.* II, 763; *Her.* 12, 11.

20 *frontem findet* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 65 (n.).

21 *Candida / ora* *Ov. Her.* 20(21), 217; *Met.* II, 861.

pallore ... ora Cf. Maximian. *Eleg.* 1, 133–134; *Er. Carm.* 2, 16 (n.).

23 *gaudia vitae* = *LHL II*, 405–407.

24 *Succedent ... locis* Cf. *Verg. Georg.* III, 67–68.

labor *Ps.* 89, 10, amplified in *Er. Enarrat.* in *Ps.* 38, *ASD V*, 3, p. 215, ll. 645–651; *Er. Carm.* 109, 25.

25–28 *Ergo ... dies* Cf. *Carm.* 95, ll. 7–8 and 107–110; 2, 195–213 (with notes).

25–26 *dum Parca ... suis* Cf. *Hor. Carm.* II, 3, 15–16.

26–27 *Dum vireat ... aeuo* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 19–20 (with notes).

26 *vicibus / suis* = *Carm.* 106, 4 and 28. Cf. *Ov. Met.* I, 626: "suis vicibus".

27 *ne ... torpentibus* Cf. *Ep.* 15, l. 49: "excute torporem", in an exhortation to Servatius Rogerus to pursue literary studies while still in the flower of youth; *Ep.* 16, ll. 27–32: "Possem tibi ... memorare quamplurimos, et quidem e nostris, qui iam quid gloriae literae, quid dedecoris habeat imperitia experti, maxima quidem sed sera afficiuntur poenitentia, quod aptum literarum studio adolescentiae tempus inter digitos fluxisse conspiciant."

28 *Carpamus / dies* Cf. *Hor. Carm.* I, 11, 8: "carpe diem."

dulcis amice = *LHL II*, 155–156; cf. l. 13 (n.) above.

105. THE POWER OF PATIENCE

1490?

This poem expounds the proverbial wisdom that patience conquers all things: "Patientia vincit omnia" (Walther 20833f); see further Otto 654; Walther 3988; Er. *Adag.* 214: "Feras, non culpes, quod vitari non potest"; Bebel, *Prov.* 350. In Ep. 8, ll. 75–76 and Ep. 13, ll. 23–24 to Servatius Rogerus Er. quotes Hor. *Carm.* I, 24, 19–20: "Durum: sed leuius fit patientia / Quidquid corrigere est nefas." In Ep. 8, presumably written in 1487, the virtue of this maxim is denied; it does not help Er. overcome his love for Servatius. In Ep. 13 (written in c. 1488) a considerable cooling has evidently taken place, but Er. is still hurt by Servatius' continued neglect of the friendship he offers. It thus seems likely that the present poem is not contemporaneous with Ep. 13, as Reedijk thinks. It is, after all, one thing to say that "patience makes it easier to bear what cannot be righted" and quite another that "patience conquers all things". The first dictum implies resignation to one's fate, an acceptance that things cannot be altered. At bottom it is a pessimistic view. The second maxim, by contrast, implies a considerable degree of optimism. It adopts the Stoic wisdom that outrageous fortune can be conquered by a mind capable of equanimity in adversity. The wiseman remains secure and happy in his heart because the loss of transitory, external goods cannot affect him inwardly. See, e.g., Cic. *Tusc.* IV, 29, 62–IV, 31, 66; *Off.* I, 26, 90; Hor. *Carm.* II, 3, 1–8; *Epist.* I, 10, 30–31; Sen. *Dial.* IX; *Epist.* 66, 6; 78, 29.

In tone and language the poem anticipates the moral elegies 94–96, written in the winter of 1490–1491. It may therefore be placed in c. 1490.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 563–565.

ELEGIA DE PATIENTIA, QVA SOLA VINCVNTVR OMNIA,
ATQVE DE DOLORE MORTALIVM, QVOMODO NON TAM
FVGIENDVS, QVAM FORTITER PATIENTIA VINCENDVS SIT

Quo fugis, o nimium tener impatiensque doloris?

Te quocunque fugis quem fugis insequitur.

Ne confide fugae, rapitur pernicibus ille

Alis, nec dubitat te fugiente sequi.

1–2 *Quo* ... *insequitur* Cf. Otto 1144; Sen. *Dial.* IX, 2, 14–15; Prop. II, 30, 1–2: "Quo fugis a demens? nulla est fuga: tu licet vsque / ad Tanain fugias, vsque sequetur Amor"; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 70, ll. 842–843, of a criminal: "Quo-

cunque locorum profugerit, dira illa pectoris tormenta non deserunt fugientem"; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 24F: "Fortuna plerumque sequitur fugientes, fugit sequentes."
3–4 *pernicibus* / *Alis* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 180; Stat. *Theb.* III, 471.

5 Otyor est iaculo Partho quod mittitur arcu
 Et vincit volucres mobilitate Nothos.
 Cum iam a calce omnem gaudes liquisse dolorem,
 Ocyor ille Euro tum tua terga tenet,
 Et male securi iam gaudia inania ridens,
 10 Incumbit misero durior inde tibi.
 Stulte, quid extremas iuuat euasisse per oras?
 Omnibus in terris te prior ille videt.
 Quid frustra varia rapit in diuersa cupido
 Sollicitatque animum perdita cura tuum?
 15 Quid totiens mutare locum, mutare gradumque
 Vitae et inexpertum te noua adire iuuat?
 Curas ditari, cupis in sublime leuari,
 Tanquam te soluant ista dolore tuo.
 Non, inquam, non etsi Craeso opulentior esses
 20 Aut ditioni sint subdita cuncta tuae.
 Anne putas regum vacua esse palacia curis?
 Credo equidem excelsis has magis esse locis.
 Tu quamuis summe in cunctis mirere beatos,
 Tristes saepe animos ostra superba tegunt.
 25 Eumenides circumuolitant laquearia tristes
 Aurea, perlustrant tecta superba ducum.
 Nil curant plenis spirent conuiuia mensis
 Despumentque vetus pocula abunda merum
 Milleque dulcisonum moduletur carmina plectrum

18 Tanquam *Scri*: Tamque *LB*.

23 summe *LB*: summae *Scri*.

29 moduletur *LB*: modulatur *Scri*.

5–8 *Otyor* ... *tenet* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 16, 23–24; Er. *Carm.* 95, 25–27 (with notes).

5 *Otyor* ... *arcu* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* X, 248; Lucan. I, 230; Sen. *Phoen.* 428–429.

8 *Ocyor* / *Euro* Proverbial: Otto 1867; cf. Er. *Carm.* 2, 82 (n.).

9 *gaudia* / *ridens* Stat. *Silv.* II, 2, 132. *gaudia inania* Auson. *Cupid. cruc.* 35.

11 *Stulte, quid* = *Carm.* 95, 1 (n.). *extremas* / *oras* = Ov. *Trist.* III, 14, 11 (in one ms. tradition); *LHL* II, 210.

12 *Omnibus in terris* = Stat. *Theb.* XI, 577; Iuv. 10, 1.

13–16 *Quid* ... *iuuat* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 16, 17–20; Er. *Carm.* 43, 63–64.

13 *rapit in diuersa* Cf. *Iob* 20, 2: “Mens in diuersa rapitur”; Er. *Carm.* 112, 298.

15–16 *Quid* ... *iuuat* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* I, 11,

27–28; Sen. *Epist.* 28, 1.

15 *Quid totiens* = Ov. *Ars* I, 306. *gradum* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 12.

19 *Craeso* See n. *Carm.* 2, 123–125.

21–32 *Anne* ... *suum* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, pp. 50–51, ll. 294–311.

22 *Credo equidem* = Verg. *Aen.* IV, 12.

24 *ostra superba* Verg. *Aen.* I, 639.

25–26 *Eumenides* ... *Aurea* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 16, 11–12.

laquearia / *Aurea* Verg. *Aen.* I, 726; cf. Pers. 3, 40 (quoted in Er. *Adag.* 872).

26 *tecta superba* = Ov. *Am.* I, 6, 58.

27 *plenis* / *mensis* = *Carm.* 96, 91 (n.).

conuiuia mensis = Prop. III, 25, 1; *LHL* I, 442–443.

29 *dulcisonum* ... *plectrum* Cf. *AH* 50, 79, 51: “Et noua dulcisono modularis carmina

30 Spargat et innumeros tibia blanda modos,
 Quin inter luxus sedet, illaetabile virus
 Plausibus immiscens, anxia cura, suum.
 Aequa lege dolor summos sortitur et imos,
 Inuoluens misere regem humilemque simul.
 35 Neue puta, cum iam te opibus fortuna bearit,
 Nil fore quod cupidum temptet amare animum.
 Tum primum curae, dolor et suspiria surgent,
 Tum primum angores experiere graues.
 Sic etenim fortuna suis sua munera miscet,
 40 Vt fel non modicum paucula mella tegant.
 Candida et impexi cingunt vt lilia vepres
 Spinaque purpureum gignit acuta decus,
 Tristia sic laetis, sic dulcia miscet amaris,
 Et coeunt iuncto spesque metusque pede,
 45 Gaudia cum maerore grauique tripudia luctu,
 Libertas curis, mixta labore quies.
 Hoc voluunt Parcae, hoc ineluctabile fatum
 Archanique animi sic voluere deum.
 Certandum ergo tibi est contendendumque palaestra;
 50 Hostis erit feritas hac superanda via,
 Victoque ingentem referes ex hoste triumphum,
 Nominis emittens seculum in omne decus.
 Nonne vides toto Iob vt venerabilis heros
 Cuncta per ora volans orbe celebris eat?

42 gignit *LB*: gigna *Scri*.

plectro"; Poliz. *Eleg.* 3, 9: "Talia dulcisono modularis carmina plectro"; *LHL* I, 283.
 30 *tibia blanda modos* = *Carm.* 112, 49.
 32 *anxia cura* *LHL* I, 108.
 33 *Aequa ... imos* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 1, 14–15.
 34 *Inuoluens ... simul* Cf. Boeth. *Consol.* II, m. 7, 13–14: "[mors] inuoluit humile pariter et celsum caput / aequatque summis infima."
 39–46 *Sic ... quies* Cf. *Adag.* 766.
 40 *fel / mella* See n. *Carm.* 2, 177–179.
 41 *Candida / lilia* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 708–709; Ov. *Met.* IV, 355; V, 392.
 42 *Spinaque ... decus* Cf. *Carm.* 106, 68.
Spina / acuta Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 39.
 43 *Tristia sic laetis / miscet* Cf. Alcuin., *Carm.* 48, 27: "Tristia se laetis inmiscunt tempora nostris"; 9, 7: "Fatali cursu miscentur tristia laetis"; Ov. *Fast.* VI, 463; Walther 14913: "Miscentur tristia letis"; Er. *De conscr. ep.*,

ASD I, 2, p. 438, l. 24–p. 439, l. 1 (as characteristic of *Fortuna*): "laeta miscere tristibus".
dulcia miscet amaris = Andrel. *Ecl.* 3, 8 (published in 1501); cf. Martial. XII, 34, 3.
 44 *spesque metusque* = *Carm.* 96, 68 (n.).
 46 *mixta labore quies* = *Carm.* 94, 39 and 68.
 47 *Hoc voluunt Parcae* Cf. Stat. *Theb.* IV, 781.
ineluctabile fatum = Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 334.
 51 *referes ... triumphum* Cf. Prud. *Psychom.* 64: "referens ex hoste tropaeum".
ex hoste triumphum = *LHL* II, 523–524.
 53 *Nonne vides* = *Carm.* 95, 87 (n.).
 53–54 *toto / volans orbe* Ov. *Ars* III, 4.
 53 *venerabilis heros* = Prud. *Cath.* 10, 70.
 54 *Cuncta ... volans* Cf. Ennius, quoted in Cic. *Tusc.* I, 15, 34: "volito ... per ora virum"; Verg. *Georg.* III, 9 (quoted in Er. *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 363, l. 20); Er. *Ep.* 32, l. 21;

- 55 Funera post sua viuit adhuc super aethera notus,
 Atque illi aeternum haec fama superstes erit.
 Et dubitamus adhuc consistere cominus hosti?
 Verte gradum et vires experiare tuas.
 Ne dubita, in manibus pendet victoria nostris,
 60 Tute modo aduertas aurem animumque mihi.
 Pandam ego queis telis, qua sit res arte gerenda,
 Haec etenim ad palmam non mediocre ferent.
 Est noua luctandi species, noua Martis imago,
 In qua non frameis, non opus est iaculis.
 65 Sta tantum intrepido et fidenti pectore firmus,
 Nec moueant animum tela cruenta tuum.
 Ille fremat sine more furens frustraue laboret,
 Irritus in ventum et sudet inane diu.
 Siue petat iaculo seu certet cominus ense,
 70 Ne moueare caue; sta modo, tutus eris.
 Temne simul iaculo, temne et simul ense petentem;
 Hostem si poteris temnere, victor eris.
 Ne tamen eliso vitalia pectore ferro
 Sauciet et letum toxica spicla ferant,
 75 Apta humeris thoraca prius atque omnia denso

73 *Ne scripsi: Te Scri.*

- 177, ll. 9–10; *Lucianus*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 525, l. 32; also *Carm.* 93, 223–224; 98, 10.
 55 *Funera post* = *Martial.* IX, 78, 1.
super aethera notus = *Verg. Aen.* I, 379.
 56 *fama superstes erit* = *Ov. Trist.* III, 7, 50.
 57 *Et dubitamus adhuc* = *Verg. Aen.* VI, 806; *Er. Carm.* 137, 17.
cominus hosti = *LHL* I, 387.
 58 *Verte gradum* = *Stat. Theb.* VIII, 138.
vires experiare tuas = *Ov. Ars* II, 180.
 59 *Ne dubita* = *Verg. Aen.* III, 316; *Ov. Met.* II, 101; V, 335; *Fast.* III, 699.
 63 *Est ... species* Cf. *Prud. Psychom.* 323: “noua pugnandi species”. Like Prudentius, *Er.* goes on to explain that this is an allegorical battle, not fought with spears or javelins.
Martis imago = *Ov. Trist.* V, 7, 17; cf. *Verg. Aen.* VIII, 557.
 65–80 *Sta ... manum* Cf. *Prud. Psychom.* 109–144 (the battle between Patientia and Ira).
 66 *tela cruenta* = *Ov. Trist.* V, 7, 34.
 67–71 *Ille ... petentem* Cf. *Prud. Psychom.* 130 (Patientia in her battle with Ira): “nec mota est iaculo monstri sine more furentis”.
 67 *sine more furens* *Verg. Aen.* V, 694; VII, 377.
 67–68 *frustraue laboret / et sudet* *Hor. Ars* 241.
 69 *iaculo ... ense* Cf. *Val. Fl.* I, 366; *Ov. Met.* III, 119. Spear and sword are also the weapons with which Ira battles Patientia in *Prud. Psychom.* 130 and 137.
 70 *sta* So Patientia stands unmoved in battle; see *Prud. Psychom.* 109.
tutus eris = *LHL* V, 495.
 71 *simul ense* = *Verg. Aen.* IX, 324 and 423.
 73–84 *Ne ... est* Cf. *Eph.* 6, 11–17. For the commonplace of spiritual warfare see also *Iob* 7, 1; 1. *Tim.* 1, 18; 2. *Tim.* 2, 3–4; *LThK* VII, 418–419, s.v. “Militia Christi”; Andreas Wang, *Der “Miles Christianus” im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition*, Bern, 1975; *Er. Enchir.*, especially *LB* V, 1 A–10 F. It should be noted that Patientia, like St. Paul’s soldier, bears defensive weapons. The enemy can be conquered only by long-suffering.
 73 *pectore ferro* Cf. *LHL* IV, 175–176.
 75–76 *Apta ... tegant* Cf. *Prud. Psychom.* 126–127, of Prudentia’s armour.

Ordine squamarum ferrea texta tegant.
 Ne rursum assiduo iacentis ab imbre fatiscant
 Aera, perita sibi dextera scutum habeat,
 Scutum quo quicquid furiato emittitur hoste
 80 Irritet et vigilem ludat inane manum.
 Pectore letum abigat agili omnibus obuia motu,
 Improbitate prior iam cadet ipse sua.
 Sed quid te moror obscura sub imagine verbi?
 Corporea neque enim haec res peragenda manu est.
 85 Rem nude referam potius sine nubibus omnem;
 Tu cape dicta memor, me duce victor eris.
 Muniat intrepidam virtus patientia mentem
 Contra fortunae tela sinistra deae,
 Ipsaque ne crebro nimium duroque malorum
 90 Concidat impulsu, quo tueare cape.
 Inuiolabile erit manui prudentia scutum,
 Opportunius hac in patiente nihil.
 Hanc capiat comitem fortis patientia fidam,
 Non timeat casus hac comitata graues.
 95 Languet enim et tenues nequicquam in grandia vires
 Obiicit et facilis lucta oriente cadit.
 Deficit vt tumidis sine clauo puppis in vndis,
 Et sine honore manet si incommitata manet.
 Ipsa quidem virtutum acies firmitate tegitque
 100 Fortis et in tota dux legione praeit.
 Cedet prima tamen saeua turbante procella,
 Hanc nisi sedula sit concomitata ducem.
 Denique vis modico complectar vt omnia verbo?

76 *ferrea texta* Lucr. VI, 1054.

77 *iacentis ab imbre* Cf. Prud. *Psychom.* 129 and 133–134.

77–78 *fatiscant Aera* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 809.

79–80 *Scutum ... manum* Cf. Prud. *Psychom.* 133–134.

83 *quid te moror* Iuv. 3, 183.

86 *cape dicta memor = Verg. Aen.* VI, 377.
me duce victor eris Cf. Ov. *Ars* II, 58.

87 *virtus patientia* = Walther 16909; 18971; 24454; 27226; cf. Cato, *Dist.* I, 38, 2.

88 *fortunae tela sinistra* Cf. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen, LB VIII, 557* C: “sinistrac fortunae assultus”. The phrase “fortunae tela” – “the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune” in Shakespeare, *Hamlet* III, 1, 58 – occurs in Cic. *Pis.* 19, 43; *Fam.* V, 16, 2 (quoted in Er. *De consecr. ep.*, ASD I, 2,

p. 456, l. 3). Er. uses it also in Ep. 152, l. 49.

93 *Hanc capiat comitem* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 294.
fortis patientia = Prud. *Psychom.* 175; cf. *Psychom.* 128; l. 105 below.

95 *tenues nequicquam* = Ov. *Met.* VIII, 827.

97 *tumidis / in vndis* = Ov. *Ib.* 273; Martial. XIV, 181, 1; l. 123 below.

99–100 *Ipsa ... praeit* Cf. Prud. *Psychom.* 174–177.

99 *virtutum acies* = Prud. *Psychom.* 569.

firmat Prud. *Psychom.* 177: “vidua est [Virtus] quam non Patientia firmat.” Prudentius’ verse became proverbial; see Walther 7995; 8007; 13059; 15874.

101 *saeua / procella* Cf. l. 121 (n.) below.

turbante procella = Stat. *Theb.* VII, 536.

103 *complectar / omnia verbo* Ov. *Trist.* I, 5, 55.

- Prudens disce pati cuncta: beatus eris.
 105 Nullum prorsus enim quod non patientia fortis
 Leniat et vincat in sapiente malum.
 Mobilibus neque enim fortunae subiaceret ille
 Casibus aut patitur se ditione premi.
 Nauigat in tuto fortuna immotus vtraque,
 110 Nec ditante tumet nec retrahente dolet.
 Numinis ardentem ridet securior iras
 Nec metuit trepidus quid vaga fata parent.
 Omnia perpetitur sapiens atque omnia vincit
 Et fruitur mediis perpete pace fretis.
 115 Non tam praeualidi temnunt vaga flamina montes
 Aut rident nymbos aequora vasta leues,
 Quam verus dominae sapiens tonitru omne sinistrae,
 Saeuiat in toto concita felle licet.
 Dic age, dic toto quid eo faelicus orbe?
 120 Laetior vsque manet nec miser esse potest.
 Nos fera fortunae saeuus turbata procellis
 Aequora et assidue concutit vnda salis.
 Assidue tumidis miseri iactamur in vndis,
 Nec sinimur placidi visere tuta soli.
 125 Erramus pelago flatumque mouemur ad omnem,
 Nil haeret mediis anchora missa vadis.
 Blanditur si quando serenum et lenior aura,

104 *disce pati* = Walther 16974 and 24451b: "si vis vincere, disce pati"; 32624a: "Vt vincas, disce pati"; also l. 134 below; cf. Walther 5865; Bebel, *Prov.* 350 (with Suringar's parallels on pp. 423-424).

105 *patientia fortis* See n.l. 93 above.

107-118 *Mobilibus ... licet* According to Stoic doctrine, the wiseman is lord over himself and is wholly unmoved by the whims of fortune; cf., e.g., Cic. *Tusc.* V, 10, 30; Hor. *Serm.* II, 7, 83-88; Sen. *Epist.* 113, 27-31; Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 4; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 52, ll. 349-351; *Parab.*, ASD I, 5, p. 212, ll. 849-850; p. 214, ll. 873-874; p. 234, ll. 192-195; *Adag.* 3. Cf. also *Prv.* 16, 32.

109 *fortuna / vtraque* Cic. *Caec.* 36, 104; Liv. VI, 24, 9; Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 4, 3; Er. *Pre-cat. ad Iesum*, LB V, 1215 A; *Encom. medic.*, ASD I, 4, p. 180, l. 307; *Enchir.*, LB V, 38 D. The phrase was especially well known in the late Middle Ages because of Petrarca, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*.

111 *Numinis / iras* LHL III, 585-586.

112 *quid / fata parent* Lucan. VI, 783.

113 *Omnia ... vincit* Cf. Prud. *Psychom.* 780: "omnia perpetitur patiens atque omnia credit."

omnia vincit = LHL IV, 41.

115 *vaga flamina* Prud. *Cath.* 10, 145.

116 *aequora vasta* Verg. *Aen.* VII, 228; cf. Er. *Carm.* 106, 73 (n.).

117 *dominae* See n. *Carm.* 7, 32.

119 *Dic age, dic* = Calp. Sic. 7, 19 and 78.

121-122 *fera / Aequora* Ov. *Pont.* II, 3, 27 (quoted in Er. *Ep.* 2, l. 17).

121 *fortunae / procellis* Sen. *Ag.* 594; Er. *De consecr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 237, l. 7.

saeuis / procellis Lucr. III, 805; Er. *Carm.* 110, 294; cf. l. 101 above.

turbata procellis = Verg. *Georg.* III, 259.

123 *tumidis / in vndis* = l. 97 (n.) above.

iactamur in vndis Verg. *Aen.* X, 48.

125 *Erramus pelago* = Verg. *Aen.* III, 204.

127-128 *Blanditur ... venit* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, pp. 43-44, ll. 98-101:

Fallimur, incautis turba inopina venit.
 At ponti nihil esse minas, nil flamina ventum
 130 Curat: adit salua littora amata rate.
 Solus enim ille potest freudentibus vndique fatis
 In tranquilla aeuum ducere pace suum.
 Tu quoque, quicumque es cui pax et gaudia curae,
 Discito quicquid erit temnere, disce pati.
 135 Ferto aequae gelidam veri succedere brumam,
 Inque vices redeant noxque diesque suas,
 Donec supremam, subducens tristia, metam
 Ponat et aethre deus te sine fine beet.

“Quid quod ne tum quidem fidendum est, cum tibi placidum blanditur aequor, cum se vitreae strauere procellae, cum aeris arridet serenior facies? Id enim agitur vt te subita tempestas sopitum inueniat.” The standard example for such overconfidence was Aeneas’ helmsman Palinurus; see Verg. *Aen.* V, 833–871; Thomas Brückner, *Der Tod des Palinurus. Mittelalterliche und humanistische Kommentare zu einer Episode aus dem 5. Buch der Aeneis*, in: *Studien zur Thematik des Todes im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Paul R. Blum, Wolfenbüttel, 1983, pp. 49–62.
 128 *turba* For the unusual meaning see Prop. III, 3, 24: “medio maxima turba mari est”; Er. Ep. 29, l. 4: “subita turba”.

129 *flamina ventum* Cf. Tib. IV, 1, 125; *LHL* II, 291.
 132 *tranquilla / pace* Lucr. I, 31; II, 1093; VI, 78.
 133 *Tu / quicumque es* Hor. *Epod.* 15, 17.
 134 *disce pati* See n.l. 104 above.
 135–136 *Ferto ... suas* Cf. *Carm.* 109, 13–20.
 135 *gelidam / brumam* Ov. *Trist.* IV, 7, 1; *Mar-*
tial. IV, 57, 9.
 136 *Inque ... suas* Cf. Alcuin., *Carm.* 48, 28:
 “Vtque vices faciunt noxque diesque suas”.
noxque diesque = *LHL* III, 572.
 137 *supremam / metam* Cf. *Carm.* 96, III (n.).
 138 *aethre* Er. uses the contracted form also in
Carm. 110, 366.
sine fine beet Cf. *LHL* V, 170–171: “... sine
 fine beatus”.

106. THE DELIGHTS OF SPRINGTIME

spring 1488?

According to the poem’s heading in *Scrizi*, this amoebian contest between Willem Hermans and Er. was composed in the spring, when the two friends were eighteen years old. The age references in this manuscript, when correlated with other data, appear to presuppose that Er. was born in 1469 (cf. introd. *Carmm.* 102 and 113). We thus infer that the poem was composed in the spring of 1488. In early 1488 Er. may already have addressed *Carm.* 109 to Willem. Perhaps he also addressed *Carm.* 104 to him (autumn 1489?). For Willem Hermans’ life see introd. *Carm.* 30.

The poem is by and large a set of variations on Hor. *Carm.* IV, 7, 1–4:

Diffugere niues, redeunt iam gramina campis
 Arboribusque comae;
 Mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
 Flumina praetereunt.

Horace's ode, like his earlier *Carm.* I, 4, is a meditation on the flight of time: spring returns, but man's youth does not. Er.' and Willem's poem also concludes with this thought. In the last distich Er. calls on the youthful reader to lay aside gloom and rejoice in life's springtime while it lasts.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 565–567.

CERTAMEN ERASMI ATQVE GVIELMI DE TEMPORE
VERNALI, QVOD PER VIRIDANTIA PRATA ALTERNIS
EX TEMPORE LVSERVNT ANNO EORVM DECIMO NONO.
NOTA, CANDIDE LECTOR.

Guilmus incipit.

Tristis hyems abiit quae flores abstulit, at nunc
Purpureo tellus vere decore nitet.
Eras. Ipsa suo cum bruma gelu cadit horrida tristi,
Iam properant vicibus tempora laeta suis.
5 Guiel. Iam violas, iam terra rosas suffundit, et omnis
Iam viret et flore stat redimitus ager.
Eras. Iam per prata nouo pinguntur gramina flore,
Arboribusque redit quam posuere comam.
Guiel. Vere nemus, volucres, campus, flores quoque cuncti,
10 Frondet, dulce canunt, ridet, olentque bene.
Eras. Frondes arboribus, ver reddit gramina campis

4 *properant scripsi*: *properat Scri*.

1–4 *Tristis ... suis* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 4, 1; Er. *Carm.* 109, 13–14.

1 *Tristis hyems* See n. *Carm.* 2, 166–167.

3 *bruma gelu / horrida* Verg. *Georg.* III, 442–443.

gelu / tristi See n. *Carm.* 104, 12.

4 *vicibus / suis = Carm.* 104, 26 (n.).
tempora laeta Lucan. VII, 20 and 687; cf. l. 29 below.

5–6 *omnis / ager* Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 56; *Aen.* IV, 525; *Ov. Fast.* II, 660; Er. *Carm.* 112, 340–341 (n.).

7–8 *Iam ... comam* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV, 7, 1–2; cf. also ll. 11–12, 19–20, 25–26, and 81–82 below.

7 *pinguntur* See n. *Carm.* 104, 6.
gramina flore = Carm. 95, 43 (n.).

9–10 *Vere ... bene* In these *versus rapportati* a series of individual words or phrases is completed grammatically by a corresponding series in the next line (a–b–c–d / a–b–c–d). The figure was quite popular in medieval and Renaissance poetry; see Bolte; Curtius, pp. 286–287. For another example see *Carm.* 136 below.

Vere nemus / Frondet Cf. l. 99 below.

campus / ridet Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 18, 132; cf. *Ov. Met.* XV, 205; “Ridet ager” (var. lect. for: “Ludit ager”); Martial. X, 51, 3; Er. *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 64, l. 782: “ridet ager.”

11–12 *Frondes ... humum* Cf. ll. 7–8 (n.) above.

11 *Frondes ... campis* Cf. *Ov. Met.* II, 407–408.

- Et laetam multo flore venustat humum.
 Guiel. Purpurea capite cinctum venit ecce corona
 Ver, in quo gaudet terra decore nouo.
 15 Eras. Iam noua per vacuos consurgunt gramina campos,
 Vestiturque modo terra decore nouo.
 Guiel. Omne suum per triste gelu posuit decus arbos,
 Sed postquam rediit ver, rediere comae.
 Eras. Dura quibus viduarat hyems, cum flore virentes
 20 Arboribus redeunt vere tepente comae.
 Guiel. Propter triste rubis frigus decor omnis abibat,
 Ast vbi ver venit irrubuere rosis.
 Eras. Arida quae longo latuit sub frigore tellus
 Vere refert vultu florida quaeque nouo.
 25 Guiel. Arboribus fluxere comae prae frigore, sed ver
 Flores atque comas reddidit arboribus.
 Eras. Frondibus arentes renouantur in arbore rami,
 Caepere vt vicibus verna nitere suis.
 Guiel. Stabat operta niue, sed veris tempore laeto
 30 Fronde stat et densis arbor amicta comis.
 Eras. Triste abeunte gelu telluris amaena iuuentus

14 Ver *LB: Vir Scri.*

- 12 *laetam / humum* Verg. *Georg.* II, 184; Ov. *Fast.* VI, 252.
 13-14 *Purpurea ... Ver* Cf. Ov. *Met.* II, 27; *Pont.* III, I, II.
 15 *per vacuos / campos* = Ov. *Pont.* III, I, 23; cf. l. 40 (n.) below.
consurgunt gramina campos Cf. Hil. *In Gen.* 101: "herbarum varia consurgunt gramina campis"; *LHL* II, 451.
 16 *Vestitur / decore nouo* = l. 50 below; for the metaphor see n.l. 47 below.
 17 *triste gelu* See n. *Carm.* 104, 12.
 19-20 *Dura ... comae* Cf. ll. 7-8 (n.) above.
 19 *Dura / hyems* Verg. *Georg.* IV, 239; Ov. *Trist.* III, 10, 44; Er. *Carm.* 109, 13.
viduarat Verg. *Georg.* IV, 518; Hor. *Carm.* II, 9, 8. See also Er. *Carm.* 109, 11-12; 110, 125-126; 112, 339.
 20 *Arboribus redeunt / comae* Cf. Ov. *Fast.* III, 237.
vere tepente = Ps. Ov. *Epic. Drusi* 102; l. 80 below; cf. l. 45 (n.) and l. 63 (n.).
 21 *triste / frigus* Cf. *Carm.* 104, 12 (n.).
 23-24 *Arida ... nouo* Cf. Ov. *Trist.* III, 12, 11-12; Cornelis Gerard, *Marias* IV, f^o 43: "Terra vigorosas pridem arida turget in herbas, / Et referunt vultum florida prata nouum."
 23 *Arida / tellus* Lucan. IV, 629; Stat. *Theb.* IV, 454.
longo / frigore Ov. *Am.* II, 19, 22.
latuit sub frigore tellus Cf. Ov. *Fast.* II, 72; *Pont.* IV, 5, 4.
 24 *florida* This is an adjectival noun, as in ll. 72 and 100.
 25-26 *Arboribus ... arboribus* Cf. ll. 7-8 (n.) above.
 25 *Arboribus / frigore* = Ov. *Fast.* III, 237.
 27 *Frondebis / renouantur* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IX, 3, 7: "rursus odoriferis renouantur floribus arua, / frondibus arboreis et viret omne nemus.
arentes / rami Sil. VII, 313; cf. Ov. *Met.* VII, 277.
in arbore rami Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 485; Ov. *Met.* XI, 29; XII, 22.
 28 *vicibus / suis* = *Carm.* 104, 26 (n.).
verna This adjectival noun is late Latin; see, e.g., Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII, 6, 12.
 29-30 *Stabat ... comis* Cf. Ov. *Rem.* 196; ll. 45-46 below.
 29 *veris tempore* *Carm.* 95, 45 (n.).
tempore laeto Cf. l. 4 (n.) above.
 31 *Triste / gelu* Cf. *Carm.* 104, 12 (n.).

- Iam redit et flore fit rediuiua nouo.
 Guiel. O quam dulcisono resonant iam murmure syluae!
 Quos posuit cantus vere resumit auis.
 35 Eras. Per maestum taciturna gelu, iam tempore verno
 Dulce resumit auis exhilarata melos.
 Guiel. Caeruleis citius Phaebus consurgit ab vndis
 Atque mari lassos tardius abdit equos.
 Eras. Iam dirae cessere hyemes, laetissima terris
 40 Lux redit et vacuis gramina reddit agris.
 Guiel. Iam nox caeruleis citius caelo auolat alis,
 Et Phaebi citius promitur axis aquis.
 Eras. Vere leues Zephiris spirant melioribus aerae,
 Clarius et roseum lux agit alma diem.
 45 Guiel. Quae nuper niue tecta fuit, iam vere tepenti
 Soluitur et tellus stat redimita comis.
 Eras. Rursum sylua comis vestitur, gramine tellus,
 Inuisit clausam vernus vbi imber humum.
 Guiel. Qui concretus erat bruma amnis soluitur, at nunc
 50 Vestitur nuda ripa decore nouo.
 Eras. Flumina iucundo currunt resoluta susurro,

32 *Iam redit et* = Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 6.

33 *dulcisono / murmure* Sidon. *Carm.* 6, 5.
dulcisono resonant Bocc. *Ecl.* 14, 196: "Dulcisono resonat cantu mitissimus aer."
resonant / syluae Prop. I, 18, 31.

34–36 *Quos ... melos* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 27–28: "ad cantus reuocatur aues, quae carmine clauso / pigrior hiberno frigore muta fuit."

35 *maestum / gelu* Cf. *Carm.* 104, 12 (n.).
tempore verno = Lucr. V, 802.

36 *Dulce / melos* Prud. *Cath.* V, 123.

37 *Caeruleis / vndis* Ov. *Her.* 18(19), 191; *Pont.* II, 10, 33; Stat. *Theb.* VI, 582.
citius ... vndis Cf. l. 93 below.

38 *lassos / equos* Martial. III, 67, 6–7 (of the sun's steeds at noon); cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI, 913–914 (at evening).
abdit equos Ov. *Her.* 6, 86.

40 *vacuis / agris* Verg. *Georg.* II, 54; Ov. *Met.* VII, 653; and elsewhere; cf. l. 15 (n.) above.

41 *Iam ... alis* Cf. *Carm.* 64, 34–35 (n.).
caeruleis / alis Verg. *Cir.* 51.

43 *Zephiris / melioribus* = Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, 288.
spirant / aerae Verg. *Aen.* V, 844.

44 *Clarius ... diem* Cf. *Carm.* 8, 22 (n.); l. 94 below.

roseum / diem Boeth. *Consol.* II, m. 8, 5; Poliz. *Eleg.* 5, 12.

45–46 *Quae ... comis* Cf. ll. 29–30 (n.) above.

45 *Quae ... fuit* Cf. Cornelis Gerard, *Marias* IV, f° 43^v: "Quae niue tecta fuit vel pondere frigoris atri / Obruta nuper humus sole reuisa calet."
vere tepenti = Ov. *Ars* III, 185; cf. l. 20 (n.) above.

46 *tellus / redimita* Claud. *Fescen.* 2, 2: "nuptiali / redimita vere tellus"; cf. ll. 55 and 85 below.

47 *sylua comis vestitur* Cf. Dracont. *Laud.* I, 257: "silua comis vestita".

sylua comis = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 43; cf. l. 85 (n.) below; *Carm.* 112, 339.

vestitur, gramine tellus = Nigel de Longchamps, *Tractatus contra curiales*, praef. metrica 7: "Vernat fronde nemus, vestitur gramine tellus"; *LHL* II, 453. For the image see also l. 16 above and ll. 50, 87 (n.), and 99 below; *Carm.* 112, 338.

48 *imber humum* = Verg. *Aen.* IX, 669; cf. Er. *Carm.* 109, 4.

50 *Vestitur / decore nouo* = l. 16 above; cf. l. 47 (n.).

51 *Flumina ... susurro* Cf. l. 95 (n.) below; Hor. *Carm.* IV, 7, 3–4.

- Frigure quae quondam strinxerat acris hyems.
 Guiel. Alma Venus, nunc gignit humus gratos tibi flores,
 Verque tuas roseo pingit honore genas.
 55 Eras. Iamiam florifero redimitur gramine pratum,
 Miratur frondes sylua decora nouas.
 Guiel. Ha, quam grata mihi sunt veris tempora, quae pro
 Grandine dant imbrem, pro niue rosque cadit.
 Eras. Cui non vere graues curae sit ponere curas?
 60 Ecce decore nitent cuncta creata nouo.
 Guiel. Quas clausas seruauit humus ver elicit herbas,
 Et gaudet campus tectus honore nouo.
 Eras. Vere tepet tellus niuibus laetata solutis,
 Quae latuit matris panditur herba sinu.
 65 Guiel. In syluis cantus ferit aethera, prata nemusque
 Sparguntur flore, rore aperitur humus.
 Eras. Vere nouo terris sese exerit herba solutis,
 Purpureum fundit aspera spina decus.
 Guiel. Veris vbi tellus persensit nuda teporem,
 70 Exiliunt terris gramina picta rosis.
 Eras. Vere patescit humus partu faecunda virenti,
 Summittit gremio florida pressa suo.
 Guiel. Nondum solis equi consurgunt aequore vasto,

52 *acris hyems* Hor. *Carm.* I, 4, 1.
 53 *Alma ... flores* Cf. Lucr. I, 7–8: “tibi [alma Venus] suaui daedala tellus / summittit flores”; Er. *Carm.* 104, 6.
Alma Venus = Lucr. I, 2; Verg. *Aen.* I, 618; X, 332.
gignit humus / flores Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 41; Prud. *Contra Symm.* II, 132.
 55 *florifero / gramine* Cf. *Carm.* 102, 18.
redimitur See n.l. 46 above.
 56 *Miratur frondes / nouas* Verg. *Georg.* II, 82.
 57 *veris tempora* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 45 (n.).
 59 *graues / ponere curas* Ov. *Met.* IX, 697; cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 531; Er. *Carm.* 95, 57 (n.); l. 104 below.
 60 *decore ... nouo* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 43–44 (with n.l. 43).
cuncta creata = *LHL* I, 522–523.
 62 *honore nouo* = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* V, 2, 32: “arbor / ... floret honore nouo.”
 63 *Vere tepet* = *Anth. Lat.* 576, 1: “Vere tepet picto Zephyris spirantibus aer”; cf. l. 20 (n.) above.
niuibus / solutis = Ov. *Am.* III, 6, 7; *Met.* VIII, 556.

64 *Quae ... sinu* Cf. Ov. *Trist.* III, 12, 11–12; *Fast.* III, 239–240 (spring).
sinu Of the earth in springtime: Verg. *Georg.* II, 331.
 65 *ferit aethera* Verg. *Aen.* V, 140.
 66 *Sparguntur flore* Ov. *Fast.* IV, 346.
aperitur Ov. *Fast.* IV, 87: “ver aperit ... omnia”; Plin. *Nat.* XVII, 2, 15; *Anth. Lat.* 567, 1: “Vere sinum tellus aperit floresque ministrat”; l. 79 below.
 67 *Vere nouo* = Verg. *Georg.* I, 43; Ov. *Met.* XV, 202; l. 87 below; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 74; Ov. *Fast.* I, 351; Er. *Carm.* 95, 28.
 68 *Purpureum ... decus* Cf. *Carm.* 105, 42.
aspera spina = *Carm.* 95, 42 (n.).
 69 *tellus / nuda* Ov. *Ib.* 233; Stat. *Theb.* IX, 898; cf. Er. *Carm.* 64, 25; 104, 5.
 70 *Exiliunt terris gramina* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 15: “seges exilit aruis.”
 71–72 *humus / Summittit / florida* Cf. Lucr. I, 7–8: “tellus / summittit flores”; Prop. I, 2, 9.
 72 *florida* = l. 24 (n.) above.
 73 *solis equi* = Sil. XVI, 231; cf. *LHL* V, 209–210.
aequore vasto Verg. *Aen.* II, 780; III, 191; and elsewhere; cf. Er. *Carm.* 105, 116 (n.).

- Et iam sub summo culmine cantat auis.
 75 Eras. Tempore veris humus blanditur olentibus herbis,
 Et tegitur foliis arbor onusta suis.
 Guiel. Flora tepore suo tam delectat roseum ver,
 Tristis nos hyemis reddat vt immemores.
 Eras. Mortua sese aperit rediuuiuo germine tellus,
 80 Cessit vbi pulsum vere tepente gelu.
 Guiel. Arboribus coma, agris flores, auibus quoque cantus
 Vere redit, tristis vere recedit hyems.
 Eras. Pingit gramineum florum decus vndique campum,
 Candida purpureis lilia mixta rosis.
 85 Guiel. Sylua comis et terra rosis redimitur, et amnis
 Qui gessit currus en modo vela gerit.
 Eras. Vere nouo apricus vestitur gramine campus
 Et florum venere multicolore nitet.
 Guiel. Quae brumae sub luce solet vix linquere nidum,
 90 Iam cantu volucris praeuenit ecce diem.
 Eras. Ver placidum cunctis sparsit sua munera terris;
 Gramine prata virent, gramina flore nitent.
 Guiel. Vere suum citius Phaebus caput exerit vndis,
 Grator et laetum lux agit alma diem.

77 Flora tepore *scripsi*: Flore tepore *Scri*, Flore tempore *LB*.

74 *Et / cantat auis* = Ov. *Am.* I, 13, 8.
sub ... auis Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 456.
summo culmine *LHL* I, 516.

75 *Tempore veris* *Carm.* 95, 45 (n.).
olentibus herbis Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 11.

78 *Tristis / hyemis* See n. *Carm.* 2, 166–167.

79 *sese aperit* Cf. l. 66 (n.) above.
rediuuiuo germine = Prud. *Contra Symm.* II,
 200 (of seeds, as a type of resurrection).
germine tellus = *LHL* II, 428.

80 *vere tepente* = l. 20 (n.) above.

81–82 *Arboribus ... hyems* Cf. ll. 7–8 (n.)
 above.

82 *tristis / hyems* See n. *Carm.* 2, 166–167.

83 *Pingit / campum* Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 11;
 cf. Er. *Carm.* 104, 6 (n.).
gramineum / campum = Sil. VI, 217; cf. Verg.
Aen. V, 287; Ov. *Fast.* III, 519.

84 *Candida ... rosis* = Landino, *Carm. varia* 5,
 40; Mantuan. *Ad Falc.* (first published in
 1489), in: *Opera*, I, f^o 110^r. Cf. Prop. I, 20,
 38: “candida purpureis ...”; Ven. Fort. *Carm.*
 IX, 2, 122: “candida ceu rubeis lilia mixta
 rosis”; Er. *Carm.* 4, 80.

85 *Sylua comis* = Stat. *Silv.* V, 5, 30; cf. l. 47 (n.)
 above.

redimitur See n.l. 46 above.

85–86 *amnis ... gerit* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* III,
 361–362; Ov. *Frist.* III, 10, 31–32; III, 12, 29–30.

87 *Vere nouo* = l. 67 (n.) above.

apricus / gramine campus Cf. Calp. Sic. 5, 8;
 Hor. *Carm.* I, 8, 3–4; *Ars* 162; Er. *Carm.* 110,
 118; 112, 348.

vestitur gramine campus = *Anth. Lat.* 676, 7;
 cf. l. 15 (n.) and l. 47 (n.) above.

88 *florum ... nitet* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 43 (n.).

91 *cunctis ... terris* Cf. Iuuen. III, 295 (Christ’s
 resurrection): “cunctis ... dabit sua munera
 terris”; Er. *Carm.* 96, 48; 112, 11.

92 *Gramine prata virent* = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* I,
 20, 12; cf. Prud. *Psychom.* 862–863; Er. *Carm.*
 95, 47; l. 95 (n.) below; *Carm.* 110, 343–344.
gramina flore nitent See n. *Carm.* 95, 43.

93 *citius ... vndis* Cf. l. 37 above.

caput exerit vndis Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 352; *Aen.*
 I, 127; Tib. IV, 1, 124; cf. Er. *Carm.* 110, 42 (n.).

94 *Grator ... diem* Cf. *Carm.* 8, 22; l. 44
 above.

- 95 Eras. Gramine terra viret, leni ruit vnda susurro,
 Ac apis in flore mella legendo strepit.
 Guiel. Flore nitet campus, ornatur frondea sylvia,
 Ac volucrum cantu tecta nemusque sonant.
 Eras. Frondet vere nemus, vestitur et herbida tellus,
 100 Picta canit volucris, florida lustrat apis,
 Gratius et roseo sol inficit aethera curru,
 Blanditur liquida vitreus amnis aqua,
 Mitior aura strepit. Cui florida ducitur aetas,
 Tu quoque pone animos vere monente graucs.

97 Guiel. *LB: om. Scri.*

In fine: Finis. -έλος Scri.

- 95 *Gramine terra viret* = Ov. *Am.* II, 6, 50; cf. l. 92 (n.) above.
leni / susurro = Auitus, *Carm.* I, 248; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* I, 55; l. 51 (n.) above.
 96 *apis ... strepit* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 25–26 (in spring): “apes ... / floribus instrepitans poplite mella rapit.”
 97 *Flore nitet campus* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 43 (n.).
 98 *volucrum cantu* Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 456.
 99 *Frondet ... tellus* Cf. l. 47 (n.) above.
Frondet vere nemus Cf. ll. 9–10 above.

- herbida tellus* = *LHL* II, 489.
 100 *Picta / volucris* Verg. *Georg.* III, 243; *Aen.* IV, 525; cf. Er. *Carm.* 50, 131–132.
florida = l. 24 (n.) above.
 101 *aethera curru* = *LHL* I, 40.
 102 *liquida / aqua* = Tib. I, 5, 76; Ov. *Ars* I, 620; II, 722; cf. Er. *Carm.* 95, 26 (n.).
vitreus amnis Ov. *Epist. Sapph.* 157 (var. lect.); cf. Er. *Carm.* 88, 11 (n.).
 104 *pone ... graucs* Cf. l. 59 (n.) above.

107. IN PRAISE OF ST. GREGORY THE GREAT

early 1491?

In Ep. 28, ll. 8–10, written at Steyn in c. March 1491 (see introd. *Carm.* 50), Er. tells Cornelis Gerard: “Veruntamen nihil posthac (quandoquidem id me tam benigne mones) condere statui, quod non aut sanctorum praeconia aut sanctitatem ipsam redolet.” Since this hymn to St. Gregory the Great is among the few poems that Er. devoted to a saint (see also *Carmm.* 1 and 50), we may assign it to early 1491, not long before Gregory’s feast-day on 12 March. While the loosely contemporaneous *In laudem Michaelis et angelorum omnium ode* (*Carm.* 50) was probably composed for the nearby priory church of St. Michael’s at Den Hem, the present ode must have been written for Er.’ own monastery of Steyn, which was dedicated to St. Gregory.

The last of the four great Fathers and Doctors of the western church, St. Gregory lived from c. 540 to 604. He was born in Rome to a wealthy patrician family and rose to become the city’s prefect. But dissatisfied with worldly honours and riches and attracted to the monastic life, he gave up his political power and used his wealth to endow seven new monasteries. He became a Benedictine

monk in one of them, the abbey of St. Andrew in Rome, which had previously been his own mansion. For several years he served Pope Pelagius II as resident ambassador to the imperial court in Constantinople. Having returned to Rome, he became abbot of St. Andrew. In 590 Pope Pelagius II died and Gregory was unanimously chosen to be his successor. Despite his eagerness to escape this burden, he was at length persuaded and was consecrated on 3 September 590.

The biographical details that Er. employs in his hymn were well known. See, for instance, *Legenda aurea*, chapt. 46; *Hereford Breviary*, II, pp. 125–126.

Metre: second Asclepiadean strophe.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 570–571.

METRVM ASCLEPIADEICVM CORYAMBICVM,
CONSTANS QVARTO GLYCONICO, IN LAVDEM
BEATISSIMI GREGORII PAPAE

Nunc et terra simul caelicus et chorus
Gaudens hymnisonis concinat organis,
Cum lux grata refert festa Gregorii
Mundo gaudia praesulis.

5 Et tu, summe, tuis, pastor, ab aethere
Adsis o placidus rite canentibus.
Laudes lingua foris nostra sonet tuas,
Intus mens iubilet pia.

10 Tu primum ingenui sanguinis immemor,
Secli temptor, opum spretor inanium,
Abiectis croceis prodigus omnium

1–2 *Nunc ... organis* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 39–49; *AH* 49, 318, 1: “Humanis superas iungentes vocibus odas / ... angeli”.

2 *organis* For the sense of “voices” or “tongues” see n. *Carm.* 93, 75.

3–4 *Cum ... praesulis* Cf. *AH* 51, 51, 5; 51, 103, 2; 51, 106, 4; in particular 52, 83, 1: “Patroni celebris annua gaudia, / Quae clausa reuehit temporis orbita”.

5 *summe / pastor* Cf. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 76, l. 339, of Leo the Great: “Leo summus ecclesiae pastor”; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 352, l. 689, of Julius II; ll. 19–20 below: “maxime / Pastor”; and l. 25: “summe ... praesulum”. Elsewhere Er. applies the phrase “summus pastor” to Christ; see *Rat. ver. theol.*, *LB* V, 86 B–C and 116 C; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, *ASD* V, 2, p. 369,

ll. 359 and 365; p. 370, l. 380; *Epist. c. pseudeuang.*, *ASD* IX, 1, p. 304, l. 615; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 102, l. 432; p. 132, ll. 20–21; p. 168, l. 684.

6 *Adsis o placidus* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 578.

rite canentibus Hor. *Carm.* IV, 6, 37.

9 *sanguinis immemor* Prud. *Cath.* 3, 160 (literal sense).

10 *temptor* A medievalism for “contemptor”.

11–12 *Abiectis ... aduolas* Cf. *Mc.* 14, 51–52, telling of the young man who followed Christ after the disciples had fled and who escaped from Christ’s captors by slipping off the linen cloth he was wearing and fleeing naked. The story was interpreted as an example of those who escape evil by rejecting the world. See Bede, *In Mc.* 14, 52, *CCSL* 120, 620; Er. *Paraphr. in Mc.* 14, 52, *LB* VII, 263

Christo nudulus aduolas.
 Te quum Roma petit anxia praesulem,
 Tu tantum fugiens culmen ad inuia
 15 Saltus antra volas, sed minime lates,
 Flamma proditus indice.
 Ergo summa quidem scandis humillimus,
 Non extollit honor, non diademata,
 Sed te cura gregis sedula, maxime
 20 Pastor, sollicitat tui.
 Cui pratis fidei nulla salubria
 Vitae deficiunt te duce pabula,
 Dum quem voce doces mystica disserens
 Et vita simul erudis.
 25 Plebem, summe, tuam protege, praesulum,
 Praedonemque cauis qui tua faucibus
 Quaerens quem rapiat lustrat ouilia,
 Ne cuiquam noceat, veta.
 Sit laus digna patri patris et vnico,
 30 Almo sit parilis gloria pneumati,
 Indiuisa quibus numinis vnitas
 Est sub nomine triplici.

E. See further Matthäus Bernards, *Nudus nudum Christum sequi*, Wissenschaft und Weisheit 14 (1951), pp. 148–151; Er. *Enchir.*, LB V, 26 B; *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 86, l. 376, where Peter says: “Relictis omnibus nudum Christum nudus sum secutus”; Ep. 2088, l. 76.

13–16 *Te ... indice* According to the legend, Rome at that time was afflicted by a plague. Among those who died was Pope Pelagius II. When Gregory heard that he had been elected pope against his will, he preached to the people and urged them to pray to God. Then he escaped from the city and hid in a cave in the woods for three days. But a column of pure light, in which angels travelled up and down between earth and heaven, betrayed the place where Gregory was hiding. He was brought back to Rome in triumph and consecrated pope.

13 *Roma / anxia* Ov. *Am.* III, 15, 10.

17 *summa ... humillimus* Cf. *Mt.* 23, 12; *Lc.* 14, 11; 18, 14; Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 2, ASD V, 2, p. 104, ll. 259–260 (of Christ): “Per summam

humilitatem emergens ad summam peruectus est gloriam.”

22 *Vitae / pabula* Ep. 694, l. 74; *Carm.* 110, 87; cf. *Ioh.* 6, 35 and 48–51.

26–27 *Praedonemque ... ouilia* Cf. 1. *Petr.* 5, 8. 26 *cauis / faucibus* Stat. *Theb.* IX, 130.

29 *Sit ... patri* Cf. *AH* 2, 29, 7; 51, 123, 7 (doxology of the famous hymn “Aue, maris stella”): “Sit laus Deo patri.”

patri ... vnico Cf. *AH* 51, 125, 7 (first line of the doxology, in a hymn commonly included in German breviaries of the fifteenth century): “pater patris et vnice”.

31 *Indiuisa / vnitas* Cf. *AH* 1, 67, 6; 43, 24, 1; 51, 51, 7.

31–32 *vnitas / sub nomine triplici* This varies the conclusion of the doxology in such hymns as *AH* 51, 140, 7: “Vni sub trino nomine”; 51, 57, 5; 51, 58, 6; 51, 69, 7: “triplici / Vnus Deus cognomine”. Cf. also Prud. *Psychom.* 3, which Er. (following one ms. tradition) read as follows: “Vnum namque Deum colimus de nomine trino”; see *Supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae*, LB IX, 541 B.

108. THE FOUR LAST THINGS

early 1491?

The *meditatio mortis* theme of this epigram, reminiscent in particular of *De contemptu mundi* and *Carm.* 95, makes it probable that the poem is more or less contemporaneous with them (early 1491). Note also that ll. 3–4 closely parallel *Carm.* 94, 67 (written in the winter of 1490–1491). The date is corroborated by the parallel in l. 4 to Fausto Andrelini, *Liuvia* I, 6, 42, published on 1 October 1490.

Meditations on the “quatuor nouissima” (death, judgment, hell, and heaven) were popular in the later Middle Ages, especially in northern Europe. By first arousing fears of eternal damnation and then raising the hope of salvation, such handbooks sought to deepen the readers’ spiritual life and bring them to mend their worldly ways. Especially popular was Dionysius Cartusianus (Denys van Leeuwen), *De quatuor hominis nouissimis*, written around 1455–1460 and often printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century; see his *Opera omnia*, XLI, Tournai, 1912, pp. 489–594. Also well known, particularly in the Netherlands, was Gerard van Vliederhoven’s *Nouissima* or *Cordiale de quatuor nouissimis*. Thomas More later wrote a (fragmentary) *Treatise on the Four Last Things*, probably around 1522.

The doctrine is based on several biblical passages, in particular *Dt.* 32, 29 and *Sir.* 7, 40. See *DSAM* V, 355–370; Krummacker, pp. 499–577.

Er.’ poem is an amplification of *Sir.* 7, 40: “In omnibus operibus tuis memorare nouissima tua, Et in aeternum non peccabis.”

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 571.

EPIGRAMMA DE QVATVOR NOVISSIMIS

Mortis amara dies, metuendi iudicis ira
 Et Phlegetontei stridula flamma lacus,
 Denique Iherusalem luctus ignara supernae
 Gaudia, non finem, non habitura modum:
 5 Haec si sollicito semper sub pectore voluas,

1 *Mortis amara dies* = Alcuin., *Carm.* 69, 60. *iudicis ira* = *LHL* III, 119–120.

2 *Phlegetontei ... lacus* Cf. Hermans, *Sylv.*, sig. f2¹: “Flegetontis stridula flamma”. *Phlegetontei / lacus* Cf. *Ov. Ars* III, 322; *Verg. Aen.* III, 386; VI, 134; VIII, 296.

3 *Iherusalem / supernae* *Ap. Ioh.* 3, 12; 21, 2–22, 5.

3–4 *luctus ignara / Gaudia* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 67 (of heaven): “Gaudia ... nescia luctus”; *Ap. Ioh.* 21, 4.

4 *non habitura modum* = Andrelini. *Liv.* I, 6, 42.

5–10 *Haec si ... grauem* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 55, ll. 425–429: if we meditate on death at all times, “continuo omnia ista male sapida amarescerent, pre-

Non capient animum turpia quaeque tuum.
 Quicquid et ante tibi graue et intolerabile visum est,
 Iam dices facile, iam tibi dulce putes.
 Ipsa sed et nebula citius fugientia mundi
 10 Gaudia tristitiam duxeris esse grauem.

7 intolerabile *scripsi*: intollerabile *Scri*.

ciosa vilescerent, indyta sordescerent"; p. 76, ll. 994–996: whoever experiences the joys of heaven in mystic rapture will find them so marvellous, "vt si quicquid hic mundus vsquam habet voluptatis in vnum conflatur, prae his vile quiddam fastidiendumque videatur"; *Enchir.*, LB V, 25 A; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, LB V, 608 A–B. For this dialectic of inversion see *Adag.* 2201: "Sileni Alcibiadis"; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 104, ll. 578–591; *Carm.* 2, 177–179 (n.).

5 *sollicito / pectore* Ov. *Met.* II, 125.
sub pectore voluas Verg. *Aen.* VII, 254; XII, 831.
 6 *capient animum* Verg. *Aen.* V, 465.
 9 *nebula citius fugientia* Cf. *Carm.* 83, 14 (with n.ll. 13–14); 95, 29. The comparison is biblical; cf. *Sap.* 2, 3: "Vita nostra ... sicut nebula dissoluetur quae fugata est a radiis solis." Cf. also Er. *Carm.* 85, 7 (n.).
 9–10 *fugientia mundi Gaudia* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV, 10, 1 and IV, 26, 1: "... fugitiuaque gaudia mundi"; *LHL* II, 399–400.

109. TO HIS FRIEND
early 1488?

Reedijk suspects that the friend addressed in this early ode might be Servatius Rogerus. There are indeed some close parallels to Er.' correspondence with him in c. 1487; see n.ll. 42–43. But, as Reedijk adds, it is also possible that the friend was Willem Hermans. In early 1488 it was above all Willem who helped Er. put the Servatius episode into perspective. *Carm.* 104, which may well have been addressed to Willem, shares several parallels with this poem; see n.ll. 12, 17–18, 25, and 34. See also *Carm.* 106, a joyous poem co-written with Willem, probably in the spring of 1488.

Is it the "old" friend, Servatius, who is addressed in this poem, or the "new" friend, Willem? The parallels to *Carm.* 93 may well be decisive in answering this question. *Carmm.* 93 and 109, written in the same metre, also have the same underlying structure. In both odes the poet laments that his manifold sufferings have driven him to the brink of despair; but then a friend comes along, who lifts his spirits again. The implication is that this has to be a *new* friend. That is demonstrably true for *Carm.* 93, in its original form as an ode to Cornelis; and it is thus most likely valid also for *Carm.* 109. A new friend is restoring the poet's soul, wounded for so long by "dolor", "furor", and "labor"; see l. 25 below. These three words may be understood as a kind of code recalling the days when Er. was fighting hard to keep his friendship with Servatius from collapsing. "Furor", of course, is a lover's word for unrequited passion; it is so used in *Carm.* 99,

15–16 (n.). The words “dolor” and “labor” in their turn remind us of *Ps.* 89, 10 with its description of the brevity of life, so full of “labor et dolor”. Thus the phrase also recalls the theme of premature old age, which in *Carm.* 99 (and implicitly also in *Carm.* 101) is said to be brought on by the cares of love.

We may thus identify Willem Hermans as the newly arrived friend to whom Er. is referring here. Though soulmates from their earliest youth (see Ep. 49, ll. 21–23; *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 38, l. 20–p. 39, ll. 15–22), they had been separated from each other since at least 1484, the year Er. left Deventer. The ode was probably written in early 1488, shortly before the spring poem, *Carm.* 106.

Metre: second Asclepiadean strophe.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 571–572.

CARMEN ASCLEPIADEVM CORYAMBICVM,
QVARTO GLYCONICO. AD AMICVM SVVM

Non semper faciem nubila caelicam
Abscondunt madidis obuia molibus,
Non vsque implacido defluus aethere
Imber vexat humum grauiss.
5 Nec semper crepitans Africus excita
Attollit tumidis aequora fluctibus,
Sed nec continue mota procacibus
Stridet sylua Aquilonibus.

1–12 *Non ... comis* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 9, 1–8;
Er. *Carm.* 99, ll. 1, 3, and 5.

1–4 *Non ... grauiss* Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 77 says that Gilbert Cousin imitates these verses in his *Opera multifarii argumenti*, I, Basel, H. Petri, 1562, p. 321: “Non semper imbres a pluuiio Ioue / Funduntur atri, nec Libyco mari / Aut Euris aut nimbosus Auster / Vsque vagas agitat triremes.” Cousin served as Er.’s secretary from 1530–1535 and as such might have had access to some of the humanist’s papers. One of Cousin’s poems (*Opera*, I, p. 402) could indeed be taken to suggest such access, for it is entitled *In [Erasmii] Pamphilum, et Eclogas*. Cousin is evidently thinking of the *Carmen bucolicum* (*Carm.* 102) and some other early poems of Er. Which early poems? One naturally thinks of the ones in *Scri* (not *Go*, where the lovesick shepherd is called “Rosphamus”). But Cousin may well be referring to Alaard’s 1538 ed. of the bucolic poem and to Er.’s *Pro-*

gymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae, Louvain, 1521. In any event, the similarities between Er.’s and Cousin’s odes are most readily explained as owing to a common model – Hor. *Carm.* II, 9, 1–4. Cousin did, however, imitate Er. *Carm.* 52; see the head-note there.

3–4 *defluus / Imber* Boeth. *Consol.* IV, m. 6, 29 (in similar context: the cycles of natural phenomena).

4 *Imber ... humum* Cf. *Carm.* 106, 48 (n.).

Imber / grauiss Lucr. VI, 290; Ov. *Fast.* II, 494.

5 *crepitans Africus* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* III, 70.

5–6 *Africus ... fluctibus* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 1, 15.

6 *tumidis aequora fluctibus* Sen. *Herc. f.* 551; cf. Verg. *Aen.* V, 125–126; Lucan. II, 457; Er. *Carm.* 112, 19.

7–8 *procacibus / Aquilonibus* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* I, 536.

8 *Stridet sylua Aquilonibus* Cf. Ov. *Trist.* I, 11, 19; Verg. *Aen.* II, 418; Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 6, 9–10.

- Nec semper steriles nix tegit alta agros,
 10 Aut totis gelidae flumina mensibus
 Constringunt glacies, aut viduum suis
 Maeret triste nemus comis.
 Dura abscedit hyems florigeri vice
 Veris, prisca redit post Boream asperum
 15 Arbustis species et solitus vagis
 Cursus redditur amnibus.
 Horrentem placidus lumen amabile
 Post vmbram reuehit Phaebus, et aethera
 Alternis vicibus nox habet et dies
 20 Pacti faedere perpeti.
 Aequis cuncta modis, astra, salum et solum,
 Alterna vt maneat quod requies leuat,
 Natura atque deus prouida temperat,
 Mulcens quod grauat otio.
 25 Me vero vsque dolor, me furor et labor
 Consumunt miserum, nec requiem meis
 Nec, proh, saeua modum fata sinunt malis,
 Addunt tristia tristibus.
 Quo nam, quo superum nescio tam graui
 30 Olim magna deum numina crimine
 Offendi, vt Stygium vel puerum improba

31 improba scripsi: improla Scri.

- 9 steriles / agros Verg. *Georg.* I, 84; *Aen.* III, 141.
 nix tegit alta Ov. *Met.* I, 50.
 11-12 viduum ... comis Cf. *Carm.* 95, 47 (n.);
 106, 19 (n.).
 12 triste nemus Martial. XI, 41, 5. The epithet
 "tristis" is often applied to winter; see Er.
Carm. 2, 166-167 (n.); 104, 12 (n.).
 13-20 Dura ... perpeti Cf. *Carm.* 105, 135-136.
 13-14 Dura ... Veris Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 4, 1; Er.
Carm. 106, 1-4.
 13 Dura / hyems See n. *Carm.* 106, 19.
 15-16 vagis / amnibus Hor. *Carm.* I, 2, 18-20;
 Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* III, 270.
 17-18 Horrentem ... Phaebus Cf. the proverbial
 "post nubila Phoebus"; see n. *Carm.* 112, 203.
 For the phrase "Horrentem ... vmbram" see
 Verg. *Aen.* I, 165.
 placidus / Phaebus Cf. *Carm.* 104, 9.
 17 lumen amabile See n. *Carm.* 64, 40.
 19 Alternis ... dies Cf. Alcuin., *Carm.* 9, 16-17:
 "Alternis vicibus ... redit vnda maris. / Nunc
 micat alma dies, veniet nox atra tenebris"; cf.
 Er. *Carm.* 7, 32.

- 20 faedere See n. *Carm.* III, 18.
 21-23 Aequis ... temperat Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 12,
 15-16 (quoted in *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2,
 p. 298, l. 3); Er. *Carm.* 110, 293-295.
 21 astra, salum et solum Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 3, 5;
 "astra, solum, mare"; Er. *Carm.* III, 71; 96, 83.
 22 Alterna ... leuat Cf. Ov. *Her.* 4, 89 (quoted
 in Er. Ep. 2431, l. 264); Er. *Antibarb.*, ASD I,
 I, p. 84, ll. 1-2; *Carm.* 6, 29.
 23 Natura atque deus prouida Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 21,
 where it is said that "deus et melior ...
 natura" created the ordered world out of pri-
 mordial chaos.
 Natura / prouida Boeth. *Consol.* III, m. 2, 2-3,
 in similar context; cf. Er. *Carm.* 96, 49 (n.).
 25-28 Me ... tristibus Cf. *Carm.* 7, 1-2 (n.).
 25 dolor, / furor et labor Cf. *Carm.* 99, where the
 key words are "cura", "dolor", and "furor"; Ps.
 89, 10: "labor et dolor"; Er. *Carm.* 104, 24.
 27 fata sinunt See n. *Carm.* 95, 7.
 31 puerum This word had a much wider range
 than our "boy". See Cic. *Fam.* XII, 25, 4
 (describing Octavian, then nineteen or

Cogant supplicium pati.
 Post vmbrosa dies reddita milies
 Succeditque frequens bruma caloribus
 35 Et campis gelidæ saepe patentibus
 Surgunt ac pereunt niues.
 Nec fit nostra suo tempore mitior
 Cura, aut mente cadunt sollicitudines
 Maestae, aut luminibus tempore lachrymae
 40 Discunt parcere turgidis.
 Et iam deficerem, ni, iuuenum optime,
 O spes, o animae dimidium meae,
 Lenimen miseris dulce doloribus,
 Me praesens recrees. Vale.

35 patentibus *scripsi*; petentibus *Scvi*.

twenty); Sil. XIII, 704 (applied to Scipio Africanus at about twenty); Eob. Hess. *Enc. nupt.* 215: "Nos humiles puerique sumus sine numine vates" (he had just turned twenty-four); E. Eyben, *Die Einteilung des menschlichen Lebens im römischen Altertum*, Rhein. Mus., 116 (1973), p. 185. In Ep. 28, ll. 16–17, written in c. March 1491 (see introd. *Carm.* 50), Er. says that he is enclosing poems written "a me puero et prope modum adhuc seculari" – that is to say during his novitiate in 1487–1488. In the letter to Grunnius, Er. also speaks of his having been a "puer" during the year of his novitiate; but there he claims he was only sixteen years old at the time; see Ep. 447, ll. 241–242, 289, 324, 352, and 364. In the *Compendium vitae* Er. at this stage of his life is called "adolescens". Occasionally the mature Er. refers to himself as having been still a "puer" in c. 1489, presumably to emphasize his youthfulness. In the 1521 ed. of Ep. 29, dated 1489, the heading explains: "scripsit puer." Similarly he says in the preface to *Antibarbari*, Ep. 1110, ll. 17–21, that he

began the work as "puer", when he had not yet reached his twentieth year; in fact he must have started writing it in early 1490. See also introd. *Carm.* 1.

34 *Succeditque ... caloribus* Cf. *Carm.* 104, 11.

35 *campis / patentibus* Verg. *Georg.* IV, 77; *Aen.* IV, 153–154; V, 552.

35–36 *gelidæ / niues* Ov. *Fast.* I, 680.

36 *pereunt niues* Ov. *Fast.* III, 236.

42–43 *O spes ... doloribus* Cf. Ep. 7, ll. 28–29:

"tu vna spes, tu animae dimidium, tu vitae solatium"; and Ep. 9, l. 43: "spes mea, vitae solatium vnicum". Both letters are addressed to Servatius Rogerus. For "spes" as a term of endearment see n. *Carm.* 64, 8. The phrase "animae dimidium meae" is borrowed from Hor. *Carm.* 1, 3, 8. Er. was fond of this expression and its variations. See, e.g., also Ep. 9, l. 23 and Ep. 13, l. 37 (Servatius); Ep. 14, l. 16 (Franciscus Theodoricus); Ep. 17, l. 29 and *Carm.* 93, 158 (n.) (Cornelis Gerard). Cf. *Carm.* 10, 16 (n.); 13, 7.

43 *Lenimen / dulce* Hor. *Carm.* I, 32, 15 (of his lyre); Ov. *Met.* VI, 500.

110. A PAEAN TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN

April–May 1499

In Ep. 95, ll. 20–21, written in Paris on 2 May 1499, Er. tells Jacob Batt: “Cum Fausto mihi et altero quodam nouo poeta summa familiaritas; cum Delio certamen acerrimum.” P. S. Allen interprets this “certamen” as “perhaps an exchange of poems” with Gillis van Delft (Latinized as Aegidius Delfus or Delius); see *Contemporaries* s.v. (Gillis van) Delft; Er. *Ciceron.*, ASD I, 2, p. 681, l. 18–p. 682, l. 2. Lending weight to Allen’s supposition is Gillis’ poem “ad Herasmmum poetam” printed among his *Opuscula in laudem diue virginis Marie*, [Delft, Cornelis Cornelissen? c. 1505] (*NK* 4501). Reedijk, on the other hand, argues that the “certamen” might be some “literary quarrel” with Gillis, possibly “an exchange of invective verse” (*Poems*, pp. 64 and 399).

Allen’s and Reedijk’s views are by no means incompatible. The word “certamen”, to be sure, must here refer to some contest in verse (cf. the heading to *Carm.* 106). But “acerrimum”, translated in *CWE* as “very keen”, could be readily interpreted also as “intense, almost to the point of hostility”, since the epithet is often applied to combat and warfare. This interpretation of the phrase appears confirmed by Ep. 103, ll. 3–5, written in the summer of 1499. There Er. says that an unidentified Parisian poet whom he nicknames Scopus had fought precisely such a poetic battle with Gillis van Delft – “cum Delio Volsco (sic enim se nominauit)”. This time Er. adds the wish, not untinged with antagonism: “Quem si confecisset, bone deus, quantus triumphus hominem manebat!”

In a review of *Contemporaries*, published in *ERSY* 6 (1986), p. 146, Nicolaas van der Blom again focused attention on the “certamen”. He reports that Gillis’ book of poems, which Reedijk had been unable to find in the Bibliothèque humaniste, Sélestat, is in fact still there, though now under a new shelf mark: *K 1081 k*. The booklet, he adds, contains among other verses two poems in praise of the Virgin Mary. The first is dedicated to Bishop Friedrich of Baden and is entitled *De conceptionis virginie puritate*; the other, a sapphic ode called *In vitam diue virginis Marie carmen sapphicum*, is addressed “ad Herasmmum poetam”. Quite possibly, Van der Blom reasons, Er. sent Gillis a similar poem on the Virgin, in the same metre. If so, that poem might well be the present ode, *Carm.* 110.

This is an intriguing suggestion. It appears, however, to be contradicted by a statement on the title page of *Scri*, to the effect that all the poems in it are juvenilia, written when Er. was “adhuc fere puero”. Does this assertion not compel us, like Reedijk, to date this poem and the next two as well (*Carmm.* 111–112) in c. 1489? Not necessarily. The title page of *Scri*, written in 1570, represents very late evidence. How could the copyist, Bonaventura Vulcanius, know for sure that all the poems in his manuscript did indeed date from Er.’ youth? Was his statement based on a mere impression of the general character of these poems? In this connection it is interesting to note that *Carmm.* 110, 111, and 112, which form a

cycle of poems on the birth and crucifixion of Christ, come at the end of the section of Er.' early poems. One wonders: might these three poems have derived from a different manuscript? Were they perhaps appended to the juvenilia by a later copyist? In 1570 Vulcanius would scarcely have been in a position to know which poems came from an earlier, or which from a later period in Er.' career.

Let us suppose, therefore, that the *Paeon diuae Mariae* was written in competition with Gillis van Delft. Are there compelling parallels to other works of Er. dating from that time? There are indeed. The verse *Paeon diuae Mariae* is in tone and language closely akin to the prose *Paeon Virgini Matri*, composed in the winter of 1498–1499 (see Ep. 93, ll. 100–106). Both open with a praise of Mary who is queen of heaven and earth and terror of Tartarus – Mary who is honoured in heaven by the choirs of virgins, martyrs, prophets, apostles, angels, and all the inhabitants of heaven. In both works Er. goes on to say that her coming was predicted by the ancient pagan poets, the sibylline oracles inspired by Apollo, and the O.T. prophets, and that the virgin birth was foreshadowed by the burning bush, Aaron's rod, the dewy fleece on the dry ground, and the temple door opening only to God. Both paeans furthermore see Judith and Esther as types of Mary. The God she bore, Er. explains in both works, is not the Thunderer, hurling lightning bolts, but a whimpering, crying baby: a redeemer, not an avenger. And both paeans end with a lengthy prayer to the Virgin, listing those who appeal to her – the shipwrecked sailor, the sick, the prisoner, the guilt-stricken sinner – and beg Mary to forgive the writer's grievous sins. Similar, though lesser, parallels exist between the verse paeon and the *Obsecratio* and *Precatio ad Iesum*, also written in the winter of 1498–1499.

We conclude, therefore, that Er. wrote *Carm.* 110 in competition with Gillis van Delft in April–May 1499. *Carmm.* 111 and 112, which are so closely linked to the present ode in theme and phrasing as to form “a more or less coherent sequel” (Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 174), can likewise be shown to have been written sometime in 1499; see the headnotes to those poems.

On the place of Mary in Er.' works see Léon-E. Halkin, *La Mariologie d'Erasmus*, ARG 68 (1977), pp. 32–55; and his *Erasmus: A Critical Biography*, trans. John Tonkin, Oxford, 1993, pp. 223–230; Joaquín María Alonso, *Erasmii Corpus Mariologicum*, Dayton, 1979–1980, with a discussion and reprint of the *Paeon* on pp. 59–82.

Metre: Sapphic strophe.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 572–577.

ODE DICOLOS TETRASTROPHOS HENDECASYLLABA
SAPPHICA. PAEAN DIVAE MARIAE ATQVE DE
INCARNATIONE VERBI

Huc ades pernici, age, Musa, gressu,
Callida aurato resonare plectro.
Mitte dilectas Heliconis oras
Castaliamque.
5 Pone serpentes hederas, odoram
Liliis nectens niueis coronam:
Quaeritat, frondes fugiens prophanas,
Lilia virgo.
Tu Sophoclaeo potius cothurno
10 Digna quae pleno recinaris ore,
Ne lyrae nostrae tenuem repelle,
Diua, Camenam.
Cuncta te celso residentem Olymphi et
Prole diuina decies beatam

1-12 *Huc ... Camenam* Cf. the opening verses of Mantuan. *Parthen. sec. I*, in: *Opera*, II, f^o 62^r-62^v, addressed to St. Catherine: "Sancta, faue, virgo, tenuem cui carminis orsum / Pangimus, et vento venias ad vela secundo. / Veridicos cantus non ex Helicone vetusto / Porrige, sed Christi sacris de fontibus haustos. / Da mihi non hederas, non lauri vimine textam, / Sed qualem tu, diua, geris de fronde coronam / Arboris Eoae, medio quam legimus orto / Spargere foelicem ramis vitalibus umbram", and so forth. Er. disapproved of the medieval and Renaissance practice of invoking the Virgin Mary instead of the virgin Muses. He was more tolerant of poets who implore Mary to aid them in composing a fitting poem in her honour (as, e.g., in Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar. I*, 1-28). See *Eccles.*, *ASD V*, 4, p. 303, ll. 333-340; *Carm.* 88, 2 (n.).

1 *Huc ades* Mantuanus uses this phrase in *Parthen. Mar. I*, 27 to invoke the Virgin; in *Calam.*, p. 19, he employs it in an invocation to God; cf. Er. *Carm.* 4, 138.

2 *Callida / resonare* Hor. *Carm.* III, II, 3-4. *aurato resonare plectro* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 13, 26-27: "sonantem ... aureo / ... plectro"; Sabell. *In natal.* 5, sig. b1^r: "aurato ... plectro". Apollo's plectrum was traditionally golden, as was his lyre; cf. Er. *Carm.* 4, 138; 115, 8-9.

3-4 *Mitte ... Castaliamque* Cf. Hermans, *Sylv.*, sig. a5^r, invocation to the Muses in a poem dealing with the three Magi: "vmbrosas Heliconis oras / Linquite Musae."

3 *Heliconis oras* Hor. *Carm.* I, 12, 5.

5-8 *Pone ... virgo* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 3, 26-30; Er. *Carm.* 112, 56-57; 133, 19-22. Since ivy was sacred to Bacchus and associated with the lighter poetic genres, it is inappropriate for a sacred poem.

5 *serpentes hederas* Andrei. *Ecl.* 1, 33 (of the poet's garland). Andrelini's eclogues were not published until 1501 but were known to Er. in ms. as early as autumn 1495; see *Carm.* 6 above.

9-10 *Sophoclaeo / cothurno Digna* Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 10.

11-12 *tenuem / Camenam* See n. *Carm.* 93, 199.

13-52 *Cuncta ... tuorum* Since Mary is the queen of heaven, earth, and hell, she is praised in all creation; cf., e.g., Sabell. *In natal.* 6, sig. b2^v: "Te coelum, te terra colit, te pontus et aether, / Forsitan et Stygiae te venerantur aquae"; Er. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB V*, 1228 E-F; 1230 A. This "outdoes" the usual panegyric schema, according to which "the whole earth sings the praises of such-and-such"; cf. Currius, pp. 160-165.

14 *Prole / beatam* *Carm.* 88, 19 (n.).

decies beatam Cf. *Carm.* I, 83-84 (n.).

- 15 Concio cantu celebrat canoro
Caelicolarum.
Te pii vates et apostolorum
Regius laudat dominam senatus,
Te sacerdotum chorus et phalanges
- 20 Sanguine clarae.
Candidae te vnam, dea, virginum quae
Praeuium semper comitantur agnum
Caeteris psalli vetito choreae
Carmine laudant.
- 25 Cuncta quid pergam memorare? Flexo
Poplite aeternis modulantur hymnis
Angeli te caelicolaeque cuncti
Caeligenaeque.
Quin et inuisi nigra Styx Auerni
- 30 Plebe cum tota Phlegetontis atri

17–28 *Te ... Caeligenaeque* Underlying these verses is a familiar liturgical scheme, probably of eastern origin, which lists seven or more classes of especially noteworthy heaven-dwellers: angels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins. It is found, for example, in the medieval Litany of the Saints; see *Missale Romanum*, I, pp. 191–192. Cf. Er. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 559 E–F; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 1, ASD V, 2, p. 62, ll. 849–851; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 325, ll. 951–952; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 368, l. 670. The scheme was first linked with Mary, as Queen of Heaven, in Ven. Fort. *Carm. spuria* 1, 261–277. This linking subsequently became very popular. See Meersseman, II, pp. 59–61; Er. *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1228 E.

17–20 *Te ... clarae* Cf. AH 53, 104, 12: “Te libri, virgo, concinunt / prophetarum, / chorus iubilat sacerdotum, / apostoli / Christique martyres praedicant.”

17 *Te / apostolorum* = AH 48, 19, 3, to the Virgin: “Te prophetarum et apostolorum / Ordo praelatam sibi cernit vnam / Post ditatem.”

Te pii vates Sabell. *In natal.* 1, sig. a2^r: “Venturam cecinere pii te carmine vates.”

17–18 *apostolorum / senatus* AH 53, 228, 1; Er. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 559 E.

19 *Te sacerdotum chorus* = AH 50, 120, 4.

19–20 *phalanges Sanguine clarae* Cf. AH 3, 12, 9: “Aue phalanx purpurata / In cruoris flumine, / Innocent candidata / Turba rubens

sanguine”; Er. *Hyperasp.*, LB X, 1315 D: “martyrio sanguinis clari”.

20 *Sanguine clarae* LHL V, 34. The phrase normally refers to hereditary nobility, not martyrdom.

21–24 *Candidae ... laudant* See *Ap. Iob.* 14, 3–4; Er. *Mod. orandi Deum*, ASD V, 1, pp. 121–122, ll. 21–23.

21 *dea* Mary was frequently hailed as “dea” in medieval and Renaissance literature. See, e.g., Salzer, p. 424, ll. 26, 29, and 38; Landino, *Xandra* II, 10, 14; II, 16, 2; Sabell. *In natal.* 3, sig. a5^r; Hermans, *Sylv.*, sig. a5^r; Mantuan. *Ecl.* 8, 122 and 146; Brant, *Varia carm.*, sigs. Cr^r and H4^r; see also ll. 55, 389, and 395–396 below.

25 *Cuncta ... memorare* Cf. *Carm.* 100, 49 (n.).

25–26 *Flexo Poplite* Stat. *Theb.* VI, 590; LHL IV, 295–296.

26 *aeternis / hymnis* Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 26, 269.

27 *caelicolae / cuncti* Verg. *Aen.* X, 96–97.

29–36 *Quin ... Maria* Cf. *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1228 E: “Tu es augusta illa coeli terrarumque Regina, ... cuius sanctum Numen vel profunda Tartara tremiscunt”; 1232 C: “Inferorum formido”; Salzer, pp. 589–591.

29 *inuisi* A conventional epithet for the underworld; see, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 244–245; Hor. *Carm.* I, 34, 10; Sen. *Herc. f.* 664.

nigra Styx Cf. *Carm.* 96, 18 (n.).

30 *Phlegetontis atri* The Phlegethon, the infernal river of fire, here stands by metonymy for all of hell. For the concealed oxymoron “dark fire” see n. *Carm.* 112, 144.

Te tremit, per te populata mortis
 Bellua pallet.
 Laudat inuito Rhadamantus ore
 Gnosius, centum tumidae colubris
 35 En tuum numen metuunt sorores,
 Virgo Maria.
 Flecte age huc, quaeso, faciles ocellos.
 Non vel in toto (meritoque sane)
 Mutus hymnorum superest tuorum
 40 Angulus orbe.
 Vstus Eoo Nabathaeus axe,
 Qua recens ponto exerit ora Titan,
 Dedicat supplex tibi grata fumis
 Vota Sabaeis.
 45 Luteae tellus propior quadrigae
 Cerulum Phaebi subeuntis aequor
 En suis blandas tibi promit odas,
 Virgo, sacellis.
 Arduus nec qua radiat borei
 50 Syderis vertex, neque semper Austro
 Permadens tellus tacita est modorum,
 Diua, tuorum.
 Quippe tu summi decus vnum Olympi,

45 propior *LB*: propior *Scri*.

32 *Bellua* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 54 (Satan); 112, 90 (the Leviathan, hell).

33–34 *Rhadamantus* / *Gnosius* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 566. The son of Zeus and Europa, Rhadamantus was born on the island of Crete. He did not die, but went down to the nether world and became one of the judges of the dead.

34–35 *centum ... sorores* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 47–48 (n.), of the ancient serpent; 112, ll. 79–80 and 159. The “sorores” are the three Furies, represented as having snaky locks.

36 *Virgo Maria* = *LHL* V, 634–635; cf. *Er. Carm.* 118, 8 (n.).

37 *Flecte / huc / ocellos* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 788; *Er. Carm.* 114, 1 (n.).

38–40 *Non ... orbe* Cf. Hegius, *Carm.*, sig. C8^v, in a long list of places around the world where the Virgin is venerated: “Nec in orbe sit angulus vilus / In quo tua laus taceatur”.

40 *Angulus orbe* Cf. Brant, *Varia carm.*, sig. h7: “[Te] nullus superabit vnquam / Angu-

lus orbis”; *Er. Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 92, l. 2; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 2, *ASD* V, 2, p. 136, l. 273; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 14, *ASD* V, 2, p. 290, l. 119; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, *ASD* V, 2, p. 336, ll. 239–240; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, *ASD* V, 3, p. 292, l. 180; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, *ASD* V, 3, p. 372, l. 165; *Adag.* 3001, *LB* II, 967 F; *Prop.* IV, 9, 65: “Angulus ... mundi”.

41–48 *Vstus ... sacellis* Cf. *Carm.* 93, 81–90 (n.).

41 *Vstus ... axe* Cf. *Prop.* IV, 3, 10.

Eoo Nabathaeus axe Cf. *Sidon. Carm.* 2, 408.

42 *ponto exerit ora Titan* Cf. *Ov. Fast.* I, 458; *Er. Carm.* 106, 93 (n.).

43–44 *fumis / Sabaeis* Cf. *Carm.* 64, 87 (n.).

45–46 *Luteae ... aequor* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* II, 122. The epithet “luteus” is commonly applied to Aurora and the morning sky, not to the setting sun.

quadrigae / Phaebi Cf. *Carm.* 2, 149.

53 *decus vnum Olympi* Cf. *Paeon. Virg.*, *LB* V, 1227 E: “Vnicum coeli decus”; Verg. *Aen.* IX, 18; *Hor. Carm. saec.* 2.

- Tu potens vindex necis atque ademptae
 55 Seculo toti, dea, vindicatrix
 Vnica vitae.
 Tuque nequicquam saniem trilingui,
 Luridum virus, iacientis ore
 Candidis calcas pedibus colubri
 60 Sibila colla.
 Aureum vincis speciosa solem,
 Astra diuino superas decore,
 Roscidae cedunt tibi luculenta
 Cornua Phaebes
 65 Ipsa, quam celsus speculator ille
 Viderat lunam pedibus prementem,
 Syderum ingenti rutilam corona
 Soleque cinctam.
 Prouidi quondam cecinere vates

63 Roscidae scripsi: Roscide Scri.

- 55–56 *vindicatrix / vitae* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 244 (with app. crit.), of Christ as the restorer of life. Here the Virgin is regarded as the second Eve who restores the life lost by the first Eve.
 57–60 *Tuque ... colla* Cf. *Gn.* 3, 15; Prud. *Cath.* 3, 126–128; Er. *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1229 F.
 57–58 *saniem ... ore* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, II, 19–20 (referring to Cerberus).
 58 *Luridum ... ore* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 175–176 (n.).
 59 *Candidis calcas pedibus* Prud. *Cath.* 5, 124.
 60 *Sibila colla* Verg. *Georg.* III, 421; *Aen.* V, 277; Prud. *Cath.* 9, 90.
 61–64 *Aureum ... Phaebes* These are traditional comparisons, based on *Ct.* 6, 9. See, e.g., *AH* 1, 9, 1; 42, 76, 4a; 50, 241, 2b; 54, 245, 17; Er. *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1232 C.
 61 *Aureum / solem* Verg. *Georg.* I, 232; IV, 51; Ov. *Met.* VII, 663; cf. Er. *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, LB V, 1344 D: “Solis fulgor proprie dicitur aureus.”
vincis speciosa solem Cf. *AH* 54, 277, 2, of the Virgin: “Super solem speciosa”. For the epithet “speciosa” see *Ct.* 2, 13; Salzer, pp. 349–353 and 444.
 62 *diuino / decore* Verg. *Aen.* V, 647.
 63–64 *Roscidae / Phaebes* Cf. *Carm.* 114, 12; Verg. *Georg.* III, 337.
 65–68 *quam ... cinctam* See *Ap. Ioh.* 12, 1. Cf. Er. *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1232 B.
 65 *celsus speculator ille* Prud. *Cath.* 2, 105 applies the word “speculator” to omniscient

- God. Because of the allusion to *Ap. Ioh.* 12, 1, however, “speculator” must here refer to the apostle John as author of the book of Revelations. John is termed “celsus”, both because he saw visions of heaven and the apocalypse and because he is traditionally symbolized by the high-flying and keen-sighted eagle – the only creature that can gaze directly into the sun. See Greg. M. *Mor.* XXXI, 47, 94, *CCSL* 143 B, 1615–1616, based on *Ez.* 1, 10 and 10, 14; *Ap. Ioh.* 4, 7.
 66 *lunam pedibus prementem* Cf. Poliz. *Hymni* 1, 18: “Tu lunam premis pedibus.”
 69–80 *Prouidi ... imago* Three groups of people prophesied the Virgin: the pagan poets (in particular Vergil), the Sibyls (especially the Cumaean Sibyl), and the O.T. writers; Er. says this also in *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1229 F–1230 B.
 69–72 *Prouidi ... terris* Er. is alluding to Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 6–7, traditionally interpreted as referring to the Virgin: “iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna, / iam noua progenies caelo demittitur alto”; cf. Er. *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1229 F–1230 A: “Te doctorum poetarum ora non intellectis oraculis praecinuerunt. Tu Virgo illa, aurei seculi renouatrix.” Cf. also *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, LB V, 1344 B–C, on *Cath.* II, 57–60. For the medieval tradition that gave Vergil a place among the prophets see Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the*

- 70 Te nouum casto genus edituram
 Ventre, collapsis noua quo redirent
 Secula terris.
 Regis aeterni fore te parentem
 Deliae cantant liquido Sybillae
- 75 Scripta, membranis temere caducis
 Credita, virgo.
 Legis obscuro veteris ab aeuo
 Praeuuis iam tunc venientis vmbris
 Multa te patrum minimeque mendax

Middle Ages, trans. E. F. M. Benecke, London, 1908²; repr. Hamden, Conn., 1966, pp. 99–103.

69–70 *cecineret vates Te* Cf. Sabell. *In natal.* 1, sig. a2^r: “Venturam cecineret pii te carmine vates.”

70–71 *casto / edituram Ventre* See *Is.* 7, 14.

71–72 *collapsis ... terris* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 155–156. *noua / Secula* Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* III, 255; *In laudem Ioannis Baptistae*, in: *Opera*, II, f^o 229^v.

73–76 *Regis ... virgo* Cf. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1229 F: “Ite Phoebi tripodes, te Sibyllarum folia portendebant.” Originally there was only one Sibyl, but different authors placed her in different locations. Best known was the Cumaean Sibyl, whose prophecy inspired Vergil’s fourth eclogue and who was Aeneas’ guide in the underworld (*Aen.* VI). Later their number grew; Lactantius lists ten Sibyls in *Inst.* I, 6, 8–12, *CSEL* 19, 21–22. Their prophecies were collected in the Sibylline books. Fairly early in the Christian era forgeries made their way into these collections, prophesying Mary and the virgin birth of Christ. See Johannes B. Bauer, *Die Messiasmutter in den Oracula Sibyllina*, Marianum 18 (1956), pp. 118–124; Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 vols., ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, English trans. ed. by R. McL. Wilson, Philadelphia, 1963, II, pp. 703–740, especially pp. 708–709, 734, and 740. These interpolations, together with the prophecy of the Cumaean Sibyl in Vergil’s fourth eclogue, gave the Sibyls an extraordinary reputation throughout the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, almost on a par with the O.T. prophets. In *Ciceron.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 700, l. 30 Er. criticizes Jacopo Sannazaro, *De partu Virginis* I, 93–94 for having the Virgin meditate on the sibylline oracles rather than on Isaiah’s prophecy.

74 *Deliae* Apollo’s birthplace was the island Delos in the Aegean Sea. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 10–12.

74–75 *cantant / Sybillae Scripta* Cf. Prop. II, 34, 87: “haec ... cantarunt scripta Catulli.” The Sibyl mentioned here is the Cumaean Sibyl, who in Vergil’s fourth eclogue prophesies the return of the Virgin (Astraea, but interpreted by Christians as the second Eve, Mary) and the birth of a child who inaugurates a new golden age.

74 *Sybillae* Probably a genitive singular, not a plural; cf. Vredevelde, *Edition*, pp. 131–132. Er. does think of the Sibyls in the plural in *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1229 F (quoted in n.l. 73–76 above). In *Scri.* l. 74 ends in a colon; *LB* prints a comma there.

75–76 *Scripta ... Credita* The Cumaean Sibyl wrote her prophecies on palm-leaves; see *Adag.* 691. The “rashness” to which Er. refers is an allusion to Verg. *Aen.* III, 443–451. There the Sibyl foretells the future but strangely entrusts her knowledge to leaves that the winds scatter about. In *Aen.* VI, 74–75 Aeneas appeals to her: “foliis tantum ne carmina manda, / ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis.” Accordingly, the word “membranis” in l. 75, though normally referring to animal membranes (“parchment”), should here be understood as vegetal membranes (“leaves”). The adjective “caducus” is often applied to fallen leaves; see Verg. *Georg.* I, 368; *Ov. Am.* II, 16, 45; *Met.* VII, 840; IX, 651; *Trist.* III, 1, 45; *Sen. Oed.* 600.

78 *Praeuuis / vmbris* Cf., e.g., *Paraphr. in Mt.* 1, 1, *LB* VII, 1 C: “uariis figurarum inuolucris atque vmbris ... veluti praeludens”; and *Paraphr. in Mt.* 1, 5, *LB* VII, 4 D: “typis et vmbris praeludentibus”.

79–80 *mendax Lusit imago* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 27, 40–41 (of a dream): “Ludit imago /

- 80 Lusit imago.
 Sylua monstrabat humilis rubeti
 Non adurenti glomerata flamma
 Te dei saluo fieri parentem,
 Virgo, pudore.
- 85 Caelicum quae clauserat arca manna
 Te deum castae docuit sub alui
 Pabulum vitae fore condituram,
 Diua, sacello.
 Virga te partu nimis insolenti
- 90 Et ferax gratae nucis atque florum,
 Rore te siccis madidum notabat
 Vellus in aruis.
 Et tui quondam tulit Hester vmbram,
 Mille Iudeis mala molientis
- 95 Splendide vindex, et in omne Iudith
 Nobilis aeuum.
 Porta te vatis notat irreclusa,

92 aruis scripsi: armis Scri.

- Vana"; Prud. *Cath.* 6, 46 (dreams): "mendax imago"; Er. *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 56, ll. 413-414: "vmbra fallax ac mendax imago virtutis". For the meaning of "imago" here ("not a lying dream but a foreshadowing") see also *Carm.* 112, 209 below. Er.' use of "lusit" in the sense of "praelusit" appears to be unparalleled.
- 81-100 *Sylua ... regi* These prefigurations, with the exception of the tabernacle containing the manna, are also given in *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1230 E-1231 B. They and many others are frequently mentioned in medieval sermons and hymns; see Salzer, pp. 3-42 and 471-506.
- 81-82 *Sylua ... flamma* *Ex.* 3, 2; Salzer, pp. 12-14.
- 85-88 *Caelicum ... sacello* Cf. *Ex.* 16, 33-34; *Hebr.* 9, 4; Salzer, pp. 495-496.
- 87 *Pabulum vitae* See n. *Carm.* 107, 22.
- 88 *sacello* Cf. l. 302 below; Honor. Aug. *Sig.*, *PL* 172, 497 A (the Virgin Mary): "sancti Spiritus sacellum". The Virgin is often called the temple of God; see Salzer, pp. 36-37.
- 89-90 *Virga ... florum* *Nu.* 17, 8; Salzer, pp. 33-35.
- 91-92 *Rore ... aruis* Cf. *Judic.* 6, 36-38; Salzer, pp. 40-42; Er. *Carm.* 120, 20-22.
- siccis / aruis* Lucan. VI, 377.
- madidum / Vellus* *AH* 50, 52, 21: "Area vellus habet, madido sed vellere sicca est"; 54, 224, 6 (referring to the Virgin): "Tu ... / Madidum vellus Gedeon".
- 92 *aruis* Reedijk emends the erroneous reading "armis" in *Scri* and *LB* to "arcis". While closer to the Vulgate text than "aruis", this emendation is paleographically less likely than "aruis" and moreover requires us to read the word with synzesis.
- 93 *Hester* Esther was considered a prefiguration of Mary not only on account of her beauty, but also because she received the king's golden sceptre and interceded for her people with King Ahasuerus against the evil one, Haman. See Salzer, pp. 473-476; cf. Er. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1231 B.
- 95-96 *Splendide ... aeuum* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 11, 35-36: "Splendide mendax et in omne virgo / Nobilis aeuum".
- in ... aeuum* Cf. *Idth.* 13, 25; Er. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1231 B: "Tu, seculis omnibus celebranda Iudit". Since Judith delivered God's people from their enemy Holofernes, she was regarded as a prefiguration of Mary; see Salzer, pp. 492-494.
- 97-100 *Porta ... regi* Cf. *Ez.* 44, 1-3, a passage traditionally interpreted as foreshadowing the virgin birth; see Salzer, pp. 26-28. Er. chose *Ez.* 44, 1-3 as one of the two alterna-

Fronte quae terras renitens Eoas
 Spectat aduersa, minime nisi vni
 100 Peruia regi.
 Hisce te, virgo, voluit figuris
 Praecini vasti fabricator orbis,
 Non quidem vanis, comitante vero
 Ocyus vmbras.
 105 Namque dum scisso periens Olympho
 Lucifer praeceps grege cum tumentis
 Fulminis ritu rueret sub atrae
 Tartara noctis,
 Aetheris tantae miserens ruinae
 110 Conditor, 'Lapsum decet', inquit, 'agmen
 Suffici, prorsus reparanda secti
 Portio caeli.'
 Fingitur rubro rude plasma limo:
 Viua diuino bonus ille flatu
 115 Indidit post haec opifex inertis

tive lections for his Loretan liturgy, *ASD* V, 1, p. 97, ll. 15–21; see also *ASD* V, 1, p. 105, ll. 306–310; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, pp. 245–246, ll. 198–213; *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1230 F–1231 A; *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, *LB* V, 1339 F. For the phrase "Porta ... Peruia regi" cf., e.g., *AH* 27, 82, 2, 4; 42, 79, 3a; 48, 392, 3b; 54, 222, 13; "Porta regis peruia".

97 *irrechusa* Apparently a neologism.

98 *terras / Eoas* *Ov. Ars* III, 537.

101–104 *Hisce ... vmbras* Cf. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1230 B: "Illi [fatidici vates] te laetis oraculis nondum natam praecinunt Illi promissis haud vanis orbem moestum in spem surri-gunt."

102 *vasti fabricator orbis* Cf. *Cic. Tim.* 6; *Ov. Met.* I, 57; *Manil.* V, 31: "magni ... fabricator Olympi"; *Sabell. In natal.* 4, sig. a6^v: "immensi coeli fabricator". For the idea of God as craftsman-maker (Demiurge) see *Curtius*, pp. 544–546; cf. l. 115 (n.) below: "opifex".

106–108 *Lucifer ... noctis* Cf. *Carm.* 50, ll. 42–68, 197–198 (n.), and 202.

107 *Fulminis ritu* *Sil.* I, 356; *Er. Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, *LB* V, 1348 E. The image is biblical; see *Lc.* 10, 18: "Videbam Satanam sicut fulgur de caelo cadentem." *Er.* rephrases this in *Paraphr. in Lc.* 10, 18, *LB* VII, 375 E: "Videbam ... Satanam fulguris ritu de coelo cadentem"; cf. *Carm.* 50, 51 (n.).

109 *tantae miserens ruinae* *Stat. Theb.* IX, 389.

110–112 *Lapsum ... caeli* The doctrine that man was created in order to replenish the ranks of heaven is patristic; see, e.g., *Aug. Ench.* IX, 29, *CCSL* 46, 65; *XVI*, 61, *CCSL* 46, 82; and *Civ.* XXII, 1, *CCSL* 48, 807. From the twelfth century on, this belief was increasingly being questioned; see M.-D. Chenu, *Cur homo? Le sous-sol d'une controverse*, in: *La théologie au douzième siècle*, Paris, 1957, pp. 52–61. Renaissance poets, however, continued citing the doctrine; see, e.g., *Mantuan. Parthen. Mar.* I, 546–549; *Brant, Varia carm.*, sig. a2^v; *Vida, Christias* IV, 80–83; *Milton, Paradise Lost* VII, 150–161.

113–125 *Fingitur ... Terra Er.* model is *Prud. Cath.* 3, 96–105.

113–116 *Fingitur ... massae* Cf. *Conc. de puero Iesu*, *LB* V, 602 A–B: "nos finxit ... ad sui ipsius imaginem ... ac sacro sui oris afflatu spiritum vitalem indidit"; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, *LB* V, 571 A: "corpus finxit e limo, animum indidit afflatu oris sui"; ll. 223–224 (n.) below.

113 *rubro / limo* According to *Hier. Hebr. nom., Gn.*, *CCSL* 72, 60, one of the meanings of Adam's name is "terra rubra".

115 *opifex* This term was often applied to the Deity; see, e.g., *Cic. Nat.* I, 8, 18; *Ov. Met.* I, 79; *Prud. Amart.* 116, 283, and 697 (God as creator of Adam); l. 169 below; *Carm.* 112, 9;

Semina massae.
 Inde per sedes nemorum beatas
 Iussit apricis habitare campis,
 Dulcibus quae quadrifluus scatebris
 120 Irrigat amnis.
 Illic aeternum redolente vere
 Dulcibus semper renitet rosetis,
 Mollibus semper violis iniquae
 Nescia brumae
 125 Terra, nec gratis viduantur vnquam
 Frondibus syluae nimium feraces,
 Nec deest vnquam viridis tumentis
 Pampinus vuae.
 Spiritum spargit folium suauem, et
 130 Cinnamum et nardus patulis amica
 Naribus; semper lachrymant virenti
 Balsama surclo.
 Hisce praefecit pater ille regnis
 Quem modo fingens hominem crearat;
 135 'Haec tuis, Adam, moderanda trado',
 Dixit, 'habenis.
 Liber ad quiduis tulerit libido
 Dexteram mittas dominam licebit,
 His modo ramis fuge fac nociuos
 140 Carpere faetus.

135 moderanda *LB*: momoranda *Scri*.

- De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 243, l. 2. Cf. l. 102 (n.) above: "fabricator".
- 117–132 *Inde ... surclo* Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 80, ll. 110–120.
- 117 *sedes nemorum beatas* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 639 (Elysium); Sedul. *Pasch.* I, 54 (heaven).
- 118 *apricis / campis* See n. *Carm.* 106, 87; cf. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1230 C (as an allegory of the Virgin): "apricus ... paradisus"; *Carm.* 112, 348.
- 119–120 *Dulcibus ... amnis* Cf. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1227 F (as an allegory of the Virgin): "quatuor amnes ... glaream foecundis scatebris irrigaturi".
quadrifluus / amnis Prud. *Cath.* 3, 105, based on *Gn.* 2, 10.
- 121–132 *Illic ... surclo* Er. paraphrases Prud. *Cath.* 5, 113–120 (the heavenly paradise).
- 121 *Illic ... vere* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 3, 103 (paradise); cf. Er. *Carm.* 2, 241 (n.).
- 123 *Mollibus / violis* Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 38; *Aen.* XI, 69; Prud. *Cath.* 5, 115.
- 125–126 *viduantur / Frondibus syluae* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 9, 8; Er. *Carm.* 106, 19 (n.).
- 127–128 *viridis / Pampinus* Hor. *Carm.* III, 25, 20; IV, 8, 33.
- tumentis / vuae* Cf. Ov. *Am.* I, 15, 11; *Met.* XV, 77.
- 128 *Pampinus vuae* *LHL* IV, 113.
- 129 *Spiritum ... suauem* Cf. Lucr. III, 222.
- 130–131 *patulis / Naribus* Lucr. V, 1076; Verg. *Georg.* I, 376; Ov. *Met.* III, 686.
- 131 *lachrymant* Ov. *Fast.* I, 339; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 17.
- 133–160 *Hisce ... atque* These verses amplify Prud. *Cath.* 3, 106–115.
- 140 *Carpere faetus* Nem. 3, 39.

- Haec tibi duram paritura mortem
 Mala tu quaqua violaris hora,
 Ah tegunt quantos tibi blandienti
 Cortice luctus.⁷
- 145 Non tulit tantos stomachans honores
 Viperæ liuor; vetuisse mira
 Arte contendit male perdito suc-
 cedere caelo.
- 150 'Vsque quo', dixit, 'miseri dolosis
 Creduli iussis similem supremo
 Numini vitam fugitis daturos
 Carpere fructus?'
- 155 Subdolis, eheu, facilis colubri
 Suasibus coniunx nimiumque mollis
 Credidit, vidit, tenuit, momordit,
 Occidit atque.
- Falsa tum post haec socium fefellit
 Coniugem coniunx; tenero ille amori
 Cessit, accepit, tenuit, momordit,
- 160 Occidit atque.
- O dies atro numeranda semper
 Calculo, o semper lachrymanda, toti
 Quae potes seculo, potes vna tantos
 Aedere luctus.
- 165 Nam dehinc totam vitiata radix
 Serpit in prolem, male temperantum
 Posterī iam morte luunt auorum
 Facta nepotes.

141 Haec scripsi: Hoc Scri.

146 Viperæ LB: Vipere Scri.

141 *duram / mortem* See n. *Carm.* 94, 95.

143 *tibi blandienti* = Hor. *Carm.* III, II, 15.

145-146 *honores / liuor* Cf. *Carm.* 93, 165 (n.); also *Carm.* 2, 5.

146 *Viperæ liuor* Cf. *Sap.* 2, 24: "Inuidia autem diaboli mors introiuit in orbem terrarum."

146-148 *vetuisse / succedere caelo* Stat. *Ach.* I, 2: "patrio vetitam succedere caelo"; cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 227. For some discussions about the meaning of this phrase see Vredeveld, *Edition*, pp. 132-133.

147-148 *perdito / caelo* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 194: "sedes ... ademptas".

155-156 *vidit / momordit, Occidit* Cf. Boeth.

Consol. III, m. 12, 51: "Orpheus Eurydicen suam / vidit, perdidit, occidit."

157-158 *socium / Coniugem* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 3, 113.

158 *tenero / amori* Tib. I, 3, 57; II, 6, 1; Ov. *Am.* II, 18, 4 and 19; and elsewhere.

158-159 *amori Cessit* Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 69.

161-162 *dies ... lachrymanda* Cf. Balbi, *Carm.* 29, 13 (p. 160): "Atra dies nigro semper damnanda lapillo". For the proverbial custom of marking unlucky days with a black stone see n. *Carm.* 64, 3.

atro / Calculo Ov. *Met.* XV, 44.

165-168 *Nam ... nepotes* Et. imitates Prud. *Cath.* 3, 131-135.

Et quibus caelos opifex pararat,
 170 iam (dolor) sacuis sua colla loris
 Demonum nexi rapiuntur imas
 Mortis ad vmbras.
 Quid pater tanto faceret tumultu?
 Plasmatis certe proprii benignum
 175 Paenitet plasten, hominis gementem
 Flebile fatum.
 'Ecce dum caelum reparare terra
 Pergimus', dixit, 'simul hanc et illud,
 Veh, parens mortis, simili ruina
 180 Noxa peremit,
 Dispari longe tamen hic ministro
 Hausit infandum colubro venenum,
 Ambitus alter stimulante nullo
 Auctor iniqui
 185 Factus, aeternum meritas necesse est
 Vt luat paenas: scatet e medullis
 Abditum vulnus, fugit huius omnem
 Plaga medelam.
 Porro quem strauit peregrinus astus
 190 Non sua iustum est ope surrigatur:
 Arte pollectus redimendus arte
 Aequae aliena.'
 Summus hic summi genitus parentis,
 Fons inexhaustus sophiae perhennis,
 195 Prompsit arcanos patrio latentes
 Pectore census.

169 *opifex* See n.l. 115.

171–172 *imas / ad vmbras* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 404.

172 *Mortis ad vmbras* = Ov. *Met.* V, 191; cf. *Job* 3, 5; 10, 22; 34, 22; *Ps.* 22, 4; *Is.* 9, 2; and elsewhere.

179–180 *parens mortis / Noxa* Cf. *Iac.* 1, 15.

179 *simili ruina* = Gerson, *Deploratio studii Parisiensis* 22, in: *Oeuvres*, IV, p. 5: "Non tuae pridem cecidere doctae / Pallas Athenae simili ruina."

185–186 *meritas / luat paenas* Ov. *Met.* VIII, 689.

191–192 *Arte ... aliena* The explanation why mankind, but not the devil, could be redeemed is traditional; see, e.g., Greg. M. *Mor.* IV, 3, 8, *CCSL* 143, 168–169; Alcuin., *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin* 4, *PL* 100, 517 C–D; Hugo de S. Victore, *De sacra-*

mentis I, 3, 9, *PL* 176, 290 B–C. In *Sententiae* II, dist. 21, chapt. 7, Petrus Lombardus adds that, since man was seduced by someone else, he should also be redeemed by someone else.

191 *redimendus arte* See n. *Carm.* 50, 121.

193 *Summus ... parentis* Cf. Prud. *Apoth.* 254–255.

194–196 *Fons ... census* Cf. *Paraphr. in Col.* 2, 10, *LB* VII, 1010 B: "est fons inexhaustus omnis sapientiae"; *Disputatiunc.*, *LB* V, 1276 A: "sapientiae fonti". Christ is traditionally the wisdom of the Father and hence utters the thoughts of the Father. See n. *Carm.* 43, 23; also, e.g., *Precat. ad Iesum*, *LB* V, 1214 F; *Paeae Virg.*, *LB* V, 1230 C; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, *LB* V, 606 B.

'Arte subreptus reuehendus', inquit,
 'Arte, non dextra dominante, mortis
 Ortui respondeat vt salutis
 200 Forma reductae.
 Et caro sane redimenda carne.
 Dira ligno pernicies profecta est:
 Sanitas aequae reditura ligno ac
 Stipite sacro.
 205 Aedidit vero quia sibilante
 Vipera lethum mulier, decenter
 Faemina rursus reuehenda flante
 Numine vita.
 Mors item aduersa populanda morte est,
 210 Atque curandus dolor est dolore,
 Denique obiecto merito fugandum
 Vulnere vulnus.
 Sed quid? En omnis vitio laborat
 Aemulans patrem soboles auito,
 215 Nec mori nouit deitas, acerbi

197–204 *Arte ... sacro* For these correspondences cf. *AH* 50, 66, 2–3 (Venantius Fortunatus' famous hymn on the cross): "Quando pomi noxialis / morte morsu corruit, / Ipse lignum tunc notauit, / damna ligni vt solueret. / Hoc opus nostrae salutis / ordo depoposcerat, / Multiformis perditoris / arte vt artem falleret / Et medelam ferret inde, / hostis vnde laeserat." The hymn was especially familiar because of its use in the Good Friday liturgy; see *Missale Romanum*, I, p. 172.

198 *dextra dominante* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 3, 37.

201–209 *Et caro ... morte est* Cf. Aug. *Doctr. chr.* I, 14, 13, *CCSL* 32, 14: "Per feminam deceptos per feminam natus, homo homines, mortalis mortales, morte mortuos liberauit"; Er. *Paraphr. in Lc.* 3, 34–38, *LB* VII, 317 C–F, with a lengthy series of correspondences such as these.

201 *caro ... carne* Cf. *AH* 50, 53, 2: "Beatus auctor saeculi / Scruile corpus induit, / Vt carne carnem liberans / Non perderet, quod condidit."

202–204 *ligno ... sacro* Cf. *AH* 50, 66, 2 (Venantius Fortunatus' hymn on the cross): "Ipse lignum tunc notauit, / damna ligni vt solueret"; 51, 86, 4: "Vita ante per lignum periit, / Nunc vita per lignum viget." The

word "lignum" was commonly used for the cross. See particularly *Ps.* 95, 10, with the Christian addition cited in patristic texts and throughout the Middle Ages (my emphasis): "Dominus regnauit a ligno." See, e.g., Er. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 368, ll. 165–166; also *Carm.* 112, 61. The word "stipes" is used for the cross in Prud. *Perist.* 2, 24; cf. *Cath.* 3, 109 (of the tree of knowledge in Eden).

205–208 *Aedidit ... vita* Mary is the second Eve who restored life and salvation; see Salzer, pp. 476–487. As part of the elaborate correspondences, the serpent's hisses are set over against the breath of the Spirit. Cf. Er. *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 254, ll. 452–453.

207–208 *flante Numine* Cf. *Lc.* 1, 35; Prud. *Cath.* 3, 187: "flante Deo"; *Apoth.* 783–784.

209 *Mors ... morte est* Cf. Prud. *Perist.* 2, 19: "morte mortem diruit"; *AH* 51, 51, 4; 51, 71, 3; 53, 32, 13; and often; Er. *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, *LB* V, 1343 D; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, *ASD* V, 2, p. 332, l. 110; *Carm.* 1, 79–81 (n.); 11, 9–10; 112, 59.

212 *Vulnere vulnus* = Ov. *Met.* V, 94; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 19, 530: "et peiore prius curaret vulnere vulnus"; *LHL* V, 758.

213 *vitio laborat* Hor. *Serm.* I, 2, 76.

215–216 *acerbi / futi* Hor. *Epod.* 7, 17; Verg. *Aen.* XI, 587.

Nescia fati.
 Ergo cui partes scelus expiandi
 Demus humanum? Pereat necesse est
 Plasma, ni certe Deus ipse tollat
 220 Vincula mortis.
 Et quid? An nostri moriens imago
 Noctis aeternas luitura paenas?
 Quid Dei mentem fuit indidisse
 Ore capacem?
 225 Illa de multis via restat vna:
 Carne miscenda est deitas caduca.
 Summus humani deus ambiendus
 Corporis vmbra.
 Filii blando pater ore dictis
 230 Annuens, 'Qui consilium', inquit, 'aequum
 Protulit, facti sit et author idem
 Auxilii que.'
 Hic tui, virgo, thalamum pudicum

224 Ore *Scri*: Ori *LB*.

217–218 *cui ... Demus* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 2, 29–30.

220 *Vincula mortis* = *LHL* V, 612.

221 *nostri / imago* *Gn.* I, 26–27; cf. Er. *Carm.* 94, 57–58.

222 *aeternas / paenas* 2. *Thess.* I, 9.

223–224 *Dei ... capacem* Cf. Prud. *Amart.* 544–545: "ignitum ... deus indidit olli / ingenium"; Er. *Carm.* 94, 57 (n.); ll. 113–116 (n.) above.

226 *Carne / caduca* Auitus, *Carm.* 6, 123.

227 *Summus / deus* *Tob.* 3, 24; 4, 12; *Hebr.* 7, 1; *Ov. Fast.* II, 592; *Pont.* IV, 3, 56; and often; Er. *Carm.* 111, 29; 112, 164.

228 *Corporis vmbra* = *LHL* I, 485. Er., of course, is not embracing the docetic heresy that Christ's body was merely a phantom, but is saying that Christ, the true sun, was clothed in flesh. Cf. Marbod, *Carm. varia* 26 ("De Epiphania", *PL* 171, 1662 A): "Obscurum solem, carnis sub nube latentem"; *AH* 37, 13, 1a: "Verus sol diuinitus / Carnis nube conditus".

229 *blando / ore* *Ov. Met.* XIII, 555.

233–234 *thalamum / Ventris* *AH* 30, 58, *Ad vespertas* 2 (p. 136): "Gaude, quac Dei filium / Tuum per carnem proprium / Ventris portasti thalamo"; Gerson, *Josephina*, in:

Oeuvres, IV, p. 57: "Virginei ventris thalamo"; cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm. spuria* I, 29 (of Mary): "vteri thalamus". The idea that Mary's womb was Christ's bridal-chamber or dressing-room derives from a patristic interpretation of *Ps.* 18, 6: "In sole posuit tabernaculum suum; Et ipse tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo." This verse was traditionally understood as foreshadowing the incarnation. Mary was Christ's "tabernaculum"; her womb was Christ's "thalamus". In this chamber his two natures, the divine and the human, were wedded; and thence he came forth to become the bridegroom of his church. See, e.g., Aug. *Serm.* 187, 4, 4, *PL* 38, 1002; 191, 1, 2–2, 3, *PL* 38, 1010; 192, 3, 3, *PL* 38, 1013; 195, 3, *PL* 38, 1018–1019; Sedul. *Pasch.* II, 49–51; *AH* 2, 18, 3; 2, 21, 4 (quoted in Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 176, ll. 184–185); 51, 47, 3; Er. *Obsecratio*, *LB* V, 1236 E; *Liturg. Virg. Lauret.*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 105, ll. 297–310; *Paraphr. in Lc.* I, 42, *LB* VII, 291 F; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, pp. 175–176, ll. 168–182; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 246, ll. 230–233.
 233 *thalamum pudicum* *AH* I, 184, 4; I, 202, 3; Brant, *Varia carm.*, sig. A5^r (all with reference to the Virgin Mary).

Ventris aeterni sibi dedicavit
 235 Numinis sermo, placido pudoris
 Captus odore.
 Ocior vento aut celeri sagitta
 Labitur caelo paranympus alto
 Moxque secreta veneranda visit
 240 Tecta puellae.
 Hinc nouas adfert Gabriel salutes.
 Illa suspecto tremefacta vultu
 Paululum insuetas tacito volutat
 Pectore voces.
 245 Ille sed vultu radians amico,
 Proprio signans Mariae vocablo,
 Lenibus dictis trepidos ademit
 Virginis aestus.
 ‘Cur’, ait, ‘faelix, rapit ora, virgo,
 250 Anxii pallor socius timoris?’

235 *sermo* When Er. translated λόγος in *Ioh.* 1 with “sermo” instead of the traditional “verbum” (*Nov. Test.*, Basel, J. Froben, March 1519) there was a great uproar from conservative theologians. But “sermo” for “verbum” can be readily documented in patristic and later theological literature, as Er. and Thomas More gleefully reminded the critics. In poetry it occurs, e.g., in Prud. *Cath.* 3, 141; 6, 3; 11, 52; *Apoth.* 155. See Er. *Apolog. de In princip. erat sermo*, *LB IX*, 115–118; Ep. 1060, ll. 24–26; *Annot. in NT*, *LB VI*, 335 A–336 D; More, *Letter to a Monk*, *CW XV*, 236–249. On the controversy see C. A. L. Jarrott, *Erasmus’ “In Principio Erat Sermo”*: *A Controversial Translation*, SP 61 (1964), pp. 35–40; O’Rourke Boyle, pp. 3–31. In the title of the present ode Er. uses the traditional “verbum”.
 236 *odore* Cf. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB V*, 1231 E (alluding to *Os.* 14, 7): “Tu, procera illa Libani cedrus, late virtutum spargens odorem”; Salzer, pp. 157–161; p. 282, ll. 1–2; Er. *Carm.* 133, 1 and 23.
 237 *Ocior ... sagitta* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 25–27 (with notes).
celeri sagitta Hor. *Carm.* III, 20, 9; Verg. *Aen.* I, 187; V, 485; and elsewhere.
 238 *paranympus* Gabriel is often called “paranympus” (bridesman), because it was he who conducted the Virgin to her bridegroom, God. See, e.g., Aug. *Serm. supp.* 121,

3, *PL* 39, 1988; 195, 2 and 6, *PL* 39, 2108–2109; Ven. Fort. *Carm. spuria* 1, 325; *AH* I, 96, 8; 1, 203, 1; 1, 214, 1; 50, 147, 1; Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* I, 335; *Ecl.* 8, 209; Er. *Inst. christ. matrim.*, *LB V*, 622 D; *Paraphr. in Lc.* 1, 26, *LB VII*, 288 F; *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, *LB IX*, 152 D; *Purgat. adv. ep. Luth.*, *ASD IX*, 1, p. 466, ll. 640–656; *Eccles.*, *ASD V*, 5, p. 276, ll. 690–691; cf. *Liturg. Virg. Lauret.*, *ASD V*, 1, p. 102, ll. 184–185.
 239 *secrete* The devil is not to discover the secret of the incarnation until after the crucifixion; see notes to *Carm.* 50, ll. 121 and 127–128.
 241 *nouas / salutes* In *Annot. in NT*, *LB VI*, 223 E and 224 E as well as in *Paraphr. in Lc.* 1, 28–29, *LB VII*, 289 B–C Er. notes the unusual quality (“nouitas”) of Gabriel’s salutation. Cf. Orig., *In Lc.* 6, *PG* 13, 1815 D; Ambr. *In Lc.* 2, 9, *CCSL* 14, 34; Aug. *Serm. supp.* 119, 4, *PL* 39, 1983; 194, 4, *PL* 39, 2106.
 243–244 *tacito volutat Pectore* Cf. *Carm.* 88, 63 (with notes).
 244 *Pectore voces* = *LHL IV*, 195–196.
 248 *aestus* Cf. *Carm.* 1, 24 (n.)
 250 *Anxii / timoris* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 89; Ov. *Her.* 13, 149–150; *AH* 51, 18, 4.
pallor socius timoris Cf. *Adag.* 189; *Comm. in Ou.*, *ASD I*, 1, p. 173, l. 19: “Vchemens metus gignit pallorem ac tremorem”; *Carm.* 9, 2; III, 3–4; II2, 84 (n.).

Cur decens, oro, teneras reliquit
 Purpura malas?
 Ne time, iussus venio superni
 Patris interpres. Capies in aluo
 255 Perditi Iesum generis salutem
 Tuque vicissim
 Ipsius mundo paries parentem,
 Regiae stirpis generosa proles,
 Tu Nazareum paritura Iesse
 260 Virgula florem.
 Quo, rogas, pacto? Fuge suspicari
 Carnis amplexus geniue nexus,
 Illecebrosi fuge suspicari
 Faedera lecti.
 265 Finge ne taedas tibi nuptiales,
 Casta sed verbum paritura verbo es.
 Spiritus fies rutilante sancti
 Numine faeta.
 Virgo faecunda et genitrix pudica,

264 *Faedera scripsi*: *Faedere Scri*, *Foedera LB*.

253–254 *superni Patris* Cf. l. 322 below.

254 *interpres* The word is applied to Mercury as the messenger of the gods in Verg. *Aen.* IV, 356: “*interpres diuum*”; Er. *Euripides*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 342, l. 1847: “*Iouis interpres*”; *Adag.* 1910, *ASD* II, 4, p. 284, l. 117: “*interpres deorum*”. For the association of Gabriel with Mercury see n. *Carm.* 50, 131.

258 *Regiae stirpis / proles* Cf. *AH* 2, 30, 1 (51, 126, 1): “*Stirpis Dauidicae regia proles*”.

259–260 *Tu ... florem* Cf. *Is.* 11, 1. Jerome’s interpretation of this verse as referring to Mary and Jesus was widely accepted; see his *Comm. in Es.* IV, 11, 1–3, *CCSL* 73, 147; Ven. Fort. *Carm. spuria* 1, 11: “*virgo haec virga fuit*”; Salzer, pp. 29–31.

260 *Virgula florem* = *LHL* V, 638.

261 *Fuge suspicari* = Hor. *Carm.* II, 4, 22.

262–264 *Carnis ... lecti* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 3, 141–145: “*Fit caro viuuda sermo patris / ... quam ... / non thalamo neque iure tori / nec genialibus inlecebris / intemerata puella parit*”; Ven. Fort. *Carm. spuria* 1, 245, in praise of Mary: “*fecunda et libera nexu, / ignara amplexu mater opima sinu*”.

262 *genii* The genius or tutelary spirit of the

marriage bed; cf., e.g., Iuv. 6, 22: “*sacri genium ... fulcri*”, quoted and explained by Er. in *Inst. christ. matrim.*, *LB* V, 655 F. Here, by metonymy, the word means sexual intercourse.

264 *Faedera lecti* = *LHL* II, 317.

265 *taedas / nuptiales* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 11, 33: “*face nuptiali*”.

266 *verbum paritura verbo es* Cf. *AH* 50, 348, 3: “*Dum verbum aure percipis, / In verbo verbum concipis*”; 54, 280, 6: “*Verbum verbo concepisti*”.

267–268 *Spiritus ... faeta* Cf. *Lc.* 1, 35.

rutilante / Numine faeta Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 3, 141–142: “*Fit caro viuuda sermo patris, / numine quam rutilante grauis / ... / ... / intemerata puella parit*.” In medieval iconography a dove representing the Holy Spirit comes down to Mary’s ear or lap on a long line of light rays; see Réau, II, 2, pp. 185 and 190; cf. ll. 273–274 and 286 (n.) below.

269 *Virgo faecunda* Prud. *Apoth.* 1013; *AH* 1, 9, 4; 52, 49, 5.

genitrix pudica = Mone 559, 5; 560, 1 (both composed by Adam Wernher of Themar in 1490).

- 270 Nec tibi faetus rapiet pudorem,
 Crede, nec saluus pudor abnegabit
 Matris honorem.
 Vt iubar solis liquidum penetrat
 Nec secat vitrum, penetrabit aluum
- 275 Filius, sed non temerabit aucti
 Claustra pudoris.
 Fundit vt suaues redolens vapores
 Liliū laeso minime nitore,
 Haud secus diuam paries, Maria,
- 280 Integra prolem.⁷
 Credit oraclo facili superno
 Aure. Natalem repetens Olymphi
 Gabriel pictis liquidum secabat
 Aethera pennis.
- 285 Nil morae, summis citus en ab astris
 E sinu Christus rutilat superno,
 Labitur sacram in tacitus fidelis
 Virginis aluum.
 O stupor mentis nouitasque rerum!

275 aucti *Scri*: sancti *LB*.

285 morae *LB*: more *Scri*.

270–272 *Nec ... honorem* See Salzer, pp. 106–109.
 273–274 *Vt iubar ... vitrum* This is a traditional comparison; see Salzer, pp. 71–74; Yrjö Hirn, *La verrière symbole de la maternité virginale*, Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 29 (1928), pp. 33–39; Walther 29914c; 29914d; 29915; 29917. Cf. also Er. *Carm.* 88, 106–107 (with n.ll. 106–108), where Er. emphasizes that the light is “coloured” as it passes through glass – a variation that was used to explain how Christ could become human without changing his essential nature.
 275 *aucti* Mary’s chastity is “exalted”, because crowned with the honour of motherhood; see ll. 270–272 below; *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, *LB* V, 1344 A–B.
 276 *Claustra pudoris* = *LHL* I, 361; cf. *AH* 50, 8, 4: “Aluus tumescit virginis, / Claustrum pudoris permanet”; Er. *Paraphr. in Lc.* 24, 27, *LB* VII, 477 C.
 277–280 *Fundit ... prolem* Cf. Mone 457, 25–30: “sicut flos propter odorem / suum non perdit decorem / cum odor emittitur, / sic nec propter creatorem / virginis candorem / tu perdis, cum nascitur.”

277 *Fundit / vapores* Prud. *Apoth.* 837.
 281–282 *facili / Aure* Iuv. 3, 122; cf. ll. 393–394 below. The epithet “facilis” is applied to Eve in l. 153 above.
 283–284 *pictis ... pennis* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 131–132 (with notes); cf. also Verg. *Georg.* I, 406 and 409; *Aen.* VII, 65; *Cir.* 538 and 541; Hor. *Carm.* II, 20, 2; Tib. IV, 1, 210; *Ecloga Theoduli* 101: “aptatis liquidum secat aëra pennis.”
 285–288 *summis ... aluum* Cf. *Precat. ad Iesum*, *LB* V, 1213 E: “a sinu Dei parentis in vterum Virginis”; *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1232 C: “Dei verbum e sinu Patris in tuum ipsius vterum ... fecerit auolare”; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 176, ll. 187–188.
 285 *summis / astris* Stat. *Theb.* X, 782; XII, 128; *Silu.* III, 4, 49.
 286 *rutilat* The infant Christ, preceded by the Holy Spirit (see ll. 267–268 and n. above), is often shown in medieval art descending on a long line of light rays that emanate from God’s mouth and plunge down toward the Virgin’s ear or lap. See Réau, II, 2, p. 190.
 288 *Virginis aluum* = *LHL* V, 627–628.
 289–352 *O stupor ... amomum* These verses imitate and amplify Prud. *Cath.* 11, 53–80; cf.

- 290 Scisne quid clausa teneas in aluo?
 Scisne, ter faelix, tua quid recondant
 Viscera, virgo?
 Ipse qui solo quatit astra nutu,
 Qui fretum saeuis tumidum procellis
 295 Temperat, dextra prohibens inertem
 Sydere terram,
 Ipse qui quicquid viget orbe summo,
 Manium quicquid gelido sub Orco est,
 Quicquid in terris, moderatur aequis
 300 Vnus habenis,
 En tui, mater, latitat sub antro
 Pectoris rerum dominus sacello,
 Ventre circundans gracili, rotundus
 Cui minor orbis.
 305 Nunc graues, Adae miseranda proles,
 Pone singultus, populique duras
 Barbaro passi duce sub cathenas,
 Tollite vultus.
 En adest nobis sator ille rerum,

- Er.' commentary in *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, LB V, 1343 F-1346 C.
 291 *ter faelix* Ov. *Met.* VIII, 51; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 52, l. 347; *Precat. ad Iesum*, LB V, 1211 B; *Obsecratio.*, LB V, 1236 C; *Carm.* 6, 58 (n.).
 293-304 *Ipse ... orbis* The paradox of "Immensities cloystered in thy deare wombe" (John Donne, "Annunciation") is traditional; see, e.g., Aug. *Serm. supp.* 123, 1, *PL* 39, 1991; 194, 3, *PL* 39, 2106; Claud. *Carm. min.* 32, 12-15; Ven. Fort. *Carm. spuria* 1, 141-142; *AH* 11, 83, 1; 11, 85, 1; 11, 90, 5; 50, 72, 1-4; Cornelis Gerard, *Marias* IV, f^o 51^v: "Qui palmo terras, celos metitur et vndas, / Virgineo immensus clauditur ecce sinu"; cf. Er. *Carm.* 42, 7-10 (n.); ll. 365-367 below.
 293-295 *Ipse ... Temperat* Cf. *Carm.* 109, 21-23 (n.).
 293 *solo / nutu* Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* I, 38: "Dei solo qui temperat omnia nutu"; Er. *Conc. de puero Iesu*, LB V, 601 D; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 174, l. 801; *Adag.* 3839, LB II, 1153 E; *Paraphr. in Lc.* 1, 34, LB VII, 289 F; cf. *Carm.* 43, 69; 49, 2.
quatit astra nutu Cf. *Iob* 26, 11; Verg. *Aen.* IX, 106; X, 115; Ov. *Met.* II, 849; *Fast.* II, 489-490.
 294-296 *Qui ... terram* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 4, 45-46.
 294 *fretum / tumidum* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 18.
saeuis / procellis See n. *Carm.* 105, 121.
 296 *Sydere* An infinitive ("sidere"), not a noun.
 297 *quicquid ... summo* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 344.
 301-302 *sub antro Pectoris* Prud. *Psychom.* 774; cf. *LHL* IV, 197-198.
 302 *sacello* See n.l. 88 above.
 303 *circundans* Cf. *Ir.* 31, 22: "Femina circumdabit virum." This verse was traditionally interpreted as a prophecy of Christ's birth; see, e.g., Aug. *Serm. supp.* 119, 3, *PL* 39, 1983; 194, 3, *PL* 39, 2106; *AH* 11, 239, 6; 18, 25, *Ad Magnificat*; 18, 25, *In i. nocturno, antiphona* 3.
 303-304 *rotundus / orbis* *AH* 51, 172, 1; Brant, *Varia carm.*, sig. F8^v (in a poem on the birth of Christ).
 306 *Pone singultus* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 27, 74 (in the same metrical position): "Mitte singultus."
 306-307 *populique ... cathenas* The barbaric overlord is the devil, who keeps mankind enslaved in the bonds of sin. Cf. ll. 390-392 (n.) below.

310 Non quidem saeuo minitans furore
 Nec memor noxae aut inimica mittens
 Fulmina dextra,
 Sed puer lenis, puer a vetustis
 Imminens seclis, face qui secunda
 315 Secla iamdudum miseris daturus
 Aurea terris.
 Emica caecis vteri latebris,
 Pusio dulcis, trepido tumultu
 Cerne nutantem fabricam, sacratam
 320 Exere frontem.
 O dies omni venerandus aeuo
 Quo, patris Iesu soboles superni,
 Carne vestitus lutea silenti

310–316 *Non ... terris* Cf. *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1229 B: “Deum edidisti, stupescit natura; sed edidisti non tonantem, non fulmen vibrantem, verum vagientem; genuisti non vindicem, sed reconciliatorem, non supplicii, sed salutis auctorem.”

310 *saeuo / furore* Lucan. V, 586–587.

311–312 *inimica mittens Fulmina* Hor. *Carm.* I, 12, 59–60.

313–317 *a vetustis Imminens seclis / Emica* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 9, 25–27: “quem vates vetustis concinebant saeculis / ... / emicat.” The phrase “vetustis seclis” also occurs in Er. *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1229 F: “Te vetustis seculis gentilium oracula obscuris ambagibus denotabant”; and *Carm.* 42, 5. For the verb “emica” in l. 317 see n. *Carm.* 42, 35.

314 *face* The word is often used of the sun and its light; see, e.g., *Carm.* III, 38 and 85. Christ, of course, is the true sun; see n. *Carm.* III, 76.

315–316 *Secla ... terris* In *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, LB V, 1344 B–C. Er. links Prud. *Cath.* II, 57–60 with Vergil’s fourth eclogue and adds: “Iesus autem natus renouavit omnia, et auream aetatem nobis reduxit.” Cf. also *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1230 A (of Mary): “aurei seculi renouatrix”; *Carm.* 50, 155–156; ll. 69–76 above (with notes); *AH* 53, 20, 8–9.

Secla / Aurea Cf. *Carm.* 4, 52–54 (n.).

317–318 *Emica ... dulcis* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* II, 13–14: “Emerge, dulcis pusio, / quem mater edit castitas.” Er. paraphrases these verses as follows in *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, LB V, 1340 E: “Iam velut auidus exoriturae lucis, per

apostrophen inuitat infantem, vt emergat e virginei corporis latebris.”

317 *caecis / latebris* Lucr. I, 408; Verg. *Aen.* III, 232 and 424; Ov. *Met.* I, 388.

vteri latebris See n. *Carm.* 64, 76.

318 *Pusio dulcis* Er. uses Prudentius’ phrase also in *Obsecratio*, LB V, 1236 E; cf. *Carm.* I, 90.

318–320 *trepido ... frontem* Cf. *Carm.* III, 315–329.

318 *trepido tumultu* See n. *Carm.* 43, 7.

319 *Cerne ... fabricam* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 50 (= Er. *Carm.* III, 315): “aspice conuexo nutantem pondere mundum.” In Vergil’s poem the sentence is addressed, as here, to the baby who is about to inaugurate the new golden age.

321 *O dies ... aeuo* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 39: “salue, festa dies, toto venerabilis aeuo, / qua deus infernum vicit.” Er.’ verse is meant to contrast with ll. 161–162 above.

322 *patris / superni* Cf. ll. 253–254 above.

323 *Carne vestitus lutea* Cf. *Virg. et mart. comp.*, LB V, 591 B: “humana carne vestitum”; *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1230 D; Arator II, 98: “carnis vestitus amictu / Christus”. Mary’s womb is the bridegroom’s dressing-room (ll. 233–234 and n.), where the divinity puts on the gown of human flesh. See Salzer, pp. 87–88; Meersseman, I, pp. 31–35; Er. *Liturg. Virg. Lauret.*, ASD V, 1, p. 105, ll. 304–310.

lutea For the epithet cf. *Iob* 4, 19: “hi qui habitant domos luteas”; Walter, *Alex.* X, 426: “luteo de carcere”; Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 2, ASD V, 2, p. 148, l. 640 (of the body): “lutea domus”.

Proderis orbi.
 325 O, tui quantum iubili tulere,
 Nate, vagitus; redeuntis illi
 Nuntii vitae, reducis fuere
 Signa salutis.
 En tibi vultu iubilant sereno
 330 Cuncta nascenti, prope iam recisam
 Excitat lucem meliore currens
 Tramite Phaebus.
 Nubibus caeli chorus e supernis
 En modos gaudens ciet insolentes,
 335 Orbis extremi duce te requirunt
 Sydere Chaldi.
 Te pecus pronò veneratur ore
 Bruta, te cantu modulans agresti
 Laudat, exultat pietas relictis
 340 Rustica bubus.
 Quin et vmbrosas subito renatis
 Frondibus syluas videas et omne
 Floribus densis viruisse pratum et
 Gramine laeto.
 345 Iam fluunt amnes celeres Lyaei
 Dulcibus riuus, sapit vnda vitem,
 Rore iam stillant hilares benigno
 Balsama caeli.
 Iam ferunt duri noua mella scopli,
 350 Ismarae cautes redolente nardo
 Iam calent, Syrum spatiosa sudat
 Quercus amomum.
 Inter haec quanto saliisse rere
 Gaudio castae tenerum puellae

328 *Signa salutis* = LHL V, 153.

330–332 *prope ... Phaebus* After the winter solstice the days begin to lengthen once more, as the sun rises in the zodiac. Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 11, 7–8: “quam paene subductam facem / sensim recisa extinxerat”; and Er.’ commentary on these verses in *LB* V, 1340 C.

335–336 *Orbis ... Chaldi* *Mt.* 2, 1–12. The Chaldeans were famed for their astronomical and astrological knowledge. Cf. Er. *Carm.* 111, 40. The word “Chaldi” seems to be a neologism for “Chaldaei”.

335 *Orbis extremi* Verg. *Georg.* II, 123; Ov. *Am.* II, 6, 38; *Met.* II, 254; and elsewhere.

337–340 *Te ... bubus* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 11, 81–88.

337–338 *Te ... Bruta* Cf. *Carm.* 42, 36–37 (n.).

341–342 *vmbrosas / syluas* Ov. *Met.* I, 693; Ps. *Ov. Epic. Drusi* 105.

343–344 *viruisse ... Gramine* See n. *Carm.* 106, 92.

344 *Gramine laeto* = Verg. *Georg.* II, 525.

345–352 *Iam ... amomum* For these motifs, regular features of the golden age, cf., e.g., Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 30; *Georg.* I, 132; Tib. I, 3, 45; Ov. *Met.* I, 111–112; Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, 353.

350 *Ismarae cautes* Cf. *Carm.* 102, 103.

351–352 *Syrum / amomum* See n. *Carm.* 4, 144.

353–355 *Inter ... Pectus* Cf. *Carm.* 93, 201 (n.).

- 355 Pectus, immensi impediētis orbis
 Gaudia pannis?
 Prolis o salue veneranda tantae
 Mater, abs cuius niueis papillis
 Pendet et terrae Deus et supremi
 360 Rector Olympi,
 Lacteo cuius alitur liquore,
 Cuncta qui pascit, vehit aura quicquid,
 Quod capit tellus, natat inquieto
 Aequare quicquid,
 365 In sinu cuius recubat pudico
 Ambitus quem nec sinuosus aethrae
 Concipit, cuius roseis propinat
 Oscula malis
 Ille prae natis hominum decorus,
 370 Patris exemplar superi, ac tenellis
 Dulce subridens recipit vicissim
 Pressa labellis.
 Quid neget, mater, tibi iam rogatus
 Filius? Seu quid nequeat roganti

366 aethrae *scripsi*: aethre *Scri*.

369 prae *LB*: pre *Scri*.

374 Seu *scripsi*: ceu *Scri*.

- saliisse* / *Gaudio* / *Pectus* Cf. *Carm.* 64, 80 (n.); 64, 81.
 355 *immensi* / *orbis* See n. *Carm.* 98, 10.
 358–362 *Mater* ... *pascit* Cf. Cornelis Gerard, *Marias* VII, f° 75^v: “O quam grandis amor, huius ad vbera pendet alendus / Mundum qui saciat fertilitate cibi”; Er. *Obsecratio*, *LB* V, 1237 A: “noto admouens pectusculo, de virginea papillula suspenderes immensam mundi machinam digito librantem niueo liquore nutrices vniuersa pascentem”; *Carm.* 42, 7–10 (n.).
 358–360 *Mater* ... *Olympi* Cf. Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* III, 140–143: “Regem ... Olympi / quaerite / / Candida formosae iam pendet ad vbera matris.”
 358 *niueis* Mary’s purity was commonly likened to snow; see Salzer, pp. 335–336; Er. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1230 D: “Tui niuei pectoris”; 1232 B: “niuea tempora”; *Carm.* 133, 22. Cf. Otto 1231.
 360 *Rector Olympi* = *LHL* IV, 468–469.
 362–364 *vehit* ... *quicquid* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 344–345 (n.).
 365–367 *In* ... *Concipit* Cf. ll. 293–304 (n.) above.
 366 *Ambitus* / *sinuosus* Er. is referring to the heavenly spheres; cf. *Carm.* 49, 3 (n. on “volumina caeli”); 76, 2–4 (n.).
aethrae For the contracted form see *Carm.* 105, 138.
 369 *prae* ... *decorus* Cf. *Ps.* 44, 3: “Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum”. The phrase was traditionally interpreted to refer to Christ; see, e.g., Sedul. *Pasch.* II, 51–52; Ven. Fort. *Carm. spuria* 1, 164; Er. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1232 B; *Virg. et mart. comp.*, *LB* V, 589 C; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, *ASD* V, 3, p. 341, l. 288; p. 410, ll. 175–176; cf. *Carm.* 43, 11 (n.).
 370 *exemplar* *AH* 50, 135, 4, of Adam: “Dei exemplar”; cf. *Gn.* 1, 26–27. Christ is the second Adam, the true image of God on earth.
 373–376 *Quid* ... *honore* Cf. *Carm.* 1, 87–94 (with notes).
 373–374 *Quid* ... *Filius* Cf. *AH* 1, 1, 2; 1, 145, 4; 48, 450, 2: “Et si mille petis, ille / Nil negare poterit”; 50, 241, 7a: “Audi nos, / nam te filius / nihil negans honorat”; 50, 306, 14–15; 50, 314, 14–15; Brant, *Varia carm.*, sig. B7^v: “Filius ipse negat tibi nil”; Salzer, pp. 570–574, 580–581, and 594–596. Er. later criticized this attitude as superstitious; see *Coll.*, *ASD*

- 375 Ferre, quam tanto veneratur vnam
Tantus honore?
Ergo te cuncti querulis fatigant
Iure mortales precibus, dolore
Quolibet pressi, veriti tremendi
380 Iudicis ora.
Qui cauis tentant trabibus minaces
Adriae fluctus rabidasque Syrtes,
Certa tu nautis, duce qua ferantur,
Stella refulges.
385 Cumque iam scissis Aquilone velis
Concitae cymbam rapiunt procellae,
Te vocant vnam, prece tu cieris
Supplice, diua.
Te petit votis, dea, quem lacessit
390 Noxius languor, domini petit te
Barbari saeuis miseranda vinctus
Colla cathenis.

375 veneratur *LB*: venerantur *Scri*.

382 *Adriae scripsi*: Adire *Scri*.

385 iam *Scri*: tam *LB*.

I, 3, p. 473, ll. 82–86; *Apolog. adu. rhaps. Alb. Pii*, *LB IX*, 1166 C–D.

375–376 *veneratur / honore Carm.* 112, 346 (n.).

377–396 *te ... regem Cf. Ps.* 106, 4–29; Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* 1, 270–284 (the Virgin aids mariners at sea, those wounded in battle, prisoners, the hungry, sinners); Andrei. *Eleg.* I, sig. a7^r; Er. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB V*, 1232 D–1233 A.

377–378 *querulis / precibus Cf. Carm.* 50, 239. *fatigant / precibus Hor. Carm.* I, 2, 26.

381–388 *Qui ... diua* As “*stella maris*” Mary is the patron saint of sailors. They appeal to her when storms rend the sails; cf. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB V*, 1232 E; *Coll.*, *ASD I*, 3, p. 327, ll. 71–74. Topologically, she guides mankind through the storms of life to the safe harbour; see Salzer, pp. 400–418 and 527–531; Er. *Carm.* 4, 136 (n.).

381 *cauis / trabibus Verg. Aen.* III, 191.

381–382 *tentant trabibus / fluctus Cf. Verg. Ecl.* 4, 32.

minaces ... Syrtes The Adriatic was notorious for its storms; see, e.g., Hor. *Carm.* I, 3, 14–16; I, 33, 15; Er. *Adag.* 3589. The Syrtes were two seas off the coast of North Africa – the gulf of Sidra and the gulf of Gabes – that

were dangerous to shipping because of their storms and shoals; see, e.g., Hor. *Carm.* I, 22, 5; *Epod.* 9, 31; *Act.* 27, 17; Er. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD V*, 1, p. 42, ll. 60–61; p. 42, ll. 87–88. Cf. also *Obsecratio*, *LB V*, 1234 E, where Mary is the lodestar that guides us past the stormy shoals of Syrtes. 383–384 *nautis / Stella refulges Hor. Carm.* I, 12, 27–28.

389–390 *Te ... languor* Mary is often called “*medicina*” or “*remedium languoris*”; see Salzer, pp. 513–515.

390 *languor Cf. Carm.* 88, 78 (n.).

390–392 *domini ... cathenis Cf. ll.* 306–307 (n.) above. There the “chains of the barbarous lord” topologically refer to the bonds of sin, imposed by Satan. Here the phrase “*domini ... Barbari*” may well refer specifically to the Turk, the “new barbarian” from the east, who enslaved Christians. See Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)*, New York, 1967, pp. 147–175.

391–392 *saeuis / cathenis Hor. Carm.* III, 11, 45; *Stat. Theb.* X, 562.

vinctus Colla cathenis Sil. IX, 634; cf. *LHL I*, 372–373.

Tu leuas cunctos miserans et aures
 Admoues votis faciles precantum,
 395 Tu reis placas trepidis, dearum
 Maxima, regem.
 En ego morbis animi laborans,
 Mersus immani scelerum baratro,
 En ego vinclis premor impeditus
 400 Colla pudendis.
 Tu meos, virgo, miserare fletus,
 Te mei vnam suspiciunt ocelli,
 Tu meos audi lyrico vocata
 Carmine questus.

In fine: finis. τέλος *Scri.*

393–394 *aures / faciles* See n.ll. 281–282 above.

395 *reis / trepidis* Ov. *Ars* I, 460; *Fast.* I, 22; *Pont.* I, 2, 116; II, 2, 50; Brant, *Varia carm.*, sig. H4^r (on St. Joachim): “Quis nobis miseris et trepidis reis / Imploret veniam, crimine consciis?” The word “reus” in the sense of “sinner” is common in medieval hymns; see also Er. *Carm.* 118, 1.

397–400 *En ... pudendis* The three kinds of disasters mentioned in the preceding strophes are now tropologically applied to the speaker’s own soul; he is sick in soul, he is in danger of drowning in the seas of this world, and he is enslaved in sin. Cf. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1234 C; *Obsecratio*, *LB* V, 1238 F–1240 A.

397 *morbis animi* For the ancient idea that the soul has its diseases just like the body see, e.g., Plat. *Soph.* 228 e; *Tim.* 86 b–d; Cic. *Tusc.* III, 4, 7–9; IV, 10, 23. It frequently occurs in Er.’ writings; see, e.g., *De con-*

temptu mundi, *ASD* V, 1, p. 58, ll. 510–511; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 13 D; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 128, ll. 528–529 and 531; *Exomolog.*, *LB* V, 150 A–D and 156 E; Ep. 1593 (the preface to *Lingua*), passim.

398 *immani scelerum baratro* Cf. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1234 B: “altissimo vitiorum barathro”; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, *ASD* V, 3, p. 399, l. 899: “barathrum criminum”. The word “scelus” in Christian poetic usage often means “sin”. See, e.g., *AH* 32, 10, 8 (in a prayer to the Virgin Mary): “visita me miserum, / Oppressum mole scelerum”; 50, 323, 9, 19 (to the Virgin): “solue molcs, / Quae me premunt, scelerum”; Alcuin., *Carm.* 88, 4, 16: “Alcuino veniam scelerum da, Christe, precamur”; Brant, *Varia carm.*, sig. B8^r (in a poem to the Virgin): “Ipse ego peccator, scelerum quoque mole grauatus”; and Er. *Carm.* 2, 237 (n.).

III. THE PRETERNATURAL SIGNS AT THE CRUCIFIXION

summer? 1499

From thematic and verbal similarities to *Carm.* 112 and from its position in *Scri* between *Carmm.* 110 and 112, both of which were demonstrably written in 1499, we may infer that this poem dates from the same year. The date is corroborated by parallels in ll. 37–38 and 85–86 to Gregorio Tifernate, *Carmina*, first published at Venice in 1498. See also n.l. 75, with a reminiscence of Macarius Mutius, *De triumpho Christi*, Venice, 29 March 1499.

Lines 1–48 represent the fear of the unbelieving Jews at the time of Christ's death, during the ninth hour (mid-afternoon), when the sun had been darkened for three hours already, the earth quaked, and the rocks were split (*Mt.* 27, 45–51; cf. *Mt.* 15, 33; *Lc.* 23, 44–45). In ll. 49–62 we hear the expert opinion of the Greek and Chaldean astronomers to whom the Jews appeal. The poem concludes with the Christian interpretation of the events at the crucifixion and a condemnation of the blind fury of the Jews (ll. 63–100).

Metre: lesser Asclepiad alternating with an iambic dimeter. Er.' model for this rare combination is Boeth. *Consol.* III, m. 8, a poem lamenting man's ignorance of the true good.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 577–579.

CARMEN DE MONSTROSIS SIGNIS CHRISTO MORIENTE FACTIS.
METRVM PRIMVM EST ASCLEPIADEICVM CORYAMBICVM.
SECVNDVM EST ARCHILOICVM IAMBICVM DIMETRVM.

'Quis tam turbo ferox tantus et omnia
Repente concutit tremor?
Nostra et non modico mens trepidat metu,
Vultumque pallor occupat.
5 Vix Phaebus medium contigit aethera
Nonam recurrens lineam,
Et iam nunc hyemis noctibus atrior
Caligo textit sydera.
Terra ingente tremit concita turbine,

Tit. ASCLEPIADEICVM ... ARCHILOICVM *Scri*:
Asclepiadeum ... Archilochium *LB*.

- 1–2 *Quis ... tremor* For this "exordium that begins with a question" cf. Prud. *Cath.* 11, 1–2 (with Er.' commentary in *LB* V, 1339 A).
1 *turbo* According to one ancient theory, still widely accepted in the Renaissance, earthquakes were caused by powerful subterranean winds; see Aristot. *Meteor.* II, 8; Lucr. VI, 557–607; Sen. *Nat.* VI, 12, 1–VI, 21, 1; Er. Ep. 1756, ll. 81–83; cf. l. 9 below; *Carm.* 112, 85–86.
3–4 *Nostra ... occupat* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 250 (n.).
3 *mens trepidat metu* Hor. *Carm.* II, 19, 5; cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 685; VI, 491; Ov. *Trist.* I, 5, 37; l. 65 below.
4 *Vultum / pallor occupat* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV,

- 499: "pallor ... occupat ora"; Er. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, *LB* VIII, 551 E: "Ora pallor occupat."
5 *Phaebus ... aethera* Cf. *Carm.* 102, 57 (n.).
6 *Nonam recurrens lineam* That is, it was the ninth hour, or mid-afternoon according to the ancient reckoning; see the headnote. The word "lineam" refers to the line which marks the hour on the sundial; cf. Pers. 3, 4; Plin. *Nat.* VII, 60, 214. Here it is used by metonymy for the hour itself.
9 *ingente* Instead of "ingenti", which does not fit the metre. For another sign of hasty composition see n.l. 98 below.
turbine See n.l. 1 above.

10 Seseque saxa dissecant,
 Conuexoque poli pondere machina
 Pendet recliua in inferos.
 Vnde hic insolitae noctis ab aethere
 Toti horror incubat solo?
 15 Tantum, ah, ne vetulis territa concidat
 Natura ruptis legibus
 Et totam properent soluere machinam
 Rerum soluta faedera,
 Neu caeleste iubar Tartareum cahos
 20 Terrae rescindens obicem
 Inuoluat tenebris triste nigrantibus
 Rumpatque luminis vices
 Confundatque grauans omnia Tartarus
 Vmbris creata informibus!
 25 Quod si nunc superum conspiciant diem
 Manes recluso carcere,
 Nil huius reliquum (credite) machinae
 Dies videbit crastina.
 At tu tale veta, summe deus, nefas,

20 *Terrae Scri: Terra LB.*

23 *grauans scripsi: grauens Scri.*

11–58 *Conuexoque ... deus* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 315–322 (with notes). The Jews and the astronomers agree that the world, which God had bound together out of disparate elements, is about to revert to unbounded chaos. The firmament, it is feared, will collapse; the abyss will gape open and swallow up all light, and the world will come to an end. *Lucr.* VI, 596–607 describes such fears during earthquakes. Cf. *Verg. Georg.* I, 466–468; *Lucan.* I, 72–80; II, 290–291; V, 627–636; *Ap. Ioh.* 6, 12–14 (when the sixth seal is opened); *Sen. Thy.* 789–884; *Claud. De rapt. Pros.* I, 42–45 (cf. l. 19 and n. below); I, 113–116; *Prud. Cath.* 9, 79–81 (at the crucifixion). Cf. also *AH* 53, 36, 19: “[Tellus,] quae tremula / eius morte se ca- / suram minitat”.

11–12 *Conuexoque ... inferos* Cf. *Verg. Aen.* XII, 205: “[si] caelum ... in Tartara soluat”.

14 *Toti ... solo* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 139 (n.).

15–16 *Tantum ... legibus* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 105–106 (at the crucifixion).

territa / Natura *Arator* I, 8–9 (at the crucifixion).

16 *ruptis legibus* *Lucan.* IV, 27.

17–18 *Et ... faedera* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 318–319; *Lucan.* I, 79–80: “totaque discors / Machina diuolsi turbabit foedera mundi.”

17 *soluere machinam* *Boeth. Consol.* II, m. 8, 21.

18 *Rerum / faedera* *Lucan.* II, 2; *Boeth. Consol.* I, m. 5, 43; IV, m. 6, 4; V, m. 3, 1; cf. *Er. Carm.* 109, 20; l. 57 below; *Er. Precat. pro pace eccles.*, *LB* IV, 654 E; V, 1217 B.

19 *caeleste iubar* *Claud. De rapt. Pros.* I, 45 (in similar context).

19–20 *Tartareum ... obicem* Cf. *Walter, Alex.* X, 131–132 (Satan fears that Alexander, arriving in the underworld, may be Christ): “rupto parat obicc terrae / Tartareum penetrare Chaos.”

19 *Tartareum cahos* See n. *Carm.* 99, 18.

25–28 *Quod ... crastina* If the underworld were now to yawn wide open, the shades of the dead would see the light of day and the upper world would sink back into primeval chaos. The motif is a commonplace in epics since *Hom. Il.* XX, 61–65 (during an earthquake). See, e.g., *Lucr.* VI, 597–600 (earthquake); *Verg. Aen.* VIII, 243–246; and *Ov. Met.* V, 356–358.

29 *summe deus* See n. *Carm.* 110, 227.

- 30 Magni creator aetheris,
 Quin iam saluet opus ipsa quod aeditur
 Inuicta virtus dexteræ.
 Sed quid deterius in dubiis sibi
 Mens vsque praesumit tremens?
 35 Noctem hanc forte vagans et male cognitus
 Poposcit ordo syderum.
 Phaebe forte graui noxia corpore
 Fratris recondidit facem.
 Huc huc quotquot habet Graecia, quotquot et
 40 Chaldaea nutrit regio,
 Qui nostis varios aetheris ordines,
 Cursum et recursum syderum,
 Et quo luna meet menstrua tramite,
 Adeste, ne moremini.
 45 Collustrate polum, sydera discite,
 Quo quaeque voluantur gradu,
 Et monstrate nouae noctis originem,
 Si forte deprendi queat.’
- ‘Vae terrae indigenis, piscibus et feris,
 50 Quicquidque caelo clauditur.
 Triste heu, triste nimis fata parant opus
 Saeuo sinistra numine.
 En mox pressa cadet pondere non leui
 Tellus ruentis aetheris.
 55 Nil haec nox aliud, nil sibi vult tremor:
 Soluenda clamant secula

30 *Magni / aetheris* Verg. *Aen.* X, 356 and 459.

32 *Inuicta virtus* Ov. *Pont.* III, 4, III.

37–38 *Phaebe ... facem* In *Euangelium Nicodemi* II, 2 the Jews tell Pilate that the darkening of the sun is merely a solar eclipse. But in ll. 59–62 below, the astronomers deny that possibility. Cf. Hier. *Comm. in Mt.* 27, 45, CCSL 77, 273; Gregorio Tifernate, *Carm.*, sig. Az^v (at the crucifixion): “neque tunc vilae turbarent aera nubes / Aurea nec Phoebe prohiberet lumina fratris.” The possibility that a miraculous eclipse caused the darkening of the sun at the crucifixion was proposed by Ps. Dion. in *Epist.* 7, 2, purporting to be an eyewitness account. He is followed, e.g., by Albert. M. *Enarr. in Lc.* 23, 45, in: *Opera*, XXIII, 733–734. The possibil-

ity is also discussed at length by Marsilio Ficino, *De christiana religione* 10, in: *Opera*, I, 13–14.

38 *facem* See n. *Carm.* 110, 314.

39–40 *Huc huc ... regio* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 23.

40 *Chaldaea* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 335–336 (n.).

43 *luna / menstrua* Verg. *Georg.* I, 353; Prop. III, 5, 28; Prud. *Cath.* 12, 10.

49–50 *terrae ... clauditur* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 344–345 (n.).

51–52 *fata / sinistra* Iuv. 10, 129.

54 *ruentis aetheris* Cf. Lucan. II, 290 (return of chaos): “cum ruat arduus aether”; Prud. *Cath.* 11, 108 (at the end of time).

56 *Soluenda / secula* Cf. *AH* 54, 178, 1: “Dies irae, dies illa / Soluet saeculum in fauilla”; 2. *Petr.* 3, 10–12.

Et dirupta canunt vincula faederis
 Quo cuncta strinxerat deus.
 Nam nec luna quidem crassa tegit diem,
 60 Solis morata lampadem,
 Quae iam nunc rosei luminis inscios
 Completa lustrat inferos.⁷

Heus! Quo tota strepit murmure concio?
 Quis tantus in turba timor?
 65 Quo tanto trepidat turba fugax metu?
 Quis nam ruentium pauor?
 O caecam rabiem, proh furor impudens!
 Heu gentis horrendum scelus!
 En plebs ausa deum perdere perfida,
 70 Caecis citata furiis!
 Qui caelum atque solum, qui mare et omnia
 Potente condidit manu,
 Confossus lacero est in cruce corpore,
 Iam morte pallet insuper.
 75 Duram heu vita necem mortua pertulit,

75 *Duram scripsi: Dura Seri.*

57 *faederis* See n.l. 18 above.
 59–60 *Nam ... lampadem* The astronomers know from expert knowledge that a solar eclipse (ll. 37–38) does not last three hours and can besides only occur during the time of new moon. But as the passover is celebrated at the time of the first full moon after the vernal equinox, the moon has just been full.
 60 *Solis / lampadem* Sil. VI, 157; VII, 143; *LHL* III, 160; cf. Er. *Carm.* 112, 137 (n.).
 63 *strepit murmure* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 709.
 64 *Quis tantus / timor* Stat. *Theb.* XI, 182.
 65 *trepidat / metu* See n.l. 3 above.
 67–100 *O caecam ... deum* For Er.' attitude toward the Jews see Guido Kisch, *Erasmus' Stellung zu Juden und Judentum*, Tübingen, 1969; Cornelis Augustijn, *Erasmus und die Juden*, NAK 60 (1980), pp. 22–38; Heiko A. Oberman, *Wurzeln des Antisemitismus: Christenangst und Judenplage im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Reformation*, Berlin, 1981, pp. 48–51; Shimon Markish, *Erasmus and the Jews*, trans. Anthony Olcott, Chicago, 1986.
 69 *plebs / perfida* Cf. Sedul. *Pasch.* V, 144: "gens perfida" (the Jews). Before it was finally suppressed in the aftermath of the Holocaust, a

petition in the Good Friday prayer for all humanity urged Christians: "Oremus et pro perfidis Iudaeis." The epithet "perfidis", originally intended to mean "unbelieving", was popularly understood in the hostile sense of "perfidious".
 70 *citata furiis* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* II, 92 (of the Jewish people, which does not recognize Christ as God): "furiis ... lymfatam".
 71 *Qui ... mare* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 4, 45: "Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat".
caelum / solum / mare Cf. *Carm.* 109, 21 (n.).
 73 *lacero / corpore* Ov. *Met.* VI, 562; XV, 532; *Fast.* VI, 744.
 74 *morte pallet* Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 709.
 75 *Duram ... pertulit* Cf. Mutius, *Triumph.*, sig. cr: "saeuam ... tuli ... mortem / Vitae auctor."
Duram / necem Cf. *Carm.* 94, 95 (n.).
vita / mortua See *Carm.* 94, 84 (with n.l. 83–84). In the present verse the paradoxical phrase refers to Christ, the life (*Carm.* 43, 37) that has died on the cross. Cf. *AH* II, 21, 4: "mors ... / In qua nostra semel mortua vita fuit"; 50, 102, 30: "Mortua vita mortis regnum diripit."

Sol ille verus occidit!
 Quid ni cuncta nefas expaueant nouum
 Turbis patratum pessimis
 Authorique suo condoleant deo,
 80 Orbata quippe iam patre?
 Hinc plane, hinc subitae funereum polo
 Diem tulere tenebrae.
 Pressis obstupuit lucida cornibus
 Phaebi videntis orbita
 85 Obduxitque suam nube nigra facem,
 Ne indigna cernat funera.
 Et tellus oneris impatiens grauis
 Imis tremit radicibus,
 Ah, quam pene suum tota per infera
 90 Regem sequuta Tartara!
 Verum quicquid id est, nil cadit omnium
 Christi necem gementium.
 Non solum solidum perdere non venit,
 Verum imbecille vt roboret.
 95 Quae te, quae maneat iudicis vltio,

76 *Sol / occidit* *Carm.* 88, 56 (n.). There is a play here on the two meanings of "occidit". Cf. Er. *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, *LB* V, 1339 F; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 246, l. 209.

Sol / verus The phrase is very common in medieval literature; see, e.g., Arator II, 541; *AH* I, 37, 1; 48, 158, 2; 52, 106, 4. Er. discusses the image in *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, *LB* V, 1339 D–1340 A; cf. *Carm.* 42, 35 (n.); 88, 106 (with n.ll. 106–108); 112, 135–138 and notes; 112, 342.

77–88 *Quid ... radicibus* Cf. *Paraphr. in Mt.* 27, 45, *LB* VII, 142 B; especially *Paraphr. in Lc.* 23, 45, *LB* VII, 463 F–464 A.

77 *nefas expaueant* Lucan. IV, 556; X, 453.

80 *Orbata / patre* Cf. Sedul. *Pasch.* V, 238 (at the ninth hour): "[elementa] Auxiliis orbata patris".

83 *cornibus* See n. *Carm.* 93, 83.

85–86 *Obduxitque ... funera* Cf. Ov. *Met.* II, 329–330 (at Phaethon's death): "[Sol] obduc-tos, luctu miserabilis aegro, / condiderat vultus"; Hier. *Comm. in Mt.* 27, 45, *CCSL* 77, 273–274: "Videturque mihi [solem] ... retraxisse radios suos ne ... pendentem videret Dominum"; Gregorio Tifernate, *Carm.*, sig. A2" (at Christ's death): "Talia ne clarus spectaret crimina Titan / Defecit,

vultusque suos lucemque negavit." The thought that the sun hid his face in horror at the crucifixion is a commonplace; see Franz J. Dölger, *Sol salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum*, Münster, 1925², pp. 352–353; *Prud. Cath.* 9, 79–80; *AH* 2, section 3, 20, 5 (p. 139); 48, 158, 1; 51, 16, 4; cf. also ll. 97–100 (n.) below; *Carm.* 112, 2–3.

85 *facem* See n. *Carm.* 110, 314.

86 *indigna / funera* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 617–618; cf. Er. *Carm.* 112, 65 (n.).

87–94 *Et ... roboret* Cf. Sedul. *Pasch.* V, 245–251.

88 *Imis / radicibus* Lucr. I, 352; VI, 141; Verg. *Georg.* I, 319; *Aen.* VIII, 237–238.

91 *quicquid id est* *Carm.* 88, 100 (n.).

93–94 *Non ... roboret* Cf. *Lc.* 9, 56: "Filius hominis non venit animas perdere, sed saluare."

95–100 *Quae ... deum* Cf. *Prud. Cath.* 11, 81–116. There Prudentius says that the cattle and the shepherds recognize their Lord, but the Jews do not (see Er. *Carm.* 42, 36–37 and n.). Only at the Last Judgment, when they are struck by the thunderbolt of the cross, will they understand who he was whom they crucified. Er. comments on the Prudentius passage in *Comm. in hymn. Prud.*, *LB* V, 1346 D–1348 E.

Gens caeca, saxo durior!
 En sol turpe scelus tectus abhorruit,
 Tellusque sensit stolidia,
 At tu, sola animis caeca procacibus,
 100 Quem perdis ignoras deum.

96 *Gens ... durior* Cf. Sedul. *Pasch.* V, 14 (the Jews): "O gens caeca oculis, o gens durissima corde"; Arator II, 246 (the Jews): "Gens dura".
caeca The blindness refers to the Jews' sacrilege in killing Christ, the true sun, whom they cannot see in their blindness. See ll. 67–70; *Rat. ver. theol.*, LB V, 95 D; Aug. *Serm.* 136, 4, *PL* 38, 753: "Duriore facti, caeci facti qui se iactabant videre lumen, crucifixerunt lucem. Quanta caecitas! Lucem occiderunt." Cf. also *Mt.* 15, 14; 23, 16–24; *Ioh.* 9, 39; *Rom.* 11, 25; Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 2, *ASD* V, 2, p. 110, ll. 446–447: "caecitas vel potius impietas".

saxo durior Ov. *Met.* XIV, 712–713; Er. *Ep.* 7, l. 11; cf. *Carm.* 103, 20 (n.).
 97–100 *En ... deum* Cf. Arator I, 321–323 (to the Jews): "Sol ruit in tenebras, tu pectore nigra rebellas; / Arua tremunt concussa locis, tu fixior haeres; / Saxa crepant, tu dura manes"; Er. *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 333, ll. 8–9: "Sol Christo moriente luxit, quid hominem oportet facere? Saxa mors illius scindere potuit, humanam mentem non permolliet?"
 98 *Tellus / stolidia* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 19 (n.). The first syllable of "stolidia", contrary to classical practice, is long in the present passage – a sign of hasty composition (see also n.l. 9 above). Er. does scan it short in *Carm.* 94, 19.

112. THE HARROWING OF HELL

summer? 1499

Since *Carmm.* 110, 111, and 112 form "a more or less coherent sequel" (Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 174), we may infer that *Carm.* 112 too was composed sometime in 1499. Further evidence permits us to confirm this date and narrow it down to about the summer of 1499 – not long after Er. finished writing *Carm.* 110. A *terminus post quem* is provided by the publication date of what must have been Er.' inspiration for this narrative poem: Macarius Mutius, *De triumpho Christi*, Venice, F. Lucensis and A. Francisci, 29 March 1499 – the first neo-Latin epyllion on the harrowing of hell. On this work see Carl P.E. Springer, *Macarius Mutius's "De Triumpho Christi": Christian Epic Theory and Practice in the Late Quattrocento*, in: *Acta Conuentus Neo-Latini Torontonensis*, ed. A. Dalzell et al., Binghamton, 1991, pp. 739–746.

Apart from the obvious similarity of theme and length (Mutius' poem consists of 317 lines, Er.' of 353), there are numerous parallels in wording and motifs. Both Mutius and Er. preface their narrative with the same exhortation to their muse to begin: "Incipe". Both introduce a catalogue of musical instruments, including the lute, lyre, flute, and tambourine ("sistrum"), to praise Christ's triumph. Both poets call the music thus produced "caeleste melos". Both describe how the Saviour's arrival in Hades causes Cerberus to bristle with fear, how Christ breaks down the gates of hell, how the Furies and the other monsters of hell tremble and

hide, and how the sceptres fall from their hands. And both go on to describe how Christ, walking serenely through the silence of hell, dispels the darkness and causes the Styx and Cocytus to stop their flow. At that, the horrified demons fling themselves headlong down into the deepest abyss of hell, while Christ preaches to the dead and harrows hell. This done, both Mutius and Er. feel the need to collect themselves before rising to the heights of their theme and depicting the procession of the righteous to heaven. Both, accordingly, employ a second exordium to invoke Christ, that heavenly muse who alone can reveal the secrets of God to man. Like Mutius, Er. depicts the triumphal procession of the O.T. patriarchs, kings, and prophets, the throngs of men, women, and children; but unlike his model, he does not regale the reader with a Homeric catalogue of the names of the souls released from limbo. As Christ rises on the third day, both poets show nature rejoicing as never before; never had the sun shone more brilliantly than on the day of the resurrection of its Lord.

From these parallels it is evident that Er.' poem on Christ's triumph in the underworld must have been inspired, at least in part, by Mutius' *De triumpho Christi*. Since this epyllion was published at the end of March, Er. could have read it in the spring of 1499, while he was still in Paris, or in the summer of that year, when he was in England. A *terminus ad quem* is, to all appearances, provided by Epp. 112 and 113 (late October 1499). In these two letters Er. and Johannes Sixtinus discuss some significant poems by Er., written more or less extemporaneously in various metres and in a middle style that Er. characterizes as too learned for the unlearned, too unlearned for the learned. These have hitherto been regarded as lost; see Cornelis Reedijk, *Verdwenen poëzie van Erasmus*, Het Boek 31 (1952-1954), pp. 115-117; *Poems*, pp. 398-399. But the poems discussed at such length in Epp. 112-113 probably included *Carmm.* 110-112 as well as some or all of the ones found in *Eg.* See Vredeveld, *Lost Poems*.

The doctrine of Christ's descent into hell goes back to several N.T. passages, particularly *Act.* 2, 31; *Rom.* 10, 7; *Eph.* 4, 9; 1. *Petr.* 3, 19; 4, 6. See J.M. Robinson, *Descent into Hades*, in: *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, I, New York, 1962, pp. 826-828. Patristic authors speculated that Christ went down to hell to preach to the spirits of the damned and to release the souls of the O.T. saints from their prison, the limbus patrum. The fullest and most influential telling of the story is that of the apocryphal *Euangelium Nicodemi*. For the development of the doctrine see J.A. MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell*, Edinburgh, 1930; Josef Kroll, *Gott und Hölle: Der Mythos vom Descensuskampfe*, Leipzig, 1932; Heinz-Jürgen Vogels, *Christi Abstieg ins Totenreich und das Läuterungsgericht an den Töten*, Freiburg, 1976; and Jackson J. Campbell, *To Hell and Back: Latin Tradition and Literary Use of the "Descensus ad Inferos" in Old English*, *Viator* 13 (1982), pp. 107-158. For Er.' views on the descent see *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, pp. 257-259, ll. 545-594; *Enarrat. in Ps. 22*, *ASD* V, 2, p. 332, ll. 106-113; *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 369, ll. 175-184; and his paraphrases of the N.T. passages mentioned above. Craig R. Thompson discusses Er.' opinions in *Inquisitio de Fide: A*

Colloquy by Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, 1524, New Haven, 1950, pp. 89–93.

Mutius' *De triumpho Christi* was especially popular in Germany and the Low Countries. It was reprinted at least nine times in the sixteenth century, with editions at Venice in 1501, 1532, and 1567, Strasbourg in 1509 and 1514, Deventer in c. 1512, Erfurt in c. 1515, and Cologne in 1515 and 1550. Er. was the first to imitate Mutius. Matthias Funck followed with a *Triumphus christianus*, Frankfurt an der Oder, 1514. Eobanus Hessus then published a *Victoria Christi ab inferis*, Erfurt, 1517, based in part on Mutius' and Funck's poems, in part on a little-known poem ascribed to Iuuenius, *Triumphus Christi heroicus*, *PL* 19, 385–388; see Harry Vredevelde, *The Unsuspected Source of Eobanus Hessus's "Victoria Christi ab Inferis"*, in: *Acta Conuentus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami*, ed. I. D. McFarlane, Binghamton, 1986, pp. 293–297.

Metre: hexameter.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 579–584.

CARMEN HEROICVM DE SOLEMNITATE PASCHALI
ATQVE DE TRYVMPHALI CHRISTI RESVRGENTIS
POMPA ET DESCENSU EIVS AD INFEROS

Clara serenati laetentur sydera caeli,
Sydera quae quondam domino moriente choruscos

1–21 *Clara ... soluat* Cf. *Ps.* 95, 11–13: "Laetentur caeli, et exsultet terra; Commoueat mare et plenitudo eius; Gaudebunt campi, et omnia quae in eis sunt. Tunc exsultabunt omnia ligna siluarum A facie Domini, quia venit." Er.' immediate model for the lengthy series of exhortations, however, was Hegius, *Adhortatio ad leticiam de gloriosissima Iesu resurrectione*, in: *Carm.*, sig. E4^r:

Exors leticie sit nemo: reuixit Iesus.
Alituum genus omne canat: surrexit Iesus. ...
Arboribus redeant frondes: surrexit Iesus.
Gramina iam campis redeant: surrexit Iesus.
Floreant omne nemus, quoniam surrexit Iesus.
Fiat veliuolum pelagus: surrexit Iesus.
Fiat terra ferax Ceteris: surrexit Iesus.
Florescant patulae fagi: surrexit Iesus.
Horrifer abscedat Boreas: surrexit Iesus.
Floriferi spirent Zephyri: surrexit Iesus. ...
Angelicus chorus exultet: surrexit Iesus. ...
Hybernum fugiat frigus: surrexit Iesus.
Lintea dent ventis nautae: surrexit Iesus.
Nauita nunc maris aequor aret: surrexit Iesus.

And so forth.

The motif of exhorting all creation to rejoice at the resurrection of her Lord is traditional; see *AH* 50, 91, 1: "Laetare, caelum, desuper, / Adplaudite, tellus ac mare"; 51, 86, 1–2; 53, 36, 21. Other writers describe nature's joy at Christ's return and link the resurrection with the renewal of nature in springtime; see, e.g., Aug. *Serm. supp.* 164, 2, *PL* 39, 2067; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 1–46; *AH* 1, 62, 1; 53, 36, 18–19; 54, 148, 1–4; also ll. 336–346 below.

1–11 *Clara ... tellus* Cf. *AH* 53, 36, 19: "Lucent clarius / sol et luna morte / Christi turbida; / Tellus herbida / resurgenti plaudit / Christo."

1 *Clara ... caeli* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 8 (at Easter): "laetitiamque suam sidera clara probant"; Sedul. *Pasch.* I, 250: "Clara serenatis infundere lumina terris."

serenati / caeli = Stat. *Silv.* I, 2, 51.
sydera caeli = *LHL* V, 142–143.

2–3 *choruscos* *Condiderant radios* Cf. Sedul. *Pasch.* V, 234–235 (at the crucifixion): "sol nube coruscos / Abscondens radios"; Ov. *Met.* I, 768: "radiis ... coruscis"; II, 329–330 (the sun-god grieving over the death of his

- Condiderant radios caligine turbida tristi,
 Laetentur referantque obtectos ocyus ignes.
 5 Vmbris vt quid enim nox vsque nigrantibus omnem
 Occupat atra polum? Fugiens petat infera nox haec.
 Ecce etenim iamiam, tetrus male amica tenebris,
 Nascitur ecce dies, lux surgit amabilis orbi,
 Lucis et immo opifex verusque Diespiter ille
 10 Nascitur, horrentis pulsurus nubila noctis.
 Florida plaudat humus, fundat sua munera tellus,
 Squallorem excutiat, blandis se floribus ornet.
 Incipiat steriles dudum componere ramos
 Sylua virente coma et festa se fronde coronet,
 15 Missaque plumigeri repetant sua carmina caetus.
 Dulce susurrantes modulentur in aethere voces,
 Et freta inaequales ponant pacata procellas,
 Nimbosusque Nothus longe concedat et Auster
 Grandisonus, tumidos cessent attollere fluctus,
 20 Et natura novos omnis iam denique vultus
 Laetior assumat seque in noua gaudia soluat.
 Nec desit superum tantis solemnibus ordo.
 Huc huc quin mage quot habet regio illa beata
 Aetheris indigenas properent penetralibus omnes
 25 Sydereis caelumque leues et mollia rumpant
 Nubila iamque oras veniant inuisere nostras.
 Terris haec celebranda dies; noua gaudia terris

11 plaudat *scripsi*: plaudit *Scri*.

22 superum *Scri*: superis *corr. manus post. in*

Scri, superior *LB*.

26 veniant *LB*: veniunt *Scri*.

- son Phaethon): "obductos ... / condiderat
 vultus"; Er. *Carm.* 111, 85–86 (n.).
 3 caligine turbida tristi Cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI, 876.
 5–6 Vmbris / nox / nigrantibus / atra polum Cf.
 Verg. *Aen.* V, 721; Sil. IX, 148; Mantuan.
Calam., p. 77: "nox atra caput velata nigran-
 tibus vmbris".
 5 vt quid enim = Martial. III, 77, 10.
 8 lux / amabilis Cf. *Carm.* 64, 40 (n.).
 9 opifex See n. *Carm.* 110, 115.
 11 plaudat Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 24 and 43
 (at Easter); *AH* 51, 86, 2 (calling on all cre-
 ation in heaven and earth): "In laude Christi
 plaudite"; 53, 36, 19.
 fundat ... tellus Cf. *Carm.* 96, 48; 106, 91
 (n.).
 12 blandis ... ornet Cf. ll. 340–341 below.
 blandis / floribus Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 23.

- floribus ornet = Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 2, 19.
 14 festa / fronde Verg. *Aen.* II, 249.
 fronde coronet = Hor. *Epist.* I, 18, 64; cf. *LHL*
 II, 357.
 16 in aethere voces = Lucan. III, 540; cf. *LHL* I,
 43.
 17 inaequales / procellas Hor. *Carm.* II, 9, 3.
 18 Nothus / et Auster Sil. XVI, 97; Mantuan.
Calam., p. 86, also with two subjects and a
 singular verb: "Notusque / Occidit et ...
 Auster."
 18–19 Auster ... fluctus Cf. *Carm.* 99, 3.
 19 tumidos / fluctus See n. *Carm.* 109, 6.
 21 noua gaudia = *Carm.* 99, 7 (n.).
 23 Huc ... regio Cf. *Carm.* 111, 39–40.
 24 Aetheris indigenas Prud. *Cath.* 3, 32.
 25–26 mollia ... iam Cf. Stat. *Ach.* I, 372–373.
 27 noua gaudia = *Carm.* 99, 7 (n.).

Christus agit, superis nondum gustata vel ipsis.
 Sed pater esse modo communia cuncta benignus
 30 Terrigenis superisque iubet, veteris mala quando
 Semina dissidii patris vnicus ipse rubenti
 Sanguine diluerit moriens; iam nulla simultas,
 Materies iam nulla odii, limum quia nostrum
 Assumpsit deitas, reddens diuina vicissim.
 35 Nostra tulit suaque ille dedit, mortalia caepit,
 Rettulit aeterna, per enim haec commertia carnem
 Conciliat patri, commiscuit infima summis
 Caelumque et terram vinclo connexuit vno.
 Ergo homini ne dedignetur adesse vocatus
 40 Spirituum sacer ille chorus, demissus Olympo
 Sedibus in nostris nobis se misceat vna
 Laetificum celebrare diem ac post fortia bella
 Victorem festo deducere carmine regem.
 Ille canat caeleste melos, nos terrea terra
 45 Plaudentes fragili miscebimus organa voce.
 Ille lyram feriat, hic plectra sonantia pulset,
 Ille canat cythara, hic agitet salientia sistra,
 Hinc ventosa tonet tuba, misceat inde suaues
 Tibia blanda modos, domini modulata tryumphos.

43 carmine *LB*: carmina *Scri*.

48 tonet *LB*: tenet *Scri*.

29–38 *Sed ... vno* Cf. *Inst. christ. matrim.*, *LB* V, 620 B–C.

29 *communiam cuncta* Cf. *Carm.* 49, 24 (n.).

32 *nulla simultas* = *Ov. Rem.* 661.

33–34 *limum ... deitas* Cf. l. 352 (n.) below.

33 *limum* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 323 (n.): “Carne ... lutea”.

36 *commertia* This word was often used to describe the Incarnation as a kind of exchange whereby God was made into a man, mankind after a fashion into gods, and whereby the highest was mixed with the lowest and the lowest raised to the heights (as Er. puts it in his *Paraphr. in Ioh.* 1, 18, *LB* VII, 505 F). See, e.g., Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 10, 55–56; *AH* 1, 184, 3; 1, 205, 1: “O mirandum commercium, / Finis et initium / Corpus sumit humanum”; 46, 44, 2; 54, 255, 1. On the doctrine of the “commercium admirabile” see *LThK* III, 20–22.

37 *commiscuit infima summis* Cf. *AH* 46, 50, 3: “Vbi summis / ima coniunxisti, / Cum benigne / tecum vniuisti / Substantiam

hominis”; 54, 146, 2: “[Christus] reconciliat / Summis ima”; Jean Gerson, *Josephina*, in: *Oeuvres* IV, p. 56 (of the Incarnation): “Infima ... iungat summis”.

39–49 *homini ... tryumphos* Cf. *Carm.* 107, 1–2.

40 *demissus Olympo* = *Carm.* 137, 19; cf. *Bocc. Ecl.* 14, 92: “dimissus Olympo”; *Verg. Aen.* IV, 268 and 694; XII, 634–635.

41 *Sedibus in nostris* = *Ps. Ov. Nux* 150.

42 *fortia bella* *Ov. Rem.* 373; *Ps. Ov. Epic. Drusi* 368; *LHL* II, 336.

44–49 *Ille ... tryumphos* Cf. *Mutius, Triumph.*, sig. c6^v: the heavenly host praises the harrowing of hell in a “caeleste melos” to the accompaniment of the “cithara”, “lyra”, and other stringed instruments as well as the “tibia”, the “sistra”, and the like. In Er.’ text the angels sing a “caeleste melos”, while men join in with their voices and instruments to celebrate Christ’s triumphal return.

49 *Tibia blanda modos* = *Carm.* 105, 30.

- 50 Sed nec nostra quidem, quicquid tenui ipsa valebit
 Carmine, musa nouos parcat cantare triumphos
 Victoris domini et solemnes ducere pompas.
 Ergo age iam fidibus quodcumque, Camaena, sonoris,
 Nostra, potes, nunc hora monet, nunc incipe carmen.
 55 Incipe, magnificos Iesu cantemus honores.
 Fronte leues discinge hederas et tempora lauro
 Cinge sacra atque imbellis amica pacis oliua:
 Palma pii recinenda ducis, recinenda trophaea,
 Vicerit vt nostram moriente in corpore mortem,
 60 Vt quoque Tartareae colliso principe noctis
 Regna triumphali populauerit infera ligno
 Duraque captiuae dimorit vincula gentis,
 Vincula quae canos religabant carcere patres.
 Ergo vbi triste iugum et veteris durissima lethi
 65 Imperia ipse ferens indigna morte peremit,
 Protinus arrepto post praelia dura bacillo,
 Liuida quo torui contriuerat ora colubri,
 Victor perpetuis squalentia castra tenebris
 Laetus adit properatque ereptam abducere praedam.

50–51 *tenui* / *Carmine* Cf. *Carm.* 93, 199 (n.); *Adag.* 1575.

52 *solemnes ducere pompas* = Verg. *Georg.* III, 22.

53–63 *Ergo ... patres* The epic *propositio* and invocation of the Muse. Cf. Er. *Comm. in Ov.*, ASD I, 1, p. 147, l. 11–p. 148, l. 12.

53 *Ergo age* = *LHL* II, 182–183.

53–55 *Camaena, / incipe carmen. Incipe ... honores* Cf. Mutius, *Triumph.* 3–4, sig. c1: “Christi, pia Musa, triumphum / Incipe: siderei dicam spectacula regni”; ll. 221–222 below (the second exordium).

54 *nunc hora / nunc* = Sil. XI, 194.

56–57 *Fronte ... oliua* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 5–8 (n.). The laurel, being sacred to Apollo, was symbolic of the higher genres and was associated with victory.

56 *hederas / lauro* Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 13.

56–57 *tempora lauro Cinge* Verg. *Aen.* V, 539; *Ov. Trist.* IV, 2, 51; *Ps. Ov. Epic. Drusi* 459; cf. Er. *Carm.* 102, 43 (n.).

56 *tempora lauro* = *LHL* V, 386.

56–57 *lauro / sacra* See n. *Carm.* 102, 61.

57 *imbellis / oliua* Val. Fl. V, 361.
amica pacis oliua The olive branch is an ancient symbol of peace; cf., e.g., Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 116; *Stat. Ach.* I, 727; Sil. XIII, 68–69. Because the dove took an olive branch back to Noah’s ark, it also foreshadows Christ’s

victory and his reign of peace after the flood of sin; see n. *Carm.* 50, 154–156 above. For this reason the triumphant Christ wears an olive wreath; see l. 267 below.

59 *Vicerit ... mortem* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 209 (n.).

60 *Tartareae / noctis* Sen. *Thy.* 1071.

61 *Regna ... ligno* The line is based on Walter, *Alex.* X, 139, in similar context (Satan fears that Alexander may be the one who will harrow hell): “Nostra triumphali populabitur atria ligno.” Cf. Er. *Carm.* 110, 202–204 (n.). *Regna / infera* See n. *Carm.* 49, 12.

62 *Duraque ... gentis* Cf. l. 174 (n.) below; “dimorit” is a contraction of “dimouerit”.

65 *indigna morte peremit* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 163; cf. Er. *Carm.* 111, 86 (n.): “indigna ... funera”.

66–67 *bacillo ... colubri* Cf. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, ASD V, 2, p. 332, l. 117.

67 *contriuerat ora colubri* Cf. *Gn.* 3, 15.

68 *squalentia* The foul squalor of Tartarus is well attested; see, e.g., Verg. *Cul.* 333; *Aen.* VI, 299 (Charon); Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, 339; l. 155 below. Since “squalentia” governs “tenebris”, “squalentia” also means “enshrouded (in darkness)”; cf. Er. *Carm.* 121, 2: “scalebat [i.e., squalibat] ... caligine.”

69 *Laetus adit* = Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 544.
praedam The word is commonplace in this context; see, e.g., Ven. Fort. *Carm.* II, 6, 24;

- 70 Ast tenebrosa cohors et noctis amica silentis,
 Eminus vt sensere diem radiare serenum
 Insolita et noctem rarescere luce profundam
 Prospiciuntque noui radiantia signa triumphi,
 Concusso subitis tremuerunt pectore monstris,
 75 Moxque vmbrosa specus dubio tremebunda tumultu
 Verticibus summis imisque a sedibus omnis
 Concutitur; stetit vnda Stygis Phlegetontis et amnis,
 Cocytique vagos tenuerunt flumina cursus.
 Vmbrarum tremuere duces, tremuere rigentes
 80 Centumque Eumenides subito intumuere colubris,
 Et cecidere manu radiantia sceptrata minaci,
 Ac trepidans premit ora trifauca ianitor ingens,

AH 2, 131, 3; 50, 215, 3; 51, 100, 10; Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, ASD V, 2, p. 332, l. 113; 85, ASD V, 3, p. 394, ll. 779–780; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 280, ll. 750–751. See also ll. 89, 225, 239, and 352 below.

70–84 *Ast ... timore* Hell's fear and trembling at the hero's irruption is a standard motif in ancient literature; see Josef Kroll, *Gott und Hölle: Der Mythos vom Descensuskampfe*, Leipzig, 1932, index, pp. 535–536, s.v. "Descensus. Aufregung" and "Schrecken". Cf. further Ps. Iuenc. *Triumph.* 25–36, where the demons, Charon, Cerberus, Gorgons, Harpies, Furies, and Fates are said to tremble in fear of the miraculous light. In Mantuan. *Calam.*, p. 63 Christ prophesies that Cerberus and Orcus will feel his presence in hell; neither Furies nor adamant gates will stop him; Erinnyes will howl at the unaccustomed light; all hell will be rocked by a terrifying earthquake; the infernal rivers Phlegethon, Acheron, Cocytus, and Lethe will stop and reverse their flow. Er.' immediate model, however, was Mutius, *Triumph.*, sigs. cr^r–cr^r: at the sight of Christ, surrounded by immense light, Cerberus ("ianitor Orci") cowers in fear; and when Christ breaks down the gates of hell, "timuit pallentis Aucrni / Regia, nigrarumque cohors turbata sororum / Occuluit pauidis horrentia monstra cerastis / Aduentante deo; tremuerunt sceptrata reclusae / Noctis et attoniti dextra cecidere tyranni." Mutius goes on to describe how Christ walks with serene countenance "per aperta silentia" (cf. l. 87 below) and dispels the hellish darkness, whereupon the Styx and Cocytus cease to flow.

70 *tenebrosa cohors* Walter, *Alex.* X, 160, referring to the devils in Hades.

noctis / silentis See n. *Carm.* 50, 187.

71 *sensere diem* = Stat. *Ach.* I, 248.

diem / serenum Lucan. V, 700–701; ll. 202–203 below.

72 *Insolita / luce* Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* III, 155; *Parthen. sec.* III, in: *Opera*, II, f^o 100^r: "Insolita noua luce dies in nocte refulsit"; ll. 140–141 below.

noctem / profundam = l. 190 below; cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 26; VI, 462; Sil. XII, 132.

noctem rarescere Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, 331 (in the underworld); Er. *Carm.* 102, 40 (n.).

73 *radiantia signa* = Arator I, 320. The "shining sign" is the cross; cf. l. 124 below.

signa triumphi = Stat. *Ach.* I, 778.

74 *Concusso / pectore* Verg. *Aen.* XI, 451–452. *subitis / monstris* = Stat. *Silv.* III, 2, 36.

75 *dubio / tumultu* Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* II, 154.

76 *Verticibus summis* Hor. *Carm.* III, 24, 6. *imis / a sedibus* Verg. *Aen.* I, 84; Stat. *Theb.* I, 228; cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 471.

77–82 *stetit ... ingens* Cf. Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* I, 85–88.

77 *Phlegetontis / amnis* Mantuan. *Calam.*, p. 28.

78 *tenuerunt flumina cursus* Calp. Sic. 2, 15; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 4; *Cir.* 233.

79–82 *tremuere ... ingens* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 481–483 (Orpheus in the underworld).

79–80 *rigentes ... colubris* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 34–35 (n.).

82 *ianitor ingens* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 400; Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* I, 85–86. The guardian is the enormous three-headed dog Cerberus, whose barking frightens the shades of the dead.

- Cunctaque praeterea teter quae plurima Auerni
 Carcer habet gelido pallebant monstra timore.
 85 Nec non interea valido ter turbine quassae
 Tartareae tremuere domus, mirabile dictu,
 Ter sunt mugitus per opaca silentia turpes
 Horrendum ex imis visi resonare cauernis.
 Flebat enim absorptam rabido qui gutture praedam
 90 Eriperet propius fera bellua figere gressus
 Et iamiam veritos vlulabat adesse triumphos.
 Pectore quinetiam trepidanti maximus ipse
 Arbiter vmbrarumque deus paulum ore represso
 Pallidus obrigit animoque exterritus haesit.
 95 Nam quid tanta nouis portendant omina monstribus
 Nec prorsus latuit neque certius omnia nouit.
 Mente legit veterum studiosa carmina vatam,
 Venturum qui carne deum miserabile sacra
 Morte piare genus mundo et succurrere lapsu
 100 Legis adhuc dubia positi cecinere sub vmbra;
 Anxius atque refert, quae monstra potentia quondam
 Infirma testata deum sub carne latentem
 Hauserit ipse suis non longe amotus ocellis,
 Vtque viro in ligno vitam expirante supremam
 105 Legibus antiquis subito natura remissis

- 83–84 *Auerni Carcer* Cf. Mutius, *Triumph.*, sig. c1^r: “Auerni / Regia”; sig. c2^r: “Erebi ... carcere”.
- 84 *pallebant / timore* Ov. *Fast.* II, 467–468; cf. Er. *Carm.* 110, 250 (n.).
- 85–86 *valido ... domus* Cf. Mantuan. *Calam.*, p. 63 (as Christ descends into Hades): “caua terrifico quatentur Tartara motu.”
- 85 *valido / turbine* = l. 160 below; cf. *Carm.* III, 1 (n.).
- 86 *Tartareae / domus* Ov. *Fast.* III, 620. *mirabile dictu* = LHL III, 367–368.
- 87 *per opaca silentia* = Val. Fl. II, 288; Sedul. *Pasch.* IV, 219.
- 88 *imis / cauernis* Ov. *Met.* V, 502; VI, 698.
- 89–90 *Flebat ... bellua* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 83 (of Tartarus): “euomit absorptam trepide fera belua plebem”; Er. *Carm.* 50, 53–56 (Satan); 110, 31–32 (death). Here the “beast” is Tartarus, the Leviathan who swallowed up the righteous, just as the great fish once swallowed Jonah. Cf. *Jon.* 2, 1–11; *Mt.* 12, 40; Er. *Paraphr. in Mt.* 12, 40, LB VII, 75 C; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 394, ll. 787–792; cf. also l. 273 (n.) below.
- 89 *rabido / gutture* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 421 (of Cerberus).
- praedam* See n.l. 69 above.
- 90 *figere gressus* = Iuuen. III, 113.
- 92–93 *maximus ... deus* Cf. Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* I, 55–56: “O maxime noctis / arbiter vmbrarumque potens”.
- 94 *exterritus haesit* = Poliz. *Sylv.* 3, 284; cf. Verg. *Aen.* III, 597.
- 95–96 *Nam ... nouit* See ll. 112–127 below.
- 95 *tanta / omina* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 21.
- 96 *omnia nouit* LHL IV, 37.
- 97 *veterum / carmina vatam* Claud. *Carm. min.* 30, 146; cf. LHL I, 283–285; ll. 210–211 below; *Carm.* 135, 3.
- 99 *Morte piare* LHL III, 432.
- succurrere lapsu* Cf. Ov. *Fast.* III, 871; *Pont.* II, 9, 11.
- 103 *Hauserit / ocellis* Cf. *Carm.* 98, 20 (n.).
- 104 *vitam expirante* Cf. *Carm.* 88, 70–71 (n.).
- 105–106 *Legibus ... iniquam* Cf. *Carm.* III, 15–16; *Mt.* 27, 51; *Mc.* 15, 33; *Lc.* 23, 44–45.

Tota perhorruerit mortem et damnarit iniquam.
 Iamque iterum furiis inter praecordia ceptis
 Frigidus intremuit gemitumque e pectore duxit.
 Haud mora longa fuit, moxque alta silentia rupit
 110 Affaturque suam maesto sermone cohortem:
 ‘Saepe quidem mentem turbarunt haec mala nostram,
 O fortes socii, cum perfidus ille aliena
 Subrepens specie noua tam miracula mundo
 Proderet assiduus faceretque ingentia signa.
 115 Quin etiam ipse adii variatis artibus olim
 Explorare virum dubiosque resolvere sensus.
 Ille sed occuluit sese mixtusque fefellit
 Infirmus virtute dolor, nam more parentum
 Alsit et esuriit, sed et infans vbera suxit,
 120 Vagiit, excreuit, nunc haec super omnia et ipsam

118 more *scripsi*: morte *Scri*.

120 excreuit *Scri*: exercuit *LB*.

natura / Tota perhorruerit Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 203.
 107 iamque iterum = Ov. *Ars* I, 535; *Met.* X, 60.
 furiis inter praecordia = Prud. *Psychom.* 10.
 108 gemitumque ... duxit Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 288.
 109 Haud ... rupit Cf. l. 213 below.
 Haud mora = *LHL* II, 488.
 alta silentia rupit Cf. Verg. *Aen.* X, 63–64;
LHL V, 156.
 111–127 Saepe ... armis For the “deception of
 Satan” see n. *Carm.* 50, 121; cf. ll. 95–96
 above.
 112 O / socii Verg. *Aen.* I, 198; II, 387; Hor.
Carm. I, 7, 26. Satan addresses his cohorts
 with this phrase in Walter, *Alex.* X, 128 (he
 fears that Christ is about to descend into
 hell); also in Ps. Iuenc. *Triumph.* 10 (at
 Christ’s descent into hell).
 perfidus ille = Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 91; cf. *Aen.* IV,
 421; Ov. *Ars* I, 536; III, 489.
 115–121 Quin ... vitam Cf. *Paraphr. in Mt.* 4,
 2–3, *LB* VII, 18 F; and in particular *Paraphr.*
in Lc. 4, 2–3, *LB* VII, 318 E–F.
 115–116 ipse ... sensus Cf. *Mt.* 4, 1–11; *Mc.* 1,
 12–13; *Lc.* 4, 1–13; Prud. *Cath.* 7, 193.
 116 Explorare Ambr. *In Lc.* 4, 18–19, *CCSL* 14,
 112–113, says that Satan knew that God’s son
 had been born but did not think that he
 would be disguised in human frailty. Hence
 he tested him to see if he was indeed the
 Christ: “Sic temptat vt exploret, sic explorat vt
 temtet.”
 dubios / sensus Stat. *Theb.* XI, 139.
 117–121 mixtusque ... vitam Satan’s arguments

for Christ’s humanity are traditional. See,
 e.g., Hil. *Trin.* III, 10, *PL* 10, 81 C; X, 24, *PL*
 10, 363–364; Aug. *Epist.* 137, 3, 9, *PL* 33, 519;
Contra Faustulum Manichaeum 26, 8, *PL* 42,
 484. They are also cited in Mutius, *Triumph.*,
 sig. c1^v (Christ preaching to the spirits):
 “frigora et aestus / ... sensi / Factus homo,
 saeuamque tuli per vulnera mortem.” Er.
 often adduces these arguments himself; see,
 e.g., *Precat. ad Iesum*, *LB* V, 1213 E; *Obsecra-*
tio, *LB* V, 1237 C; *Rat. ver. theol.*, *LB* V, 94 F;
Explan. symboli, *ASD* V, 1, p. 243, ll. 127–137;
 p. 248, ll. 276–279; *Paraphr. in Mt.* 4, 2–3
 and 28, 18, *LB* VII, 18 F and 145 A.
 118 more parentum For the emendation “more”
 see Vredevelde, *Edition*, pp. 138–140. Christ
 was human in the same way his forebears
 had been; cf. *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 5, p. 276, l. 695:
 “Nascitur humano more”; Ep. 109, l. 54, of
 Christ’s very human fear of death: “humano
 more loquens”; *Supputat. calumn. Nat.*
Bedae, *LB* IX, 664 C: “Dominus multa gessit
 humano more ..., ne spectrum aut phan-
tasma putaretur.” For the tag “more parent-
um” see LHL III, 417.
 119 esuriit *Mt.* 4, 2; *Mc.* 11, 12; *Lc.* 4, 2.
 119–120 infans ... Vagiit Cf. *Carm.* 42, 7–10
 (with notes).
 120 excreuit Like his human ancestors, Christ
 grew up through the natural stages of life,
 from infancy to manhood; see Er. *Rat. ver.*
theol., *LB* V, 94 F. The verb Er. uses here,
 however, is ambiguous. It could be derived

- Mortem obiit fuditque extremam in funere vitam.
 At nunc sero quidem tectas nunc nouimus artes,
 Nouimus heu victi nunc sero dolumque virumque
 Nequicquamque crucis radiantia cernimus arma.
 125 Laedit et id nostram grauius super omnia mentem,
 Tela quod haec hosti male sani cudimus ipsi
 Nostram in perniciem: nostris heu vincimur armis.⁷
 Cominus interea gradiens se lumine victor
 Admouet immenso media inter verba loquentis.
 130 Iam trepidatus adest, validas nec multa moratus
 Impulit in valuas, vectes confregit ahenos
 Diuinoque graues disiecit numine moles.
 Inde profunda subit saeui penetralia Ditis,
 Sceptra ferens erecta manu radiantia dextra,
 135 Pallida et ingenti perfundit fulmine tecta.
 Protinus immissum reserata sub atria manes
 Obstupere diem, mirantur lampada Phaebi

135 perfundit *scripsi*: perfundit *Scri*.

- not only from "exresco" (as in Ep. 8, l. 22) but also from "excerno". The Renaissance sense of decorum in a heroic poem rules out the latter as the primary or surface meaning. But in this context we cannot exclude the possibility that Er.'s devil is punning on the secondary sense as well.
super omnia = *Carm.* 88, 42 (n.).
 121 *fudit / vitam* Verg. *Aen.* II, 532; Ov. *Met.* II, 610.
 124 *radiantia / arma* Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 616; cf. l. 73 (n.) above.
 125 *super omnia* = *Carm.* 88, 42 (n.).
 126–127 *Tela ... armis* In his ignorance of Christ's divinity Satan had caused the Jews to crucify him and so fell into the trap that Christ had artfully set for him. Had the devil known about the Incarnation, he would have tried to stop the crucifixion; see 1. *Cor.* 2, 8; Ambr. *In Lc.* 2, 3, *CCSL* 14, 31–32; Er. *Paraphr. in Lc.* 4, 13, *LB* VII, 323 B–C. Now the cross, which had been intended to kill Christ, becomes Christ's chief weapon against Satan and death. To be conquered by one's own weapon or to be caught in one's own trap is proverbial; see Otto 170 and 759; Er. *Adag.* 51–53.
 128–129 *lumine / immenso* Line 337 below; cf. Lucan. II, 79; Mutius, *Triumph.*, sig. c1': "Christus vt immensa descendit luce sub vmbras".
 129 *media inter verba* Verg. *Aen.* XII, 318. *verba loquentis* = *LHL* V, 553–554.
 130–131 *validas ... ahenos* Cf. Aug. *Serm. supp.* 160, 4, *PL* 39, 2061: "Sine aliqua mora ad imperium Domini ac Saluatoris nostri omnes ferrei confracti sunt vectes."
 130 *nec multa moratus* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* III, 610.
 131 *Impulit* Cf. Mutius, *Triumph.*, sig. c1': "Impulsaque procul disiecto cardine Ditis / Procubere fores."
vectes confregit ahenos Cf. *P.* 106, 16: "Contriuit portas aereas, Et vectes ferreos confregit." This verse was traditionally associated with the harrowing of hell; see, e.g., Tert. *De resurr.* 44, 7, *CCSL* 2, 980; *Euangelium Nicodemi* 21, 1–2. Cf. also *Is.* 45, 2; and ll. 197–198 below.
 133 *saeui / Ditis* = Verg. *Aen.* VII, 568.
 135 *Pallida* A conventional epithet of the underworld; see, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 245; Lucan. I, 456.
perfundit For this emendation cf. Lucret. II, 148; Sil. X, 557.
 137 *lampada Phaebi* Sil. I, 193; cf. Er. *Carm.* III, 60 (n.). In a favourite patristic image, Christ is the sun of righteousness who, having set beneath the waves of death, is now beginning his nightly voyage under the earth and will soon rise again in the east as the sun of salvation. See Franz J. Dölger, *Christus als*

- Deductam, roseis penitus ingressa quadrigis.
 Quis tibi tunc, Pluto, cernenti talia sensus?
 140 Quosue dabas fremitus cum Tartara luce nitere
 Protinus insolita aspiceres totumque videres
 Misceri ante oculos tantis fulgoribus Orcum?
 Est specus extremum barathri deuexa sub antrum
 Immensumque cahos tetris sine lumine flammis
 145 Aetnae more calens, tormenta vbi dira perenni
 Igne ferunt animaeque luunt sua crimina sontes,

138 *Deductam scripsi: Deductum Scri.*

Sonne im Totenreich, in his: *Sol salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum*, Münster, 1925², pp. 336–364; cf. *Euangelium Nicodemi* 18, 1; *AH* 7, 53, 7a–8a. Er. describes Christ as the true sun in ll. 242–260 below; see also *Carm.* III, 76 (n.).

138 *roseis / quadrigis* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 535 (of Aurora); Boeth. *Consol.* II, m. 3, 1 (of Phoebus).

ingressa Neuter accusative plural, summing up “diem” and “lampada”, since both penetrate the depths of the underworld on Phoebus’ rose-streaked chariot. For the construction cf. *Carm.* 2, 240 (n.).

139–142 *Quis ... Orcum* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 408–411: “quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus, / quosue dabas gemitus, cum litora feruere late / prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres / misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!” Er. was inspired to adapt these verses to his own use by the example of Sedul. *Pasch.* II, 127–130 (at the murder of the innocents in Bethlehem): “Quis tibi tunc, lanio, cernenti talia sensus? / Quosue dabas fremitus, cum vulnera feruere late / Prospiceres arce ex summa vastumque videres / Misceri ante oculos tantis plangoribus aequor?” Er. follows Sedulius in writing “tunc” rather than Vergil’s “tum”, and “fremitus” rather than Vergil’s “gemitus”.

139 *Pluto* Satan is so called also, e.g., in Ps. Iuuen. *Triumph.* 8; Mantuan. *Calam.*, p. 63 (in similar context: the devil awaits Christ in hell) and p. 65; *Parthen. sec.* I, in: *Opera*, II, f° 71^r.

140–141 *luce / insolita* See n.l. 72 above.

143–155 *Est ... vmbri* Cf. Mutius, *Triumph.*, sig. c1^r (at Christ’s descent into hell): “Protinus adque imas barathri petiere latebras / Confusumque chaos secretaque Tartara manes. / Ille serenata per aperta silentia

fronte / Ingressus, pigram nubem noctemque fugabat / Ante oculos furui pulsa caligine mundi.”

143–146 *Est ... sontes* Cf. Walter, *Alex.* X, 58–60: “Est locus extremum baratri deuexus in antrum, / Perpetua fornace calens vbi crimina punit / Et sontes animas vitricis flamma lehennae.”

143 *Est specus* = Ov. *Fast.* IV, 495; cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 418. The word “specus” is often used to characterize the underworld; see, e.g., Sen. *Herc. f.* ll. 94, 665, and 718; *Tro.* 178.

144 *cahos* For the spelling see n. *Carm.* 99, 18. *sine lumine flammis* For this traditional paradox see, e.g., Basil. *Homilia in Ps.* 28, 7, *PG* 29, 297 C; Greg. M. *Mor.* IX, 66, 101, *CCSL* 143, 528–529; Mantuan. *Calam.*, p. 63 (of the infernal river of fire): “obscurus ... ignes”; cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, suppl. 97, 4; 97, 6; Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum morale* II, 3, 3 (col. 824): “ignis ... infernalis ... lumen non habet”; Ficino, *De vita* III, 16 (p. 320, l. 9, of the fire at the centre of the earth): “ignem ... valde caliginosum ... et quasi incendium quoddam luminis expers”; Milton, *Paradise Lost* I, 62–63: “from those flames / No light, but rather darkness visible”. Cf. also Er. *Carm.* 50, 51–52 (n.); 110, 30 (n.). For the tag “lumine flammis” see *LHL* III, 246–247.

145 *Aetnae more calens* Cf. *Carm.* 100, 2 (n.).

145–146 *tormenta ... sontes* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 81–82; 95, 103.

145 *tormenta / dira* Ov. *Met.* III, 694–695.

145–146 *perenni Igne* = Prud. *Amart.* 923–924, of the hell-fires in which sinful souls burn.

146 *animae / sontes* Verg. *Aen.* X, 854; Ov. *Met.* VI, 618; Stat. *Theb.* I, 56; Walter, *Alex.* X, 60 and 112.

sua crimina sontes = l. 279 below.

- Bis tantum in praeceps tantumque sub infera tendens
 Quantus syderei suspectus ad ardua caeli.
 Ocius huc omnis denso ruit agmine facto
 150 Luciferi tremefacta cohors, neque tanta ferentes
 Fulgura mobilibus mire vibrantia flammis,
 Vltro sulphureis sese immersere caminis.
 Ille autem placido per inania regna meatu
 Arduus incedit, vasti sedes et Auerni
 155 Squallentes legit hinc illincque stupentibus vmbris.
 Tum facili Phlegetonta gradu flammantibus vndis
 Horrentem piceoque tumentem gurgite victor
 Transilit et summam barathri citus astat ad oram.
 At dirae subita deprensae luce sorores
 160 Praecipites imam valido cum turbine abyssum
 Vltro petunt alta seseque voragine condunt.
 Hi vero quos iam tormenta et vincula captos
 Longa fatigarunt, vt primum lumine tanto
 Aduentasse deum didicere sub infera summum,
 165 Spem frustra caepere animis gemituque represso
 Nequicquam aeterna torpentia lumina nocte

147–148 *Bis ... caeli* Cf. Hom. *Il.* VIII, 16;
 Verg. *Aen.* VI, 577–579.

148 *Syderei / caeli* Ov. *Met.* X, 140; cf. Er. *Carm.*
 93, 147.

149 *denso / agmine* = Lucr. VI, 100; cf. *LHL* I,
 54.

ruit agmine facto = Stat. *Theb.* I, 356 (in some
 mss.); cf. *LHL* I, 55.

150 *tremefacta cohors* Prud. *Apoth.* 501.

153 *per inania regna* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 269.

154–155 *vasti ... vmbris* Cf. Mutius, *Triumph.*,
 sig. c1', quoted in n.ll. 143–155 above: Christ,
 striding through hell, scatters the darkness
 before the very eyes of the underworld.

155 *Squallentes* This participle depicts the foul
 squalor of Tartarus; see n.l. 68 above. It
 could also be taken to govern the phrase
 “stupentibus vmbris” (“... passes through the
 vast mansions of hell enshrouded on all sides
 by astonished darkness”). Cf. l. 68 above;
 Prud. *Cath.* 9, 77 (Christ illuminates hell):
 “stupentibus tenebris candidum praestat
 diem.”

156–158 *Tum ... oram* Cf. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85,
ASD V, 3, p. 396, ll. 821–828, where Er.
 explains that Christ visited the upper region
 of the underworld (*limbus patrum*) as well as
 the lower one (hell). The two regions, he
 says, are sundered by a wide gulf.

156 *facili Phlegetonta gradu* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 3,
 199: “corporeum ... / de Flegetonte gradu
 facili / ad superos remeasse deum”; these
 verses also influenced ll. 268–270 below.

157 *piceo / gurgite* = Mantuan. *Alphonsus* II, in:
Opera, III, f^o 27^r: “lacus piceo nigrantem
 gurgite lympham / Colligit”.

gurgite victor = Verg. *Aen.* V, 160.

159 *dirae / sorores* Verg. *Aen.* VII, 454. Cf. Er.
Carm. 110, 34–35.

subita / luce Claud. *IV. cons. Hon.* 193; Man-
 tuan. *Parthen. Mar.* II, 587.

deprensae luce Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 247.

160 *valido / turbine* = l. 85 above; cf. *Carm.* III,
 1 (n.).

162–163 *Hi ... fatigarunt* The disobedient spir-
 its (cf. l. 170 below) to whom Christ preaches
 in hell.

quos ... Longa Cf. Mantuan. *Calam.*, p. 63:
 “Insontes vmbras patrum, quos longa sub
 alti / Carceris includunt obscuro vincula
 circo”.

162 *vincula captos* Verg. *Georg.* IV, 399.

164 *Aduentasse deum* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 258:
 “aduentante dea”; Prud. *Tit. hist.* 97 (= Mu-
 tius, *Triumph.*, sig. c1'): “Aduentante deo”.
deum / summum See n. *Carm.* 110, 227.

166–167 *lumina / Attollunt* Ov. *Met.* X,
 293–294: “ad lumina lumen / Attollens”.

Attollunt praebentque arrectas ocyus aures,
 Si metam, si forte modum daret ille malorum.
 Grande sed horrisono iustissimus arbiter ore
 170 Desuper increpitans stolidissima pectora quondam
 Intonat et meritos caepisse haec omnia pandit.
 Inde potente ferum dominus verbo alligat hostem,
 Alligat et valido pautantem sauciat ictu,
 Ferrea captiuis innectens vincula collis,
 175 Posthac mortiferum tentet ne spargere virus
 In famulos famulasque dei faucesue cruentas
 Imbuat effuso laniatae sanguine praedae.
 Haec vbi compleuit, graue olentia limina linquit,
 Rursus et illulis spes mentibus excidit omnis,
 180 Et maesti posuere caput gemituque resumpto
 Tota simul tristi complebant Tartara voce,
 Incipit et grauius late increbrescere planctus.
 Sic tibi sic visum, dux inclyte Christicolarum,
 Vt videant doleantque magis. Iam reddere charis,
 185 Christe, tuis: videant laeti et suspiria ponant.
 Ocyus ergo recurrit iter quo venerat et iam

167 *arrectas / aures* = Verg. *Aen.* XII, 618; cf. Er. *Adag.* 2156; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 74, l. 955.
 169–171 *Grande ... pandit* Christ now preaches to the spirits of the damned. For this doctrine see 1. *Petr.* 3, 19–20; 4, 6; and, e.g., Aug. *Epist.* 164, 4, 10–13, *PL* 33, 713–714; Mutius, *Triumph.*, sigs. c1^v–c2^t (preaching to all the spirits, the saved and the damned); Er. *Explan. symboli*, ASD V, 1, p. 258, ll. 579–580; Ep. 1112, ll. 36–38; *Paraphr. in 1. Petr.* 3, 19–20, *LB* VII, 1094 B–D; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 394, ll. 772–775.
 169 *horrisono / ore* Brant, *Varia carm.*, sig. K4^r.
 171 *haec omnia pandit* = *LHL* IV, 37–38.
 172 *Inde ... hostem* Cf. *Ap. Ioh.* 20, 2.
 173 *valido / ictu* Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 419. *sauciat ictu* = *LHL* V, 58.
 174 *Ferrea / vincula* See n. *Carm.* 100, 20. *captiuis / vincula collis* Ov. *Pont.* II, 1, 43–44; cf. *LHL* V, 611; l. 62 above; l. 214 below.
 175–176 *mortiferum ... dei* Cf. Prud. *Psychom.* 55–56: “Nec iam mortiferas audebis spargere flammis / in famulos famulasue dei”; Er. *Orat. de pace*, *LB* VIII, 551 A: “haec [discordia] Stygiis e tenebris, vt hominibus mor-

tiferum virus adspergat, emissa”; *Carm.* 50, 50 (n.); 96, 22; 110, 58.
 175 *mortiferum / virus* = Walter, *Alex.* X, 145; cf. Prud. *Contra Symm.* I, praef. 32: “virus mortiferum”; Er. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 55 D: “Peccatum est lethale virus spurcissimi Serpentis.”
 177 *effuso / sanguine* = Verg. *Aen.* VII, 788.
 178 *Haec vbi compleuit* Ov. *Met.* XV, 395. *graue olentia* Verg. *Aen.* VI, 201 (describing the underworld). *limina linquit* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* III, 616; l. 333 below.
 179 *spes / excidit* Ov. *Fast.* VI, 393.
 182 *late increbrescere* Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 14.
 183 *Sic / sic* Cf. *Carm.* 2, 83 (n.).
 184 *Vt ... magis* Thomas Aquinas, *Summa* III, 52, 2 says that Christ descended into hell to liberate the saints, give comfort and hope to those in purgatory, and by his very presence confute those in hell for their unbelief and evil.
 184–185 *reddere / videant* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 75 (addressing Christ on Easter morning): “redde tuam faciem, videant vt saecula lumen.”
 186 *Ocyus ergo* = l. 333 below; cf. l. 304 (n.). *recurrit iter* Ov. *Ars* III, 360.

Limina prima tenet Erebi sedesque supremas.
 Hic quos a prima nascentis origine mundi
 Ipsos recta quidem Moysique aedicta sequentes
 190 Patria sub noctem detraxit culpa profundam.
 Spe longa labefacti animis ingentibus vsque
 Fletibus ora rigant, nec non suspiria maesto
 Pectore longa trahunt vmbroso carcere clausi,
 Dum veniat tandem tenebris qui, morte soluta,
 195 Tristibus eripiat superasque educat in auras.
 Vt primum ergo crucis victricia signa choruscae
 Molibus aduersisque domus portis et ahenis
 Obiecit, cecidere fores, et carceris ingens
 Machina terrifica sonuit concussa ruina.
 200 Detectae patuere domus, patuere cauernae,
 Mox et discussis nox atra euanuit vmbri.
 Hic primum ille sacer populus dilata serenum
 Conspexit post vota diem, post nubila solem
 Laetus, et optatum viderunt lumina lumen.
 205 Quae tum, quae subitas rapuerunt gaudia mentes?
 Quem tum laeticiae trepidis, quem plausibus illic

187 *Limina ... supremas* The limbus patrum is the upper part of hell; see n.ll. 156–158 above.

Limina prima Ov. *Her.* 12, 150.

188 *a prima ... mundi* = Mantuan. *Parthen. sec.* I, in: *Opera*, II, f° 63^r; cf. *LHL* IV, 82.

190 *noctem / profundam* = l. 72 (n.) above.

191 *Spe longa labefacti* Cf. *Prv.* 13, 12: “Spes quae differtur affligit animam.” Cf. ll. 271–272 and 285–286 below.

labefacti animis Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 395; Ov. *Met.* X, 375.

191–192 *ingentibus / Fletibus* Verg. *Aen.* V, 765.

Some readers may wish to connect “ingentibus” (in the sense of “heroic”, “lofty”) with “animis”. Although this collocation is classical, it has little to commend itself here, partly because of the context (“labefacti animis”), partly because “ingentibus” is separated from “animis” by a caesura.

192 *Fletibus ora rigant* = Prud. *Perist.* 11, 194; Boeth. *Consol.* I, m. 1, 4; cf. *LHL* IV, 68.

193 *carcere clausi* *LHL* I, 265–266.

194–195 *tenebris / Tristibus* Stat. *Silv.* V, 1, 256; *Sil.* VI, 150.

195 *superas / educat in auras* Cf. Ov. *Met.* V, 641. *superasque / auras* = Verg. *Aen.* VI, 128 (referring to the difficulty of returning from Hades to the upper world).

196 *victricia signa* = Sil. XIV, 179; Prud. *Contra Symm.* II, 542; *LHL* V, 599.

197–198 *Molibus ... Obiecit* Cf. ll. 130–132 (with notes) above.

199–200 *concussa / patuere* = Sedul. *Pasch.* IV, 284–285 (at the resurrection of Lazarus): “magno concussa pauore / Tartara dissiliunt, herebi patuere recessus.”

200 *Detectae ... cauernae* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 241–242: “specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens / regia, et vmbrosae penitus patuere cauernae.”

201 *discussis / vmbri* Verg. *Aen.* XII, 669; cf. *Georg.* III, 357.

202–203 *serenum / diem* See n.l. 71 above.

203 *diem ... solem* = Walther 22025 and 22030: “Post mortem [or: noctem] sperare diem, post nubila solem, / Post lacrimas risum letitiamque potes”; cf. Otto 531.

204 *viderunt lumina* = Ov. *Trist.* III, 5, 49. *lumina lumen* = Ov. *Met.* X, 293, with the same punning on the two meanings of “lumen”: “ad lumina lumen / Attollens”.

205 *gaudia mentes* *LHL* II, 398–399.

206 *plausibus* Mutius, *Triumph.*, sig. c2^r (of the patriarchs applauding Christ).

206–207 *Quem ... modum* Cf. Agric., *Anna*, p. 301 (at the Virgin’s birth): “quis fuit illic / Plaudendi trepidis laeticiaeue modus?”; Er. *Carm.* 93, 201; 110, 353–355.

Rere fuisse modum? Tandem o, post tristia tandem
 Vota datum admotis coram qui saluet ocellis
 Cernere victorem, iam non sub imagine, Iesum,
 210 Iesum, quem veterum cecinerunt prouida vatuum
 Carmina, quem sacri, nascens vbi caeperat orbis,
 Vsque adeo ardenti clamabant pectore patres.
 Nec mora multa fuit, mox ferrea claustra resoluit,
 Rumpit et indignis circumdata vincula collis.
 215 Libera scandentis sequitur post terga magistri
 Candida turba, ducis comitans vestigia tanti.
 Atque hinc ne qua domus maneat monumenta nefandae
 Ille leui penitus disperdidit omnia flatu,
 Immanisque breui structura euanuit ictu.
 220 Nunc age magnarum stimulant fastigia rerum,

212 pectore *LB*: pectora *Scri*.

209 *iam non sub imagine* The saints in limbo knew of the coming of Christ, because it had been revealed in prophecies and typological allegories; now they can see Christ face to face. For "imago" in the sense of "foreshadowing" see *Carm.* 110, 80.

210–211 *veterum / vatuum Carmina* See n.l. 97 above.

210 *veterum ... vatuum* Cf. Prud. *Apoth.* 234.
 213 *Nec ... resoluit* Cf. l. 109 above.

Nec mora = *LHL* III, 499–501.
ferrea claustra resoluit Cf. Hrabanus, *Carminum app.* 13, 11, 1 (of Christ): "Claustra ferrea dirupit et concussit Tartara"; Walter, *Alex.* X, 137 (alluding to *Ps.* 106, 16): "Nescio quis nascetur homo qui carceris huius / Ferrea subuersis confringet claustra columpnis"; cf. Er. *Carm.* 100, 19 (with notes).

ferrea claustra = Mantuan. *Calam.* p. 63, referring to hell.

214 *Rumpit ... collis* Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 631: "Claudit et indigno circumdat vincula collo."
vincula collis = l. 174 (n.) above.

216 *Candida turba* = Stat. *Theb.* XII, 20; cf. Tib. II, 1, 16; Ov. *Fast.* II, 654; IV, 906. The righteous are clad in white to denote their purity of soul and their readiness to enter heaven. Cf. *Ps.* Iuuenc. *Triumph.* 48: "Candidus ille chorus Christum reuerenter adorat"; Matthias Funck, *Triumphus christianus*, sig. c2^r: "Omnes hii niueis albescentes vestibus alta / Sydera scandebant." White garments are worn by the saints in heaven; see *Ap. Ioh.* 3, 4–5; 4, 4.

217 *ne / maneat monumenta* Ov. *Met.* I, 159.
domus / nefandae Ov. *Met.* VI, 601; Sen. *Phoen.* 80.

monumenta nefandae = Verg. *Aen.* VI, 26.
 220–227 *Nunc ... pande* Before Er. describes the triumphal procession led by Christ, he invokes the heavenly muse, Christ. He does so, in part, because it is standard procedure in epics to invoke the Muses before a roll call of the leaders and their troops. See, for example, Hom. *Il.* II, 484–492; Verg. *Aen.* VII, 641–646; and Stat. *Theb.* IV, 32–38. More specifically, however, he is following Mutius, *Triumph.*, sig. c3^r, where the roll call of the saints taking part in the triumphal procession begins like this:

Quo rapit inualidas praecipit audacia vires?
 Quo summi secreta dei spectacula cantu
 Ordinar et diuum coelestes ordine pompas
 Exequar aut tantos capiam qua mente
 paratus?

Tu quaecumque voles alti monumenta triumphi
 Qui nigris remeans duxisti victor ab vmbris
 Pande mihi, quantum ipse dabis mihi dicere
 fas est.

For the wording of the invocation cf. also Verg. *Aen.* VII, 37–40: "Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora ... / [2 lines] / expediam ... / tu vatem, tu, diua, mone." For the second exordium as a rhetorical device see Lausberg, § 287.

220 *fastigia rerum* = Verg. *Aen.* I, 342; Iuv. 3, 39.

- Nunc age grandiloquum (si quid potes) incipe carmen.
 Incipe, Musa, opus est totos intendere neruos.
 Dicitō laeta quibus procedant agmina pompis
 Vtque ipse ante alios victor clarissimus omnes
 225 Praeuius incedat praedamque sub aethera ducat.
 Tuque ades, o cantande, tuo tu suggere vati,
 Vt te digna canat tibi carmina, et abdita pande.
 Agmine prima praecit veterum veneranda parentum
 Canities, ac dein superno numine mentem
 230 Plena prophatarum series, quos legis amantum
 Purpureus regum sequitur longo ordine caetus.
 Iungit adulta quibus se animoque aeuoque valentum
 Turba virum, nec non agili laetissima gressu
 Accedit pubes, pueri teneraeque puellae,
 235 Chara nec amplexae desunt sua pignora matres.
 Par cunctis studium, laudis vox omnibus vna,
 Omnibus vnus amor, vna exultatio cunctis.
 Qui taceat nemo est: cantant memoranda potentis
 Bella manus praedamque grauem atque insigne tropheum,
 240 Solemniq̄ ducem plaudentes carmine clarum
 Concelebrant, animis omnes atque ore fauentes.

221–222 *Nunc ... Musa* Cf. ll. 53–55 above.

222 *Incipe, Musa Mutius, Triumph.*, sig. c1^r (first exordium): “Christi, pia Musa, triumphum / Incipe.”

totos intendere neruos Cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 15, 26: “surge igitur, cithara, et totis intendere fibris.”

totos / neruos See n. *Carm.* 2, 191.

223 *agmina pompis* Mutius, *Triumph.*, sig. c6^r: “... pulchro subeuntes agmine pompae”.

224–225 *ipse ... ducat* Cf. ll. 351–353 below.

224 *ipse ... omnes* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 141.

225 *praedam* See n.l. 69 above.

226–227 *Tuque ... pande* Cf. *Carm.* 88, 3 (n.).

226 *Tuque ades, o* Verg. *Georg.* II, 39–40.

228–235 *Agmine ... matres* The catalogue in Mutius, *Triumph.*, sigs. c3^v–c6^r lists numerous O.T. saints, from Adam to Esther, as well as Sts. Ann and Elizabeth. Mutius mentions the prophets as a class, without naming names, and adds that there were innumerable others besides, of both sexes and all ages.

228 *veterum / parentum* = Verg. *Aen.* II, 448; cf. *Aen.* V, 39.

228–229 *veneranda parentum Canities* Cf. Walter, *Alex.* I, 213: “Canities veneranda patrum”.

229 *superno numine* Ov. *Met.* XV, 128; Iuuen. I, 45.

231 *longo ordine* = *LHL* III, 222.

232–235 *Iungit ... matres* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 475–476 (*Aen.* VI, 306–307): “matres atque viri defunctaque corpora vita / magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae”; Mutius, *Triumph.*, sig. c6^r: “viri matresque simul castaeque puellae / Annosique senes puerique et laeta iuuentus”.

234 *pueri teneraeque puellae* Ov. *Fast.* III, 815.

235 *Chara / pignora* Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 92; *LHL* IV, 259; cf. Er. *Carm.* 84, 7.

pignora matres Cf. *Carm.* 10, 15; 11, 19.

236–237 *vox ... amor* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 184: “omnibus vna quies operum, labor omnibus vnus”; Ennodius, *Carm.* I, 9, 58: “Omnibus idem animus, turbis vox omnibus vna”.

236 *vox omnibus vna* = Verg. *Aen.* V, 616.

237 *Omnibus vnus amor* = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII, 7, 72.

239 *praedam* See n.l. 69 above.

241 *Concelebrant / fauentes* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* I, 735; VIII, 173.

animis ... fauentes Cf. Ov. *Fast.* I, 71: “linguis animisque fauete”; Iuv. 12, 83: “linguis ani-

At nouus ille nouo victor praeit agmina cultu,
 Nec tegitur solito insolitus bellator amictu.
 Fulminis in morem, Phaebeae lampadis instar
 245 Cingebat diadema caput totumque serenat
 Lumine purpureo regem. Velut ignis in igne
 Ille micat, medioque refulget lumine lumen;
 Ex humerisque fluens talos dependet in imos
 Murice palla rubens roseoque ardentior ostro
 250 Auroque et multa gemmarum luce choruscans.
 Quomodo si aduersis aestiuo lumine flammis
 Obiicias soli speculorum leuia centum
 Vitra refulgentum, conceptis aequore plano
 Ignibus emittunt radios impulsa receptos
 255 Et noua vibranti simulant sese aedere luce
 Fulmina concertantque vel ipsum vincere solem:
 Talis erat lapidumque decor flauentis et auri,
 Talis erat species, rutili dum fulmine miro
 Desuper exceptos reuomunt diadematis ignes
 260 Scintillantque rubra velut aethere sydera bysso.

258 species, rutili *scripsi*: species rutili, [*fortasse* rutuli, *Scrizi*] *Scrizi* LB.

- isque fauentes"; Verg. *Aen.* V, 71: "ore faeute omnes."
 242-274 *At nouus ... auras* Cf. Mutius, *Triumph.*, sig. c3'-c3": "Scandebat ... / Aera ... / Christus, et aetherii repetens fastigia regni / Sidereum relegebat iter, dextraque salutis / Signa ferens sanctas ducebat in ardua turmas / Expectante polo: fulgebant vertice sacro / Regis adorati vultus, vnde omnia circum / Splendebant radiis".
 244 *Fulminis in morem* = Verg. *Aen.* XI, 616; *Stat. Theb.* V, 593.
Phaebeae lampadis instar = Verg. *Aen.* III, 637.
 245 *Cingebat diadema caput* Cf. Prud. *Contra Symm.* II, 431: "caput augustum diademate cinxit"; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* V, 2, 73: "caput cingas diademate."
 246 *Lumine purpureo* = *Stat. Silv.* V, 1, 256; *Sil.* VII, 195; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 640-641.
 246-260 *Velut ... bysso* Cf. *Mt.* 17, 2 (transfiguration of Christ): "Resplenduit facies eius sicut sol: vestimenta autem eius facta sunt alba sicut nix"; *Ap. Ioh.* 1, 16: "Facies eius sicut sol lucet in virtute sua."
 246 *ignis in igne* Ov. *Her.* 15(16), 232; *Ars* I, 244.
 247 *lumine lumen* = *LHL* III, 248-249. Er. is alluding to the well-known article of faith in the Nicene Creed (*Missale Romanum*, I, p. 199) that calls Christ "lumen de lumine, deum verum de deo vero". Cf. Er. *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 224, l. 527; p. 270, l. 896; *Annot. in NT*, *LB* VI, 983 C: "Filius lumen est de lumine".
 248 *Ex ... imos* Cf. Ov. *Met.* XII, 396.
talos / imos Hor. *Serm.* I, 9, 10-11; *Epist.* II, 2, 4.
 249 *roseoque ardentior ostro* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm. spuria* I, 353: "roseo ... rubicundior ostro".
 250 *et multa / luce* = *Stat. Theb.* V, 267: "et multa subitus cum luce refulsit"; cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 694; Ov. *Trist.* V, 9, 24; l. 335 below.
luce choruscans = *LHL* III, 226-228.
 251-256 *Quomodo ... solem* For the image cf. *Paraphr. in 2. Cor.* 3, 18, *LB* VII, 921 B: "Mosi facies ex colloquio Dei, ceu speculum ex obiectu solis reluxit."
 251 *lumine flammis* See *LHL* III, 246-247.
 258 *Talis erat species* = Verg. *Aen.* VI, 208: "talis erat species auri frondentis opaca / ilice"; Auson. *Cent. nupt.* 44: "talis erat species." *rutili* Sc. "lapides".

Regia nec desunt tantis vexilla triumphis,
 Inuicta tollebat enim radiantia dextra
 Viuificae vexilla crucis, iam nescia lethi,
 Nescia dedecoris solitique ignara pudoris,
 265 Tota sed effuso innocui distincta cruore
 Agnelli summique sacrato nomine regis
 Picta nitent, oleae fixis in vertice sertis.
 Hoc gradibus victor redimitus honore superbis
 Ad superos Phlegetonte procul post terga relicto
 270 Scandit ouans seseque iacenti reddere mundo
 Concitus accelerat, ne spes dilata dolentes
 Frangeret, hymnisona longe comitante caterua.
 Iamque iter emensus ipsis in faucibus astat
 Liminibusque quibus superas via ducit in auras.
 275 Interea oppressis confuso turbine terris
 Humanum trepidare genus caecasque volutat
 Noctes atque dies perplexo pectore curas,
 Ne qua timens visis grauiora pericula monstribus
 Perferat inueniantque suos sua crimina sontes.

261–263 *Regia ... crucis* Cf. *AH* 50, 67, 1: “Vexilla regis prodeunt, / Fulget crucis mysterium.” The “royal ensign” is frequently shown in medieval and Renaissance portrayals of Christ triumphant or the Lamb in heaven.

261 *vexilla triumphis* = *LHL* V, 592.

263 *vexilla crucis* = *Arator* I, 967.

264 *Nescia ... pudoris* The shameful cross, formerly used to execute slaves, has now become a symbol of victory. Cf. 1. *Cor.* 1, 18–25; Jaroslav Pelikan, *Jesus through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture*, New Haven, 1985, pp. 99–104; *Er. Paraphr. in Ioh.* 19, 18, *LB* VII, 638 F; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, *ASD* V, 2, p. 203, ll. 312–314; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, *ASD* V, 2, p. 333, l. 125.

265–266 *effuso / cruore Agnelli* Cf. 1. *Petr.* 1, 19; *Ap. Ioh.* 7, 14; 12, 11; 22, 14.

266–267 *summique ... Picta* The placard placed on the cross saying “Hic est Iesus rex Iudaeorum” (*Mt.* 27, 37).

267 *oleae / sertis* See n.l. 57 above.

268–270 *Hoc ... Scandit* Cf. *Prud. Cath.* 3, 198–200 (quoted in n.l. 156 above).

268 *gradibus / superbis* *Prud. Psychom.* 823.

269 *post terga relicto* Cf. *LHL* V, 430.

270 *Scandit ouans* = *Sil.* XIV, 310.

271–272 *spes ... Frangeret* Cf. l. 191 (n.) above.

272 *comitante caterua* = *LHL* I, 381.

273 *Iamque iter emensus* *Verg. Aen.* VII, 160; *Stat. Theb.* II, 375.

ipsis in faucibus *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 23 D: “in ipsis Auerni faucibus”; cf. *Verg. Aen.* VI, 273; “primis in faucibus Orci”. For the image of the “jaws” of hell, often represented in medieval art and on the stage, cf. also *Ven. Fort. Carm.* III, 9, 84 (at Easter): “de fauce lupi subtrahit agnus oues”; *AH* 50, 82, 4: “Omnes Auerni faucibus / Saluauit a ferocibus”; *Er. Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 493, l. 843; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, *ASD* V, 3, p. 394, l. 779. For the image of hell as a great beast see n.ll. 89–90 above.

274 *via ducit in* = *Verg. Ecl.* 9, 1.

276 *Humanum ... caecasque* Cf. *Claud. De rapt. Pros.* III, 34: “humanum releuare genus, durumque ...”; *Mutius, Triumph.*, sig. c5^a: “Humanum reparare genus solumque ...”.

277 *Noctes atque dies* = *Carm.* 82, 2 (n.); cf. l. 283 (n.) below.

pectore curas = *LHL* IV, 172–174.

278 *timens / grauiora pericula* *Ov. Her.* 1, 11 (also adapted by *Er.* in *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 42, l. 51).

279 *inueniantque ... sontes* Cf. *Nu.* 32, 23: “Peccatum vestrum apprehendet vos.”

sua crimina sontes = l. 146 above.

- 280 Nec dictu facile est, quae cura, quis angor amantum
 Corda agitet, quae vota, quibus suspiria flentum
 Anxia perpetuo vexent singultibus ora.
 Nulla quies oculis, fletur noctesque diesque,
 Lumina nec dulci capiuntur fessa sopore.
- 285 Quid mirum? Cruciabat enim proluxa calentes
 Spes animos onerata metu, triduumque per omne
 Nequicquam (triduum hoc toto productius anno)
 Plangitur, et lachrymae miseris voluuntur inanes,
 Amissumque gemunt tristi quem funere mersum,
- 290 Algida quem caeci frigentem saxa sepulchri
 Condere conspiciunt. Ingens exanguia rupes
 Ossa premit, signantur et ostia, milite duro
 Stipantur, seruatque fores custodia clausas
 Ensibus et ferro seruat noctesque diesque.
- 295 His prodire queat, haec tantane rumpere claustra?
 Rumpat at esto, virum poterit superare furorem?
 Custodesque queat mediis transire per omnes?
 His agitata malis miserum in diuersa labat mens.
 Iam spes victa timore cadit, iamiamque cadentem
- 300 Tollit amor; iam saeua timent, iam prospera sperant.
 Tertia lux roseo iam rarescentibus vmbris
 Caeperat irradiare polo, caeloque voluto,
 Saera quidem et tardis tandem prolixior horis,

281–282 *suspiria / Anxia* Stat. *Silv.* III, 5, 2.

282 *singultibus ora* = Val. Fl. III, 338.

283 *noctesque diesque* = LHL III, 526–527;
 l. 294 below; cf. *Adag.* 324; *Carm.* 82, 2 (n.).

284 *Lumina / fessa* Ov. *Her.* 18(19), 56.

dulci / sopore = Verg. *Cir.* 315: “dulci ... capta
 sopore”; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5, 56.

fessa sopore Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 522.

285 *Quid mirum* = Lucr. V, 1238; Ov. *Ars* III,
 110; and elsewhere.

285–286 *Cruciabat ... animos* Cf. l. 191 (n.)
 above; Ep. 2379, ll. 21–22.

286 *triduum* Mt. 26, 61; 27, 40; Mc. 14, 58.

287 *triduum ... anno* For this hyperbole cf.
 Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 43; Ov. *Her.* 17(18), 25; Er. Ep.
 8, ll. 6–7; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 303,
 ll. 6–7. For the commonplace that time
 passes all too slowly for those who eagerly
 long for someone cf. *Adag.* 2286, ASD II, 5,
 p. 232, l. 598: “Desiderantibus omne tempus
 longum est”; *Carm.* 64, 51–54 (n.).

288 *lachrymae / voluuntur inanes* Verg. *Aen.* IV,
 449.

289 *tristi / funere* Lucr. III, 72.

quem funere mersum Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 1, 410;
 cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 429; XI, 28.

290 *Algida / saxa* Prud. *Cath.* 11, 35.

291–292 *exanguia / Ossa* Cf. *Carm.* 9, 15 (n.).

294 *noctesque diesque* = l. 283 (n.) above.

295 *rumpere claustra* = Hor. *Epist.* I, 14, 9; cf.
 Verg. *Aen.* IX, 758.

298 *in diuersa / mens* Job 20, 2: “Mens in
 diuersa rapitur”; cf. Er. *Carm.* 105, 13.

299 *spes ... cadit* Ov. *Her.* 13, 124; *Pont.* I, 2, 62.

301 *Tertia lux* = LHL V, 443–444; cf. Er. *Carm.*
 49, 13.

301–302 *lux / Caeperat irradiare* Cf. Sedul.
Pasch. V, 315–316 (Easter morning): “Coepe-
 rat interea ... felix / Irradiare dies.”

301 *rarescentibus vmbris* = Stat. *Theb.* I, 343; cf.
 Er. *Carm.* 102, 40 (n.).

303 *Saera quidem* = Stat. *Theb.* V, 689; XI, 155;
Silv. V, 1, 16. For the spelling “saera” see, e.g.,
Panegy. ad Philipp., ASD IV, 1, p. 26, l. 25;
 p. 45, l. 602.

tardis / horis Ov. *Pont.* II, 10, 38.

- Tandem aderat votiua dies. Ire ocyus ergo
 305 Noctis adhuc dubia mixtis cum luce tenebris
 Ad monimenta parant, vsquam si forte magistri
 Occurrat facies, lachrymarum aut vberē saltem
 Frigida (quandoquidem miseris spes caetera languet)
 Imbre et odorata perfundant corpora myrrha,
 310 Exhibeant vel hoc exanguis munus amico
 Funeris et maestum fletu solentur amorem.
 Quid tibi, Christe, morae est? Quid te, regum optime, tardat?
 Quid tibi cum Phlegetonte, quid est, quid te atria longum
 Atra tenent? Iam redde fidem: sol tertius ecce.
 315 Aspice conuexo nutantem pondere mundum,
 Aspice, Christe, tuo recreentur vt omnia vultu.
 Orbis enim, dum lentus inania Tartara lustras,
 Heu prope totus abit, heu pene resoluitur ingens
 Machina, pene suos liquerunt sydera cursus.
 320 Ipsa etenim vastam minitat tremefacta ruinam
 Tellus et monstris mortalia corda sinistris
 Concutit, et (quid triste magis?) caligine crassa
 Nox operit nebulosa animos, dum te infera verum
 Claudunt regna diem. Iam nemo salubria, nemo est
 325 Qui teneat tua facta memor; totum auis orbem
 Error habet, quoniam si te doctore quid vnquam
 Crediderant penitus te longum absente remittunt.

312 *morae scripsi: more Scri, in ore LB.*

- 304 *ocyus ergo* = Arator II, 1019; cf. l. 186 above and l. 333 below.
 305 *dubia / luce* Ov. *Met.* XI, 596; Lucan. IV, 473; cf. Er. *Carm.* 102, 42.
luce tenebris = LHL III, 233–234.
 306–307 *si / Occurrat facies* = Prud. *Amart.* 958–959: “si nulla ministri / occurrat facies”.
 311 *maestum / solentur amorem* Verg. *Aen.* X, 191; l. 350 below.
 313–314 *atria / Atra* Apul. *Met.* VI, 19 (the underworld).
 314 *Iam ... ecce* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 65–66 (to Christ): “pollicitam ... redde fidem, precor ...: / tertia lux rediit, surge, sepulte meus.”
sol tertius = Iuenc. III, 293 (Easter).
 315–329 *Aspice ... vultum* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 318–320 (with notes).
 315–322 *Aspice ... Concutit* Cf. *Carm.* III, 11–58 (with notes).
 315–316 *Aspice ... vultu* Er. closely follows Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 50–52.
 317 *inania Tartara* = Ov. *Met.* XI, 670; XII, 619; cf. *Met.* XII, 522–523.
 318–319 *heu pene ... cursus* Cf. *Carm.* III, 17–18 (n.).
 319 *pene ... cursus* Cf. *Mt.* 24, 29; *Ap. Ioh.* 6, 13; *Euangelium Nicodemi* 22, 1: “Vniuersa commota sunt sydera.”
sydera cursus = LHL V, 144.
 320 *vastam / ruinam* Verg. *Aen.* III, 414.
 320–321 *tremefacta / Tellus* Verg. *Aen.* X, 102.
 321 *mortalia corda* = LHL III, 426.
 322–323 *caligine crassa / operit* Cf. Sil. XVI, 326.
 322 *caligine crassa* = Lucr. VI, 461; cf. Lucr. VI, 691.
 323 *Nox operit* = *Carm.* 64, 35 (n.).
 323–324 *infera / regna* See n. *Carm.* 49, 12.

Ipsis quin etiam ceciderunt spesque fidesque
 Discipulis. Refer, alme, diem, placidum exere vultum.
 330 Nubila pelle animis, squallentem discute noctem.
 Surge age, vel moueant inconsolabile flentum
 Te propter gemitus maesti lachrymaeque tuorum.
 Otyus ergo fores extremaque limina linquens,
 Vota animo aspiciens miserum miserante, superbis
 335 Progreditur rex haud multa sine luce triumphis
 Ad superum sedes; lustrataque protinus illum
 Sensit et immenso gradientem lumine tellus,
 Sensit et effusis subito se vestiit herbis.
 Sumpsit sylua comas dudum viduata virentes,
 340 Res mira, et blandis subito se floribus omnis
 Pingit ager laetusque deum molli excipit herba.
 Nec latuit Titana nouo se sydere vinci;
 Sensit et ad superos properabat concitus ortus.
 Authorique suo quicquid viget aethere, tellus

328–329 *Ipsis ... Discipulis* In *Paraphr. in Lc.* 24, 9, *LB VII*, 466 D, Er. says that the eleven apostles and the other disciples, who had gathered in various hiding places for fear of the Jews, forgot nearly everything that Christ had said to them and were almost in despair.
 328 *spesque fidesque* Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 10, 169; 31, 402; *Sedul. Pasch.* I, 335. The disciples may have lost hope and faith, but not the third virtue – their love of Christ.
 329 *Refer / diem* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 76 (at Easter): “redde tuam faciem, videant vt saecula lumen, / redde diem qui nos te moriente fugit.”
placidum / vultum Ov. *Met.* XV, 692; *Fast.* IV, 161; V, 23.
 330 *squallentem / noctem* = Auitus, *Carm.* 6, 464.
 331 *Surge age* = *LHL V*, 322.
 332 *gemitus maesti* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 498–499. *lachrymaeque tuorum* = *Ov. Ib.* 161.
 333 *Otyus ergo / limina linquens* Cf. ll. 186, 304 (n.), and 178 (n.).
 334 *miserum miserante* A favourite medieval wordplay; see, e.g., *AH* 42, 108, 4b: “Miserere miserorum”; 50, 170, 1 (repeated at the beginning of each of the following stanzas): “O Deus, miseri / miserere serui”; 54, 250, 10; 54, 263, 9; Er. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, *ASD V*, 2, p. 258, ll. 107–108; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, *LB V*, 563 E; *Carm.* 118, 5.

334–335 *superbis / triumphis* Hor. *Carm.* I, 35, 3–4.
 335 *multa / luce* Cf. l. 250 (n.) above.
 336 *superum sedes* The earth, seen from the perspective of hell; cf. *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, *ASD V*, 3, p. 398, ll. 854–855; *Carm.* 49, 14 (n.). The phrase “superum sedes” occurs in *Lucan.* X, 15 (different sense).
 336–346 *lustrataque ... honore* Cf. ll. 1–21 (n.) above.
 337 *immenso / lumine* See n.ll. 128–129 above.
 337–338 *tellus, Sensit et* = Mantuan. *Parthen. Mar.* III, 476–477: “praesentia numina tellus / sensit et ...”
 338 *se vestiit* Cf. *Carm.* 106, 47 (n.).
 339 *sylua comas* Cf. *Carm.* 106, 47 (n.).
viduata See n. *Carm.* 106, 19.
 340–341 *blandis / se floribus / Pingit* Cf. l. 12 (with notes) above.
 340–341 *omnis / ager* = Stat. *Theb.* I, 654–655; cf. Er. *Carm.* 106, 5–6 (n.).
 341 *Pingit* See n. *Carm.* 104, 6.
 342 *Nec ... vinci* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 61; l. 256 above. The sun is outshone by the sun of salvation; cf. *Carm.* 111, 76 (n.).
 344 *quicquid viget aethere* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 297.
 344–345 *quicquid viget ... aequore quicquid* Cf. *Sedul. Pasch.*, praef. 11–12: “quidquid mare nutrit edendum, / Quidquid terra creat, quidquid ad astra volat”; *AH* 50, 133, 6: “Quidquid tellus habet, pontus atque aethera claudunt”; 50, 122, 6: “Omnia viua, / Quae

- 345 Quicquid habet, quidque aura vehit, natat aequore quicquid
 Applaudit reduci et festo veneratur honore.
 Ipse autem festinus oues regione virenti
 Pergit et apricis paradysi condere pratis,
 Donec corporea in vitam iam carne resumpta
 350 Charorum maestum sese soletur amorem,
 Edoceat solidetque suos, ad sydera demum
 Quem sumpsit de matre hominem praedamque sequentem
 Transuehat, aeternum victurus in aethere victor.

345 *natat scripsi*: nata *Scri*.

351 *ad LB*: ac *Scri*.

vehit aequor, / Quae vehit aer, / Terraque nutrit"; also cf. *Er. Carm.* 110, 362–364; 111, 49–50.

345 *natat aequore* = Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 32, 176: "natat aequore piscis"; cf. *Ov. Pont.* II, 7, 28: "natent pisces aequore".

346 *veneratur honore* Cf. *LHL* V, 531; *Er. Carm.* 110, 375–376.

347–353 *Ipse ... Transuehat* In Mutius, *Triumph.* the saints are conducted directly to heaven. In *Er.*' poem they are led first to the earthly paradise; cf. *Lc.* 23, 43; *Euangelium Nicodemi* 25–26; also *Sedul. Pasch.* V, 220–226, where Christ is said to lead a lost sheep – the repentant criminal on the cross – to the perpetually verdant meadows of the earthly paradise. They remain in this half-way house, while Christ returns to earth to rise from the grave and comfort his followers. After his ascension Christ takes the saints with him to heaven.

348 *apricis / pratis* *Hor. Epist.* I, 14, 30; cf. *Er. Carm.* 110, 118 (n.), of the earthly paradise. *paradysi / pratis* Cf. *Sedul. Pasch.* V, 222: "In campos, paradise, tuos"; *Euangelium Nicodemi* 26: "[Nos] in gratiam paradysi reduxisti in tua pinguis pascua." The earthly paradise was believed to be located on a high mountain in the east, rising above the contagion of the atmosphere, almost to the lunar

353 *aethere scripsi*: aethera *Scri*.

In fine: finis. τέλος *Scri*.

sphere. See *Ez.* 28, 13–16; and, e.g., *Lact. Phoenix* 1–30; Dante, *Purgatorio* 28, 97–102; *Bocc. Ecl.* 14, 170–172; *Mantuan. Parthen. sec.* III, in: *Opera*, II, f^o 90^v–91^r; *Ecl.* 8, 45–49.

349 *carne resumpta* = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 85 (after Christ has led the souls to paradise): "hinc tumulum repetens, post Tartara carne resumpta".

350 *maestum / soletur amorem* See n.l. 311 above.
 351–353 *ad sydera ... Transuehat* Cf. ll. 224–225 above.

352 *Quem ... hominem* Cf. *Aug. Serm. supp.* 126, 4, *PL* 39, 1995: "Suscepit ... ex Maria virgine hominem verum, quem per resurrectionis gloriam leuavit in coelum"; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 25, 160: "deus adsumpsit virgine matre hominem"; 27, 44–45: "virgine natus / ... hominem sumpsit deus"; *Er. Disputatiunc.*, *LB* V, 1267 B: "Iesum ... assumptum hominem"; 1269 F: "Iesum vti ... verum hominem, ex natura quam assumpsit de matre Virgine"; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 244, ll. 158–159: "Neque enim Pater aut Spiritus Sanctus assumpsit hominem"; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 304, l. 355: "naturam humanam, quam assumpsit ex Virgine"; *ASD* V, 5, p. 82, l. 565: "corpus et animam humanam assumpsit ex Virgine"; ll. 33–34 above.

praedam See n.l. 69 above.

113–114. TWO EPITAPHS FOR BERTA VAN HEYEN

late October 1490?

The two epitaphs for Berta van Heyen are preserved in *Scri*, where they immediately follow *Oratio funebris Bertae de Heyen*. The composition date of the eulogy and epitaphs can be deduced from several clues. The eulogy is mentioned as “nuper conditam” in Ep. 28, l. 14. Since Ep. 28 appears to have been written in c. March 1491 (see introd. *Carm.* 50), we may place the eulogy and the accompanying epitaphs in the half year preceding March 1491. Internal evidence appears to confirm this estimate: Berta, we learn, died on the feast of St. Bridget (8 October); see *LB VIII*, 559 B. Furthermore, a postscript to the work (*LB VIII*, 560 B) states that Er. composed the work at age twenty (“anno aetatis eius vicesimo primo”). As noted in introd. *Carmm.* 102 and 106 above, the biographical indications in *Scri*, when correlated with other data, seem to assume that Er. was born in 1469; hence this postscript points to a date before Er.’ birthday on 28 October 1490. We thus conclude that Berta van Heyen died on 8 October 1490. Er. must have completed the eulogy and the accompanying epitaphs later that month.

Berta was the widow of Baert Jan Heyenzoon (d. before 1474). She is documented in the Gouda archives as involved in numerous real-estate transactions in 1473–1487. By 1484 she was head-mother (“moeder”) of the hospital of St. Elizabeth. In *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen* Er. lauds her as a saintly woman who used her wealth for charity and made it a practice to visit the sick and take care of orphans. She frequently invited Er. and other monks to her home. One of her daughters, Margaret, died six weeks after her wedding (see *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, *LB VIII*, 557 C–D), possibly in 1489 since Er. recalls being addressed as “pater” at the time (that is, as a canon regular, not as a novice); see *LB VIII*, 558 A and F. This Margaret should not be identified with Margaret Honora; see introd. *Carm.* 13. Two or more surviving daughters were nuns in an Augustinian convent in Gouda. Er.’ eulogy is addressed to them. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Berta) Heyen.

Metre of *Carm.* 113: hexameter; of *Carm.* 114: anapestic dimeter catalectic (paroemiac).

Sources: *Scri**; *LB VIII*, 560.

113 EPITAPHIVM BERTAE DE HEYEN

Hac qui carpis iter fixo haec lege carmina gressu.
 Ecce hic sarcophagus, quem cominus aspicias, almae
 Ossa tegit Bertae. Porro penetralia caeli
 Celsa tenent animam, meritorum digna metentem
 5 Praemia; quippe illi praesens dum vita maneret
 Pupillis pia mater erat, solamen egenis,
 Nutrix his quos dura premebat inedia, cunctis
 Vnica spes miseris, famula officiosior aegris.
 His quondam illa suos partita est prodiga census,
 10 Vt caperet superos multo cum faenore census.

- 1 *Hac ... gressu* For the convention of addressing the passer-by see n. *Carm.* 9, 1; cf. *Carm.* 114, 1–4.
 2–3 *almae ... Bertae* Cf. *Carm.* 114, 5.
 3–5 *penetralia ... Praemia* Cf. *Carm.* 9, 24; 137, 23.
 5 *dum vita maneret* = Claud. *Bell. Gild.* I, 306; cf. *LHL* V, 681.
 6–8 *Pupillis ... aegris* Cf. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de*

Heyen, LB VIII, 555 C and 559 C; Carm. 114, 21–24. In *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen, LB VIII, 552 E*, Er. says that he was one of the orphans for whom Berta acted as foster-mother.

8 *Vnica spes* = *LHL* V, 710.

9–10 *His ... census* Cf. *Mt.* 19, 21; *Mc.* 10, 21; *Lc.* 12, 33; 18, 22.

10 *multo cum faenore* Cf. *Carm.* 54, 8 (n.).

114 ALIVD EPITAPHIVM, METRO ANAPESTICO

Huc lumina flecte, viator,
 Numeros age perlege nostros.
 Tumulum, quem conspicias istic,
 Molli leuis attere planta:
 5 Bertae tegit ossa beatae
 Meritaeque perennibus annis.
 Quam postera praedicet aetas
 Hymnisque ad sydera tollat,
 Donec ferat arbuta tellus,

- In metre and theme the epitaph recalls Prud. *Cath.* 10, a hymn on the burial and resurrection of the dead. Er. also borrows from this hymn in *Carmm.* 9–11.
 1–4 *Huc ... planta* For the convention of addressing the passer-by see n. *Carm.* 9, 1; cf. *Carm.* 113, 1–2.
 1 *Huc lumina flecte* Claud. *In Ruf.* I, 359; cf. *LHL* III, 247; Er. *Carm.* 110, 37 (n.); 118, 5.

5 *Bertae ... beatae* Cf. *Carm.* 113, 2–3.

7–12 *Quam ... noctem* Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 76–78; *Aen.* I, 607–609; Er. *Adag.*, prolegomena xiii, *ASD* II, 1, p. 70, ll. 522–525.

7 *Quam ... aetas* Cf. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen, LB VIII, 553 E*.

postera / aetas Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 42.

8 *ad sydera tollat* See *LHL* V, 149.

- 10 Dum sydera lucidus aether,
 Roseum dum sol agat orbem,
 Phaebe dum roscida noctem.
 Hac namque superstite nusquam
 Vasti regionibus orbis
 15 Pietatis amantior vlla
 Fuit atque tenacior aequi.
 Mater fuit omnibus illa,
 Ope quos studioque parentum
 Furor illachrimabilis Orci
 20 Fatis viduarat iniquis.
 Nutrix fuit omnibus illa
 Quos dira premebat egestas,
 Spes vna dolentibus, vna
 Aegris reparatio vitae.
 25 Humili licet aggere terrae
 Lateant modo lucis egena
 Et nescia sanguinis ossa,
 Ea secula sed tamen olim
 Venient, quis prisca reuisens
 30 Viuax habitacula sensus
 Putribus rediuiua sepulchris
 Secum super aethera tollat.

11 agat *LB*: agit *Scri*.

10–11 *Dum ... orbem* Cf. Sil. VII, 476–477.

12 *Phaebe / roscida* *Carm.* 110, 63–64 (n.).

19 *illachrimabilis Orci* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II, 14, 6–7; *Epist.* II, 2, 178–179. Orcus, the Roman god of the underworld, is often (as here) a convenient personification of death.

21–24 *Nutrix ... vitae* Cf. *Carm.* 113, 6–8 (n.).

24 *reparatio vitae* = Iuuenc. IV, 31 and 349; Prud. *Cath.* 10, 120: “mors haec reparatio vitae est.”

25 *aggere terrae* = Prud. *Cath.* 10, 62: “cadauera ... / ... tegit aggere terrae”; cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI, 212.

27 *nescia sanguinis ossa* See n. *Carm.* 9, 15.

28–32 *Ea ... tollat* Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 10, 31–44.

29 *quis* A contraction of “quibus” (which does not fit the metre here).

30 *habitacula* *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, *LB* VIII, 559 B. For the familiar image of the body as the soul’s temporary dwelling-place see, e.g., Sen. *Epist.* 65, 17 and 21; 70, 16–17; *Job* 4, 19; 2. *Cor.* 5, 1 (with Er.’ paraphrase, *LB* VII, 923 B–C); Er. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 247, l. 511; p. 461, ll. 304 and 307; p. 463, l. 343; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 244, ll. 6–7; p. 452, ll. 9–10; Ep. 1267, ll. 10–11; cf. *Carm.* 71, 15–16 (n.).

Poems from Ms. Egerton 1651

115. IN PRAISE OF JOHN SKELTON

autumn 1499

These verses were almost surely prompted by Er.' visit to Eltham Palace early in the fall of 1499 – the same visit that gave rise to the panegyric of Britain and her royal family. See Edwards, pp. 66–69; Maurice Pollet, *John Skelton: Poet of Tudor England*, trans. John Warrington, Lewisburg, 1971, pp. 38–40; Greg Walker, *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 40–41; and introd. *Carm.* 4 above. Since Skelton at the time was still tutor to Prince Henry, Er. naturally wanted to pay him his respects, praising him both in ll. 55–57 of the dedicatory letter to *Carm.* 4 (where see n.l. 55) and in *Carm.* 4, 130. Skelton seems to have answered those compliments with some fulsome verses (see ll. 1–2 below), no longer extant. The present poem is Er.' reply.

Our copy-text is British Library Ms. Egerton 1651 (*Eg.*). The poem was first published from this source in the American edition of *The Poetical Works of John Skelton*, ed. Alexander Dyce, 3 vols., Boston, 1856, I, pp. lxxvii–lxxviii. According to the book's editor, the "verses are transcribed from a MS. (in the collection of the late Mr. B.H. Bright,) consisting of *Hymni*, etc., by Picus Mirandula". Carlson, *Erasmus*, p. 202, with n. 11 on pp. 228–229, explains that the manuscripts in Benjamin Heywood Bright's collection were sold at auction on 18 June 1844. Lot 151, containing among other items "Jo. Franc. Pici Mirandulae Hymni. Carmen extemporale (ad Jo. Skeltonum)", was sold to the book-dealer Thomas Thorpe. The manuscript with the "Hymni" and the poem to Skelton was subsequently acquired by Charles Frederick Molini, who in turn sold it to the British Library as an "Italian" manuscript in November 1854. It is not clear why the hymns and the poem to Skelton should have been attributed to Pico in both the Bright catalogue and the British Library records ("Minutes: Acquisitions 1852–1854"). This attribution, in any case, is also to be found pencilled in vertically along the inner margin of the first folio of the manuscript.

Er.' poem was later printed from this manuscript – now known as Ms. Egerton 1651 – in Smith, pp. 453–454 (with a paraphrase into English couplets on p. 62). That Er. never published these panegyric verses himself should hardly surprise us, not because they are banal and hyperbolic, but because Skelton failed to become a powerful backer and patron. He fell from royal favour around 1502 and became a parish priest in Diss, Norfolk.

Metre: second Archilochian strophe.

Source: *Eg.*

CARMEN EXTEMPORALE

Quid tibi facundum nostra in praeconia fontem
 Soluere collibuit,
 Aeterna vates, Skelton, dignissime lauro
 Casthalidumque decus?
 5 Nos neque Pieridum celebrauimus antra sororum,
 Fonte nec Aonio
 Ebibimus vatum ditantes ora liquores.
 At tibi Apollo chelim
 Auratam dedit, et vocalia plectra sorores,
 10 Inque tuis labiis
 Dulcior Hybleo residet Suadela liquore.
 Se tibi Calliope
 Infudit totam, tu carmine vincis olorem,
 Cedit et ipse tibi
 15 Vltro porrecta cithara Rhodopeius Orpheus.
 Tu modulante lyra
 Et mulcere feras et duras ducere quercus,
 Tu potes et rapidos
 Flexanimis fidibus fluuiorum sistere cursus,
 20 Flectere saxa potes.
 Grecia Meonio quantum debebat Homero,
 Mantua Virgilio,
 Tantum Skeltono iam se debere fatetur
 Terra Britanna suo.
 25 Primus in hanc Latio deduxit ab orbe Camenas,

Tit. CARMEN EXTEMPORALE *Eg.* f^o 6^v: Ad Skelton [pro Skeltonum] carmen extempo. *Eg.* f^o 10^r.

8 *Apollo scripsi*: Appollo *Eg.*
 16 modulante *scripsi*: modulante *Eg.*
 23 Skeltono *scripsi*: Skeltoni [fortasse Skelton] *Eg.*

5 *sorum* The Muses; cf. l. 9 below and *Carm.* 4, 138 (n.) above.

8–9 *chelim Auratam* Apollo's lyre was traditionally golden, as was his plectrum; see n. *Carm.* 110, 2.

10–11 *Inque tuis labiis / residet Suadela* Proverbial; see *Adag.* 2373; cf. Poliz. *Sylv.* 1, 307: "cui blandis insidet Suada labellis"; Er. *Orat. de virt.*, LB V, 71 A. Suadela (Suada) is the personification of eloquence and persuasion.

11 *Dulcior Hybleo / liquore* Proverbial; see n. *Carm.* 56, 9. Hybla in Sicily was famed for its honey; see Otto 835.

13 *carmine vincis olorem* Proverbial; see Otto

496 and 497; Er. *Adag.* 155; cf. *Carm.* 65, 1–2 (n.); 120, 30.

16–20 *Tu ... potes* Cf. *Carm.* 6, 44–48 (n.).

17 *mulcere ... quercus* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV, 510 (of Orpheus' song).

21–24 *Grecia ... suo* Cf. Martial. XIV, 195, 1–2: "Tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo, / quantum parua suo Mantua Vergilio"; Gregorio Tifernate, *Carm.*, sig. D3^r: "Smyrna suo tantum si sese iactat Homero, / Virgilium quo se Mantua iactet habet."

25–26 *Primus ... Primus* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* III, 10–12; Hor. *Carm.* III, 30, 13–14.

Primus hic edocuit
 Exculte pureque loqui. Te principe, Skelton,
 Anglia nil metuat
 Vel cum Romanis versu certare poetis.
 30 Viue valeque diu.

26–27 *Primus ... loqui* Edwards, p. 68 takes these lines to mean that Er. deliberately leaves open the question whether he is praising Skelton as a writer of English or Latin. Smith, p. 62 interprets the passage to mean that Skelton was the first to teach the Muses “to speak English words instead of Latin”. Nelson, p. 57, n. 38 agrees: “Though Erasmus does not explicitly say that Skelton taught the muses to speak English, his comparison of Skelton to Homer and Vergil clearly shows that he considers Skelton to be the father of English literature.” But as Maurice Pollet reminds us in *John Skelton: Poet of*

Tudor England, trans. John Warrington, Lewisburg, 1971, pp. 39–40, Er. knew very little English and could have no informed opinion on Skelton’s poetic accomplishments in the English language. He did know that Skelton was Prince Henry’s tutor and had just complimented him effusively: reasons enough to return Skelton’s praises in kind.

27–29 *Te ... poetis* Cf. *Carm.* 6, 24–26.

30 *Viue valeque* Hor. *Serm.* II, 5, 110, where it is addressed to a fortune hunter and has a distinctly ironic ring.

116. A NEW EDITION OF VERGIL’S WORKS

February? 1498

Augustinus Vincentius Caminadus of Viersen, near Cologne, is often mentioned in Er.’ correspondence between the spring of 1497 and September 1502. Their friendship was punctuated by quarrels. For although Caminadus helped Er. with money and various services, he also considered it his right to hold on to some of Er.’ manuscript treatises, in particular *De conscr. ep.*, which Er. had allowed him to use. See *Contemporaries* s.v. Caminadus. His edition of Vergil, which Er. praises here, was first published by J. Philippi in Paris on 19 February 1498; see Allen, introd. Ep. 131. Er.’ commendatory epigram was thus most probably written in early 1498.

Paul Hemmerlin (meaning “little hammer” or “mallet” and hence Latinized as *Malleolus*) was a native of Andlau in Lower Alsace. He studied at Paris, receiving his B.A. in 1486–1487 and his M.A. in 1488. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Paul) Hemmerlin. His edition of Vergil was printed at Paris by U. Gering in 1489, 1494, and 23 June 1498. All of the Gering prints say on the title page that Paul Hemmerlin has most carefully emended Vergil’s works, and all carry a colophon stating that the book has been most diligently proofread (“quam tersissime impressum”). The title page of the 1498 edition, however, acknowledges that the earlier editions were not as perfect as they claimed to be. Now we read that the new book is a much improved revision, very carefully proofread with respect to spelling and punctuation: *P. Virgilii Maronis opus eximium per Paulum Malleolum Andela-*

censem, iterata diligentia plane recognitum, atque tanta nouissime attentione emendatum, ut non modo sententiarum (quod potissimum est) verum et punctorum et orthographiae quoque ratio, quam accuratissime fuerit obseruata. See W.A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, II, 2, Berlin, 1926², pp. 154–155, nos. 6032, 6034, and 6036. In the dedicatory letter to the 1498 edition Hemmerlin complains about pirated books put out under his name. The earlier editions of Vergil attributed to him, he says, were badly printed and full of errors. He promises that his new edition will be as free as possible from all blemishes.

At the end of the 1498 volume there is an epigram by Hemmerlin. This epigram, which praises the book's freedom from errors and disavows the earlier editions, may have been written specifically to counter Er.⁷ The imagery in the two poems is strikingly similar:

PAVLI MALLEOLI HEXASTICHON AD LECTOREM

Illa Maroneae mutilata poemata musae
 Malleola splendent en tibi tersa manu.
 Malleolus calida fabricando incude lituras
 Excutit, vt vatem nulla rubigo terat.
 Caetera quae nostro finguntur Marte polita
 Non sunt illa meis fulgida pumicibus.

These verses are immediately followed by a commendatory epigram by Jean Auber:

IOANNIS AVBERI IN PAVLI MALLEOLI ORATORIS
 PRAECLARI RECOGNITIONEM EPIGRAMMA

Carmina doctiloqui quondam vitiosa Maronis
 Clarius exorto sole polita nitent.
 Nam grauis humanae Paulus studiosior artis
 Dissecuit lima sordidiora sua.
 Quodque sub innumeris erroribus ante latebat,
 Ingenuum prima fronte refulget opus.
 Hoc eme quisquis amas tersum sine labe volumen,
 Nulla equidem toto codice menda latet.

Er.⁷ epigram was first published from *Eg* by Smith, pp. 454–455.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: *Eg*.

IN CASTIGATIONES VINCENTII CONTRA MALLEOLI
CASTIGATORIS DEPRAVATIONES

Plus sibi quam Varo volui Tuccaeque licere
 In musam sumit turba prophana meam.
 Hic lacerat mutilatque, hic pannos assuit ostro,
 Sordibus et mendis pagina nulla vacat.
 5 Vel nuper quanta horrebam rubigine, scabro
 Malleolo vexor dum miser atque premor!
 Hic sordes mihi dum male sedulus excutit auxit,
 Dumque agitat veteres addidit ipse nouas.
 Reddidit ereptum Vincenti lima nitorem,
 10 Ornauit variis insuper indicibus.
 Viuat vt vsque meus vindex Vincentius opto,
 Flagret malleolis Malleus ille malis.

1 Tuccaeque *scripsi*: Tuceque *Eg.*

4 Sordibus *scripsi*: Sordidior *Eg.*

12 malleolis *scripsi*: malleolys *Eg.*

1 *Varo / Tuccaeque* L. Varius Rufus, a famous poet, and Plotius Tucca, perhaps also a poet, were friends of Vergil. After the great poet's death Augustus appointed them to edit the *Aeneid* on condition that they delete only the superfluous and add nothing of their own. The form "Varus" (or "Varrus") for "Varius" is common in medieval mss. of Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 35 (with Servius' commentary) and Hor. *Serm.* I, 5, 40, as well as in mss. of Suetonius' vita of Vergil. Hemmerlin repeatedly writes the name as "Varrus" in his 1498 edition.

3 *mutilat* Cf. Hemmerlin, *Hexastichon* 1.
hic ... ostro Cf. Hor. *Ars* 15–16.

4 *Sordibus* Cf. l. 7 below; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 215, l. 9; p. 218, l. 14.

pagina nulla vacat = Martial. III, 69, 4.

5 *rubigine* Cf. Hemmerlin, *Hexastichon* 4.

7 *Hic ... excutit* Cf. Hemmerlin, *Hexastichon* 3–4.

9 *lima* Cf. Jean Auber, *Epigramma* 4.

nitorem For the image cf. Hemmerlin, *Hexastichon* 2 and 6; Jean Auber, *Epigramma* 2 and 6.

12 *malleolis Malleus / malis* Here Er. engages in some exuberant punning: "May 'Malleus' [Hemmerlin, meaning 'little hammer'; possibly also the animal disease known as 'mallet'] burn 'malleolis ... malis' ('with evil fire-darts' or 'mallets')."

117. THE SAVIOUR'S EARNEST ENTREATY TO MANKIND

summer 1499?

This is an early draft of *Carm.* 43; see the introd. there. It was first published from *Eg* by Smith, pp. 455–456.

Metre: first Pythiambic strophe.

Source: *Eg.*

CONTESTATIO SALVATORIS AD HOMINEM SVA CVLPA
PEREVNTEM. CARMINIS FVTVRI RVDIMENTVM

Qum mihi sint vni si quae bona terra polusque
 Habet, quid hoc dementiae est
 Vt malis, homo, falsa sequi bona, sed mala vera,
 Me rarus aut nemo petat?
 5 Forma capit multos: me nil formosius vsquam est,
 Formam hanc amat nemo tamen.
 Sum clarissimus et generosus vtroque parente:
 Seruire nobis qur pudet?
 Diues item et facilis dare multa et magna rogatus,
 10 Rogari amo: nemo rogat.
 Sumque vocorque patris summi sapiencia: nemo
 Me consulit mortalium;
 Preceptor: mihi nemo cupit parere magistro;
 Eternitas: nec expetor.
 15 Sum via qua sola celi itur ad astra, tamen me
 Terit viator infrequens.
 Auctor qum ego sim vitae vnica ipsaque vita,
 Qur sordeo mortalibus?
 Veraci credit nemo, fidit mihi nemo,
 20 Qum sit nihil fidelius.
 Sum placabilis ac misereri pronus, et ad nos
 Vix confugit quisquam miser.
 Denique iustus ego vindexque seuerus iniqui:

1 quae scripsi: que Eg.
6 hanc scripsi: hac Eg.

17 vitae scripsi: vite Eg.

1–4 Qum ... petat Cf. *Carm.* 94, 1–6 (with notes).

1 Qum ... polusque Cf. *Carm.* 43, 1–2.
terra polusque = *Stat. Silv.* 1, 1, 93.

2 quid ... est Cf. *Carm.* 43, 3 (n.).

3 falsa / bona, / mala vera *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 241, ll. 15–16; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 222, ll. 918–920; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 5, p. 350, l. 773; cf. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 44 D: “fucata bona ..., vera mala”; *LB* V, 62 A: “fucata commoda ... veris incommodis”.

4 rarus aut nemo Cf. *Pers.* 1, 3: “vel duo vel nemo”.

5 Forma ... est Cf. *Carm.* 43, 11 (n.).
Forma capit *Ov. Her.* 16(17), 180: “tua me, te mea forma capit.”

6 Formam ... tamen Cf. *Carm.* 43, 12.

7 Sum ... parente Christ’s father is God; his mother is a descendant of King David; cf. *Carm.* 110, 258 (n.).

vtroque parente = *Ov. Met.* XIII, 147: “deus est in vtroque parente”; cf. *Er. Carm.* 49, 112; *LHL* V, 745.

8–12 Seruire ... mortalium Cf. *Carm.* 43, 20–24.

13 parere magistro = *Claud. In Eutr.* II, 157.

15–16 Sum ... infrequens = *Carm.* 43, 31–32.

17–18 Auctor ... mortalibus Cf. *Carm.* 43, 37–38.

20 Qum ... fidelius = *Carm.* 43, 36.

21–28 Sum ... tibi Cf. *Carm.* 43, 65–74.

21–22 ad nos / confugit Cf. *Ps.* 142, 9: “Domine, Ad te confugi.”

23 vindex *Ferguson*, p. 28 notes that the sense “avenger” represents *Er.*’ usage when he was

Nostri metus vix vllum habet.
 25 Proinde, mei desertor homo, socordia si te
 Adducet in mortem tua,
 Preteritum nihil est. In me ne reiice culpam,
 Malorum es ipse auctor tibi.

still at Steyn (see *Carm.* 50, 120; 94, 77), whereas the sense “protector” is his later usage. This is incorrect; “vindex” in the sense of “punisher” or “avenger” occurs also in

Paean Virg., *LB V*, 1229 B and *Carm.* 110, 54, both written in 1499. Er.’ usage of the word can therefore not be adduced as an argument for dating the poem.

Poems from Other Sources

118. A PARAPHRASE OF THE ANTIPHON *SALVE, REGINA*
 1498–1501?

In this poem Er. paraphrases the famous antiphon *Salve, regina* (*AH* 50, 245), traditionally attributed to Herimannus Contractus (1013–1054):

Salve, regina misericordiae,
 Vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve!
 Ad te clamamus exsules filii Euae,
 Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes
 In hac lacrimarum valle.
 Eia ergo, aduocata nostra,
 Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos conuerte
 Et Iesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,
 Nobis post hoc exsilium ostende,
 O clemens, o pia,
 O dulcis [virgo] Maria.

Paraphrases and adaptations of this hymn were common in the later Middle Ages. Sebastian Brant, for example, paraphrased it in six elegiac distichs (1494); see his *Varia carmina*, Basel, 1498, sig. E4^v.

Er.’ poem was first published by Alaad of Amsterdam in his edition of *D. Erasmi Roterda. de vitando pernicioso libidinosoque aspectu carmen bucolicum*, Leiden, P.C. van Balen, 1538 (a; *NK* 786), sig. D6^v. There it is found among Alaad’s *Varia epigrammata* and immediately after his verse translation of *Carm.* 51. It was not included in the reprints of Alaad’s works. The poem’s date of composition cannot be determined with certainty. Reedijk assigns it conjecturally to July 1516, partly because he regards the literary quality of these verses as superior to those in *Scri*, partly because Alaad in July 1516, submitted a draft of

his translation of *Carm.* 51 to Er.; see Ep. 433. Er., he theorizes, might have sent him these verses as a complimentary gift along with some critical comments on the translation. He adds that the poem seems to be “written in very much the same vein” as *Carm.* 51.

Reedijk’s argument for the date 1516 on the grounds of literary quality is dubious; the verses are, after all, only a variation on a very familiar hymn. More probably this metrical paraphrase belongs to an earlier period. Its first editor, Alaard of Amsterdam, owned a collection of Er.’ “tyrocinia” as early as 1516 (Ep. 433, ll. 36–38) and later acquired the manuscript, formerly belonging to Snoy, from which he edited the *Carmen buccolicum*; see introd. to Snoy’s letter prefacing *Carmm.* 93–97. The spelling of “Heuae” in l. 3 also points to an earlier rather than a later date, since such aspirated forms are characteristic of Er.’ orthography in the first half of his career; see, for example, *Carm.* 102, 103 (“Hismariis”) and *Carm.* 110, 93 (“Hester”). Perhaps Er. wrote this paraphrase during the years when he was trying to secure Anna van Borsselle’s patronage by various prose and verse works in honour of the Virgin; see introd. *Carm.* 1. The poem is certainly far closer in spirit to the concluding lines of *Carm.* 110 (spring 1499) and the last part of *Carm.* 1 (1500–1501) than to the much more personal *Carm.* 51 (1512).

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: *a.*

ERASMI PRECATIO ‘SALVE, REGINA’

O regina, reum miseratrix maxima, salve,
 O spes, dulcedo vitaque nostra simul,
 Ad te clamamus nati miserabilis Heuae,
 Quos lachrymae et gemitus vallis et ista premunt.
 5 In miseros ergo miserantia lumina flecte,
 Ostendas natum post mala secla tuum.
 Nam pia, nam dulcis, nam clementissima quum sis,
 Fac dignos fructu, virgo Maria, tuo.

1 *reum* See n. *Carm.* 110, 395.

5 *In ... flecte* Léon-E. Halkin, *La Mariologie d’Erasmus*, ARG 68 (1977), p. 46, n. 76 observes that Er. does not use the title “aduocata” of the medieval antiphon, as he does in *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1233 A, and infers from this that Er. refused to grant her this title in 1516 (the presumed date of composition). The trochaic word “aduocata”, however, can-

not be made to fit the elegiac metre; for the same reason it does not occur in Brant’s elegiac rendition of the hymn.

miseros / miserantia For the wordplay see n. *Carm.* 112, 334.

lumina flecte See n. *Carm.* 114, 1.

8 *virgo Maria* = LHL V, 636; cf. Er. *Carm.* 110, 36 (n.).

119. AN INVECTIVE AGAINST POPE JULIUS II
late spring 1511?

This vitriolic epigram on Pope Julius II was discovered by P.S. Allen and first published at his suggestion by J.-B. Pineau in *Erasme est-il l'auteur du "Julius"?*, *Revue de littérature comparée* 5 (1925), pp. 385–386, n. 2. Pineau did not himself see the manuscript – reportedly an autograph of Er. – but relied on a transcription made for him by M.F. Nicolardot. Pineau's text was reprinted in Ferguson, pp. 36–37 and Reedijk, *Poems*, pp. 392–393. Having obtained access to the manuscript, Reedijk was able to confirm that it is indeed in Er.' handwriting. See his *Een schimpdicht van Erasmus op Julius II*, in: *Opstellen door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann*, The Hague, 1958, pp. 186–207, with a new text of the poem on pp. 202–204.

The manuscript, now kept in the Institut Néerlandais, Paris (Fondation Custodia, coll. F. Lugt, inv. no. 6895), is bound before the title page in a copy of *Μωριας Εγκωμιον, Stultitiae Laus Des. Erasmi Rot. Declamatio, cum commentariis Ger. Listrii et figuris Io. Holbenii*, Basel, 1676 (BB E. 884). On the verso of the manuscript (a), in a column at the top left, is a series of hastily scribbled words which Nicolardot and Pineau read as "Th. Morus. Byth. Capad." (p. 386) and which Reedijk (*Een schimpdicht*, p. 190) more accurately transcribes as "Thracia / pontus / bithynia / galatia / capadocia / cilicia". Below these words, centred on the page in the address area, are some letters, which Reedijk deciphers as "Rosso". He takes this word to be a pseudonym for Thomas More, to whom, in his opinion, it must have been personally delivered. There is no direct evidence, however, that More received the poem; and the pseudonym which More was to use much later in *Responsio ad Lutherum* (1523) is not "Rossus" but "Rosseus". See John M. Headley, introd. to Thomas More, *Responsio ad Lutherum*, *CW* V, 2, p. 801. Reedijk goes on to suggest (pp. 206–207) that the list of place-names, corresponding in part to those mentioned in 1. *Petr.* 1, 1, may indicate that Er. was from the outset thinking of the contrast between Peter and his modern successor. A third reading of the words on the verso of the manuscript has been advanced by Philip C. Dust, *Three Renaissance Pacifists: Essays in the Theories of Erasmus, More, and Vives*, New York, 1987, p. 131: "As I see the words, they do read *Thomas / Morus*, followed by a colon, which Reedijk omits, and then by a list of these epithets: 'bithynicus / culex / capadocus / cilix.'" But Dust's readings are almost surely incorrect and his explanations of them are for the most part quite implausible.

Since Julius is here obviously regarded as still alive, the poem must have been written before his death on 21 February 1513. A *terminus post quem* is provided in l. 13, where Julius is called "pestis Galliarum maxima" – an allusion to the political hostility between Julius II and Louis XII, which began in the summer of 1510. This allusion supports Reedijk's contention that the poem originated in the hotbed of Gallican propaganda against Julius II that was gathering force in the

winter and spring of 1511. Because Er. returned to Paris in April 1511 and went back to England in mid-June of the same year, Reedijk concludes that the epigram was most probably composed at Paris in the late spring of 1511.

Er.' hostility toward Julius II is evident also in *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, pp. 172–174, ll. 768–811 (though he is not actually mentioned there by name) and above all in the dialogue *Iulius exclusus*, written not long after Julius' death. Er. himself never explicitly acknowledged or denied his authorship of that satire; but there is now a considerable body of evidence linking him to the work. The present poem contains numerous analogies of thought and language to *Iulius exclusus* that can be used to make a strong case for the dialogue's authenticity; see the notes below. For a discussion of Julius' papacy and Er.' attitude toward the "warrior pope" see Michael J. Heath, introd. *Iulius exclusus*, CWE 27, pp. 156–167; *Contemporaries* s.v. Julius II. See further: Christine Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope*, Oxford, 1993.

A somewhat different and shorter version of the epigram appears, without attribution to Er., in Gerard Geldenhauer's "Collectanea", Ms. II 53, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels (β), f^o 5^r. This version was first edited by J. Prinsen in: *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus, gevolgd door den herdruk van eenige zijner werken*, Amsterdam, 1901, p. 19; see also Reedijk, *Poems*, p. 393, with two corrections to Prinsen's text. In reprinting the text from Geldenhauer's manuscript, I have added in parentheses the corresponding line numbers of *Carm.* 119:

IN EVNDEM LIGVREM

Vt iure, vt ex re nomen est tibi Iulio!	(1–2)
Et pontifex fuit ille quondam maximus,	(3)
Et per nefas arripuit ille tyrannidem.	(4)
Contempsit ille deos, et hoc es Iulius.	(7)
Nihil illi erat sacri, nisi morbus sacer.	(14)
Orbem vniuersum cede, bello, sanguine	(8)
Miscebat ille, et his es alter Iulius.	(9)
Res est tibi cum Gallo et hoc es Iulius.	(12–13)
At Nicomedes vnus haud sat est seni.	(10)
Iam nomine isto plus eris quam Iulius.	(11)
Tantum vna ab illo leuicula differs nota,	(21)
Quod gente nulla vinum amas pro literis.	(22)
Quid multa? Solum hoc totus vt sis Iulius	(23)
Abest, vt aliquis Brutus obtingat tibi.	(24)

For another epigram on Julius II that may also have come from Er.' pen see *Carm.* 141.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Sources: α^* ; β .

CARMEN IAMBICVM

Vt examussum quadrat in te Iulii
 Nomen secundi! Plane es alter Iulius.
 Et pontifex fuit ille quondam maximus,
 Et ille arripuit per nefas tyrannidem.
 5 Nec secius illi, quam tibi modo placet,
 Violata placuit gratia regni fides.
 Contempsit ille deos, et hoc es Iulius.
 Orbem vniuersum cede, bello, sanguine
 Miscebat ille, et hoc es alter Iulius.
 10 Tibi Nicomedes vnus haut sat est seni.

4 Et ... nefas *scripsi* (*metri gratia*): Et per nefas arripuit ille α β .

10-11 Tibi ... Iulius *add. α in calce paginae*.
 10 Nicomedes β : Licomedes α .

1 *examussum* *Adag.* 490.

2 *alter Iulius* Er. frequently compares Julius II with Julius Caesar. See *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, pp. 68-69, ll. 88-90; p. 90, ll. 423-424; p. 102, l. 692; p. 103, l. 732; Ep. 205, ll. 38-39; 228, ll. 16-17; 233, l. 5; 245, l. 22; 262, l. 2; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 224, ll. 706-708; p. 248, ll. 246-248. The comparison had already been frequently used by admirers and flatterers of the pope. But Er., like Cicero, Livy, Lucan, and many Renaissance humanists, saw Julius Caesar as a warmongering tyrant; see, e.g., *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 50, ll. 757-758; *Adag.* 201, *ASD* II, 1, p. 313, l. 240: "alicuius pestilentissimi ducis, puta Iulii Caesaris".

3 *pontifex / maximus* Julius Caesar was elected pontifex maximus in 63 B.C.

4 *per nefas* Cf. Ep. 586, ll. 180-181, where the phrase is applied to Caesar's grab for power. Julius II obtained the papacy in 1503 by means of flagrant corruption; cf. *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 73, ll. 172-173. *tyrannidem* Cf. *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 83, ll. 333-334; p. 118, ll. 1044-1045: "Tyrannum plus quam mundanum videre me, Christi hostem, Ecclesiae pestem."

6 *Violata ... fides* Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 524-525, which according to Cic. *Off.* III, 21, 82 and Suet. *Caes.* 30, 5 was always on Julius Caesar's lips: "Nam si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia / violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas." Julius II partially quotes this dictum in Er. *Iul. exclus.*; see Ferguson, p. 90, l. 423.

8-9 *Orbem ... ille* Cf. *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 352,

ll. 682-684 (referring to Julius II): "Non decet summi sacerdotis clementiam ... orbem christianum tumultu, caede ac sanguine miscere"; *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 77, l. 224: "bella per me toto orbe concitata"; p. 114, ll. 940-941: "At fieri potest, vt bellorum incendium per te suscitatum vniuersum denique mundum corripiat"; p. 115, ll. 978-979: "Subuertisse mihi videris Ecclesiam, qui orbem vniuersum ad teterrima bella concitaris"; Ep. 335, ll. 109-110 (during Julius' papacy): "rotus pene orbis ad bellum excitatus"; *Adag.* 3001, *LB* II, 970 E, referring to Julius II: "tot bella per vniuersum orbem ... excitata fortiter"; also *Adag.* 210, *ASD* II, 1, p. 306, ll. 65-66, referring to ancient tyrants such as Julius Caesar: "ambitione praiceps vniuersum orbem insanissimis rerum tumultibus concussit".

8 *cede / sanguine* Cf. Iuv. 10, 112 (in Renaissance edd.): "ad generum Cereris sine caede ac sanguine pauci / descendunt reges"; Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, *ASD* IV, 1, p. 53, ll. 865-866: "plaisisque necesse [est] imperium sibi multa cede ac sanguine asserere." Cf. also *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 352, l. 684 (quoted above); *Carm.* 100, 21.

10 *Nicomedes* Caesar was rumored to have been the lover of Nicomedes IV, king of Bithynia; see Suet. *Caes.* 49, 1-4; Er. *Adag.* 501, *LB* II, 221 E. Reedijk, *Een schimpdicht*, p. 190 suggests that the word "Bithynia" on the verso of the ms. might be an allusion to Nicomedes. Contemporary gossip held that Julius II was involved in numerous homosexual liaisons, especially with Cardinal Alidosi,

Iam nomine isto plus eris quam Iulius.
 Vexator ille Galliarum maximus,
 Es et ipse pestis Galliarum maxima.
 Nihil illi erat sacrum, nisi morbus sacer.
 15 Et pectus illi Erinny's vltrix criminum
 Furiis agebat, mensque scelerum conscia.
 Torua erat et illi frons minaci lumine,
 Et ille quouis histrione vafrior.
 Et his et aliis non silendis dotibus
 20 Refers et equas, imo superas Iulium.
 Tantum vna ab illo leuicula differs nota,
 Quod gente nulla vinum amas pro litteris.

13 Es et ipse pestis manus Erasmi supra lineam

α: Et pestis ipse es α (in textu).

whom Julius favoured despite his ineptness. Cf. *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 77, ll. 249–250; p. 88, l. 392; p. 108, ll. 857–858; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 172, ll. 781–782; and *Carm.* 141, 6–7.

12 *Vexator ... maximus* Cf. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 50, ll. 757–758, of Julius Caesar's Gallic war: "Galliarum ... vexatio"; Ep. 335, ll. 110–113, where Louis XII is said to be "vexatus" by Julius II.

13 *pestis Galliarum maxima* Julius II and Louis XII had been at loggerheads since the summer of 1510. Cf. *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 114, ll. 960–961. The phrase "pestis ... maxima" is applied to Julius II also in *Iul. exclus.*; see Ferguson, p. 66, l. 43. Cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 32 D: "pestem totius Christianismi"; Ep. 872, ll. 17–18 (of the papacy): "pestem ... Christianismi".

14 *Nihil ... sacer* For Julius Caesar's lack of religious scruples see Suet. *Caes.* 59; for his attacks of epilepsy see Suet. *Caes.* 45, 1. There is, however, no good historical evidence that Julius II suffered from epilepsy. Er. mentions it among Julius' diseases (along with syphilis) also in *Iul. exclus.*; see Ferguson, p. 72, l. 160. *morbus sacer* Epilepsy was called "the sacred disease" already before the time of Hippocrates, probably because its bizarre symptoms suggested that the victim was possessed by a god or a demon. Cf. *Adag.* 1327.

15–16 *pectus ... conscia* For Caesar's nightmares after the battle of Pharsalus see Lucan. VII, 772–786, where they are likened to Orestes' vision of the Furies; see also Suet. *Caes.* 45, 1. Er. mentions Caesar's crime-burdened conscience in *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1,

p. 75, ll. 580–583; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 281, l. 822. Cf. *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 118, l. 877, of the "Dirae vltrices": "Nocentem et consciuum animum furiis ... agunt"; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 72, ll. 883–888; *Adag.* 991; *Lingua*, ASD IV, 1A, p. 76, ll. 655–656; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 398, ll. 860–861; *Carm.* 141, 9.
 15 *Erinny's vltrix criminum* Cf. *Adag.* 1815, ASD II, 4, p. 226, l. 248: "Erinnyes ... malefactorum vltrices"; Sen. *Med.* 13: "sceleris vlttrices deae"; *Octavia* 619: "Vltrix Erinys".

17 *Torua ... lumine* Cf. *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, pp. 68–69, ll. 78–90.

22 *gente nulla* Julius II, the son of Raffaello della Rovere and the nephew of Sixtus IV, belonged to a non-noble branch of the Rovere family. Er. illustrates the adage "A remo ad tribunal" (*Adag.* 2386) by the example of Julius II, of whom it was said that he rowed a fishing boat in his youth to make a living. Cf. *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 71, ll. 149–153. But Er. is also alluding to the (baseless) charge that Julius II was a bastard. Cf. *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 77, ll. 230–231.

vinum Caesar drank very little wine, as even his enemies admitted; see Suet. *Caes.* 53. Julius II, by contrast, was (unfairly) reputed to be immoderately fond of wine. Cf. *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 67, l. 57; p. 68, l. 83; p. 90, l. 413; p. 93, l. 511; *Lingua*, ASD IV, 1A, p. 70, ll. 462–463; *Carm.* 141, 4.

pro litteris Cf. *Iul. exclus.*, in: Ferguson, p. 77, ll. 232–233. This characterization is historically unwarranted. Julius was a great patron of the arts and possessed a private library

Vnum illud ergo totus vt sis Iulius
Superest, vt aliquis Brutus obtingat tibi.

containing Latin classics, Italian neo-Latin authors, as well as translations of Greek writers.

23–24 *Vnum ... tibi* The same thought is expressed in Hutten, *Ad Caesarem Maximilianum epigrammata* 142 (first printed in 1516, but evidently composed while Julius was still alive): “Iulius est Romae. quis abest? date, numina, Brutum! / Nam quoties Romae est

Iulius, illa perit.” Cf. also Er. *Adag.* 1765, *ASD* II, 4, p. 190, l. 886, after a lament about tyrannical princes devoted to their own pleasures and ambitions: “O Brutorum genus iam olim extinctum!” But Er., who feared anarchy even more than tyranny, was no advocate of tyrannicide or revolution; see James D. Tracy, *The Politics of Erasmus*, Toronto, 1978, pp. 38–39.

120. COMPLIMENTARY VERSES FOR AN EPIC POEM ON THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE BY ÁLVAR GÓMEZ

early 1517?

Álvar Gómez of Ciudad Real (1488–1538) was a Spanish nobleman who in 1516 served as page of the future Charles V in Burgundy. Around this time he composed a poem in five books about the Order of the Golden Fleece. Internal evidence indicates that it was written in Flanders, after Charles was proclaimed king of Spain in April 1516 and before he went to Spain in September 1517. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Álvar) Gómez.

Álvar first introduced himself to Er. in Ep. 506 (end of 1516?) as “Aluarus Nemo”. He enclosed a poem congratulating Luigi Marliano of Milan on his appointment to the see of Tuy in Galicia; this poem is printed in *LB* III, 2, 1857–1858. Not long afterwards he must have shown Er. a manuscript of *De militia* and asked him to write some complimentary verses for it. Cf. Ep. 545, ll. 16–17, where Er. complains to Thomas More in March 1517 about the many Spaniards who came to pay their respects to him at Brussels in the winter of 1516–1517, and Ep. 700, ll. 3–4. The epigram may thus be placed in early 1517.

Álvar’s epic poem, with Er.’ complimentary verses, was published posthumously by his son, Petrus Gómez de Mendoza, under the title *De militia principis Burgundi quam velleris aurei vocant, ad Charolum Caesarem eiusdem militiae principem libri quinque*, Toledo, Juan de Ayala, November 1540 (α), sig. A3^r–A3^v. It was reprinted at Alcalá de Henares, September 1541. Er.’ poem was rediscovered by F. Kossmann. See his *Een vergeten lofdicht van Erasmus op de Orde van het Gulden Vlies door Alvar Gomez 1517*, Het Boek 26 (1942), pp. 357–364.

Metre: hexameter.

Source: *a*.

DESI. ERASMVS ROTERO. LECTORI

Enituit (proh grande nefas) post saecula multa
 Nobilium rerum series et velleris almi
 Inclyta Romanos contemnens fama triumphos.
 Et nullam Aoniae, nullam Parnasidos vndae
 5 Sensit opem, nullo se euexit in astra cothurno,
 Donec Hesperio spectatus sanguine Gomez,
 Clarus auis opibusque potens, sed carminis alti
 Diuitiis caelsaque et magniloquente Camoena
 Nobilior, tantae miserans obliuia laudis
 10 Ac prima intactum repetens ab origine carmen,
 Splendida grandiloquo reserans exordia versu
 Ordinis et causam, ter magno et maxima Charlo
 Decretis promissa deum venturaque fata
 Asseruit tetris illustria gesta tenebris,
 15 Ausonii lucem eloquii sacrumque furorem
 Carminis Hispani succedens flatibus oris.
 Non hic mendaci commendat Iasona versu,

1-5 *Enituit ... opem* Álvaro Gómez, *De militia*, sig. A5^r, begins with the same thought: "Pandere res altas et vatum crimine tectas / Incipiam, si Musa vocat, si verus Apollo / Inuitat clarisque iubet miserescere factis / Pegasidumque lytras mutamque resoluere famam."
 2 *rerum series* = Lucan. V, 179.
 3 *Inclyta / fama* LHL III, 48.
 4 *fama triumphos* = Walter, *Alex.* I, 7: "Cesareos numquam loqueretur fama triumphos."
 5 *euexit in astra* Cf. *Carm.* 66, 5.
 9 *obliuia laudis* = Ov. *Met.* XII, 539.
 10-12 *prima ... causam* Cf. Álvaro Gómez, *De militia*, sig. A5^r: "primordia sacri / Velleris, et priscam repetamus origine causam." In books I and II Álvaro tells the story of the fleece and of Gideon's victories. In book III he relates the origins of the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded at Bruges in 1430 by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy; see Luc Hommel, *L'histoire du noble Ordre de la Toison d'or*, Brussels, 1947, pp. 7-13.
 10 *prima / repetens ab origine* Verg. *Georg.* IV, 286; *Aen.* I, 372.
 11 *grandiloquo / versu* Cf. Álvaro Gómez, *De militia*, sig. B4^v: "magniloquo ... versu" (in the same metrical position).
 12 *Ordinis / causam* Álvaro Gómez, *De militia*, sig. A5^r.

12-13 *ter ... fata* In books IV and V.
 12 *ter magno* Cf. *Adag.* 1805. Er.' phrase "ter magnus" varies a Renaissance term of praise or title, "ter maximus". See, e.g., Brant, *Varia carm.*, sig. D1^v, of St. Sebastian: "ter maxime martyr"; Eob. Hess. *Her. chr.* 2, 13 (= *Her.* I, 2, 11), of God: "princeps ter maxime". In *Iul. exclus.* the title is ironically applied to the pope, in analogy to Mercurius Trismegistus; see Ferguson, p. 67, ll. 46-47.
 13 *venturaque fata* Ov. *Met.* XV, 799.
 14 *Asseruit ... tenebris* Cf. *Carm.* 6, 28 (n.).
 15 *furorem* See n. *Carm.* 6, 4.
 17-22 *Non ... terram* The origin of the name "Golden Fleece" was in dispute almost from the beginning of the order. The first associations were clearly with the saga of Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece (see Ov. *Her.* 12; *Met.* VII, 1-158; Val. Fl. *Argonautica*). Shortly afterwards, however, the Golden Fleece was related instead to the story of Gideon's fleece (*Judic.* 6, 36-40). See Georges Doutrepoint, *Jason et Gédéon, patrons de la Toison d'Or*, in: *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*, 2 vols., Liège, 1908, II, pp. 191-208; Luc Hommel, *L'histoire du noble Ordre de la Toison d'or*, Brussels, 1947, pp. 13-15.

- Nec vigilem Medaea parat sopire draconem,
 Aut mentita nouo prorumpunt praelia sulco.
 20 Fulgida sed sacri miracula velleris vdi
 Arenti tellure prius, ac mox vice versa
 Vndantem pluuiis sudo iam vellere terram,
 Et Gedeoniacos ausus diuinaque bella
 Tercentum pugnata viris, quos more ferarum
 25 Dira sitis liquidas non adpronauit in vndas,
 Dulcia sed gerulis rapuerunt flumina dextris,
 Ac precibus superata piis furiata Sathanum
 Agmina et innumeris turgentia castra manipulis
 Militiamque sacram generosique ordinis amplum
 30 Eximiumque decus cygnaeo gutture cantat,
 Martia flammato celebrans praeconia versu.
 Scilicet vt mutae longo iam tempore laudes
 Non nisi ab Hispano rupere silentia cantu,
 Sic erit armipotens virtus tua, maxime Charle,
 35 Tum demum foelix, toto spectabilis orbe,

18–19 *Nec ... sulco* Aectes, king of the Colchians, required Jason to perform several seemingly impossible tasks before he could have the Golden Fleece. He had to yoke a pair of fire-breathing bulls and make them plough a field; then he had to sow the field with the teeth of a dragon and overcome the ensuing crop of hostile warriors. With the help of the king's daughter, the sorceress Medea, Jason accomplished all these tasks. When Aectes still refused to give him the Fleece, Jason put its ever-watchful guardian, the dragon, to sleep, took the Golden Fleece, and returned home in triumph with Medea.
 18 *vigilem ... draconem* Cf. Ov. *Met.* VII, 149; *Her.* 12, 171; Álvarez Gómez, *De militia*, sig. C2^r: "Peruigil atque draco sopitaque cantibus ora / Tessalicis".
 19 *nouo ... sulco* Cf. Stat. *Theb.* I, 8: "infandis condentem proelia sulcis"; Prop. III, 11, 10: "armigera proelia seuit humo."
 22 *pluuiis* Most medieval and Renaissance references to Gideon's fleece speak of it as being wetted by "dew"; Er. does so in *Carm.* 110, 91–92. Sometimes, however, it was said to be moistened by "rain". Álvarez Gómez refers to "rain" in book II, sig. B3^r: "Nec pluuiam vellus cognouerat"; book III, sig. B8^r: "pluitque / Desuper in terram, vellusque arcescit." This in part reflects the semantic

range of the word "ros" used in the Vulgate text, since it can mean both "dew" and "a light rain". For the latter meaning cf., e.g., *AH* 4, 61, 3: "Vellus quoque Gedeonis, / In quod pluuiam rorauit"; 42, 79, 4b: "Vellus perfusum madescit / Deitatis pluuiam"; 54, 219, 8: "Fusum Gedeonis vellus / Deitatis pluuiam"; 54, 248, 8: "Nec vellus corrumpitur / Imbre pluuiam." Cf. also *AH* 48, 261, 12 (to the Virgin Mary): "Tu es area compluta, / Caelesti rore imbuta"; Er. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1230 F, where Mary is likened to Gideon's fleece: "coelesti rore ter compluta".

23–26 *Gedeoniacos ... dextris* See *Iudic.* 7, 4–6.
 24–26 *Tercentum ... dextris* Cf. Álvarez Gómez, *De militia*, sig. B3^v: "Tercentum iuuenes igitur miro ordine lecti / Ex hoc quod curuis lambabant flumina dextris".
 24 *more ferarum* = *LHL* III, 416.
 25 *liquidus / vndas* = Catull. 64, 2; cf. Ov. *Fast.* VI, 699.
 30 *cygnaeo gutture* Cf. *Carm.* 115, 13 (n.).
 32 *longo / tempore* = *LHL* III, 222–223.
 34 *maxime Charle* Cf. Álvarez Gómez, *De militia*, sig. C4^v (prophesying that King Charles will be greater than Charles the Great): "Charolus huic alter succedet maximus."
 35 *toto spectabilis orbe* Cf. *LHL* V, 527–528: "toto venerabilis orbe".

Cum dabit infractas vires et robora firma
Addita Burgundis Hispanica lancea gesis.

37 *Burgundis / gesis* Álvarez Gómez, *De militia*, sig. B6^v.
Burgundis Hispanica Cf. Álvarez Gómez, *De militia*, sig. C6^r: "Burgundos animos Hispanaque pectora" (joined by King Charles).

lancea gesis According to Gell. XV, 30, 7, the "lancea" was a spear of Spanish origin. The "gaesum" was originally the long, heavy javelin of the Gauls.

121. VERSES FOR BERNARD ANDRÉ'S COMMENTARY ON
ST. AUGUSTINE, *DE CIVITATE DEI*
April 1517?

On Bernard André see introd. *Carm.* 67 and n.l. 6 of that poem. The book here praised is André's (partial) commentary on St. Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei*. This work, composed in 1496–1502, is preserved in Ms. 360, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris (*Ms*). Er.' epigram occurs at the end of the preliminary leaves, on f^o V^v. It was first published in Nelson, p. 34, n. 69. The verses have also been printed, with an English translation, by F. Roth, *A History of the English Austin Friars*, Augustiniana 15 (1965), p. 626.

Gilbert Tournoy, who reprints and discusses Er.' piece in *Two Poems written by Erasmus for Bernard André*, HL 27 (1978), pp. 47–49, notes that the epigram could have been composed either in the autumn of 1499 (when Er. was visiting Eltham Palace and was eager to ingratiate himself with important people at the royal court) or more than fifteen years later, during one of his brief visits to England. Tournoy considers the latter date more probable. It is indeed not at all certain that Er. actually met André in 1499. Since Prince Arthur was not at Eltham Palace at the time of Er.' visit, his tutor, André, may well have been absent too. At any rate, it seems quite unlikely that Bernard André in 1499 would have asked an unknown poet to write a liminary epigram for a book that he had not yet completed. Furthermore, as Tournoy points out, the preliminary leaves of the Arsenal manuscript were written after the accession of King Henry VIII (in April 1509); and the letter by Johannes Benedictus Moncettus, immediately preceding Er.' poem on f^o U^v–V^r, is dated 10 June 1515.

To Tournoy's discussion we should add that Er.' verses were copied into the manuscript by a different hand from that of the preceding letter and must have been inserted somewhat later to fill up a partially blank page. André might have asked for the verses sometime after June 1515 – either during Er.' trip to England in August 1516, or more probably in April 1517. We should observe too that Er.' epigram does not exhibit the effusive flattery of the poem to John Skelton (*Carm.* 115, written in 1499). Quite the contrary: The tone is familiar, even ironic in view of André's blindness. "Hitherto", Er. is saying, "St. Augustine's *City* has been

covered by such heavy darkness that the eyes of the uninitiated could see nothing in it. Now Bernard, after working many long nights, has written a commentary that sheds so much light on the work that even the purblind can see clearly." The last expression is used also in Er.' letter to Guillaume Budé of 15 February 1517; see n.ll. 5–6 below. The subtly ironic tone of the present poem is reminiscent of another epigram by Er., written for Bernard André's collection of hymns, probably in April 1517 (*Carm.* 67). We accordingly surmise that Er. wrote the following epigram in April 1517, while he was staying at Andrea Ammonio's house.

Metre: trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

Source: *Ms.*

ERASMI ROTERODAMI THEOLOGI IN COMMENTARIOS
D. B. ANDREAE THOLOZANI, POETAE REGII, SVPER
OPVS AVRELII AVGVSTINI DE CIVITATE DEI

Doctor Augustine, sacrae celebris author paginae,
Tua graui scalebat antehac Ciuitas caligine
Et parum liquebat oculis impericioribus.
Ecce Bernardus labore plurimarum noctium
5 Luculentis sic retexit cuncta commentariis,
Vt queant vel lusciosis perspici dilucide.

Tit. ANDREAE ... POETAE *scripsi*: Andree ...
poete *Ms.*

1 sacrae ... paginae *scripsi*: sacre ... pagine *Ms.*
In fine: τέλος *Ms.*

- 1 *Doctor* St. Augustine is one the four Doctors of the western church.
2 *scalebat / caligine* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 68: "squalentia ... tenebris". Nelson, p. 34 wonders if "scalebat" might be an error for "scatebat". But, as Gilbert Tournoy notes, "scalebat" is a medieval spelling for "squalebat". Cf. Karl Strecker, *Introduction to Medieval Latin*, trans. and rev. Robert B. Palmer, Berlin, 1957, p. 60: "scalores = squalores"; Er. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 588, ll. 91–93.

- 5–6 *Luculentis ... dilucide* Cf. *Adag.* 793: "Vel caeco appareat"; Ep. 531, ll. 32–33: "Quae insigniter eminent atque elucent vel a lusciosis cerni solent." On André's method of exposition see Constance Blackwell, *Niccolò Perotti in England – Part I: John Anwykyll, Bernard André, John Colet and Luis Vives*, Res publica litterarum 5 (1982), pp. 17–19.

122. THE CONCORD BETWEEN HENRY VIII AND CHARLES V
July 1520

On 7–24 June 1520 Henry VIII met with Francis I at the “Field of Cloth of Gold” near Calais; and on 10–14 July he met with Charles V at Gravelingen and Calais. See Adams, pp. 158–185; Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 137–169; and Joycelyne G. Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520*, London, 1969. Er. had been invited to the Field of Cloth of Gold by Thomas More and Archbishop William Warham but missed the meeting of the British and French monarchs in June on account of illness. He did go to Calais and had an audience with Henry VIII before the latter’s meeting with Charles V. See *CWE*, introd. Ep. 1106.

The only source for this and the next epigram is Codex Horawitzianus, p. 49 (first published in Horawitz, p. 30). Codex Horawitzianus (*Ms*) was written by Maarten Lips of Brussels (c. 1492–1555/1559); it was formerly kept in the monastery of St. Maartensdal at Louvain but is now in the Municipal Library of Rotterdam (shelf mark: 15 C 4). For a description see Horawitz, pp. 3–4; Allen, *Op. ep.* IV, pp. xxvii–xxviii.

Metre: second Pythiambic strophe, as in Hor. *Epod.* 16, to evoke a vision of peace after a long period of strife; see note on the metre of Er. *Carm.* 4, pp. 99–100 above.

Source: *Ms*.

ERASMVS DE CONCORDIA CAROLI IMPERATORIS ET
 HENRICI, REGIS ANGLIAE ET FRANCIAE

Sidera si quando in caelis coiere benigna,
 Id maximo fit gentis humanae bono.
 Nunc quia summorum duo candida pectora regum
 Tam rarus ecce iunxit in terris amor,
 5 Haud leuiores sibi promittit commoda mundus,
 Henricum ubi videt faederatum Carolo,
 Quam si vel Veneri Solem se iungere, vel si
 Solem benigno cernat adiunctum Ioui.

8 Ioui *scripsi*: Iouem *Ms*.

1–2 *Sidera ... bono* According to astrology, the conjunction of two of the beneficent planets – sun, Venus, and Jupiter – brings great blessings. The stars could, of course, also

bring manifold disasters; cf. *Carm.* 7, 1–16 and notes; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 220, ll. 836–839.

123. THE FRAME FOR A GREAT BANQUETING HOUSE AT CALAIS

July 1520

The structure described here was probably the framework for an enormous tent intended to serve as a banqueting house and theatre during the meeting between Henry VIII and Charles V in Calais. See *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth*, London, 1809; repr. New York, 1965, p. 621: "For solas was builded a banqueting house, 80. foote round, after a goodly deuse, builded vpon Mastes of shippes in suche maner as I thinke was neuer sene, for in it was the whole sphere portrated, whiche by reason of the great winde that blewe, could not be acheued." See further Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 159–168.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Source: *Ms* (see introd. *Carm.* 122).

IDEM IN SVBSTRVCTIONEM CALETIENSEM

Miraris, hospes, vnde moles haec noua?
Templum est, dicatum regiae concordiae,
Quod hunc in vsum condidere Gratiae.

3 *Gratiae* The Graces represent the structure's beauty and grace. They are, however, also givers of joy, harmony, and other blessings and as such symbolize the generous exchange of gifts and benefits that took place at the

meeting of the two monarchs; cf. Sen. *Benef.* I, 3, 3–5. In Ep. 1342, ll. 348–349 Er. notes that the naked Graces are "simplicis benevolentiae et amicitiae non fucatae symbolum".

124. IN PRAISE OF MARY MAGDALEN

August 1520?

These verses were written for Jan van Merleberge, a native of Diest in Brabant and one of the older members of the monastery of St. Maartensdal at Louvain; see *Contemporaries* s.v. Merleberge. In Ms. 4850–4857, f° 151^v (Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels) Maarten Lips says that the epigram was intended to be placed under a painting portraying Mary Magdalen and John ("carmen, suffigendum scilicet tabulae, in qua Magdalena depicta erat et effictus Ioannes"). This John is not St. John, as is assumed in *Contemporaries*, II, p. 435 and *CWE*, introd. Ep. 1130, but rather Jan van Merleberge himself, probably painted as a small figure praying to Mary Magdalen (cf. n. tit. *Carm.* 11 above). Jan would have wanted

the poem to identify him by way of an acrostic so that people who came to the church could pray for him.

The poem is contained in Ep. 1130, written at Louvain, perhaps in August 1520; see the introd. to the letter in Allen and *CWE*. A close verbal parallel to a letter written in the autumn of 1520 tends to corroborate Allen's conjectural date; see n.l. 1 below.

Ep. 1130 has come down to us in two manuscripts, both written by Maarten Lips: Ms. 4850–4857, f° 151^r, in Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels (*α*); and Codex Horawitzianus, pp. 48–49, Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam (*β*; see introd. *Carm.* 122). Er. introduces the poem as follows (text quoted according to *β*): “Carmen est trochaicum, tetrametron, catalecticon. Cape literas in versibus primam et vltimam in caesura, quam notat virgula, rursum in altera parte primam et vltimam, atque ita de caeteris; et habebis, vt optas, Iohannes Merliberch Diest.” In a postscript he adds: “Ineptii in tuam gratiam, malens in hanc peccare partem quam parum humanus videri. Mitto simul et tres Magdalenas ab Iacobo Fabro depictas. Bene vale, vir optime, et in tuis precibus nostri quoque nonnunquam memineris.”

In his poem Er. identifies Mary Magdalen both with the sinner who washed Christ's feet with her tears and dried them with her hair (*Lc.* 7, 36–50; cf. *Lc.* 8, 2) and with Mary of Bethany, who anointed Christ's feet and head (*Mt.* 26, 6–7; *Mc.* 14, 3; *Ioh.* 11, 2; 12, 3). This identification, rejected by many of the Greek Fathers but popularized in the west by Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelia* II, 25 (*PL* 76, 1189–1196) and II, 33, 1 (*PL* 76, 1239), was just then being questioned by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. Er. agreed with Lefèvre on that score, but felt it was pointless to upset people who clung to the traditional view. For this reason he was reluctant to declare himself openly on the matter; cf. Ep. 936, ll. 7–16 and Ep. 1030, ll. 1–7. At the very end of his letter to Merleberge, however, he briefly alludes to the controversy, saying that he is also sending the “tres Magdalenas ab Iacobo Fabro depictas”. It is not clear whether he is referring to Lefèvre's *De Maria Magdalena et triduo Christi*, Paris, H. Estienne, 1517 (repr. 1518 and 1519) or to his *De tribus et vnica Magdalena disceptatio*, Paris, H. Estienne, 1519. The fact that Er. mentions “tres Magdalenas” does not necessarily allude to the latter book; in Ep. 766, l. 22 and Ep. 778, l. 199, written in early 1518, he refers to the earlier volume as *De tribus Magdalenis*.

The poem, together with *Carmm.* 122 and 123, was first published from Codex Horawitzianus in Horawitz, p. 30.

Metre: trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

Sources: *α*; *β**.

IN LAVDEM DIVAE MARIAE MAGDALENE

Impotenti amoris oestrO | Haec beata percitA
 Nardicum profudit vngueN, | Eluit lacrymis pedeS,
 Mox capillis tersit; eccE | Rex Olympi, qui semeL
 Illecebras spreuit ac suB- | Egit, illis ampliteR
 5 Capitur oblectaculis. ProcH, | Daemonis technis mall
 Eua capta est: ista lacrymiS | Tincta culpas diluit.

Tit. IN ... MAGDALENE *add. β.*

4 illis β: istis α.

1 *amoris oestro / percita* Ep. 1159, l. 19 (13 Nov. 1520). Cf. *Euripides, ASD* 1, 1, p. 302, ll. 771-772: "Helenen amoris oestro / Vehemente perculisti." For the phrase "oestro

percitus" see also Ep. 1132, l. 13 (dated 7 Aug. 1520); Ep. 2466, l. 47; *Adag.* 1754.
 5 *oblectaculis* Apparently a neologism.

125. MEERSBURG CASTLE

c. September 1522?

In September 1522 Er. spent about three weeks at Constance, where he visited his friend Johann von Botzheim (see *Contemporaries* s.v.). Er. describes the visit in Ep. 1342. During this time he was warmly received by the bishop of Constance, Hugo von Hohenlandenberg; see Ep. 1316, ll. 12-14. Apparently Er. was thereupon invited to visit Meersburg, a castle dating back to the twelfth century that the bishop had restored in 1508 as his lakeside country estate. Er., however, seems curiously unaware that the building belonged to the bishop, for in ll. 15-17 he says that its owner and restorer is "Baron Johann von Meersburg". For an account of Er.' relations with the bishop (d. 1532) see *Contemporaries* s.v. (Hugo von) Hohenlandenberg.

The epigram, written in Beatus Rhenanus' hand, is found on the back cover of Beatus' copy of Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*, Venice, Aldo Manuzio, 1512 (*Ms*). Beatus acquired this volume in 1513. It is now kept in the municipal library of Sélestat (shelf mark: K 1058); see Allen, Ep. 1401, n.l. 13. The poem was first published in Ferguson, p. 364.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Source: *Ms*.

ERASMI ROTERODAMI

Non absque causa celebris est mortalibus
 Siue est Catonis siue vox testudinis:
 Felicitatis portio non infima est
 Habitare belle. Quisquis autem iunxerit
 5 Amoena tutis, sic vt adsit puritas,
 Is sibi pararit commodam plane domum.
 Tibi, hospes, his arrideo si dotibus,
 Agnosce dominum qui tenet me et condidit.
 Mores suos expressit hac imagine,
 10 Fidis amicis fidus et cautus sibi.
 Tutum ergo reddit a dolis et hostibus
 Coniuncta fortitudini prudentia,
 Pietasque purum, comitas amabilem;
 Ac talem in opere semet expressit suo.
 15 Is me nouauit, auxit, expoliit, meo
 Baro Iohannes inclytus cognomine.
 Si cupis et illud nosse, Merspurgum vocor.

In fine: M.D.XXIII Ms.

1-4 *Non ... belle* See *Adag.* 2238, *ASD* II, 5, p. 208, ll. 52-58.
 2 *Catonis* In *Agr.* 4 Cato says: "ruri si recte habitaueris, libentius et saepius venies"; cf. *Er. Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 463, l. 347.
testudinis In one of Aesop's fables (no. 106 Perry, no. 108 Hausrath), Zeus asks the tor-

toise why it did not come to his wedding feast. The tortoise replies: "There is no place like home." So Zeus made it carry its own house on its back.

3-4 *Felicitatis ... belle* Cf. *Ep.* 1054, ll. 9-11: "Neque nescit tua prudentia ... quanta ... felicitatis portio sit bene habitare."

126. AN EPITAPH FOR DIRK MARTENS

autumn? 1527

Dirk Martens (1446/1447-28 May 1534) learned the printing trade in Italy. After returning to his native Aalst in Flanders (between Brussels and Ghent) he established a press in 1473. In 1493 he moved to Antwerp, where he eventually published a number of Er.' early works, including *Lucubratiunculae aliquot* (1503) and *Panegyricus ad Philippum* (1504). Having moved once more, this time to Louvain in 1512, Martens continued to publish Er.' writings. In the ensuing years the two men became close friends. Martens retired from the printing business in 1529 and returned to Aalst, living at the Williamite convent until his death. See *Contemporaries* s.v. (Dirk) Martens.

Er. wrote the epitaph in 1527, probably at the request of Martens during a severe illness; see Ep. 1899, ll. 67–84. After Martens' death on 28 May 1534 it was engraved in brass and affixed above the tomb. The gravestone originally lay at the entrance to the Williamite church in Aalst but was moved inside the cloister church early in the eighteenth century. When the cloister was suppressed in 1784, the entire tomb was moved to the St. Sebastian chapel in St. Martin's church at Aalst, where it remains today. The brass tablet, still in existence in the eighteenth century, has disappeared. See *Tentoonstelling Dirk Martens. 1473–1973*, Aalst, 1973, pp. 240–241. The epitaph was first published in Franciscus Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae siue nomenclator infer. Germaniae scriptorum*, Antwerp, 1628 (α), p. 687, and has been frequently reprinted from that source by Martens' biographers. Another version of the epitaph, said to have been the one actually inscribed on the brass plate above the tomb, was published in M. J. de Gand, *Recherches historiques et critiques sur la vie et les éditions de Thierry Martens (Martinus, Mertens)*, Alost, 1845 (β), p. 10. His source was a now-lost manuscript history of the Williamite Order, written by Petrus Silvius (Peter van den Bosch), prior from c. 1626 to 1640 of the monastery at Aalst where Martens died. See also A. F. van Iseghem, *Biographie de Thierry Martens d'Alost*, Malines, 1852, pp. 168–169.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: α*; β.

Hic Theodoricus iaceo, prognatus Alosto;
 Ars erat impressis scripta referre typis.
 Fratribus, vxori, soboli notisque superstes
 Octauam vegetus praeterii decadem.
 5 Anchora sacra manet, gratae notissima publi.

1 Theodoricus β: Teodoricus α.

3 Fratribus ... soboli α: Vxori, soboli, vixi β.

3 *Fratribus ... superstes* Quoted in Ep. 1899, l. 79. Dirk had three brothers and four children. After reading the epitaph, Martens remarked that he had not yet survived all his offspring, since one daughter (Barbara) was still alive at Aalst. He took this as an omen that he would survive her too and did not want the line changed.

4 *Octauam ... decadem* This is our best clue to the year of Martens' birth. As Reedijk points out in *Poems*, pp. 336–337, we should deduct eighty years from 1527 (the year the epitaph was written), not from 1534 (the year of Martens' death).

5 *Anchora sacra* Martens' third device, which he began using in Nov. 1517, was a sheet anchor.

As the sailors' best and biggest anchor, it was cast only in dire emergencies and so became proverbial as a last resort. See *Adag.* 24.

Vertically on either side of the printer's mark are the verses (hendecasyllable): "Semper sit tibi nixa mens honesto"; and: "Sacra haec ancora non fefellit vnquam." Beneath the mark is the distich: "Ne tempestatum vis auferat, ancora sacra, / Quo mentem figas, est iacienda tibi." Below that is the adage: "Ἐν οἴκῳ ἀλλήθεια (Otto 1900; Er. *Adag.* 617). This mark was first used at the end of Er. *In epistolam Pauli apost. ad Romanos paraphrasis*, Louvain, D. Martens, Nov. 1517; see A. F. van Iseghem, *Biographie de Thierry Martens d'Alost*, Malines, 1852, pp. 96–97; and *Ten-*

Christe, precor, nunc sis anchora sacra mihi.

6 Christe, precor [preco α], nunc sis α: Sis, precor, o Christe, β.

toonstelling Dirk Martens. 1473–1973, Aalst, 1973, p. 235. In later books Martens added the following iambic trimeter beneath the adage: Πολλάκις ἐν οἴνου κύμασιν τις ναυογεῖ. Van Iseghem (p. 97) suspects that Martens used the adage “In vino veritas” in order to indicate his own weakness for wine and later added the Greek verse “as if to insinuate that he knew how to avoid excess”.

O'Rourke Boyle, pp. 59–61 and p. 201, n. 6, unaware that the Latin verses had been part of Martens' printer's mark since Nov. 1517, assumes that they were composed by Er.

because of the emblem's peculiar appropriateness for *Ratio verae theologiae*, Louvain, D. Martens, Nov. 1518. Er. certainly was fond of the image and often used it in his writings. Apart from the circumstance, however, that the Latin and Greek verses first appeared in books written by Er. while he was living in Louvain, there is no evidence that it was indeed he who wrote them for Dirk Martens.

6 *Christe ... mihi* Cf. *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX, 1087 B: “In Christo fixa est nostrae salutis sacra ancora, non in Virgine.”

127. A REQUEST FOR DATES

early April 1536

This is Er.' last epigram. It is scrawled in his own hand at the foot of the manuscript of *Carm.* 92 and is thus contemporaneous with it. Later someone added the superscription: “Manus Erasmi ad Bo. [*i.e.*, Bonifacium] Amerbachium”. The manuscript with this epigram (*Ms*) is in the University Library, Basel (Erasmuslade C 8), where it was discovered by P.S. Allen in 1922. It was first published in *Letters of P.S. Allen*, ed. H.M. Allen, London, 1939, p. 199, as Nicolaas van der Blom notes in *On a Verse of Erasmus*, ERSY I (1981), p. 153, n. 4 (h).

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: *Ms*.

Est pomum pede quod dependet ab arbore curto,
 Atque hinc cognomen Gallica lingua dedit.
 Huius si posses sex, octo decemue parare,
 Iam pranso stomacho clausula grata foret.

3 *sex, octo scripsi: sexocto Ms.*

1–2 *Est ... dedit* This is a riddling paraphrase of the word “date”. The “short foot” (“pede ... curto”) is the pedicle or foot-stalk by which the fruit hangs from a tree; but it is also the “dactylos” (“finger”), which lent its name

both to the metrical foot (short by Greek standards) and to the date (“datte” in French, from the older forms “datil”, “dactil”).

2 *Gallica lingua* = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* I, 9, 10.

POEMS EMBEDDED IN ERASMUS' PROSE WORKS
(EXCLUDING TRANSLATIONS)

128. THE LATINITY OF THE SCHOOL AT ZWOLLE
late 1489?

Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei, from which these verses are extracted, is an attack on the barbaric education offered at the school founded by the Brethren of the Common Life in Zwolle. The little tragicomedy (for that is how it is characterized in its preface) was probably written in late 1489. It is thus contemporaneous with other works by Er. on the same theme: *Carm.* 93 to Cornelis Gerard, *Carm.* 98 to Engelbert Schut of Leiden, certain letters to Cornelis Gerard of the year 1489, and the first version of *Antibarbari*.

A complete text of the playlet has been preserved in *Scri*. A different manuscript, formerly belonging to the Dutch scholar Pieter Opmeer, is no longer extant. The Opmeer manuscript was first edited and translated by Pieter Rabus as an appendix to his *Samenspraken van Desiderius Erasmus Rotterdammer. Nieuwelijks uit het Latijn vertaalt*, Rotterdam, Ioannes Borstius, 1684 (α; *BB E.* 764). This work, a translation of Er.' *Colloquia*, was reprinted at Amsterdam by Gerard Borstius in 1697 (*BB E.* 765). Rabus published the Latin text again, without translation, in his edition of *Desid. Erasmi Roterodami Colloquia familiaria*, Rotterdam, Regnerus Leers, 1693 (β; *BB E.* 599). *LB I*, 889–894 reprints the text of Rabus' 1693 edition, without acknowledgment; see J.J.V.M. de Vet, *Pieter Rabus (1660–1702)*, Amsterdam, 1980, pp. 60–67; Hoven, pp. 97–98.

Who was the author of *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*? Was it Er. or Cornelis Gerard? The question has long been argued back and forth. Er.' authorship was doubted by Paul Mestwerdt, *Die Anfänge des Erasmus: Humanismus und "Devotio moderna"*, Leipzig, 1917, p. 206, n. 6 and by Hyma, p. 206; and it was denied outright by Tilmans, pp. 45–46, who assigns the work instead to Cornelis Gerard (cf. introd. *Carm.* 93, above). Its authenticity as an Erasmian work, explicitly stated in *Scri*, was defended by Pieter Rabus, by Reedijk, *Poems*, App. 1, 1, p. 383, by James D. Tracy, *On the Composition Dates of Seven of Erasmus' Writings*, BHR 31 (1969), pp. 357–358, and by Hoven, pp. 95–106. Hoven, however, does leave open the possibility of some sort of joint authorship with Cornelis.

The argument for Cornelis' authorship may be summarized as follows. In an inventory of the books and manuscripts bequeathed in 1531 by the canon Jan van der Haer to the library of the Court of Holland, *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* is listed among the works of Cornelis Gerard; see M. E. Kronenberg, *Werken van Cornelius Aurelius (Donckanus) in de bibliotheek van Kanunnik Mr. Jan Dirscz. van der Haer (A^o. 1531)*, Het Boek 36 (1963–1964), pp. 69 and 76; Tilmans, p. 45, n. 15. In view of Er.' enormous fame at the time the catalogue was compiled, any previously unknown work by Er. would surely have attracted immediate interest and merited special mention in Van der Haer's catalogue. But the catalogue item associates it with Cornelis Gerard, not Er.

The case for Cornelis' authorship is considerably weakened, however, by several circumstances:

(1) As Hoven, p. 96 observes: Van der Haer's inventory does not explicitly say that the work was written by Cornelis. It reads: "Conflictus Thalie et Barbariei in Latini sermonis puritatem comice conscriptus. Titulus ille varia indicat ipsius domini Cornelii Donckani." Hoven calls attention to the ambiguous word "varia" which evidently cannot refer to *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* alone. He therefore suggests that the catalogue entry garbles the actual title of the manuscript, which might have run as follows: "Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei ... et varia Cornelii Donckani".

(2) According to Pieter Rabus, the now-lost Ms. Opmeer unambiguously attributed the work to Er.: "Inscriptio ... Erasmi nomen ostentat." He adds that in the margin of one of the early letters, where Er. mentions "nostram Thalam" (Ep. 23, l. 100), Ms. Opmeer had the note: "Thalia Erasmi opusculum". See *LB I*, 889–890, a reprint of Rabus' introductory note.

(3) In *Scri* Er.' authorship is also unquestioned. Here the title reads: "Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei, authore Erasmo Roterodamo". According to Tilmans, p. 45, n. 15, *Scri* was copied by Bonaventura Vulcanius in 1570. She goes on to say that "the original codex containing the *Conflictus* was purchased by Vulcanius from the Library of the Court of Holland". If so, the source manuscript for *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* was the same one which originally belonged to Cornelis' friend and patron, Jan van der Haer. As we have noted, Van der Haer's inventory links *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* with Cornelis, though in a rather loose way.

Is it possible to reconcile the various pieces of information that link the work strongly to Er., less strongly also to Cornelis? One might imagine the following scenario. Cornelis received the *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* from Er. in late 1489. He then reworked it in some way, just as he had already refashioned Er.' *Oda ad Cornelium*. He might, for instance, have changed the dialogue into a tragicomedy by adding a "praefatio" (note that this part is cast in the third person) as well as an "argumentum" and by dividing the continuous dialogue into two acts, possibly

excising some connecting prose. The revised playlet was then gathered together with his reworking of Er.' *Oda ad Cornelium* (the *Apologia aduersus barbaros*, *Carmm.* 93 and 135) and other works by Cornelis. When his friend Jan van der Haer obtained Cornelis' papers, not long after the latter's death on 8 August 1531, he did not notice Er.' authorship of the *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* and so grouped it with other works by Cornelis.

That the little drama is essentially Er.' work can be argued not only on stylistic grounds (as Rabus does) but also by way of the numerous parallels linking it to other works of his. René Hoven notes several similarities:

(1) The list of medieval grammars in Ep. 26, ll. 88–89 partially corresponds to that in *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 892 F.

(2) In Ep. 23, l. 100 Er. uses the phrase “nostram Thalam” in the sense of “our artful, classical Latin” as opposed to barbaric, medieval Latin. Thalia subsequently becomes the spokeswoman for classical Latin in *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* Tilmans, p. 45, n. 16 asserts that Cornelis uses the phrase “nostra Thalia” in the same way to refer to Deventer (prologue to the *Marias*, f^o 7^r), but this is not the case. Cornelis means “my Muse” (as Vergil does in *Ecl.* 6, 2): “Te [Christe] matremque tuam nostra Thalia canet.”

(3) In Ep. 23, ll. 89–92, in the same paragraph which mentions “nostram Thalam”, Er. tells Cornelis that the barbarians teach pupils to know nothing; he adds that an education like this reduces pupils to such a state that they fail to know even themselves. Thalia likewise asserts in *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 892 A, that pupils nowadays are so overwhelmed by absurd rules that in the end they know nothing, not even themselves. The thought and wording are in part derived from Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae*, which Er. is known to have studied with particular care. See Lorenzo Valla, *Opera*, Basel, H. Petri, 1540; repr. Turin, 1962, I, p. 41, speaking of barbaric grammarians: “docentes nihil scire aut stultiorem reddentes discipulum quam acceperunt”.

As long as there are only a handful of parallels to Er.' works one could always explain them away by arguing that Cornelis borrowed them from Er. It would thus be useful to have further parallels to show that Cornelis could not possibly have aped his friend's style so closely. I therefore append here some additional parallels between *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* and Er.' writings:

(1) In *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 53, ll. 21–23 Er. says that the barbarians teach their charges things that have to be unlearned afterwards with great effort. He expresses the same thought in Ep. 56, ll. 28–29: “discere dediscenda”; Ep. 843, ll. 10–11; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 211, ll. 2–4 and p. 248, ll. 10–11; *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, p. 41, l. 2: “discant dediscenda”; and *De rat. stud.*, ASD I, 2, p. 113, ll. 12–13: “magno labore discere quae postea maiori cogaris dediscere”; cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 687–688; Sen. *Tro.* 633; Quint. *Inst.* I, 1, 5. In *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB

I, 892 A, Thalia tells Barbaries that the reverse is true when well-educated pupils are later taught by barbaric instructors: “Si quid recte in scholis prius didicerant, id continuo dediscant necessum est.”

(2) In Ep. 30, l. 21 and *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 88, l. 23 Er. calls the barbarians “scioli”. This word, which occurs several times in St. Jerome’s letters, also crops up in *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 892 A.

(3) The thought that barbarism rules the whole world is found both in Ep. 32, l. 50 and *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 891 C; cf. *Carm.* 93, 138–143 (in one of Er.’ sections).

(4) The comparison of barbarians with braying asses, found in *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 891 F, occurs also in *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 51, ll. 1–2 and 14–16. In both works (LB I, 889 F; ASD I, 1, p. 73, l. 1) Barbaries and the barbarians are said to have “auriculas asininas”.

(5) The idea that the barbarians carp at liberal studies because they know nothing about them (LB I, 892 E) recurs in Er.’ writings. See n. *Carm.* 93, 21–22.

(6) In his letters of 1489 Er. repeatedly uses a group of three verbs to describe the carping of the barbarians; see Ep. 20, l. 85: “rodendum, carpendum, lacerandum”; Ep. 27, ll. 8–9: “qui tibi succenseant, qui inuideant, qui lacerent”; and Ep. 30, ll. 24–25: “damnandas, lacerandas, insectandas”. Similar triads occur in *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 73, l. 7: “odisse, inuidere, oblatrare”; and p. 73, l. 9: “oderunt ..., contemnunt, execrantur”. Such a triad is also found in *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 892 E: “lacerant, mordent, inuident”. Compare also LB I, 890 E: “coli, amari, honorari” with Ep. 27, l. 63: “ament, colant, legantque”.

(7) *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 892 D, alludes to the fable about the cock and the pearl (Phaedr. *Fab. Aes.* 3, 12): “gemmas ... e stercore legere”. Er. often alludes to this fable elsewhere; see *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 72, l. 20; p. 87, ll. 11–12: “stercora pro gemmis”; Ep. 26, ll. 74–75; Ep. 126, ll. 152–153; *Adag.* 3738.

(8) In *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 890 E, Melpomene says: “Nunquam inuidere nobis, nunquam lacerare desinit.” This is closely paralleled in *Carm.* 93, 31–32, where Er. laments: “Nunquam ... rodere desinit, / Nunquam carpere desinit.”

(9) In *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 894 B, Thalia tells Barbaries to go back to Zwolle: “Vise indocta indoctas.” Cf. *Adag.* 489, ASD II, 1, p. 560, ll. 968–969: “In autorem indoctum indoctos scribat commentarios”; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 142, ll. 337–338: “Encomiis sese vicissim laudant ... indoctos indocti.”

The fact that Barbaries in her poetic contest with Thalia speaks in the leonine hexameters so favoured by late medieval poets may also be taken as a sign of Er.’ authorship. In c. 1488–1489 Cornelis was still using leonine verse in *De morte*, a

lengthy poem he submitted to Er. for criticism; see Ep. 19, ll. 32–34. (The poem should not be confused with the much later elegy *De improuisa morte*; see Tilmans, p. 24, n. 57). Cornelis also uses the medieval form sporadically in his epilogue to the *Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii* (*Carm.* 135) and in his *Ironia in huius mundi amatores* of c. 1489. In view of his own poetic practice, therefore, it seems unlikely that Cornelis would have singled out leonine verse as characteristic of medieval barbarism.

Finally, the playlet's emphasis on the pre-eminence of stylistic elegance and brilliance and the lack of any attempt to present a *biblical* humanism point to Er.' interests in 1489 rather than Cornelis'. Only in the winter of 1490–1491 did Er. adopt Cornelis' views on a Christian humanism.

The verses here reprinted from *Scri* occur near the end of *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* They represent a poetical contest between Barbaries, who produces a caricature of medieval leonine verse, and Thalia, who composes classical hexameters. The contest completed, Barbaries hurries in disgust to her citadel – the humanistically less advanced school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Zwolle. Thalia and her fellow Muses return to the pleasant clime of Parnassus.

Sources: *Scri**; α = Pieter Rabus' 1684 edition, p. 22; β = Pieter Rabus' 1693 edition, pp. 513–514; *LB* I, 893–894.

Barb. Swollenses tales quod eorum Theutonicales
 Nomen per partes vbicunque probantur et artes
 Et quasi per mundum totum sunt nota rotundum,
 Swollensique solo proferre Latinica solo
 5 Discunt clericuli nimium bene verba nouelli.

En ii versiculi in poematibus quam sim diserta declarant.

Tha. Ha ha haec. Tot barbarismos numero quot voces. Patria certe haec
 vox est: Chironis videlicet. Hui quam digesta poemata! Non
 differam iis laudes referre suas:
 10 Tale sonant insulsa mihi tua carmina, vates,
 Quale sonat syluis vox irrudentis onagri,

1 Swollenses *Scri*: Zwollenses α β .

4 Swollensique *Scri*: Zwollensique α β .

8 Hui *scripsi*: Hu *Scri*, *deest* α β .

8 *Chironis* Earlier in the playlet Thalia had said that Barbaries was the daughter of the centaur Chiron and a she-ass; see *LB* I, 891 B–C. Centaurs were thought to live in Arcadia, a

country otherwise famed mainly for its asses; see n. *Carm.* 93, 23.
 10 *carmina, vates* Cf. *LHL* I, 283–285.

Quale boat toruus pecora inter agrestia taurus,
 Qualeque testiculis gallus genitalibus orbis
 Concinit; haud vocem humanam, sed dico ferinam.
 15 Hanc, celebres, laudate, viri, et doctissime Florum
 Author, ades: gratos inserta nitentia Flores
 Colligito meritaque coronam nectito diuae.
 Vrticae viridi graueolentem iunge cicutam,
 Talia nam tali debentur praemia vati.
 20 Annue, Barbaries: tuque hanc sine cornua circum
 Inter candidulas laurum tibi nectier aures.

16 inserta *Sc̄ri β*: inserta *a*.

15–16 *Florum / Flores* Thalia is alluding to the versified grammar book by Ludolph of Luchow (c. 1317), still widely used in the fifteenth century, entitled *Flores artis grammaticae alias Florista*. In *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 892 F, Barbaries puts this grammar at the head of her list of favourite textbooks.

Cf. Ep. 31, l. 48; *De pronunt.*, ASD I, 4, p. 32, ll. 587–589; *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, p. 77, ll. 12–15.
 20–21 *hanc ... aures* In *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, LB I, 889 F, Calliope describes Barbaries as having large horns and white ass's ears.

129. FROM THE COLLOQUY *DE LVSV*
March 1522

In *Ludus sphaerae per anulum ferreum*, a subsection of the colloquy *De lusu*, it is agreed that the loser is to compose and recite a distich in praise of the winner. This is the loser's couplet.

Metre: elegiac distich.

The copy-text is the ed. princ., *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, Basel, J. Froben, March 1522 (BB E. 441), sig. e1^r. For a critical ed. see ASD I, 3, p. 170.

Plaudite victori, iuuenes, hic quotquot adestis,
 Nam me qui vicit doctior est nebulo.

130. FROM THE COLLOQUY *CONVIVIVM POETICVM*
August 1523

In the colloquy *Convivium poeticum* a group of friends gather for a dinner-party. The four opening lines of the dialogue are iambic senarii; ll. 7–8 are trochaic tetrameters catalectic.

Toward the end of the dialogue the friends compete in poetic variations on the theme that it is more important to cultivate your mind than your garden. The metres of the various efforts are as follows:

- 11–13: iambic senarius
- 14–19: hendecasyllable
- 20–22: trochaic tetrameter catalectic
- 23–25: hexameter
- 26–29: Alcaic strophe
- 30–33: Sapphic strophe
- 34–37: iambic trimeter.

Sources: α^* = *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, Basel, J. Froben, August 1523 (*BB E.* 448), sig. r6^v–s8^r; β = *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, Basel, J. Froben, March 1524 (*BB E.* 451); γ = *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, Basel, J. Froben, August–September 1524 (*BB E.* 453); δ = *Familiarium colloquiorum opus*, Basel, J. Froben, February 1526 (*BB E.* 460); and ϵ = *Familiarium colloquiorum opus*, Basel, J. Froben, June 1526 (*BB E.* 461). See further *ASD I*, 3, pp. 344 and 357–358.

The colloquy begins as follows:

- | | | |
|----|-----------|---|
| | Hilarius | Leuis apparatus, animus est lautissimus. |
| | Leonardus | Coenam sinistro es auspicatus omine. |
| | Hilarius | Imo absit omen triste. Sed cur hoc putas? |
| | Leonardus | Cruenti iambi haud congruunt conuiuio. |
| 5 | Crato | Euge, certum est adesse Musas, effluunt carmina imprudentibus. |
| | Hilarius | Si rotatiles trocheos mauelis, en accipe:
Vilis apparatus hic est, animus est lautissimus.
Quanquam et iambi olim ad rixas ac pugnas nati, post didicerunt omni seruire materiae. |
| 10 | | |

Near the end of the colloquy the friends engage in a poetic competition on the theme that it is more important to cultivate one's mind than one's garden: "Praepostere facit, cui variis delittiis nitet hortus, cum animum habeat nullis disciplinis, nullis virtutibus excultum."

4 *Cruenti iambi* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 16, 2–3: "criminosus ... iambis". Iambic verses were originally used in satiric poetry; see introd. *Carm.* 56.

7 *rotatiles trocheos* Prud. *Epilog.* 8.

- Hilarius Cui renitet hortus vndiquaque flosculis,
Animumque nullis expolitum dotibus
Squalere patitur, is facit praepostere.
- 15 Leonardus Cui tot delitiis renidet hortus,
Herbis, floribus arborumque foetu
Et multo et vario, nec excolendum
Curat pectus et artibus probatis
Et virtutibus, is mihi videtur
Laeuo iudicio parumque recto.
- 20 Carinus Cura cui est, vt niteat hortus flosculis ac foetibus,
Negligenti excolere pectus disciplinis optimis,
Hic labore, mihi vt videtur, ringitur praepostero.
- 25 Eubulus Qui studet, vt variis niteat cultissimus hortus
Delitiis, patiens animum squalere nec vllis
Artibus expoliens, huic est praepostera cura.
- Sbrulius Cui vernat hortus cultus et elegans,
Nec pectus vllis artibus excolit,
Praepostera is cura laborat.
Sit ratio tibi prima mentis.
- 30 Parthenius Quisquis accurat, variis vt hortus
Floribus vernet, neque pectus idem
Artibus sanctis colit, hunc habet praepostera cura.
- 35 Leonardus Ὅτι κῆπός ἐστιν ἀνθεσιν γελῶν καλοῖς,
Ὁ δὲ νοῦς μάλ' αὐχμῶν τοῖς καλοῖς μαθήμασι,
Οὐκ ἔστι κομψός, οὗτος οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖ,
Περὶ πλείονος ποιῶν τὰ φαῦλ' ἢ κρεῖττονα.

11 renitet γ-ε: renidet α β (*contra metrum*; cf. ASD I, 3, p. 357); vndiquaque ε: vndique α-δ (*contra metrum*; cf. ASD I, 3, p. 357).

13 *praepostere* Adag. 4030; cf. ll. 22, 25, 28, and 32-33 below.

131. FROM THE COLLOQUY ΠΤΩΧΟΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΙ

March 1524

In the colloquy Πτωχοπλούσιοι this leonine distich is said to be posted or painted on the wall of the common room of an inn.

The copy-text is *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, Basel, J. Froben, March 1524 (*BB E.* 451), sig. x2^r; see further *ASD I*, 3, p. 391.

Hospes, in hac mensa fuerint quum viscera tensa,
Surgere ne properes, ni prius annumeres.

132. FROM THE COLLOQUY EPITHALAMIVM PETRI AEGIDII

c. 1514

In July 1514 Pieter Gillis, Er.' close friend since at least 1504, was married to Cornelia Sandrien. Er. helped celebrate the occasion with an epithalamium that probably already included the present verses. It was not published in 1514, however, because Er.' servant had mistakenly left the text behind in Louvain; see *Ep.* 312, ll. 86–88. In *Ep.* 356, ll. 12–13, which Allen places in September 1515, Er. promised Gillis that he would publish the epithalamium as soon as he had a chance to do so. Some years later he revised it, perhaps not long after the death of Jérôme de Busleyden in August 1517 (cf. *ASD I*, 3, p. 413, ll. 74–82, alluding to Jérôme's recent death and the foundation of the Collegium Trilingue). It was first published as *Epithalamium Petri Aegidii* in *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, Basel, J. Froben, August–September 1524 (*a*; *BB E.* 453). On Pieter Gillis and his first wife Cornelia see introd. *Carm.* 83; see also *Carm.* 84.

The epithalamium is written in a variety of metres:

- 1–2: elegiac distich
- 3–4: iambic senarius followed by an iambic dimeter
- 5–8: trochaic tetrameter catalectic
- 9–16: Sapphic strophe
- 17–20: hendecasyllable
- 21–24: lesser Asclepiad.

Er. may well have been inspired by Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* II, 117–126. There the Muses address songs in various metres to the bride, Philologia. Er.' epithalamium in turn was imitated by Eobanus Hessus in *In nuptiis Ioachimi Camerarii Quaestoris. Ludus Musarum seu Epithalamium*, published together with his *Venus triumphans*, Nürnberg, 1527, sigs. b3^v–c2^r; see

Vredeveld, *Traces*, p. 55. It was also imitated by Johannes Stigel in *Epithalamion Sabini*, printed with Melchior Acontius, *De nuptiis Georgii Sabini et Annae*, Wittenberg, Joseph Klug, 1537, sigs. Br^v-Dr^r.

On the genre see Virginia Tufté, *The Poetry of Marriage: The Epithalamium in Europe and Its Development in England*, Los Angeles, 1970; Er.' epithalamium is discussed on pp. 89-90.

The copy-text is *a*, pp. 348-350. See further *ASD* I, 3, pp. 415-416.

Clio

Candida laurigero nubit Cornelia Petro;
Auspiciis adsint numina dextra bonis.

Melpomene

Contingat illis turturum concordia,
Corniculae viuacitas.

Thalia

5 Ille charitate Gracchum Tiberium praecesserit,
Qui suae vitam anteposuit coniugis Corneliae.

Euterpe

Illa charitate superet coniugem Admeti ducis,
Quae volens mortem mariti morte mutauit sua.

Terpsichore

10 Ille non flagret leuiore flamma,
Attamen fato meliore, quam olim

2 *Auspiciis / bonis* Cf. *Adag.* 75.

3 *turturum* On the turtle-dove as an emblem of conjugal love and fidelity see n. *Carm.* 13, 8.

4 *Corniculae viuacitas* Proverbial; see *Carm.* 2, 41 (with n.ll. 41-42). The word "cornicula" comes from *Hor. Epist.* 1, 3, 19.

5-20 *Ille ... Paterculanam* The exempla are all taken from Valerius Maximus; cf. *Er. De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 423, ll. 20-22.

5 *Gracchum Tiberium* The censor Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (c. 220-c. 150 B.C.)

was married to Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus Maior. He willingly gave up his life to save his wife's. See *Val. Max.* IV, 6, 1.

7 *coniugem Admeti* Admetus, king of Pherae in Thessaly, was fated to die unless someone could be found to die for him. His wife Alcestis consented to do this. See *Val. Max.* IV, 6, 1; *Er. Adag.* 1522, *ASD* II, 4, p. 35, ll. 376-387.

Plaucius, raptae sociae grauatus
Esse superstes.

Erato

Illa non flagret leuiore flamma,
Attamen longe meliore fato,
15 Casta quam sanctum deamauit olim
Portia Brutum.

Calliope

Sponsum moribus vndiquaque sanctis
Nec Nasica probatus antecellat.

Vrania

Vxor moribus vndiquaque castis
20 Vincat Sulpiciam Paterculanam.

Polyhymnia

Laudetur simili prole puerpera,
Accrescat domui res simul et decus,
Sed liuore vacet, si fieri potest,
Factis egregiis debita gloria.

11 *Plaucius scripsi*: *Plancius a.*

11 *Plaucius* For two loving husbands named Plautius see Val. Max. IV, 6, 2–3. C. Plautius Numida committed suicide when he learned of his wife's death; M. Plautius killed himself beside the body of his wife Orestilla.

16 *Portia Brutum* When Porcia, the daughter of Cato Uticensis, learned that her husband M. Iunius Brutus had died (42 B.C.), she swallowed live coals (cf. ll. 13–14 above). See Val. Max. IV, 6, 5, with a similar punning reference to the "fires" of love.

18 *Nasica* P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, consul in

191 B.C. Esteemed as the most honourable Roman, he was chosen by the Senate in 204 to bring Mater Magna to Rome. See Val. Max. VII, 5, 2; VIII, 15, 3.

20 *Sulpiciam Paterculanam* Daughter of Seruius Sulpicius Paterculus and wife of the consul Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Sulpicia was celebrated as the most virtuous of all the matrons of her time; see Val. Max. VIII, 15, 12.

21 *Laudetur ... puerpera* Hor. *Carm.* IV, 5, 23. 23–24 *liuore ... gloria* Cf. *Carm.* 93, 165 (n.).

133. THE INTROIT AND SEQUENCE FROM
VIRGINIS MATRIS APVD LAVRETVM CVLTAE LITVRGIA
November 1523

These verses are the introit and sequence from *Virginis matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia*, which Er. wrote in 1523 at the request of Thiébaud Biétry, a priest in Porrentruy in the Swiss Jura; see Ep. 1391; *Contemporaries* s.v. (Thiébaud) Biétry. Er.' liturgy was first published at Basel by Johann Froben in November 1523 (Bezzel 1823). An expanded version (Bezzel 1824) was published by J. Froben at Basel in May 1525. This book, which includes a sermon and a new preface (Ep. 1573), was reprinted in 1529 (Bezzel 1645). See the introduction and critical edition by L.-E. Halkin in *ASD* V, 1, pp. 89–109.

According to the legend, the *santa casa* venerated at the shrine of Loreto is the house where Gabriel announced the incarnation and where Jesus grew up. The house was supposed to have been brought from Nazareth to Loreto in various stages between 1291 and 1295, but there is no recorded mention of the miracle until a three-page notice of it was put up in the shrine in 1472. By then it had already become a popular place of pilgrimage because of a statue of Mary. In 1488 the shrine was placed under the supervision of the Carmelites. Their general, Baptista Mantuanus, published an account of the translation of the house in 1489; see his *Opera*, Antwerp, 1576, IV, pp. 216–220. Mantuanus' booklet, widely diffused and translated, made the shrine world-famous. Bulls issued by Julius II and Leo X recommended pilgrimage to the shrine but refrained from endorsing the story on which it is based. The first published attempt to give the legend a historical basis did not appear until 1525, two years after Er. wrote his liturgy. See *DACL* IX, 2, 2473–2503.

The introit is written in hexameters. The sequence consists of a series of couplets, each verse being intended, as was customary with sequences of this kind, to be sung antiphonally by two choirs. The sense unit, however, is the quatrain, the last of which has a coda of an extra two lines. See Clarence H. Miller, *The Liturgical Context of Erasmus's Hymns*, in: *Acta Conuentus Neo-Latini Torontonensis*, Binghamton, 1991, pp. 485–488. The metres of the sequence are as follows:

- 3–4: trochaic tetrameter catalectic
- 5–6: iambic senarius
- 7–8: hendecasyllable
- 9–10: lesser Asclepiad
- 11–12: Sapphic
- 13–14: glyconic
- 15–16: iambic octonarius
- 17–18: Alcaic hendecasyllable
- 19–20: hexameter
- 21–22: anapestic dimeter catalectic

- 23–24: greater Archilochian
 25–26: iambic dimeter catalectic
 27–28: greater Asclepiad
 29–30: trochaic dimeter
 31–32: anapestic dimeter.

The copy-text is the ed. princ., *Virginis matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia*, Basel, J. Froben, November 1523 (Bezzel 1823).

INTROITVS

Laurus odore iuuat, speciosa virore perhenni,
 Sic tua, virgo parens, laus omne virebit in aeuum.

SEQUENTIA

- Sume nablum, sume citharam, virginum decens chorus.
 Virgo mater est canenda virginali carmine,
 5 Vocemque referent accinentes angeli,
 Nam virgines amant et ipsi virgines.
 Iunget carmina laureata turma,
 Vitae prodiga sanguinisque quondam.
 Martyr carnificem vincit, et edomat
 10 Carnem virgo: decet laurus et hunc et hanc.
 Coelitum plaudet numerosa turba,
 Virginem sacram canet omne coelum,
 Nato virginis vnico
 Nulla est cantio gratior.

1 *Laurus* Since the Latin name of the town and shrine is “Lauretum”, Er. makes the laurel his dominant image.

odore See n. *Carm.* 110, 236.

2 *omne / aeuum* *LHL* IV, 31–32.

3 *nablum / citharam* These instruments are among the ones played for the procession in which David brought the ark of the covenant into Jerusalem; see I. *Chr.* 15, 28. The ark was considered a prefiguration of Mary; see n. *Carm.* 110, 85–88.

4 *Virgo ... carmine* Cf. *Virg. et mart. comp.*, *LB* V, 591 D, where Er. says that the virgin spouse Christ delights in the songs of virgins: “Virgineis cantilenis delectatur virgo Sponsus.”

6 *virgines ... virgines* On the affinity of virgins and angels see *Virg. et mart. comp.*, *LB* V, 591 E.

7 *laureata* Cf. *Paeon Virg.*, *LB* V, 1228 E: “martyrum laurea”.

9–10 *Martyr ... virgo* Cf. *AH* 48, 230, 1: “Virgo carnem, / martyr hostem superat”; Er. *Virg. et mart. comp.*, *LB* V, 596 D: “Vera virgo minimum abest a martyre. Martyr patitur a carnifice caedi carnem suam; virgo quotidie volens mortificat carnem suam, ipsa sui quodammodo carnifex.”

11–12 *Coelitum ... coelum* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 13–28.

15 Vt cedrus inter arbores, quas Lybanus aedit, eminet,
 Sic inter omnes coelites virgo refulget nobilis.
 Vt inter astra Lucifer emicat,
 Sic inter omnes lucida virgines.
 Inter cunctorum stellantia lumina florum
 20 Lilia praecellunt candore rosaeque rubore,
 Nec gratior vlla corona
 Iesu niueae genitrici.
 Inter odoriferas non gratior arbor vlla lauro,
 Pacifera est, dirimens fera praelia, fulmen arcet ardens,
 25 Baccas habet salubres,
 Iugi nitet virore.
 Esto, virgo, fauens, qui modulis te celebrant piis,
 Iram auerte dei, ne feriat fulmine noxios.
 Laurus esto gaudeasque

15 *Vt ... eminet* For the image see *Sir.* 24, 17, traditionally interpreted to refer to Mary; Salzer, pp. 151–153; *Er. Paeon Virg.*, *LB V*, 1231 E.
 16 *virgo / nobilis* Prud. *Cath.* 11, 53; *AH* 54, 224, 1. The adjective “nobilis” is often used for the Virgin; see, e.g., *AH* 53, 103, 12; 54, 267, 1; *Er. Paeon Virg.*, *LB V*, 1229 E.
 17–18 *Vt ... virgines* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 23–24 (n.). Mary is “stella maris” (see n. *Carm.* 4, 136), but she is also traditionally praised as the morning star, “stella matutina” or “lucifer”, who heralds the sun and the new day of salvation. See Salzer, pp. 23–24, 401, and 408.
 17 *astra* The fifth syllable of the line (the second syllable of “astra”) is short, a practice avoided by Horace but permitted by Alcaeus.
 19–22 *Inter ... genitrici* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 5–8.
 19 *stellantia lumina florum* = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III, 9, 13; cf. *Er. Carm.* 2, 207.
 20 *Lilia ... rubore* Cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm. spuria* 1, 233, of Mary: “rubore rosas, candore ... lilia vincens”; *AH* 30, 58, *Ad Tertiam* 9: “O rosa cum lilio, / Tibi candor cum rubore, / Tibi decus cum decore”; *Er. Paeon Virg.*, *LB V*, 1231 B–C: “Tu ... rosa Hierichana ... quam diuina caritas purpureo rubore tinxit Tu ... lilium ... quae lacteo candori virginitatis summam modestiam adiunxisti.” The lily and the rose, as the most beautiful and fragrant of flowers, are traditional symbols of the Virgin; see Salzer, pp. 162–170 and 183–192. In *Er. Virg. et mart. comp.*, *LB V*, 590 B–591 D the lily is associated with virgins and the rose with martyrs. This is rele-

vant here because Mary was sometimes considered both a virgin and a martyr. See Honor. Aug. *Sig.*, *PL* 172, 517 D: “Per rosas martyres, per lilia intelligimus virgines Beata autem Dei Genitrix virgo et martyr fuit”; Salzer, pp. 191–192. The idea is based on *Lc.* 2, 35, where Simeon prophesies that a sword will pierce through Mary’s soul also (at the crucifixion).
 22 *niueae* See n. *Carm.* 110, 358.
 23 *odoriferas* Cf. *Carm.* 110, 236 (n.); l. 1 above.
 24 *Pacifera ... praelia* Cf. Plin. *Nat.* XV, 40, 133: “[Laurus] pacifera, vt quam praetendi etiam inter armatos hostes quietis sit iudicium”. Mary is traditionally both peace itself and the bringer of peace; see Salzer, p. 563.
fulmen arcet ardens The laurel was believed to be immune from lightning. Hence people who were afraid of being hit by lightning wore a laurel wreath to protect themselves. See Plin. *Nat.* II, 56, 146; XV, 40, 134–135; Suet. *Tib.* 69; *Er. Adag.* 79, *ASD* II, 1, p. 190, ll. 87–90. Mary, as mother of the Prince of Peace, can ward off God’s avenging lightning bolts; cf. *Er. Carm.* 110, 310–312; l. 28 below.
 25 *Baccas habet salubres* The berries of the laurel tree yield a fragrant oil thought to have medicinal value; see Plin. *Nat.* XXIII, 43, 86.
 29–32 *gaudeasque ... ara* The second, much expanded ed. of *Liturg. Virg. Lauret.* (1525) concludes with a letter by Antoine de Vergy, archbishop of Besançon, giving permission for *Er.*’ liturgy to be said or sung on any Marian feast-day in his archdiocese. He concludes by granting an indulgence to those

30 Vsque Lauretana dici,
Licet in vasti finibus orbis
Plurima passim fumiget ara.

Amen.

who use the liturgy within his diocese, "non quod alia sit quae apud Lauretum colitur, quam quae toto terrarum orbe, vbicumque Christi nomen sanctum est, piis omnium studiis celebratur et inuocatur, sed quod Deus pro sua benignitate diuersis locis per genitricem suam profert suam in homines

munificentiam et misericordiam"; see *ASD* V, 1, p. 109, ll. 442–445.

31–32 in ... ara Cf. *Paeon Virg.*, LB V, 1228 E: "Regina ... cui positis passim aris medius hic totus supplicat orbis".

31 *finibus orbis* Ps. 18, 5; Rom. 10, 18.

134. FROM *RESPONSIO AD PETRI CVRSII DEFENSIONEM*
c. August 1535

The Venetian general Bartolomeo d'Alviano (1455–1515) defeated Emperor Maximilian's troops in 1508 and returned in triumph to Venice, while Er. was there; see Ep. 3032, ll. 338–363 and *Contemporaries* s.v. (Bartolomeo d') Alviano. Many years later Pietro Corsi (*Contemporaries* s.v.), attacking Er., singled out Alviano in praising Italy's military prowess; see his *Defensio pro Italia ad Erasmus Roterodamum*, Rome, A. Bladius, 1535. Er. defends himself in *Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem, nullo aduersario bellacem*, Basel: H. Froben and N. Episcopius, [c. August] 1535 (*a*; Bezzel 1782), from which this quip is taken (Ep. 3032, ll. 362–363).

Metre: glyconic followed by an iambic dimeter.

Source: *a*, p. 20.

Nihil igitur superest, nisi vt Aluianum inter bellaces deos relatam hoc carmine consalutemus:

Aluiane, dii beent
Te qui besti Oenotriam.

POEMS DUBIOUSLY ASCRIBED TO ERASMUS

135. THE JUDGMENT OF ST. JEROME

c. May 1489

This is the epilogue to *Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii aduersus barbaros*; see introd. *Carm.* 93. It is not included among Er.' poems in *Silua carminum*, ed. Reyner Snoy, Gouda, A. Gauter, 18 May 1513, but is found in *Scri*, where it immediately follows *Carm.* 93.

Regarding the authorship of this poem Reedijk is of two minds. Cornelis' statement in Ep. 19, ll. 20–22 leads him to think that the epilogue was originally part of Er.' poem and that it was subsequently rewritten by Cornelis in a different metre: "Nec hoc tibi, quaeso, indignationem faciat, me tuos versus ... ad aliud metri genus in finem retorsisse." On the other hand, he is quite aware that the epilogue's warning against excessive admiration of pagan culture is characteristic of Cornelis' thinking, not of Er.' at that time in his career.

As we saw in introd. *Carm.* 93, it is impossible that the present poem could in any way have formed a part of Er.' original *Oda ad Cornelium*. His laments about barbarism were intended to set the stage for his compliments to Cornelis, who as a second Hercules had inspired his discouraged friend to take up the lyre once more. In that first version there was simply no place for the arguments set forth by Jerome. In Cornelis' hands, however, Er.' poem became a defence of Christian poetry in classical form. Cornelis' epilogue brings in St. Jerome as a kind of arbitrator ("tanquam sequestrum") – not between Er. and Cornelis, for they are in agreement on the value of ancient poetry and eloquence, but between the humanists and their "barbarian" opponents. Er. himself interpreted Cornelis' *Apologia* and its epilogue in this way; see Ep. 22, ll. 1–27. To him, as for Cornelis, the classically educated Jerome represented a bulwark against the barbarians; his letters, particularly the famous letter to Magnus (*Epist.* 70), provided them with weapons to repel their opponents' attacks.

That the epilogue is indeed wholly Cornelis' work is corroborated both by its title ("Cornelius tandem inducit diuum Hieronimum") and by the heading of the concluding two lines. The epilogue is Cornelis' fourth section of the revised *Apologia*, balancing Er.' earlier four sections. Here Cornelis rounds out his own argument for a biblical humanism.

Since *Carm.* 135 was not part of Er.' original concept, we may translate Cornelis' statement in Ep. 19, ll. 20–22 as follows: "I hope you will not be offended that ... to make an effective conclusion I have turned your verse-form into a different kind of metre." As Béné, p. 51 notes, Cornelis writes "in finem" ("to make a conclusion"), not "in fine" ("at the end"). Changing the metrical pattern of a poem for the sake of emphasis or variety is quite common in medieval poetry.

It is worth noting that Cornelis has Jerome speak in verses that, though classically correct, still savour of the medieval leonine hexameter; see ll. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 20, 25, 30, 31, 33, and 35. It is certainly not a device that Er. would have employed, had he written the epilogue. To him leonine verse epitomized medieval barbarism. That is why he lets Barbaries use the form in *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*; see *Carm.* 128; cf. *Carm.* 143. IJsewijn, *Erasmus*, p. 382 therefore rightly takes the presence of such lines to be proof enough of Cornelis' authorship. Cornelis used leonine verse as late as 1488–1489; see introd. *Carm.* 128, pp. 435–436 above.

Metre: hexameter.

Sources: *Scri**; *LB* VIII, 570.

QVVM ERASMVVS ET CORNELIVS INTER SE CARMINIBVS
MVTVIS QVESTI ESSENT DE STVLITIA BARBARORVM,
QVI VETERVM ELOQVENTIAM CONTEMNVNT ET
POESIM DERIDENT, CORNELIVS TANDEM INDVICIT
DIVVM HIERONIMVVM DE POESI COLENDAM SENTENTIAM
FERENTEM TANQVAM SEQVESTRVM.

Hieronimus loquitur.

Iussisti causae sim prouidus arbiter huius:
Pondera iudicii gratanter suscipe nostri.
Collaudo veterum legisse poemata vatum
Et deridentes acri configere metro.

5 Ecce per altiloquas currunt Prouerbia Musas,

3 *veterum ... poemata vatum* Cf. *Carm.* 112, 97 (n.).

4 *deridentes ... metro* Jerome thus gives his blessing on the verse satire that Cornelis threatened to write in *Carm.* 93, 185–190.

5–7 *Ecce ... plectris* For the metrical quality of these and other O.T. books see Hier. *Praef. in Iob*, *PL* 28, 1140 A–1141 A; Isid. *Orig.* I, 39, 11–19; VI, 2, 17–24; Arator, *Epistola ad Vigilium* 23–26; Gerson, *Carmen de elegia spiritali*, in: *Oeuvres* IV, p. 158, defending the legitimacy of sacred poetry: "Non maiestati ditorum detrahit vsus / Metrorum, maius

pondus eis tribuit. / Versibus omnimodis vates scripsisse sciuntur / Vt Ieremias, Iob, sic Dauid et Moyses. / Carmina composuit Salomon rex millia quinque [cf. I. *Rg.* 4, 32]; / Cantata est mulier fortis [*i.e.*, Judith] ab ore suo." Cf. Er. Ep. 49, l. 89: Moses, David, and Solomon should be imitated by Christian poets.

5 *altiloquas* For this medieval word see, e.g., Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* II, 7, 44: "altiloquus ... Maro".
currunt Cf. Hier. *Praef. in Iob*, *PL* 28, 1140 B, referring to a portion of the book of Job:

Versibus alludunt Sapiens, Iob, Cantica sponsae,
 Concrepat et metricis Dauid sua carmina plectris.
 Sed quaedam vicia tibi dico iure cauenda.
 Prospice ne maculet damnanda superbia mentem,
 10 Neue pios spernas qui nondum carmina norunt,
 Attamen haud vates temnunt, sed amant venerantes.
 Si stilus ipse placet, placet et sententia vernans,
 In quibus Aoniae renitent (me iudice) Musae,
 Non reprobo studium, veniam concedo legenti.
 15 Dum tamen ex aequo scripturas pondere sacras
 Pensans, imo magis venerans, te dedis amori
 Pierio, quo vel nitidum tuus induat alto
 Scemate sermo stilum, aut Aegipti fulgida tollens
 20 Vasa, pares domino pulchrum aedificare sacellum,
 Non culpandus eris, sed laudem laude mereris.
 Sic, puto, primitias mellis, quod consona legis
 Verba iubent domino deuota mente dicare,
 Offers et placito placabis munere Christum.
 Si tamen iis nimium curas adhibere laborem,
 25 Mel bene libasti, sed sal non apposuisti,
 Quo sine nil sapidum acceptumque deo perhibetur.
 Musam non damno, sed tantum sobrietatis
 Te satis admoneo ne dogmata sacra refutes.
 Si quae gesta legis veterum ratione soluta,
 30 Haec vis in numeris pedibusque ligare disertis,
 Ingenium veneror et dulci carmine laetor.
 Historias imitare sacras quum scribere tentas;
 Ornet Musa stilum, scriptura paret tibi sensum.

Cornelius concludit assentiens:

Ieronimi dictis assentio, dulcis Erasme:
 35 Sic faciamus in his quae nutrit amaena poesis.

28 admoneo *LB*: admone *Scri*.

“Hexametri versus sunt, dactylo spon-
 daeque currentes”; Isid. *Orig.* I, 39, 3:
 “Rythmus ... ordinatis pedibus currit”; VI,
 2, 17 (of the Psalms): “Nunc alii iambo cur-
 runt, nunc Alcaico personant” (and in other
 metres besides).

7 *Concrepat* See n. *Carm.* 93, 75.

carmina plectris Cf. *LHL* I, 283.

17–18 *nitidum / stilum* Cf. *Carm.* 93, 63.

18–19 *Aegipti ... sacellum* See n. *Carm.* 93, 174.

20 *Non ... mereris* This inverts Hor. *Ars*
 267–268: “vitai ... culpam, / non laudem
 merui.”

21–26 *Sic ... perhibetur* Cf. *Lu.* 2, 12–13.

23 *munere Christum* Cf. *LHL* III, 455–458.

28 *dogmata sacra* = *LHL* II, 124.

32 *quum scribere tentas* Cf. Iuuen. I, 113: “...
 cum scribere temptat”.

136. TO THE SINGERS OF MAXIMILIAN

1493–1494?

These verses were first published in Rodolphus Goclenius, *Lexicon philosophicum Graecum*, Marburg, 1615 (a), p. 165, where they are introduced as “Carmen musicum Erasmi Roterodami”. They are also printed as anonymous verses in *Nugae venales, siue, Thesaurus ridendi et iocandi*, s.l., 1642 (β), p. 124. There were reprints of this anthology in 1644, 1648, 1663, 1681, 1689, 1703, 1720, and 1741. Bolte, p. 271 reprints the text of the *Nugae venales* as given in the edition [Amsterdam,] 1648, p. 95. The poem also exists in a manuscript dating from the eighteenth century in the Department of Music, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: *Mélanges Gaignières*, ms. fr. 22.558, f^o. 53 (Ms). The manuscript version has been printed in Jean-Claude Margolin, *Recherches Erasmiennes*, Geneva, 1969, p. 85 n. 7; and Gilbert Tournoy, *A Forgotten Poem by Erasmus*, Lias 3 (1976), p. 76 (with much useful information). This text, the only one that provides the five mensural notes, serves as our copy-text.

The case for attributing the poem to Erasmus of Rotterdam is based largely on Goclenius’ rather careless seventeenth-century edition, which subjoins two epigrams to the “carmen musicum”, as if they were all part of the same poem. The *Nugae venales* makes no attribution at all, while the eighteenth-century manuscript ascribes the epigram to an unspecified “Erasmus”. As Tournoy points out (p. 77), this might well refer to the composer Erasmus Lapidica (d. 1547), who was Maximilian’s choirmaster during the last years of the emperor’s life. If Desiderius Erasmus were the author, which does not seem very likely, he could have written the verses in 1493–1494, while he was secretary to Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai. See further: Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*, London, 1973.

The poem consists of *versus rapportati*, a form quite popular in the Middle Ages, in which the sense becomes apparent only when one reads the words in vertical columns. Er. is not known to have written such verses. See, however, *Carm.* 106, 9–10 (Willem Hermans’ lines). Each of the epigram’s five “columns” represents a variation on a familiar saying:

(1) “Ex minimis surgit seditio maxima.” Cf. Otto 1604; *Nachträge* 297; Walther 5088 and 8286a; Er. *Adag.* 2723; Ep. 1156, ll. 12–13; Ep. 1526, ll. 46–47; and elsewhere.

(2) “Vitium alit requies longa.” Cf. Walther 20483; 20486; 20490–20493.

(3) “Coelum penetrat oratio breuis.” Cf. *Sir.* 35, 21; Walther 32568 and 32607; Er. *Carm.* 1, 53; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 733, ll. 489–490.

(4) “Medicamina mitigat coena semibreuis.” Cf. Walther 2608; 8281; 17060; 32564; 32566.

(5) "Castra exuperat fauilla minima." Cf. *Iac.* 3, 5; Walther 8286; 14885; 20775; 29938; and 30374; *Er. Ep.* 694, ll. 82–83; *Ep.* 701, ll. 32–33; *Ep.* 1062, ll. 103–104; and elsewhere.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: α ; β ; *Ms**.

ERASMVS CANTORIBVS MAXIMILIANI

Ex minimis, vitium, coelum, medicamina, castra,
 Surgit, alit, penetrat, mitigat, exuperat,
 Seditio, requies, oratio, coena, fauilla,



Maxima, longa, breuis, semibreuis, minima.

Ante 1: ERASMVS ... MAXIMILIANI *Ms*: Huc pertinet carmen musicum Erasmi Roterodami α , Incerti auctoris β .

- 1 medicamina *Ms*: modulamina α β .
- 2 Surgit *Ms* α : Venit β ; mitigat *Ms* β : suscitatio α .
- 3 oratio *Ms* α : aratio β .

Notae musicae post 3 add. Ms, om. cett.

Post 4 add. α : Sus, pueri bini, puer vnus, nupta, maritus, / Vi, cultro, lympha, fune, dolore cadunt. / Excruciat, perdit, sanat, / Lue, coede, cruore, / Mors, Satanas, Christus, / Pectora, membra, animam.

- 3 *fauilla* A more careful examination of the Paris ms. shows that it agrees here with the printed versions; cf. *CWE* 86, p. 724.
- 4 *Maxima ... minima* This line describes musical notes of the white mensural notation that was in common use from the mid-fifteenth to the late sixteenth century. See Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900–1600*,

Cambridge, Mass., 1953, pp. 85–195, especially pp. 87 and 96–97. In *De pronunt.*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 65, ll. 685–688 *Er.* mentions the same series of notes, from "maxima" to "minima". They are roughly equivalent to two whole notes, a whole note, a half note, a quarter note, and an eighth note.

137. AN EPITAPH FOR HENDRIK VAN BERGEN,
 BISHOP OF CAMBRAI

autumn 1502

In the autumn of 1502 *Er.* wrote one Greek and three Latin epitaphs for Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai; see introd. *Carm.* 39. The Greek epitaph is lost; of the three Latin epitaphs only two have survived (*Carmm.* 39 and 40). Gilbert Tournoy, however, has argued that the poem here reprinted, inscribed on a separate copper plate on the bishop's tomb, should be identified as the lost Latin epitaph. See his *The "Lost" Third Epitaph for Henry of Bergen, written by Erasmus*, *HL* 33 (1984), pp. 106–115. The circumstantial evidence assembled by Tournoy

makes for a very weak case. The clumsy, monastic style of this epitaph should be reason enough to rule out Er.' authorship. Tournoy himself draws attention to "the rather poor style of the epitaph, with its several awkward verse endings, padded-out lines and inept sentence structures" (p. 113). To this criticism we may add the false quantity of the first syllable in "Sepulchrum" (l. 15), the malapropism "aurisonus" for "auricomus" or "auriuomus" (l. 14), and such barbaric phrases as "surgit in annos" (l. 3) and "Rumpere ... in vocem" (l. 18).

Because the bishop's tomb with the epitaphs was destroyed when the metropolitan church of Cambrai was razed in 1796, we have to rely entirely on printed and manuscript sources. The epitaph printed below was first published from a seventeenth-century manuscript at Mons in François Vinchant, *Annales de la province et comté du Hainaut*, ed. A.-P.-V. Descamps, VI, Mons, 1853 (a), p. 330. The copy-text of our edition is a detailed drawing of the monument, now in Cambrai, Musée Communal, collection E. Delloye, liasse 16 (β). The epitaph also occurs in two eighteenth-century manuscripts: Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1049 (dated 1764), known as Ms. Tranchant (γ), pp. 69–70; and Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, Ms. 21.050 (δ), entitled "Dissertation sur l'origine du Conseil Privé", f^o 163^r–163^v.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: α; β*; γ; δ.

Hic premitur tumulo Henricus, cui clara propago
 Bergentum redolet claraque facta magis.
 Sidere felici cum natus surgit in annos
 Amplexus studia est libera, iura simul.
 5 Hiisque insignitus lauris perrexit ad urbem,
 Primus et ob merita scriba creatus erat.
 Antistesque simul gratus fulsit Cameraci,
 Vt summo ad patrium versus honore solum est.
 Dulce refrigerium orbatis luxit viduisque
 10 Cum populatae edis tum reparator erat.
 Celitis hic instar mentem corpusque ferebat

1 Hic α β γ: Hoc δ.

3 cum natus β γ δ: natus, cum α.

4 Amplexus α β γ: Amplexis δ.

5 Hiisque *scripsi*: Husque β γ, Hisque α δ;
 insignitus α β γ: insignitis δ; perrexit α β δ:
 perrexerit γ.

6 Primus β γ δ: Summus α.

8 patrium β γ δ: patriam α.

9 luxit viduisque β: viduisque luxit α γ,
 viduisque reluxit δ.

10 populatae α γ δ: populate β.

11 Celitis *scripsi*: Coelitis α, Celibis β, Coelibis
 γ, Caelibus δ.

1 clara propago = LHL I, 356.

Intactum maculis, sydera ceu alta petens.
 Nouerat hic pariter componere faedera regum,
 Velleris aurisoni praeses ob acta fuit.
 15 Sepulchrum domini, Hesperii quoque templa Iacobi,
 Paulique et visit limina sacra Petri.
 Et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extollere ad astra,
 Rumpere et in vocem grandia facta viri?
 Hic vir, hic est qui stellifero demissus Olimpo
 20 Rexit ouesque suas tempore quo illud ait:
 eCCe saCerdos MagnVs qVI In dIebVs
 sVIs pLaCVIt Deo. 1480
 Et referens merita meritis, repetiuit ad astra
 Inclite ad Hesperia tempore quo sequitur:
 25 et InVentVs est IVstVs.
 Ergo si fecere fidem tot tantaque certam,
 Degere in ethereis quisque rogate pium.

12 ceu alta $\alpha \beta \gamma$: celsa δ .
 13 Nouerat $\alpha \beta \gamma$: Nouerit δ .
 14 aurisoni $\alpha \beta \gamma$: Ausonii δ ; ob $\beta \gamma \delta$: ad α .
 15 domini $\alpha \gamma \delta$: dudum β .
 17 ad $\beta \gamma \delta$: in α .
 19 est *om.* α .

22 1480 *add.* β .
 23 Et referens $\beta \gamma \delta$: Rettulimus α ; meritis $\alpha \beta \gamma$: meritus δ .
 24 Inclite $\alpha \beta \gamma$: Incltyi δ ; Hesperia $\beta \gamma \delta$: aetherea α .
 27 ethereis $\alpha \beta$: aetheris γ , aethersis δ .

14 *Velleris aurisoni praeses* He was appointed to this position in 1493. The word “aurisonus” is a medievalism meaning “making a beautiful sound” or “making a sound in the ears”. Here it appears to be a malapropism for “auricomus” or “auriuomus”, a medievalism meaning, among other things, “golden”.
 15–16 *Sepulchrum ... Petri* Cf. *Carm.* 39, 6–7 (with notes); 40, 5–6.
 16 *limina sacra* = *LHL* III, 201.
 17 *Et ... astra* Cf. *Verg. Aen.* VI, 806: “et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis”; cf. *Er. Carm.* 105, 57.
 19 *demissus Olimpo* = *Carm.* 112, 40 (n.).
 21–25 *eCCe ... Deo / InVentVs est IVstVs* These

lines contain two chronograms in Roman numerals, marked by capital letters in Vinchant’s version (α) and the Brussels Ms. (δ), but not in the copy-text. The first series of numerals (ll. 21–22) adds up to “1480”; the second (l. 25) adds up to “twenty-two”. Hendrik served twenty-two years as bishop of Cambrai, from 1480 to the year of his death, 1502. Tournoy, *op. cit.*, p. 115, n. 15 observes that the words of ll. 21–22 and 25 were used in one of the Epistles for the common of the mass for a bishop and confessor. They are in part based on *Sir.* 44, 16–17.
 23 *referens ... astra* Cf. *Carm.* 9, 24; 113, 3–5.
 26 *fecere fidem* = *Ov. Met.* VI, 566.

138–140. ON A PICTURE OF EUROPA ASSAULTED BY MONKS

1509?

Though these three epigrams are in style and theme quite Erasmian, their attribution to Erasmus of Rotterdam rests on the initials “E.R.” in the heading of *Carm.* 138. The poems were first published by Coelius Secundus Curio in a

collection of pasquinades entitled *Pasquillorum tomi duo*, I, Eleutheropoli [i.e., Freystadt, but in fact: Basel, J. Oporinus], 1544 (α), pp. 93–94. They were reprinted, upon a suggestion of Preserved Smith, in Ferguson, p. 34. Reedijk, who shares Ferguson's reservations about the poems' authenticity, has discovered another edition in which they are attributed to "Er. Rot." See *Sylua carminum in nostri temporis corruptelas, praesertim religionis, sane quam salsa et festiua, ex diuersis hinc inde autoribus collecta*, pp. 89–90, bound together with Thomas Naogeorgus, *Regnum Papisticum*, [Basel], June 1553 (β). This anthology also appeared under the title *Syluula carminum aliquot a diuersis, piis et eruditis viris conscriptorum: quibus variae de religione sententiae et controuersiae breuissime explicantur*, [Basel?], 1553; here too the poems are printed on pp. 89–90, under the heading: "Er. Rot." The editor of the collection, as Reedijk observes, may simply have reprinted the poems from Curio's anthology, expanding the initials.

Ferguson, p. 33 detects a close resemblance between the Europa poems and *Carm.* 27; but Reedijk rightly dismisses this similarity as too superficial to confirm Er.' authorship of the present epigrams. Ferguson, p. 32 also suggests that if the epigrams are authentic they could have been composed in 1509, when Er. was in Rome. Er., he supposes, might even have affixed them himself to the statue of Pasquino on 25 April of that year. Of course, Er. need not have been in Rome to write a pasquinade like this. Many other pieces in Curio's collection were written outside of Italy.

Another anti-Roman epigram was published under Er.' name in Saint-Amant, *La Rome ridicule, caprice*, s.l., [1643], p. 55. See Saint-Amant, *Oeuvres*, III, ed. Jean Lagny, Paris, 1969, p. 79, with n. on p. 78; repr. and transl. in Bernhard Kytzler, *Roma Aeterna: Lateinische und griechische Romdichtung von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart*, Zürich, 1972, pp. 518–519. It runs as follows:

DESIDERII ERASMI VALE DICENTIS ROMANAE VRBI DISTICHVM

Roma, vale! Vidi: satis est vidisse. Reuertar,
Cum leno, meretrix, scurra, cinaedus ero.

This epigram, in a slightly different form, is attributed to Baptista Mantuanus in *LB* I, 719, n. 1. To my knowledge, however, it does not appear in his *Opera omnia*, 4 vols., Antwerp, 1576. It does occur as an anonymous epigram in: *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto ecclesiae statu poemata*, ed. Mathias Flacius Illyricus, Basel, 1557, p. 417, under the title: *In peregrinationes ad limina apostolorum, ex quodam vetusto codice*. For other occurrences see Walther, *Initia* 16878.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Sources: α*; β.

138 IN EVROPAE A MONACHIS SVBACTAE PICTVRAM, E. R.

Iuppiter Europam, vera est si fabula, tauri
 Lusit mentita callidus effigie.
 Quam monachi falsa sub imagine simplicis agni
 (Pro pudor, haec non est fabula) nunc subigunt.

Tit. E. R. *a*: Er. Rot. *β*.

2 callidus *β*: callidius *a*.

1–2 *Iuppiter ... effigie* See Ov. *Met.* II, 836–875;
 Er. *Carm.* 27. As in the next two epigrams,
 there is a pun here on the names of the girl
 and the continent.

3 *falsa sub imagine* Ov. *Her.* 16(17), 45.
 4 *Pro pudor* = *Carm.* 98, 22 (n.).

139 AD EANDEM

Spurca sacerdotum meretrix, Europa, puella
 Inclita quae fueras vnus ante Iouis,
 Dic, precor, effigies vbi prisca, vbi candida vestis?
 Cur luxata modo, cur ita senta iaces?

1–2 *puella / Iouis* Cf. Martial. X, 35, 20: “nec
 Bacchi nec Apollinis puella”.
 2 *vnus / Iouis* The meaning is twofold: Europa
 was once the sweetheart of Jupiter alone; the
 continent Europe was once the beloved of
 the one God.

4 *luxata* The past participle of “luxo”. Cf., e.g.,
Enarrat. in Ps. 38, *ASD* V, 3, p. 185, l. 548:
 “membrum luxatum”; Ep. 1672, l. 125 (of the
 state of affairs in Europe during the Reform-
 ation): “luxataeque rerum compages”.
senta Ter. *Eun.* 236.

140 EVROPA RESPONDET.

Nonne vides, qui me grex stipat? Hic oris honorem
 Abstulit et dotes quas Deus ante dedit:
 Foelices Asiae terras Libyesque, procorum
 Turba quibus non tam flagitiosa nocet.

3–4 *Foelices ... nocet* Asia Minor, Syria, and
 North Africa were once Christian lands. The
 Moslems who now rule them are not as
 despicable as the Christian priests of Europe.

Cf. *Adag.* 3001, *LB* II, 967 D: “Quos nos
 vocamus Turcas, magna ex parte semichris-
 tiani sunt et fortassis propiores vero Chris-
 tianismo, quam plerique nostrum sunt.”

141. AGAINST POPE JULIUS II
November 1511?

This epigram on Pope Julius II is found in the "Collectanea" of Gerard Geldenhauer, Ms. II 53, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels (*Ms*), f^o 5^r. For a description of the manuscript see J. Prinsen, in: *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomasus, gevolgd door den herdruk van eenige zijner werken*, Amsterdam, 1901, pp. xiv–xviii; for Prinsen's edition of the epigram see p. 18. Immediately following these verses is a shorter (and perhaps earlier) version of Er.'s invective against Julius II, written in the same metre; see introd. *Carm.* 119. Since Geldenhauer was in possession of several Erasmian autographs, it is quite possible that *Carm.* 141, like *Carm.* 119, was composed by Er. From the title of *Carm.* 141, *In eundem Iulium II Ligrem*, we may infer that the poem in Geldenhauer's manuscript was originally preceded by one or more epigrams on Julius II, now lost. See Cornelis Reedijk, *Een schimpdicht van Erasmus op Julius II*, in: *Opstellen door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann*, The Hague, 1958, pp. 200–202. In this article (p. 201) Reedijk notes the striking parallel to Ep. 240, ll. 35–37, written at Cambridge on 11 November [1511]. There Er. suggests that Julius' Jewish physician ought not just to have cured the pope's body after his serious illness in August of that year, but also to have treated his insanity with hellebore: "Neque tamen habeo cui succenseam, nisi verpo illi τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἱατροῦ, qui quidem aut parum est artifex aut prorsus effoetae sunt Anticyrae." If the epigram is Er.'s, it must be contemporary with Ep. 240.

Metre: iambic senarius.

Source: *Ms*.

IN EVNDEM IVLIVM II LIGVREM

O medice verpe, cui vel vni Iulius,
 Caput atque princeps Christiani nominis,
 Vitam ac salutem contuendam credidit,
 Quod belle Hebraeo conueniat et ebrio,
 5 Dic per sacrum illum Messyan Callipedem,

5 Vide Sueto. in Tyberio* *Ms*.

1 *medice verpe* See *CWE* Ep. 240, n.l. 40; *Iul. exclus.*, *CWE* 28, p. 497, n. 50. Allen suggests that this physician was the Provençal Jew Jacob ben Emmanuel known as Bonet de Lates; see Allen, *Op. ep.* IV, p. xxii, addendum to Ep. 240, n.l. 36; cf. Renaudet, pp. 392 and 499. E. Rodocanachi, *Le Pontificat de Jules II, 1503–1513*, Paris, 1928, p. 9

mentions Rabbi Samuel Sarfati as Julius' favourite physician.

4 *Hebraeo / ebrio* For the wordplay cf. *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 282, l. 793. For Julius' alleged fondness for wine see n. *Carm.* 119, 22.

5 *Callipedem* For this spelling see *Collect.* (1500), sig. b5^r. Callippides was the proverbial laggard, always going somewhere and

Quid, iam tot annos dissipato podici
 Atque vlceroso dum mederis inguini,
 Et artem et operam ludis, infoelix, tuam?
 Quin tu malis obnoxium furiis caput
 10 Sanas vel herba, si quae nascitur magis
 Potens veratro, siue magico carmine?
 Valere vtroque gentis est dos ac tua.
 Quod si via quacumque peste tam graui
 Orbem leuaueris, grata perenni vice
 15 Plebs Christiana publicis precabitur,
 Recutite, votis mentulam tibi integram.

14 leuaueris *scripsi (metri gratia)*: leuaris *Ms.*

never arriving; see Otto 305; Er. *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 35, ll. 287–289. Er. often remarks that the Jews are still faithfully awaiting their Messiah. See, e.g., *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, pp. 128–130, ll. 71–72; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, ASD V, 2, p. 361, l. 96; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 33, ASD V, 3, p. 100, ll. 200–201; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 271, ll. 445–446; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 214, ll. 535–536.

6–7 iam ... inguini For the allegations that Julius II was a homosexual see n. *Carm.* 119, 10.

8 *Et artem ... ludis* This is a variation on a well-known proverb. Cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 900: “et operam ludos facit et retia”; Otto 1284; Er. *Adag.* 362: “Oleum et operam perdidit”; 3946; Ep. 622, l. 19: “Ocium et operam perdunt”.

9 *obnoxium furiis caput* Cf. *Carm.* 119, 15–16 (n.).

11 *veratro* Hellebore was believed to cure various kinds of insanity; cf. Otto 596; Er. *Adag.* 751 and 752; and, e.g., *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 118, ll. 890–892.

142. CHORUS OF THE PORKERS

c. July 1519

These doggerel verses are found in a defence of Greek studies at the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, entitled *Eruditi adulescentis Chonradi Nastadiensis Germani dialogus sanequam festiuus bilinguium ac trilinguium, siue de funere Calliopes*, [Paris: “Sub scuto Basiliensi”, i.e., Konrad Resch, c. July 1519] (a), sig. b1^r–b1^v. The work’s authorship has been much debated. Ferguson, pp. 198–203, siding with earlier scholars (including P.S. Allen), concluded that the dialogue must have been written jointly by Er. and Konrad Nesen of Nastätten (*Contemporaries* s.v.). Ferguson’s arguments are not very conclusive, however; and much speaks against Er.’ collaboration. More probably the dialogue was composed by Konrad’s brother, the humanist Wilhelm Nesen. See *CWE* 7, pp. 330–332; cf. introd. *Carm.* 61 above.

In the dialogue, proponents of the three languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) meet Mercury. After some banter with him they see a funeral procession approaching. Calliope, still alive, is to be “buried” by being thrown over a cliff.

Having enshrouded himself and his companions in a cloud, Mercury identifies the chief figures in the procession, who signify such vices as strife, cheating, carping, self-love, and malice. Some of the figures are thinly veiled representations of theologians at the University of Louvain who opposed the new learning. At the end of the procession comes a herd of pigs – the students of the Paedagogium Porci, who were known as “Porci”. They are led by a descendant of Gryllus (Jacobus Latomus), who, like Circe, has changed them from men into pigs. The Porkers grunt in chorus about what they are doing. But Apollo, Pallas, and the Muses come to Calliope’s rescue and put the procession to flight.

Our text of the *Chorus porcorum* is based on the ed. princ. of 1519; for an edition of this book see Ferguson, pp. 191–224. The ed. princ. was reprinted under the same title [Basel? J. Froben? 1519] (β). The following year a revised edition of the work appeared under the title: *Eruditi adulescentis Chonradi Nastadiensis Germani dialogus sanequam festiuus bilinguium ac trilinguium, siue de funere Calliopes. Exactissime ad auctoris archetypum recognitus*, [Sélestat: Lazarus Schürer] 1520. In this version (sig. B3^r–B3^v) the poem has been changed to read:

CHORVS PORCORVM

Tē deum laudamus,
 Quod istam putanam portamus.
 Quae Magistros Nostros tam multos,
 Semper contempsit vt stultos,
 Quos dixit crassum potare vinum,
 Sed crassius loqui Latinum,
 Nec respexit a tergo,
 Quantum valeat vtrum et ergo.
 Nunc deiciemus eam per precipitia
 Et populo dicemus, quod fuit haeretica.
 Sic nemo audebit ponere suum rostrum
 Contra aliquem Magistrum Nostrum.

The 1520 edition is reproduced in Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Louaniense 1517–1550*, Louvain, 1951–1955, I, pp. 544–574.

Sources: α^* ; β .

CHORVS PORCORVM

Nos portamus ad sepulchrum
 Vnam Musam, quod videtur nobis pulchrum,
 Quae est causa maxima
 Quod sophistica nunc dicitur pessima.
 5 Propterea volunt eam magistri nostri sepelire
 Nec eius defensionem audire,
 Et ideo dicunt eam esse hereticam,
 Quia spernit theologiam peripateticam,
 Quam incipiunt nunc eciam contemnere isti moderniores,
 10 Cum tamen hec sola confundit hereticos contumaciores.

1 sepulchrum β : sepuchrum α .

7 eam β : cum α .

1-2 *Nos ... Musam* The poem begins with a parody of medieval usage: "nos" is used casually as the subject of the verb, while "vnam" functions as an indefinite article. The poem's hopelessly pedestrian word order, the use of a string of relative clauses with an indefinite or distant antecedent (ll. 2-4), and the doggerel verse with end-rhyme are also intended to parody the late-medieval style.

4 *sophistica* Scholastic theology.

5 *magistri nostri* The quasi-official title of theology professors, repeatedly mocked in *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*; cf. Er. *Enchir.*, LB V, 49 A-B; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 158, ll. 521-523.

10 *confundit* In this sense ("confounds", "confutes") the word is a medievalism.

143. AN EPITAPH FOR NICOLAAS BAEICHEM OF EGMOND

late 1526

According to Ioannes Molanus, *Historiae Louaniensium libri XIV* (written between 1560 and 1585), I, ed. P.F.X. de Ram, Brussels, 1861 (α), p. 511, Er. composed this satiric epitaph when he heard that his old nemesis Nicolaas Baechem of Egmond had died on 23-24 August 1526. Since Er. apparently first heard this news in late 1526 (see Ep. 1765, ll. 26-62, dated 12 Nov. 1526), the verses, if authentic, may be placed in late 1526.

The epitaph, taken from Molanus' history, was first printed in *Fasti academici studii generalis Louaniensis*, ed. Valerius Andreas, Louvain, I. Oliuerius and C. Coenesteyn, 1635 (β), p. 64. For Nicolaas Baechem, prior of the Carmelites at Louvain, see *Contemporaries* s.v.

The epitaph inscribed on Baechem's tomb in the Carmelite monastery at Mechelen alludes to the mock-epitaph and ascribes it to Er.:

Hic iacet Egmundus, qui doctor in arte profundus,
 Quem tremit haereticus, dum premit eximius.
 Quid fert sarcasmo? Stylus est consuetus Erasmo.

Viuentem timuit, post obitum impetiit.
 Maxima viuentem deuincere palma fuisset.
 Ducere cum exanimi praelia, quale probrum!

See *Biographie Nationale*, I, Brussels, 1866, col. 618; *Contemporaries*, I, p. 82. The monument was destroyed during the iconoclastic riots of 1580.

Metre: elegiac distich with internal (leonine) rhyme, intended to associate the deceased with medieval barbarism; cf. introd. *Carm.* 128 and introd. *Carm.* 135.

Sources: α^* ; β .

Hic iacet Egmondus, telluris inutile pondus.
 Dilexit rabiem, non habeat requiem.

1 *Egmondus scripsi*: Egmondus α β .

1 *Egmondus* The form "Egmondus" in α β does not rhyme with "pondus". Er. generally wrote the name as "Egmondanus", "Ecmondanus", or "Edmondanus".
telluris inutile pondus = Hom. *Il.* XVIII, 104,

as translated by Er. in *Lucianus*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 421, l. 3; *Adag.* 631, *LB* II, 274 C; *Adag.* 1489, *LB* II, 578 A; *Adag.* 2225, *ASD* II, 5, p. 202, l. 920; *Adag.* 3998, *LB* II, 1182 A.
 2 *non habeat requiem* Cf. *Carm.* 9, 38–39 (n.).

144. UPON HEARING OF THE DEATH OF JOHN FISHER AND THOMAS MORE

August 1535

Pieter Opmeer, *Opus chronographicum orbis vniuersi a mundi exordio usque ad annum M.DC.XI*, I, Antwerp, H. Verdussius, 1611 (α), p. 477, says that Er. was playing chess for recreation in Freiburg when someone came to tell him about the executions of John Fisher (22 June 1535) and Thomas More (6 July 1535). Deeply shocked at the news, he improvised this couplet. If Er. is indeed the author of these lines, we can place them in August 1535. From Ep. 3048, ll. 53–59 (24 August 1535) we know that he had by then heard rumours about the executions. Conrad Goclenius' letter of 10 August (Ep. 3037), confirming these rumours, had reached him by 26 August; see Ep. 3049, ll. 160–164.

Metre: elegiac distich.

Source: α .

Henrici laudes vis versu claudier vno,
 Eque Mida facias eque Nerone virum.

2 Eque ... eque scripsi: Aequae ... aequae α.

Another poem on the death of Thomas More was attributed to Er. in Hieronymus Gebwyler's edition of *Incomparabilis doctrine, trium item linguarum peritissimi viri D. Erasmi Rotherodami, in sanctissimorum martirum Rofensis Episcopi, ac Thomae Mori, iam pridem in Anglia pro Christiana veritate constanter defensa, innocenter passorum, heroicum carmen tam elegans quam lectu dignissimum*, Hagenau, V. Kobian, September 1536. In this title the word "mortem" has dropped out between "in" and "sanctissimorum". The error was not corrected in the new edition (Hagenau, V. Kobian, s.d., but evidently printed shortly after the ed. princ.). The revised edition does restore a page missing in the ed. princ. and introduces other corrections. The poem, 163 hexameters long, was reprinted often thereafter as Er.' In late 1536, however, the *Naenia in mortem clariss. viri Thomae Mori* was republished as the work of Ioannes Secundus (Louvain, Servaes van Sassen, December 1536). Ioannes' brother, Adrian Marius, wrote a preface for this edition, explaining to the printer S. van Sassen that Ioannes had written the poem not long before his death (25 September 1536) and that a manuscript of it had been circulating among his friends. He accused its German editor of having pirated the poem, falsely attributing it to Er., and having it printed in a very negligent manner.

The story is briefly recounted by Petrus Bosscha, ed., *Ioannis Nicolaii Secundi Hagani opera omnia*, II, Leiden, 1821, p. 139, introductory note to the *Naenia* (*Funera* 26). Nevertheless the poem continued to be attributed to Er.; see Karl Hartfelder, *Ein unbekannt gebliebenes Gedicht des Desiderius*

Erasmus von Rotterdam, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte 6 (1893), pp. 457-464; J.B. Kan, *Een onbekend gedicht van Erasmus*, Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje (1896), pp. 74-80, reporting Hartfelder's "discovery"; Alexander Baumgartner, *Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker*, Freiburg i.Br., 1905; repr. 1925, pp. 588-591; Smith, p. 418; Huizinga, p. 183; D.T. Starnes, *A Heroic Poem on the Death of Sir Thomas More - by D. Erasmus of Rotterdam*, University of Texas Bulletin, Studies in English 9 (1929), pp. 69-81. The error was definitively exposed in André Jolles, *Een oude vergissing*, Neophilologus 13 (1928), pp. 60-65 and 132-137. Jolle's findings are summarized in Henry de Vocht, *Acta Thomae Mori* (1947), pp. 196-200 and in Reedijk, *Poems*, pp. 396-397; see also Germain Marc'hadour, review of the facsimile edition of Ioannes Secundus' *Opera*, 1541 (repr. Nieuwkoop, 1969), *Morcania* 29 (1971), pp. 79-80; André Blanchard, *Jean Second et ses poèmes sur l'exécution de Thomas More*, *Morcania* 36 (1972), pp. 6-9; and (with much new detail) Dekker, pp. 203-236.

Even after Jolles' article, one still occasionally finds the poem attributed to Er. See Elsie V. Hitchcock, ed., *The life and death of St Thomas Moore ... by Nicholas Harpsfield*, London, 1932 (repr. 1963), p. 255; Richard Newald, *Erasmus Roterodamus*, Freiburg i.Br., 1947; repr. Darmstadt, 1970, pp. 339-343; and Willehad P. Eckert, *Erasmus von Rotterdam: Werk und Wirkung*, 2 vols., Köln, 1967, I, p. 216, retracted in II, pp. 504 and 654.
 2 *Eque Mida* = *Carm.* 21, 4. Midas' stupidity was proverbial; see n. *Carm.* 4, ded., ll. 35-37.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. AUTHORS: ANTIQUITY – 16TH CENTURY

Ael.	Claudius Aelianus	<i>Anth. Plan.</i>	<i>Anthologia Planudea</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	Apollod.	Apollodorus
<i>Nat. an.</i>	<i>De natura animalium</i>	Apoll. Rhod.	Apollonius Rhodius
<i>Var. hist.</i>	<i>Varia historia</i>	Apoll. Sid.	Apollinaris Sidonius
Ael. Arist.	Aelius Aristides	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>
Aeschin.	Aeschines	Apost.	Apostolius Byzantius
Aeschyl.	Aeschylus	App.	Appianus
<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>	<i>Civ.</i>	<i>Bella ciuilia</i>
<i>Choeph.</i>	<i>Choepkori</i>	Apul.	Apuleius
<i>Eum.</i>	<i>Eumenides</i>	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
<i>Hic.</i>	<i>Hicetides</i>	<i>De deo Socr.</i>	<i>De deo Socratis</i>
<i>Pers.</i>	<i>Persae</i>	<i>Flor.</i>	<i>Florida</i>
<i>Prom.</i>	<i>Prometheus</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Sept.</i>	<i>Septem</i>	Arat.	Aratus
Aesop.	Aesopus	Archil.	Archilochus
Agric.	Rodolphus Agricola	Aristaen.	Aristaenetus
<i>Anna</i>	<i>Anna mater</i>	Aristid.	Aristides
Alan.	Alanus ab Insulis	Aristoph.	Aristophanes
<i>De planct. Nat.</i>	<i>De planctu Naturae</i>	<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Acharnenses</i>
Albert. M.	Albertus Magnus	<i>Au.</i>	<i>Aues</i>
<i>Enarr. in Ioann.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Euangelium</i>	<i>Ecll.</i>	<i>Ecclesiazusae</i>
	<i>Ioannis</i>	<i>Equ.</i>	<i>Equites</i>
<i>Enarr. in I.c.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Euangelium</i>	<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysistrata</i>
	<i>Lucae</i>	<i>Nub.</i>	<i>Nubes</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	<i>Pax</i>	<i>Pax</i>
Alciph.	Alciphro	<i>Plut.</i>	<i>Plutus</i>
Ambr.	Ambrosius	<i>Ran.</i>	<i>Ranae</i>
<i>Enarr. in Ps.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Ps.</i>	<i>Thesm.</i>	<i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>
<i>In Lc.</i>	<i>Expositio Euangelii secundum</i>	<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespae</i>
	<i>Lucam</i>	Aristoph. Byz.	Aristophanes Byzantinus
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus	Aristot.	Aristoteles
Ammonio	Andrea Ammonio	<i>An.</i>	<i>De anima</i>
Anacr.	Anacreon	<i>An. post.</i>	<i>Analytica posteriora</i>
Andrel.	Fausto Andrelini	<i>An. pr.</i>	<i>Analytica priora</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>	<i>Ath. pol.</i>	<i>Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία</i>
<i>Eleg.</i>	<i>Elegiae</i>	<i>Aud.</i>	<i>De audibilibus</i>
<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Liuiā</i>	<i>Cael.</i>	<i>De caelo</i>
<i>Anth. Lat.</i>	<i>Anthologia Latina</i>	<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Categoriae</i>
<i>Anth. Pal.</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>	<i>Col.</i>	<i>De coloribus</i>

<i>Diu.</i>	<i>De diuinatione</i>	<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Eth. Eud.</i>	<i>Ethica Eudemia</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>	<i>Mos.</i>	<i>Mosella</i>
<i>Gen. an.</i>	<i>De generatione animalium</i>	<i>Precat.</i>	<i>Precationes variae</i>
<i>Gen. corr.</i>	<i>De generatione et corruptione</i>	Babrb.	Babrius
<i>Hist. an.</i>	<i>Historia animalium</i>	Balbi	Girolamo Balbi
<i>Metaph.</i>	<i>Metaphysica</i>	Basil.	Basiliius
<i>Meteor.</i>	<i>Meteorologica</i>	<i>Ad adulesc.</i>	<i>Ad adulescentes</i> (ἰπὸς τοὺς νέους)
<i>Mir.</i>	<i>Mirabilia</i>	<i>Batr.</i>	<i>Batrachomyomachia</i>
<i>M. mor.</i>	<i>Magna moralia</i>	Bebel	Heinrich Bebel
<i>Mot. an.</i>	<i>De motu animalium</i>	<i>Prov.</i>	<i>Prouerbia Germanica</i>
<i>Mund.</i>	<i>De mundo</i>	Beda Venerabilis	
<i>Oec.</i>	<i>Oeconomica</i>	<i>In Mc.</i>	<i>In Marci Euangelium expositio</i>
<i>Part. an.</i>	<i>De partibus animalium</i>	<i>Vita Cuth.</i>	<i>Vita Cuthberti</i>
<i>Phgn.</i>	<i>Physiognomonica</i>	Bernardus	Bernardus Claraeuallensis
<i>Phys.</i>	<i>Physica</i>	<i>In laud. Virg.</i>	<i>In laudibus Virginis Matris</i>
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetica</i>	<i>In adu. Dom.</i>	<i>Sermo in aduentu Domini</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politica</i>	<i>In Vigil. Apost.</i>	<i>Sermo in Vigilia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i>
<i>Probl.</i>	<i>Problemata</i>	Bocc.	Giovanni Boccaccio
<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i>	<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>
<i>Rhet. Alex.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i>	Boeth.	Boethius
<i>Sens.</i>	<i>De sensu</i>	<i>Consol.</i>	<i>Consolatio philosophiae</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>De somno et vigilia</i>	Brant	Sebastian Brant
<i>Soph. el.</i>	<i>Sophistici elenchi</i>	Caes.	C. Iulius Caesar
<i>Spir.</i>	<i>De spiritu</i>	<i>Ciu.</i>	<i>De bello ciuili</i>
<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>	<i>Gall.</i>	<i>De bello Gallico</i>
Arnob.	Arnobius	Callim.	Callimachus
<i>Comm. in Ps.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Ps.</i>	Callisth.	Callisthenes
Arr.	Arrianus	Calp. Sic.	Calpurnius Siculus
Arsen.	Arsenius	Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio
Artemid.	Artemidorus	Cassian.	Iohannes Cassianus
Ascl.	(Apuleius) Asclepius	Cassiod.	Cassiodorus
Asconius	Q. Asconius Pedianus	<i>Expos. in Ps.</i>	<i>Expositio in Ps.</i>
<i>Comm. in Cic.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Cic.</i>	<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutiones</i>
Athan.	Athanasius	Cato	Cato
Athen.	Athenaeus	<i>Agr.</i>	<i>De agricultura</i>
Athenag.	Athenagoras	<i>Dist.</i>	<i>Disticha</i>
Aug.	Aurilius Augustinus	Catull.	Catullus
<i>Ciu.</i>	<i>De ciuitate Dei</i>	Cels.	Celsus
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessiones</i>	Cens.	Censorinus
<i>Contra Acad.</i>	<i>Contra Academicos</i>	Charis.	Charisius, <i>Arts grammatica</i>
<i>Contra Faust.</i>	<i>Contra Faustum Manichaeum</i>	Chrys.	Iohannes Chrysostomus
<i>Doctr. chr.</i>	<i>De doctrina christiana</i>	<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>
<i>Enarr. in Ps.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Ps.</i>	Cic.	Cicero
<i>Ench.</i>	<i>Enchiridion</i>	<i>Ac. 1</i>	<i>Lucullus sius Academicorum priorum libri</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Ac. 2</i>	<i>Academicorum posteriorum libri</i>
<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>	<i>Ad Brut.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Brutum</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones</i>	<i>Ad Q. fr.</i>	<i>Epist. ad Quintum fratrem</i>
<i>Serm. supp.</i>	<i>Sermones suppositiui</i>	<i>Arat.</i>	<i>Aratea</i>
Auuen.	Auuenius	<i>Arch.</i>	<i>Pro Archia poeta</i>
<i>Progn.</i>	<i>Prognostica</i>	<i>Att.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
Aur. Vict.	Aurelius Victor	<i>Balb.</i>	<i>Pro L. Balbo</i>
Auson.	Ausonius		
<i>Cent. nupt.</i>	<i>Centio nuptialis</i>		
<i>Cupid. cruc.</i>	<i>Cupido cruciatus</i>		
<i>De rosis</i>	<i>De rosis nascentibus</i>		
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>		

<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus</i>	<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
<i>Caec.</i>	<i>Pro A. Caecina</i>	<i>Vatin.</i>	<i>In P. Vatinius testem interrogatio</i>
<i>Cacl.</i>	<i>Pro M. Caelio</i>	<i>Verr. 1, 2</i>	<i>In Verrem actio 1, 2</i>
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carminum fragmenta</i>	<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Claudius Claudianus</i>
<i>Catil.</i>	<i>In Catilinam</i>	<i>Bell. Gild.</i>	<i>De bello Gildonico</i>
<i>Cato</i>	<i>Cato maior de senectute</i>	<i>Carm. min.</i>	<i>Carmina minora</i>
<i>Cluent.</i>	<i>Pro A. Cluentio</i>	<i>IV. cons. Hon.</i>	<i>De quarto consulatu Honorii</i>
<i>Deiot.</i>	<i>Pro rege Deiotaro</i>	<i>Cons. Stil.</i>	<i>De consulatu Stilichonis</i>
<i>De or.</i>	<i>De oratore</i>	<i>De rapt. Pros.</i>	<i>De raptu Proserpinae</i>
<i>Div.</i>	<i>De diuinatione</i>	<i>Epith.</i>	<i>Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii</i>
<i>Div. in Caec.</i>	<i>Diuination in Q. Caecilium</i>	<i>Fescen.</i>	<i>Fescennina de nuptiis Honorii</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>De domo sua</i>	<i>In Eutr.</i>	<i>In Eutropium</i>
<i>Fam.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>	<i>In Ruf.</i>	<i>In Rufinum</i>
<i>Fat.</i>	<i>De fato</i>	<i>Paneg. M.</i>	<i>Theod. Panegyricus Mallii Theodori</i>
<i>Fin.</i>	<i>De finibus</i>	<i>Paneg. Prob.</i>	<i>Panegyricus Probini et Olybrii</i>
<i>Flacc.</i>	<i>Pro L. Valerio Flacco</i>	<i>Clearch.</i>	<i>Clearchus</i>
<i>Font.</i>	<i>Pro M. Fonteio</i>	<i>Clem. Al.</i>	<i>Clemens Alexandrinus</i>
<i>Har.</i>	<i>De haruspicum responsis</i>	<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Stromateis</i>
<i>Inu.</i>	<i>De inuentione</i>	<i>Clitarch.</i>	<i>Clitarchus</i>
<i>Lael.</i>	<i>Laelius de amicitia</i>	<i>Cod. Iust.</i>	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>De legibus</i>	<i>Colum.</i>	<i>Columella</i>
<i>Leg. agr.</i>	<i>De lege agraria</i>	<i>Cornut.</i>	<i>Cornutus</i>
<i>Lig.</i>	<i>Pro Q. Ligario</i>	<i>Nat. deor.</i>	<i>De natura deorum</i>
<i>Manil.</i>	<i>Pro lege Manilia</i>	<i>Cratin.</i>	<i>Cratinus</i>
<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Pro M. Marcello</i>	<i>Curt.</i>	<i>Q. Curtius Rufus</i>
<i>Mil.</i>	<i>Pro T. Annio Milone</i>	<i>Cypr.</i>	<i>Cyprianus</i>
<i>Mur.</i>	<i>Pro L. Murena</i>	<i>Fort.</i>	<i>Ad Fortunatum</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	<i>De natura deorum</i>	<i>Demetr.</i>	<i>Demetrius</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De officiis</i>	<i>De eloc.</i>	<i>De elocutione</i>
<i>Opt. gen.</i>	<i>De optimo genere oratorum</i>	<i>Democr.</i>	<i>Democritus</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orator</i>	<i>Demosth.</i>	<i>Demosthenes</i>
<i>Parad.</i>	<i>Paradoxa Stoicorum</i>	<i>Dicaearch.</i>	<i>Dicaearchus</i>
<i>Part.</i>	<i>Partitiones oratoriae</i>	<i>Dig.</i>	<i>Digesta</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>In M. Antonium oratio Philippica</i>	<i>Dinarch.</i>	<i>Dinarchus</i>
<i>Phil. frg.</i>	<i>Librorum philosophicorum fragmenta</i>	<i>Dio Chrys.</i>	<i>Dio Chrysostomus</i>
<i>Pis.</i>	<i>In L. Pisonem</i>	<i>Diod.</i>	<i>Diodorus Siculus</i>
<i>Planc.</i>	<i>Pro Cn. Plancio</i>	<i>Diogen.</i>	<i>Diogenianus</i>
<i>P. red. ad Quir.</i>	<i>Oratio post reditum ad Quirites</i>	<i>Diogen. Vind.</i>	<i>Diogenianus Vindobonensis</i>
<i>P. red. in sen.</i>	<i>Oratio post reditum in senatu</i>	<i>Diog. Laert.</i>	<i>Diogenes Laertius</i>
<i>Prov.</i>	<i>De prouinciis consularibus</i>	<i>Diom.</i>	<i>Diomedes, Ars grammatica</i>
<i>Q. Rosc.</i>	<i>Pro Q. Roscio comoedo</i>	<i>Dion. Antioch.</i>	<i>Dionysius Antiochenus</i>
<i>Quinct.</i>	<i>Pro Quinctio</i>	<i>Dion. Hal.</i>	<i>Dionysius Halicarnassensis</i>
<i>Rab. perd.</i>	<i>Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis reo</i>	<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
<i>Rab. Post.</i>	<i>Pro C. Rabirio Postumo</i>	<i>Comp.</i>	<i>De compositione verborum</i>
<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De re publica</i>	<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Ars rhetorica</i>
<i>Scaur.</i>	<i>Pro M. Aemilio Scauro</i>	<i>Dion. Per.</i>	<i>Dionysius Periegetes</i>
<i>Sest.</i>	<i>Pro P. Sestio</i>	<i>Dion. Thrax</i>	<i>Dionysius Thrax</i>
<i>S. Rosc.</i>	<i>Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino</i>	<i>Diosc.</i>	<i>Dioscurides</i>
<i>Sull.</i>	<i>Pro P. Sulla</i>	<i>Don.</i>	<i>Aelius Donatus</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>	<i>Comm. in Ter.</i>	<i>Commentum Terenti</i>
<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>	<i>Dracont.</i>	<i>Dracontius</i>
<i>Tull.</i>	<i>Pro M. Tullio</i>	<i>Laud.</i>	<i>De laudibus Dei</i>

<i>Eleg. in Maec.</i>	<i>Elegiae in Maecenatem</i>	<i>In Hippocr.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Hippocratis</i>
Enn.	Ennius	<i>Aphor.</i>	<i>Aphorismos</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annalium fragmenta</i>	Gell.	Aulus Gellius
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturarum fragmenta</i>	<i>Geop.</i>	<i>Geoponica</i>
<i>Scaen.</i>	<i>Fragmenta scaenica</i>	Gerald.	Antonio Geraldini
Eob. Hess.	Helius Eobanus Hessus	<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>
<i>Bon. val.</i>	<i>Bonae valetudinis</i>	Greg. Cypr.	Gregorius Cyprius
	<i>conseruandae rationes</i>	Greg. M.	Gregorius Magnus
	<i>aliquot</i>	<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae in euangelia</i>
<i>Enc. nupt.</i>	<i>Encomium nuptiale</i>	<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroidum libri tres</i>	Greg. Naz.	Gregorius Nazianzenus
<i>Her. chr.</i>	<i>Heroidum christianarum</i>	<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
	<i>epistolae</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Nor.</i>	<i>Vrbs Noriberga</i>	<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
<i>Vict. Chr.</i>	<i>Victoria Christi ab inferis</i>	Greg. Nyss.	Gregorius Nyssenus
Epic.	Epicurus	Greg. Tur.	Gregorius Turonensis
Epicharm.	Epicharmus	Harpocrat.	Harpocratio
Epict.	Epictetus	Haymo	Haymo
Eratosth.	Eratosthenes	<i>Expl. in Ps.</i>	<i>Explanatio in Ps.</i>
<i>Etym. Gud.</i>	<i>Etymologicum Gudianum</i>	Hdt.	Herodotus
<i>Etym. mag.</i>	<i>Etymologicum magnum</i>	Hecat.	Hecataeus
Eudem.	Eudemus, <i>Dictiones rhetoricae</i>	Hegesandr.	Hegesander
Eun.	Eunapius	Hegius	Alexander Hegius
Eur.	Euripides	Heraclit.	Heraclitus
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alceſtis</i>	Heracl. Pont.	Heraclides Ponticus
<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andromache</i>	Hermans	Willem Hermans
<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>	<i>Hollandia</i>	<i>Prosopopoiea Hollandie</i>
<i>Cycl.</i>	<i>Cyclops</i>	<i>Sylv.</i>	<i>Sylvia odorum</i>
<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>	Hermipp.	Hermippus
<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>	Hermog.	Hermogenes
<i>Hel.</i>	<i>Helena</i>	<i>Progym.</i>	<i>Progymnasmata</i>
<i>Heraclid.</i>	<i>Heraclidae</i>	Herm. Trismeg.	Hermes Trismegistus
<i>Herc.</i>	<i>Hercules</i>	Herodian.	Herodianus
<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i>	Hes.	Hesiodus
<i>Ion.</i>	<i>Ion</i>	<i>Erg.</i>	<i>Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι</i>
<i>Iph. A.</i>	<i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i>	<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogonia</i>
<i>Iph. T.</i>	<i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>	Hesych.	Hesychius
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>	Hier.	Hieronimus
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orestes</i>	<i>Adv. Iou.</i>	<i>Aduersus Iouinianum</i>
<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>	<i>Adv. Ruf.</i>	<i>Aduersus Rufinum</i>
<i>Rhes.</i>	<i>Rhesus</i>	<i>Brev. in Ps.</i>	<i>Breuiarium in Ps.</i>
<i>Suppl.</i>	<i>Supplices</i>	<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronicon</i>
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades</i>	<i>Comm. in Es.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Esaiam</i>
Eus.	Eusebius	<i>Comm. in Gal.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Epistolam ad Galatos</i>
<i>Comm. in Ps.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Ps.</i>	<i>Comm. in Ps.</i>	<i>Commentarioli in Ps.</i>
<i>H. E.</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	<i>Contra Ruf.</i>	<i>Contra Rufinum</i>
Eust.	Eustathius	<i>De vir. ill.</i>	<i>De viris illustribus</i>
Eutr.	Eutropius	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Fest.	Festus	<i>Hebr. nom.</i>	<i>Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum</i>
Firm.	Firminus Maternus	<i>Paralip.</i>	<i>Paralipomenon liber</i>
Flor.	Florus	<i>Praef. in Iob</i>	<i>Praefatio in librum Iob</i>
Front.	Fronto	<i>Quaest. Hebr.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Hebraicae</i>
Frontin.	Frontinus	<i>Tract. in Ps.</i>	<i>Tractatus in librum Psalmorum</i>
Fulg. Myth.	Fulgentius, <i>Mythologiae</i>	Hil.	Hilarius
Gal.	Galenus		
<i>De nat. facult.</i>	<i>De naturalibus facultatibus</i>		
<i>De temperam.</i>	<i>De temperamentis</i>		

<i>In Gen.</i>	<i>In Genesin</i>	Liv.	Liuius
<i>Tract. in Ps.</i>	<i>Tractatus in Ps.</i>	Lucan.	Lucanus
<i>Trin.</i>	<i>De trinitate</i>	Lucian.	Lucianus
Hippocr.	Hippocrates	<i>Adu. indoct.</i>	<i>Aduersus indoctum</i>
<i>Hist. Aug.</i>	<i>Scriptores historiae Augustae</i>	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
Hom.	Homerus	<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>
<i>Hymn. Hom.</i>	<i>Hymni Homerici</i>	<i>Anach.</i>	<i>Anacharsis</i>
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Ilias</i>	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssea</i>	<i>Asin.</i>	<i>Asinus</i>
Honor. Aug.	Honorius Augustodunensis	<i>Astr.</i>	<i>De astrologia</i>
<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Sigillum Beatae Mariae</i>	<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchus</i>
Hor.	Horatius	<i>Bis accus.</i>	<i>Bis accusatus</i>
<i>Ars</i>	<i>Ars poetica</i>	<i>Calumn.</i>	<i>Calumniae non temere credendum</i>
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>	<i>Catapl.</i>	<i>Cataplus siue Tyrannus</i>
<i>Carm. saec.</i>	<i>Carmen saeculare</i>	<i>Char.</i>	<i>Charidemus</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Conuiu.</i>	<i>Conuiuium</i>
<i>Epod.</i>	<i>Epodi</i>	<i>Dear. iud.</i>	<i>Dearum iudicium (= Dial. mort. xx)</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones</i>	<i>De merc. cond.</i>	<i>De mercede conductis</i>
Hrabanus	Hrabanus Maurus	<i>Demon.</i>	<i>Demonax</i>
Hyg.	Hyginus	<i>Demosth. encom.</i>	<i>Demosthenis encomium</i>
<i>Astr.</i>	<i>Astronomica</i>	<i>Deor. conc.</i>	<i>Deorum concilium</i>
<i>Fab.</i>	<i>Fabulae</i>	<i>Deor. dial.</i>	<i>Deorum dialogi</i>
Hyp.	Hyperides	<i>De sacr.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis</i>
Iambl.	Iamblichus	<i>Dial. mar.</i>	<i>Dialogi marini</i>
Innoc.	Innocentius III	<i>Dial. mer.</i>	<i>Dialogi meretricii</i>
<i>Miseria</i>	<i>De miseria condicionis humane</i>	<i>Dial. mort.</i>	<i>Dialogi mortuorum</i>
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutiones</i>	<i>Dips.</i>	<i>Dipsades</i>
Ioann. Sec.	Ioannes Secundus	<i>Electr.</i>	<i>Electrum</i>
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>	<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Fun.</i>	<i>Funera</i>	<i>Epist. Sat.</i>	<i>Epistulae Saturnales</i>
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odae</i>	<i>Eun.</i>	<i>Eunuchus</i>
Iord.	Iordanes	<i>Fug.</i>	<i>Fugitiui</i>
Ios.	Iosephus	<i>Gall.</i>	<i>Gallus</i>
<i>Ant. Iud.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i>	<i>Halc.</i>	<i>Halcyon</i>
<i>Bell.</i>	<i>Bellum Iudaicum</i>	<i>Herc.</i>	<i>Hercules</i>
Iren.	Irenaeus	<i>Herm.</i>	<i>Hermotimus</i>
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Aduersus haereses</i>	<i>Hist. conscr.</i>	<i>Quomodo historia conscri- benda sit</i>
Isid.	Isidorus	<i>Icar.</i>	<i>Icaromenippus</i>
<i>Orig.</i>	<i>Origines</i>	<i>Imag.</i>	<i>Imagines</i>
<i>Quaest.</i>	<i>Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum</i>	<i>Iup. confut.</i>	<i>Iuppiter confutatus</i>
Isocr.	Isocrates	<i>Iup. trag.</i>	<i>Iuppiter tragoedus</i>
Iul.	Iulianus	<i>Lectu.</i>	<i>De luctu</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Menippus</i>	<i>Menippus siue Necyomantia</i>
<i>Misopog.</i>	<i>Misopogon</i>	<i>Nauig.</i>	<i>Nauigium</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>	<i>Nigr.</i>	<i>Nigrinus</i>
Iust.	Iustinus	<i>Paras.</i>	<i>De parasito</i>
Iuenc.	Iuencus	<i>Patr. laud.</i>	<i>Patriae laudatio</i>
Iuv.	Iuuenalis	<i>Peregr.</i>	<i>De morte Peregrini</i>
Lact.	Lactantius	<i>Phal. I, II</i>	<i>Phalaris I, II</i>
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutiones diuinae</i>	<i>Philopat.</i>	<i>Philopatris</i>
<i>Leg. aurea</i>	<i>Iacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea</i>	<i>Philops.</i>	<i>Philopseudes</i>
<i>Leg. XII Tab.</i>	<i>Leges XII Tabularum</i>	<i>Pisc.</i>	<i>Piscator</i>
Libanius	Libanius	<i>Pro imag.</i>	<i>Pro imaginibus</i>
<i>Progym.</i>	<i>Progymnasmata</i>		

<i>Prom.</i>	<i>Prometheus</i>	Mosch.	Moschus
<i>Prom. es</i>	<i>Prometheus es in verbis</i>	Mutian.	Conradus Mutianus Rufus
<i>Pseudol.</i>	<i>Pseudologista</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Rhet. praec.</i>	<i>Rhetorum praeceptor</i>	Mutius	Macarius Mutius
<i>Salt.</i>	<i>Saltatio</i>	<i>Triumph.</i>	<i>De triumpho Christi</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>	Nem.	Nemesianus
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>Somnium siue vita Luciani</i>	Nep.	Cornelius Nepos
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timon</i>	<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>
<i>Tox.</i>	<i>Toxaris</i>	Nicandr.	Nicander
<i>Tyrann.</i>	<i>Tyrannicida</i>	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexipharmaca</i>
<i>Ver. hist.</i>	<i>Verae historiae</i>	<i>Ther.</i>	<i>Theriaca</i>
<i>Vit. auct.</i>	<i>Vitarum auctio</i>	Nicom.	Nicomachus
Lucil.	Lucilius	Non.	Nonius Marcellus
Lucr.	Lucretius	Nonn.	Nonnus
Lycophr.	Lycophon	<i>Dion.</i>	<i>Dionysiaca</i>
Lycurg.	Lycurgus	<i>Exp. in Greg.</i>	<i>Expositio in Gregorium</i>
Lyd.	Ioannes Laurentius Lydus	<i>Naz.</i>	<i>Nazianzenum</i>
<i>Mag.</i>	<i>De magistratibus</i>	Oppian.	Oppianus
<i>Mens.</i>	<i>De mensibus</i>	<i>Hal.</i>	<i>Halieutica</i>
Lys.	Lysias	Orib.	Oribasius
Macar.	Macarius	Orig.	Origenes
Macr.	Macrobius	<i>Contra Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsum</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>	<i>Comm. in Rom.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Rom.</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Ciceronis somnium Scipionis</i>	<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>
Manil.	Manilius	<i>Sel.</i>	<i>Selecta</i>
Mantuan.	Baptista Mantuanus	<i>Tract. in Ct.</i>	<i>Tractatus in Ct.</i>
<i>Ad Falc.</i>	<i>Epigrammata ad Falconem</i>	Oros.	Orosius
<i>Calam.</i>	<i>De calamitatibus temporum</i>	Orph.	[Orpheus]
<i>Contra poet.</i>	<i>Contra poetas impudice loquentes</i>	<i>Arg.</i>	<i>Argonautica</i>
<i>De cont. morte</i>	<i>De contemnenda morte</i>	<i>Hymn.</i>	<i>Hymni</i>
<i>Dion. Areop.</i>	<i>Dionysius Areopagites</i>	<i>Or. Sib.</i>	<i>Oracula Sibyllina</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>	Ov.	Ovidius
<i>Ioann. Bapt.</i>	<i>In laudem Ioannis Baptistae</i>	<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>
<i>Parthen. Mar.</i>	<i>Parthenice Mariana</i>	<i>Ars</i>	<i>Ars amatoria</i>
<i>Parthen. sec.</i>	<i>Parthenice secunda</i>	<i>Epist. Sapph.</i>	<i>Epistula Sapphus</i>
Mart. Cap.	Martianus Capella	<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
Martial.	Martialis	<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroides</i>
Marull.	Michael Marullus	<i>Ib.</i>	<i>Ibis</i>
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Hymn. nat.</i>	<i>Hymni naturales</i>	<i>Pont.</i>	<i>Ex Ponto</i>
Mar. Vict.	Marius Victorinus	<i>Rem.</i>	<i>Remedia amoris</i>
M. Aur.	Marcus Aurelius	<i>Trist.</i>	<i>Tristia</i>
Max. Conf.	Maximus Confessor	<i>Paneg. Lat.</i>	<i>Panegyrici Latini</i>
<i>Loci comm.</i>	<i>Loci communes</i>	<i>Paul. Fest.</i>	Paulus Diaconus, <i>Epitoma Festi</i>
Maximian.	Maximianus	<i>Paul. Nol.</i>	Paulinus Nolanus
<i>Eleg.</i>	<i>Elegiae</i>	Paus.	Pausanias
Mela	Pomponius Mela	Pers.	Persius
Menandr.	Menander	Petrarca	Francesco Petrarca
<i>Citharist.</i>	<i>Citharista</i>	<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>
<i>Epitr.</i>	<i>Epitrepontes</i>	<i>Rem.</i>	<i>De remediis vtriusque fortunae</i>
<i>Monost.</i>	<i>Monosticha</i>	Petron.	Petronius
Mimn.	Mimnermus	Phaedr.	Phaedrus
Min. Fel.	Minucius Felix	<i>Fab. Aes.</i>	<i>Fabulae Aesopiae</i>
<i>Mon. Anc.</i>	<i>Monumentum Ancyranum</i>	Philo.	Philo
More	Thomas More	<i>Leg. alleg.</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>
		Philostr.	Philostratus

<i>Imag.</i>	<i>Imagines</i>	<i>Capt.</i>	<i>Captiui</i>
<i>Vit. Apollon.</i>	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>	<i>Cas.</i>	<i>Casina</i>
<i>Vit. soph.</i>	<i>Vitae sophistarum</i>	<i>Cist.</i>	<i>Cistellaria</i>
Phot.	Photius	<i>Curc.</i>	<i>Curculio</i>
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>	<i>Epid.</i>	<i>Epidicus</i>
<i>Lex.</i>	<i>Lexicon</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menaechmi</i>
Pind.	Pindarus	<i>Merc.</i>	<i>Mercator</i>
<i>Isthm.</i>	<i>Isthmia</i>	<i>Mil.</i>	<i>Miles</i>
<i>Nem.</i>	<i>Nemea</i>	<i>Most.</i>	<i>Mostellaria</i>
<i>Olymp.</i>	<i>Olympia</i>	<i>Persa</i>	<i>Persa</i>
<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythia</i>	<i>Poen.</i>	<i>Poenulus</i>
Plat.	Plato	<i>Pseud.</i>	<i>Pseudolus</i>
<i>Alc. 1, 2</i>	<i>Alcibiades 1, 2</i>	<i>Rud.</i>	<i>Rudens</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>	<i>Stich.</i>	<i>Stichus</i>
<i>Ax.</i>	<i>Axiochus</i>	<i>Trin.</i>	<i>Trinummus</i>
<i>Charm.</i>	<i>Charmides</i>	<i>Truc.</i>	<i>Truculentus</i>
<i>Clit.</i>	<i>Clitophon</i>	<i>Vid.</i>	<i>Vidularia</i>
<i>Crat.</i>	<i>Cratylus</i>	Plin.	Plinius (maior et minor)
<i>Crit.</i>	<i>Critias</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i> (Plin. minor)
<i>Crito</i>	<i>Crito</i>	<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Naturalis historia</i> (Plin. maior)
<i>Def.</i>	<i>Definitiones</i>	<i>Paneg.</i>	<i>Panegyricus</i> (Plin. minor)
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Demodocus</i>	Plot.	Plotinus
<i>Epin.</i>	<i>Epinomis</i>	Plut.	Plutarchus
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Aem.</i>	<i>Aemilius Paul(us)</i>
<i>Erast.</i>	<i>Erastai</i>	<i>Alcib.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>
<i>Eryx.</i>	<i>Eryxias</i>	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
<i>Euthyd.</i>	<i>Euthydemus</i>	<i>Anton.</i>	<i>Antonius</i>
<i>Euthyphr.</i>	<i>Euthyphro</i>	<i>Aristid.</i>	<i>Aristides</i>
<i>Gorg.</i>	<i>Gorgias</i>	<i>Artax.</i>	<i>Artaxerxes</i>
<i>Hipparch.</i>	<i>Hipparchus</i>	<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus</i>
<i>Hipp. mai.</i>	<i>Hippias maior</i>	<i>C. Gracch.</i>	<i>Caius Gracchus</i>
<i>Hipp. min.</i>	<i>Hippias minor</i>	<i>Cato min.</i>	<i>Cato minor</i>
<i>Ion</i>	<i>Ion</i>	<i>Cleom.</i>	<i>Cleomenes</i>
<i>Lach.</i>	<i>Laches</i>	<i>Coriol.</i>	<i>Coriolanus</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leges</i>	<i>Demetr.</i>	<i>Demetrius</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysis</i>	<i>Fab. Max.</i>	<i>Fabius Maximus</i>
<i>Men.</i>	<i>Meno</i>	<i>Lyc.</i>	<i>Lycurgus</i>
<i>Menex.</i>	<i>Menexenus</i>	<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysander</i>
<i>Min.</i>	<i>Minos</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>Marius</i>
<i>Parm.</i>	<i>Parmenides</i>	<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Phaed.</i>	<i>Phaedo</i>	<i>Nic.</i>	<i>Nicias</i>
<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>	<i>Paroem.</i>	<i>Paroemiae</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philebus</i>	<i>Per.</i>	<i>Pericles</i>
<i>Polit.</i>	<i>Politicus</i>	<i>Pomp.</i>	<i>Pompeius</i>
<i>Prot.</i>	<i>Protagoras</i>	<i>Prov. Alex.</i>	<i>Proverbia Alexandrinorum</i>
<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De re publica</i>	<i>Publ.</i>	<i>Publicola</i>
<i>Sis.</i>	<i>Sisyphus</i>	<i>Pyrrh.</i>	<i>Pyrrhus</i>
<i>Soph.</i>	<i>Sophistes</i>	<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Romulus</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>	<i>Sert.</i>	<i>Sertorius</i>
<i>Thg.</i>	<i>Theages</i>	<i>Sol.</i>	<i>Solon</i>
<i>Tht.</i>	<i>Theaetetus</i>	<i>Them.</i>	<i>Themistocles</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>	<i>Thes.</i>	<i>Theseus</i>
Plaut.	Plautus	<i>Timol.</i>	<i>Timoleon</i>
<i>Amph.</i>	<i>Amphitruo</i>	<i>Tit.</i>	<i>Titus Quinctius Flaminius</i>
<i>Asin.</i>	<i>Asinaria</i>	<i>Vit.</i>	<i>Vitae</i>
<i>Aul.</i>	<i>Aulularia</i>	Poliz.	Angelo Poliziano
<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchides</i>		

<i>Amor fug.</i>	<i>Moschi Amor fugitiuus</i>	<i>De mor.</i>	<i>De moribus</i>
<i>Eleg.</i>	<i>Elegiae</i>	Ptol.	Claudius Ptolemaeus
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata Latina</i>	<i>Cosm.</i>	<i>Cosmographia</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>	<i>Geogr.</i>	<i>Geographia</i>
<i>Sylv.</i>	<i>Sylvae</i>	<i>Quadr.</i>	<i>Quadrupartitum</i>
Poll.	Pollux	Ptol. Euerg.	Ptolemaeus Euergetes
Polyb.	Polybius	Publil. Syr.	Publilius Syrus
Pomp. Trog.	Pompeius Trogus	Quint.	Quintilianus
Porph.	Porphyrus	<i>Decl.</i>	<i>Declamationes</i>
<i>Quaest. Hom.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Homericae</i>	<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>
<i>Vit. Pyth.</i>	<i>Vita Pythagorae</i>	<i>Rhet. Her.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>
Posid.	Posidonius	Rufin.	Rufinus
<i>Priap.</i>	<i>Priapea</i>	<i>In symb.</i>	<i>Expositio in symbolum apostolorum</i>
Prisc.	Priscianus	Sabell.	Marcantonio Sabellico
<i>Ars gramm.</i>	<i>Ars grammatica</i>	<i>In natal.</i>	<i>In natalem diem diuae virginis Mariae</i>
Prob.	M. Valerius Probus	Sall.	Sallustius
Procl.	Proclus	<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Coniuratio Catilinae</i>
Procop.	Procopius	<i>Epist. ad Caes.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Caesarem</i>
Prop.	Propertius	<i>Hist. frg.</i>	<i>Historiarum fragmenta</i>
Prud.	Prudentius	<i>Iug.</i>	<i>Bellum Iugurthinum</i>
<i>Amart.</i>	<i>Amartigenia</i>	Sapph.	Sappho
<i>Apoth.</i>	<i>Apotheosis</i>	<i>Scol. anon.</i>	<i>Scolia anonyma</i>
<i>Cath.</i>	<i>Cathemerinon</i>	Sedul.	Caelius Sedulius
<i>Contra Symm.</i>	<i>Contra Symmachum</i>	<i>Pasch.</i>	<i>Paschale carmen</i>
<i>Epilog.</i>	<i>Epilogus</i>	Sen.	Seneca (maior)
<i>Perist.</i>	<i>Peristefanon</i>	<i>Contr.</i>	<i>Controuersiae</i>
<i>Praef.</i>	<i>Praefatio</i>	<i>Suas.</i>	<i>Suasoriae</i>
<i>Psychom.</i>	<i>Psychomachia</i>	Sen.	Seneca (minor)
<i>Tit. hist.</i>	<i>Tituli historiarum</i>	<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>
Ps. Ascon.	Pseudo-Asconius	<i>Apocol.</i>	<i>Apocolocyntosis</i>
Ps. Aug.	Pseudo-Augustinus	<i>Benef.</i>	<i>De beneficiis</i>
Ps. Auson.	Pseudo-Ausonius	<i>Brev. vit.</i>	<i>De breuitate vitae</i>
<i>Sept. sap.</i>	<i>Ludus septem sapientum</i>	<i>Clem.</i>	<i>De clementia</i>
Ps. Babr.	Pseudo-Babrius	<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogi</i>
<i>Tetrast.</i>	<i>Tetrasticha</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Lucilium</i>
Ps. Clem.	Pseudo-Clemens	<i>Herc. f.</i>	<i>Hercules furens</i>
Ps. Dion. Areop.	Pseudo-Dionysius Arcopagita	<i>Herc. Oet.</i>	<i>Hercules Oetaeus</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>
<i>Hier.</i>	<i>De caelesti hierarchia</i>	<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Naturales quaestiones</i>
Ps. Diosc.	Pseudo-Dioscurides	<i>Oed.</i>	<i>Oedipus</i>
<i>Alexiph.</i>	<i>Alexipharmaca</i>	<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedra</i>
Ps. Eratosth.	Pseudo-Eratosthenes	<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>
<i>Catast.</i>	<i>Catasterismi</i>	<i>Thy.</i>	<i>Thyestes</i>
Ps. Iuuenc.	Pseudo-Iuuencus	<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades</i>
<i>Triumph.</i>	<i>Triumphus Christi heroicus</i>	Serv.	Seruius
Ps. Neckam	Pseudo-Neckam (Roger de Caen)	<i>Comm. Aen.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneida</i>
<i>Vita monach.</i>	<i>De vita monachorum (De contemptu mundi)</i>	<i>Comm. Ecl.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Vergilii Eclogas</i>
Ps. Ov.	Pseudo-Ovidius	<i>Comm. Georg.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Vergilii Georgica</i>
<i>Epic. Drusi</i>	<i>Epiciedion Drusi (Consolatio ad Liuian)</i>	Sext. Emp.	Sextus Empiricus
Ps. Phocyl.	Pseudo-Phocylides	Sidon.	Sidonius Apollinaris
Ps. Pythag.	Pseudo-Pythagoras	Sil.	Silius Italicus
Ps. Sall.	Pseudo-Sallustius	Socr.	Socrates, <i>Hist. eccles.</i>
<i>In Cic.</i>	<i>In Ciceronem</i>		
Ps. Sen.	Pseudo-Seneca		

Sol.	Solon	<i>De pud.</i>	<i>De pudicitia</i>
Solin.	Solinus	<i>De resurr.</i>	<i>De resurrectione carnis</i>
Soph.	Sophocles	<i>De spect.</i>	<i>De spectaculis</i>
<i>Ai.</i>	<i>Aias</i>	Themist.	Themistius
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antigone</i>	Theocr.	Theocritus
<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>	Theodrt.	Theodoretus
<i>Ichn.</i>	<i>Ichneutae</i>	Thgn.	Theognis
<i>Oed. Col.</i>	<i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	Thomas a Kempis	
<i>Oed. T.</i>	<i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>	<i>Imit.</i>	<i>De imitatione Christi</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philoctetes</i>	Thomas Aquinas	
<i>Trach.</i>	<i>Trachiniae</i>	<i>In Ioann.</i>	<i>In Ioannem Euangelistam expositio</i>
Stat.	Statius	<i>Summa</i>	<i>Summa theologiae</i>
<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Achilleis</i>	Thphr.	Theophrastus
<i>Silu.</i>	<i>Silvae</i>	<i>Caus. plant.</i>	<i>De causis plantarum</i>
<i>Theb.</i>	<i>Thebais</i>	<i>Char.</i>	<i>Characteres</i>
Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantius	<i>Hist. plant.</i>	<i>Historia plantarum</i>
Stob.	Stobaeus	Thuc.	Thucydides
Strab.	Strabo	Tib.	Tibullus
Suet.	Suetonius	Tzetz.	Tzetzes
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustus</i>	<i>Anteh.</i>	<i>Antehomerica</i>
<i>Caes.</i>	<i>Caesar</i>	<i>Chil.</i>	<i>Chiliades</i>
<i>Cal.</i>	<i>Caligula</i>	<i>Posth.</i>	<i>Posthomerica</i>
<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Claudius</i>	Val. Fl.	Valerius Flaccus
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Domitianus</i>	Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus
<i>Galb.</i>	<i>Galba</i>	Varro	Varro
<i>Gram.</i>	<i>De grammaticis</i>	<i>Ling. Lat.</i>	<i>De lingua Latina</i>
<i>Ner.</i>	<i>Nero</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menippeae</i>
<i>Oth.</i>	<i>Otho</i>	<i>Rust.</i>	<i>Res rusticae</i>
<i>Tib.</i>	<i>Tiberius</i>	Varro At.	Varro Atacinus
<i>Tit.</i>	<i>Titus</i>	<i>Fr.</i>	<i>Fragmenta</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.	Synesius Cyrenaeus	Verg.	Vergilius
<i>Calv.</i>	<i>Calviti 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>	Vlp.	Vlpianus (<i>Vlpiani regulae</i>)
Tat.	Tatianus	Walter	Walter of Châtillon
Ter.	Terentius	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexandreis</i>
<i>Ad.</i>	<i>Adelphoe</i>	Xen.	Xenophon
<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andria</i>	<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agésilas</i>
<i>Eun.</i>	<i>Eunuchus</i>	<i>An.</i>	<i>Anabasis</i>
<i>Heaut.</i>	<i>Heautontimorumenos</i>	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecyra</i>	<i>Ath. pol.</i>	<i>Atheniensium politeia</i>
<i>Phorm.</i>	<i>Phormio</i>	<i>Cyn.</i>	<i>Cynegeticus</i>
Tert.	Tertullianus	<i>Cyr.</i>	<i>Cyropaedia</i>
<i>Adv. Iud.</i>	<i>Adversus Iudaeos</i>	<i>Equ.</i>	<i>De equitandi ratione</i>
<i>Adv. Marcion.</i>	<i>Adversus Marcionem</i>	<i>Hell.</i>	<i>Hellenica</i>
<i>Adv. Val.</i>	<i>Adversus Valentinianos</i>		

<i>Hier.</i>	<i>Hiero</i>	<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hipparchicus</i>	<i>Vect.</i>	<i>De vectigalibus</i>
<i>Lac. pol.</i>	<i>Lacedaemoniorum politeia</i>	<i>Zenob.</i>	<i>Zenobius</i>
<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia</i>	<i>Zon.</i>	<i>Zonaras</i>
<i>Oec.</i>	<i>Oeconomicus</i>	<i>Zos.</i>	<i>Zosimus</i>

B. BIBLE

I. *Vetus Testamentum*

<i>Gn.</i>	<i>Genesis</i>
<i>Ex.</i>	<i>Exodus</i>
<i>Lu.</i>	<i>Leuiticus</i>
<i>Nu.</i>	<i>Numeri</i>
<i>Dt.</i>	<i>Deuteronomium</i>
<i>Ios.</i>	<i>Iosue</i>
<i>Judic.</i>	<i>Judices</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>Esdr.</i>	<i>Esdras</i>
<i>Neh.</i>	<i>Nehemias</i>
<i>Esth.</i>	<i>Esther</i>
<i>Iob.</i>	<i>Iob</i>
<i>Ps.</i>	<i>Psalmi</i>
<i>Pru.</i>	<i>Prouerbia</i>
<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastes</i>
<i>Ct.</i>	<i>Canticum Canticorum</i>
<i>Is.</i>	<i>Isaias</i>
<i>Ir.</i>	<i>Ieremias</i>
<i>Thr.</i>	<i>Threni Ieremiae</i>
<i>Ez.</i>	<i>Ezechiel</i>
<i>Dn.</i>	<i>Daniel</i>
<i>Os.</i>	<i>Osee</i>
<i>Ioel.</i>	<i>Ioel</i>
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amos</i>
<i>Abd.</i>	<i>Abdias</i>
<i>Ion.</i>	<i>Ionas</i>
<i>Mch.</i>	<i>Michaeas</i>
<i>Nab.</i>	<i>Nahum</i>
<i>Hab.</i>	<i>Habacuc</i>

<i>Soph.</i>	<i>Sophonias</i>
<i>Agg.</i>	<i>Aggaeus</i>
<i>Zch.</i>	<i>Zacharias</i>
<i>Ml.</i>	<i>Malachias</i>
<i>Idth.</i>	<i>Iudith</i>
<i>Sap.</i>	<i>Sapientia Salomonis</i>
<i>Tob.</i>	<i>Tobias</i>
<i>Sir.</i>	<i>Iesus Sirach</i>
<i>Bar.</i>	<i>Baruch</i>
1., 2., 3., 4. <i>Mcc.</i>	1., 2., 3., 4. <i>Macchabaei</i>

2. *Nouum Testamentum*

<i>Mt.</i>	<i>Matthaeus</i>
<i>Mc.</i>	<i>Marcus</i>
<i>Lc.</i>	<i>Lucas</i>
<i>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>Phm.</i>	<i>Ad Philemonem</i>
<i>Hebr.</i>	<i>Ad Hebraeos</i>
<i>Iac.</i>	<i>Iacobi Epistola</i>
1., 2. <i>Petr.</i>	<i>Petri Epistola</i> 1., 2.
1., 2., 3. <i>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. WORKS OF ERASMUS

<i>Act. Acad. Lov. c. Luth.</i>	<i>Acta Academiae Louaniensis contra Lutherum</i> (Ferguson, pp. 316–328)
<i>Adag.</i>	<i>Adagiorum Chiliades</i> (LB II; ASD II,1 [Adag. 1–500], ASD II,4 [Adag. 1501–2000], II,5 [Adag. 2001–2500], II,6 [Adag. 2501–3000])
<i>Admon. adv. mendac.</i>	<i>Admonitio aduersus mendacium et obretractionem</i> (LB X, 1683–1692)
<i>Annot. in NT</i>	<i>Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum</i> (LB VI)
<i>Annot. in Mt.</i> etc.	<i>Annotationes in Matthaeum</i> etc.
<i>Antibarbari.</i>	<i>Antibarbari</i> (LB X, 1691–1744; ASD I,1, pp. 35–138)
<i>Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.</i>	<i>Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem</i> (LB IX, 17–66)
<i>Apolog. ad Prodr. Stun.</i>	<i>Apologia ad Prodromon Stunicae</i> (LB IX, 375–381)
<i>Apolog. ad Sanct. Caranz.</i>	<i>Apologia ad Sanctium Caranzam</i> (LB IX, 401–432)
<i>Apolog. ad Stun. Concl.</i>	<i>Apologia ad Stunicae Conclusiones</i> (LB IX, 383–392)
<i>Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus debacchationes Petri Sutoris</i> (LB IX, 737–812)
<i>Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus monachos quosdam hispanos</i> (LB IX, 1035–1094)
<i>Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus rhapsodias Alberti Pii</i> (LB IX, 1123–1196)
<i>Apolog. adv. Stun. Blasph. et imp.</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit Blasphemiae et impietates Erasmi</i> (LB IX, 355–375)
<i>Apolog. c. Iac. Latomi dialog.</i>	<i>Apologia contra Iacobi Latomi dialogum de tribus linguis</i> (LB IX, 79–106)
<i>Apolog. de In princip. erat sermo</i>	<i>Apologia de In principio erat sermo</i> (LB IX, 111–122)
<i>Apolog. de loco Omn. resurg.</i>	<i>Apologia de loco Omnes quidem resurgemus</i> (LB IX, 433–442)
<i>Apolog. pro declam. laud. matrim.</i>	<i>Apologia pro declamatione de laude matrimonii</i> (LB IX, 105–112)
<i>Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.</i>	<i>Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iac. Lopis Stunica taxauerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione</i> (LB IX, 283–356; ASD IX,2)
<i>Apolog. resp. inuect. Ed. Lei</i>	<i>Apologia qua respondet duabus inuectiuis Eduardi Lei</i> (Ferguson, pp. 236–303)
<i>Apophrh.</i>	<i>Apophthegmata</i> (LB IV, 85–380)
<i>Axiom. pro causa Luth.</i>	<i>Axiomata pro causa Martini Lutheri</i> (Ferguson, pp. 336–337)
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i> (LB I, II, III/1, III/2, IV, V, VIII passim; ASD I,7)
<i>Carm. de senect.</i>	<i>Carmen de senectute</i> (= <i>Carmen alpestre</i> ; LB IV, 755–758; ASD I,7, <i>Carm.</i> 2)
<i>Cat. lucubr.</i>	<i>Catalogus lucubrationum omnium</i> (LB I init.; Ep. I)
<i>Cato</i>	<i>Disticha Catonis</i>

- Chonr. Nastad. dial.* *Chonradi Nastadiensis dialogus bilinguium ac trilinguium*
(Ferguson, pp. 205–224)
- Ciceron.* *Dialogus Ciceronianus*
(LB I, 969–1026; ASD I,2, pp. 599–710)
- De ciuil.* *De ciuilitate morum puerilium*
(LB I, 1029–1044)
- Coll.* *Colloquia*
(LB I, 625–908; ASD I,3)
- Collect.* *Collectanea adagiorum*
- Comm. in hymn. Prud.* *Commentarius in duos hymnos Prudentii*
(LB V, 1337–1358)
- Comm. in Ov.* *Commentarius in Nucem Ouidii*
(LB I, 1187–1210; ASD I,1, pp. 145–174)
- Comp. rhet.* *Compendium rhetorices*
(Allen X, App. 22)
- Conc. de puero Iesu* *Concio de puero Iesu*
(LB V, 599–610)
- Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbarie*
(LB I, 889–894)
- De conscr. ep.* *De conscribendis epistolis*
(LB I, 341–484; ASD I,2, pp. 205–579)
- Consilium* *Consilium cuiusdam ex animo cupientis esse consultum et romani pontificis dignitati et christianae religionis tranquillitati*
(Ferguson, pp. 352–361)
- De construc.* *De constructione octo partium orationis*
(LB I, 165–180; ASD I,4, pp. 119–143)
- Consult. de bell. turc.* *Consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo et obiter enarratus Psalmus XXVIII*
(LB V, 345–368; ASD V,3, pp. 31–82)
- De contempnu mundi* *De contempnu mundi*
(LB V, 1239–1262; ASD V,1, pp. 39–86)
- De cop. verb.* *De copia verborum ac rerum*
(LB I, 1–110; ASD I,6)
- Declam. de morte* *Declamatio de morte*
(LB IV, 617–624; = ‘Aliud exemplum consolationis’,
in: *De conscr. ep.*: ASD I,2, pp. 441–455)
- Declamatiuncula* *Declamatiuncula*
(LB IV, 623–624)
- Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.* *Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas*
(LB IX, 813–954)
- Detect. praestig.* *Detectio praestigiarum*
(LB X, 1557–1572; ASD IX,1, pp. 233–262)
- Dilut. Clichthov.* *Dilutio eorum quae Iodocus Clichthoueus scripsit aduersus declamationem suasoriam matrimonii*
(Telle)
- Disputatiunc.* *Disputatiuncula de tedio, pauore, tristicia Iesu*
(LB V, 1263–1294)
- De dupl. mart.* *De duplici martyrio*
(in: *Cypriani Opera*, Basileae, 1530)
- Eccles.* *Ecclesiastes siue de ratione concionandi*
(LB V, 767–1100; ASD V,4 [libri I, II], ASD V,5 [libri III, IV])
- Enarrat. in Ps.* *Enarrationes in Psalmos*
(LB V, 171–556; ASD V,2 [*Ps.* 1–4, 14 (= *De purit. tabernac.*), 22], V,3 [*Ps.* 28 (= *Consult. de bell. turc.*), 33, 38, 83 (= *De sarc. eccles. concord.*), 85])
- Enchir.* *Enchiridion militis christiani*
(LB V, 1–66; Holborn, pp. 22–136)

- Encom. matrim.* *Encomium matrimonii*
(ASD I,5, pp. 385–416; = ‘Exemplum epistolae suasoriae’, in: *De conscr. ep.*: LB I, 414–424; ASD I,2, pp. 400–429)
- Encom. medic.* *Encomium medicinae*
(LB I, 533–544; ASD I,4, pp. 163–186)
- Epist. ad frat. Infer. Germ.* *Epistola ad fratres Inferioris Germaniae*
(LB X, 1589–1632; ASD IX,1, pp. 329–425)
- Epist. apolog. adu. Stun.* *Epistola apologetica aduersus Stunicam*
(LB IX, 391–400)
- Epist. c. pseudeuang.* *Epistola contra quosdam qui se falso iactant euangelicos*
(LB X, 1573–1590; ASD IX,1, pp. 283–309)
- Epist. consolat.* *Epistola consolatoria in aduersis*
(LB III/2, 1874–1879 = V, 609–614)
- Euripides* *Euripidis Hecuba et Iphigenia in Aulide*
(LB I, 1129–1210; ASD I,1, pp. 215–359)
- Exomolog.* *Exomologesis siue modus confitendi*
(LB V, 145–170)
- Explan. symboli* *Explanatio symboli apostolorum siue catechismus*
(LB V, 1133–1196; ASD V,1, pp. 203–320)
- Expost. Iesu* *Expostulatio Iesu cum homine*
(LB V, 1319–1320; ASD I,7, *Carm.* 43)
- Galenus* *Galeni tractatus tres*
(= *Galeni Exhortatio ad bonas artes, De optimo docendi genere, Quod optimus medicus*; LB I, 1047–1064; ASD I,1, pp. 637–669)
- Gaza* *Theodori Gazae Thessalonicensis grammaticae institutionis libri duo*
(LB I, 117–164)
- Hyperasp.* *Hyperaspistes*
(LB X, 1249–1536)
- De imm. Dei misericord.* *De immensa Dei misericordia concio*
(LB V, 557–588)
- Inst. christ. matrim.* *Institutio christiani matrimonii*
(LB V, 613–724)
- Inst. hom. christ.* *Institutum hominis christiani*
(LB V, 1357–1359; ASD I,7, *Carm.* 49)
- Inst. princ. christ.* *Institutio principis christiani*
(LB IV, 559–612; ASD IV,1, pp. 133–219)
- De interdicto esu carn.* *Epistola de interdicto esu carniuum*
(LB IX, 1197–1214; ASD IX,1, pp. 19–50)
- Isocrates* *Isocratis ad Nicoclem regem De institutione principis*
(LB IV, 611–616)
- Iudic. de apolog. P. Cursii* *Iudicium de apologia Petri Cursii*
(Allen XI, pp. XXIII–XXIV)
- Iul. exclus.* *Iulius exclusus e coelis*
(Ferguson, pp. 65–124)
- De lib. arbitr.* *De libero arbitrio diatribe*
(LB X, 1215–1248)
- Liban. declam.* *Libanii aliquot declamatiunculae*
(LB I, 547–556; ASD I,1, pp. 181–192)
- Lingua* *Lingua*
(LB IV, 657–754; ASD IV,1A)
- Liturg. Virg. Lauret.* *Virginis matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia*
(LB V, 1327–1336; ASD V,1, 95–109)
- Lucianus* *Luciani dialogi aliquot*
(LB I, 183–340; ASD I,1, pp. 381–627)

<i>Mod. orandi Deum</i>	<i>Modus orandi Deum</i> (LB V, 1099–1132; ASD V,I, pp. 121–176)
<i>Moria</i>	<i>Moriae encomium</i> (LB IV, 381–504; ASD IV,3)
<i>Nov. Instr.</i>	<i>Nouum Instrumentum</i>
<i>Nov. Test.</i>	<i>Nouum Testamentum</i> (LB VI)
<i>Obsecratio</i>	<i>Obsecratio siue oratio ad Virginem Mariam in rebus aduersis</i> (LB V, 1233–1240)
<i>Orat. de pace</i>	<i>Oratio de pace et discordia</i> (LB VIII, 545–552)
<i>Orat. de virt.</i>	<i>Oratio de virtute amplectenda</i> (LB V, 65–72)
<i>Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen</i>	<i>Oratio funebris Bertae de Heyen</i> (LB VIII, 551–560)
<i>Paeon Virg.</i>	<i>Paeon Virgini Matri dicendus</i> (LB V, 1227–1234)
<i>Panegy. ad Philipp.</i>	<i>Panegyricus ad Philippum Austriae ducem</i> (LB IV, 505–550; ASD IV,I, pp. 23–93)
<i>Parab.</i>	<i>Parabolaes siue similia</i> (LB I, 557–624; ASD I,5, pp. 87–332)
<i>Paracl.</i>	<i>Paraclesis</i> (LB V, 137–144 = VI, f° *3r°–*4v°)
<i>Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae</i>	<i>Paraphrasis in Elegantiis Laurentii Vallae</i> (LB I, 1065–1126; ASD I,4, pp. 207–332)
<i>Paraphr. in NT</i>	<i>Paraphrasis in Nouum Testamentum</i> (LB VII)
<i>Paraphr. in Mt.</i>	<i>Paraphrasis in Matthaeum</i>
etc.	etc.
<i>Passio Macc.</i>	<i>Passio Maccabeorum</i>
<i>Peregrin. apost.</i>	<i>Peregrinatio apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i> (LB VI, 425–432 = VII, 653–659)
<i>Ex Plut. versa</i>	<i>Ex Plutarcho versa</i> (LB IV, 1–84; ASD, IV,2, pp. 119–322)
<i>De praep. ad mort.</i>	<i>De praeparatione ad mortem</i> (LB V, 1293–1318; ASD V,I, pp. 337–392)
<i>Precat. ad Iesum</i>	<i>Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum</i> (LB V, 1210–1216)
<i>Precat. dominica</i>	<i>Precatio dominica</i> (LB V, 1217–1228)
<i>Precat. nov.</i>	<i>Precationes aliquot nouae</i> (LB V, 1197–1210)
<i>Precat. pro pace eccles.</i>	<i>Precatio ad Iesum pro pace ecclesiae</i> (LB IV, 653–656 = V, 1215–1218)
<i>Prologus supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae</i>	<i>Prologus in supputationem calumniarum Natalis Bedae</i> (LB IX, 441–450)
<i>De pronunt.</i>	<i>De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione</i> (LB I, 909–968; ASD I,4, pp. 11–103)
<i>De pueris</i>	<i>De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis</i> (LB I, 485–516; ASD I,2, pp. 21–78)
<i>Purgat. adv. ep. Luth.</i>	<i>Purgatio aduersus epistolam non sobriam Lutheri</i> (LB X, 1537–1558; ASD IX,I, pp. 443–483)
<i>De purit. tabernac.</i>	<i>De puritate tabernaculi</i> (LB V, 291–312; ASD V,2, pp. 285–317)
<i>Querela</i>	<i>Querela pacis</i> (LB IV, 625–642; ASD IV,2, pp. 59–100)

<i>De rat. stud.</i>	<i>De ratione studii</i> (LB I, 517–530; ASD I,2, pp. 111–151)
<i>Rat. ver. theol.</i>	<i>Ratio verae theologiae</i> (LB V, 73–138; Holborn, pp. 175–305)
<i>Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei</i>	<i>Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei</i> (LB IX, 123–284)
<i>Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.</i>	<i>Responsio ad collationes cuiusdam iuuenis gerontodidascali</i> (LB IX, 967–1016)
<i>Resp. ad disp. Phimost.</i>	<i>Responsio ad disputationem cuiusdam Phimostomi de diuortio</i> (LB IX, 955–968)
<i>Resp. ad ep. Alb. Pii</i>	<i>Responsio ad epistolam paraeneticam Alberti Pii</i> (LB IX, 1093–1122)
<i>Resp. ad P. Cursii defens.</i>	<i>Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem</i> (LB X, 1747–1758; Ep. 3032)
<i>Resp. adv. febricit. lib.</i>	<i>Responsio aduersus febricitantis cuiusdam libellum</i> (LB X, 1673–1684)
<i>De sarc. eccles. concord.</i>	<i>De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia</i> (LB V, 469–506; ASD V,3, pp. 257–313)
<i>Scholia</i>	<i>In epistolam de delectu ciborum scholia</i> (ASD IX,1, pp. 65–89)
<i>Spongia</i>	<i>Spongia aduersus aspergines Hutteni</i> (LB X, 1631–1672; ASD IX,1, pp. 117–210)
<i>Supputat. error. in cens. N. Bedae</i>	<i>Supputationes errorum in censuris Natalis Bedae</i> (LB IX, 441–720)
<i>Vidua christ.</i>	<i>Vidua christiana</i> (LB V, 723–766)
<i>Virg. et mart. comp.</i>	<i>Virginis et martyris comparatio</i> (LB V, 589–600)
<i>Vita Hier.</i>	<i>Vita diui Hieronymi Stridonensis</i> (Ferguson, pp. 134–190)
<i>Vita Orig.</i>	<i>Vita Origenis</i> (LB VIII, 425–440)
<i>Xenophon</i>	<i>Xenophontis rhetoris Hieron</i> (LB IV, 643–654)

D. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

- Adams Robert P. Adams, *The Better Part of Valor: More, Erasmus, Colet, and Vives, on Humanism, War, and Peace, 1496–1535*. Seattle, 1962.
- add. addidit, addiderunt, addit, addunt.
- AH *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. Ed. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister, Leipzig, 1886–1922 (repr. New York, 1961). 55 vols.
- Allen Desiderius Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*. Ed. P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen, and H.W. Garrod, Oxford, 1906–1958. 11 vols. plus index volume by B. Flower and E. Rosenbaum.
- App. Appendix.
- App. crit. Apparatus criticus.
- ARG Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte.
- ASD Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera omnia*. Amsterdam, 1969– .
- b. born.
- BAS Desiderius Erasmus, *Omnia opera*. Basel, 1538–1542. 9 vols.
- BB *Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Ed. Ferdinand vander Haeghen, Gand, 1898–1923; reissued by Marie-Thérèse Lenger, Bruxelles, 1964–1975. 7 vols.
- Béné Charles Béné, *Erasme et saint Augustin*. Genève, 1969.
- Bezzel Irmgard Bezzel, *Erasmusdrucke des 16. Jahrhunderts in bayerischen Bibliotheken: Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis*. Stuttgart, 1979.
- BHR Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance.
- Blaise A. Blaise, *Lexicon Latinitatis medii aevi*. Turnhout, 1975.
- Bolte Johannes Bolte, *Die indische Redefigur Yathā-samkhya (d.h. der Zahl, der Reihe nach) in europäischer Dichtung*, Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen 112 (1904), pp. 265–276; 159 (1931), pp. 11–18.
- Burrow J.A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought*. Oxford, 1986.
- c. circa.
- Carlson, Arthur David Carlson, *King Arthur and Court Poems for the Birth of Arthur Tudor in 1486*, HL 36 (1987), pp. 147–183.
- Carlson, Books David R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475–1525*. Toronto, 1993.
- Carlson, Erasmus David R. Carlson, *Erasmus, Revision, and the British Library Manuscript Egerton 1651, Renaissance and Reformation*, new series 15 (1991), pp. 199–232.
- Carm., Carmm. *Carmen, Carmina*.
- cett. cetera.
- CCSL *Corpus Christianorum, series Latina*. Turnhout, 1953– .
- chapt. chapter.
- Chomarat Jacques Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme*. Paris, 1981. 2 vols.
- col. column.
- Contemporaries *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*. Ed. P.G. Bietenholz and T.B. Deutscher, Toronto, 1985–1987. 3 vols.
- Corp. ref. *Corpus reformatorum*. Halle and Braunschweig, 1834– .
- CSEL *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vienna, 1866– .
- Curtius Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Trans. Willard R. Trask, Princeton, 1967².
- CW *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*. New Haven, 1961–.
- CWE *Collected Works of Erasmus*. Toronto, 1974– .
- d. died.
- ded. dedicatory letter.
- Dekker Alfred M.M. Dekker, *Janus Secundus (1511–1536): De tekstoverlevering van het tijdens zijn leven gepubliceerde werk*. Nieuwkoop, 1986.
- DeMolen, Essays Richard L. DeMolen, ed., *Essays on the Works of Erasmus*. New Haven, 1978.
- DeMolen, Spirituality Richard L. DeMolen, *The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam*, Nieuwkoop, 1987.
- De Vocht, Busleyden Henry de Vocht, *Jérôme de Busleyden*. Turnhout, 1950.

- De Vocht, *MHL* *Monumenta Humanistica Louaniensia*. Ed. Henry de Vocht, Louvain, 1934.
 dist. distinctio.
DSAM *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique*. Paris, 1932– .
DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*. Paris, 1954–1972. 16 vols.
 E. Followed by a number (e.g., E. 56), this refers to Erasmus entries in *BB*.
 ed. edited by, edition.
 edd. editions.
 ed. princ. editio princeps.
 Edwards H.L.R. Edwards, *Skelton: The Life and Times of an Early Tudor Poet*. London, 1949.
Eg Ms. Egerton 1651 (see *Introd.*, p. 52)
 e.g. *exempli gratia*, for example.
 Ep., Epp. Epistola, Epistolae. See also Allen.
 Er. Erasmus.
 ERSY Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook.
 et al. et alii.
 Ferguson *Erasmi opuscula: A Supplement to the Opera omnia*. Ed. Wallace K. Ferguson, The Hague, 1933.
 f° folio, folios.
 Gibson R.W. Gibson, *St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography of his Works and of Moreana to the Year 1750*. New Haven, 1961.
 Gleason John B. Gleason, *John Colet*. Berkeley, 1989.
Go Gouda Ms. 1323 (see *Introd.*, pp. 50–51).
 Goudriaan Koen Goudriaan, *The Gouda Erasmiana revisited*, *Quaerendo* 23/24 (1993), pp. 241–264.
GW *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. Leipzig, Stuttgart, Berlin, New York, 1925– .
 Hardison O.B. Hardison jr., *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice*. Chapel Hill, 1962 (repr. Westport, Conn., 1973).
Hereford Breviary *The Hereford Breviary*. Ed. Walter H. Frere and Langton E.G. Brown, London, 1904, 1911, 1915. 3 vols.
 HL Humanistica Louaniensia.
 Horawitz Adalbert Horawitz, *Erasmus von Rotterdam und Martinus Lipsius*. Vienna, 1882.
 Hoven René Hoven, *Le "Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei", un "Colloque" d'Erasme?*, in: *Dix conférences sur Erasme*. Paris, 1988, pp. 95–106.
 Huizinga Johan Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation*. Trans. F. Hopman, London, 1924 (repr. New York, 1957).
 Hyma Albert Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus*. Ann Arbor, 1930 (repr. New York, 1968).
 IJsewijn, *Erasmus* Jozef IJsewijn, *Erasmus ex poeta theologus sive de litterarum instauratarum apud Hollandos incunabulis*, in: *Scrinium*, vol. 1, pp. 375–384.
in marg. *in margine*.
 introd. introduction (to), introduced (by).
 JHI Journal of the History of Ideas.
 Klopsch Paul Klopsch, *Einführung in die Dichtungslehren des lateinischen Mittelalters*. Darmstadt, 1980.
 Kohls Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls, *Die Theologie des Erasmus*. Basel, 1966. 2 vols.
 Krummacher Hans-Henrik Krummacher, *"De quatuor nouissimis". Über ein traditionelles theologisches Thema bei Andreas Gryphius*, in: *Respublica Guelferbyтана. Wolfenbütteler Beiträge zur Renaissance- und Barockforschung. Festschrift für Paul Raabe*. Ed. August Buck and Martin Bircher, Amsterdam, 1987, pp. 499–577.
 l., ll. line, lines.
 Lattimore Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*. Urbana, 1962.
 Lausberg Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*. Munich, 1960. 2 vols.
LB Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera omnia*. Ed. J. Clericus, Leiden, 1703–1706 (repr. Hildesheim, 1961–1962). 10 vols.
LHL Otto Schumann, *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon: Dichterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta*. Munich, 1979–1983. 6 vols.

- LThK* *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. Freiburg, 1957–1965². 11 vols.
 Lupton J.H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet, D.D.* London, 1909² (repr. Hamden, Conn., 1961).
 m. metrum (in Boeth. *Consol.*).
 Margolin Jean-Claude Margolin, *Le "Chant alpestre" d'Erasmus: poème sur la vieillesse*, BHR 27 (1965), pp. 37–79 (repr. as article 1 in: J.-C. Margolin, *Erasmus dans son miroir et dans son sillage*. London, 1987).
 Meersseman G.G. Meersseman, *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1958–1960. 2 vols.
 MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.
Missale Romanum *Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474*. Ed. Robert Lippe, London, 1899–1907. 2 vols.
 Mone *Hymni Latini medii aevi*. Ed. Franz Joseph Mone, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1853–1855. 3 vols.
 More, *CW* See *CW*.
 ms., mss. manuscript, manuscripts.
Myth. Lex. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Ed. W.H. Roscher and K. Ziegler, Leipzig and Berlin, 1884–1937 (repr. Hildesheim, 1965). 6 vols. in 9.
 n. note (to).
Nachträge *Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer*. Ed. Reinhard Häussler, Hildesheim, 1968.
 NAK Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis.
 Nelson William Nelson, *John Skelton, Laureate*. New York, 1939.
 Niermeyer J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*. Leiden, 1954–1963.
 NK Wouter Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*. The Hague, 1923–1971.
 n.l., n.ll. note to line, note to lines.
 no., nos. number, numbers.
 n.s. new style.
 N.T. New Testament.
 om. *omisit, omiserunt, omittit, omittunt*.
 op. cit. *opere citato*.
 O'Rourke Boyle Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology*. Toronto, 1977.
 O.T. Old Testament.
 Otto August Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. Leipzig, 1890 (repr. Hildesheim, 1971).
 PG J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*. Paris, 1857–1912. 162 vols.
 PL J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*. Paris, 1844–1902. 221 vols.
Poems *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus*. Ed. C. Reedijk, Leiden, 1956.
 postscr. postscriptum.
 PQ Philological Quarterly.
 praef. praefatio.
 pref. preface.
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100	Elegia de praepotenti virtute Cupidinis	latter half of 1487?
101	Elegia querula doloris	late 1487?
102	Carmen buccolicum	late 1487?
103	Oda amatoria	late 1487?
109	Ad amicum suum	early 1488?
106	Certamen Erasmi atque Guielmi de tempore vernali	spring 1488?
93	Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii aduersus barbaros	late winter–May 1489
135	Cornelius tandem inducit diuum Hieronimum tanquam sequestrum	c. May 1489
98	Magistro Enghelberto Leydensi	summer 1489?
128	<i>From</i> Conflictus Thaliae et Barbarici	late 1489?
104	Elegia de mutabilitate temporum	late autumn 1489?
105	Elegia de patientia	1490?
113	Epitaphium Bertae de Heyen	late Oct. 1490?
114	Aliud epitaphium	late Oct. 1490?
94	Elegia prima, in errores hominum degenerantium	winter 1490–1491
95	Elegia secunda, in iuuenem luxuria defluentem	winter 1490–1491
96	Elegia tertia, in diuitem auarum	winter 1490–1491
97	Ad Lesbium, de nummo themation	winter 1490–1491?
42	De casa natalitia pueri Iesu	c. Christmas 1490?
1	In laudem Annae	c. 1491? (rev. 1500/1501)
107	In laudem beatissimi Gregorii papae	early 1491?
108	Epigramma de quatuor nouissimis	early 1491?
50	In laudem Michaelis et angelorum omnium	early spring 1491?
136	Erasmus cantoribus Maximiliani	1493–1494?
5	Ad Gaguinum nondum visum	c. Sept. 1495
6	In Annales Gaguini et Eglogas Faustinas	autumn 1495
7	In morbo de fatis suis querela	spring? 1496
14	Episcopo Traiectensi Dauid	May? 1496
15	Eidem	May? 1496
20	In sex tintinabula	1497–1501?
13	Epitaphium Margaretae Honorae	1497–1499?
30	In fronte Odarum Guilielmi	20 Jan. 1497
38	Ioanni Okego musico summo epitaphium	c. Feb. 1497
19	Duo salina argentea	autumn 1497?
41	In magnatem quendam	1498–1500?
116	In castigationes Vincentii	Feb.? 1498
9	Epitaphium Odiliae	July 1498?
10	Querela de filio superstitute	July 1498?
11	Responder filius	July 1498?
118	Erasmi precatio 'Salue, regina'	1498–1501?
110	Paean diuae Mariae	April–May 1499
111	De monstrosis signis Christo moriente factis	summer? 1499

112	De solemnitate paschali	summer? 1499
117	Contestatio saluatoris ad hominem sua culpa pereuntem	summer 1499?
4	Ode de laudibus Britanniac	late Sept.? 1499
115	Carmen extemporale	autumn 1499
43	Expostulatio Iesu cum homine	late 1499?
1	In laudem Annae (expanded version)	1500–1501
18	In tergo codicis Battici	before 1502
12	In filiam Bekae	1502–1504
16	Iacobo Batto	1502
17	Iidem Latini versus	1502
39	Henrici episcopi Cameracensis epitaphium	autumn 1502
40	De eodem	autumn 1502
137	<i>An Epitaph for Hendrik van Bergen</i>	autumn 1502
62	Ad amplissimum patrem Antonium de Berghes	autumn 1502
34	Sub pictura vultus Christi	1503?
29	In fronte libelli de imperatoria maiestate	13 Feb. 1503
36	In fronte Enchiridii	15 Feb. 1503
28	In fronte libelli dono missi episcopo Atrebatensi	autumn 1503
31	In fronte libelli Buslidio dono missi	Nov. 1503?
32	In fronte alterius	Nov. 1503?
63	Homero centon	c. Feb. 1504
64	Illustrissimo principi Philippo foeliciter in patriam redeunti	c. Feb. 1504
35	Agit carmine gratias pro misso munere	1505–1506
37	Libellus dono missus	1 Jan. 1506?
65	Ad R. P. Guilhelmum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem	Jan. 1506
8	Arx vulgo dicta Hammensis	June 1506?
2	Carmen de senectutis incommodis	Aug. 1506
33	In caecum tragoediarum castigatorem	autumn 1506
21	In aulicum quendam	before 1507
22	In eundem	before 1507
23	In eundem	before 1507
24	In picturam fabulae Giganteae	before 1507
25	In eosdem fulmine depulsos	before 1507
26	In tabulam Penthei trucidati	before 1507
27	In picturam Europae stupratae	before 1507
138	In Europae a monachis subactae picturam	1509?
139	Ad eandem	1509?
140	Europa respondet	1509?
52	Epitaphium scurrulae temulenti	summer 1509?
44	Carmen iambicum	1511
45	Sapphicum	1511
46	Imago pueri Iesu	1511
47	Carmen phalecium	1511
48	Aliud	1511
119	Carmen iambicum	late spring 1511?
56	Ad Andream Ammonium Lucensem	c. 20 Oct. 1511
141	In eundem Iulium II Ligurum	Nov. 1511?
51	Carmen ex voto dicatum virgini Vvalsingamicae	spring 1512
58	In fugam Gallorum	autumn 1513
49	Christiani hominis institutum	1514
132	<i>From the Colloquy Epithalamium Petri Aegidii</i>	c. 1514
3	Ad Ioannem Sapidum suum	Aug. 1514

54	Ad Sebastianum Brant	Aug. 1514
55	Ad Thomam Didymum Aucuparium	Aug. 1514
53	Encomium Selestadii	1514–1515
60	Epitaphium Philippi coenobitae Cluniacensis	1514–1515?
57	Ad Lucam Paliurum Rubeaquensem	c. 1515
59	Cum multos menses perpetuo pluisset	late June 1515
61	Erasmus Guilielmo Neseno calamum dono dedit	spring 1516?
66	Epitaphium D. Iacobi de Croy	c. Nov. 1516?
120	Lectori	early 1517?
67	In hymnos Bernardi Andreae Tolosatis	April 1517?
121	In commentarios D. B. Andreae Tholozani super opus Aurelii Augustini De ciuitate dei	Apr. 1517?
68	Epitaphium ad pictam imaginem Hieronymi Buslidiani	c. 26 March 1518
69	Trochaici tetrametri	c. 26 March 1518
142	Chorus porcorum	before July 1519
70	In Brunonem Amerbachium	Nov. 1519
122	De concordia Caroli imperatoris et Henrici, regis Angliae et Franciae	July 1520
123	In substructionem Caletensem	July 1520
124	In laudem diuae Mariae Magdalene	Aug. 1520?
129	<i>From the Colloquy</i> De lusu	before March 1522
125	<i>Meersburg Castle</i>	c. Sept. 1522?
130	<i>From the Colloquy</i> Conuiuium poeticum	before Aug. 1523
133	<i>From</i> Virginis Matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia	before Nov. 1523
131	<i>From the Colloquy</i> Πτωχοπλούσιοι	before March 1524
71	Epitaphium in mortem Martini Dorpii	8 Nov. 1525
72	In Iacobum, paulo post defunctum	autumn 1526?
143	<i>An Epitaph for Nicolaas Baechem of Egmond</i>	late 1526
126	<i>An Epitaph for Dirk Martens</i>	autumn? 1527
73	Epitaphium Ioannis Frobenii	c. Nov. 1527
74	In eundem Graece	c. Nov. 1527
75	<i>An Epitaph for Philippe Haneton</i>	c. May 1528?
76	<i>In Praise of Joachim van Ringelberg's</i> Institutiones astronomicae	c. Oct. 1528
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78	<i>Latin Epitaph for Nicolaas Uutenhove</i>	1 Feb. 1529
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80	<i>A Parting Gift for Nicolaus and Justina</i> <i>Episcopus</i>	early Apr. 1529
81	<i>Farewell to Basel</i>	13 Apr. 1529
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87	Φιλολόγου και βιβλιοπώλου διάλογος	winter 1530–1531
88	Diuae Genouefae carmen votiuum	late spring 1531?
89	<i>To Pierre Du Chastel</i>	24 Sept. 1532
90	<i>On Collecting Proverbs</i>	24 Sept. 1532
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144	<i>Upon Hearing of the Death of John Fisher</i> <i>and Thomas More</i>	Aug. 1535
92	Epitaphium Vdalrici Zasii	early Apr. 1536
127	<i>A Request for Dates</i>	early Apr. 1536

INDEX OF METRES

In Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 3, ll. 19–20 Erasmus boasts that there is no form of poetry that he did not attempt. The following table, which lists the metrical patterns of his extant verses, shows that he came as close as any poet to exhausting the metrical possibilities of classical Latin verse. Of the metrical combinations here listed one is unparalleled: a dactylic hexameter followed by a catalectic iambic dimeter, used in *Carm. de senect.* (*Carm.* 2).

The numerals refer to the poems and, where necessary, the lines. Greek poems are marked with an asterisk.

<p>Alcaic hendecasyllable: 133, 17–18 Alcaic strophe: 130, 26–29 Anapestic dimeter: 133, 31–32 Anapestic dimeter catalectic (paroemiac): 114; 133, 21–22</p> <p>Choliamb (scazon): 20, 13–14; 28; 52; 58</p> <p>Dactylic tetrameter catalectic <i>in syllabam</i>: 26 Doggerel: 142</p> <p>Elegiac distich: 3; 8; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15; 18; 19; 20, 1–6; 20, 9–12; 20, 15–18; 21; 22; 23; 27; 31; 32; 33; 36; 37; 40; 46; 48; 53; 61; 62; 67; 70; 73; 81; 82; 84; 89; 90; 91; 94; 95; 96; 98; 99; 100; 101; 104; 105; 106; 108; 116; 118; 126; 127; 129; 132, 1–2; 136; 137; 138; 139; 140; 144 Elegiac distich with internal (leonine) rhyme: 131; 143 Elegiambus: 38</p> <p>First Archilochian strophe: 6 First Pythiambic strophe: 42; 43; 103; 117 Fourth Asclepiadean strophe: 7</p> <p>Glyconic: 133, 13–14 Glyconic followed by an iambic dimeter: 134 Greater Archilochian: 133, 23–24 Greater Asclepiad: 133, 27–28</p> <p>Hendecasyllable (phalaecean): 5; 30; 35; 47; 54; 57; 59; 60; 78; 97; 130, 14–19; 132, 17–20; 133, 7–8</p>	<p>Hexameter: 24; 25; 49; 55; *63; 64; 76; 80; 88; 92; 102; 112; 113; 120; 128, 10–21; 130, 23–25; 133, 1–2; 133, 19–20; 135 Hexameter alternating with an iambic dimeter catalectic: 2</p> <p>Iambic dimeter: 1; *16; 17; 41 Iambic dimeter catalectic: 133, 25–26 Iambic octonarius: 133, 15–16 Iambic senarius (see also iambic trimeter): 9; 20, 7–8; 34; 39; 56; 65; 66; 71; 72; 75; 77; 83; 85; 86; 119; 123; 125; 130, 1–4; 130, 11–13; 133, 5–6; 141 Iambic senarius alternating with an iambic dime- ter: 44; 132, 3–4 Iambic trimeter: *51; *68; *79; *87; *130, 34–37</p> <p>Leonine hexameter: 128, 1–5 Lesser Asclepiad: 132, 21–24; 133, 9–10 Lesser Asclepiad alternating with an iambic dime- ter: 111</p> <p>Sapphic: 133, 11–12 Sapphic strophe: 45; 50; 110; 130, 30–33; 132, 9–16 Scazon. See choliamb. Second Archilochian strophe: 115 Second Asclepiadean strophe: 93; 107; 109 Second Pythiambic strophe: 4; 122</p> <p>Trochaic dimeter: 133, 29–30 Trochaic tetrameter catalectic: 29; 69; *74; 121; 124; 130, 7–8; 130, 20–22; 132, 5–8; 133, 3–4</p>
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CONCORDANCE OF POEM NUMBERS

These tables give the corresponding numbers of Erasmus' *Carmina* in Reedijk, *Poems* and the *ASD* edition.

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Otto, cited by proverb number: (17) 64, 61; (19) 43, 85-86; (27) 94, 23-24; (34) 100, 2; (36) 4, 11; (79) 100, 35; (99) 27, 11; (101) 102, 10; (111) 10, 16; 100, 13-14; (127) 55, 12; (156) 93, 23; (161) 76, 6; (162) 100, 36; (170) 112, 126-127; (208) 2, 117; (212) 94, 91; (213) 94-97; 94, 93; (217) 2, 118-119; (225) 96, 89; (226) 96, 89; (227) 96, 89; (229) 96, 19-20; (289) 102, 21-22; (299) 64, 3; (305) 141, 5; (358) 6, 54; (384) 35, 5; (457) 2, 123-125; (468) 2, 123-125; (496-497) 115, 13; (507) 93, 30-31; (530) 2, 32-33; (531) 112, 203; (549) 93, 164; (596) 141, 11; (615) 2, 53-55; (644) 96, 12; (654) 105; (655) 64, 64; (688) 2, 16; (694) 56, 29; (695) 96, 105; (698) 7, 21; (699) 7, 21; (759) 112, 126-127; (775) 97; (789) 102, 30-31; (810) 6, 57; (835) 115, 11; (838) 50, 209; (871) 93, 165; (875) 2, 123-125; (943) 64, 62; (1003) 8, 8; (1060) 35, 10; (1081) 56, 9; (1083) 2, 177-179; (1085) 2, 177-179; (1104) 9, 25; (1110) 21, 1; (1111) 4, ded., ll. 35-37; (1141) 11, 7; (1144) 105, 1-2; (1148) 49, 84-85; (1223) 4, 67-68; (1224) 4, 41; (1231) 102, 82; 110, 358; (1235) 4, 105; (1239) 56, 25; (1257) 2, 89; (1284) 141, 8; (1368) 2, 229; 49, 86; (1405) 21, 4; (1410) 2, 172-173; (1593) 103, 20; (1604) 136; (1610) 103, 19; (1623) 2, 8; (1643) 50, 186-188; (1645) 43, 77; (1647) 43, 85-86; (1649) 35, 10; (1657) 94-97; (1715) 94, 91; (1737)

- 4, 8; (1762) 2, 105; (1770) 45, 5; (1779) Snoy, I. 7; (1781) 93, 89-90; (1789) 2, 136-137; 4, 67-68; (1826) 4, 131; (1867) 2, 82; 105, 8; (1900) 126, 5; (1914) 10, 8; (1915) 12, 10
- Ovidius**
- *Amores*: (I, 1, 29) 102, 43; (I, 2, 3) 100, 10; (I, 4, 22) 95, 64; (I, 6, 4) 13, 6; (I, 6, 17) 100, 19; (I, 6, 49-50) 100, 33-34; (I, 6, 58) 105, 26; (I, 8, 6) 95, 30; (I, 8, 49) 2, 76-78; (I, 8, 84) 96, 122; (I, 9, 4) 100, 38; (I, 9, 27-28) 100, 31-34; (I, 10, 62) 73, 8; (I, 12, 29) 2, 45; (I, 13, 8) 106, 74; (I, 15, 11) 110, 127-128; (I, 15, 13) 6, 62; (I, 15, 32) 94, 86; (II, 4, 43) 102, 39; (II, 5, 39-40) 4, 82; (II, 6, 38) 110, 335; (II, 6, 50) 106, 95; (II, 7, 27) 102, 86; (II, 9, 5) 100, 8; (II, 9, 17) 98, 10; (II, 11, 23-24) 95, 107-108; (II, 16, 45) 110, 75-76; (II, 16, 47) 20, 3; (II, 18, 4) 100, 39; 110, 158; (II, 18, 19) 110, 158; (II, 19, 22) 106, 23; (II, 19, 37) 64, 57; (II, 19, 49) 23, 3; (III, 1, 20) 100, 15; (III, 2, 40) 100, 8; (III, 3, 5-6) 4, 97; (III, 4, 19-20) 100, 36; (III, 5, 21-22) 2, 41; (III, 6, 7) 106, 63; (III, 6, 39) 4, 9; (III, 7, 27) 2, 130-131; (III, 7, 49-52) 96, 93-94; (III, 7, 50) 96, 104; (III, 8, 35-54) 96, 43-60; (III, 10, 3) 96, 45; (III, 10, 6) 64, 101; (III, 10, 21) 4, 63; (III, 11, 5) 103, 33; (III, 11, 47) 4, 51; (III, 12, 9) 23, 4; (III, 15, 10) 107, 13
- *Ars amatoria*: (I, 57-59) 98, 1-4; (I, 110) 88, 63; (I, 148) 42, 44-45; (I, 244) 112, 246; (I, 306) 105, 15; (I, 409) 2, 166-167; (I, 460) 110, 395; (I, 535) 112, 107; (I, 536) 112, 112; (I, 582) 95, 4; (I, 607) 88, 47; (I, 618) 96, 100; (I, 620) 106, 102; (I, 681-704) 100, 25-26; (I, 731) 102, 99; (I, 736) 99, 2; (I, 749) 94, 15; (II, 18) 100, 27; (II, 58) 105, 86; (II, 112) 88, 94; (II, 115-116) 95, 49-50; 104, 3-4; (II, 117-118) 104, 19-20; (II, 152) 100, 5; (II, 180) 105, 58; (II, 457) 102, 15; (II, 517) 50, 209-211; (II, 563) 102, 1; (II, 633) 100, 12; (II, 670) 95, 56; (II, 722) 106, 102; (III, 4) 105, 53-54; (III, 59-88) 104; (III, 59-60) 95, 109-110; (III, 61) 2, 195; (III, 62) 2, 79-80; (III, 74) 2, 16; (III, 110) 112, 285; (III, 130) 93, 81; (III, 150) 50, 209-211; (III, 185) 106, 45; (III, 189-190) 60, 6; (III, 249) 104, 5; (III, 279-280) 101, 4; (III, 322) 108, 2; (III, 360) 112, 186; (III, 408) 4, 16; (III, 489) 112, 112; (III, 490) 50, 51; (III, 537) 110, 98; (III, 549) 94, 19; (III, 557) 13, 5
- *Epistula Sapphus*: (157) 106, 102; (179) 100, 5
- *Ex Ponto*: (I, 1, 3) 102, 55; (I, 2, 28) 64, 35; (I, 2, 62) 112, 299; (I, 2, 116) 110, 395; (I, 4, 1-20) 99, 9-16; (I, 4, 1) 2, 221; (I, 4, 14) 64, 25; (I, 4, 19-20) 101, 9-10; (I, 6, 31) 98, 11; (I, 6, 34) 96, 94; (I, 8, 2) 93, 158; (I, 8, 32) 96, 5; (I, 10, 3) 94, 37; (II, 1, 27) 4, 122; (II, 1, 43-44) 112, 174; (II, 2, 34) 95, 42; (II, 2, 50) 110, 395; (II, 2, 81-82) 14, 2; (II, 2, 113) 102, 105; (II, 3, 11) 88, 49; (II, 3, 27) 105, 121-122; (II, 3, 73) 101, 9; (II, 5, 21) 88, 2; (II, 5, 75) 42, 9; (II, 7, 28) 112, 345; (II, 7, 41) 49, 77; (II, 7, 49) 40, 8; (II, 8, 38) 62, 20; (II, 8, 41-42) 98, 27; (II, 9, 3) 98, 7; (II, 9, 11) 112, 99; (II, 10, 33) 106, 37; (II, 10, 38) 112, 303; (III, 1, 11) 106, 13-14; (III, 1, 23) 106, 15; (III, 1, 127-128) 94, 30; (III, 2, 12) 96, 67; (III, 3, 90) 64, 88; (III, 3, 106) 95, 78; (III, 4, 58) 94, 24; (III, 4, 111) 111, 32; (III, 8, 3) 102, 79; (IV, 3, 56) 110, 227; (IV, 4, 15-16) 98, 13-14; (IV, 5, 4) 106, 23; (IV, 5, 38) 94, 70; (IV, 5, 42) 93, 113; (IV, 8, 29) 96, 85; (IV, 8, 39-42) 4, ded. ll. 47-51; (IV, 9, 9) 7, 48; (IV, 10, 31) 95, 78; (IV, 10, 43) 64, 28; (IV, 11, 7-8) 42, 50; (IV, 12, 12) 22, 8; (IV, 12, 50) 64, 51; (IV, 15, 7-10) 98, 1-4; (IV, 15, 9) 98, 3; (IV, 16, 28) 93, 75
- *Fasti*: (I, 22) 110, 395; (I, 71) 112, 241; (I, 153) 95, 39; (I, 211-212) 96, 79-82; (I, 212) 96, 82; (I, 215-216) 96, 81; (I, 234) 7, 14; (I, 297-308) 76, 7-8; (I, 339) 110, 131; (I, 351) 106, 67; (I, 394) 64, 57; (I, 444) 93, 132; (I, 458) 110, 42; (I, 473) 7, 5; (I, 486) 96, 68; (I, 494) 94, 6; (I, 549) 96, 23; (I, 600) 95, 24; (I, 610) 20, 2; (I, 680) 109, 35-36; (II, 72) 106, 23; (II, 83-118) 43, 51; (II, 109-110) 2, 167-168; (II, 220) 95, 30; (II, 305-326) 100, 23-24; (II, 307) 102, 67; (II, 331) 100, 43; (II, 467-468) 112, 84; (II, 489-490) 110, 293; (II, 494) 50, 212; 109, 4; (II, 509) 6, 62; (II, 552) 2, 83; (II, 585) 102, 1; (II, 592) 110, 227; (II, 635) 4, 139; (II, 654) 112, 216; (II, 660) 106, 5-6; (II, 762) 27, 11; (II, 763) 104, 19; (III, 236) 109, 36; (III, 237) 106, 20; 106, 25; (III, 239-240) 106, 64; (III, 362) 96, 68; (III, 403) 102, 38; (III, 420) 88, 111-112; (III, 519) 106, 83; (III, 620) 112, 86; (III, 699) 105, 59; (III, 741-742) 50, 210; (III, 815) 112, 234; (III, 871) 112, 99; (IV, 87) 106, 66; (IV, 129) 4, 75; (IV, 161) 112, 329; (IV, 165-166) 102, 42; (IV, 315) 64, 66; (IV, 346) 106, 66; (IV, 417) 93, 40; (IV, 430) 104, 6; (IV, 441) 4, 81; (IV, 495) 112, 143; (IV, 662) 96, 70; (IV, 782) 94, 88; (IV, 906) 112, 216; (IV, 944) 98, 10; (V, 23) 112, 329; (V, 82) 95, 26; (V, 188) 96, 122; (V, 353) 95, 7; 95, 19; (V, 528) 93, 177; (V, 558) 93, 86; (V, 609) 104, 19; (V, 627) 7, 14; (VI, 204) 33; 102, 85; (VI, 252) 106, 12; (VI, 330) 102, 66; (VI, 393) 112, 179; (VI, 430) 96, 124; (VI, 463) 105, 43; (VI, 474) 4, 102; (VI, 500) 50, 130; (VI, 668) 38, 6; (VI, 699) 120, 25; (VI, 729-730) 102, 40; (VI, 744) 111, 73; (VI, 771) 2, 76-78
- *Heroides* (see also *Epistula Sapphus*): (1, 9) 95, 76; (1, 11) 112, 278; (1, 114) 96, 118; (2) 100, 46; (2, 83) 53, 23; (2, 111) 64, 45; (4, 51) 102, 92; (4, 70) 100, 6; (4, 89) 6, 29; 109, 22; (5, 103) 2, 73; (6, 11) 9, 17; (6, 86) 106, 38; (6, 126) 96, 20; (7, 7) 100, 45; (7, 46) 27, 8; (7, 112) 7, 38-39; (7, 125) 95, 85; (9, 1) 88, 111-112; (9, 25-26) 100,

25-26; (9, 53-80) 100, 23-24; (10, 58) 10, 16; (11, 26) 42, 36; (11, 115) 62, 12; (12) 120, 17-22; (12, 3) 64, 96; (12, 11) 104, 19; (12, 64) 94, 66; (12, 133) 62, 15; (12, 150) 112, 187; (12, 162) 2, 233; (12, 171) 120, 18; (13, 89) 88, 63; (13, 124) 112, 299; (13, 149-150) 110, 250; (15, 35) 7, 10; (15, 64) 27, 2; (15, 70) 102, 77; (15, 72) 43, 31; 98, 26; (15, 212) 96, 94; (15, 232) 112, 246; (15, 291) 7, 10; (15, 371) 94, 69; (16, 14) 40, 8; (16, 45) 138, 3; (16, 180) 117, 5; (17, 7-8) 100, 41-42; (17, 25) 112, 287; (17, 35) 50, 225; (17, 71-74) 102, 74-77; (17, 73) 102, 68; (17, 78) 2, 83; (17, 193) 50, 225; (18, 56) 112, 284; (18, 191) 106, 37; (19, 55-56) 93, 149-150; (19, 226) 100, 12; (19, 234) 95, 85; (20, 148) 94, 6; (20, 201) 88, 63; (20, 217) 104, 21
 - *Ibis*: 22, 3-4; 93, 187; (51-52) 56; (130) 95, 98; (161) 112, 332; (207-214) 7, 1-16; (214) 7, 14; (215) 2, 63; (233) 106, 69; (242) 4, 149-150; (267) 50, 106; (273) 105, 97; (446) 95, 4; (456) 94, 88; (473) 96, 85
 - *Medicamina faciei femineae*: (100) 95, 20
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